GARRETT – EVANGELICAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY'S

INDIGENOUS STUDY COMMITTEE REPORT

WINTER 2023

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THE INTRODUCTION

This report of Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary's Indigenous Study Committee (ISC) is the result of a year-long process of deliberation, research, listening, and consultation by members of the committee, who were charged by the seminary to engage in historical, theological, and institutional examination related to the Native peoples of the Midwest region and to propose a set of recommendations to Garrett for reparative actions. With the launch of the seminary's Center for Ecological Regeneration (CER) in April 2022, which is focused on spreading eco-theological understandings, earth-based religious practices, and cooperative solidarities for the just repair of wounded socio-ecological relationships in the Midwest bioregion and beyond, the ISC was commissioned as the first major initiative of the CER's work. In his invitation letter to committee members, Garrett President Javier A. Viera wrote:

> *Garrett has a long history of critical engagement with matters of social justice and moral accountability in relation to movements for racial equity, women's liberation, economic justice, LGBTQ rights, environmental sustainability, and more. These commitments, which are based in our affirmation of the liberating and reconciling Gospel of Jesus, are embedded in and expressed throughout our curriculum as well as through our centers and institutes. For many of us, decolonial and Indigenous perspectives are also increasingly integral to our scholarship, teaching, advocacy, and spiritual imagination.*
>
> *At the same time, we as a seminary recognize our historic ties to and complicity with religious, ideological, and institutional systems that carried out the displacement of the First Peoples of this land, executed the betrayal of treaty promises, and justified the terrible crimes of theft, murder, cultural genocide, and more through the distorted logics of European, Christian, race-based, and related supremacies. We are also aware of our location on the campus of Northwestern University in Evanston, IL, which sits on the traditional homelands of the people of the Council of Three Fires, the Ojibwe, Potawatomi, and Odawa, as well as the Menominee, Miami, and Ho-Chunk nations.*
>
> *We know enough about our complicated and painful past to seek deeper knowledge, both to better understand our particular institutional history and to better respond with wisdom and care. I am inviting you to help us in this important work of truth-telling, accountability, and repair. The charge of the committee I would ask you to consider joining is this:*
>
> ***The Indigenous Study Committee is commissioned to research past and present realities of Garrett-Evangelical's impact on and relationship with the Native peoples of our bioregion, highlighting decolonial Indigenous theological perspectives and practices, consulting with appropriate tribal, denominational, and institutional leaders, providing a truthful accounting of historical record, exploring potential future partnerships with Indigenous-led organizations and initiatives, and proposing concrete recommendations to the seminary for reparative actions.***

Those who accepted the invitation and have served on the committee include Garrett faculty, staff, students, and alumni, as well as representatives from Northwestern University, the United Methodist Church, and other denominations who have been engaged in Native and Indigenous work and

advocacy. Indigenous members of the committee variously hold tribal citizenship in the Cherokee, Choctaw, Menominee, and Seminole Nations and/or are Muscogee Creek, Oneida, Lakota, and Shawnee descendants. We began our work as a committee in May 2022 and met monthly through April 2023. Smaller working groups organized around the committee's respective charges also met regularly to advance our work by gathering relevant resources and information, connecting the committee to external networks and consultants, supporting monthly meetings, and contributing to their respective sections in the final report. In addition, the ISC hosted a series of webinars and related educational events throughout the year aligned with the committee's work in partnership with Garrett's Stead Center for Ethics and Values.

Central to the committee's work were a set of values and practices, many of them drawn from the wisdom of Indigenous traditions, that guided our processes, decision-making, and the structure of meeting times. These included commitments to consensus decision-making, the participatory involvement of all members in the committee's work, including the final report, a model of shared leadership, the constructive affirmation of divergent perspectives and approaches, transparency and open communication with key stakeholders, a recognition of and accounting for the trauma-based responses that arise differently for persons engaged in this work, and an understanding that our efforts, including this report, represent just a beginning rather than the completion of Garrett's work of examination, truth-telling, listening, discernment, relationship-building, accountability, and repair in relation to Indigenous and Native communities.

In seeking to fulfill the charges we were given, therefore, the committee hopes that this report will serve as a catalyst for continued reflection and action within and across the Garrett-Evangelical community and beyond. Within the scope of a year, the committee was not able to engage or account for every relevant resource, author, organization, significant historical event, or institutional possibility. Moreover, the charges we were given contain certain parameters that focused our work in ways that others who engage and build on the report might configure differently. For example, because of Garrett-Evangelical's founding and its 170-year history in northern Illinois, the report appropriately focuses on the seminary's geographical location in the Midwest bioregion and its impact on the Native peoples of the Great Lakes and Upper Plains areas. That said, the committee both recognizes and affirms the global make-up and impact of the seminary and recommends that future efforts be expanded to include global Indigenous realities and perspectives (see chapter 6). In addition, although the committee includes several Garrett faculty members, and invited all faculty to share how they have or are currently integrating Indigenous and/or decolonial approaches in their courses (see chapter 5, section 4), the report is primarily aimed at the executive, board, and administrative levels of the seminary in recognition that the development and implementation of the curriculum is the responsibility of the faculty. We see the focused, and even incomplete, nature of our work, however, as an invitation rather than an impediment and are eager to see how the seminary community, as well as other institutions and organizations, including congregations and denominational bodies who read this report, might take up this work of truth-telling, justice, and repair in both critical and constructive directions.

In particular, the recommendations for reparative actions included in this report point to a range of specific opportunities for the Garrett community to further the committee's work. Although the ISC was not charged with and is not authorized to implement those recommendations, we propose them in the trust that they will be received and considered in the same spirit of seriousness and care from which they've been offered. While recognizing that the seminary may implement some recommendations and revise, amend, or even decline others, we want to underscore how important it is for this community and its leadership to follow through in the coming years with demonstrated actions on a variety of fronts in light of this report. Because most Native and Indigenous communities with settler institutions, including those tied to the Christian church, have experienced a grievous disconnect between words and actions, we believe that the work of this committee would not only be incomplete, but would ultimately do harm, if no tangible actions or changes were to follow from this report.

As affirmed in the President's initial charge to the committee, this sense of urgency toward just and reparative action for Native and Indigenous communities is deeply aligned with Garrett-Evangelical's historic and ongoing commitments to the realization of social justice, equity, and reconciliatory healing within our churches and broader society. As those commitments have led the seminary to attend to the experiences, wisdom, and rightful demands of a diversity of minoritized communities over the course of our institutional history, Native and Indigenous concerns, perspectives, and contributions have been largely absent and significantly underrepresented at all levels of Garrett's life and work. Our hope is that this report will serve as a starting point to begin to change this reality by broadening the seminary's base of core social, moral, contextual, and theological concerns.

At the same time, the committee is clear that the importance of attending to and learning from the experiences and wisdom of Indigenous and Native peoples is driven not only in response to historic and ongoing injustices. It is also true that the immense contributions of Native and Indigenous communities – theological, philosophical, cosmological, cultural, organizational, practical, socio-political, ecological, and more – are urgently needed across all levels of society today, including within Christian churches and their many institutions. Especially at a time of so many interconnected social and ecological crises, the committee is convinced that the recovery of and thriving of Native and Indigenous perspectives and practices is crucial for the sake of a more life-giving and just future for all peoples and the planet.

The report is organized according to the basic charges given to the committee. The first section provides a historical account, first of the geographies and peoples native to the Midwestern bioregion, and second, of the three institutions that make up Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary. The second section provides a summary account of Indigenous, settler colonial, and decolonial Indigenous theological perspectives and practices. In the third section, the report identifies Indigenous-led organizations and initiatives within the Midwest with whom the seminary might explore potential future partnerships. The fourth section provides an overview of Native American ministries within the United Methodist Church as well as broader ecumenical initiatives focused on Native and Indigenous ministries, concerns, and advocacy. The fifth section provides a summary of an initial internal audit of the seminary in relation to Native and Indigenous experiences, perspectives, and supports. In the sixth section, the report offers the committee's recommendations to the

seminary for reparative action, including the adoption of a proposed Land Acknowledgement.

Finally, we offer some guidance about terms used within the report. Throughout the report, you will encounter various terms used by and about Indigenous people in North America and in the United States. In general "Indigenous" refers to culturally distinct ethnic groups native to a place which has been colonized or settled. "Native American" refers to the native or indigenous people of the United States and its trust territories. Some Native Americans prefer the term "First Americans," and some will shorten their self-reference to "Native." Most will refer to the name of their specific tribe. "American Indian" is a term used by the United States government in its implementation of federal Indian policies through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) of the Department of the Interior. Some Native Americans refer to themselves as Indian or "NDN," but the term's use by non-Natives is considered demeaning and pejorative. "First Nations" refers to the Indigenous peoples and nations of Canada. "Tribal Nation" refers to the 574 tribal nations within the United States which have federal recognition as sovereign, domestic dependent nations (326 of these nations are land-based with reservations or land holdings). "Enrolled, enrolled citizen, or citizen" of a tribal nation means that the individual has been granted citizenship by their tribal nation itself. Each tribal nation in the United States determines its own qualifications for enrollment or citizenship. "Descendant" means a person can trace descendancy to a tribe and is possibly recognized as a descendant of a tribe even if they do not meet qualifications for tribal citizenship.

Encounters with Indigenous people and United States Indian policies often raise questions of race. Of course, the colonial project itself was based on racialized ontologies which considered Indigenous or tribal people to be of another, lesser race. In the United States, some Indigenous and Native people identify as persons of color or are identifiable as persons of color, and some are not and do not. For the purposes of United States federal Indian policy, American Indian identity and citizenship is not a racial designation. It is a political designation indicating enrollment or citizenship in a sovereign domestic dependent tribal nation. These definitions were recently tested in Brackeen vs. Haaland, a case before the Supreme Court of the United States which challenged the legality of the federal Indian Child Welfare Act. The plaintiffs claimed the ICWA should be ruled unconstitutional because it discriminated based on race. The defendants argued (citing long precedent) that the ICWA protects the status of sovereign citizens of domestic dependent tribal nations. The Supreme Court ruled in the defendants' favor, and tribal sovereignty was for now affirmed.

INDIGENOUS STUDY COMMITTEE

Dr. Timothy Eberhart, Garrett Associate Professor of Ecological Theology and Practice, Center for Ecological Regeneration Director (co-chair)

Dr. Stephanie Perdew, Garrett affiliate faculty in History, Garrett PhD alum, Associate Conference Minister, Minnesota and Wisconsin Conference UCC, citizen of the Cherokee Nation, Mitchell Museum of the American Indian Board Member (co-chair)

Rev. Chebon Kernell, Executive Director, UMC Native American Comprehensive Plan, enrolled member of the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma, Muscogee Creek heritage

Dr. Luke Gascho, Executive Director Emeritus of the Merry Lea Environmental Learning Center of Goshen College and retired professor of sustainability/environmental education. Serves on the Coalition to Dismantle the Doctrine of Discovery within Mennonite Church USA

Rev. Michelle Oberwise Lacock, Garrett MDiv alum, elder, chair of the Northern Illinois Committee on Native American Ministries, chair of the UMC Native American Course of Study Advisory Board, Lakota, English, Irish, Scottish, German heritage

Ms. Pamala Silas, Associate Director of Community Outreach and Engagement, Northwestern University Center for Native American and Indigenous Research, member of the Menominee Indian Tribe and an Oneida descendant

Dr. Elaine Enns, co-directer of Bartimaeus Cooperative Ministries, long time practitioner and trainer of restorative justice, facilitator and educator addressing historical violations and intergenerational trauma, co-author of Healing Haunted Histories: A Settler Discipleship of Decolonization

Dr. Charles H. Cosgrove, emeritus professor of early Christian literature at Garrett, author of Fortune and Faith in Old Chicago: A Dual Biography of Mayor Augustus Garrett and Seminary Founder Eliza Clark Garrett

Dr. K.-K. Yeo, Garrett faculty, Kendall Professor in New Testament, scholarship on global methodologies and hermeneutics, including Native American theologies and Indigenous perspectives

Rev. Fred Shaw, UMC Native American Comprehensive Plan North Central Jurisdiction representative, Native American Course of Study director, Shawnee Tribe descendent

Dr. Stephanie Bliese, Garrett PhD alum in History, Garrett adjunct professor Church History, campus and community engagement concerning Northwestern University's John Evans Chair in Sociology

Rev. Grant Showalter-Swanson, Garrett PhD student in Theology and Ethics, research focus on Indigenous theology and decolonial theory, committee member of the Coalition to Dismantle the Doctrine of Discovery, certification courses for teaching, Sinte Gleska University, recruitment coordinator at Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary

Garam Han, Garrett PhD candidate in Christian Education and Congregational Studies, research focus on Korean immigrant Protestant women's eco-integrity

Jessica Hopkins, Garrett MA in Public Ministry student, research focus on missing and murdered Indigenous women and children and trauma-informed responses to community and land healing, member of the Choctaw Tribe of Oklahoma

PART I.A:

HISTORY - LAND AND PEOPLE

COMPILED BY LUKE GASCHO — FEBRUARY 2023

1. LAND

"If you don't have land (including the water), you can't talk to Creator. Creator gave you land and wants you to know it. So, my understanding is that our responsibility as Indigenous people is to be keepers of the land. That means the whole of all the ecosystems and all the human systems. Our role it to maintain harmony and balance."[1]

RANDY WOODLEY

"The Earth is the Lord's."

PSALM 24:1

"My theology begins with the land. I can pretty much find any kind of belief system or understanding I have and trace it back to the land."

Land is foundational to understanding who we are, our relationship to Creator, and our bond with all of creation. Knowing the landscape in which Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary is situated informs regenerative commitments and actions for the seminary.

PRE-SETTLEMENT VEGETATION OF THE CHICAGO WILDERNESS REGION

Garrett is located on the western shores of Lake Michigan in what was once a verdant oak ecosystem.[2] Oaks are a critical part of the Chicago region's ecology. Today, only 17% of the region's original oak ecosystems remain. The oak woodland was home to a rich biodiversity of grasses, flowers, insects, birds, and mammals. The ecosystem provided a buffer to the lake by absorbing rain water and preventing erosion. This landscape was home to Indigenous people for millennia, as it was a major part of their food system and shelter. Surveys of the region were conducted by the settlers in the mid-1880s. To establish lines and points, surveyors placed marker posts and then measured and recorded the distance to two trees to ensure that the point could be relocated if the post was removed. The trees gave witness to the marked location. Two large red oak trees (approximately 60-years-old at the time of the survey) were identified as witness trees on the east-west section line. These trees were located just south of Loder Hall on Northwestern Place street.[3]

[1] Randy S. Woodley, *Indigenous Theology and the Western Worldview: A Decolonized Approach to Christian Doctrine* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2022), 58.

[2] Chicago Region Tree Initiative: https://chicagorti.org/maps/oak-connectivity-map.

[3] Witness Trees Project https://fieldmuseum.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=473a3a10b9b64329959f-9243678de15c

Learning the geology of the landscape opens the door to a much longer history of place. There were four major ice advances in this region with the first occurring about 500,000 years ago. The most recent glaciers, at least a quarter mile thick, covered the region starting about 26,000 years ago and ending about 13,000 years ago. The departure of the ice repeatedly reshaped the shoreline of Lake Michigan until it reached its present size about 2,000 years ago. The surface features of the region are made of material deposited by the glaciers on top of the very old sedimentary bedrock. The various soil types resulting from the deposits developed over the centuries. Distinctive soils formed on hills and in valleys with different characteristics under forests, under prairies, and in wetlands. Vegetation in a dynamic landscape will change more rapidly than the soils.[4]

There are several major types of ecosystems in the areas around Garrett, which are also found within the larger bioregion. Each of these systems – woodland, prairies, wetlands, and inland waters – has been significantly disrupted and damaged by settlers over the last 200 years.

Woodlands – There were several kinds of woodlands in the region: open woodlands, savannas, flatwoods, and forests. Climate, soils, topography, and drainage determine the kinds of woodlands that would develop in any given area. Frequency and intensity of fire played a role in whether an area would be an open grove or a dense forest. Woodland communities include hundreds of species of plants and thousands of species of animals, including beetles, spiders, snails, and centipedes. The area around Garrett was primarily an open woodland of mixed oak woods of red, white, and bur oaks, as well as some other hardwoods. The trees grew quite closely together with more narrow canopies and lesser amount of light reaching the forest floor. Regular fires kept ash trees and sugar maples from taking over the community. The open woodlands were home to amazing concentrations of wildlife. There was an incredible network of mycorrhizal fungi, which contributes to the health of the woodland, on the forest floor.[5]

Prairies – Rolling prairies occupied the western part of the region's landscape. The woodlands transitioned into more widely scattered areas known as savanna ecosystems. Those spaces then opened into expansive prairie areas of tall waving grasses and splendid flowers. Fire was a major force in maintaining the healthy ecology of the prairies. Indigenous people managed the landscape with regular burns, which enhanced the forage for larger mammals – bison, elk, and deer. The prairie plants have an extensive biomass primarily underground, with some prairie species extending their roots almost 20 feet below the surface. The prairie is home to a diverse population of birds, moths, butterflies, insects, amphibians, reptiles, and mammals.[6]

Wetlands – The relatively young landscape of the Chicago region, with its varied glacial deposits, has significant water areas that don't drain. Wetlands typically have seasonal variation in their wetness. Diverse types of wetlands were scattered throughout the region. Much of the lakeplain where Chicago now stands was wet prairie, sedge meadow, and marsh. Each type of wetland contributes to filtering and purifying water and is home to a significant set of plant and animal species. Most of the wetlands in

[4] Jerry Sullivan, *An Atlas of Biodiversity: Chicago Wilderness, a Regional Nature Reserve* (Chicago Region Biodiversity Council, 2011), Geology section, p. 4.

[5] Ibid., 22.

[6] Ibid., 12.

the bioregion have been drained or filled. The loss of wetlands in Illinois is greater than 90 percent.[7]

Inland Waters – Water is central to life. There are several kinds of waterways in the region. The still waters of ponds and lakes were formed from the glacial action. Lakes in Illinois are typically not deeper than 35 feet. Lakes have an inflow from the surrounding land and an outflow into stream and rivers. Lakes are ecologically complex with distinctive organisms living in them – mussels, tube worms, fresh water sponges, invertebrates, and fish. Nutrients from the landscape are carried into the lake, which is important for a healthy system's function. The problem is that settlement has contributed a large increase in nutrients that disrupt the ecology and lead to the death of many parts of the system.

Streams and rivers provide drainage for the watersheds of the Chicago region. Before European settlement, shallow streams and rivers lazily drained the region's landscape—much of it relatively flat, wet prairie. Most of the waterways did not have well-defined natural courses. The streams ran cool and clear because they were largely fed by springs where underground water emerged from the water table. Settlers drained many of these areas for farming. The growth of urban areas also greatly stressed the moving waters.

Lake Michigan has played a major role in the climate and history of the Chicago region. It has a surface area of 22,300 square miles. This large body of water influences the seasonal weather patterns. The lake contained a very significant and diverse fish population. The lake was important to Indigenous people spiritually and is part of many of their origin stories. It was used extensively as part of their food and transportation systems.[8]

2. INDIGENOUS RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE LAND

Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) – Gregory Cajete articulates an introductory definition for TEK:

> *TEK may be viewed as a part of a broader Indigenous paradigm that I call Native Science, which includes Indigenous relationship to land, plant, animals, community, self, cosmos, spirit, and the creative animating processes of life.*[9]

In many ways it is difficult to identify the philosophy Indigenous people have toward the land and all its associated ecosystems. Dan Shilling has assembled five conceptual threads that form a tapestry of the intersecting thoughts and attitudes of Indigenous people in relationship with the natural world.

1. *Reciprocity and respect define the bond between all members of the land family.*
2. *Reverence toward nature plays a critical role in religious ceremonies, hunting rituals, arts and crafts, agricultural techniques, and other day-to-day activities.*
3. *One's relationship to the land is shaped by something other than economic profit.*
4. *To speak of an individual owning land is anathema, not unlike owning another person, akin to slavery.*

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[7] Ibid., 32.

[8] Ibid., 42.

[9] Melissa K. Nelson, ed., *Traditional Ecological Knowledge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 15.

5. *Each generation has a responsibility to leave a healthy world to future generations.*[10]

While many of these concepts resonate with ecologists, it is difficult for western scientists to see the spiritual and philosophical connections embodied in the above points. Kyle Whyte, a member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, writes:

> And when we consider broader impacts, it is common to look at the world as interrelated in ways that some people outside the Anishinaabe world do not always grasp, such as the complex intergenerational relationships; cultural and ceremonial life; the intimacy of human relations with plant, animals and entities (e.g., water); and the moral responsibilities that come with family, clan, and band memberships.[11]

Traditional Ecological Knowledge is an essential framework for engaging in and performing sustainable and regenerative actions today. Dennis Martinez states this case in his article, *Redefining Sustainability through Kincentric Ecology: Reclaiming Indigenous Lands, Knowledge and Ethics*. He points out the long-term relationship with ancestral land as the basis for holistic application of sustainability:

> Traditional Indigenous cultures and traditional ecological (environmental) knowledge (TEK), including Indigenous stories, songs, and languages, depend for their continued existence on the ancestral lands in which Indigenous culture and knowledge is rooted, and without which its cultural flowering will wilt and die – with ominous consequences for not only Indigenous peoples but for all humanity.[12]

> . . . to provide a pathway to sustainability, I now turn to the Indigenous ethical-economic model in order to show the ways Indigenous stewards go beyond mere ecological classification to modeling … "trophic webs and energy flows" inherent in Indigenous peoples' cosmologies. However, even more relevant, the Indigenous model is based on the ways in which Native peoples integrated their kincentric ethic of reciprocity into land-care praxis and the restraints that control resource harvesting.[13]

This brief introduction to TEK is intended to be a stimulus for Garrett as it considers the ways it can integrate TEK with theological and ethical teaching and learning experiences. Ongoing learning from the field of TEK can inform many decisions about sustainability and regeneration practice, studies, and research within the Center for Ecological Regeneration.

Indigenous Food Systems – The land and waters of the Chicago region provided a rich food system for Indigenous people for the millennia following the recession of the last glacial period. The following description is a good overview of the food system that was practiced prior to the arrival of the settlers.

> The food system of the Great Lakes tribes (often called the Woodland tribes) was based on hunting, fishing and the gathering of a wide range of wild edibles. Although there was some farming, agriculture was supplementary to hunting and gathering, and consisted mostly of corn, beans and squash. This heavy reliance on the prairie, forest and streams for sustenance

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[10] Ibid., 12. Emphases added.

[11] Ibid., 58.

[12] Ibid., 139.

[13] Ibid., 167.

demanded a lot of time and energy. These were people that were one with the Earth and were very much aware that they were part of a much greater system that sustained them. The seasonal fluctuation of the land and the life cycle of native plants and animals kept them constantly on the move. Finding and nurturing reliable food and water sources were a large part of daily life.

Villages were fairly permanent but the quest for food made mobility a priority. Temporary camps were set up as the seasonal cycle pushed tribes between different harvesting areas and processing points. Often tribes would travel hundreds of miles within the radius of their villages to hunt and gather food, as well as to trade and meet with neighboring tribes. The Woodland tribes circled back around to their villages in the fall to harvest what little crops they had and prepare for the long winter.

The connection to and the knowledge of the native plants and animals of the Great Lakes region was of vital importance. The Woodland tribes' understanding of the use and properties of native plants was far beyond that of Western science of the time (some might argue that it is still superior today). The wisdom of natural cycles – taking only what you need and working with the environment, not against it – created the backbone to the Woodland tribes' food system. The Great Lakes region had an abundance of wild foods such as wild rice, nuts, berries, tubers and countless others. Not only did plants make up an essential part of their diet, but numerous medicines and remedies were also crafted from the great variety of native plants. Farming was not a priority since Mother Nature provided everything they needed to sustain themselves. When the berries were past their prime, they went on to the wild onion fields and then on to the wild potatoes and so forth and so on, always only taking what they needed and wasting nothing.

Hunting and fishing were also full-time engagements. Deer, moose, bison and many other smaller animals made up a considerable part of the Woodland diet. Fishing was an all-year affair. There is no shortage of water in the Great Lakes region and the tribes took full advantage of this bounty with nets, traps and lures. Aside from providing much-needed nutrition in the harsh winters, many of the furs and coats of these animals helped the Natives stay warm. Again, nothing went to waste.[14]

John N. Low, Pokagon Band Potawatomi, writes about the food systems of the Potawatomi pre-European contact.[15]

The agricultural and hunting patterns he describes parallel what other nation groups in the Chicago region practiced. This food system was severely disrupted as explorers and settlers filled the region. An action that should be taken today is to support the work of people working on Indigenous Food Sovereignty.

Food sovereignty is the ability of an Indigenous nation or community to control its own system and food-producing resources free of control or limitations put on it by an outside power (such as a settler/colonizer government). Food sovereignty includes creating access to healthy food resources of one's own choice, assuming control over food production and distribution, and integrating cultural practices and values concerning diet, food production,

[14] https://www.willystreet.coop/october-2017/wisconsin-s-indigenous-food-systems

[15] John N. Low, *Imprints: The Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians and the City of Chicago*. 1st edition (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 2016), 14-16.

distribution, and the entire food system.[16] Food sovereignty is an affirmation of who we are as indigenous peoples and a way, one of the most surefooted ways, to restore our relationship with the world around us Winona LaDuke (Anishinaabe).[17]

3. INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF THE REGION

In the process of thinking about the history of the Chicago region where Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary is located, it is instructive to acknowledge the long history of Indigenous People in the Americas. Anton Treuer, Ojibwe and executive director of the American Indian Resource Center at Bemidji State University, sets the context for understanding how long Indigenous people have been in the Americas.

Although many people examine the prevailing theories of Paleo-Indian migrations from Asia to North America and end up thinking "We are all immigrants here," the fact of the matter is that Indians arrived in the Americas and developed a diverse array of cultures and languages, inhabiting the entire hemisphere before there were any human beings living in what is now England (the British Isles were entirely encased in ice until 12,000 years ago) and many thousands of years before the emergence of ancient Chinese, Egyptian, or Phoenician civilizations.[18]

A quick way to shape this perspective is with the following brief list of historical dates.

- 40,000 years ago – research about older time periods indicates people arrived in the Americas via the Pacific and various cultures were formed.[19] [20] [21]
- 16,000–8,000 BC – Paleoindian hunter-gatherers migrated across the Bering land-and-ice bridge between Siberia and Alaska.
- 13,500 BC to 11,000 BC – The Clovis Culture begins in North America. The era was named for distinct stone tools found near Clovis, New Mexico.
- 8000 BC to 3000 BC – The Archaic Period: Archaic cultures are defined by common characteristics rather than a particular time or location. The Archaic peoples lived in larger groups, were sedentary for part of the year, and had a varied diet that eventually included some cultivated foods.
- 3,000 BC to AD 1000 – The Woodland Period begins in Eastern America.

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[16] Olivia Horwedel, "An Exploration into Anishinaabe Food Systems – Featuring an Adaptation of Freddie J. Bitsoie's Recipe for Manoomin Rice Cakes," *School of Marine and Environmental Affairs* (May 26, 2022): https://smea.uw.edu/currents/an-exploration-into-anishinaabe-food-systems-featuring-an-adaptation-of-freddie-j-bitsoies-recipe-for-manoomin-rice-cakes/.

[17] Finding Our Roots: Indigenous Foods and the Food Sovereignty Movement in the United States, Indian Education Division, Montana Office of Public Instruction - https://opi.mt.gov/Portals/182/Page%20Files/Indian%20Education/Health%20Enhancement/What%20is%20food%20sovereignty.pdf?ver=2019-02-27-152727-623#:~:text=Indigenous%20Foods%20and%20the%20Food,a%20settler%2Fcolonizer%20government

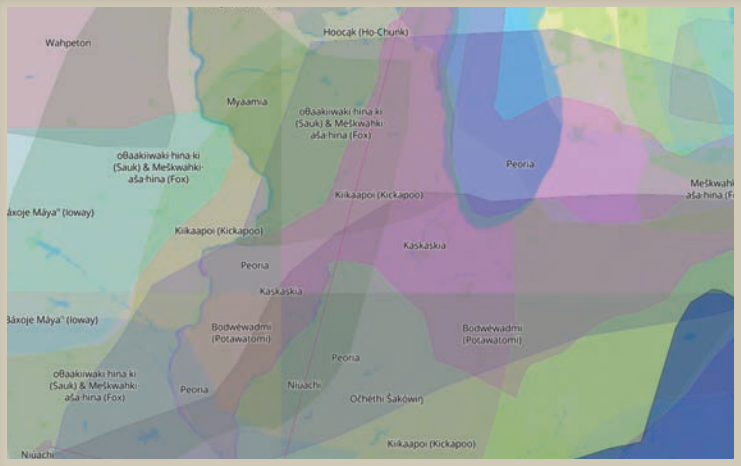
[18] Anton Treuer, *Atlas of Indian Nations*, Illustrated edition (Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2014), 9.

[19] https://www.ox.ac.uk/news/2020-07-22-earliest-americans-arrived-new-world-30000-years-ago

[20] https://www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2017/10/a-brief-history-of-everyone-who-ever-lived/537942

[21] Jennifer Raff, *Origin: A Genetic History of the Americas* (2023), Twelve.

- 1000 to AD 1520 – The Mississippian culture begins in North America.
- c. 1100 – Oraibi, a Hopi village in Navajo County, Arizona, is settled sometime before this time, making it one of the oldest continuously inhabited settlements within the United States.
- c. 1100 –1200 – Cahokia, Illinois, near modern-day St. Louis, Missouri, reaches its peak population.[22] [23] [24]



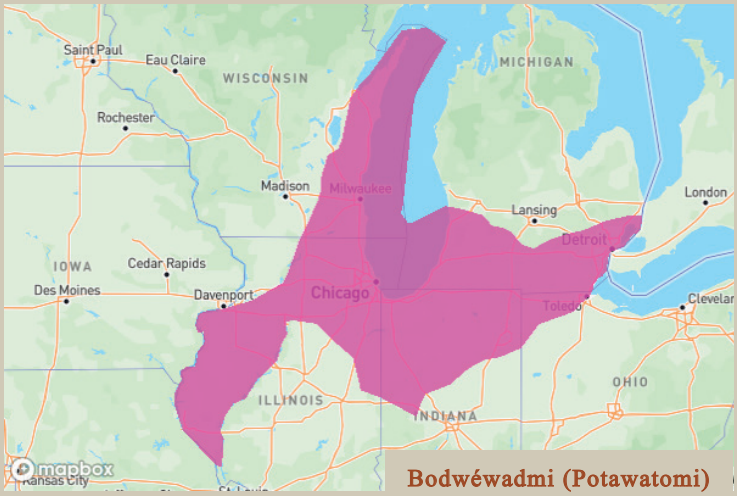
For an interactive map of Native Lands go to https://native-land.ca

Tribal groups and geographical movements – The region surrounding Garrett has been home to many different tribal and nation groups over the centuries. The locations of groups changed more significantly as explorers and settlers from Europe entered the landscapes of Turtle Island (North America). Native Land Digital has documented the locations prior to the major pressure from settlers. Native Land Digital is Indigenous-led, with an Indigenous executive director and majority Indigenous Board of Directors who oversee and direct the organization.

Native Land Digital strives to create and foster conversations about the history of colonialism, Indigenous ways of knowing, and settler-Indigenous relations, through educational resources such as our map and Territory Acknowledgement Guide. We strive to go beyond old ways of talking about Indigenous people and to develop a platform where Indigenous communities can represent themselves and their histories on their own terms. In doing so, Native Land Digital creates spaces where non-Indigenous people can be invited and challenged

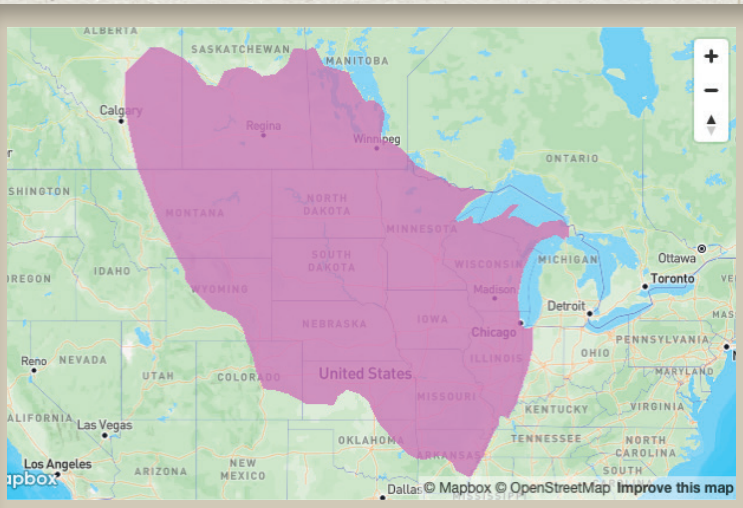
[22] Charles C. Mann, 1491: *New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus*. 1st edition (New York: Vintage Books, 2006).
[23] Edwin, Barnhart: https://www.thegreatcourses.com/courses/ancient-civilizations-of-north-america
[24] https://www.legendsofamerica.com/native-american-timeline-pre-us

to learn more about the lands they inhabit, the history of those lands, and how to actively be part of a better future going forward together.[25]

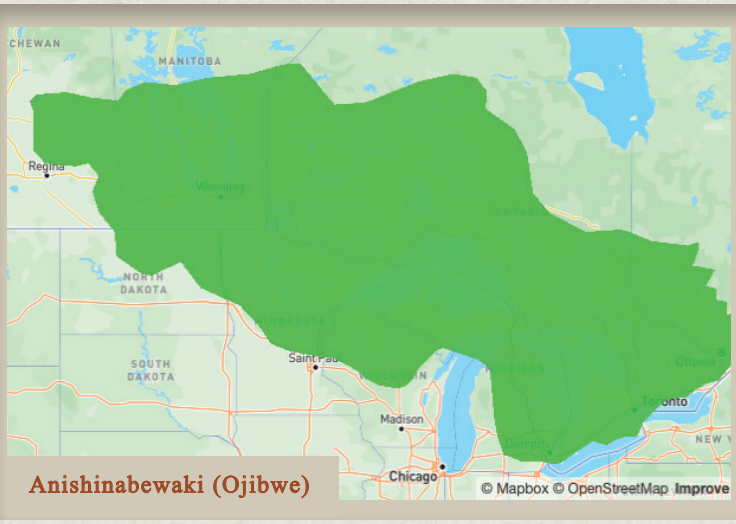


Bodwéwadmi (Potawatomi)

The regions bordering Lake Michigan, Lake Superior, and Lake Huron were home to many tribes for millennia. By the time settlers began to push into the Great Lakes, the primary tribal/nation groups in the Chicago region were the Potawatomi, Ojibwe, and Odawa. These three people groups were originally one culturally related group called the Anishinaabe. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, the Anishinaabe moved from the Atlantic Coast with the goal of stopping where "food grows on water," which is *Mnoomin*, or Wild Rice, that grew on the lakes in the Great Lakes region. The Ojibwe, Odawa, and Potawatomi formed the Council of Three Fires on what is now called Mackinac Island in AD 796.[26] The maps above show the geographical areas where the three groups lived in the Great Lakes region.[27] The Council generally had peaceful relationships with its neighbors. There was frequent interaction with the Miami, Menominee, and Winnebago (Ho-Chunk), Kickapoo, Peoria, Sauk, and the Fox. These decentralized peoples, organized in bands, lived along various waterways and lakes of the Great Lakes and hunted the districts surrounding their settlements. They did not operate with the western concept of private land ownership. The regional maps show that there was significant overlap among the tribal areas.



