Sub Rec'd 01 126

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
REGISTRATION FORM

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name **Lower Cibecue Lutheran Mission**

other names/site number **Site 20004 (Fort Apache Indian Reservation), Cibecue Mission School**

2. Location

street & number **N/A** not for publication ___
city or town **Lower Cibecue, White Mountain Apache Tribe Lands** vicinity ___
state **Arizona** code **AZ** county **Navajo** code **017** zip code **85911**

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this **XX** nomination ___ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property **XX** meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant ___ nationally **XX** statewide ___ locally. (XX See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

John A. Welch — 15 January 2002
signature of certifying official — Date

White Mountain Apache Tribe Historic Preservation Office
agency

4. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby certify that this property is:

✓ entered in the National Register — Sarah D. Pope — 3/5/02
___ See continuation sheet.
___ determined eligible for the National Register — ___ — ___
___ See continuation sheet.
___ determined not eligible for the National Register — ___ — ___
___ removed from the National Register — ___ — ___

___ other (explain): ___

Sarah D. Pope (for) — 3/5/02
Signature of Keeper — Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property (Check as many boxes as apply)

___ private
___ public-local
___ public-State
XX public-Tribal

Category of Property (Check only one box)

XX building(s)
___ district
___ site
___ structure
___ object

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
01	_____	buildings
_____	_____	sites
_____	**03**	structures
_____	_____	objects
01	**03**	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register **N/A**

Name of related multiple property listing.
N/A

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions
Cat: **Religion / Mission** Sub: _____
Church & School _____
_____ _____

Current Functions
Cat: **Education / Cibecue School** Sub: _____
Seminar Room _____
_____ _____

7. Description

Architectural Classification (Enter categories from instructions)
Local Vernacular
_____

Materials (Enter categories from instructions)
foundation **Ashlar Masonry**
roof **Pyramidal, Metal**
walls **Adobe, standard common bond coursing**
Adobe brick, size 3-3/4 x 5-1/2 x 11-1/4
other _____
_____

Narrative Description (Describe the historic and current condition of the property.)
See separate "Architectural Narrative Description" on continuation sheets.

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

- X A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- ____ B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- X C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- ____ D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations (Mark "X" in all the boxes that apply.)

- X A owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- ____ B removed from its original location.
- ____ C a birthplace or a grave.
- ____ D a cemetery.
- ____ E a reconstructed building, object,or structure.
- ____ F a commemorative property.
- ____ G less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance

Architecture: Unique in region, both in style and construction materials.
Education: Mission was the initial Cibecue Apache source for non-Apache experience.
Religion: Lutherans accepted evangelical responsibility for Arizona's Apache people.

Period of Significance **First Half of the 20th Century, c. 1911 - 1952**

Significant Dates **Constructed c. 1911**

Significant Persons ____

Cultural Affiliation ____

Architect/Builder **Reverend Otto P. Schoenberg**

Narrative Statement of Significance **See continuation sheets.**

9. Major Bibliographical References

See Bibliography on continuation sheets.

Previous documentation on file (NPS)

- ___ 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 Buildings Survey # _____
- ___ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary Location of Additional Data

- ___ State Historic Preservation Office
- ___ Other State agency
- ___ Federal agency
- ___ Local government
- ___ University
- XX Other **White Mountain Apache Tribe Historic Preservation Office.**

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property **2.152 acres (size of lease previously held by Lutheran Mission)**

UTM References

	Zone	Easting	Northing		Zone	Easting	Northing
1	**12**	**547900**	**3764350**	3	__	_____	_____
2	__	_____	_____	4	__	_____	_____

___ See continuation sheet.

Verbal Boundary Description **See boundary description of the property on a continuation sheet.**

Boundary Justification **See explanation of the selected boundaries on a continuation sheet.**

11. Form Prepared By

name/title **John R. Welch / THPO; Alex Jay Kimmelman / Historian; Stan Schuman / Architect**

organization **White Mountain Apache Tribe** date **1997 - 2002**

street & number **PO Box 507** telephone **(928)338-3033**

city or town **Fort Apache** state **AZ** zip code **85926**

Additional Documentation

Attached to this Nomination form are the following items:

Continuation Sheets
1. Narrative Description.
2. Statement of Significance.
3. Bibliography.
4. Boundary delineation and justification.

Maps
1. Photocopy of a portion of the USGS 7.5' Cibecue Quadrangle (1974) indicating the property's location as "Cibecue Mission School".
2. Sketch map of the Mission site.

Photographs
1. One (1) Black and white photograph of the Chapel, c. 1920.
2. One (1) Color photograph of the Chapel, 10 October 1997, prior to preservation treatments, front elevation.
3. Eight(8) black and white photos of the Chapel and Mission site, 1 October 2001, following preservation treatments.

Miscellaneous Photocopies of Supporting Materials
1. White Mountain Apache Council Resolutions 04-87-101, 06-96-131, and 10-01-270.
3. Article in *Fort Apache Scout* 13 March 1998.
4. List of Cibecue Lutheran Missionaries and Teachers, 1911-1997, provided by Dr. William Kessel.

Property Owner

name **White Mountain Apache Tribe**

street & number **PO Box 700** telephone **(928) 338-4346**

city or town **Whiteriver** state **AZ** zip code **85941**

NARRATIVE DESCRIPTION

The architectural character of the Lutheran Chapel in Lower Cibecue is that of a modest village mission. This building is the earliest Anglo-European structure built in Cibecue, as well as the unique surviving representative of the earliest efforts to convert the Apache people of the Cibecue region to Christianity. Located within a pacific setting along a primary road running through Cibecue, the Mission's construction represented many things to the Western Apache people: an intrusion of foreigners, a conduit to initial interaction with non-Apache ideas and institutions, a place for community gathering and education, a source of spiritual and material assistance, and an alternative to Apache modes of spirituality and group interaction, to name a few.

The Apaches of the Fort Apache Indian Reservation accepted, and even embraced the Lutherans, as is indicated by the survival and prosperity of the original Mission building in Lower Cibecue, as well as the Lutheran churches in Upper Cibecue (established c. 1923), East Fork, and Whiteriver (c. 1897). The original Mission was abandoned c. 1974 in the wake of the construction of a larger Lutheran church and school complex in Upper Cibecue, closer to the emerging center of the community. The Lower Cibecue Mission's continued existence stems from acceptance of and respect for the institution that presented itself to the community as a mediator and liaison during a period of profound social change. Cibecue's respect has also been extended to the property, as witnessed by the minimal vandalism or dismantling for the purposes of recycling. The quality in the construction allowed the structure to stand against the environment, and local residents have not promoted the deterioration. Indeed, a grassroots preservation effort emerged to work toward the preservation and revitalized use of the building, culminating in the 1997-1998 restoration of the structure. Although as yet unrealized, plans exist for incorporating the entire former Mission site into a town park.

