

University of New Mexico

UNM Digital Repository

History ETDs

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

6-22-2000

Native Spiritual Paths: Native American Bible College Graduates, 1911-2000

Nancy Jill Howard

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/hist_etds



Part of the [History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Howard, Nancy Jill. "Native Spiritual Paths: Native American Bible College Graduates, 1911-2000." (2000). https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/hist_etds/281

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Electronic Theses and Dissertations at UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in History ETDs by an authorized administrator of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact amywinter@unm.edu, lsloane@salud.unm.edu, sahrk@unm.edu.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO
ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO 87131

POLICY ON USE OF THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

Unpublished theses and dissertations accepted for master's and doctor's degrees and deposited in the University of New Mexico Library are open to the public for inspection and reference work. *They are to be used only with due regard to the rights of the authors.* The work of other authors should always be given full credit. Avoid quoting in amounts, over and beyond scholarly needs, such as might impair or destroy the property rights and financial benefits of another author.

To afford reasonable safeguards to authors, and consistent with the above principles, anyone quoting from theses and dissertations must observe the following conditions:

1. Direct quotations during the first two years after completion may be made only with the written permission of the author.
2. After a lapse of two years, theses and dissertations may be quoted without specific prior permission in works of original scholarship provided appropriate credit is given in the case of each quotation.
3. Quotations that are complete units in themselves (e.g., complete chapters or sections) in whatever form they may be reproduced and quotations of whatever length presented as primary material for their own sake (as in anthologies or books of reading) ALWAYS require consent of the authors.
4. The quoting author is responsible for determining "fair use" of material he uses.

This thesis/dissertation by Nancy Jill Howard has been used by the following persons whose signatures attest their acceptance of the above conditions. (A library which borrows this thesis/dissertation for use by its patrons is expected to secure the signature of each user.)

NAME AND ADDRESS

DATE

<u>Steven Crum</u> STEVEN CRUM	<u>Native American Studies</u> UC Davis 95616	<u>12-5-01</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Nancy Jill Howard

Candidate

History

Department

This dissertation is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm:

Approved by the Dissertation Committee:

Margaret Cornell-Szasz, Chairperson

Ferenc M Szasz

May Jon Belgrade

J L Kesseli

Paul W. Ehlain

W Ringenberg

Accepted:

Rob. M. Smith

Dean, Graduate School

JUN 22 2000

Date

**Native Spiritual Paths:
Native American Bible College Graduates, 1911-2000**

by

NANCY JILL HOWARD

B.S., History and Physical Education, Taylor University, 1981
M.A., Library Science, Glassboro State College, 1989
M.A., History, Ball State University, 1992

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

History

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

July, 2000

© 2000, Nancy Jill Howard

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to my dissertation chair Margaret Connell Szasz for her encouragement throughout this project. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee, Ferenc M. Szasz, John L. Kessel, Mary Belgarde (Cochiti Pueblo), Richard W. Etulain, and William C. Ringenberg, for their helpful comments and suggestions.

In addition, this project benefited immensely from thorough readings by Glenda Riley, Kathleen Chamberlain, and Jerry A. Davis. I would also like to extend a special thanks to Judith Jacobson, John Griffin, Dan Carnett, Patricia Schindler, Mark Thomas, Virginia Faul, Tom McKinney, Jim Dempsey, Li Zhan, and the librarians at the Cherry Hills branch of the Albuquerque Public Library. I would also like to thank the History Department for providing partial funding for the research phase of this project through the John F. Kennedy Memorial Award.

Solo Deo gloria.

**Native Spiritual Paths:
Native American Bible College Graduates, 1911-2000**

by
NANCY JILL HOWARD

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy
History**

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

July, 2000

Native Spiritual Paths:
Native American Bible College Graduates, 1911-2000

by

NANCY JILL HOWARD

B.S., History and Physical Education, Taylor University, 1981

M.A., Library Science, Glassboro State College, 1989

M.A., History, Ball State University, 1992

Ph.D., History, University of New Mexico, 2000

ABSTRACT

During the twentieth century hundreds of Pima, Tohono O'odham, Diné, Sioux, Cocopah, Mojave, and Mescalero Apache men and women chose to attend one of three specialized Bible colleges in the Southwest. These little-known schools served as an alternate route to further education for hundreds of Native Americans who either wanted to pursue some type of Christian ministry or who lacked the academic preparation to attend a regular college or university. Having found their Bible college experience, and then their ministry, meaningful, many graduates in turn encouraged their friends and relatives to attend a Bible college. Most students enrolled, not because a college recruiter contacted them, but because a family member or close friend persuaded them that they could gain something valuable by going to a Bible school.

Because of their educational experiences many Bible college graduates have become cultural brokers. During the early decades, most graduates became pastors or lay workers in their local churches, serving as spiritual intermediaries. More recently, increasing numbers have chosen to pursue degrees in human services, education, or business. Although by the end of the twentieth century fewer Bible college graduates were entering the ministry, many of these individuals continued playing an active role in their local churches.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures.....	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2: Akimel O'odham: The River People.....	16
Chapter 3: People of the Desert: The Tohono O'odham.....	65
Chapter 4: "Go Tell it on the Mountain": The Diné.....	93
Chapter 5: "We are trying to improve the lot of our people . . .".....	122
Chapter 6: <i>Hau Mitakuyapi</i> ("Hello to My Relatives"): The Sioux.....	151
Chapter 7: Epilogue.....	176
References.....	185

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Members of the first class at the Charles H. Cook Bible School.....	16
Figure 2: Roger Smith.....	48
Figure 3: Dana Norris.....	48
Figure 4: Roe B. Lewis.....	52
Figure 5: John Jacobs.....	55
Figure 6: Wilfred and Harriet Wellington.....	57
Figure 7: Janice, Wesley, and Olsif Clark.....	63
Figure 8: Antonio B. Juan.....	65
Figure 9: Joaquin Lopez.....	80
Figure 10: Sells Church of the Nazarene.....	87
Figure 11: Dan and Lois Liston.....	89
Figure 12: Corwyn and Linda Vega.....	90
Figure 13: Harold Navajo.....	93
Figure 14: Alfred Miller.....	103
Figure 15: Scott Redhouse greeting a parishioner at the Window Rock Christian Reformed Church.....	105
Figure 16: John R. Nells.....	108
Figure 17: Eunice Holstoi-Robbins.....	117
Figure 18: Julian Gunn.....	127
Figure 19: Cecil Corbett, Wendell Chino, and Raymond Baines.....	138
Figure 20: Moses Flying By.....	151

Figure 21: Dennis Buffalo.....	165
Figure 22: Byron Buffalo.....	166
Figure 23: Richard Charging Eagle.....	169

Chapter 1

Introduction

Each year, approximately one-hundred-and-fifty Native Americans attend an Indian Bible college¹ in the Southwest.² As might be expected, the majority of these students come from nearby tribes such as the Pimas, Tohonos, and Navajos. Not all students, however, are from this region. Over the years, numerous Lakota and Dakota (Sioux) students have made the long journey to Arizona or New Mexico to attend one of the Bible colleges.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a national "Bible college movement" arose in the wake of a complex combination of social, theological, and educational factors. A spiritual revival, sometimes referred to as "The Third Great Awakening (1875-1915)," led to an increased interest in missionary activities and Christian education. At the same time, denominationally sponsored undergraduate universities and seminaries were becoming increasingly secularized. The widespread acceptance of liberal theology, Darwinian naturalism, and higher criticism by faculty

¹ Although the terms "Bible college" and "Bible institute" have been used to distinguish diploma and degree granting institutions in the Bible College Movement from less rigorous programs in "Bible schools," the distinction between them has become blurred over the years among the Native American Bible colleges. Therefore, they will be used interchangeably in this study. See S. A. Witmer, "Bible College Education," *School and Society* 80 (October 16, 1954): 113-16 and George Sweeting, "Understanding America's Bible School Movement," *Moody Monthly* 84 (March 1984): 100-102.

² The exact geographical boundaries of the Southwest have been the subject of much debate among scholars. See Lynn I. Perrigo, *The American Southwest: Its People and Cultures* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), iii-v, and Edward P. Dozier, "The American Southwest," in Eleanor Burke Leacock and Nancy Oestreich, eds., *North American Indians in Historical Perspective* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1988), 228-29.

members at those institutions became a matter of grave concern. As a result, conservative Protestants decided to found their own Bible colleges.³

The first Bible institution in the United States was founded in 1882 by A. B. Simpson, a Presbyterian minister, for the expressed purpose of training missionaries to join organizations like J. Hudson Taylor's China Inland Mission, a group committed to evangelizing the Chinese.⁴ Similarly, Moody Bible Institute (MBI), established in 1886, and the Bible Institute of Los Angeles (BIOLA), founded in 1908, were designed to train lay people for Christian vocations and missionary work among immigrants and urban blue-collar workers in large cities like Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles. Since this was before universal education became the norm in the United States, few of these individuals had the academic background to undertake undergraduate and then seminary level studies. The newly established Bible schools, however, offered them an alternative route to entering Christian work.⁵

Not surprisingly, critics belittled the schools. The less rigorous academic standards, short length of the programs, and lax attendance requirements left the early

³ Ferenc Morton Szasz, The Divided Minded of Protestant America, 1880-1930 (University: University of Alabama Press, 1982), 76-78, and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., A Critical Period in American Religion, 1875-1900 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), 1- 35.

⁴ David Rambo, "The Role of the Bible college Movement in Missions," AABC Newsletter 28 (September 1984): 1, 10-11; Larry J. McKinney, "The Bible College, 1882-1920," AABC Newsletter 33 (January 1989): 1, 5 - 6; "'Why We Are'--An Editorial," AABC Newsletter 3 (August 1959): 3; A. E. Thompson, The Life of A. B. Simpson (New York: Christian Alliance Publishing Company, 1920), 214-23; and A. W. Tozer, Wingspread: Albert B. Simpson - A Study in Spiritual Altitude (Harrisburg, PA.: Christian Publications Incorporated, 1943), 60-69.

⁵ James Findlay, "Moody, 'Gapmen,' and the Gospel: The Early Days of Moody Bible Institute," Church History 31 (September 1962): 322-35; Gene A. Getz, MBI: The Story of Moody Bible Institute (Chicago: Moody Press, 1969); Kenneth Gangel, "The Bible College: Past, Present, and Future," Christianity Today 24 (November 7, 1980): 34-36; George Sweeting, "Bible Colleges and Institutes: Chronicling the Vision of a Century," Christianity Today 26 (February 5, 1982): 38-41; James F. Findlay, Jr., Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837-1899 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 322-37; "Bible Institutes," The King's Business 3 (July 1912): 161-62; and James O. Henry, "Souls to Win," The King's Business 49 (No. 2, 1958): 11-40.

Bible institutions open to criticism. The leaders of established denominations scorned the schools for turning out inadequately trained ministers and missionaries. While there was some merit to their criticism, the schools, nevertheless, provided many students a chance they would not otherwise have had to further their education.⁶

Another factor that contributed to the rise of the Bible college movement was the need to fill thousands of empty pulpits across the nation. Because of the small number of seminaries and the paucity of individuals qualified to pursue ministerial studies at those institutions, a number of churches lacked a minister. By providing a shortcut to the ministry, these Bible schools supplied hundreds of trained pastors to help ease the shortage. For example, graduates of institutions like William Bell Riley's Northwestern Bible School, founded in 1902, went on to fill the pulpits of hundreds of Upper Midwestern churches in Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Iowa. As a whole, these Bible college graduates played a major role in shaping twentieth-century Protestantism. It has been argued that they saved evangelical churches from extinction by providing hundreds of clergy all across the nation.⁷

⁶ William C. Ringenberg, The Christian College: A History of Protestant Higher Education in America (Grand Rapids, MI.: Eerdmans, 1984), 157-59, and Larry James McKinney, "An Historical Analysis of the Bible College Movement During Its Formative Years: 1882-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, 1985), 19-49.

⁷ "Look at the Picture," The King's Business 12 (August 1921): 751; William Vance Trollinger, Jr., "Riley's Empire: Northwestern Bible School and Fundamentalism in the Upper Midwest," Church History 57 (June 1988): 197-212; Joel A. Carpenter, "Fundamentalist Institutions and the Rise of Evangelical Protestantism, 1929-1942," Church History 49 (March 1980): 62-75; and Ringenberg, The Christian College, 159.

Native American Bible Colleges

Although the Native American Bible colleges under consideration in this study, Cook College and Theological School (Cook), American Indian College (AIC), and Nazarene Indian Bible College (NIBC), were not part of the national "Bible college movement" that arose in the 1880s, they, too, provided students with an alternate educational route. The educational preparation Native American students received from boarding, mission, and public schools in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries did not prepare them to pursue post-secondary studies. Moreover, the lack of economic resources or tribal scholarships, which did not blossom until after World War II, further limited their educational opportunities. In contrast to traditional colleges and universities, the newly founded Bible schools accepted students who had not completed high school, necessitating curricular adjustments to accommodate the students' level of preparedness. Even more importantly, these schools charged minimal tuition and often provided students with work-study jobs to help them meet their expenses.⁸

Like members of the national Bible college movement, Cook, AIC, and NIBC were founded to offer Native Americans a shortcut to the ministry.⁹ Although officially founded in 1911, Cook College and Theological School (Cook) can trace its roots to 1890. At that time, Charles H. Cook, a Presbyterian missionary among the Pimas, began holding informal Bible classes at his kitchen table for recent Pima converts to enable them to become deacons, elders, and pastors in the newly established churches that were

⁸ Margaret Connell Szasz, Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination Since 1928. 3rd ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 8-15, 106-22, and Donald Ramsey, Interview with author, November 5, 1996.

⁹ James Davison Hunter, Evangelicalism: The Coming Generation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 31; McKinney, "An Historical Analysis of the Bible College Movement," 98; and George M.

springing up across their reservation. By the 1910s, interest among Indians in studying the Bible had grown to the point that Cook's successor, Dr. George Logie, established a Bible school in Tucson. Operating under the auspices of the Arizona Presbytery of the Northern Presbyterian Church, the school was moved to Phoenix the next year and named in honor of Cook.¹⁰

Even though nearly every native pastor in the region attended Cook during this era, the school remained small for its first thirty-five years of existence. By 1940, Cook was on the brink of closing for lack of students. In a desperation move to save the school, Presbyterian officials formed an interdenominational coalition with the Reformed Church of America, United Presbyterian Church, Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) to oversee its operation. Soon, churches from these denominations were sending their Indian converts to Cook. That, coupled with an influx of World War II veterans armed with tuition money from the G.I. Bill and eager to take advantage of new educational opportunities, Cook's enrollment jumped from eight students to almost seventy during the immediate postwar years.¹¹

During the decade between 1947 and 1957, two more Bible colleges were founded in the Southwest. Not long after it was founded, the Church of the Nazarene, an offshoot of the Methodist Church, became interested in evangelizing Native Americans. In the late 1920s, the new denomination sent missionaries to establish churches among

Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 5.

¹⁰ "Cook Named Official Training Center," Indian Christian Leader 1 (No. 1, [1943]): 1, and Cook Christian Training School: A School of Christian Leadership, 1969-71 (catalog), Cook College and Theological School Archives (hereafter CCTSA).

¹¹ Cook Christian Training School," Indian Highways 1 (June 1945): 1, and "1950-51, The Greatest Year," Indian Highways 16 (December 1950): 1.

the Indians in Arizona and Oklahoma.¹² Within a decade, Nazarene churches were located among the Ponca in northern Oklahoma, the Comanches near Cache, Oklahoma, the Navajos in New Mexico and Arizona, and the Cocopahs south of Yuma, Arizona.¹³

To coordinate all of these new churches, the Church of the Nazarene's Board of Foreign Missions founded the North American Indian District in 1944. Knowing that Native Americans would be more likely to attend Indian-pastored churches, the new district's officials decided that a corps of Native American pastors should be prepared to lead the new churches. To accomplish this goal, the denomination's department of foreign missions founded the C. Warren Jones Indian Bible and Training School,¹⁴ named after the Church of the Nazarene's general secretary for foreign missions, on the grounds of an orphanage in Lindreth, New Mexico, located seventy-five miles north of Albuquerque on the west side of the Santa Fe National Forest. Twenty-two Navajo, Cocopah, Mohave, Comanche, and Tohono O'odham students enrolled when the school opened its doors on September 14, 1948.¹⁵

¹² "Centennial 1895-1995: Celebrating Our Heritage: 'A Church with a Mission,'" Church of the Nazarene Los Angeles, October 29, 1995; "Birth of the Nazarene Church," Nazarene Indian Bible College Archives (hereafter NIBCA); and Timothy L. Smith, Called Unto Holiness: The Story of the Nazarenes: The Formative Years (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962), 106-13.

¹³ "A Brief History of Nazarene Work Among North American Indians," Southwest Indian District – Native American Ministries File, Nazarene Indian Bible College Archives; Delmer W. Wesaw, "Indian Holiness Missions in the United States," Bachelor's Thesis, Bethany Nazarene College (n.d.), 33-35; and A Strategy For Native American Ministries (Kansas City, MO: Division of Church Growth, Nazarene Headquarters, n.d.), 4-5.

¹⁴ The name was changed from the C. Warren Jones Bible and Training School to the Nazarene Indian School in 1954 when it was relocated to Albuquerque, New Mexico. In 1976, the name was changed to Nazarene Indian Bible College (NIBC) to reflect the new emphasis on college-level instruction. See: "50th Anniversary Celebration – Celebrating Our Heritage," Nazarene Indian Bible College program, August 6-9, 1998, 1-2.

¹⁵ "The C. Warren Jones Indian Training School," North American Indian 4 (June – July 1948): 1; "Get Acquainted with N.I.B.C.'s Past," Sacred Journey 1 (Summer 1989): 1-2; Catherine Pickett, "No More Sinking Deep in the Sand," Sacred Journey 3 (March 1992): 5-6, 11; Dowie Swarth with John C. Oster, Ever the Pioneer (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1978), 85-87; and G. H. Pearson, The Transformed Red Man (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press, 1956), 61-67.

Similarly, in 1957, the Assemblies of God denomination opened the All Tribes Bible School near downtown Phoenix. Like the Nazarenes, the Assemblies of God denomination formed around the turn of the twentieth century. The denomination traces its roots to the Pentecostal revival that took place at Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas on January 1, 1901. The revival spread quickly, attracting members from many denominations. The rapid growth in the new movement led to an organizational meeting of three-hundred pastors and lay people in Hot Springs, Arkansas in 1914. Hoping to avoid the hierarchical structure found in most denominations, those present formed a cooperative fellowship called "The General Council of the Assemblies of God."¹⁶

From the outset, this new denomination focused on evangelism and missions. By the late 1940s, the Assemblies of God had founded missions among the San Carlos and White Mountain Apaches and the Pimas. Like the Nazarenes, the Assemblies of God missionaries believed Native American pastors should lead the new churches. Therefore, they sent three Pima brothers who were new converts, Virgil, Leslie, and Clifford Sampson to Southwestern Bible Institute in Waxahachie, Texas. Overwhelmed by the unfamiliar setting, only Virgil remained at the school long enough to earn a degree. All three brothers complained that cultural barriers made it difficult to adjust to the non-Indian atmosphere and expectations at the school. When they returned to Phoenix, they asked Alta Washburn, their former missionary who was currently pastor of the All Tribes Indian Assembly in Phoenix, to begin a Bible school especially designed for Native Americans. In response, Washburn did just that. During the summer of 1957, she recruited students at Assemblies of God camp meetings in New Mexico, Arizona,

¹⁶ "Where We've Been," Assemblies of God web page (<http://www.ag.org>, March 29, 2000).

Nevada, and northern California. When the All Tribes Bible School¹⁷ opened on September 28, 1957, the student body included Apaches, Navajos, Pimas, and Tohonos.¹⁸

Although all three Bible colleges were originally founded to train ministers and lay workers for Native American churches, over the years the course of study offered at each of the schools has undergone modification to keep up with changing times. For instance, during Cook's first fifty years of existence, the curriculum resembled a simplified version of that used by MBI, Nyack, and Biola. Classes in Bible-related subjects dominated the schedule. Even as late as the 1950s, Cook offered no courses in the history, religion, art, or literature of Native Americans.¹⁹ The school belatedly began adding courses on the history and culture of Native Americans, current issues in Indian law, and a class that examined the implications of the 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act beginning in the 1970s. Aware of the critical need for transitional programs to help Native American students adjust to the rigors of college-level studies, in the mid-1990s Cook added a one year "Bridge" program. Nevertheless, throughout the 1980s and 1990s the school's focus remained on the preparation of pastors and church lay workers.²⁰

From its founding in the late 1940s until the early 1990s, NIBC, like Cook, offered only a ministerial program. Based on the Church of the Nazarene's ordination

¹⁷ In 1965, the Assemblies of God Division of Home Missions renamed All Tribes Bible School the American Indian Bible Institute. To reflect the changing academic status of the school, the name was changed to American Indian Bible College (AIC) in 1984. Then, in 1994, the name was shortened to American Indian College. See Indian Harvest: A History of American Indian Bible College (n.p.: n.p., n.d.), 12-13, 29; Jim Dempsey, Interview with author, April 15, 1996; and Alta M. Washburn, Trail to the Tribes (n.p.:n.p., 1990), 17-46.

¹⁸ "Notes on Meeting of June 2, 1956, at Phoenix," photocopy of original in possession of author, and Indian Harvest, 1-7.

¹⁹ "Cook Christian Training School: the Report of an Evaluation Committee, visiting the school in May 1957." George Walker File, CCTSA.

²⁰ Your Notebook About Cook Christian Training School, 1973-74, and "New approaches to Leadership Development: A Workshop Summary, October 1978." Typewritten copy in author's possession; Cook

requirements, the program consisted of theology and Bible courses taught from the denomination's doctrinal viewpoint.²¹ By the early 1990s, an increasing number of Native Americans were finding it necessary to work a wage job since most of the churches were too small to support them. In response, NIBC's administration introduced two new Associate of Arts degrees, one in Human Services and the other in Office Management.²²

Between 1957 and 1980, AIC gradually evolved from being a glorified Sunday school to becoming a four-year Bible college that offered bachelor's degrees in ministerial studies and Christian education. Like NIBC, the AIC curriculum emphasized Assemblies of God doctrine and theology.²³ In the late 1980s, AIC officials observed that most employment opportunities on the reservations required a degree in education, medicine, social work, or business. As a result, they added degrees in elementary education, social work, and business. The degree in social work proven untenable within the limitations of the school's resources, but like NIBC's human services and office management degrees, the other two programs quickly became very popular. A study conducted by the college in 1993 showed that nearly twice as many graduates held educational or business related positions as those who held pastorates.²⁴

Christian Training School, Programs 1976-1977, 3; and Mel Nelson, interview with author, October 12, 1996.

²¹ Gilbert Kline, interview with author, November 1, 1996; "Class Schedule 1964-65." photocopy, NIBCA; Church of the Nazarene Manual (Kansas City, MO.: Nazarene Publishing House, 1972), 254-60; and "Nazarene Indian Bible School, 1973-74." Photocopy in author's possession.

²² Nazarene Indian Bible College Self Study Report: July 1996, 18-24; Nazarene Indian Bible College, Winter Quarter Schedule of Classes, 1991-92; and "Nazarene Native American Ministries: Strategy Update, January 1994." Typewritten copies in author's possession.

²³ "Notes on Meeting of June 2, 1956 at Phoenix, Arizona." Photocopy in author's possession.

²⁴ "Special Report from the President, June 30, 1993: Five-Year Study of AIBC Graduates." Copy in author's possession; "American Indian College: Preparing Tomorrow's Leaders . . . Today!" [pamphlet]; and Alma Thomas, phone interview with author, October 22, 1996.

Cultural Brokers

Since Euroamericans began arriving in the Americas over five hundred years ago, Native Americans, like the students who have attended these Bible colleges, have served as links, or cultural brokers, between native and non-native cultures. It was not until the late 1980s, however, that scholars began to examine in earnest the complex network of relationships in which these intermediaries operated.²⁵ Within a short period of time, such noted scholars as J. Frederick Fausz, Daniel K. Richter, Nancy L. Hagedorn, James Clifton, and Margaret B. Blackman published studies that explored a wide variety of cultural intermediaries.

In 1994, ethnohistorian Margaret Connell Szasz, a specialist on the history of Indian education, took the discussion to a new level in her book, Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker. Previous works on cultural brokers looked at particular individuals or groups of individuals. In contrast, by comparing different types of brokers over time, Connell Szasz's volume highlighted the similarities brokers have displayed in the process of mediating between cultures. Using a chronological approach, Connell Szasz compared individuals from different eras, racial heritage, and gender from throughout the five-hundred years of Indian – non-Indian interaction in the Americas. In doing so, Connell Szasz was able to test her conclusions on a broad sample of intermediaries. When she compared brokers ranging from a late seventeenth-century Spanish governor to an eighteenth-century native minister and tribal leader, and three late nineteenth-century native female teachers to a late twentieth-century Pueblo artist,

²⁵ For a thorough analysis of the historical development of ethnohistory and the early scholarly works on cultural brokers, see Margaret Connell Szasz, ed., Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 3-20.

Connell Szasz found that these cultural intermediaries all displayed similar characteristics. First, all expressed not only an interest in learning about another culture and selectively adapting traits that they found useful, but they also tended to encourage others to do likewise. Second, they exhibited a strong degree of determination since balancing the demands of being a broker could be a daunting task. Third, they, of necessity, were trustworthy, since to be otherwise would have undermined both sides' confidence in their mediation. Fourth, the brokers seemed to find a great deal of satisfaction in their role as intermediaries even though most encountered difficulties juggling the conflicting demands of mediating between two cultures.

Since the publication of Connell Szasz's groundbreaking volume, other scholars have tested her conclusions on still other groups of Native Americans to see if they, too, exhibited the same characteristics. In the first two sections of Education for Extinction, David Adams' in-depth study of how policymakers tried to use schools to acculturate Native American children, he examined how educational policies were formed and then implemented on a practical level. In the book's third section, Adams explored the question of what off-reservation boarding school students did after they returned home. Adams wanted to know if, as the reformers and government officials had hoped, they became agents of "progress and civilization" or if they "returned to the blanket." He found that some, like Fred Big Horse, Charles Clifford, and Frank Black Hawk began trying to convert their fellow Sioux to Christianity. Not surprisingly, he discovered that others, such as Talayesva (Hopi), found themselves caught in a quandary between their newfound Christian beliefs and their relatives' desire for them to participate in traditional ceremonies. Adams concluded that because of their knowledge of non-Indian culture,

former off-reservation boarding school students frequently became intermediaries.

Whether these students rejected what they had learned at school or chose to selectively adapt parts of it, as a group they played key roles in the interaction that took place in the cultural borderlands between their world and that of the outsiders.²⁶

In 1997, Andrew Garrod and Colleen Larimore added a different dimension to the study of cultural brokers by publishing First Person, First Peoples: Native American College Graduates Tell Their Life Stories, a compilation of autobiographical accounts of recent Native Americans and Alaskan Native graduates of Dartmouth College. Britain's King George III originally chartered the school, now an Ivy League college located in Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1769 "for the education and instruction of the youth of the Indian tribes" But, it was not until the early 1970s that Dartmouth established a Native American Program and began recruiting Indian students in earnest. Although the graduates in Garrod and Larimore's volume represented tribes from all over the United States and Canada, a common theme emerged from their stories. To a person, they all hoped to use their education to help the people in their home community and to ensure the survival of their culture. Furthermore, they found balancing their Indian worldview and values with the outsiders' world a complex, sometimes daunting task. For example, 1984 graduate Richardo Worl (Tlingit) experienced firsthand how difficult it is to balance economic assimilation without threatening traditional values when he became a loan officer and corporate public relations officer for the National Bank of Alaska in Juneau.²⁷

²⁶ David Adams, Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928 (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995).

²⁷ Andrew Garrod and Colleen Larimore, eds., First Person, First Peoples: Native American College Graduates Tell Their Life Stories (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 64-79.

Reflecting the heightened interest in cultural brokers, Brian Hosmer also published an article on this theme in 1997. Entitled, "Reflections on Indian Cultural 'Brokers': Reginald Oshkosh, Mitchell Oshkenaniew, and the Politics of Menominee Lumbering," Hosmer's study sought to expand on Connell Szasz's concept of cultural brokers by examining the importance of heritage and personality in their success as mediators. To test his hypothesis, Hosmer chose two Menominee men, Reginald Oshkosh and Mitchell Oshkenaniew, who played active roles both in the tribe's lumbering enterprise and tribal politics. Since the careers of Oshkosh and Oshkenaniew were closely interwoven, Hosmer was able to compare the importance of ideas, skills, heritage, and personality as these characteristics determined each man's influence as a cultural broker. Based on Oshkosh's ability to prevent fragmentation of the Menominees in spite of a sharp disagreement over how to handle their logging interests, Hosmer concluded that Oshkosh's heritage as the eldest son of the Menominee's principal chief, along with his magnetic personality, made him a more successful intermediary than the sometimes antagonistic Oshkenaniew, who lacked Oshkosh's family lineage.²⁸

More recently, in his book Rapid City Indian School, 1898-1933 (1999), Scott Riney tested an action-response model by examining the interaction between Indian parents and students and off-reservation boarding schools. In contrast to Adams, Riney chose to limit his study to a particular school, the Rapid City Indian School in western South Dakota. The author found that rather than reacting to what school officials did, many Northern Plains Indian parents took the lead in initiating contact with the school. Surrounded by turmoil born of the loss of their land, the encroachment of white settlers,

²⁸ Brian C. Hosmer, "Reflections on Indian Cultural 'Brokers': Reginald Oshkosh, Mitchell Oshkenaniew,

and attempts by the government to wipe out their culture, the Indians actually sought admission for their children. Some, like Julia McGaa (Sioux), enrolled her seven children because she and her husband did not have enough money to feed and clothe them. Others like Sophie E. Picard (Chippewa) wanted their sons and daughters to learn a trade so they could earn a living. Riney also made a strong case for Indian parents exercising agency by forcing schools like Rapid City Indian School to adjust their programs. For instance, Riney noted that the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) had planned to restrict enrollment in off-reservation boarding schools to older, more advanced students. Northern Plains Indians, desiring to keep their children together, forced school officials to revise their policies and allow younger, less qualified students to enroll as well.²⁹

In 1999, Lori Arviso Alvord (Navajo), one of the Dartmouth graduates featured in Garrod and Larimore's volume, published an autobiographical account of her life as a surgeon on the Navajo Reservation in The Scalpel and the Silver Bear. In her book, Arviso Alvord described some of the struggles she faced balancing her training in Western medicine with her heritage as a Navajo. For instance, while in medical school at Stanford University in California, Arviso Alvord experienced a great deal of inner conflict over asking patients personal questions while taking their medical history and seeing them undressed when she performed physical exams. As a Navajo, Arviso Alvord felt awkward asking her patients such probing questions or asking them to disrobe because both were taboo in Diné culture. She finally came to a peaceful rapprochement by reminding herself that her non-Indian patients perceived as normal procedure the

and the Politics of Menominee Lumbering," Ethnohistory 44 (Summer 1997): 493-509.

asking of questions and being asked to disrobe. When she returned to the reservation to take a position at the Gallup Indian Medical Center, Arviso Alvord quickly realized that she would have to adjust the procedures she had just learned. As a result, she began to employ a less direct method of asking her Navajo patients questions and she kept them covered as much as possible while she examined them.³⁰

While each of these works has added a new dimension to the study of cultural intermediaries, little has been done to date to place the lives of subgroups like Bible college graduates in the larger picture of cultural brokering. This study is a preliminary step toward bringing the voices of ordinary Native Americans into the discussion. Since kinship links are characteristic of both traditional and contemporary native cultures, this study will also seek to ask questions about the role of kinship links in the decision to attend a Bible college and in the choice of vocation.

²⁹ Scott Riney, The Rapid City Indian School, 1898-1933 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999).

³⁰ Lori Arviso Alvord and Elizabeth Cohen Van Pelt, The Scalpel and the Silver Bear (New York: Bantam Books, 1999), 34-78; Lori Arviso Alvord, "Full Circle," in Garrod and Larimore, eds., First Person, First Peoples, 212-29; and Elizabeth Cohen, "Good Medicine: First Navajo woman surgeon operates between two worlds," New Mexico Magazine (August 1994): 26-29.

Chapter 2

Akimel O'odham: The River People



Figure 1: Members of the first class at the Charles H. Cook Bible School. (Courtesy Cook College and Theological School)

In the beginning there were nine. From Salt River, Santan, Blackwater, and Gila Crossing, the Akimel O'odham, more commonly known as Pima, men pictured here became the first class at the Charles H. Cook Bible School when it opened in October 1911. All of these men have unique histories.

In the front row from the left are Joshua Cachora and James Fulton. After finishing the three-year course, Cachora and Fulton served as interpreters for missionaries and as lay leaders in their local churches. Next to Cachora and Fulton is Dr. George Logie, the school's superintendent. On the other side of Logie is Joseph Wellington, who became an ordained pastor. In the back row on the far left stands Narcisse Porter. Porter translated many hymns into Pima and served as pastor at Santa Rosa after graduating from the school. Next to Porter stands Calvin Emerson. Before attending the Bible School, Emerson helped the U.S. Army track down the Chiricahua Apache leader Gerónimo, one of the Pimas' longtime enemies. After his studies, Emerson served as pastor among the Tohono O'odham at Casa Grande, Arizona. Next to Emerson stands

Edward Jackson. He became the pastor at Gila Crossing. Beside Jackson is William Peters, who taught at the school for a time after his graduation and pastored a church at Salt River. Next to Peters is Crouse Perkins. He became the pastor at Covered Wells. On the end of the row is Horace Williams, later the pastor at Vah Ki and a vocal advocate for Pima water rights. The stories of their lives, along with those of subsequent students, show how Pima Bible college students have played an important role in shaping the lives of their people during a century marked by rapid political, economic, and social change.¹

Other events taking place around the world in 1911 may have seemed more consequential than the Bible school's opening. A struggle between students supporting different political viewpoints in February of that year led to the transfer of administrative oversight at Russian universities to the police. In the Middle East, Yemen Arabs rebelled against their Turkish oppressors, a sign that the once powerful Ottoman Empire was fraying around the edges. King George V ascended the British throne in June, the same month an earthquake near Mexico City killed more than 1,300 people. In September, Spanish King Alfonso XIII suspended the freedom of the press and personal liberties in the wake of a movement to replace the monarchy with a republican form of government. Two days later, Norwegian explorer Roald Amudsen became the first man to reach the South Pole. And, as 1911 came to a close, China's Manchu dynasty crumbled. On the

¹ Arrell Morgan Gibson, The American Indians: Prehistory to the Present (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1980), 526; Jay J. Wagoner, Arizona's Heritage, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1983), 265-66; "One of First Group Photographs Above," The Indian Christian Leader 2 ([1943]): 3; "Cook Christian Training School: The Report of an Evaluation Committee, visiting the school in May 1957," George Walker File, Cook College and Theological School Archives (hereafter CCTSA); "History of Charles Cook Theological School," Cook College and Theological School File, Menaul Historical Library of the Southwest (hereafter MHLSW), 4; "A School of the Prophets," Cook College and Theological School File, MHLSW, 74 - 75; "Many Indians," Indian Highways 105 (March 1966): 2; and Minnie Cook, Apostle to the Pima Indians: The Story of Charles H. Cook, The First Missionary to the Pimas (Tiburon, CA.: Omega Books, 1976), 170.

last day of the year, Dr. Sun Yat-sen was elected president of the newly formed Chinese Republic.²

Closer to home, the Society of American Indians was founded in Columbus, Ohio, on October 12. And, in a special election on December 12, Arizona Territory's voters removed a recall provision from the proposed state constitution, clearing the way for it to become the forty-eighth state. For the Pimas, however, the enrollment of these nine men at the Bible school held far greater significance than any of these events.

Akimel O'odham (Pima) Interaction with Missionaries: Contact to 1830

The Akimel O'odham, or *River People*, was comprised of three groups. One group lived along the San Pedro River, a second by the Santa Cruz River, and the third dwelt near the Gila River, all located in what is now the state of Arizona. Organized as an agricultural society, the Pimas relied on irrigation to grow cotton, maize, beans, and melons. A relationship marked by expediency developed between the Akimel O'odham and the missionaries who came to their homeland, the Pimería Alta. On the one hand, if what the missionaries had to offer seemed beneficial, the Pimas were willing to adapt or incorporate it. On the other hand, they resisted, sometimes violently, when priests tried to impose an outside religion on them.

The first missionary who came to Pimería Alta, located between the Gila River in the north and the Altar River in northern Mexico, was Father Eusebio Francisco Kino. A Jesuit, Kino made the first of many trips into the area of present-day southern Arizona in 1691, hoping to establish missions among the Upper Pimas. The Pimas generally

² Martin Gilbert, *A History of the Twentieth Century*, Volume One 1900-1930 (N.Y.: William Morrow and Company, 1997), 225-27, 234, 235, 239-41, 244.

welcomed Father Kino wherever he went. They found his gentle personality inviting, and they were impressed with his ability to speak their language. Also, they apparently felt that Kino posed no physical threat since he traveled without a military escort. As a result, many of the San Pedro and Santa Cruz Pimas became nominal Roman Catholics. Outwardly, they embraced the Catholic rituals that they found useful. Many, for example, asked Kino to baptize them and their children. It is quite possible, however, that they did not fully comprehend the meaning of the rituals since Kino came under heavy criticism by other priests for baptizing Indians before they understood the significance of conversion.³

In any case, although Pimas sought baptism and participated in mass, they continued to hold firmly to their traditional values and beliefs. Their interest in Kino's version of Christianity was not solely a concern for spiritual matters, nor did it spring from their respect for him. Rather, their curiosity was probably primarily related to the material benefits that they received from Kino's visits. For example, Kino usually sent an advance party who promised gifts to those who attended mass. He also taught them that Christianity included tangible, as well as intangible advantages. The Pimas did, in fact, benefit materially from his presence. First, Kino taught them how to cultivate wheat. Although they had enjoyed an adequate food supply before his arrival, wheat soon became an important commodity for the Pimas. Kino also introduced horses and other livestock. Although Pimas of that day were not poor like many of their descendants

³ John L. Kessell, Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers: Hispanic Arizona and the Sonora Mission Frontier 1767-1856 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976), 4; Herbert Eugene Bolton, Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer (1936; Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984), 247 - 48, 288; Edward Everett Dale, The Indians of the Southwest: A Century of Development Under the United States (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949), 18-19; and Donald C. Cutter and Iris Engstrand, Quest for Empire: Spanish Settlement in the Southwest (Golden, CO.: Fulcrum Publishing, 1996), 124.

are today, the introduction of wheat, cattle, and horses increased their food supply and mobility.⁴

Even though the Pimas respected Kino and treated him well, the same cannot be said for many of the other missionaries who came to Pimería Alta during this era, whose lives the Pimas often made miserable. At times the Pimas resorted to violence when pressed to replace their traditions and beliefs with Spanish culture and Catholicism. For instance, the heavy-handed tactics of one of Kino's contemporaries, Father Francisco Gonsalvo, infuriated Pimas living in the Santa Cruz River valley near Guevavi. In retaliation, they killed some of his livestock. Gonsalvo's sudden death in 1702 brought on by a bout with illness made it unnecessary for the Pimas to employ more extreme measures, but their actions demonstrated their resolve to resist intrusive conversion efforts.⁵

Although they did not physically harm Gonsalvo, the Pimas were not afraid to kill an overly assertive missionary. Father Johann Grazhoffer found this out the hard way. In 1732, the Pimas welcomed Grazhoffer as their new priest. Unlike Kino, who paid occasional visits but lived elsewhere, Grazhoffer took up permanent residence. Almost immediately, Grazhoffer became a *persona non grata* among the Pimas. They viewed his outspoken condemnation of polygamy and the drinking of *tizwin*, a special wine made from the saguaro cactus fruit, as an assault on their traditions. Pimas approved of polygamy as long as the husband could support all of his wives. Likewise, the men's consumption of *tizwin* was a key part of the annual cactus fruit harvest festival because it was the wine-drinking ritual that brought rain. Grahoffer's harsh criticism of their culture

⁴ Anna Moore Shaw, A Pima Past (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1974), 4 - 5; Cutter and Engstrand, Quest for Empire, 124; and Bolton, Rim of Christendom, 334.

drove a permanent wedge between the priest and the people he had hoped to convert.

Within a year of his arrival, the Pimas allegedly murdered him by poisoning his food.⁶

On other occasions, missionaries created problems when they battled with Pima leaders for control. Luis Oacpicagigua, for example, wanted to rule Pimería Alta and its inhabitants. So did the missionaries. Consequently, Oacpicagigua and the missionaries became locked in a power struggle. To break the deadlock, Oacpicagigua spread rumors that the priests were cruel to the Indians. Then, on November 20, 1751, he tricked twenty Spaniards, along with several Pima converts, into taking refuge in his house, claiming that Apaches were planning to attack Sáric. Once his opponents were inside, Oacpicagigua set the house ablaze and ordered his men to shoot anyone who tried to escape. News of this event emboldened other Pimas and their neighbors, the Tohono O'odham, to plan further attacks on Spaniards. During the turmoil, which became known as the Pima Revolt of 1751, the Pimas killed two missionaries and forced two others, Father Francisco Pauer of San Xavier and Father Joseph Garrucho, to flee for their lives.⁷

These were not isolated incidents of violence. A few years later, Bernardo Middendorff, a German priest, came to the region as the chaplain of a military expedition. Traveling in the company of ten soldiers, Middendorff arrived at San Agustín del Tucson in January 1757 to establish a mission. Like Kino, he tried to make friends with the Pimas by giving them dried beef and other food items. A mere five months after his arrival, when Pimas attacked the mission and destroyed it, Middendorff barely escaped with his life. The reason for the attack remains unclear. Perhaps it was

⁵ Wagoner, *Arizona's Heritage*, 78, 90, and Cutter and Engstrand, *Quest for Empire*, 128.

⁶ John L. Kessell, *Mission of Sorrows: Jesuit Guevavi and the Pimas, 1691-1767* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970), 43, 50-53.

⁷ Gibson, *The American Indians*, 106, and Wagoner, *Arizona's Heritage*, 83.

because of Middendorff's failure to learn their language. It may also have been his aggressive conversion efforts. It is possible, too, that Middendorff's decision to establish a permanent residence brought to mind the trouble Grazhoffer had provoked when he lived within their community. In any case, the Pimas made it clear that this missionary was no longer welcome.⁸

Around the same time, Jabanimó, chief of the Gila Pimas, began encouraging Pimas at the missions in Bac and Tucson to hold to their traditional beliefs and reject Christianity. Jabanimó's appeal came as a result of Father Ildefonso Ignacio Benito Espinosa's insistence that the annual harvest festival be turned into a Catholic holiday. Besides banning the drinking of *tizwin*, Espinosa, the priest at Bac, planned to eliminate all native elements of the celebration. Espinosa's efforts to tamper with this important holiday nearly cost him his life. When Jabanimó and his Pima warriors, joined by some converts, attacked the mission at San Xavier, Espinosa managed to survive. Nevertheless, Jabanimó and his band made it clear that the Pimas were not persuaded of the need to exchange their traditions and beliefs for those of missionaries like Espinosa.⁹

In the late eighteenth and again in the early nineteenth centuries, events taking place hundreds and even thousands of miles away decreased the number of missionaries attempting to convert the Pimas. In 1767, Spain's new king, Charles III, expelled all Jesuit missionaries from New Spain. Charles's order, delivered to the military, suggests that he feared the Jesuits as a threat to his authority. In any case, although Franciscan priests were sent as replacements, the number of priests remaining in the region declined dramatically. Sixty years later, the trauma of the war for independence between Mexico

⁸ Kessell, *Mission of Sorrows*, 147.

