

**Protestantism
in the Sangre de Cristos
1850–1920**

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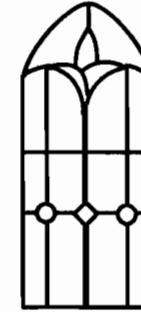
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First Edition

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and Methodist missions. Examples of the second type are the later Presbyterian and Methodist missions and the mission of the United Brethren in Christ.

The missions that survived eventually adopted the second style of organization, bringing the New Mexico churches into the main organizational life of the denomination. In addition, the two denominations that incorporated the Spanish-speaking churches into the regular organizational structure are the two that survived; the Presbyterians and the United Brethren in Christ. The Methodists separated the Spanish and English work in northern New Mexico for many years to the financial detriment of the Spanish mission, though the Rio Grande Conference has managed to develop a viable life separate from the Anglo conferences in which its churches are located.

CHAPTER THREE



THE COURSE OF MISSION WORK 1850–1920

For convenience, the Protestant mission work in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado can be considered in four phases. Of course the divisions are not clear-cut, but similar growth patterns and responses to outside events belong to each era. The first phase, before the U.S. Civil War, consisted of scattered excursions by itinerant missionaries and experiments in mission organization among the Hispanic people. The second phase, from the end of the Civil War to the advent of the railroads and the public school law, was a time of slow growth and the establishment of schools. The third phase was the time everyone remembered. The height of Protestant activity in the area lasted from the 1880s to about 1915. After 1915 came a long steady phase of decline or plateau. Though the work of some denominations, especially the Presbyterians and United Brethren, remained steady, the

main-line Protestants remained a distinct minority in New Mexican village life.

. . .

At the time the first Protestant missionaries arrived in New Mexico, Jean Baptiste Lamy was forging a diocese from a few hitherto neglected Catholic communities.¹ His priorities were strengthening the clergy and increasing their numbers, providing education for the children of New Mexico, especially prospective priests, and reviving the spirit of the faithful. In the years before the Civil War, Lamy waged the bitter and celebrated fight with the native New Mexican clergy, notably with Padre Martínez of Taos.² By 1859 he had seen two schools established in Santa Fe. He had also organized his diocese in order to make the best use of the few priests on hand. Each priest was assigned to a main parish with several outlying *visitas* attached.³ The priest was an itinerant in much the same way as the pastors of the Protestant missions. In 1857 Lamy established the first parish in the San Luis Valley in Colorado.⁴

At first the Protestant ministers did not think of missionary efforts in connection with the Hispanic people. They came as military chaplains or as missionaries to the few Anglo-Americans in Santa Fe; but once they arrived, their interest in converting the New Mexicans to Protestantism came to life. Alzina Read writes about the decision of the first Baptist missionaries who arrived in New Mexico in December of 1849.

And even we who are here, our friends know, would perchance never have turned our attention hither, but for the strange and unexpected providences which diverted us from our anticipated field, and here detained us in a manner which seemed to say, "Thus far and no further shalt though [sic] go." And yet our rebellious hearts felt almost to say "Not so Lord." California was our destined home, and there we desired to labor. We have sometimes felt that for *this* our trials here were all deserved: and if so we bless our Father for them, and we rejoice that though all unworthy, we have been permitted, as we humbly trust, to do some little for the cause of the Savior here.⁵

In the course of their work, the Reads distributed Spanish tracts and Bibles and worked at organizing schools. Hiram Read did not preach in Spanish and the schools were never opened. The Reads left New Mexico in 1853.

The earliest Methodist missionary in the area, Enoch Nicholson,

was sent in 1850 to serve the Anglo-Americans.⁶ He stayed about a year and returned to the East. In 1853 he came to New Mexico again with a small group of missionaries who could speak Spanish to establish a mission among the Hispanic people. He had managed to recruit a person, Benigo Cardenas, whom he believed to be a converted Catholic priest. Cardenas was for a time an itinerant Protestant preacher. Harwood credits him with beginning the Methodist society at Algodones, but ends the story on this note.

Rev. J. M. Reid, D. D., in his valuable book on "Missions and the Missionary Society," vol. 1 page 90, gives quite a review of those early missionaries. He says also that "Dr. Lore when he was sent out to New Mexico to inspect the Spanish work reported unfavorably and Cardenas proving himself unworthy and false, the Mission was permitted to expire."⁷

There are several items in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe dealing with the suspension of Cardenas from the Roman Catholic priesthood in 1845 and his illegal occupation of a parish in 1851. He was also involved in charges of heresy and schism at the time he asked to join the Methodists.⁸ The Methodist mission was officially closed in 1856.

The same year the Baptists were welcomed back to Santa Fe in the person of John Milton Shaw. This time a school taught in English and Spanish by John W. Dunn was opened.⁹ At this same time, another Baptist, Samuel Gorman, wrote letters to the *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*. They were published in Spanish under his name or signed simply *Un Protestante*. In 1858 notices appeared in the *Gazette* announcing that Samuel Gorman would preach in Spanish.

The Rev. Samuel Gorman will preach tomorrow [Sunday] in the Protestant Church in this city. At three P. M., Señor José María Chávez will speak in Spanish, Señor Gorman following with a sermon in the same language. The people of Santa Fe are cordially invited to attend.¹⁰

This Baptist mission shifted its center to Socorro, where several Hispanic Baptist churches survived until the mission was closed in 1866. Lack of financial support and the death of John Shaw brought it to an end.¹¹

. . .

Just after the Civil War the Presbyterians began their mission in New Mexico, initiating the second phase of Protestant work in the

Table 2. Population of New Mexico, 1850–1890

	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890
Total Population	61,525	93,516	91,874 ^a	119,565	153,598
Born in New Mexico	58,602	84,487	83,175	101,046	99,326
Born in U.S.	772	2,306	3,477	10,468	43,008
Born in Mexico	2,151	4,815	3,913	5,173	4,332
Percentage Anglo	1.1%	4.5%	3.7%	8.7%	28%
Number of Clergy	—	37	51 ^b	81	161 ^c
Number of Teachers	—	59	48	154	398

Source: These figures were taken from the tables of the U.S. Department of the Interior compendia of the sixth (1850) through the eleventh (1890) censuses (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

The San Luis Valley of Colorado after 1860 is not included.

^aThis figure reflects the separation of Arizona and New Mexico.

^b34 estimated to be Roman Catholic.

^c2 were women.

territory. Until this time there had been no organized effort to convert the New Mexican people. The work was done by individual missionaries and disintegrated when they left. This phase of the Protestant missions in the area corresponds roughly to the time of the advent of the railroad to the passage of the public school law. As the New Mexico Territory developed, the contact between Anglo-Protestants and Hispanic Catholics increased, and the pressure toward Americanization increased in the northern New Mexican communities.

The Anglo-Americans who came to New Mexico in the period after the Civil War had more varied motives than earlier immigrants. Many were lawyers hoping to do well in the litigation of land grant cases. Others were interested in mining and cattle ranching. Still others came for their health. The improvement of military roads and development of stage lines after the Civil War made New Mexico more accessible.

The percentage of Anglo-Americans grew slowly until the railroads were completed in the 1880s. Table 2 shows the population growth in New Mexico from 1850 to 1890. Most of the Mexican-born population was concentrated in the southern part of the territory, while the native New Mexicans were found in the north between Albuquerque and Taos, in the river valleys, and along the railroads.¹² The

Hispanic villages of the northern area, no longer situated on the main trade routes, were increasingly isolated culturally as well as economically.¹³

Politically, the end of the Civil War meant two things for New Mexico. First, peonage and Indian slavery were officially abolished. As in other areas, the freedom was in name more than fact. Second, a number of factors set the stage for political corruption. A spoils system developed in the late nineteenth-century public administrations. Land grant claims resulting from the U.S. conquest remained unsettled. And the political structure of New Mexico still rested on family and political factions. Until the mid-1880s New Mexico was controlled, economically and politically, by a group known as the Santa Fe Ring for their own private profit from land grant and railroad deals.

The end of the Civil War, the arrival of railroads, and the resulting increase in the number of Anglo-Americans brought economic changes. The market for beef and wool that developed during the war continued. The railroads and the livestock industry provided employment, introducing a wage and cash economy in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. The relative prosperity of this era masked growing problems of overused land resources and lack of a local economic base.¹⁴ In this era also, the land grants slowly changed hands because of corruption and the tax system.

Most Anglos believed that the Hispanic New Mexicans could face these changes more successfully if there were more schools. A public school law was passed in 1884 but was never enforced. Meanwhile the Catholics worked to supply the need with parochial schools, and the Protestants opened their mission schools. Another public school law was passed in 1891 and put into practice over the next decade. Children were required to attend school, and a superintendent of schools was provided for each county with the power to issue teaching certificates. The schools were supported by taxes. In addition, in largely Hispanic areas, the teachers were required to be bilingual.¹⁵ Much as the Protestant officials might object, often the only person in a place qualified to teach was the Catholic priest. The priests often ran for the office of school superintendent and were elected.

The end of the Civil War and increasing accessibility made a renewal of interest in the New Mexico field possible on the part of the Protestant missionary societies. In a more systematic effort than before, the Methodists organized a mission conference and the Presbyterians presbyteries and a synod. But there was concern that the home-mission method was inadequate for a population so different from the Anglo-

American. The amount of effort committed to schools stands out in the work of all the churches in New Mexico from the Civil War to 1890. Schools were an integral part of most foreign mission efforts but almost never related to home-mission development.

The Anglo-American Protestants established schools in New Mexico because they believed the people should be able to speak and read English, know about the Protestant faith, and become Americanized. In the establishment of schools, the Protestants especially showed their cultural colors. Education was seen as essential to American life.

Americanization was as strong a goal as conversion to Protestantism in the mission schools. Americanization was also a goal of the Catholic schools established by Bishop Lamy. The desire was to bring the village people into the mainstream of American life. The Christian civilization envisioned by the Protestants in their Americanizing efforts was a place of

Protestant churches, public schools, a sound legal system, private property, hard work, monogamous marriage, patriarchal families, and the Christian Sabbath . . . western clothing and standards of hygiene, permanent single-family dwellings, "modern" farm implements and techniques and the latest conveniences.¹⁶

The Allison James School of the Presbyterians was explicit about its teaching of patriotism as well.

The work of Americanization was carried out, by both Protestants and Catholics, in the schools. The boarding school was used by both in order that the church might have control over child rearing. If the parents had valued education less these schools would not have survived because the parents recognized that control was being removed from them in the boarding school. In order to Americanize it was essential that the missionaries not adopt any of the village ways or be seduced by any of the positive elements in the Hispanic culture away from their task.¹⁷ But this was hard to sustain, especially for the women teachers. Many, in their loneliness, needed to be part of the community, and for those who stayed many years and came to know the richness of the life around them it was particularly difficult.

Mark Banker, in his study of the Presbyterian schools in the Southwest, notes that some cultural conversion occurred, which the missionaries credited to the schools, but in fact came from other outside influences, especially economic ones.¹⁸ The Catholics, encountering the same reluctance as the Protestants, made deeper inroads into the

Hispanic community because they were seen to be defenders of the traditional faith.¹⁹ Both Anglo-Protestants and Catholics forgot that these villagers were the descendants of the Spanish conquistadores, hardened in their zeal for the faith by generations spent fighting the Moors, and who had laid claim to this land in the name of cross as well as king. They were not indifferent about their religion.

The Presbyterians founded forty-seven schools from 1867 to 1890. Thirty-seven were still open in 1890. In contrast to the number of schools, the Presbyterians organized only thirteen churches in the same area.²⁰ Maps 2, 3, 4, and 7 show the locations of these schools in the following years. The Presbyterian Board of Domestic Missions conceded the necessity of schools as supplementary to evangelistic work, preparing the way for conversions by teaching people to read the Bible.

The influence of the religious teachings in the schoolroom cannot be estimated. The new Testament is the best textbook for them to learn to read in the Spanish language, and as soon as they can read they are glad to own one of their own, and later on a Bible. These we can give them. Who can estimate or even know the influence they can and do have on their parents?²¹

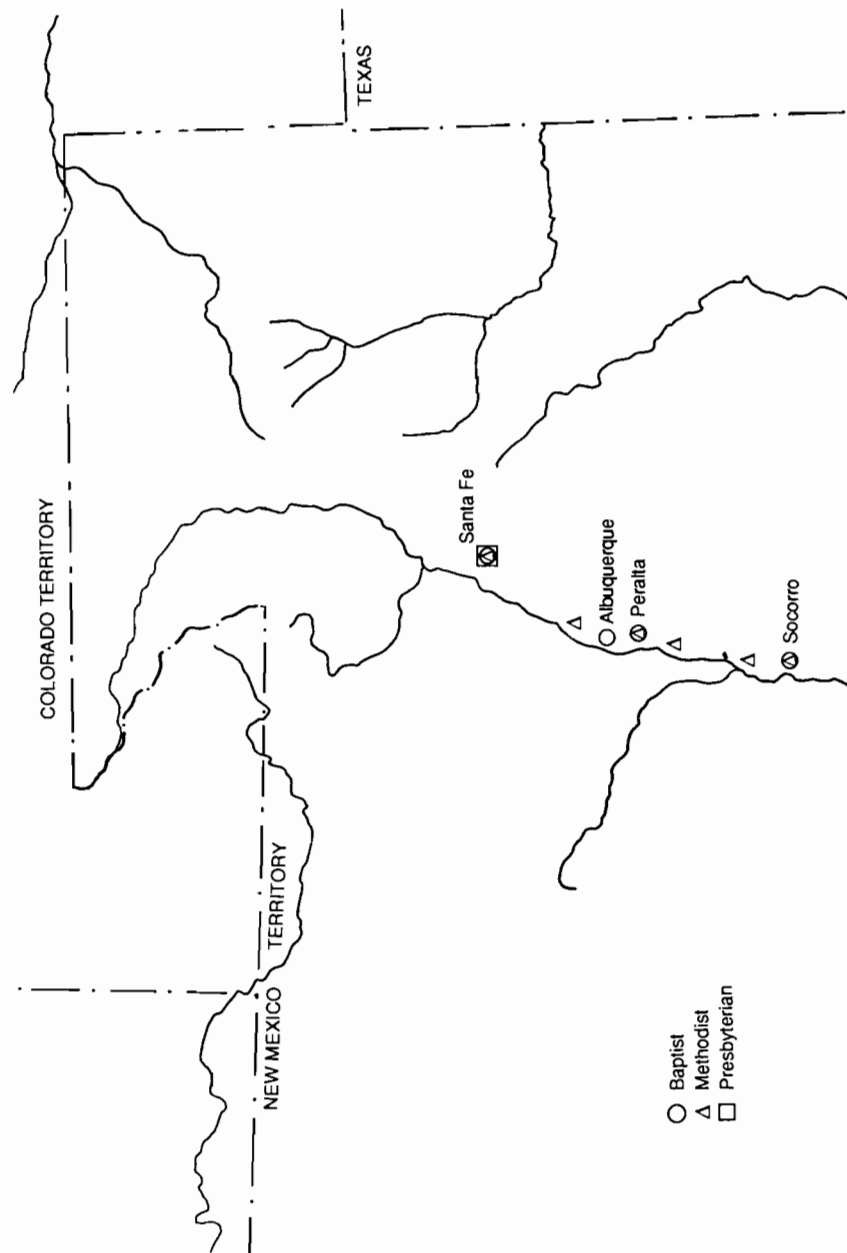
A highly practical reason for attending a Protestant school was given by Gabino Rendón who attended a Presbyterian school in the 1880s.

