

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-900

USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form (Rev. 8-86)

OMB No. 1024-0018

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION

Page 1

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing, Ganado Mission

Other Name / Site Number: N/A

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: Intersection Highways 264 and 191

Not for publication: N/A

City / Town: Ganado

Vicinity: N/A

State: Arizona County: Apache Code: 001

Zip Code: 86505

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property

Private: X
Private-Local: _
Public-State: _
Public-Federal: _

Category of Property

Building(s): _
District: X
Site: _
Structure: _
Object: _

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing

52
0
0
0
52

Noncontributing

5 Buildings
0 Sites
1 Structures
0 Objects
6 Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: N/A

Number of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

4. STATE / FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this _____ nomination _____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property _____ meets _____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property _____ meets _____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

- Entered into the National Register
- Determined eligible for the National Register
- Determined not eligible for the National Register
- Removed from the National Register
- Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper

Date of Action

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	Education	Sub:	School
			Education-related
	Health Care		Hospital
	Religion		Religious facility
Current:	Health Care	Sub:	Hospital

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Mission Colonial Revival

MATERIALS:

- Foundations: Limestone; concrete
- Walls: Stucco; stone
- Roof: Wood; asphalt; metal
- Other: Brick; adobe; wood; metal; stone (chimneys)

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 4**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

Summary

Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing, situated on the Ganado Mission within the Navajo Reservation in Arizona, was the first and only accredited nursing program for Native American women in the United States. The Presbyterian founders of Ganado mission saw their work as threefold: evangelism, education and medical care would transform the lives of the Navajo. In accordance with these goals, the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions approved the construction of a twelve-bed hospital at Ganado in 1911 and in 1930, Dr. Clarence Salsbury, a Presbyterian missionary and physician associated with the hospital, founded Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing. Although many whites believed that the Navajo lacked the ability to become nurses, Salsbury believed that young Navajo women could become nurses who would be “of service to their people.”¹ Strong ties between Presbyterian missions and churches across both the United States and the world ensured the rapid growth of the school. Formally accredited by the State of Arizona in 1932, the school eventually attracted not only Native American women but also women from other minority groups. As the first and only nursing school for Native Americans, Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing was a landmark institution in changing white attitudes about the abilities of Native American people.

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

Ganado Mission is located in Arizona on the southern portion of the Colorado Plateau, sixty miles west of Gallup, New Mexico. Ganado is situated at an elevation of 6340 feet and lies within the Navajo Reservation, which includes areas of northwestern New Mexico, northeastern Arizona, and southern Utah. Spectacular geographical and geological features characterize a landscape of juniper and pinon trees, and several mountain ranges and mesas. Climatically the area experiences extreme temperatures and sporadic and localized summer and winter precipitation.

Tilted to the southwest, the Ganado area is dissected by the Pueblo Colorado Valley, which runs in a northeast – southwest direction, and is bordered by low bluffs and mesas of red sandstone. The upper eighteen miles of the Pueblo Colorado Wash, which rises on the Fort Defiance Plateau, is characterized by reasonably abundant surface water, which was a contributing factor in the early settlement of the valley. Nevertheless, with a relatively limited growing season, which averages 130 days a year, Ganado is a marginal agricultural area.

The mission itself lies just to the north of State Highway 264, which runs east west from Ya Ta Hey to Tuba City. The campus is situated below the level of the road and covers approximately one square mile of land to the south of the Pueblo Colorado Wash. The current entrance to the site is at the southeast corner of the campus via a small road from Highway 264. Originally, the old east-west highway ran parallel to 264 some 200 yards further north, in front of Poncel Hall. The entrance point off the old highway was adjacent to the site now occupied by Hawthorne Cottage.

The period of greatest and most unique significance relates to the founding of the Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing in 1930 and its subsequent closure in 1951. However, Ganado Mission was founded in 1901 and, therefore, the period of significance pertains to only twenty-one years within the context of the mission’s one-hundred year history. The gradual development of the complex over time is reflected in the informal setting of the buildings and their relationships to one another. Initially the mission was confined to the northern part of the site on the banks of the Pueblo-Colorado River. Early buildings in this area, dating from the first two decades of the last century---the original manse, the first mission church, a small interpreter’s small cottage, a hospital, a dormitory, a school and a barn---reflect the self-sufficiency of the small community. In the

¹ Bruce Lee Taylor, *Presbyterians and “The People”: A History of Presbyterian Missions and Ministries to the Navajo* (PhD diss., Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, 1988), 1279.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 5**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

following three decades, as the mission became more successful with the development of Sage Memorial Hospital and its nursing school, and with an increasing need for accommodation and educational facilities, development spread southwards towards the highway. At the time of the establishment of the nursing school in 1930 the campus consisted of twenty-eight buildings. During the same year that the nursing school was founded, a new seventy-five bed hospital was completed and, by 1932, a dormitory for the nursing students had been constructed. Under the superintendence of Dr. Salsbury (1927-1950), the founder of the nursing school, a prolific building program resulted in the construction of thirty buildings during the period of significance (1930-1951). This provided additional housing for mission staff and students, accommodation for guests, a new school, and a new church.

The current center of the campus---the square block including Café Sage, Salsbury Hall, the new Church and the park---developed between 1920 and 1949. Café Sage, built in 1920, is the largest adobe building in Arizona² and forms an important visual focus. An avenue of trees marking the path leading to the front entrance, the grassed landscaping, and the remnants of a pond, reinforce the important role of this building as a central place where the whole community came together for meals. Peculiarly, the new church, also an important focus for the mission, does not occupy such a prominent position and is instead tucked away on the southwest corner of the central park. It is, however, visible from the original entrance to the site and is a good illustration of the unplanned and sequential nature of development.

Four unpaved roads skirting the edges of the central square form the main vehicular routes around the site. Generally, the buildings at Ganado Mission follow the line of these roads and are situated slightly back from them and orientated either north-south or east-west. Pedestrian pathways constructed of stone paving, and later concrete, crisscross the site and help to reinforce the informal setting.

An important character defining feature within the Ganado campus is an irrigation ditch that runs across the site from the northeast to the southwest. The ditch, which was constructed between 1902 and 1908, forms part of a much larger irrigation system developed by John Lorenzo Hubbell. Hubbell ran the nearby trading post, which is now a National Park System unit.

Despite the informality of development, loose groupings of related buildings exist at Ganado. The buildings constructed prior to the founding of the nursing school are grouped at the north and west sides of the campus. The buildings primarily associated with the hospital and nursing school, Poncel Hall, Greenawalt and the Nurses' Quarters, are located in the southeast corner of the site opposite the current entrance. The agricultural area on which the mission largely depended on for food, lies to the west of the site near the irrigation ditch; located in this area are the Red Barn, the Hog House and Pinon Lodge. Centrally located, as has already been mentioned, are the communal buildings such as the Church and the Dining Hall. Skirting the edge of the site are the private residences, dormitory buildings, workshops and the power plant.

Setting

An early photograph taken in 1918 looking south across the Pueblo Colorado River towards the mission shows a cluster of buildings positioned within a bleak open landscape. By 1933, the size of the mission had grown considerably, and attempts had been made to landscape around the buildings and cultivate the land to the west of the irrigation ditch. Writing to Edna Voss, at the Presbyterian headquarters in Washington in 1926, Fred Mitchell, superintendent of the mission stated:

² J. Garrison, State Historic Preservation Officer, State of Arizona, Private communication.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 6**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

“Year by year, more trees, shrubs and flowers are planted and there is promise of surpassing all expectations in the way of beautifying this desert. This morning my mother had a gift of four beautiful roses raised in Ganado, a literal fulfillment of Isaiah 35: The desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.”³

Approximately ten years later under the green-thumbed supervision of Cora Salsbury, wife of Dr. Salsbury, the mission appeared as an oasis within a vast and endless expanse of barren landscape. Dr. and Mrs. Donald Collins visiting Ganado Mission in 1940 to attend a medical conference described the campus in poetic terms:

“Velvety lawns are acutely green, Gardens are prodigal in their colors. Shade trees cover protectively the whole campus. First wide-eyed you *see* it. Next you *inhale* it. Then you *hear* it – that Silence which dramatically assails the battered eardrums of city-dwellers.”⁴

The missionaries took pride in creating an attractive environment, but sowing grass and planting trees also served the practical purpose of helping to prevent dust from blowing into the buildings and in particular into the hospital.

Ganado Mission maintains the atmosphere of a green and shady oasis. Trees and vegetation have continued to mature over the years and comparisons between historic and contemporary photographs illustrate the visual impact of mature trees upon the setting of individual buildings and views within the campus. Some of the trees introduced by Cora Salsbury, such as elms, maples, locusts, willows, cottonwoods, and evergreens have become well established in the area, while prolific Russian olive and tamarisk have resulted in environmental problems. In more recent years, without the need for self-sufficiency and due to a lack of financial resources, it has proved difficult to maintain the manicured landscaping established by Cora Salsbury.

Building Materials

The first mission church at Ganado was constructed of locally quarried stone. Charles Bierkemper, the first missionary and a trained stonemason, thought this a fitting material for the mission’s centerpiece. Of the remaining early buildings at Ganado Mission, the majority are constructed from adobe. Adobe is an ancient building material which has been used extensively throughout history in the southwest of the United States. The decision to use adobe was influenced by the scarcity and high cost of alternative materials, and by the comparative simplicity and speed of construction. These factors allowed the missionaries to utilize readily available and cheap, unskilled labor---an important factor considering the isolated location of the mission.

Over time, as the mission grew and became increasingly successful, stone was more widely used in the construction of buildings. In 1921, Dr. M. L. Girton, supervisory head of Ganado Mission wrote:

“The original plan was to use the adobe throughout, but some of us were zealous to use stone instead, and so the first unit of the power house was built of stone. It seemed so attractive and so much better that those of us in the field urged that all of the buildings be of stone, and adobe should be abandoned. Our proposition was turned down at that time. However, I rejoice that now the new buildings are being erected of stone.”⁵

³ Taylor, *Presbyterians and “The People,”* 1091.

⁴ D. and M. Collins, “Shangri-La in the Silver Sage,” *Ganado Mission Bulletin* 11, no.4 (October 1940): 3.

⁵ C. B. Salsbury, *Forty Years in the Desert – A History of Ganado Mission 1901-1940* (Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, United States).

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 7**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

An alternative form of construction widely used on campus was rough-plastered timber frame. This offered simplicity and speed of construction comparable to adobe, and became cost effective following governmental authorization for the mission to fell pine trees from the nearby Zuni Forest. In 1920, J. W. Lucas wrote: "God certainly had this work in mind when He planted a forest about 20 miles north where they cut lumber, saw it and haul it here for the buildings. And it costs about one-fourth of what it would to buy lumber in the market and haul it here from the railroad."⁶ Timber was also used for window frames, doors, and roofing shingles.

Building Styles

The buildings that comprise Ganado Mission share many common features. They are simple and utilitarian in character, and in their designs reflect the Mission style imported from the East Coast and adopted throughout the Southwest. Most of the buildings are single story and are based on a simple rectangular plan form. Girton wrote:

"It may be interesting to know that it was originally designed that all buildings should be merely one-story high. The dining room was supposed to have been that height. In the course of erection, however, a change was made in the New York personnel, and because of that change, the type of buildings and the general policies in building were changed. That accounts for the two-story dining room building."⁷

The simple form of the buildings reflects the mission's limited budget and an unskilled labor force. Also, the irregular fenestration pattern of many of the buildings implies that they were built from the inside out to fulfill a specific function or need. However, these functions often changed over the years, so the buildings needed to be versatile and capable of extension.

Climatic factors also influenced building design. Most buildings have deep overhanging eaves to deflect rainwater away from exterior walls and foundations. Porches provided shelter from the heat of the sun and double hung windows allowed maximum ventilation. Two aspects of design, however, seem incongruous in an area subject to monsoon rainfall and extremes of temperature: roof pitches are generally shallow, impeding rapid water runoff, and the high area ratio of windows to walls results in poor insulation from the summer heat and the winter chill. These anomalies might be explained by the fact that blueprints were often borrowed from developments elsewhere in an effort to reduce design costs. Furthermore, these plan forms, along with detailing such as fenestration design, were copied from building to building around the campus.

There are currently fifty-eight resources that lie within the historic boundary. Of the fifty-eight, all but six are considered to be contributing buildings. Twelve of the buildings are most directly related to the history of Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing. These twelve constitute some of the most prominent buildings on the mission campus; however these buildings are only a small percentage of the buildings that were there during the period of significance. It is important to realize that the mission functioned as a completely self-sufficient community and that all elements of life on the campus were interdependent. The remaining thirty-nine contributing buildings within the historic boundary are structures associated with the Mission and thus with the history of Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing.

⁶ J. W. Lucas, "First Impressions of the Ganado Mission to the Navajo Indians," *Wireless Messages from Home: Mission Stations for the Use of Presbyterian Young People's Organizations* (New York: Woman's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, March 1923), 19.

⁷ Salsbury, *Forty Years in the Desert*.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 8**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

The historic name of the resource is written in bold. Names written in parentheses are current or non-historic names not used during the period of significance.

CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES**The First Church** (Bierkemper Hall) (1906)

Situated on the north side of the campus behind the Power Plant, Bierkemper Hall was constructed in 1906 by the Rev. Charles Bierkemper. The building was used as the first mission church, and the rear section of the building was partitioned off and used as a doctor's surgery and dispensary until 1911, when the first hospital was built. The church would have provided the focal point to the religious life of the mission community and attendance for the students at Sage Memorial School of Nursing was compulsory. The building was later used as a student Union for the College of Ganado and today provides two apartments for health care personnel. Externally, the building retains a high degree of integrity.