⁹ Cutter and Engstrand, *Quest for Empire*, 162-63, and Wagoner, *Arizona's Heritage*, 84.

and Spain during the 1820s drained the church's meager resources. The financial plight worsened when the military began expropriating supplies from the missions because the government failed to send rations to the soldiers. These events brought to an abrupt halt the missionaries' efforts to expand the mission system into the Pimas' homeland.

Finally, in 1827 and again in 1829, after Mexico had gained its independence from Spain, the new government ordered all Spanish-born priests to leave the region. Before the government's decree, there were already insufficient numbers of priests to service the region. After the military carried out the government's orders, the shortage became acute. For all practical purposes, missionary activity came to a halt. The Pimas had, for the most part, managed to establish the perimeters for their interaction with the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries during this era.¹⁰

Unlike their colonial ancestors who had resisted the missionaries, the Pimas who later attended Bible school in the twentieth century became missionaries themselves and actively sought to convert their fellow Pimas. During their time as students, these Pima men and their wives, some of whom also attended the Bible school, conducted weekly services. While the school was located in Tucson in 1911-12, they also taught Sunday school for the children attending the Tucson Indian School. When Cook relocated to Phoenix, Pima students organized classes for the children attending Phoenix Indian School. In addition, all of the students went on a mission trip at the end of the school year. For instance, after their first year of study, Cachora, Fulton, Porter, Emerson, Jackson, Peters, Perkins, and Williams spent nineteen days holding evangelistic meetings among the Tohono O'odham, where they conducted twenty-two services in fifteen

¹⁰ David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 44-45, 52, 69, and Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and*

villages. The following summer, Cook students spent two weeks holding meetings in Sacaton, Salt River, McDowell, Parker, Needles, Leupp, Tolchaco, and Indian Wells.¹¹ By 1919, thirty-one students, mostly Pimas, had attended Cook in preparation for careers as pastors, interpreters, and missionaries. How had this happened? What had transpired since the expulsion of all Spanish-born priests in 1829?¹²

Pima Hospitality

Two influences, the Pimas' propensity for extending hospitality to non-Indians and their subjection of their neighbors, the Apaches, combined to create a dramatic shift in Pima attitudes toward Christianity. As late as the 1820s, the Pimas, particularly those living along the Gila River, had experienced little contact with outsiders. When Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1821, this situation changed rapidly. At first, a small, but steady stream of fur trappers and traders passed through the Pimas' homeland. Before long, however, soldiers, gold-seekers, and more missionaries followed. In their interaction with these groups of non-Indians, the Pimas established a reputation for being hospitable. Compared to neighboring Apaches, who terrorized fellow Native Americans and Euroamericans, the Pimas were quite friendly and quick to offer help.

The earliest group to visit the Pimas were the fur trappers. When Spain controlled the region, the entrance of the foreign fur traders and trappers had been discouraged. After Mexican independence, however, American trappers immediately moved into the area in search of beaver pelts. Pimas supplied the trappers with food and other

Reformers, 275-319.

¹¹ Minutes, Synod of Arizona, October 16-20, 1913, 24-25 and August 22-25, 1914, 18; Minutes, Synod of New Mexico, September 1912, 31-32; and Minutes, Synod of Arizona, October 16-20, 1913, 25.

necessities. In the short run, the Pimas benefited economically from their dealings with the trappers. In the long run, their hospitality had dire consequences. The Southwest's dry climate, along with its lack of rivers and vegetation, meant that the population of animals was sparse. The trappers' aggressive fur harvesting practices quickly led to the near extinction of the region's fur-bearing animals. By 1827 trappers had wiped out the furs.¹³

Despite the environmental changes the fur trappers caused, the Pimas did not take back their welcome mat. They continued offering hospitality to outsiders. When military garrisons traveled through the area, the Pimas greeted the newcomers with their usual cordiality. More than a few times, the food, supplies, and fodder the Pimas furnished the soldiers meant the difference between life and death. In the early 1840s, the American government pursued an expansionist policy known as Manifest Destiny, which argued that it was America's destiny to control all the land between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Toward that end, Captain John C. Frémont proclaimed California's independence on June 15, 1845, renaming it the Bear Flag Republic. When the U.S. Army tried to dislodge the Mexican forces that controlled the region, it became part of the struggle for power known as the Mexican-American War (1846-48). The Army of the West, led by Brigadier General Stephen W. Kearny, traveled the southern route to California to take part in the conflict. This route, which followed the Gila River, brought Kearny and his men through the Pimas' homeland where the Pimas supplied them with

¹² Minutes, Synod of Arizona, June 17-19, 1919, 10 and "'Firsts' Still Active," The Indian Christian Leader, 1 ([1943]): 2.

¹³ David J. Weber, The Spanish Frontier in North America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 130-32.

cornmeal, flour, beans, pumpkins, and melons, enabling the soldiers to continue on to their destination.¹⁴

In addition, Juan Antonio Llunas, general of the Pima-Maricopa Confederation, agreed to tend a herd of Kearny's mules unfit to continue the journey. The Maricopas, originally from western Arizona, had fled their enemies, the Yumas and Mohaves, and had settled near the Pimas where they formed an alliance against the Apaches, Yavapais, Yumas, and Mohaves.¹⁵ The Pimas fed and cared for the mules until Lieutenant Philip St. George Cooke came through the region on his way to a rendezvous with the Army of the West. Llunas helped with the mules and resupplied Cooke's men because he knew the U.S. Army would henceforward be indebted to the Pimas. Had the Pimas not watched over the mules, the Apaches and Yavapais undoubtedly would have stolen them long before Cooke's arrival.¹⁶

The U. S. military was not the only benefactor of the Pimas' hospitality during the Mexican-American War. The Pimas also supplied the Mexican Army with wheat. And, perhaps more important, they helped the army deflect Apache raids on the post at Tucson. Because the Pimas' help was essential, Captain Antonio Comadurán, the Mexican commander at Tucson, made no attempt to prevent the Pimas from trading with the U.S. Army. Comadurán knew he could ill afford to anger the Pimas. The Mexicans, like the Americans, depended on the Pimas for food and help in fending off Apache raiders. That

¹⁴ W.H. Emory, Lieutenant Emory Reports: A Reprint of Lieutenant W. H. Emory's Notes of a Military Reconnaissance (1848; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1951), 131, 133.

¹⁵ Henry O. Harwell and Marsha C.S. Kelly, "Maricopa," in Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest, 20 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), 10: 71-85.

¹⁶ "Mormon Battalion and Pima and Maricopa Indians," museum display, The Museum of the Gila River Indian Community; Roscoe G. Willson, "The Pimas Helped," vertical file, Arizona - Indians - Pimas, Scottsdale Public Library; and Emory, Lieutenant Emory Reports, 134.

the Pimas aided both sides during the war demonstrates their cordiality and their carefully crafted diplomacy.¹⁷

Gold-seekers during the late 1840s and early 1850s also depended heavily on the Pimas' hospitality. In 1848, John Sutter's discovery of gold in the American River north of what is now Sacramento, California, touched off a mass migration that became known as the "California Gold Rush." Within a few months, people were quitting their jobs and heading west to seek a quick fortune by prospecting for gold. More than 20,000 of these fortune-seekers, called "forty-niners," chose to take the southern route to California. Migrants found the portion of this route between Tucson and the Colorado River a particularly difficult area to cross because of the scarcity of water. Fortunately for the prospectors, this area also happened to be the Pimas' homeland. The Pimas rescued and re-supplied many travelers bound for the gold fields. For instance, they helped a group from Texas that had marched seventy miles without water. The Pimas offered members of the company water to drink and roasted pumpkin and green corn to eat. On other occasions, when Pimas met thirsty travelers, they gave them watermelons to quench their thirst.¹⁸

Pima hospitality also included protecting the forty-niners from Apache raiders. Like the soldiers fighting during the Mexican-American War, the gold-seekers proved to be an easy prey for the Apaches. The Pimas, stereotyped as a peaceful people, nevertheless took up arms against their neighbors to defend the forty-niners. During the first two weeks of June 1849, Pima warriors scalped thirty-six Apaches and took twenty-

¹⁷ Henry Dobyns, *The Pima – Maricopa* (New York: Chelsea House, 1989), 32.

¹⁸ James West Davidson and John E. Batchelor, *The American Nation*, Annotated Teacher's Edition (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1986), 327, and Dobyns, *The Pima – Maricopa*, 13 – 14.

seven prisoners to make it safer for forty-niners to cross the region. The Pimas did this for two reasons. First, the Apaches were their enemies and this was a perfect opportunity for them to exact revenge for the Apaches' all-too-frequent raids. Second, the Pimas wanted to trade with the gold-seekers because they benefited economically from bartering their excess produce to the travelers. Quite simply, the Pimas did not want the Apaches to scare away their customers.¹⁹

More than a decade later, during the American Civil War, the Pimas' propensity for trading with non-Indians traveling through the region again landed them in a game of tug-of-war between two armies. Although most of the fighting during the war took place east of the Mississippi River, Union and Confederate troops also clashed in the West. New Mexico Territory, which included the Pimas' homeland, became the arena for a few pitched battles. With so many soldiers in the area, the Pimas found this to be a profitable time. In 1861, the Pimas sold the War Department 300,000 pounds of wheat, 50,000 pounds of corn, and 20,000 pounds of beans to feed Union troops at Fort Breckenridge, in what is now Arizona. The following February, Captain Sherod Hunter led a Confederate detachment to the Pima villages where he arrested Ammi M. White to prevent White, the owner of a mill, from buying Pima supplies for the Northern troops. On May 4, 1862, a group of Union troops arrived at the Pima Villages, sending the Confederate troops into retreat. Although the blue-coats succeeded in dislodging their Confederate rivals, the long journey from California had completely depleted their supplies, and the company's commander, Colonel Joseph R. West, lacked the money to purchase goods. True to their reputation for hospitality, the Pima-Maricopa leaders agreed to give West 143,000

¹⁹ Dobyns, *The Pima – Maricopa*, 34.

pounds of wheat on credit. Revealingly, in spite of sporadic fighting in the region, the Pimas supplied the War Department with more than one million pounds of wheat in 1862 alone.²⁰

While the war dragged on, the Pimas welcomed yet another wave of prospectors when gold was discovered near Prescott in an area the Yavapais controlled. A Yuman-speaking nomadic group of hunters and gatherers, allied with Navajos, Hopis, and Apaches, the Yavapais, unlike their enemies the Pimas, resented the gold-seekers' arrival. When the Yavapais ransacked the miners' camps, stealing their horses and supplies, the miners turned to the Pimas to procure new supplies. As usual, the Pimas were happy to trade.²¹

During the late 1860s the Pimas invited members of the outsiders' group they had previously shunned – missionaries – to come to their homeland. In 1868 Antonio Azul, a Pima chief, asked Gen. A.J. Alexander, the Pima Indian agent, to send a teacher so the Pima children could go to school. When Azul's message finally found its way to the Ladies' Union Mission Association in New York, Civil War veteran Charles H. Cook answered Azul's call. Cook, who had served in the region during the war, opened a new school for Pima children on February 15, 1871. Over the next seven years, the Pimas observed Cook and his wife's dedication to educating their children. Within two years Cook learned to speak the Pimas' language because he wanted the students to be able to understand him and vice versa. In addition, Cook made sure the school children were fed and clothed. And, although their workload was quite heavy, the Cooks opened a branch

²⁰ Steve Cottrell, *Civil War in Texas and New Mexico Territory* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing, 1998), 62, 64, and Frank Russell, "The Pima Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1904-1905 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 48.

school in a nearby Maricopa village because it was too far for the children from there to come to school regularly.²²

Although Azul's wish that Pima children learn to read and write was becoming a reality, the Pimas soon discovered the unwanted consequences of inviting a missionary teacher to live in their midst. Like their ancestors, Pimas in the 1870s had little interest in the sermons Cook preached every Sunday. Although most Pimas welcomed the missionary's efforts to educate their children, those same parents showed no interest in converting to Christianity. As Pima George Webb recalled, "[Cook] was a fine man. But sometimes he was an unwelcomed [sic] caller at some homes." People would pretend not to be there when Cook came for a visit. Nor did the Pima medicine men extend the missionary a warm welcome. They attempted to block Cook from teaching the Pimas about Christianity. Realizing he could become a threat to their power and reputation if he encouraged people to seek solutions to their problems through Christian teachings rather than traditional remedies, Pima medicine men scheduled rabbit hunts on Sunday morning to prevent people from attending Cook's services. Although the Pimas had built a reputation for being friendly and hospitable, they had their limit.²³

²¹ Sigrid Khera and Patricia S. Mariella, "Yavapai," in Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest, 20 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), 10: 38-54, and Dobyns, The Pima - Maricopa, 44-45.

²² F. E. Grossman, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of Interior for the Year 1871 (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O, 1872), 358-59, hereafter cited Annual Report, with the appropriate year; Among the Pimas or The Mission to the Pima and Maricopa Indians (Albany, N.Y.: The Ladies' Union Mission Association, 1893), 6, 88, 99-100, 111; "Chief Anton Azul," vertical file, Native American History (Pima), Ira Hayes Memorial Library (Sacaton, Arizona); Shaw, A Pima Past, 91; and Minnie Cook, Apostle to the Pima Indians, 82, 134.

²³ Frank Russell, The Pima Indians (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975), 34, 267; George Webb, A Pima Remembers (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1959), 87; Shaw, A Pima Past, 91; and L.S.M. Curtin, By the Prophet of the Earth (Santa Fe: San Vicente Foundations, 1949), 43.

When the Water Disappeared

The second factor that drastically changed the Pimas was the subduing of their longtime enemies, the Apaches. Although outsiders considered the Pimas hospitable and non-threatening, they often fought with the Apaches. In fact, Calvin Emerson, a member of the first class at the Bible School, helped track down Gerónimo, leader of the Chiricahua Apaches while serving as a scout for the U.S. Army.²⁴

The animosity between the Pimas and Apaches was not a nineteenth-century phenomenon. As far back as the 1690s there are recorded incidents of fighting between the Pimas and Apaches. Unlike the Pimas, the Apaches did not raise much of their own food, relying instead on game and edible plants. When the Spaniards, and later the Mexicans, overtook their hunting grounds, the Apaches sought alternative food sources by stealing cattle and grain from the Pimas. During the late seventeenth century, Apaches allegedly attacked Pima villages frequently, raiding their food stores and livestock. Emboldened by their success, in March 1698 the Apaches slaughtered all the Pimas living at the ranchería of Santa Cruz. Then, Coro, a Pima from Quíburi, three miles down the San Pedro River, organized a group of Pimas to avenge the Apache raids. Capotcari, the leader of the Apaches, challenged Coro to select ten of his men to fight ten Apaches to see which of the two groups was the strongest. Neighboring tribes and the outsiders who traveled through the region considered the Apaches fearsome warriors, but the Pimas proved them wrong by killing Capotcari and mercilessly slaughtering many of his men.²⁵

²⁴ "One of First Group Photographs Above," The Indian Christian Leader 2 ([1943]): 3.

²⁵ Frank C. Lockwood, The Apache Indians (1938; reprt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 13-15.

Although the Pimas may not have realized it at the time, the Apaches' propensity for raiding neighboring Indian villages dissuaded whites from settling in the region. The outbreak of war between Mexico and the United States in May 1846, however, instigated a major change. By August of that year, Col. Stephen Kearny had claimed all of what was then New Mexico for the United States. Immediately thereafter, the U.S. government assumed wardship over the Apaches. Two years later, when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed, the federal government assumed jurisdiction of the northern part of the territory where the Pimas and Apaches lived. One of the treaty's provisions stipulated that the U.S. Army prevent the Apaches from raiding south of the Gila River. The Apaches, nevertheless, continued to steal food and cattle on both sides of the border.²⁶

The situation intensified in 1852-53 when Mexico and the U.S. squabbled over the international boundary in the treaty. To clear up the matter, southern congressmen urged that the disputed land be purchased. The motive of these southerners was not solely to clear up the disagreement, however. Some southerners wanted to retain the voting balance between the northern and southern states. Others, like Texas Senator Sam Houston, sought a southern railroad line running from New Orleans to California to enable the agricultural South to compete with the industrial North. Although he was a native of New Hampshire, President Franklin Pierce sympathized with the southern congressmen's position and sent James Gadsden, the U.S. minister to Mexico and a railroad executive from South Carolina, to negotiate the purchase. Gadsden's intent was to clear the way for a southern railroad line. After tense negotiations, the U.S. agreed to

²⁶ Act of February 2, 1848, 9 Stat., 922-43 and Ralph Hedrick Ogle, Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886 (1940; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970), 29-30.

pay ten million dollars in return for nearly thirty thousand acres of land south of the Gila River. The Gadsden Purchase (1853) expanded the jurisdiction of the U.S. government over the Pimas and the Apaches.²⁷

The Apaches were not immediately aware of this new arrangement. The Apaches believed that the Spaniards, Mexicans, trappers, soldiers, gold-seekers, and finally settlers had encroached upon their land. Although their raiding was largely a survival strategy, the Apaches' persistence provided the Army with an excuse to bring the region's Indians under control. Inevitably, there were casualties during their raids on American settlers and miners and the armed conflicts with soldiers that followed. After a few attempts to negotiate peace treaties with them, the U.S. Army adopted a policy of extermination. In 1863 General James H. Carleton ordered Kit Carson, colonel of the New Mexico Volunteers, to kill every Apache man he found and to hold the women and children as prisoners-of-war at Fort Stanton, New Mexico. Moreover, Carleton supplied the Pimas with a hundred muskets, 10,000 rounds of ammunition, and bullet molds to assist the Army against their old enemies.²⁸

Because of their hatred for the Apaches, the Pimas willingly tracked them down. On January 24, 1863, for example, a group of Pimas attended a meeting with a group of Pinal and Coyotero Apaches. Ostensibly, the meeting had been arranged to discuss terms of peace. Once the discussion began, however, white ranchers accused the Apaches of stealing cattle and killing a white man. When Paramuca, the Apaches' leader, denied the charges, he was shot. On cue, the Pimas and their allies, the Maricopas, who had been

²⁷ Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846*, 274.

²⁸ Russell, "The Pima Indians," 51; William A. Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico, 1846-1868* (Santa Fe: Rydal Press, 1952), 241; and Lockwood, *The Apache Indians*, 135.

strategically positioned behind the Pinal and Coyoteros, opened fire on their enemies. Only one Apache escaped the bloody ambush.²⁹ Similarly, the following year several Pimas helped a group of settlers led by King Woolsey to attack a band of Gila Apaches. Besides serving as an aid to the territorial governor, Woolsey had a large ranch southwest of Prescott near the Upper Agua Fria River. To protect his ranching and mining interests, he employed Pimas and other friendly Indians to help him attack the Apaches. During one of these raids in 1864, the Apaches trapped Woolsey and his men. He called for a truce and asked the Apaches for a peace conference. Instead of negotiating, however, Woolsey ambushed them. On signal, Woolsey's group, including the Pimas, opened fire on the Apaches. Nineteen Apaches were murdered and several others wounded. Pimas also fought in a special company of Arizona Volunteers, whose assignment was to guard the Southern Wagon Route. Toward this end, on March 31, 1866, the Pimas, led by Antonio Azul, attacked a group of Apaches. In the battle that followed, the Pimas killed twenty-five Apaches and captured sixteen others. By the 1870s, the U.S. Army, with the help of the Pimas, had minimized the Apache threat. Although Geronimo and his band still eluded capture, many Apaches had been forced onto reservations in Arizona and New Mexico.³⁰

With their enemy severely weakened, the Pimas quickly found themselves overrun by outsiders. Before long, the new settlers had diverted the water that the Pimas needed to irrigate their fields. The federal government made little effort to fulfill its

²⁹ Richard J. Perry, Western Apache Heritage: People of the Mountain Corridor (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 171-72, and Woodworth Clum, Apache Agent: The Story of John P. Clum (1936; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 51-54.

³⁰ Michael E. Melody, The Apache (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989), 77-78; Frank C. Lockwood, Pioneer Days in Arizona: From the Spanish Occupation to Statehood (New York: Macmillan Company, 1932), 138-42; Lockwood, The Apache Indians, 148-49; and Dobyns, The Pima-Maricopa, 47-48.

pledge in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which promised to protect the Pimas' prior-appropriation water rights, guaranteeing that the first person to use water from a stream had the right to continue using the water, even in dry years. People who came later could only use water when there was an abundance. Of course the Pimas had been using the water long before outsiders came to the region, but the American immigrants ignored this provision and the federal government complied by taking no action.³¹

Without water to irrigate their crops, the Pimas faced disaster. In a short time they found themselves relying on government rations to survive. Surplus crops became only a memory. In the mid-1770s, Spanish Capt. Juan Bautista de Anza had described the Pimas' fertile fields: "The fields of wheat are so large that one cannot see the ends because they are so long. Their width is also great, embracing the whole width of the valley on either side, and their fields of maize are of corresponding size."³² Eighty years later when Andrew Gray surveyed the area in 1854, he wrote, "It is astonishing with what precision they construct their . . . irrigating canals. . . . Their gardens and farms too are regularly ditched and fenced off."³³ In 1866, special Indian agent Levi Ruggles claimed that the Pimas raised 1,500,000 pounds of grain, wheat, corn, and beans.³⁴

By 1867, however, the grain harvest had plunged drastically. According to a report sent to the acting commissioner of Indian affairs, the Pimas raised only 39,500 bushels of wheat and about 15,000 bushels of corn that year. Wheat production remained

³¹ F.E. Grossman, Annual Report (1871), 359-62; Francis A. Walker, "Arizona," Annual Report (1872), 57; and Alfonso Ortiz, "The Gila River Piman Water Problem," in Albert H. Schroeder, ed. The Changing Ways of Southwestern Indians: A Historical Perspective (Glorieta, N.M.: Rio Grande Press, 1973), 245-57.

³² G. Bailey, Annual Report (1858), 203, and Wagoner, Arizona's Heritage, 90.

³³ Andrew B. Gray, Southern Pacific Railroad: Survey of a Route for the Southern Pacific R.R. (Cincinnati: Wrightson & Co., 1856), 85.

³⁴ Levi Ruggles, Report on Indian Affairs by the Acting Commissioner for the Year 1867 (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1868), 162, 386.

steady into the early 1870s, but in 1872, for instance, the Pimas raised no corn and only 4,166 bushels of barley. In addition, during the late 1860s and early 1870s the area experienced a drought. In an effort to survive, a quarter of the Pimas moved north along the Salt River and began farming among the whites. The remaining three-quarters spread out along the Gila River in search of enough water to grow their crops.³⁵

Barely able to raise enough food to meet their own needs, many Pimas faced starvation. Desperate, Antonio Azul and a group of Pima headmen met with J.H. Stout, a special Indian agent, and General O.O. Howard, who encouraged the Pimas to relocate to Indian Territory, where land and water were available. Azul, however, questioned whether the situation was any better there.

You say this new country is a good place, and you say you have not been there; now how do you know it is a good place [or] if there is plenty of water there?³⁶

Past promises to protect Pima water rights that had been broken left Azul wary. In the end, the Pimas declined to move. Instead, they traveled to Washington, D.C., to meet with President Ulysses S. Grant. When Azul's delegation met with the president they did not ask for food rations. Rather, they asked for enough water to grow crops so they could feed themselves, as they had in the past.³⁷

³⁵ Charles D. Poston, "The Pimos and Maricopas," Annual Report (1863), 386; "Arizona," Annual Report (1872), 57, 316; O.O. Howard, Annual Report (1872), 153; Russell, "The Pima Indians," 90; Annual Report (1872), 410-11; and Gregory McNamee, Gila: The Life and Death of an American River (1994; reprt. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 103-4.

³⁶ "Report of a council held by the chiefs and head-men of the Pima and Maricopa Indians at the U.S. Indian Agency, Gila River Reservation, Arizona Territories, on the 11th of May, 1872," Annual Report (1872), 167-68

³⁷ "Report of a council held by the chiefs and head-men of the Pima and Maricopa Indians at the U.S. Indian Agency, Gila River Reservation, Arizona Territories, on the 11th of May, 1872," Annual Report (1872), 167-68; "Indian Delegates Visiting Washington During the Year – The Indians of Arizona," Annual Report (1872), 97-98; and O.O. Howard, Annual Report (1872), 153-54.

To make matters worse, the Southern Pacific Railroad Company began construction of its line through the Pimas' homeland. In 1854, the Texas Western Railroad Company commissioned a survey in preparation for building a railroad connecting the east and west coasts. At the time, however, the Apaches posed too great a threat to consider laying tracks through the region. In the meantime, the U.S. Army had created a reservation for the Pimas and their close neighbors, the Maricopas. In February 1859, the Gila River Reservation comprised approximately 64,000 acres. When the Pimas vehemently objected, the federal government returned an additional 81,000 acres. In spite of the Indians' protests, the government opened the rest of the land to settlers and land speculators, clearing the way for Euroamericans to confiscate the Pimas' ancestral lands. By the mid-1870s, these events had cleared the way for the building of the rail line, which was completed in 1878.³⁸

For the most part, territorial authorities agreed with this massive influx of land-seekers, despite minimal water. One notable exception was the anticipated arrival of members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons). On January 10, 1879, President Rutherford B. Hayes signed an order directing the General Land Office to stop all sales of land on the north bank of the Gila River to its intersection with the Salt River. Hayes made this move largely to prevent the Mormons from acquiring the land, rather than to protect the Pimas' land and water rights. For a few months this order slowed the migration of new settlers. Six months later, the government established a second reservation for the Pimas, encompassing nearly 48,000 acres, a measure that

³⁸ Gray, *Southern Pacific Railroad*, 5-6; Act of February 28, 1859, 11 Stat., 401; and Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico, 1848-1868*, 126.

prevented settlers from claiming the newly created reservation, but one that proved to be only a brief reprieve from the influx of white settlers.³⁹

A decade later, in 1880 the Southern Pacific Railroad reached Tucson, bringing farmers and land speculators from San Francisco. In fact, a land auction held at the train station touched off a land-buying frenzy, and a census taken that year confirmed that Indians no longer comprised a majority of the population of Arizona. In less than twenty years, the Pimas' lives had been abruptly altered. From prosperous farmers and business people they had become a destitute people with no irrigation water for their fields. To feed their families, many Pimas were forced to become wage laborers for railroad contractors or white settlers. Poor economic conditions prompted others to leave their villages and disperse over vast areas, thereby fracturing their traditional social structure.⁴⁰

The Pimas Adopt Christianity

When the Pimas' ancestors encountered missionaries during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Indians were self-sufficient farmers, content with their traditional beliefs. By the 1880s, however, the Pimas' economic situation was desperate. They also appeared increasingly frustrated with their medicine men's inability to prevent devastating diseases. According to the Pima calendar stick, a record of important events notched into a stick of wood by one of the elders, Pimas killed twenty shamans between 1844-45 and 1884-85. When cholera swept through Gila Crossing in 1844-45, four

³⁹ "The Gila River Indian Community," vertical file, Native Americans – Gila River, Tucson Public Library; Dobyns, The Pima – Maricopa, 55-57; and Dale, The Indians of the Southwest, 117.

⁴⁰ Russell, "The Pima Indians," 56.

shamans were blamed and put to death. The medicine men enjoyed a fifteen-year period of calm until another plague struck, unleashing another round of violence against them.⁴¹

According to the calendar stick, the next three medicine men were executed because they were suspected of using their magical powers to conjure up disease when cholera again hit the area in 1860-61. Two years later a father and son shaman team from Blackwater was killed because of their activities. During a two-year period from 1866-1868, seven more medicine men were killed after being accused of causing sicknesses to strike. In 1866-67 when a mysterious illness displaying symptoms that included shooting pains broke out at Gila Crossing, two shamans were slain and another seriously wounded. That same year the people of Rso'tûk killed three more medicine men in hopes of ending a devastating fever. The following year, two more medicine men suffered a similar fate when malaria cropped up at Gila Crossing. Apparently, nearly a decade then passed before the next incident. In 1875-76, another outbreak of fever in Rso'tûk led to the deaths of two shamans. The nineteenth and twentieth medicine men were executed in 1884-84 when an epidemic devastated Gila Crossing.⁴²

Faced with hunger, poverty, and the loss of their land, and incensed at the medicine men, the Pimas cautiously began exploring the teachings of Christianity. At first, they were leery and shied away from the teacher-missionary Charles Cook when he tried to convince them to replace their traditional beliefs with Christianity. In fact, according to the Pima calendar stick, nearly fifteen years elapsed from Cook's arrival before the conversion of the first Pima. Hwela, a man named after Roswell G. Wheeler,

⁴¹ Ibid., 42-43.

⁴² Ibid., 48, 50, 52, 55, 59.

the Indian agent, was recorded as the first convert on the calendar stick in 1885-86.⁴³

George Webb later suggested that his people had been reluctant to accept Christianity because it seemed antithetical to their traditional beliefs, but after the Pimas understood it they became faithful believers. Once the first Pima converted, others quickly followed. Among the early converts was Antonio Azul. He was baptized on November 19, 1893, and became the 103rd member of the church at Sacaton. Before the turn of the century half of the Pimas had been baptized.⁴⁴

Because so many Pimas adopted Christianity, its rites and ceremonies gradually became a part of Pima culture. For instance, an annual camp meeting, comprised of several days of sermons and singing, replaced the traditional ceremonies. The first camp meeting was held at Casa Blanca near the Vah-Ki church in 1907. By the 1950s, thousands of Pimas who were members of churches pastored by Cook graduates attended the annual meeting.⁴⁵ Likewise, the crumbling social structure, weakened when Pimas scattered in search of water, was partially rebuilt through the churches. Former village headmen became deacons, elders, or pastors in newly established Pima churches. Several Pima men began studying the Bible once a week at Charles Cook's kitchen table in preparation for their new leadership roles. Within a few years enough Pimas were interested in learning more about the Bible that the school named after Cook was founded in 1911.⁴⁶

⁴³ Ibid., 59.

⁴⁴ Webb, *A Pima Remembers*, 51.

⁴⁵ Shaw, *A Pima Past*, 92; Minnie Cook, *Apostle to the Pima Indians*, 149, 184-85, 216; "Camp Meeting," *Indian Highways* 30 (December 1953): 3; "Camp Meeting – Camp Meeting," *Indian Highways* 40 (December 1955): 2; and Bertha P. Dutton, *American Indians of the Southwest* rev. ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 214-15.

⁴⁶ History of Charles Cook Theological School," Cook College and Theological School File, MHLSW, 4.

Although many Pimas embraced Christianity, the Bible school graduates were not always well received when they went out to preach. In one incident, as Crouse Perkins, one of the original nine, was preaching to a group of about twenty Indian men at Covered Wells, located sixty miles south of Casa Grande, he encountered hostility. A tribal police officer tried to break up the meeting because he did not like Christianity. At one point, the officer even threatened to kill Crouse. Undaunted, Crouse told the policeman that the other men present wanted to hear the rest of the story. To prove this point to the officer, Crouse asked the others to raise their hands if they wanted him to continue. All voted that he should continue. The police officer then accused Crouse of teaching lies. To refute that accusation, Crouse showed how some of Christ's parables applied to life in the desert. When he finished, the formerly hostile officer told Crouse that he had interpreted for white preachers, but that he had never heard the Gospel taught this way.⁴⁷

Another member of the first class experienced a less threatening instance of opposition. On one occasion when Horace Williams was interpreting for missionary George Walker, they went to visit a couple named Jose and Five Tortillas. Williams and Walker received a cool welcome. Nevertheless, they stayed and began telling the couple about Christianity. To drive the missionaries away, Jose kept putting green wood on the fire. The smoke finally caused Williams and Walker to leave.⁴⁸

In the years that followed, more students enrolled at the Bible School. Most, but not all, became interpreters for missionaries or pastors of churches. One year three Yavapais and Apaches from Fort McDowell, a reservation Carlos Montezuma, a Yavapai physician and reformer, had helped create in 1903, came to a Pima camp

⁴⁷ Walker, Miracle in Moccasins, 27-28.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 44-45.

meeting and asked them to send a Christian missionary. The unusual request probably was the result of an increase in missionary activity in their area by Protestants beginning around the turn of the century. When no one else spoke up, Wilson Walker volunteered to honor the men's request. To prepare himself, Walker enrolled at Cook. On Wednesdays and Sundays, he rode in a wagon the thirty-seven miles to Fort McDowell, located east of the Salt River Pima Reservation, to conduct services. After he graduated, Walker moved his family to Fort McDowell. At first, only the original three men expressed any interest in Walker's preaching. After months without a convert, Walker inadvertently broke down the barriers. Hearing that some of the tribal men planned to dig an irrigation ditch, Walker volunteered to help. They decided to test him. While he toiled in the hot sun, the Yavapai-Apaches sat in the shade, talking and smoking. At lunchtime, they did not offer him anything to eat or drink. Finally around 4:00 p.m., one of the men offered Walker food. The next Sunday every seat was filled at the church. Walker had proven his commitment to the people of Fort McDowell; they were now ready to listen to what he had to say. Walker continued his missionary work among the Yavapai-Apaches until he succumbed to tuberculosis in 1935.⁴⁹

The Bible school students did not limit themselves to serving as pastors and translators. For example, in addition to translating for Anglo missionaries and pastoring the church at Vah Ki, Horace Williams went to Washington, D.C., to talk with President

⁴⁹ "Come and Eat Now," Indian Highways 52 (December 1957): 2; "Wilson Walker, Pima, Missionary To Apaches," Indian Highways 29 (September 1953): 1; George Walker, Miracle in Moccasins (Phoenix: Phoenician Books, 1969), 17-18; and "Son of a Missionary," Indian Highways 58 (February 1959): 4.

Calvin Coolidge about the Pimas' water problem. During his meeting with Coolidge, he pushed for the building of a dam on the Gila River.⁵⁰

George Webb (Buzzing Feather) chose another route. He became neither a pastor nor a translator after attending Cook Bible School in the late 1910s. Although he mentioned translating for a missionary traveling among the Tohono O'odham, Webb spent the first twenty-seven years of his career trying to eke out a living farming and raising cattle. He became one of the leaders during the transitional period that followed implementation of the Indian New Deal.⁵¹ At the recommendation of Bureau of Indian Affairs (B.I.A.) Commissioner John Collier, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (IRA), also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act. A key component of the Indian New Deal, this legislation sought to implement suggestions made by the Meriam Commission in 1928 to revive tribal institutions and implement economic reforms. The IRA ended the policy of allotment or the dividing of communal land holdings among individual members of the tribe. Instituted by the Dawes Act in 1887, allotment had resulted in the theft of two-thirds of all Indian land. The IRA also provided for the establishment of a tribal council to oversee tribal matters. Some tribes, such as the Crows and the Navajos, did not trust the government, so they opted not to reorganize under the bill. The Pimas, however, along with their neighbors the Tohono O'odham and San Carlos Apaches, expressed reservations about adopting the IRA because it did not guarantee protection of their water rights. Then, in spite of their doubts, the Pimas voted

⁵⁰ "One of the First Group Photos Above," Indian Christian Leader 1([1943]): 3, and Minnie Cook, Apostle to the Pima Indians, 170.

⁵¹ Webb, A Pima Remembers, 67, 122-24.

to accept reorganization, becoming one of 181 tribes to do so. The Gila River Pima-Maricopa Community was officially organized on May 14, 1936, and approved a tribal corporate charter on February 28, 1938. Two years later they approved a Constitution on June 11, 1940.⁵²

Once the tribal charter was in place, the Pimas formed a seventeen-member tribal council. Bible school graduate George Webb was elected to represent Gila Crossing on the first tribal council. Members of the tribal council managed economic matters for those Pimas living near the agency. Because the Pimas had scattered in search of water, the council did not represent the interests of all members of the tribe. This factor, combined with a court ruling that barred the council from participating in a hearing concerning the Pimas' San Carlos Reservoir water rights, caused it to lose a great deal of prestige in eyes of Pimas.⁵³

In addition to serving on the tribal council, in the early 1940s Webb also became an associate judge for the tribal court. Besides ending allotment and encouraging tribes to adopt a charter or constitution, the IRA allowed groups like the Pimas to establish their own judicial system or tribal court. The new system was designed to replace the Courts of Indian Offenses (CIO), which had ostensibly been created in 1883 to fill the void left when traditional methods of resolving intratribal conflicts were rendered ineffective by

⁵² 48 Stat., 984-88; 24 Stat., 388-91; Graham D. Taylor, The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934-45 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 17-29; Jack Utter, American Indians: Answers to Today's Questions (Lake Ann, MI.: National Woodlands Publishing Company, 1993), 166; Frederick E. Hoxie, Parading Through History: The Making of the Crow Nation in America, 1805-1935 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 340-41; Kenneth R. Philp, John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 152; Felix Cohen, Felix Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, [1971]), 129; "Tribal Self-Government and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934," Michigan Law Review 70 (April 1972): 966, 972, 974; and Constitution and By-Laws of the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community, Arizona (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957).

⁵³ Edward H. Spicer, Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), 151.

changing times. Because the Pimas had established and were now operating the new IRA tribal court, it was not subject to regulation by the B.I.A. or the department of the interior. Judges like Webb were usually appointed from among tribal leaders. Since few Pimas had legal training, a thorough knowledge of Pima customs and traditions was the most important qualification for holding a judgeship. The Pimas' tribal court had jurisdiction over civil disputes and misdemeanor crimes that members of the tribe committed. Unlike non-Indian courts, tribal courts emphasized rehabilitation rather than the punishing of offenders.⁵⁴

Although Webb's labors on the tribal council and as an associate judge helped shape Pima culture during the 1940s, he seemed most pleased with his effort to preserve Pima traditions and stories. Sensing that they were in danger of being forgotten, Webb wrote a book to acquaint younger Pimas with their people's customs and legends.⁵⁵

Many, although by no means all, of the Pimas' Bible school students prior to 1940 entered the ministry in some capacity after graduation. World War II set into motion a gradual shift in this trend.

World War II: A Watershed

Even though the loss of water for irrigation and the subduing of the Apaches led to a major cultural and economic transition for the Pimas during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, World War II brought about even greater cultural changes. Although several Pimas took part in World War I and were rewarded with U.S.

⁵⁴ Vine Deloria, Jr., and Clifford M. Lytle, American Indians, American Justice (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 110-25 and James R. Kerr, "Constitutional Rights, Tribal Justice, and the American Indian," Journal of Public Law 18 (No. 2, 1969): 320-22.

⁵⁵ Webb, A Pima Remembers, 7-8.

citizenship for their service, a far greater number of Pimas participated in the war effort during the Second World War. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Pima men eagerly began enlisting in the armed services. Pima women also left the reservation to take jobs in war-related industries. At the time, the Pimas had no way of knowing that their way of life was about to take a dramatic turn.⁵⁶

Through contact with the world beyond the reservation, Pima veterans became aware that proficiency in English and an advanced education were necessary if they were going to adapt to postwar changes. Veterans and those who had worked in war-related industries found it difficult to balance traditional Pima culture with the reality of postwar American society. The life of Ira Hayes, the most famous Pima serviceman, illustrates the dilemma this balancing act created for veterans. While stationed in the Pacific Theater, Hayes became famous for his part in raising the American flag over Mount Suribachi on Iwo Jima on February 23, 1945. Photographer Joe Rosenthal's reenacted picture of the event landed on the front page of every major newspaper, instantly propelling Hayes to the status of hero. Anxious to take advantage of American patriotism, military officials took Hayes and the other surviving members of the flag-raising squad on a War Bond tour to several major U.S. cities. Shy and unaccustomed to the publicity, Hayes started drinking heavily. When he returned to the Gila Reservation after the war, he struggled to earn a living, since jobs were scarce and farming continued to be unprofitable. The fall from war hero to unemployed farmhand plunged Hayes into a cycle of failure. Looking for a new start, Hayes moved to Chicago for a short time in conjunction with the Indian Relocation Program. But, when he was jailed for

⁵⁶ Act of November 6, 1919, 66th Cong., U.S. Stats. at Large, 41: 350.

drunkenness not long after his arrival, Hayes lost his job and shortly thereafter was forced to return to the reservation for lack of funds. On January 23, 1955, Hayes was found dead along the road near Sacaton. Cook graduate Esau Joseph eulogized Hayes, whose death illustrated the difficult transition faced by Indian veterans after the war.⁵⁷

Not all Pima veterans ended up this way. Aware of the importance of specialized skills, some veterans took advantage of new educational opportunities. After World War I the government awarded veterans a small bonus. In contrast, mid-way through the Second World War, various military officials and educators, along with members of the U.S. Congress and the American Legion, began planning for the day when millions of veterans would need to be re-integrated into the workforce. Cognizant of the high rate of unemployment that had preceded the war, these officials focused on providing education and specialized training to prepare returning veterans for gainful employment. After months of debate, Congress passed the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (P.L. 346). Title II of the measure, more commonly known as the GI Bill, provided up to five hundred dollars for fees, tuition, books, and supplies, plus a monthly allowance of fifty dollars for single and seventy-five dollars for married veterans while they attended school. The maximum length of time a veteran could receive funds was four years. Recipients could attend the accredited college or university of their choice, including a church-related college and seminary.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Jerry Poole, "Body of Arizona War Hero Rests in Arlington Plot," vertical file, Ira H. Hayes file, Ira Hayes Memorial Library; "Iwo Jima Hero Looks For Job in Chicago," vertical file, Ira H. Hayes file, Ira Hayes Memorial Library; "Indian Bureau Says It Tried to Aid Hero," vertical file, Ira H. Hayes file, Ira Hayes Memorial Library; Kenneth R. Philp, "Stride Toward Freedom: The Relocation of Indians to Cities, 1952-1960," Western Historical Quarterly 16 (April 1985): 176; and Albert Hemingway, Ira Hayes: Pima Marine (Lanham, MD.: University Press of America, 1988), 129-59.

⁵⁸ "Indians and the G.I. Bill," Indian Highways 1 (June 1945): 4; Theodore R. Mosch, The G.I. Bill: A Breakthrough in Educational and Social Policy in the United States (Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition Press,

Approximately 2.3 million veterans nationally took advantage of the GI Bill, including several Pima veterans who enrolled at Cook Bible School in the late 1940s. One of these enrollees was Roger Smith, a native of Salt River. Wounded while serving in France, Smith realized the uncertainty of life and he decided to prepare for the ministry in order to help others like himself. Smith said, "It is our desire as veterans to help other Indian boys to know the God who cared for us during those years in the service of our country." After completing his studies at Cook, Smith became the pastor at Gila Crossing where he ministered among the Apaches, Tohono O'odhams, and Maricopas, in addition to his fellow Pimas. Despite their poverty, the Indians he served paid Smith's salary.⁵⁹



Fig. 2: Roger Smith. (CCTS)



Fig. 3: Dana Norris. (CCTS)

1975), 1-7; and Keith W. Olson, The G.I. Bill, the Veterans, and the Colleges (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1974), 3-24, 43-56.