A sharp thought went through my mind [on seeing a person write in English for someone else] sending the perspiration down the back of my neck. Suppose the man had come to me, instead of to this shopkeeper, saying "Write this order for me, please, *en ingles*." I could not do it. For the life of me, I could not do it.

I left the store and walked away quickly, holding up my head with new determination. I would learn English now. Nothing would stop me.²²

In serving these needs the Protestant schools broke ground for the public schools. The Presbyterians opened a college as well, the College of the Southwest in Del Norte, Colorado, in 1884. A class of ministers began training there around 1889.

The first of the Presbyterian schools was opened by David and Amanda McFarland in Santa Fe. David served as pastor, Amanda as his assistant. They opened a school in their home, while they organized a church. The school lasted six months. In June of 1867, McFarland wrote to Mrs. Martin of the Auburn, New York Female Bible Society.



Map 2 Hispanic Protestant Congregations Established 1850-1860

I have just closed a six months' school which I opened here. . . . What is needed to succeed here among these people is a strong missionary force to occupy the whole territory in connection with a school here well-established and schools taught by the missionaries in prominent towns. This we hope to see in a few years.²³

The next Presbyterian teacher to come was Charity Ann Gaston. She had served as a mission teacher to the Choctaw Nation prior to the Civil War. In 1868 she moved the Presbyterian school in Santa Fe to an adobe church building abandoned by the Baptists "because of the falling in of the roof and other discouraging circumstances." With the students sitting on six wooden benches, with bare walls and a smoky stove, she taught English and made an attempt to spread the gospel, Presbyterian style.²⁴ After two years she moved on to teach on the Navajo reservation.

In 1900 Prudence and Jane Clark from Minnesota arrived to establish the plaza school in Chimayó. Their first year they had forty-seven students, mostly "big boys," in a room so crowded there was no place for the teacher to sit. Jane Clark had tuberculosis, their living quarters had a leaky roof, and the teaching work was hard. She died in 1906, and was buried near the school. Prudence married Teofilo Ortega, a lay evangelist, and together they served several years in Jémez and Truchas, returning later to Chimayó.

The mission teacher was the central figure in [the town]. She designed the curriculum, assigned the pupils to their appropriate grade level, taught all subjects, evaluated pupils' progress, counseled them on opportunities for further education and sought out advanced placements for them. . . . In addition to their classroom duties, teachers were responsible for recreation for the children and youth, and were expected to organize ball games, tournaments, public speaking contests, pageants, picnics and outings.²⁵

The Congregational educational mission in Hispanic New Mexico began with the establishment of the Santa Fe Academy by Horatio Oliver Ladd in 1878. Schools continued to form a key part of the Congregational mission until they were closed in 1926. E. Lyman Hood, superintendent of the mission until 1893, gave reasons for the schools.

From experience in the work we can say there are those whom we may not persuade to enter the church, yet who are eager in attending

the academy. The lessons of the school-book permeate the mind that the sermon is not permitted to reach. The lady teacher is welcomed at homes where the Protestant minister is regarded with suspicion. Thus, the lives of our consecrated teachers are living epistles, preaching, by daily ministries in His name, the power of the Gospel unto salvation. This is why we should establish mission schools in New Mexico.²⁶

The Methodists began establishing schools at the same time as the Presbyterians; however, their schools were never as central to the mission organization. The Methodists did not rely only on a school to train ministers because they believed the usually prescribed itinerant's course of individual study provided adequate education. The course of study as modified for the Hispanic pastors is shown in the Appendix. In 1885 the Methodists had ten schools, the first begun by Emily Harwood in 1870. By 1889 they had opened a college in Albuquerque but had only just begun to view schools as an important part of their mission activity.

And can we expect the Lord to continue to bless us, as in the past, if we fail to help ourselves, as He has opened the channels through which may flow the blessings to which we refer? I mean there is upon us the necessity of a better educated ministry for this Spanish work. . . . A new era is upon us. A new civilization is beginning to shine over this Spanish Southwest. . . . It is fair to state that through the mission schools of our own church, more than 100 Mexican boys and girls can read now, who hardly knew their letters a year ago. Thus it can be easily seen that we must have a better educated Mexican ministry in the future . . . to meet the improved and improving conditions in the country.²⁷

That same year, Thomas Harwood had to plead for money for the Albuquerque College. Financial difficulties effectively prevented an expanded Methodist school program. The schools were the backbone of the Protestant missions. As they became established, the mission organizations matured and congregations were built up.

For comparison, the Roman Catholics in 1910 had eleven schools, in Santa Fe, Las Vegas, Bernalillo, Albuquerque, Mora, Jémez Springs, Peña Blanca, Roswell, Socorro, and Taos. These were taught by the Sisters of Loretto, the Sisters of Charity, and the Jesuits.²⁸

The schools depended entirely upon the dedication of the teachers who came to teach in them and often to run them. In the late nine-

teenth century Protestant women with missionary interests became involved in three causes in the United States: temperance, freedman's aid, and education.²⁹ Most of the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Methodist schools in New Mexico were taught by women. Often the teacher lived alone in a village, serving also as nurse and Protestant worship leader. Lyman Hood, in the letter quoted above, pointed out that these women teachers were more accepted than the Protestant ministers. Other similar statements can be found.³⁰ There is often no other record of these women than the mention of their names in lists of schools. Along with them are found the names of Hispanic women teachers, often the wives of evangelists or pastors, who did substantial pastoral work while their husbands were gone from home on evangelistic trips. One of these teachers was Petra Gómez, a Presbyterian mission teacher at La Luz, Colorado. Christiana Gilchrist, a teacher at Del Norte College, remembered her this way.

Petra

A missionary of the Pillar of Fire has come to my door several times. She has carried the gospel message all over the United States. She has spoken in ten or twelve large cities. She is a tall slender woman, now elderly.

I recall the days when she and her pretty, dark-eyed sister were two lovely, shy, courteous little girls in their grandfather Gómez' adobe house high in the Colorado mountains. They were taking turns at reading the bible (Spanish) and joining in the singing of Spanish hymns, their faces aglow with love and interest. They were Petra and Pilar. Who could know the thousands of miles that Petra would carry the gospel—to the lowest, to the highest—she speaks the true gospel.³¹

Another was Petrita Rendón, who married Rev. Manuel Madrid. Both were preachers. Doña Margarita Cruz was also a preacher, married to Rev. José E. Cruz. The male pastors traveled over a wide area, often serving more than one church at a time. Petrita Rendón and Margarita Cruz kept Sunday School and held services at home while their husbands were making their evangelistic and pastoral rounds.³² The lives of these ministers' wives were similar to those of other women in the Hispanic villages whose husbands were gone for a large part of the year, working at seasonal labor. In the absence of the men, the women carried on the tasks of keeping the community together.³³ Tables 3, 4, and 5 show known schools and teachers related to the Protestant missions in New Mexico and Colorado.

Table 3. Congregational Education Society Schools, 1914

School	Teacher in 1914
Rio Grande Industrial, Albuquerque	
Atrisco	Olivia Leas & Harriet Dye
Cubero	Mrs. and Miss Laura Collings
Marquez	Arita and Rosita Montoya
San Mateo	Miss Gibson & Miss Nichols
San Rafael	Miss Frost & Miss Fox
Seboyeta	Rev. and Mrs. Hernandez
El Paso	

Source: J. H. Heald, "Annual Report to the Congregational Education Society, 1914," New Mexico Congregational Association Records, University of New Mexico Library. *The Home Missionary*, in the annual issue about the New Mexico field, lists the teachers appointed to each school that year.

The richest sources of information about the work of these women are the various missionary magazines. The Presbyterians in New Mexico have begun to preserve and publish material about the mission schools, including oral histories and memoirs. Few of the teachers had time to keep diaries. One of the Presbyterian women, Annie Speakman, wrote from Las Vegas in 1887 to the missionary society about her work:

During February we had enrolled 85 scholars, 21 of whom are boarding pupils. The children are as heretofore respectful, appreciative and eager to obtain a knowledge of the English language. They are making satisfactory progress. The Sabbath-school is well attended averaging about 40 each week. On the 6th of January a communion service was held in the mission church when 12 Mexicans united with the church, 2 by letter, 10 on profession of faith; 6 of the latter were our pupils. This is surely cause of rejoicing. May they ever be true to the profession they have made and thus be an influence for good among their own people, and through them may the gospel of Jesus be carried to many more hungry souls in this territory. We believe that the improvement in the regular attendance, both in the day school and in the Sabbath-school as well as the general influence that has been noticeably felt in this place in connection with our school this winter, and certainly the additions to the church, may all be traced to boarding school.³⁴

Table 4. Methodist Schools, 1889

School	Began	Pupils	Town Size	Teacher
Tiptonville	1870	49	548	Mr. & Mrs. Hyde
Peralta	1873	30	672	Salvador Gonzales
Taos (boys only)	1885	76	978	W. C. Montgomery
Socorro		60	2,291	Emily Harwood
Española		30	439	Maria Torres
La Joya		22	280	Teofa Chavez
Framptonville		24		Alex Lucero
Old Albuquerque		25	1,733	Maggie Borkover
Wagon Mound		30	499	Lillie Chandler
Girls Industrial School, Albuquerque			3,785	Annie Norton
Girls Industrial School, Las Vegas		30	2,385	Bruniver & Snyder
Albuquerque College (coed)		150	3,785	C. J. Mills, Pres.

Sources: Minutes of the New Mexico Spanish Mission Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church (1889), and *Compendium of the Eleventh Census Vol. I, Population* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892).

The great variety of tasks that engaged the missionary teacher in New Mexico is illustrated best by a paragraph by Mellie Perkins, a United Brethren in Christ missionary who came to the Española valley in 1912. She was a deaconess from north Texas who came alone to the village of Velarde to begin a school.

I must confess as I walked that mile to the mission and saw nothing but dark-faced Mexicans staring at me, I felt that I was in a country far from home and kindred and that my desires were fast vanishing, but I called on One who gives strength and courage . . . and my spirits rose. . . . We found the house had leaked and water-soaked up through the floors and these were heaved, and the walls were crumbling and it had a most sickening musty odor all through it. . . . Early the next morning we began cleaning and shoveling out the dirt and mud. . . .³⁵

Mellie Perkins had work ahead of her, and describes it thus.

The one who teaches school five full days out of the week, keeps house,

Table 5. Presbyterian Schools, 1889–1900

School	Opened	Teacher in 1900
Agua Caliente	1885	
Agua de Lobo	1888	
Alamosa Canyon, Colorado	1888	
Manual School, Albuquerque	1881	J. C. Ross
Agua Negra		Bertha Knipe
Antonito, Colorado	1882	
Bucna Vista	1888	
Capulin	1887	
Chacón	1875	
Chaperito	1889	Alice Blak
Chimayó		Prudence Clark
Corrales	1879	
Dixon/Embudo	1887	Kate Kennedy
College of the Southwest	1889	
El Aguilar	1889	
El Moro, Colorado	1888	
Garcia, Colorado	1884	
Golondrinas	1882	
Holman	1882	
Jémez Springs	1881	
La Costilla	1882	
Las Cordovas	1888	
Las Cruces	1883	Mrs. C. R. Donelly
Las Vegas	1870	Anna McNair
Llano	1885	
Los Alamos	1888	
Los Lentos	1883	
Mora	1881	
Ocaté	1878	Mr. & Mrs. R. W. Hall
Pajarito	1884	Kate Scott
Peñasco	1885	Sue Zuver
Ranchos de Taos	1884	Alice Hyson
Ratón	1887	Miss B. Manual
Rocinada	1888	
Salazar	1884	Miss C. E. Fenton
San Luis, Colorado	1878	
Allison School, Santa Fe	1879	Matilda Allison
Santa Fe Academy	1882	
Socorro	1860	Kate Sleight
Taos	1872	Miss R. Rowland

Source: Barber and Agnew, *Sowers Went Forth*, pp. 70, 159–60.

attends the sick, fills all the places in religious services, and writes from 60 to 110 letters and cards a month, cannot do much at preaching. How tired they must get of hearing me five days out of the week and three times on Sunday! I often wonder how they keep up interest enough to come, much less being attentive.³⁶

The welcome of the “lady teacher” is discussed at length in Sarah Deutsch’s book *No Separate Refuge*, a study of culture, class, and gender in the Southwest. The third chapter, “Invading Arcadia: Women Missionaries and Women Villagers, 1900–1914,” details the way in which the Protestant efforts in the villages relied upon the woman teacher. The women developed a kind of maternalism, rooted in their teaching (often they had taught the entire village over the course of a career) and their work as nurses. They liked to be needed by the villagers, and found in this area far from their own homes, a kind of independence and power not available to them in the East. In the second half of the nineteenth century, pedagogical method was shifting from a rote style to a nurturing style, and women were easily accepted into the teaching profession. The remote areas of the West and the lack of salaries men with families could accept left more room for female work of all kinds. The mission societies who employed these women to be ambassadors of the Protestant gospel and American society to the Hispanic villagers did not always comprehend the scope of the challenge or the ways in which the women slipped out of their role as upholders of the ideals of the society that sent them in order to find a home in a strange culture.