Očhéthi Šakówiŋ – Council of Seven Fires



Anishinabewaki (Ojibwe)

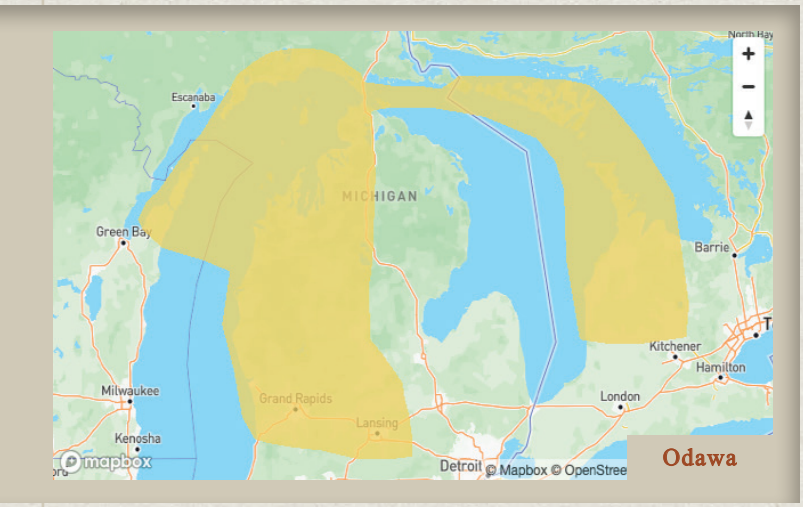
Occasionally, unresolved disputes erupted into wars, such as the times the Council of Three Fires fought against the Iroquois Confederacy and the Sioux (Oceti Sakowin). The Sioux, known as the Seven Council Fires, are a historic alliance of seven major divisions of Native American groups. Each of the

[25] https://native-land.ca/about/why-it-matters

[26] Patty Loew, *Indian Nations of Wisconsin: Histories of Endurance and Renewal* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2001).

[27] https://native-land.ca

Seven Council Fires was made up of individual bands, which were based on kinship, location, and dialect — Lakota, Dakota, or Nakota. From ancient times, each division of the Seven Council Fires had their own lifestyle, traditions and customs, which developed similar but unique cultures.



Odawa

The Indigenous tribes of the mid-west region were displaced from their homelands as a result of the Beaver War, which lasted from 1640 to 1701.[28] The fur trade was a significant economic driver in European markets. Several European countries vied for access to beaver pelts by making alliances with Indigenous tribes. During the mid-seventeenth century, the Iroquois were supplied with Dutch and English firearms which they used to expand aggressively their territory westward. The French were economically dependent on the fur trade. They aligned with the Algonquian-speaking tribes—the Council of Three Fires—to defend their hold on the precious commodity. As a result, the continent's tribal geography was realigned because of the Iroquois' push westward. The Potawatomi moved northward into Wisconsin through Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Other tribes moved to the western side of Lake Michigan by going around the southern end of the lake.

1640 – 1701 – Beaver Wars

The Potawatomi were located on the Door Peninsula of Wisconsin, which isolated them from the surrounding tribes. The protection the Potawatomi received on the peninsula allowed them to maintain their tribal unity more easily. At the same time, the larger surrounding tribes (Illinois, Kickapoo, Mascouten, Menominee, Miami, Nipissing, Noquet, Ottawa, Sauk, Fox, Winnebago, Wyandot, and several bands of Chippewa).[29] separated into mixed villages. Over time, the Potawatomi grew to become the more dominant tribe in the region.[30] As the members of the Council of Three Fires were forced into territory on the western shores of Lake Michigan, conflicts developed with the Seven Council Fires (Sioux) who were living in that region.

Treaties and Land Sessions – Following the end of the Revolutionary War, the U.S. Government established the Northwest Territory through an act titled "An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States North West of the River Ohio." The ordinance was adopted by the Confederation Congress on July 13, 1787.[31]

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[28] https://waseyabek.com/1640-1701-beaver-wars-french-and-iroquois-wars-force-relocation-to-door-county-wisconsin.

[29] Treuer, *Atlas of Indian Nations*, 50-57. (Concise information on these tribes can be found in the *Atlas of Indian Nations*.)

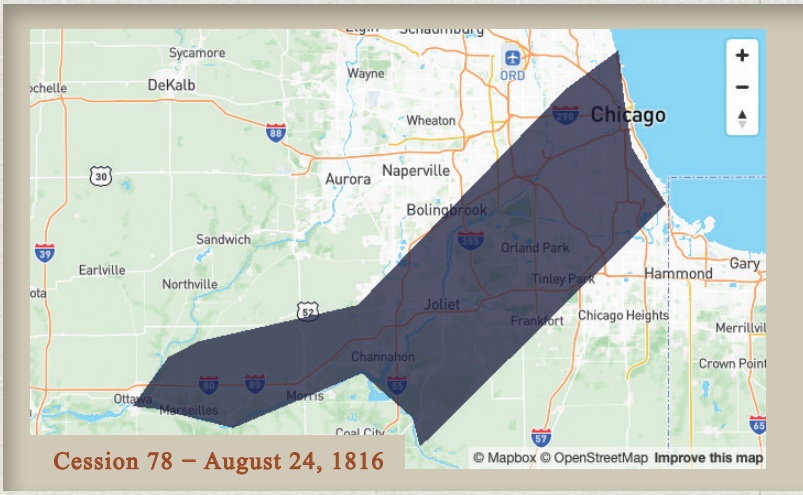
[30] https://detroiturbanism.blogspot.com/2016/03/indian-villages-reservations-and-removal.html

[31] https://www.loc.gov/rr/program//bib/ourdocs/northwest.html

The western boundary of the territory was the Mississippi River. This historic act opened the doors for settlers to purchase land from the government, which had an effect on the Indigenous people of the Chicago region in a few short years.

By the early nineteenth century, white-supremacist ideology enshrined in U.S. law recognized no Native American right of ownership in their homelands in the "North West," only a right of residence and use of resources, since the North West was by then under the control of the United States. These assumptions rested on a Supreme Court ruling that gave the federal government right to any lands taken by white settlement or military victory over Native peoples. Chief Justice John Marshall set forth the doctrine of "discovery and conquest," which accorded the federal government title to lands that white Americans had taken and left Indian nations only a right of presence and use. Although an individual Native person could acquire title to land through purchase or other means, no Native tribe, in the eyes of U.S. law, enjoyed sovereignty over the lands they fished and hunted.[32]

As the Michigan Territory, Indiana Territory, Illinois Territory, and the Wisconsin section of the North-West Territory became states, settlers poured into these regions, pushing Native peoples out. Pressure from the federal government, backed by the force of the United States Army, coerced the various tribes into making treaties in which they ceded their ancestral lands.[33] Between 1805 and 1832, the Potawatomi ceded their lands in Indiana but retained sections for their villages. Between 1834 and 1838, however, most were pressured to leave Indiana.[34]



Cession 78 – August 24, 1816

The first land cession was the cession at the mouth of Chicago River, by the treaty of August 3, 1795. This treaty is often referred to as the Treaty of Greenville. This treaty was a settlement that concluded hostilities between the United States and an Indian confederation headed by Miami Chief Little Turtle. The Indians ceded most of the future state of Ohio and significant portions of what would become the states of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. The Greenville Treaty land was also included within the limits of a subsequent cession (U.S. recorded Cession #78) made by the treaty of August 24, 1816, with the Odawa, Chippewas, and Potawatomi. The treaty is signed by three U.S. commissioners and twenty-six "chiefs and warriors" for the tribe. The following quote is the opening paragraph in the treaty that demonstrates the attitudinal dominance of the U.S. Government.

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[32] Johnson v. McIntosh, 21 U.S. 543 (1823) (United States Supreme Court decision regarding Native rights to lands in federal control).

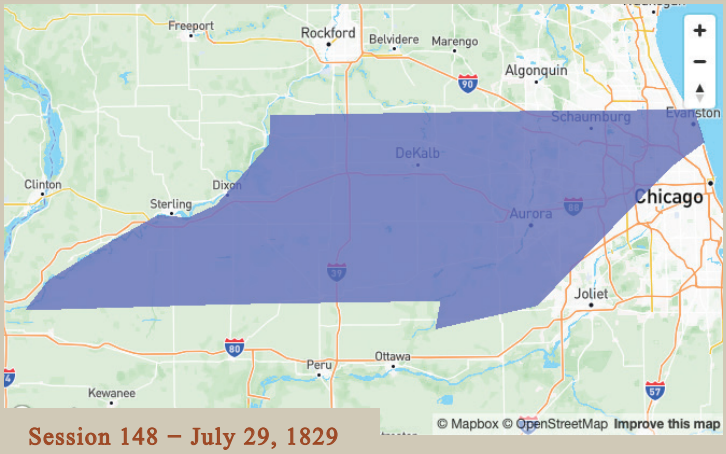
[33] A detailed history of the treaties, based on Charles C. Royce, *Indian Land Cessions in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1899), is given in "Indians of the Midwest by Newberry Library DIS," https://digital.newberry.org/scalar/indians-midwest/treaties-past?path=treaties.

[34] Indians of the Midwest by Newberry Library DIS: "Indiana Cessions, 1803–1832," https://digital.newberry.org/scalar/indians-midwest/treaties-past?path=treaties

WHEREAS a serious dispute has for some time past existed between the contracting parties relative to the right to part of the lands ceded to the United States by the tribes of Sacs and Foxes, on the third day of November, one thousand eight hundred and four, and both parties being desirous of preserving a harmonious and friendly intercourse, and of establishing permanent peace and friendship, have, for the purpose of removing all difficulties, agreed to the following terms.

After all the relinquishments and cession details are spelled out in the treaty, the final article states:

The contracting parties, that peace and friendship may be permanent, promise that in all things whatever, they will act with justice and correctness towards each other, and that they will, with perfect good faith, fulfill all the obligations imposed upon them by former treaties.[35]



Session 148 – July 29, 1829

The land of Evanston, Illinois, where Garrett-Evangelical Seminary is located, is part of the treaty that was signed at Prairie du Chien, Michigan Territory on July 29, 1829. The U.S lists this as Cession 148. The treaty was between the U.S. and the United Nations of the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi. After the land area is described in the treaty, the following "payment" is stated:

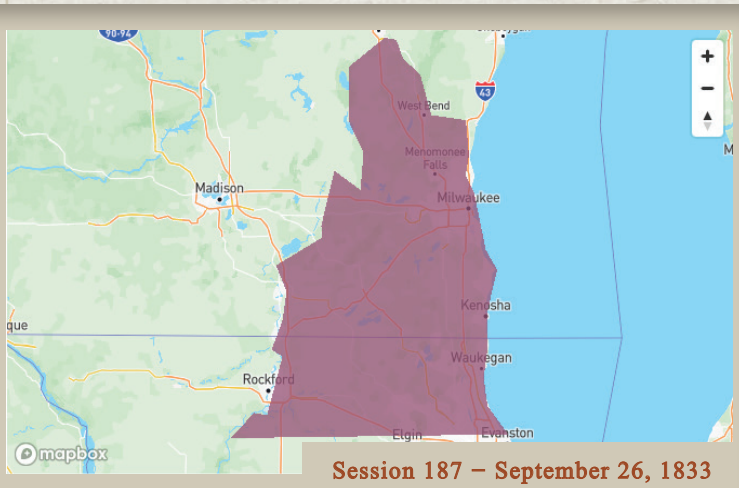
In consideration of the aforesaid cessions of land, the United States aforesaid agree to pay to the aforesaid nations of Indians the sum of sixteen thousand dollars, annually, forever, in specie: said sum to be paid at Chicago. And the said United States further agree to cause to be delivered to said nations of Indians, in the month of October next, twelve thousand dollars-worth of goods as a present. And it is further agreed, to deliver to said Indians, at Chicago, fifty barrels of salt, annually, forever; and further, the United States agree to make permanent, for the use of the said Indians, the blacksmith's establishment at Chicago.[36]

Seven European settlers had claims against the tribes for actions they had experienced. There is a brief description for the claims at the end of the treaty with the amount of money to be paid to each of the seven settlers. The negotiations for the treaty resulted in Article V of the treaty states:

The United States, at the request of the Indians aforesaid, further agree to pay to the persons named in the schedule annexed to this treaty, the sum of eleven thousand six hundred and one dollars; which sum is in full satisfaction of the claims brought by said persons against said Indians, and by them acknowledged to be justly due.

The land immediately to the north of Evanston, Illinois, is Cession 187. This treaty was signed on September 26, 1833. The opening paragraph of the treaty states:

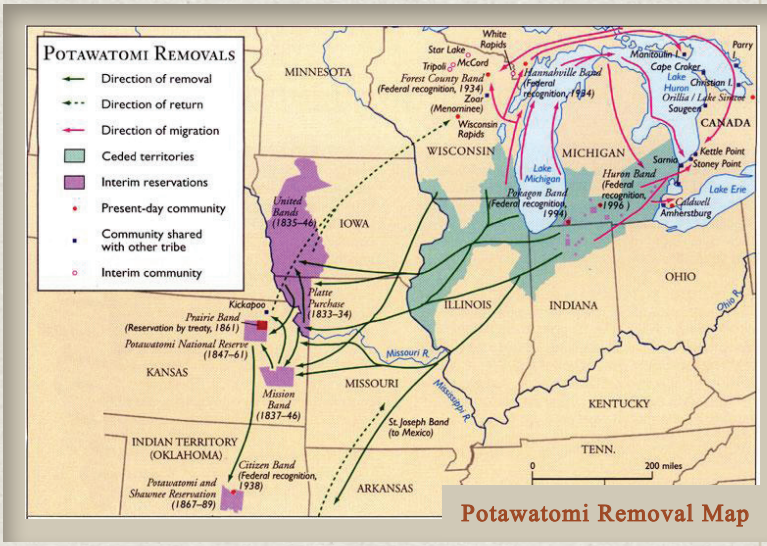
[35] https://treaties.okstate.edu/treaties/treaty-with-the-ottawa-etc-1816-0132
[36] https://treaties.okstate.edu/treaties/treaty-with-the-chippewa-etc-1829-0297



Session 187 – September 26, 1833

> The said United Nation of Chippewa, Ottowa, and Potawatamie Indians, cede to the United States all their land, along the western shore of Lake Michigan, and between this Lake and the land ceded to the United States by the Winnebago nation, at the treaty of Fort Armstrong made on the 15th September 1832-bounded on the north by the country lately ceded by the Menominees, and on the south by the country ceded at the treaty of Prairie du Chien made on the 29th July 1829 — supposed to contain about five millions of acres.

A list of the intervening land cessions in Illinois can be found at this website.[37] A robust database and map of the treaties across the U.S. is at a website named "Invasion of America."[38] The map includes a time lapse of when the treaties were signed. The details of the treaty, as well as a map of the land cession area for the treaty, can be found by clicking on geographic locations on the map. There are additional databases of the treaties at the Tribal Connections US, Forest Service, Federal and Indian Lands and Land Cessions Viewer,[39] USGenWeb Archives Project,[40] Oklahoma State University Libraries Tribal Treaties Database,[41] and Kappler's Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.[42]



Potawatomi Removal Map

Forced removals – Following the signing of treaties, Indigenous tribes and nations either tried to live on the land becoming more populated with settlers or moved into other regions. The U.S. government became very active in forcing the Indigenous people out of their homelands to areas west of the Mississippi. President Andrew Jackson promoted and signed the Indian Removal Act in 1830.[43] There were many tragic removals with deaths of Indigenous people and a total disruption of their lifeways and culture. The map above illustrates the many forced removal actions toward the Potawatomi people (*Potawatomi Removal Map*[44]).

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[37] https://accessgenealogy.com/illinois/native-american-land-cessions-in-illinois.htm

[38] https://usg.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=eb6ca76e008543a89349ff2517db47e6

[39] https://usfs.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=fe311f69cb1d43558227d73bc34f3a32

[40] http://usgwarchives.net/maps/cessions

[41] https://treaties.okstate.edu

[42] https://dc.library.okstate.edu/digital/collection/kapplers/search

[43] https://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib//ourdocs/indian.html

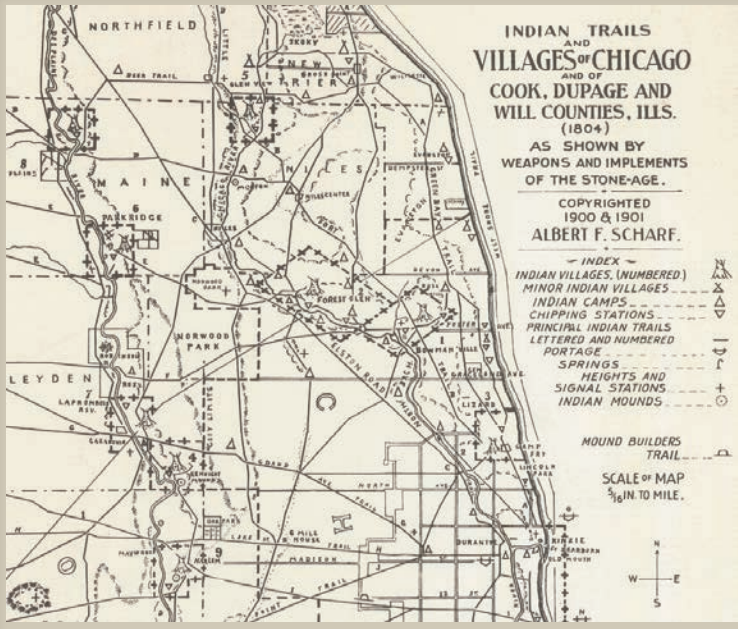
[44] https://www.kpl.gov/local-history/kalamazoo-history/native-americans/match-e-be-nash-she-wish

Remembering Lifeways – One way to understand the significant Indigenous civilization (Unfortunately, many histories describe Indigenous history in North America as "pre-civilization.") in the region is through locating the historic sites where the tribes and nations lived and traveled from place to place. Many Indigenous nations are recovering their history, culture, and language, and listening to Indigenous people telling their stories of origins and place, brings new dimensions to the usual ways of telling history.

Insights can also be gained through studying the early maps and surveys of the region. In many cases Indian villages and trails were noted in the records. Even though many of these sites have been disturbed, destroyed, farmed over and built upon, the acknowledgement and marking of these locations can bring the reality of the past into the minds of people today. This acknowledgement is only a starting point for regenerative actions, but can serve as a launching pad for many forms of repair.

The map on the right shows villages and major transportation routes that were part of Indigenous life before the settlers arrived, as well as the intersection between the two groups.[45]

Additional research into the early surveys will pinpoint locations. The Witness Tree Project mentioned in the ecology sections is a good example. A blog post titled "Illinois Public Land Survey Field Notes" demonstrates the work that can be done with the old survey field notes found in the archives of the surveyor's journals.[46] The Cook County government has digital archives of notes and maps that will provide a basis for this kind of site location research.[47]



[45] https://quod.lib.umich.edu/w/wcl1ic/x-6675/wcl006741

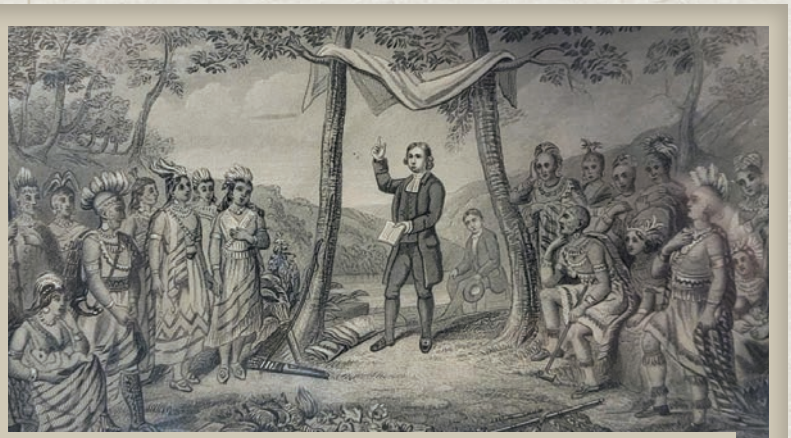
[46] http://www.cassisaari.com/illinois-public-land-survey-field-notes

[47] https://datacatalog.cookcountyil.gov/browse/select_dataset?tags=plss&utf8

PART I.B:

HISTORY OF GARRETT-EVANGELICAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY & INDIGENOUS/NATIVE AMERICAN PEOPLES

PREPARED BY CHARLES H. COSGROVE — FEBRUARY 2023



"Charles Wesley Preaching to the American Indians." Engraving. Courtesy Styberg Library

Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary (G-ETS) represents the history of three institutions. Garrett Biblical Institute (GBI) was founded in 1853. In 1934 GBI absorbed the Chicago Training School (CTS), and, in 1974, Garrett Theological Seminary (GBI renamed) and Evangelical Theological Seminary (ETS) united to form G-ETS. Prior to these mergers, each of these institutions had their own histories with Native American peoples and their concerns. Moreover, GBI, in particular, had a prior history that was directly related to one of the most significant periods of national policy concerning Native American peoples.

Before setting forth the historical record, however, it is important to acknowledge certain pitfalls of that undertaking. First, where Native Americans appear in the institutional (and related) historical records, they most often show up in narratives in which white or Euro-American people are writing about Native Americans. Hence, to the extent that the experiences and perspectives of Native Americans themselves are largely absent from the institutional records, they end up being absent from the report, or at least insufficiently represented in it. Second, in consequence of this and because so much of the testimony is from and about individual white persons in the school's history, the moral actions and thinking of particular white persons ends up being foregrounded. Hence, the account runs the risk of sounding like an institutional apologetic wherever it notes that some representative of the institution performed a morally good or sympathetic action. Moreover, explanations of beliefs and attitudes, based on the historical milieu that shaped those perspectives, also run the risk of sounding defensive, as if to explain were to excuse. At the same time, the report's criticisms of the callousness or obliviousness of particular institutional actors could sound self-righteous, as if moral failures in relating to Native Americans and their concerns and interest were restricted to the past. It is the premise of the ISC that they are not. Moreover, this historical account is not undertaken with any spirit of moral superiority.

1. THE NATIVE PEOPLES OF THE REGION AND THEIR SYSTEMATIC REMOVAL

The regions bordering Lake Michigan, Lake Superior, and Lake Huron, which settlers referred to as the North West, were home to a variety of Indigenous peoples, including the Potawatomi, Ojibwa, and Ottawa (who had formed an alliance against the Sioux and Iroquois at the centuries-old Council of Three Fires), the Menominee and Winnebago, and the Dakotas.

By 1830 many Native Americans had already left the North West, and those who remained were vastly outnumbered by white settlers. When the Indian Removal Act was signed by President Jackson in May of that year, the die was cast. Most of the Potawatomi probably understood that the federal government would no longer permit them to occupy lands east of the Mississippi. Fearing "uncompensated removal,"

they supported leaders who enjoyed good working relations with whites, and they remained largely uninvolved in the Black Hawk War of 1832.[48]

At the Treaty of Chicago of 1833, George Porter, governor of the Michigan Territory and designated representative of the federal government, negotiated with several chiefs and other representatives of the Potawatomi. According to one account, which may or may not be credible, Porter plied the Native leaders with whisky during the weeklong parley, and at least two Indian negotiators were drunk when the agreement was finally made. Yet the Potawatomi appear to have been as effective in their bargaining as was possible, given the constraints of their situation. The terms of the treaty gave them an equal number of acres west of the Mississippi in exchange for their lands, along with debt cancellation, goods, a nearly million-dollar immediate monetary payment, and annuities.[49] Yet the agreement was certainly not rosy for the Potawatomi, who had to give up.

Not all Native Americans departed the region, and some returned at various points over the ensuing years. The presence and activism of Native Americans in Chicago has been documented in a number of books.[50] There was a significant influx of Native Americans into Chicagoland in the late 1950s, when the Indian Relocation Act of 1956 ended federal recognition of many tribes and discontinued funding for many public services on Indian reservations. This caused a dispersal of Native Americans from reservations to cities, which was one purpose of the act. The government facilitated relocation by giving people bus tickets to various cities around the country, including Chicago, where an American Indian Center—still in existence, and the oldest of its kind in the country--was established. Local Native Americans and various social organizations, including churches, assisted Native families upon their arrival. Methodists became involved with the American Indian Center.[51] It is very possible, therefore, that Garrett and ETS graduates serving in Chicagoland were among the engaged, but available records give only a hint about the degree to which ETS or Garrett took notice of these developments or responded to the social and economic difficulties the relocations created for Native families.

The hint is an anecdote about an ETS faculty member named Richard Tholin, who was instrumental in securing temporary housing for some of Chicago's Native Americans during tense negotiations, in 1971, between the city and a group of about 110 Chicago Indians from Uptown. This group, led by Mike Chosa, began protesting inadequate housing, lack of job opportunities, and general discrimination by moving into the empty housing of an abandoned Nike site situated on land owned by Argonne National Laboratory. As eviction processes threatened, an agreement was worked out among Chosa's group,

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[48] Ann Durkin Keating, *Rising Up from Indian Country: The Battle of Fort Dearborn and the Birth of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 225–228.

[49] Donald L. Miller, *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 61–63 (on the treaty and the claim that the Indian negotiators were plied with alcohol); Keating, *Rising Up from Indian Country*, 229 (the treaty terms and the Potawatomi as negotiators).

[50] These include James LeGrand, *Indian Metropolis: Native Americans in Chicago, 1945–1975*; Rosalyn R. LaPier and David Beck, *City Indian: Native American Activism in Chicago, 1893–1934*; and John N. Low, *Imprints: The Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians in the City of Chicago*.

[51] According to the organization's website, it was established in 1953 in response to the government relocation program and was the first urban Indian center in the country (https://aicchicago.org/).

the Chicago Housing Authority, and the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development. The agreement included a provision, facilitated by Tholin, for fifty-eight of the Native Americans to take up temporary residence in Naperville (where ETS was located) at the cabins at Camp Seager, which were owned by the Methodist Church. In the meantime, the CHA was to build new housing and a Native American cultural center in Uptown. Mike Chosa hailed the outcome as "the first time in the history of Chicago that an Indian group has had a victory t[h]ey can call a victory."[52]

There must have been numerous examples over the decades of *unrecorded* personal engagements between members of the Garrett, ETS, or CTS communities and Native Americans. Some of those interactions were probably constructive, like the example just shared, others not so constructive, and in many cases very painful to the Native American side. Because of the lack of such records, though, the following historical account is incomplete and provisional.

2. AUGUSTUS GARRETT, NATIVE AMERICAN LANDS, & THE ORIGINS OF GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE[51]

When Augustus Garrett arrived in Chicago in the spring of 1834, the place's old Potawatomi village was long gone, and the few houses that Gurdon Hubbard saw when he first arrived there in 1818 had become a small but bustling community. By the end of that year, the town could boast some 400 houses, 4 warehouses, 29 dry-goods stores, 19 grocery stores, 5 hardware stores, 3 drugstores, 19 taverns, 26 wholesale businesses, and 17 law offices. Every incoming ship was loaded with people who had "caught the mania" and were "bound for Chicago, the great fairy land of fortunes."[54]

Wolf Point, circa 1833. Chicago History Museum, ICHi-005946; Justin Herriott, artist.

The Sauganash Hotel, with its grounds and barn, occupies the lower right quarter of the above photo. Augustus Garrett would purchase this property, and it would become the core of the endowment estate that Eliza Garrett would one day bequeath to Garrett Biblical Institute.

The first person Augustus Garrett sought out when he arrived in Chicago was Rev. Jeremiah Porter, the minister of the sole Presbyterian church. Augustus

[52] *Chicago Tribune*, August 19, 1971, sect. 1, p. 7; August 20, sect. 1, p. 16, 1971 and August 21, 1971, sect. 1, p. 3; the involvement of Richard Tholin in securing Camp Seager as a temporary housing site is not mentioned by the *Tribune* but was shared by Robert Harman with Robert Burkhart, who passed it on to the ISC.

[53] This section is based on chapters in Charles H. Cosgrove, *Fortune and Faith in Old Chicago: A Dual Biography of Mayor Augustus Garrett and Eliza Clark Garrett* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2020).

[54] Seeger, *Chicago, the Wonder City*, 85 (frame houses), 86 (numbers of vessels, houses, stores, etc.); Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois from Its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1847* (Chicago: S. C. Griggs, 1854), 181 (easterners who had "caught the mania" and were "bound for Chicago, the great fairy land of fortunes").

told Porter that he had come to Chicago saddled with debts but knew the auction trade and was ready to make a new start. He was also a married man, he said, although his wife would remain with her parents in Newburgh, New York, until he made a success. She was "a decided Christian," a Presbyterian, and would make an excellent parishioner in Porter's church. Porter was sympathetic and introduced Augustus to churchmen who could help him get established as an auctioneer.[55] One of them was postmaster John Bates, who operated an auction business in a store on the west side of Dearborn, between Lake and South Water. Bates had managed to get himself appointed an auctioneer of public lands when Chicago was first established as a town in 1833.[56]

It was a favorable time for moneymaking in Chicago, thanks to the end of the Black Hawk War, the beginning of federally funded harbor construction in 1833, the chartering of the canal in 1834, the steady market in lands ceded by the Native Americans through coercive treaties, and the hordes of newcomers pouring into town. Augustus arrived just in time to participate in the land craze, and his introduction to the "praying men" of the city's small business class—especially his new friendship with auctioneer Bates—made it possible for him to profit by this timing. Augustus had funds that were barely sufficient to pay for a few weeks' room and board in a tavern, much less money to prepay a lease for an auction room. But with assistance from Bates and other churchmen, he was able to open an auction room in a small store on Water Street in preparation for the traffic in lands that were about to go on the market to finance the Illinois and Michigan canal.[57]

In the 1834–1835 session of the Illinois legislature, a bill was passed to fund the canal on bonds backed by the canal lands gifted to the state by the federal government. The Federal Land Law of 1800 provided for the appointment of two officers in district land offices: the register of documents and the receiver of public monies. They were each paid a salary and commission on sales. Lands were sold at auction at the government land offices on a designated day, and what did not sell was sold the following day at the government price, $1.25 per acre in the 1830s. On May 28, 1835, Edmund Taylor, receiver of public monies, opened an office for canal lands on the second floor of Thomas Church's store on Lake Street. Sales continued through September 30, and there is reason to believe that some of the government sales were handled by Bates in his auction house, perhaps also by Garrett down the street. In any case, land sold by the government moved swiftly into a secondary market in the auction houses, and Bates and Garrett were the immediate beneficiaries. In his auction room on South Water Street, Garrett was so successful that, by July, he was able to rent space in the Bates building, a large three-story brick edifice on the west side of Dearborn near South Water—No. 1 Dearborn Street, "close to Cox and Duncan's clothing store, just opposite to which were Mr. Greenleaf's auction rooms."[58]

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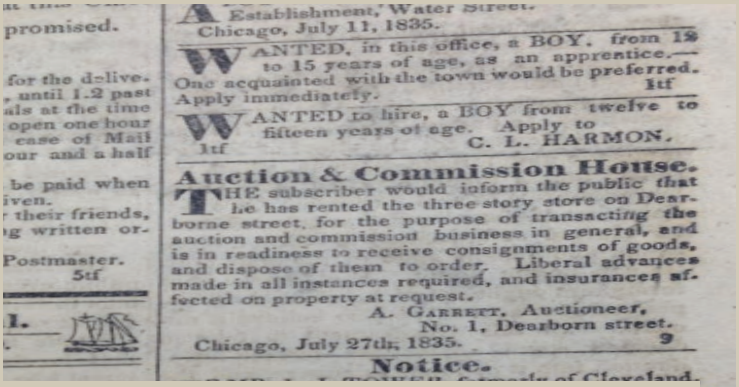
55 Jeremiah Porter, "The Earliest Religious History of Chicago" [An Address Read before the Chicago Historical Society in 1859] in *Early Chicago* (Chicago: Fergus Printing Company, 1876); Porter to Alvaro Field, as quoted in Field, *Worthies and Workers*, 312–313.

56 Porter, "The Earliest Religious History of Chicago," 58; Andreas, *History of Chicago*, vol. 1, 151.

57 Jaher, *The Urban Establishment*, 457; Andreas, *A History of Chicago*, vol. 1, 122ff., 133ff. Given that Bates was town postmaster and an auctioneer of some influence, one can infer that Bates was one of the men of First Presbyterian Church who, according to Porter, helped Augustus.

58 See Cosgrove, *Fortune and Faith*, 212–213, n. 15.



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Establishment, Water Street.
Chicago, July 11, 1835.

WANTED, in this office, a BOY, from 13 to 15 years of age, as an apprentice.—One acquainted with the town would be preferred. Apply immediately. 1tf

WANTED to hire, a BOY from twelve to fifteen years of age. Apply to C. L. HARMON. 1tf

Auction & Commission House.

THE subscriber would inform the public that he has rented the three story store on Dearborne street, for the purpose of transacting the auction and commission business in general, and is in readiness to receive consignments of goods, and dispose of them to order. Liberal advances made in all instances required, and insurances effected on property at request.

A. GARRETT, Auctioneer,
No. 1, Dearborn street.
Chicago, July 27th, 1835. 9

Notice.

Augustus Garrett "For Sale" newspaper ad, July 27, 1835. Chicago History Museum, ICHi-176176B, cropped.

Garrett described his business as an "auction and commission house." This meant that he received goods on consignment, sometimes giving the consigner "a liberal advance." He also offered insurance on consigned goods. Hence, although transactions in land were his most profitable ventures, he was also disposing of other goods, both local products and eastern imports.

By October of 1835, when Augustus made an accounting of his sales, he discovered that he had transacted $1,800,000 of business for the year thus far. In many cases the same property was sold more than once. A speculator would buy land at auction and sell it to a buyer who later put it up for sale. Or, if a man failed to sell what he purchased at auction, he would bring it back to the auctioneer and "pay a dollar" to have it put up for auction again. Harriet Martineau happened to be visiting the town in the summer of 1836, when the place was alive with land fever and thick with speculators. Every merchant, it seemed, was using his profits to buy land with the intention of selling as soon as the price went up. "As the gentlemen of our party walked the streets," Martineau recalled, "storekeepers hailed them from their doors, with offers of farms, and all manner of land-lots, advising them to speculate before the price of land rose higher." Garrett marketed town lots on the basis of this inflationary curve. Selling some lots in Milwaukee, he urged prospective buyers to consider "the chance of realizing $18,000 or $20,000 on a Lot that will cost a few hundred."[59]

Assuming that he earned only a 1 percent commission on his auction sales in this period, he would have netted $18,000, an extraordinary sum in 1835. In fact, he made more than that, since his commission was 2.5 percent on the first $200 of any sale, and it appears that there was also a fee of a dollar per auction paid by the seller. If we set his average earnings arbitrarily at 1.5 percent, the net rises to $27,000. He had expenses—rent, a clerk—and also debts from his Cincinnati fiasco, which he was now beginning to pay off. Yet even after paying overhead and a first installment on his debts, he may have had as much as $10,000 left over, no small sum in an era when an Irish live-in domestic was given room and board plus $100 a year, a teacher in a New York State academy earned about $350 a year, and the clerk of a United States senator was paid between $1,000 and $1,400 a year. In addition to profits in the thousands of dollars just from his auction fees, he was also making money in his commission store. With his excess of cash, he began speculating in land.[60]

These triumphs in business emboldened Augustus to send for Eliza. Augustus had been living in the Sauganash Hotel, which stood near the southeast corner of Wolf Point. When Eliza arrived in the summer of '35, she joined him there. The following year he purchased this property and its grounds (see the illustration on page 6), all of which would become the core of the endowment estate that Eliza Garrett

[59] *Chicago American*, Oct. 31, 1835; Harriet Martineau, *Society in America*, vol. 2 (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1837), 260; Andreas, *A History of Chicago*, vol. 1, 137; *Chicago American*, Feb. 27, 1836.

