



The history of the catechesis of the Catholic Church on the Crow Reservation
by Karen Watembach

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Art in History
Montana State University

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Abstract:

The thesis presented in this paper states that the Catholic Church through the missionary activity of the Jesuits on the Crow Reservation from 1887-1921 established a permanent mission school, St. Xavier Mission Boarding School, as the center of a European feudal model of church. This model was built upon two constructs: the stationary center and the philosophical-historical concept of world view. The Crow people were in contrast nomadic and held a cosmological concept of world view. The teachings of Jesus were woven through a series of cultural conflicts, misunderstanding of methodologies and language differences, clashes of values as well as loving concern, Crow language preservation, education of the young, and spiritual gifts which spoke to the Crow people.

Using a historical approach, the writer researched archival materials - letters, diaries, school and government records, sermons, prayers and catechisms translated into the Crow language; gathered information through oral history; and interpreted theological and philosophical constructs in Catholic Church history and in Crow tradition. Through this research it was concluded that the Catholic Church did in fact build a model of feudal church on the Crow Reservation with the boarding school as its stationary center. However, in 1907 the model began to disintegrate when the government and the Crow people desired day schools. The center of the feudal model was lost when St. Xavier Boarding School closed in 1921.

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CHURCH ON THE CROW RESERVATION

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
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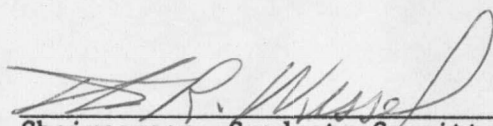
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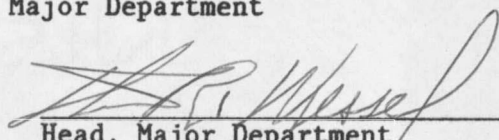
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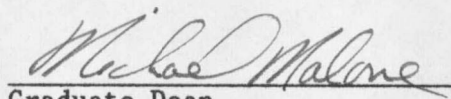
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ABSTRACT

The thesis presented in this paper states that the Catholic Church through the missionary activity of the Jesuits on the Crow Reservation from 1887-1921 established a permanent mission school, St. Xavier Mission Boarding School, as the center of a European feudal model of church. This model was built upon two constructs: the stationary center and the philosophical-historical concept of world view. The Crow people were in contrast nomadic and held a cosmological concept of world view. The teachings of Jesus were woven through a series of cultural conflicts, misunderstanding of methodologies and language differences, clashes of values as well as loving concern, Crow language preservation, education of the young, and spiritual gifts which spoke to the Crow people.

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INTRODUCTION

A friend once said, "I like to go to the mountains because they put me in perspective." Perhaps this was why the Crow, when they saw the land of south central Montana, decided to stay in the late 1700's after wandering for perhaps as much as one-hundred years. There were many mountain ranges in Crow Territory one of which was named for them - the Absarokee Range (Absáalooke). The Crow medicine men still say, "All we have comes from those mountains - the Big Horns." It was to the high places that men and women went to receive strength and sacred power for their lives. Alappwuash, or Sore-Belly, a Crow chief, said of his country, "The Crow country is a good country. The Great Spirit has put it exactly in the right place." It has good grass, good water, and plenty of buffalo. In the summer the people can go to the cool mountains and in the winter they can stay in the sheltered valleys. To the north it is too cold and the winters too long. In the south it is hot and there people get the fever. To the west people are poor and they must eat fish which is poor food. To the east a Crow's dog would not drink the muddy river water in the Missouri which the people there are forced to drink. "The Crow country is exactly in the right place. Everything good is to be found there. There is no country like the Crow country."

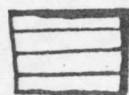
Although the area of the Crow Reservation covered a little over 7500 square miles in 1887 the Crow people knew each river, creek and valley intimately. The Crow people found their center in this land and in all the natural forces giving life to them and to the land.

In 1884 the United States Government moved the Agency to its present location on the Little Big Horn. The Catholic missionaries in 1887 when choosing the spot for St. Xavier Mission selected a place close to the Agency and geographically central within the boundaries of the reservation. Even after the northern and western portions of the reservation were ceded to the United States St. Xavier Mission remained centrally located. This physical centering symbolized the "mission foundation" construct. St. Xavier Mission among the Crow people would be a focal point around which the people would gather. In the minds of the mission founders, the people would no longer look to the mountains for the centering of their lives, but to St. Xavier Mission.