Aligned north-south, the building is rectangular in plan with a shallow pitch asphalt gable roof with open eaves and with exposed wooden rafter tails. The walls are constructed from random coursed-stone blocks. Originally, a square bell tower constructed partly of stone and partly from weatherboard with a shallow pyramidal spire, was located at the southwest corner of the building. This tower, and a stone chimney on the west roof plane, have both been demolished. In the center of the south (main) elevation are three gothic lancet windows. To each side of the windows are entrance doors. The door to the right retains its arched lintel but the arched lintel on the left door has been replaced with a flat-headed lintel. Both doors have been reduced from double to single doors. On the east and west elevations are three regularly spaced vertical wooden double hung windows recessed into the wall.

Westminster Hall (Christian Education Building) (1915/moved 1936)

Westminster Hall, now called the Christian Education Building, was constructed in 1915 and used as a mission school. Although this building was constructed prior to the period of significance and has been remodeled, it is nevertheless a significant structure because in the absence of public schools, some of the Navajo women enrolling in the nursing school at Ganado would have received their high school education here. Once the new high school was built in 1949, Westminster Hall became a boys' dormitory.

Originally built on the site of the park in front of Café Sage, the building was moved to the site of the present gym, and again in 1936 to its existing position on the west side of campus behind Ellerton Hall. Westminster Hall is a two-story rough plaster frame building with random coursed stone plinth. Originally it had a shallow pitched gable roof that was later altered to a cropped hipped roof. The main façade (east) is divided into three bays with a central doorway flanked by three adjacent aluminium-framed vertical double hung windows. The fenestration pattern and window designs on the side and rear elevations are irregular.

Shangri-La (1921)

Built in 1921, Shangri-La was the residence of Mrs. and Dr. Salsbury, superintendent of Ganado Mission and the founder of the nursing school. The Salsburys named it to recall the score of years they spent as missionaries in China. Built of adobe with a random coursed stone plinth, Shangri-La is situated on the west side of the campus slightly back from the main north-south artery road. Orientated north-south, the two-story building is rectangular in plan with a full-hipped asphalt shingle roof. A first floor wooden balcony supported by piers extends the whole length of the main (east) elevation. An external stone chimney is situated on the southern

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 9**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

elevation. The main façade is divided into three bays with central wooden doorways on each story. With the exception of the ground floor window to the left of the doorway which is composed of three adjacent double hung windows; coupled single-paned wooden double hung windows flank the doorways. Fenestration patterns to the side and rear of the buildings are irregular. Externally, the building retains a high degree of integrity despite a later two-story wooden and shingle extension being added to the rear (west) elevation.

Shangri-La Garage (1925)

This single story, rough plaster, wooden frame building was constructed in 1925. It has a rectangular plan with a full-hipped asphalt shingle roof with open eaves and exposed rafter tails. It has three double garage doors; however two of the garage doors have been removed and the openings boarded-up. The building also originally had a greenhouse attached to it but it has been demolished.

The Dining Hall (Café Sage) (1920)

Occupying a commanding location at the center of campus on the northern side of the park, Café Sage is the largest adobe building in Arizona. The building was constructed in 1920 and the ground floor was used as a communal dining hall where the students at the nursing school ate their meals. The upper floor was used as a dormitory.

Orientated east-west, Café Sage is two stories in height with a very shallow full-hipped asphalt shingle roof and open eaves and exposed rafter tails. A stringcourse runs around the whole of the building just beneath the eaves. The building is T shaped in plan, with a central two-story five bay projection on the south elevation with flanking wings of four bays. Attached to the five-bay projection is a single story, rectangular porch with hipped asphalt shingled roof and an open arched colonnade. The fenestration pattern on the main (south) elevation is composed of regularly-spaced six over six wooden vertical double hung windows. The fenestration patterns on the rear and side elevations are irregular. A series of single-story extensions was added to the rear (north) elevation. Despite this, the building is largely unaltered and externally retains a high degree of integrity.

Catalpa Lodge (1923)

Located on the northern side of the campus adjacent to Café Sage, Catalpa Lodge was built in 1923 and for a number of years was the residence of Dr. William Spining, the Director of the Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing.

Orientated north-south, Catalpa Lodge is a single-story random coursed stone building. It is rectangular in plan with a full-hipped, shallow pitch asphalt shingle roof, open eaves and exposed rafter tails. The building is largely unaltered. Fenestration patterns on all elevations are irregular and window designs are a mixture of coupled and single, six over six vertical wooden double hung windows. At the center of the eastern and western roof planes are shed dormers and to the right of the western one is a stone chimney.

The Florence Nightingale Lodge (Greenawalt Hall/Del Webb Building) (1927)

Situated on the east side of the campus on the west side of Elm Avenue, the Del Webb building was constructed in 1927 and became a dormitory for nursing students. Originally called "The Florence Nightingale Lodge," it became a home for senior high school girls and was renamed Greenawalt Hall after the closure of the nursing school.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 10**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

Orientated north-south, the Del Webb building is two-and-a-half stories in height and rectangular in plan. The building is constructed of random coursed stone blocks with a full-hipped asphalt shingle roof, open eaves and exposed rafter tails. On the east and west elevations are small full-hipped dormers with fixed, two light wooden casement windows. The east and west elevations have eleven bays, the north and south elevations have three. Windows are vertical two-light metal casement windows with central meeting rail, opening top-hinged casements and fixed bottom casements, recessed into the wall with stone lintels and sills. On the ground floor of the west elevation is a central doorway flanked by margin lights and fixed light windows above. A first floor stone balcony extends across the central five bays of the west elevation and is supported on four square stone pillars. On the east elevation are two single-door entrances with squared headed fanlights above and open gable porches. This building retains a high degree of integrity.

Power House (1929)

The Power House was built in 1929 prior to the period of significance, but is nevertheless a significant building because it provided heating and electricity to the campus. From 1946 until the early 1960s electricity was generated by two Navy surplus submarine turbines, remnants of which still remain in situ. Today many of the buildings on the campus are still heated by steam through a mile of interconnecting underground pipes that originate in the Power Plant. Several changes have been made to the building over the course of time to keep pace with the growth of the compound. The east and west wings of the building were used as a laundry and as garage facilities.

Aligned east-west, the Power Plant is situated to the north side of the campus directly behind Café Sage. This large utilitarian building is constructed from random coursed stone blocks. The main elevation (south) is divided into three sections. Centrally positioned is a tall single-story entrance block with a flat roof and centrally positioned half glazed double doors with fixed multi-paned windows above. Flanking each side of the doors are three adjacent vertical four over four double hung wooden windows with fixed four-paned window casements above. Set back slightly from the central block are the east and west wings. Single story in height and rectangular in plan the east and west wings are constructed from random coursed stone with full-hipped asphalt shingle roofs. The west wing has seven bays with irregular fenestration; the east wing has only five bays of regularly-spaced windows. The windows are wooden six over six double hung windows recessed back from the wall.

Attached to the rear of the central section of the Power Plant is a three-story, rectangular plan, cement stuccoed extension with gabled asphalt shingle roof, open eaves and exposed rafter tails. This part of the building housed the boiler and the remains of the original metal smoke stack, which still protrude through the north roof plane. To the west of this section of the power plant is a two story flat roofed, cement plastered extension with a large double door opening in the wall and evidence of two blocked up windows. Despite the fact that the Power Plant is suffering from a number of structurally related problems, the plant remains largely unaltered.

Sage Memorial Hospital (Poncel Hall) (1930)

Sage Memorial Hospital was built in 1930. During the 1940s, an east wing was added to accommodate a library, a dining hall for hospital staff, and classrooms for student nurses. After the construction of the new hospital in the early 1960s, the building, now known as Poncel Hall, became the administrative headquarters of the Navajo Health Foundation.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 11**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

Located on the southeast side of the site directly opposite the current entrance to the campus, Poncel Hall is a two-and-a-half story coursed-stone building. The main wing is rectangular in form with a two-story central projection. To the rear is a smaller rectangular block, which runs parallel to the main wing and to the east is a two story rectangular wing aligned north-south. On the front (south) elevation is a single-story porch with enclosed arcading which runs virtually the whole length of the front projection. The roof is full-hipped, originally with open eaves and exposed rafter tails. The original roofing shingles have since been replaced with red galvalume metal roofing. Windows on the main elevation are regularly spaced. The original wooden double-hung windows have been replaced by modern metal casements, single hung one-over-one. In spite of these alterations, externally, the building remains unaltered.

The Nurses' Home (Woodbine Lodge)(1932)

The Nurses' Home was constructed in 1932 and is situated on the southeast side of campus directly behind Poncel Hall. It was built to provide dormitory accommodation for the student nurses attending the Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing.

Aligned north-south, Nurses' Home is a two-and-a-half story random-coursed stone building. It is rectangular in plan with a full-hipped asphalt shingle roof, open eaves and exposed rafter tails. The front (west) elevation is divided into nine bays with a central wooden decorative door with wooden margin panes. A single-story open porch with three arches and an asphalt shingle hipped-roof emphasizes the entrance. The windows, which are regularly spaced, are coupled six over six vertical wooden double-hung windows recessed into the wall with stone sills and lintels. On the first floor, coupled double-hung windows alternate with single two over two wooden double-hung windows. A three-light shed dormer is positioned in the west plane of the roof directly above the entrance and to the right is a stone chimney. Externally the Nurses' Home retains a high degree of integrity. Internally, it has been converted into seven apartments. On the ground floor the original common room remains intact.

Green Gables (1935)

Situated on the northeast side of the park, Green Gables was constructed in 1935 and for a number of years was the residence of Dr. William Spining, the Director of the Nursing School. Green Gables is a one-and-a-half story rough plaster, wooden frame building. It is rectangular in plan with a steeply pitched asphalt shingle roof with projecting gables, open splayed eaves and exposed rafter tails. On the east elevation is an external brick chimney. The fenestration pattern on all elevations is irregular and the window designs are a mixture of coupled and triple vertical double-hung wooden windows. Externally, the building remains largely unaltered and retains a high degree of integrity.

Skillman Cottage (1935)

Situated on the east side of campus, Skillman was constructed in 1935 and for a number of years was also the residence of Dr. William Spining. Skillman is a single-story, rough plaster, wooden-frame building with a steeply pitched, gabled-asphalt shingle roof. A concrete and brick internal chimney is positioned midway along the ridgeline. The building is rectangular in plan with an open timber porch located at the south end of the main (west) elevation. The main (west) elevation is divided into four bays of four over four vertical wooden double hung windows. On the south gable is a four over four vertical double hung wooden window with narrow four over four margin double hung windows. Externally, the building remains largely unaltered and retains a high degree of integrity.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 12**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

The New Church (1941)

The church is situated in the southwest corner of the central park adjacent to Salsbury Hall. It was built in 1941 and replaced Bierkemper Hall as the focal point of religious activity on the campus. It is a random-coursed stone building with a shallow pitch, asphalt shingle gable roof. The main wing runs north-south with a lower cross wing on the northeast corner, and attached to this another shorter north-south wing. Each wing is rectangular in plan. A single-story projection with parapet roof and a Gothic pointed-arch door emphasize the main entrance, which is situated on the south elevation. Above the door on the main body of the church is a round window. On the north elevation of the main body of the church is a Gothic triple-lancet window. Other windows are regularly-spaced, multi-paned metal casements recessed into the wall with stone lintels and sills. Some windows have original stained glass. Externally, the church retains a high degree of integrity.

Shady Side Cottage (1903)

In 1903, a five-room adobe manse was built at the northwest corner of the property and used as a residence, church, and school. This cottage is a single-story adobe building, rectangular in plan with a shallow gable roof, and exposed vigas. It has vertical wooden sash windows. Small extensions to the north and south elevations were later additions.

Adobe West (1911)

Adobe West was constructed in 1911 to accommodate a dormitory for boys and girls, a teacher's residence, a kitchen, pantry, and dining room. It is a two-story adobe building, rectangular in plan with a full-hipped asphalt shingle roof, open eaves, and exposed rafter tails. Hipped dormers are located in the north and south roof plane. There is a regular fenestration pattern of six over six vertical double-hung wooden windows. It has had some later extensions to the north elevation.

Pinon Lodge (1915)

Constructed in 1915 originally for use as a barn, Pinon Lodge was later converted to a residence in 1949. A one-and-a-half story rough plastered wooden frame building it is rectangular in plan with an asphalt shingle shallow pitch gable roof. The main elevation is divided into three bays with a central door with a coupled, vertical single pane double hung wooden window to the left and a single vertical double hung window to the right. There is a later addition of a small, flat-roofed extension to the rear (west) elevation.

Tamarisk Lodge (1921)

This building was constructed and used as a community house in 1921. It was later converted to a residence. A single-story rough plaster, wooden frame building with a rectangular plan. It has a shallow-pitched asphalt shingle gable roof, open eaves and exposed rafter tails. There is a simple shed roof porch on the east elevation and a variance in the double-hung window design with an irregular fenestration pattern. There have been later additions to the south elevation and it was internally divided into two cottages.

Post Pump House (1923)

Constructed in 1923, it was later used for storage. It is a square wooden frame, rough-plastered building with a pyramidal-asphalt shingle roof with open eaves and exposed rafter tails. Later alterations include the insertion of double doors and windows.