⁵⁹ William L. O'Neill, American High: The Years of Confidence, 1945-1960 (New York: The Free Press, 1986), 10; "A New Venture in Faith," Indian Highways 6 (April 1947): 3 - 4; "From a G.I. Student," Indian Highways 10 (March 1949): 3 - 4; "For G.I.'s Only," Indian Highways 17 (March 1951): 2; Cornelius H. Bode, "Cook Christian Training School Graduates." Misc. File, CCTSA; "A New Experience," Indian Highways 14 (June 1950): 1; and [photo caption], Indian Highways 28 (June 1953): 4.

Another veteran who came to Cook was Sacaton native Dana Norris. Years before, his grandparents had founded the first Pima Presbyterian Church in the village of Stotonic. After serving in the Marine Corps during WW II, Norris realized that the Pimas had reached a watershed. As he later wrote:

When I returned home to the reservation I found that the people there had changed too. Drunkenness was overrunning the reservation . . . I [knew] there [was] only one answer to my people's problems and that [was] Jesus Christ.⁶⁰

While taking classes at Cook and Phoenix College, Norris worked at the Phoenix Indian Church. During that time, he was asked to conduct a week of special meetings in Stotonic, his grandparents' village.⁶¹ After finishing his studies at Cook, he became the pastor of the Blackwater Church.⁶²

Like Horace Williams, Norris also became involved in tribal politics. In 1982, he was elected Pima governor. Since many Pimas' income fell below the poverty level, during his term in office Norris sought to improve their economic situation. When a group of Florida investors proposed building a jai alai arena, Norris favored the plan. Arizona's state attorney, however, blocked the project because at that time betting was illegal in Arizona. Norris also pressed a tribal lawsuit seeking water for Pima farmers from the San Pedro River, a proposal based on the Pimas' prior-appropriation rights.⁶³

⁶⁰ [no title], Indian Highways 57 (December 1958): 4.

⁶¹ "Preaching With Sand in His Hair," Indian Highways 62 (October 1959): 2.

⁶² 1958 Pathway (CCTS Yearbook) and [photo caption], Indian Highways 70 (February 1961): 3.

⁶³ "Prayer of Faith," Indian Highways 63 (December 1959): 3; Dana Norris, [no title], Indian Highways 57 (December 1958): 4; "1960 Graduates," Indian Highways 66 (June 1960): 3; Dobyns, The Pima - Maricopa, 99; Tony David, "Gila Indians Ready to Fights for Their Water," Tucson Citizen (August 1, 1984): 1B, 3B; Richard Yates and Charity Yates, eds., 1983-84 Arizona Yearbook (Sisters, OR.: The Information Press, 1983), 104.

"We want power over our own lives"⁶⁴

During the 1950s and 1960s, Native American young people began taking a more active role in tribal affairs. While attending a 1960 American Indian Chicago Conference held at the University of Chicago, a group of college-educated Native Americans from across the nation demanded that they have a greater say in controlling their lives. When tribal traditionalists rebuffed their efforts, Mel Thom (Paiute) and Herbert Blatchford (Navajo) spearheaded the formation of the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) during the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial in Gallup, New Mexico, in August 1960. Members of the NIYC pushed for the adaptation of certain aspects of the dominant culture that they found useful while rejecting the idea of assimilation. Realizing that education meant power, NIYC's leaders encouraged Native Americans to pursue college degrees so that they would be equipped to help in the fight to secure Indians' rights. These young leaders' goal was to help their fellow Native Americans benefit from increasing educational opportunities without sacrificing their cultural heritage.⁶⁵

In the 1960s, colleges and universities across the nation began adding courses about Native Americans.⁶⁶ Concurrently, Cook and two other Bible colleges that had been established since World War II also offered courses on Indian history and culture. Previously, theology, basic English, and public speaking, a course of study designed to prepare people for the ministry, dominated the curriculum at all three Bible colleges,⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Vine Deloria, Jr. quoted in Stan Steiner, *The New Indians* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), 269.

⁶⁵ Gerald D. Nash, *The American West in the Twentieth Century: A Short History of an Urban Oasis* (1973; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977), 277-78.

⁶⁶ Sioux scholar Vine Deloria, Jr., has argued that academics used these courses to advance their careers. See Margaret Connell Szasz, ed., *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 13.

⁶⁷ Alma Thomas, interview with author, April 13, 1995; Folsom Charles Scrivner (Chickasaw), interview with author, November 4, 1996; Gilbert and Maxine Kline, interview with author, October 1996; *Church of the Nazarene Manual* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1972), 253-60; "School

but by the mid-1960s, things began to change. In Cook's catalog for 1965-67, a course called, "Understanding the Alcoholic," first appeared. It was soon followed by classes on contemporary Indian issues, the literature of minorities in America, Indian cultures, and current issues in Indian law. According to comments in course evaluations, students at Cook wanted more such classes.⁶⁸

In addition to these curricular changes, there seemed to be a growing awareness that Native Americans needed to take a proactive role in addressing the problems facing their people. For example, during the "Religious Emphasis Week" at Cook in the spring of 1972, Pima pastor Roe Lewis challenged the students to fight the "giants" of poverty that were devastating Indian people: drugs, Vietnam, and poor education.⁶⁹ Lewis's familiarity with his people's history and of the important role that Pima Christians had played in trying to improve their lot made him uniquely qualified to encourage the students to do what they could to help.

Calendar 1943-44," Indian Christian Leader 1 (no. 2, [1943]): 4; "Cook Christian Training School Annual Report – Schedule Second Semester 1947-48," misc. file, CCTSA; "Cook Christian Training School Annual Report – Schedule First Semester 1949-1950," misc. file, CCTSA; The Cook Christian Training School Catalog (1954), 31; and Cook Christian Training School Bulletin and Catalogue 1963-1965, 35. Interestingly, a 1957 evaluation team chided Cook administrators for the glaring lack of courses relating to the art, history, literature, and religion of Native Americans. It would be nearly a decade before national events would prompt curricular changes to address this deficiency. See: "The Report of an Evaluation Committee Visiting the School in May 1957," George Walker File, CCTSA, 2.

⁶⁸ Cook Christian Training School Catalog (1965-67), 35; "Innovations," Indian Highways 133 (October 1970): 2; "Courses to be Offered," Your Notebook About Cook Christian Training School (1972-73), n.p.; "Winter Term Program Outstanding," 165 (December 1977): 3; Cook Christian Training School Programs 1976-77, 3; Programs 1978-1980 Cook Christian Training School, 11; "Winter Term Workshops – January 1979: An Invitation from Cook Christian Training School," pamphlet; "Winter Term, 1980: Evaluation Report and Recommendations," 6; and "Winter Term 1982: Evaluation Reports and Recommendations," 48-50.

⁶⁹ John Hogue, "Religious Emphasis Week," Indian Highways 141 (June 1972): 3.

Lewis's grandfather, John Lewis, was one of the first Pima converts in the 1880s. His father, Richard, attended Cook and Moody Bible Institute, a leading Protestant mission school established in 1889, and then served as a missionary to the Tohono O'odham. In the early 1950s, Roe became a member of Cook's faculty. In addition,



Fig. 4: Roe B. Lewis. (CCTS)

Lewis oversaw weekly religion classes for the students at the BIA's Phoenix Indian School, and each Friday night he took students to the Phoenix Tuberculosis Sanatorium and the Indian Hospital. After he left Cook to become pastor at the Phoenix Indian Church, Lewis continued to encourage Cook students to minister to the needs of the Native Americans, including those who were moving to urban areas like Phoenix. Many students took Lewis's challenge seriously. An increasing number of students began to pursue careers that enabled them to help other Native Americans with their physical as well as spiritual needs.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ "The Rural Church," *Indian Highways* 9 (October 1948): 1-2; Shaw, *A Pima Past*, 259-60; "Help From U.S. Department of Agriculture," *Indian Highways* 9 (October 1948): 2; "A Word From Mr. Lewis,"

In one specific area, several students over the years sought to help their people overcome the devastating effects of alcohol. The excessive consumption of alcohol became a major problem for Pimas after Euroamericans had moved into their homeland. True, before Anglos arrived Pima men had overindulged at the annual cactus fruit harvest festival. During the festival in 1836, for example, all the men from Salt River became intoxicated. Aware of the Pima celebration, the Apaches chose that moment to attack. Left unprotected by drunken guards, a woman easily fell prey to the Apaches. Her screams for help roused some of the more sober men to action. Tragically, a rescue party arrived too late to save the woman's life, but it was able to track down the raiding party and kill five of its members.⁷¹

After Euroamericans entered the region, bringing with them a steady supply of whiskey, the situation deteriorated. Although an 1802 law made it illegal for Indians to buy alcohol either on or off the reservation, Pimas obtained it from the newcomers. During a meeting in 1872 with J.H. Stout, the Indian agent, and General O.O. Howard, Antonio Azul complained that both whites and Mexicans were selling whiskey to Pimas.

Many of our young men are getting to drink it very much, and some of our old ones too. We know that it is bad for us, but somehow it seems that some of our men cannot keep from drinking it. When they get drunk they act bad with our women.⁷²

This complaint was not news to Stout. In his report to the commissioner of Indian affairs the previous year, Stout had suggested that Mexican farmers and a group of settlers at

Indian Highways 20 (October 1951): 1; The Cook Christian Training School Catalog (1954), 27; "Beyond the Call of Duty," Indian Highways 31 (February 1954): 2; Cecil Corbett, "Tribute to Dr. Roe B. Lewis," Indian Highways 209 (Winter 1988): 2; Roe. B. Lewis, "The Phoenix Indian Presbyterian Church," Outreach 2 (November 1957): 277-78; and "Ideally Located," Indian Highway 35 (December 1954): 3.

⁷¹ Russell, "The Pima Indians," 39.

⁷² "Report of a council held by the chiefs and head-men of the Pima and Maricopa Indians at the U.S. Indian Agency, Gila River Reservation, Arizona Territories, on the 11th of May, 1872," Annual Report (1872), 167.

Adamsville, both located in close proximity to the Pimas' reservation, were selling alcohol to Pima men. Unfortunately, neither Stout nor his successors were able to prevent Pimas from obtaining liquor.⁷³

Within a few years, the Southern Pacific Railroad traversed the Pimas homeland. The company allowed Pimas to ride for free in exchange for reporting any damage to the tracks caused by flash floods. Instead, some Pimas used the company's largess as an opportunity to ride the train to Tucson where they could illegally buy liquor. This policy proved to have fatal implications for some Pimas. According to the Pima calendar, the train killed an intoxicated man from Blackwater in 1883-84. In fact, in his 1883 report to the commissioner of Indian affairs, the Indian agent noted a total of six Pimas had died that year after falling from the train. Alcohol was blamed for the deaths.⁷⁴

In entries made during the 1890s, the Pima calendar refers to several whiskey-related fights resulting in fatalities. At the Salt River settlement in 1890-91, a Mexican who had been drinking whiskey killed a Pima. Two years later, the calendar mentions two friends from Gila Crossing that overindulged. One man then cut the other man's throat. That same year during a dance at Salt River, two men intoxicated on whiskey killed each other. Whiskey-related incidents also occurred in 1893-94 and 1895-96. Ironically, the last incident recorded describes how the Gila Crossing chief fell dead as he was sitting in the witness chair while standing trial for selling whiskey to his fellow Pimas.⁷⁵

During World War II, the ability to purchase alcohol became a symbol of equality

⁷³ J.H. Stout, "Gila River Reservation, Arizona Territory, August 18, 1871," Annual Report (1871), 353.

⁷⁴ A.H. Jackson, Annual Report (1883), 6-7, and Russell, "The Pima Indians," 59.

⁷⁵ Russell, "The Pima Indians," 62-64.

for Native American soldiers. Bars served uniformed Indians alongside other servicemen. After the war ended, however, things reverted to prewar patterns. Barred from purchasing alcohol legally, Indians were again forced to buy it from bootleggers or on the black market.⁷⁶

Had John Jacobs (Pima) been a student during the early years, he probably would have pursued a traditional career as a pastor. But, during his years as a student at Cook in the 1970s, Jacobs, a Korean War veteran, completed a summer internship as coordinator for youth programs for both the Gila River and Salt River Indian



Fig. 5: John Jacobs. (CCTS)

Communities. His purpose was to develop leaders among the Pima youth. Toward that end, he introduced a teacher's training program and re-established Bible school and Sunday school programs. Although he went on to earn a Masters of Divinity degree from the University of Dubuque and pastored five churches on the Gila River Reservation, Jacobs did not limit himself to a pulpit ministry. He also earned an M.A. in counseling from the University of Utah. Since then he has taken an active role in substance abuse

⁷⁶ Alison R. Bernstein, American Indians and World War II: Toward a New Era in Indian Affairs (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 136-37.

counseling and gang prevention for the Gila River Indian community, as well as serving as the clinical supervisor for alcoholism in the Tohono O'odham Behavior Health Division.⁷⁷

On occasion, Jacobs has taught a course at Cook entitled "Ministering to the Alcoholic." He also regularly conducts workshops on dealing with drug and alcohol abuse at the Salt River Indian Community's Alcoholics Anonymous-type meetings. He has likewise shared his expertise with other groups of Native Americans, becoming a nationally recognized consultant to Indian alcoholism programs. In fact, Jacobs was the featured speaker at the 1991 meeting of the Navajo Inter-Church Committee on Missions where he spoke about ministering to Navajos suffering from substance abuse.⁷⁸

Like Jacobs, Sacaton native Wilfred Wellington and his wife Harriet (Sioux) did not limit themselves to pastoring. Rather, the Wellingtons invested several years in helping fellow Native Americans cope with the anguish of leaving the reservation to live in a large city. On leaving Cook, the Wellingtons went to work at the "Friendship House" in San Francisco, a place of refuge for urban migrants.

Before World War II, few Native Americans had lived in urban areas. During the war many moved to the cities to work in war-related industries. When the war ended, those jobs no longer existed. When these men and women returned to the reservation,

⁷⁷ "Students Attend Sells Campmeeting [sic]," 192 (October 1984): 6; "God Opens Doors," Indian Highways 151 (September 1974): 2; "Cook College and Theological School: Board of Trustees Biographical Information" (October 1996), copy in author's possession; Bob Schuster, "Indian Vets Fight New Battles for Tribes," vertical file, Ira H. Hayes file, Ira Hayes Memorial Library; Carol Sowers, "Violence Invades Gila River," Arizona Republic (October 30, 1995): A1, A4; and "Tohono O'odham Addendum," vertical file, Arizona - Indians - Papagos - 1980s, Phoenix Public Library.

⁷⁸ Rechanda (Pima), interview with author, September 10, 1999; Pat El-Najjar, interview with author, March 21, 1996; "Convocation '89," Convocation News 1, no. 1 [(1988)]: 6; "Nicom - Keams Canyon," Cook School Extension Lines 5 (June 1991): 8; "God Opens Doors," Indian Highways 151 (September 1974): 2, 4; "Winter Term Program Outstanding," Indian Highways 165 (December 1977): 3; and "Christian school offers 3-week winter term," Arizona Republic (December 12, 1979): C-2.

however, they found that jobs were just as scarce there, too. As a result, many began a pattern of moving back and forth between the reservation and the city looking for work. To make matters worse, in 1950 Dillon Myer, commissioner of Indian affairs during President Dwight D. Eisenhower's administration, implemented a program designed to assimilate Indians into American society. Toward that end, the government sometimes encouraged and, at other times, coerced Native Americans into relocating to cities. During the 1950s, more than 200,000 Indians moved to large cities, often relocating to urban areas like San Francisco, Los Angeles, Phoenix, Denver, Albuquerque, or Chicago.



Fig. 6: Wilfred and Harriet Wellington. (CCTS)

The sense of dislocation and the lack of marketable skills proved overwhelming for many of these new urban dwellers.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Donald L. Fixico, Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945-1960 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), 134-57.

A few philanthropic groups sought to help these Native Americans cope with the uncertainties of city life. It was in this context that the Wellingtons moved to San Francisco and joined the staff of the Friendship House. Run by the Christian Reformed Church, the Friendship House's programs included an informal church that sought to help Native Americans adjust to city life, an alcoholism recovery program, and a summer youth camp. The Wellingtons and their co-workers hoped to offer something to help each Native American adjust to living in a large city.⁸⁰ As Wellington noted,

Previously I had never been too concerned about the problems of my people in the city, as I felt that I was too busy providing for my family. Since beginning my work at the Friendship House, my eyes have been opened and my concern and desire for a better way of life for my people grew We cannot take away all of the problems but we can sow the seed and leave the rest to the Holy Spirit.⁸¹

Branching Out Into New Professions

Although many graduates of the Bible colleges continued to enter the ministry, the number choosing alternative careers rose during the late 1980s and into the 1990s. Noticing this trend, AIC began offering degrees in social work, elementary education, and business. One AIC graduate Garren Manuel, after majoring in social work, joined the Gila River tribal police force as a social worker in the juvenile division. As a law enforcement officer, Manuel, earning enough to support himself, was also able to

⁸⁰ Wilfred Wellington, letter to author, February 10, 1997; "Native American Leadership," Indian Highways 62 (Spring 1999): 2; Ivan Mulder, letter to author, September 24, 1999; and Don Klompeen, letter to author, September 11, 1999.

⁸¹ "The Friendship House," Indian Highways 125 (February 1969): 4.

intervene in the lives of fellow Pimas who were in trouble with the law or struggling with substance abuse.⁸²

Likewise, the administration at NIBC brought in a group of Native American leaders and pastors to discuss the college's future. These people encouraged the school to develop a bi-vocational program. They made this recommendation because most Native American pastors were struggling financially, unable to support their family on their meager salary. As a consequence, the major fields of study at the college were modified to qualify students for better paying occupations, while preparing them to serve as lay leaders in their church. Two new academic programs were established: an associate of arts degree in Office Administration and an associate of arts degree in Human Services. The former degree prepares graduates for jobs in offices, such as secretarial or administrative assistant positions. Government agencies providing services to Native Americans are always looking for qualified Native American applicants, so graduates have little difficulty finding a position. The latter degree qualifies graduates for careers in mental health and social service agencies.⁸³

Among those graduating with degrees in Human Services since the program's inception is Rechanda Howard. Although she was already a grandmother and in her fifties, Rechanda enrolled at NIBC in the early 1990s because she had always been interested in theology and wanted to learn more about the Bible. Like many other families, Rechanda's family has exhibited a kinship link with Indian Bible colleges. Her

⁸² "Why I came to A.I.B.C.," The Thunderer 21 (No. 1, 1986): 5; American Indian College [pamphlet]; and American Indian College, Fall 1996 Schedule of Classes.

⁸³ Tom McKinney, interview with author, March 28, 1996; Nazarene Indian Bible College Catalog 1995-1997, 64-68; "Introducing NIBC," [pamphlet]; and Nazarene Indian Bible College Self Study Report: July 1996, 18-24. Copy in author's possession.

grandfather, Joseph Ray, graduated from Cook and became a circuit-riding preacher. George Webb was her grandmother's cousin. One of her uncles, like Rechanda, attended NIBC. After earning an associate's degree in Human Services in 1995, Rechanda went to work for the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community at the Local Alcohol Reception Center (LARC), where those struggling with substance abuse can check themselves into the facility for one to seven days to receive treatment. Currently, Rechanda is completing the course requirements so she can take the Southwest Certification Examination to become certified as a substance abuse counselor. In addition, she chauffeurs people to Alcoholics Anonymous meetings and has been working with the regional office of the U.S. Census Bureau as it prepares for the 2000 census.⁸⁴

While Rechanda was a student, she invited her oldest daughter, Janelle, a single mother with four daughters, to move to Albuquerque and join her as a student at NIBC. Reluctantly, Janelle enrolled. After high school, Janelle had briefly attended Point Loma Nazarene College in California and Phoenix College. As one of the few Native American students at both schools, she had felt lonely and out of place. She assumed NIBC would be the same. Her attitude improved rapidly, however, as she began taking courses and making friends with the other students, nearly all of whom were Native Americans. A turning point came for Janelle when she volunteered at a center for victims of domestic violence to complete the requirements for one of her internships. The administrator assigned her the Native American clients, whom she counseled and helped find a place to live. Janelle not only enjoyed her work, she discovered that she had the

⁸⁴ "Commencement 1995 Program" (NIBC); Rechanda (Pima), interviews with author, March 22, 1996, October 12, 1996, April 14, 1998, and September 10, 1999; and Lloyd Commander, "Graduation 1995,"

aptitude for that type of career. More important, she realized she could combine her career interests with her desire to help others.

Like her mother, Janelle is currently working with the regional office of the U.S. Census Bureau. Since members of the Pima community expressed a preference for Indian census takers, the regional office employs persons like Janelle and Rechanda who are from the reservation and can speak the language. During the past year, Janelle helped gather demographic information and map the reservations. At the present time she is entering the collected information into a census database. When the time comes to take the actual census, Janelle will join Rechanda in overseeing the enumerators for both Pima reservations, as well as for the Tohono O'odham reservation.⁸⁵

After observing how much her mother and sister liked NIBC, Rechanda's youngest daughter, Rochelle, also decided to attend the college. Like her sister, she graduated in 1998 with an associate's degree in Human Services. Rochelle used her previous training in medical technology to support herself and her children by working for Lovelace Health Systems while she was pursuing her degree. Following her graduation, Rochelle also returned to the Phoenix area and took a job with Cigna Health Plan. Her current responsibilities involve evaluating patients' symptoms and helping them choose a doctor.⁸⁶

Although Cook did not add similar health-related programs, graduates there have

Sacred Journey 4 (Winter 1994-95): 8.

⁸⁵ Janelle (Pima), interview with author, April 29, 1998, and Rechanda (Pima), interview with author, September 10, 1999.

⁸⁶ Rechanda (Pima), interview with author, September 10, 1999.

found ways to combine a career with a desire to minister to the spiritual needs of their people. Richard Blackwell, for instance, went into the ministry, but still sought to alleviate some of the social problems Native Americans faced. As a former alcoholic and drug addict, he wanted to help other Indians who were struggling with substance abuse. After earning an associate of arts degree in Pastoral Studies in 1994, the Sacaton native became the pastor at the First Presbyterian Church of Laguna, New Mexico.⁸⁷

In contrast, after graduating from Cook, Cara Terry decided to pursue her interest in the physical health of Native Americans. She went to work at the American Indian Nursing Home in Laveen, Arizona, as a medical secretary. A few years later, she left that position to enroll in the University of New Mexico School of Medicine to obtain certification as a physician's assistant specializing in women's health care. Since completing the program, she has spent time on the staff of the Women's Clinic at the Tuba City Hospital, seventy miles north of Flagstaff, Arizona, and in the Maternal and Child Health Department at the Chinle Health Care Facility, seventy-five miles east of Tuba City. In addition, she conducts health seminars and community education programs. Terry summarizes how she has combined her career and her ministry when she says, "I believe, because of my Christian childhood, I have chosen a caring profession God is working through me to help those in need."⁸⁸

⁸⁷ "Indian Summer: New Leaves On CCTS Family Tree," 216 (Autumn 1990): 5; "Blackwater Thanks Church," Indian Highways 224 (Fall 1992): 3; "Blackwater/Pierce to D.C." Indian Highways 226 (Spring 1993): 3; Indian Highways (Summer 1994): 1; Indian Highways (Fall 1994): 1.

⁸⁸ "Alumna Cara Terry in the Medical Field," Indian Highways 235 (Summer 1995): 6.

Conclusion

In the beginning there were nine. They were first-generation Native American Christians of the Southwest who hoped to use their newly gained knowledge of the Bible to help fellow Pimas face the changes remolding their lives: the loss of water and the massive influx of Euroamericans into the region. From the beginning, many graduates' children followed in their parents' footsteps. This is not surprising since a similar pattern of several generations of a family attending boarding school was manifest in earlier eras. For example, Narcisse Porter's son, Joshua, completed his studies in 1943 and followed his father into the ministry. Another early student, Osif Clark, graduated and then became the first Native American instructor at the school in 1926. His son, Wesley, and then his granddaughter, Janice, also attended Cook. Four generations of Rechanda's family have attended Bible college, providing a snapshot of the transition from studying for the pastorate to entering a career in the social services.⁸⁹



Fig. 7: Janice, Wesley, and Olsif Clark. (CCTS)

⁸⁹ "One of the First Group Photos Above," The Indian Christian Leader 1([1943]): 3; "A School of the Prophets," Cook College and Theological School File, MHLSW, 75; and [photo caption], Indian Highways 83 (April 1963): 1.

Overall, Pima Bible college graduates have played a major role in the Pimas' adaptation of Christianity to meet changing political, economic, and social conditions during the twentieth century. Until World War II, graduates primarily became pastors. During the postwar years, they have increasingly sought careers in the field of social services. Many have invested their lives in helping their fellow Pimas and other Native Americans cope with the trauma of relocation and the devastation of substance abuse, while serving as role models to those aspiring to an education.

Ethnohistorian James Axtell has suggested that native peoples adopt non-native religions to meet their needs and to help them cope with the trauma of change.⁹⁰ The Pimas have certainly faced change during the past one hundred and fifty years. Their transition from prosperous irrigation farmers to a people facing the challenges of alcoholism, the expropriation of their land, poverty, and cultural fragmentation has not been smooth. Nevertheless, during the past ninety years, the graduates of Cook, AIC, and NIBC have helped shape the lives of their people during an era marked by rapid political, economic, and social change.

⁹⁰ James Axtell, "Some Thoughts on the Ethnohistory of Missions," *Ethnohistory* 29 (Winter 1982): 35-41.

Chapter 3

People of the Desert: The Tohono O'odham¹

At age fifty-three, Antonio B. Juan enrolled at the Charles H. Cook Bible school to study for the ministry. When Juan completed his studies, he became one of first native pastors on the Pima reservation. Besides preaching among his own people, Juan frequently held evangelistic services for the Pimas' neighbors, the Tohono O'odham. Although the Tohono O'odham were predominantly Catholic, they were eager to hear what Juan, a fellow Native American, had to say.² A group of Tohonos from the Sonoran villages of Green Well and Many Dogs, located just across the border in northern Mexico, walked several miles to attend special services Juan held for a group of Tohono O'odham on the Sells Reservation west of Tucson. The Tohonos from Sonora asked



Fig. 8: Antonio B. Juan. (CCTS)

¹ The Tohono O'odham were called "Papagos" or "bean eaters" by the Spaniards. In 1986, they officially changed their name to the Tohono O'odham. See Phyllis Gillespie, "Papagos Vote For New Name, Government," vertical file, Arizona - Indians - Papagos - 1980s, Phoenix Public Library, and Gene Varn, "Leaders Ask Truer Name For Papagos," vertical file, Arizona - Indians - Tohono O'odham, Scottsdale Public Library, Southwest Room.

² "A Noble Redman." (Pamphlet) n.d., Cook Christian Training School Pamphlet File #2. CCTSA.

Juan to come to hold meetings for them on their side of the border because it was difficult for them to walk from their villages to the meetings. Juan's schedule, however, made it impossible to honor the Sonoran Tohonos' request at that time. Undaunted, several Tohonos from Mexico tunneled under the border fence and walked six miles to attend the meetings each night that Juan held in San Miguel, located in the southern part of the Sells Reservation near the border.³

The Tohono O'odham, or "Desert People," share many similarities with their neighbors the Pimas, known as the "River People." In fact, some think that once the two groups were one people. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Tohonos and Pimas share similar mutually understandable Uto-Aztecan languages. They also celebrate some of the same traditional ceremonies, such as the annual saguaro cactus fruit and the harvest festivals. One major difference between the Tohono O'odham and the Pimas, however, is religion. Although the Pimas are primarily Protestants, the Tohonos are predominantly Roman Catholic. Since about 85 percent of the Tohonos profess to be Catholics, it is no surprise that only a small percentage of Tohonos have attended one of the Protestant Bible colleges under consideration here. Nevertheless, those Tohonos who have graduated from one of the schools, like their Pima counterparts, have played key roles in the ongoing Native American-Euroamerican cultural interchange.⁴

³ "Our Indian Preachers," Indian Highways 67 (August 1960): 2; "My Friend the Indian," Indian Highways 81 (December 1962): 2; "Heaven Smiled on Us!" Indian Highways 105 (March 1966): 2; and Maurice Ludlow, letter to author, November 9, 1996.

⁴ "Information Concerning the Papago Tribe," Tucson Public Library, vertical file, "Native Americans - Tohono O'odham - 1960-66; "Community Profile: Sells/Tohono O'odham Reservations" [1996], Scottsdale Public Library, Southwest Room vertical file, Tohono O'odham Indians; and J. Alden Mason, "The Papago Harvest Festival," American Anthropologist 22 (January-March 1920): 13-25.

The Tohono O'odham and Catholicism

The close proximity of the Papaguería, the Tohono O'odhams' homeland, to that of the Pimas brought them into contact with many of the same missionaries during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One of the most arid regions in North America, the Papaguería, as Spanish colonists called it, covers much of today's southern Arizona and the northern part of the Mexican state of Sonora. Bounded on the south by the Altar River Valley in Sonora, on the east by the Santa Cruz River, on the north by the Gila River, and on the west by the Gulf of California, the Tohonos' land is characterized by desert that covers wide, flat valleys, accentuated by an occasional low mountain range. But the Tohonos' territory contains even less water than the Pimas' homeland.⁵ Like the Pimas, the Tohono O'odham first met Europeans when the missionary Father Eusebio Francisco Kino made the first of many visits to the area in 1694. Over the next several years, Father Kino and his fellow Jesuits established missions at Magdalena on the river bearing the same name in Sonora, at Guevavi and Tumacácori along the Santa Cruz, and at Tubutama by the Altar River, also located in Sonora. These missions were established to Christianize the Indians and to create a buffer zone that would protect against Apache attacks so the Spaniards could control the frontier.⁶

After Father Kino, the Tohono O'odham encountered Father Jacobo Sedelmayr. Throughout the 1740s, he served as a missionary at Tubutama, becoming known as "father of the Pápago." At Sedelmayr's encouragement, many Tohono O'odham decided

⁵ D. D. Gaillard, "The Papago of Arizona and Sonora," *American Anthropologist* 7 (January 1894): 293; J. W. Hoover, "Generic Descent of the Papago Villages," *American Anthropologist* 37 (April-June 1935): 257; and *Annual Report* (1865), 133.

⁶ "Community Profile: Sells/Tohono O'odham Reservations" [1996], Tohono O'odham Indians, Southwest Room, vertical file, Scottsdale Public Library, and Bernard L. Fontana, "History of the Papago," in Alfonso Ortiz, ed. *Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest*, 20 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), 10: 137-39.

to relocate near the mission. The Spanish government encouraged Sedelmayr and his fellow missionaries to make contact with the Tohono O'odham and other Native Americans in the region hoping they would help subdue the Apaches.⁷ Most Tohonos did not, however, take up permanent residence at the mission. Much to the dismay of the priest, they continued migrating back and forth between the mission and their own villages. They did so because they feared being defenseless against the frequent Apache raids on the compound. Many decided they were safer in returning to their own villages rather than being ambushed at the mission.⁸

In spite of their hesitance to live at the missions, for the most part the Tohono O'odham enjoyed amiable relations with Kino, Sedelmayr, and the other missionaries who came to Papaguería during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. No records indicate that they poisoned any clergy, as the Pimas evidently had Father Johann Grazhoffer in the 1730s. The Tohonos did, nonetheless, join the Pimas in lashing out at the priests during the Pima Rebellion in 1751. When Luis Oacpicagigua, a Tohono O'odham, became locked in a power struggle with the missionaries for control of the region, several Tohonos joined a group of Pimas who attacked the priests and other Spaniards living in the region. During the ensuing uproar, two Jesuits, Father Tomás

⁷ Peter Masten Dunne, ed., Jacobo Sedelmayr, Missionary, Frontiersman, Explorer in Arizona and Sonora, 1744-1751 ([Tucson]: Arizona Pioneer's Historical Society, 1955), 20; Bernard L. Fontana, "Pima and Papago: Introduction," in Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest, 10: 134; and John Francis Bannon, The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513-1821 (1963; reprt. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1974), 150-51.

⁸ Donald Cutter and Iris Engstrand, Quest For Empire: Spanish Settlement in the Southwest (Golden, CO.: Fulcrum Publishing, 1996), 203, and John L. Kessell, Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers: Hispanic Arizona and the Sonora Mission Frontier 1767-1856 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976), 38-39.

Tello at Caborca and Father Heinrich Ruhen at Sonita, as well as dozens of miners, settlers, and shepherds, lost their lives.⁹

Although Tohonos took part in the massacre of the Spaniards, they continued to show an interest in Catholicism. They had already integrated its customs into their culture. For instance, many Tohono O'odham, like the Pimas, sought baptism for themselves and their children. On May 20, 1768, nineteen Tohonos at Tumacácori asked Fray Juan Gil to baptize them.¹⁰ And, during the 1770s and 1780s, ninety-six Tohono O'odham went to Father Baltasar Carrillo at Tumacácori for baptism. In addition to observing the sacrament of baptism, a number of Tohono O'odham moved to missions. One hundred and forty-one resided at Calabazas, whereas a group of ninety-one Tohono O'odham and Pimas lived at Tumacácori in the 1770s.¹¹ Similarly, Carrillo recruited several Tohono O'odham living in the desert near Tumacácori to replace the neophytes he lost because of a smallpox outbreak and repeated Apache attacks.¹² Severe drought also led members of the Tohono O'odham to join a mission. A lack of rain in 1796 prompted 134 from the ranchería of Aquituni to go to the mission at San Xavier. By 1820, there were a reported total of 1,127 Tohono living at the eight Catholic missions scattered throughout the region.¹³

Within a few years, however, political events in Mexico City would lead to the

⁹ Jay J. Wagoner, Arizona's Heritage, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1983), 83, and Edward H. Spicer, Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), 130.

¹⁰ Kessell, Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers, 38.

¹¹ Henry F. Dobyns, "Indian Extinction in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley, Arizona," New Mexico Historical Review 38 (April 1963): 163-81, and Kessell, Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers, 101, 175.

¹² Kessell, Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers, 138.

¹³ David J. Weber, The Mexican Frontier 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 51, and Kessell, Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers, 197.

Catholic church's temporary departure from the region. In 1821, Mexico gained its independence from Spain. The newly formed Mexican government ordered all Spanish-born priests to leave the region. Even before the government's decree, not enough priests were available to cover such a vast region. After the military carried out the government's orders, this shortage became even more acute. Only naturalized citizen and priest, Rafael Díaz, and a few of his fellow Mexican-born priests remained in the area. By 1843, however, because of death and attrition, there were no Franciscans in Mexican-held territory.¹⁴

Over the next two decades, turmoil marked the region. In 1846, war erupted between Mexico and the United States. When the two sides signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the Tohonos' homeland, although it lay wholly within the boundaries of Mexico, became a buffer zone between the two nations. Within a few years, the situation between Mexico and the U.S. became volatile once again as the two sides argued over the international boundary laid out in the treaty. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, President Franklin Pierce sent James Gadsden, the U.S. minister to Mexico and a railroad executive from South Carolina, to defuse the situation. In the end, the U.S. agreed to pay ten million dollars in return for nearly thirty thousand acres of disputed land between the Gila River and the current boundary with Mexico. This agreement, known as the Gadsden Purchase (1853), divided the Tohonos' homeland in half.¹⁵

The Tohonos living north of the new border helped the U.S. Army defeat their

¹⁴ Bernard L. Fontana, "Restoring San Xavier Del Bac: 'Our Church': Tohono O'odham Work to Restore the 200-Year-Old Church Built by Their Ancestors," *Native Peoples* 8 (Summer 1995): 33, and Weber, *The Mexican Frontier 1821-1846*, 52-53.

mutual enemy, the Apaches. With the Apache threat eliminated, hundreds of settlers, ranchers, and miners flooded the Tohonos' homeland. As a ploy to open the land to these newcomers, the government established reservations for the Tohonos at San Xavier, south of Tucson, in 1874 and Gila Bend, south of Phoenix, in 1884. Accustomed to roaming over much of southern Arizona and northern Mexico, the Tohonos increasingly found themselves hemmed in by non-Indians. In an effort to make amends, President Woodrow Wilson set aside the Tohono O'odham Reservation (formerly known as the Papago Reservation), west of Tucson, in 1916. Two decades later in 1937, Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration reserved a fourth parcel of land called Florence Village, located northwest of Casa Grande, making the Tohono Reservation the second largest Indian reservation in the United States.¹⁶

With few Catholic priests or missionaries visiting the Tohonos' homeland during the second half of the nineteenth century, the Tohonos might have stopped practicing Catholicism. Instead, they modified what the priests had taught them to suit their own needs and created a Tohono O'odham version of Catholicism. A blend of Roman Catholic and traditional Tohono beliefs, this new religion became known as Sonoran Catholicism. Services consisted of songs and prayers in Spanish, rather than in Latin, and the veneration of images of saints such as Saint Francis Xavier. No priests presided over the ceremony, and no mass or confession occurred. Instead, women directed the singing, and someone appointed by members of the village led the prayers. Those who practiced Sonoran Catholicism also made a yearly two hundred and fifty-mile pilgrimage

¹⁵ Bernard L. Fontana, "History of the Papago," in Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest, 10: 139-42, and Weber, The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846, 274.

¹⁶ "Community Profile: Sells/Tohono O'odham Reservations" [1996], Scottsdale Public Library, Southwest Room vertical file, Tohono O'odham Indians.

to Magdalena, located on the Altar River in northern Mexico. The equivalent of Islamic believers' pilgrimage to Mecca, this nebulous ceremony commemorated Saint Francis of Assisi, Saint Francis Xavier, and Father Kino, who had been stricken with a fatal illness while dedicating the church at Magdalena.¹⁷

Although the Tohonos and Pimas were in close contact, the latter group did not adopt this indigenous form of Catholicism. Rather, as noted in the previous chapter, the Pimas became increasingly frustrated with their medicine men's inability to prevent devastating diseases. As a result, the Pimas killed twenty shamen because of their alleged involvement in causing a rash of illnesses that claimed many lives from the 1840s to the 1880s. The Tohono O'odham, too, apparently blamed their medicine men for many disease-related deaths. According to their calendar stick, during the same period, the Tohonos, like the Pimas, put nine medicine men to death. By the early 1880s, a diminished confidence in their traditional beliefs influenced led many Pimas to adopt Christianity. In contrast, although the Tohonos had taken similar actions against their medicine men, they continued practicing Sonoran Catholicism.¹⁸

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, at a time when the Catholic Church had no missionaries among the Tohonos, the Presbyterians began extending the work they had begun among the Pimas to include the Tohonos. For example, in 1888 Rev. Howard

¹⁷ Alice Joseph, Rosamond B. Spicer, and Jane Chesky, *The Desert People: A Study of the Papago Indians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), 19-20, 82, 86; William S. King, "The Folk Catholicism of the Tucson Papagos" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, 1954), 2, 33-34, 60-61, 112-13; Elisabeth J. Tooker, "Papagos in Tucson: An Introduction to Their History, Community Life, and Acculturation" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, 1952), 99; Federal Writer's Project, "The Papago," *Arizona Teachers College Bulletin* 20 (October 1939): 13, 15; Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, 139, 513; and Ruth Underhill, *The Papago and Pima Indians of Arizona* (Palmer Lake, CO.: Filter Press, 1979), 57.

¹⁸ Ruth M. Underhill, *A Papago Calendar Record*, University of New Mexico Bulletin, Anthropological Series, vol. 2, no. 5 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1938), 1-63, and Frank Russell, "The Pima Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1904-1905 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 36-66.

Billman, a Presbyterian missionary, founded the Tucson Indian Training School. The purpose of the school was to train young Tohono O'odham and Pima men how to farm, while acquainting them with Presbyterianism. As a result, some of the Tohono students converted to Protestantism. In contrast to Catholic converts, Tohono Presbyterians were required to give up smoking, drinking, traditional ceremonies, and the cult of St. Francis. Presbyterians and the other Protestant groups who tried to convert the Tohonos allowed for no blending of traditional religious beliefs or Catholic doctrines with their tenets.¹⁹

Other Tohonos were converted through the preaching of Pima Christians, like those from Green Well and Many Dogs who walked six miles and slipped under the border to hear Antonio Juan. Many Tohonos went to hear Pima pastors out of curiosity because Indian preachers were so unusual.²⁰ By 1920, the Presbyterians had made inroads into four villages, establishing a school and a church at San Miguel and founding churches in Topawa, Vamori, and Choulic.²¹ During this time, Pima Presbyterian churches and the newly established Tohono O'odham Presbyterian churches had a great deal of contact. Early on, Pimas pastored four Tohono churches, and a Tohono was in charge of the fifth. Pima Bible school graduates also held yearly camp meetings at Sells, the key tribal town and headquarters for the tribal government located on the main Tohono O'odham reservation. Many converts embraced Protestant Christianity to the point that they centered their lives around the church and actively sought other converts. In the case of the Pimas, the cumulative effect of disease, lack of water, and the arrival of

¹⁹ Stanley H. Boggs, "A Survey of the Papago People" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Arizona, 1936), 55; Spicer, Cycles of Conquest, 524; Annual Report (1891), 215; Annual Report (1892), 214; Tooker, "Papagos in Tucson," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, 1952), vii, 12, 51; and William S. King, "The Folk Catholicism of the Tucson Papagos" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, 1954), 11.

²⁰ Lucy Pablo (Tohono O'odham), "How We See It: The Native American." Videocassette (Marion: IN: World Gospel Mission, n.d.).

²¹ Spicer, Cycles of Conquest, 140, 521, and Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, The Desert People, 72.

non-Indians who took their land led them to embrace Christianity. In contrast, the Tohono O'odham apparently became interested in Christianity as a result of school children receiving instruction in Presbyterianism and, perhaps more important, the preaching of Pima converts. Although a number of Tohonos and Pimas took different roads, they both arrived at the same destination, as students enrolled in a Bible college.²²

"He Made an Eager and Reverent Ambassador"

Even though the number of Tohono Bible college graduates was small, they, like their Pima counterparts, have played key roles in Tohono-Euroamerican cultural interchange. These alumni can be divided into three groups. The first group includes those who have served as spiritual leaders and as ambassadors between Native Americans and non-Indians. A second group incorporates those who became active in politics, as well as being spiritual mediators. And, a third group is comprised of individuals serving as spiritual mediators for their fellow Tohono O'odham.

One of the first Tohonos to attend Cook Bible School, Juan Xavier, became a pastor and an intermediary. His activities demonstrated that brokers could adapt aspects of non-native culture such as Christianity without giving up their identity as a Native American. When Xavier decided he wanted to further his education, instead of going to Phoenix Indian School, Carlisle Indian School, or one of the other off-reservation boarding schools, he chose to attend Cook. Since all the instruction was in English,

²² Tooker, "Papagos in Tucson," 83, 91, 119, 129, and Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, The Desert People, 92, 145.