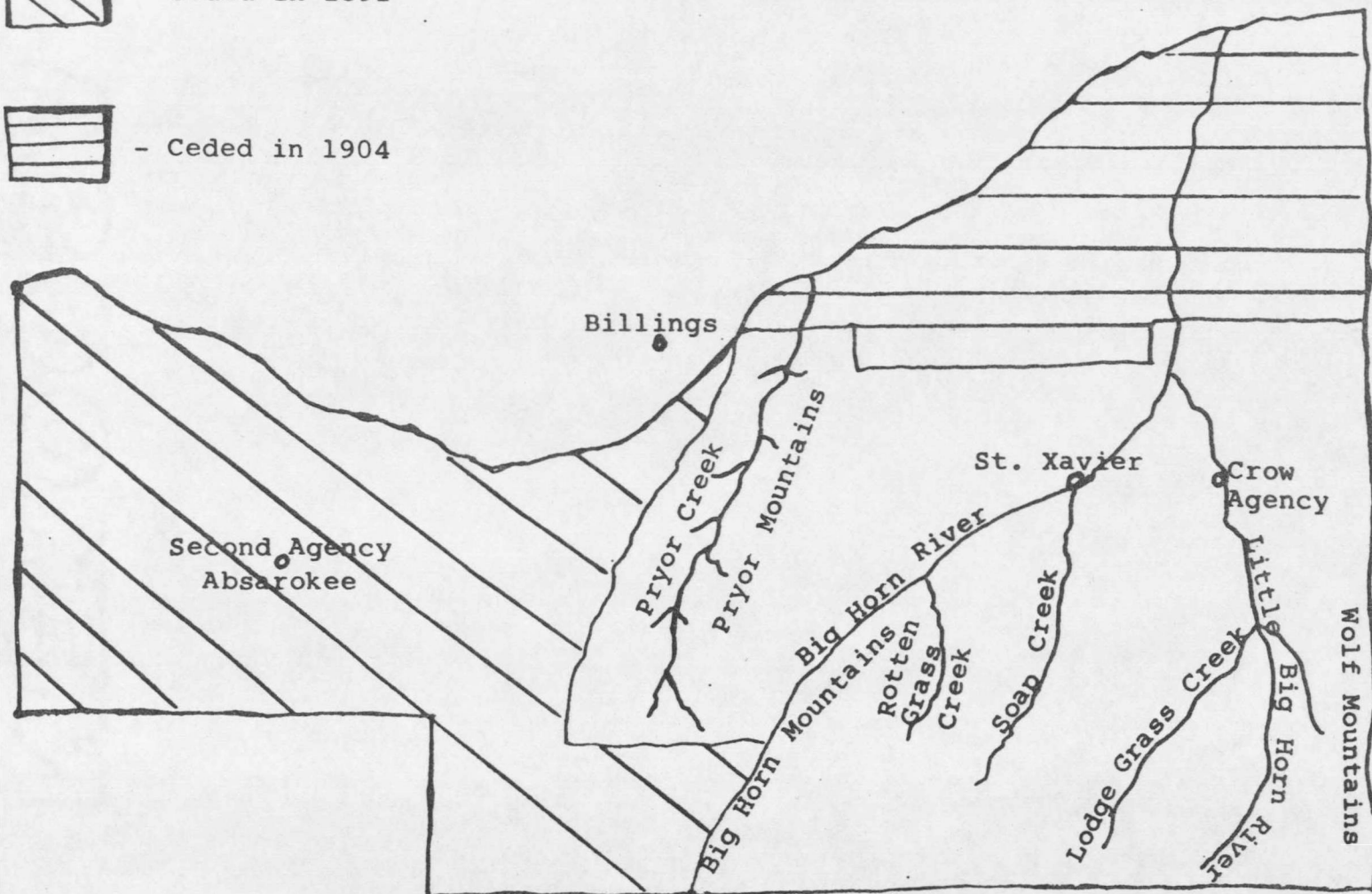
Figure 1. The Crow Reservation



- Ceded in 1891



- Ceded in 1904



CHAPTER I

ST. XAVIER MISSION 1887-1921

The Jesuit Fathers built St. Xavier Mission and Boarding School on the Crow Reservation in 1887. It was located sixty miles south of Billings, Montana at the mouth of Rotten Grass Creek on the Big Horn River. The Jesuit Fathers built the school using as a model the feudal Catholic Church which developed in Europe in the eleventh century. The village was built around the church which offered security and was the center of the villager's lives. Since the Crow people gathered around the school to visit their children and to learn the truths of the faith themselves they lived within this model. The Crow people would erect their tepees around the Church on Sunday and Feastdays. The Mission as this model, in itself, was an instructional instrument, since it taught that the people were gathered around Jesus himself as the proposed center of the community's new life.