Locust Cottage (1923)

Locust Cottage was constructed in 1923 and used as a residence. A single story, rough plaster, wooden frame building built in a rectangular plan with full-hipped asphalt shingle roof with open eaves and exposed rafter feet. It has an irregular fenestration pattern and window design, mainly six over six vertical wooden sashes; some are one over one horizontal emphasis wooden sashes. It has been divided into two apartments and has had a later addition to the north elevation. There has also been some alterations to the fenestration.

Ellerton Hall (1931)

Only the north wing was originally built in 1925. The upper floor was used as a senior boys' dormitory and silver shop, and the lower floor was used as offices and an industrial shop. Following a fire, the building was reconstructed and enlarged in 1931 and became a women's dormitory. It is a two-story, random-coursed stone building, H-shaped in plan with a shallow-pitched, full-hipped asphalt shingle roof, open eaves and exposed rafter tails. There are first floor balconies supported on stone piers on the main elevation of each cross wing. The regular fenestration pattern consists of single pane vertical double-hung wooden windows.

Red Barn (1925)

Built in 1925 to be used as a stock and hay barn, this building is a two-story part random-coursed stone, part-painted weatherboard. It is rectangular in plan with a shallow-pitched gable roof. The windows on the ground floor are small metal side-hung sashes, random in pattern and horizontal in emphasis. The windows on the first floor are also metal side-hung sashes, with vertical emphasis.

Elm Cottage (1927)

This cottage was constructed in 1927 and used as a residence. It is a single-story rough plaster wooden frame building with a rectangular plan. It has a shallow-pitched asphalt shingle roof, open eaves, and exposed rafter tails. There is an exterior stone chimney on the north elevation and at the center of the ridgeline. The windows have an irregular design and pattern; some are double-hung wooden and some are metal casements. There was a later extension to the east elevation.

Elm Cottage Garage (1927)

This garage was associated with the Elm Cottage and was also constructed in 1927. It is a square concrete building with a gable roof. The east side is wood rather than concrete and the door is located on this elevation.

Pool Bathhouse (1925)

The bathhouse was constructed at the same time as the swimming pool in 1925. It is a concrete block building. The bathhouse is currently used for storage.

Lumber Shed (1929)

Constructed in 1929, this is a single-story, rough plaster, wooden frame building. It is rectangular in plan with a gabled-asphalt shingle roof, open eaves and exposed rafter tails. It has single window openings on the east and west elevations.

Wood Shop (Carpenter's Shop) (1929)

This single-story, rough plaster, wooden frame building was built in 1929. It is rectangular in plan with a full-hipped, asphalt shingle roof, open eaves and exposed rafter tails. There is a central wooden lantern and it has regular fenestration.

Almira Cottage (1929)

Almira Cottage was constructed in 1929 and used as a public school house. It is a single-story, coursed stone building with a shallow pitch, asphalt-shingle gable roof, open eaves and exposed rafter tails. It has stone supporting buttresses on the west elevation. The north and south elevations are divided into six bays with six over six vertical double hung wooden windows. The interior of the building has been converted into two apartments.

Cottonwood Cottage (1929)

Constructed in 1929, this residence is a single-story, rough plaster, wooden frame building. It has a rectangular plan with a shallow pitch, asphalt-shingle gable roof, open eaves and exposed rafter tails. The front elevation is divided into seven bays with a central door. It has had small extensions to the west and south elevations.

Seymour Community House (1930)

This building was built in 1930 and used as a place where people could stay overnight while visiting their relatives in the hospital or at the Ganado School. It was later converted into a laundry and housing for Ganado Community College. It is a single-story, rough plaster, wooden frame building that is rectangular in plan with a full-hipped, asphalt-shingle roof, open eaves and exposed rafter tails. The fenestration pattern is irregular with horizontal and vertical metal-framed top and bottom-hung windows. The interior has been divided into three apartments.

Hog House (1930)

Built in 1930, the hog house is a single-story rough plaster, wooden-frame building. It is rectangular in plan with a shallow pitch, asphalt-shingle gable roof with open eaves and exposed rafter tails. It has irregular fenestration.

Bus Garage (1932)

This two-story rectangular plan, rough plaster, wooden frame building was built in 1932. It has a gabled-asphalt shingle roof, open eaves, exposed rafter tails and a large double door opening in the south elevation.

Vine Cottage (1932)

Constructed in 1932 as a residence, Vine Cottage is a single-story, rough plaster, wooden frame building. It is L-shaped in plan with a shallow pitch, asphalt-shingle gable roof, open eaves and exposed rafter tails. The porch on the west elevation is enclosed which has a central wooden door and flanking picture windows. There is irregular fenestration on the north and south elevations. There has been an extension to the north elevation.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 15**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

Navajo Lodge (1932)

This residence was built in 1932 and is a single-story rough plaster, wooden frame building. It is rectangular in plan with a shallow pitch, asphalt-shingle gable roof with open eaves and exposed rafter tails. There is an enclosed porch on the west elevation. It has an irregular fenestration pattern of six over six vertical double-hung wooden windows. There was an addition of a gable extension on the east elevation and a small lean-to on the north elevation.

Spruce Cottage Garage (1932)

This double garage was constructed in 1932 for use by Spruce Cottage, which has been demolished. This building is a single-story rough plaster, wooden frame building that is square in plan with pyramidal cedar shingle roof, open eaves and exposed rafter tails. Both sets of double doors have been removed.

Gymnasium (1941)

Constructed in 1941, the gymnasium also functioned as an assembly hall. It is a large rectangular rough-plastered, wooden building with a full-hipped, asphalt shingle roof with open eaves and exposed rafter tails. It has shed and hipped extensions to the east elevation, a shed extension to the west elevation, and an over-stretched lean-to entrance porch on the north elevation. The elevations are largely blank with irregularly-positioned wooden double-hung and fixed-pane windows. Later, an internal balcony was added.

Root Cellar/Deep Freeze Building (1942)

Originally constructed in 1942 as a root cellar, this building is a single-story adobe building with a shallow-pitch gable roof. The fenestration pattern is irregular. In 1945, a deep freeze unit was installed. The roof has been replaced and the original vigas have been sawn off.

Hawthorne Cottage (1946)

Hawthorne Cottage was built in 1946 as a manse. It is a single-story rough plaster, wooden frame building with a full-hipped asphalt shingle roof and open eaves and exposed tile rafter tails. Rectangular in plan, a stone chimney is positioned just off-center and below the ridgeline on the west elevation. The main façade is divided into three bays with a central door and large multi-paned metal casement windows to each side.

Hawthorne (Manse II) Garage

This is a rectangular adobe building with a gable roof. The double doors are located on the south elevation.

Albee Cottage (1946)

Constructed in 1946, this duplex was used as a guesthouse. It is a single-story rough plaster, wooden frame building, rectangular in plan with a shallow-pitch asphalt shingle, gable roof, open eaves, and exposed rafter tails. The fenestration pattern is irregular with six over six vertical double-hung wooden windows. Small additions to the north and south elevations were added at a later time.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 16**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

Porter's Lodge (1946)

This duplex was constructed in 1946 and used as a guesthouse. It is a single-story rough plaster, wooden frame building with shallow-pitch, asphalt-shingle gable roof, open eaves and exposed rafter tails. It is divided into two apartments, each with an entrance door on the main or south elevation. This elevation is divided into five bays with a mixture of individual and coupled small single-paned fixed casements.

Baker's Cottage (1946)

Built in 1946, this building was used as a residence. Rectangular in plan, it is a single-story rough plaster, wooden frame building with shallow-pitch, asphalt-shingle gable roof, open eaves, and exposed rafter tails. On the south elevation is a simple lean-to extension. The entrance to the building is on the west gable via a central door flanked by one over one double-hung wooden windows with a horizontal emphasis. There is also an extension to the east.

Friendship Cottage (1947)

This duplex was constructed to be used as a guesthouse in 1947. It is a single-story rough plaster, wooden frame building with a rectangular plan. It has a shallow-pitch, asphalt-shingle gable roof with open eaves and exposed rafter tails. The front or south elevation is divided into five bays with central, small-pane fixed-casement window. Two entrance doors are flanked by coupled single-pane vertical double-hung wooden windows.

La Casita Cottage (1947)

Built in 1947 to be used as a guesthouse, La Casita Cottage is a single-story, rough plaster, wooden frame building that is rectangular in plan. It has a shallow-pitch, asphalt-shingle gable roof, open eaves, and exposed rafter tails. The front, or south, elevation is divided into five bays with central small pane-fixed casement windows. Two entrance doors are flanked by coupled single-pane vertical double hung wooden windows.

Pennsylvania Apartments (1947)

Built to house three manual workers in 1947, this was a single-story, rough plaster, wooden frame building with fairly steep, asphalt-shingle gable roof, open eaves, and exposed rafter tails. There is a shed extension to the rear, or north, elevation. It has a repeated regular fenestration pattern of one over one, double-hung metal window, door, and a coupled one over one double-hung metal window.

Cottonwood Cottage Garage (1947)

Constructed in 1947 for Cottonwood Cottage, this is a single-story, rough plaster, wooden frame building. It is square in plan with a pyramidal asphalt-shingle roof, open eaves, and exposed rafter tails. It has a new door.

Home Economics Building (Administration Building) (1948)

Built in 1948, this is a single-story, part random-coursed stone, part rough plaster, wooden frame building. It is T-shaped in plan with a shallow pitch, asphalt-shingle roof, open eaves, and exposed rafter tails. There are verge boards at the gable ends. A small stone lean-to is on the north elevation and a brick chimney on the

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 17**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

ridgeline of the main east/west wing. It has irregular fenestration of mixed single, double, and triple-fixed openings and multi-paned metal casements with horizontal emphasis glazing.

Grace Charles Cottage (1948)

Used as a guesthouse, this cottage was built in 1948. It is a single-story, rough plaster, wooden frame building that is rectangular in plan with a shallow pitch, asphalt-shingle gable roof. It has open eaves and exposed rafter tails. The front, or south, elevation is divided into five bays with central small pane fixed-casement windows. There are two entrance doors flanked by coupled single-pane vertical double-hung wooden windows.

Salisbury Hall (1949)

Built in 1949 as the new high school, Salisbury Hall is a single-story, random-coursed stone building with a shallow pitch, asphalt-shingle gable roof. The main range runs east and west with gabled cross wings at each end. The central entrance is on the south elevation beneath a slightly projecting gable. It has large, glazed double doors with fixed-margin panes. There is also decorative narrow coursed stonework around the entrance. Above the door is decorative round wooden louver. The fenestration pattern is regular and the windows are multi-paned metal casements with horizontal emphasis glazing. Some of the windows are fixed, some are top hung, and some are bottom hung. Beneath the windows on the gables are narrow bands of decorative regular-coursed stonework, similar to that around the entrance. There were later additions to the north elevation.

Salisbury Nook (1949)

Constructed in 1949 to be used as a guesthouse, this is a single-story rough plaster, wooden frame building. Rectangular in plan it has a shallow-pitch, asphalt-shingle gable roof with open eaves and exposed rafter tails. The front, or south, elevation is divided into five bays with central small pane fixed-casement windows. There are two entrance doors flanked by coupled single-pane vertical double-hung wooden windows.

Hartsock Cottage (1950)

Built as a guest cottage in 1950, Hartsock Cottage is a single-story rough plaster, wooden frame building with shallow-pitch, asphalt-shingle gable roof, open eaves, and exposed rafter tails. It is rectangular in plan with a gable extension on the north elevation. Vertical wooden double windows are irregularly positioned.

Keys Cottage (1950)

Constructed in 1950 as a single-story rectangular plan, it is a rough plaster, wooden-frame building with asphalt-shingle gable roof, open eaves, and exposed rafter tails. There is a central doorway on the east elevation which is flanked by bay windows. The windows are wooden casement with horizontal emphasis glazing.

Keys Cottage Garage (1950)

This garage was associated with Keys Cottage and was constructed in 1950, also. It is a square adobe building with a gable roof. The door is located on the east elevation. It was a sliding door at one time but today is only a single opening.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 18**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

NON CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES**Swimming Pool (1925)**

The open-air rectangular swimming pool built in 1925, also served as a reservoir of water in case of fire. For health and safety reasons, the pool has been filled-in.

Paint and Gas House (ca.1955)

This is a corrugated rectangular shed on a stone foundations built ca. 1955. It has a single-entrance door. It is now used for storage.

El Paso House (1930s, moved 1957)

This is a 1930s-era house that was moved to the site ca. 1957 by the El Paso Gas Company.

Former Juniper Lodge Site (ca. 1957)

The original building on this site was demolished and replaced by an El Paso Gas Company house ca. 1957.

Haldaman Garage (1961)

Constructed in 1961, this garage is a concrete block building which is rectangular in plan. It has up and over metal garage doors.

Childcare Building (post-1961)

This building was constructed sometime in the years after 1961.