Xavier became fluent. After finishing his studies, Xavier returned to the reservation and established a reputation as an eloquent preacher.²³

Up until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Tohonos accomplished amazing results using their famous dry-farming techniques during the rainy season. Two emerging factors, however, led to a sharp reduction in the number of Tohonos who earned their living from farming or raising sheep and cattle. First, when whites came into the region in the mid-1800s, many settled on the land with the best access to water, while others began mining operations on the most desirable grazing lands. These actions forced Tohonos to look elsewhere for their livelihood. According to the calendar stick, by mid-century, some Tohonos traveled to Mexico to find work, while others assisted whites with their sheep herds. Tohonos also turned to their neighbors, the Pimas. In 1887, at least 500 Tohonos helped the Pimas harvest their wheat in exchange for a share of the grain.²⁴ By the early twentieth century, wage-work became the norm for an even greater number of Tohonos. During the 1910s, eighty Tohonos worked at a copper mine in Ajo, Arizona, and more than 1,000 helped bring in the cotton harvest. About this same time, the lack of economic opportunities on the reservation, forced many Tohonos like Xavier to look for wage-work.²⁵

The allotment of land on the San Xavier and Gila Bend Reservations under the Dawes Act became the second factor that forced many of Xavier's contemporaries to

²³ Ruth Underhill, et al., Rainhouse & Ocean: Speeches for the Papago Year (1979; Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 2-3.

²⁴ J. W. Hoover, "Generic Descent of the Papago Villages," American Anthropologist 37 (April-June 1935): 258; Ruth M. Underhill, A Papago Calendar Record, University of New Mexico Bulletin, Anthropological Series, vol. 2, no. 5 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1938), 20-21, 23-24, 43, 51; Annual Report (1885), 4; and Annual Report (1887), 6.

²⁵ Annual Report (1916), 366; Annual Report (1919), 224; Edward F. Castetter and Willis H. Bell, Pima and Papago Indian Agriculture (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942), 40-49; and "The

seek wage-work. When allotment began in the 1890s, 363 individuals received an allotment at San Xavier and 679 at Gila Bend. This unfair division meant that only about one-third of the total Tohono O'odham population received allotments. By 1895, only forty families still cultivated their allotments on the Gila Bend Reservation because non-Indians had appropriated the little water available. Unable to grow enough food to feed their families, more and more Tohonos looked for wage-work.²⁶

Juan Xavier, too, felt the economic pinch. After a few years in the ministry, he was forced to look for a higher paying job. In the early 1930s, Xavier was between jobs when Ruth Underhill, an anthropology graduate student at Columbia University, came in search of someone to help record Tohono O'odham ceremonials in Tohono and English. At the time, Underhill was a student of Franz Boas, renowned for training a generation of cultural anthropologists to preserve tribal traditions. The previous year, Underhill had spent time interviewing Tohono women. None of the women, however, spoke English well enough to serve as her translator for the ceremonies. Eventually, someone recommended that Underhill ask Xavier because of his fluency in English, a by-product of his years at Cook Bible School. Although some tribal leaders vehemently disapproved of Underhill's failure to ask for permission to undertake the project, Xavier readily accepted a job as her assistant.²⁷ Xavier had become a Christian, but he still believed that

Off-Reservation Papagos," Program and Proceedings of the Arizona Commission of Indian Affairs Held in Sells, Arizona December 7, 1957.

²⁶ 48 Stat., 984-88; 24 Stat., 388-91; Annual Report (1890), 4; Annual Report (1895), 122; Annual Report (1896), 115; Annual Report (1897), 62; Annual Report (1898), 128; Annual Report (1899), 162; and Bernard L. Fontana, Of Earth & Little Rain (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 77-79.

²⁷ For an excellent treatment of anthropologists and their work among American Indians from a Native American point-of-view, see Vine Deloria, Jr., Custer Died For Your Sins (London: Macmillan Company, 1969), 78-100, and Thomas Biolsi and Larry J. Zimmerman, eds., Indians and Anthropologists: Vine Deloria, Jr., and the Critique of Anthropology (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997). In the second work, Deloria softens his earlier criticisms by admitting anthropologists have played key roles in gathering ethnological background for tribes in western Washington seeking to retain their fishing rights, in

observing traditional ceremonies held special meaning for all Tohonos. Plus, he was well aware that few members of the younger generation knew the Tohonos' ceremonies that celebrated rain, the annual salt pilgrimage, hunting, war, or renewal after a flood. He, therefore, agreed to help Underhill to preserve them for posterity.²⁸

During the project, Xavier assumed the role of cultural mediator between Underhill and the Tohono O'odham people. To facilitate the recording of the ceremonies, he set up appointments with the old priests who knew the traditional rituals. This is how the process worked. The elders explained the rite, such as the ceremony describing the annual pilgrimage to the Gulf of California for salt. Xavier then translated it for Underhill, who wrote down explanations in a phonetic alphabet. Xavier then reviewed Underhill's version with the priest to check for accuracy. Although Xavier may not have used his education the way the missionary teachers at the Bible school might have intended, he nevertheless played a key role in the preservation of the ceremonies. Even though Tohono women knew Underhill as a student of their language, it is unlikely she would have been able to speak with these elders without Xavier's introductions to the priests. Undoubtedly, the rituals would have been lost to subsequent generations without Xavier's efforts.²⁹

Although Xavier's role as a cultural broker helped Underhill preserve the ceremonies, his actions put him at odds with the tribal elders. Underhill described Xavier as "an eager and reverent ambassador," but his case also serves as an excellent example of the dilemmas cultural mediators sometimes face. Men and women like Xavier who

accelerating the repatriation of Indian remains from museums like the Smithsonian Institution, and in assisting eastern Indians in their efforts to gain recognition from the U.S. government.

²⁸ Peter Blaine, Sr., *Papagos and Politics* (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, 1981), 40-42, and Pat Paton, "Ruth Underhill Remembered," *Colorado Heritage* 1 (1985): 19.

had received formal schooling at a mission school tended to be more open to new ways, not only in religion, but also in the areas of education, economics, and politics. It is not surprising that Xavier found himself in disagreement with the tribal elders. In fact, Xavier's actions, when viewed over time, were heroic. Although Juan Gómez, chief at San Xavier, instructed Peter Blaine, a member of the San Xavier council, to investigate the situation, the work was allowed to proceed. Interestingly, Xavier's actions were vindicated almost fifty years later when tribal leaders honored Underhill for preserving Tohono history and traditions. After reading Underhill's books on Tohono history and culture in 1979, Joseph Enos organized a four-day celebration during which the Tohonos honored the anthropologist. Although Xavier could scarcely have foreseen how important Underhill's books would become to future generations, he obviously thought recording the Tohonos' ceremonies was worth the risk of angering the elders.³⁰

Just as Xavier played a dual role in the 1920s and 1930s, Abe Manuel, a graduate of the C. Warren Jones Indian Bible and Training School³¹ in Lindreth, New Mexico, bore similar responsibilities during the 1940s and 1950s. Desiring to better prepare himself to take on the leadership of a congregation, Manuel enrolled as a member of the first class at the Bible school in the fall of 1948.³² For several years prior to enrolling in

²⁹ Ruth Underhill, et al., Rainhouse & Ocean: Speeches for the Papago Year, 2-3, 5, 13-15; Annual Report (1860), 168; and Paton, "Ruth Underhill Remembered," 24.

³⁰ Blaine, Papagos and Politics, 27, 41-42, and Paton, "Ruth Underhill Remembered," 24.

³¹ The name was changed from the C. Warren Jones Bible and Training School to the Nazarene Indian School in 1954 when it relocated to Albuquerque, New Mexico. In 1976, the name was changed to Nazarene Indian Bible College to reflect the new emphasis on college-level instruction. See "50th Anniversary Celebration – Celebrating Our Heritage," Nazarene Indian Bible College program, August 6-9, 1998, 1-2.

³² Abe Manuel, "Excerpts From a Letter," North American Indian 4 (May 1947): 3.

the Bible school, Manuel had pastored the Church of the Nazarene's mission on the Tohono O'odham Reservation in tandem with Anglo missionaries.³³

While a student, Manuel participated in two different types of ministry opportunities: one to non-Indians and the other to his fellow Tohonos. For example, in December 1948, his first year at the school, Manuel, Ray Neido (Comanche), Johnny Stevens (Cocopah), and Curtis Hough (tribal affiliation unknown) traveled to Amarillo, Texas, to participate in a special service at an Anglo church where the men sang and gave their testimonies. Manuel and his fellow students demonstrated to the white parishioners that both groups shared similar religious beliefs. Conversely, the young men were able to gain a better understanding of Anglos through their interaction with the family who hosted them during their stay in Amarillo. On this and many other occasions, Manuel took on the role of intermediary between Native American and Euroamerican culture.³⁴

Between The Rock and a Hard Place: Spiritual and Political Brokers

The second group of graduates became political leaders as well as spiritual mediators. Joaquin Lopez, a graduate of Cook in the early 1920s, like Juan Xavier, pastored a church on the Tohono O'odham Reservation. During his forty years in the ministry, Lopez labored to make Christianity understandable to his fellow Tohonos in Vamori, Arizona, one of only five villages, all located on the eastern half of the Tohono

³³ "The Birth of a District," Sacred Journey 3 (November 1992): 9-12, 16; Dowie Swarth with John C. Oster, Ever the Pioneer (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1978), 70-78; and G. H. Pearson, The Transformed Red Man (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press, 1956), 25-27.

³⁴ Seventh Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District, Session held at the C. Warren Indian Bible and Training School, Lindreth, New Mexico, June 6 and 7, 1951, 8; Seventeenth Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District, Session held at Nazarene Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico, May 17-18, 1961, 10; Johnny Stevens (Cocopah), "Journey to Amarillo," The Voice of the Red Man (NIBC student newspaper) 4 (December 1948): 2; and Catherine Pickett, "At the Training School," North American Indian (Church of the Nazarene) 4 (January-February 1949): 4.

O'odham Reservation, where Presbyterians outnumbered Catholics. Lopez's long years of service at the church in Vamori led to his ordination by the Presbyterian Church in 1947. More than five hundred people attended the service, which was conducted by Esau Joseph (Pima), also a Cook alumnus, to see Lopez become the first Tohono to be ordained. Even after Lopez officially retired, he continued in his role as spiritual intermediary. For more than fifteen years after he resigned from the church, Lopez continued working to help Tohonos understand how the Gospel applied to their lives.³⁵



Fig. 9: Joaquin Lopez. (CCTS)

In addition to that role, Lopez also inspired several members of his church to become involved in the political affairs of the Tohono government. Although during the 1930s only about 220 out of approximately 6,400 Tohono O'odham were Protestants, a disproportionate number of the members of Lopez's church served on the tribal council. At that time, two factions battled for control of Tohono O'odham politics: the party

³⁵ [no title], *Indian Highways* 6 (April 1947): 4; George Walker, "Work Without Money," *Indian Highways* 118 (December 1967): 3; "Mr. and Mrs. Lopez Honored," *Indian Highways* 119 (February 1968): 4; and

Lopez belonged to, the Good Government League (Protestant), and the League of Papago Chiefs (Catholic). These two groups often disagreed on how Tohono affairs should be run. The League of Papago Chiefs, for example, resented the Good Government League's close association with the Anglo Indian superintendent and his assistants. Moreover, the League of Papago Chiefs also thought that the boarding-school educated members of the Good Government League were usurping traditional authority in the villages. These and other differences created a great deal of tension between the two groups. The differences did not, however, prevent the two sides from working together when an emergency arose. For instance, the two factions came together in the early 1930s to remove an incompetent superintendent.³⁶

Besides encouraging members of his congregation to play an active role in politics, Lopez was a delegate to the 1934 Wheeler- Howard Bill regional congress held in Phoenix, Arizona. Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier called the meeting, one of ten held across Indian country, to explain the purpose of the bill eventually known as the Indian Reorganization Act and to answer any questions the Indians of that region might pose regarding the bill. The objective of the legislation was to end the policy of allotment provided for under the Dawes Act and to discontinue the Indian Bureau's autocratic control over the lives of Native Americans. Those tribes accepting the act were permitted to establish their own self-government by petitioning the secretary of interior.³⁷

William S. King and Delmos J. Jones, Papago Population Studies (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), 51-53.

³⁶ [no title], Indian Highways 10 (March 1949): 3; Henry F. Dobyns, The Papago People (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1972), 52-53; and Spicer, Cycles of Conquest, 140-43.

³⁷ Michael T. Smith, "The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934: The Indian New Deal," Journal of the West 10 (July 1971): 521-34.

As might be expected, some Tohonos, as well as their neighbors the Pimas, Navajos, Mojaves, Apaches, and Colorado River tribes, had misgivings about the bill. After the conference was concluded, it was the job of Lopez and the other delegates to explain the measure to their fellow Tohonos. Some Tohonos doubted whether self-government would work for them since they had numerous independent ranches and villages scattered across their nearly three million-acre reservation. Nevertheless, in the end, the tribe voted 1,443 to 188 to reorganize under the provisions of the act.³⁸

During the 1960s and 1970s, another Tohono, Jacob Escalante, emerged as both a spiritual and political broker. Escalante prepared for the first role by enrolling at the newly founded All Tribes Bible School. Like many of the other initial students who came to the Bible school, Jacob Escalante was not a recent high school graduate. In fact, he was married and the father of eight children when he enrolled at American Indian College (AIC). After Escalante was graduated in 1962, he began his ministry at the Indian Assembly of God church near Yuma, Arizona. Throughout his career, Escalante preached not only to his fellow Tohonos, but also to other tribes in southwestern Arizona and southern California.³⁹

After the Tohonos accepted the IRA in October 1934, they began organizing a new tribal government. On January 6, 1937, the Tohonos completed the process and adopted a constitution under the act's provisions. The newly formed Tribal Council consisted of representatives of eleven political districts; the Sells Reservation was carved

³⁸ Southern Arizona Indian Conference, Report of Southern Arizona Indian Conference Held at Phoenix, Arizona, March 15-16, 1934 for the Purpose of Explaining the Howard Wheeler Bill to the Assembled Indians (Phoenix: Phoenix Indian School Print Shop, 1934), 1-33; "Community Profile: Sells/Tohono O'odham Reservations" [1996], Scottsdale Public Library, Southwest Room vertical file, Tohono O'odham Indians; and Spicer, Cycles of Conquest, 143.

³⁹ Alma Thomas, interview with author, October 22, 1996, and Alta M. Washburn, Trail to the Tribes (n.p.:n.p., 1990), 59.

into nine districts, and the San Xavier and Gila Bend comprised the other two.

Previously, when decisions were required, the village headman or chief would solicit everyone's opinion and form a consensus.⁴⁰

In addition to his role as a minister, Escalante, like Lopez, entered politics, eventually becoming the Tohono O'odham tribal chair in 1974. Young, formally schooled leaders like Escalante focused on specific issues and made decisions without consulting the elders. As a result, they often found themselves between the proverbial rock and hard place. They faced the dilemma of dealing with the dominant culture while trying to remain Tohono O'odham.⁴¹ Elvin Kelly, Tohono tribal business manager at the time, summarized the predicament of men like Escalante:

Someone who has never left his village, as many people have not, cannot possibly understand what is going on in the white world. We in the administration have to be their contact. It's up to us to explain what we can, and not violate our duty to them. And it's up to them to keep telling us how they feel.⁴²

During his term as tribal chair, for instance, Escalante found himself in a quandary over the loss of hundreds of cattle because of drought and over-grazing. This problem was not new for the Tohono O'odham. In the early 1930s, a severe drought had robbed many Tohonos of their cattle. The loss had been particularly severe because it happened during the Great Depression. Because of these difficulties, soaring

⁴⁰ Annual Report (1937), 199-200; Annual Report (1938), 249-50; Annual Report (1940), 359-61; William H. Kelly, The Papago Indians of Arizona: A Population & Economic Study (Tucson: Bureau of Ethnic Research, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, 1963), 13-14; Blaine, Papago and Politics, 1981), 67, 81; Felix Cohen, Felix Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 129; George E. Fay, ed. Charters, Constitutions and By-Laws of the Indian Tribes of North America, VI (Greeley, CO.: Museum of Anthropology, Colorado State College, 1967), 45-52.

⁴¹ "Priest Cites Domination of Papagos: Can't Make Own Decisions," Tucson Daily Citizen, July 18, 1968, and Blaine, Papago and Politics, 3.

⁴² Edward J. Sylvester, "Tribal officials follow 'Papago way': Modern problems face tribe that knew no law," Arizona Daily Star April 24, 1977: 6.

unemployment rates in Arizona forced many Indians working off-reservation wage jobs in Tucson and Phoenix to return home. When these people began raising cattle to feed their families, they further stressed pasturelands that could barely sustain the Tohonos' cattle when rain was plentiful.⁴³ The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), a significant economic program under the government's New Deal, temporarily solved the problem. Designed to provide employment and vocational training for thousands of unemployed persons across the nation, the program created jobs for 1,200 Tohonos during the six years it operated on the Tohono O'odham Reservation. The projects Tohono CCC workers completed, such as building reservoirs, expanding water holes, and making range improvements, also helped address the Tohonos' lack of water.⁴⁴ Better access to water and replenished grazing lands enabled the Tohonos to begin rebuilding their herds. In this context, the government sold these Indians approximately 1,000 special drought-resistant Herefords. The tribe paid half the purchase price; the government paid the other. Each Tohono received ten young heifers and the services of a bull. In return, within four years the recipient was to repay the tribe ten calves. Those cattle were to form the core of a tribal herd. Yet, these well-intentioned efforts to improve the Tohonos' lot backfired. Within a decade, the Tohonos' herds had grown too large for the range to sustain.⁴⁵

By the early 1960s, land management officials advised the Tohonos to cull 6,000 head of cattle from their herds.⁴⁶ That forced reduction was followed by another major

⁴³ Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, 142.

⁴⁴ *Annual Report* (1939), 377-79; *Annual Report* (1940), 373-74; *Annual Report* (1942), 242-43; Donald L. Parman, *The Navajos and the New Deal* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976), 32; and Blaine, *Papago and Politics*, 67.

⁴⁵ Blaine, *Papago and Politics*, 79, and *Annual Report* (1947), 358.

⁴⁶ Lonnie Elmer Nix, "Promotion of Higher Education Within Arizona Indian Groups" (Ph.D. dissertation, Arizona State University, 1963), 65.

drought, lasting from 1969 to 1972. During this three-year period, 1,800 cattle died. After a one-year reprieve, drought paid another visit in 1973-74. This time 3,000 cattle died in less than a year. By 1974, many feared that the Tohonos' entire cattle industry would be wiped out.⁴⁷

Escalante served as tribal chair during the height of this crisis. The situation became so desperate that Escalante and ten other tribal officials met with the governor of Arizona, Jack Williams, to ask for help. Since the Tohonos were under the jurisdiction of the department of the interior, Williams suggested that Escalante appeal to Secretary of the Interior Roger C.B. Morton for aid.⁴⁸ In answer to Escalante's plea, the BIA sent feed for the starving animals. But, bureau officials also strongly urged the Tohonos to reduce the size of their herds to prevent future disasters. At the time, the Tohonos had 18,000 head of cattle and 3,500 horses on land that, at best, could support only 10,000 animals.⁴⁹

In spite of the officials' warnings that the Tohonos must reduce the number of cattle they owned, Escalante knew that suggesting his fellow Tohonos reduce their herd size would cause an uproar. Hedging his bets, he promised that he would "try to work out some kind of agreement that will benefit everyone." Unlike the BIA officials, Escalante could appreciate that Tohonos saw their cattle as a status symbol. He was also aware that most Tohonos raised a few head of cattle for extra spending money or as an emergency fund. Clearly, Escalante was in a predicament. On the one hand, there was little hope Tohonos would give up any of their cattle, even if he ordered them to do so. On the other hand, the federal government would be less likely to help the next time this

⁴⁷ Gil Matthews, "Papago Livestock Face Repeat of Drought Crisis," Tucson Daily Citizen, June 5, 1970.

⁴⁸ "Papagos cattle dying in drought," vertical file, Arizona - Indians - Papagos - 1970-1974, Phoenix Public Library.

type of crisis arose unless the Tohonos made some type of good-faith effort to reduce the number of animals grazing on the reservation.⁵⁰ Caught in the middle of a dilemma, Escalante tried to appease both sides. Doing so, however, cost him politically. He was defeated in the next tribal election in 1976, ending his political career. Escalante's experiences indicated the difficulties faced by tribal leaders trying to balance traditional Tohono ways with the changes of the twentieth century.⁵¹

"Come follow me and I will make you fishers of men"⁵²

The third group of Tohono Bible college graduates included individuals pastoring churches, but having a broader ministry to everyone in the community. By the 1970s, although the bible colleges had been preparing Tohonos for the ministry for nearly fifty years, the Catholic Church still had no Tohono priests. The Catholic Church's requirement that priests remain celibate presented a serious obstacle for the family-oriented Tohonos. Moreover, the long years of study necessary for joining the priesthood dissuaded others. In contrast, although the percentage of Protestant Tohonos is only a fraction of those who are Catholic, between 1970 and 2000 Protestant denominations admitted about a dozen Tohonos to the ministry. Besides allowing ministers to marry, Protestant churches established special Bible colleges where Tohonos and other Native Americans could prepare themselves for the ministry while remaining close to home. By

⁴⁹ Robert Reilly, "B.I.A. to feed hungry cattle on parched Indian land," *Arizona Republic*, July 20, 1974 and Raymond E. Anderson, "Papago Drought Losses: The Numbers Game," *Arizona Daily Star*, August 11, 1974.

⁵⁰ Gene Varn, "Aid limit is bid to kill cattle, tribe says," vertical file, Arizona – Indians – Papagos – 1980s, Phoenix Public Library, and Varn, "Hundreds of cattle die on reservation; drought, overgrazing are blamed," vertical file, Arizona – Indians – Papagos – 1980s, Phoenix Public Library.

⁵¹ John Woestendiek, "Cattle dilemma: Control by tribe, not government, called necessary to reduce overgrazing," *Arizona Daily Star*, April 24, 1977, and Edward J. Sylvester, "Tribal officials follow 'Papago way': Modern problems face tribe that knew no law," *Arizona Daily Star*, April 24, 1977.

encouraging native pastors to take on leadership roles in the reservation's churches, the Protestants differentiated themselves from the Catholics.⁵³

Like many other Tohono O'odham, Clarence and Helen Liston left the reservation in the 1960s to find work.⁵⁴ While living in Los Angeles, they began attending a Nazarene church. Eventually, when they felt called to the ministry, they returned to Sells, Clarence's home area, and took charge of the Nazarene church there. Like the majority of Native American pastors, Liston was bi-vocational. In addition to pastoring the church, he joined the Sells Reservation police force to support his family.⁵⁵



Fig. 10: Sells Church of the Nazarene. (Courtesy Nazarene Indian Bible College)

Quite unexpectedly, a few years later Liston lost his sight, which forced him to resign from the police department. When he regained his vision, the Listons decided to enroll at the Nazarene Indian Bible College for formal ministerial training. Because of

⁵² Matthew 4:19.

⁵³ "The Spreading of the Faith," *Arizona Daily Star* April 24, 1977.

⁵⁴ "7,000 Papagos Leave Reservation Because it Will Not Support Them," *Daily Citizen (Tucson)*, December 9, 1957.

⁵⁵ *Twenty-Sixth Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District*, Session held at Nazarene Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 4 - 5, 1970, 10, and Steve Bowman, "Using All Things For Good," *Sacred Journey* 3 (March 1992): 11.

his experience as a pastor, Liston served as chaplain of the NIBC student body during the years he studied at the school. In this capacity, Liston provided spiritual leadership for young people from several Native American groups.⁵⁶

After the Listons completed their studies, they launched what would become a lengthy ministry to their fellow Tohono O'odham. First, they oversaw a Nazarene Indian church in Tucson from 1976 to 1981. Then, they moved to Santa Rosa, Arizona, where Helen had grown up, and started a new church there. Once that church was firmly established, Clarence switched his status to that of an evangelist, with the Listons shifting their focus to revivals and camp meetings.⁵⁷

As the elder Listons were cutting back their workload, their son, Dan, and his wife, Lois, accepted a call to lead the first church the elder Listons had pastored in Sells. Daniel Liston's career closely paralleled that of his father. Dan also served with the Sells Reservation police force. And, while the loss of his eye-sight prompted the elder Liston to leave police work and pursue formal ministerial training, an almost fatal car accident while on duty induced the younger Liston to make a vocational change. After recovering from his injuries, Dan moved his family to Colorado Springs to attend Nazarene Bible College (NBC), a Bible school specifically designed to prepare students for pastoral

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Thirty-Sixth Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District, Session held at Nazarene Indian Bible College, Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 2, 1980, 15; "Special Notice," Voice of the Redman (Church of the Nazarene) 35 (May 1981): 1; Thirty-Ninth Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District, Session held at Nazarene Indian Bible College, Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 9, 1983, 14; Forty-First Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District, Session held at Nazarene Indian Bible College Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 6, 1985, 14; Tenth Annual Assembly Journal of the Southwest Indian District, Session held at Lehi Church of the Nazarene Mesa, Arizona, June 15, 1995, 10, and Bowman, "Using All Things For Good," 11.

ministry. When Dan graduated from NBC, he, Lois, and their children returned to Sells.⁵⁸

In addition to pastoring the church, the Listons participated in "The Forum," a special conference jointly sponsored by Nazarene Indian Bible College and Nazarene Compassion Ministries. Those who attended the conference sought to develop new programs to help Indian churches address the social, educational, financial, and spiritual problems that American Indians face. Dan also served as a member of the NIBC board of directors in 1992-93. In these capacities, the Listons served as spiritual links between their fellow Tohonos and the Nazarene Church.⁵⁹



Fig. 11: Dan and Lois Liston. (NIBC)

When Clarence and Helen Liston resigned from the church in Santa Rosa to concentrate on conducting revivals and camp meetings, another pair of NIBC graduates, Corwyn and Linda Vega, took their place. Corwyn (Tohono O'odham/ Mojave) had

⁵⁸ "Nazarene Bible College: History," Nazarene Bible College web page (www.nbc.edu/homepage/home01/html, February 10, 2000); Julian D. Gunn, "District News Items," Voice of the Redman 3 (August 1982): 1; and Second Annual Assembly Journal of the Southwest Indian District, Session held at Nazarene Indian Bible College Albuquerque, New Mexico, May 21, 1987, 9.

⁵⁹ Seventh Annual Assembly Journal of the Southwest Indian District, Session held at Nazarene Indian Bible College Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 19, 1992, 5.

been raised by Christian grandparents in Chuichu. Each Sunday and Wednesday, Corwyn and his grandparents drove the seventy-five miles from Chuichu to Sells to attend church. Feeling called to the ministry, Vega enrolled in NIBC in 1975. Following his graduation, Corwyn married Linda, who had also been a student at the Bible college. Together they moved to Needles, California, where Corwyn became the assistant pastor at the Nazarene Indian church located there. After serving in Needles for two-and-a-half years, the Vegas relocated to the Colorado River Indian Reservation where Corwyn served as the assistant pastor at the church in Parker, Arizona. Then, in 1985, the Vegas accepted a call to replace Clarence and Helen Liston at the church where Corwyn had grown up.⁶⁰



Fig. 12: Corwyn and Linda Vega. (NIBC)

⁶⁰ First Annual Assembly of the Southwest Indian District, Session held at Nazarene Indian Bible College, Albuquerque, New Mexico, May 27, 1986, 8; Forty-First Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District, Session held at Nazarene Indian Bible College Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 6, 1985, 15; Tenth Annual Assembly Journal of the Southwest Indian District, Session held at Lehi Church of the Nazarene Mesa, Arizona, June 15, 1995, 11; "Santa Rosa: Remember to Pray For Us," Sacred Journey 2 (November 1991): 11; Steve Bowman, "Living By Faith . . . That's My Life," Sacred Journey 2 (November 1991): 13; Bowman, "Ready to Meet the Challenge," Sacred Journey 2 (November 1991): 10; Thirty-Sixth Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District, Session held at Nazarene Indian Bible College, Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 2, 1980, 12; and Thirty-Ninth Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District, Session held at Nazarene Indian Bible College, Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 9, 1983, 12.

Conclusion

Although the Tohono O'odham shared many similarities with their neighbors, the Pimas, the Tohonos were far more reticent to embrace Protestant Christianity because they had developed their own indigenous form of Catholicism. In the late nineteenth century, when hundreds of Pimas converted to Christianity, the Tohonos remained firmly committed to Sonoran Catholicism, a combination of traditional Tohono beliefs and Catholic rituals. Even though the Pimas were delighted to see Indian pastors and elders leading some of the new Presbyterian churches, the Tohonos had already proven their preference for native leadership in their churches. A small number of Tohonos became Presbyterians while they were students at the Tucson Indian School, but it was not until Pima pastors began holding revivals and camp meetings on the Tohono O'odham Reservation during the 1910s and 1920s that larger numbers began converting. The close cultural relationship between the Pimas and the Tohonos, as well as the Tohonos' fondness for Indian leaders, as evidenced in their loyalty to Sonoran Catholicism rather than mainstream Roman Catholicism, made the Tohonos more likely to give a Pima pastor their attention.

Serving as a cultural broker required extraordinary skill, as the lives of Juan Xavier and Jacob Escalante clearly demonstrate. Xavier found himself in a predicament when he tried to help preserve Tohono ceremonies. He also faced opposition from tribal elders who felt he was usurping their authority. Xavier could hardly have understood at the time, however, just how important his efforts would become fifty years later when young Tohonos realized they did not know the history and culture of their people. Were

it not for Xavier, Ruth Underhill would probably not have been able to write her books, and much of the Tohonos' past would have been lost.

Escalante, like Xavier, found himself in a quandary when he tried to mediate between the Tohonos and the federal government. As a Tohono, Escalante knew how important cattle were to his people's well-being and self-image. On the other hand, he also realized that if the Tohonos wanted to prevent their grazing lands from being permanently damaged, drastic measures would need to be taken. In the end, Escalante's efforts at mediating the situation cost him his position as tribal chair.

Like Rechanda and her Pima relatives, a kinship link played a key role in Daniel Liston's decision to attend a Bible college and enter the ministry. He had seen his father serving as a spiritual intermediary and chose to follow in his footsteps. Similarly, the strong faith of his grandparents influenced Corwyn Vega to enroll at NIBC and become a pastor.

Statistically, the number of Tohono converts never approached the number of Pima converts, but it was not long before Tohonos began joining Pimas as students at Cook, and later at the other two Bible schools. Comprising only a small percentage of the Native Americans who have graduated from a Bible college, the Tohonos have, nevertheless, played key roles as intermediaries. As individuals in this chapter suggest, by acting as spiritual brokers, they have taught their fellow Tohonos about Protestant Christianity because they believed it offers converts something of value. Moreover, their willingness to make financial sacrifices to become ministers rather than seeking higher-paying jobs indicated that they were committed to helping other Indians understand their belief that Christianity offered hope.

Chapter 4

DZILGHĀĀ'GÓÓ BAA DAHOŁNE'

("Go Tell it on the Mountain"¹): The Diné

In 1946, residents of Navajo Mountain, an isolated community tucked in the northwest corner of the Navajo Reservation, chose Harold Navajo, the son of a *hataalii* (medicine man), to go to Cook Bible School to find out about "the White Man's religion." Although it is unclear why members of this isolated, strongly traditional region suddenly became interested in Christianity, it is noteworthy that even Navajo's father



Fig. 13: Harold Navajo. (CCTS)

agreed with the decision and encouraged his son to go. When Navajo returned home during Christmas vacation after his first semester at Cook, his neighbors, relatives, and friends crowded into the largest hogan in the area to hear Navajo explain what he had

¹ Hymn translated by Bobby B. Yazzie. (Chinle, Ariz.: Navajo Lutheran Mission).

learned about Christianity. They listened for several hours that New Year's Eve, then asked him to come back the next day and continue his explanation. Looking back on that event, Navajo remembered being eager to return to Cook so he could learn more about the Bible. He had told his neighbors everything he knew during those two afternoons, and he wanted to be able to tell them something new during his next trip to Navajo Mountain.²

In the years since, many other Navajos have followed in Harold Navajo's footsteps, attending Cook, Nazarene Indian Bible College (NIBC), or American Indian College (AIC). These Navajo Bible college students, like the Pima and Tohono O'odham men and women mentioned previously, have been motivated by a belief that Christianity offers their people a source of hope and power. Thus, they have played important roles as intermediaries by helping their communities adapt to political, economic, social, and spiritual changes between World War II and the end of the twentieth century.

The Diné and Missionaries

The story of Harold Navajo and the other Navajo Bible college students who followed his path marked a major change for these people. Beginning in the 1620s, the Navajos had resisted Christianity when they first encountered Catholic missionaries.³

² "Harold Navajo, One of the Navajo Students, Says . . ." Indian Highways 6 (April 1947): 2; "Harold Navajo," Outreach: A Monthly Magazine of the Boards of National and Foreign Missions and Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. 4 (January 1950): 52; "Harold Navajo's Testimony," Given before a meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society, January 10, 1947, Cook College and Theological School Archives; "My Cup Runneth Over," Indian Highways 15 (September 1950): 4; "Harold Navajo Again," Indian Highways 25 (September 1952): 1; "Harold Navajo - Operation Snow," Indian Highways 12 (November 1949): 1; Chuck Mueller, "School Gives Indians Chance For Rehabilitation," Phoenix Gazette (September 10, 1949); and Cornelius H. Bode, "Cook Christian Training School Graduates," File, Cook College and Theological School Archives.

³ Charlotte J. Frisbie, "Temporal Change in Navajo Religion: 1868-1990," Journal of the Southwest 34 (Winter 1992): 484.

Unlike the Tohono O'odham, who practiced Catholicism outwardly, most Diné, the Navajos' name for themselves, that means "the People," spurned the Franciscan efforts to convert them during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴ Geography and their seminomadic ways of life allowed the Diné to elude missionaries. Long before Europeans arrived, the Navajos' homeland lay within their four sacred mountains: *Dibé Ntsaa* (Mount Hesperus) and *Tsi'naajinii* (Mount Blanca) in what is now Colorado, *Tsoodzil* (Mount Taylor) in New Mexico, and *Dook'o 'ooslíd* (San Francisco Peaks) in Arizona. The remoteness of this region and the fluidity of their Navajo residence patterns enabled them to avoid the few missionaries available.⁵

Sometimes, however, specific groups of Navajos showed an interest in settling at a mission and being catechized. For instance, according to anthropologist David M. Brugge, who conducted a search of baptismal and burial records from 1694 to 1875, several hundred Navajos settled at Cebolleta, north of Laguna Pueblo in western New Mexico in 1746. During the brief time they lived there, 132 Navajos were baptized by Padre Juan Menchero. Yet, within two years, the Navajos decided mission life was not for them. Their departure forced Menchero to abandon the mission. In parting, the Navajos explained that they could not become Christians because they were already set in their ways. Their willingness to be baptized had been a means of receiving gifts from Fray Juan. It had also been an opportunity to learn new religious rituals.⁶

⁴ David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 92.

⁵ J. C. De Korne, *Navaho and Zuni for Christ* (Grand Rapids, MI.: Christian Reformed Board of Missions, 1947), 177, and Frederick Webb Hodge, George P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey, eds. *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945), 308.

⁶ Charles Wilson Hackett, *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1923-37), 3:433; Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, eds. *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634*, 277, 309; Frank D. Reeve, "The Navaho-Spanish Peace: 1720's-1770's," *New Mexico Historical Review* 34 (January

In the nineteenth century, the Diné continued to resist Protestant missionaries' efforts to convert them. This new wave of missionaries concentrated on making inroads with the Navajos through their children. When the Diné leaders signed the Treaty of 1868 ending their four-year imprisonment by the U.S. Army at *Hwééldi* (Bosque Redondo) in eastern New Mexico along the Pecos River, they agreed to send their children to school. After the Long Walk, however, Navajo parents were reluctant to send their sons and daughters to school. Having suffered untold hardships at the hands of the army during their imprisonment, the Diné were understandably reticent to trust their children to school officials.⁷ In 1869, for example, when the Presbyterian Home Mission Board sent Charity Ann Gaston to teach at the government school at Fort Defiance, few Navajo parents enrolled their children because they feared they would contract a disease and die. Those parents who sent their children to school did so on an irregular basis. On some school days, as few as three students showed up, while on rare occasions, as many as thirty attended. The following year, Gaston married the Rev. John Menaul, a fellow Presbyterian. Not long afterward, discouraged by the Navajos' continuing resistance to conversion, conflicts with the military officials assigned to watch over the Diné, and the missing financial support promised to them by the federal government and the Presbyterian denomination, the Menauls abandoned their efforts and moved to Laguna Pueblo.⁸

1959): 17, 21, 25-27; David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 99; and David M. Brugge, *Navajos in the Catholic Church Records of New Mexico, 1694-1875* (Tsaile, Ariz.: Navajo Community College Press, 1985), 22-24, 41, 43-53, 158.

⁷ Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, 5 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 2:1017.

⁸ Margaret Connell Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607-1783* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 23; Michael J. Warner, "Protestant Missionary Activity Among the Navajo, 1890-1912," *New Mexico Historical Review* 45 (July 1970): 213-14; *Annual Report* (1871), 378-79; Martin A. Link, ed., *Navajo: A Century of Progress, 1868-1968* (Window Rock, Ariz.: Navajo

During the late 1890s, a new wave of missionaries targeting Navajo children began arriving in Dinétah. In 1899, the Navajo Methodist Mission opened a school in Hogback, New Mexico, twenty miles west of Farmington. The Presbyterians soon followed suit. In 1901 they established a mission at Ganado, Arizona, twenty-five miles west of Window Rock; the following year they opened an elementary school. Not to be outdone, the Christian Reformed Church founded a school at their Rehoboth Mission five miles east of Gallup, New Mexico, in 1903.⁹ In spite of these efforts, the majority of Navajos continued to resist missionaries throughout the early twentieth century. Too often the missionaries' authoritarian form of leadership drove away the very people they were trying to teach. When Cook Bible School opened in 1911, only a relatively small number of Navajos, most of whom had converted while attending a mission school, professed to be Christians.¹⁰

By mid-century, however, the Diné faced a crisis that threatened their cultural underpinnings, triggering a search for new sources of supernatural power. The predicament began when John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs under F.D.R. (1933-45), introduced a draconian plan to reduce the number of livestock (sheep, horses, and goats) the Diné owned. Diné farming dated to Pre-Columbian times, but when the Spaniards introduced sheep and horses, Navajos adopted a pastoral way of life to the degree that sheep became the key element of their existence, supplying them with food,

Tribe, 1968), 34; Ruth M. Underhill, The Navajos (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), 198-99; Annual Report (1872), 296; Gladys A. Reichard, "The Navaho and Christianity," American Anthropologist 51 (January-March 1949): 66; Bruce Lee Taylor, "Presbyterians and 'The People': A History of Presbyterian Missions and Ministries to the Navajos" (Ph.D. dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, 1988), 356-88; Annual Report (1892), 210; and Annual Report (1897), 107.

⁹ Edgar W. Moore, "The Bierkempers, Navajos, and the Ganado Presbyterian Mission, 1901-1912," American Presbyterians 64 (Summer 1986): 125-35; Robert W. Young, The Navajo Yearbook, vol. 8 (Window Rock, Ariz.: Navajo Agency, 1958), 21-24; Warner, "Protestant Missionary Activity Among the Navajo, 1890-1912," 209-32; Annual Report (1897), 44; and Annual Report (1899), 158.

clothing, and blankets. Feeding large herds of these animals, however, required a vast amount of grazing land. Before the Navajos' Long Walk in the 1860s, Dinétah covered an estimated 5,100 square miles. Even though most of that area was extremely arid and received little rainfall, there was then enough grass to sustain the Navajos' herds. When the Diné returned from Fort Sumner in 1868, their new reservation encompassed 23,500 square miles. Although much of the land was unfit for grazing sheep, the Treaty of 1868 provided for "the purchase of fifteen thousand sheep and goats" to help the Diné rebuild their herds, most of which had been destroyed during their imprisonment.¹¹

Between 1868 and 1930, Navajos rapidly expanded their herds. They raised more animals during this period because the Navajo population ballooned from around 12,000 to more than 41,000. To feed more people, Navajos had to raise more sheep. Furthermore, because inbreeding had led to inferior, sickly sheep that produced meager amounts of wool and little meat, the Diné had to maintain large herds. Owning large herds was also a status symbol. Despite warnings from the Navajo Council and Indian agents that they were accumulating too many animals for the land to sustain, Navajos continued adding more animals to their flocks.¹²

By the early 1930s, overgrazing, coupled with drought and soil erosion, had created a serious problem. In 1933, Collier ordered the Diné to reduce their herds by 400,000 head of sheep and goats. The program called for large and small herd owners to

¹⁰ Annual Report (1909), 20.

¹¹ Young, The Navajo Yearbook, 8: 21-24, and Charles J. Kappler, ed., Indian Treaties, 1778-1883 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1972), 1019.

¹² Annual Report (1872), 53; Annual Report (1883), 122; Annual Report (1887), 171; Annual Report (1892), 209; Navajo Nation FAX 88, Window Rock, AZ: Navajo Nation, 1988), 2; Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, eds. Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634, 308; Leon E. Truesdell, The Indian Population of the United States and Alaska (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937), 58; Donald L. Parman, The Navajos and the New Deal (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976), 22-24;

liquidate the same number of animals. Many of the large owners, however, refused to follow the guidelines. As a result, while few of the large herd owners felt any loss, Collier's order caused tremendous hardship for those who had small flocks because they no longer had enough animals to meet their families' needs. Although the Navajos vehemently resisted the stock reduction, for the remainder of the Indian New Deal, Collier continued slaughtering their sheep and horses. As a result, the Diné suffered a severe economic upheaval. Because many Navajos could no longer feed their families, they were forced to take wage-paying jobs or accept handouts from the government. As a result, by the early 1940s the Navajo suffered a major shift in their economy. The Navajos' livelihood shifted from a barter economy based on sheep herding and agriculture to wage-work and welfare.¹³

The stock reduction program not only led to widespread starvation among Navajos, but it also had cultural import as well. Navajos paid *hataalii* or singers, individuals who learn special healing ceremonies and have knowledge of herbs and plant medicines, in sheep and horses.¹⁴ They also showed hospitality to visiting relatives by putting together a big feast featuring mutton. Furthermore, beginning at a young age, Diné children learned tribal values and responsibilities by helping care for the family's sheep.¹⁵ Left Handed remembered being so small when he first started herding sheep that

and Richard White, The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 236-89.

¹³ Kenneth R. Philp, John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 187-93, and Graham D. Taylor, The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934-45 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 127.

¹⁴ Arlene Hirshfelder and Paulette Molin, The Encyclopedia of Native American Religions: An Introduction (New York: Facts on File, 1992), 226.