There was, however, the burden of the loss of the old ways. The Catholic Church was not capable at this time of fully comprehending and understanding the immense injustice of the destruction of the familiar tribal life. Thus, besides the new centering the Catholic Church provided with its communal model, it failed to acknowledge that the old way contained anything positive. Rather than renewing the life of the tribe and incorporating the cultural aspects of tribal

religion into the new, the Church strove to supplant what it considered as "savage" with that of "Christian" ways.

The Jesuit Fathers also brought with them a historically and philosophically based construct of the world. This historical construct grew out of the experience of the Exodus in the Jewish culture in which life was lived through a past in Egypt, to a present in the desert, to a future in the Promised Land. Thus, life was constructed as a straight line, or history, which could be divided and subdivided causing a pattern of differentiation. Western society also inherited the Greek philosophical construct which divided thought into classes and priorities. During the feudal age of the Church, Catholic theologians applied this division extensively to the teaching of the Church. Man was composed of body and soul. The doctors of the Catholic Church separated the world and its afterlife into heaven, earth, hell and even limbo. They divided good from evil. Evil committed by people was sin which could be either mortal or venial.

In contrast the Crow Indian people followed a cosmological pattern of life and thought in which life was lived in a circle around the seasons of the year. Differences were not the essence of thought but unity was. Good and evil were a part of the earth, of people, and creation and all participated in this natural condition. Even the creator of the world, Old Man Coyote, participated in the natural world with all the strengths and failings of such a world. He had a wry sense of humor showing the absurdity within the system. People could participate in the power present in creation by prayer and fasting. Perhaps an animal or an *awakkule¹ (the asterisk denotes the

present day orthography of the Crow language) might adopt him, give him power, and protect and save him. (Women participated in this religious act as well.) Within this philosophy and theology of life there were no distinctions only the union of man, animal and creator. It was like a great round mosaic in which no color took priority. Each color lent itself to the whole design.

In the early 1880's the Catholic Church represented by the Jesuit Fathers brought with it to the Crow Reservation a European feudal model of Catholic Church and an historical philosophical based world view. The preparation for the building of a permanent Catholic mission began in 1886 but six years before that time in 1880 Father Barceló, S.J. visited the Crows. Father Barceló visited the Crow people from 1880-1883; he lived among them eating their food and moving camp with them. Twelve chiefs had cabins but rarely lived in them.² As the Crow people were starving, they were participating in raids to slaughter cattle. They had followed the buffalo and suddenly in 1884 there were no more. At that time the United States Government imposed the 1884 Regulations upon the Indian tribes on all reservations which included the following provisions: The Agent allowed no war dancing. The punishment was no rations for ten days for participating in a war dance. Plural marriages required a twenty dollar fine and twenty days enforced labor with no rations. For practicing as a medicine person a medicine man or woman spent ten days in prison for "hindering civilization".³

By the early 1880's the Crow people because of disease, mostly smallpox, were reduced to one-quarter of their former population.⁴

The Fort Laramie Treaty and Grant's Peace Policy were still in effect. Grant's Peace Policy gave the Crow Reservation to the Methodists. However, in 1881 Father Barceló, after meeting opposition from Agent Keller, inquired of the Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions about his presence among the Crow. Father Brouillet, the Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, answered Father Barceló that the old ruling had been revoked and that as many churches as wished could evangelize on each reservation.⁵ Thus, Father Barceló continued his visits from Spokane and Helena to the Crow aware that he had a right to be there. He tried to court Agent Keller's favor although the Agent openly favored protestantism.⁶

In 1883 Father Peter Paul Prando joined Father Barceló's endeavor to translate the prayers of the Catholic Church and the small catechism of the Council of Baltimore into the Crow language. They baptized 307⁷ people and I. J. B. Brondel, Bishop of Helena, in 1883 administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to Iron Bull, a Crow band chief, and six others. This took place at the old agency at the Stillwater near the present site of Columbus.⁸