Integrity and Feeling

The historic district of Ganado Mission retains a high degree of integrity. Within the last fifty years few alterations have been made to the external appearance of the buildings. Although the red galvalume roofing on Poncel Hall, the original Sage Memorial Hospital, is not historically accurate and is very visually prominent, the building retains its historic layout and overall integrity. The important spatial relationships between buildings and their settings have been retained since virtually all modern development on the site has been confined to the addition of new buildings or trailers outside the historic boundary. Over the course of their history, many of the buildings have been used for a number of purposes and this continual process of gradual change and adaptation characterizes the very nature of the historic site. The Presbytery of the Grand Canyon, which owns the site and leases it to the Navajo Health Foundation, has ensured through the terms of their lease agreement that “the wooded, campus-like character of the premises and the maintenance of the historical and architectural character and detail of the premises and the buildings and structures,” are carefully preserved and that any alterations or modernizations are undertaken “with the intention of enhancing the historical and traditional appearance of the premises.”⁸

⁸ *Ganado Mission Lease Agreement signed by The Presbytery of Grand Canyon and the Navajo Health Foundation, Articles VIII, April 15, 1989, 13.*

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 19**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

Today the area around Ganado is much more populated than at the turn of the last century, and Highway 264 has become a busy road through the Navajo Reservation. Relatively recent linear development along the highway has had an impact upon the previous sense of the remote isolation of the mission, which is so apparent in early aerial photographs. Nevertheless, the layout of the site, the utilitarian style of architecture, the choice of materials, the scale of the buildings and their sense of unchanged permanence still strongly reflect the era of their construction. The integrity of the site may be due in part to the enormous expense involved in running a modern hospital, which has meant that there have been limited financial resources available to undertake perceived "improvements" or alterations to the buildings. The majority of buildings retain their character, external appearance, and original fenestration pattern and detailing.

Despite the relative simplicity of the design, density, form and massing, the buildings at Ganado Mission must have appeared alien to the Navajo who traditionally lived in small earth and wood *hogans* in isolated family communities. The buildings seem incongruous within the wider context of their setting and this sense of incongruity, which still pervades the campus today, reinforces its unique character and local distinctiveness.

The historical character and interest of Ganado Mission campus is also reinforced by the physical integrity of the buildings and through the historical associations and continuity of their use. Sage Memorial Hospital still provides medical care to approximately 21,500 Navajo people living within an 1,800 square-mile area. Since 1974 the Navajo Health Foundation, which consists of a board made up entirely of Native American directors, has owned and operated the hospital. This sense of ownership and pride continues the process of empowerment that took root with the founding of the nursing school. Although the nursing school at Ganado has closed, students from Northern Arizona University continue to take academic and clinical courses at Sage Memorial Hospital. After a century, Ganado Mission continues to provide education to student nurses and healthcare to many Navajo people.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 21**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Area and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Introduction

Ganado Mission's historic significance relates primarily to the founding at Ganado of the Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing, which was the first and only accredited nursing training program for Native American women in the United States. The period of national significance relevant to this study spans twenty-one years from the founding of the school by Dr. Clarence Salsbury in 1930, to its eventual closure in 1951. The school was established at a time when, throughout the United States, racial minority access to education was restricted. Children of racial minority families attended segregated schools. Minority students were also less likely to attend high school than their white counterparts. When they did attend high school, minority children were also more likely to be enrolled in programs teaching vocational skills than their white counterparts.⁹ Within this context, Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing's unique policy of providing a nursing education specifically for minority students is highly relevant to the issue of minority access to, and segregation within, education.

The first years of the Sage Memorial Nursing School were characterized by broad changes in the nursing profession and the training of nurses. Long before America's entry into World War II, the Federal government had become concerned about a potential shortage of nurses. In response to a government study which called for the government both to "step up recruitment of student nurses" and "to educate further and better prepare graduate nurses,"¹⁰ the United States Public Health Service created the Cadet Nurse Corps. Although the program was not implemented until 1944, it radically transformed nursing education by pouring almost 150 million dollars into private and public nursing schools.¹¹ Funds were used to assist students in the form of scholarships and to improve facilities at nursing schools, many of which had been deemed sub-standard. These funds radically transformed nursing programs across the United States. Because nursing schools which served minority populations were more likely to have large numbers of students in need of financial assistance and because these nursing schools were less likely to have a strong endowment with which they could improve their facilities, the Cadet Nurse Corps program had an especially dramatic impact on minority access to nursing education. During and immediately after the war, "almost all of [the] young women [at Sage Memorial Nursing School] joined the U.S. Cadet Nurse Corps" and the school benefited from the infusion of federal funds during this period. Looking back at their experiences, the women in the Cadet Nurse Corps who studied at Sage remembered that the stipends they received from the government to study nursing "made them relatively rich in an area that was desperately poor."¹²

The complex cultural, historical, and religious ideologies behind the founding of Ganado Mission reflect Christian Anglo-American attitudes towards different racial groups. Beginning with their first contact with Native Americans on through into the twentieth century, whites considered the indigenous races of America to be second-class citizens "lost in the darkness of heathenism and superstition."¹³ This attitude led to the establishment of Christian missions across the United States; these missions sought to bring enlightenment to Native Americans. Through the Christian message, western medicine, and cultural assimilation, missions provided a place where Native Americans could learn to live within, and present no threat to, a Christian Anglo-

⁹ The term 'Anglo' is commonly used to describe white American people. Another term used by the Navajo is '*Bilagáana*'.

¹⁰ *The United States Cadet Nurse Corps and Other Federal Nurse Training Programs: PHS Publication No. 38* (Washington, DC: Federal Security Agency, 1950), 4.

¹¹ The actual figure was \$149,026,478. *Ibid.*, 56.

¹² Thelma M. Robinson and Paulie M. Perry, *Cadet Nurse Corp Stories: The Call for and Response of Women During World War II* (Indianapolis, IN: Center Nursing Press, 2001), 160.

¹³ Taylor, *Presbyterians and "The People,"* 1281.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 22**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

American society. The founding of the unique Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing sets Ganado apart from other missions. The history behind the establishment of this mission contributes to an increased understanding of Christian Anglo-American ideology, motivations, and attitudes towards the Native American population.¹⁴ In this respect, this nomination is relevant to the National Historic Landmark themes “Peopling Places: Encounters, Conflicts, and Colonization,” and “Creating Social Institutions and Movements.”¹⁵

Enormous obstacles confronted the founders of Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing. Understanding these obstacles requires an in-depth knowledge of Anglo-American politics, religious motivations, and prejudices toward Native American people as well as the cultural traditions, beliefs, prejudices and attitudes of Native Americans toward Anglo Americans. Native American women enrolling in the nursing program at Sage Hospital had to overcome intolerance from both Anglo and indigenous communities and face personal obstacles, such as their own suspicion of western medicine and fear of physical contact with death. The nursing students at Ganado were separated from the security of their families, plunged into an alien environment, and forced to compromise or even abandon their cultural traditions and beliefs. The personal experiences of both the missionaries and the students at Ganado illustrate the many distinctions between the different cultures, while the achievements of the Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing demonstrate how successful collaboration between different societies could be accomplished.

Historically and physically isolated, the Ganado community was largely self-sufficient. The gradual development of the site over the first half of the twentieth century reflects the social history and changing circumstances of the community. Buildings were primarily utilitarian and were constructed, as needed, at minimal cost using local materials and local labor. Each element of life at Ganado Mission---the growing of food, the production of power, education, the medical work at the hospital, and the preaching of Christian salvation---was interdependent and integral to the survival and success of the mission as a whole. The nursing school was no exception; it was a unique, but nevertheless dependent element within the wider collective operations of the mission. The organization of the mission, the integrity of its buildings, its surviving physical layout, the facilities it provided to meet the needs of not only the missionaries but also the community it served, collectively provide an enormous source for information regarding mission life which is relevant not only to Ganado and the history of Sage Memorial Nursing School, but also to Christian missions across the United States. In this respect Ganado Mission provides an exceptionally complete overview of mission life during the first half of the twentieth century.¹⁶

Even when its national significance as the site of Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing is discounted, Ganado Mission has exceptional historic interest for a number of reasons. From the 1930s to the 1950s, it was the largest domestic mission of the Presbyterian Church and the largest Indian Mission in the country. The hospital’s significance as the first hospital on a Native American reservation which was not funded by government money was recognized early on. As the first hospital in the United States to be owned and operated by a health foundation whose board was made up entirely of Native American directors, Sage Memorial Hospital “quickly became a showpiece in the field of Indian health care, accredited by the American College of Surgeons.”¹⁷ Just twenty-four years after its founding, Mr. John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs testified to the House of Representatives’ Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, Seventy-Fourth Congress that

¹⁴ National Park Service Cultural Resources, *National Register Bulletin: How to Prepare National Historic Landmarks Nominations* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1999), 21.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 83.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁷ Robert Trennert, *White Man’s Medicine: Government Doctors and the Navajo, 1863-1955* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 170-171.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 23**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

“perhaps the best hospital in the Indian Southwest is being conducted by the Presbyterian Board of Missions there (Sage Memorial Hospital). It is a better hospital than the Government has out there.”¹⁸

Establishment of missionary work among the Navajo People

The 1868 Treaty between the U.S. Government and the Navajo Tribe promised the Navajo a teacher for every thirty Navajo children of school age.¹⁹ However, corrupt Indian agents, administrative turmoil, and ignorance of Indian life and culture hindered the fulfilment of this promise. Historian Bruce Lee Taylor has pointed out that:

“In the climate of the mid-1800s, an assignment to an Indian agency was common reward for political support and provided unscrupulous men with an opportunity for quick wealth. For the honest agent the competing allegiances and contradictory government policies made the job almost impossible of conscientious performance.”²⁰

In 1870, President Grant’s Peace Policy was inaugurated. This policy was a fundamental shift away from previous policies and, as such, it reflected an overall push to assimilate Native Americans into Anglo-American culture. Despite Grant’s firm belief in the separation between church and state, his concern for the plight of the Native American people, combined with his belief that the solution to their problems was a Christian education, caused him to support evangelical Protestant movements which were advocating social reform on the reservations. Under Grant’s directions, the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, along with other religious organizations, was invited to take responsibility for educating and Christianizing Native Americans. Grant also promised that his administration would support, both financially and morally, Christian missions to the Native American people. Raymond Friday Locke describes this policy as “one of the most flagrant examples of buck passing in the annals of American history.”²¹ By taking away the Indian Bureau’s responsibility to honor its promises to the Native American people, opportunities for further widespread corruption and neglect dramatically increased. “It would require the descriptive powers of Scott or Dickens to portray the wretched conditions of this agency” wrote Denis Riordan, a government Indian Agent, in his resignation letter dated June 1884. “The United States,” he continued “has never fulfilled its treaty promises and it is safe to assume it never will.”²²

In 1868, the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions sent John Roberts, a young missionary, to the Navajo people on the New Mexico frontier. Roberts was not adequately prepared for the task. He found conditions harsh and unfamiliar and the Navajo people, recently returned from their internment at Fort Sumner, were pre-occupied with re-establishing themselves in their tribal homeland and unresponsive to the Christian message. The administrative relationship between the Federal government and the Presbyterian Church as established under the Peace Policy proved uneasy, and the expectations of the Mission Board were unrealistically high. Roberts was relieved of his duties in 1873 and despite continued participation in the nomination of Indian agents, the Presbyterians’ direct involvement with the Navajo people ceased until the founding of Ganado Mission in 1901.

¹⁸ “Thank you Mr. Collier,” *Ganado News Bulletin* 6, no.4 (September 1935): 1.

¹⁹ Martin A. Link, ed., *Treaty Between the United States of America and the Navajo Tribe of Indians* (Las Vegas, NV: KC Publications, 1968).

²⁰ Taylor, *Presbyterians and “The People,”* 266.

²¹ Raymond Friday Locke, *The Book of the Navajo* (Los Angeles: Mankind Publishing, 1992), 407.

²² *Ibid.*, 410.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 24**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

The Founding of Ganado Mission

In 1898, the First Presbyterian Church of Flagstaff, under the leadership of Rev. George Logie, approached the Presbytery of Arizona through the Board of Home Missions. The Board, which had taken over the administration of Indian Missions from the Board of Foreign Missions, had the authority to establish a mission amongst the Navajo Indians. Christian missionary work on the reservation at this time was confined to the Gospel Union of Kansas working in Tuba City with the Navajo and Hopi, the Baptists working in Keams Canyon and the Reformed Church concentrating their evangelical efforts in the eastern part of the reservation. As the only Presbyterian Church near to the Navajo Reservation, Flagstaff was ideally located for a mission outreach. The nearest Presbyterian Church to the east was located at Albuquerque (New Mexico), to the south at Peoria (Arizona), to the north at St. George (Utah), and to the west at San Bernardino (California).²³ In 1901, the Board authorized the establishment of a mission on the Reservation and instructed Logie, a Presbyterian missionary named Thomas C. Moffett, and an elder of the Flagstaff Presbyterian Church named Frank C. Reid, to “visit the Navajo Indian Reservation and investigate the field with a view to establishing a mission here as part of our Home Mission work.”²⁴

The party left Flagstaff in the spring of 1901 and traveled to Tolchaco, east to the Reformed Mission at Orabi and, from there, on to the Baptist Mission at Keams Canyon. After making inquiries throughout their journey, the missionaries established that Ganado, sixty miles west of Gallup, might be a suitable location for the founding of a mission. Ganado was situated in reasonable proximity to population centers such as Canyon de Chelly and Chinle to the north, Kinlinchee to the east, Klagetoh and Wide Ruins to the south and Cornfields to the west. Ganado was also within reach of the railroad located at Chambers and the primarily Anglo settlements of Gallup and Fort Defiance.

Also located at Ganado was a trading post operated by John Lorenzo Hubbell.²⁵ Hubbell had established a reputation among the Navajo as a fair trader and, as a consequence, his store attracted Navajo people from all over the reservation. He was an influential figure among the Navajo, often acting as their interpreter during their dealings with the U.S. Government and encouraging them to produce high quality silverwork and weaving. He was also a respected member of the Anglo community. Despite his own Catholic background, Hubbell was eager to encourage the establishment of a Presbyterian mission at Ganado. He had attempted to persuade the Catholics to locate a mission at Ganado, but they chose instead to locate at St. Michael’s near Window Rock.²⁶ Hubbell felt that a mission would benefit the Navajo by providing access to education and to medical assistance (the nearest doctor was located at Fort Defiance, over thirty-five miles from Ganado). With his genuine understanding of and influence with the Navajo, Hubbell would become a valuable and powerful ally for the Presbyterian Mission.