¹⁵ Hungry Wolf and Hungry Wolf, Children of the Sun, 26-28, and Left Handed, Son of Old Man Hat: A Navaho Autobiography recorded by Walter Dyk (1938; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 8.

he was afraid to walk around them, so he walked in the middle of the herd. Similarly, Max Henley recalled the first time his mother sent him to take the sheep up to the mountain pasture. When she came to check on him, she found everything in order. He had proven he was ready for the task. "From then on, beginning at the age of five, I always was sent with the sheep."¹⁶

Just as the loss of their land and access to water for irrigation had brought the Pimas to the point where they were willing to consider Christianity, the loss of their sheep created a similar economic and cultural disruption for the Diné.¹⁷ For more than three hundred years, content with their ancient beliefs and ceremonies, Navajos had consistently resisted those missionaries who came to Dinétah, as in the case of John Menaul and Charity Ann Gaston Menaul. By the late 1940s, however, economic and cultural changes associated with Collier's directive led to an increased Navajo interest in new sources of supernatural power. In this regard, ethnohistorian James Axtell has suggested that native peoples adopt outside religions to meet their needs and to help them cope with the trauma of change. As a result, some Navajos turned to the Native American Church, which combines traditional native beliefs, including the use of peyote, with Christianity. From the mid-1910s to the 1940s, Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) officials, missionaries, and Christian Navajos fought peyote use among the Diné. In 1940, the tribal council, headed by J.C. Morgan, Howard Gorman, and Roger Davis, all Christians, adopted a resolution prohibiting peyotism on the reservation. But, by the late

¹⁶ Broderick H. Johnson, ed., Stories of Traditional Navajo Life and Culture (Tsaile, Ariz.: Navajo Community College Press, 1977), 19.

¹⁷ Francis Paul Prucha, The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 965-66; Parman, Navajos and the New Deal, 287-88; and Robert Young, Navajo Yearbook, 1961, 156-62.

1940s, the cultural changes associated with stock reduction had left a number of Navajos feeling that their way of life was changing.¹⁸

In his study of peyote use among the Navajo conducted from 1949 to 1953, anthropologist David Aberle suggests that a close relationship existed between an increased interest in the Native American Church because of the loss of stock and the postwar disintegration of the Navajos' economy. In truth, the war had offered only a brief reprieve in what had already been two decades of poverty. Even though nearly one-third of the Diné served in the military or worked in a war-related industry during the war, they found themselves unemployed as soon as the war ended. That, coupled with a 30 percent decrease in the number of sheep and goats between 1944 and 1947, spelled disaster for the Navajos. Their situation became so severe that the federal government was shamed into providing emergency relief.¹⁹

Thus, the combination of stock reduction and postwar economic collapse attracted many to the Native American Church. The church offered Diné converts hope at a time when the ravages of alcoholism and poverty were disseminating their people. By practicing the church's rituals, they could see themselves not as people whose world and culture had disappeared, but as humans who could change and meet new challenges. Some Navajos were drawn to the Native American Church, but others turned to Christianity. During this time, the people of Navajo Mountain selected Harold Navajo to

¹⁸ James Axtell, "Some Thoughts on the Ethnohistory of Missions," *Ethnohistory* 29 (Winter 1982): 35-41.

¹⁹ David Aberle, *The Peyote Religion Among the Navajos* 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 28, 102, 252-71, and Alison R. Bernstein, *American Indians and World War II: Toward a New Era in Indian Affairs* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 151-57.

go to Cook Bible School to learn about "the White man's religion."²⁰

"Go Tell it on the Mountain"

Harold Navajo and his fellow Diné Bible college alumni, like the Pima and Tohono O'odham graduates, can be divided into three groups: spiritual, political, and educational leaders. Like Navajo and his classmate Alfred Miller, many Navajos became spiritual leaders because they thought that the God of the Bible offered the Diné a source of power and hope that would enable them to adjust to the changes taking place in Navajo culture. They dedicated their lives to carrying out the words of the hymn, "Go Tell it on the Mountain." They traveled "over the hills and everywhere" to take the news of Gospel message to their fellow Diné.

In contrast to the earlier non-native missionaries, these Native American pastors understood the worldview of those they were trying to evangelize. With similar cultural backgrounds and language, Miller and others could focus on making Christianity understandable to other Diné. These men also employed a different approach. Instead of relying on centrally located missions, Navajo and Miller labored without fanfare in isolated locations where they met under difficult conditions. After graduating in 1950, Navajo and his family moved to a remote area of the Navajo Reservation near the Utah border. He visited the widely dispersed families in the region, holding services and teaching Sunday school.²¹ Similarly, Miller and his family moved to Kayenta, located east of Tuba City near the Utah border. Like Navajo, Miller became an itinerant

²⁰ Edward F. Anderson, *Peyote: The Divine Cactus* 2d ed. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 194; and Omer C. Stewart, *Peyote Religion: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 294-98.

²¹ "200 New Christians," *Indian Highways* 14 (June 1950): 3.

evangelist, traveling from hogan to hogan on horseback to tell his fellow Navajos about Christianity.²²



Fig. 14: Alfred Miller. (CCTS)

Not all of these Navajo spiritual leaders had personal ties to singers, but a significant number did. Traditionally, a *hataalii* trained his son or grandson to follow in his footsteps. That so many chose to attend a Bible college and become Protestant ministers indicates that there was some loss of confidence in the power of traditional beliefs to help Navajos face cultural changes. John Collier's stock reduction program in the 1930s and World War II led some members of the post-World War II generation to become Christian pastors rather than traditional *hataaliis*. By the late 1970s, there were 203 Navajo pastors on the Navajo Reservation.²³

As the Navajos and Millers spent their careers ministering in remote areas of the

²² "A Real Pioneer," *Indian Highways* 14 (June 1950): 2; "Starts with Genesis," *Indian Highways* 16 (December 1950): 2; "True But Unbelievable," *Indian Highways* 26 (December 1952): 3; "News About the Millers," *Indian Highways* 34 (August 1954): 4; "Alfred Miller," *Indian Highways* 52 (December 1957): 3; and "In Navajo-Land," *Indian Highways* 57 (October 1958): 2.

²³ Thomas Dolaghan and David Scates, *The Navajos Are Coming to Jesus* (South Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1978), 138-39.

Navajo Reservation, graduate Scott Redhouse took on more visible roles. Similar to Harold Navajo, Redhouse was the son of a singer. At age twenty-two while hospitalized with tuberculosis, Redhouse found that, "The medicine men did all kinds of ritual [sic] to help me, [but] they did not help my body or my soul."²⁴ Disillusioned, Redhouse turned to Christianity, a decision that greatly disappointed his father. During his recovery, Redhouse decided to become a missionary to his fellow Navajos. "My people are hard to reach. They need Navajo evangelists . . . I hope to be a missionary to my people."²⁵

To prepare for this calling, Redhouse moved his family to Tempe, Arizona, so he could study for the pastorate. As part of Cook's curriculum, all students were obligated to complete a practical internship each summer. To fulfill his requirement, Redhouse took part in a revival in Farmington, New Mexico, not far from where he grew up. After he spoke, nine people, including his father, a *hataalii*, committed their lives to Christ.²⁶ When Redhouse completed his studies at Cook in 1958, he went on to seminary and then was ordained by the Christian Reformed Church. After pastoring an Indian Christian Reformed Church in Albuquerque, he moved to Window Rock, Navajo Nation capital, and Shiprock, which lies at the eastern edge of the reservation. In the process, he became known to some as "the Billy Graham of the Navajos."²⁷

²⁴ "The White Man's Religion," *Newsweek*, December 9, 1957, 67.

²⁵ "Open House at Cook," *Indian Highways* 43 (June 1956): 1, and "Newsweek Knows Us," *Indian Highways* 53 (February 1958): 4.

²⁶ "The White Man's Religion," *Newsweek*, December 9, 1957, 67, and "At Cook Christian Training School Indians Learn to Become Missionaries to the Own Tribes," Cook College and Theological Seminary file, Menaul Historical Library of the Southwest.



Fig. 15: Scott Redhouse greeting a parishioner at the Window Rock Christian Reformed Church. (CCTS)

In addition to providing spiritual leadership for the members of his congregations, Redhouse also became a role model for students at Cook. Over the next several years, he sought to inspire Cook students to follow in his footsteps. For example, in a series of addresses during Cook's Spiritual Emphasis Week in 1965, Redhouse encouraged Cook students to continue their education and to dedicate themselves to a life of service to God and their fellow Native Americans. He echoed that same theme in his speech at Cook's graduation in 1971.²⁸

Robert and Annabelle Pino were unlikely Bible school students when they arrived at NIBC in the mid-1960s. Annabelle was the daughter and granddaughter of a *hataalii*, and Robert was a former *hataalii*. As a child, Annabelle heard her father and his friends discussing and debating the merits of the missionaries' teaching. During her early teens,

²⁷ "Spiritual Dividends," *Indian Highways* 97 (March 1965): 2; "Onward Christian Soldiers," *Indian Highways* 102 (November 1965): 1; and Dolaghan and Scates, *The Navajos Are Coming to Jesus*, 154.

²⁸ "The Lord Is My Strength," *Indian Highways* 100 (July 1965): 4; "School Graduates 5 Students," *Indian Highways* 137 (July 1971): 1; "Former Student New Board President," *Indian Highways* 145 (April 1973): 4; and "Editorial," *Indian Highways* 147 (October 1973): 2.

Annabelle went to a mission school in Twin Wells southeast of Gallup, a Navajo Nation border town. While there, she attended church on Sundays out of curiosity. She found the sermons interesting and thought provoking, but she did not convert to Christianity. After Annabelle married Robert Pino, they went to live in Ramah, New Mexico, a separate section of the Navajo Reservation east of Zuni Pueblo. Robert and Annabelle's new home was located near a mission built by Nazarene missionaries. Friends told the couple that Navajos who attended the mission's church on Sunday received clothes and something to eat, so the *hataalii* and his teenage wife started attending the church. A few months later, during special evangelistic meetings featuring a Comanche pastor, Annabelle became a Christian. Almost immediately, the *hataalii's* daughter and granddaughter began holding revival meetings herself. At one such gathering, twenty-six Navajo women prayed to receive Christ.²⁹

For Annabelle's husband, Robert Pino, it was a different story. Although he became an interpreter for the missionaries not long after he and Annabelle began attending the church, Robert expressed no interest in Christianity. Yet when he did convert about three years later, he renounced his past as a *hataalii* and committed himself to teaching the Gospel to his fellow Navajos. Soon thereafter, Robert and Annabelle moved to Albuquerque and enrolled at NIBC to prepare for the ministry. By 1968, Robert had earned a minister's license, and Annabelle had qualified for a local preacher's license. Over the next fifteen years, the Pinos pastored the Navajo Station Nazarene Church in Ganado and conducted special tent meetings throughout Dinétah. In the mid-

²⁹ Polly Appleby, *What Color Is God's Skin?* (Kansas City, MO.: Beacon Hill Press, 1984), 52-64, and Annabelle Pino, letter to author, November 1996.

1980s, Robert, twenty years Annabelle's senior, retired from active ministry. Annabelle continued her career as an evangelist until the mid-1990s. Throughout their careers, Robert and Annabelle demonstrated through their words and their lives that Navajos merge cultures: they could be a Christian and still be Navajo. Even though they had replaced traditional beliefs with the teachings of the Bible, they still spoke Navajo, and their family and kinship ties remained central to their life.³⁰

Other Navajo spiritual intermediaries like John Nells, a native of Tees Too, located seventy-five miles east of Flagstaff, Arizona, in the southwest region of the Navajo Nation, sought to help their people realize that Christianity could be as pertinent for Navajos as for Euro- and African Americans. After finishing high school, Nells did not immediately embark on a ministerial career. Instead, he attended a business college for two years, before attending NIBC to study for the ministry. After graduating from NIBC in 1976, Nells began his career pastoring the Nazarene church in Ramah, New Mexico.³¹

³⁰ "District Mission Directory," North American Indian (July-August 1949): 4; "Honor Rolls," The Arrow (NIBC) (May 21, 1965): 2; Twenty-Fourth Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District, Session held at Nazarene Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 3-5, 1968, 15; Thirty-Fifth Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District, Session held at Nazarene Indian Bible School, Albuquerque, New Mexico, May 31, 1979, 37; "Appreciation Service," Voice of the Redman 39 (October 1981): 1; D. Swarth, "Progress on the North American Indian District," Nazarene Indian Bible College Archives; Fortieth Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District, Session held at Nazarene Indian Bible College, Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 7, 1984, 14; and Tenth Annual Assembly Journal of the Navajo Nation District, Session held at Sun Valley Indian School, Sun Valley, Arizona, June 13, 1995, 13.

In addition to his responsibilities at the church in Ramah, Nells also became a role model and provided spiritual leadership to his fellow Navajos. The same year that Nells graduated from NIBC, he became a member the college's board of trustees. From 1976 until 1990, Nells served on the board in various capacities. Then, in 1990, Nells became president of the board, a position he held throughout the decade. As a member of NIBC's board of trustees, Nells has been instrumental in encouraging other Indians to pursue educational opportunities and the ministry.³²



Fig. 16: John R. Nells. (NIBC)

Nells has also provided leadership through his involvement in forming the Navajo Nation District, a coalition of Nazarene Indian churches. In 1980, leaders of the North American Indian District appointed Nells district secretary. Two years later the district's

³¹ "The Navajo Nation District," *Sacred Journey* 2 (June 1991): 5-7; *Thirty-Second Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District*, Session held at Nazarene Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico, April 22, 1976, 11; and Dolaghan and Scates, *The Navajos Are Coming to Jesus*, 158.

³² *Thirty-Second Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District*, Session held at Nazarene Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico, April 22, 1976, 6; "Semiannual Report of R.T. Bolerjack, Director to Nazarene Indian Bible College Executive Committee," n.d., Nazarene Indian Bible

Navajo pastors elected Nells to be the coordinator for the district's Navajo churches. These ministers wanted to form their own district to address the needs of their congregations. Over the next two years Nells and his wife, Juanita, laid the groundwork for creating a separate district comprised solely of those Nazarene churches among the Navajo. As a result of the Nells's efforts, in 1985 denominational officials restructured the North American Indian District, splitting it into two parts: the Southwest Indian District and the Navajo Nation District. Nells was the natural choice to become district superintendent of the latter, assuming oversight of twenty-five churches scattered over 30,000 square miles within the Navajo Nation and in the states of New Mexico and Arizona. Nells took the lead in developing a fully Navajo district because he wanted his fellow Diné to understand that Christianity was as applicable to them as to non-natives.³³

Similarly, Dennis Benale, the grandson of a *hataalii*, dedicated his career to spreading the Gospel among the Diné. Born on the Hopi Reservation at Keams Canyon northeast of Flagstaff and raised in the Big Mountain area, Benale attended Northern Arizona University for one year after graduating from high school. Dissatisfied, Benale dropped out of college and began working at various jobs. Over the next several years as he drifted from one unfulfilling job to the next, Benale developed a drinking problem. Benale's sister, who had previously become a Christian, encouraged him to do the same. Finally, realizing that his life was falling apart and that his marriage was in jeopardy,

College Archives; "Trustee's Meeting," NIBC Informer 9 (March 1986): 1; Nazarene Indian Bible College: Graduation 1990 Program.

³³ "Special Notice," Voice of the Redman 3 (August 1982): 1; "History of the Navajo Nation District," 2 (June 1991): 5; "The Navajo Nation District," Sacred Journey 2 (June 1991): 5-7; Raymond W. Hurd, Letter to Nazarene Native American Committee, December 21, 1986, Nazarene Indian Bible College Archives; "New Districts," NIBC Informer 4 (August 1985): 1; John R. Nells, "Navajo Nation Report," Sacred Journey 4 (March 1993): 15; Johnny R. Nells, letter to Navajo Nation pastors, July 22, 1985, Nazarene Indian Bible College Archives; and Twelfth Annual Assembly Journal of the Navajo Nation District, Session held at Sun Valley Indian School, Sun Valley, Arizona, June 10, 1997, 2.

Benale sought counseling in 1976 from Alex Riggs, a Navajo pastor who had graduated from NIBC. After talking with Riggs, Benale became a Christian. He was not the first person in his family to do so. Shortly before his death, Benale's grandfather, a *hataalii*, had also converted.³⁴

A few years after his conversion, Benale felt called to the ministry. He moved his wife and family to Albuquerque and enrolled at NIBC. When he finished his degree, Benale became the pastor of the Nazarene church at Cedar Round, thirty-five miles east of Flagstaff. Not content to limit his ministry to the Cedar Round congregation, Benale established another church in Forest Lake, Arizona, near Black Mesa, so that Navajos living in the area would have a church nearby. In 1987, Benale transferred to the Nazarene church in Cameron, Arizona, near Winslow. Once again, in addition to overseeing his own church, Benale launched another church in Flagstaff at the El Nathan Campgrounds. Sincere in his belief that Christianity held answers to life's challenges, Benale was committed to making sure Navajos had access to a Protestant church so they could hear the Gospel.³⁵

Because the pastors understood Navajo culture, spoke the same language, and had common acquaintances, they did not have to overcome cultural barriers. As more Navajos moved to cities such as Window Rock, Chinle, and Shiprock, the church has stepped in to fill the void created by a disrupted social structure. The pastors of these

³⁴ Steve Bowman, "Walking in the Beauty of Holiness: A Tale of three pastors," *Sacred Journey* 2 (June 1991): 10-11.

³⁵ "New Pastors," *Voice of the Redman* 38 (June 1, 1983): 1; *Thirty-Ninth Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District*, Session held at Nazarene Indian Bible College, Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 9, 1983, 14; *Second Annual Assembly Journal of the Navajo Nation District*, Session held at Twin Butte Church of the Nazarene, Gallup, New Mexico, May 19, 1987, 8; and *Twelfth Annual Assembly Journal of the Navajo Nation District*, Session held at Sun Valley Indian School, Sun Valley, Arizona, June 10, 1997, 7.

churches play an important role in advising these new urban reservation Navajos who must live in native and non-native cultures.

Political and Spiritual Intermediaries

In addition to Navajo Bible college graduates who exclusively acted as spiritual leaders, a second group combined political and spiritual leadership roles. Before Bible colleges opened, many graduates of mission schools had filled leadership roles among the Diné. One well-known example is Jacob C. (J.C.) Morgan. Steeped in the teachings of Christianity while attending Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia, around the turn of the century, Morgan rose to positions of leadership in the church, as well as in Navajo politics. Morgan began his career as a missionary in 1910 when he went to work as a teacher and carpenter for the Christian Reformed Church in Rehoboth, New Mexico. In 1925, Morgan became the assistant pastor at a new Christian Reformed Church in Farmington, New Mexico. His duties included translating religious materials and hymns, teaching Bible classes in government schools. When L.P. Brink, the senior pastor, died unexpectedly in 1936, Morgan expected to replace Brink. The mission board, however, passed him over in favor of an Anglo missionary. Infuriated, Morgan left the Christian Reformed Church and founded an independent church at Shiprock, in the northwestern corner of New Mexico. In his capacity as head of the Shiprock church, Morgan continued to provide spiritual leadership and through his life was both the message and the messenger of the Gospel to other Navajos until his death in May 1950.³⁶

³⁶ Donald L. Parman, "J.C. Morgan: Navajo Apostle of Assimilation," Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives 4 (Summer 1983): 83-98; Wilbert H. Ahern, "The Returned Indians: Hampton Institute and Its Indian Alumni, 1879-1893," Journal of Ethnic Studies 10 (Spring 1982): 108; and J.C. De Korne,

While ministering, Morgan also became involved in politics. His political tenure began in 1923 when he won a seat on the Navajo Council. Prior to this time, leaders or headmen appointed by the government served as mediators between the Diné and the Indian agent. When oil was discovered near Shiprock in 1922, Albert B. Fall, Secretary of the Interior, decided that the proceeds should belong to all Navajos, not just those living in the San Juan jurisdiction. At the time, however, no group could speak for the Navajos as a whole. The following year, a "business council" from the Fort Defiance jurisdiction also negotiated leases beneficial to their region. To prevent local groups of Navajos from continuing to act on their own, Fall pushed for the formation of a Navajo tribal council comprised of a delegate and an alternate from each of the six jurisdictions making up the reservation.³⁷

After Morgan was elected to the new tribal council, he sought to block the federal government from building a bridge across the Colorado River using Navajo funds. The government intended to allocate capital from the Diné for the project without consulting the council. Since the Navajos stood to receive little benefit from the proposed bridge because it was to be built outside the boundaries of the reservation, Morgan saw no reason to help pay for it. In the end, Morgan's actions prevented the government from employing underhanded tactics to appropriate Navajo tribal assets without seeking the consent of the council.³⁸

Navaho and Zuni for Christ (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Christian Reformed Board of Missions, 1947), 37, 75-76, 91-92.

³⁷ Kathleen P. Chamberlain, "Dine Bikeyah Bik'ah (Navajo Oil): An Ethnohistory, 1922-1960" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1998), 63-110; Richard Van Valkenburgh, "The Government of the Navajos," Arizona Quarterly 1 (Winter 1945): 63-73; and Mary Shepardson, Navajo Ways in Government: A Study in Political Process ([Menasha, Wis.]: American Anthropologist Association, 1963), 78-92.

³⁸ Lawrence C. Kelly, The Navajo Indians and Federal Indian Policy, 1900-1935 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1968), 85-86, and Shepardson, Navajo Ways in Government, 78-92.

Morgan's political career also demonstrated that political intermediaries occupied precarious positions. When Collier introduced the Indian Reorganization Act (I.R.A.), Morgan led the fight against its ratification because the act would have given the upper hand in politics to traditionalists rather than returned students like himself. Instead of publicly opposing the legislative measure because it would strip him of political power, however, Morgan connected it with the government's much-despised stock reduction plan. When the final vote was taken on the I.R.A. in 1935, Morgan persuaded a majority of the Diné to reject adoption of the measure.³⁹

Interestingly, Morgan changed his position on stock reduction after his reelection in 1938. By 1940, he had switched from resisting stock reduction quotas to promoting them because he believed they were necessary. This move cost him much of his political support and led to his defeat in 1942. By flip-flopping his position on Collier's program, Morgan demonstrated how difficult it could be for political mediators to balance what was best for the Navajos with the federal government's demands.⁴⁰

Over the next three decades, Bible college graduates, like Morgan, became spiritual and political intermediaries. One example is Frank E. Paul. In 1978, Navajo tribal chair Peter MacDonald decided to run for an unprecedented third term and chose Paul as his running mate. MacDonald had met Paul, a graduate of NIBC, in the early 1960s while Paul attended Pasadena College and MacDonald worked for Hughes Aircraft, both in the Los Angeles area. After Paul finished his bachelor's degree, he returned to the Navajo Reservation and went to work for MacDonald in the Office of

³⁹ Parman, "J.C. Morgan: Navajo Apostle of Assimilation," 83-98.

⁴⁰ Robert W. Young, A Political History of the Navajo Tribe (Tsaile, Ariz.: Navajo Community College Press, 1978), 116-18; Peter Iverson, The Navajo Nation (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1981), 38-39; and Parman, The Navajos and the New Deal, 252-63.

Navajo Economic Opportunity. In 1968, Paul left to become the director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' adult education program among the Navajo. Then, for three years prior to his selection as MacDonald's vice-chair, Paul served as the Tuba City agency superintendent. Both of these positions helped Paul gain valuable experience in balancing the needs of the Diné with the requirements of federal regulations.⁴¹

When Paul and MacDonald were elected in 1978, they faced several pressing issues. One challenge that tested the two men's political acumen was the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute. In 1882, an executive order established a reservation for the Hopis in their ancient homeland, which lay within the borders of the Navajo Nation. Over the years, the Hopis and Navajos frequently encroached on each other's land creating an ongoing controversy between the two groups. The debate came to a head in 1974 when Congress passed the Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act, which called for the relocation of nearly 9,000 Navajos living on land awarded to the Hopis. At the time, MacDonald had vigorously opposed the "involuntary uprooting" of these people. Nevertheless, the federal government enacted legislation that forced the Diné to move. Negotiations between the Hopis and Navajos proceeded slowly during the next three years. In May 1982, when it appeared that the two sides were close to reaching a compromise, MacDonald failed to attend a meeting with Ivan Sidney, the newly elected chair for the Hopi. Negotiations ground to a halt, furnishing political fodder to MacDonald's opponent in the fall tribal election, Peterson Zah. The MacDonald-Paul team's inability

⁴¹ "MacDonald selects Frankie Paul," *Navajo Times* (August 17, 1978): A-15; Richard Yates and Charity Yates, eds. *The 1979-80 Arizona Yearbook: A Guide to Government in Arizona* (Yuma: Arizona Information Press, 1979), 114; Bill Donovan, "MacDonald is favored," *Navajo Times*, November 9, 1978: A-1, A-2; Bill Donovan, "MacDonald coasts to easy victory; council races see several upsets," *Navajo Times*, November 16, 1978: A-1; and George M. Lubick, "Peterson Zah: A Progressive Outlook and a Traditional Style," in L.G. Moses and Raymond Wilson, eds., *Indian Lives: Essays on Nineteenth- and*

to resolve the land dispute, coupled with their ineffective environmental program and charges of corruption, led to their defeat in the November 1982 election.⁴²

Paul's tenure as a political leader might have ended in 1982, but his position as vice-chair of the Navajo Nation reinforced his desire to be a spiritual leader, a desire that dated back to his student days at NIBC. While studying in the ministerial program, Paul taught Christian Living and New Testament Bible classes in Navajo to students who had not yet mastered English. After the 1982 defeat, Paul entered the ministry and served as pastor of the Nazarene church in Pinehill, New Mexico, twenty-three miles south of Ramah. In this new role, Paul committed himself to promoting the general welfare of Navajos through his concern for their spiritual needs.⁴³

Another Navajo who assumed spiritual and political leadership roles is Benjamin Hogue. As a teenager, Hogue attended Navajo Methodist High School in Farmington. Like J.C. Morgan, Hogue converted to Christianity during his teens. After his high school graduation in 1960, Hogue enrolled at Cook, then transferred to Arizona College of the Bible in Phoenix where he completed his bachelor's degree. Although Hogue did not become a pastor, he has remained very active in church affairs. Over the years, he

Twentieth-Century Native American Leaders (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), 198-206.

⁴² Jerry Kammer, The Second Long Walk: The Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980), 26-27; Casey Watchman, "MacDonald begins third term as chairman," Navajo Times (January 11, 1979): A-1; "Compare the Records on the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute," Navajo Times (October 26, 1978): A-8; "During the MacDonald Administration," Navajo Times (October 26, 1978): A-21; "Navajos and Hopis begin 2nd round of talks," Navajo Times (June 23, 1982): 11; "Tribal land authorized for relocation," Navajo Times (June 23, 1982): 12; "Attempts to revive Navajo-Hopi talks underway," Navajo Times (June 30, 1982): 1, 3; and Duane A. Beyal, "Zah defeats MacDonald," Navajo Times (November 4, 1982): 1.

⁴³ Frank E. Paul, letter to author, October 5, 1996; Frank E. Paul, letter to author, November 8, 1996; G.H. Pearson, phone interview with author, October 10, 1996; "MacDonald selects Frankie Paul," Navajo Times (August 17, 1978): A-15; "50th Anniversary Celebration: Nazarene Indian Bible College," program, August 6-9, 1998; The Yucca-1955 (NIBC); Who's Who in American Politics, 15th ed. (New Providence, N.J.: R.R. Bowker, 1995), 1846; Forty-First Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District, Session held at Nazarene Indian Bible College, Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 6, 1985, 8;

has served as an elder for the Farmington Navajo Christian Reformed Church and a deacon at the Exciting Tabernacle Baptist Church of Farmington. Hogue and his wife, Lolita (Navajo), whom he met at a Billy Graham Crusade in Tempe, Arizona, in 1964, have also centered their family life around sharing the Gospel with their fellow Navajos. When their three daughters were young, they traveled as a family throughout Navajoland holding evangelistic meetings. In addition, for a time the Hogues broadcast Christian radio programs for Navajos, worked with Gideons International, assisted with the Bible translation work of the Wycliffe Association, and promoted Franklin Graham's "Four Corners Festival '96" held in Farmington.⁴⁴

In addition to his spiritual leadership, Hogue served on the Navajo tribal council for sixteen years. He also worked closely with the council in conjunction with his position as a housing development specialist in the Navajo housing services department. In this capacity, Hogue assisted tribal officials in formulating housing policies that might improve living conditions for Navajos residing on the reservation.⁴⁵

Following in the footsteps of J.C. Morgan, leaders like Frank E. Paul and Benjamin Hogue encountered the difficulties of the role of political intermediary. Nevertheless, Paul and Hogue retained their commitment to the spiritual and material needs of their fellow Diné.

and Twelfth Annual Assembly Journal of the Navajo Nation District, Session held at Sun Valley Indian School, Sun Valley, Arizona, June 10, 1997, 9.

⁴⁴ Lolita Benally Hogue, phone interview with author, October 19, 1996; "Let Christ Be the Center," Says 1966 Graduate," Indian Highways 235 (Summer 1995): 5; Lolita Hogue, "New Building for the Dogribs," The Christian Indian (June-July 1989): 7; and Patricia J. Baldwin, "Rally prepares way for Franklin Graham crusade," unidentified newspaper clipping given to the author by the Hogues.

⁴⁵ 1974 Arizona Blue Book: a Guide to the State of Arizona (Tucson: Arizona Blue Book, 1974), 123; Yates and Yates, eds., The 1979-80 Arizona Yearbook, 114; "Reminiscence by Lolita Hogue," typewritten

Educational Leaders

In addition to leaders who utilized spiritual and political means to advise other fellow Diné in coping with cultural and economic changes, a third type chose the academic realm. For example, throughout the 1990s, Eunice Holstoi-Robbins served as a



Fig. 17: Eunice Holstoi-Robbins. (CCTS)

role model for Native American students attending Cook College. A native of Chinle, located near Canyon de Chelly, Holstoi-Robbins attended the nearby Diné College before enrolling at Cook where she completed a Lay Leadership Certificate. Although Holstoi-Robbins enjoyed the program at Diné College, she transferred to Cook because she wanted to study the Bible to prepare for ministering to teenagers and young adults. The year before she graduated from Cook, Holstoi-Robbins joined Cook's administration in

copy in author's possession; Benjamin Hogue, Letter to author, October 28, 1996; and "Celebrating Our Graduates" (Cook College), 85th Birthday Edition October 1996.

the development office. After assisting the director of development, and later the finance director, she was promoted to registrar in 1995.⁴⁶

Holstoi-Robbins's hiring reflected Cook's ambitious goal of maintaining a faculty and staff solely of Native Americans. In the 1960s, the movement for self-determination led Native Americans to demand the right to run their own schools. The Navajos set the pace in 1966 by opening Rough Rock Demonstration School, the first Indian school in the United States to be controlled by Native Americans and in 1969, Navajo Community College (later renamed Diné College). Cook responded to this trend by making a concerted effort to appoint Indians to positions of leadership to provide Native American role models for the students. In 1967, the year before the Navajos established the first tribal college, Alonzo T. Spang, Sr. (Northern Cheyenne) became Cook's director and Cecil Corbett (Nez Perce-Choctaw), the associate director. A year later, Raymond C. Baines (Tlingit) replaced Corbett as associate director following the elevation of Corbett to director. These appointment shifts came after Spang resigned to become dean of student personnel services at Diné College.⁴⁷

Although Holstoi-Robbins does not deal with students in a classroom setting, she has developed close relationships with members of the student body. Advising students from different tribal affiliations and a variety of backgrounds has given Holstoi-Robbins a great deal of satisfaction. Despite her continual interest in returning to Chinle, Holstoi-

⁴⁶ "The End of the Beginning," Indian Highways 211 (Summer 1989): 1; Eunice Holstoi-Robbins, interview with author, April 19, 1996, and May 4, 1998; and Steve Crum, "The Idea of an Indian College or University in Twentieth Century America Before the Formation of the Navajo Community College," Tribal College 1 (Summer 1989): 20-23.

⁴⁷ Jerry A. Davis, "From Termination to Self-Determination: American Indians and Alaskan Natives in Higher Education" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1998), 191-93; "Indian Leadership Assumes Direction of Cook School," Indian Highways 117 (October 1967): 1, 2; "Director, Associate Director Installed," Indian Highways 119 (February 1968): 1, 4; "Director's Corner," Indian Highways

Robbins has decided for the time being to remain at Cook. She feels confident that she can point to her own life as an example, thereby encouraging students to overcome cultural difficulties to complete their degrees and employ their professional training to assist other Native Americans.⁴⁸

Likewise, Louisa Lee has sought to help her students to adjust to a non-native educational system. As a teenager, she dreamed of being an artist. To pursue her dreams, Lee decided to attend American Indian College (AIC). The school's small size and family-like atmosphere, as well as the requirement that all students take Bible classes, appealed to Lee. After completing her degree at AIC, Lee attended the California School of Arts and Crafts in Oakland to fine-tune her artistic skills. When Lee graduated from the art school, she returned home to Tuba City where she became involved in the children's ministry at her church. In her free time, Lee began illustrating the Native Pentecostal News, a quarterly magazine published by the Assemblies of God Division of Home Missions.⁴⁹

In 1991, Lee began teaching fulltime when she joined the staff at a pre-school in Tuba City. Although she enjoyed working with the children, Lee still dreamed of being an artist. The opportunity to pursue that goal came in 1995 when the editor of "Native Pentecostal News" asked Lee to move to Phoenix and become the magazine's "in-house artist." When the administration at AIC learned that Lee was living in Phoenix, they invited her to teach fine arts classes at her alma mater. Lee found teaching at the Bible

122 (August 1968): 2, 3; "Our New Leaders," Indian Highways 124 (December 1968): 2; and "Fall Enrollment 346, Plus Adult Education," Navajo Community College Newsletter 3 (October 1969): 1.

⁴⁸ "CCTS Registrar is Alumna Eunice H. Robbins," Indian Highways 235 (Summer 1995): 2, and "Celebrating Our Graduates" (Cook College), 85th Birthday Edition October 1996.

⁴⁹ Louisa Lee, "I Have a Dream," Native Pentecostal News (Fall 1995): 5; Louisa Lee, letter to author, October 31, 1996; and Louisa Lee, phone interview with author, November 4, 1996.

college particularly rewarding because she realized that her students were not only improving their artistic skills, but were also gaining confidence in their ability to succeed. Although teaching did not enable Lee to fulfill her dream of being an artist herself, she has been able to encourage other Native Americans to develop their artistic talents.⁵⁰

Since they have experienced the traumas of leaving their native environment to attend Bible college, Holstoi-Robbins and Lee can empathize with current students experiencing the transition to college life. As educators, these two women mediate a non-native system of education; simultaneously, they assist students in comprehending what it means to be a Christian Native American.

Conclusion

During the past half century or so, the Navajos have faced major economic and spiritual upheaval initiated by John Collier's stock reduction program, World War II, and the postwar years. Like Pima and Tohono O'odham Bible college alumni, Harold Navajo and other Diné Bible college graduates were motivated by a belief that Protestant Christianity offers a source of hope and power. As such, they have sought to help other Navajos cope with the trauma of political, economic, and spiritual change. Following varying paths, each of these individuals has served as a cultural intermediary. Through their involvement in the intersecting border worlds of Christianity, politics, and education, these men and women have attempted to guide other tribal members in meeting the challenges of living in the twentieth century.

⁵⁰ "Who?" Native Pentecostal News (Summer 1996): 3, and Louisa Lee, phone interview with author, November 4, 1996.

Although numerous Navajo men have emerged as spiritual or political brokers after graduating from one of the Bible college, few women have joined their ranks. Even though denominations such as the Nazarenes, the Assemblies of God, and some Presbyterian groups allow women to become pastors, few women have chosen that route. Instead, except for Annabelle Pino, Navajo women have concentrated on teaching Sunday school and working with the children. Some may have desired to become political intermediaries, but Navajo politics has traditionally been controlled by men.

Chapter 5

"We are trying to improve the lot of our people . . ."¹

Although significant numbers of Pimas, Tohonos, and Navajos attended one of the Bible colleges, few other Southwestern Indian groups like the Mojaves, Yavapai, Cocopahs, Jicarilla, or Mescalero Apaches have. There are, however, three notable exceptions: Julian Gunn (Mojave), Jim Lopez (Cocopah), and Wendell Chino (Mescalero Apache). Although none of their family members had attended a Bible college, these three men's decision to enroll at NIBC, AIC, and Cook was strongly influenced by family and friends.

In 1961, Julian Gunn (Mojave²) and three other students at Nazarene Indian School (N.I.S.) in Albuquerque, New Mexico, formed a musical quartet. The school's director, the Rev. Merle Gray, organized a summer singing tour for the group to Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. While waiting to depart on the trip, Gunn and the others worked for several weeks on the grounds crew at the school, which is located in southwest Albuquerque. A few days before they were scheduled to leave for the Midwest, the young men decided to visit "Old Town," a historic part of the city founded as a separate community in 1706. They planned to have dinner and do some window-shopping. Since none of them had a car, Gunn and his friends decided to "borrow" the school's maintenance vehicle. Late in the afternoon when they finished hauling a load of hay, they discretely, or so they thought, parked the old pickup behind a building near the edge

¹ Wendell Chino quoted in "Cienegita Plans Explained," *Ruidoso News* (January 15, 1971): 1.

² Although the Bureau of Indian Affairs uses "Mohave," the Fort Mojave and Colorado River tribal councils have adopted the spelling "Mojave."

of campus. After work, Gunn and the others went back to their dorm and changed clothes, waiting until dusk to sneak over to where they had left the truck. To make a quiet get-away, the four students pushed the truck down the road before starting its noisy engine. Unbeknownst to Gunn and his cohorts, Gray had watched them pushing the pickup past his house, which was located near the road. When they returned later that evening, Gunn and the others found Gray waiting for them.³

This experience of being apprehended for sneaking out in the school's truck was not Gunn's first brush with authority. Gunn grew up on the Ft. Mojave Reservation, which is at the intersection of Nevada, Arizona, and California. The Mojaves, a Yuman-speaking tribe who were subsistence farmers along the lower Colorado River, are one of the few tribes still living on aboriginal lands. As a boy he attended the Needles Church of the Nazarene, located in California, across the Colorado River from the reservation, with his mother. As a teenager, Gunn ceased attending church and rebelled against his upbringing. Before long, he found himself in trouble with the law for burglary and under-age drinking.⁴

In an effort to give Gunn a clean start, juvenile authorities sent him to San Bernardino, California, where he attended San Bernardino High School during his sophomore year. As soon as Gunn returned home for the summer, he lapsed into his old ways. When Gunn's former pastor, Folsom Charles Scrivner (Chickasaw), who had become the principal at the Nazarene Indian School (NIS), learned of Gunn's troubles, he

³ Julian Gunn, Interview with author, January 26, 2000; Bernita Gunn, Interview with author, January 26, 2000; and Byron A. Johnson, Old Town, Albuquerque, New Mexico: A Guide to Its History and Architecture (Albuquerque: City of Albuquerque, 1980), 7.

⁴ Julian Gunn, "Autobiography," September 18, 1959, Senior Seminar Papers File, Nazarene Indian Bible College Archives.

invited Gunn to enroll at NIS. After receiving permission for the transfer from his probation officer, he boarded a bus for Albuquerque, where he completed his final two years of high school. It was during this time that Gray caught Gunn and his friends.⁵

At that point in Gunn's life, some might have doubted that he would become a prominent Christian leader in the Southwest. But, this former juvenile delinquent soon silenced the skeptics. While he was a student at Nazarene Indian School, Gunn converted to Christianity. Since his graduation in 1968, Gunn has pastored three Indian churches, been elected the first Indian district superintendent for the Nazarene denomination, served on the faculty and as a board member at NIBC, and was instrumental in CHIEF (Christian Hope Indian Eskimo Fellowship), an organization committed to training Native Americans to tell other Indians about the Gospel. In these roles, Gunn has served as a spiritual intermediary for countless Native Americans.⁶

Because Gunn enjoyed adventure and meeting new people, rather than returning home to Needles after his graduation, he decided to join two Anglo missionaries at a church in El Reno, Oklahoma. During the nineteenth century, the Cheyenne and Arapaho formed an alliance during the Plains wars. Under the provisions of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867, the southern Cheyenne and the southern Arapaho were moved to a thirty million-acre reservation between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers in what is now western Oklahoma.

⁵ Julian Gunn, interview with author, January 26, 2000; "A Stream in the Desert," Sacred Journey 2 (November 1991): 12; and Steve Bowman, "Equally Yoked together," Sacred Journey 2 (November 1991): 6 - 7.

⁶ Kenneth M. Stewart, "Mohave," in Alfonso Ortiz, ed., Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest, 20 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), 10: 55; Our Memories - 1968 (N.I.B.C. Yearbook), 6; C. Warren Jones Indian Training & Bible School Commencement Exercises - 1968; and Tom McKinney, "A Tribute to Dr. Julian Gunn," Sacred Journey 2 (November 1991): 7.

The church located among the Arapaho and Cheyenne, about five miles from Concho, their tribal headquarters, became the first of many churches Gunn would serve. Two years later in 1970 when Gunn married Bernita Cuchara (Quechan), whom he had met at NIS, the Anglo missionaries turned the church over to the Gunns to pastor. Although Julian and Bernita did not speak Arapaho or Cheyenne, they quickly established a good rapport with their congregation. One reason for their ready acceptance was that, unlike the Anglo missionaries who had lived in another town and came only for Sunday services or in case of an emergency, the Gunns lived in a small apartment in the back of the church. This close proximity enabled them to help their neighbors in simple everyday ways, such as getting a stalled vehicle started. Even though the Gunns were from a different tribe, their parishioners apparently felt an affinity for them because they were Native Americans.⁷

Although ministering to their Arapaho and Cheyenne parishioners left the Gunns little free time, Julian took extension classes in hopes of one day becoming an ordained minister in the Nazarene Church. He found it difficult, however, to keep up with the demands of being a pastor, a husband, a new father, and a student. After serious deliberation, they decided he should complete the ministerial program without the responsibilities of a fulltime pastorate. Shortly thereafter, the Gunns returned to Albuquerque, where he enrolled in the Nazarene school's ministerial program. Because

⁷ Julian Gunn, interview with author, January 26, 2000, and Bernita Gunn, interview with author, January 26, 2000.

of his pastoral experience and growing spiritual maturity, the school officials appointed Gunn dean of students. The former youth offender was establishing himself as a leader.⁸

After completing the ministerial program in 1968, Gunn continued his rapid development into a respected spiritual leader among Southwest and Southern Plains Indians. His first assignment following graduation took him back to Oklahoma. Although the Gunns considered going home to California to minister among the Mojave or Quechan, they decided in the end to return to Oklahoma. For the next two and one-half years, Gunn pastored a Nazarene Church among the Poncas in Ponca City.⁹

The Poncas, like the Arapahos and Cheyennes in Gunn's first congregation, had traditionally been buffalo hunters. In 1858, however, the Poncas were assigned a reservation so Euroamericans could settle on their tribal lands. Ten years later, the Poncas' land was given to the Sioux, creating conflicts between the two groups. To defuse the situation, the Poncas were moved to a reservation in Indian Territory in 1877. Again, in spite of cultural differences, the Gunns quickly established a harmonious relationship with their parishioners.¹⁰

Because of his service as a pastor and spiritual leader among the Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Poncas, his successful completion of the ministerial program at NIBC, and his service on the school's board of trustees, Julian Gunn caught the attention of denominational leaders. As a result, Nazarene officials decided to groom Gunn to take over leadership of the Indian district. In 1971, they appointed Gunn assistant

⁸ Twentieth Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District, Session held at the C. Warren Indian Bible and Training School, Albuquerque, New Mexico, May 20-21, 1964, 6, and "Equally Yoked together," Sacred Journey 2 (November 1991): 6.

⁹ Twenty-Sixth Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District, Session held at the Nazarene Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 4-5, 1970, 9.