• • •

The Methodists had a stable and growing mission by 1890. In the first fifteen years after 1870, when Thomas Harwood took over the work, the mission grew from seventy-four members in four churches with three ministers, to over four hundred members in twenty-two churches. Six of the ten ministers in 1885 were Hispanic New Mexicans. By 1890 the membership had doubled and twenty-seven Hispanic pastors were either ordained or in training.

Thomas Harwood received criticism from time to time that too much money was being spent in New Mexico by the Missionary Society with so little return. After all, four hundred members in a Hispanic population of nearly a hundred thousand was not impressive. Harwood replied this way.

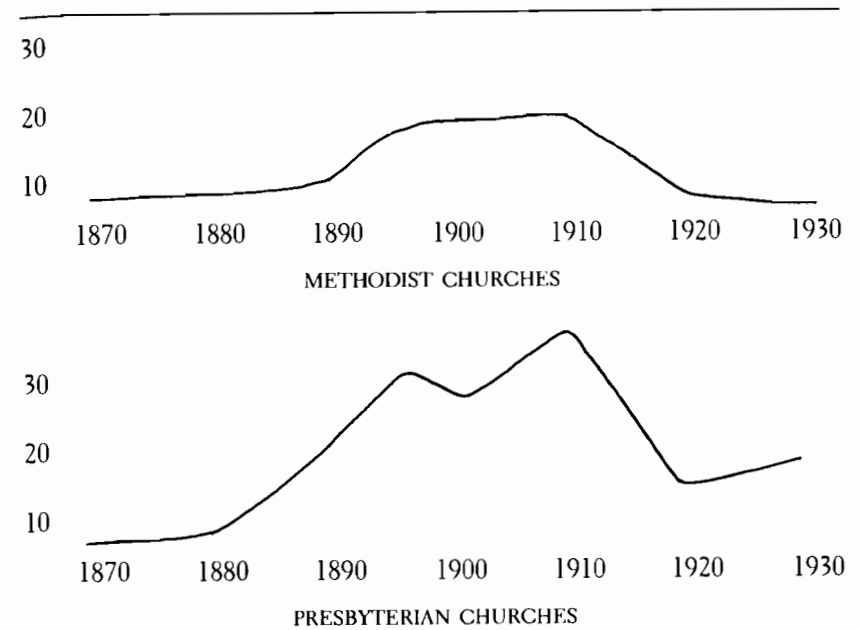
Counting the cost of Mission funds from 1872–1888, less the value of the church property acquired during this time, also less the benevolent collections returned to their respective boards, the ratios stand as follows per cost of each member and probationer. The New Mexico Spanish, one. The New Mexico English, *three*; Mexico, six; South America, six and a half. That is to say, to hold American members and converts in New Mexico in the same field with the Spanish work has cost the mission funds of the church three times as much as each member in the Spanish work. Let it be remembered here also that the most of the American membership has come to New Mexico while the entire membership in the Spanish work has been converted on the ground and our ministry developed here. Now when we call to mind that we have had a foreign language to learn, and foreign customs and deepseated prejudices to overcome, the progress is certainly marvelous.³⁷

There is no way to tell what figures Harwood was using, but a check of some official ones for the same year shows a somewhat different picture. In 1888 the Board of Church Extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church donated \$8,950 to the Spanish Mission of about eight hundred members and twelve churches. That is about eleven dollars per member or \$745 per church. The Board donated \$750 to the English Mission of 265 members and five churches. That is less than \$2.80 per member or \$150 per church. It seems to have cost the Board of Church Extension about three and one-half times as much for a Hispanic member as for an English member and five times as much for a Hispanic church.³⁸

The Methodists measured success in numbers. They kept scrupulous records of members and dollars. The Spanish mission was nearly three times as large as the English mission in 1888. The ambiguity of the situation of the Spanish mission in New Mexico makes analysis of its success difficult. The Methodist home-mission society was used to rapid progress, but the field was not like other home fields. In his history and in his reports to the conference, Harwood often made statements in defense of the work, pointing out reasons for the slow growth.

The Presbyterians did not keep such consistent records of numbers, but they kept more copies of newspapers, memoirs, letters, and there are two autobiographies of Hispanic Presbyterians. While we know most about Methodist growth patterns, we know most about Presby-

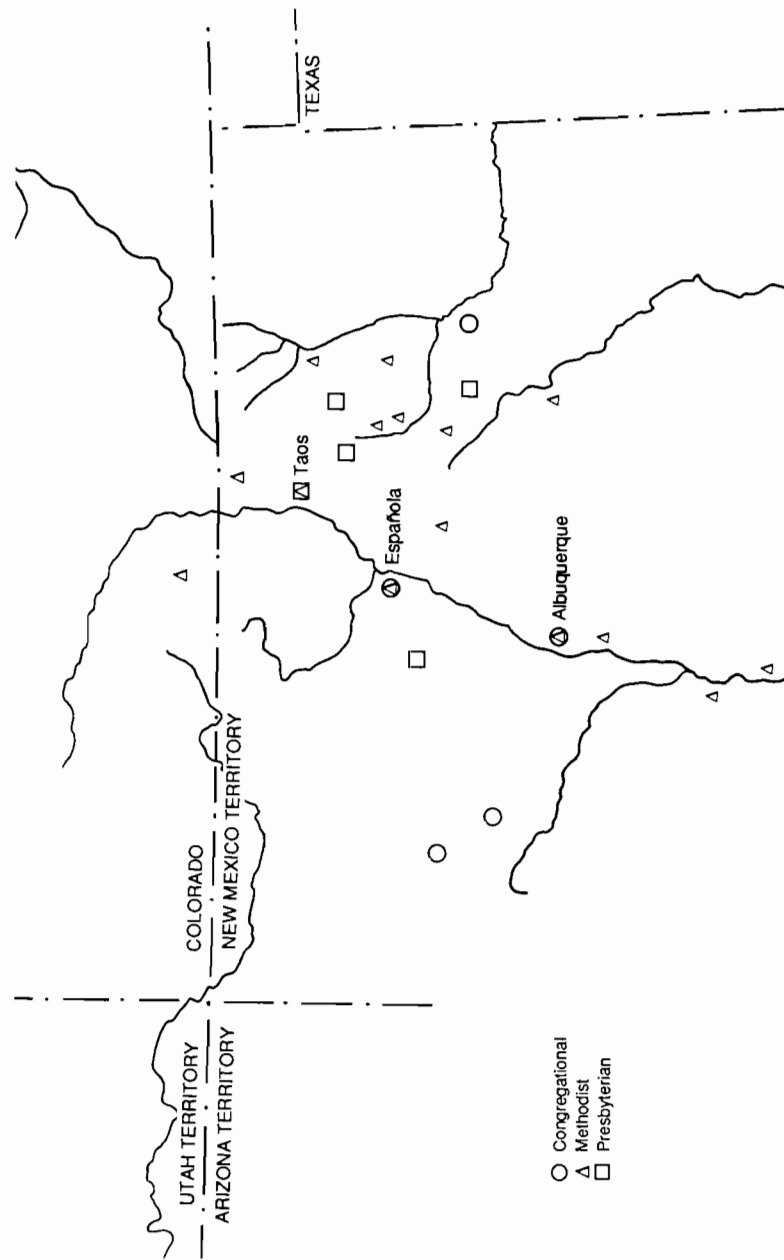
Table 6. Number of Hispanic Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, 1870–1930



Source: Minutes of the New Mexico Missions and Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and Minutes of the Synod of New Mexico, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

terian people. Table 6 illustrates the patterns of Methodist and Presbyterian growth.

Comparing the locations of the schools with the locations of the congregations (see Map 3), it is apparent that the Presbyterians established schools first and later developed a congregation in nearly every place where they had a school. The Methodists on the other hand organized many congregations and only a few schools. In 1884 the Methodists separated the Spanish Mission from the English, making it easier to trace the development of the Hispanic churches alone. The Presbyterians never segregated the Hispanic and Anglo congregations but incorporated them into the presbyteries and Synod of New Mexico from the beginning. The implications of these contrasting practices became apparent some forty years later as the Methodist Hispanic congregations faded from the scene.³⁹



Map 3 Hispanic Protestant Congregations 1885

The Congregationalists had assessed the situation in New Mexico as early as 1869, noting the strength of Catholic presence in the area and the poverty of the people, concluding that corrupt bishops kept the people poor.⁴⁰ *The Home Missionary* published a report of the superintendent of the mission in Colorado ten years later.

New Mexico, at whose capital a Congregational academy has recently been planted [1878]—is to be regenerated by the free church and free school. All the antecedents of our denomination, then, call us there. The first railroad has just entered the northern border of the Territory, and times are especially favorable for us to begin.⁴¹

In 1881 the first Congregational missionary was sent to Santa Fe but was expected to spend most of his time building an Anglo-American congregation.

The next Congregational missionary, Jacob Mills Ashley, made known his specific interest in a mission to the Hispanic people.

Can you not appropriate the money for a preacher and a room? He should be able to preach in Spanish as well as English. We also sent a man for the Spanish villages Caburo [Cubero?], San Rafael, and San Mateo. The people are ready to receive the Word. This may be a departure from the ordinary way; but this is not ordinary work, and must be dealt with differently from work among a purely American population. Now is the time to work in New Mexico.⁴²

The missionary society appears to have been reluctant to begin much work because Ashley continued to complain of lack of money and people. In 1883 he wrote that he must recruit his own workers.⁴³ From the beginning the Congregational mission to the Hispanic New Mexicans suffered from lack of money to a much greater extent than that of the Presbyterians or Methodists. By 1885 there were six Congregational missionaries in New Mexico and by 1890 at least six Hispanic mission churches.

I . . . had the happiness . . . to be favored with a day's ride back to St. Johns [near Española]. This is a place of about 1,450 people. Near 600 are Mormons and a little more than 600 Mexican Catholics, a few Jews and the rest of no religious character. There were some who wished me to stay over Sunday, . . . and preach in the Court house to them. I did so and had about 40 hearers, morning and evening, and they seemed to hear with gladness. . . . Our people have sent them a teacher for their children. She does the best she can with a Sunday School,

but they need a minister, but I am afraid from lack of funds our Home Missionary Society will not be able at present to send them one.⁴⁴

Looking to the future, each mission found ways of encouraging local leadership. The goal of the home-mission societies was the production of self-sustaining congregations, no longer dependent on mission support either for money or leadership. The self-sustaining leadership was to come from the Hispanic people.

The Methodists ordained Hispanic pastors earlier than any others, educating them in a traditional Methodist course of study.⁴⁵ In addition to works in theology, there were studies in arithmetic, geography, and grammar to supplement the work for the Spanish-speaking candidates who had little access to primary education. Each year those pursuing the course were examined on the year's study and passed to a higher level or asked to spend another year on the material. This study went on as the candidates served in appointments under the supervision of the presiding elder. The courses of study as outlined in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1892 and in the Minutes of the New Mexico Spanish Mission for the same year are compared in the Appendix. The conferences seem to have had considerable freedom to choose their own courses of study, judging from the difference in the New Mexico Spanish Mission version and the one in the Discipline.

Perhaps in designing a message for largely Roman Catholic people, the Methodists left out any part of their theology that sounded too much like what they regarded as the works of righteousness characteristic of Catholic practice. The simplifications of doctrine found in the Methodist Catechism and the Spanish editions of Wesley's sermons also reflect a general tendency in American frontier religion to simple formulations. Generally uneducated people were not much interested in points that needed scholarly defense and explanation. Table 7 lists the names of the Methodist Hispanic pastors pursuing the course of study and ordained in 1885 and 1891, together with their appointments. Of the seventeen pastors in the New Mexico Spanish Mission in 1885, all but two were New Mexicans. In 1889 all but three of twenty-seven were New Mexicans.

The Presbyterians and Congregationalists preferred to send their Hispanic pastors to school. The Presbyterian College of the Southwest in Del Norte, Colorado, accepted its first class in theology in 1890. Gabino Rendón, a member of the first class, remembered the experience.