On his return to Flagstaff, Thomas Moffett presented a report to The Special Committee on the Navajo Indian Mission, recommending that the Presbyterian mission be located at Ganado. Although the actual date of the committee’s approval of Moffett’s report is unclear, on July 24, 1901, the Home Board secretary, Mr. C. L. Thompson, wrote to Rev. Logie to inform him that a Charles H. Bierkemper had been appointed as missionary to Ganado.²⁷

²³ “Founding Ganado,” *Ganado News Bulletin* (June 1951): 6.

²⁴ Taylor, *Presbyterians and “The People,”* 877.

²⁵ Albert H. Schroeder and Robert M. Utley, *Hubbell Trading Post* (Ganado, Arizona), National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1961).

²⁶ Dennis McCarthy, *St. Michael’s Mission* (Window Rock, Arizona) National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1975).

²⁷ Taylor, *Presbyterians and “The People,”* 2:886.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 25**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

The Establishment of the First Mission Hospital

Bierkemper's appointment signalled the beginning of Ganado's threefold mission work of evangelism, education, and medicine. Shortly after his arrival he applied to the Board of Home Missions for permission to construct a small hospital and for a doctor to be appointed to work at the mission.²⁸ Lorenzo Hubbell advocated strongly for the provision of medical facilities at Ganado and he offered to provide accommodation for the appointed mission doctor and his family. Bierkemper's request to the Board was in response to the extreme poverty and hardship that he encountered on the reservation. Due to inadequate sanitation, the prevalence of flies and poor living conditions, trachoma, tuberculosis, whooping cough and contagious skin diseases were widespread problems amongst the Navajo. In 1906, the Board sent Dr. Waterhouse to Ganado to assess the situation, and two years later Dr. Kennedy was appointed on a permanent basis as physician to the mission. In 1911, the Board approved the construction of a twelve-bed hospital at Ganado, at a cost of four thousand dollars. This building was the first non-governmentally funded hospital on an Indian reservation in the United States.²⁹

In 1921, the Rev. Fred G. Mitchell was appointed superintendent of Ganado Mission and so began a period of major growth in the mission's history. Mitchell was a talented linguist and became fluent in the Navajo language. He was also fiercely evangelical and single-minded in his Christian belief. He believed that the education of Navajo children was the key to the complete evangelization of "The People." To this end, he petitioned the Board of Home Missions to expand the education facilities at Ganado which had been established by Bierkemper's wife, Alice. However, the Board was unwilling to invest further in Ganado because by this time it had become apparent that the inadequate water supply could not support further expansion of the site. Despite being warned that the sandstone geology of the area would render efforts to locate water futile, Mitchell hired a drilling crew from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He led a continuous prayer vigil while the crew drilled three unsuccessful boreholes. On the fourth attempt at a depth of 450 feet, the drill struck water and it was discovered that 4,500 gallons of water per hour could be pumped from the well. With the discovery of a permanent water supply, the future of Ganado Mission was secured.

Under the superintendency of Fred Mitchell, Ganado Mission continued to grow during the 1920s. By 1929, the campus boasted a hospital, church, school building, dining hall, dormitories, senior girls' house, manse, industrial building, vocational shop, power plant, boiler house, laundry, engineer's house, superintendent's house, doctor's house, farm, and a community building. In addition, the mission operated a sawmill approximately twenty-three miles from Ganado, as well as a coal mine at Steamboat, a similar distance to the west.

In May 1927, Clarence G. Salsbury, who had recently returned from several years as a missionary in China, was appointed as doctor to Ganado Mission. Originally appointed on a temporary basis, Dr. Salsbury remained at Ganado for twenty-three years; for twenty-one of these years he was also superintendent of the mission. A larger than life character, Salsbury was extremely dynamic. He was also very successful at self-promotion as well as the promotion of the mission. Salsbury raised a great deal of money for Ganado, persuading both the

²⁸ The government owned most hospitals on Indian reservations in the United States. Government appointed non-Native American doctors and nurses staffed them. Most missionary organizations on the reservations did not provide medical facilities or develop sizable hospitals in rural areas. Those missions that did support medical facilities, which later developed into hospitals, were usually located in urban areas where they did not have to depend on native staffing.

²⁹ J. Mesirov and Dr. P. Putnam Miller state that Walthill hospital, Thurston County, Nebraska, constructed in 1912 "was the first hospital for an Indian reservation that was not funded by government money." Cedar Lodge at Ganado Mission was approved and constructed in 1911 one-year prior to Walthill Hospital. J. S. Mesirov, and Dr. P. P. Miller, *Dr. Susan LaFlesche Picote Memorial Hospital* (Walthill, Nebraska), National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1992), 9.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 26**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

Board of Home Missions and private benefactors to invest in the mission's evangelical, educational, and medical work. He was responsible for the construction of a new church and a new hospital, and it was his foresight that led to the founding of the Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing. By his retirement in 1950, Ganado Mission had grown to over fifty buildings, many of which had been constructed during his incumbency, representing an investment of over one and one quarter million dollars. Under Salsbury's leadership Ganado "became the largest domestic mission of the Presbyterian Church and the largest Indian mission in the country."³⁰

Proposing the Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing

Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing is significant as it was the first and only accredited training school for Native American women in the United States. It provided a professional nursing education which, until Sage School opened in 1930, was generally denied to minority women, with the exception of several schools attached to African American hospitals. P. A. and B. J. Kalisch state:

"The one school of nursing for Native Americans during the 1940s and 1950s was located on a remote plateau in northeastern Arizona, 56 miles from Gallup, New Mexico, in the heart of the Navajo Indian Reservation. ... The school's purpose was to provide young Native American women with an opportunity to become nurses, so that this profession could be open to them and so that they would be able to render a much-needed service to their people."³¹

Although the history of nursing has become a major area of study within the broader field of the history of medicine in recent years, historians have tended to focus on issues of gender rather than issues of race when studying this subject.³²

At the time of the founding of the nurses' training school at Ganado, the twelve-bed mission hospital was experiencing a staff shortage. This was due, in part, to an influx of patients resulting from an outbreak of influenza and diphtheria on the reservation. Early missionary medical work among the Navajo had been relatively limited in its success. The Navajo were slow to overcome their distrust of western medicine and Dr. Salsbury, writing of his early experiences at Ganado, recalled that he often "treated more sick horses than sick Navajos."³³ When the Navajo did patronize the "white man's medicine house,"³⁴ it was usually as a last resort and often when patients were beyond help. Mortality rates in early missionary hospitals were, as a consequence, usually quite high, a fact that added little to their reputation in the eyes of the Navajo. Christian missionaries attributed the Navajo's fear and distrust of modern medicine and surgery to the influence of the *Hataatii* or medicine men whose "practices" and "remedial measures for the prevention and cure of disease" could, according to Dr. Salsbury, "have no place in an enlightened Christian American society."³⁵ It may

³⁰ Taylor, *Presbyterians and "The People,"* 1:6.

³¹ P. A. Kalisch and B. J. Kalisch, "Minorities in Nursing Strive for Recognition," *The Advance of American Nursing* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1995), 388-405.

³² Works such as Susan Reverby's *Ordered to Care: The Dilemma of American Nursing, 1850-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) were at the forefront of this shift. Since 1993, the field has had its own journal, *Nursing History Review* (University of Pennsylvania Press). Few historians have focused on the issues of race and nursing but those who have, such as Darlene Clark Hine and Todd Savitt, have tended to look at African-American nurses. Emily Abel who has written on Native Americans and nursing has tended to focus her work on the interaction between white nurses and Native American patients.

³³ Clarence G. Salsbury and Paul Hughes, *The Salsbury Story: A Medical Missionary's Lifetime of Public Service* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1969), 119.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 119.

³⁵ Clarence G. Salsbury, "What the Navajo Need." n.d., Menaul Historical Library of the Southwest, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Despite Dr. Salsbury's protestations regarding the Navajo Medicine Man, he was prepared to make the most of their misfortune when,

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 27**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

indeed be partially true that these spiritual men, who occupied an influential position within Navajo society, perceived white doctors to be threatening, not only to their own livelihood and personal prestige but also to their cultural tradition and beliefs. It took a long time for white doctors to appreciate the causes of the Navajos' fears and to understand their attitude and expectations regarding sickness and death. White nurses who worked among the Navajo during the inter-war period were only slightly more open to working with Navajo healers.³⁶ During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, western medicine had undergone a radical revolution. By the early twentieth century, growing numbers of western physicians had begun to accept germ theory, the belief that diseases were spread by minute pathogens or germs, as they were commonly called. While not all western physicians accepted this new theory, this view of disease began to transform the practice of medicine during this period. Anglo-American doctors, who used this theory, were now better able to diagnose and prevent diseases. Better treatments, however, were not yet available.

Unlike western medical practitioners who identify a problem and then treat the individual symptoms, Navajo medicine men address the spirit, seeking to combat the disharmony which is believed to be the cause of the ailment, thereby returning the individual to a state of *hózhóni* – balance and well-being.³⁷ Navajo patients saw the prodding, questioning, and intimate examination conducted by western doctors as disrespectful and unnecessary. They were also concerned that western medicines which only treated the physical manifestations of their illness could not restore a person's harmony. To achieve a state of *hózhóni*, patients needed to undergo a traditional healing ceremony.

The relationship between western and Navajo medicine is not, however, one of simple opposition. As Wade Davies, a leading historian of Navajo medicine has pointed out, because “the two forms of medical care appeared to be so different, the adoption of one did not necessarily imply the rejection of the other.”³⁸ During the early and mid-twentieth century, many Navajo accepted and used both forms of medical care. Today, western trained medical practitioners working with the Navajo routinely work with traditional healers. However, during the early and mid-twentieth century, western medical practitioners and missionaries saw the Navajo's refusal to reject completely their traditional beliefs and practices quite differently. Believing in the supremacy of their own medical beliefs, western practitioners sought to further the dominance of their own medical practices—at the expense of traditional Navajo practices.

Dr. Salsbury recognized that winning the confidence and trust of the medicine men was fundamental to the progression and acceptance of western medicine on the Navajo Reservation. He was fortunate to acquire the support of Red Point, an influential medicine man, who, despite initial resistance to the missionary work at Ganado, eventually became a staunch advocate of the Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing. “There was nothing incongruous then in Red Point's sponsorship of Dr. Salsbury,” wrote Frank Waters. “He was one of those rare, broad-minded Navajos who bent every effort to bridge the gap in understanding between their own ceremonialism and that of modern science.”³⁹ Salsbury's efforts to win the confidence of the medicine men

during the 1928-1929 diphtheria epidemic, five of them were hospitalized at Ganado. Dr. Salsbury arranged for the five men to be collectively photographed and the image distributed around the reservation in a propagandist effort to increase the Navajos' confidence in western medicine.

³⁶ It was not until the 1960s that Anglo-American practitioners began to respect and incorporate Navajo practices into their own medical care. It was during this period that the Navajo themselves also began to push back against western medicine and demand that their own beliefs and practices be incorporated into the care of Navajo patients. See Wade Davies, *Navajo Health Care in the Twentieth Century* (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 1998), 258-271. For a discussion of white nurses and their relationships with Navajo healers, see Emily K. Abel, “‘We Are Left So Much Alone to Work Out Our Own Problems:’ Nurses on American Indian Reservations During the 1930s,” *Nursing History Review* 4 (1996): 55.

³⁷ Wade Davies, *Navajo Health Care in the Twentieth Century*, 24-39.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 39.

³⁹ Taylor, *Presbyterians and “The People,”* 3:1288.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 28**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

appear to have paid off. In 1928, he wrote to the Board of Home Missions in Washington complaining about the inadequacies of the twelve-bed hospital facility at Ganado and remarking that “there were times last year when we should have had at least sixty patients in a ward. We have the patients but not the wards to put them in. Our need is for a hospital of seventy-five beds and capable of enlargement as work grows.”⁴⁰ Significantly, in the same correspondence, Salsbury makes reference to his plan for a nursing school at Ganado stating that, “there should be a training school for Navajo nurses. This will offer a fine opportunity for our girls as they graduate from (the Mission high school), making it possible for them to be of real Christian service to their people while learning a profitable and honorable profession.”⁴¹ He concluded on a practical note “on the other hand, it would help solve our nursing problem. When these girls graduate, they should make the most valuable kind of community workers.”⁴²

The Board looked favorably on Dr. Salsbury’s petition for funds to build a new hospital at Ganado. The hospital was constructed at a cost of \$50,000, a large percentage of which was donated by Mrs. Olivia Sage, the widow of a wealthy philanthropist; the hospital opened in January 1930. However, the Board was much less enthusiastic about Salsbury’s proposal to found a nursing school, partly because of the cost, but also because they were unconvinced about the capabilities of the potential students. Salsbury wrote in his memoirs “lots of people said girls with red skins would never be able to handle the academic subjects, could not master the surgical techniques and, most emphatically, would never touch a dead body. I was told a thousand times that Indians were just not temperamentally suited to be nurses.”⁴³

Traditionally, the Navajo have taken every precaution to minimize contact with anything associated with death. Even today, it is a subject which is still rarely discussed and which is viewed with deep abhorrence. This taboo surrounding death naturally gave rise to a number of problems for the medical missionaries, not the least of which was persuading patients to enter a hospital. E. E. Dale explained, “as soon as a patient died in it, most Indians flatly refused to enter the ‘death house’ in which the ghost of the deceased still lingered or where evil spirits that had caused the death yet lay in wait for another victim. Under such conditions, medical work progressed slowly in the southwest.”⁴⁴ The fear of the “*chindi*,” or evil spirits associated with the dead was also a potential stumbling block to the recruitment of Navajo students for the nurses’ school. By recruiting students directly from the Ganado Mission High School, missionaries believed that they were recruiting young women who had been exposed to Christianity and had, for many years, been distanced from the daily influences of their cultural heritage. It is possible that the issues associated with death may have held less abhorrence for these Ganado students than it did for more traditional Navajo men and women.