[60] Regarding compensation for various workers, see Cosgrove, *Fortune and Faith*, 214, n. 18.

would one day bequeath to Garrett Biblical Institute.[61]

At the end of August 1835, residents of the Sauganash witnessed one of the most dramatic events of Chicago's early history. Thousands of Potawatomi were in the city, and Eliza must have been among the women who looked out from the second-story parlor windows of the Sauganash to watch the Potawatomi stage a war-dance as a kind of ceremonial farewell. Their forebears had come to Illinois in the eighteenth century, under pressure from the Iroquois, an eastern people who migrated west in response to the rise of European settlement. In 1812 some of the Potawatomi living in the Fort Dearborn area engaged in battle with a group of U.S. soldiers who, with their families, were evacuating the fort. This event, memorialized in skewed white memory as the Fort Dearborn Massacre (there was, in fact, no massacre), fixed local Chicago opinion against the tribe.[62] In August of 1835, two years after the Treaty of Chicago, five thousand Potawatomi arrived in Chicago for their government payout and leave-taking. At the end of the month, when a large group of Native men staged their ceremonial war dance, biased white observers interpreted the dance as proof of Native "savagery" and a justification for Indian removal. Few white Americans admitted that it was the U.S. government that engaged in unjustified and truly savage violence against Native peoples through war, coerced treaties, and the death marches that followed those treaties.[63]

A week after the dance of the Potawatomi, a caravan of forty army wagons, with the Potawatomi men walking alongside, carried off the children and material goods of the tribe to their new lands beyond the Mississippi. One government expedition referred to the land as "too poor for snakes to live upon," and Potawatomi scouts who went to examine the place also found it barren and treeless. It is uncertain which parts of the five million acres the government agents or the Indian scouts meant, but the region was mostly prairie and lacked the vast woods and familiar large game that were thick in the ceded lands of northeastern Illinois and Wisconsin. To the Potawatomi, the new environment seemed alien and empty.[64]

Augustus had a vested interest in President Andrew Jackson's policies toward Indigenous tribes because the lands traded by the Potawatomi and other Native peoples were now being sold by the federal government to white settlers and eastern speculators. His growing fortune was immediately dependent on the treaties that brought these lands into a public market where he was a newly licensed auctioneer. Over the next few years, he purchased various properties, not only in Chicago, but in other places, too, including 328 acres in Eliza's name, at the after-auction government sale price, in a paper town of the Des Plaines River valley.[65]

Eliza's pastor, Jeremiah Porter, was well acquainted with the recent history that led to the August departure of the Potawatomi. As a missionary

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[61] See Cosgrove, *Fortune and Faith*, 55–56.

[62] See the correction of the popular view in Keating, *Rising Up from Indian Country*, 235–244.

[63] Caton, "The Last of the Illinois with a Sketch of the Pottawatomies," 141–145.

[64] Miller, *City of the Century*, 63; James A. Clifton, *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture, 1665–1965*, expanded ed. (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1998), 291.

[65] William B. Ogden to G. H. Woodruff, Jan. 19, 1841 (WBOLB III: 142–143) (mentioning sale of land in Juliet [name changed to Joliet in 1845] around 1837 by Garrett or his assignee Flaglor to another party). The two sales in Eliza's name are in Township 34N, Range 10E, Lot SE Sect. 04 and Lot NE Sect. 04, these being acreage in present-day Manhattan Township. The date of purchase is June 22, 1835. This record is part of the Illinois State Archives Depository and can be viewed online in the Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales Database. There are many listings for Augustus.

stationed first at Sault Ste. Marie and later at Chicago, Porter had considerable firsthand experience of Native peoples and government dealings with them. Writing in his journal about the initial successes of Native forces against the army in the Black Hawk War of 1832, Porter opined that God brought "ten thousand" white soldiers out to the frontier in order "to slay them and to show that he is a God that judgeth in the earth." His information about the number of army regulars engaged against Black Hawk, and the white casualties, was flawed, but his sentiments were clear. At the end of August, after the Native rebellion had been put down completely, Porter sneered at the "millions of dollars expended" and the "ten thousand American soldiers" sent into battle to kill perhaps "two hundred starving Indians." He accused the government of using the army to frighten Indians into making treaties. In a letter composed in Chicago the following summer, he offered a theological gloss on this policy, calling it "the mystery of iniquity." That September he observed to a correspondent that Indians "sell their fatherlands to the grasping whites, and retire for a resting place beyond the Mississippi," adding, "but woe to those who make haste to be rich. The Lord will not forget, and do you not forget to pray for us, that vengeance come not suddenly."[66]

Porter's views put him at odds with the leading men of his congregation, particularly those who were profiting from the new economic conditions that followed the treaty. Under direct or veiled pressure, Porter left his Chicago charge in September or October of 1835. The only thorough study of the early history of First Presbyterian Church, an unpublished book written in 1932 by Gordon Riegler, concludes that Porter's New School views on the atonement, his opposition to the liquor trade, and his "pro-Indian" views caused an irreparable rift with his congregation. His letters also hint that the elders wanted a more polished minister and complained that Porter was spending too much time nurturing other mission posts. Whether these were the real reasons or only pretenses fomented by his opponents is uncertain. We would have a clearer picture if the Chicago section of Porter's journals had survived. Porter went on to Peoria, Illinois, and soon was in trouble again, this time expressly for his outspoken antislavery opinions.[67]

Eliza Garrett was probably told that the Potawatomi were given as many acres west of the Mississippi as they gave up east of it, along with goods and payments in the millions of dollars. But she probably also knew the opinions of her pastor about the fundamental injustice of United States government policy toward Native Americans; she certainly had heard church talk about his opinions. If her conscience bothered her, she probably concluded that the United States' appropriation of lands in the North West and her husband's growing prosperity in consequence were matters over which she had no control and was not expected to hold an opinion, much less raise an objection. Women had no public say in such things, and, privately, most held the views of their men. That said, we do not know Eliza's opinions—whether she sympathized more with her pastor's views or with her husband's.

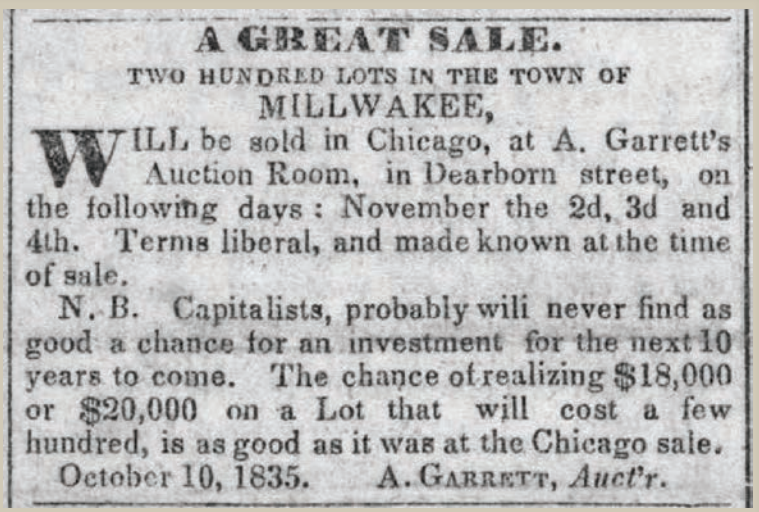
The impulse to buy real estate at an auction is ignited when "the common passion is artfully inflamed by a skillful orator." So said Joseph Balestier,

[66] Jeremiah Porter journal, summer of 1832, CHM (original and microfilm); letters of July 8, 1833 and September 4, 1833 (American Home Missionary Society Collection) as quoted in Gordon A. Riegler, "Jeremiah Porter, A History of the First Presbyterian Church Chicago, and a Narrative of the Frontier" (typescript, 1932; held by the Newberry Library), 176, 178–179, 183–184.

[67] Riegler, "Jeremiah Porter," 205–213, 292–296; Andreas, *History of Chicago*, vol. 1, 303.

looking back on the speculative frenzy of 1835 and 1836 in Chicago. Augustus Garrett was the most artful auctioneer in Chicago during the land craze, and his auction room "the most popular resort of the speculating crowd," when Chicago was "only one great town market" and "the plats of towns, for a hundred miles around, were carried there to be disposed of at auction."[68]

New towns were being laid out all over Illinois where only a handful of white settlers lived. Maps showed rectangular lots and neat grids of streets with imagined churches and civic buildings. The walls of the Garrett auction room were plastered with them, and speculators were gobbling up the parcels, then regurgitating them by resale into the hands of other speculators. The trade in land also brought multitudes of new settlers.[69]



A GREAT SALE.

TWO HUNDRED LOTS IN THE TOWN OF MILLWAKEE,

WILL be sold in Chicago, at A. Garrett's Auction Room, in Dearborn street, on the following days: November the 2d, 3d and 4th. Terms liberal, and made known at the time of sale.

N. B. Capitalists, probably will never find as good a chance for an investment for the next 10 years to come. The chance of realizing $18,000 or $20,000 on a Lot that will cost a few hundred, is as good as it was at the Chicago sale.

October 10, 1835. A. GARRETT, *Auct'r.*

Augustus Garrett newspaper ad for an auction of lots in Milwaukee, Oct. 10, 1835. Chicago History Museum, ICHi-176179B, cropped.

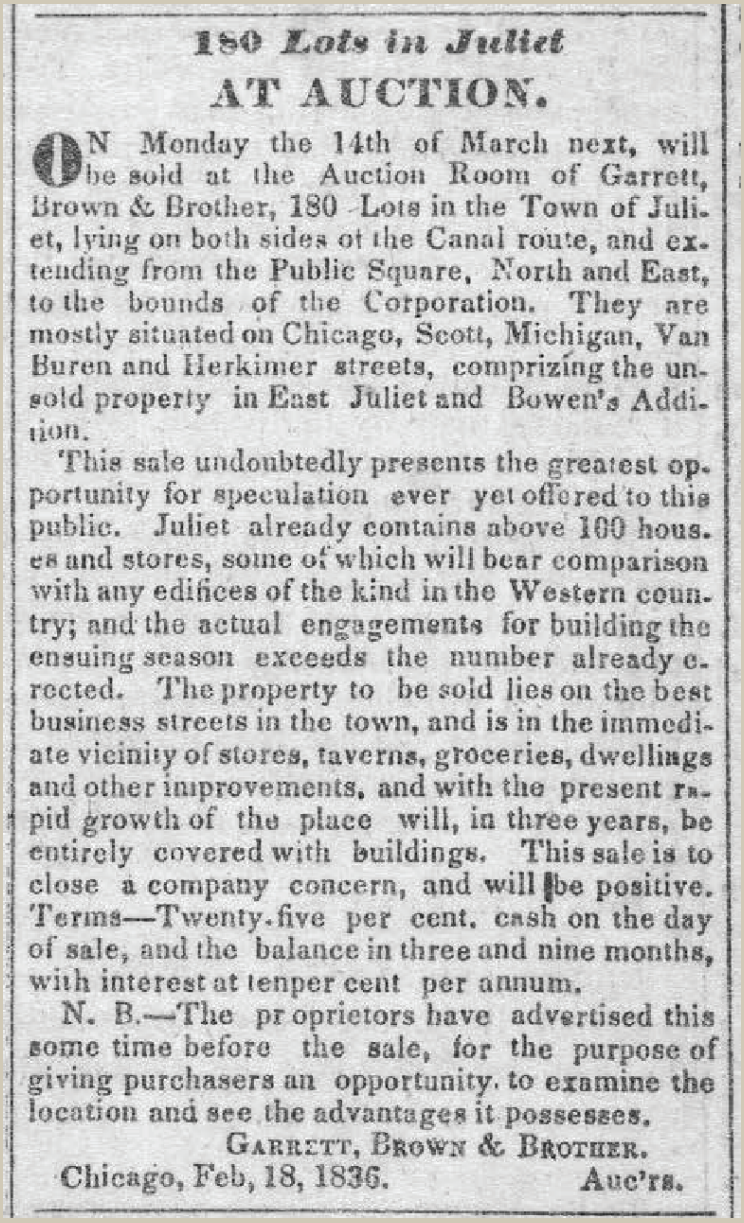
Heady with the prospect of a sharp upturn in economic growth, the state legislature provided eight million dollars for improvements, financed by bonds—half of the money to go for railroad land and road improvements, the other half to complete the canal from Chicago to Peru. Everyone was confident that land values would swell. Therefore, Augustus plowed his earnings into real estate, some of which he sold as soon as the price rose, using the proceeds to purchase more acres, as well as lots and buildings in Chicago and tracts in far-flung places elsewhere.

Augustus made some of his profits from a partnership with a man named Nathaniel Brown, a newcomer eloquent in schemes for land development in the Michigan Territory. Augustus used the proceeds of sales from this partnership to purchase real estate in Chicago, and Brown, upon returning, discovered that he and Garrett were owners of "several large blocks in the village" and "about three thousand acres of land in the Chicago land district, all of which was in the immediate vicinity of Chicago." Thanks to this success, Brown agreed to a general partnership. The firm purchased the Bates building, which Garrett was already renting, and a four-story brick edifice at the corner of LaSalle and South Water. By the winter of 1836, their profits were streaming into the Bank of Illinois at the rate of seven hundred dollars a day.[70]

[68] Alfred T. Andreas, *History of Chicago: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, vol. 1: *Ending with the Year 1857* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1884), 134 (quoting an address by Joseph Balestier to the Chicago Lyceum in 1840), 135; Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois: From Its Commencement as a State in 1814 to 1847* (Chicago: S. C. Griggs, 1854), 181.

[69] Daniel Bluestone, *Constructing Chicago* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 64; Ford, *History of Illinois*, 181–182.

[70] Conard, "Western Real Estate Speculation," 671; Andreas, *History of Chicago*, 527, 528; Alfred T. Andreas, *A History of Cook County* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1884), 852.



180 *Lots in Juliet*

AT AUCTION.

ON Monday the 14th of March next, will be sold at the Auction Room of Garrett, Brown & Brother, 180 Lots in the Town of Juliet, lying on both sides of the Canal route, and extending from the Public Square, North and East, to the bounds of the Corporation. They are mostly situated on Chicago, Scott, Michigan, Van Buren and Herkimer streets, comprizing the unsold property in East Juliet and Bowen's Addition.

This sale undoubtedly presents the greatest opportunity for speculation ever yet offered to this public. Juliet already contains above 100 houses and stores, some of which will bear comparison with any edifices of the kind in the Western country; and the actual engagements for building the ensuing season exceeds the number already erected. The property to be sold lies on the best business streets in the town, and is in the immediate vicinity of stores, taverns, groceries, dwellings and other improvements, and with the present rapid growth of the place will, in three years, be entirely covered with buildings. This sale is to close a company concern, and will be positive. Terms—Twenty-five per cent. cash on the day of sale, and the balance in three and nine months, with interest at ten per cent per annum.

N. B.—The proprietors have advertised this some time before the sale, for the purpose of giving purchasers an opportunity to examine the location and see the advantages it possesses.

GARRETT, BROWN & BROTHER.

Chicago, Feb, 18, 1836. Auc'rs.

1836 Garrett, Brown & Brother advertisement published in the *Chicago American*.

The two men then brought in Nathaniel's brother Daniel, and the three men speculated in land in various parts of northern Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Indiana, at one point owning as much as nine thousand acres. The firm of "Garrett, Brown & Brother" quickly became one of the best-known auction, real estate, and merchandise businesses in the West, operating three large concerns out of three locations—the Bates building on Dearborn, the four-story brick building at LaSalle and South Water, and another store on Lake Street. As part of this expansion, Garrett and Brown formed a second company, bringing in a man named Oliver Thompson to enhance the import side of the business. Garrett, Thompson, Brown & Company sold various goods from New York suppliers—fabrics, fur and silk hats, men's and women's shoes and boots, tea and coffee, brandy and gin. Everything was transported up the Hudson River, across New York State on the Erie Canal, and through the waterways of the Great Lakes.[71]

Chicago was chartered as a city in 1837 and that same year a precipitous economic downturn, later dubbed the Panic of 1837, led to a financial depression. Chicago was not the center of this crisis, but many Chicagoans held the notes of highly leveraged speculators, and a lack of cash and credit also affected business generally. As the American economy slowed and borrowers defaulted, well-funded eastern investors weren't the only ones who suffered losses. Many ordinary citizens with little or no experience in real estate had been dealing in land. Many of them financed their land speculation on credit and were heavily in debt. When the downturn came, the paper representing these loans—notes that had often been resold one or more times—depreciated dramatically. Borrowers could not pay their notes and were unable to sell their lands at the former inflated prices at which they had purchased them. Almost every form of business slowed as demand for goods and services diminished. The sharp economic downturn or personal disagreements may have caused Garrett and the Browns to part company and chart

[71] Conard, "Western Real Estate Speculation," 671. Conard's biography does not specify the "other businesses," but the nature of the firm's business is clarified in an ad in the *Chicago American*, January 30, 1836 (carrying the internal date of November 27, 1835.

separate paths. [72]

The Garretts' personal expenses were minimal. They lived in a hotel, had no children to support, and were not ostentatious or lavish. Augustus had learned hard lessons in Cincinnati and did not want to overextend himself through debt. He must have purchased most of his real estate with cash, since he was able to retain the bulk of his estate during the economic slump while others lost their mortgaged properties.

Augustus died of heart failure or a stroke on Thursday, November 30, 1848, at the age of forty-seven. According to one researcher's examination of Chicago's pre-fire tract book (which happened to survive the 1871 Chicago fire), at the time of his death, Augustus "owned 220 feet fronting on South Water, 480 on Lake, 220 on Randolph, and a few brick buildings—far more commercial property than anyone else in Chicago then possessed."[73] Augustus may have had additional holdings outside the taxable city limits, the author suggests. In fact, he had property in Wisconsin, and Eliza's name was on certain parcels in Will and LaSalle Counties. Records of the institute show that the estate also included forty-eight feet on Michigan Avenue just south of Twelfth Street.[74]

Augustus's will bequeathed some of the Lake Street property to his nephew, James Crow, and in the early 1850s Crow had brick buildings at numbers 225 and 227–231. When Eliza asserted her right of dower, the division of the estate had to be redone. Eliza came into possession of parcels on Michigan, Randolph, the Wisconsin land, and the prime real estate on Lake Street and South Water, which included the Sauganash Hotel and adjacent buildings.[75]

Although the will provided for Eliza and some of Augustus's relatives, it made no charitable bequests. Augustus had never intended to do anything philanthropic with his wealth, even though he sometimes made vague statements about knowing that he should. "He knew his duty but he did not do it," as Grant Goodrich phrased it:

> [Garrett] repeatedly expressed his conviction that with his activity of mind and restless energy, he could never live a christian unless he devoted his energies and wealth to founding and building institutions for the Church. "He knew his duty, but he did it not," and as a consequence he lost his religion and the offered crown of glory. In December, 1848, he was summoned into the presence of his Judge, and his widow was left to perform the great work which he had refused to do.[76]

Goodrich and other Methodist friends of the Garretts had always hoped that Augustus would engage in some kind of benefaction during his lifetime or would include a charitable bequest in his will. Augustus always made encouraging

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[72] Conard, "Western Real Estate Speculation," 672. A repeated notice in the *Chicago American* announced the selling off of the firm's stock of goods at its Water Street store (Chicago American, March 12, 1836, with internal date of March 9, 1836, for the notice itself, which was before the sharp downturn).

[73] Craig Buettinger, "The Concept of Jacksonian Aristocracy: Chicago as a Test Case, 1833–1857" (Ph.D. diss.; Northwestern University, 1982), 50.

[74] See Cosgrove, *Fortune and Faith*, 269, n. 4.

[75] See ibid., 269, n. 5.

[76] Goodrich, *The Garrett Biblical Institute of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at Evanston, Illinois (near Chicago), Being a History of the Events Which Led to Its Organization and Endowment, with a Copy of Its Charter and the Will of the Late Mrs. Garrett*, published by the Trustees (Chicago: Daily Democrat Stream Press, 1856), 3.

pronouncements when people inquired about whether he had any philanthropic plans. And when Eliza urged him to do some great thing with his wealth, he gave her the impression he was contemplating it.

He wasn't. In his will, he sought to prevent Eliza from donating his real estate—which was the bulk of his wealth—to Methodist causes. He divided his estate between her and certain of his family members, differentiating between his male and female heirs in the mode of inheritance when it came to his real property. To his male heirs, James and Thomas Crow, he gave what the law calls "fee simple" (or "fee absolute"), that is, full and unrestricted ownership of their portions. But to his three female heirs—Eliza and his two sisters—he bequeathed what is called a "life estate," that is, a right to possess and use, as well as earn proceeds from, real estate inherited during one's own lifetime but not the right to sell it or give it away or pass it on as one's own estate. Upon the deaths of these female heirs, these properties would go to Augustus's male heirs.[77]

Thus, Augustus had done everything he could to ensure that Eliza's allotted share in his real estate would eventually pass from her to his nephews, barring her from bequeathing any portion of it to the Methodist Church or to any other person or organization. There was a way around this, however. Her attorney and friend, Grant Goodrich, explained that she could assert her right of dower.

Dower was a privilege established in English common law whereby a wife could renounce her husband's will and inherit from him under a different legal custom. Traditionally, the right of dower was one-third of a husband's estate, but in Illinois, thanks to a recent statute, a wife was entitled to half if she and her husband had no living children. This was exactly Eliza's situation, and two months after Augustus's death, when the estate was submitted to probate, she "renounced the benefits" of Augustus's will and "asserted her rights of dower, whereby she became entitled to one-half of the estate." She and the heirs then agreed to a partition, and a bill was filed with the Cook County Circuit Court in 1851. By this instrument she came into full legal possession of her share, which paved the way for her to devise a will of her own and bequeath her inheritance to any persons or institutions she chose.[78]

It was a momentous decision. She had gone against Augustus's wishes and taken charge of half his wealth. Now she planned to use it for worthy causes. But a year later, on a March morning in 1852, a fire broke out in the yard between the Sauganash Hotel and its barn. Soon nearly the entire block was reduced to ashes, including the hotel, its outbuildings, three clothing stores, a fruit store, a barbershop, and a grocery. All the lots on which these edifices stood belonged to Eliza, and some of the buildings were hers. The fire marshal suspected arson, but nothing was proven. Fortunately, the buildings were insured, but settling the claims, rebuilding, and finding new

[77] Augustus Garrett's will has not survived, but aspects are described and parts are quoted in court opinions arising from a dispute among the descendants of certain beneficiaries. These opinions are part of the so-called Flaglor cases, which were eventually heard by the United States Supreme Court. Guy v. Parpart, 106 U.S. 679 (1883), reprinted in *The Supreme Court Reporter,* vol. 1, ed. Robert Desty (St. Paul: West Publishing, 1883), 463; further information "The Great Flaglor Suits," *Monthly Western Jurist* [bound under title *Weekly Jurist*] 1, no. 10 (February 1875), 433–434.

[78] Guy v. Parpart. On the legal provision for dower in Illinois at the time of Augustus's death, see ch. 34, sect. 15 of *Revised Statutes of the State of Illinois, Adopted by the General Assembly of Said State at Its Regular Session, Held in the Years A.D., 1844–'45* (Springfield, IL: William Walters, 1845), 220; also the same section in Norman H. Purple, comp., *A Compilation of the Statutes of the State of Illinois, of a General Nature, in Force January 1, 1856*, part 1 (Chicago: Keen & Lee, 1856), 497–498.

lessees was a protracted matter. John Link, a young man whom Eliza regarded as a son, assisted her with the business aspects, and Grant Goodrich represented her with the insurance companies and tenants.[79]

With philanthropic ideas developing in her mind and mindful that her real estate was generating little income, Eliza decided to take only four hundred dollars a year for her own expenses and her regular charitable contributions. She also decided to make out a will. Her thought was to establish some worthy institution, such as a school, supporting it with the revenues of her estate during her lifetime and passing on the bulk of the estate to the trustees of the institution as an endowment after her death. She was thinking in particular of a women's female college, but the Methodist men she consulted urged her to endow a theological school for ministerial training. [80]

In early December of 1853 she met with Goodrich to work out the details for her will. She had accepted the idea that she ought to endow the theological school that Goodrich and his friends were planning, but she still insisted on endowing a female college. Goodrich told her that the consensus opinion of the seminary organizers was that it would be unwise to divide her resources between two schools. Then he suggested a way she could avoid jeopardizing the theological institute while still providing for the women's college. She accepted the compromise and, on December 2, signed the final version of a will in which she gave John Link a full third of her estate, apportioned thirty-two thousand dollars to various other relatives and friends, and assigned the remainder of the estate, amounting to a little less than two-thirds, to the "Garrett Biblical Institute." She also directed that should the institute not need all the monies bequeathed to it, the excess be used to establish a female college:

> And in case at any time the said trust property, the rents, issues, and proceeds thereof, shall exceed the amount necessary to build, fit, furnish, endow and support said Biblical Institute as aforesaid, I direct and devote the surplus to accumulate, or otherwise to be invested for accumulation, for the purchase of a site and the erection, within the city of Chicago, or its vicinity, of a female.[81]

It was understood by the trustees and other supporters of the institute that during her lifetime Eliza would support the school with proceeds from her estate. Yet, her properties were still encumbered by debt. For the time being, financial support for the institute would have to come from elsewhere. There was optimism, however, that within five years or so the Garrett estate would be generating income again, enabling Eliza to contribute most of the monies needed to operate the school. In other words, the organizers figured that if they could get the school off the ground, there would be sufficient financial resources as it grew, thanks to Eliza's commitment to fund the institute during her lifetime and posthumously, through her bequest.[82]

The organizers raised money to build on the

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[79] *Chicago Daily Journal*, March 4, 1851.

[80] Goodrich, *Garrett Biblical Institute*, 4.

[81] The excerpt of the will is from the transcription in Goodrich, *Garrett Biblical Institute*, 14–15.

[82] Goodrich in *Manual of Information Respecting the Garrett Biblical Institute*, published by the Trustees (Chicago: Daily Democrat Steam Press, 1857) 12–13. According to a journal entry or reminiscence published in G. E. Strobridge, *The Biography of the Rev. Daniel Parrish Kidder* (New York: Hunt and Eaton, 1894), Daniel Kidder prepared the 1857 manual of information (p. 233), but it is clear that the account of the founding of Garrett is Goodrich's. See Cosgrove, *Fortune and Faith*, 263, n. 23.

campus land owned by Northwestern University,[83] which had been chartered on January 21, 1851, and by 1853 they had purchased 350 acres of land from John Foster in what would become the town of Evanston.[84] In July of 1854, the university had not yet constructed any buildings, but that month construction was begun on a hall for Garrett Biblical Institute. By January of 1855, GBI's new three-story wooden structure was ready for the four students and three faculty of the first term. Dempster Hall, as it would eventually be named, was meant to serve until the organizers could erect substantial buildings of brick and stone. A dedication was held on New Year's Day of 1855.[85]

3. ORIGIN STORIES

Early accounts of the origins of Garrett Biblical Institute mention the fortune inherited by Eliza Garrett from her husband's estate and bequeathed by her to the school, but they rarely mention the specific sources of the wealth, much less make a connection between that wealth and the history of land and Native peoples of the region. The version composed by Grant Goodrich and published in the institute's catalogs recounts the story of Eliza's gift but is silent about how her husband acquired his fortune.[86] A short history of GBI, published in the *Garrett Tower* in May of 1927, mentions that Augustus Garrett was an auctioneer and that "his fortune. . . came from Chicago real estate."[87] Indeed, all the rehearsals of institutional origins in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century were celebratory pieces. The authors did not mention that this "Chicago real estate" was a recent product of the conquest and removal that made Native homelands fungible as private property.

In 1944, when the *Garrett Tower* devoted a series of articles to recounting the history of the school, the school's president Horace Greeley Smith wrote that "a COMPLETE HISTORY of Garrett Biblical Institute would begin with the dawn of creation" but that would require "too long a story to tell in one issue of the Tower." Therefore, Smith began his account with the settling of North America that "set the stage for this *drama of divine destiny*":

> Surely long centuries were involved in the many vast changes which shaped this continent into the setting for *a new chapter in civilization*. More particularly can we understand the process by which at last the vast territory known as the Mississippi Valley was *made ready for man's habitation*. About this inland empire the founders of another school wrote in 1850, "Destiny seemed to point out this valley as the depository of the great heart of the nation." It might be added also that these same forces shaped the lovely lake with its "restless waters" and left in between its old and new shore line a wooded sand bar to make as beautiful a campus as a school might wish to have. While nature was thus at work, *other influences converged to make this school inevitable*. Among these were all *the movements*

[83] That GBI owned its own buildings but not the land, which was university property, is implied by all the descriptions of the school's beginnings. See, for example, Horace Greeley Smith, "The Story of Garrett, 1853–1953," in *Garrett Biblical Institute Bulletin* 42, nos. 5–6 (December 1954) (Evanston, IL: Garrett Biblical Institute, 1954), 5.

[84] Robert D. Sheppard and Harvey B. Hurd, eds., *History of Northwestern University and Evanston* (Chicago: Munsell, 1906), 18, 54–57.

[85] Goodrich, *Garrett Biblical Institute*, 5; Goodrich in *Manual of Information*, 13, 38.

[86] Goodrich's account was printed in the early institutional publications referenced in preceding notes.

[87] "Old Days at Garrett," *The Garrett Tower* 3/1 (May1927), 1–3. The author signs "F." and may be the assistant editor Alvin K. Fleming, who represented the student body.

which brought the colonists to our eastern shores leading up to that day when "Our Fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created free and equal."[88]

Divine destiny, lands supposedly empty of human habitation, inevitabilities of colonization—these notions simultaneously elided and justified the conquest and removal of Indians.

Methodist circuit work in the ever-expanding settler regions, Smith continued, "hastened the day when a school to train ministers must be opened." He rehearsed Eliza Garrett's part in the founding of GBI and noted that she had married a "bold and venturesome young man who tried his fortune in many places only to fail until he came to Chicago in 1834," where "he prospered rapidly, and amassed a considerable fortune," most of it "in the form of Chicago real estate."[89] This was the canonical way of telling the story.

Relatively few Native Americans lived in Evanston during Smith's tenure as president. To the extent that Indigenous Peoples populated his mental map of the United States, they were almost certainly conceived by his mind as objects of Methodist missions. The prevailing Methodist view of Native peoples in this era was thoroughly paternalistic. To take just one example, when the superintendent of a Methodist school in New Mexico reported to the U.S. Senate's subcommittee on Indian Affairs in 1931, he explained that it was the conviction of the school's staff that "the Navajo people have two great needs." One was vocational training and the other was "Christian education," since "it is felt that no race can be as quickly lifted out of primitive conditions by any other means as by Christian truth."[90] The concept of the equality of cultures, which rejected the view that cultures (as integrated symbol systems) are not stages on a march of progress from primitivism to civilization, with Western culture being the highest form to appear thus far in history, was just beginning to make itself felt in American cultural anthropology and had not yet penetrated the thinking of educated Methodists generally, if at all.[91] Moreover, the dominant progress-toward-civilization theory meant that its adherents rarely thought to ask Native Americans for their own opinions about what they needed or deserved, since it was assumed that white people knew better what those Native interests were. These prevailing white attitudes and assumptions explains why Smith narrated Garrett's history in terms of "a new chapter in civilization," as he put it, and a product of "destiny" and "other influences" that "converged to make this school inevitable."

Later capsule histories of the school's origin did not repeat Smith's progress-of-civilization framework or his allusions to the creed of manifest destiny. Instead, most of them simply started with Eliza

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88 Horace Greeley Smith, "The Story of Garrett: 1854–1944," part I, *Garrett Tower* 19/2 (February 1944), 3 (3–13) (emphases added). Smith expanded this account by carrying the story forward to 1953 for the school's centennial in Horace Greeley Smith, "The Story of Garrett, 1853–1953," in *Garrett Biblical Institute Bulletin* 42, nos. 5–6 (December 1954) (Evanston, IL: Garrett Biblical Institute, 1954), 3–45.

89 Smith, "The Story of Garrett," part I, 4.

90 "Statement of C. C. Brooks, Superintendent Methodist Indian School, Farmington, N. Mex.," in *Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, Seventy-First Congress, Third Session, Part 18: Navajos in Arizona and New Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing House, 1932), 97–59.

91 As a development in the field American anthropology, the concept of the equality of cultures is credited to Franz Boas (1858–1942) and his students at Columbia University (who included Albert Kroeber and Ruth Benedict) but also to other influential anthropologists of the era, including, for example, Clyde Kluckhohn.

Garrett's bequest, sometimes with brief references to Augustus's business ventures.[92]

4. A HISTORY OF THE ORIGINAL GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE ENDOWMENT

The core of Eliza Garrett's endowment bequest to GBI was the parcel of land at Lake and Market, purchased in 1836 as the Sauganash Hotel and its grounds, which had only a few years before become *real estate*, a transferable piece of private property, in consequence of land placed on the market by the federal government following the 1829 Treaty of Prairie du Chien (see above).

GBI's trustees made leases with various businessmen of Chicago, charging 6 percent per annum of the assessed value of the Chicago parcels. These contracts required independent assessments by representatives engaged by the parties, producing the nearest thing to an accurate determination of the property's market value. In August of 1858, an accounting in a treasurer's report put the value of the institute's real estate at $284,500 (nearly 10 million in today's dollars), and in December the treasurer reported that income from the properties amounted to a little more than $7000 a year and was likely to increase to $11,000 in the near future.

On Saturday evening, November 13, 1869, the building that GBI owned at its Lake and Market site was destroyed by fire. Garrett rebuilt. Then three years later the Great Chicago Fire destroyed all the buildings owned by lessees of GBI's Chicago lots, as well as the school's own four-story commercial building at Lake and Market and that site's two adjacent stores. In the ensuing decades the school used the property as collateral for loans and in 1931, in the midst of the Great Depression, defaulted on its loan payments and almost lost the core endowment. As far as available evidence shows, GBI still owned the core endowment property in 1958, when it was "valued at 4 million dollars."[93] But at some point, the endowment property was sold, just when has not yet been established.

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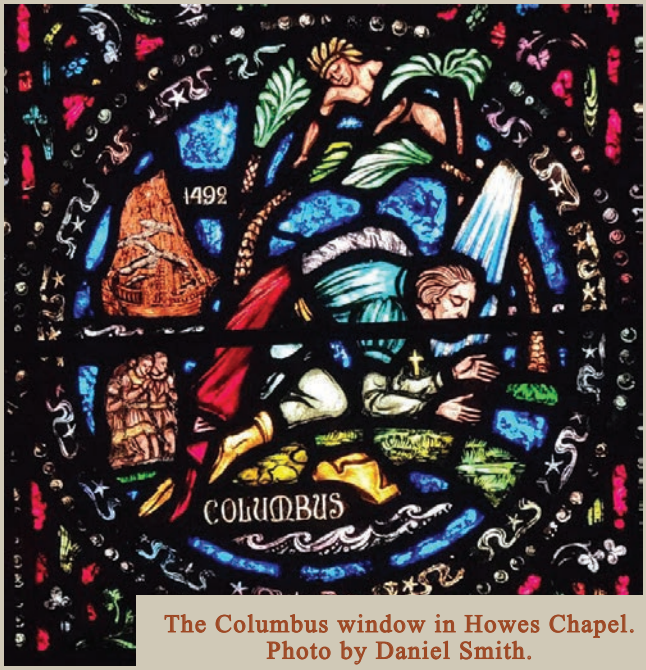
[92] For example, Frederick A. Norwood, *From Dawn to Midday at Garrett* (Evanston, IL: Garrett-Evangelical Seminary, 1978), 3–15; Ila Alexander Fisher, "Eliza Garrett: To Follow a Vision," in *Spirituality and Social Responsibility: Vocational Vision of Women in the United Methodist Tradition*, ed. Rosemary Skinner Keller (Nashville: Abingdon, 1993), 42–43. Institutional origins statements in literature and the website followed suit. The first study to unearth and analyze the origins of Augustus Garrett's wealth, with reference to Jacksonian land policies, the coerced ceding of land in Illinois by Native Americans, and Augustus's involvement as an auctioneer for the sale and resale of those lands, as well as a purchaser of them, is Charles Cosgrove's *Fortune and Faith in Old Chicago*, which is the basis for the preceding section titled "Augustus Garrett, Native American Lands, and the Origins of Garrett Biblical Institute."