The design of the Chapel is based on a simple, structurally sound square form with a small square entry vestibule and bell tower. The designer and builder, Rev. Otto P. Schoenberg, was obviously familiar with standard adobe building practice. Schoenberg set the walls on a sandstone foundation/stem wall that raises the adobe above the exterior finish grade, thus greatly diminishing the potential for erosion. The use of the sandstone stem wall, along with the common bond coursing pattern and the 2′ roof overhang, afforded the unfinished abode brick wall surface excellent protection from the elements. Additionally, the square form is inherently stable, offering excellent lateral support for protection from wind loading. The above items, combined with community respect and fine workmanship have provided for the longevity of this historic structure.

Early photographs give us clues to the general integrity of the site's location and setting. Modifications that have occurred during the Chapel's life appear to include (1) establishment of several massive cottonwood trees in the immediate vicinity of the structure (c. 1950), (2) changes in property fencing (c. 1955 [perhaps in conjunction with road improvement and expansion]), (3)

removal of the bell and addition of louver panels in the bell tower (c. 1974), (4) electrification (c. 1955), and (5) site grading, probably necessitated by the roadway improvements (c. 1955). The road, which probably began as a horse and wagon trail and was fist improved in the 1950s and paved in the 1970s, represents the principal impact to the integrity of the original Mission setting (the edge of the road is approximately 20′ west of the Mission's front door). All of these modifications occurred more than 30 years ago and have been fully incorporated into the Chapel's historic character and community linkages.

BACKGROUND

Location/Setting

Cibecue, referred to in the Apache language as *Deschibikoh* ("elongated red valley"), is a rural community of approximately 1,500 people of Western Apache heritage. The community is located on White Mountain Apache trust lands, fourteen miles west of U.S. Highway 60 and approximately 40 miles west of the reservation administrative center at Whiteriver. The community lies in a shallow mountain valley, at about 4,940 feet asl. Cibecue Creek bisects the community, providing water for domestic, agricultural and recreational needs.

Perhaps the most important matrilineal clan in Cibecue, the *Deschidin* ("Red Rock People") trace their ancestry to territory now within the Navajo Nation. Over the decades since the establishment of the Fort Apache Indian Reservation in 1871, additional clan groups (*gota* or "family clusters") have moved into the Cibecue valley from outlying areas. The first Post Office was established at Cibecue on March 18, 1910, primarily in response to the founding of the Lutheran Mission (Barnes 1988:95). Within Cibecue proper there is industry (Fort Apache Timber Co.), business and services, and moderate density housing. Lot size tends to increase with distance from the center of the community, particularly along Cibecue Creek.

The Lower Cibecue Lutheran Mission is today located near the southern edge of the community, approximately three miles south of the more recently constructed Lutheran Mission. The original Lutheran Mission represents the initial entry of non-American Indian architectural forms into the western side of the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. Development of the Lower Cibecue Mission complex, which began with the construction of the Chapel (c. 1911), also included school facilities, a teacherage, and a parsonage.

Detailed information on the architectural development of the Lower Cibecue Mission site is not currently available, but A. Guenther (2001) offers the following historical data. Although an earlier school facility may once have occupied the site (across the road to the west of the Chapel), the three-room school, complete with kitchen, was completed c. 1935. As described below, the school operated with 30-60 pupils until Mission abandonment, ca. 1974.

Following Mission abandonment, the school building was used as a social services office and police substation until c. 1980. The building was destroyed by arson c. 1980, and only foundations remain (see 2001 photographs). The adobe parsonage, located approximately 20 m. north of the Chapel, is likely the Mission's second oldest building (constructed c. 1912) and was used as a stockman's residence following the Mission's abandonment. Architectural assessment in 1997 concluded that the building was beyond cost-effective stabilization, and the 1997-1998 Chapel restoration effort made use of approximately 100 adobe bricks from the once lovely, and rapidly disintegrating building. The Mission also included a large wooden water tower, the primary domestic water supply for many Lower Cibecue residents. The tower sat on a sandstone masonry pump house (see 2001 photographs) and received water pumped up from Cibecue Creek. The final addition to the Mission complex, the teacherage, was built c. 1950 to accommodate female teachers and was sold to a local family after Mission abandonment. The teacherage site is not included within the Mission boundary, and the family continues to occupy the building. The three remaining structures within the Mission boundary, the parsonage, school foundation, and pumphouse, are considered noncontributing elements within the Mission Chapel boundary.

Under the supervision of the preachers and teachers, students and church members were responsible for the Lower Cibecue Mission's construction. Aside from pervasive spiritual and social influences, the Lower Cibecue complex provided community members with new templates for architectural forms, proportions, and groupings--notions which have been extensively repeated over the last century and today dominate the region. Through formal instruction as well as informal emulation, Cibecue has grown up and around the Mission, incorporating its layout and architecture harmoniously into the community's forms and functions.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION

Explanation of Style Interpretation

The style of the Mission Chapel has been determined as "local vernacular." This determination is based on a harmonious and unusual association of form, function, materials, and workmanship. The general form of the Mission Chapel, based on a simple square plan, one-story wall height, and pyramidal roof, is that of a small community gathering place. The building is a hybrid, incorporating elements of both Sonoran and Anglo Teritorial styles. The Lutheran Missionary builder, not a trained architect, made full and creative use of locally available skills, materials, and site conditions. The general form as well as the various elements and details reflects the operation of a frontier institution thriving despite limited technical and financial resources. The architectural expression clearly reflects a protestant religious feeling. The entry extending up beyond the roofline to form the bell tower was a common detail for 19th and early 20th century religious architecture. The hipped roof with a cross at its peak reemphasizes Christian religious feeling.

Site Conditions

The site slopes gently from west to east. The grade flattens west of the Chapel entry due to a drainage ditch and the proximity of the building to the main road (± 20"). This caused erosion of the adobe base at the west and south sides of the building. Otherwise, there is generally good drainage around the building. The existing concrete bridge (reinforced by "recycled" steel leaf springs), located directly in front of the main entry, was damaged prior to the building's 1997-1998 restoration and has been repaired to assure proper drainage.