At the time of the founding of the nurses’ school, there were very few precedents of Native American women practicing western medicine. Dr. Susan LaFlesche Picotte, an Omaha Indian from Thurston County, in northeastern Nebraska, had become the first female Native American doctor in the late nineteenth century. Picotte had graduated from one of the premier medical schools for women and had cared for both white and non-white patients during her medical career. But despite Picotte’s pioneering achievements, white attitudes towards Native American medical practitioners remained clouded by prejudice nearly a half century later.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Salsbury to Goddard, November 9, 1928; Taylor, *Presbyterians and “The People,”* 1279.

⁴¹ Taylor, *Presbyterians and “The People,”* 1279.

⁴² Ibid. The nursing problem at Ganado reflected a national shortage in nursing staff. The isolated location of Ganado Mission and the limited salary that a mission could provide also proved problematic obstacles to attracting qualified nurses. Emily K. Abel, “We Are Left So Much Alone to Work Out Our Own Problems:’ Nurses on American Indian Reservations During the 1930s,” 43-64.

⁴³ Salsbury, *Salsbury Story*, 123.

⁴⁴ Salsbury to Goddard, November 9, 1928; Taylor, *Presbyterians and “The People,”* 899.

⁴⁵ J.S. Mesirow and Dr. P. P. Miller, *Dr. Susan LaFlesche Picote Memorial Hospital* (Walthill, Nebraska), National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, June 29, 1992). (Designated

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 29**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

Education

The Home Mission Board's prejudicial attitude towards the academic capabilities of the Navajo was undoubtedly linked to the issue of Native American access to education. Issues relating to racial discrimination in public education have been researched in the National Historic Landmarks theme study "Racial Desegregation in Public Education in the United States."⁴⁶ This theme study focuses primarily upon the African American struggle to achieve desegregation and gain equal access to education facilities within the public school system, but also refers to the limitations experienced by other racial groups in achieving equality for their children. The study not only draws relevant parallels between discrimination experienced by various racial minority groups, but also puts into context the development of Ganado School and Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing.

In 1887, Congress passed the "Compulsory Indian Education Law." As a direct result of this edict, boarding schools were built both on and off the reservations.⁴⁷ In the late nineteenth century, the implementation of President Grant's Peace Policy reflected the growing push to assimilate Native Americans into white culture. This policy also allowed for the federal government to provide funds to religious organizations which were then tasked with operating Indian schools. Although religious education was provided at these schools, the curriculum at these schools tended to be primarily industrial, or vocational, in nature; female students, in particular, were provided with an education designed to teach them to become either housewives or domestic servants. Academic studies tended to take a back seat to both industrial and religious education.

Shawnee Mission School (National Historic Landmark, 1968) reflects a very early approach to Indian education. At the time of its founding in 1831, the school was "the most ambitious attempt of any Protestant Church to care for the Indians of Kansas."⁴⁸ In 1828, the Fish tribe of the Missouri Shawnee were removed from Ohio to Wyandotte, Kansas. Thomas Johnson, a Methodist Episcopalian missionary followed the tribe's move and began working as a missionary among the Shawnee. In 1836, Johnson convinced the general conference of his church to provide \$75,000 for the establishment of an Indian Manual Labor School and the Federal government provided the land necessary to build the school. Despite that lumber and bricks needed to be imported into the region, the school boasted four buildings by 1839; the buildings included not only a school but dormitories for students as well as a chapel. A blacksmith shop, a brickyard and a sawmill were also added to the school. Students from multiple tribes (the Kaw [Kansa], Munsee, Delaware, Ottawa, Chippewa, Otoe, Osage, Cherokee, Peoria, Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Wea, Gros Ventres, Omaha, and Wyandot) were sent to Shawnee Mission. There, they received a very basic academic education along with training in manual arts and agriculture.

Johnson, the school's founder, was a pro-slavery sympathizer and the school became a gathering place for southern sympathizers during the years leading up to the Civil War. In 1854, the territorial legislature for Kansas met at the school; it was here that the so-called "bogus laws" which sought to legalize slavery in the territory were passed. That same year, the manual training school for Indians closed.

an NHL in 1993.) Dr. Picotte's achievements were such that her story was also a recent focal point of the National Library of Medicine's exhibit on women physicians, *Changing the Face of Medicine* (2003).

⁴⁶ Susan Cianci Salvatore et al., *Racial Desegregation in Public Education in the United States*, National Historic Landmarks Program Theme Study (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, August 2000).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 24. The distribution of non-reservation boarding schools was as follows: Arizona (2), California (3), Colorado (2), Kansas (1), Michigan (1), Minnesota (2), Montana (1), Nebraska (1), Nevada (1), New Mexico (2), Oklahoma (1), Oregon (1), Pennsylvania (1), South Dakota (4), Wisconsin (2).

⁴⁸ Perl Wilbur Morgan, *A History of Wyandotte, Kansas, and its People* (Chicago: Lewis, 1911), 47.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 30**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

Carlisle Indian Industrial School (National Historic Landmark, 1961) was representative of a new and more comprehensive government-sponsored approach to Indian education. Richard Henry Pratt, a military officer, founded this school at a disused army barracks in Pennsylvania in 1879. Four years before he founded the school, Pratt had taken several Indian prisoners from Indian Territory and brought them to Florida where the prisoners underwent three years of forced assimilation and education. Upon being released from custody in 1878, many of the Indians who had been trained by Pratt went on to continue their education at other educational institutions on the East Coast. Pratt believed that his success in educating Indians in Christianity, the English language, and American culture was evidence that he could “kill the Indian and save the man.” “Transfer a savage born infant to the surroundings of civilization” wrote Pratt “and he will grow to possess a civilized language and habit.”⁴⁹ Pratt rationalized the non-reservation boarding schools by drawing a comparison between the role of slavery in the assimilation of African-Americans into white society and the potential role of non-reservation boarding schools in achieving a comparable process of cultural assimilation of Native Americans.⁵⁰

Pratt maintained that it was “only through a regimented program of military discipline, academic instruction, industrial training, and civilized living conditions” that Indians would accept white culture and, in the process, discard their own traditions.⁵¹ For that reason, Carlisle Indian Industrial School was a boarding school; students who attended Carlisle were taken off the reservation and totally immersed in western culture (Pratt compared himself to a Baptist in advocating “total immersion”).⁵² In 1879, 136 children enrolled at Carlisle. The school grew quickly and by 1887, over six hundred students were enrolled, with the average age of the students being fifteen.⁵³

Like the students who attended Shawnee Mission, students at Carlisle came from many different tribes. Although many of these students did not speak English when they arrived at the school, the school followed a strict policy of “English only” and Pratt used a disciplinary court to encourage students to report on their fellow students if they persisted in speaking a tribal language.

The “Outing System,” which was first developed at Carlisle, also ensured that students were placed in situations where English was commonly spoken. Under this system, students were placed with local white families for whom they performed domestic or agricultural chores; in exchange, they received a small sum of money each month. Technically, students who participated in the “Outing System” were supposed to attend local schools. But many whites treated the Indians who were assigned to them simply as a form of cheap labor and students who were placed with white families often did not receive any formal education.

On average, students attended Carlisle for three years and the education which they received there rarely went beyond the eighth grade level. Carlisle heavily emphasized industrial training (this was no surprise as Pratt himself had only two years of formal schooling). A normal school, a teaching training program, was added to Carlisle in 1889. The normal school provided three years of schooling at a level beyond that of the eighth grade, roughly a high school education. Following Carlisle’s lead, other Indian schools also added normal schools. Haskell, Santa Fe, and Hampton, for example, all added normal schools in 1895. That same year,

⁴⁹ Ibid., 24.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ David Wallace Adams, “More than a Game: The Carlisle Indians Take to the Gridiron, 1893-1917,” *The Western Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 26.

⁵² Henrietta Whiteman, “Historical Review of Indian Education: Cultural Policies United States Position IX Inter-American Indian Congress Santa Fe, New Mexico, October 28-November 1, 1985,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 2, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 29.

⁵³ Jon Allan Rhyner and Jeanne M. Oyawin, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman, OK: Oklahoma State University Press, 2004), 138.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 31**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

Civil Service rules were amended to allow graduates of Indian normal schools to be assistant teachers or day teachers without being forced to undergo an additional examination.

Pratt saw his approach to education as a twofold one. First, he would break down students' fears of white culture through love. Second, students would be encouraged to participate in white culture; he believed that through this participation, students would develop a "longing" for civilization. Pratt disagreed strongly with any and all organizations which advocated that Indians retain their own cultural traditions or be segregated on reservations.⁵⁴ In 1904, Pratt's public disagreements with Roosevelt and his frequent battles with the Indian Bureau (which he saw as simply encouraging Indians to retain their own culture) led to his dismissal from Carlisle.

After Pratt's dismissal, the school entered a period of decline. By 1914, a congressional inquiry pointed to a breakdown in discipline at the school, an over-emphasis on sports, and poor management. While attempts were made to transform and improve the school, these attempts were only half-hearted and the school formally closed in 1918.

After Carlisle closed, the *Haskell Indian Industrial Training School* in Lawrence, Kansas (National Historic Landmark, 1961) became the Indian Bureau's flagship school. Founded in 1884, the school was described by contemporaries as "a model school house inside and out."⁵⁵ Like Carlisle, Haskell Indian Industrial Training School (later re-named Haskell Institute) was run along a military model. Reflecting its name, students attending Haskell also received an education which was primarily industrial or vocational, with a particular emphasis placed on agricultural training.⁵⁶

By the time Carlisle was closed in 1918, a new approach to Indian education had begun to emerge. A two-year study done by the Institute for Government Research, later renamed the Brookings Institution, encapsulated this new approach. At the heart of this new approach was a call to develop a new curriculum which emphasized and allowed for linguistic and cultural difference among Native American tribes. This approach was exemplified by changes which were pioneered at Haskell; there, students were encouraged to polish their English by writing compositions on tribal legends and other aspects of Indian culture. Students were also encouraged to sing tribal songs at Haskell. The school's success in promoting Native culture soon led other Indian schools to copy Haskell's curriculum.⁵⁷

In order to minimize the expense to the U.S. government, the running of boarding schools was often assigned to mission groups. Like Pratt, the U.S. government and Anglo missionary communities viewed education as the primary means of "civilizing" and evangelizing Native Americans. By providing young Native American children with religious instruction at boarding schools and training young adults to become lay evangelists, missionaries believed that they were encouraging students who returned to the reservation to preach the Gospels in a language and manner comprehensible to Native American communities. Similarly, following the abolition of slavery, religious groups across the board had established schools for African Americans in the hopes of winning black converts.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Jon Allan Rhyner and Jeanne M. Oyawin, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman, OK: Oklahoma State University Press, 2004), 138.

⁵⁵ Charles Lummis quoted in Jon Allan Rhyner and Jeanne M. Oyawin, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman, OK: Oklahoma State University Press, 2004), 149-150.

⁵⁶ Russell Thornton, *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 85.

⁵⁷ David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1995), 316-317.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 32**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

Overall, schools for Native American and other minority children were poorly funded and poorly equipped to deal with student needs. Both Native American and other minority children were required to perform manual and domestic tasks and an emphasis was placed on providing these students with a vocational education. Native Americans, African Americans and other minorities were taught in a manner that directly and indirectly encouraged racial subordination.⁵⁹ Anglo-American missionaries often held similarly low opinions of Native Americans' and African Americans' suitability as scholars and most missionaries, together with the large majority of nineteenth-century white Americans, assumed blacks to be inherently inferior to whites. As teachers, missionaries were to "civilize, elevate, and prepare blacks for the position and duties of Christian freedmen, which usually meant inculcating those character or personality traits they associated with godly, white, middle-class church-goers in New England."⁶⁰

Likewise, Native American children "were taught as if they were white children and would live in a white community," wrote Alexander and Dorothea Leighton, authors of *Navaho Door*.⁶¹ No allowances were made in their strict Christian regimen for the complexities of individual cultural beliefs or different tribal backgrounds. This approach resulted in young Native American graduates being caught between two very different cultures. Exposure to white cultural and religious indoctrination caused young Native Americans to encounter difficulties when they returned to reservation life. Racial prejudices within Anglo communities also ensured that they were unable to find acceptance within white society.

Federal legislation had mandated schooling for Native American children. Despite the fact that children could not be removed from reservations without the full consent of their parents, many families were forced or coerced by Government Indian Agents into allowing their children to be taken away to boarding schools. Parents who were unwilling to be parted from their children or who feared they would succumb to disease while at school often hid their offspring from government Indian agents.

Schools such as Ganado were more popular among Native Americans, because they were situated on the Reservation and, therefore, more conveniently located for families to visit their children. Like the Government boarding schools, Reservation schools also exercised harsh discipline, practiced religious indoctrination, and discouraged both the speaking of Native American languages and other expressions of Native American culture.