[93] *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 30, 1958, p. 3.

5. THE CAMPUS LAND OF GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE

As for the Evanston campus of the school, as distinguished from its Chicago land holdings, the campus lay north of the city in the young town of Evanston on a large property that had recently been purchased for Northwestern University. This land, too, had recently been occupied by Potawatomi. Yet there is no mention of that in Goodrich's history of the school. In telling the story of the founding, he speaks merely of a chosen location "at Evanston."[94] The organizers of GBI did not deem it pertinent to mention any "prehistory" of the place.

A history of Evanston published in 1891 by Frances Willard offers a glimpse of the prevailing way that settlers thought about this prehistory. Willard, a Methodist and famed early resident of Evanston, had been encouraged by the president of GBI to write an account of the town. Naturally, she included the story of the founding of GBI, in which she mentioned Augustus Garrett's fortune but not its source.[95] Her chapter on the establishment of Evanston, which precedes her account of the founding of Garrett Biblical Institute, is titled "Discovery and Purchase of Evanston." She begins by quoting Orrington Lunt's account of how the land was chosen for the university, the founding of the school in that locale having been the impetus for the town, and she calls Lunt "the Christophero Columbo" of the founding of Evanston.[96] In this allusion, she spoke as almost anyone of her social class might have done. Her phrasing was emblematic of the era. Nor did anything change for many decades. In fact, in 1937, when Howes Chapel was erected, Columbus was depicted in one of the stained-glass windows on the east side of the sanctuary (illustration below). He has just landed on an "American" shore. A heavenly light streams down on his head, suggesting that he is on a divine mission, and a naked Native figure observes the event,



The Columbus window in Howes Chapel. Photo by Daniel Smith.

As for the time before the establishment of Evanston, Willard declined "to penetrate the legendary period still more remote, when Indians skimmed the great lake in their skiffs, and wigwams wafted their smoke to the skies from among the trees that crown the college campus."[97] This sort of white people's prose about indigenous peoples of the past was typical of the era and tended to romanticize that epoch.

[94] Goodrich's account in *A Manual of Information* (1857), 13.

[95] Frances E. Willard, *A Classic Town: The Story of Evanston as Told by "An Old Timer"* (Chicago: Women's Temperance Publishing Association, 1891), 28.

[96] Ibid., 25.

[97] Ibid., 6.

Implicit here is the idea that all peoples of the earth stand at different points of development along the path to civilization. As Willard observes, "After the Indian, came, in the inevitable order of evolution, the hunter and trapper, the soldier and trader."[98] The words "inevitable order of evolution" made conquest and removal unavoidable moments in the forward march of development. Moreover, the hunters and trappers, had to be supplanted by the pioneer, whose possession of the land Willard assigned to hard work, not to a national policy of conquest and removal: "It is *the pioneer* who built a home and tilled *the peaceful acres his industry had won.*"[99] When white settlers established a little settlement, then "*all actual history begins*."[100] For Willard, the advent of actual history coincided with this transformation of the wild natural world by settlers. The hunter and trapper "left small impress on the wilds of Evanston," Willard wrote,[101] implicitly invoking a familiar pioneer trope: the conquering of nature. "Let us try to picture to ourselves that early day when there was no Evanston, but when the headland. . . from the ridge to the lake was one truly 'dismal swamp,' without a road, and but faintly humanized here and there by the home-hearth of a log cabin."[102]

Despite Willard's characterizations—which admitted that an Indian trail was still visible[103] and that Indians had settled the area, yet claimed that the place was wild and lacked signs of domestication, such as roads and dwellings, and that Native peoples belonged to the place's "remote" history—there had in fact been an Indian village in Evanston as recently as the 1840s. It had disappeared perhaps no more than a decade before her own arrival in 1858. A 1901 paper by Evanston native Frank Grover describes it:

> Immediately north of Sheridan road where it turns to the West, some two or three blocks north of the light-house, fronting the lake shore and on property [now] belonging to Mr. Charles Deering, was an Indian Village consisting of from fifteen to twenty wigwams. It must have been quite a permanent place of abode, for they had a corn field there and the mounds showing where the corn grew in rows can yet be seen [as of 1901]. Mr. James Carney [whose family arrived in Evanston in 1835 when he was a small child] visited this village when a school boy and has a vivid recollection of the wigwams built of rushes and mats, the Indians, their squaws, the children, the dogs. . . .[104]

This location was at Grosse Pointe (the site of the lighthouse), just north of the university, and had been part of a "reserve" granted by the federal government in 1829 (as part of the Treaty of Prairie du Chien) to

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[98] Ibid. (emphasis added).

[99] Ibid., 7 (emphasis added).

[100] Ibid., 7 (emphasis added).

[101] Ibid., 6–7 (emphasis added).

[102] Ibid., 7 (emphasis added).

[103] Ibid., 6, 21, and 58.

[104] Frank R. Grover, "Our Indian Predecessors," a paper read to the Evanston Historical Society, Nov. 2, 1901 (published by the Society), 21. A James Carney, born in the latter part of the 1830s, is listed as an Evanston resident, married to Bridget, in the 1880, 1900, and 1910 federal census enumerations. The birth years vary slightly. On the Charles Deering property, see note 106.

a Potawatomi woman and her children.[105] It consisted of some 1200 acres of land that stretched south and north from what became Center Street at Grosse Point in Evanston to Elmwood Avenue in Wilmette and east and west from the lakeshore to a bit beyond what was later the Chicago & North-Western Railway line.[106] Archange Ouilamette's children sold the property in parcels between 1844 and 1847.[107]

It would have been during the 1830s and 1840s that the southern end of the reserve was occupied by a village of Potawatomi, and indeed the settlement may have been there before the reserve was granted. Several decades later, Charles Deering purchased part of this property (hence Grover's reference to him), specifically a lake-side tract of land on the east side of Sheridan Road, stretching from Central Street north to Ingleside Park. This parcel included Grosse Point.[108]

Frances Willard was also familiar with the Grosse Point area and with the evidence of Indian burial grounds it contained. She had passed through the place many times. Yet she assigned its residents to the remote past, despite the fact that the Grosse Point Potawatomi had departed just sixteen years before her arrival in Evanston.

According to Grover, Indian graves came to light in 1866 on property used by GBI. The discovery was made during the construction of Garrett's Heck Hall, where the Deering Library now stands. Grover's father, Aldin Grover, was with the excavating crew when two sets of partial skeletal remains were revealed.[109] These were just a few of the remains and other signs of Indian graves in the landscape that was founded as Evanston. Although the Heck Hall find was reported to the wider community, there is no record of what was done with the remains.[110] A reference to them was made, however, in an address, composed by Frances Willard on behalf of the Ladies Centenary Association, which was read by Rev. James S. Smart at the ground-breaking ceremony:

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[105] The promise was eventually formalized as a federal land patent, awarded in 1842 to Archange Ouilmette's children. The record reads: "Granted to said Archange Ouilmette and her children and to her heirs, to have and to hold this said tract of land unto said Archange Ouilmette for herself and children and her heirs and assigns forever, but never to be leased or conveyed by the said grantee either for herself or her children to any person whatever without the permission of the President of the United States." Miscellaneous Deeds Books, the Department of the Interior, Virginia. As quoted by Peter T. Gayford based on archival research (with photographs of the document) at https://sites.google.com/site/archangeouilmettehistory/

[106] J. Seymour, Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders,* vol. 2 (Chicago: Clarke, 1918), 314.

[107] According to Grover, they sold the patent to the federal government in 1844, but Gayford finds records of sale as follows: Nelson, Holand, and Tuttle (1846), Joel Stebbins (1846), Isaac Harmon (1847), and Norton, Hubbard, and Palmer (1847). See Grover, "Our Indian Predecessors," 39; Gayford at https://sites.google.com/site/archangeouilmettehistory.

[108] Grover's reference to Charles Deering must refer to the owner of the property at the time of Grover's paper (in 1901), since Deering was born in 1852 and his father William did not move the family to Evanston until 1874, according to Fred Carstensen, "William Deering," *American National Biography* (Oxford University Press, online version, 2000). In 1900, Charles Deering owned a house and tract of land on Sheridan Road stretching from Central Street north to Ingleside Park (and east to the lakeshore), a stretch of lakeside land that included Grosse Point. See the 1900 federal census enumeration for Charles Deering of Evanston.

[109] Grover, "Our Indian Predecessors," 3. A reference to these graves, obviously dependent on Grover, is also made in Viola Crouch Reeling, Evanston: *Its Land and Its People* (Evanston, IL: Fort Dearborn Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, 1928), 63.

[110] In 2016, the Evanston History Center completed an inventory of Indian human remains and made two sets of remains available for return, in accord with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Acts. The remains found in 1866 at the GBI site were not among them and are not known to the History Center. Kevin Leonard, University Archivist of Northwestern University, conducted a search of university records and found no record of these remains. They are not mentioned in the seminary's Board of Trustee minutes of 1866 or in the minutes of the Ladies Centenary Association (held by Styberg Library), which raised most of the money to build Heck Hall.

> In the excavations for these walls, just below the main hall of the edifice to be erected, have been found human skeletons of great antiquity, buried perhaps before the Pinta and the Nina turned their adventurous prows from Spain toward the new world. None can narrate for us the history of the race thus represented, or bring up from oblivion the secrets of this ancient burial-place. But there are other graves and other lives of which we must think, while standing here.[111]

Willard may have been correct about the "antiquity" of the remains, but assigning them to the time before Columbus's arrival also suited the picture that Methodist friends of GBI and Northwestern liked to imagine as the setting for their schools—a "primeval grove" untouched by any recent human habitation.[112] As we have seen, no references to Native Americans appeared in any of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century rehearsals of the school's founding and history, which tended to repeat the same pieces of information in roughly the same form as Goodrich had originally set them forth in the institutional publication he composed in 1856. Native Americans did not exist in this story. In the Methodist hagiography of the founding of Garrett, the site was always referred to as "Northwestern University" or "Evanston," without reference to the Native history of the site.[113]

There was probably no single reason or cause for this silence, but it is possible to make a reasonable guess about at least two reasons. First, to have mentioned the Potawatomi as recent inhabitants of the university campus where Garrett was established would have called for reference to events about which Methodists had mixed moral feelings. As it happens, a Garrett-Evangelical faculty member, church historian Frederick Norwood, did a case study of two Methodist ministers of the 1850s who worked with Indigenous peoples in Washington and Oregon. One was full of prejudice against the Native Americans with whom he labored. He and his wife referred to them with the usual degrading terms. The other minister was a defender of the Native peoples of his region, their humanity, wisdom, moral virtues, and religion, even though he regarded them as "simple" in religious matters, since he could not concede that their religion was equal to his. The two men represented polar opposites along a continuum of Methodist opinion and practice.[114]

What the Methodists who organized Garrett thought about Native peoples and their recent history with the federal government is not documented. But the Garrett organizers were ardent abolitionists. Hence, it stands to reason that most of them did not condone many of the federal military actions against Native peoples, the forced migration marches, or the outrages of white settlers against Native communities.

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111 *The Ladies Repository*, October 1866, p. 630; the address was also published in the *Chicago Tribune*, July 13, 1866, p. 4. Frances Willard, secretary of the Ladies Centenary Association, notes that she was the author of this speech and that it was read by Rev. Smart at the ceremony, "while I stood by in modest meekness, for women's hour of utterance was not yet come" (Willard, *A Classica Town*, 87).

112 The expression "primeval grove" is used in a notice about the building of Heck Hall, published in Harper's Weekly, July 13, 1867, p. 436.

113 For example, in an article-length history of Garrett by Horace Greely Smith, published in the Garrett Tower in 1944, Smith writes that, once it had been decided to organize the school, "a Board of Directors was authorized to proceed with the plans for the school, the understanding being that it would eventually be established upon the endowment provided by the estate of Mrs. Garrett;" and "arrangements were made to build upon the campus of Northwestern University." Smith, "The Story of Garrett," part I, 4.

114 Frederick A. Norwood, "Two Contrasting Views of the Indians: Methodist Involvement in the Indian Troubles in Oregon and Washington," Church History 49 (1980), 178–187.

At the same time, most of these Methodists probably rationalized to themselves that Indian ceding of lands to white settlers in northern Illinois was "inevitable," which was Willard's term and also the one Greeley Smith chose many years later. In other words, Goodrich had a reason to leave Native peoples out of his account since to mention them would have introduced an uncomfortable subject into a story meant to recall a "pure" moment in history when divine providence gave to him and his Methodist co-religionists the gift of their precious school.[115]

Connected with this is a second likely reason for the silence. When Willard used the expression "legendary time" for the era of Native peoples in the area and when she declared that it was when white settlers established a settlement there that "all actual history begins," she assigned Native peoples to prehistory, implying that despite the Potawatomi's recent presence, there was no historical continuity between them and the settlement of Evanston, the founding of Northwestern University, or the establishment of Garrett Biblical Institute on the Northwestern campus. She assigned Native Americans to a different story, a prehistory, unconnected to the history of Evanston. And she displayed no awareness of what a big lie this was, when white settlers, including the founders of Northwestern University, had been able to purchase the land only because of the 1829 Treaty of Prairie du Chien.

6. BUILDINGS & ARCHITECTURE

Garrett Biblical Institute's first building was a three-story wooden structure, intended to serve until more substantial brick and stone buildings could be constructed.

Dempster Hall. Courtesy of the Northwestern University Archives. Courtesy Northwestern University Archives

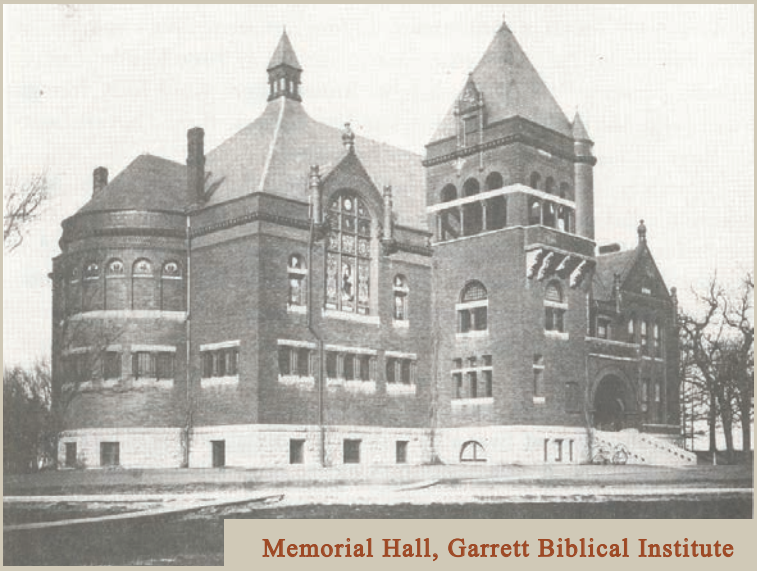
Memorial Hall replaced Dempster Hall in the 1880s. The plans for this structure "were worked out from drawings by Prof. Charles F. Bradley," based on observations he made "in the east," probably referring to Bradley's visits to eastern colleges and universities.[116] The final result was described as "Romanesque in its general outline."[117] The term Romanesque referred to the adoption of Roman styles of architecture by medieval church builders. In the United States, the Romanesque revival of the late nineteenth century took its inspiration from Europe. Garrett's Memorial Hall reflected the institution's

[115] Goodrich in *The Garrett Biblical Institute of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 3–4; Goodrich in *Manual of Information*, 12–13.

[116] Willard, *A Classic Town*, 39 (quoting an unnamed source, perhaps Grant Goodrich, who had just been quoted).

[117] Ibid., 40; the building is also described as Romanesque in architect Edgar O. Blake's chapter, "Evanston Architecture," in Robert D. Sheppard and Hurd, eds. *History of Northwestern University and Evanston* (Chicago: Munsell, 1906), 306.

aspiration to be an institution of higher education on par with prestigious schools of New England and Europe, a desire which GBI always had to balance with its mission to serve a constituency shaped by a piety of "heart religion" that was suspicious of academic learning.



Memorial Hall, Garrett Biblical Institute

The opening article in the first issue of the *Garrett Tower* (May 1925) was a piece by the school's president Frederick Carl Eiselen. Eiselen praised Garrett's faculty for the quality of their "scholarly research and investigation," remarking that "in every respect Garrett occupies today an enviable position among theological seminaries in America." He went on to cite an eminent Methodist who opined that Garrett stood "in the forefront of Methodist schools." Another had declared that Garrett was "one of the really great theological seminaries in the country."[118]

The campus buildings symbolized the school's sense of its lofty status. "The burning of Heck Hall in February, 1914," Eiselen observed, "marked the end of one stage in Garrett's career. The exchange, in the following year, of the former location for the one now occupied may be said to have ushered in the period of 'The Greater Garrett'."[119]

The 1923 Neo-Gothic Administration Building with the Tower

When a young Murray Leiffer arrived in Evanston in 1923 to begin his studies at Garrett, he was struck by the magnificence of the administration building. It was "easily the most beautiful and impressive building on the entire [university] campus. Its Gothic architecture, stone walls, great square tower, and appropriate decorative features, its high ceilings and broad stairways made one think of the medieval cathedrals of Europe."[120] The place was designed for pomp and circumstance in high Anglo style. "Later," the Leiffers recalled, "we were to experience the thrill of watching or participating in processionals, with all the all the color of academic robes and hoods, and the dignity of organ music echoing through the large chapel."[121]

A variety of opinions about the architectural purpose of Garrett's Neo-Gothic buildings have been offered. An architect who reported on the buildings for *The Western Architect* magazine quoted as follows what he learned from the architectural firm of

[118] Frederick C. Eiselen, "A Confession of Faith," *The Garrett Tower* 1/1 (May 1925), 1.
[119] Eiselen, "A Confession of Faith," 1.
[120] Leiffer and Leiffer, *Enter the Old Portals*, 16.
[121] Ibid., 16.

Holabird & Roche: "Feeling that 'in a school where young men and women are preparing for the ministry it would seem far better that they should live in an atmosphere and environment of good architecture rather than in surroundings which inspire no appreciation of that which is beautiful' and knowing that a 'monument of good architecture supplies a tangible, visible object around which can be built an active loyalty and to which tradition and sentiment can attach,' the architects sought that style which in the past had proved most useful in producing these reactions."[122] He did not think to add "in white people of European heritage."

Some eighty years later a onetime president of Garrett interpreted Garrett's Gothic turn as part of a trend in Methodism:

> The significance of Gothic for Methodists was that it represented an unequivocal attempt to claim the identity of "church" in the fullest sense of the word. Gothic had simply come to look like "church," like a traditional Christian space for worship. The development of Gothic coincided with Methodist prominence in urban areas and Methodists' *growing sense of identification with Western culture and learning*. Thus, the main building for Garrett Biblical Institute. . . is completely Gothic and complete with rich and elaborately documented medieval symbolism, such as the seal of Lincoln College, Oxford, over one of its doors.[123]

The Gothic turn was an ethnocultural one, then, wedded to the school's sense of what Eiselen had said in his 1925 *Tower* article, when he lauded Garrett's new campus as "one of the world's finest group of buildings devoted to theological education."[124]

Meanwhile, for students whose heritage was *not* white European, the implicit message of the great stones and arches was something like "measure up, assimilate, and cultivate a loyal attachment to the old portals." At the same time, the weight and solidity of Romanesque Memory Hall and its successor, the English-Gothic collegiate administration building with its impressive tower, were reminders of the permanence of the dislocation of Native peoples from that particular piece of land and their replacement by men and women whose cultural genealogy was European. If the handful of Native American students who passed through these halls, year by year, felt privileged by inclusion, the entire environment had to be alienating, especially to the extent that the ideology expressed in the boarding-school motto, "kill the Indian, save the man,"[125] was taken for granted and probably occasionally expressed out loud in these same hallways and classrooms.

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[122] M. A. Rolfe, "Garrett Biblical Institute at Evanston, Illinois," *Western Architect* 34/2 (September 1925), 89.

[123] Ted A. Campbell "Methodist Ecclesiologies and Methodist Sacred Spaces," in *Orthodox and Wesleyan Ecclesiology*, ed. S. T. Kimbraugh, Jr. (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2007), 222 (emphasis added) (215–225).

[124] Eiselen, "A Confession of Faith," 1 (emphasis added).

[125] Richard Henry Pratt.

7. THE TOPIC "NATIVE AMERICANS" IN FACULTY WRITING

There were, however, some traces of interest in Native American life and concerns in faculty writings, including book reviews published in the *Garrett Tower*. The *Tower* was an institutional periodical established when the new campus was erected (hence the name), for which issues have been preserved from the first issue in 1925 through what may have been the last issue in 1967. Garrett faculty produced hundreds of book reviews during these years, and a number of these books dealt with Native Americans. *Tower* reviews were short, usually just a paragraph, and the reviews of books about Native Americans tended to be recommendations. Many of the books were intended for children and adolescents, and quite a few were intended as home missionary literature. Most of the reviews were written by faculty teaching in missions, and quite a few clustered in certain years: reviews by William Schermerhorn in 1932 and reviews by Edmund Soper in 1944, for example.

The earliest such reviews were published by William D. Schermerhorn, professor of church history and missions. Most of the books he reviewed were penned by white Americans, and most endorsed some form of Native assimilation to white culture. Schermerhorn's reviews revealed little about his own specific opinions regarding assimilation. Yet from his recommendations of almost all the books he reviewed, one gathers that he generally endorsed some version of it.

One of these books was *Indian Americans* by Winifred Hulbert. Schermerhorn, who recommended the book, described it as follows: "The life of an Alaskan girl is sketched; the mingling of young women from many tribes at Haskell is portrayed. The attempts of young Indians who have modern training and must find a place in present-day life are sympathetically set forth."[126]

Hulbert's book, a home missions textbook intended for use by high school and young people's groups, represented the current state of progressive thinking among white Christian Americans. Hulbert reported the opinions of Native Americans, and she took the view that their integration into wider American society need not and should not entail a loss of their "identity as Indians."[127] Hulbert seems to have distinguished between what she regarded as the outmoded nature of Indian customs in relation to Western technology and the enduring value of Indian spirituality and morality. The former was "worthy of respect" but also "outworn[128] and consisted of what she called "the ancient ceremonials," "the old superstition," and "the old social customs," which, she believed, impeded "uplift."[129] At the same time, she thought that it was a great loss for the younger generation not to know "their own spiritual inheritance," for "the old teachings contained both religious beliefs and moral codes."[130] These, she said, could be found in Navajo stories. Notably, Hulbert gave a highly critical account of the effects of government policy in Indian education. Yet she offered a sanguine account of mission schools and quoted only Native voices who spoke approvingly of those

[126] *Garrett Tower* 8/3 (November 1932), 15.

[127] Winifred Hulbert, *Indian Americans* (New York: Friendship Press, 1932), from the Foreword.

[128] Ibid., 108. See further pp. 121–123, 148–149, 157–159.

[129] Ibid., 108–109.

[130] Ibid., 134.

schools.

Schermerhorn's short review of Hulbert's book did not mention all these details. Yet in recommending the book, he implied that he more or less agreed with them, probably because Hulbert's view represented what Christians at a school like Garrett regarded as the enlightened view of the Native American situation.

Also revealing is Schermerhorn's review of *Facing the Future in Indian Missions* by Lewis Meriam and George W. Hinman. Schermerhorn calls it "one of the best textbooks in years" and notes that it was chosen as an Interdenominational Home-Missionary Study book for 1932–33. The authors of this substantial volume were whites, one of them a government official in the Department of Indian Affairs and the other a former missionary to Native Americans and a director of a survey of the American Missionary Association's work with Native peoples. Schermerhorn described these facts as exceptional strengths of the book, and he summed up his opinion by describing the book as an excellent account of how Native Americans "must be led through the mazes of tutelage into the liberty of full American citizenship." Here, too, assimilation to white culture is the goal. The phrasing also suggests that the agents of this process were to be the white missionaries and government officials.

Yet there was more to *Facing the Future in Indian Missions* than Schermerhorn's comments suggested. Lewis Meriam had conducted a governmental investigation into the Indian Office, and he reported in *Facing the Future* on his visit to "the widely advertised Carlisle Indian College." Meriam and his team had interviewed students from the school and had learned that, while it was "renowned for its college football team," the students had only completed the fourth grade" and that "scholastically Carlisle was . . . only an elementary school."[131] Moreover, the Carlisle graduates reported that the trades they were taught were useless back home in their Indian communities.[132] Meriam drew following conclusion: "The Indian children taken away from their families and communities got no training in Indian family life and many of them never had any experience in white family life. Thus, the moral force of traditional community opinion was seriously weakened if not destroyed."[133] This was at least a halfway acknowledgment that removing Native American children from their families and communities had deleterious effects. But that problem seems not to have registered with Schermerhorn. He regarded the Meriam and Hinman textbook as a "wholesome and positive statement" of the work that was being done for Native Americans, and he did not note the book's own criticisms of that work.

While he was writing these reviews, Schermerhorn was about to publish a major Christian missions text, which appeared in 1933. In it he expressed more directly his views of Native Americans, doing so in a way that suggested he regarded his remarks as non-controversial, that is, as the common opinion of most of his readers: "The Indian rarely remained in any one location long enough to produce a worthy civilization, and even when some were disposed to settle down the government commissioners would come among them with their request for a treaty which would move them to fields ever new, as the white settlers demanded the

[131] Lewis Meriam in *Facing the Future in Indian Missions*, 83. This and the following to quotations are given in Jon Reyhner, "Reconsidering Indian Schools," *History of Education Quarterly* 45 (2005), 639–640 (636–642).

[132] Ibid., 26.

[133] Ibid., 129.

land which the Indians occupied."[134] This language expressed the prevailing notion of "civilization," with all its prejudicial connotations, and it implied that treaties and Indian removal were similar to tribal nomadism, the latter being regarded as an impediment to progress toward civilization. Schermerhorn knew that "the record of the treatment of the Indian is not one of which America can be proud." He moderated this observation, however, by suggesting that "it has evidence of sincere good will *at the base*" and that blame should be placed on "the bad white man, together with a vacillating government," who were the ones who have "wronged the Red Man again and again."[135] In the current moment (early 1930s), Schermerhorn contended, the Indian "is coming to be pretty well domesticated, somewhat indolent because of subsidies, and yet a promising part of American society."[136] Schermerhorn discerned no grave harms in the process of what he called "domestication," a demeaning word that smacked of animal training and was used in this period to refer to the process by which colonizing whites attempted to "civilize" native peoples.[137] "In most respects," Schermerhorn wrote, "the government agents and the various missions work together harmoniously in the task of developing the Indian to the point where he will be able to take his place in the society of American citizens." Implicit in all of this was the idea that Native Americans should submit, dependently, to the development process and only in that way, by assimilating, could they become independent as citizens.[138]

In the mid-1940s Edward Soper also wrote reviews of books concerning Native Americans and their situation in the United States in the *Garrett Tower*. Soper, a professor of missions at Garrett, would soon publish a groundbreaking work, *Racism: A World Issue* (1947), and he was already at work on it in 1944 when he reviewed *What Kind of Democracy Do You Want?*, a study guide for young people by Princeton Seminary Christian education professor Dewitt C. Wycoff.[139] The purpose of the guide, Soper explained, was to apply "the principles of democracy" to "our relations as white Americans to the American Indian."

Soper's reviews generally divulge nothing specific about his own opinions, but one of them indicates his thinking on the subject of cultural differences and how they should be interpreted. In a 1947 issue of the *Tower*, Soper reviewed *Papago Indian Religion* by Ruth M. Underhill, an American anthropologist who had earned a Ph.D. at Columbia University studying under Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict. Underhill was devoting her career to helping dispel myths held by white Americans regarding Native American cultures. Soper wrote, "This is the kind of book in which a student rejoices. It contains the results of a long period of direct study made among the Papagos themselves." In other words, it was done in the new style of ethnography. After a brief description of the book's contents, Soper added, "We have here a definitive work by a trained specialist, one

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134 William D. Schermerhorn, *The Christian Mission in the Modern World* (New York: Abingdon, 1933), 266.

135 Ibid., 268.

136 Ibid., 268.

137 An example of this usage

138 Schermerhorn went on to refer to citizen independence as the hoped-for outcome of "service" to the Indian (*The Christian Mission in the Modern World*, 269).

139 *The Garrett Tower* 19/4 (1944), 7.

which will be used by students of primitive religion who may be sure they can depend on both the facts and the conclusions of the author."[140]

Twice, Soper used the term "primitive" to describe the religion of the Papagos and the Papagos themselves. Underhill had employed this term in the fashion of her teacher Ruth Benedict, who used it to mean "simpler" but not for that reason "inferior," and who argued that "primitive" cultures have important lessons to teach the large, dominant modern civilizations, which take themselves as universal.[141]

In his own field, missiology, Soper became known as a champion of the view that there is continuity among the world's religions, through general revelation, but that Christianity, apart from what it shares with other religions, is unique and superior.[142] These ideas were progressive among Protestants of his era. David Hollinger has recently described Soper's 1943 book *The Philosophy of the World Christian Mission* as an important impetus for "the transition in missions from 'foreign missions' to a vision in which indigenous peoples shared equally in the missionary project."[143]

Nearly a decade before H. Richard Niebuhr's *Christ and Culture*, Soper's *The Philosophy of the World Christian Mission* argued for a program in which Christianity, as a missionary enterprise, renews and reforms world cultures. "Today when the missionary goes to Japan, India, China, and parts of the Islamic world . . . it is not necessary for him to take a culture but to inject into it certain elements which will not destroy but [will] recondition it."[144] Accordingly, he spoke of "a Christianity expressing the Indian [referring to India] genius and that of China and Japan as it has [expressed] that of the Western world."[145] Yet he believed that the peoples in Africa "are for the most part in a backward condition, illiterate, undeveloped, and unable to confront the situation created by the modern world." He placed certain peoples in North and South America in the same category, undoubtedly including American Indians, and he argued that *these* peoples "cannot remain as they are. Modern civilization will see to that no matter what the Christian missionary may do, so that it his task to carry the gospel which will save these unprotected peoples from losing their souls in the in the transformation of their lives which is now taking place."[146] Soper's biases about so-called "backward" peoples must be kept in mind in assessing his assumptions about and proposals for Christian mission to Native Americans. For example, in reviewing Ruth Muskrat Bronson's book, he does not mention her urgent call for Native American self-determination and governance.

During this same period, Soper had been working on "the race problem," as it was then called. He conducted a seminar on "race" during the fall and winter quarters of 1942/1943, in preparation for a conference on "Christian Bases of World Order,"

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[140] *The Garrett Tower* 22/3 (1947), 18–19.

[141] See the discussion and quotations from Benedict's work in Jason Antrosio, "Concept of Culture: Ruth Benedict and Boasian Anthropology" (2013), *Living Anthropologically* website, https://www.livinganthropologically.com/ruth-benedict-culture/. First posted 9 September 2013. Revised 20 June 2021.

[142] Edmund D. Soper, *The Philosophy of the Christian World* Mission (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1943), 212–231.

[143] David A. Hollinger, "The Realist-Pacifist Summit Meeting of 1942 and the Political Reorientation of Ecumenical Protestantism in the United States," *Church History* 79 (2010), 675 (654–677).

[144] Soper, *The Philosophy of the Christian World*, 108.

[145] Ibid., 104.

[146] Ibid., 108.

which was held in Delaware, Ohio, in 1943. Then, in the autumn and winter of 1943/1944, he held a series of ten seminars in the upper Midwest on "Racism and World Order," with expert seminar leaders on various aspects of the topic. These seminars produced reports that served as the basis of discussions at a five-day conference for academics and church leaders held, at the invitation of the Methodist Church, at Garrett Biblical Institute in March of 1944.[147] Following this conference, Soper began writing up the collected materials into a book. Once he had drafted the various chapters, he held seven seminars in New York City with experts on the subjects, from whom he solicited comment and critique. For example, the three consultants for the chapter on "Negroes in America" were three prominent African American scholars and leaders: George E. Haynes, the African American director of the Federal Council of Churches' Department of Race Relations; William S. Nelson, professor of religion at Howard University; and, Leslie Pinckney Hill, a Black history scholar and educator.[148]

Soper's book, *Racism: A World Issue*, was published in 1947. While it drew on the work and conceptual frameworks of cultural anthropologists, the concept of the equality of cultures had only just begun to permeate the thinking of educated white Americans;[149] it was not a governing idea in Soper's book, although he did champion the criticisms that the cultural anthropologists and others had been leveling against the notion that "race" is a biological-hereditary characteristic.

The chief contribution of Soper's book to the thinking of white academics in the United States at the time was Soper's foregrounding of racism as "one of the world's most important and serious issues—one that in one way or other involves all others."[150] Moreover, his characterization of racism as a disease that is "deeply rooted in the textures of men's thinking and in the organization of society"[151] suggested that racism had what would later be termed a "systemic" character, although Soper did not speak of, much less examine, ways in which racism was hidden (i.e., not conscious or obvious to its effectuators but operational nonetheless in institutional structures, polices, and practices not widely recognized by whites as racist). His focus was overt racism and its supporting myths in societies around the world—myths of racial superiority that he sought to dismantle. The book was certainly not without its flaws, some of which were trenchantly pointed out in a review by Eugene Holmes, a professor at Howard University, who noted that the section on "the Negro in American life" was written mainly for white Christians and that, from the standpoint of an African American academic like himself, "the historical material is of an elementary nature."[152]

Soper's book has received fresh appreciation in recent studies of the history of anti-racism. Benjamin

[147] Soper's Chicago-area seminars during World War II are archived in the Edwin D. Soper Papers, Styberg Library, Box 8, Folder 21.

[148] Edmund D. Soper, *Racism: A World Issue* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1947), 8.

[149] In 1952, when Albert Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn published *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, they noted that it had taken 50 years for the educated public to catch up with the redefinition of culture by anthropologists (p. 9). Moreover, it is uncertain whether the concept of the "relativity of cultures," which was asserted as a basic thesis by Kroeber in 1915 (in his "Eighteen Professions," *American Anthropologist* 17, pp. 283–288), had become widely embraced in American intellectual circles, outside the discipline of anthropology, by the 1950s.

[150] Soper, *Racism*, 49.

[151] Ibid., 289.

[152] Eugene C. Holms, "Racism" [a review], *The Journal of Negro Education* 16 (1947), 555–557.