There were eight of us students in the seminary class, and I think I

Table 7. Hispanic Methodist Pastors in New Mexico, 1885 and 1891

Name	Status 1885	Appointment	Status 1891	Appointment
A. Jacobs	D	Costilla Circuit	E ¹	Dulce & Conejos
L. Frampton	E	Coyote & Mora	E	Tiptonville
S. Garcia	P	(Doña Ana)	E	(Doña Ana)
F. E. Montoya		Española	D	Ranchito
Marcos Barela	D	(Las Cruces)	E	Socorro
C. Salazar	P	La Joya		
E. C. Salazar			E	La Joya
E. Flores	P	La Gallina	D	La Gallina
T. Chavez	P	(Manzano & Chilili)	D	(San Antonio)
F. N. Cordova	E	Peralta	E	(El Paso)
Juan Garcia	D	Peralta Circuit	E	(Chilili)
F. F. Cordova	P	Socorro		
T. M. Harwood ²	P	Socorro Circuit	E	(Las Cruces)
O. Torres	P	Tiptonville		
Blas Gutierrez?	E	Val Verde	E	Val Verde
Benito Garcia	E	Wagon Mound		
J. E. Sosa			D	Albuquerque
J. B. Sanchez			P	Costilla
Romalo Suazo			D	Española
E. Barela			D	(Mesilla Valley)
David Alva			D	Peralta
J. Sandoval			D	Springer
C. Varos			D	Taos
Marcial Serna			D	(Hillsboro)
E. Flores			D	(Colorado)
L. Romero			LP	Tramperos
J. A. Vigil			D	Peñasco
Maximo Otero			D	(Silver City)
Agapito Mares			D	Coyote
L. Fernandez			D	(Silver City)

Locations in parentheses are in the southern part of the Territory of New Mexico and do not come into this study. Many of these churches survived and are part of the present Rio Grande Conference of the United Methodist Church.

¹P—Probationer

D—Deacon

E—Elder

LP—Local Pastor

²T. M. Harwood was Thomas Harwood's nephew.

had better write their names: Albelio Aguirre, Warren C. Buell, Luis O. Bernal, R. E. Hayes, Manuel Madrid, Gabino Rendón, M. J. Sanchez, and Jose J. Vigil. . . . The procedure in our seminary courses was simple. We students would enter the classroom armed with paper and pencil. The Rev. F. M. Gilchrist, adjusting his glasses, would resume his slow reading of the Lane Seminary Lectures at the exact point where he had left off the day before and we painstakingly copied down his words. . . . Thus we learned our theology.

In the summer we had good practical experience. . . . We preached in small settlements scattered over southern Colorado and northern New Mexico and we encountered the wildness of the west as well as religious opposition.⁴⁶

The course lasted three years and only four of the first class graduated. The first of them, M. D. J. Sanchez, was ordained in 1893.

By a commission of the Presbytery (of Colorado) the young Mexican Evangelist Mr. M. D. J. Sanchez is to be ordained and installed in that church [La Luz, Colorado], to which he is to give half his time and receive from them \$200, and the other half of his time we hope to secure from the two Mexican churches of San Rafael and Cinecero. This is the first fruit of our mission work—the regular ministry and the pastorate.⁴⁷

In 1895 the Presbyterians had thirty-one Hispanic churches, at least eleven Hispanic pastors, and several evangelists.

The Congregational Church had a school in El Paso similar to the Presbyterian College of the Southwest. The school served for training both Mexican and New Mexican pastors.

During the summer vacation, three young men from the El Paso Training School carried the light of the Gospel into dark places [New Mexico]. Strangely enough they were from Old Mexico, the converts of the American board there. It is a striking illustration of the happy union existing between the foreign and home fields in providing the above Training School for native workers.⁴⁸

Two of the Congregational Hispanic pastors in the 1880s were G. H. Ancheta and Ezekiel C. Chavez. Chavez became a Presbyterian around 1895. Ancheta was licensed to preach in 1884 by the General Association of New Mexico and Arizona and ordained the next year.⁴⁹ In

Table 8. Presbyterian Hispanic Pastors

Name	Status	Fields
M. D. J. Sanchez	Ordained 1893	Antonito, Colorado
Ronaldo Montoya	Licentiate	Nacimiento & Capulin
Ezekiel Chavez	Ordained	Los Lentos
Mr. Padierno	Helper	La Costilla
Tranquilino Aceves	Helper	Rincon
José Ynez Perea	Ordained 1880	Pajarito, Bernalillo
Gabino Rendón	Ordained 1899	San Luis, Santa Fe
Tomas Atencio	Ordained 1911	Las Vegas, Dixon
E. C. Cordova	Ordained	Chimayó, Cordova
Samuel S. Van Wagner	Ordained	Cuba, Socorro, Mora
Acorsinio V. Lucero	Ordained 1913 ¹	Raton
Carlos Cordova	Ordained 1919 ¹	
Refugio Haramillo	Ordained	Walsenburg
Jose Domingo Mondragon	Evangelist	
Vicente Romero ²	Evangelist	Taos
Rafael Gallegos	Evangelist	
John Whitlock	Ordained 1890	Las Vegas, Taos
Juan Quintana	Ordained 1909	Chimayó, Truchas
Jose C. Rodriguez	Ordained	San Pablo, Las Cruces
A. J. A. Rodriguez		Ignacio

Source: Lela Weatherby, "Early Years of Presbyterian Work with the Spanish-Speaking People of New Mexico and Colorado 1850–1920" (M.A. thesis, Presbyterian College of Christian Education, Chicago, 1942), pp. 69–84.

¹ Attended McCormick Seminary.

² A relative of the famous Padre Antonio José Martínez of Taos.

July and November 1885, *The Home Missionary* printed these reports of his work.

Mr. Ancheta is the only one who is now devoting himself to the Spanish speaking population. His work is said to be good. This should be a very important part of our work in these two territories. We send missionaries into Old Mexico. Why not do something for precisely the same class in our own land.⁵⁰

Mr. Ancheta is doing his best among the Mexicans. Living is ex-

pensive and rents are hard for him to get at any price. The best way to keep up this work until we can organize a Spanish department seems to be to put bright, Christian young men with good, experienced brethren, and let them study and work together.⁵¹

The height of the Protestant missionary activity in New Mexico was reached as the territory prepared for statehood. After the railroads arrived in New Mexico in the 1880s, the Indian Wars concluded in the 1890s, and the land grant questions were settled, Anglo-Americans moved into the territory in increasing numbers.⁵²

The economy of the territory in this period became tied to the national economy, and New Mexico became increasingly dependent on federal money for transportation, agriculture, water projects, and education. In the Hispanic areas, dependence on wage labor allowed the population to expand beyond the capability of community resources to provide for everyone. Also, in the settlement of land grant questions most villages lost communal grazing and farming lands. Additional erosion of the land base occurred in inheritance divisions and in sales of land by individuals or villages to pay taxes.⁵³ At the time, things seemed relatively prosperous. Only in the 1920s and 1930s would the extent of the damage to the village economy be felt.

Even though the Anglo population of New Mexico did not exceed the Hispanic, the economy and politics of the territory came increasingly under Anglo control. It has been suggested that the transfer of control took place easily because it happened so gradually.⁵⁴

Several constitutions were written and several bids made for statehood. The constitution of 1889 was defeated because it was anti-Catholic. It made incorporation of religious organizations difficult and would have obliged Catholic parents to pay for public schools in which the most qualified Catholic teachers, namely nuns or priests, could not teach. A later constitution, that of 1902, was defeated in Congress because the large Spanish-speaking population of New Mexico seemed foreign. It is difficult to decide if this was a problem of race relations or anti-Catholicism.⁵⁵ Probably it was both. The 1910 Constitution finally accepted was a conservative document, difficult to amend, and in contrast to Arizona's, accepted at the same time, did not address any of the progressive issues of the day, prohibition, initiative and referendum, or women's vote. The Protestant churches participated in this process of transformation from territory to state and in the

concurrent transformation of the cultural and religious life of many of the Hispanic people.

The Hispanic Protestant church membership in the area probably never exceeded three thousand between 1890 and 1910. Just before 1910 the Methodists and Presbyterians claimed over a thousand members each. Compared to the Roman Catholic population, the percentage of Protestants was never large. Table 9 compares the number of Protestants and Roman Catholics in the largely Hispanic counties of Colorado and New Mexico. The number of Protestant members generally declined from 1906 to 1926. The number of Hispanic churches in the Methodist Conference and Presbyterian Synod reached a peak around 1910 and declined thereafter. This is shown in Table 10.

The percentage of Roman Catholics in the counties illustrated also declined during this period. With a couple of exceptions, the number of Roman Catholics was always about half the population. Las Animas County, Colorado, attracted large numbers of Anglos because of the railroad, the ranching and mining enterprises, and economic possibilities in population centers such as Trinidad. Though the percentage of Roman Catholics in this area was smaller than in the other counties, the percentage of Protestants was small as well. It is clear that the number of Roman Catholics in this area was not affected much by Protestant activity. So much for the goal of Protestantizing the New Mexicans.

At the time, the Protestants felt they were making progress. To understand their situation, it will help to focus on three issues facing the Protestants during this period (1890-1910). A major problem was that of financing the Protestant missions and encouraging self-support among the Hispanic churches. A second was development of denominational rivalries and comity agreements. Finally, some characteristic problems of the Hispanic pastors affected the growth of the churches.

While the mission boards were willing to support the Hispanic mission churches for many years, they expected them to assume self-support eventually. The economic crisis of the 1890s was responsible for a drop in contributions to the mission societies. For several years, not only were the societies unable to maintain previous levels of support, but the people in the Hispanic churches were for the same reasons unable to assume the financial burden.

The first signs of financial difficulty appeared when previously full-time ministers had to take on outside work. Frampton, the presiding

Table 9. Number of Roman Catholics and Protestants in Selected Counties

County	1910	1906		1906	
	Population	Number of Roman Catholics	%	Number of Protestants	%
<i>Colorado</i>					
Costilla	5,498	2,282	41.5	154	2.8
Huerfano	13,320	5,375	40.3	497	3.7
Las Animas	33,643	15,981	47.5	1,723	5.1
<i>New Mexico</i>					
Mora	12,611	9,017	71.5	413	3.2
Rio Arriba	16,624	8,903	53.5	1,102	6.6
San Miguel	22,930	19,814	81.6	743	3.2
Santa Fe	14,770	11,570	78.3	323	2.1
Taos	12,008	8,265	68.8	317	2.6
County	1920	1916		1916	
	Population	Number of Roman Catholics	%	Number of Protestants	%
<i>Colorado</i>					
Costilla	5,032	2,988	59.3	331	6.5
Huerfano	16,879	6,699	39.6	781	4.6
Las Animas	38,975	9,762	25.0	2,226	5.7

elder of the Methodist Las Vegas district, reported in 1895 about one of his pastors.

He has not received a salary and it is necessary for him to take on a secular job in order to support his large family.⁵⁶

Gabino Rendón, the Presbyterian, had to add rooms to his home so

Table 9, continued

County	1920	1916		1916	
	Population	Number of Roman Catholics	%	Number of Protestants	%
<i>New Mexico</i>					
Mora	13,915	10,487	75.3	632	4.6
Rio Arriba	19,552	13,394	68.5	388	1.9
San Miguel	22,867	16,369	71.5	1,023	4.4
Santa Fe	15,030	9,260	61.6	717	4.7
Taos	12,773	8,297	64.9	310	2.4
County	1930	1926		1926	
	Population	Number of Roman Catholics	%	Number of Protestants	%
<i>Colorado</i>					
Costilla	5,779	2,711	46.9	203	3.5
Huerfano	17,062	10,285	60.2	570	3.3
Las Animas	36,008	11,896	33.0	2,524	7.0
<i>New Mexico</i>					
Mora	10,322	6,155	59.6	331	3.2
Rio Arriba	21,381	12,630	59.0	1,411	1.9
San Miguel	23,636	15,834	66.9	1,383	5.8
Santa Fe	19,567	16,438	84.0	872	4.4
Taos	14,294	11,271			

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies* 1906, 1916, and 1926 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1910, 1916, and 1930) pp. 300 and 338; pp. 243 and 289; pp. 585 and 645.

his wife, Amelia, could take in boarders for extra money.⁵⁷ Rendón also did not receive a salary for several months in 1899.⁵⁸

In 1896 the problem was considered generally in the report of the presiding elder of the Methodist Santa Fe district. He complained of lack of money for church sites, day schools, parsonages, and pastors' salaries.⁵⁹ Both the Methodists and the Presbyterians tried to encourage the church members to contribute more. The Synod of New Mexico

Table 10. Number of Methodist and Presbyterian Members of Hispanic Congregations, 1870–1930