Initially, the non-reservation boarding schools and reservation schools such as Ganado were segregated. Segregation was a fact of life for all racial minorities, and it was reinforced by judicial and federal actions that limited minority groups' access to education and encouraged *de jure* segregation in public education. Only during the second quarter of the twentieth century did school segregation begin to break down, and it was not until 1954 that the landmark *Brown*⁶² decision by the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the separate but equal doctrine⁶³ and paved the way towards integration within public education.

The Development of Sage Memorial School of Nursing

Ganado Mission High School was an essential element in the development of the Sage Memorial School of Nursing. Enrollment in the nursing training program at Ganado required a high school diploma and the successful completion of examinations in algebra and chemistry. At a time when education facilities were

⁵⁹ Ibid., 15.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 13.

⁶¹ Alexander H. Leighton and C. Dorothea, *Navaho Door*, foreword by John Collier (New York: Russell & Russell, 1944), 46.

⁶² Ibid., 112. The *Brown v. Board of Education* case in 1954 was the U.S. Supreme Court decision that overturned the separate but equal doctrine.

⁶³ Ibid., 109. This doctrine was formalized by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896 with the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* whereby states could require racial segregation if facilities for blacks and whites were of equal quality.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 33**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

limited and school curricula for minorities focused upon Christian and vocational education, Ganado High School provided future nursing students with the necessary qualifications to allow them to enroll into the nursing course. Navajo girls attending the high school were deliberately steered toward a nursing education as nursing was considered a useful and worthwhile career for women of all races.

In 1930, the nursing school opened its doors to student nurses. Initially only two Navajo women, Ruth Henderson and Adele Slivers, enrolled in the first class, but before the completion of the academic year, another student joined them. Adele Slivers was the daughter of a Navajo medicine man. Her enrollment and her subsequent graduation from the Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing three years later were of particular significance in the continued conflict between modern and traditional medicine. "It was a beginning,"⁶⁴ wrote Salsbury of the modest response to the first few years of the nursing school's existence. Given the Navajo's suspicion of western medicine, their fear of the spirits of the dead and their resistance to and resentment of white cultural and religious influence, it would have been unrealistic to expect a more enthusiastic initial response from the Navajo community.

The nursing school at Ganado was accredited by the State of Arizona in 1932, one year prior to the graduation of the first two students in 1933. The *Arizona Republic* reported on November 30, 1933, "the nurses' training school at Sage Memorial Hospital is the only accredited school in the United States for Indian nurses. It was established three years ago and accredited by the State Board of Nurse Examiners as the fourth accredited school of nursing in Arizona."⁶⁵ The school was also later recognized by the National League of Nursing Education. The first class at Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing, which consisted of Ruth Henderson and Adele Slivers, graduated in 1933. Attending the ceremony were the Governor of Arizona and the Superintendent of the Reservation, as well as Red Point, the Navajo medicine man. "There was never a prouder occasion," wrote Dr. Salsbury.⁶⁶

The strong ties that existed between Presbyterian missions and churches, not only across the United States but also the rest of the world, ensured the rapid growth of the reputation and success of the Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing. The school attracted both Native American women as well as women from other minority groups. Eventually students representing over fifty different Native American tribes, as well as Mexican, Spanish, Inuit, Japanese, and Chinese women enrolled in the training program. The school's diverse population clearly illustrates that access to an accredited nursing education was not, at that time, generally available within the United States to non-white students. Of the 150 graduates of the nursing school, 80 percent were Native American. Only seventeen percent of all graduates, or twenty-six students in total, were Navajo. The percentage of non-Navajo students attending the nursing school indicates that Dr. Salsbury's efforts to overcome Navajo prejudices towards western medicine were not as successful as he might have hoped. However, the school's diversity indicates that Dr. Salsbury saw a need for this type of training for many ethnic groups. By allowing other students from outside the Navajo Reservation to enroll, he served a diverse population and maintained viable class numbers.

One of the problems resulting from the fact that a large percentage of the students at the nursing school came from outside the Navajo Reservation was that upon graduating, few nurses stayed at Ganado to work in the mission hospital. A primary purpose for founding the school had been to ensure a source of qualified nurses to staff the Ganado Mission hospital. "I have a hard time keeping any graduates on our staff," complained

⁶⁴ Salsbury and Hughes, *Salsbury Story*, 153.

⁶⁵ *Arizona Republic*, November 30, 1933. The other three accredited nursing schools in Arizona were St. Joseph's, Good Samaritan Hospital in Phoenix, and St. Mary's Hospital in Tucson.

⁶⁶ Salsbury and Hughes, *Salsbury Story*, 153.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 34**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

Salsbury “because big city hospitals keep offering them better salaries than a mission can afford.”⁶⁷ Salsbury’s plans were further frustrated by the outbreak of the Second World War when many of the nurses trained at Ganado enlisted in the military and left the Reservation.

The admission fee for attending the nursing school was a one-time payment of \$50, a not inconsiderable sum for many Native American people. Students were expected to purchase their own uniforms and books, while the school supplied lodging, food and laundry facilities. Life at the nursing school was hard. On average students worked an eight-hour day, six days a week. Students rose at half past five in the morning and by six thirty would be assisting in preparing breakfast for the patients at the hospital, which was at seven thirty. Classes began at eight thirty and continued until half past four in the afternoon. Student nurses helped staff the hospital and a large percentage of their training was gained through first-hand experience by working at the wards. This training and work were typical of nursing education across the United States.

At the time of the founding of the Ganado nursing school virtually all training courses across the country took place within hospital schools, and students rather than graduate nurses provided most patient care in hospitals.⁶⁸ It was not until after the Second World War that nursing education moved into the university system. As was typical of this period, nursing schools reflected contemporary prejudices by restricting the admission of members of other racial or religious minority groups. The response of the African-American community to segregation was to establish its own nursing schools.⁶⁹ However, the situation was slightly different for the Native American population because their education and health care were the responsibility of the United States government.⁷⁰ Kathryn Kavanagh, Ph.D., a nurse educator and medical anthropologist researching the history of the Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing states, “Native groups began to own and run hospitals only *after* the era of hospital nurse training, which makes Sage Memorial Hospital’s Nurse Training Program truly unique.”⁷¹

As the reputation of the nursing school grew, Anglo-American parents within the mission field approached Dr. Salsbury keen to enroll their daughters in the training program.⁷² Aware of the shortage of educational training for minority nursing students, and perhaps eager to capitalize on potential financial benefits associated with the high profile of Ganado’s unique facility, Dr. Salsbury strictly maintained the policy of only accepting applications from non-white students. He wrote:

“I don’t believe I have any racial prejudice...but I was well aware that Anglo-Saxon women could take nurses’ training almost anywhere, and our school was for others. There were times when people influential in the mission field wanted to enroll their daughters there, but we held to our limitations.”⁷³

⁶⁷ O. Arnold, “The Big Doctor – Missionary to Indians and Politicians,” *Presbyterian Life* (November 1, 1968): 35.

⁶⁸ In some places graduate nurses could only find employment in private-duty nursing because it was cheaper to use student labor on the hospital floors for daily care. K. Kavanagh, PhD (Summer 2000), personal communication.

⁶⁹ The first class of African-American nurses graduated from the Lincoln Hospital and Home for the Colored in 1903, thirty years after the founding of the first nursing school for white students in America at Bellevue Hospital in New York in 1873. It took another twenty-seven years before the first nursing school for Native American women was founded at Sage Memorial Hospital in Ganado in 1930.

⁷⁰ In 1921, Congress passed the Snyder Act, which was the first effort made by the United States government to improve general health care for Native Americans by authorizing expenditure of federal funds for “the relief of distress” and conservation of health; S. L. Pevar, *The Rights of Indians and Tribes: The Basic ACLU Guide to Indian and Tribal Rights*, 2nd ed. (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992).

⁷¹ K. Kavanagh, personal communication.

⁷² Salsbury and Hughes, *Salsbury Story*, 153.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 153.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 35**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

Dr. Salsbury's decision to maintain a nursing training program purely for non-Anglo students is significant when viewed in context with the national trend in public education during this period. By restricting applications to minority students, Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing reflected the doctrine of separate but equal.⁷⁴ The training provided to minority nursing students was comparable in quality to that which white students received at other nursing training programs elsewhere in the United States. The high quality of the education women received at Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing is dramatically demonstrated by the desire of white parents who were eager to have their daughters attend a school which was not only located on a Native American reservation but whose student body overwhelmingly consisted of minorities. At a time when public education was actively segregated and minority children were refused entry to white schools, white parents agitated for a reversal of this national policy at Ganado.

It is important to draw a distinction between the nursing education offered at Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing and that which had been previously available to minority women and Native American women in the early part of the twentieth century. African Americans had first broken the racial barrier in nursing in 1879; that year, the first African American nurse graduated from a training program associated with the New England Hospital for Women and Children (the school developed a policy in which they accepted one African-American and one Jewish student per year). The first nursing program specifically designed for African-American women was founded in 1881 by John D. Rockefeller and his wife, Laura Spellman Rockefeller, in Atlanta, Georgia, at what would eventually become Spellman College. Despite the fact that Asian-American women faced similar discrimination, nursing schools specifically designed to serve the native-born Asian-American community were not founded during this period.

Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing was the first and only accredited nursing school for Native American women in the contiguous forty-eight states of America. The fact that Sage was an accredited school, and its students all possessed high school diplomas, allowed its graduates, on completion of their three-year training program, to sit for the Registered Nursing licensure examination in Phoenix. After passing the examination and being licensed by the State of Arizona, Sage graduates were qualified to work anywhere in the country. Prior to the founding of the nursing school at Ganado, the only opportunity for Native American women to work within the field of nursing was as a Licensed Practical Nurse (LPN) sometimes called Licensed Vocational Nurse (LVN). Licensed Practical Nurses whose training typically lasted only a year were not as well qualified as registered nurses. Although LPNs possessed some of the same technical skills as registered nurses, they were far less well-versed in the theoretical understanding of medicine. Their tasks, pay and status all reflected this lower level of training. After World War II, registered nurses made up the professional level of nursing prior to the transition of nursing into universities.

Despite widespread prejudices regarding the intellectual capabilities of the Native Americans, no dispensations were made for Native American graduates of Sage. "We had not made the course easier on account of their race and background," wrote Dr. Salsbury. "They had to meet the same standards as any other nurses."⁷⁵ Graphic proof of Salsbury's statement was demonstrated by the fact that the majority of Sage graduates successfully passed their state examinations and became registered nurses.

The role of these nurses within the threefold ministry of Ganado Mission was to act as care givers, to interpret between missionary doctors and Navajo patients, and to disseminate knowledge, both of the power of modern medicine and Christian salvation.

⁷⁴ Salvatore et al., *Racial Desegregation*, 109. This doctrine was formalized by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896 with the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* whereby states could require racial segregation if facilities for blacks and whites were of equal quality.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 153.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 36**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

“They would be able to understand the patients as no white personnel ever could ... nursing would open up new possibilities as a career for Indian girls. Having been trained they would take not only the benefits of medicine, but the whole fabric of Christian life back to the mesas and hogans.”⁷⁶

It is apparent from this statement that Dr. Salsbury recognized the importance of being able to communicate with the Navajo in their own language. He used Navajo nurses' bilingual capabilities to gain medical information from patients and also to convert them to Christianity.

Student nurses of all denominations were accepted into the program. Nevertheless, when they were off duty, they were expected to attend church services. Given its location, Ganado Mission was essentially a self-sustaining community and there were few means or opportunities for people, particularly students, to leave the campus. Social activities were limited, and primarily focused around the religious life of the mission. According to Charles Spining, the son of Dr. William Spining, the Director of the nursing school after Dr. Salsbury, many Navajo students at both the high school and the nurses' school nominally accepted Christianity but they returned to their traditional cultural beliefs after leaving the mission.⁷⁷ The insular and regimented structure of the school was such that individuals who refused, at least on the surface, to accept Christianity would have found it difficult to function within that environment.

Dr. William Spining described his colleague, Dr. Salsbury, as “a very large impressive man”⁷⁸ and Salsbury possessed both a great physical presence and a commanding personality. Using Presbyterian publications to promote the Christian and medical work at Ganado and to attract financial donations, Salsbury was extremely gifted at courting publicity. Like Lorenzo Hubbell, he believed in the mental capabilities of the Navajo at a time when many thought of them as intellectually inferior. “I had long ago proved to my own satisfaction,” he wrote “that a red skin did not indicate a dull mind.”⁷⁹ Given the physical and financial obstacles involved in the founding of a nursing school for Native Americans as well as the pervasive prejudices of both Anglos and Navajos, Salsbury's charismatic personality was clearly central to his success in establishing the nursing school and realizing at least part of the dream that “what the whole Navajo tribe needed, was its own Indian nurses, and maybe some day, its own Navajo doctors.”⁸⁰

Despite publicly championing the cause of the Navajo, Dr. Salsbury never took the time to learn their language or understand their customs or beliefs. He had a sign erected at the entrance to the mission that read “tradition is the enemy of progress.” He operated a system of segregation by refusing to allow non-Christian Navajos onto the campus, unless they were patients at the hospital or visiting family members. Even then, the community house constructed for the purpose of housing visiting family members was located outside what was then the campus boundary. Salsbury forbade the speaking of Navajo, and despite courting the favor of the medicine men, never allowed Navajo ceremonies to take place on campus. It was not until the more liberal and enlightened leadership of Dr. William Spining that the benefits of traditional Navajo medicine and ceremonial practices were recognized, and medicine men were allowed to perform ceremonies in the hospital. Salsbury was a missionary of the old school, and while he recognized the abilities of the Navajo and pursued the opportunities to improve the physical conditions of their lives, he never truly appreciated the uniqueness of the “Navajo Way”, or questioned his conviction that as a Christian Anglo American he knew what was best for them.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 152.