Bowser mentioned Soper in a 2017 article on the origin and theory of racism in the *Journal of Black Studies*. According to Bowser, the word's "earliest usage has been traced to the 1902 edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* as a description of U.S. policy toward Native Americans . . . and that for the first half of the 20th century, the term was used interchangeably with 'racialism'."[153] Bowser pointed out that the term "racism" entered the vocabulary of the social sciences thanks largely to Ruth Benedict's *Race and Racism* (1945) and Edmund Soper's *Racism: A World Issue* (1947)."[154] In articles on ecumenical Protestantism published in 2010 and 2011, Hollinger described Soper's *Racism* and Buell Gallagher's *Color and Conscience* as "two of the most searching and extensively developed critiques of racism written by any institutionally prominent white American at any time prior to the 1960s,"[155] and he characterized Soper's book as "a sweeping, critical account of racism worldwide, connecting Jim Crow with the practice of racial domination found in imperial, colonial systems around the globe."[156] These assessments were echoed a decade later in Gene Zubovich's book *Before the Religious Right*. It was Soper, Zubovich wrote, who "penned the first systematic academic study of racism as a global phenomenon."[157]

Soper included discussion of racism against Native Americans as one of many analyses in *Racism*.[158] He began his section on Native Americans with the following declarations: "The Indians were here when the white men came. They are the only original Americans."[159] In recounting the brutal history of the encounter between whites and Native peoples in America, Soper wrote that "for the most part the record is one of almost unrelieved and brutal warfare. Indians looked upon the whites as intruders—which they were—and very naturally resisted encroachment on their homelands and native hunting grounds. Under constant pressure they were driven relentlessly farther and farther west."[160] Soper did not mention, much less analyze, the doctrine of discovery or the notion of manifest destiny.

Soper's analysis of the Native American situation in the United States in the twentieth century is best understood if one reads it from the perspective of its conclusion:

> Under the friendly and intelligent guidance of John Collier, commissioner of Indian affairs, and many wise missionaries, the Indians have been helped to raise themselves to a surprising extent. Much value is placed on self-determination and self-government. Indian cultural values and arts are emphasized, and workable plans have been in operation looking to the regeneration of the land and its communal use. Undoubtedly the fading away of racism is to be accounted for largely by what the Indians have been led to do for themselves. Their growing self-

[153] Benjamin P. Bowser, "Racism: Origin and Theory," *Journal of Black Studies* 48 (2017), 572 (572–590).

[154] Bowser, "Racism: Origin and Theory," *Journal of Black Studies* 48 (2017), 572–573.

[155] David A. Hollinger, "After Cloven Tongues of Fire: Ecumenical Protestantism and the Modern American Encounter with Diversity," *Journal of American History* 98 (2011), 32 (21–48).

[156] Hollinger, "The Realist-Pacifist Summit Meeting of 1942," 674.

[157] Gene Zubovich, *Before the Religious Right: Liberal Protestants, Human Rights, and the Polarization of the United States* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2022),

[158] Soper, *Racism*, 202–206.

[159] Ibid., 202.

[160] Ibid., 203.

respect and hopefulness have led to respect on the part of white men and a new hope for the future of these first Americans.[161]

It is evident today that Soper was naive to imagine that white prejudice against Native peoples was on the wane in the United States. Nor did he appreciate how far the Collier administration fell short of humanity and justice. It is true that by comparison with previous administrations, Collier's tenure at Indian Affairs was an improvement. Collier's obituary in the *New York Times* (1968) noted that he "hacked away at Government policy that called for 'civilizing' the Indian. He tried instead, to re-awaken interest in Indian art and music, folklore and custom."[162] These are the Collier policies that Soper had in mind when he wrote that "Indian cultural values and arts are emphasized. . . ." Yet Native children were still routinely taken from their parents and from their tribal communities and placed in boarding schools or foster care. Those who administered these programs and those who received the children tended to be of one mind in agreeing that it was best for Indians to abandon their Native identities and fully assimilate. Moreover, full assimilation is what Flora Warren advocated in words that Soper cites approvingly from *The Indian in American Life*.[163] Her view could not have been more wrong-headed, but it remained the majority white opinion for decades, put into practice in a variety of ways, including at Christian mission schools.

Soper's conclusion provides a clear picture of his own opinion about another subject that he treated in an earlier part of his discussion. There he had written that "to give the Indians freedom to act according to their inbred convictions and at the same time to bring them into the full current of American life, where different ideas prevail, can be seen to be most difficult."[164] Here Soper is referring to the Native American beliefs, tenaciously held, that "land does not belong to the individual but is the common property [sic] of the tribe" and that "the community is a democracy [i.e., not a representative republic] in which all men[165] have the right to discuss and help decide matters of concern in their common life."[166] Read apart from the perspective of Soper's conclusion, his discussion of the Native American view of land could leave the impression that Native Americans ought to abandon that principle for the sake of assimilation, as a necessary condition of success. Soper's conclusion suggests otherwise—that whites should not expect Native Americans to abandon their convictions about land but should seek ways to accommodate those views.

Soper was also highly critical of the structures of dependency that the United States created by law and bureaucracy, which made Native Americans

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161 Ibid., 206.

162 "John Collier, Ex-Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Is Dead at 84," *New York Times* (May 9, 1968), 47.

163 Warren: "Moreover, adaptation [of Indians] to American life is going on with equal speed, despite efforts to hold back the advance in order that aspiring antiquarians may be occupied and curiosity-seeking tourists may be titillated. To attempt the restoration of Indian culture is the most futile of endeavors. . . Any culture that can be arrested and fixed in its mold is dead and no longer the possession of living human beings." Flora Warren in Lindquist, *The Indian in American Life*, 65, as quoted by Soper, *Racism*, 206.

164 Soper, Racism, 204.

165 In this passage and elsewhere, Soper uses "men" in the generic sense, typical of his era, which makes it difficult to tell whether he has women in view at all in certain places. Nor does he consider the ways in which gender discrimination and misogyny made racism toward Native American women different from racism against Native American men.

166 Soper, *Racism*, 206.

essentially "wards" of the state, treating them like children and at the same time making it impossible for them to extricate themselves from the desperate conditions that the system produced through bad administration, misguided intentions, and general callousness.[167] When Soper wrote in conclusion that "much value is [now] placed on self-determination and self-government," he was referring to shifts in national policy under the Collier administration, which were aiding Native Americans in their own efforts to raise themselves up, as Soper put it.

There is a good deal of excessive optimism in Soper's discussion of Native Americans and an overly sanguine notion of the work of home missions—those "many wise missionaries," as he calls them—with Native Americans. The absence of consultation with[168] and quoting of Native Americans is a significant weakness, especially given that the most progressive writing by non-Natives and Natives in Soper's day did rely on Native American perspectives when interpreting the situation of American Indians.

8. GBI IN THE 1950S AND 1960S

GBI was intellectually engaged with the civil rights movement of the fifties and sixties. Naturally, the Garrett community also dealt with the effects of that movement on campus life, and faculty and students were also engaged in varying ways and degrees in civil-rights social activism. Bits of this history are mentioned in the personal faculty reminiscence penned by Murray and Dorothy Leiffer, but nothing approaching a full account has yet been given.[169] It is possible that Soper's seminars and his influential 1947 book *Racism* helped better inform the Garrett faculty and served to strengthen the faculty's sense of urgency about civil rights. Soper had devoted a full chapter to "The Negro in American Life," which was informed not only by extensive reading but by feedback from African American intellectuals. By contrast, Soper's discussion of Indians in American life was barely four pages long and had not been vetted by Native American consultant.

Given the presence of Native Americans in Methodist churches, it is likely that at least a few Native Americans passed through the doors of Garrett during the 1950s and 1960s. However, the school did not keep records about racial/ethnic identity.[170]

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167 "Utterly despised, unwanted, and abused, these "wards" of the government had no worthy future in the estimation of most Americans who took the trouble to understand their plight. Pushed off into reservations in sections where agriculture was almost impossible, the Indians were reduced to paupers looking to the government to provide their means of subsistence. In many cases—so frequent that it was considered the general rule—the Indian agents were unsympathetic white men who received their appointments as political plums. Lack of understanding, prejudice against all Indians, downright fraud, and glaring incompetence were widely prevalent and resulted in a still further reduction of the Indians to destitution." Soper, *Racism*, 204.

168 If there was consultation, it was not noted in the book's acknowledgements.

169 Murray Leiffer and Dorothy Leiffer, *Enter the Old Portals: Reminiscences: Fifty Years on a Seminary Campu*s (Evanston, IL: The Bureau of Social and Religious Research, Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary, 1987), 124–125, 171–176.

170 Registrar Vince McGlothlin-Eller reports that "there exists a handful of scanned transcript cards dating anywhere from 1945-1990. At least on the front side of the card that contains other demographic information, there does not appear to be information regarding race or ethnicity. Some of the pre-1990 records had additional information on the back side of the cards, but none of the *scans* include that information, so it has not been verified whether those cards had information about race/ethnicity. Chances are that the seminary did not begin tracking that information until it became a required reporting measure. As best one can tell, that information became a required reporting measure sometime in the 1990s."

It is interesting to learn from Murray and Dorothy Leiffer's personal reminiscences about Garrett that "in the 1950s the school was criticized because it had not kept any data on basis of race," a criticism they found surprising, since, they emphasized, it had long been the practice to admit students regardless of gender or ethnicity.[171] Moreover, the Leiffers, who showed warmth and hospitality to everyone, regarded Garrett as a "family" in which all were embraced and treated with respect; and, they pointed out that the school included courses that dealt with racial injustice in society. In fact, the first course that Murray Leiffer taught at Garrett was "Racial Groups and Cultural Life," which focused especially on prejudice against African Americans.[172] It is very possible that this course, first offered in 1936, included discussion of the Native American experience, but Leiffer does not say.

Yet the Leiffers' recollections reflected only one side of the story and an overly rosy one. In his chapter on the institutional history of Garrett during the tumultuous years of 1968 through 1974, Frederick Norwood remarked on divisions "that wreaked havoc on the once-assumed unity of the Garrett community." "Assumed" was the operative word. The idea of "the Garrett family" had been "forever associated with the paternal guidance of Horace Greeley Smith," and now it was "gone," wrote Norwood, "*if it ever really existed*."[173]

James Cone was from Little Rock, Arkansas, and studied at Garrett from 1958 through 1965. Expecting a different social climate in the North from what he had known as an African American in the South, he was surprised when he encountered pronounced racism in Chicago, in the city of Evanston,[174] and also at Garrett, where he recalls a social ethics professor who routinely told racist jokes and "many professors" who "treated black students as if they were dumb."[175] "Most white administrators, professors, and students," Cone wrote in his 1987 retrospective, *My Soul Looks Back*, "do not know what blacks are talking about when they speak of an ethos of racism. It is as if whites have been socially conditioned to be racist and thus dehumanizing to blacks for so long that they now do not even recognize it any longer. This was my feeling at Garrett."[176] Cone did have affirming experiences with some faculty members, William Hordern and Philip Watson in particular, both of whom encouraged him to enter the PhD program.[177]

Cone wrote a dissertation on Karl Barth.[178] It was only after he graduated that he had the epiphany that led him to a new way of doing theology, a Black theology. Black theology—its substance or its hermeneutic—did not exist at Garrett in the 1960s. Nor would a Native American student of the 1950s or 1960s have been encouraged to construct "Indigenous theology" by embracing his or her Native identity in such a way as to rethink Christian cosmology, for example, in terms of Native cosmology, Christian spirituality in terms of Native spirituality, Christian ecclesiology in terms of Native understandings of community, or to develop a Christian approach to economics or ecology from a Native American perspective.

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171 Leiffer and Leiffer, *Enter the Old Portals,* 188.

172 Ibid., 190.

173 Norwood, *From Dawn to Midday at Garrett*, 201 (emphasis added).

174 James H. Cone, *My Soul Looks Back* (New York: Maryknoll, 1987), 29–30.

175 Ibid., 30–31.

176 Ibid., 31.

177 Ibid., 33–34.

178 "The Doctrine of Man in the Theology of Karl Barth" (Northwestern University, 1965).

In the 1970s, students in Methodist history courses who read Garrett church historian Frederick Norwood's 1974 textbook, *The Story of American Methodism* (which became a standard at Methodist seminaries), would have learned Norwood's opinion that Methodist Home missions to Native Americans were historically the preaching of "Western civilization"—along with the gospel or instead of it--and that the missionaries to American Indians showed no respect for Native American languages, much less Native American "religious sensitivity."[179] "The best, perhaps, that can be said," wrote Norwood, "is that if the missionaries smuggled in Western civilization, they at least presented some of its better aspects, in contrast to the contributions of the fur traders, mountain men, and pioneers generally."[180]

Norwood intended to be generally critical, while reserving a modicum of approbation for Methodist missions, relatively speaking. Yet his last statement overlooked the fact that unlike fur traders, mountain men, and pioneers generally, Methodist home missions entailed a systematic stripping of Native identity and culture from Native peoples, especially Native American children. As Pamala Silas, a Menominee who was raised as a foster child, bluntly observed at a 2014 listening session at Garrett, "For every fort, there were 5-7 mission sites. Those sites did more to kill off our people than the forts ever did."[181]

While Norwood was in the final stages of completing his Methodist history for publication, 250 Sioux Indians engaged in 71-day occupation of Wounded Knee on South Dakota's Pine Ridge Reservation. It may be that this historic protest sparked the additional research that Norwood devoted to Methodists and Native Americans in the latter part of the 1970s, which included devoting a sabbatical to the subject.[182] His output included a reading list pertaining to Native American Methodists,[183] a conference presentation titled, "The Methodist Response to the Indian Question in the United States,[184] an article, already mentioned, about two Methodist ministers of the 1850s and their contrasting views and relations with Native Americans in the states of Washington and Oregon,[185] and an article in the *Christian Century* on Methodist Christian "protest against the exploitation of American Indians."[186]

In his *Christian Century* article, Norwood began by observing that "we have all heard, many times, about the mistreatment of American Indians and the complicity of the churches in that sad story. My understanding of that history leads me to agree; guilt feelings well to the surface."[187] The context of this remark was the raised consciousness in many white Christian circles regarding the history to which Norwood referred. "In the 1960s and '70s, at long last," he observed, "Methodist interaction with

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[179] Frederick A. Norwood, *The Story of American Methodism: A History of the United Methodists and Their Relations* (New York: Abingdon, 1974), 332.

[180] Ibid.

[181] Pamala Silas, as quoted in "Acts of Repentance Listening Session," Appendix 2.

[182] Some of Norwood's research on Native Americans was conducted during a 1977 sabbatical at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California.

[183] *Native American Methodists: A Reading List* (Lake Junaluska, NC: UMC Commissions on Archives and History, 1979).

[184] Norwood's paper is mentioned in *Aware*, 1977, no. 2, 7.

[185] Norwood, "Two Contrasting Views of the Indians."

[186] Frederick A. Norwood, "Native Americans and Frontier Justice (Christian Protest against Indian Exploitation)," *Christian Century* 97 (1980), 614.

[187] Norwood, "Native Americans and Frontier Justice," 614.

Native Americans was powerfully stimulated by a broader involvement with racial and ethnic minorities generally. Black Power spilled over into Red Power. . . ."[188]

Norwood's own awareness had been shaped by this recent history, and he believed that Methodists should acknowledge their history of moral failures in their relations with Native Americans. Yet this was not the focus of his *Christian Century* article. Instead, the article described the few instances in earlier Methodist history where Methodists had protested the oppression of Native Americans. It was important to recognize, he said, that "the record of Methodist witness on justice to American Indians" did not start "with the past decade or so." There had been a handful of Methodists, even in the nineteenth century, who, in addition to attacking the maltreatment of American Indians had also "expressed appreciation" for Indian culture and religion. Unstated, but perhaps implicit, in Norwood's *Christian Century* article was the idea that denominational history in service to the church should perform two functions: tell the story in a way that exposed moral failings honestly and critically but also highlighted instances of moral courage as a source of inspiration to the contemporary generation. One can appreciate the contribution of the *Christian Century* article to the latter aim and at the same time question whether Norwood, in his history of American Methodism, looked searchingly and honestly enough at its moral failings, in particular at its practices of cultural genocide, a subject that is only vaguely described in Norwood's history.

9. EVANGELICAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

In 1973, just four years after the denominational merger that formed the United Methodist Church (1968), Garrett (which by then had adopted the more modern name Garrett Theological Seminary to replace its old moniker, Garrett Biblical Institute) joined with Evangelical Theological Seminary to form Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary, both schools representing denominations of the 1968 church merger.

The relatively short institutional history of ETS by church history professor and president Paul Eller does not mention Native Americans.[189] If Native American interests and concerns were discussed in publications by other ETS faculty, these efforts have not yet come to light.[190] ETS church historian Raymond Albright's 1942 history of the (German-American) Evangelical Church—which in 1946 joined the Church of the United Brethren in Christ to form the Evangelical United Brethren Church—described no mission to Native Americans, but briefly noted that interactions between German settlers and Mohawks in Pennsylvanian produced Mohawk Germans who spoke Mohawk German, a form of German that had been substantially influenced by the Native American tongue.[191] Eller's 1957 book, *These*

[188] Ibid., 615.

[189] Paul Eller, *Evangelical Theological Seminary: 1873–1973*, published as vol. 59, no. 92 (1973) of *The Seminary Review*, a quarterly publication of ETS.

[190] In 1969, ETS church historian Charles Rogers penned an article on the history of Methodist preaching in the early decades of the Wesleyan mission to North America, but he focused on theology, not the recipients of the evangelism. See Charles A. Rogers, "The Theological Heritage of the Early Methodist Preachers," *The Duke Divinity School Review* 34 (1969), 196–208.

[191] Raymond W. Albright, *A History of the Evangelical Church* (Harrisburg: Evangelical Press, 1942), 18. Native Americans are otherwise briefly mentioned in his book as friends of the settlers, threats to them, or as peoples conquered and driven out by war.

Evangelical United Brethren, made no mention of the denomination's mission to Native Americans, who are not mentioned in the book except for a single reference to a circuit rider who lost his life "when he rode into an Indian ambush."[192] Nor did Eller's 1979 book, *The History of the Evangelical United Brethren Church* (co-authored with Bruce Behney), discuss the EUB's mission to Native Americans.[193]

10. GARRETT-EVANGELICAL: THE 1970S THROUGH 2023

In the 1980s, ATS schools were busy incorporating the concepts of "globalization" and "cross-cultural sensitivity" into seminary curricula and making "diversity" a value of seminary life and education. Garrett had already been making efforts during the 1970s to diversify its faculty, and in 1980 the seminary magazine noted some of that progress. A report to the General Conference from the Commission on Religion and Race had described a lack of diversity at Methodist theological schools. "Faculties of our theological schools are overwhelmingly white," the report said, and in the year 1978–1979, "there were 282 full-time faculty members," among whom "there were only thirty blacks, one Asian, and one Native American." Moreover, more than a third of the African American faculty members were at the Interdenominational Theological Center, with which the UM-related Gammon Theological Seminary was affiliated. The one Native American faculty member was not at Garrett. But the commission found that Garrett "was 'outstanding' in its intention to add an ethnic presence in faculty, administration, and staff." Woodie W. White, executive secretary of the Commission on Religion and Race, wrote to Garrett's president Merlyn Northfelt as follows: "Of all the schools we visited . . . Garrett-Evangelical stood out in its comprehensive approach and accomplishments in providing [a] significant black presence in the total life of the theological seminary."[194]

Garrett was indeed earnest in its commitments to ethnic diversity and cross-cultural sensitivity, but these commitments did not bring the history and experience of Native Americans to the fore.[195] Yet there were certain signs of growing awareness, however piecemeal. The spring lectures for 1990 were devoted to the theme "Cross-Cultural Communication of the Gospel."[196] Two of the speakers were Taylor McConnell, recently retired emeritus professor of Christian education at G-ETS, and his wife June McConnell, who had spent more than a decade with Pueblo, Hispanic, and Anglo groups in New Mexico, engaged in a research project on forms of ministry suited to multicultural communities. In 1986, when Taylor was still a full-time faculty member, their work had been described locally in a Santa Fe newspaper as "an action research project on how families in differing cultural settings (Native American, Hispanic,

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[192] Paul H. Eller, *These Evangelical United Brethren* (Dayton, OH: Otterbein, 1957), 57.

[193] J. Bruce Behney and Paul H. Eller, *The History of the Evangelical United Brethren Church*, ed. Kenneth W. Krueger (Nashville: Abingdon, 1979). There are only incidental references to Native Americans in this book, and none relate to interactions between the church and Native American peoples.

[194] *Aware*, 1980, no. 2, p. 4.

[195] Globalization initiative came to include engagement with culturally and ethnically diversity on campus and in the national environment, not only with the wider world. See *Patterns of Globalization: Six Studies*, vol. 27, no. 2 (1991) of *Theological Education*; *Incarnating Globalization in ATS Schools: Issues, Experiences, Understandings, Challenges*, vol. 35, no. 2 (1999) of *Theological Education*.

[196] *Aware*, 1989, no. 3, p. 4 and 1990, no. 3, p. 8.

and Anglo) can grow stronger through learning from each other *without diminishing their own cultural heritages*."[197] The last phrase was an indication of a shift that was slowly, perhaps glacially, taking place in Methodist circles and at Garrett regarding respect for Indigenous cultures.

Another speaker for the 1990 spring lectureship at Garrett was Ben Bushy Head,[198] a Cherokee Indian, who came from a long line of Cherokee ministers and specialized in using Native American spirituality for healing.[199] Bushy Head served as director of leadership development at the UMC Native American Center of the University of Oklahoma,[200] and one of the purposes of the Center was to collect and preserve information about Native American traditions. Bushy Head also served as a consultant to a 1986 project that was conducted under the auspices of the United Methodist General Commission on Archives and History. GCAH had established an Ethnic Heritage and History Committee, which was carrying out a series of consultations on what Methodists "had been done regarding the history and constituency" of each of four groups—Native American, Asian American, Black, and Hispanic communities—and "what needed to be done to recover [each group's] story."[201] One product of these consultations was *First White Frost*, a study of Native Americans and the Methodist church, written by Homer Noley, a member of the Choctaw Nation and the founder of the National United Methodist Native American Center.[202]

The interests of the Ethnic Heritage and History Committee's project intersected with the interests of Methodist seminaries in cultivating cross-cultural awareness and affirmation of cultural diversity, and it is very probable that the efforts of the former influenced the work of the latter to varying degrees. At least some influence on Garrett is suggested by the invitation, already mentioned, that the seminary extended to Bushy Head to be one of the speakers for Garrett's 1990 spring lecture series. It was an isolated initiative, however, and not the beginning of a programmatic effort to address Native American interests and concerns at G-ETS

Both GCAH's ethnic-heritage-and-history project and Garrett's work on issues of cultural diversity and minority representation aimed to serve ethnic constituencies. Garrett's efforts to do so for African American students, Hispanic students, and Asian students entailed sustained institutional investments in faculty and "centers." A Center for the Church and the Black Experience had already been established in 1970. A Hispanic (now Hispanic-Latinx) Center was founded in 1980. An Asian Center was created in 1984. No Native American center or partnership was created, however, nor were Native American concerns incorporated into ongoing institutional commitments. Perhaps the handful of Native American students at Garrett in a given year did not make demands of the institution. If so, it should not have been assumed that if Native American students did not make noise, they were content and had no concerns.

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[197] *The New Mexican*, Feb. 7, 1986, p. D-1 (emphasis added).

[198] The *Aware* announcement spells the name Ben Busheyhead, but it is Ben Bushy Head in the list of consultants in Homer Noley's book, *First White Frost* (see n. 145).

[199] *Aware*, 1989, no. 3, p. 4; *Aware* 1990, no. 3, p. 8.

[200] *Aware*, 1989, no. 3, p. 4; *Aware* 1990, no. 3, p. 8. Two other speakers were Taylor McConnell, professor emeritus of Christian education at G-ETS, and his wife June McConnell, who had spent for more than a decade in with Pueblo, Hispanic and Anglo groups in Santa Fe, New Mexico, engaged in a research project on forms of ministry suited to multicultural communities.

[201] As described in Homer Noley, *First White Frost: Native Americans and United Methodism* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1991), 11.

[202] See the preceding note.

In any case, the institution only occasionally highlighted the presence of Native American on campus. In 1990, for example, *Aware* magazine carried a short article titled "Our Diverse Student Body," which announced that "September 24 marked the opening of the fall quarter with an all-time high of 478 students," 31% of whom were "Black, Asian, Hispanic, American Indian, and international."[203] In 1997, when Garrett observed the first week of November as Asian Week, a report about the Tuesday chapel noted that "the choir sang a Korean hymn . . . and an Indian American student sang a song of thanksgiving in an Indian dialect in response."[204]

The engagement with globalization and cross-cultural/multicultural education in the 1980s, which remained a vital concern in subsequent decades, inspired certain faculty to take the initiative to include attention to Native American history and identity in specific courses. And in recent years curricular attention to Native American and Indigenous concerns and interests has appreciably increased. (See Part V section 4 of this report.)

11. NATIVE AMERICANS' EXPERIENCES OF GARRETT: A SMALL SAMPLING

It has already been noted that the GCAH of the UMC established an Ethnic Heritage and History Committee in the 1980s and conducted consultations with Native Americans and other "constituent" groups. In 2014, the Northern Illinois Conference of the UMC held listening groups with Native Americans.[205]

One testimony by a Native American who studied at Garrett has been preserved in the transcript of the Northern Illinois Conference listening session held at Garrett in 2014. Adrienne Sparrow Trevathan, a United Methodist Deacon who was one of the panelists, recalled that she "did an independent study on Native American theology, because there wasn't a class here at Garrett." Alluding to Garrett's commitment to liberative theologies, Trevathan remarked, "Liberation Theology should be a place for Native American theology."[206]

Lisa Dellinger of the Chickasaw Nation is a recent graduate of Garrett's Ph.D. program. She recalls that during a women-in-ministry course, "we had readings from African-American theologians, white feminist theologians, and Mexican and Latinx theologians," but "there wasn't a Native American

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[203] *Aware*, 1990 no. 4, p. 14.

[204] *Aware*, 1997 no. 1, p. 4.

[205] The Northern Illinois Conference of the UMC began an initiative called Acts of Repentance with Native Americans by engaging in "six listening sessions at Community UMC Naperville, Kateri Center in Chicago, Garrett Evangelical Theological Seminary, Midwest Soarring Foundation, Starved Rock Lodge, and the American Indian Center in Chicago. held a series of listening sessions." In addition to transcripts of the listening sessions, it also provided "a summary of what was shared at those sessions, organized by headings" and "action items" as "an invitation to local congregations to act with the Annual Conference and Native American communities to bring healing." https://www.umcnic.org/media/files/Native%20American%20Ministires/Listening-sessions-review-Acts-of-Repentance-with-Native-Americans.pdf

[206] https://www.umcnic.org/media/files/Native%20American%20Ministires/Listening-sessions-review-Acts-of-Repentance-with-Native-Americans.pdf.

component that dealt with Christianity, and afterwards I asked [the professor], 'Where are these voices?'" The professor answered, "You might have to write the book that you want to see."[207]

Another Garrett graduate, who is a member of the Cherokee Nation, recalls that "institutionally" there was no provision for the Native American community and nothing in the curriculum, as she experienced it, that attended to Native American identity and concerns. She also remembers a painful experience from her time as an M.Div. student in the 1990s. A faculty member pressured her to perform a Native American "sage-smudging" rite as part of a women's chapel. She resisted and explained that sage smudging was not an historic Cherokee practice. Further, she was not authorized by elders of the Cherokee Nation to perform any rituals. If a ritual were to be performed, it needed to be done by an authorized person, in the right setting, and for its own intrinsic purpose (not simply injected into a Garrett chapel for the sake of "diversity"). Yet the professor still pressed and insisted that she could and should perform the rite.[208]

There have also been instances of nurture and mentoring that made a difference. Garrett graduate Stephanie Escher was born on Turtle Mountain Ojibway reservation in North Dakota a decade before the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 was enacted, which helped ensure that American Indian children remained with their tribes. Escher ended up being adopted by German American parents (the Eschers) in Sun Prairie, Wisconsin. In those days, "the federal government, religious organizations and social service agencies conspired to put up for adoption many Native American babies born to mothers who," it was rationalized, "'couldn't take care of them'."[209] Many years later, Escher was reunited with her birth mother, which gave her a feeling of deep connection with her Native American identity. Yet she also felt torn between two worlds, as if not really belonging to either. Her life journey eventually brought her into music ministry in a Methodist church, and in the early 2000s she decided to go to seminary, which led her to Garrett. "The reason I went to seminary was that I was angry," Escher later explained, "angry at God, angry at the native people for not fighting harder for me when I was put up for adoption, angry at my parents and the church for denying a part of who I was." At Garrett she met Larry Murphy, a professor of church history who helped her process her anger. "He had to be gentle," Escher said, "or I wouldn't have listened to him. He helped me release a lot of my anger through teaching me that people who perform bad acts are not all bad. Human nature is a mix of good and not so good. He told me that I have to embrace the ambiguity, the gray area, the tension, because that's not only what is; it is also what hope is."[210] She added, "My fear on entering seminary was that I would go in, learn a bunch of doctrine and come out all weird. Instead I was helped to realize that we are created in the image of God."

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[207] Lisa Dellinger as quoted in Jessica Love, "Women of Color Scholars' Series: Dellinger Writes the Book 'She Wants to See'," https://www.gbhem.org/news/women-of-color-scholars-series-dellinger-writes-the-book-she-wants-to-see/.

[208] Personal conversation.

[209] Stephanie Escher as quoted in Tom Holmes, "Found God in the Ambiguity," *Wednesday Journal of Oak Park and River Forest*, August 31, 2010. https://www.oakpark.com/2010/08/31/found-god-in-the-ambiguity/.

[210] Holmes, "Found God in the Ambiguity."

PART II

INDIGENOUS, SETTLER COLONIAL, AND DECOLONIAL INDIGENOUS THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES & PRACTICES

PRIMARY AUTHOR GRANT SHOWALTER-SWANSON, WITH SUPPORT FROM TIMOTHY EBERHART, ELAINE ENNS, CHARLES COSGROVE, GARAM HAN, AND K.-K. YEO

Understanding Garrett-Evangelical's impact on and relationship to the Native peoples of the Americas, in general, and of our Midwest bioregion, in particular, requires understanding a broader set of socio-political, cultural, and theological systems that have shaped the seminary's complex history. In particular, the committee believes it is important to situate Garrett's history within the larger story of modern, western colonialism and the spread of capitalist exploitation, white supremacy, hetero-patriarchal oppression, ecological degradation, and related forms of social domination and violence. The displacement of the Anishinaabe and Sioux Tribes of this region, the privatization of lands to be bought and sold for financial profit, the settlement and possession of those lands by non-Native immigrants, the rapid spread of European Christianity and its institutions across the land, the denigration and even demonization of Native worldviews and practices, and the erasure and neglect of Indigenous peoples and wisdoms in churches and theological schools are all rooted in and reflective of the logics, myths, and practices of colonialism.

At the same time, the committee recognizes the many anti-oppressive, egalitarian traditions and movements within Christianity, many of which also shaped the founding institutions of Garrett-Evangelical. Garrett's longstanding and ongoing commitments to social justice and moral accountability in relation to movements for racial equity, women's liberation, economic justice, LGBTQ rights, environmental sustainability, intercultural and global understanding, and more are a sign of the continued promise and importance of decolonial, anti-oppressive, radically democratic Christian theologies and practices.

The inclusion in this report of a summary of decolonial Indigenous theological perspectives and practices is intended to support the seminary's commitments both to accountability and to repair for the sake of a more life-sustaining and just future for all. Ultimately, the intent of this report is to highlight a set of important concepts, as presented by Indigenous authors, activists, and theologians, to provide a theological and theoretical starting point for the Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary community as it embarks upon the accountability and repair work proposed by the larger report of the Indigenous Study Committee.

There are three primary movements in this report. First, the report provides a brief overview of Indigenous perspectives and practices. The second movement summarizes a set of malformed perspectives and theologies that undergird the histories, logics, and ongoing realities of settler colonialism. The third movement reviews decolonial Indigenous perspectives and practices that point to a future of repair and flourishing for all people and creation.

Before embarking on the first movement, we want to consider two key terms from the report title. First, this report will use the word "**Indigenous**" to refer to peoples native to the Americas, particularly North America, and the United States specifically. While there is active debate amidst differing Indigenous communities over the best terms to use, "Indigenous" seems to be the most widely accepted general signifier. For example, Richard Twiss states that "in contemporary writings by Native authors, there is no preferred name used when referring to the tribal people of North America. Native American, Native North American, Native, Indian, American Indian, First Nations, Indigenous People, Aboriginal, Alaska Native, Eskimo and Host People are the most commonly used,"[211] while Roxanne Dunbar-

[211] Richard Twiss, *Rescuing the Gospel from the Cowboys*, 239.

Ortiz argues that "I use "Indigenous," "Indian," and "Native" interchangeably in the text…Of course, all citizens of Native nations much prefer that their nations' names in their own language be used, such as Diné (Navajo), Haudenosaunee (Iroquois), Tsalagi (Cherokee), and Anishinaabe (Ojibway, Chippewa)."[212] While Twiss and Dunbar-Ortiz demonstrate the variety of opinion within Indigenous communities, "Indigenous Peoples" remains a preferred option.

The second term to contemplate is the adjective "**decolonial**." Eve Tuck and K. W. Yang describe the outcomes of decolonial actions: "decolonization brings about the repatriation of Indigenous land and life; it is not a metaphor for other things we want to do to improve our societies."[213] The term "decolonial" has often been co-opted for various civil rights, justice, and educational movements and aims. But Tuck and Yang are clear: "decolonial" work is first "accountable to Indigenous sovereignty and futurity."[214] As a result, the synthesis terminology of decolonial Indigenous theological perspectives and practices roots the work of this report in the decolonial perspectives and practices that actively seek "repatriation of Indigenous land and life," as "accountable to Indigenous sovereignty and futurity."[215]

1. INDIGENOUS THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES & PRACTICES

The first section of the report will explore Indigenous perspectives and practices that point toward life-giving ideas, concepts, and ways of being. Many of the Indigenous authors, activists, and theologians presented in this section are thinking and presenting Indigenous perspectives and practices through the lens of Christian theology.

The Indigenous perspectives and practices presented in this section are not monolithic. The perspectives and practices offered in this report are presented by a wide variety of Indigenous peoples with unique identities, experiences, and beliefs. Consequently, the plurality of "perspectives" and "practices" within this section point to a multiplicity of worldviews, not a monolithic Indigenous worldview.

To start this section, it is helpful to consider what is meant by **Indigenous Theology**. Tink Tinker proposes that **Indigenous/Native American Theology** reflects four fundamental cultural commitments: "[1] spatiality…[2] attachment to particular lands or territory; [3] the priority of community … and [4] a consistent notion of the interrelatedness of humans and the rest of creation."[216] Spatiality, land, community, and interrelatedness of all creation are central tenets

[212] Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*, xiii–xiv.

[213] Eve Tuck and K.W. Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," 1.

[214] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," 25.

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[216] George E. "Tink" Tinker, *American Indian Liberation: A Theology of Sovereignty*, 7.

of Indigenous perspectives and practices that point toward life-giving ways of being with one another, and with all of creation.

Indigenous Theology expects that theological beliefs and practices lead to the flourishing of Indigenous peoples, all peoples, and all of creation. As Tink Tinker explains, "this requires a deeper commitment to the praxis of the community's spirituality…. In full ceremonial and spiritual participation with the community, I engage in a praxis-oriented reflection on the community's well-being."[217]

The first two theological tenets proposed by Tink Tinker, spatiality and land, circle back to the important Indigenous relationship with spatiality (place and space) and land. Randy S. Woodley argues that "with our Indigenous people, there is a local **theology based on the land**, and it's based on the stories that come out of that land. That Indigenous worldview and theology is based on the ceremonies that are practiced on that land, and it's based on the community that, at one time, was fairly intact. Not perfect, but fairly intact."[218] Just as Indigenous identities, spiritualities, and processes of meaning-making revolve around kin relationship with the land, so too must Indigenous theological perspectives revolve around land.