In 1884 the agency was moved to its present site from Absarokee, Montana. Father Prando paid a visit to the Crow Indian camps baptizing 533 infants in February of 1886. Then:

"Next May Rev. Father Urbano Grassi, S.J. was sent among the Crow, accompanied by Father Prando, to select a location for the Mission. They considered how at Prior Creek there was but a small portion of the Crow Tribe, far away from the others, and that part of the Reservation could be opened to the whites at anytime; so they thought a good place was Big Horn Valley. And as soon as Father Grassi saw the mouth of Rotten Grass, he looked around and

said: This is the right place to build the Mission, and so it was."⁹

Thus, Father Grassi expressed as a part of God's creation the new site of the Mission among the Crow people.

In January of 1887 the missionaries arrived at Custer Station and because of the snow had to reside in the hotel there for three weeks. "Then they started, travelling three days over one foot of snow, they arrived at Rotten Grass on February 21st and clearing a patch of snow 12 x 9 they struck the first tent which was their kitchen and everything. The Indians came and shook hands with the priests."¹⁰ When the weather grew milder they erected two more tents, one to be used for a parlor and storeroom and the other for a chapel in which they would have the service every Sunday "and the Indians would throng and fill up the large tent."¹¹

The priests spent the remainder of the winter in the tents. In the spring a contractor began to build a permanent Mission. By September 1887 they had built a school 60 x 40 feet and two and a half stories high.

The government set aside the land for the Mission and it was fenced and a garden planted. The building was to serve as school, chapel, and apartments for the priests and the Ursuline Sisters whom they expected.¹²

On the last day of September, 1888, the Sisters arrived on the stage at the agency. They were to teach the girls at the new St. Xavier Boarding School. The Sisters were from the Ursuline Order and included Rev. Mother Mary Magdalene, the Superior, Sister St. Joseph,

and Sister Rose, accompanied by their General Superior, Rev. Mother Amadeus. This very same day a Crow man and his followers had returned to Crow Agency successful in a raid of another tribe's horses. That evening after the Sisters had arrived the Indian warriors began to celebrate their victory and to shoot into the agency buildings.¹³ Raiding horses was against the 1884 Regulations and the method of celebration brought the United States Cavalry running from Fort Custer.

The Indian man who led these warriors was called "The Man Who Rides a Horse That Has Its Tail Wrapped Up" (or Tsistsiparis-Tsisse). According to a Jesuit's account this man had gone fasting in the spring and received a medicine dream. He had two symbols which carried this power, a broken sword and a special dust he carried. He demonstrated his power through an electric storm at Soap Creek by saying that he had caused it. He said that bullets could not hurt him and that he could divide the waters with his sword. The Jesuit journalist commented in his account that: "All the Crows were struck with terror, just like frogs." Young men began to follow him. His plan was to defeat the white man with his power.¹⁴

Since this so-called uprising of the Crows happened the very day the Ursuline Sisters arrived, the Jesuit account of the happening contained a reference to the event's religious significance. The Devil had apparently tried to interfere with the Sisters' safe arrival, since they were coming to "take charge of the poor debased Crow girls" in order to take them away from a "beastly life and raise them up to the path of virtue and civilization . . .". The Sisters were "quiet

and fearless and were only too happy to shed their blood at their first entering upon the battlefield," if this was God's wish, "and join the celestial choir of virgins, who follow the Lamb wherever he goes."¹⁵

On October first, the next day, the Sisters left the agency to go to St. Xavier. The "hostile warriors" came and shook hands with the Sisters. The Sisters arrived safely at the Mission and immediately set to hard work. Without servants, they scrubbed and cleaned to get the place ready. They did not think of sitting down and resting after their long journey.¹⁶ Thus, the newly founded Catholic Church on the Crow Reservation was ready for its Mission among the Crow people.