Foundation

The builders utilized a combination of sandstone and river run cobbles and boulders for the foundation stem wall. The foundation trench is estimated at one foot deep, with four to twelve inches of the stem wall exposed above grade.

Building Exterior

The Chapel exterior is exposed, sun-dried adobe blocks laid in a standard common bond, with a header course every 7th course. There is no indication that the exterior was ever stuccoed or painted. The adobes are laid in a double wythe thickness. The individual blocks measure 3¾" high x 11¼" long x 5½" thick. The exposed adobe on the interior is in very good condition, whereas the exterior adobe shows variable signs of minor erosion (actual thickness measures only a strong 5"). All head and bed joints are of mud adobe and measure about ¾".

Mud wasps invaded the adobe walls prior to preservation treatment, mainly on the west and south sides of the building. Also prior to the 1997-1998 restoration, damaged adobe was evident at four locations: (1) coving at the exterior directly above the stem wall, (2) damage and loss of adobe at the corners of the building (especially at the northwest, as caused by livestock traffic along a trail immediately adjacent to the building), (3) damage and loss of adobe under window on the south side, and (4) damage and loss of adobe on the interior wall of the entry, caused by water infiltration along the roof bond between the building and the bell tower. As of late 2001, the building remains in excellent condition three years after the completion of preservation treatments.

Main Entry & Bell Tower

The entry is the main architectural accent of the building, with a towered vestibule rising directly above the entry door. The tower rises approximately 4'-0" above the height of the adobe wall of the main structure. It then forms a louvered platform that contained a bell prior to the bell's c. 1974 relocation to the newly constructed Lutheran Complex in Upper Cibecue (A. A. Guenther, Personal Communication to J. R. Welch, 1998). Interestingly, no architectural evidence of the bell was present in 1997 (i.e., no bell support or rope holes). The square tower terminates with a pyramidal roof of the same metal roofing used on the main structure.

As part of the 1997-98 restoration approximately 24 s.f. of adobe wall was replaced on the south side of the door linking the bell tower to the main Mission room. The two doors were removed prior to restoration and have been replaced with new, solid wood, panel doors. There is a window in the north wall of the entry vestibule, a fixed 2'-0" x 2'-4" wood window with four lights. The ceiling of the vestibule is framed with 2x4s at ± 24" o.c. Planks (1x8s) are nailed to the top of the 2x4s to form the floor of the belfry and the ceiling of the entry. The tower's main roof structure is supported on all four corners with 4x4 wood posts, reaching approximately 2'-0" in height above the adobe walls. The lower one foot of these openings are enclosed with 1x8 wood louvers (not present in the earliest photos of the Chapel, with the upper portion open.

Roof

The main Chapel structure is capped with a hipped roof comprised of 2'-0" wide galvanized metal panels ("v"-grooved at 12" o.c.). The 1997-1998 restoration effort included extensive roof repairs to the ridge caps and flashing details and retained the pre-existing metal panels, which appear to be original.

The roof structure is constructed of 2x4s at ± 24" o.c. with a slope of ± 5:12. The end-notched 2x4s rest on a 1x6 at the top of the adobe walls. The distal ends of the 2x4s extend out over the adobe walls ± 24" o.c., and are exposed below the roof deck. The roof decking is of 1x6 and 1x8 boards spaced ± 1' o.c. The 2x4s at ± 16" o.c. form the ceiling structure. These 2x4s are braced back to the roof framing members with 1x6 and 2x4 material at random locations. There is also a 2x4 ledger around the perimeter of the ceiling framing that is supported from the roof framing. The 1997-1998 restoration included attachment of the roof to the adobe walls. All wood members are in good condition with only moderate deterioration caused either by wood rot or mold. The acoustical ceiling tiles (1'-4" x 2'-4") that appear to have been installed ca. 1950-1970 were removed as part of the 1997-1998 restoration.

Doors and Windows

There are only two doors in this building, the main entry and the door off the vestibule leading to the main room, both described above and replaced 1997-1998.

The five large windows in the main Chapel room are four-over-four, single-hung wood windows. They are operated with a spring-loaded plunger lock at the meeting rails of the lower sash. The windows are set to the outside with the frame extending through the adobe walls. A simple 1x5 wood frame surrounds each window with butt joints at the head and sill. Both the head and sill frames extend ± ½" beyond the jamb frame. The five windows in the main room are 2' x 4'-6" high. The one window at the vestibule is a fixed four-light window, 2' wide x 2'-4" high. All windows and frames were painted, and all were repaired and refinished, 1997-1998.

Interior

The interior surface of the adobe wall has a ± ¼" coat of mud plaster. The original finish was whitewashed. Through the years, minor repair work has been completed with what appears to be an all-purpose drywall compound. The surface was then painted with an oil-based paint. At least three coats of paint were added over the original whitewash finish. Some of the mud plaster failed and was separated from adobe wall (approximately 25% of the wall surface) prior to the 1997-1998 restoration. The remaining mud plaster and finish was in good condition. As part of the 1997-1998 restoration all incompatible repairs and paint were removed, and all interior walls were repaired and white-washed.

Electricity was introduced into the building c. 1950 through the efforts of the Rural Electrification Administration. The addition of electrical power may probably coincide with alterations to the ceiling, main entry and bell tower. (A. A. Guenther, Personal Communication to J. R. Welch, 1998).

Wood Flooring and Framing

The wood flooring is a 1x3 T&G Douglas fir over a 1x6 diagonal wood sub-floor. The floor structure is composed of 2x8s at ±20" o.c. The 2x8s are supported at ±1/3 spans with 2x8 beams supported by sandstone piers. Although the floor was generally sound prior to the 1997-1998 restoration, a ± 150s.f. section of the wood floor in the vestibule was damaged by the roof leak and was replaced. The restoration also added four adjustable metal jacks to the system of floor joist supports.

Landscaping and Enclosures

Early (pre-c. 1950) photos indicate an immediate surrounding of only low ground cover with few trees. The best historical photo (see appendices) indicates a fence abutting the northwest corner of the structure. Today, the structure is surrounded by several cottonwood trees giving it a more intimate and sheltered setting. The only fencing remaining today is located parallel with the south side of the structure and leading down to Cibecue Creek. A drainage ditch between the road and the church has also been added, presumably completed in conjunction with roadway improvement or paving.