¹⁰ Joseph H. Cash, The Ponca People (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1975).

superintendent for the North American Indian District, which included all of the denomination's Native American churches in the region stretching from California to Oklahoma. Gunn's appointment to this position marked a key turning point in the structure of the denomination's Indian district. Since the district's founding in 1944, only Anglo missionaries had held leadership positions in the district. After serving an apprenticeship under the guidance of G. H. Pearson, the Anglo district superintendent, Gunn became in 1976 the first Native American district superintendent for the Nazarene Church.¹¹



Fig. 18: Julian Gunn. (NIBC)

Gunn served in this capacity from 1976 until the district divided in 1985. By that time, the district had grown to thirty-five churches. Visiting the churches, which were scattered from California to Oklahoma, Gunn had to travel more than 50,000 miles a year. The job had grown too large for one person to handle. In addition, the Navajo pastors in the district thought the needs of their parishioners could best be met if the

¹¹ "A Brief History of Nazarene Work Among North American Indians," Southwest Indian District – Native American Ministries File, Nazarene Indian Bible College Archives; "The Birth of a District," Sacred Journey 3 (November 1992): 9 – 12, 16; Twenty-Seventh Annual Assembly Journal of the North

Indian churches formed a separate district. Therefore, Gunn and the other district leaders decided to split the district, creating the Southwest Indian District and the Navajo Nation District. Gunn became the superintendent of the former, a position he held until 1991, while his assistant, John R. Nells (Navajo) became the superintendent of the latter.¹²

In addition to his ministerial career, Gunn also found time to serve on the board of trustees and teach classes at NIBC. Gunn first became a member of the board in 1968, directly after he completed the ministerial program. Ironically, when Gunn joined the board, Rev. Gray, who had caught Gunn and his friends sneaking off in the school's truck, was also serving on the board. During Gunn's tenure on NIBC's board of trustees, he helped implement several changes that improved the school's program. Among these, Gunn was most pleased with overseeing the accreditation of the school through the American Association of Bible Colleges. Before NIBC gained accreditation, students experienced considerable difficulty obtaining student loans and financial aid. Afterward, those same students became eligible for government-sponsored loans and grants, as well as tribal awards.¹³

Besides serving on the NIBC board, in 1990 Gunn also became a member of the school's faculty. During the 1990s, Gunn taught a variety of Old and New Testament courses, as well as classes related to the history of the Church of the Nazarene. Although he was already working fulltime, Gunn taught at least one course each semester during

American Indian District, Session held at the Nazarene Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 3-4, 1971, 5; and Julian Gunn, interview with author, January 26, 2000.

¹² "New Districts," NIBC Informer 4 (August 1985): 1; "North American Indian District Shows Progress," Nazarene Indian Bible College Archives; "New Focus on Cross-Cultural Ministries," Home Missions Alert (December - January 1976-77): 5; and "Salway Installed as District Superintendent," Sacred Journey 3 (November 1992): 3.

¹³ Twenty-Fourth Annual Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District, Session held at the Nazarene Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico, June 3-5, 1968; "Trustee's Meeting," NIBC Informer

the decade. Even though the college would like to fill all faculty and staff positions with Native Americans, they have found it difficult to hire and retain Indians. First, the pool of Native American applicants with the requisite educational background is small. Second, it has been impossible for the college to offer competitive salaries. Although there have been other Native American faculty and staff members, the students look up to Gunn as a role model because they know he has overcome a troubled past to become a pastor and teacher who cares about his students and the members of his congregation.¹⁴

Since he retired as district superintendent in 1991, Gunn has continued to look for avenues to provide spiritual leadership for Native Americans. In addition to serving on NIBC's board of directors and teaching at the college, Gunn has pastored the Albuquerque Apache Avenue Church, formerly the First Indian Church of Albuquerque.¹⁵ He has also sought to train a new generation of Native American pastors and lay leaders through "theological education by extension" seminars and evangelistic conventions sponsored by CHIEF (Christian Hope Indian Eskimo Fellowship). CHIEF, which is directed by Tom Claus (Mohawk), seeks to provide Bible training for Indian church leaders, pastors, and lay people so they can share the Gospel with fellow Native Americans. Since few Native pastors and church leaders have the time or resources to

9 (March 1986): 1; "Member Highlights," AABC Newsletter 40 (April 1996): 18; and Julian Gunn, interview with author, January 26, 2000.

¹⁴ For example, see Nazarene Indian Bible College – Winter Quarter Schedule of Classes 1990-91; Nazarene Indian Bible College – Spring Quarter Schedule of Classes 1992; Nazarene Indian Bible College – Spring Quarter Schedule of Classes 1993; Nazarene Indian Bible College – Fall Quarter Schedule of Classes 1994; Nazarene Indian Bible College – Spring Quarter Schedule of Classes 1995; Nazarene Indian Bible College – Spring Quarter Schedule of Classes 1996-97; Nazarene Indian Bible College – Winter Quarter Schedule of Classes 1997-98; and "Nazarene Native American Ministries: Strategy Update," (January 1994) Nazarene Indian Bible College Archives.

¹⁵ Tom McKinney, "A Tribute to Dr. Julian Gunn," Sacred Journey 2 (November 1991): 7; "Alabaster Provides Partnership with PLNU and Local Church," Journal of Church Growth, Evangelism, and Discipleship (Fall 1999): 47; and "Native American News Notes," Sacred Journey 4 (Winter 1994-95): 4.

study in a traditional college setting, CHIEF hosts one- and two week-seminars. The organization also periodically holds special conventions.¹⁶

During his career as a spiritual intermediary, Gunn discovered that being a broker involved balancing conflicting interests. When denominational leaders chose him to succeed G.H. Pearson as superintendent of the North American Indian District, Gunn could hardly have comprehended how difficult it would be to mediate among denominational officials, the pastors of the district's churches, and the members of their congregations. On the other hand, Gunn experienced the satisfaction of successfully bringing about positive changes at the Bible college, particularly through his efforts to qualify NIBC for accreditation. Moreover, Gunn found a great deal of personal gratification in being a role model for the students.

"Little did I know"¹⁷

Much like Gunn, Jim Lopez (Cocopah¹⁸) experienced the satisfaction, as well as the challenges, of serving as an intermediary. In early April 1988, American Indian College (AIC) sponsored a revival on the Fort McDowell Indian Reservation, located due east of Scottsdale. At the time, there was no Assemblies of God Church on the reservation, home to approximately 2,000 Mojaves, Apaches, and Yavapais. Lopez and

¹⁶ Julian Gunn, phone interview with author, November 4, 1996; "Julian Gunn Named to National Board," Home Missions Alert (December/January/February 1977-78): 3; "Native American Ministries Forum: Church Leaders Plan Strategies for Future," Sacred Journey 1 (Summer 1989): 1, 7; "Sonrise '92: International Native American Congress on Evangelism, Discipleship & Church Growth," Sacred Journey 3 (November 1992): 4; "CHIEF (Christian Hope Indian Eskimo Fellowship): Training Native Americans to reach Native Americans," Missions Frontier Bulletin 16 (May-June 1994): 13-15; Huron Claus (Mohawk), telephone interview with author, November 9, 1995; and "Native evangelicals gather under New Mexico sun," Indian Life Magazine 13 (April-May 1992): 5.

¹⁷ "Echoes: Phoenix," Native Pentecostal News 6 (Fall 1994): 9.

¹⁸ This spelling was chosen in 1974 by the Cocopahs enrolled near Somerton, Arizona, southwest of Yuma near the border with Mexico.

fellow AIC faculty member Don Coleman, an Anglo, sought and gained permission from tribal authorities to hold evangelistic meetings. For several weekends prior to the crusade, Lopez's students went door-to-door inviting people to the services. After the preparations had been made, the AIC students held a children's crusade featuring songs and Bible stories. Lopez and two other Native American pastors followed these preliminaries with several nights of evangelistic meetings for the adults.¹⁹

Nearly two decades before, when Lopez enrolled as a student at AIC, he had no idea that he would one day become a spiritual and educational leader or be speaking at evangelistic services like the one held at Fort McDowell. Although Lopez is a Cocopah, he grew up in Winterhaven, California, located in the middle of the Quechan Indian Reservation. Historically, although both groups depended on the Colorado River for their livelihood, the Cocopahs and Quechans were bitter enemies. Yet, the division of their homeland by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 and the devastating effects of allotment in the late nineteenth century brought them together in the twentieth century when many were forced to move to cities to make a living.²⁰

Many Quechans attended Catholic, Methodist, Mormon, or Nazarene churches located on the reservation. It was a Quechan classmate, Belinda, Lopez's high school sweetheart, who first encouraged Lopez toward the path of a spiritual and educational leader. When the couple began dating, Belinda invited Jim to attend church with her at Winterhaven Indian Assembly of God. The pastor at that time was the Tohono O'odham

¹⁹ "Fort McDowell Gospel Crusade," *The Thunderer* 23 (No. 2, 1988): [3].

²⁰ E. W. Gifford, "The Cocopa," *American Archaeology and Ethnology* 31 (No. 5, 1933): 257; Anita Alvarez De Williams, "Cocopa," in Alfonso Ortiz, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest*, 20 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), 10: 99; and Robert L. Bee, "Quechan," in Alfonso Ortiz, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest*, 20 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), 10: 94.

Jacob Escalante (see chapter three). Through Escalante's preaching, Lopez converted to Christianity. When Lopez finished high school, Escalante encouraged him to enroll at AIC.²¹

During the 1960s, when Lopez attended junior and senior high school, few Cocopahs remained in school in order to graduate. The frustration of learning in a second language, coupled with little or no parental encouragement, led many Cocopah teenagers to drop out of school. That Lopez completed high school and enrolled at AIC set him apart from most of his peers.²² While at AIC, Lopez learned the basics of spiritual leadership and gained practical ministry experience through summer practicums and weekly teaching assignments at nearby churches. As Lopez reminisced later, "This school provided me with tools . . . and how to use them." The education Lopez received during his years at the college helped mold him for his future leadership roles.²³

After graduating from AIC, Lopez became the assistant pastor at the All Tribes Assembly in Phoenix. A year later, he accepted the pastorate at the Whiteriver Assembly of God on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation, home of the White Mountain Apaches, located northeast of Phoenix. Lopez's experiences at the two churches, although he may not have known it, were preparing him for the next step in his development as a leader. In 1982, after he had taken a sabbatical from his ministry to

²¹ Mary B. Davis, ed., *Native America in the Twentieth Century: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), 524, and "Focus on Alumni . . . Jim Lopez, 1974 graduate," *The Thunderer* 22 (No. 2, 1987): 6.

²² "Cocopah Tribe Comprehensive Plan," Luhrs Reading Room, Arizona State University (Tempe, Arizona); "Cocopah 'Poverty' Is Relative," *Tucson Daily Citizen* (April 26, 1971): 28; "Survey of the Cocopah Reservation - 1963," Luhrs Reading Room, Arizona State University (Tempe, Arizona); "Survey of the Cocopah Reservation - 1964," Luhrs Reading Room, Arizona State University (Tempe, Arizona); "Survey of the Cocopah Reservation - 1965," Luhrs Reading Room, Arizona State University (Tempe, Arizona); and Williams, *The Cocopah People*, 81.

²³ "Focus on Alumni . . . Jim Lopez, 1974 graduate," *The Thunderer* 22 (No. 2, 1987): 6.

complete a bachelor's degree in ministerial studies at Southwestern Assemblies of God College in Waxahachie, Texas, the AIC board of trustees invited Lopez to become a Christian education instructor and the coordinator of student affairs at his alma mater. Within five years, because of his leadership abilities, AIC officials promoted Lopez to dean of students.²⁴

From the beginning, Lopez sought to provide his students with the same kind of practical ministry opportunities he had experienced as a student. In addition to involving students in evangelistic crusades, like the one held at Fort McDowell Indian Reservation in 1988, Lopez also took groups of AIC students on a mission trip to Belize in Central America to work among the Mayan and Ketchi Indians in the summers of 1988 and 1989. Lopez encouraged students to volunteer for these projects because he wanted to see "more students go[ing] out . . . pioneering new churches . . . taking pastorates [and] . . . emphasi[zing] the needs of the American Indians." He knew, however, that the young men and women attending AIC needed practical ministry experience before they would be ready to take on leadership roles among their fellow Native Americans.²⁵

Throughout his career at AIC, Lopez has sought to lead by example, not only in the area of ministry but also in academics. When Lopez was at AIC, the school offered only a three-year diploma program. After pastoring for five years, Lopez took the time to complete a bachelor's degree. In spite of a very busy schedule, in the mid-1990s Lopez began working toward a master's degree from Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena,

²⁴ Jim Lopez, interview with author, February 15, 1997, and "Focus on Alumni . . . Jim Lopez, 1974 graduate," *The Thunderer* 22 (No. 2, 1987): 6.

²⁵ "Focus on Alumni . . . Jim Lopez, 1974 graduate," *The Thunderer* 22 (No. 2, 1987): 6; "The Mayan Indians of Central America," *The Thunderer* 25 (Spring 1990): 5; and "Dave Moore, 'It Totally Changed My Life,'" *The Thunderer* 23 (No. 3, 1988): 2.

California. Lopez's dedication to the pursuit of education led to his appointment as interim president of AIC in 1994 when president David Moore left to accept the position of secretary of Intercultural Ministries at the Assembly of God headquarters in Springfield, Missouri, and his eventual permanent selection as president in June 1998. For Lopez, it was the culmination of a journey he had begun twenty-five years earlier.

In 1971, in preparation for the ministry, I left my hometown of Winterhaven, California on the Quechan Reservation to attend American Indian College. I was filled with hope and an ambition to study the Word of God. Little did I know that, twenty-three years later, I would be serving . . . as interim president.²⁶

Over the years, Lopez has experienced a great deal of personal satisfaction from his brokering activities. Not only has he had the privilege of watching his students hone their skills at conducting evangelistic meetings, but he has also had the joy of seeing them complete their degrees.

"The Navajos make rugs, the Pueblos make pottery and the Mescaleros make money."²⁷

Of all the Native Americans who have attended one of the southwestern Bible colleges, perhaps the best known is Wendell Chino (Mescalero/Chiricahua). Chino was born in 1923 on the Mescalero Indian Reservation, located one hundred miles north of El Paso, Texas, between Alamogordo and Ruidoso, New Mexico. The reservation is also home to Lipan Apaches, who joined the Mescaleros in 1903, and Chiricahua Apaches who migrated there from Fort Sill, Oklahoma, after their release from captivity in 1913.

²⁶ "Echoes: Phoenix," Native Pentecostal News 6 (Fall 1994): 9.

²⁷ Wendell Chino made this statement on numerous occasions. See, for example, Randel D. Hanson, "Indian Burial Grounds for Nuclear Waste," Multinational Monitor (September 1995), and "Mescalero

Chino gained local acclaim for being a gifted preacher. In addition, he established a national reputation by governing the Mescaleros for nearly half a century and serving as an outspoken advocate for tribal sovereignty.

It is not surprising that Chino chose to become a political leader since his father, Sam Chino, had played an active role in Mescalero politics. For more than forty years, the senior Chino headed the Mescalero Apache police force. Although a government-appointed Indian agent exercised oversight for the tribe, the elder Chino and his fellow police officers saw that things ran smoothly. The officers' responsibilities included insuring that Mescalero children stayed in school, preventing people from making saguaro cactus wine called *tiswin*, arresting law-breakers, and overseeing the tribe's beef cattle. In addition to directing the police force, the senior Chino served as chairman of the tribal business committee in the 1930s. Like other Apache groups, under the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), the Mescaleros adopted a constitution on March 25, 1936, and a charter August 1, 1936. Afterward, they formed a business committee to manage the tribe's affairs. As a member of that governing body, the senior Chino played a key role in improving the Mescalero's housing conditions. He was also instrumental in encouraging his fellow Mescaleros to switch from raising cattle instead of sheep in an effort to remedy their economic situation.²⁸

won't host nuclear storage facility, Chino decides," Mesacalero Apache File, Vertical File, Ruidoso Public Library.

²⁸ Annual Report (1895), 215; Mrs. Tom Charles, "Sam Chino Has Aided Mescalero Apaches in Peaceful Pursuits," Ruidoso News (February 29, 1952): 1; "Indian Minister Gets Pastorate," Ruidoso News (August 8, 1952): 1; C.L. Sonnichsen, The Mescalero Apaches, 2nd ed. (1958; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), 191-92, 268; Anne M. Smith, New Mexico Indians: Economic, Educational, and Social Problems (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1969), 72; Felix Cohen, Felix Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, [1971]), 129; and Henry F. Dobyns, The Mescalero Apache People (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1973), 78-79.

Even though Wendell's father groomed him to become a political leader from an early age, Wendell chose as a young man to become a spiritual leader for the Mescaleros. As a boy he regularly attended church with his mother and siblings, although his father seldom joined them. At the time, the majority of Mescaleros attended St. Joseph's Catholic Church. The Chino family, however, chose to attend the Mescalero Reformed Church, which had been founded on the Reservation in 1909. Many Apache women like Chino's mother encouraged their children to participate in the church's activities.²⁹

When Wendell graduated from Santa Fe Indian School, he decided to attend what was then known as Cook Christian Training School in Phoenix, Arizona, because of its close ties to the Reformed Church.³⁰ During his student days at Cook, Chino evolved into a gifted preacher. As a tribute to his achievements, Cook's graduating seniors during his junior year asked Chino to present their baccalaureate address.³¹ After completing his degree at Cook in 1946, Chino decided to continue his theological studies. Not surprisingly, since he attended the Reformed Church, Chino chose Western Theological Seminary, an educational institution sponsored by the church and located in Holland, Michigan.³² During his years at the seminary, Chino spoke at camp meetings and

²⁹ "Mescalero President Wendell Chino dies," Ruidoso News, November 6, 1998, 1A, 2A; Edward Everett Dale, The Indians of the Southwest: A Century of Development Under the United States (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949), 118-19; Gordon C. Baldwin, The Apache Indians: Raiders of the Southwest (New York: Four Winds, 1978), 91; Herman Van Galen, interview with author, August 27, 1999; and H. Henrietta Stockel, Women of the Apache Nation: Voices of Truth (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 12-13.

³⁰ "District 23 Proudly Presents the 1973 Toastmasters International Communication and Leadership Award to Wendell Chino Mescalero, N.M.," Vertical File, "Otero County - Personalities - Chino, Wendell" Alamogordo Public Library (Alamogordo, New Mexico), and Herman Van Galen, interview with author, August 27, 1999.

³¹ "Baccalaureate and Commencement," Indian Highways 8 (June 1948): 3.

³² Mrs. Tom Charles, "Mescalero Business Committee Lays Plans For Growth in 1953," Ruidoso News, January 30, 1954, 4; Dianne Stallings, "Mescalero President Wendell Chino dies," Ruidoso News, November 6, 1998, 1A, 2A; and "Goodbye to a Valiant Leader," Indian Highways 62 (Spring 1999): 7.

organized vacation Bible school for the children on the Mescalero Reservation during his summer vacations.³³

In the fall of 1951, just a few months after graduating from Western, Chino became the first ordained Mescalero Apache minister.³⁴ In October, he left on a speaking tour of churches in Colorado, Nebraska, and Iowa, led a five-day Bible conference in Dulce, New Mexico, headquarters of the Jicarilla Apache Indian Reservation in northern New Mexico, and returned to the Mescalero Reservation where he preached the Thanksgiving service at the Indian mission.³⁵ The following spring Chino accepted a call to fill a temporary vacancy at a church in Macy, Nebraska, which was located among the Omaha.³⁶

Although Chino quickly built a reputation for being a powerful expositor, he apparently was having second thoughts about following his father into politics. He returned to New Mexico and in December 1952, only a year and a half after he became a pastor, Chino entered politics. In his first try for office he won a position on the Mescalero business committee.³⁷ During the early months of his political career, Chino maintained his ministerial responsibilities. He served as an assistant pastor at the

³³ [photo caption], Indian Highways 13 (March 1950): 4.

³⁴ "Rev. Wendell Chino," Indian Highways 20 (October 1951): 4, and "District 23 Proudly Presents the 1973 Toastmasters International Communication and Leadership Award to Wendell Chino Mescalero, N.M.," Vertical File, "Otero County – Personalities – Chino, Wendell" Alamogordo Public Library (Alamogordo, New Mexico).

³⁵ Mrs. Reno Sarlin, "News from Mescalero," Ruidoso News, October 12, 1951, 3; Mrs. Reno Sarlin, "News from Mescalero," Ruidoso News, November 2, 1951, 4; and Mrs. Reno Sarlin, "News from Mescalero," Ruidoso News, November 16, 1951, 1.

³⁶ Mrs. Reno Sarlin, "News from Mescalero," Ruidoso News, March 14, 1952, 7, and Mrs. Reno Sarlin, "News from Mescalero," Ruidoso News, May 23, 1952, 3.

³⁷ Mrs. E.P. Breuninger, "News from Mescalero," Ruidoso News, December 12, 1952, 2.

Reformed Church on the reservation throughout most of 1953, before becoming its head pastor in November of that year.³⁸

Before long, however, Chino found he could not carry both responsibilities. His busy schedule as head of the tribe's business committee forced him to resign from the pastorate.³⁹ Although he never again pastored fulltime, Chino continued to speak at special events. For example, he and a former classmate at Cook, Carl Dickson (Nez Perce), held a weekend of evangelistic meetings in 1962 for the Yavapai who lived between Phoenix and Flagstaff.⁴⁰ And, when the first Mescalero Apache soldier, Pfc. Russell E. Pesewonit, was killed in Vietnam in 1966, Chino conducted the funeral.⁴¹ In



Fig. 19: Cecil Corbett, Wendell Chino, and Raymond Baines.

³⁸ Mrs. E.P. Breuninger, "News from Mescalero," Ruidoso News, November 6, 1953, 3.

³⁹ "Apaches Now Nearing Realization Of Long-Term Tribal Development; Building Toward Independence," Ruidoso News, October 21, 1955, 1.

⁴⁰ "A Week-end of Inspiration," Indian Highways 80 (October 1962): 2.

⁴¹ "First Mescalero Man Killed In Viet Nam Has Military Funeral," Ruidoso News, August 12, 1966, 1.

1968, he gave the keynote address at the installation of Cook's new director, Cecil Corbett (Nez Perce-Choctaw), and in 1987 Chino spoke at Cook's commencement ceremony. Even though he carved out a career in politics, Chino remained to some extent a spiritual leader for his people.⁴²

"Chino Heads Apache Tribe"⁴³

When Wendell Chino was first elected to the Mescalero business committee in 1953, the tribe's economic situation was grim. One hundred years before, when the United States went to war against Mexico in 1846, the Mescaleros and other Apaches in the region exercised military control over the territory of northern Mexico. Throughout the war, the Mescaleros wisely avoided being drawn into the fighting. Nevertheless, the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 signaled the beginning of a new era for the Mescaleros. Aware that the United States possessed superior military forces, the Mescaleros sought to establish an alliance with the new governor of New Mexico, J.C. Calhoun. The relationship between the Mescaleros and the U.S. Army was amiable until 1853 when David Meriwether replaced Calhoun. Meriwether immediately cracked down on Apache raiding parties. Although only a small number of Mescaleros took part in the raids, the entire tribe felt Meriwether's wrath. Under orders from the governor, U.S. troops mounted an aggressive search and destroy mission, soundly defeating the under-equipped and starving Indians by January 1856.⁴⁴

⁴² "Cook Christian Training School: Board of trustees - 35 Members," George Walker papers, CCTSA; "Larger Dreams, and Growing Challenges," *Indian Highways* 125 (February 1969): 1, 3; and "Wendell Chino Stresses Spirituality," *Indian Highways* 203 (Summer 1987): 1.

⁴³ "Chino Heads Apache Tribe," *Ruidoso News*, February 2, 1962, 1.

⁴⁴ Dobyns, *The Mescalero Apache People*, 40-43.

For the next few years, the Mescaleros lived quietly near Fort Stanton, in southern New Mexico. During the first year of the Civil War, when Confederate garrisons attacked the fort, the Union soldiers abandoned it, leaving the Mescaleros to fend for themselves. With their old nemesis gone, the Mescaleros began raiding again. Their freedom proved short-lived, however. In 1862, Union troops regained control of the region. In retaliation for their resumption of raiding, General James H. Carleton then ordered Colonel Kit Carson and his men to round up the Mescaleros and remove them to a forty-square-mile reservation known as the Bosque Redondo located on the Pecos River near Fort Sumner. Soon thereafter, soldiers also compelled more than nine thousand Diné to join the Mescaleros. Longtime enemies, the Mescaleros and Diné began to squabble. Before long, armed conflicts broke out. Outnumbered and suffering because of severe over-crowding, the Mescaleros decided to escape. On November 3, 1865, all but nine Mescaleros fled, returning by various routes to their former homeland near Fort Stanton. By that time, however, Euroamerican settlers had moved into the area. The Mescaleros found themselves being harassed by soldiers and newly arrived settlers.⁴⁵

Then, in an effort to settle the land dispute between the Anglo settlers and the Mescaleros, President Ulysses S. Grant established the Mescalero Reservation by an executive order on May 29, 1873. Subsequent executive orders in 1874, 1875, 1882, and 1883 provided the Mescaleros with additional farming and grazing land, bringing the total number of acres to 460,000. The reservation, located in southern New Mexico in the Sacramento Mountain range, was covered with vast areas of timber and grazing

⁴⁵ Annual Report (1863), 112-13; Annual Report (1867), 192; Annual Report (1872), 53; and Morris E. Opler, "Mescalero Apache," in Alfonso Ortiz, ed., Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest, 20 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), 10: 422.

pastures. For the next several decades, the Mescaleros, who escaped allotment of their land, survived on the income they received from timber sales and grazing leases.⁴⁶

When drought struck during the 1950s, raising cattle and cutting timber obviously would no longer support the Mescaleros. Unemployment hovered around 70 percent. During this time Wendell Chino joined the Mescalero business committee.⁴⁷ Between 1953, when Chino was elected to the business committee for the first time, and 1962, when he emerged as the dominant figure in Mescalero politics, Chino vied with Virginia Klinekole and Fred Pellman for control of the business committee. Their political wrangling prevented the committee from making much progress in their efforts to improve the Mescaleros' economic situation.⁴⁸

Once Chino gained control, however, he began implementing an aggressive plan to turn things around. He chose to develop recreation-related industries to boost the Mescalero's economic standing.⁴⁹ In September 1963, less than one year after gaining control of the business council, Chino reached an agreement with the owners of the Sierra

⁴⁶ "The Apaches' Own Story of The Mescalero Indian and His Beautiful Country," Ruidoso News, July 20, 1956, 3; Smith, New Mexico Indians, 71; Sonnichsen, The Mescalero Apaches, 157, 160, 234; and Dobyns, The Mescalero Apache People, 55-58, 64.

⁴⁷ Mrs. Reino Sarlin, "News From Mescalero," Ruidoso News, November 30, 1951, 3; "Apaches Invite Inspection of Herds Of Sheep, Cattle On Reservation to Refute Cattle Growers' Stand," Ruidoso News, August 5, 1955, 1; "Apaches Complete Details Attending Hugh Timber Sale," Ruidoso News, June 14, 1957, 1; Vic Lamb, "Hardship Cares Are Increasing In Number Among Mescalero Apaches; Food, Clothing Needed," Ruidoso News, July 5, 1957, 1, 12; "Apaches Set Cattle Sales," Ruidoso News, September 27, 1957, 1; and Dobyns, The Mescalero Apache People, 96.

⁴⁸ Mrs. E.P. Breuninger, "Mescalero," Ruidoso News, December 12, 1953, 2; Mrs. E.P. Breuninger, "Mescalero," Ruidoso News, December 26, 1953, 5; Mrs. E.P. Breuninger, "Mescalero," Ruidoso News, February 5, 1954, 6; Mrs. E.P. Breuninger, "Mescalero," Ruidoso News, January 21, 1955, 4; "Mrs. Klinekole Heads Apache Tribal Group," Ruidoso News, January 16, 1959, 1; "Mrs. Klinekole Re-elected Tribal President," Ruidoso News, January 22, 1960, 1; "Fred Pellman Elected Apache Tribal President," Ruidoso News, January 20, 1961, 1; and "Chino Heads Apache Tribe," Ruidoso News, February 2, 1962, 1.

⁴⁹ Scott C. Zeman, "Revitalization Through Recreation: Apache Development of Outdoor Recreation Industries, 1950-1980" (M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1994), 99-125.

Blanca Ski Area to buy the recreation facility.⁵⁰ The following spring, Chino released six of the nine non-Indian employees of the ski area and replaced them with Mescaleros.⁵¹ He then approached New Mexico Senator Clinton P. Anderson for funds to cover the cost of training a group of Mescaleros to operate the ski area. Anderson obtained \$11,250 from the Area Redevelopment Administration to finance the special vocational program. Sixteen Mescaleros completed the program and joined the ski area staff in January 1965.⁵²

With the successful acquisition of the ski area, Chino decided to develop recreational facilities on the reservation. He hoped this new enterprise would attract summer, as well as winter, tourists, thereby creating more jobs for tribal members.⁵³ In the early 1970s, the Mescaleros built a twenty-two million-dollar recreational complex that included a one hundred-acre artificial lake, swimming pools, tennis courts, a championship golf course, and the Inn of the Mountain Gods.⁵⁴

Although the Mescaleros eagerly supported Chino's latest project, two groups of Ruidoso residents did not. The town's business people expressed concern that the new facilities would lure tourists away from their businesses. But Chino used his skills as a cultural broker to assure members of the community, probably disingenuously, that he intended to target the resort convention market rather than competing with them for the

⁵⁰ "Apaches Decide To Buy Ski Area," *Ruidoso News*, August 23, 1963, 1, and "Sierra Blanca Co. And Apaches Finalize Ski Area Sale Plans," *Ruidoso News*, September 13, 1963, 1.

⁵¹ "Sierra Blanca Employees Resign Jobs," *Ruidoso News*, May 1, 1964, 1.

⁵² "20 Apaches Are Enrolled In Ski School," *Ruidoso News*, August 28, 1964, 1; "Apaches Training At Sierra Blanca For Ski Operation," *Ruidoso News*, September 25, 1964, 1; and "Training of Apaches In ARA Ends," *Ruidoso News*, January 1, 1965, 1.

⁵³ Chino had originally proposed this plan in 1956. See: "Apache recreational Projects Will Benefit Neighbor Towns, Wendell Chino Tells Rotarians," *Ruidoso News*, February 3, 1956, 1.

⁵⁴ "Cienegita Plans Explained," *Ruidoso News*, January 15, 1971, 1; Baldwin, *The Apache Indians*, 200-201; "Inn of the Mountain Gods: A Mescalero Enterprise," Brochure; and "Inn remains most visible sign of success for Mescaleros, Chino," Mescalero Apache File, Vertical File, Ruidoso Public Library.

tourist trade.⁵⁵ Similarly, when area residents complained about Chino's plan to divert water from Rio Ruidoso into the Carrizozo Creek to fill Lake Mescalero, the artificial lake then under construction, Chino smoothed over the situation by promising to fill the lake in the spring when the river was swollen with run-off from melting snow.⁵⁶

Chino's attempt to create jobs and bring huge sums of money into the Mescalero coffers through the acquisition of the Sierra Blanca Ski Area and the development of recreational facilities did not immediately live up to expectations.⁵⁷ So before long, Chino began exploring other revenue-generating opportunities for the Mescalero tribe.⁵⁸

Chino's next venture proved to be much more controversial than luring tourists away from Ruidoso's businesses or diverting water from Rio Ruidoso. In 1991, Chino announced that the federal government had asked the Mescaleros to consider locating a Monitored Retrievable Storage (MRS) nuclear waste storage site on tribal lands.⁵⁹ Once completed, the facility would serve as a temporary storage area for nuclear waste until the Department of Energy's permanent repository could be built in the proposed site at Yucca Mountain, Nevada. The maximum length of time the radioactive fuel rods would be stored on the reservation would be forty years, after which the storage facilities could be turned into warehouses or other commercial ventures.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ "Cienegita Plans Explained," Ruidoso News, January 15, 1971, 1.

⁵⁶ Anonymous, interview with author, August 27, 1999; Anonymous, interview with author, August 27, 1999; and Jim Tully, "Mescalero Apache Tribe praised on resort complex," Ruidoso News, February 7, 1975, 1.

⁵⁷ "MAT reservation gaming unlikely," Ruidoso News, April 4, 1977, 1, and "Chino Disavows Knowledge of Gaming Story," Ruidoso News, October 29, 1981, 1A.

⁵⁸ "Bingo! Tribe O.K.'s Ordinance," Ruidoso News, May 1, 1986, 1A, and "Bingo! Mescalero tribe to begin games Wednesday," Ruidoso News, July 28, 1996, 1A.

⁵⁹ "Mescalero president makes plans for a study over high-level N-waste storage," Ruidoso News, October 14, 1991, 1 - 2A.

⁶⁰ "A Citizen's Guide to Monitored Retrievable Storage Of Used Nuclear Power Plant Fuel," pamphlet, Mescalero Apache File, Vertical File, Ruidoso Public Library, and Dianne Stallings, "Technical aspects of storage plan would be scrutinized by NRC feds," Ruidoso News, January 30, 1995, 4A.

Even while the federal government used financial incentives to encourage Chino and the Mescaleros to build the MRS, the state of New Mexico began legal proceedings to prevent Chino from moving forward with his plan. When New Mexico Senators Pete Domenici and Jeff Bingaman tried to deter the Mescaleros from undertaking the project, Chino confidently declared,

I realize the MRS will remain controversial because it is a nuclear project, but the tribal council believes the MRS could provide an opportunity for long-term independence and prosperity for our tribe that we would be negligent to ignore or reject.⁶¹

Likewise, Chino was undaunted when then New Mexico Governor Bruce King sent a letter to President William Jefferson Clinton urging him to block the Department of Energy's (DOE) approval of an MRS on the Mescalero Reservation. Claiming that the state had no legal standing in the matter, Chino countered by sending his own message to the president. In his letter, Chino accused King of interfering with the Mescalero's tribal sovereignty and hindering the tribe's economic development.⁶²

As might be expected, the residents of Ruidoso also joined in the fight, siding with the state. In an effort to defuse the townspeople's fears, Chino equated the project with the Trinity Site, located forty miles northwest of Ruidoso, where the first atomic bomb was tested in July 1945.⁶³ Allegedly, according to proponents, the atomic facility had left no ill effects on the area although it remained radioactive. Instead, the site had

⁶¹ "Mescalero tribe takes next step to host MRS," Ruidoso News, August 5, 1993, 1 - 2A, and "Senate to stop MRS funds," Ruidoso News, October 4, 1993, 1 - 2A.

⁶² Dianne Stallings, "King and Chino lash out in letters to the President," Ruidoso News, June 2, 1994, 1 - 2A, and Leslie Linthicum, "Strong Hand Keeping Tribe on Steady Course," Albuquerque Journal, January 29, 1995, 1B.

⁶³ Ferenc M. Szasz, The Day the Sun Rose Twice: The Story of the Trinity Site Nuclear Explosion, July 16, 1945 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984).

brought thousands of tourists to the region. In spite of Chino's efforts to downplay the dangers of radiation contamination, Ruidosians continued voicing their opposition to the project. Chino responded by threatening to shut down Ski Apache, a move that would have caused severe financial hardship on Ruidoso's tourist-dependent business community.⁶⁴

The state of New Mexico and the residents of Ruidoso were not Chino's only opponents during this controversy. A few members of the Mescalero tribe also stepped forward to protest the MRS project, despite Chino's claims that the project would create between two and three hundred jobs. One of Chino's most outspoken detractors was Rufina Laws. As a young woman, Laws had admired Chino for his efforts on behalf of civil rights for Native Americans. But, when Chino began pursuing the nuclear waste project, Laws became one of his most ardent foes.⁶⁵ She denounced Chino for stressing the economic benefits without addressing the health risks involved or the potential for permanent environmental damage. Laws wrote:

Man has never made a thing in this world that is perfect.
Once it's here, once that radiation gets out, once that place
gets ruined, it'll be there for an eternity.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ "N-waste plans make headlines for area," Ruidoso News, November 28, 1991, 3A, and "Remarks of David H. Leroy United States Nuclear Waste Negotiator, International High Level Radioactive Waste Management Conference and Exposition The Challenge of a New Beginning: Questions and Answers About Negotiated Nuclear Facility Siting in the 1990s, Las Vegas, Nevada, April 13, 1992." Pamphlet. Nuclear waste storage – Mescalero File, Vertical File. Ruidoso Public Library; Wendell Chino, letter to David H. Leroy, October 11, 1991, copy in Nuclear Waste Storage – Mescalero File, Vertical File, Ruidoso Public Library; Jay Miller, "Apache nuclear-waste proposal would make WIPP look tame," unidentified newspaper clipping, Nuclear Waste Storage – Mescalero, Vertical File, Ruidoso Public Library; and Thomas W. Lippman, "Apaches look at nuclear waste, see opportunity," Maine Sunday Telegram, July 26, 1992, 5A.

⁶⁵ Dianne Stallings, "Lone Apache voices protest," Ruidoso News, December 12, 1994, 1 – 2A; Tony Davis, "Apaches send a signal to nuclear industry," High Country News, February 20, 1995; and Dianne Stallings, "Mescalero President Wendell Chino dies," Ruidoso News, November 6, 1998, 1 – 2A.

⁶⁶ John Fleck, "Fighting for the Future," Albuquerque Journal, January 29, 1995, 1B, 4B.

Through a grassroots campaign, Laws persuaded a majority of the Mescaleros to vote down a proposal in February 1995 to build an MRS facility on Mescalero land. The day after the vote, Chino refused to comment on the defeat, but he pledged to support the will of the people.

Why it lost isn't important. What matters is that the people have spoken. If the tribal council wanted to proceed under its own powers, we could have gone ahead without a vote. But we promised we wouldn't do that. We have kept faith with the people and with what we told them.⁶⁷

Less than two weeks later, however, Chino reversed his position and initiated a petition drive calling for another vote on the proposal. Using intimidation and strong-arm tactics, Chino's supporters collected more than seven hundred signatures on the petition. When a second vote was taken on March 6, 1995, the measure passed amid allegations that Chino's associates had coerced individual Mescaleros into voting for the measure.⁶⁸

With a favorable vote in his pocket, Chino continued negotiating with a coalition of nuclear utilities. In April 1996, however, the talks abruptly broke off. Although members of the Ruidoso community were leery that Chino might open talks with other nuclear power companies, they began speculating that Chino had been disingenuous in his negotiations for the MRS. They asserted that he had never intended to build the storage facility. Rather, they claimed he had used it as leverage to gain approval for full-scale casino gambling, an equally lucrative business without the risks of radiation

⁶⁷ Tony Davis, "Apaches send a signal to nuclear industry," High Country News, February 20, 1995.

⁶⁸ "Apaches say no to nuke waste," Ruidoso News, February 2, 1995, 1 A, 3A; "Nuke talks may be reopened," Ruidoso News (February 16, 1995): 1A; "Petitions to overturn nuke vote handed in," Ruidoso News, February 20, 1995, 1 - 2 A; "Apaches to vote again," Ruidoso News, February 23, 1995, 1 - 2A; and "Apache vote changes second time around," Ruidoso News, March 6, 1995, 1 A, 3A.

contamination. Quietly, while embroiled in the debate over building the MRS facility, Chino expanded the Mescaleros' gambling enterprise to include casino-type games.⁶⁹

Ever the wheeler-dealer, while he had been exploring the possibility of building the MRS facility, Chino had also been maneuvering to enter the lucrative field of high-stakes gambling. Although Chino had disavowed any plans to open a casino during the late 1970s and early 1980s, it is likely that he was already contemplating just such a move. It would take nearly a decade of incremental steps before Chino established a casino. In the meantime, he opened a high-stakes bingo operation on the reservation in July 1986. Within two years, bingo had become so popular that the Mescaleros constructed a new, much larger hall to accommodate the crowds.⁷⁰

While the Mescaleros had been quietly positioning themselves in the gambling industry, the proliferation of Indian gambling enterprises throughout the United States resulted in the passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act in 1988. The act allowed Native Americans to regulate gaming activities on their reservations, as long as state or federal laws did not forbid that type of gambling. But, the law also required tribes who operate lotteries, casino-type games such as blackjack and slot machines, or pari-mutuel betting to sign compacts with their state government.⁷¹ Chino wasted little time in filing suit against the government in U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C. Chino claimed that the Indian Gaming Act was unconstitutional because it violated tribal sovereignty as

⁶⁹ Dianne Stallings, "Nuclear storage pact is dead," *Ruidoso News*, April 19, 1996, 1 – 2 A; Dan Williams and David Sheppard, "Mescaleros close casino," *El Paso Times*, September 25, 1996, 1A; and "Casino Apache, Mescalero, New Mexico," Brochure.

⁷⁰ "Apaches dedicate sparkling bingo hall," *Ruidoso News*, August 25, 1988, 1A.

⁷¹ P.L. 100-497 (October 17, 1988).

promised in the Treaty of 1852 by seeking to control activities on the reservation.⁷²

Chino argued that

This is a clear violation of the treaty and something which we cannot and will not allow. Our tribal government predates the U.S. Constitution – we have the right to self-government into perpetuity.⁷³

In December 1995, the tribal sovereignty issue reemerged when U.S. Attorney John Kelly from the U.S. Justice Department demanded that Chino close Casino Apache because New Mexico State law did not permit any form of casino gambling.⁷⁴ Ignoring Kelly, Chino signed a gaming compact in January 1996 with Gary Johnson, the newly elected governor of New Mexico.⁷⁵ The New Mexico State Supreme Court, however, voided the compact, claiming Johnson did not have the approval of the state legislature to negotiate the agreements.⁷⁶ That July, Kelly ruled that the casino was illegal and demanded that it close immediately. Chino refused and filed a restraining order against Kelly.⁷⁷ On September 24, 1996, Chino closed the casino to prevent Kelly from seizing the gaming equipment and freezing the casino's banking accounts.⁷⁸ After nearly two months of legal maneuvering, Chino reopened the casino in late November.⁷⁹ Kelly did

⁷² "Chino leads gaming law fight," Ruidoso News, January 30, 1989, 1A, and Gerald Vizenor, "Gambling," in Frederick E. Hoxie, ed., Encyclopedia of North American Indians (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996), 212-14.

⁷³ "Chino leads gaming law fight," Ruidoso News, January 30, 1989, 1A.

⁷⁴ "Apaches fight casino closure," Ruidoso News, December 25, 1995, 1 A, 3A.

⁷⁵ "Chino extends olive branch to Ruidoso," Ruidoso News, January 17, 1996, 1 A, 3A.

⁷⁶ Lisa Turner, "Chino complies," Daily News (Alamogordo, N.M.), September 25, 1996, 1.

⁷⁷ "Chino defies order to close casino," Ruidoso News, July 24, 1996, 1A, 3A, and "Chino seeks restraining order vs. U.S. Attorney," Ruidoso News, September 20, 1996, 1A.

⁷⁸ "Casino Apache closed: Appeal process to continue in Denver, Chino Tells Supporters," Ruidoso News, September 25, 1996, 1 – 2A.