This leads to the third Indigenous theological tenet of the community. A community of creation based on mutuality, respect, and symbiosis is revealed through humanity's relationship with God and creation. Randy S. Woodley describes the **community of creation** theologically through Jesus Christ: "Jesus suggests that a new way to live on a daily basis be called the 'kingdom.' Using the context of Roman occupation and its imperial order, Jesus contextualized the shalom concept to be understood in his day as the kingdom or reign of God. In doing so, he did not exclude the greater understanding that all of creation is participating in this kingdom."219 Woodley makes a strong argument that Jesus' description of the kingdom of God includes all of creation, not just humanity. As a result, he suggests that the "Community of Creation" could be a new way of understanding the kingdom of God since "a wider theological vision for the biblical kingdom construct makes more sense and has a more consistent application when understood as the community of creation. We might begin to experiment with the phrase as an alterNative to the translation of Jesus' words, 'the kingdom of God' and the 'kingdom of Heaven.'"[220] Community of creation, instead of the anthropocentric concept of the kingdom of God, points to the involvement of all creation in Jesus' salvific and redemptive work. Indigenous theologies of community draw the circle wide to include all of creation as deserving of God's love and care.

One way of conceptualizing Indigenous understandings of community, or the interrelatedness of all humanity and creation, is through the Indigenous concept of right-relationship with creation, or **animism**. Often thought of as the idea that plants, animals, and inanimate objects have souls, animism more accurately correlates with the Indigenous perspective and practice that all created things have life and are worthy of respect. An increasing number of Indigenous scholars, for example, refer to the **"more-than-human"** or **"other-than-human"** nature of plant, animal, and elemental communities. As Tinker argues, this respect of all created things is "necessary to fulfill our [human] responsibility as a

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[217] Tinker, *American Indian Liberation: A Theology of Sovereignty*, 151.

[218] Randy S. Woodley, *Indigenous Theology and the Western Worldview*, 119–120. (Emphasis added.)

[219] Randy S. Woodley, *Shalom and the Community of Creation: An Indigenous Vision*, 38–39.

[220] Ibid.

part of the created whole, necessary to help maintain the harmony and balance, the interdependence and interrelationship of all things in our world."[221] This narrative of interdependence and interrelationship among all of creation points to the idea that "Indigenous peoples tend to think of themselves as part of creation….in relationship with every other part of the created whole rather apart from it and free to use the rest of the world up as our private resource bank."[222] Animism becomes a helpful concept to point toward the life-giving understandings found within Indigenous perspectives and practices of community.

This leads directly into the fourth theological tenet of the interrelatedness of all creation. To understand this fourth tenet, it is first helpful to consider what is meant theologically by "**humanity**" and "**God/the Divine**." According to Vine Deloria Jr., **humanity** is an equal part of creation and not any closer to God than the rest of creation: "Indian tribal religions could be said to consider creation as an ecosystem present in a definable place…. Tribal religions appear to be there-after confronted with the question of the interrelationship of all things…. American Indian tribal religions refused to represent deity anthropomorphically."[223] As a result, humanity is not any closer, or further away, from God than any other part of creation. All of creation is equally beloved and created in the image of God.

Due to this decentering of humanity and the rejection of anthropocentrism, anthropomorphism of God is nearly non-existent within Indigenous theologies. **God/the Divine** refers to a mysterious Creator who "all of human and nonhuman creation comes out of … [who] self-reveals in and through a myriad of cultural realities in human and nonhuman persons throughout *Unci Maka*, our "Mother Earth"… [who] provide[s] creation stories and explanations."[224] This Divine Great Mystery, or God, is referred to with countless names across Tribal Nations and the entire globe: Woniya, Mana, Manitou, Wakan Orenda, Great Mystery, Great Spirit, Creator, and so on.[225] And this God is not only interrelated with humanity, but also with creation. All three are intricately intertwined and dependent upon one another for flourishing.

With this centering of all creation within Indigenous theological perspectives and practice, **place, space, and land** become central. As Randy S. Woodley describes, "our stories and ceremonies, and the mnemonic objects that accompany these traditions–including places and natural features like the sun, moon, and stars, certain species of animals, trees, and insects–have fairly stable meanings in our stories because of our understanding of their relationship to place."[226] For Woodley, place and space are central to Indigenous understandings of self, community, and culture. Due to a longtime embeddedness and relationship of survival situated within a particular place, Indigenous stories, ceremonies, and mnemonic objects tend to be situated and understood through that particular place. This centrality of place and space also translates into understandings of the divine. Since "power is manifest in all the things of the world, the sacred may appear at any time….Thus space, rather than time, becomes the evidence of God's presence in the world in an

[221] Tinker, *American Indian Liberation: A Theology of Sovereignty*, 40.
[222] Ibid., 40.
[223] Vine Deloria Jr., *God is Red*, 77–81.
[224] Richard Twiss, *Rescuing the Gospel from the Cowboys*, 17–23.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Woodley, *Shalom and the Community of Creation: An Indigenous Vision*, 143.

immediate matter."[227] Indigenous perspectives and practices not only point to the centrality of place, space, and land in meaning-making, but also in understandings of the divine.

Indigenous **ceremonial practices**, or **ceremonies**, exemplify this centrality of place, space, and land in meaning-making and understandings of the divine. As Tink Tinker explains, since Indigenous peoples tend to see themselves as a mutual and relational part of all creation, ceremonies are an important part of humans seeking their "particular role to play in maintaining the balance of creation as an ongoing process. This is ultimately the spiritual rationale for annual ceremonies like the Sun Dance or Green Corn dance."[228] Each of these ceremonies provides pathways and rituals for humans to understand their role within their tribe and within the land and created world around them. And such ceremonies are not just strategic methods to achieve a particular end, but they are deeply spiritual practices to connect with, as well as rebalance relationship with, all of creation.

Indigenous perspectives and practices point to this spiritual and relational connection between humanity and creation through concepts such as "**We are all Related"** and "***Mitakuye Oyasin***." **We are all related** demonstrates "humility as humans stand before the higher spiritual powers…. The phrase "all my relatives" is frequently invoked by Indians performing ceremonies and this phrase is used to invite all other forms of life to participate as well as to inform them that the ceremony is being done on their behalf."[229] This concept of kin relationship with creation finds specificity through the Lakota concept of ***Mitakuye Oyasin***. Craig Howe and Lydia Whirlwind Soldier beautifully demonstrate our interconnectedness with all of creation:

> We breathe in the air created by the tree and plant nations, and the mists that gather in deep falling ravines and valleys. The four-legged nations, a great variety of bird nations, nations that live in the water–all of these nations sustain us. The water that runs into ravines and over rock formations into clear streams and gleaming pristine lakes is *wiconi*. Without water, there is no life. Stones and rock formations intricately sculptured against the sky are part of us too. In *Lakol wicoun* this is "*Mitakuye Oyasin*." They are all our relatives, and we are all related. All of this we know and hold in our hearts.[230]

If we are all related, then the pursuit of right-relationship with all of creation is a necessary and life-giving pursuit.

Indigenous perspectives and practices around the concept of **harmony** can be helpful for imagining right-relationship with all of creation. Randy S. Woodley argues that "we desperately need a restoration of harmony between human beings, the Creator, the earth, and all God provides through the earth such as plants and animals….the relationship between human beings, plants, and animals has been damaged tremendously."[231] While Woodley does not shy away from prophetically naming the lived realities of this breakdown of relationship between all of creation, he also points to hopeful perspectives within Indigenous communities: "a renewed understanding of living out shalom on earth, and the equivalent

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[227] Clara Sue Kidwell, Homer Noley, and George E. "Tink" Tinker, *A Native American Theology*, 14.

[228] Tinker, *American Indian Liberation: A Theology of Sovereignty*, 81–85.

[229] Deloria, *God is Red,* 84.

[230] Craig Howe, Lydia Whirlwind Soldier, and Lanniko L. Lee, *He Sapa Woihanble: Black Hills Dream*, 3–4.

[231] Woodley, *Shalom and the Community of Creation*, 9.

constructs found among Indigenous peoples, is our path to restoring harmony in the world."[232] As a result, it is helpful to consider some of these life-giving understandings within Indigenous theological perspectives and practices.

The **circle** is another helpful Indigenous perspective and practice around reimagining relationships with all of creation. As Joseph M. Marshall III reveals, "*Kaohomni*, 'the circle,' is prominent in Lakota life…. The greatest principle the circle symbolizes for me is the equality that applies to all forms of life. In other words, no one form of life is greater or lesser than any other form … we all share a common journey, the *maka wiconi*, or 'life on Earth'—in English, the Circle of Life."[233] The circle rejects the possibility of a hierarchical structure in the relationship between humanity and creation. All of creation, including humanity, is created in a circular relationship of reciprocity and respect.

The **Medicine Wheel** and the **Four Directions** are two specific manifestations of the circle in Indigenous cultural practices. Marshall explains that the Lakota word for the **medicine wheel** "is *cangleska*, 'spotted wood.' This literal description is from the four colors painted on the wheel, or hoop, which is made of wood. The shape and the colors used represent the power of life, hence the translated term medicine wheel; having *pejuta* or medicine can mean possessing a certain power or ability."[234] However, the meaning and symbolism of the circular medicine wheel extends beyond the power of life. Marshall expounds that the circular shape of the medicine wheel points to another central symbol within "Lakota tradition and spirituality: the number four. Like the circle, the number four represents certain realities in life. There are the four seasons—winter, spring, summer, and autumn; the four directions–east, south, west, and north; and the four basic elements of life—Earth, Wind (air), Fire, and Water."[235] Consequently, the meaning of life's power represented within the medicine wheel is integrally rooted in the material and natural world. Once again, Indigenous theological perspectives and practices maintain the ongoing and mutual relationship of respect between humanity and all of creation.

This symbolism of four also points to the practice of honoring the **Four Directions**. In many Indigenous cultural practices, the practice of the four directions manifests as a song of prayer. During the song, those praying honor the four directions of the created world, and the words sung about them, by facing each of the four physical directions. The words and movements honor how "the four directions hold together in the same egalitarian balance the four nations of Two-Leggeds, Four-Leggeds, Wingers, and Living-Moving Things. In this model of the universe, human beings lose their status of primacy and 'dominion'…. American Indians are driven by their culture and spirituality to recognize the personhood of all things in creation."[236] The understanding of land and creation as kindred relatives moves beyond the conceptual understanding of harmony and the circle into the sacred four direction ceremonies and the symbolic meanings of the medicine wheel.

These Indigenous theological perspectives and practices of the interrelatedness of all things are

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[232] Ibid., 9.

[233] Joseph M. Marshall III, *The Lakota Way*, 223–226.

[234] Marshall, *The Lakota Way*, 225.

[235] Ibid.

[236] Kidwell, Noley, Tinker, *A Native American Theology*, 47–59.

expressed for some in a distinctively Indigenous form of **covenantal theology**. Randy Woodley shares a Keetoowah (Cherokee) creation story to demonstrate the interrelatedness of all things through Indigenous covenantal theology.[237] The creation story reveals that the Creator God provided land for the Keetowah people to reside upon through a covenant of care and reciprocity between the Creator, the land, and the Keetowah peoples.[238] Highlighting that numerous Indigenous creation stories offer similar covenantal creation stories, Woodley argues that "these covenant stories may help colonial settler peoples to understand more of the meaning of land to aboriginal peoples, especially those who have been removed from their homelands…. Removing indigenous peoples from their lands forced them to abandon their sacred covenants with the Creator, causing a tremendous loss of core identity."[239] This argument synthesizes the four components of Indigenous theological perspectives (spatiality, land, community, and interrelatedness of all things) and points to the necessity of restoring the covenantal relationship between the land and humanity through a mutual kinship relationship with all creation.

Indigenous theological perspectives and practices require commitment, intentionality, and communal accountability to pursue, especially in the face of settler colonial logics, which have consistently denigrated, misrepresented, and often demonized, Indigenous ideas, concepts, mindsets, and religious practices. This report will turn to its second movement and explore malformed settler colonial perspectives and theologies to better understand this colonial fear and move to silencing Indigenous theological perspectives and practices.

2. MALFORMED SETTLER COLONIAL PERSPECTIVES & THEOLOGIES

Imperialism and colonialism are the starting points for this section of the report. **Imperialism** describes when one nation controls and occupies another nation or land outside of its national borders through distant political and economic means, while **colonialism** refers to the total occupation of a foreign nation or land outside of its national borders through proximate control and violent force. As some scholars indicate, colonialism takes imperialism a step further in toppling the sovereignty of a nation or land by entering "lands already inhabited by peoples with their own laws, customs, languages, and orderings of the world; declares said lands 'uninhabited;' and the proceeds to establish another alien world as the dominant order."[240] According to some scholars, imperialism brought European nations to the shores of the Americas with the intention of political and economic control in order to exploit the peoples and lands of the Americas, and colonialism led European settlers to conquer the peoples and lands of the Americas through force, in the name of God and homeland, and eventually, form new nations and states.

As many colonizers sought to subdue lands and peoples to exploit resources, European immigrants began to travel to the Americas to establish homes. Scholars call these European immigrants **settlers**. These original settlers were the "people of European

[237] Woodley, *Shalom and the Community of Creation*, 123–124.
[238] Ibid., 123–124.
[239] Ibid.
[240] Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*, 64.

descent whose ancestors immigrated to and established themselves in North America…since the sixteenth century."[241] Furthermore, some thinkers point out that the term "settlers" connotes the supplanting of the cultural practices, political and economic structures, and sovereignty of local Indigenous peoples while the term "immigrants" connotes an acceptance of Indigenous laws, cultural practices, and sovereignty of the country to which migrated.[242]

The people groups and circumstances that comprise immigrant communities are diverse and varied. As Elaine Enns and Ched Myers show, "though we use the broad term immigrant…not all circumstances of uprooting are equivalent."[243] Enns and Myers specifically name different experiences and realities of migrants around social power, economic mobility, and the willingness to migrate. Furthermore, immigrants become subject to intense intergenerational pressures to assimilate and socialize as settlers. As Enns and Myers point out, settlers actively and intentionally work to coerce "new arrivals to adapt to dominant colonial cultural ways and to adopt its language, identities and values. For those of European ancestry (or those who can 'pass'), there is also the lure of gaining white privilege by conforming to white norms."[244] As a result, the immigrant experience is not monolithic.

Another clarification is in order surrounding the term "settlers." While "European settlers" may be referred to several times throughout this report, especially during the historical narrative, settlers and settler colonialism do not refer exclusively to European peoples. Such a reference would create a false "white settler - Indigenous" binary. Eve Tuck and K.W. Yang argue that "settlers are diverse–there are white settlers and brown settlers, and peoples in both groups make moves to innocence that attempt to deny and deflect their own complicity in settler colonialism."[245] The term "settlers" should be understood to include all peoples who participate in the settler colonial project, not just European settlers.

Russell Means expounds upon this false "white settler – Indigenous" binary present within the concept of "European settlers" by explaining that when he uses the term European settlers he is "not referring to a skin color or a particular genetic structure. What I'm referring to is a mind-set, a worldview that is a product of the development of European culture. People are not genetically encoded to hold this outlook; they are acculturated to hold it."[246] Means demonstrates that European settlers are not explicitly peoples who are descendants of a particular race or culture, but those who adopt or perpetuate a violent colonial worldview that claims land, property, resources, and the citizenship rights of the settlers over Indigenous peoples. In an attempt to speak plainly, this report will explicitly refer to "European settlers" only when relevant and otherwise use the more expansive term "settlers."

A more specific description of colonialism is helpful in understanding the colonial projects of North America, where colonizers and settlers blurred into one another. **Settler colonialism** is "a distinct type of colonialism that functions through the replacement

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[241] Elaine Enns and Ched Myers, *Healing Haunted Histories*, 11.

[242] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," 6–7.

[243] Enns and Myers, *Healing Haunted Histories*, 67.

[244] Ibid., 63.

[245] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," 10.

[246] Russell Means, "Revolution and American Indians: 'Marxism is as Alien to My Culture as Capitalism'," https://www.films-foraction.org/news/revolution-and-american-indians-marxism-is-as-alien-to-my-culture-as-capitalism/.

of Indigenous populations with an invasive settler society that, over time, develops a distinctive identity and sovereignty."[247] This contextualized understanding of colonialism helps make sense of the particularities of colonialism in North America. For example, non-Indigenous settlers in the United States tend to distinguish themselves from colonizers. This settler **move to innocence** seeks to absolve settlers by claiming that they were not a part of the physical violence and conquering of Indigenous peoples and lands.[248] Fingers are pointed instead at colonizers, allowing settlers to claim innocence from the past, present, and future consequences of colonialism on Indigenous peoples and lands. However, this innocence is a facade. Settler colonialism demonstrates the symbiotic nature between the colonizers and settlers in maintaining the sovereignty, power, and control of the settler nation over and against Indigenous claims to sovereignty in the past, present, and future. As a result, all settlers are ongoing beneficiaries of the violence of colonialism.

The justification that was established by European nations for this brutal colonial project was called the **Doctrine of Discovery**, a philosophical, legal, and theological doctrine from the fifteenth century that justified European Christian nations with the "moral and legal rights to invade and seize Indigenous lands and dominate Indigenous Peoples. The patterns of oppression that continue to dispossess Indigenous Peoples of their lands today are found in numerous historical documents such as Papal Bulls, Royal Charters and U.S. Supreme Court rulings as recent as 2005."[249]

The Church provided three scriptural interpretations to justify this colonial project. First, Matthew 28:19-20 was applied to claim that exploration was for the sake of "making disciples of all nations"; second, Romans 13:1 was used to justify requiring non-Christian Indigenous peoples to submit to European political rule; and third, the promised land narrative of the Exodus story motivated Europeans to believe that the Americas were their promised land.[250] This third idea led to another concept that undergirded colonialism: ***terra nullius***. As Jodi Byrd argues, "key to this discursive work [of colonialism] is the paradigmatic uninscribed, uninhabited earth, the *terra nullius* convenient colonial construct that maintained lands were empty of meaning, of language, of presence, and of history before the arrival of the European."[251] *Terra nullius* claims that any lands not developed and utilized according to European political, economic, social, and religious standards were effectively uninhabited and free to be conquered and exploited.

The outcomes of these justifications for colonialism from the Church empowered European governments to use coercion and violence, including genocide and enslavement, against Indigenous peoples in order to occupy land. Furthermore, this collaboration between Christian entitlement and national/cultural superiority that justified violence and colonial expansion generated the **western worldview**, which is prevalent today. As Randy S. Woodley states, "the myth of progressive civilization is based on the Western worldview, displaying Greco-Roman and Anglo-Saxon White supremacy…. These

[247] Adam Barker and Emma Lowman, "Settler Colonialism," GlobalSocialTheory.org

[248] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," 9–10.

[249] The Coalition to Dismantle the Doctrine of Discovery, "What is the 'Doctrine of Discovery?'," https://doctrineofdiscovery-menno.wordpress.com/resources/fact-sheet/?customize_changeset_uuid=e2af3c04-cc8c-4717-9ac2-65eb38ce34df

[250] Ibid.

[251] Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*, 64–65.

accounts serve to reinforce the sense of difference and to distance moderns from unflattering legacies of the past."[252] The fact that the western worldview has never fully recognized, repented, and accounted for the embedded supremacy and violence within its framework reveals that supremacy and violence continue to be present within the western worldview today.

The implementation of the underpinnings of the Doctrine of Discovery by European settlers into the expansionist goals of the United States found fruition in the **Monroe Doctrine**. The 1823 Monroe Doctrine signaled that the United States would annex "former Spanish colonial territories in the Americas and the Pacific, which would be put into practice during the rest of the century."[253] The Monroe Doctrine utilized the Doctrine of Discovery to claim formerly Spanish colonized lands, despite the presence of Indigenous Americans, through the justification of an absence of superior or divinely mandated European settler presence. This translation of the Doctrine of Discovery into the westward expansion of the Monroe Doctrine became known as **manifest destiny**.

Although coined by the editor of the *Democratic Review*, John L. O'Sullivan, in 1845, the lived ideologies of manifest destiny predated the term as early as the 1823 Monroe Doctrine.[254] O'Sullivan stated that it was the manifest destiny of the United States to spread out across the American continent, as provided by "Providence," or God.[255] This divine right to westward expansion, as expressed by European settlers and the western worldview, utilized the Doctrine of Discovery's symbiotic relationship among the economic, political, and religious power centers to justify itself. This justification equated European settlers with the Israelites seeking and conquering their Promised Land in the Hebrew Bible. Manifest Destiny would be used to justify violent expansion throughout the Americas and is still present within the domestic and foreign policy of the United States today.

The Doctrine of Discovery found its way into law in the United States through the Supreme Court. In the 1823 Supreme Court case ***Johnson v. M'Intosh***, Chief Justice John Marshall pointed to the "Age of Discovery" as the period when European Christian nations had earned divine rights over the land of the Americas. Consequently, when the United States won independence from Great Britain in 1776, the United States "became a successor nation to the right of "discovery" and acquired the power of "dominion" from Great Britain."[256] This legal precedent has been utilized as late as 2005, when "Ruth Bader Ginsburg cited the landmark 1823 decision in *City of Sherrill v. Oneida Indian Nation of New York*. The ruling held that the repurchase of tribal lands did not restore tribal sovereignty."[257] Given the embeddedness of the Doctrine of Discovery within our law, and the continued use of those laws to suppress and deny Indigenous sovereignty today, it is clear that settler colonialism is present and active today.

Missiology, or the theological reflection on missions and their methods and purposes, is one of the doctrines closely associated with the Doctrine of Discovery. The scriptural mandates and justifications

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[252] Woodley, *Indigenous Theology and the Western Worldview*, 21

[253] Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*, 3.

[254] Digital History, "Manifest Destiny," https://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=362.

[255] Ibid.

[256] Sarah Augustine, *The Land is Not Empty*, 28.

[257] Ibid.

from the Church that undergird the Doctrine of Discovery led colonizers and settlers to see themselves as missionaries. However, because of the theological claim of European supremacy, European settlers inherently incorporated their cultural identities, or western worldview, into their understanding of missions. As a result, European settler "missionaries insisted on Euro-American (Western-style) Christian worship as well as doctrine … their paternalism, ethnocentrism, colonial collusion, and modernism soon 'civilized' this Indigenous movement of the gospel story and thus blinded these Christians to the already existing work of Creator among the Native nations."[258] Settler colonialism denies any manifestation, whether theological or cultural, outside of European settler culture, as inferior, or even evil. As a result, "the majority of these missionaries denounced and demonized Native cultural ways … as pagan, idolatrous, evil and sinful…. This kind of colonial missionary mindset is, sadly, not a thing of the past, but is still the prevailing perspective … among those working in our tribal communities today."[259] This complete disrespect, disregard, and demonization of Indigenous peoples' cultures, ideologies, and spiritualities deeply affected how European settlers approached mission work.

Indian Boarding Schools were one such devastating manifestation of the corruption of European settler Missiology. The government of the United States and many Christian denominations collaborated through "the Peace Policy of 1869 to create Indian Boarding Schools to remove children from their families and communities at great distances and inundate them with settler-colonial Christian education. General Richard Henry Pratt famously referenced the goal of Indian Boarding Schools to 'Kill the Indian, Save the Man.'"[260] Under the guise of "peace," the United States government and European settler Christians sought not only to remove Indigenous peoples, but also to eradicate Indigenous cultures. The Indian Boarding School project was not a limited project that affected a small group of Indigenous children, but a wide-spread, well-organized and funded, and expertly executed project that affected the majority of Indigenous children in the United States. "There were 367 Indian Boarding Schools that operated in 29 states between the years of 1869-1968, with over 82% of school-age eligible Indian children in attendance at the height of the Indian Board School operations."[261] Consequently, from 1869 to the late 1960s, the majority of Indigenous children in the United States experienced the attempted eradication of Indigenous culture. Indian Boarding Schools sought this goal by forcing "children to cut their hair, dress in settler-colonial clothing, speak English, and reject any cultural ties to their family and tribal communities. Children experienced all forms of abuse and neglect…. Many children perished or went missing. The United States government has yet to account for many of the fates of Indian Boarding School students."[262] The fact that the United States government, and many Christian denominations, have yet to repent, account for, and make attempts at repair for the atrocities of Indian

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[258] Twiss, *Rescuing the Gospel from the Cowboys*, 22.

[259] Ibid., 23.

[260] National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, "US Indian Boarding School History," https://boarding-schoolhealing.org/education/us-indian-boarding-school-history/#:~:text=Intro%20to%20Boarding%20School%20History&text=Between%201869%20and%20the%201960s,federal%20government%20and%20the%20churches.

[261] Ibid.

[262] Ibid.

Boarding Schools clearly demonstrates the ongoing embeddedness of settler colonialism within the United States today.

Another theological consequence of the Doctrine of Discovery is that "western folks understand themselves apart or distinct from the land. They understand themselves primarily individually. They understand truth through facts and propositions. They instinctively separate themselves from the story for objectivity's sake and they divide reality."[263] In an effort to justify theologically the dehumanization of Indigenous peoples, the exploitation of land and resources, and the violence committed against both humanity and creation, the Doctrine of Discovery undergirded a division from, and objectification of, land within the western worldview. The consequences are apparent from the western world's participation in the current global climate crisis.

One consequence of this division between humans and land is observable in the concept of **private property**. Private property is a legal concept that defines land as a commodity that is privately owned by an individual, a family, or a corporation. The only exception is if the land is occupied by a government for governmental or public use. Scott Richard Lyons critiques the concept of private property by showing that the Nelson Act of 1889 was "Minnesota's variant of the Dawes Allotment Act of 1887, which required Indian people to abandon communal lands for the adoption of new individual allotments: 'private property' … designed to assimilate Indians while opening up "surplus land" for settlers, lumber companies, and the U.S. government."[264] While the definition of private property makes legal sense, it loses sight of the consequences of severing the relationship between humans and land, based on the presumed objectification of land. Consequently, as Sarah Augustine argues, "private property is an erosion of community and collective identity, survival strategies core and fundamental to humanity. Private property is divisive for all people. Private property disconnects us from each other and from responsibility for each other," as well as from responsibility to the land.[265]

Consequently, the economic system often attributed to the western worldview, **capitalism**, is called into question by many Indigenous scholars and theologians regarding its relationship with land and private property. As Byrd argues, modern capitalism is most interested in land "as a 'clearing of space' that then opens up new markets and new aesthetic influences to transform and extend the hegemony of the global North."[266] As many Indigenous authors, activists, and theologians argue, capitalism does not value land beyond its ownership and economic promise. The global system of capitalism prioritizes economic gain and free market trade above all else. The goal is to create a global free market that prioritizes profit growth. As a result, the resources of planet Earth have been objectified into materials for extraction for the sake of corporate profit. This **extractive capitalism** abuses planet Earth and its resources. Extractive capitalism is built on the principles of the Doctrine of Discovery that argue that land is a commodity to be conquered and exploited by humans.

Another significant theological outcome of the Doctrine of Discovery is the relative ease of

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[263] Woodley, *Indigenous Theology and the Western Worldview*, 61.

[264] Scott Richard Lyons. *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent*, 5.

[265] Augustine, *The Land is Not Empty*, 204.

[266] Byrd, *The Transit of Empire*, 206.

dehumanization and supremacy develop within the western worldview, including through the logics and practices of **white supremacy**. As Mark Charles and Soong-Chan Rah argue, the narrative foundation of the Doctrine of Discovery was the promotion of "European Christian purity and supremacy that negated the value and worth of the other and permitted European Christians to assume their own supremacy and privilege on specious theological grounds. … The assumption of white supremacy took root in the imagination of the Western mind."[267] This assumption of white supremacy has never left the western worldview and remains embedded within the settler American Christian worldview today.

As a result, white supremacy is a direct descendant of the Doctrine of Discovery. There are countless examples that can be pointed to throughout history, as well as in the present, but one relevant example is found in the paternal creation of **reservation system** and the current relationship between the United States government and this system. Dunbar-Ortiz explains that the treaty-making era of the United States, between independence in 1776 and 1871, developed the concept of reservations as "Indigenous nations reserving a narrowed land base from a much larger one in exchange for US government protection from settlers and the provision of social services."[268] However, these concepts of treaty rights, tribal sovereignty, and protected land were short lived. As Indigenous resistance to the colonial advances shifted in the late nineteenth century, the United States government shifted the understandings of reservations to "land being carved out of the public domain of the United States as a benevolent … 'gift' to the Indigenous peoples…. With this shift, Indian reservations came to be seen as enclaves within state's boundaries."[269] As a result of this shift in rhetoric, support for the reservation systems within the United States plummeted and public support grew for revoking treaty rights, tribal sovereignty, and the protections of reservation land. Consequently, "as a result of federal land sales, seizures, and allotments, most reservations are severely fragmented. Each parcel of tribal, trust, and privately held land is a separate enclave under multiple laws and jurisdictions."[270] The United States government found ways to erode treaty rights, tribal sovereignty, and the protection of reservations, with the public support of settlers colonialism.

Although originally imagined by the settler state as a fulfillment of treaty promises through military and political policy, the reservation system did not manifest itself as such. Instead, the paternalism and dehumanization of the Doctrine of Discovery bled into the treaties, stripping away tribal sovereignty and self-determination over time. White Supremacy was integral to this process, claiming that the lack of European culture and Christianity made Indigenous peoples undeserving of land and sovereignty, as well as unable effectively to utilize land and sovereignty. Furthermore, the greed and desire for more land by the United States government and corporations has led to creative methods to strip more land away from reservations, claiming that land is not being "used" to its potential.

Treaties, and **treaty rights**, were originally a compromise to maintain the best life possible, as discerned by tribes. As Scott Richard Lyons argues,

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[267] Mark Charles and Soong-Chan Rah, *Unsettling Truth*, 22–23.

[268] Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*, 10–12.

[269] Ibid.

[270] Ibid.

"looking at the treaty experience from the Indian side of things … they wanted a better life for their children, and they were resigned to the imposition of a new order, so they made a rational decision to get what they could from it."[271] Amidst the dehumanization and violence of settler colonialism, Indigenous peoples saw treaties as a way to set up the best possible future for their children. However, the colonial and paternalistic United States government, and all settler colonial beneficiaries within the United States, continue to deny the full scope and sequence of treaties, treaty rights, and tribal sovereignty. For this reason, Indigenous peoples today still advocate for the fulfillment of treaties. For example, the Teton Sioux Nation Treaty Council write in "A Declaration of Affirmation of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868" that "the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 was enacted … as an international agreement between the Sioux … and the United States…. We strongly recommend that the United States develop a plan for the return of the 1868 Treaty Territory … [and] compensation for the repair of all environmental damage."[272] The ongoing refusal by the United States government, and the complicity from all settler residents of the United States, to honor legally binding treaties is a present example and manifestation of settler colonialism today.

The Doctrine of Discovery, settler colonialism, and their manifestations are death-dealing to all peoples and creation. The mindsets and lived practices detailed in this second section of the report have devastating and realized consequences. As a result, it is critical to repent and expand beyond malformed settler colonial perspectives and theologies into life-giving decolonial perspectives and theologies.

3. DECOLONIAL INDIGENOUS PERSPECTIVES & PRACTICES

Decolonial Indigenous perspectives and practices call out the death-dealing natures of malformed settler colonial perspectives and practices and point toward alternative visions that are life-giving, liberative, and just. This section of the report will explore some key decolonial Indigenous perspectives and practices, how these perspectives and practices represent counter-cultural worldviews to the settler colonial western worldview, and the ways in which these perspectives and practices are life-giving to all people and creation. While this section of the report will refer to theological concepts, it proceeds from a slightly different starting point than the first section of the report because of its decolonial nature. If Indigenous theologies are holistic and life-giving theological practices based on spatiality, land, community, and interrelatedness of all creation that lead to the flourishing of all people and all of creation, decolonial Indigenous theologies add the explicit goal of freeing theological beliefs and practices from settler colonial harms.

As Indigenous communities have been forced to maneuver the legal and economic policies of colonial nations, the question of identity has been a site of resistance. Decolonial Indigenous perspectives and practices emphasize the rootedness in cultural identity outside of legal and economic colonial frameworks. "Indigenous survival as peoples is due to centuries of resistance and storytelling passed through the generations, and I sought to demonstrate that this

[271] Lyons, *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent*, 124–127.

[272] Howe, Whirlwind Soldier, and Lee, *He Sapa Woihanble: Black Hills Dream*, 85–86.

survival is dynamic, not passive."[273] **Storytelling** becomes a mode of resistance by situating identity and meaning-making outside of the framework of settler colonialism.

Gerald Vizenor grounds this understanding of storytelling as a decolonial Indigenous site of resistance in his explanation of **Indigenous perspectives and practices**. Vizenor states that "Native American Indians are the originary storiers of this continent, and their stories of creation, sense of imagic presence, visionary memories, and tricky survivance are the eternal traces of native modernity."[274] As the original storytellers of North America, Indigenous peoples, and their perspectives and practices, inherently counter the hegemonic and exclusivistic perspectives and practices of settler colonialism. Vizenor defines these harmful settler colonial perspectives and practices as **manifest manners**: "the course of dominance, the racialist notions and misnomers sustained in archives and lexicons as 'authentic'; representations of *indian* cultures. Manifest manners court the destinies of monotheism, cultural determinism, objectivism, and the structural conceits of [primitivism] and civilization."[275] In other words, manifest manners are the single stories presented by settler colonialism to trivialize, historize, and marginalize Indigenous peoples.

Indigenous perspectives and practices inherently counter these single stories of manifest manners by offering expansive alternate stories. Vizenor calls these life-giving Indigenous perspectives and practices stories of **survivance**, or the "active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name. Native survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, tragedy, and victimry. Survivance means the right of succession or reversion of an estate, and in that sense, the state of native survivancy."[276] Indigenous stories of survivance reveal the absurdity and violence of settler colonial manifest manners.

Since the Doctrine of Discovery relied upon the formation of settler colonial narratives and the development of a western worldview in order to justify displacement, dehumanization, and violence, it makes sense that storytelling and narrative creation would be sites of resistance against the domination of the manifestations of the Doctrine of Discovery and the settler colonial western worldview. By upending settler colonial narratives and exposing their violent underbelly, decolonial Indigenous storytelling denies colonial settlers the opportunity to hide behind a false wall of innocence. This upending of colonial narratives is an Indigenous hermeneutical tool called **trickster hermeneutics**. "Trickster hermeneutics of liberation, the uncertain humor and shimmer of survivance that denies the obscure maneuvers of manifest manners, tragic transvaluations, and the incoherence of cultural representations."[277] Trickster hermeneutics utilize **stories of survivance** to catch settler colonial narratives off guard and to expose the incoherence of such narratives.

Creation stories are examples of narratives of survivance and Indigenous decolonial resistance. Indigenous creation stories do not seek to explain a historical event or absolute truth. Instead, Indigenous

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[273] Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*, xiii–xiv.
[274] Gerald Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance*, vii.
[275] Ibid.
[276] Ibid.
[277] Ibid., 66.

creation stories generally seek to recount how Indigenous communities are "confronted with a bountiful earth in which all things and experiences have a role to play. The task … is to determine the proper relationship that the people of the tribe must have with other living things and to develop the self-discipline within the tribal community so that man acts harmoniously with other creatures."[278] The goal of creation stories is to proclaim the rightness of relationship possible between all of creation and to encourage the listeners to seek, build, and maintain that right-relationship with all creation.