Workmanship

The fact of the building's survival is a testimony to its workmanship and positive integration into the Cibecue community. The rock foundation was constructed of adequate width and depth to prevent any movement or differential settlement, as is obvious by the lack of structural or settlement cracks. The rock stem wall was also raised high enough off the adjacent grade to prevent any serious erosion of the adobe blocks. Vents were added to the crawl-space to provide adequate ventilation for the raised wood flooring.

The double rows of adobe block were laid in a standard, common coursing, which indicated an understanding of masonry construction. The roof structure, although minimal, was framed and braced to give adequate lateral support against any wind loading.

Changes Through Time

The enclosed photos (Photo #1 - Early photo, circa 1920, Photo #2 - Front entry, November 2, 1997 and Photo #3, North Elevation, November 2, 1997) indicate that the original structure has retained integrity and character. As previously noted, the only evident modifications prior to the 1997-1998 restoration have been: (1) adjacent landscaping and fencing, (2) removal of the bell from the bell tower and addition of the wood louvers, (3) addition of electrical service to the building, (4) grading modifications, and (5) improvement and pavement of the road immediately west of the main entrance. Of these changes, only the paved road has adversely affected the Chapel's historical setting.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

SYNOPSIS

The presence of Lutheran Missionaries in Cibecue was established during the first decade of the 20th century. In 1911,the missionaries began construction of what would become a complex of buildings along the west bank of Cibecue creek. By about 1940 that complex consisted of a chapel, parsonage, rectory, mission school, and associated facilities. This nomination relates to the oldest and best preserved of the three remaining buildings at the site, the chapel.

The chapel is not currently listed on the National Register of Historic Places, however, it is listed on the Arizona State Register. The closest National Register property is Grasshopper, located ten miles to west of Cibecue. Grasshopper is the ruins of a masonry village built and occupied between A.D. 1275 and 1350, probably by the ancestors of today's Hopi and Zuni people.

We submit that the Cibecue Lutheran Mission is eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A (Association with events) and Criterion C (Architectural Importance).

A) The Lutheran Mission constitutes a symbol of the social and cultural interaction between the American and Apache Nation over the past century. The site represents the earliest and most substantial Christian missionary activity in the Cibecue area. Lutheran missionaries were active among Apache communities surrounding San Carlos and on the eastern side of the Fort Apache Reservation for two decades prior to the Mission establishment at Cibecue. Cibecue, by nature of its remoteness, has long been considered among the most conservative Apache group, and the Lutheran missionaries successfully integrated themselves into most community domains and remain active today.

C) As a unique surviving landmark the Mission originally represented and continues to represent the stark contrast between indigenous and Euro-American ways of living and building. In the context of the development of Southwestern architectural style, the Mission represents a departure (c. 1911) from the region's existing vernacular, primarily in the use of adobe, a material generally used in more commonly in Hispanic communities and in areas lacking lumber. As an example of (1) Anglo-German vernacular forms commonly found well to the east and north and (2) workmanship and materials commonly employed in regions to the south and west, the Mission stands as a rare hybrid of Sonoran and Anglo Territorial styles.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Western Apaches

The Ndee, known to anthropologists as the Western Apaches, are said by scholars to have occupied the regions today known as the Mogollon Rim and White Mountains of east-central Arizona since sometime between the 11th and 16th centuries. In 1540, the Coronado Expedition passed through the region east of Cibecue and identified the general area as Tierra Desplabado (the uninhabited land).

Scholarly perspectives on Apache migration into their aboriginal homeland are based primarily on linguistic differences among Athabascan groups. The Western Apache are one of seven tribal subdivisions of Athapascan speaking peoples identified in the American Southwest (Goodwin 1942; Basso 1983). Anthropologists have further divided the Western Apaches into five subgroups: Northern Tonto, Southern Tonto, San Carlos, White Mountain and Cibecue.

Ndee have different perspectives on their history and social organization, regrettably little of which has been recorded appropriately (Welch 1997, 2000). The best exceptions to this generalization are works by Grenville Goodwin (e.g., 1932, 1940) and Keith Basso (e.g., 1970, 1983, 1996). Generally, Apache people know that they have, since time immemorial, lived in and around their reservation lands. Many Ndee are perplexed by the "subgroups" identified by anthropologists, preferring to emphasize matrilineal clan relations and dialectical variations in their classifications of the Apache nation.

EUROPEAN INTERACTION WITH THE APACHE

The first impacts on the Apache by non-Indians began during the 17th Century, when the Spanish Colonial Empire in Mexico expanded north into Sonora and New Mexico. Spanish control of the northern states was based on missionary activities among sedentary peoples, though Spanish missionaries never penetrated Apache country north of the Gila River. Extensive Apache foraging and raiding brought Apaches into proximity and conflict with sedentary tribes and their occasional Spanish protectors.

During the century-and-a-quarter when Spain claimed dominion over the Ndee homeland, Spain employed three distinct policies to deal with the Apache: (1) exile of raiding groups, (2) annihilation of raiding groups, and (3) settling of all Apaches on reservations, the *Establacimientos de Paz*. When Mexico presumed authority over the Apache homeland after 1822, the reservation policy was still essentially, if ineffectively, in place.

The failure of the Mexican Government to properly supply the *Establecimientos de Paz* during the 1830s forced many Apache to return to extensive foraging and raiding. Within a decade, raiding and warfare was so bad on the northern

frontier of Sonora and Chihuahua that the Governors of those two states instituted a bounty program to induce Apache genocide through the taking of Apache scalps. American entrepreneurs who developed the scalping industry during and after the Mexican- American War soon brought the countryside into uproar through the indiscriminate practice of taking any black-haired scalp. By the early 1850s, American scalpers such as James Kirker and the Box Brothers had bounties placed on their own scalps.

EARLY ANGLO-AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT WITH THE APACHE

Sustained Ndee contact with Euro-Americans began during the first half of the 19th century. Contacts along social and economic lines were sporadic through the completion of territorial acquisition of the region by the United States through the Mesilla Treaty, which resulted in the Gadsden Purchase in 1853.

The years following the Gadsden Purchase were relatively peaceful. The Butterfield Stage Co. and the Sonora Exploring and Mining Co. in Tubac made peace pacts with *Mangas Coloradas*, one of the last Apache leaders to command interregional respect. In 1860, with the United States on the verge of the Civil War, the Bascom Affair resulted in Cochise leading the Chiricahua Apaches into war against the Americans. As Federal troops were withdrawn from Arizona, the region was left to deal with an Apache war raging on numerous fronts (Thrapp 1967). Western Apache warriors were frequent participants in Chiricahua conflicts with American and Mexicans and conducted their own raiding expeditions, occasionally venturing as far south as Durango (Basso 1971).