Father Barceló on his visits had a dream of a stationary mission among the Crows. He wrote:

" . . . from the very beginning I declared to them that I could not teach them properly, if they were to be all the time roaming about, that it was necessary for them to settle themselves in a fixed place, and there to cultivate the ground, to build a large and nice church and to do all the rest for their civilization."¹⁷

However, the St. Xavier Mission was formed according to Father Barcelo's vision of the people settling around the Church by the very fact that the Crow People were for the most part still mobile, since the Crow people would move their camp of tepees around the Church every Sunday or feast day. After Bishop Brondel dedicated the new Church at Crow Agency in 1893 he wrote: "On the Octave of the Ascension the church situated at the foot of the hills, in the middle of a hundred tepees . . . the church was dedicated under the patronage of St. Simon, the Apostle . . ."¹⁸

Thus, the St. Xavier Mission among the Crow was by its very structure a catechesis since it taught that the Church was to be the center of the Crow Indian people's lives. This construct was composed of two major parts. The first was the compound of the Mission itself. The school became the center of the Mission compound and of the Reservation. It was the center of the Church pulling all the people inward. The Indian people came to visit their children and were thus at the Mission for Benediction, prayers, and instruction.

By 1893 the village of the Mission itself was comprised of three main buildings and a dozen smaller ones. There was a three-story high brick-built college which could accommodate one-hundred boys, an academy for one-hundred thirty or more girls and small boys two and a half stories high with a porch around it, and the church, a frame building.¹⁹ With this and all the shops proprietors had built around the Mission the Bishop in reflection termed it a village.²⁰

That the Jesuits at St. Xavier saw the school as central to the catechetical teaching of the Crow Tribe was evident in their correspondence and their daily logs. They said that the loss of the boarding school would be the loss of the Crow Tribe to the Catholic Church or the ruin of the Crow Tribe, and that the school was essential in imparting the truths of faith to the Crow people.²¹

The Jesuits felt that the day school alone would not be sufficient to "civilize" the Indians since the Jesuits were conditioned to see the boarding school as a total life process within the center of the Church, a life which protected the students from superstitions, licentiousness and the Crow language of their home life.²²

There was also the actual educational process within the boarding school itself. Reverend Father Palladino expressed the educational philosophy of the time. When man was born he was "a blank and helpless little savage." If he was allowed to mature without education he would remain as such, a "savage". It was education which made him "civilized". But this education had to fit man's dual nature: spirit and matter, soul and body.²³ So, therefore, the Church had to be a part of the Indian child's education. "And since Christianity's necessary means to civilize the Indians could not be had outside of Christianity itself, the Government had to either enlist in the cause the services of Christianity or be doomed to failure in its attempt to civilize the Indian."²⁴ According to this logic these children should not be removed far away from their homes to boarding schools off the Reservation but should be separated into boarding schools on the Reservation itself. In this way the children would be away from all the "uncivilizing elements" of their home and yet still not "pine away" at being separated from their land. Nor would their parents mourn a lost child. Day schools alone would not be sufficient to withdraw them from the "blighting influence" of everyday life at home.²⁵

According to Father Palladino, training for the Indian should also be industrial for, after religion, industrial education was most important. "A plain common, English education embracing spelling, reading, and writing with the rudiments of Arithmetic is book learning sufficient for our Indians . . . Our Indians have a deep aversion to real labor." To help their uncivilized condition they should be

"forming habits of industry and useful toil . . . We may, therefore, conclude that to civilize the Indian his education should be mainly agricultural." This is "most suited to his needs."²⁶

This was the widely accepted philosophy at the time which formed the basis of the Catholic Indian boarding schools. The schools were to be the backbone of the religious education of the Indian people. Around the school all the Crow Catholic people gathered to participate in religious activities and the celebration of the feast days of the Church. Here they learned the teachings of the Catholic Church by listening to their children recite the catechism and prayers in the Crow language. St. Xavier Mission was indeed a village around which the whole community could gather.

Within the school and Mission surrounding it, the historical construct the Jesuits imposed upon the cosmological construct of the Crow showed itself most in the content and method of the direct catechesis. The Jesuits wrote the catechisms, sermons, Bible stories, and hymns in the Crow language and taught them to the Crow people in the Crow language.²⁷ The translation was, however, mostly a literal translation in which all the categories such as body and soul, mortal and venial sin, followed the philosophical European construct for which the Jesuits coined new words in the Crow language. The Jesuits used this translation of the Catechism with the teaching method recommended by the Church - the logical method. This method was just the opposite of that method used for learning in a cosmological construct - the way in which the traditional Crow person learned. The logical method followed this pattern: reject sin, follow God's laws, and God will

reward you with love and grace. The Crow's cosmological, experiential method had the opposite sequence: one experienced the Creator's power and gift, and, because of this gift one followed the instructions when using the gift. For example, a medicine might carry the injunction that the owner could never speak crossly to anyone.