⁷⁹ "U.S. Attorney advised tribe not to reopen casino," Ruidoso News, November 20, 1996, 1A, and Kathleen McDonald, "Mescalero plan to re-open entire Casino Apache," Ruidoso News, November 22, 1996, 1A.

not interfere this time, saying he would await the outcome of a similar case pending against Santa Ana Pueblo before pursuing the matter further.⁸⁰

In 1997, under protest, Chino signed a new compact that required the Mescaleros to pay the state 16 percent of their casino revenues. The original compact signed in 1996 had called for revenue-sharing of up to 5 percent. Chino claimed that the revenue sharing was an illegal tax on the tribe's sovereign status since the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act declares that states cannot profit from Indian gaming. Although Chino continued his fight to preserve the Mescalero's sovereignty over their gambling operation, the issue remained unresolved at the time of his death in 1998.⁸¹

The life of Wendell Chino demonstrates how difficult being a cultural broker can be. Although he easily rose to the role of spiritual intermediary, he apparently enjoyed maneuvering in the political arena much more. Chino learned early on that being a successful politician meant juggling multiple interests simultaneously. He also discovered the importance of determination. His desire to be a political leader drove him to bounce back from the loss of his position on the business committee during the early years of his political career. That same determination helped him win the battle with U.S. Attorney John Kelly over the threatened closure of the Casino Apache.

⁸⁰ Kathleen McDonald, "Full casino opens after tense delay," Ruidoso News, November 27, 1996, 1 – 2A.

⁸¹ Dan Williams and David Sheppard, "Mescaleros close casino," El Paso Times, September 25, 1996, 1A; "Chino opposes gaming fees," Indian Country Today, November 3 – 10, 1997, 2; Christ Roberts, "Mescaleros May Put Compacts At Risk, Tribes Fear," Albuquerque Journal, November 14, 1997, A1, A2; and Wren Propp, "Mescaleros Gamble on Arbitration," Albuquerque Journal, September 20, 1998, A1, A4.

Conclusion

A comparative look at the lives of Julian Gunn, Jim Lopez, and Wendell Chino demonstrates the complexities inherent in the role of cultural broker during the late twentieth century. Although each of these men rose to prominent positions as a result of his determination to improve the lot of his people, at first glance it might appear that Chino's role as tribal chair and national advocate for tribal sovereignty was more complicated than Gunn and Lopez's drive to introduce Native Americans throughout the Southwest to Protestant Christianity. As head of the Mescaleros, Chino had to balance the needs of his fellow Mescaleros with the demands of state and federal officials, as well as those of the non-Indian residents of Ruidoso. Over the years, Chino not only grew increasingly unwilling to compromise with outside parties, but he also became increasingly more authoritarian in his dealings with his own people. Toward the end of his life, Chino became less like a cultural broker and more like a feudal lord. On the other hand, Gunn and Lopez were likewise juggling conflicting demands from members of their own congregations, as well as from students and faculty at their respective colleges. These conflicting pressures placed them squarely in the middle of ever-changing circumstances. But unlike Chino, Lopez and Gunn could ill-afford to dictate the terms of their interactions with others. Rather, they had to work to balance the interests of all sides.

Chapter 6

Hau Mitakuyapi ("Hello to My Relatives"¹): The Sioux²

Not long after he was discharged from the Navy at the conclusion of World War II, Moses Flying By decided to study for the ministry at Cook Christian Training School. Almost as soon as Flying By, his wife Leona, and their children left South Dakota on their two thousand-mile trip to Phoenix, Arizona, they began experiencing problems. First, they had to contend with a severe snowstorm. Then, their car's radiator developed



Fig. 20: Moses Flying By. (CCTS)

a crack, spilling out all the antifreeze. Not easily discouraged, Flying By stuffed cotton into the crack and continued driving. About every two or three hundred miles throughout the rest of their journey, the cotton fell out. The added expense of buying so much antifreeze soon depleted the Flying By's meager resources. By the time Moses and his family reached the mission of the Mescalero Reformed Church on the Mescalero Indian

¹ "Emanuel Red Bear Writes *Mitakuye Oyasin* From SD," *Indian Highways* 235 (Summer 1995): 4.

² The Sioux Nation is comprised of three groups: the Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota. For the purposes of this study, whenever possible, individuals will be identified by the group to which they belong.

Reservation in southern New Mexico, they were out of money. The missionaries, thrilled to hear that Flying By wanted to become a pastor, gave him twelve dollars so he and his family would have enough gasoline and food to complete their journey. With the missionaries' help, the Flying By family finally reached their destination.³

Even though the three Bible colleges under consideration here are located in the Southwest, not all of the students who attended the schools were natives of the Southwest. In fact, since the late 1940s, a large number of Sioux Indians from North Dakota and South Dakota began making the long journey to Phoenix. Prior to the 1940s, Sioux interested in becoming ministers either attended Anglo colleges and seminaries in the East or studied under missionary mentors on the reservation. Then, in 1940, on the verge of folding for a lack of students and operating funds, Cook became an interdenominational school. The Episcopal, Congregational, and other denominations joined the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) in sponsoring the Bible college. Missionaries began encouraging Native Americans to attend Cook. Before long, Moses Flying By and other Sioux students joined the student body at Cook. Although they were from a different region, a kinship pattern began to develop among the Sioux graduates within a short time, as it had for the Pima, Tohono O'odham, and Diné students.⁴

Over the years, Bible college graduates of Sioux heritage like Moses Flying By have played key roles in the ongoing Native American-Euroamerican cultural exchange. Most have done so in their role as ministers or Christian workers.⁵

³ "Moses Flying By," Indian Highways 13 (March 1950): 2, and George Walker, Miracle in Moccasins (Phoenix, AZ: Phoenician Books, 1969), 99-100.

⁴ Annual Report (1892), 445, and "History of Charles Cook Theological School," Cook College and Theological School File, Menaul Historical Library of the Southwest (hereafter MHLWS), 4.

⁵ "Family Tradition," Indian Highways 146 (June 1973): 3; "Onward Christian Soldiers," Indian Highways 102 (November 1965): 1; and "Family Tradition," Indian Highways 146 (June 1973): 3.

The Introduction of Christianity among the Sioux

In 1851, Moses Flying By's Sioux ancestors and other groups of Plains Indians signed the first Treaty of Fort Laramie. Designed to settle the ongoing dispute between the Indians and whites traveling through their land en route to Oregon and California, the treaty was the first in a series of treaties that brought about tumultuous times for the Sioux during the second half of the nineteenth century. In return for allowing the westward emigrants to cross the region, the U.S. government promised to give the Sioux and other tribes that signed the treaty each fifty thousand dollars worth of goods each year for the next fifty years. When the government reneged on its treaty pledge, the Sioux raided parties of overland travelers. Throughout the 1850s and early 1860s, the flow of traffic on the Oregon and Bozeman trails in Montana increased, further angering the Sioux. In 1865, the government decided to build a series of forts along the Bozeman Trail to protect travelers to Montana gold fields from attacks by Sioux raiding parties. The Lakota, led by Red Cloud, fought back to defend their lands. To end the fighting, the government negotiated a second Treaty of Fort Laramie (1868) with the Sioux. The treaty set aside the Great Sioux Reservation, encompassing the western half of what is now North and South Dakota and portions of present-day Wyoming and Nebraska.⁶

The establishment of the reservation did little to slow the influx of Anglo settlers and miners into the region. When miners discovered gold in the Black Hills in 1874, any hopes the Lakota had of retaining control of their ancestral lands vanished. The government began pressing the Sioux to sell the Black Hills, but the Lakota refused

⁶ Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of Interior for the Year 1858 (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O, 1858), 15, 49, hereafter cited Annual Report, with the appropriate year; Annual Report (1859), 83-87; Annual Report (1878), 24-25; Robert M. Utley, The Last Days of the Sioux Nation

because they considered the hills the center of the earth and their sacred place of origin. In response, the government again reneged on its treaty promises and ordered the U.S. Army to begin an all-out assault on the Lakota in early 1876. Early on in the Great Sioux War (1876-77), the Lakota warriors and their allies were victorious in battles at Powder River in Montana, Rosebud Creek in South Dakota, and the Little Big Horn. In June 1876, after the death of General George Custer at Little Big Horn, the tide began to turn. U.S. Army troops struck with a vengeance, forcing many Lakota chiefs to put down their weapons and settle on the reservation. Rather than surrender, Hunkpapa medicine man Sitting Bull and his warriors fled to Canada. Then, in September 1877, soldiers at Fort Robinson in Nebraska killed Crazy Horse, the most famous Oglala Lakota warrior. With the Lakota pacified, Congress appropriated the Lakota's sacred Black Hills.⁷

Unfortunately for the Sioux, the confiscation of their land did not end there. In 1889, congress passed the Sioux Act, dividing the Great Sioux Reservation into six smaller reservations. The government allotted reservation land and then sold the "surplus" land to white settlers. Although the Sioux controlled eighty million acres in 1850, within forty years, they had lost more than half that land,⁸ which led to the Ghost Dance of 1890, the most famous Sioux revitalization movement.⁹ Devastated by

(New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1963), 40-42, and Charles J. Kappler, ed., Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 5 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 2: 770-75.

⁷ Annual Report (1876), xiv-xv; Frances Densmore, Teton Sioux Music, Smithsonian Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 61 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), 4; James S. Olson and Raymond Wilson, Native Americans in the Twentieth Century (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1984), 43-44; and Jerry Keenan, Encyclopedia of American Indian Wars, 1492-1890 (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1997), 212-13.

⁸ Annual Report (1889), 449-58; Herbert T. Hoover, The Yankton Sioux (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1988), 15; and Utley, The Last Days of the Sioux Nation, 40-51.

⁹ A revitalization movement is "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture." See Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," American Anthropologist 58 (April 1956): 265.

widespread hunger and a series of broken promises by the federal government, hundreds took part in the dance hoping to bring about a new life. Instead, in the end, at Wounded Knee on December 29, 1891, more than three hundred lost their lives at the hands of the U.S. Army. The Ghost Dance followers watched the shattering of their dream of a better life.¹⁰

During his presidency, President Ulysses S. Grant (1869-77) implemented the "Peace Policy," which, among other things, replaced military and civilian Indian agents with members of the major Protestant denominations. In Sioux country, the selected churches unilaterally divided the reservations among themselves without consulting the Sioux about the new "Peace Policy." Considering the escalating animosity between the Sioux and Euroamericans, it would not be surprising to learn that the Sioux had soundly rejected what the missionaries had to say. Nevertheless, an unexpectedly high number embraced the new religion introduced by these missionaries.¹¹

Ironically, in fact, three unexpected benefits arose from the arrival of Catholics and Protestants during the nineteenth century. First, and perhaps most surprisingly, the missionaries nurtured a sense of tribal identity. Traditionally, two times a year the Sioux held an *oyate okiju*, an "assembly of the people."¹² The Indian Episcopal Convocation, introduced in 1873, and the Catholic Indian Congress, begun in 1891, replicated this concept, bringing together Sioux from all over the region. These gatherings quickly became an important annual religious and social get-togethers. In the process, the

¹⁰ L.G. Moses and Margaret Connell Szasz, "'My Father, have pity on me!': Indian Revitalization Movements of the Late-Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the West* 23 (January 1984): 5-15.

¹¹ *Annual Report* (1873), 9, and Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 479-533.

¹² Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks, eds., *Sioux Indian Religion: Tradition and Innovation* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 91; Raymond J. DeMallie, ed., *The Sixth Grandfather:*

convocation helped build a sense of identity among the widely scattered Sioux, who were facing a major assault on their culture from the non-Indians pouring into the region, and provided avenues for them to attain influence and status.¹³

Second, the introduction of the Christian denominations also helped the Sioux preserve their language. Unlike some missionary endeavors that discouraged Native Americans from using their native tongue, missionaries among the Sioux used Sioux translations of the Bible and popular hymns. Furthermore, native pastors and lay leaders preached in their native tongue. Although the motive for teaching the Sioux to read their language was to advance their understanding of the Gospel, this practice also helped preserve the language.¹⁴

Third, the denominations fostered the development of spiritual and cultural intermediaries who played a major role in the ongoing cultural interchange between the Sioux and Euroamericans. One of the earliest Sioux converts was the patriarch of the famous Deloria family, François Des Laurias (Saswe). The son of a French fur trader and a Yankton woman, François became the leader of the White Swan Band of the Yankton Sioux. Although François had been a medicine man, he converted to Christianity in the 1860s. After his conversion, he welcomed the Episcopal missionaries at the Yankton reservation. When the missionaries started a school, François enrolled his children so

Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neidhardt (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984); and Hoover, The Yankton Sioux, 52.

¹³ Ferenc Morton Szasz, The Protestant Clergy in the Great Plains and Mountain West, 1865-1915 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 182, and DeMallie, ed., The Sixth Grandfather, 15-25.

¹⁴ Annual Report (1870), 214-15; Annual Report (1871), 444; Annual Report (1874), 256; Annual Report (1876), 37; Annual Report (1877), 62; Annual Report (1878), 47; Annual Report (1881), 42; Annual Report (1882), 21; Annual Report (1884), 50; Annual Report (1885), 22; Annual Report (1886), 58-59; Annual Report (1888), 78-79;

they could study the four "R's" – reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion. Not long after his children began attending the school, François allowed them to be baptized.¹⁵

It was quite some time, however, before François sought baptism for himself. He delayed his own baptism because he had three wives. Although many Sioux leaders practiced polygamy, the missionaries insisted converts be monogamous. In 1871, after his third wife died, François sent his second wife back to her family, then asked to be baptized. What prompted François to embrace Christianity is unclear, but in the remaining five years of his life he actively encouraged other Sioux to follow his example by becoming Christians.¹⁶

Philip Joseph Deloria (Tipi Sapa), one of François's sons, followed in his father's footsteps. After excelling at the Episcopal mission school, Philip attended an off-reservation boarding school. Philip chose the boarding school because he thought that the best way to help his people adjust to the changes taking place in Sioux country was through education and Christianity. Upon completing his studies, Philip began his career in the ministry as an intern at the Holy Fellowship Church in Greenwood, South Dakota, under the mentorship of Episcopal Bishop William Hobart Hare. In addition to his church-related duties, Philip joined with two other Sioux, David Tateopa and Felix Brunot in 1873, to promote ecumenical unity among Sioux Christians. Deloria, Tateopa, and Brunot formed an interdenominational organization called the Brotherhood of Christian Unity to prevent denominational differences from dividing families and friends. In this role as a spiritual intermediary, Philip attempted to transcend the doctrinal divide

¹⁵ DeMallie, Sioux Indian Religion, 105-6.

¹⁶ Ibid.

that threatened to separate Sioux Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Roman Catholics, and Episcopalians.¹⁷

In 1892, Philip became one of the first Sioux Indians ordained by the Episcopal Church. After his ordination, Philip went to the Standing Rock Reservation, located on the border between North and South Dakota, to take charge of the St. Elizabeth's Mission. When he arrived on the reservation, Philip endured much criticism from traditionalists because he wore his hair short, donned white man's clothes, and encouraged assimilation. He also found himself caught in the middle of a power struggle between Indian agent James McLaughlin and Sitting Bull. Because of Sitting Bull's association with the 1890 revitalization movement known as the Ghost Dance, McLaughlin asked the Hunkpapa Lakota leader to leave the reservation. He refused. McLaughlin sent Martin Marty, a Catholic bishop, then William Hobart Hare, the Episcopal bishop, to convince Sitting Bull to go. When he refused, McLaughlin sent Philip, hoping Sitting Bull would listen to another Sioux. Not surprisingly, Philip also failed to change Sitting Bull's mind. Not long afterward, Sitting Bull was killed in a skirmish between his followers and the Indian police, who had been sent to arrest him.¹⁸

In spite of a rough start, during the thirty years he served on the Standing Rock Reservation Philip managed to gain the trust of the Hunkpapas and their leader, Gall.

¹⁷ Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve, That They May Have Life: The Episcopal Church in South Dakota, 1859-1976 (New York: Seabury Press, 1977), 13-16, 52-55; Elizabeth H. Lane, Matilda Markoe, and Julia Low Nelson Schulte, A Hand-Book of the Church's Mission to the Indians: In Memory of William Hobart Hare, An Apostle to the Indians (Hartford, CT.: Church Missions, [1913]), 121; Leonard Rufus Bruguier, "A Legacy in Sioux Leadership: The Deloria Family," in Herbert T. Hoover and Larry J. Zimmerman, eds., South Dakota Leaders: From Pierre Chouteau, Jr., to Oscar Howe (Vermillion: University of South Dakota Press, 1989), 371; and Joseph H. Cash and Herbert T. Hoover, eds., To Be an Indian: An Oral History (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), 28.

¹⁸ James Mooney, The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, Part 2 of the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology 1892-93 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), 843-86; Annual Report (1887), 51; Annual Report (1891), 123-42; Annual Report (1893), 239;

The Hunkpapa band admired Philip so much that they adopted him and his family, making them enrolled members of the Hunkpapas. Furthermore, as a result of Philip's preaching, Gall became a baptized member of the church and actively encouraged others to follow his example.¹⁹

Philip's cousin, Amos Ross, also entered the ministry during the late 1800s. As a result of the Minnesota Sioux Uprising in 1862, the U.S. Army imprisoned approximately seventeen hundred Sioux, including Ross, at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, at the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers near present-day Minneapolis. While a prisoner at Fort Snelling, Ross converted. The following year, the Santee prisoners, including Ross, were relocated to the Santee reservation in Nebraska. The newly converted Ross first became a catechist, then a deacon. In 1892, Ross, like Philip, was ordained as an Episcopal priest. His first assignment was on the Rosebud Reservation. Later, the denomination transferred him to Corn Creek Mission located on the eastern half of the Pine Ridge Reservation. When he retired, Ross was in charge of eleven churches with a membership of 1,780 people.²⁰

Philip's youngest child, and only son, Vine Victor (*Ohiya*), became the Deloria family's third-generation cultural intermediary. Born in 1901, Vine excelled in school. At age fourteen, he left the reservation to attend Kearney Military Academy, a school sponsored by the Episcopal Church in Kearney, Nebraska. From there, he went on to earn a liberal arts degree from St. Stephen's (Bard) College in Annandale, New York, in

Lane, A Hand-Book of the Church's Mission to the Indians, 323; and Bruguier, "A Legacy in Sioux Leadership: The Deloria Family," 370-71.

¹⁹ Bruguier, "A Legacy in Sioux Leadership: The Deloria Family," 371

²⁰ Annual Report (1882), 38; Sneve, That They May Have Life, 60, 62; Frederick E. Hoxie, ed., Encyclopedia of North American Indians (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996), 594; Lane, A Hand-Book of the Church's Mission to the Indians, 121, 126, 322; and DeMallie, Sioux Indian Religion, 106-7.

1926. After briefly returning to the reservation, where he was ordained as a deacon in his father's church, Vine heeded his father's wishes and enrolled at General Theological Seminary in New York City in 1928 to study for the ministry. When he completed his studies and ordination in 1931, he began his ministry among his fellow Nakota at the Pine Ridge Mission. Over the next forty years, Vine served on all of the South Dakota reservations, in Anglo churches, and was the first Native American to hold a national office in the Episcopal Church.²¹

**"If this is what it is going to be like in church work
I might as well go back to the old way."**²²

Not long after Moses Flying By arrived at Cook, Sid Byrd (Lakota), a World War II veteran who saw action in the Philippine Islands, also enrolled. Born on the Pine Ridge Reservation in Porcupine, South Dakota, Byrd was raised by his grandparents. Byrd's grandfather, Samuel K. Weston, a Presbyterian minister for forty years, had a major influence on his career choice. As a young boy, Byrd converted during one of the annual convocations. But, he was not sure whether he wanted to become a minister. Still, out of respect for his grandfather, he decided to go to Cook for one year. By the end of the first year, Byrd was convinced of his calling to the ministry.²³ Following his graduation from Cook in 1955, Byrd continued his studies at Huron College in Huron, South Dakota, where he received a bachelor's degree in 1958.²⁴ After attending the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary in Dubuque, Iowa, for one year, Byrd

²¹ Bruguier, "A Legacy in Sioux Leadership: The Deloria Family," 374.

²² "A Buffalo," *Indian Highways* 63 (December 1959): 3.

²³ Sidney Byrd, Letter to author, October 19, 1996.

²⁴ "Phoenix Friends Notice," *Indian Highways* 37 (May 1955): 1.

accepted a call from a church at Tuba City, Arizona, located at the western edge of the Navajo Nation, seventy miles north of Flagstaff. This assignment among the Navajos launched Byrd's career as a spiritual intermediary not only to the Sioux but to other Native Americans as well. During Byrd's ministry, he pastored churches among seven different groups of Native Americans in six states.²⁵

In the early 1960s, Byrd moved from the Navajo Nation to Wolf Point, Montana, on the Fort Peck Reservation, to pastor a church among the Assiniboin and Sioux. His congregation included a large number of Cook students who helped him run the church program. During that time, Byrd recognized that Christianity was not the antithesis of the Lakota worldview. By contextualizing the Gospel, Byrd was able to help his parishioners better understand what the Bible taught.²⁶ As he said,

I am beginning to observe the parallels between Christian teachings and the traditional Lakota way of life. Such things as sharing, caring, [and] serving for the common good was always an integral element of the life style for Lakotas.²⁷

From Wolf Point, Byrd went to the Salt River parish in Arizona where he pastored the Fort McDowell (Mojaves, Apaches, and Yavapais), Lehi (Pima), and Salt River (Pima) churches.²⁸ Next, he moved to California to take charge of the Owens Valley parish, preaching among the Paiutes and Western Shoshones at churches in Bishop, Big Pine, and Lone Pine.²⁹

²⁵ "Editorial," *Indian Highways* 138 (October 1971): 2; "Just Can't Be True," *Indian Highways* 38 (July 1955): 1; and Sidney Byrd, phone interview with author, February 14, 2000.

²⁶ "High Praise From a Graduate," *Indian Highways* 67 (August 1960): 4.

²⁷ "Rev. Sydney [sic] Byrd Named to Staff," *Indian Highways* 137 (July 1971): 2.

²⁸ "A Shepherd Installed," *Indian Highways* 85 (August 1963): 4; [photo caption], *Indian Highways* 88 (February 1964): 1; and "Onward Christian Soldiers," *Indian Highways* 102 (November 1965): 1.

²⁹ "Editorial," *Indian Highways* 138 (October 1971): 2.

By this time, Byrd realized that his ministry involved more than preaching sermons on Sunday and showing the relevance of the Gospel in terms of Native American cultural values. He saw the importance of addressing social issues. Remembering his own struggles to learn English when he attended a government boarding school as a boy, Byrd instituted a remedial reading program for the Native American children in the neighborhood. When he learned that the Indian children were not welcomed at the Anglo public library in Bishop, California, he encouraged tribal leaders to open a combination library and education center. He then organized an after-school-tutoring program that paired older students with elementary children.³⁰ Byrd had also discovered that his ministry included building bridges with the surrounding community. Before long, Byrd found himself acting as a liaison between the Paiutes and Shoshones and the non-Indian residents of Bishop. Residents on the reservation, lacking indoor plumbing, decided to install sewage lines. Fearing the project would overtax Bishop's sewage treatment facility, the city's engineers sought an injunction to stop construction of the lines. To break the impasse, the tribal counsel asked Byrd to speak on their behalf before the area's planning commission. At the meeting, Byrd reminded the commissioners that the state held no jurisdiction over affairs on the reservation. As a result of Byrd's intervention, the commission lifted the injunction and the project proceeded without further delay.³¹

It surprised few who knew Byrd and his wide-ranging experience when he temporarily set aside his career as a pastor in the early 1970s to become the director of

³⁰ Sidney Byrd, phone interview with author, February 14, 2000.

³¹ "A Shepherd Installed," *Indian Highways* 85 (August 1963): 4, and Sidney Byrd, phone interview with author, February 14, 2000.

development at Cook. During the previous decade, the Cook board of directors adopted an initiative designed to increase the number of Native American faculty and staff members. As a first step toward this goal, the board appointed Al Spang (Northern Cheyenne) the new director and Cecil Corbett (Nez Perce-Choctaw) his assistant in 1968. The following year, when Spang left to join the faculty at Navajo Community College, Corbett became the director and Raymond G. Baines (Tlingit) his assistant. Two years later Cook's administration created the director of development position to help raise operating capital for the school. Having known Byrd since their days as students at Cook and then Huron College, Corbett appointed Byrd to the new position. Once again, Byrd found himself mediating between Native Americans and non-Indians. For the next five years, he traveled throughout the United States asking non-Indian churches to support Cook so the school could continue preparing Native Americans to minister to their own people.³²

In 1976, Byrd returned to his native South Dakota to pastor two small churches and work in the development and admissions offices at Huron College. From there he moved to Sisseton, South Dakota, and then finished his pastoral career at a church in Flandreau. In the late 1980s Byrd retired from active ministry and moved to Santa Fe, New Mexico, to live with his daughter.³³

Byrd's retirement did not mark an end to his role as a spiritual leader. In New Mexico, he expanded his ministry to a new group of Native American young

³² Sidney Byrd, Interview with author, November 4, 1996; "Statement of Policy Cook Christian Training School Tempe, Arizona," Indian Highways 116 (August 1967): 4; "Rev. Sydney [sic] Byrd Named to Staff," Indian Highways 137 (July 1971): 2; and "Family Tradition," Indian Highways 146 (June 1973): 3.

³³ "Editorial," Indian Highways 158 (May 1976): 2.

people, the students at Native American Preparatory School (N.A.P.S.). Located in the Pecos River Valley east of Santa Fe in the community of Rowe, N.A.P.S. is a residential college-prep high school that opened in 1995. The private boarding school was founded to encourage Native American teenagers to develop their intellectual, ethical, and leadership potential.³⁴ After hearing Byrd speak at a cultural event in Santa Fe, the school's director, Sven Huseby, asked him speak to the N.A.P.S. students. Byrd and the students developed an instant camaraderie. They invited Byrd to go trout fishing and hiking the next time he came to visit. Since then, Byrd has spent many hours talking with students, individually and in small groups. And, when the N.A.P.S. basketball team traveled to Santa Fe to compete, Byrd showed his support by attending the game. What began as a speaking request has turned into a new ministry. Byrd has become a grandfather and mentor for the NAPS student body.³⁵

Another World War II veteran who came to Cook not long after Byrd finished was Dennis Buffalo (Cheyenne River Sioux). He decided to study for the ministry at Cook to follow in the footsteps of his father, the Rev. Guy Buffalo. After months of scrimping and saving, Dennis Buffalo, his wife, and their children were ready to leave Bridger, South Dakota, for Arizona. Just before the Buffalos were to depart, however, two members of their extended family died. As is the custom among the Sioux, Buffalo helped to pay for the funerals by using a third of the money he had saved for the trip. When Buffalo and his family finally left on the 1,600-mile journey, they knew it would take a miracle for their funds to hold out long enough to complete the journey. Since

³⁴ Native American Preparatory School web page (<http://naprep.org/index.html>), 2/15/2000.

³⁵ Sidney Byrd, phone interview with author, February 14, 2000.

their budget was so meager, the Buffalos subsisted on candy bars. They also coasted downhill to conserve gasoline toward the end of the trip when it became



Fig. 21: Dennis Buffalo. (CCTS)

obvious that they were running out of cash. Like Moses Flying By and his family, the Buffalos finally arrived at Cook's campus in the fall of 1957, penniless but excited about learning how to minister to their fellow Sioux.³⁶

After his first year of study, Buffalo and his family returned to South Dakota where he could do an internship. In the 1950s, each Cook student was required to gain practical ministry experience by participating in a summer internship. Buffalo's first experience in ministry on his home reservation went very well. Each Sunday throughout that summer, Buffalo drove forty-three miles to hold services at a church without a pastor. Although the congregation welcomed him and asked him to stay on permanently, Buffalo chose to return to Cook that fall.³⁷

The following summer when Buffalo again returned to the Cheyenne River Reservation to take on the challenge of reviving a church that had closed, things looked bleak. His first Sunday on the job began poorly. Two days of rain had left the dirt roads

³⁶ "The Buffaloes Are Coming' With Candy Bars," Indian Highways 55 (June 1958): 1.

³⁷ "The Buffaloes Are Coming' With Candy Bars," 1, and "On the War Path for the Lord," Indian Highways 59 (April 1959): 2-3.

quite muddy. On the way to the church, Buffalo's car bogged down in the mud. Abandoning his vehicle, Buffalo walked the remaining thirteen miles to the church. When he rang the bell announcing the worship service, no one came. After waiting for quite some time, a discouraged Buffalo retraced his steps to his car. As Buffalo trudged back through the mud, he later admitted that this experience led him to question his decision to enter the ministry. He had thought, "If this is what it is going to be like in church work I might as well go back to the old way."³⁸

In spite of getting off to a rocky start, Buffalo decided not to give up. During the next week, he visited many families living in the area near the church, inviting them to come to the service. His discouragement proved short-lived. The following Sunday six people came to hear him preach. That week, word of mouth spread the news. Each Sunday throughout the rest of the summer, a few more came to hear the Sioux preacher explain what the Bible meant. By the time Buffalo returned to Cook for the fall semester, twenty-four people were coming to the weekly worship services.³⁹



Fig. 22: Byron Buffalo. (CCTS)

³⁸ "A Buffalo," Indian Highways 63 (December 1959): 3.

³⁹ Ibid.

After graduating from Cook in 1960, Buffalo returned to his home reservation to continue his ministry among his fellow Sioux. Thirty years later, his son Byron followed in his footsteps, receiving a degree from Cook in Pastoral Studies in 1994. Byron, like his father, went back to Eagle Butte, the Cheyenne River tribal headquarters. For the first few years, he worked as a counselor at a substance abuse clinic. Then, although it meant taking a huge cut in salary, Byron resigned his position and became the pastor of two churches in the Eagle Butte area.⁴⁰

"I Am Where I Was Called To Be"⁴¹

During the early 1960s, Vine Deloria's son, Vine Deloria, Jr., considered the idea of becoming a fourth-generation minister in his family, following in his father's, father's cousin's, and grandfather's footsteps. In 1963, he moved in that direction by earning a degree in theology from Augustana Lutheran Seminary in Rock Island, Illinois. Several factors, however, led Vine, Jr., to decide on another path. First, he was well aware of his father's frustrations during his tenure as Indian Secretary of the Episcopal Church of America. Vine, Sr.'s superiors had ignored his suggestions for ways the church could help Native Americans, leaving him disheartened.⁴²

Generational differences also played a major role in Vine, Jr.'s decision. Native American youth of Vine, Jr.'s generation called for a rejection of the dominant culture,

⁴⁰ "1960 Graduates," Indian Highways 66 (June 1960): 3; "With Cook's Students: New And Old," Indian Highways 210 (Spring 1989): 3; "Dennis Buffalo 'Had Faith,'" Indian Highways 215 (Summer 1990): 6; "A Time to Honor and a Time to Recognize," Indian Highways 219 (Summer 1991): 3, 5; "Nine Students Begin AA Degree Studies at Cook College," Indian Highways 229 (Winter 1993): 3; "Theme of 1994 Graduating Class is 'A New Song: Roads Through the Wilderness, Streams in the Desert,'" Indian Highways 231 (Summer 1994): 1; and Patricia Schindler, letter to author, March 1, 2000.

⁴¹ "Alumni Focus," Indian Highways 240 (Fall 1996): 3.

⁴² Bruguier, "A Legacy in Sioux Leadership: The Deloria Family," 374.

including Christianity, and a return to traditional ways. Thus, instead of becoming a minister, Vine, Jr. emerged as a spokesperson for this movement during the late 1960s and early 1970s. In his first book, Custer Died For Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto (1969), Deloria lambasted the major denominations for creating a religious vacuum in Indian society by forcing on them an irrelevant Christian message. Ostensibly, the objective of the missionaries had been to convert individual Indians. Instead, Deloria maintained that they had shattered Indian societies and had destroyed their cohesiveness by advising them to adopt a compartmentalized rather than a holistic worldview. He also admonished missionaries for practicing racism in the name of Christianity. Although Indians capably assumed pastorates, he claimed that Euroamerican missionaries relinquished their position too slowly because their withdrawal meant their converts had become equals.⁴³ His third book, God Is Red (1973), continued the assault on Christianity. He argued for a return to tribal religions because the Judeo-Christian tradition had failed to address the meaning of humankind's existence or to offer answers for the social problems, such as substance abuse and high unemployment, that Indians faced in the twentieth century. Convinced that the church offered no avenue for improving the lot of Native Americans, Deloria chose to become a political activist instead of a pastor.⁴⁴

The story of the Deloria family's involvement with Protestant Christianity, too, displays a strong kinship link. It can be argued that Vine Jr.'s refusal to enter the ministry is a result of this factor. After seeing his father's frustrations, Vine Jr. chose to

⁴³ Vine Deloria, Jr., Custer Died For Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1969), 101-24, 268.

⁴⁴ Vine Deloria, Jr., God Is Red (New York: Dell Publishing, 1973), 273-301.

break the pattern. He no longer believed that avenue offered his people anything of value.

Although the Delorias no longer had a family member in the ministry, many Sioux men and women still made the long trek to study at one of the Bible colleges in the Southwest. Like Dennis Buffalo, Richard Charging Eagle (Cheyenne River) enrolled at Cook. When Charging Eagle arrived in Phoenix, he planned to complete a lay leadership certificate program to become a deacon in his home church. Once he entered the

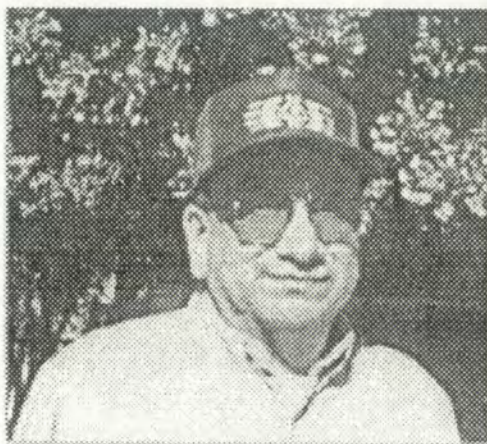


Fig. 23: Richard Charging Eagle. (CCTS)

program, however, he changed his mind. After completing his studies at Cook in 1986, Charging Eagle went on to graduate from United Theological Seminary in 1989 and was ordained in the United Church of Christ.⁴⁵ Since then, Charging Eagle has been simultaneously pastoring three churches on the Cheyenne River Reservation, which lies on the west bank of the Missouri River in South Dakota. Each Sunday Charging Eagle drives a total of seventy miles to hold services at his three parishes. In addition to his pastoral duties, he is a counselor at the Four Bends Healing Center. At the facility, Charging Eagle teaches individuals trying to recover from substance abuse the “Red

Road Approach to Recovery," a program similar to Alcoholics Anonymous that is especially designed for Native Americans.⁴⁶

Another Bible college graduate rooted in the Northern Plains cultures is Wayne Boyd, Jr. A native of Poplar, Montana, on the Fort Peck Reservation, Boyd plays a very active role in youth work among Native American churches in the Assemblies of God denomination. While a student at American Indian College (A.I.C.), Boyd wrote a column for Native Pentecostal News, a magazine for Native Americans who belong to the Assembly of God denomination, and participated in rallies for Native American teenagers. Boyd rejected the stereotypes most often used to label members of Generation X, such as hopeless, rebellious, and irresponsible. Instead, he challenged Native American young people to put their faith in God and trust Him to help them rise above the obstacles they face. Boyd also addressed the issue of suicide, the third leading cause of death among Native American young people ages fifteen to twenty-four. Combining the motivational skill of a coach with the exuberance of an evangelist, Boyd implored his readers and listeners to look for meaning in the Gospel.⁴⁷

After graduating from A.I.C. in 1996, Boyd became the president of the Convocation of Christian Indian Leaders. A division of the Native American Fellowship of the Assembly of God Church, the organization helps Native American leaders address the problems unique to Indians. To work toward this goal, the group hosted workshops

⁴⁵ "Congratulations All!" Indian Highways 211 (Summer 1989): 3, and "Alumni Focus," Indian Highways 240 (Fall 1996): 3.

⁴⁶ "It Was A Day to Remember at CCTS," Indian Highways 195 (May 1985): 3; "Academic Excellence Rewarded," Indian Highways 197 (Winter 1985): 3; "Congratulations Times Four," Indian Highways 198 (Spring 1986): 6; "Congratulations All!" Indian Highways 211 (Summer 1989): 3; and "Alumni Focus," Indian Highways 240 (Fall 1996): 3.

⁴⁷ "Native Youth With JR," Native Pentecostal News (Fall 1993): 2; "Native Youth with JR," Native Pentecostal News (Fall 1995): 13; and "Native Youth With JR," Native Pentecostal News (Fall 1994): 12.

and national conventions, conducted strategy-planning sessions, and assisted members in networking with each other.⁴⁸

Like Boyd, Shirley Johnson (Sisseton) decided to attend Bible college because she was interested in working with Indian youth. Already in her late fifties, Johnson may not have seemed a likely candidate for youth ministry. But, having spent eleven years as a school counselor, Johnson was well aware of the unique challenges Native American teenagers faced. Johnson, as had Moses Flying By's son, Wilbur, and Dennis Buffalo's son, Byron, came to Cook because of family connections. Her father, her husband's uncle, and several friends had attended the Tempe school.⁴⁹

While Johnson was a student at Cook, she did a six-month internship at a Congregational Church in Metlakatla, Alaska, in the fall of 1995. The ancestors of the Metlakatla Indian Community had migrated from near Prince Rupert, British Columbia, to Annette Island, Alaska, in 1887. The island, accessible only by small boat or amphibian aircraft, is home to 1,800 residents. Most of the Metlaktas work in the local fish hatchery or at the community's sawmill.⁵⁰ Before leaving for Alaska, Johnson was apprehensive that the Metlakatla would not accept her as an outsider. Her fears proved unfounded. Almost from the moment she arrived, the Metlaktas treated her as one of their own, inviting her to participate in a funeral during her second week there. During her internship, Johnson enjoyed preaching and visiting shut-ins, but she took special pride

⁴⁸ "Native Youth," Native Pentecostal News (Fall 1996): 14; "13th Annual Convocation of Christian Indian Leaders," Native Pentecostal News (Winter 1997): 8-9; Jo Ann Craver, "Behold I will do a New Thing," Native Pentecostal News (Spring 1997): 4-5; and "14th Annual Convocation of Christian Indian Leaders," Native Pentecostal News (Winter 1998): 5.

⁴⁹ Shirley Johnson, interview with author, April 19, 1996.

⁵⁰ "Everything Alaska / Metlakatla, Alaska," web page (<http://www.everythingalaska.com/eta.met.html>), 2/7/2000; Julia C. Furtaw, ed., Native Americans Information Directory (Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1993), 161, 203; and Barry T. Klein, Reference Encyclopedia of the American Indian, 8th ed. (Nyack, NY: Todd Publications, 1998), 293.

in her work with the youth group. Aware that the teenagers on this remote island faced the same temptations as those living in her native South Dakota, Johnson stressed two themes at youth meetings: the importance of remaining in school, making good grades, and abstaining from alcohol and drug use.⁵¹ Although this was Johnson's first experience with members of another tribe, her ministry among the Metlakatlas demonstrated that Sioux and Metlakatla Christians could transcend their cultural differences. When Johnson returned to Cook for her final semester, the church members wept, pleading with her to stay and become their permanent pastor.⁵²

After she was graduated from Cook in 1996, Johnson became the pastor for two Presbyterian churches in the Sisseton, South Dakota, area.⁵³ Just as she had in Metlakatla, Johnson quickly proved herself to the members of her congregations, as well as to those in her community. Although she has been slowed by bone cancer, Johnson has found numerous ways to demonstrate her commitment to the people of Sisseton. For instance, she has sought to minister to fellow Sioux who are suffering from the effects of diabetes, one of the leading causes of disability and death among Indians. Her efforts have not gone unnoticed. When the Sisseton, South Dakota, Indian Health Service opened a new satellite dialysis unit in 1999, Johnson was asked to offer a prayer of dedication for the facility.⁵⁴

Although his grandfather held to the traditional way, Joe Brown Thunder (Oglala), from Kyle, South Dakota, on the Pine Ridge Reservation, grew up attending the

⁵¹ "From Conversion to Internships to Graduation to Ministry," *Indian Highways* 239 (Summer 1996): 1-2; Shirley Johnson, interview with author, April 19, 1996; and Patricia El-Najjar, "Summer Internship Program," *Indian Highways* 236 (Fall 1995): 4.

⁵² Shirley Johnson, interview with author, April 19, 1996.

⁵³ Patricia Schindler, phone interview with author, February 11, 2000.

⁵⁴ "Alumni New Briefs," *Indian Highways* 62, Issue 2 (Summer 1999): 7, and Indian Health Service web page (<http://www.his.gov>), 2/24/2000.

Episcopal Church. When Brown Thunder finished high school in 1958, he did not immediately enter the ministry. Instead, he worked as an auto mechanic in Los Angeles, then in the coal mines near Minneapolis, Minnesota, before earning a teacher's certificate from Hamlin University in St. Paul, Minnesota and becoming a teacher. During these years, Brown Thunder learned to interact in Anglo cultures as he worked and then attended college with non-Indians.⁵⁵

Brown Thunder's transformation from teacher to minister took place slowly over a period of years. After accepting a teaching position in an alternative school for Indians in the Minneapolis area, Brown Thunder, a self-taught musician, also began traveling with an evangelist and giving concerts at various churches throughout the region. Brown Thunder would play and sing several songs, then the evangelist would preach a sermon. Occasionally, the evangelist asked Brown Thunder to fill-in for him by delivering the message. During the mid-1970s, Brown Thunder felt called to give up teaching and to concentrate on his ministry. Feeling ill-prepared to preach, Brown Thunder began to attend Cook's Winter Term sessions.⁵⁶

By the mid-1980s Brown Thunder had become a spiritual intermediary. Because of his reputation, the Evangelical Lutheran Church asked Brown Thunder to establish a community center for Native Americans under the auspices of the denomination in Scottsbluff, Nebraska. Brown Thunder accepted the call in 1989 and immediately began to organize the Lakota Lutheran Center. The center began as a place for Indians to gather and socialize. Before long, however, Brown Thunder began hosting Alcoholic Anonymous meetings at the center. As the center's reputation grew, Brown Thunder

⁵⁵ Joe Brown Thunder, phone interview with author, February 14, 2000.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

added programs for internees at the local youth detention home and after-school activities for elementary through high school aged children. When the people saw Brown Thunder's commitment to their community, they asked him to hold regular chapel services at the center. Without forcing his beliefs on the people who came to the center, Brown Thunder had shown his understanding of Christianity through his interaction with everyone who walked through the doors.⁵⁷

In 1998, Brown Thunder's wife developed severe health problems. A few years earlier, Dr. Joseph Dudley (Yankton), current president at Cook, had asked Brown Thunder to become the school's chaplain when he retired. Hoping that a move to Arizona's more temperate climate would improve his wife's condition, Brown Thunder decided to accept Dudley's offer. Since his arrival on campus, Brown Thunder has been teaching several of the Lakota students to read and write Lakota. He has also worked with the other Native American, Korean, and Marshallese students. In his role as chaplain, Brown Thunder is drawing on all his previous experiences and adding to them the wisdom he has gained over the years to help Cook students cope with life in the twenty-first century.⁵⁸

Conclusion

Although the Ghost Dance of 1890 is the most famous revitalization movement, in Sioux history, beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century, alongside Sioux Catholics such as Black Elk, Sioux Protestants, epitomized by figures such as the

⁵⁷ Joe Brown Thunder, "The History of Lakota Lutheran Center," typewritten copy in author's possession; "Academic Excellence Rewarded," *Indian Highways* 197 (Winter 1985): 3; and "Former Student Writes of His Music and Ministry," *Indian Highways* 235 (Summer 1995): 5.