Union forces reoccupied Arizona in April of 1863, bringing to an end Civil War actions in the Territory, and commencing operations aimed at the subjugation of indigenous peoples in general and the Apaches in particular. Seemingly endless cycles of offensive actions, retaliations, and punitive responses dominated Arizona's emotional and political landscape until the 1886 exile of Geronimo and all other Chiricahuas.

FORT APACHE INDIAN RESERVATION

On November 9, 1871, as one element of the "Peace Policy" the government developed under pressure from religious and humanitarian activists, President U.S. Grant established the White Mountain Indian Reservation by Executive Order. On June 7, 1897, Congress divided this initial reservation at the Black / Salt River into the Fort Apache and San Carlos reservations. Nine primary White Mountain Apache settlements exist on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. Six of these settlements are grouped within a ten-mile radius of Fort Apache, with Cibecue, Carrizo and Cedar Creek more widely disbursed to the west. In 1893, 13 local clan groups representing a combined population of 943 occupied the Cibecue District (Goodwin 1942:97; Basso 1970:19).

The defining event of the frontier icon that is Fort Apache involved Cibecue and its people in an unfortunate episode of the reflexive violence that dominated the Apache-European encounter for more than two centuries. On August 30, 1881, the event commonly referred to as the "Cibecue Massacre" progressed from the arrest of a medicine man, Nockaydelklinne by the U.S. Army. The arrest occurred at a time of social and spiritual unrest, and led to a fire-fight that claimed eight troopers and approximately 18 Apaches, including the medicine man and his brother. Among the best sources for diverse perspectives relating to the Cibecue conflict are works Clum (1930), Guenther (1928), Monnett (1969), Smith (1956), Thrapp (1964), and Collins (1999).

In a unique mutiny, some Apache scouts who accompanied the cavalry column to Cibecue joined the battle against the troops. Kessel (1974) provides two accounts, the official army record and that of Tom Friday, the son of a participating Apache Scout. Both accounts would place Nockaydelklinne's camp near the current lumber mill in Cibecue, about one mile north of the Lower Cibecue Mission. Reverend A. A. Guenther, interviewed by John R. Welch [p.c. March 11, 1998] claims the battle took place at or near the site of the upper Cibecue Lutheran Mission complex, about one-half mile north of the saw mill.

All accounts agree that the medicine man's camp was located close to the Mission site and that the battle had enduring effects for non-Indian perceptions of Apache people in general, and Cibecue in particular. In the aftermath, three scouts were apprehended, tried and subsequently executed for their role in the affair. Following the executions and the 1886 Chiricahua deportations, military operations in the greater White Mountain region began to wind down and the Federal government seems to have left Cibecue alone for several decades.

Federal policy toward the Apache continued to evolve after the 1886, with repetitive cycles and themes of aggressive colonialism and more sympathetic and humanitarian approaches. Senator James Graham Fair of Nevada offered one of the more innovative proposals to solve the "Apache Problem" by exiling the tribe to Catalina Island, off the coast of Southern California (Baur 1973). The government failure to balance national interests with humane treatment of indigenous people created a political vacuum. Major religions were drawn into this vacuum, seizing moral authority during this period of government uncertainty and mismanagement.

PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES AMONG THE SOUTHWEST'S INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

The second half of the 19th century gave rise to an ongoing struggle among various Catholic and Protestant churches over the presumed "right" to obtain missionary access to the Southwest's native peoples. Szasz (1988) reviews the Federal political policies and broader social processes that brought Protestant missionaries into the Southwest's still unsettled Indian Country. Although the churches shared the twin goals of "civilizing" and "Christianizing" the region's indigenous populations, the methods and individuals selected by the churches,

the local situations the missionaries encountered, and the nature of the Federal support for their proselytizing resulted in remarkable variations in the missionaries' "success" within and impacts upon the communities and tribes.

The first Protestant missionaries to arrive in the American Southwest were Baptists. In 1850, the American Home Mission Society began to work toward establishing missions within Pueblo and Navajo communities in New Mexico. The effort was abandoned during 1855 and Baptists would not return to the area until the mid-1890s. In 1868 the Presbyterians arrived in Pueblo region, but their efforts were sporadic and their successes, like the Baptists', were limited until the 1890s.

In addition to reservation establishments, President Grant's "Peace Policy" entailed church assistance with the apparently intractable "Indian Problem." Accordingly, the U. S. Board of Indian Commissioners assigned each of the nation's approximately 70 Indian reservations to one of the major American churches (Szasz 1988:177). These Federal assignments seem on occasion to have become the basis for less formal "gentlemen's agreements" among church representatives. For example, the Presbyterians agreed to "give" the Apaches to the Lutherans in exchange for a Lutheran commitment not to undertake missionary activity among the Pima people. Among the many energetic and sensitive missionaries was Rev. Charles Cook, a Presbyterian who worked with the Pimas. Methodists, Catholics, Episcopalians, Baptists, Congregationalists, and other denominations also competed for opportunities to serve God and add Indian souls to their tallies.

The introduction of Christianity to the native peoples of the Southwest created powerful dynamics in the ongoing clash of cultures. Kessel (1976) discusses Western Apache religious responses to the rapid and radical changes in their world during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Reichard (1949), commenting on the Navajo-missionary experience in terms also relevant to the Apache experience, states:

> A principal problem is the frame of religious reference. The Navajo have a great fear of death and the dead, and thus are not attracted to a religion which has a major deity who has died and risen again. The Christian religion offers the Navajo the concept of giving without reward, where the beliefs of these Indians stress the reason for giving to be the achievement of an end - placate the gods that the corn may grow. Polygamy indicates economic success in Navajo eyes, for if a man takes the responsibility of supporting two wives he must be successful, and the more offspring he has, the more his name will be revered after death. The missionaries usually attack polygamy... Another problem is sectarianism, for the Indian who is beginning to understand a strange new religion is doubly confused when told that only certain "brands" are acceptable. Finally the Navajo enjoys his religion: feasting, dancing and the telling of jokes are integral parts of any observance. Christians on the other hand seem to endure rather than enjoy the practice of their faith. (Reichard 1949: 68-69)

Keith Basso in his work, *The Cibecue Apaches* (1970) comments on the evolution of Christianity in Cibecue. Basso speaks of the early years, when the missionaries followed the U.S. Cavalry, noting that, "(f)or the most part, it appears, the Apache simply ignored them." But conditions changed after the 1920s:

> In any event, the missionaries stayed on. And when the turbulence of the early reservation years had died down, their numbers increased. Adobe missions were replaced by churches of wood and stone, and interpreters were found to translate the words of God. Schools were built to give Apache children instruction in the Bible and, from time to time, food, clothing and medicines were given away. All the while, the missionaries preached. Extolling the benefits of Christianity, their criticism was directed against medicine men, whom one missionary described as "dogs and agents of the Devil." It is difficult to ascertain how the Apache reacted to this kind of proselytism, but by 1940 there were definite signs that other factors, having no connection with the missionary effort were undermining their ceremonial system and the influence of medicine men. (Basso 1970:93)

Basso also addresses the exchange or syncretism that took place, at Cibecue and elsewhere, with the introduction of Christianity:

> ...during the initial stages of their religious acculturation, few Apaches became familiar with the intricate stage of their religious acculturation, few Apache became familiar with the intricate ideological underpinnings of Christianity; instead, they seized upon a limited number of key concepts - God, Jesus, prayer, and so forth - and, in accordance with their own view of the world, redefined them to suit their immediate needs. The Virgin Mary was equated with Changing woman, and Jesus with Changing Woman's son, *nayenezg ne* ("Slayer of Monsters"). Sorcerers and love witches were interpreted as having affinities with the devil; God and Christ, behaving much like powers, began to offer themselves to Apaches in dreams. (Basso 1970:95)

THE LUTHERAN APACHE MISSION

The first Lutheran Missionaries to find their way into Apache country were Theodore Hartwig and O. H. Koch, dispatched on a reconnaissance by the Missionary Committee of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Wisconsin and Other States. In 1892, the pair traveled to the Pima reservation to meet with the widely respected Reverend Charles Cook. Cook directed the two northeast, to Apache country, where no missionaries were stationed. After a visit to San Carlos, Hartwig and Kock reported back to the Mission Committee, setting in motion the effort to establish a permanent mission to the White Mountain Apaches (Centennial Committee of the Joint Synod 1951; Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin c. 1958). By December 1893, Reverends John Plocher and George Adascheck had established the Peridot Mission, on the north side of the Gila River, for the diverse Apache and Yavapai groups residing on the San Carlos division of the White Mountain Reservation.

In 1894, after a visit to Fort Apache, Rev. Plocher wrote to the Mission Board recommending that another mission be established for the Fort Apache division of the White Mountain Reservation. In June 1896, traveling with Plocher, Reverend Paul Mayerhoff arrived to begin his missionary work among the White Mountain Apache people. In 1903, Mayerhoff was granted an assistant, Otto Schoenberg. Mayerhoff returned home in 1903 and was replaced by Henry Haase. This same year Schoenberg was ordained and continued to work at Fort Apache until 1911 (See Appendices for a list of the Cibecue Lutheran Missionaries and Teachers).

In November 1910, the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod dispatched E. Edgar Guenther to take up Missionary duties at Fort Apache. To fulfill the prerequisite before assuming his duties, Guenther proposed to Miss Minnie Knoop, who he married on December 28, 1910. Guenther's role in baptizing Chief Alchesay as a Lutheran in 1922 had profound impacts on convincing other Apaches to take up the faith. In 1923, he created *the Apache Scout,* a periodical he edited until 1953. The *Scout,* transformed into a secular periodical, remains in existence in 2001 as the White Mountain Apache Tribe's semi-weekly newspaper. Edgar Guenther was later designated as Superintendent of the Apache Indian Mission, and his son, Arthur Alchesay Guenther, took up where his father left off. Reverend E. E. Guenther passed away in May 1961. Two generations of Guenthers have served as the mainstay of the Lutheran Mission on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. Arthur A. Guenther, retired as the pastor in Whiteriver in 1996. Ferg (1987) provides additional information and perspectives relating to the Guenther's tenure in Apache country.

LUTHERANS IN CIBECUE

Edgar Guenther also facilitated expansion of the Lutheran missionary effort farther west, to the culturally and socially distinctive Cibecue District. Brown (1963) provides an early history of the Cibecue Mission.

In 1911 Rev. Otto P. Schoenberg left the Whiteriver valley for Cibecue, selecting a Mission site one mile south of the trading post. After receiving use rights to the land from a local chief named *Naskilzohn,* Schoenberg built an adobe home and church, completing the work in the spring of 1912. In the fall Schoenberg began a school with six children and "equipment as primitive as that of the Pilgrim Fathers. A low table and two benches constituted the school furniture. The table was covered with a piece of blackboard cloth and divided into six squares. But these were magic squares, for on them appeared successively lessons in Bible history, reading, writing, and arithmetic. Schoenberg was an adept teacher and the results he obtained during his short tenure were amazing" (Centennial Committee of the Joint Synod 1951:244). In 1913, however, Schoenberg departed for a new career, and Pastor Zuberbier became the resident missionary at Cibecue. Zuberbier remained in the valley until 1919, and it was his work, together with the devoted labors of Arthur C. Krueger (Pastor 1923-1939) that firmly established the mission as an integral part of the lives of many Cibecue residents and the community as a whole.

In contrast to the Guenthers at East Fork and Whiteriver, the tenure of missionaries at Cibecue was consistently shorter. The "west end" of the Reservation contains the most rugged terrain and much of the finest farmland on the reservation. The Cibecue Valley contains the most extensive strip of irrigable land in the region. Because many Apache families lived adjacent to their far-flung farmsteads until the 1950s, the missionaries made visitation circuits: "It matters not if you live at Carrixo, Limestone, Blue Springs,... Salt Creek, White Springs, Spring Creek, Oak Creek, or Tsilaskai,--if you live in any of these valleys Mr. Niemann will visit you regularly. He will bring you the good news of the Living Saviour to you and your family. If you like to read he will bring you the right kind of reading matter. If you are sick he will do the best he can for you" (Guenther 1928:5). It bears mention that these localities average at least 15 precipitous miles from Cibecue and that only "Carrixo" retains year-round occupants in 2001 (known presently as "Carrizo").

When Zuberbier departed in 1919, he was replaced by Paul Albrecht, who moved on to Whiteriver a year later to become assistant pastor. Rev. F. Weindorff replaced Albrecht, remained until 1923, and was replaced by Arthur Krueger. Krueger, who began his Lutheran work in Cibecue as a teacher and became licensed as a Pastor in Navajo County, was a skilled carpenter. "Missionary Kreuger was a faithful teacher and conscientious camp worker. One therefore wonders all the more where he found the time and energy to apply his mechanical skill in making Lower Cibecue station the attractive place that it is now" (E. E. Guenther 1939:7). In 1928 a permanent station was established at Upper Cibecue to serve the Apaches formerly served by Sitz. Arthur Niemann became the missionary.