This concept of establishing right-relationship with creation is counter-cultural to the settler colonial western worldview of commodifying and consuming creation. Indigenous creation stories offer sites of resistance to the ecological and human violence of settler colonialism. This intentional strategy of survival and resistance through storytelling points to the decolonial nature of Indigenous **cosmologies**, or worldviews, in the face of western worldviews, or cosmologies. Sarah Augustine states that this dissonance between the cosmologies, or fundamental worldviews, of the settler colonial western worldview and decolonial Indigenous worldviews, reveals that, "for Indigenous Peoples, all of reality, including an understanding of God, is rooted in land….The centrality of space is not simply a matter of ritual– it is indicative of a fundamental understanding of reality, and an essential understanding of God."[279] **Place, space, and land** are at the center of decolonial Indigenous perspectives and practices because place, space, and land are a part of creation and are the relatives of humanity. A kindred relationship with creation leaves no room for the commodification, consumption, or violent extraction processes common within settler colonialism and global free market capitalism.

Due to the kindred relation understanding of creation, decolonial Indigenous perspectives and practices often find allyship with **ecological and environmental justice movements**. Randy S. Woodley explains that "there are some similarities to Indigenous ideas and ideologies of earthkeeping found in environmental movements like Deep Ecology/Ecosophy."[280] However, this allyship often breaks down when ecological and environmental justice movements led by settler colonial descendants are challenged by their understandings of land. Any understanding of land as private property to be owned leaves the land open to exploitation by humans. Thus, settler colonial descendants struggle to comprehend fully that a kindred relationship with land requires the freedom of land from the enslavement of commodification and private property.

While land as a separate object and commodity (private property) from place and space is a western worldview subdivision, the lived reality of this division has had important ramifications for decolonial Indigenous perspectives and practices. Clara Sue Kidwell, Homer Noley, and Tink Tinker explain this tenuous relationship between Indigenous communities and land in a society dictated by the legal purview of settler colonialism: "our cultural identity is heavily invested in that attachment [with land]. It helps to define the limits of our ceremonial life, to give a foundation to our traditional stories and myths, to

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[278] Deloria, *God is Red*, 86–87.

[279] Augustine, *The Land is Not Empty*, 188–189.

[280] Woodley, *Shalom and the Community of Creation*, 63–64.

secure a sense of balance and harmony in community identity."[281] As a consequence of this deep attachment with land, the realities of settler colonialism—past, present, and ongoing—have created ideological conflict. While decolonial Indigenous perspectives and practices point to a mutual relationship between humanity and land, settler colonial legal understandings of land as private property were the "basis of the treaties made between Indian tribes and the United States government. Land is today the basis upon which tribal sovereignty rests, the rights of Indian people to live upon, to use, and to govern in a political sense."[282] Navigating this dynamic tension between the refusal to understand land as an object or commodity while also maintaining legal rights and autonomy based on settler colonial understandings of land as property is a constant struggle within decolonial Indigenous perspectives and practices. Furthermore, the specific western concept of land as distinct from place and space has become a critical focus of decolonial Indigenous perspectives and practices.

Land or Territory acknowledgements are examples of this breakdown in understanding of land as a kindred relation. While land or territory acknowledgements can be a positive way "to recognize the history of colonialism and a need for change in settler colonial societies…these acknowledgements can easily be a token gesture rather than a meaningful practice. All settlers, including recent arrivants, have a responsibility to consider what it means to acknowledge the history and legacy of colonialism."[283] Land or territory acknowledgements may be positive steps in educating others about the past, present, and ongoing realities of settler colonialism, but they must be accompanied by a new understanding of and relationship with land in order to have any hope of translating into reparative action.

One example of this focus on land tangibly manifesting within decolonial Indigenous perspectives and practices is the demand for **reparations or land back**. As Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz explains, "Native peoples have vast claims to reparations and restitution. Indigenous nations negotiated numerous treaties with the United States that included land transfers and monetary compensation."[284] At present, the vast majority of these claims to reparations and restitution have not been honored. Instead, the federal government of the United States continues to find ways to shrink treaty land through "direct federal appropriation by various means as well as through government failure to meet its obligation to protect Indigenous landholdings as required under treaties."[285] While the United States government has offered monetary compensation for some tribal land claims, money does not resolve the central disruption and severance of right-relationship between humanity and all of creation. Instead, particularly with the rise of Indian rights movements in the 1960s, Indigenous nations began to demand "restoration of treaty guaranteed land rather than monetary compensation. Native Americans…ordinarily do not use the term 'reparations' in reference to their land claims and treaty rights. Rather, they demand restoration, restitution, or repatriation of lands acquired by the United States outside valid treaties."[286] As a result,

[281] Kidwell, Noley, and Tinker, *A Native American Theology*, 14–15.
[282] Ibid.
[283] Native Land Digital, "Territory Acknowledgement," https://native-land.ca/resources/territory-acknowledgement/.
[284] Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*, 205–207.
[285] Ibid.
[286] Ibid.

the restoration, restitution, and repatriation of treaty guaranteed lands is a central goal of decolonial Indigenous perspectives and practices.

Furthermore, restoration also involves "the repatriation of remains of dead ancestors and burial items."[287] While much progress has been made in this particular form of restoration, many ancestral burial grounds continue to be desecrated and ceremonial burial items remain in museums. Repatriation of such land and burial items is also a central goal of decolonial Indigenous perspectives and practices, particularly when considered in tandem with legally binding Treaty Rights and Tribal Sovereignty promised by the colonial empires of North America.

Treaty Rights originated as a way for "Indian nations to achieve some type of peaceful compromise and enter the United States as an equal," but "[turned into] betray[al] a generation later."[288] In fact, treaty rights in their original forms would dramatically alter the ways in which settler colonial society operates. In their original conception, treaties "marked off the boundaries between the lands of the Indian nations and the United States . . . treaties defined alliances between the United States and tribes in the eighteenth century."[289] Central to these treaties were the rights for tribal nations to complete autonomy over their lands and peoples as independent sovereign nations. Furthermore, these treaties were written as legally binding contracts between the tribes and the United States government: "Many treaties contain the phrase 'contracting parties' and specify that each party must agree to the terms of the treaty for it to be valid. It would have seemed that, if treaties were contracts, the United States was required under the impairment of contracts or due process clause to protect the rights of the Indian tribes."[290] If treaties were legally binding contracts written between two autonomous and sovereign nations, then "tribes should have rights and that the United States should stand behind the treaty provisions as guarantor."[291] As a result, the United States government illegally broke, and continues to break, treaty promises. Treaty rights are rightfully and legally owed to Indigenous nations. However, the entity meant to enforce the rights and provisions promised in treaties—the United States government—never intended to fulfill those promises. As a result, decolonial Indigenous perspectives and practices centralize the legal rights and provisions owed to Indigenous peoples through the very legal and political structures of the colonial empire itself.

Tribal Sovereignty is another critical element of this advocacy work of restoration, land back, and treaty rights. Recognized by treaties and the federal government of the United States as sovereign nations, Tribal nations rebuke the colonial concept of "domestic dependent nations" that the United States has attempted to use in legally nullifying treaty rights through paternalistic and racist ideology. Despite legal gains in the 1950s and 1960s, "repression, armed attacks, and legislative attempts to undo treaty rights began again in the late 1970s, giving rise to the international Indigenous movement, which greatly broadened the support for Indigenous sovereignty and territorial rights in the United States." Collective and global solidarity among Indigenous communities became central to the push for tribal sovereignty. Globalization and free-market capitalism have

[287] Ibid.

[288] Vine Deloria Jr., *Custer Died For Your Sins*, 34–35.

[289] Ibid.

[290] Ibid.

[291] Ibid.

"increased exploitation of energy resources begetting new pressures on Indigenous lands. Exploitation by the largest corporations, often in collusion with politicians at local, state, and federal levels … could spell a final demise for Indigenous land bases and resources."[292] In the face of a larger-scale globalized market of consumption and extraction, global solidarity among Indigenous nations became a central tenet of decolonial Indigenous perspectives and practices. As settler colonialism continues to operate on a global scale, seeking evermore to chip away at treaty rights and Indigenous self-determination for the economic and material benefit of imperial nations, tribal sovereignty has become a centerpiece of the work of decolonial Indigenous perspectives and practices. But as Dunbar-Ortiz explains, "strengthening Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination … will take general public outrage and demand, which in turn will require that the general population, those descended from settlers and immigrants, know their history and assume responsibility."[293] Decolonial Indigenous perspectives and practices require that settler colonial descendants recognize their complicity, repent, and take action against the death-dealing realities of settler colonialism today.

Another counter-cultural decolonial Indigenous concept that rejects the supremacy of whiteness, settler colonialism, and the violence of the western worldview is the **seventh generation**. Several different Indigenous stories and prophecies point to the idea that, after seven generations of pain and suffering, the seventh generation of Indigenous peoples "will take back what little culture and rights remain and amplify positive change for future generations that don't yet exist. Today, many elders and Native leaders see a clear rise of the 7th generation in their people today."[294] While this decolonial Indigenous narrative of the seventh generation has salvific notes in it, individual human salvation is not the goal of the narrative. Instead, the salvific outcome is the theological re-establishment of right-relationship between all people and all of creation.

This theological outcome of communal salvation for all people and all creation points to the reasons why the decolonial Indigenous theological perspectives and practice subcommittee felt compelled to include this three movement summary of theological Indigenous perspectives and practices, malformed settler colonial theological perspectives and practices, and decolonial Indigenous perspectives and practices. The goal and hope of this report is that it will help inform, challenge, and support the seminary's commitments to accountability and repair for the sake of a more life-sustaining and just future for all peoples, especially Indigenous peoples, and all of creation.

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293 Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*, 10.

294 '7th Generation,' The Red Road Project, https://redroadproject.com/7th-generation/.

PART III

TRIBAL LEADERS, INDIGENOUS-LED ORGANIZATIONS, & POTENTIAL PARTNERSHIPS

STEPHANIE PERDEW (CHEROKEE NATION), PAMALA SILAS (MENOMINEE NATION, ONEIDA DESCENDENT), CHEBON KERNELL (SEMINOLE NATION, MUSCOGEE DESCENDENT), JESSICA HOPKINS (CHOCTAW NATION), FRED SHAW (SHAWNEE DESCENDENT)

Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary (GETS) is situated in the bioregion of the Upper Midwest, which historically encompassed the tribal homelands of the Council of the Seven Fires (Dakota, Lakota, and Nakota peoples) as well as the Menominee, Sac and Fox, Miami, Kickapoo, Illiniwik, Winnebago, Omaha, Pawnee, Iowan, Oto-Missouria, Ponca, Pontiac, and Ho-Chunk peoples. Closer to the Lake Michigan shore which Garrett inhabits are the homelands of the Council of the Three Fires, the Anishinaabe confederacy of the Bodwadomi (Potawatomi), Objibwe, and Odawa nations. Section I traces some of the history of the removal of these nations from what is now the State of Illinois via the overarching goals and outcomes of the Federal Indian Removal Act of 1830. Illinois is no longer home to any federally recognized Native Nations, land-based or not.

Among the Council of the Three Fires, the Bodwadomi people were fractured into nine bands, removed and relocated to reservation lands in Indian Territory (now incorporated into the State of Oklahoma), Kansas, Wisconsin, Michigan and Canada. The Objibwe nations were removed and dispersed northward to present-day Wisconsin, where the Lac du Flambeau Band and the Lac Courte Oreilles band now reside, and to Minnesota, where the Leech Lake Band, Mille Lacs Band, and St. Croix Chippewa nations are now located. The Odawa people now comprise the Little Traverse Bay bands, located in Michigan.

Today, seventy percent of the 9.7 million Native Americans in the United States live off their historic tribal lands and/or federally designated reservation lands in urban and suburban areas. This is in part due to the Federal Indian Relocation project of 1952, which relocated Natives to urban areas with the goal of breaking up land-based tribal ways of life, assimilating Natives into settler colonial life, and terminating tribal governments. In the Upper Midwest, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Minneapolis are home to large, inter-tribal Native populations which have their origins in that Federal Relocation effort, and which also include Natives who have relocated for educational or employment opportunities. The Chicago area has the third largest urban Native population in the United States, comprised of 65,000 people representing 175 tribes.

The charge of this working group of the Indigenous Study Committee (ISC) has been to consult with appropriate Tribal leaders and to explore potential future partnerships with Indigenous-led organizations and initiatives. To this end, the ISC met at the Northwestern University Center for Native and Indigenous Research in December 2022 at the invitation of Pamala Silas (Menominee/Oneida), associate director of the Center. Silas and ISC member Stephanie Perdew invited leaders of several Chicago-area intertribal organizations to meet with the GETS Indigenous Study Committee in order to learn more about possibilities for mutual work.

Those invited guests present at the December 2022 meeting were Andrew Johnson (Cherokee Nation), Executive Director of the American Indian Center of Chicago, Director of the Native American Chamber of Commerce of Illinois, and Oversight Committee Member of the Chicago American Indian Community Collaborative (CAICC) and Chantay Moore (Navajo Nation), Director of the American Indian Education Program of the Chicago Public Schools and also a CAICC Oversight Committee Member. Kim Vigue (Oneida/Menominee), Executive Director of the Mitchell Museum of the American Indian in Evanston, was unable to attend but the

Museum was represented by Perdew (Cherokee Nation) and Johnson (Cherokee Nation), who both serve on its Board of Directors.

A collaborative discussion ensued with Andrew Johnson illustrating the legislative priorities expressed in a recent CAICC sponsored Native American Summit at the State Legislature in Springfield, Illinois. Among those priorities are a bill regarding required historical instruction of Native history in Illinois K-12 public schools; freedom of religion in allowing Native students to wear tribal regalia or clothing at commencement and graduation ceremonies; support of the Indian Child Welfare Act; advocacy for Illinois declare and replace Columbus Day with Indigenous Peoples Day under state law; and Urban Indian funding for health care for Native people in Illinois' urban areas. Chantay Moore described the CPS American Indian Education Program and invited the GETS Indigenous Study Committee to apply for a panel presentation at the upcoming Chicago Urban Native Education Conference sponsored by CAICC on April 14-15, 2023. The ISC did submit a panel presentation proposal and is waiting to hear regarding acceptance.

Pamala Silas acquainted the ISC with the work of CNAIR at Northwestern University, and Stephanie Perdew acquainted the ISC with the history of the Mitchell Museum in Evanston. The Museum was founded upon a collection of artifacts given by the Seabury-Mitchell Family and for years functioned with very little relationship to or trust from the Chicago Native community. The Museum recently celebrated its 45th anniversary and now has a majority Native staff and board, focused on educating the public about the Native history and cultures of the tribes of the Upper Midwest, and serving as a cultural center for learning and community for Native and non-Native people. Among the Mitchell's invitations to Garrett was the opportunity to support and care for its Indigenous Medicine Garden, and to potentially co-sponsor other events related to medicine, food, and food sovereignty. Additionally, Mitchell and CNAIR are together pursuing a possible grant to tell the story of John Evans and the founding of Evanston through an exhibit at the Museum. Among CNAIR's invitations to Garrett was the opportunity to co-sponsor or have a presence at the second Northwestern Native student-led Pow Wow to be held at Welsh-Ryan Arena on Earth Day, April 22, 2023.

The ISC has begun already to build trust with the Chicago multi-tribal community, and to receive invitations for partnership and collaboration. These invitations and the trust needed to receive them should not be underestimated. It is not unusual for Native-led organizations to have historic and understandable suspicion of invitations for partnership or expressions of interest from historically white institutions. Native people and Native-led organizations are wary of token expressions of interest, cultural appropriation, and expectations that they will educate non-Natives about painful and traumatizing history, often for free. Garrett is being portrayed as a serious ally in Native communities in the Chicago area and there are relationships to build upon.

Garrett's Indigenous Study Committee has laid the ground for future collaboration with local organizations such as:

Chicago American Indian Community Collaborative https://chicagoaicc.com/

Annual Urban Native Education Conference https://chicagoaicc.com/events/7th-annual-urban-native-education-conference/?occurrence=2023-04-15

Mitchell Museum of the American Indian https://mitchellmuseum.org/

Northwestern Center for Native and Indigenous Research https://cnair.northwestern.edu/

The Center for Ecological Regeneration also co-sponsored the production of the play "We Own this Now," produced by Ted & Company Theatre Company. The play tells the story of confronting the legacy of the Doctrine of Discovery from the point of view of white settler descendants. The co-sponsorship came at the invitation of Reba Place Fellowship Church, and the play was performed at the First Unitarian Church of Evanston on March 17-18, 2023.

Consistent with the mission of the seminary and the mission of the Center for Ecological Regeneration, the seminary might also consider institutional partnerships with:

Indigenous Environmental Network https://www.ienearth.org/

Honor the Earth https://honorearth.org/

Midwest Environmental Justice Network https://www.mwejn.org/about-us

Midwest Soarring Foundation https://www.midwestsoarring.org/

Water Protector Legal Collective https://www.waterprotectorlegal.org/

Consistent with the concerns of the seminary regarding the plight of children throughout the world and the seminary's focus on children, race, and poverty in recent years, the seminary might also consider institutional work regarding the Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative undertaken by Department of the Interior Secretary Deb Haaland. This initiative was created by the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior at Secretary Haaland's request after human remains of children who perished at boarding schools in Canada were identified in the summer of 2021. Secretary Haaland knew from her own tribal history about the United States' operation of hundreds of American Indian boarding schools. That same summer Secretary Haaland personally accompanied the remains of nine children who died at Carlisle Industrial Indian School in Pennsylvania back to the Sicangu Lakota tribe, where the children were interred on tribal lands in July 2021. The Initiative released a report in May 2022: https://www.bia.gov/sites/default/files/dup/inline-files/bsi_investigative_report_may_2022_508.pdf

The role of religious organizations in the history of US Federal Indian Boarding Schools is described on page 46 and forward of the report. The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition has done its own research and documented that twelve of the 367 Indian Boarding Schools in the United States were run by historically Methodist groups. https://boardingschoolhealing.org/list/

GETS may want to become a partner with current UMC efforts (described in Section 4) regarding historical investigations into these twelve schools, their legacies, and the question of whether their sites harbor human remains that need to be repatriated to tribal nations.

The Indigenous Study Committee (ISC) did not take the step of consulting with Tribal leaders. We consider this a second step of discernment and advise that the seminary become quite clear in its aims, goals, and any commitments to reparative action before it approaches Tribal leaders with requests for relationship building or conversation. While we believe there is the possibility for relationships to be built with some or all of the nine Bodwadomi bands, the Objibwe bands, or the Odawa bands, to concentrate on the nations of the Council of the Three Fires, we are not yet certain what the seminary's hopes and goals, let alone commitments, would be in inviting

these nations into conversation. If the seminary desires to have these conversations in the future, there are those in the present ISC who could potentially help the seminary make those connections.

PART IV

REPORT ON DENOMINATIONAL & ECUMENICAL CONSULTATIONS & INITIATIVES

REV. CHEBON KERNELL (SEMINOLE NATION, MUSCOGEE DESCENDANT), REV. FRED SHAW (SHAWNEE DESCENDANT), REV. DR. MICHELLE OBERWISE LACOCK (LAKOTA, ENGLISH, IRISH, SCOTTISH, GERMAN HERITAGE), ELAINE ENNS, LUKE GASCHO

The President's charge to the GETS Indigenous Study Committee asked for consultation with denominational and institutional leaders. This working group undertook a review of United Methodist denominational work in the area of Native American ministries, consulted with committee members Elaine Enns and Luke Gascho about Anabaptist and Mennonite perspectives and initiatives, and reviewed the work of other mainline Protestant Denominations. This working group invited into the conversation UMC leadership from the Native American Course of Study, (Rev. Dr. Jerome DeVine, Executive Director) Native American Comprehensive Plan, Rev. Chebon Kernell-Executive Director, and the Native American International Caucus, Rev. Carol Lakota Eastin, member of NAIC. Their input is part of this report.

1. UNITED METHODIST CHURCH

Among United Methodists, the **Native American Course of Study (NACOS)**[295] began in 2005 and is an extension of the Course of Study School located at Methodist Theological School (MTSO) in Delaware, Ohio. The Native American Course of Study (NACOS) is a program of study for pastors which is endorsed by the General Board of Higher Education and Ministry (GBHEM). It provides a culturally sensitive learning environment that equips Native American pastors for ministry and provides these pastors with a covenant group with and for each other. The school is open to Native American pastors in any jurisdiction or conference, as well as to non-Native pastors who are serving Native American congregations, communities, and/or who feel called to this specialized ministry. At present, 90% of the NACOS students reside and serve within the confines of the North Central Jurisdiction.

A major concern for the North Central Jurisdiction Committee on Native American Ministries (NCJ CONAM) has been and still is to provide Native American churches with pastors who are self-assured, effective leaders. The United Methodist Church (UMC) primarily depends upon ordained Elders requiring a college degree and a Master of Divinity degree through a process that takes eight to ten years and many thousands of dollars to complete. Elders are assigned to congregations whose salary and benefits packages are determined by the Annual Conference in which they are appointed. Very few, if any, Native American congregations can meet the level of support that is required by the conference.

The United Methodist Course of Study (COS) for Licensed Local Pastors is an effective means of meeting the pastoral needs of smaller congregations. These pastors are not required to have a college degree nor are they required to complete a master's degree. Instead, these pastors complete a five-year program of intensive theological and pastoral preparation courses while they serve a congregation. Because the salary packages for these pastors are significantly lower than those of an Elder, congregations with limited financial means have the possibility of skilled leadership at their helms. In addition, those students who demonstrate a desire to complete their undergraduate and seminary degrees are better equipped to do so through the NACOS.

NACOS effectively uses a pedagogy that engages effective learning methods for Native American people. Over the years NCJ CONAM has worked with the Native American Course of Study (NACOS) to utilize and refine a Native traditional methodology of teaching while adhering to the academic requirements of the COS. NACOS Instructors/Professors are: a) Native Americans ordained as Elders in the UMC

[295] https://www.nacosumc.org/

who are knowledgeable in their own and other Native cultures; b) selected ordained non-Native Instructors/ Professors who have evidenced cross-cultural competency and deep appreciation of Native American Indian cultures; and, c) selected non-ordained (lay) university instructors/professors holding Masters degrees or Ph.D. degrees who have excelled in their specialized fields of study and who are either Native American or have evidenced cross-cultural competency and deep appreciation of Native American cultures.

Currently NACOS is working together with the Native American Comprehensive Plan (NACP) to develop new websites with links between both NACP and NACOS and to develop video resources that can be used across the nation in interpreting Native theology and missions to United Methodist Churches globally.

NACOS' main funding is through the North Central Jurisdiction Mission Council. The mission council's support has been key for their work. Other funding comes through student tuition and from private donations, as NACOS is a 501c3. Funding for the future is one of our greatest challenges. Another challenge is to decolonize and contextualize the curriculum and methodology.

During the presentation to this committee there were questions about funding and the question of reparative work, including financial reparations from settler communities/ institutions. NACOS desires a relationship with United Methodist seminaries such that:

1. Seminaries host NACOS on campus and that this entails involvement with the wider seminary community.
2. Seminaries might be able to assist with internet platforms, technological expertise, etc.
3. Seminaries find ways to reach out to NACOS for the sake of both partnership and to break down the ways in which NACOS is structurally isolated from the wider church due to tendencies to treat it, prejudicially, as "that Native American thing" with which only some people need to concern themselves.

Native American International Caucus of the United Methodist Church, (NAIC) was established in 1968 when the United Methodist Church was formed. The Caucus' work includes a family camp for youth and adults (including adult workshops) and has a longstanding youth program. NAIC is also engaged in study, looking at the impact of COVID on Native American families/communities, for example, as well as the history and lasting effects of Boarding School trauma and the history of abuse of Native American women. NAIC also advocates for Native American concerns with the United Methodist Church and with governmental entities. On its website[296] NAIC states its mission as:

- To sensitize the United Methodist Church about customs and religious expressions of Native American people;
- To educate and inform the United Methodist Church of critical issues that affect Native Americans;
- To engage members of the United Methodist Church in these critical Native American issues; and,
- To advocate for the full participation of the United Methodist Native Americans at all levels of the church and in the life of the church
- To become and make effective disciples of Jesus

[296] www.naicumc.com

Christ for the transformation of the world through education, engagement, and advocacy

The NAIC board meets monthly, addresses emerging issues, and seeks to raise awareness regarding the following:

Boarding School Healing: NAIC has asked the UMC to do a full study of its complicit role in boarding schools. Such a study would include the disclosure of the names of UMC boarding schools, the offer to relocate any human remains found on the grounds of these schools to the tribal nations, and the participation with Native peoples in healing ministries related to the sufferings inflicted on them by the UMC in this boarding school program.

MMIW: NAIC has tried to increase awareness of, and advocacy for, missing and murdered Indigenous women, and girls, boys, LGBTQ and other vulnerable persons.

Land and Environmental Concerns: NAIC has advocated for healing the earth, water and air, to support tribal sovereignty and land rights. When Land Recognition Acts are completed, NAIC seeks to foster healing relationships through plans for restitution.

Pandemic: NAIC has pointed attention to the fact that Native people have the highest per capita deaths from Covid-19. The grief and trauma associated with this pandemic includes the loss of key elders who were the wisdom carriers for Native people.

Youth Leadership: NAIC has an ongoing youth community that includes teens and young adults. Peg Leg Flamingos has been in operation for over twenty years and develops leadership skills in our next generation, addresses issues that young people face, and fosters healing and support.

Family Camp: NAIC has established a four-day summer gathering of Native American United Methodists. The 2023 camp, whose theme was "Healing the Generations," was held in Silverlake, New York.

2. NATIVE AMERICAN COMPREHENSIVE PLAN

Rev. Chebon Kernell (Seminole Nation, Muscogee) is the Executive Director of the UMC Native American Comprehensive Plan,[297] first launched and mandated by the 1988 General Conference. The Plan has the following mission statement: it shall serve as the United Methodist entity that strengthens, advocates, and provides resources for the local church in Native American communities/contexts across all generations. The Native American Comprehensive Plan enriches United Methodist Native American ministries by developing and supporting existing and new United Methodist Native American congregations ministries and fellowships, enabling them to become a vital part of The United Methodist Church. The Plan develops Native American Leadership for service to The United Methodist Church. It also affirms the value of and strengthens the role of traditional, cultural, and spiritual contributions of Native American people for the expression of Christian faith and faith development among the membership of The United Methodist Church.

The NACP has identified a Quadrennial Vision For Native American Ministries. The four areas the NACP will focus on in the coming

[297] https://www.nacp-umc.org/

quadrennium include preserving Indigenous language, understanding Indigenous spirituality, addressing the epidemic of violence against Indigenous women and children, and seeking climate justice globally.

The NACP administered grants totaling $100,000.00 to facilitate COVID health care and recovery of communities during the pandemic.

3. RELEVANT ECUMENICAL EFFORTS

MENNONITE CHURCH

The Coalition to Dismantle the Doctrine of Discovery

The Coalition to Dismantle the Doctrine of Discovery was established in 2014 by members of the Mennonite Church, but without funding from the church itself. The Coalition has been a major leader in education for Christians about the historic legacies of the Doctrine of Discovery, and it calls on the church to address the enslavement, extinction, and extraction done in the name of Christ on Indigenous lands. The Coalition invites participation from Christians of all denominations, and its website provides a host of resources for teaching about the Doctrine of Discovery.[298]

Mennonite Hymnal

The Mennonite Church published a new worship and song collection in the fall of 2020. *Voices Together* incorporates worship resources such as prayers emerging from Indigenous Christian contexts and readings that address the history of colonialism and the movement toward reconciliation such as a territorial acknowledgment. *Voices Together* also includes the tunes, texts, and translations of Indigenous songs. These worship elements are an important aspect of recognizing the diversity of Mennonite Church USA and Mennonite Church Canada, and of acknowledging our Christian and colonial history in North America.

BARTIMAEUS COOPERATIVE MINISTRIES

Bartimaeus Cooperative Ministries (BCM) was founded in 1998 as an ecumenical experiment in capacity-building for communities of faith. Since 2007, BCM has held an annual Bartimaeus Institute (BI) whose mission is to shape practical engagements at the intersection of the "seminary, sanctuary, streets and soil."[299] The Institute provides an opportunity for interactive and in-depth study of scripture and social justice, as well as personal discipleship, engaging both congregational and denominational policies and practices. Over the last five years, the BI has focused on settler responsibility and Indigenous justice. With a pre-dominantly settler audience, the focus is on settlers re-schooling themselves about entanglements in colonialism, building capacity for relationships with Indigenous neighbors, tribal leadership, and reservations, and working of restorative solidarity and reparations.

4. UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

The United Church of Christ ministers to its Native congregations through its **Council for**

[298] https://dofdmenno.org/.

[299] Ched Myers, "Reconnecting Seminary, Sanctuary, Streets and Soil: Curating Alternative Spaces for Theological Education," in Reginald Blount and Virginia Lee, eds. *Let Your Light Shine: Mobilizing for Justice with Children and Youth* (Friendship Press, 2019).

American Indian Ministry (CAIM, http://caimucc.com). CAIM supports the UCC's twenty rural Native churches--and one inter-tribal urban church—in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota. CAIM is largely funded through donations to the UCC's Neighbors in Need annual denominational offering.

Denominational and educational efforts of the United Church of Christ have focused on repudiating the Doctrine of Discovery and, more recently, educating the wider denomination about the efforts of the inter-tribal Land Back Movement.

In 2013 the 29th General Synod of the United Church of Christ called upon its churches and members to repudiate the Doctrine of Discovery, which authorized the genocide of Indigenous peoples and the theft of their lands. To this end, the National Setting of the United Church of Christ's Justice and Witness Ministries produced a Doctrine of Discovery study guide and video series. (see the video clip "**Discovered, or Stolen?")** For the history of the Doctrine of Discovery, see **here** for a 18-min. presentation by Dr. Roxanne Gould, All Nations Church UCC, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

More recently, the UCC's Creation Justice webinar hosted a conversation about the Land Back movement on February 8, 2023.

5. EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

The ELCA's American Indian and Alaska Native Ministries (https://elca.org/indigenous) works closely with thirty native congregations around the country. In light of the United States' federal investigation into American Indian Boarding schools, the ELCA has established an ELCA Truth-Seeking and Truth-Telling Initiative to organize Lutherans for truth-seeking and truth-telling about Lutheran involvement in Indian boarding schools in the United States and their impact on Native peoples. The vision is to create a nationwide network of ELCA members who commit to and carry out research to identify Indian boarding schools and day schools sponsored by or supported by Lutherans (approx. 1820-1970) and who participate in an ongoing truth and healing process for both Native peoples and white ELCA Lutherans. The goal of the program is for members throughout the ELCA to know and claim their complicity in the history of church-sponsored Indian boarding schools and these schools' deliberate, devastating impacts on Native people and their communities.

More than 200 unmarked graves containing children's bodies were found at the Kamloops Indian Residential School in Canada in 2021 (see *New York Times* article). With this news, the white public's awareness of the existence and impact of Indian boarding schools has risen sharply, causing members of the ELCA to ask: What was our involvement here in the United States? What can we do about it?

Federal legislation moving through Congress this year would establish a truth and healing commission on Indian boarding school policies in the U.S. In hope that this legislation will become law in the near future, ELCA churches anticipate that they will be asked or required to produce information about their involvement in Indian boarding.

6. PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH USA

The Native American Presbyterian community connects the 95 Native churches of the (PCUSA).[300] The PCUSA has also organized its own report on the Doctrine of Discovery for its General Assemblies in the past decade: *The Doctrine of Discovery: A Review of Its Origins and Implications for Congregations in the PC(USA) and Support for Native American Sovereignty Report to the 223rd General Assembly (2018)*.[301] At the 222nd General Assembly in 2016, the Presbyterian Church (USA) adopted recommendations for action on the Doctrine of Discovery. Recommendation 7 of Item 11-24 calls upon the PCUSA to "confess its complicity and repudiate the Doctrine of Discovery, and direct the Presbyterian Mission Agency and the Office of the General Assembly, in consultation with ACREC (Advisory Committee on Racial Ethnic Concerns), to initiate a process of review of the Doctrine of Discovery."[302] This process includes the preparation of a report that: (1) describes the Doctrine of Discovery and explains its history; (2) makes recommendations of how congregations in the PCUSA can support Native Americans in their ongoing efforts for sovereignty and fundamental human rights; (3) describes how relationships with specific Native American individuals and tribes can be developed; and (4) suggests specific ways in which congregations may recognize, support, and cooperate with Native American individuals, tribes, and nations who reside within their communities. With this action, the PCUSA joins other denominations who have taken actions to repudiate the Doctrine of Discovery. This report was prepared in consultation with a committee of PCUSA staff and Native American consultants who represented or who had served on the following PCUSA bodies: ACREC, Native American Consulting Committee, Synod of Lakes and Prairies, Synod of the Southwest, Synod of the Northwest, Dakota Presbytery, Yukon Presbytery, and the Office of Racial and Intercultural Justice.

7. EPISCOPAL CHURCH USA

The Office of Indigenous Ministries celebrates the longstanding presence and influence of Native Americans throughout the history of The Episcopal Church.[303] Exercising a deep spirituality grounded in respect for and care of creation and others, Indigenous Episcopalians enrich the church through myriad roles in lay and ordained ministry, modeling wisdom, resilience, and forbearance. Indigenous Ministries works for the full inclusion of Indigenous people in the life and leadership of the church. In seeking to fulfill this goal, the church welcomes partners who will:

- Guarantee that Indigenous people are fully recognized and welcomed into congregational life through education, advocacy, and leadership development;

[300] https://www.presbyterianmission.org/ministries/racial-equity-womens-intercultural-ministries/native-american-intercultural-congregational-support/

[301] https://www.presbyterianmission.org/wp-content/uploads/Doctrine-of-Discovery-Report-to-the-223rd-GA-2018-FINALIZED-COPY_As-Approved.pdf.

[302] _____

[303] https://www.episcopalchurch.org/ministries/indigenous-ministries/

- Create influential leadership roles in the church for Indigenous people;
- Develop a national support system for continued remembrance, recognition and reconciliation of all Indigenous people within the church and world;
- Develop a network of leadership and educational resources to empower Indigenous people to prepare for mission and ministry in The Episcopal Church and the world;
- Provide resources, advocacy and support to Indigenous theology students, those in the ordination process, and lay congregational leaders.

As an institution, The Episcopal Church recognizes and repents of its harmful treatment of Native Americans. In 1997, the church signed a new covenant of faith and reconciliation almost 400 years after Jamestown colonization, apologizing for its past actions and launching a decade of "remembrance, recognition and reconciliation."[304] In 2009, the church's General Convention passed a resolution repudiating the fifteenth century-based Doctrine of Discovery, which "held that Christian sovereigns and their representative explorers could assert."[305]

The Episcopal Church USA has also recently turned its focus to its own legacy of Native boarding schools.[306]

In a Bishops' Statement, the episcopacy of the ECUSA has stated:

"In Genesis, God conferred dignity on all people by creating them in God's own image–a belief that is shared by all Abrahamic faiths. We are grieved by recent discoveries of mass graves of Indigenous children on the grounds of former boarding schools, where Indigenous children experienced forced removal from their homes, assimilation and abuse. These acts of cultural genocide sought to erase these children's identities as God's beloved children.

We condemn these practices and we mourn the intergenerational trauma that cascades from them. We have heard with sorrow stories of how this history has harmed the families of many Indigenous Episcopalians.

While complete records are unavailable, we know that The Episcopal Church was associated with Indigenous schools during the 19th and 20th centuries. We must come to a full understanding of the legacies of these schools.