The sacramental system of the Jesuit model fitted the Crow's cosmological pattern more closely. The mysticism involved within the rites and symbols of the Sacraments resembled the sacramentalism of the Crow Indian medicines. The Catholic Church taught then and now that a Sacrament had the power as a sign to effect a change in man's relationship to God through Jesus Christ. There was an element of mysticism present in that the immediate representation was elevated to an ascendancy - that God's power was present within the Church, the sacramental sign, feast day, or blessed medals and pictures, and was thus available to people. Humans were in a sense lifted to meet the transcendent and partook of this power.

The Indian people could grasp this meaning in part because of the power they recognized within their Indian medicines. An Indian person procured strength and ascendance through the use of medicine. Man partook of powers reserved for animals or divinity by the use of such medicines.

Two bases for agreement between the two sacramental Catholic and Crow systems existed. First, there was faith - a belief in the power behind the use of the sacrament. Secondly, there was an instrumentality present in both. There was the use of a specific material

representation which carried the power; for example, the water in Baptism or the medicine bundle of an Indian person.

Besides commonalities in the two sacramental systems there was much cultural confusion. The main cause of this conflict was the world view of each. The Crow people were participants in a cyclical renewal of nature with a dualistic view of sacramentality; medicine might be used to curse as well as to bless. There was also a tolerance for a plurality of ways to receive this power. Any number of medicines called each person to power which might be the medicine of the Catholics as well as any other. As one Crow Indian man explained it, he preferred the old way; but he knew that his children would need the strength of the Church's medicine. He wanted them to have what would shield them effectively from the hurts of life. In this new whiteman's world his children would need whiteman's medicine; and the medicine of the Catholics was strong.²⁸

The Catholic Church, on the other hand, saw all that God had created as good and because of this a sacrament could be used only as a blessing. Also, there were only certain designated things which could partake of sacramentality and these the Catholic Church chose out of its history and tradition. The magisterium, or teaching body of the Catholic Church, considered all those things which were said to possess sacramentality but were not of the Catholic tradition as false, ineffective, or even of the devil. Therefore, the missionaries who first came to the reservation perceived Indian medicine as false and evil.

Finally, even the very method of exchange regarding the sacramentality between the two cultures caused confusion. The Jesuit's purpose was to substitute the sacramental system of the Catholic Church for the Indian medicines while the Crow people added the Catholic sacraments to their own system of sacraments.

This model of Church began to crumble in 1900 because of economic problems. The United States Government no longer supported religious schools with contracts. Thus, the Catholic Church had to ask its members through the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions to support the Indian missions monetarily.

The difference in philosophy between the Catholic Church and the Protestant Churches and their influences on Government policy was another strain upon the St. Xavier model of mission. Catholic feudal life was lived in a wholistic pattern where the students participated in a religious life process; whereas Protestant catechetical teachings were centered wholly around the Bible which could be taught in an hour lesson in a day. The Crow Indian people had heard of day schools and wanted them because they wanted their children at home with them. It was easier for the Baptists and Congregationlists to respond to this desire. The Jesuits were involved in a losing battle to continue a boarding situation while the Government, the Crow people, and the protestant ministers were in favor of day schools.²⁹

Moreover, the Protestant American feared the feudal model of the Catholic Church. The Federal Government and the Protestant reform organizations were committed to the substitution of the individualism of white society for the communal based tribalism of the Indian

peoples. They were suspicious of the feudal model of the Catholic Church and its connection with a foreign power, the Pope. Feudalism, according to Protestant America, had never been accepted in the United States as a viable way of American life and was thus un-American.³⁰ Commissioner Morgan in the 1890's cautioned people who listened to the Catholics that if they were not careful ". . . we are all to go back to mediaevalism with all that condition implies."³¹ Much of the trouble during the late 19th and early 20th century between the federal government and the Catholic Church over Indian education was because of this different basis of life style.