> The school begun by Schoenberg in 1911 continued to operate without interruption, and by the fall of 1931 there were fifty-one enrolled with the minister Arthur Krueger, and Margaret Raatz serving as teachers. Attendance dropped to forty-five in 1934 and varied between forty and fifty during the remainder of the 1930s. In the fall of 1942 there were fifty-six enrolled in the school and about the same number attending the two mission churches.
>
> In the spring of 1939 Krueger resigned after sixteen years at Cibecue, and in the fall of that year he was succeeded by a layman, Raymond Reiss, who had previously taught at East Fork. During the interim, Rev. Arthur Niemann conducted both the camp work and the Sunday services at Upper and Lower Cibecue. Mission work in the Cibecue Valley involved more camp visitation than the other stations because the Indians of the valley were scattered over a large area, and because they expected the missionary to visit them rather than to go to the missionary. Another serious problem on the west end of the reservation was the poor condition of the roads which made travel by any mode except buggy or horse extremely difficult. In 1941 Niemann left the Cibecue Valley to work at East Fork and Rev. Paul Schliesser came to replace him. By 1942 there were two hundred Apaches being served by Reiss and Schliesser, but only fifty took communion during the entire year. Both of these men remained at Cibecue until the mid-1940s and under them the work among the Apaches advanced. (Brown 1963:103-104)

The Mission School in Lower Cibecue probably moved from the Chapel to its own building on the west side of the road in the mid-1920s. As was the case with virtually all schools for American Indian children until the later 1970s, the Cibecue Mission School was scarce on academic amenities and featured instruction in "industrial arts:" "While the girls are getting instruction in sewing, cooking, canning, housekeeping and other things they are interested in, from the missionary's wife, the boys are busy improving the school property, building fences, planting trees, and occasionally making articles with the missionary's own tools from packing boxes" (Krueger 1938:3).

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INTERVIEWS

Lori Davison, interviewed by Alex Kimmelman, April 29, 1997
Reverend Arthur Alchesay Guenther, interviewed by Alex Kimmelman, June 6, 1997
Reverend Arthur Alchesay Guenther interviewed by John R. Welch, March 11, 1998 and November 20, 2001.

Verbal Boundary Description

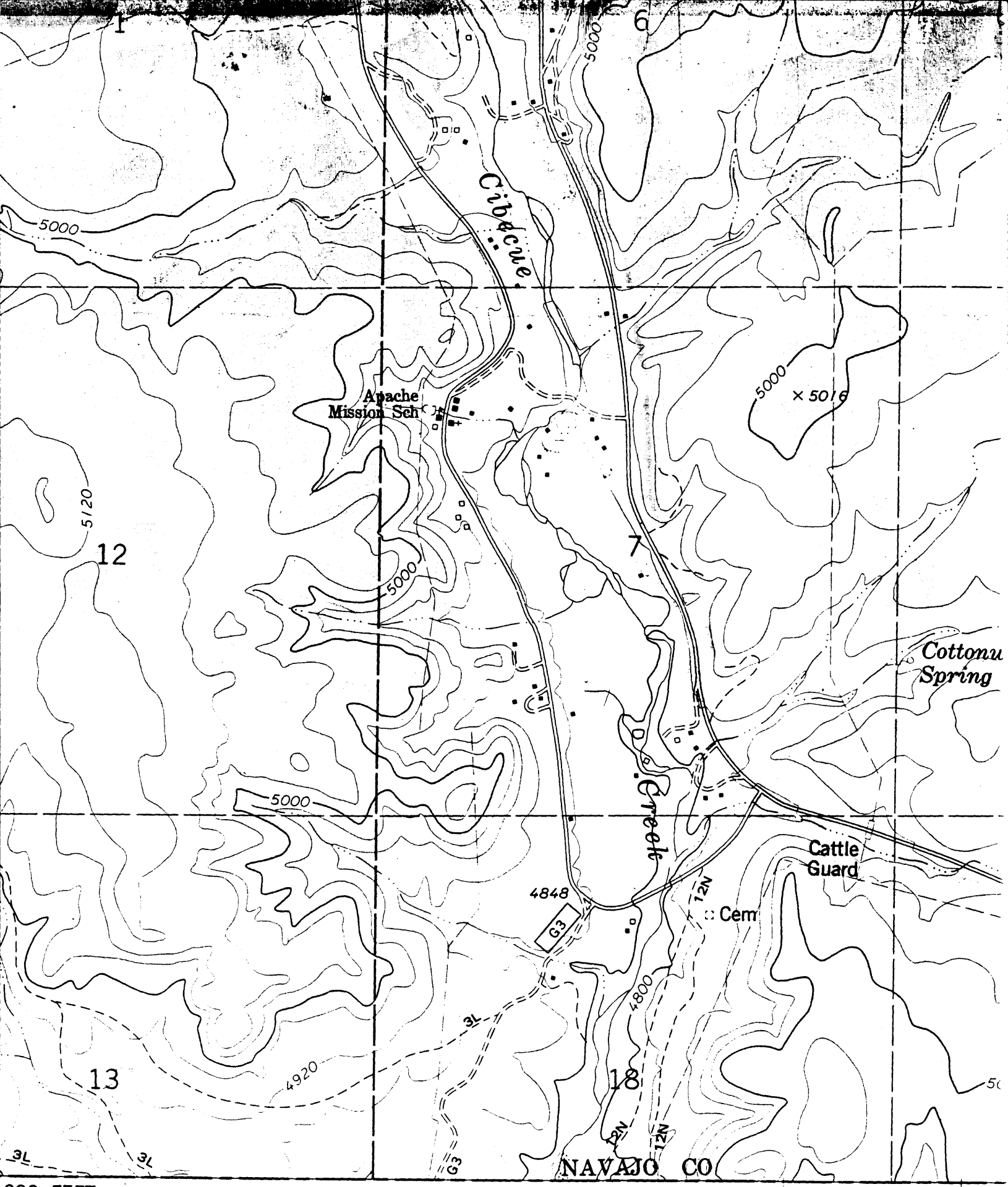
Beginning 175 feet due east of the northeast corner of a small adobe hut; a stone monument is set two feet deep, chiseled on the upper end M1 and on the respective faces set according to the cardinal points, N., S., E., and W. This monument is set at the northwest corner of the premises of Naskilzhon, White Mountain Apache Chief of Z band and at the southwest corner of the property of Benjamin Tooshay, also an Indian (M7).