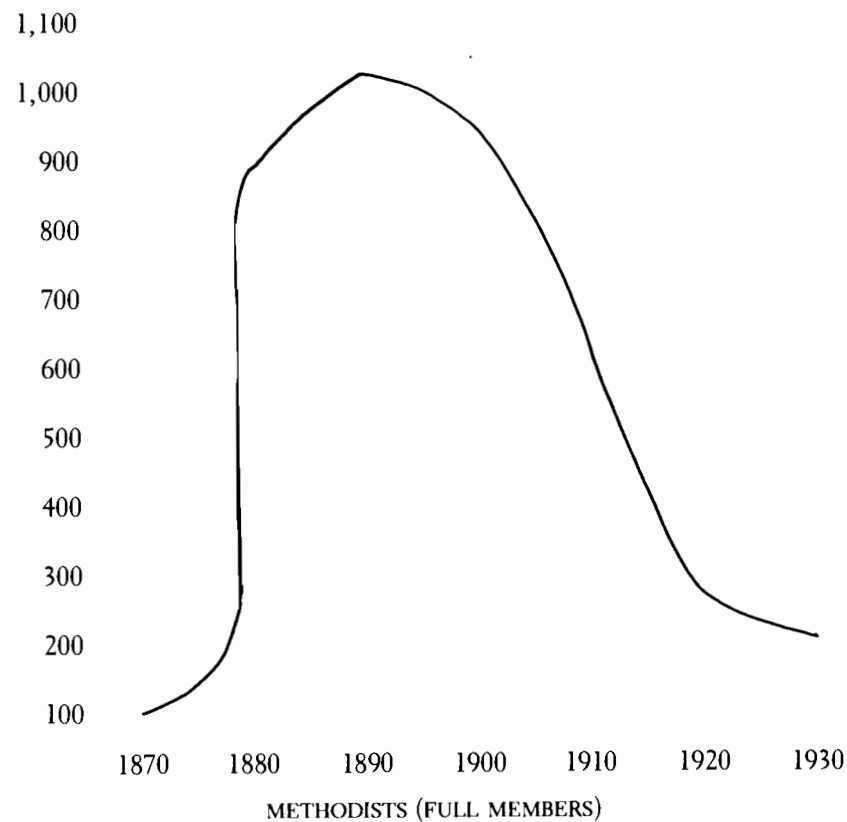
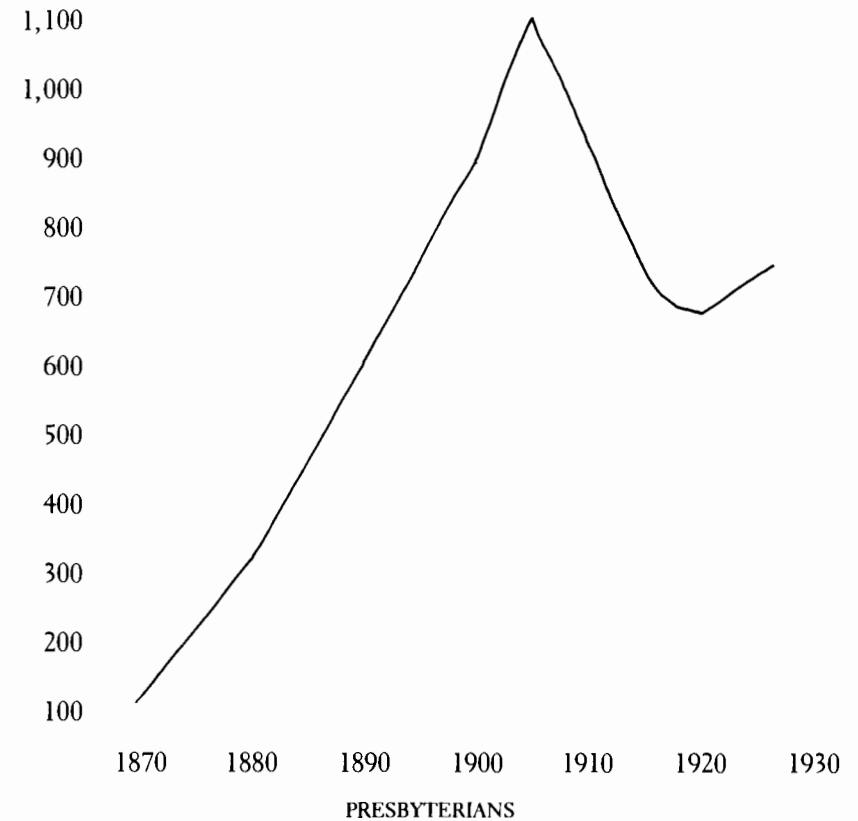


Table 10, continued



Sources: The Minutes of the New Mexico Spanish Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Minutes of the Synod of New Mexico, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., and the Minutes of the Presbytery of Santa Fe. The Presbyterians kept less complete records of numbers than the Methodists. After 1910 the table reflects only estimates of the Santa Fe Presbytery membership.

recommended sermons on tithing, and circulation of the denominational paper *Assembly Herald* to stimulate contributions to missions. The Synod recommended that “Christian means be taken by our ministers and evangelists to cultivate in our Mexican people the grace of benevolence . . . by receiving . . . “first fruits” or “offerings in

kind.”⁶⁰ It also recommended that the Home Mission Board be informed which churches did not contribute. The work of the Congregational Home Missionary Society was likewise generally curtailed in the 1890s, shown in part by the thin volumes of *The Home Missionary* put out in those years.

By 1910, the financial problems of the Methodists were serious.

The cut of \$4,200 has been terrible, but God is my witness I fought it, and shall, so far as I may. . . . We all resent the taking of what is equivalent to 10 or 12 good workers from among our poor, pastorless people exposed to ravenous wolves.⁶¹

On the other hand, the Presbyterian financial situation appeared to have stabilized. In the Synod minutes for 1909, there was a complaint that the Mission Board was saving funds at the expense of the mission, and that the Board rather than the Synod retained control of the money. However there is no indication that the work was reduced.⁶² The same year the Synod rejected a proposal to form a separate Mexican Synod in Colorado and New Mexico.⁶³ That the Hispanic Presbyterian church remained with the Anglo churches in one synod helps to account for the stable financial state of the work.

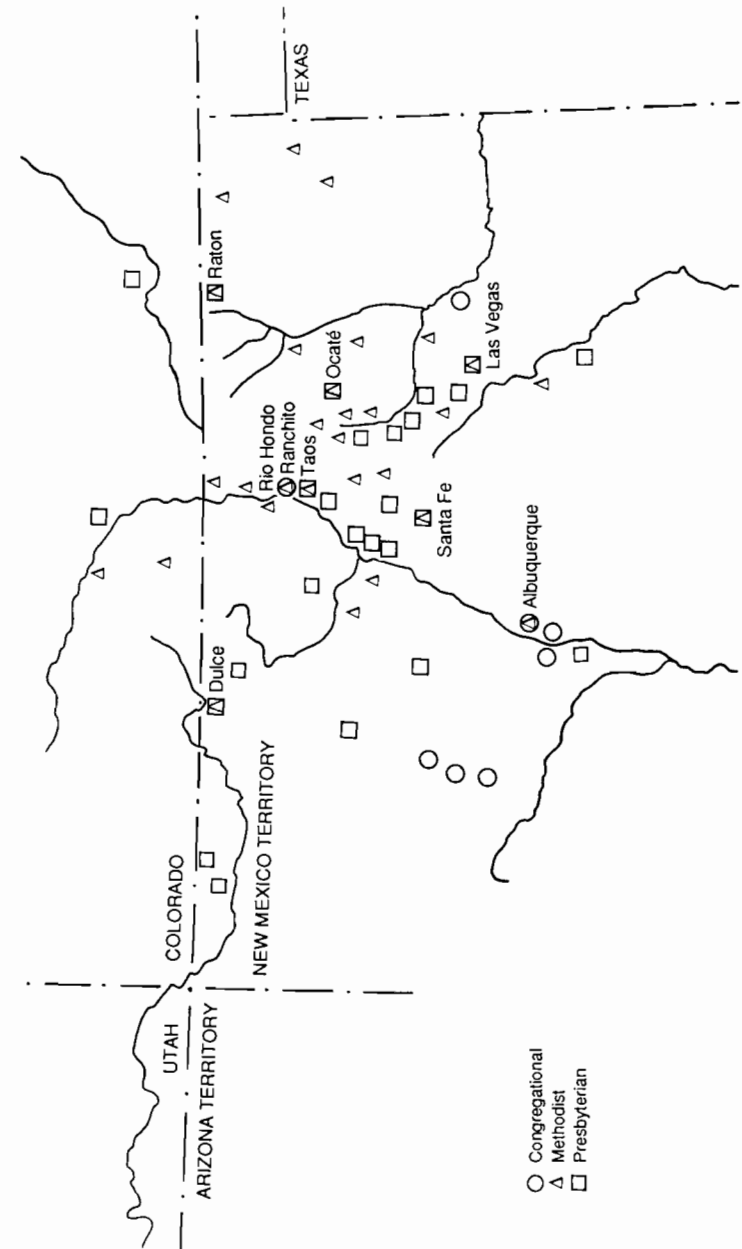
Frequently in this period, as illustrated in Map 4, there were two Protestant churches in a town. Except for Taos, Santa Fe, Las Vegas, and Albuquerque, these were villages of less than a thousand people, mostly Roman Catholic. Since it was likely that only about five percent of the population would be Protestant, that meant less than fifty people for a Protestant church in most cases. It proved impossible to sustain two Protestant churches in such places. Either they both died or one left the field to the other.

The field around Taos was crowded enough in 1887 for the Presbyterians to complain of Methodist “aggressiveness.”

The Methodists are rather aggressive in their zeal to make proselytes from our church to theirs; several have become members since I arrived or shortly before. . . . One who has no special qualifications has been offered work as an evangelist, with a salary after a time. We are doing what we can and endeavor to work in harmony with our brethren of the Methodist church. There is room for us all and work for all who will do it in love and for Jesus sake.⁶⁴

In 1890 the Presbyterians responded to a Methodist paper on denominational courtesy and comity by making some specific proposals.

In reply to the paper on Denominational Courtesy from the Spanish Mission of the Methodist-Episcopal Church in New Mexico Resolved:—That the Presbytery of Santa Fe reciprocate the Christian Courtesy and fraternal feeling expressed by these resolutions and expresses the earnest desire that comity and courtesy which should always



Map 4 Hispanic Protestant Congregations 1900

" "	largest Congregation	40
" "	average congregation	22
" "	average attendance at Sunday-school	20
" "	hopeful conversions	4

Collected this quarter for the A. H. M. S., to be deducted from your next draft. _____

Now due from A. H. M. S. after making the above deductions
\$125.00

Amount of salary received from your field this quarter
_____.

What new openings for preaching? Good⁷⁰

In the Methodist Spanish Mission Conference, Hispanic pastors served as presiding elders, and in the Presbyterian Synod, some served as moderators. There was considerable doubt among the Anglo-Americans about the abilities of the Hispanic ministers. Gabino Rendón, who served as moderator of the Presbyterian Synod in 1903 and who was presbyterial missionary⁷¹ of the Santa Fe Presbytery from 1913–1924, related a personal experience with this doubt. For some years he served on a committee that helped arrange comity agreements with the Methodists, along with the attendant transfers of church property and organization. Rendón remembers working out the transfer of the Raton church from the Methodists to the Presbyterians.

Such a committee was never called together, but it seems at least, two of the members acted independently. I was one of them. . . . after resting from his all night ride, [Dr. Bassett, the Methodist] met with his *sinodicos* [trustees] and they turned over to us the church building and all the furniture. I had the deed made to the trustees of the Santa Fe Presbytery. I had the deed recorded, insured the property and turned the papers to the Rev. Rodrick C. Jackson who was chairman of the trustees. . . . (For Miss Agnew only. It was said the other members of the committee were appointed as "Mr. Rendon would not know how to do." Mr. Maguis was Synodical Missionary. He stopped to see Mr. Jackson to tell him that another member of the committee had gone to Raton and that the transfer couldn't be done. Mr Jackson pulled the papers from a pigeonhole of his and told him, "Rendón did it," the one supposed not to know how).⁷²

The Methodists felt they were taking some risk in ordaining Hispanic

elders. Thomas Harwood in his report for 1869 referred to it as an "experiment."⁷³

Toward the end of this period both the Methodists and Presbyterians had difficulty recruiting Hispanic pastors. The Presbyterians had neglected their local summer training schools, and the people who wished to study for the ministry could not afford to go elsewhere.⁷⁴ Brackenridge notes that the Santa Fe Presbytery never relaxed the requirements for ordination as the Texas presbyteries did. This helped to put the Hispanic pastors, once they were ordained, on the same level with the Anglo-American pastors, but made it more difficult for them to obtain the necessary education to do the work. By 1920 the Hispanic and Anglo Presbyterian pastors received the same salaries, about \$1,000 per year. But the lack of means to acquire the necessary education limited the number of New Mexicans who were qualified.⁷⁵

The Methodists had an adequate method of training their pastors, but the churches could not pay them what they expected or even needed. In 1914 the Methodist Hispanic pastors received only \$400 to \$500 per year in comparison to the Presbyterians who received \$700 to \$800 per year.⁷⁶ The Methodists reported most pastors chose to locate where they could buy a farm or make another living on the side.⁷⁷ This made them unavailable for itinerant conference appointment, and they ceased to belong to the Methodist conference and to enjoy the privileges of the conference member, although some continued to serve a church as a local or lay pastor. For comparison, it should be noted that the Roman Catholics in this period had resident priests in twenty-two of the fifty-four places the Protestants had churches. The others were served as mission stations by priests from neighboring villages. In 1909 only one priest, a Franciscan in Roswell, had a Hispanic name.⁷⁸

• • •

The period from 1910 to 1920 marks a distinct decline in the activity of the Protestant groups we have been following. Financial, cultural, and policy matters proved difficult to overcome, the Catholic Church strengthened its presence in the community, and the general economy of the area deteriorated, sending many of the people to the cities or to distant agricultural or mining areas for work.

Statehood, achieved in 1912, made little difference in the daily life of the people in northern New Mexico. The basic economy did not change, although federal irrigation projects and water and soil con-

ervation legislation did continue to affect the kinds of grazing and agriculture possible in various villages. As Anglo business moved into the area—mining, ranching, railroading, and merchandizing—the economy changed rapidly from a traditional barter system to a cash system. The village people were no longer in control of their own destiny in this economy, and many were subsumed into migratory wage labor and hampered by the necessity of living on credit when labor was seasonal.

The public school system expanded, but by 1920 there were still not enough secondary schools for many children to go beyond the eighth grade. In 1920 the Presbyterians maintained schools at Albuquerque (Menaul School); Chacón; Chimayó; Dixon, Rancho de Taos; San Juan, Colorado; Santa Fe; Taos; and Truchas, most of which remained open until after World War II. The United Brethren in Christ had a large high school at Santa Cruz (McCurdy School) still open today, and elementary schools at Velarde and Alcalde. The Congregationalists closed all their schools in 1926. The Methodist Harwood Girl's School in Albuquerque remained open into the 1970s. Except for the United Brethren in the Española valley area, and a handful of Presbyterian schools that were open until the 1970s, the Protestants were mostly out of the educational affairs of the area by 1920. Marta Weigle points out that most of the high school students in the area around Santa Cruz attended the McCurdy School in the period around 1920.⁷⁹ Of the fifty-two young people from Chimayó attending high school in 1935, thirty-three went to Presbyterian schools in Santa Fe and Albuquerque. And of the five high school graduates in Truchas, four graduated from Menaul School, which is still in existence.⁸⁰ In addition, most of the public school teachers in the plazas were graduates of the mission schools.⁸¹

The Presbyterians opened a medical mission in Embudo in 1912. The mission teachers had served as nurses of a sort in the villages, but their skills were limited. Responding to the needs around them, they gave care to the best of their ability and petitioned the church for assistance. All the mission teachers reported surprise at the amount of time nursing took from their schedules. They taught sanitation methods and introduced dietary changes to prevent the spread of disease and to try to reduce infant mortality. The teachers and later nurses and female physicians had access to the women of the community that male doctors did not have, but the teachers alone were unable to

cope with serious medical emergencies. The traditional village reliance on the *curandera* was also of limited help in more serious cases.