In fact, Americanizing forces at work in this country were such that the Catholic Church was never quite able to maintain its complete feudal structure within the Northwest Indian Tribes. Before the Jesuits arrived the momentum of diminution and the division of lands had already carried the Indian people away from their identity within the tribe to being individual land owners. The United States Government called the Indian people of the plains to Fort Laramie to sign a treaty in 1851 and again 1868. In 1851 the Reservations were loosely formed to establish some control over the roaming bands of Indian people. The authors of the Treaty in 1851 designated for the Crows a thirty-eight million acre stretch of land in which they were free to roam and hunt.³²

At the second Ft. Laramie Council in 1868 officials reduced this area to eight million acres. To prevent trouble with newly arrived white settlers the Indians were to be restricted to reservation life. In 1882, and again in 1891, the Crow ceded large portions of this land

to the United States Government. Within the small parcel of land that was left, the United States Government officials in 1881 allotted one-hundred parcels of land to individual Crow Indians.³³

In 1887 the Dawes Act was passed. This act allotted the lands within the restricted boundaries of the Indian Reservations into parcels, the highest portion being 160 acres, to individual Indians. The United States Government enacted the Dawes Act "to foster individualism and enlightened selfishness."³⁴

Thus, the Governmental policy of land allotment fostered individual farms over the whole Reservation. The original feudal Catholic Church structure historically was comprised of a communal structure in which land communally owned and located within the mission compound or just outside it was cultivated by members of the church community. Since the Government was considered a custodian of Indian lands the Catholic Church was forced to comply with the Government's plans for land allotment to the Crow Indian people. Because of this St. Xavier Mission never fully attained the communal farm aspect of the feudal European Catholic Church. In all other ways, however, the Church on the Reservation during the boarding school years (1888-1921) maintained a feudal Catholic Church structure.

From 1907-1921 there were other forces which threatened the feudal Catholic Church structure; one was the spreading of the Mission to other parts of the Reservation. This was an outward movement rather than the inward movement to channel all energies to the central boarding school. This spreading out decentralized the Mission's personnel, resources, and financial support.

There were two main reasons for moving to the other parts of the Reservation. First, the St. Xavier Mission Jesuits felt it their duty to minister to and catechize those children in the Government Boarding Schools.³⁵ Later, as Protestant day schools grew up the Jesuits were forced to build churches and day schools in other areas of the Reservation in order to keep within the Catholic Church those who had been baptized Catholic.³⁶

Despite the pressure being placed upon the philosophy of the boarding school way of life, during the 1907-1921 period, the Jesuits constantly repeated the necessity of the model of the European wholistic approach to the Christianizing of the Crow people. They constantly referred to the loss of the Crow Tribe to Christianity if the St. Xavier Boarding School was closed; that it would be the ruin of the Crow race. That they saw the school as the very center of Catholic Christianity was evident.³⁷ However, the struggle finally ended in 1921 when St. Xavier Boarding School closed.³⁸

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDING OF THE ST. XAVIER MISSION 1887-1893

Before one can understand the "founding of the Mission" in 1887 by the Catholic Church in Eastern Montana on the Crow Reservation one must realize that there was much confusion because of the difference in world views between the Church, the Jesuits and the Crow Indians. The Jesuits taught much more than a new faith but a whole new cultural perspective based on a Judeo-Christian tradition. The Crow people, it was true, were in need of a new orientation since the buffalo were dead, and the whiteman's settlements were crowding in around them. Just by reflecting on the circumstances one saw that the old way was gone. The Church, however, could have strengthened and encouraged many parts of the Crow Indian culture in the 1880's. But with the Church's superior attitude of "civilizing", as well as christianizing, the Indian people the Catholic Church lost the chance for cultural enrichment both in its liturgy and in its life.

It is necessary to understand the word "mission" and the history of the word "foundation" before one can grasp the full meaning of a mission founded among the Crow Indian people. Mission meant literally a sending forth. There were two Christian experiences which manifested this action of being sent. The first was the Exodus experience. The Hebrews were chosen and called forth to a new land of promise. History as a linear movement was born in this act of

journey from a past in Egypt, to a present of desert, and to a future in the Promised Land. In Egypt history was cyclical and cosmological, where the sun and the seasons expressed the unfolding of time in a re-occurrence of life in a never ending circle. This experience of life as a circle was left behind as a past, and time took on the linear characteristics of past, present, and future, which the western world has accepted as reality.¹

This Old Testament experience was the background for the second Christian experience which can be found in the New Testament. After Jesus' Resurrection he instructed his disciples to teach all nations.² This was made possible by the wind of Pentecost. The Spirit came and sent the disciples forth to all corners of the earth. Now mission was necessary to do the work of Christianizing.