From this monument due south 110 feet to a stone monument marked M2; thence south 70 degrees east 705 feet to a stone monument marked M3; thence due north along the west bank of Cibecue Creek 140 feet to a stone monument marked M4; thence north 72 degrees west to monument M1. Area 2.152 acres.

Boundary Justification

The nominated property boundaries are coterminous with the 2.152 acres originally set aside for the use of the Lutheran Mission, according to Rev. A. A. Guenther (Personal Communication, 11 March 1998, see also letter of E. E. Guenther dated 10 August 1911, Fort Apache Records Microfilm Roll 15, University of Arizona Library, Tucson). The acreage awarded to the Lutherans allowed for sufficient land for: (1) access to Cibecue Creek for water, (2) accommodation of the Mission complex, which grew from the chapel alone to include (a) the parsonage (immediately north of the church), (b) the school and (c) teacherage (across the road, just west of the chapel), and (d) the water tower and other necessary outbuildings, and (3) gardens and an orchard--the latter planted ca. 1945 by Pastor Krueger, who also planted a lot of tomatoes, according to Rev. A. A. Guenther (Personal Communication, 11 March 1998).

Because the original boundaries have never been altered and remain the boundaries for the National Register nomination, as approved by the White Mountain Apache Tribal Council, no amendment or further justification seems warranted.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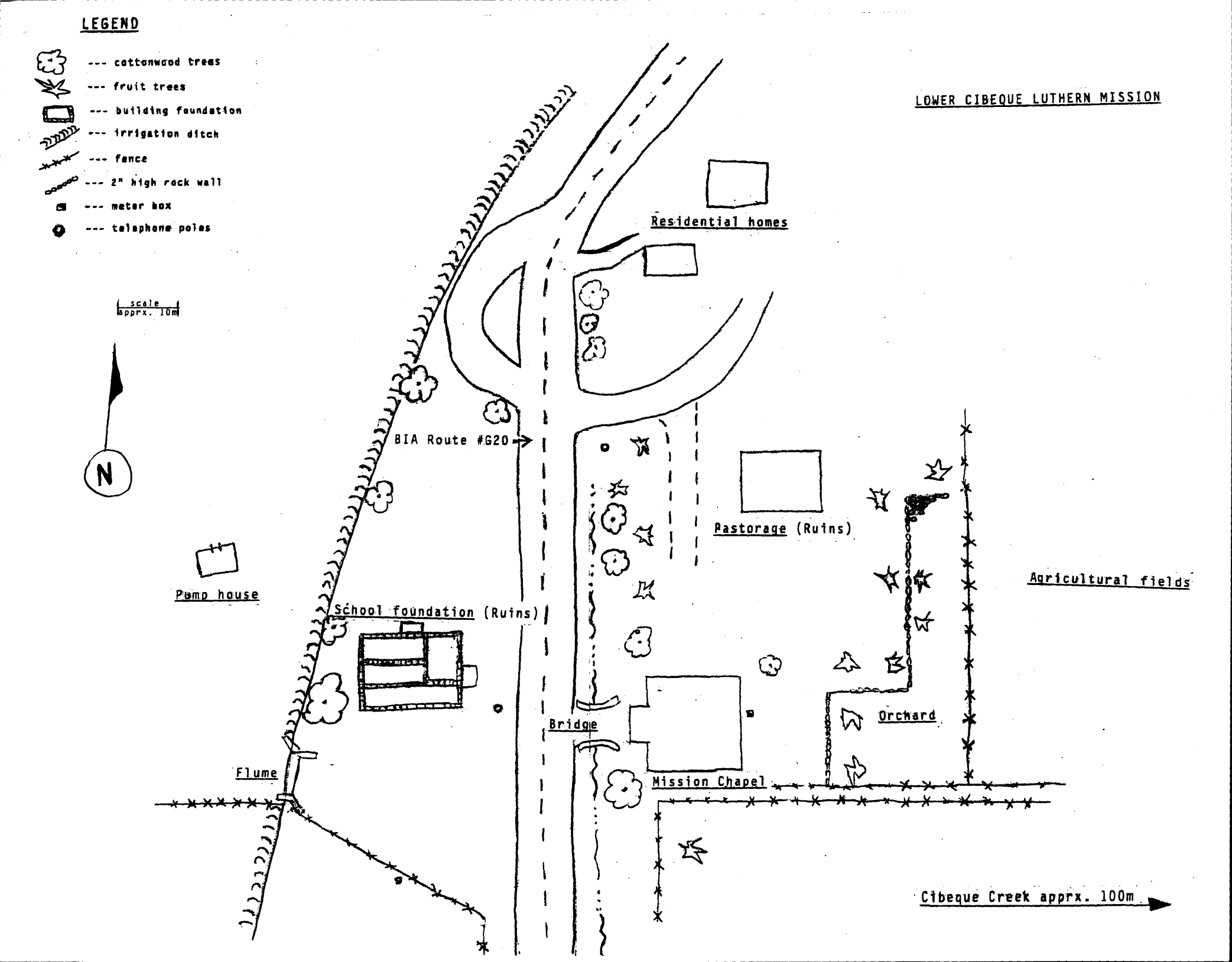
LEGEND
--- cottonwood trees
--- fruit trees
--- building foundation
--- irrigation ditch
--- fence
--- 2" high rock wall
--- meter box
--- telephone poles
scale
apprx. 10m
N
LOWER CIBEQUE LUTHERN MISSION
Residential homes
BIA Route #G20
Pastorage (Ruins)
Agricultural fields
Pump house
School foundation (Ruins)
Bridge
Orchard
Flume
Mission Chapel
Cibeque Creek apprx. 100m

Captions for Eight(8) black and white photos of the Chapel and Mission site, 1 October 2001.

1. Mission Chapel, West Elevation. Ruins of Teacherage in Distance (to the North).

2. Mission Chapel, West Elevation.

3. Mission School (Ruins) Concrete Stem Walls and Stairs. Mission Chapel in Distance (to the East).

4. Sandstone Blockhouse Base for Mission Water Tower, North Elevation.

5. Mission Chapel Interior, View to the Southwest.

6. Mission School (Ruins).

7. Mission Chapel, North Elevation.

8. Mission Teacherage (Ruins).

All recent photographs by John R. Welch.