In 1913 Mary MacKenzie, a trained nurse, arrived in Embudo from Shiprock on the Navajo reservation.

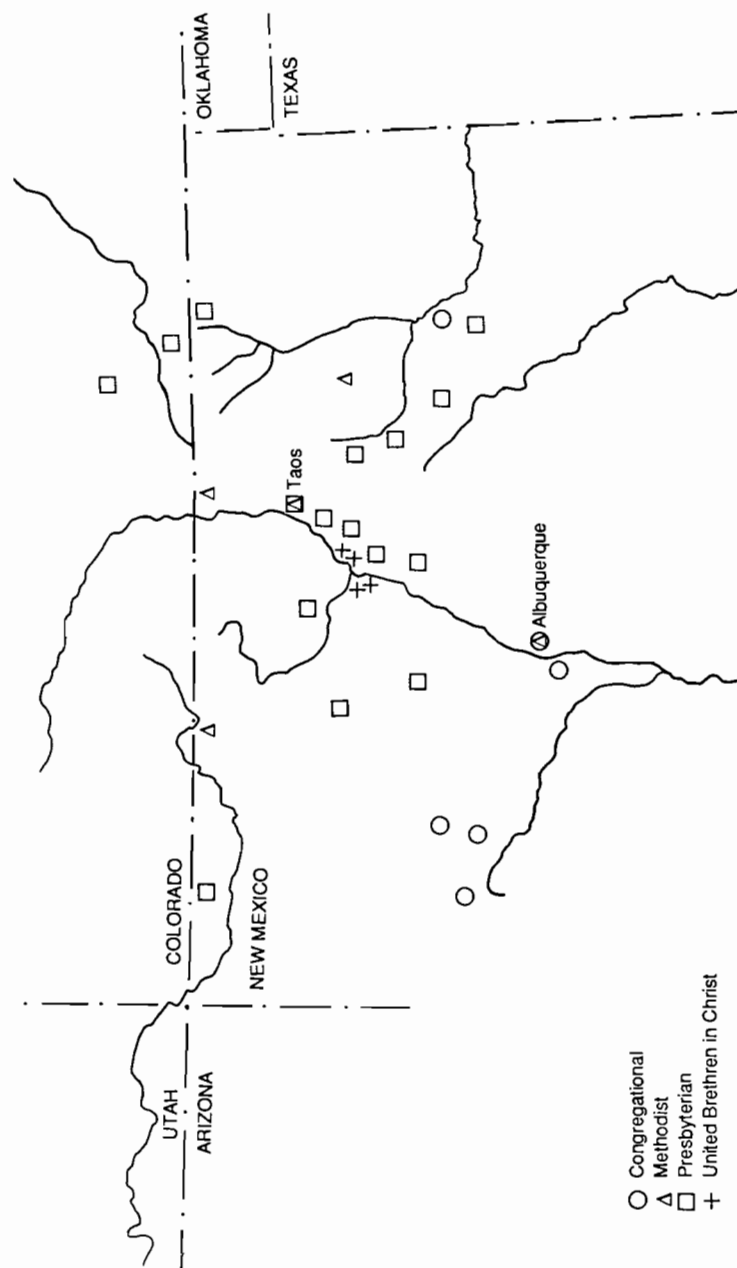
She owned a lively Indian pony, and since her new work would require the use of a horse, she decided to bring it with her. There was no practical way to ship it, and besides the pony would not let anyone mount him except his mistress, and so she covered the three hundred miles on horseback.⁸²

Dr. Horace Taylor, from the Presbyterian Hospital in Puerto Rico arrived the same year and established the Rincones Medical Center in Peñasco. When the New Mexico Board of Health required the vaccination of school children in 1919, Taylor's clinic provided the service for 1,500 children. In 1916 there was an epidemic of diphtheria or scarlet fever in Truchas, and the mission teachers, unable to help the children and adults who were ill, appealed for medical help for the Rincones mission. Mary Yates, a registered nurse, joined them in 1917. Still there was difficulty with the village people accepting a male doctor, especially to attend women in childbirth. Dr. Sarah Bowen came to Brooklyn Cottage Hospital in Dixon, near Embudo, in 1932, and served neighboring towns such as Truchas.⁸³ The Embudo hospital is still open.

As in the teaching profession in the nineteenth century, the nursing profession opened its doors to women. Following Florence Nightingale's studies of hospital sanitation during the Crimean war, nurses were trained more systematically and carefully in the areas of sanitation and exercise and diet in the prevention and treatment of disease. The West was an open field for nurses. Women also entered the medical profession in increasing numbers. The Women's Medical School in Philadelphia was opened in the later part of the nineteenth century. Many women physicians moved west where the need for medical care overrode the concern of patients about the gender of their doctor.

Map 5 shows the diminished extent of the Protestant congregations in this latest period. Only Taos and Albuquerque have more than one Protestant church from the denominations we have considered. However, as Table 9 indicates, the actual number of Protestants in these counties had increased somewhat. Increased Anglo immigration accounts for some of this increase.

Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational sources also report the



Map 5 Hispanic Protestant Congregations 1920

activities of Seventh Day Adventists and a group of Pentecostal congregations in the area. As the twentieth century wore on, the Mormons, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Pentecostal churches such as the Assembly of God, became a stronger presence in the communities. The Roman Catholics as well as the mainline Protestants increasingly reported them as competition. The more enthusiastic worship style of these churches, and their emphasis on personal support and evangelism at a time when the older Protestant churches turned increasingly to social service missions, gave them a strong basis for growth in the Hispanic communities in the 1920s and 1930s.

Mormonism probably appealed to the Hispanic population of New Mexico for many of the same reasons Protestantism did. In addition, the Mormons' sense of community would make sense to the communal villagers.⁸⁴ The organizational structure of the Mormon missions helped them achieve large growth rates among many different people, the New Mexicans were no exception. The Pentecostal churches also had wide success beginning early in the twentieth century. Their appeal was to those who were on the margins of American society, with little or no control of their destinies, personal or social. The Pentecostal churches provided a simple religious structure in which the participation of everyone was welcome and encouraged. The Pentecostal religious experience was direct and undeniable. It needed no interpretation. In the same way that the revival, with its attendant emotional and uninhibited behavior, served the dispossessed of the American frontier, the Pentecostal churches served the dispossessed in the urban and rural areas where change was fast and largely uncontrolled.⁸⁵ Carol Jensen, in her essay "Deserts, Diversity and Self-Determination: A History of the Catholic Parish in the Intermountain West" suggests that institutional neglect of the Roman Catholic Church in New Mexico, which in the 1890s allowed such success for the Protestants, was a factor in the appeal of Pentecostalism to the same people.⁸⁶ A similar institutional neglect, along with the emphasis on entering mainstream American life, set the stage for Pentecostal inroads into the mainline Protestant population as well.

. . .

In 1915 the Methodist Spanish Mission Conference merged with the Anglo-American conference to become a district of the New Mexico Conference. For several years the work declined, but slowly. Most of the Hispanic pastors listed in 1920 were retired on a pension. In 1928

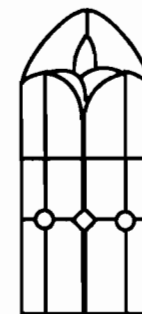
the conference was again on mission status, and none of the former Hispanic churches or pastors was listed in the Minutes. The Southern Methodist Church's mission in the lower Rio Grande valley absorbed some of the pastors.⁸⁷ Others moved to work in Kansas, Arizona, or California. The Presbyterians, by comity agreement with the Methodists, left the southern part of the state alone, and gradually took over the work in the Sangre de Cristo area. In a 1935 study of Hispanic villages in northern New Mexico, the Methodists are not mentioned as an influential force in the area, though there was a Hispanic Methodist church in Wagon Mound. Many of the Hispanic Methodists joined Anglo congregations or became Presbyterian.

The Congregational Home Missionary Society reported at least seven Spanish missions in New Mexico every year from 1900 to 1923.⁸⁸ However, the names are not always given. They center in Valencia County and near Albuquerque. In 1916 the Congregational Home Missionary Society reported three Hispanic churches. J. M. Moya and Benedicto Sandoval are mentioned several times in the reports as pastors in these places. After 1900 the Congregational work continued but with no expansion. The United Brethren in Christ maintained their small cluster of missions around Española with at least one Hispanic pastor. But they did not expand either.

The Presbyterians closed most of their schools before 1920 and considerably reduced the number of Hispanic congregations. Gabino Rendón does not discuss the Hispanic Presbyterian work in New Mexico after 1912 in his autobiography. Edith Agnew and Ruth Barber in their history *Sowers Went Forth* list the closing of many schools and churches, but they do not discuss the details.⁸⁹ The Presbyterian work continued and many aspects of the mission were expanded, especially medical and community service work. The Presbyterians were the only group of those considered in this study which could be said to have made progress in the 1920s.

Since the Protestant churches themselves failed to explain, or even document the decline of their New Mexican work into the 1920s, some reasonable speculation will be necessary. In order to draw any conclusions about the Protestant activity and its impact on the northern New Mexican communities, it will be necessary first to look at the cultural and economic environment in which the Protestant mission unfolded. The next chapter treats these environmental factors.

CHAPTER FOUR



AMERICANIZATION AND CATHOLIC REACTION

Several aspects of the culture and environment in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries affected Protestant activity there. Continued geographical and therefore cultural isolation meant that the Anglo-American Protestants continued to be an alien presence longer than in southern and eastern New Mexico. As the Anglo-American population in the area increased, the cultural differences between them and the indigenous New Mexican people became more marked. The increasingly colder reception given Anglo-Americans extended to Protestant missionaries. Previously existing factions in the New Mexican villages often became more evident as people joined the Protestant churches because of unhappiness with the priest or dissatisfactions with the local parish or community affairs. The

Roman Catholic revival,¹ begun under Archbishop Lamy, and continued under his successors Salpointe, Chapelle, Bourgade, and Pitaval, remedied the neglected state of religious life in New Mexico that made initial Protestant success possible. Much of the Protestant work thrived because of the mission schools. The public school debate in New Mexico between Roman Catholics and Protestant advocates of nonsectarian schools lasted for at least four decades. The Protestant decision to close their schools when the public schools were deemed adequate or when mission funds were reduced contributed to a decrease in Protestant church membership.

• • •

Human inhabitants of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado have always been isolated from other population centers. Santa Fe, a thousand miles from St. Louis or Durango, was isolated by more than thirty days of difficult travel from other extensive European settlements when the Anglo-Americans occupied the area. Thirty years later the stage lines and railroads had shortened the travel time to a week, but main transportation lines, railroads and highways, bypassed Santa Fe and the area to the north. This left government business the main support of the economy of Santa Fe, commerce being out of the question. Santa Fe was separated from the main line of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad by the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. The Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad operated a train between Santa Fe and Alamosa, Colorado, from 1887 to 1967. This train, affectionately known as the "Chili Line," kept the towns along the Rio Grande in touch.² The mountain towns of Chimayó, Chacón, Truchas, Cordova, Llano, and Martínez were two or three days' travel from significant trading centers before the automobile became common in the 1920s.

The largest number of Anglo-American immigrants to New Mexico settled along the transportation corridors, the railroad lines, and in the ranching and dry farming country of the eastern plains. Many Anglos ended up in Albuquerque.³ In these places Anglo-American culture became dominant, including the Protestant form of religion.⁴ Anglo-Americans settled more rarely in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, the Mt. Taylor foothills, and in the northern Rio Grande valley in Colorado. The few individuals of Anglo culture in these areas were not enough to make drastic changes in language, belief systems, or family and community patterns, although economic and political changes

were introduced. Since the Hispanic culture was Roman Catholic, the Anglo-Protestants remained alien even when they spoke Spanish.

It was difficult for the Protestant missionaries to convey an idea of Anglo culture to the New Mexican people because they themselves were isolated from it. This isolation from their own culture helped to distort the missionaries' perceptions of the New Mexicans. It may be that the view of the New Mexicans as prejudiced or lacking in ambition stemmed more from what the Anglo-Americans missed from their own culture than from characteristics of the New Mexicans. The Anglo-American missionaries, often the only representatives of Anglo culture in a village, saw themselves as examples. They wished to live so as to provide lessons of proper Anglo-American family life, home economics, and standard of living. This Presbyterian requirement for the Protestant pastor's living illustrates the experience of the missionaries in Hispanic communities:

It is our opinion that there should be provided a parsonage which would be so constructed and arranged as to furnish comfortable living quarters with modern conveniences for the preacher and his family. In its arrangement and construction there should be kept in mind the possibility of its forming a visible, tangible demonstration to the families in the community as to what is possible in the way of home conveniences under their existing local condition.⁵

However admirable it might have been to try to raise the standard of living in New Mexico, the cultural isolation the missionaries imposed on themselves by seeing themselves as examples of a better life impeded their efforts. Not many of the people could afford "modern conveniences." And as has been seen, the New Mexicans regarded poverty as one of the virtues of a Christian minister. Other attitudes of Anglo-Americans toward the New Mexicans and the New Mexicans toward the Anglos had their effect on Protestant work. The missionaries challenged the villagers to change their child-rearing practices, their gardening techniques, and their home medical care.