As chair and vice-chair of Executive Council, and in consultation with our church's Indigenous leaders, we pledge to make right relationships with our Indigenous siblings an important focus of the work of Executive Council and the 80th General Convention.

To that end, we commit to the work of truth and reconciliation with Indigenous communities in our church. We pledge to spend time with our Indigenous siblings, listening to their stories and history, and seeking their wisdom about how we can together come to terms with this part of our history. We call upon Executive Council to deliver a comprehensive proposal for addressing

304 _____

305 _____

306 https://www.episcopalchurch.org/publicaffairs/statement-on-indigenous-boarding-schools-by-presiding-bishop-michael-curry-and-president-of-the-house-of-deputies-gay-clark-jennings/.

the legacy of Indigenous schools at the 80th General Convention, including earmarking resources for independent research in the archives of The Episcopal Church, options for developing culturally appropriate liturgical materials and plans for educating Episcopalians across the church about this history, among other initiatives.

PART IV

INSTITUTIONAL AUDIT

A subcommittee of the Indigenous Study Committee engaged in an audit of where the seminary stands as an institution when it comes to Native communities. This work included a survey of Native seminary alumni to hear where we've both failed and succeeded in the past as well as to begin to foster relationships, to build the foundation for Native student/ally support, to research and advocate for scholarships and recruitment, to survey faculty on their curriculum as it pertains to Native peoples and decolonial work, and to begin the process of laying groundwork for future fundraising.

1. ALUMNI RELATIONS & SUPPORT

The objective of alumni relations and support was to compile as much information as possible from Native alums about their experience at Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary. From that information, we plan to move forward at the seminary with alums and future students in the most positive, affirming, and supportive way.

The committee contacted both the Development Office and the Registrar to compile a list of Native alumni with the acknowledgment that the list will be incomplete due to a variety of factors. The flawed data is due to multiple reasons, including having only a short history of electronic data as well as the need for students to self-identify as Indigenous on paperwork, which may not have always been the case, especially if they identified with multiple communities. There is also the complexity noted in the Introduction regarding those who are enrolled as tribal citizens, those who are recognized tribal descendants, and those who claim Native ancestry; this information is not necessarily delineated in GETS' record-keeping.

The Development Office and the Registrar provided a list of Native-identified alumni and current students to Dr. Timothy Eberhart and Dr. Stephanie Perdew, co-chairs of the Indigenous Study Committee, in a way consistent with privacy laws and protection of data. Of the fifty-three Native-identified persons on the list, fifty-two were alums and one is a current student. The seminary was able to provide email addresses for forty-eight of those individuals, all of whom were contacted by Dr. Perdew in February 2023 via email, with an invitation to engage in a survey regarding their experiences as Native-identified alumni or students at Garrett. Of the forty-eight emails, several bounced back, and only a fraction of those contacted participated in the survey.

Despite the small size of the response, some conclusions can be drawn from the survey. Overall, alumni from years ago report more feelings of invisibility while at Garrett, while those who graduated more recently, along with the current student, feel a sense that their identities are known and respected. Some respondents noted that other students were respectful of their identities and some responded that faculty were conscious of and supportive of their desires around reading, research, or recommendations of things to include in courses and syllabi. However, 66.7% of the respondents felt that they were the ones who had to suggest or advocate for conversations about Native concerns, life, theology, or spirituality while at Garrett. It is reassuring that 80% of respondents felt that there was some support in the seminary for their Native identities, but 20% of the respondents did not experience any support or cultural sensitivity while at GETS.

Nearly 70% of the respondents were enrolled tribal citizens with the balance tracing Native descendancy and ancestry in various ways. Two

noted that they do not present as people of color and felt they were not always taken seriously because they did not look obviously "native." Lurking in this background are the issues of race, citizenship, and sovereignty described in the Introduction. These results reveal some unawareness on behalf of those in the Garrett community that Natives in the United States may or may not identify as people of color, but may be tribal citizens, recognized descendants, and are legitimately Native and Indigenous irrespective of their physical appearance. Two respondents also spoke to the experience of those with African and Indigenous ancestry and the particular experience of Native freed persons among some tribal nations which practiced enslavement. They hoped that this intersectionality could be discussed and accounted for in future curricula and course discussions.

Some respondents gave permission for their feedback to be quoted. Among their statements about their overall seminary experience:

- "I wish that there had been real listening to Native students rather than seeing us as tokens, and treatment of colonialization as a facet of Christian history."
- "I wouldn't say that there was a lack of support—it was more that I (and the two other Native students) never saw anything in course materials about Native American theology or the history of Native Americans in the Methodist church. A couple courses addressed decolonial theology in general terms, but indigenous theology just wasn't included in course content, almost as though it wasn't considered a valid field such as liberation theology or African American theological studies. Before I put together my independent study on Native American theology, I didn't know how much I was missing. I wondered what it would have been like to have had the option to take it as a 'normal' class instead of having to create something new."
- "One of my professors, who was an adjunct faculty member, taught an independent study for me in Native American Theology so I could better understand and articulate Native traditional beliefs from a variety of tribal nations. There was no such course at the time, and decolonial theology was only mentioned in one or two classes. The independent study was deeply meaningful to me. The Director of Field Education at the time helped me find ministry internships in Native American ministries. I was asked to preach at chapel for the seminary's Act of Repentance service; I was one of only 3 openly identified Native students at the time."

Three respondents noted a sense that racial discussions operate on a kind of black/white binary or continuum at Garrett in which Native experiences are not as foregrounded.

- "The books and readings selected in my program do not have a lot of readings and work surrounding Natives. The professors are open to finding more resources. However, our readings and work are most heavily inundated with the Black culture."
- "I would like to reiterate the inclusive need for Native readings in classes. Diversity is important. We include Black, Asian, and LGBTQI2+ theology but not enough from the Native perspective."

- "I believe GETS now does a better job of incorporating post-colonial/decolonizing perspectives into coursework. To the extent racialized minorities are recognized, there still is a lack of recognition that Native students exist on campus, and proportionally far less discussion of Native genocide from an ethical or historical perspective than there is about African Americans and slavery."

When respondents were asked about future commitments or reparative actions that the seminary might undertake, they shared the following:

- "Native people are still made to feel invisible. We keep waiting for people to do something more than a land acknowledgment. In particular, United Methodist Native people are waiting for the denomination to acknowledge its role in the harm committed to Native children at boarding schools."
- "Recognition that Native Americans faced atrocities against them long before the days of slavery, the stealing of Native children by church groups to reeducate them to "American" standards (legal until 1974), Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls"
- "Repentance Boarding Schools, Teaching about/disavowing cultural/spiritual appropriation, doctrine of discovery"

The topic of Methodist groups' involvement in Indian Boarding Schools was mentioned by almost all of the respondents as a project in which they would like to see Garrett show leadership in the UMC. "The refusal by the UMC to "come clean" and provide information about its involvement in Native American boarding schools" was mentioned as a concern, and another respondent suggested that GETS could "Assist in finding documentation about the boarding schools."

The survey specifically asked whether Garrett should create a land acknowledgement; there was general support only if it meant the seminary would also be committing to other partnerships, commitments, allyship, or reparative action:

- "If 'repair' begins and ends with just an acknowledgement of the past it is not enough".
- "While beautiful in thought, Land Acknowledgements often feel performative if the land isn't being returned— or any financial compensation is being made to the prior owners."
- Further work remains to be done in hearing for a wider community of alumni, in maintaining communication with Native alumni, and—based on these comments and this data—in centering Native lives, voices, history, and perspectives at Garrett-Evangelical.

2. STUDENT & ALLY SUPPORT

The objective of the "student and ally support" group was to provide a brief survey of what community building and support networks currently exist on the campuses of Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary and Northwestern University for Native students and people who want to support the Native community. For any current and/or future Native students and allies, it will be priceless to be

able to know already where a community exists for support and organizing, and then set students up with these communities. We are lucky at Garrett-Evangelical due to the fact that we are on the campus of such a large institution, Northwestern University, with a thriving and dynamic Native community already put together and eager to welcome our students. This will be an asset for any Native student and ally at the seminary.

For Garrett-Evangelical, specifically, members of the sub-committee (Jessica Hopkins and Garam Han) contacted the Dean of Students and various student organizations. There is currently not a "concrete" support group for Native American students on the seminary campus. Those students who identify themselves as Native have previously and "unofficially" joined the LatinX center events and gatherings at the seminary.

With the creation of the Center for Ecological Regeneration and the Indigenous Study Committee, more opportunities for understanding and outreach have not only begun (for example, with the creation of the monthly free webinars on Native topics), but will continue to roll out as the final report is read and taken on by the wider Garrett-Evangelical community.

Although not large in comparison to other communities, the seminary does have a growing network. SustainGETS and the Center for Ecological Regeneration (CER) provide information related to the Center for Native American and Indigenous Research (CNAIR) through CER and SustainGETS network and/or Weekly Reports—an online board for Garrett students to make any announcement for the week at Garrett. As an example of events at both Northwestern and Garrett-Evangelical that would be open to Native seminary students, see below examples of events from the past:

CER website: https://www.garrett.edu/academics/centers-and-institutes/ecological-regeneration/

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY:

Jessica Hopkins and Garam Han also reached out to Michaela Marchi (Program Assistant at the Center for Native American and Indigenous Research (CNAIR)[307] about collaborations between SustainGETS and CNAIR. Marchi has been very welcoming and has invited SustainGETS to multiple events, has spread awareness about SustainGETS events to her students at the center, and is open to further collaborations in the future. She also introduced Jessica to Katherine Castillo-Valentin (Associate Research Administrator and works at CNAIR) who elaborated on the Indigenous Graduate Student Collective,[308] which provides a space for Indigenous students to practice their spiritual beliefs, be in community with other Indigenous students, and provide holistic educational spaces for non-Native & Native persons. Additionally, Michaela said the CNAIR is a safe open space for Indigenous students to relax, study, and be in community with other Indigenous students.

3. FINANCIAL AID, ADMISSIONS, & RECRUITMENT

A meeting was called by Grant Showalter-Swanson at the request of the Internal Institutional Sub-committee of the Indigenous Study Committee

[307] https://cnair.northwestern.edu/about/events/index.html

[308] https://sites.northwestern.edu/lodge/),

(ISC) at Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary on January 13, 2023, for the departments of Development, Admission, and Enrollment to begin the discussion on Native students and the seminary. One of the goals of the ISC is to explore ways that Garrett can be supportive of Indigenous students: past, present, and future. A specific way that we can approach that goal is through financial support in the form of scholarships, financial aid, and housing stipends. As a result, this meeting was spent exploring what could be possible around funding for Indigenous students. In attendance were Joe Emmick (Development), Katie Fahey (Admissions), Scott Ostlund (Enrollment Management), and Grant Showalter-Swanson (ISC/Admissions).

On the topic of scholarships, the group/committee agreed that students from the tribal lands that Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary occupies should receive a full-tuition scholarship. Rather than a specific scholarship, Native students who apply for admissions and identify as Indigenous from the tribal lands that Garrett occupies are provided full-tuition by default. This directive was confirmed by President Viera.

On the topic of housing, the meeting ended unresolved, as there is no unified policy on housing stipends as a whole. It was resolved that once a unified policy on housing stipends is clarified, we can reconvene to discuss the specific details for Indigenous students.

Key takeaways from the meeting from Rev. Showalter-Swanson were that the offices of Admissions & Recruitment and Development are on-board with working with the ISC to develop

4. SCHOOL CURRICULUM

Dr. Charles Cosgrove invited all Garrett faculty to share with him how they have integrated, or are currently integrating, Indigenous and/or Decolonial perspectives, readings, assignments into their current courses. He will also be working with the library to provide an overview of the primary academic/guild resources focused on Native and Indigenous theological perspectives. Below is the result of Dr. Cosgrove's findings:

A history of Native Americans and Methodists that Garrett church history professor Frederick Norwood had partially explored in writings of the 1970s (see section 1.B of the report) was also taken up by subsequent Garrett church historians and missiologists. In a 2014 study of Methodist home missions from 1860 through 1920—a book that has been described as "a morality tale about the dangers of wedding one's religious convictions to nationalism and patriotism"[309]—Garrett missiologist Mark Teasdale recounted and criticized the Methodist project of "civilizing" American Indians, based as it was on notions of white cultural hegemony and specious theories of cultural or "race" evolution.[310] In a current Global Christianity course, Teasdale and Garrett professor Hendrik Pieterse include readings on Native American religion and its interfaces with

[309] Ted Campbell in the Foreword to Mark Teasdale, *Methodist Evangelism, American Salvation: The Home Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1860–1920* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2014), xii.

[310] Teasdale, *Methodist Evangelism*, 123–149; see also 8, 41–42, and passim regarding the ideological assumptions of Methodist evangelism in this era.

Christology.

Barry Bryant, professor of United Methodist and Wesleyan studies, recalls that in his first year at Garrett, a Navajo student took Bryant's "Wesley and the 19th century" and, feeling affirmed in his Native American identity and encouraged to explore it, he went on to take two independent studies with Bryant—one on "Jesus as Medicine-man" and another on "Navajo Pneumatology."

Homer Noley's *First White Frost*[311] has been a regular part of the supplementary reading list for Bryant's denominational heritage course on Methodism in the twentieth century to the present; and in a companion course on nineteenth-century Methodism, Bryant uses Rowe, Richey, Schmidt, eds., *The Methodist Experience in America: Sourcebook*, vol. 2,312 which includes documents relating to the Methodist mission to Native Americans as source material for critical examination. Students are also pointed to Norwood's *Native American Methodists: A Reading List*.[313]

Until his recent retirement, Osvaldo Vena regularly offered a course titled New Testament Interpretation Through Cross-Cultural Eyes, where students learned "to appreciate different cultural approaches to scripture by studying passages from five viewpoints: African American, Latino, Asian, Native American, and Woman's (including Feminist, Womanist and Mujerista)," as a 2002 description of this popular course describes it. In 2013, K. K. Yeo composed a chapter on Paul as seen through Native American eyes, which was included in a book titled *Cross-Cultural Paul* by Yeo, Charles Cosgrove, and Harold Weiss. This book was regularly used as a course textbook in New Testament courses, including Vena's recurring and popular course just mentioned, as well as in courses taught by Cosgrove and Yeo.

Native American interests are also covered at a number of points in other parts of the curriculum. Virginia Lee's course, Educating Christians for Social Change, often features the book *"All the Real Indians Died Off" and 20 Other Myths about Native Americans* by Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz and Dina Gilio-Whitaker,[314] and draws students' attention to Indigenous literature and to critical studies of books about Native American children,[315] as well as to the resources of The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition.[316]

In Andrew Wymer's course, Liturgies of Resistance and Repair, half of the required textbooks are authored by Indigenous persons from North America. Students engage these textbooks and supplementary readings as primary and comparative resources through which to reflect on their own social identity and formation, spirituality, and ritual participation.

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[311] Homer Noley, *White Frost: Native Americans and United Methodism* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1991).

[312] Russell E. Richey, Kenneth E. Rowe, And Jean Miller Schmidt, eds., *The Methodist Experience in America: Sourcebook*, vol. 2 (Nashville: Abingdon, 2000).

[313] Frederick A. Norwood, *Native American Methodists: A Reading List* (Lake Junaluska, NC: UMC Commissions on Archives and History, 1979).

[314] Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz and Dina Gilio-Whitaker, *"All the Real Indians Died Off" and 20 Other Myths about Native Americans* (Boston: Beacon, 2016).

[315] Daniel Heath Justice, *Why Indigenous Literature Matters* (Waterloo, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2018); Doris Seale and Beverly Slapin, eds., *A Broken Flute: The Native Experience in Books for Children* (Berkeley: Oyate, 2005).

[316] https://boardingschoolhealing.org/; https://boardingschoolhealing.org/education/us-indian-boarding-school-history/; https://boardingschoolhealing.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/NABS-Newsletter-2020-7-1-spreads.pdf.

In addition to using a chapter on Native American perspectives from the book *Cross-Cultural Paul*,[317] K. K. Yeo also includes Indigenous perspectives on the natural world when he teaches about the Book of Revelation and Paul's Letter to the Romans. He provides students with a paper he has written on "inspirited creation," drawing on the Chinese Indigenous tradition. Cheryl Anderson includes an essay by a Native American in her Introduction to the Hebrew Bible. It considers the "Promised Land" narrative from the perspective of the Canaanites, the Indigenous people of the land. The parallels to the Native Americans are striking, and it gets students to think of the triumphant entry into Canaan stories in a more nuanced way.

As professor of ecological theology and practice, Timothy Eberhart has made Indigenous understandings of land and ecology central to his teaching, together with engagement with related issues of justice for Indigenous peoples. He teaches a number of regular semester courses that are required for certain degree concentrations related to these subjects. One is Theories and Theologies for Public Justice, which devotes a week to the topic of colonialism and Indigenous theologies. Students read selections from Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz's *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States* and George Tink Tinker's *American Indian Liberation*.[318] Another is Ecological Theology: God and Creation in Travail, which features a week on the work of Vine Deloria Jr., with selections from his collected essays, *Spirit and Reason*.[319] Eberhart's Regenerative Ethics course spends two weeks on Indigenous resistance movements, and students read *The Red Deal: Indigenous Action to Save our Earth*.[320] In addition to these courses, Eberhart has also lead intensive travel courses that focus on eco-justice and Indigenous interests and concerns, and he occasionally leads students in action events, such as traveling with sixteen Garrett students to Standing Rock to join various other faith leaders and communities in a two-day show of solidarity with the Water Protectors at Standing Rock.

Hendrick Pieterse includes readings in Native American theology in his course Global Christianity in an Interfaith World. The readings are drawn from the book, *A Native American Theology* by Clara Sue Kidwell, Homer Noley, and George E. Tinker.[321]

A regular elective titled "Race: America's True Religion," constructed by Barry Bryant and former faculty member Taurean Webb, begins with "land acknowledgement" and an examination of John Evans and his involvement with the Sand Creek Indian Massacre, Evans having played an important role in the establishment of Northwestern University and GBI. This course was developed following a 2014 conference at Northwestern University on the Sand Creek Massacre.[322] John Evans was honored with a stained-glass window when Garrett's administration

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[317] Charles H. Cosgrove, Herold Weiss, and K. K. Yeo, *Cross-Cultural Paul: Journeys to Others, Journeys to Ourselves* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005).

[318] Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon, 2014); George Tink Tinker, *American Indian Liberation: A Theology of Sovereignty* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 2008).

[319] Vine Deloria, Jr., *Spirit and Reason: The Vine Deloria, Jr. Reader*, ed. Barbara Deloria, Kristen Foehner, and Samuel Scinta (Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 1999).

[320] Red Nation, *The Red Deal: Indigenous Action to Save our Earth* (Brooklyn: Common Nations, 2021).

[321] Clara Sue Kidwell, Homer Noley, and George E. Tinker, *A Native American Theology* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 2001).

[322] The resources included, for example, Gary L. Roberts, *Massacre at Sand Creek: How Methodists Were Involved in an American Tragedy*, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2016; and a film, *Only the Mountains.*

building was constructed in 1923.[323]

Wonhee Anne Joh, Professor of Christian Theology and Postcolonial Studies, offers various forms of postcolonial and decolonial classes, such as "Decolonizing the 'Human,' "Postcolonial Theory and Theology," "Postcolonial," and "Decolonial Vision of the Human." Joh is an interdisciplinary theologian whose research and scholarship focus on post/decolonialism, critical ethnic/race, Asian American studies, feminist, queer, affect theories, and constructive theology. She helps students to get familiar with postcolonial and decolonial studies and "preparedness for deepening the question of 'human' in relation to coloniality." Furthermore, Joh includes readings in her course that support the decolonial perspective, such as Gurminder K. Bhambra's *Postcolonial and Decolonial Dialogues* and *Postcolonial and Decolonial Reconstructions*, Rolando Vázquez's *Toward a Decolonial Critique of Modernity*, and Madina Tlostanova's *The Postcolonial Condition, the Decolonial Option, and the Post-socialist Intervention*.

5. DEVELOPMENT, INVESTMENT, & FUNDRAISING OPPORTUNITIES

Dr. Stephanie Bliese has a background working in the Development/Communications offices of both Garrett-Evangelical and Luther Seminary, so was therefore able to have a variety of conversations about what opportunities and/or obstacles may exist in the current landscape for fundraising for future students with the objective of providing not only full ride scholarships (including housing), but also student/community support.

The first step in this was a survey of the Chicagoland area to see if any accredited religious schools currently provide support/classes/reparations/outreach to the Native community (as of spring/summer 2022):

- CTS—none
- LSTC—they do not have any scholarships, classes, or history of reparations. However, they have an annual symposium focused on Indigenous People called the "Vine Deloria Jr. Theological Symposium." Here is the information about the symposium from fall 2021:

  LSTC partnered with Other+Wise for the 13th Annual Vine Deloria Jr. Theological Symposium on November 16 and 17, 2021. The theme for this year's symposium was "On Our Way to Truth and Healing." The symposium educates seminarians, church leaders, and allies about the work of Vine Deloria Jr. and about Indigenous culture, movements, and activism. This year, symposium content focused on the intersection between Indian boarding schools and Christian and theological education.

LSTC also mentioned that their previous chaplain (who had gotten his PhD there on Indigenous local dialect) was Native. His name is Dr Gordon Straw.

- McCormick—none
- North Park—none
- Moody—none
- Meadville Lombard—none

[323] In the current configuration of the building, the window is in the office of the dean of student life/chaplain (Main 202).

- Trinity Evangelical—none
- Mundelein—none
- CTU—none
- Bexley Seabury—mentioned that although they do not have courses, specific scholarships, or a reparations history, they have an extensive network of Native priests and those working for the church for potential Native students to tap into and that they have a history of being generous with funding for minority students.

Within the context of the creation of the committee, Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary should offer a full scholarship to Native students who choose to attend the seminary. The institution is on Native land, therefore full support is appropriate. On this topic, it will be important for the school to determine ahead of time the criteria of this scholarship. Ancestry is complicated. The institution will need to determine whether this funding will be offered to students who are enrolled members/citizens of federally recognized tribes, open to those who claim any Native ancestry, or only full tuition to citizens of tribes which were removed from the site of the seminary and different funding for other tribes/nations.

To fully support one single Native student, the school will need to find about $53,000. This cost total was determined by receiving the cost breakdown of a single person attending the seminary as of Fall 2022:

- Average tuition for one year is $22,680 (this can be higher or lower determining class load).
- As for room and board, as of Fall 2022 — 1 bed furnished student apartment cost $1167 for everything x 12 months
- Parking if you need it $720
- Allow $350 per month for food, $350 for transportation again if you have a car (this can adjust of course) and figure $500/month for unexpecteds
- Total-ish: $22680 + $30000 = **$53,000** rounded up.

It is the committee's recommendation that classes as well as room and board be covered by the school as housing and living in the area costs more than attending the seminary.

A variety of people suggested that the creation and development of CBE (Church and Black Experience) is a model for Garrett-Evangelical in the seminary's future engagement with and support of Native students, alum, and the wider Native community. Although CBE provides a variety of support, continuing education, and opportunities for Black students in the institution and the wider community, it is also vital to the intellectual and moral integrity of all Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary. The CBE is for the benefit of everyone by supporting and uplifting Black voices. Thus, any work for and with Native students, alum, and the wider Native community should also be seen as an investment not only in the Native community, but also to the entire seminary and those affiliated with it.

Discussions with former colleagues about fundraising potential raised the question of trust and suggested that precedent needs to be established first before reaching out to the Native community for funds. Due to a long history of misuse and abuse against the Native community by white institutions in general, it will be difficult to ask for money without not only trust built, but also support of Garrett's leadership of the ISC's report and a robust future for Native students on campus. A tricky point will be determining when the "threshold" has been met that the point has come to begin asking the Native

community for funds. While this is up to the institution to determine, it seems clear that involvement and ownership by Native alumni and the wider Native community should be established before the question of funding is broached with the Native community.

In addition to the acceptance of the ISC report, it will be important to lay the groundwork that Garrett-Evangelical is not only a place to welcome Native students to succeed and thrive, *but also* is already a place where past Native students have succeeded and have moved on to robust and successful careers. Dr. Perdew's report on seminary alums will play a big role in this venture. Another avenue to get this message out is a potential ongoing series in *Aware* highlighting past Native alums of Garrett-Evangelical, such as:

- Rev. Dr. Stephanie Perdew
- Lisa Dellinger
- Dr. Taurean Webb
- Current student Jessica Hopkins

The first edition to feature this could also include an announcement about the work of the ISC and what the school has agreed to adopt. This will get the message out and having ongoing articles will give admissions, recruitment, and development additional resources as they go out into the field.

On February 9, 2023, Dr. Bliese had a long discussion with Mr. Matt Sweet of the Native Nations Alliance about future fundraising and recruitment (he has a past in "Indian Gaming," but currently works with tribes on real estate and infrastructure development). He is a member of the Ojibwe Tribe and is Roman Catholic. He currently works mainly with the Mdewakanton Sioux Nation in Minnesota, the MHA Nation (Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Nation), and the Seminole Tribe (but depending on the project, he has worked with many others). Depending on how Garrett progresses, he is open to building connections with these or other tribes he works with. For potential future Native seminary students, he assumes that our best bet is recruitment fairs for junior high and high school students. Perhaps the seminary's budding relationship with CPS American Indian Education Program may be one of the first avenues to pursue. However, this will also depend on *who* the seminary will determine will receive funds. Mr. Sweet is open to making a connection with his cousin, Denise Sweet (Anishinaabe), the former poet laureate of Wisconsin who was a professor of University of Wisconsin at Green Bay and may have some ideas on recruitment of Native students.

Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary has divested from oil and fossil fuels, but it has also been suggested by members of the committee to go even further and divest from any and all financing of extraction.

PART VI

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE SEMINARY FOR REPARATIVE ACTIONS

When institutions consider reparative actions in relationship to Native communities, a range of actions is possible. We recommend that the seminary carefully consider what reparative actions it could faithfully commit to before discussing them with Native alums or communities. Native communities routinely experience a pattern of over-promising and under-delivering from historically white institutions and church bodies. The Indigenous Study Committee recommends that token expressions of concern or apology be avoided and that only such actions be promised which stand a high chance of faithful implementation. Reparative action could be undertaken in phases, beginning with those actions the seminary could readily commit to and proceeding to other actions in an unfolding discernment.

A starting place for reparative action would be for GETS to create a Land Acknowledgement to be proclaimed publicly at convocations, graduation, or in certain worship services and to be used in digital and print media resources. Dr. Stephanie Perdew, co-chair of the Indigenous Study Committee, has written about best practices in land acknowledgements for faith-based institutions and recommends that a Land Acknowledgement be written with some commitments to present action in mind (https://www.christiancentury.org/article/features/native-land). A potential Land Acknowledgement and list of immediate or near-term commitments might look like this:

> *Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary is located upon the tribal homelands of the Council of the Three Fires: the Bodwadomi, Ojibwe, and Odawa Nations, which were forcibly dispersed and removed from the shores of Lake Michigan due to United States Indian Policy in the 19th century. We grieve the loss of homelands, lifeways, language, and human life that these forced removals caused, and have committed to examine the seminary's relationship to this history and ongoing effects. We publicly make the following commitments:*
>
> - *We seek to become a good relative to all of God's creation and to partner with Native and Indigenous-led organizations in the mutual work of the just healing of the land and all our more-than-human relatives.*
> - *We commit to amplify Native voices and co-create spaces in which Native and Indigenous perspectives can be heard and seen in our curricula, classrooms, policies, and campus life.*
> - *We commit to recognize the diversity of Native cultures and peoples and the integrity of Native spiritualities, and to avoid tokenism or cultural appropriation in our conversations, policies, actions, and worship services.*

If the seminary does not feel that it can articulate any particular ongoing commitments, it is not advisable to create a Land Acknowledgement. As Dr. Perdew noted in her article, "When land acknowledgments are undertaken without conversation with or reference to living contemporary Native nations, and when they acknowledge only land lost or Native lives lived in the past, they signal that all Native Americans are removed or gone. They define Indian removal as a tragedy of the past and indicate that there is nothing left to be done about it except offer a well-scripted apology."[324]

In addition, the committee recommends that the following reparative actions be considered by the seminary for implementation:

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1. In acknowledgment that the wealth that supported the founding of Garrett Biblical Institute was accumulated through Augustus Garrett's business in land speculation, which bought and sold lands made available following the U.S. government's forced removal of Native peoples throughout the Chicago area, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Indiana, and because the lands on which all three of Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary's predecessor institutions were founded are the homelands of the Potawatomi, Ojibwe, and Odawa, as well as the Menominee, Miami and Ho-Chunk Nations (see section 1.b.), the seminary could explore a variety of ways to learn from and honor Native understandings of, relationships with, and demands concerning the lands of this region. Possibilities include:

    a. A percentage of the seminary's annual endowment and/or of the potential sale of any properties/assets could be given to Tribal nations or Indigenous-led organizations in a manner that follows best practices in reparative justice.

    b. Garrett could make its green and outdoor gathering spaces available to Native groups and Native students at Northwestern (e.g. CNAIR) and to the wider Chicago-area Native community for gatherings, ceremony, or other possible uses. For example, the seminary could make the land adjacent to Howes Chapel and/or in the front circle available for Indigenous medicine plants or foods in efforts toward food sovereignty. In doing so, the seminary also could install signage to identify and honor the Native peoples of this region, as well as the witness trees on our property. In consultation with local Indigenous people, signage could also name the hauntings in the soil to tell the full colonial history of the land (i.e. storyboards that tell story of Indigenous peoples before contact, the arrival of settlers, how Augustus Garrett gained his wealth, the Indigenous remains found in 1866, etc.) See here for an example.

    c. The seminary, through its curriculum, Centers and Institutes, student life programing, and other possible initiatives, could actively support Indigenous environmental efforts to protect the lands of this bioregion from further exploitation and degradation for speculative purposes and follow the lead of Native LandBack movements to reestablish Indigenous sovereignty of unceded traditional lands.

    d. The seminary could discern how to honor the place and the Indigenous remains that were unearthed during the construction of Garrett's Heck Hall, where the Deering Library now stands.

    e. A faculty committee could be formed to explore how to integrate a critical land hermeneutic throughout the curriculum. Some possible questions include:

        i. How do the particular ecological features of our environs, the land, local species, weather patterns, wildlife, etc. inform the way theology is studied, taught, understood and applied?

        ii. What are ways that knowing the land where Garrett is located could

inform responses to climate change?

iii. How might such questions connect to related theological and moral emphases at Garrett? For example, if the Leave No Child Inside initiative recognizes the need to connect children and nature based on a growing body of research indicating that time spent outdoors in nature is critical to healthy physical, social, and emotional development, then what are the ways these concepts are important for theological training?

iv. What are learnings from Traditional Ecological Knowledge (Indigenous worldviews) that inform generative approaches to theological education, including decolonizing current colonial approaches imbedded in theological systems?

v. How might the teachings of the Seventh Prophesy in the Anishinaabe Seven Fires Prophesies give guidance to the regenerative actions that Garrett might pursue? *"By the light of the Seventh Fire come the Ogichidaag', those who would use their power and strength with wisdom and gentleness to bring harmony and balance."*[325] [326] [327]

2. In recognition that Native and Indigenous perspectives have been largely absent throughout Garrett's history and, when present, have been either denigrated or under/mis-represented, Garrett could elevate and amplify Native and Indigenous experiences, voices, and concerns across all levels of the seminary. Possibilities include:

   a. Native and Indigenous persons could be prioritized for future faculty, staff, and board positions.
   b. Faculty could be supported through forums, workshops, and other means to integrate Native and Indigenous scholars, authors, methodologies, and pedagogies throughout Garrett's curriculum.
   c. Native voices and Indigenous-led organizations and movements could be featured through lectures, workshops, webinars, Center and Institute events, and other seminary offerings.
   d. The seminary could explore a variety of partnership possibilities with the North American Institute for Indigenous Theological Studies (NAIITS), including supporting Garrett students to enroll in NAIITS courses and attend the annual symposium, hosting one of the annual NAIITS symposiums, and working with NAIITS as a consultant to further indigenize Garrett's curriculum.

3. Because of Garrett-Evangelical's direct and indirect involvement in the denigration and displacement of Native peoples throughout the Americas, including throughout the Midwest bioregion, through the spread of settler colonialism, including settler colonial theologies, missions, and church ministries, the seminary

[325] https://caid.ca/SevFir013108.pdf
[326] applewebdata://ccd71292-7df8-4251-9d26-afa6d87245e4/https://caid.ca/SevFir013108.pdf
[327] https://hub.chicagowilderness.org/

could work to name and dismantle settler colonial ideologies and practices for the sake of justice and healing. Possibilities include:

a. The seminary could issue an official repudiation of the Doctrine of Discovery and related theological teachings that undergirded and justified the theft of Native lands and join ecumenical efforts to raise awareness about and denounce such doctrines.

b. The seminary could support congregational, denominational, and ecumenical efforts to write land acknowledgements, develop Christian education materials, return lands to Native peoples, and engage in other related reparative actions, potentially hosting ongoing conferences or workshops to help participants engage in the practical work of a discipleship of decolonization (i.e. historical accountability, relationship-building, organizing, advocacy).

c. The seminary could leverage its influence to press the United Methodist Church to investigate the involvement of the UMC's predecessor denominations in the administration of Federal Indian Boarding Schools. (Note: this was the reparative action that received the most support and mention from the survey of GETS Native alumni and students.) In doing so, it could establish a relationship with the National Native American Board School Healing Coalition.[328]

d. The seminary could explore opportunities for supporting the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP contains 46 Articles) as a commitment to global reparative justice.

e. The seminary could support broader study and emphasis on global Indigenous traditions in our future work as a seminary.

4. In response to the experiences of and feedback from our Native and Indigenous alumni, and in honor of their contributions to the life of the seminary, its mission, and the communities they serve, the seminary could prioritize the thriving of future Native students at Garrett. Possibilities include:

   a. The seminary could host a series of listening sessions, in-person and/or online, for Native alumni to share more about their experiences at Garrett and to provide additional recommendations for how the seminary might better ensure that Native students and their experiences and perspectives are recognized, honored, and supported.

   b. The seminary could support Native and Indigenous students through the Office of Student Life, existing Centers and Institutes, and potential new student groups by providing spaces—either at Garrett or in partnership with groups and resources at Northwestern—for Indigenous students to practice their spiritual beliefs, be in community with other Indigenous students, and provide holistic educational spaces for non-Native

[328] https://boardingschoolhealing.org/

& Native persons. In the future, this could also entail the launch of a Native and Indigenous Center at Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary.

c. As a baseline, the seminary could provide any student from the tribal lands that Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary occupies a full-tuition scholarship, and in addition, consider full-tuition support for all students enrolled as members/citizens of a federally recognized tribe, as well as to all students who can trace descendancy to a tribe.

d. The seminary could develop and implement a recruitment strategy aimed at potential Native and Indigenous students interested in seminary education.

e. After having demonstrated commitments to reparative action in tangible ways, the seminary could explore development opportunities from Native sources to support Garrett's continued work aimed at the thriving of Native and Indigenous communities.

f. The seminary could support continued examination of the database and determine how the school can update and nuance data collected on Native students who attend the school.

g. The seminary could support Native and Indigenous awareness and sensitivity training to all employees, including especially those who interact most with students: recruitment officers, student campus tour guides, HR, registrar's office, and Dean of Students.

h. The seminary could ensure that Garrett's lawyers have a basic familiarity with and understanding of tribal law.

i. The seminary could explore various possibilities of collaborating with and supporting the UMC Native American Course of Study School.

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