⁵⁸ Patricia Schindler, phone interview with author, February 11, 2000, and Joe Brown Thunder, phone interview with author, February 14, 2000.

Delorias, Amos Ross, David Tateopa, and Felix Brunot, have sought to help their fellow Sioux adapt to life on the reservation and the influx of Anglos. Although some of them, like Vine Deloria, Jr., have rejected Christianity because of its ties to assimilation efforts, in each succeeding generation there arose a group of native ministers and lay people who believed the Gospel held answers for their people.

Even today, in the opening years of the twenty-first century, people like Richard Charging Eagle, Joe Brown Thunder, Shirley Johnson, and Wayne Boyd, Jr., persist in their efforts to merge Sioux culture and Christianity. These individuals have served as cultural intermediaries, showing their fellow Native Americans that Christianity holds hope for the hopelessness. True, the path they have chosen is not without obstacles. Speaking during Spiritual Emphasis Week in 1988, Cook graduate Father Francis Apple (Lakota) summarized the challenges Bible college graduates face.

The critical problem is that many young people feel that Christianity no longer allows them to retain the values and practices of the Indian beliefs. Add to this the growing perception of many youth that the church is just another extension of the White "power structure," and it produces for Indian youth a sense of disillusionment with both Christianity and the church.⁵⁹

Although many younger Sioux may scorn Christianity, the fact that Sioux students currently comprise the second largest group in Cook's student body indicates that they intend to continue the work that their ancestors like Philip Deloria, David Tateopa, and Felix Brunot began more than one hundred years ago.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ "Spiritual Emphasis Week, Easter Are in Focus of Committee," *Indian Highways* 206 (Spring 1988): 1.

⁶⁰ The Navajo comprised the largest group with ten students enrolled for the 1999-2000 school year. The Sioux were second with eight students. Patricia Schindler, phone interview with author, February 11, 2000.

Chapter 7

Epilogue

Possibly a few students and faculty members at Arizona State University (ASU) in Tempe are aware that Cook College and Theological School sits half a block off University Avenue, less than five minutes west of the ASU campus. Yet most have probably driven past Lindon Lane without realizing there is a school in the block between the corner and the canal. Nevertheless, the graduates of Cook, as well as those of Nazarene Indian Bible College in Albuquerque and American Indian College in Phoenix, have provided an opportunity to test whether members of this special group of intermediaries display some of the characteristics that ethnohistorian Margaret Connell Szasz identified in her study of cultural brokers.¹

In spite of the sometimes less-than-honorable history of missionary activities among Native Americans, the men and women in this study have shown a remarkable interest in discovering ways they could adapt a particular aspect of Western culture, such as the various forms of Christianity, to benefit themselves and their fellow Native Americans. As this study demonstrates, there was a strong kinship link among those who attended the Bible colleges. Having found their Bible college experience, and then their ministry, meaningful, many graduates encouraged their friends and relatives to attend a Bible college. Most students enrolled not because a college recruiter contacted them, but because a family member or close friend persuaded them that they could gain something valuable by attending a Bible school.

¹ Margaret Connell Szasz, ed., Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994).

For Rechanda Howard (Pima), whose grandfather, uncle, and cousin had all graduated from a Bible school, it was the obvious choice because she was interested in theology and wanted to learn more about the Bible. Much to Rechanda's delight, she soon discovered that she could combine her interest in Biblical studies with her desire to do something about the high rate of alcoholism so prevalent among Pimas. Even before she finished her degree, she began encouraging her daughters Janelle and Rochelle to move to Albuquerque and apply for admission to Nazarene Indian Bible College (NIBC).

Although many like Rechanda attended a Bible college because of their interest in Christianity, others enrolled because of a curiosity born out of desperation. Byron Buffalo, for instance, originally resisted going to Cook. Although his father had graduated from Cook and then spent the remainder of his career in the ministry, the early years of Buffalo's adult life followed a different path. As a young man he developed a drinking problem and had trouble keeping a job. Aware of the chaos in Byron's life, his father encouraged him to enroll at Cook to find a new path. Finding himself broke and without hope, Buffalo finally decided to take his father's advice to see if Christianity could offer him a chance to rebuild his life. He knew the school had been instrumental in his father's life, and he was anxious to see if it would benefit him. At Cook, Buffalo received a second chance. After finishing the program, he returned to Eagle Butte, South Dakota, where he sought to reach out to others who were struggling with alcohol.

In addition to their interest in Christianity, Bible college graduates also exhibited a high degree of determination, in pursuing their education and then in their efforts to serve as cultural brokers. In the first place, leaving home to attend a Bible college took courage. Even though some groups, like the Pimas, lived fairly close to one of the Bible

college campuses, and they knew that the student bodies at the schools were comprised primarily of Native Americans, entering Bible school meant an encounter with an unfamiliar world. It also required an adjustment to a non-Indian educational system, a transition that has proven to be a major undertaking for Indian students. Since the college dropout rate among Native Americans is estimated to be as high as 60 percent, it can be a daunting challenge for Indian students to complete a program.² Attending a school where most students were Indians seemed to increase their determination to persevere. Plus, the existence of small classes, relaxed academic standards, and one or more Native American faculty members made the Bible colleges an attractive alternative route to further education. For example, although Janelle had been disheartened by unpleasant experiences at a denominationally supported liberal arts college in California and a community college in Phoenix, she quickly made herself at home on the NIBC campus. In spite of the challenges of being a fulltime student and a single mother, Janelle remained determined to finish the program.

In general, graduates of the Bible colleges also showed a great deal of determination when they met opposition trying to convert their fellow Native Americans. For instance, when Crouse Perkins encountered the skeptical policeman, he might have capitulated in the face of the man's opposition. Instead, he offered examples like Christ's use of a desert analogy as evidence that Judeo-Christian teachings held significance for Native Americans. Likewise, when Horace Williams took George Walker, an Anglo

² John W. Tippeconnic, III, "American Indians: Education, demographics, and the 1990s," in Gail E. Thomas, ed., U.S. Race Relations in the 1980s and 1990s: Challenges and Alternatives (New York: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation, 1990), 255; Danielle Sanders, "Cultural Conflicts: An Important Factor in the Academic Failures of American Indian Students," Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development 15 (April 1987): 81-90; and Dennis R. Falk and Larry P. Aitken, "Promoting Retention Among American Indian College Students," Journal of American Indian Education 23 (January 1984): 24-31.

missionary, to visit Jose and Five Tortillas, they received a cool welcome from the couple. Undaunted, Williams and Walker began to talk with them about the Gospel. Although the smoke eventually forced them to leave, they certainly exhibited admirable determination.

For many, like Wilson Walker, it took months of hard work before their efforts began to succeed. Since the Yavapai and Apache men asked the Pimas to send a missionary, Wilson Walker probably assumed he would receive a warm welcome when he went to Fort McDowell. Instead, he found his efforts to teach them about Christianity completely ignored for several months. Only after he dug an irrigation ditch for them, toiling all day in the Arizona heat, were they were willing to come to hear him preach.

For good or for ill, the efforts of Native American Bible college graduates have been instrumental in the continuance and expansion of Protestantism among Native Americans. According to a 1974 study conducted by Cecil Corbett and Gary Kush, seventy-five percent of Native American pastors in the Southwest had attended Cook. When the graduates of American Indian College (AIC) and NIBC are added to that number, it is clear that the story of Protestantism among Native Americans would be completely different were it not for the efforts of the graduates of these three colleges.³

Bible college graduates who chose not to pursue a pastoral career also challenged tribal traditions much like their Bible college colleagues who entered the ministry. Juan Xavier incurred the wrath of the Tohono elders when he assisted anthropologist Ruth Underhill in her recording of Tohono O'odham ceremonies. Similarly, Wendell Chino's efforts to improve the Mescalero Apache's economic situation by building a temporary

³ Cecil Corbett and Gary Kush, Mending the Hoop: A Comprehensive Report of the Indian Church Career Research and Planning Project (n.p.: Native American Consulting Committee, 1974).

nuclear waste storage facility also met with internal opposition. Some, like Rufina Laws and the Euroamerican residents of Ruidoso, opposed the project out of concern for its environmental impact. Both Xavier and Chino chose to disregard the wishes of fellow members of their tribe. Xavier interpreted the ceremonies for Underhill over the objections of Tohono elders. In like fashion, Chino ignored a vote by tribal members and ostensibly proceeded with plans to construct the storage site.

Bible college graduates often gained the trust of their fellow tribal members. Trustworthiness was of the utmost importance; otherwise it would have been nearly impossible for them to serve as mediators. For example, when Sid Byrd went to pastor a church among the Paiutes and Western Shoshones, he had no way of knowing that he would become a liaison between them and the Euroamerican residents of Bishop, California, in their battle over a sewage treatment system. That same trustworthiness prompted Cecil Corbett to tap him to become Cook's director of development in 1971. Having gained the trust of Indians and Euroamericans, Byrd was the perfect choice for the position. In the same context, before departing for her internship at a church in the Metlakatla Indian Community, Shirley Johnson had been apprehensive, fearing the Metlakatlas would not accept her because she was a Lakota. Despite her different tribal background, her parishioners welcomed her as evidenced by their invitation to her to participate in a funeral less than two weeks after her arrival.

Most of the Bible college graduates experienced deep personal satisfaction in the course of their brokering. Since alcoholism has remained a major challenge among Native Americans, many of the graduates such as John Jacobs, Richard Charging Eagle, and Rechanda dedicated their lives to helping other Indians combat that disease. When

John Jacobs graduated from Cook, he became the pastor of five churches on the Gila River Reservation. Jacobs enjoyed the pastorate, but after a few years he decided to return to school so he could earn a Master's in substance abuse counseling. Since he completed his degree, Jacobs has lent his expertise to his fellow Pimas, as well as to several other Southwestern tribes, by conducting workshops and Alcoholics Anonymous-type meetings designed especially for Indians. On a smaller scale, Richard Charging Eagle developed a similar type of ministry on the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation. In addition to pastoring three churches, Charging Eagle served as a counselor at the Four Bends Healing Center. And, having experienced the devastation of alcoholism on a firsthand basis, Rechanda Howard decided to dedicate her ministry to addressing the problem of alcoholism among her fellow Pimas. After finishing her degree, Rechanda accepted a position at an alcohol treatment facility and also became active in Alcoholics Anonymous to help her former clients avoid relapsing.

A second area where graduates like Eunice Holstoi-Robbins and Jim Lopez have gained satisfaction is through their encouragement of the educational interests of other Native Americans. When Holstoi-Robbins transferred from Diné College to Cook, she had no intention of joining the school's staff. She planned to study Christian education in order to return to her home to Chinle and begin a Sunday school ministry for the children. Before long, however, Cook's administrators persuaded her to accept a job, first in the development office, and later in the finance department. It soon became obvious, however, that Holstoi-Robbins had established a special rapport with the students, so she was promoted to registrar. In this capacity, Holstoi-Robbins served as a mentor, advisor, and role model. Over the years, she has also persuaded numerous students who were

ready to quit to give school another chance. She has also challenged underachievers to work harder. When a student drops out, she becomes discouraged, but on the whole she finds her job very rewarding. Meanwhile, in his various capacities at AIC, Jim Lopez has likewise experienced the pleasure of watching students grow and mature during their college years. When Lopez entered the pastorate, he never expected to return to his alma mater as a member of the faculty. His willingness to set aside his pulpit ministry to help prepare the next generation of pastors and teachers suggests that he enjoys working with the students.

The efforts of George Webb and Joe Brown Thunder to preserve native culture reflect a third area of personal satisfaction for Bible college graduates. After serving on the Pima tribal council and as an associate judge on the tribal court, Webb could have quietly shifted into retirement. Instead, realizing that younger Pimas had not learned Pima legends, he began writing a book to preserve these stories. This project, more than his political activities, brought Webb a sense of accomplishment. Similarly, when Joe Brown Thunder's wife became too ill for them to continue their ministry at the Lakota Lutheran Center, he might have retired from the ministry. But, his acceptance of Dudley's invitation to become Cook's chaplain opened the door for him to begin a new type of ministry. In addition to the joy he reaps from mentoring Cook students, Brown Thunder derives considerable pleasure in teaching Cook's Lakota students to read and write Lakota.

In addition to finding personal fulfillment in their role as brokers, some Bible college graduates have reaped monetary benefits from their education. Early graduates seldom gained any financial advantage from their degree. Harold Navajo and

Alfred Miller, for example, lived alongside the members of their congregations in remote locations on the Navajo Reservation near the Utah border. More recently, with the introduction of teaching, human services, and business degrees, Bible college graduates have found better paying positions. As a result, their standard of living is generally higher than their fellow Native Americans, the majority of whom live in poverty.

In addition to experiencing personal satisfaction and enjoying financial benefits, most intermediaries have also experienced the difficulties of juggling their responsibilities. For Jacob Escalante, trying to balance the Tohonos' loss of hundreds of cattle because of a series of droughts, coupled with overgrazing, proved politically perilous. Out of desperation, Escalante asked for relief aid from the Department of the Interior. In response, the Tohonos received feed for the cattle, but the BIA officials strongly urged Escalante to force the Tohonos to reduce the size of their herds. Here was a dilemma. On the one hand, if he compelled his fellow Tohonos to decrease their cattle herds, he would alienate them, since cattle were a status symbol in Tohono culture and an important source of extra spending money. On the other hand, if he ignored the BIA officials' demand, Escalante suspected the bureau would refuse to help when the Tohonos needed further aid. In the process of trying to keep both sides happy, he alienated the Tohonos. As a result, they voted him out of office.

Another "juggler" of cultures, Wendell Chino, experienced many difficulties, but these were largely products of his own doing. As the years passed, his authoritarian style of leadership made it increasingly difficult for him to mediate between the Mescaleros, the federal government, and the state, even though he possessed the skills to do so. For instance, his quarrel with the State of New Mexico over the issue of revenue-sharing

created severe economic hardship for the Mescaleros. Although the Jicarilla Apaches, like the Mescaleros, refused to pay the state, only the Mescaleros endured a two-month shutdown of their casino. The Jicarillas were allowed to remain open pending resolution of the dispute, while a personality conflict between Chino and John Kelly, the U.S. attorney, resulted in the closure of Casino Apache. Chino's life demonstrates that not all Bible college graduates were able to balance their roles as a broker.

Because of the lack of knowledge about the history of Indian Bible colleges and their graduates, many people often ask what the future holds for Bible college graduates acting as cultural brokers? In the fall of 1999, Jason Charging Eagle (Cheyenne River), son of Richard Charging Eagle, enrolled at Cook. When asked why he chose Cook, Charging Eagle remarked,

I look around today and can see what is going on with our youth and I want to be able to help make changes in our churches/communities; that is why I want to be educated at Cook.⁴

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, it is apparent that, although times are changing, at least for now, the graduates of Cook, AIC, and NIBC will continue mediating in much the same way, motivated by the same desire to help their people, as were their predecessors.

⁴ "CCTS Welcomes New Students," Indian Highways 62 (Fall 1999): 5.

REFERENCES CITED

Published Primary Sources

Church of the Nazarene Manual. Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1972.

Constitution and By-Laws of the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community, Arizona. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957.

Gunn, Julian D. "District News Items." Voice of the Redman 3 (August 1982): 1.

Hymn translated by Bobby B. Yazzie. Chinle, Ariz.: Navajo Lutheran Mission.

Lee, Louisa. "I Have a Dream." Native Pentecostal News (Fall 1995): 5.

Manuel, Abe. "Excerpts From a Letter." North American Indian 4 (May 1947): 3.

Minutes, Synod of Arizona, October 16-20, 1913.

Minutes, Synod of Arizona, August 22-25, 1914.

Minutes, Synod of New Mexico, September 1912.

Minutes, Synod of Arizona, June 17-19, 1919.

Nells, John R. "Navajo Nation Report." Sacred Journey 4 (March 1993): 15.

Southern Arizona Indian Conference. Report of Southern Arizona Indian Conference Held at Phoenix, Arizona, March 15-16, 1934 for the Purpose of Explaining the Howard Wheeler Bill to the Assembled Indians. Phoenix: Phoenix Indian School Print Shop, 1934

Stevens, Johnny (Cocopah). "Journey to Amarillo." The Voice of the Red Man (NIBC) 4 (December 1948): 2.

A Strategy For Native American Ministries. Kansas City, MO: Division of Church Growth, Nazarene Headquarters, n.d.

Archival Sources:

<u>Annual Report</u>	Commissioner of Indian Affairs Annual Report (with appropriate year cited)
APLVF	Alamogordo Public Library Vertical File, Alamogordo, New Mexico
CCTSA	Cook College and Theological School Archives, Tempe, Arizona
IHML	Ira Hayes Memorial Library, Sacaton, Arizona
LRR	Luhrs Reading Room, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona
MGRIC	Museum of the Gila River Indian Community
MHL	Menaul Historical Library of the Southwest, Menaul School, Albuquerque, New Mexico
NIBCA	Nazarene Indian Bible College Archives, Albuquerque, New Mexico
PPLVF	Phoenix Public Library, Phoenix, Arizona
RPLVF	Ruidoso Public Library Vertical File, Ruidoso, New Mexico
SPLVF	Scottsdale Public Library Vertical File, Scottsdale, Arizona
TPLVF	Tucson Public Library Vertical File, Tucson, Arizona

Web Pages

"Everything Alaska / Metlakatla, Alaska," web page (<http://www.everythingalaska.com/eta.met.html>), 2/7/2000.

Indian Health Service web page (<http://www.his.gov>), 2/24/2000.

Native American Preparatory School web page (<http://naprep.org/index.html>), 2/15/2000.

"Where We've Been," Assemblies of God web page (<http://www.ag.org>), 3/29/2000.

Nazarene Bible College web page (www.nbc.edu/homepage/home01/html), February 10, 2000.

Newspapers and Newsletters

Albuquerque Journal
Albuquerque Tribune
American Association of Bible Colleges Newsletter
Arizona Republic
Arizona Daily Star
Assembly of the Navajo Nation District
Assembly Journal of the North American Indian District
Assembly Journal of the Southwest Indian District
The Arrow (NIBC)
Convocation News
Cook School Extension Lines
Daily News (Alamogordo, N.M.)
El Paso Times
High Country News
Indian Country Today
Indian Highways (Cook)
The Indian Christian Leader (Cook)
The King's Business
Maine Sunday Telegram
Native Pentecostal News
Navajo Community College Newsletter
Navajo Times
Newsweek
NIBC Informer
North American Indian (NIBC)
Phoenix Gazette
Sacred Journey (NIBC)
The Thunderer (AIC)
Tucson Citizen
Voice of the Redman (NIBC)

Interviews and Letters

- Anonymous, interview with author, August 27, 1999.
- Brown Thunder, Joe (Oglala), phone interview with author, February 14, 2000.
- Byrd, Sidney (Lakota), letter to author, October 19, 1996.
- Byrd, Sidney (Lakota), phone interview with author, February 14, 2000.
- Byrd, Sidney (Lakota), interview with author, November 4, 1996.
- Chino, Wendell (Mescalero Apache), letter to David H. Leroy, October 11, 1991.
- Claus, Huron (Mohawk), telephone interview with author, November 9, 1995.
- Dempsey, Jim, interview with Author, April 15, 1996.
- El-Najjar, Pat, interview with author, March 21, 1996.
- Gray, Merle, interview with author, November 4, 1996.
- Gunn, Bernita (Quechan), interview with author, January 26, 2000.
- Gunn, Julian (Mojave), phone interview with author, November 4, 1996.
- Gunn, Julian (Mojave), interview with author, January 26, 2000.
- Hogue, Benjamin (Diné), Letter to author, October 28, 1996.
- Hogue, Lolita Benally (Diné), phone interview with author, October 19, 1996.
- Holstoi-Robbins, Eunice (Diné), interviews with author, April 19, 1996 and May 4, 1998.
- Janelle (Pima), interview with author, April 29, 1998.
- Johnson, Shirley (Lakota), interview with author, April 19, 1996.
- Klineline, Gilbert, and Maxine Klineline, interview with author, October 1996.
- Klompeen, Don, letter to author, September 11, 1999.
- Lee, Louisa (Diné), letter to author, October 31, 1996.
- Lee, Louisa Lee (Diné), phone interview with author, November 4, 1996.

Lopez, Jim (Cocopah), interview with author, February 15, 1997.

McKinney, Tom, interview with author, March 28, 1996.

Mulder, Ivan, letter to author, September 24, 1999.

Nelson, Mel, interview with author, October 12, 1996.

Paul, Frank E. (Diné), letters to author, October 5, 1996 and November 8, 1996.

Pearson, G.H., phone interview with author, October 10, 1996.

Pino, Annabelle (Diné), Letter to Author, November 1996.

Ramsey, Donald, interview with author, November 5, 1996.

Rechanda (Pima), interview with author, March 22, 1996, September 10, 1999, October 12, 1996 April 14, 1998, and September 10, 1999.

Schindler, Patricia, phone interview with author, February 11, 2000.

Schindler, Patricia, letter to author, March 1, 2000.

Scrivner, Folsom Charles (Chickasaw), interview with author, November 11, 1996.

Thomas, Alma, interview with author, April 13, 1995.

Van Galen, Herman, interview with author, August 27, 1999.

Wellington, Wilfred (Pima), letter to author, February 10, 1997.

Dissertations and Theses

- Best, John S. "The Bible College on the March." M.A. thesis, Azusa Pacific College, 1955.
- Boggs, Stanley H. "A Survey of the Papago People." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, 1936.
- Chamberlain, Kathleen P. "Dine Bikeyah Bik'ah (Navajo Oil): An Ethnohistory, 1922-1960." Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1998.
- Davis, Jerry A. "From Termination to Self-Determination: American Indians and Alaska Natives in Higher Education." Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1998.
- King, William S. "The Folk Catholicism of the Tucson Papagos" Ph.D dissertation, University of Arizona, 1954.
- McKinney, Larry James. "An Historical Analysis of the Bible College Movement During Its Formative Years: 1882-1920." Ph.D dissertation, Temple University, 1985.
- Nix, Lonnie Elmer. "Promotion of Higher Education Within Arizona Indian Groups." Ph.D. dissertation, Arizona State University, 1963.
- Taylor, Bruce Lee. "Presbyterians and 'The People': A History of Presbyterian Missions and Ministries to the Navajos." Ph.D. dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, 1988.
- Tooker, Elisabeth J. "Papagos in Tucson: An Introduction to Their History, Community Life, and Acculturation." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, 1952.
- Wesaw, Delmer W. "Indian Holiness Missions in the United States" Bachelor's Thesis, Bethany Nazarene College (n.d.).
- Zeman, Scott C. "Revitalization Through Recreation: Apache Development of Outdoor Recreation Industries, 1950-1980." M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1994.

Books

- Aberle, Charles J., ed., Indian Treaties, 1778-1883. New York: Garland Publishing, 1972.
- Aberle, David. The Peyote Religion Among the Navajos, 2d. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Adams, David. Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995.
- Alvord, Lori Arviso, and Elizabeth Cohen Van Pelt. The Scalpel and the Silver Bear. New York: Bantam Books, 1999.
- Among the Pimas or The Mission to the Pima and Maricopa Indians. Albany, N.Y.: The Ladies' Union Mission Association, 1893.
- Anderson, Edward F. Peyote: The Divine Cactus, 2d. ed. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996.
- Anderson, Omer C. Peyote Religion: A History. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.
- Appleby, Polly. What Color Is God's Skin? Kansas City, MO.: Beacon Hill Press, 1984.
- Baldwin, Gordon C. The Apache Indians: Raiders of the Southwest. New York: Four Winds, 1978.
- Bannon, John Francis. The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513-1821. 1963; reprt. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1974.
- Bernstein, Alison R. American Indians and World War II: Toward a New Era in Indian Affairs. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.
- Biolsi, Thomas, and Larry J. Zimmerman, eds. Indians and Anthropologists: Vine Deloria, Jr., and the Critique of Anthropology. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997.
- Blaine, Peter, Sr. Papago and Politics. Tucson: The Arizona Historical Society, 1981.
- Bolton, Herbert Eugene. Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino Pacific Coast Pioneer. 1936; Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984.
- Brereton, Virginia Lieson. Training God's Army: The American Bible School, 1880-1940. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

- Brugge, David M. Navajos in the Catholic Church Records of New Mexico, 1694-1875. Tsaile, Ariz.: Navajo Community College Press, 1985.
- Cash, Joseph H. The Ponca People. Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1975.
- Cash, Joseph H., and Herbert T. Hoover, eds., To Be an Indian: An Oral History. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.
- Castetter, Edward F., and Willis H. Bell. Pima and Papago Indian Agriculture. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942.
- Clum, Woodworth. Apache Agent: The Story of John P. Clum. 1936; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978.
- Cohen, Felix. Felix Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, [1971].
- Cook, Minnie. Apostle to the Pima Indians: The Story of Charles H. Cook, The First Missionary to the Pimas. Tiburon, CA.: Omega Books, 1976.
- Corbett, Cecil, and Gary Kush. Mending the Hoop: A Comprehensive Report of the Indian Church Career Research and Planning Project. n.p.: Native American Consulting Committee, 1974.
- Cottrell, Steve. Civil War in Texas and New Mexico Territory. Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing, 1998.
- Curtin, L.S.M. By the Prophet of the Earth. Santa Fe: San Vicente Foundations, 1949.
- Cutter, Donald, and Iris Engstrand. Quest For Empire: Spanish Settlement in the Southwest. Golden, CO.: Fulcrum Publishing, 1996.
- Dale, Edward Everett. The Indians of the Southwest: A Century of Development Under the United States. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949.
- Davidson, James West, and John E. Batchelor. The American Nation. Annotated Teacher's Edition. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1986.
- De Korne, J. C. Navaho and Zuni for Christ. Grand Rapids, MI.: Christian Reformed Board of Missions, 1947.
- Deloria, Vine Jr. God Is Red. New York: Dell Publishing, 1973.
- _____. Custer Died For Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto. New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1969.

- _____, and Clifford M. Lytle. American Indians, American Justice. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983.
- DeMallie, Raymond J., ed. The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.
- _____, and Douglas R. Parks, eds. Sioux Indian Religion: Tradition and Innovation. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.
- Densmore, Frances. Teton Sioux Music, Smithsonian Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 61. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918.
- Dobyns, Henry F. The Mescalero Apache People. Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1973.
- _____. The Papago People. Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1972.
- _____. The Pima – Maricopa. New York: Chelsea House, 1989.
- Dolaghan, Thomas, and David Scates. The Navajos Are Coming to Jesus. South Pasadena, CA.: William Carey Library, 1978.
- Dunne, Peter Masten, ed. Jacobo Sedelmayr, Missionary, Frontiersman, Explorer in Arizona and Sonora, 1744-1751. [Tucson]: Arizona Pioneer's Historical Society, 1955.
- Dutton, Bertha P. American Indians of the Southwest, rev ed. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1983.
- Emory, W.H. Lieutenant Emory Reports: A Reprint of Lieutenant W. H. Emory's Notes of a Military Reconnoissance. 1848; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1951.
- Fay, George E., ed. Charters, Constitutions and By-Laws of the Indian Tribes of North America, Vol. VI. Greeley, CO.: Museum of Anthropology, Colorado State College, 1967.
- Findlay, James F., Jr. Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837-1899. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.
- Fixico, Donald L. Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945-1960. Albuquerque: New Mexico, 1986.
- Fontana, Bernard L. Of Earth & Little Rain. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989.
- Furtaw, Julia C., ed., Native Americans Information Directory. Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1993.

- Garrod, Andrew, and Colleen Larimore, eds., First Person, First Peoples: Native American College Graduates Tell Their Life Stories. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Getz, Gene A. MBI: The Story of Moody Bible Institute. Chicago: Moody Press, 1969.
- Gibson, Arrell Morgan. The American Indians: Prehistory to the Present. Lexington, MA.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1980.
- Gilbert, Martin. A History of the Twentieth Century. Vol. 1: 1900-1930. N.Y.: William Morrow and Company, 1997.
- Gray, Andrew B. Southern Pacific Railroad: Survey of a Route for the Southern Pacific R.R.. Cincinnati: Wrightson & Co., 1856.
- Hackett, Charles Wilson. Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773, Vol. 3. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1923-37.
- Hemingway, Albert. Ira Hayes: Pima Marine. Lanham: University Press of America, 1988.
- Hodge, Frederick Webb, George P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey, eds. Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945.
- Hoover, Herbert T. The Yankton Sioux. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1988.
- _____, and Larry J. Zimmerman, eds., South Dakota Leaders: From Pierre Chouteau, Jr., to Oscar Howe. Vermillion: University of South Dakota Press, 1989.
- Hoxie, Frederick E., ed. Encyclopedia of North American Indians. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996.
- Hunter, James Davison. Evangelicalism: The Coming Generation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Indian Harvest: A History of American Indian Bible College. n.p.: n.p., n.d.
- Iverson, Peter. The Navajo Nation. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981.
- Johnson, Broderick H., ed. Stories of Traditional Navajo Life and Culture. Tsale, Ariz.: Navajo Community College Press, 1977.

- Johnson, Byron A. Old Town, Albuquerque, New Mexico: A guide To Its History and Architecture. Albuquerque: City of Albuquerque, 1980.
- Joseph, Alice, Rosamond B. Spicer, and Jane Chesky. The Desert People: A Study of the Papago Indians. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949.
- Kammer, Jerry. The Second Long Walk: The Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980.
- Kappler, Charles J., ed. Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, Vol. 2. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904.
- Keenan, Jerry. Encyclopedia of American Indian Wars, 1492-1890. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1997.
- Keleher, William A. Turmoil in New Mexico, 1846-1868. Santa Fe: Rydal Press, 1952.
- Kelly, Lawrence C. The Navajo Indians and Federal Indian Policy, 1900-1935. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1968.
- Kelly, William H. The Papago Indians of Arizona: A Population & Economic Study. Tucson: Bureau of Ethnic Research, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, 1963.
- Kessell, John L. Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers: Hispanic Arizona and the Sonora Mission Frontier 1767-1856. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976.
- _____. Mission of Sorrows: Jesuit Guevavi and the Pimas, 1691-176. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970.
- King, William S., and Delmos J. Jones. Papago Population Studies. New York: Garland Publishing, 1974.
- Klein, Barry T. Reference Encyclopedia of the American Indian, 8th ed. Nyack, NY.: Todd Publications, 1998.
- Lane, Elizabeth H., Matilda Markoe, and Julia Low Nelson Schulte. A Hand-Book of the Church's Mission to the Indians: In Memory of William Hobart Hare, An Apostle to the Indians. Hartford, CT.: Church Missions, [1913].
- Leacock, Eleanor Burke, and Nancy Oestreich, eds., North American Indians in Historical Perspective. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1988.
- Left Handed. Son of Old Man Hat: A Navaho Autobiography recorded by Walter Dyk. 1938; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967.

- Link, Martin A., ed. Navajo: A Century of Progress, 1868-1968. Window Rock, Ariz.: Navajo Tribe, 1968.
- Lockwood, Frank C. The Apache Indians. 1938; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987.
- _____. Pioneer Days in Arizona: From the Spanish Occupation to Statehood. New York: Macmillan Company, 1932.
- Marsden, George M. Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- McNamee, Gregory. Gila: The Life and Death of an American River. 1994; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998.
- Melody, Michael E. The Apache. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989.
- Mooney, James. The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, Part 2 of the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology 1892-93. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896.
- Mosch, Theodore R. The G.I. Bill: A Breakthrough in Educational and Social Policy in the United States. Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1975.
- Moses, L.G., and Raymond Wilson, eds. Indian Lives: Essays on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Native American Leaders. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985.
- Nash, Gerald D. The American West in the Twentieth Century: A Short History of an Urban Oasis. 1973; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977.
- Navajo Nation FAX 88. Window Rock, AZ: Navajo Nation, 1988.
- Ogle, Ralph Hedrick. Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886. 1940; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970.
- Olson, Keith W. The G.I. Bill, the Veterans, and the Colleges. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1974.
- Olson James S., and Raymond Wilson. Native Americans in the Twentieth Century. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1984.
- O'Neill, William L. American High: The Years of Confidence, 1945-1960. New York: The Free Press, 1986.

- Ortiz, Alfonso, ed. Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest, Vol. 10. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1983.
- Parman, Donald L. The Navajos and the New Deal. New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1976.
- Pearson, G. H. The Transformed Red Man. Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press, 1956.
- Perrigo, Lynn I. The American Southwest: Its People and Cultures. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971.
- Perry, Richard J. Western Apache Heritage: People of the Mountain Corridor. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991.
- Philp, Arlene, and Paulette Molin. The Encyclopedia of Native American Religions: An Introduction. New York: Facts on File, 1992.
- Philp, Kenneth R. John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977.
- Prucha, Francis Paul. The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.
- Riney, Scott. The Rapid City Indian School, 1898-1933. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.
- Ringenberg, William C. The Christian College: A History of Protestant Higher Education in America. Grand Rapids, MI.: Eerdmans, 1984.
- Russell, Frank. The Pima Indian. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975.
- Schlessinger, Arthur M., Sr. A Critical Period in American Religion, 1875-1900. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967.
- Shaw, Anna Moore. A Pima Past. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974.
- Shepardson, Mary. Navajo Ways in Government: A Study in Political Process. [Menasha, WI.]: American Anthropologist Association, 1963.
- Smith, Anne M. New Mexico Indians: Economic, Educational, and Social Problems. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1969.
- Smith, Timothy L. Called Unto Holiness: The Story of the Nazarenes: The Formative Years. Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962.

- Sneve, Virginia Driving Hawk. That They May Have Life: The Episocpal Church in South Dakota, 1859-1976. New York: Seabury Press, 1977.
- Sonnichsen, C.L. The Mescalero Apaches, 2nd ed. 1958; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973.
- Spicer, Edward H. Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962.
- Steiner, Stan. The New Indians. New York: Harper & Row, 1967.
- Swarth, Dowie with John C. Oster. Ever the Pioneer. Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1978.
- Szasz, Ferenc M. The Day the Sun Rose Twice: The Story of the Trinity Site Nuclear Explosion, July 16, 1945 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984
- _____. The Divided Minded of Protestant America, 1880-1930. University: University of Alabama Press, 1982.
- _____. The Protestant Clergy in the Great Plains and Mountain West, 1865-1915. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.
- Szasz, Margaret Connell. Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination Since 1928, 3rd ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999.
- _____. Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607-1783. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.
- _____, ed. Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.
- Taylor, Graham D. The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934-45. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980.
- Thomas, Gail E., ed. U.S. Race Relations in the 1980s and 1990s: Challenges and Alternatives. New York: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation, 1990.
- Thompson, A. E. The Life of A. B. Simpson. New York: Christian Alliance Publishing Company, 1920.
- Tozer, A. W. Wingspread: Albert B. Simpson – A Study in Spiritual Altitude. Harrisburg, PA.: Christian Publications Incorporated, 1943.

- Trollinger, William Vance. Jr. God's Empire: William Bell Riley and Midwestern Fundamentalism. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.
- Truesdell, Leon E. The Indian Population of the United States and Alaska. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937.
- Underhill, Ruth M. The Navajos. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.
- _____. A Papago Calendar Record, University of New Mexico Bulletin, Anthropological Series, vol. 2, no. 5. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1938.
- _____. The Papago and Pima Indians of Arizona. Palmer Lake, CO.: Filter Press, 1979.
- _____, et al. Rainhouse & Ocean: Speeches for the Papago Year. 1979; Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997.
- Utley, Robert M. The Last Days of the Sioux Nation. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1963.
- Utter, Jack. American Indians: Answers to Today's Questions. Lake Ann, MI.: National Woodlands Publishing Company, 1993.
- Wagoner, Jay J. Arizona's Heritage, rev ed. Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1983.
- Walker, George. Miracle in Moccasins. Phoenix, AZ: Phoenician Books, 1969.
- Washburn, Alta M. Trail to the Tribes. n.p.:n.p., 1990.
- Webb, George. A Pima Remembers. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1959.
- Weber, David J. The Spanish Frontier in North America. New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1992.
- _____. The Mexican Frontier 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.
- White, Richard. The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.
- Who's Who in American Politics, 15th ed. New Providence, N.J.: R.R. Bowker, 1995.

Yates, Richard and Charity Yates, eds. The 1979-80 Arizona Yearbook: A Guide to Government in Arizona. Yuma: Arizona Information Press, 1979.

____ and _____, eds. 1983-84 Arizona Yearbook. Sisters, OR.: The Information Press, 1983.

Young, Robert W. A Political History of the Navajo Tribe. Tsaile, AZ.: Navajo Community College Press, 1978.

_____. The Navajo Yearbook, Vol. 8. Window Rock, AZ.: Navajo Agency, 1958.

1974 Arizona Blue Book: a Guide to the State of Arizona. Tucson: Arizona Blue Book, 1974.

Articles

Ahern, Wilbert H. "The Returned Indians: Hampton Institute and Its Indian Alumni, 1879-1893." Journal of Ethnic Studies 10 (Spring 1982): 101-24.

"Alabaster Provides Partnership with PLNU and Local Church." Journal of Church Growth, Evangelism, and Discipleship (Fall 1999): 47.

Axtell, James. "Some Thoughts on the Ethnohistory of Missions." Ethnohistory 29 (Winter 1982): 35-41.

Carpenter, Joel A. "Fundamentalist Institutions and the Rise of Evangelical Protestantism, 1929-1942." Church History 49 (March 1980): 62-75.

"CHIEF (Christian Hope Indian Eskimo Fellowship): Training Native Americans to reach Americans." Missions Frontier Bulletin 16 (May-June 1994): 13-15.

Cohen, Elizabeth. "Good Medicine: First Navajo woman surgeon operates between two worlds." New Mexico Magazine (August 1994): 26-29.

Crum, Steve. "The Idea of an Indian College or University in Twentieth Century America Before the Formation of the Navajo Community College." Tribal College 1 (Summer 1989): 20-23.

"District Mission Directory." North American Indian (July-August 1949): 4.

Dobyns, Henry F. "Indian Extinction in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley, Arizona." New Mexico Historical Review 38 (April 1963): 163-81.

Falk, Dennis R., and Larry P. Aitken, "Promoting Retention Among American Indian College Students." Journal of American Indian Education 23 (January 1984): 24-31.

- Federal Writer's Project, "The Papago." Arizona Teachers College Bulletin 20 (October 1939): 5-15.
- Findlay, James. "Moody, 'Gapmen,' and the Gospel: The Early Days of Moody Bible Institute." Church History 31 (September 1962): 322-35.
- Fontana, Bernard L. "Restoring San Xavier Del Bac: 'Our Church': Tohono O'odham Work to Restore the 200-Year-Old Church Built by Their Ancestors." Native Peoples 8 (Summer 1995): 29-35.
- Frisbie, Charlotte J. "Temporal Change in Navajo Religion: 1868-1990." Journal of the Southwest 34 (Winter 1992): 457-514.
- Gaillard, D. D. "The Papago of Arizona and Sonora." American Anthropologist 7 (January 1894): 293-96.
- Gangel, Kenneth. "The Bible College: Past, Present, and Future." Christianity Today 24 (November 7, 1980): 34-36.
- Gifford, E.W. "The Cocopa." American Archaeology and Ethnology 31 (No. 5, 1933): 257-334.
- "Harold Navajo." Outreach: A Monthly Magazine of the Boards of National and Foreign Missions and Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. 4 (January 1950): 52.
- Hoover, J. W. "Generic Descent of the Papago Villages." American Anthropologist 37 (April-June 1935): 257-64.
- Hosmer, Brian C. "Reflections on Indian Cultural 'Brokers': Reginald Oshkosh, Mitchell Oshkenaniew, and the Politics of Menominee Lumbering." Ethnohistory 44 (Summer 1997): 493-509.
- "Julian Gunn Named to National Board." Home Missions Alert (December/January/February 1977-78): 3.
- Kerr, James R. "Constitutional Rights, Tribal Justice, and the American Indian." Journal of Public Law 18 (No. 2, 1969): 320-22.
- Lewis, Roe. B. "The Phoenix Indian Presbyterian Church," Outreach 2 (November 1957): 277-78.
- Mason, J. Alden. "The Papago Harvest Festival." American Anthropologist 22 (January-March 1920): 13-25.

- Moore, Edgar W. "The Bierkempers, Navajos, and the Ganado Presbyterian Mission, 1901-1912." American Presbyterians 64 (Summer 1986): 125-35.
- Moses, L.G., and Margaret Connell Szasz. "'My Father, have pity on me!': Indian Revitalization Movements of the Late-Nineteenth Century." Journal of the West 23 (January 1984): 5-15.
- "Native American Self-Help Forum Organized." Grow: Journal of Church Growth, Evangelism and Discipleship (Winter 1991): 8-10.
- "Native evangelicals gather under New Mexico sun." Indian Life Magazine 13 (April-May 1992): 5.
- "New Focus on Cross-Cultural Ministries." Home Missions Alert (December - January 1976-77): 5.
- Parman, Donald L. "J.C. Morgan: Navajo Apostle of Assimilation." Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives 4 (Summer 1983): 83-98.
- Paton, Pat. "Ruth Underhill Remembered." Colorado Heritage 1 (1985): 14-21.
- Philp, Kenneth R. Philp. "Stride Toward Freedom: The Relocation of Indians to Cities, 1952-1960." Western Historical Quarterly 16 (April 1985): 176.
- Reeve, Frank D. "The Navaho-Spanish Peace: 1720's-1770's," New Mexico Historical Review 34 (January 1959): 9-40.
- Reichard, Gladys A. "The Navaho and Christianity." American Anthropologist 51 (January-March 1949): 66-71.
- Russell, Frank. "The Pima Indians," Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1904-1905 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 36-66.
- Sanders, Danielle. "Cultural Conflicts: An Important Factor in the Academic Failures of American Indian Students." Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development 15 (April 1987): 81-90.
- Smith, Michael T. "The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934: The Indian New Deal." Journal of West 10 (July 1971): 521-34.
- Sweeting, George. "Bible Colleges and Institutes: Chronicling the Vision of a Century." Christianity Today 26 (February 5, 1982): 38-41.
- _____. "Understanding America's Bible School Movement." Moody Monthly 84 (March 1984): 100-102.

"Tribal Self-Government and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934." Michigan Law Review 70(April 1972): 966-74.

Trollinger, Jr., William Vance. "Riley's Empire: Northwestern Bible School and Fundamentalism in the Upper Midwest." Church History 57 (June 1988): 197-212.

Van Valkenburgh, Richard. "The Government of the Navajos." Arizona Quarterly 1 (Winter 1945): 63-73.

Wallace, Anthony F.C. "Revitalization Movements," American Anthropologist 58 (April 1956): 264-81.

Warner, Michael J. "Protestant Missionary Activity Among the Navajo, 1890-1912." New Mexico Historical Review 45 (July 1970): 209-32.

Witmer, S. A. "Bible College Education." School and Society 80 (October 16, 1954): 113-16.

SECRET

1940 CONFIDENTIAL