Intercultural perceptions were powerful factors affecting the course of the Protestant missions. Robert Rosenbaum, in his study of Hispanic resistance to Anglo control in New Mexico, points out the "unshakable ethnocentrism" of the Anglo-Americans.⁶ The Anglos regarded both their religion and their culture as superior, and assumed that others who truly understood the Anglo culture would agree and desire it for themselves. Anglo-Americans viewed their culture as an accomplish-

ment and believed others could accomplish the same. Because of their strong ethnocentrism, Anglo-Americans typically regarded those who did not strive to acquire Anglo-American culture as lazy, ignorant, or lacking intelligence.

The missionaries were as concerned about the culture of the Hispanic New Mexicans as about their souls. Partly the concern was for the benefit of the New Mexicans; partly it was for the benefit of Americans in general. The Anglo-Americans believed the New Mexican could have better health, better economic conditions, and better political structures by adopting Anglo-American ways. American culture would benefit from voters fully in accord with its ideals, and an economy that enriched the whole nation. The home missionaries believed the improvement of American culture would be a significant by-product of their religious work.

Because Anglo-American missionaries were so unshakable in their ethnocentrism, they believed they could accomplish the Americanization of New Mexico by education rather than force.⁷ Once people knew about American ways, they would embrace them by choice. For this reason the missionaries tried as much as possible to live as they would have as members of the middle class in an Anglo-American city. The fact that such a lifestyle was impossible given the resource base in the villages did not occur to them, and the difference kept them isolated from the people they sought to serve. The missionaries also labored against an unconscious barrier, their need to remain the teacher, expert, and example, the one in control. Thus they did not really want the people to learn enough to be able to do without the missionary.

Similarly the Anglos believed strongly in the truth and superiority of the Protestant faith: once people had knowledge of its foundations, they would understand its superiority and adopt its doctrine and practice. The missionaries did not notice, and therefore could not respect, the ties between faith and community life in the villages.

The New Mexicans had quite a different reaction to the Anglos. Several Anglo-Americans noted the suspicion they felt in encounters with New Mexicans who had enough contact with Anglos to know a little English.⁸ The New Mexicans viewed the Americans as brash, arrogant, and greedy, cheating them out of land and political power. The Anglos did not value the Hispanic language and culture or the Roman Catholic Faith. As has been seen, the very professions respected by the Anglo-Americans, merchant, lawyer, banker, politician, and

even doctor, if one wished to make money from the skill, were not respected by the New Mexican *con vergüenza*. Education in itself had been of little use in New Mexican culture, but it was necessary to Anglo-American standards of success in the late nineteenth century. The Hispanic New Mexicans who had an education were those most likely to adopt Anglo-American ways and to become Protestant. They were also more likely not to remain in the villages because the economic opportunities were in the cities.

The Anglo-Americans who learned Spanish did not become part of the New Mexican culture as they had before the area became United States territory. They learned Spanish in order to trade more effectively, in order to teach English, to offer medical care, or in order to preach. Not even Thomas Harwood, who spoke Spanish as well as any, made an attempt to live according to New Mexican customs in a largely Hispanic place. The northern village New Mexican often perceived a choice between remaining in the Hispanic culture or adopting that of the Anglo-Americans. Those who chose the Hispanic village culture rarely became Protestant.⁹ The most important effect of the Anglo-American failure to value the Hispanic culture is suggested by E. C. Orozco when he claims that it is impossible for a Mexican-American person to become American without becoming *de-Mexicanized*. Racially that cannot be done, so he sees the invitation to become American as false. Few of the missionaries would have agreed to this notion; however, the practical consequences of their self-imposed isolation from village culture seems to bear out Orozco's theory.

The religious issue was critical, inasmuch as the "Mexicans'" amalgam of religion and culture was essentially the primary cause for the group's exclusion from collective participation in any degree or form as American. Moreover, the general racial distinctiveness of the "Mexicans" because of their Indian "blood" connection further justified, among the new rulers, the group's low social status and position. Mexicans could never be considered American primarily because they were non-white and biologically related to the natural enemies of white men—the *Indians*.¹⁰

The culture of America was synonymous with the culture of white people.

If one had to become Americanized in order to be comfortable in a Protestant community, then it is not surprising that there were few Spanish-speaking Protestant churches. Most Hispanic Protestants would

eventually become part of English-speaking churches. Gabino Rendón recalled his father's response to his becoming Protestant.

"I have known for a long time," he said, "that the Protestants are right. Yet I don't want you to be one. You are sure to be hated. I saw what happened to Don Ynez Perea. He suffered insults by the dozen. Small wonder he has gone to work elsewhere. I know what happened to Rafael Gallegos. His eagerness to preach is not the only reason he left Las Vegas.

Now you will be *aborrecido* (despised) because you are a Protestant, and I will be despised because I am the father of a Protestant. I tell you, I don't want that to happen."

. . . My father was right about my being despised for becoming a Protestant. Men friends and girl friends alike began to ignore me. Even Father Fede, my former teacher, refused to speak to me when I met him once in a doctor's office. That hurt me, but I was fond of him just the same.¹¹

Rendón notes that *protestantes* were ostracized, even disowned by their families. Rendón also experienced the Anglo suspicion of his abilities due to his race. Though he was a Protestant he would never be admitted fully into the Anglo culture. This has kept the Protestant churches separated by language and race to this day, even within denominations in the same communities.

Factions already present in the New Mexican communities when the Protestant missionaries arrived had their effect on the Protestant work. Robert Berkhofer, a student of Christian missions to American Indians, noted that conversions to Christianity in a given tribe follow lines of division already present in the tribe. Over time a new community will be formed that separates the pagan from the Christian parts of the tribe.¹² This process best explains the presence of Presbyterians in the Taos area. In the 1850s and 1860s a controversy developed between Padre José Antonio Martínez and Bishop Lamy over certain of Lamy's new policies. A schism occurred when Martínez continued to function as the parish priest in Taos after another had been appointed. Defouri notes that the schism was healed during a Jesuit mission in 1869. Several of Martínez's party, however, became Presbyterians.

Those few individuals who failed to come under their [the Jesuits'] spell became the foundation for Spanish speaking Presbyterianism in New Mexico, not from any grasp of Calvin's abstruse theories of predesti-

nation as from seeing one way of carrying on a bitter partisanship which had become deeply ingrained.¹³

Vicente Romero, one of Martínez's followers, was already referred to as a protestante¹⁴ before he became a member of the Taos Presbyterian church. Many of the people converted to Protestantism in Taos were described as unhappy with the Catholic church for one reason or another. Vicente Romero, a leader of the schism, continued as a leader in the newly founded Protestant church.

The Roman Catholic revival in the last part of the nineteenth century, illustrated by the Jesuit mission to Taos, conceived both to strengthen the spiritual life of the people and to counteract the work of the Protestant missionaries, provided a strong challenge to the Protestant churches in northern New Mexico. It was not the conversion of dissenters such as Vicente Romero which concerned the Roman Catholics the most; it was the conversion of otherwise good Catholics who were neglected by the church. The first three archbishops, Lamy, Salpointe, and Chapelle, each concerned himself with this problem in pastoral letters.

In his first pastoral letter as bishop in 1854, Lamy addressed the general morality of the people, the need for candidates for the ministry and the means to educate them, and the need for schools to provide all the children with an education in both religious and human sciences.¹⁵ It is evident in this pastoral letter that the Protestants have already been at work, for he writes this:

We should not pass up this opportunity to advise you with respect to a version of the Holy Bible and the New Testament in the Castilian language which has circulated in this Territory for the last few years. Not only does this version not conform to the Catholic version, approved by the Church, but is also false in many verses and in many editions lacks entire books of the Scripture. You should not seek after nor receive any version of the Scripture without knowing beforehand if it is the true one, approved by our church; and no family should keep one in their house without having first shown it to their priest to be sure it is authentic.¹⁶

In 1854 there were only a handful of Protestants in the territory, and distributing tracts and Bibles constituted the majority of their mission work among the New Mexicans. Some years later, in his pastoral letter for 1880, Lamy noted the increasing number of immigrants coming

into the territory with the railroads. "Some of them have the same faith as we; but many others either profess no religion, or belong to one or another branch of that which is falsely called the *Reform*."¹⁷

In 1888 Archbishop Juan B. Salpointe devoted an entire Lenten Pastoral letter to the question of recognizing the true church. Many in the diocese were, "without openly leaving the faith, taking up more or less open relationship with sectarian ministers and enemies of the religion of Jesus Christ."¹⁸ He went on to say that Protestantism cannot be the true church because it is not uniform in doctrine, discipline, or government. Protestants believe that all religions are acceptable to God. He pointed out the danger of the Protestant use of ministers of the same nationality and language as the New Mexicans, and he warned parents not to send their children to Protestant schools or have their children baptized by the Protestants. He warned those who hear Protestant sermons that not all those who preach, preach the correct gospel. "To be true children of the Church it is not enough to have faith, but it is also necessary to conform one's works to the faith, complying with everything ordered by the Church."¹⁹

Another, perhaps more pertinent, critique of American Protestantism is found in the pastoral letter issued by Archbishop Placido Luis Chapelle in 1897.

It has especially of late years become the fashion with prominent representatives of protestant sects to proclaim that christianity is not a doctrinal, but simply an emotional system of religion, which makes for justice, brotherly love, self-respect, and civilization.²⁰

The most organized anti-Protestant effort on the part of the Roman Catholic Church in New Mexico was begun in the 1870s by the Jesuits. They made use of schools, a newspaper, and preaching missions. Benjamin Read attributes these elements of Jesuit work to a plan.

From their first arrival in New Mexico, the Fathers felt that Almighty God brought them here for a great purpose. They were to help the clergy firstly in defending and maintaining the Catholic faith of the Mexican people and secondly in opposing Protestant fanaticism and bigotry, which aboard the railway system already in construction was fast coming to this land of primitive religious simplicity. They accordingly adopted a military-like plan, defensive and offensive, decided to start a weekly newspaper, to refute errors and calumnies; a college to educate the rising generation, and a series of missions to instruct and warn the mass of the people.²¹

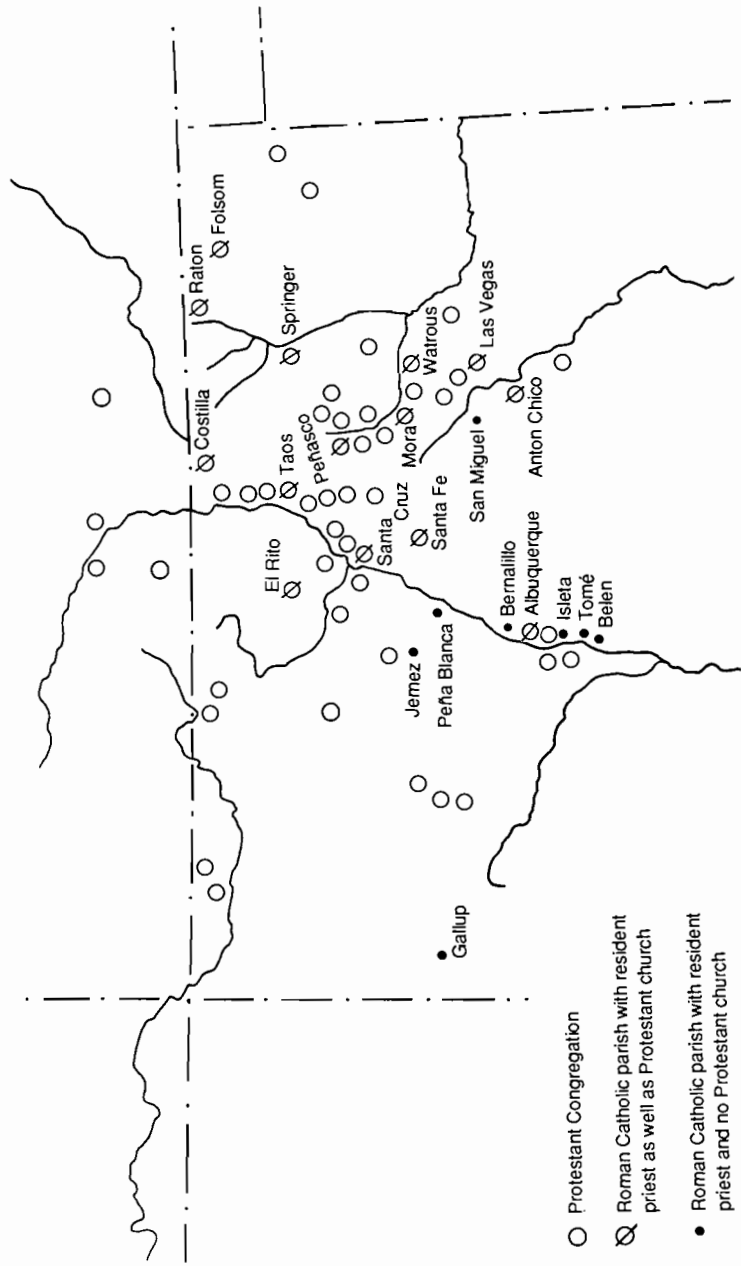
The goal of preserving the Catholic faith in New Mexico may or may not have been motivated entirely by Protestant mission activity. The Protestants made converts more easily in places neglected by the Catholics. Alfredo Jiménez Nuñez, a modern student of the area, suggested that the Protestants first established schools in places the priests visited only occasionally, and that problems of communication between French priests and the New Mexicans contributed to the conversion of some families to Protestantism.²²

Communities, called *visitas*, visited only occasionally by a priest, would have been places where Protestants met less resistance. Benjamin Read provides a list of thirty-nine parishes with resident priests in 1912. Map 6 shows those in northern New Mexico. Over half of them had Protestant churches at the time. Each of these parishes had several *visitas*. The map also shows thirty-six communities having a Protestant church and no resident priest.²³ Though not absolutely certain of keeping the Protestants out, a resident priest seemed to have helped. The Protestants likewise were unable to supply every church with its own minister, and this affected their success in the same way.