⁷⁷ C. Spining, audio recorded interview with Charles Spining, Ganado Historic Mission, July 29, 2000.

⁷⁸ Dr. Spining, audio recorded interview, April 1, 1980 (courtesy of Charles Spining).

⁷⁹ Salsbury and Hughes, *Salsbury Story*, 153.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 152.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 37**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

“The sooner the Navajo is absorbed into the overwhelming tide of white culture about him, the sooner he accepts modern scientific medical care, the sooner the tribe becomes known as a Christian tribe, and the sooner the Navajo become a plain American Christian citizen, the easier will be his transition from his semi-nomadic life to that of a useful, independent, self-sustaining, first American.”⁸¹

Conclusion⁸²

In 1950, after twenty-three years, Dr. Salsbury left Ganado moving briefly to Pasadena and then on to Phoenix where he worked as Chief of the Arizona Bureau of Preventative Medical Services. He finally retired from the medical world in 1961 at the age of seventy-five. After the death of his wife Cora Salsbury, he married Elma Smith, the first Navajo woman to graduate from a university in Arizona. He died on September 27, 1980, at the age of ninety-four.

When Dr. Salsbury retired, Dr. William Spining filled his position as chief physician, and Dr. Joseph A. Poncel filled his role as mission administrator. New changes in administration, combined with difficulties in meeting the increasingly rigorous standards required for nurse registration and the accreditation of training programs, as well as a change in emphasis towards training in colleges or universities rather than hospitals, resulted in the decision to discontinue the registered nurse training program at Ganado and reduce it to a vocational (practical) nursing program in 1951.

The significance of the Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing cannot be underestimated. It was the first and only nursing school constructed for Native American women in the United States. It represents a landmark in changing Anglo attitudes regarding the capabilities of Native American people. Additionally, it provides some insight into the complex relationship between biomedical practices and traditional healing practices as they have played out in American history. Sage provided training for minority women from all over North America, as well as other continents, and its students overcame enormous cultural inhibitions while isolated from the comfort and familiarity of their families. Through their role as interpreters, these nurses played a significant role in increasing cultural understanding between whites and Navajos. In the process, they also played a direct role in contributing to the increasing success of a privately-owned hospital on a reservation. Still in existence today and staffed by a multinational and multicultural team, the hospital represents a realization of Dr. Salsbury’s ambition and a truly fitting legacy to the Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing.

⁸¹ Salsbury, “What the Navajos Need,” 3.

⁸² The author wishes to thank Janet and Jim Hooper, Barbara Zook, Aubry Raus, Jana Roan, Catherine Colby, Kathryn Kavanagh, Kelly Pagnac, Jon Morris and Jo and Harry Burden for all their kind advice and assistance.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 38**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES**Unpublished Materials****Manuscript Collections**

Archives of Ganado Historic Mission, Ganado, Arizona.

Archives of Menaul Historical Library of the Southwest, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Archives of the National Park Service, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Archives of Presbyterian Historical Society Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), Philadelphia, PA.

Other Documents

Davis, Wade. *Navajo Health Care in the Twentieth Century*. Unpublished Dissertation, Arizona State University, 1998.

Taylor, Bruce Lee. *Presbyterians and "The People": A History of Presbyterian Missions and Ministries to the Navajo*. PhD diss., Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, 1988.

Salsbury, C. G. "What the Navajo Need." N.d., Menaul Historical Library of the Southwest, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Interviews

Kavanagh, K., PhD. A nurse educator and medical anthropologist researching the history of the Sage Memorial School of Nursing (Summer 2000). Personal communication.

Spining, C. Audio recorded interview, Ganado Historic Mission, July 29, 2000.

Spining, Dr. Audio recorded interview, April 1, 1980 (courtesy of Charles Spining).

Published Sources

Abel, Emily. "'We Are Left So Much Alone to Work Out Our Own Problems:' Nurses on American Indian Reservation During the 1930s," *Nursing History Review* 4 (1996).

Acrey, Bill P. *Navajo History: The Land and the People*. Shiprock, NM: Central Consolidated School District No. 22.

Alvord, Lori Arviso and Elizabeth Cohen Van Pelt. *The Scalpel and the Silver Bear: The First Navajo Woman Surgeon Combines Western Medicine and Traditional Healing*. New York: Bantam Books, 1999.

Arnold, O. "The Big Doctor – Missionary to Indians and Politicians." *Presbyterian Life* (November 1, 1968).

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 39**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

- . "Sagebrush Surgeon." *Saturday Evening Post*. (November 18, 1944), 6-17, 67, 69.
- Blue, Martha. *Indian Trader, the Life and Times of J. L. Hubbell*. Walnut, CA: Kiva, 2000.
- Collins, D. and M. "Shangri-La in the Silver Sage." *Ganado Mission Bulletin* 11, no. 4 (Ganado Mission) (October 1940).
- Culnan, Catherine. "A Hospital in Epidemic." *Women and Mission* 12, no. 1 (April 1935): 15-16, 18.
- Farella, John R. *The Main Stalk: A Synthesis of Navajo Philosophy*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996.
- "Founding Ganado." *Ganado News Bulletin* (June 1951): 5.
- Ganado Mission Lease Agreement signed by The Presbytery of Grand Canyon and the Navajo Health Foundation, April 15, 1989.
- Holt, Barry H. *The Navajos and the BIA: A Study of Government Buildings on the Navajo Reservation*. Edited by Ellen Threinen. Window Rock, AZ: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Navajo Nation Office, 1981.
- Hyer, Marjorie. Ganado: "New Partners, New Policies, New Program," *Presbyterian Life* (November 1, 1969): 22-23.
- Johnson, B. H., ed. *Navajo Stories of the Long Walk Period*. Tsaile, Navajo Nation, Arizona: Navajo Community College Press, 1973.
- Kalisch, P. A. and B. J. Kalisch. "Minorities in Nursing Strive for Recognition." *The Advance of American Nursing*, 3rd ed. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1995, 388-405.
- Kluckhohn, Clyde and Dorothea Leighton. *The Navaho*. Rev. ed., 1974. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1946.
- Leighton, Alexander H. and Dorothea C. *Navaho Door*, foreward by John Collier. New York: Russell & Russell, 1944.
- Link, Martin A., ed. *Treaty Between the United States of America and the Navajo Tribe of Indians*. Las Vegas, NV: KC Publications, 1968.
- Locke, Raymond Friday. *The Book of the Navajo*. Los Angeles: Mankind, 1992.
- Lucas, J. W. 'First Impressions of the Ganado Mission to the Navajo Indians'. *Wireless Messages from Home Mission Stations for the Use of Presbyterian Young People's Organizations*. New York: Woman's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, March 1923.
- McLain, J. "Dr. Big." *Presbyterian Life* (May 14, 1949): 22-25, 34-36.
- Means, Florence, C. *Sagebrush Surgeon*. New York: Friendship, 1956.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 40**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

Mesirow, J. S. and Dr. P. P. Miller. *Dr. Susan LaFlesche Picote Memorial Hospital* (Walthill, Nebraska), National Historic Landmarks Program Nomination Form. Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, June 29, 1992.

Moore, Edgar W. "The Bierkempers, Navajos and the Ganado Presbyterian Mission, 1901–1912." *American Presbyterians: A Journal of Presbyterian History* 64 (Summer 1986).

"Navajo Crisis." *Presbyterian Life* (February 14, 1948): 16-18.

Pevar, S. L. *The Rights of Indians and Tribes: The Basic ACLU Guide to Indian and Tribal Rights*, 2nd ed. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992.

Price, Theresa, Pino Roberts, Jim Randall, Aurelia Nez and Terence Egan. *A Picture Tour of Old Ganado Mission*. Ganado, AZ: College of Ganado, 1984.

Salsbury, C. B. *Forty Years in the Desert – A History of Ganado Mission, 1901-1940*. Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, USA.

Salsbury, Clarence G. and Paul Hughes. *The Salsbury Story: A Medical Missionary's Lifetime of Public Service*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1969.

Salvatore, Susan Cianci, Waldo E. Martin, Jr., Vicki L. Ruiz, Patricia Sullivan and Harvard Sitkoff. *Racial Desegregation in Public Education in the United States: A National Historic Landmark Theme Study*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, August 2000.

Schwartz, Maureen Trudelle. *Molded in the Image of Changing Woman: Navajo Views on the Human Body and Personhood*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997.

"Thank You Mr. Collier." *Ganado News Bulletin* 6, No. 4 (September 1935): 1.

Trennert, Robert. A. *White Man's Medicine: Government Doctors and the Navajo, 1863 –1955*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998.

U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation. *Ganado Irrigation Water Conservation Project – Draft Environmental Assessment*. Phoenix, AZ: Phoenix Area Office, Lower Colorado Region, August 2000.

Utey, Robert M. and Albert H. Schroeder. *Hubbell Trading Post* (Ganado, Arizona), National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1961.

Vasquez, J. A. and C. Atkins, eds. *Remembering Presbyterian Mission in the Southwest: A Book of Memoirs, Essays, Letters, and Photographs from the Collection, 1866-1998*. Menaul Historical Library of the Southwest, 1998.

Previous documentation on file (NPS)

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION

- Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- Previously Listed in the National Register.
- Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
- Designated a National Historic Landmark
- Recorded by Historic American Building Survey: # (not recorded)
- Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State Agency
- Federal Agency
- Local Government
- University

Other (Specify Repository): Archives of Ganado Historic Mission, Ganado, Arizona; Archives of Menaul Historical Library of the Southwest, Albuquerque, New Mexico; Archives of the National Park Service, Santa Fe, New Mexico; Archives of Presbyterian Historical Society Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), Philadelphia, PA

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 160 acres

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	12	631910	3952670
B	12	632030	3952710
C	12	632010	3952650
D	12	631870	3952630

Verbal Boundary Description:

The boundaries of Historic Ganado Mission are defined as: beginning at the north end of Highway 264/Sage Memorial Hospital access or entrance road go north toward the sidewalk that leads to the main south entrance of building #60 (Poncel Hall). Once past the gate of the lodge pole fence surrounding the grassy area in front of building #60, go east toward a small parking and empty area bordered by a wire fence on the eastern side of the campus. The eastern fence marks the eastern perimeter of the campus or historic district. (It protects anyone from falling down the steep embankment of the eroded bed of the Pueblo Colorado Wash.)

The boundary goes north until it reaches a dirt road parallel to the wire fence and to Elm Avenue (Street). The dirt road serves as an alley to the buildings on the eastern boundary of the campus including buildings numbers 58, 57, 56, 55.42, 41, 40, 39, 38, 37, and 36. This dirt road ends to the east of building # 36 in a turn around circle, but a foot path leads across the irrigation ditch where the siphon crossing the wash enters the ditch. The boundary turns west and follows the ditch behind buildings number 36 and 35.

Continuing westerly along the elevated bank of the ditch the boundary descends to the level of another dirt road. The boundary is near the north side of building #30 (Haldeman Garage) and turns to the north to the perimeter

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 42**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

dirt road on the northern boundary of the campus. The boundary then turns west and continues parallel to the Pueblo Colorado River and the perimeter fence.

After passing buildings number 29, 28, 27, 26, and 25 the boundary turns south and continues southerly until it arrives on the bank of the irrigation ditch that now curves slowly to the southwest. Following the ditch, when the bridge for Pinyon Lane over the ditch is reached the boundary turns to the west on Pinon Lane and continues onto still another dirt and partially graveled road. After passing buildings #15 (Red Barn), #16 (Hog House) and a tall, old pinon tree, the boundary turns south to arrive at the southwest corner of the barn; it then turns east and goes back to the irrigation ditch bank. The boundary follows that bank in a southwesterly direction until arriving at the bridge that marks the place to turn east onto the old East–West Highway.

The boundary now extends eastward until the northwest corner of building #4 (Seymour Community House) is reached. The boundary extends south to the alley behind buildings #4 and #3, turns east on the alley to the road between building #3 and #2, then turns north back to the East-West Highway. Once this main graveled and partially asphalt road is reached, the boundary continues east until arriving at the original starting place.

In addition, the boundaries of the district are roughly indicated on the attached map (Figure 2) entitled “Site Plan Showing Area of Historic Significance and Significant Buildings.”

Boundary Justification:

The historical boundary includes 160 acres of land and 54 buildings. The boundary includes all buildings constructed on the site between the founding of the mission in 1901 and the closure of the Sage Memorial Hospital School of Nursing in 1951. The boundary includes original landscape features and circulation routes within the campus. With a few exceptions, all development that has taken place within the last fifty years is located outside the boundary.

SAGE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING, GANADO MISSION**Page 43**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

11. FORM PREPARED BY

Name / Title: Freya Burden
Historic Building Conservation Officer (United Kingdom)
ICOMOS Intern

Telephone: United Kingdom (01326) 374215

Date: September 2000

Edited by: Alexandra Lord and Patty Henry
National Park Service
National Historic Landmarks Program
1201 Eye Street, NW (2280)
Washington, DC 20005

Telephone: (202) 354-6906 and (202) 354-2216

DESIGNATED A NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK
January 16, 2009