The Catholic revivals, or parish missions, were the most important tool used by Lamy and the Jesuits in strengthening the parishes against the Protestant encroachments. Like Protestant revivals, these missions were held periodically in each town or church and consisted of intense preaching, receiving the sacraments of penance and the eucharist, and the opportunity to set one's relationship with God in order. Modeled after Ignatius Loyola's "Spiritual Exercises," the Jesuit parish missions focused first on the fear of an angry God, emphasized the individual's responsibility to change, and ended with awakening hope in God's mercy and rekindling the individual's love for God and the Church.²⁴ The Jesuit missions were effective in regenerating the enthusiasm of the parish and mitigated to some extent the general experience of pastoral neglect.

The controversy about public schools illustrates further elements of the encounter between Protestants and Catholics in New Mexico that affected the Protestant missions. In the Territorial Period there was a lively debate concerning religion, culture, and the public schools. The questions were similarly discussed in Colorado. As seen by the Protestant missionaries, it was a question of choosing between Catholic and nonsectarian schools. To the Catholics it was a question of having Catholic (religious) or nonreligious schools.

The schools in Mexican New Mexico were designed either for the



Map 6 Hispanic Protestant and Catholic Congregations 1900

children of the wealthy or for young men preparing for the priesthood.²⁵ Each priest was expected to give the children in his parish a basic religious education. But there was little need for formal education before the incursion of Anglo-Americans into the area. Bishop Lamy was quick to see the need for education and very soon established several schools. These were operated by the Christian Brothers, the Jesuits, and Sisters of Loretto. The Roman Catholic schools in the United States had three basic objectives: training students to be moral persons, providing unity and focus to the studies through religion, and educating students in a religious atmosphere.²⁶ The curriculum of the Ursuline schools in the 1860s consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic, catechism, and industrial training, with ample time for prayers and preparation for the sacraments.²⁷ Other orders followed similar patterns.

In New Mexico the Catholics wished to educate their children in a religiously acceptable way. Since they were in the majority, they saw no reason not to influence the public schools they supported with taxes. Lamy in his pastoral letter for Lent of 1884, reiterated the Catholic position that education founded on sound religious principles was essential, and that parents had a right to educate their children according to their own religion.²⁸ The Catholics were firmly opposed to spending their tax money for nonreligious public schools in which Catholic members of religious orders were not allowed to teach.²⁹ Both the Colorado and New Mexico public school laws affirmed a principle of nonsectarian education and barred Catholic priests or members of orders from teaching in them. However, in New Mexico, priests were elected to county school commissions, and Catholic people, lay and clergy, often taught in the public schools in Hispanic areas.

The Protestants supported the idea of nonsectarian public schools, which still taught what they considered to be universal religious principles such as the obligation to worship God and to do good. They could not understand why the Catholics would insist on specific Catholic principles. John Dewey expressed the thinking of turn-of-the-century Anglo-Americans on the question of religion in public schools. He said that religion served the purpose of social unification, but special creeds or institutions were divisive elements in society.³⁰ The state could not afford to connect itself with the specific teachings of any one group.

The Catholics were not mistaken when they thought the public schools were Protestant or atheist and certainly not Catholic. In the

Minutes of the New Mexico Spanish Mission for 1892, the committee on education reported their appreciation for the public school law passed in 1891. The Methodists believed the law contained the elements they supported and affirmed that it was by Protestant efforts that the law would be defended against Catholic attacks.³¹ The committee also recommended not establishing mission schools where there were public ones.

As Michaelsen pointed out, a generalized piety was cultivated in the public schools. Dewey felt it was necessary to American society's cohesion. But any specific form of piety was disallowed by the Constitution of the United States. The Protestants saw no difficulty here. In fact there was a growing ecumenical spirit in the early twentieth century among Protestant churches, and they saw the generalized Protestant faith and practice as the same as Dewey's idea of piety. The Catholics, however, were dismayed by the approach to religion in schools that reduced religious beliefs and ideals to the least common denominator. As Salpointe complained, the Protestants seemed to believe God approved all religions.

The outcome of the struggle in New Mexico and Colorado was similar to the outcome in other largely Catholic areas. The public schools were declared nonsectarian and the Protestants were happy. The Catholics built up and maintained an extensive parochial school system and continued to try to find a way to use the tax money they contributed to public schools for the education of their own children, but to no avail. However, in most Hispanic villages in New Mexico, the teachers were from the same communities in which they taught and were Roman Catholic. Both Marta Weigle, in her study of the Hispanic villages, and the Presbyterian study of the Chacón community indicated this. However, the complaint was not that the native teachers taught Roman Catholicism, but that they failed to teach English.

The Protestant schools were a major factor in the success of their churches. The Presbyterians established only three congregations in northern New Mexico where they did not first or at the same time establish a school: Chama, Cordova, and Cuba.³² The Methodists also complained that when the Women's Home Missionary Society closed a school, the pastor no longer had as large a congregation.³³ And when two Protestant denominations opened churches in a place, the one with the school attracted members away from the other.

The lively Spanish religious press of territorial New Mexico provided

the fuel for much of this debate as well as inspiration for other conversations. The public school debate between Protestants and Catholics formed a large part of the content of various Spanish-language periodicals that began publication in the 1870s. They are among the most intriguing elements of the religious situation in nineteenth-century New Mexico. The Catholics were well represented by the Jesuit paper *La Revista Católica*. The Methodists published a paper under various names, *El Metodista*, *El Abogado Cristiano*, or *El Abogado Cristiano Neo Mexicano*, edited by Thomas Harwood. The Presbyterians published at least three different papers; *La Revista Evangélica*, edited by John Annin; *El Anciano* by J. J. Gilchrist; and *La Aurora* by Gabino Rendón. Even before the 1870s religious articles were published in the secular press, and lively debate between Catholics and Protestants took place in the letters-to-the-editor columns.

La Revista Católica was published on Saturdays from 1875 to 1918 in Las Vegas, New Mexico. In 1918 the paper was moved to El Paso and acquired a different character. The first editor of *Revista Católica* was Father Donato Gasparri, S.J., one of the Jesuits who came to New Mexico in 1867 as missionaries from the Province of Naples at the request of Archbishop Lamy. In the course of its first year a variety of articles appeared in *La Revista Católica*. Some reported news of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the world and local news of interest to Roman Catholics. Informative articles on points of doctrine or devotion were common. Others refuted the errors of Protestants and warned the readers about their practices. During the period 1875–1918, *Revista Católica* was the journalistic antagonist for a number of Protestant as well as secular papers. Benjamin Read, a Catholic historian, gave *Revista Católica* credit for preserving the Roman Catholic Faith in the territory.

The *Revista Católica* entered the arena in defense of Old Mother Church. It fought rigorously unmasking all errors and solving all difficulties against religion. If the people have not been robbed of their faith it is chiefly the influence of this weekly.³⁴

The Methodist newspaper, *El Abogado Cristiano* began publication in May 1880. Harwood remembered that the first issue contained stories of two church dedications. One was the church of La Gallina where the people "seem to have new faith, new spiritual power to which they were unknown in their former Roman Catholic dogma and doctrines."³⁵ Benito Garcia, one of the Hispanic pastors, sent

Harwood this response to the first issue of *El Abogado Cristiano*: "This paper is the key which will unlock the door into the Mexican work and lock the door to much opposition to our work."³⁶ The paper continued to be published until 1922 under several titles.³⁷ In 1886, the second year of *El Metodista*, it was announced that the paper would be published only in Spanish because English readers could obtain English material more cheaply from the East, whereas Spanish readers could not. The editor appears to have had difficulty finding time for publishing in both languages.³⁸ Emily Harwood did a substantial amount of writing, translating, and editing for the *Abogado Cristiano* until her death in 1902.³⁹

The masthead of the paper read "A Monthly in the Interests of Religion, Morality, Education and Temperance." *El Abogado Cristiano* printed local Methodist news, articles on Protestant or Methodist doctrine, sermons, articles for pastors, and articles pointing out Roman Catholic errors. The English part of the paper contained articles of the same type as those in eastern missionary magazines, informing people of the character and lifestyle of the New Mexicans. *El Abogado Cristiano* also published some of the proceedings of the annual conference meetings, including papers prepared by various pastors that are not included in the conference minutes.

One of the three Presbyterian papers, J. J. Gilchrist's *El Anciano*, was a Spanish newspaper published in Del Norte, East Las Vegas, and La Junta from the 1880s to 1894, and sporadically for a year or two more. In 1894 the Minutes of the Synod of New Mexico record its discontinuance in favor of a Presbyterian family paper, *La Visitador Dominical*, containing Sunday School material.⁴⁰ *El Anciano* was published primarily in the casue of temperance and against Roman Catholicism. At the end of his career, Gilchrist had this to say about anti-Catholic work.

One of the hardest lessons I have had to repeat over and over was that neither layman nor preacher can win souls by fighting Romanism. I have tried to preach "Christ for sinners" and leave to the people to see the ERRORS of Rome.⁴¹

Nevertheless, we know *El Anciano* carried on a lively debate with *Revista Católica*. Articles from *El Anciano* were regularly answered in the columns of *Revista Católica*, and the Catholics perceived them to be deliberate anti-Catholic propaganda, themselves full of errors.

Most of what can be known of the contents of *El Anciano* comes from the pages of *Revista Católica*. *Revista Católica* took pains to point out the errors contained in the pages of *El Anciano*, from the misspelling of Gasparri's name to the foundations of Protestant doctrine. Very little material from *El Anciano* was actually quoted by *Revista Católica*. One article clipped from *El Anciano* in the Gilchrist papers at the Menaul Historical Library of the Southwest is entitled "*La Mujer y la Causa de la Temperancia*." In the article the author argued that women need the right to vote in order to protect their homes, attempting to sooth ruffled feelings with the comment that they would rarely use it—only in extraordinary circumstances.⁴²

There is not much more known about John Annin's *Revista Evangelica*. The first issue was published July 1877 in Las Vegas, New Mexico by Mr. Aoy "quite probably . . . at a loss to himself."⁴³ The paper had a few English articles, largely translations of the Spanish ones. From the English version of the "Prospectus of the 'Evangelical Review'" one learns that the purpose of the paper was to advance what Annin considered to be the best interests of the people of New Mexico, "education, morality, and true religion."⁴⁴ Annin said he would have nothing to do with personal debate and would ask many questions to which he really did not expect answers (presumably from the Catholics). He made an appeal to the native people of New Mexico who could read, "bidding, encouraging and endeavoring to guide them into a better condition and a better destiny." Finally, he said that he was a "Republican, Presbyterian, clergyman," but his paper would "have nothing to do with party politics or denominational religion." The paper appears to have been published for only a few months.⁴⁵

Most of the first issue was taken up by a "*Dialogo entre Juan Marquez y Simon Valdez*." It was a conversation between a hypothetical Catholic and Protestant about points of doctrine in which the Catholic is shown to be wrong. In addition, there is a report in Spanish of the Methodist Conference of June 1877 and an article in English on the American flag as a symbol of religious liberty.

La Aurora was the last of the Presbyterian papers to begin publication. It started in 1900 with Gabino Rendón as editor and served as the official paper of the Synod of New Mexico until just before 1915. In 1909 the editor was Benedicto Sandoval, but in 1910 he resigned in order to print a newspaper in Mora, apparently keeping most of the Synod's type.⁴⁶ The last record of *La Aurora* is in the Synod Minutes

of 1915: "We ought to rehabilitate *La Aurora* at this meeting, giving as much responsibility as possible to the young Mexican workers as is wise."⁴⁷ *La Aurora*, like *El Abogado Cristiano*, printed a variety of material in both English and Spanish. Many articles related local Presbyterian news, others informed readers about points of doctrine or provided inspirational material. Temperance was a major theme, as were anti-Catholicism and anti-Mormonism. Many of the articles were written by the Hispanic Presbyterian evangelists and pastors.

Before the religious periodicals began publication in New Mexico, the secular newspapers carried items pertaining to religion. For instance, the *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette* in 1856 carried a series of letters from "Un Protestante" and "Un Católico." They were debating the basis of the Roman Catholics' claim to be the true church. There is also an exchange between Samuel Gorman, the Baptist minister, and one called José Santistevan, a pen name of Padre José Antonio Martínez of Taos.⁴⁸ This exchange was about the regulation of tithes in the Catholic Church and other matters. Later in the 1870s, the *Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican* carried anti-Jesuit editorials to which *Revista Católica* responded with energy.

The editors of these papers, like those of most of the early newspapers in New Mexico, were people with other professions who printed a newspaper on the side. They used the paper to promote a specific cause, not to give impartial news reports. The editors were generally more highly educated than the average for the territory, although for the most part, Spanish was a second language for them.⁴⁹ Also typical of the time were the articles borrowed from eastern papers. Unlike the secular papers where the Spanish section was largely a translation of the English section of the previous week, the Spanish sections of the religious newspapers were larger and often contained original material.

The Catholic/Protestant face-off in the press was similar to that in the eastern United States where the Catholics assumed a defensive posture.⁵⁰ In New Mexico, however, the Catholics were the established majority, and in addition to defending their position, they strengthened it considerably by beginning their paper first. While both Protestants and Catholics misunderstood each other much of the time, on the whole, the Catholics had a better grasp of Protestant doctrine and practice than the Protestants of Catholic doctrine. The Protestants faced the same problems in New Mexico that they faced in other mission fields: their own division. No matter what the number of Catholic orders in a field, they did not vie with one another for the people's

loyalty. The Protestants not only had to maintain themselves against the Catholics but also against other Protestants. Thus the Catholics had the stronger position in New Mexico. When *Revista Católica* left the field in 1918, Roman Catholicism was still the form of religion practiced by the Hispanic New Mexicans.