As an example, the Spirit sent St. Paul, the Christian Church's first great missionary, on four missionary journeys to foreign lands.³ These journeys contained both the Exodus experience of journey and the Spirit of Pentecost sending him forth. St. Luke showed this by relating the circumstances prior to his first journey. "One day while they were offering worship to the Lord and keeping fast, the Holy Spirit said 'I want Barnabas and Saul set apart for the work to which I have called them.' So it was that after fasting and prayer they laid their hands on them and sent them off."⁴ Thus, Paul is credited for building the Church in many lands, but he never built a church structure, nor a mission compound, nor a priest's house, nor a school. Rather, his was a dynamic spirit which preached the Gospel, shared the Bread

of Life and moved on. Whole communities were converted, baptized, and then were left to create their own liturgy and religious community.⁵

It would have been a much different history of the Catholic Church on the Crow Reservation if the first missionaries to the Crow, Father Barceló, S.J. and Father P. P. Prando, S.J., had followed Saint Paul's example of sharing the Gospel and then moving on. Father Barceló's and Father Prando's instructions were taking root before any building was put up and before many had accepted baptism. The established leadership had already formed a religious community by 1883. This was shown in a page of Father Prando's notes. He referred to Iron Bull, the Chief of a Crow band, who could be seen at times repeating the instructions in religion to his camp of Indians.⁶

However, this was not to be, for the history of the Catholic Church in the old world had many more centuries to develop new forms. The sending forth of the Catholic Church in the old world moved into the farthest limits of the earth even to Ireland by 432-461 A.D. Each community was a new center from which new conquests were made. This was not a cyclical motion but waves in a movement of progress. Each center was the base of missionaries sent out to teach the "good news".⁷ During these times each country was allowed to form its own liturgy and Catholic Church structure around the Gospel message. So that by the ninth and tenth century it was natural for the Catholic Church to take on the feudal structure of the profane governmental system since it formed its structure around the culture. By the eleventh century about a thousand religious orders founded monasteries which gave the virtue of stability a strong place in the Catholic Church.

Then in the 16th and 17th centuries missionaries moved into the new lands of China and South America and Mexico. The Catholic Church could have begun there in the same way it had in Ireland by allowing each community to develop its own liturgy around its unique culture. In this way the Catholic Church would have become enriched culturally, as well as, numerically. However, the Catholic Church became embroiled in the struggle over the missionaries' use of unorthodox methods. Ultimately, the Latin way prevailed. A strict format in liturgy and form bound the missionaries.⁸

So rather than a natural growth occurring in each new area the Catholic Church began transplanting the feudal structure and monastery model into the Americas. Thus came the phrase used commonly: the "founding of a mission." This gave the act of mission a stability, a certain "come-to-us paternalism" rather than the movement of a continual being sent by the Spirit.

In the mission compounds of California, for example, the natives soon "began to spend their nights and days within" the mission compound. In the morning these people would leave their huts, either within the compound or gathered closely outside, for daily Mass. Then they would each go to their work. "In the evening they would finish work at 5 p.m. and go to their evening meal, entertainment and religious instruction." Their whole day was physically centered around the Church which represented Christ among his people. This feudal community was a paternalistic design at best. The young girls who were not married were locked in at night. Many missions had their own form of punishment for crimes. Each person had a string and would put knots

on it when they sinned so that they would be able to tell the priest their sins and their number.⁹

This was the model of Church which the first Jesuit missionaries, Father Barceló, S.J. and Father P. P. Prando, S.J., brought with them to the Crow Indian Reservaton - the dream of a stationary mission around which the new Crow converts could gather by coming to the Mission. Thus, the Jesuits built the first building in 1887 situated on the Big Horn River at the mouth of the Rotten Grass Creek. "Around the mission, a small settlement sprang up, with the usual complement of general store, post office and stage coach station."¹⁰

This mission foundation based upon the European model of Church was placed in the middle of a land populated with the nomadic bands of the Crow tribe. They had only a few years earlier followed the buffalo which was their sustenance and their protection from the elements. The mountains and plains were their home and the seasons their cycle of history.

The Crows were a cosmological people as were the Egyptians. First, they experienced life within a cyclical pattern. To illustrate this one can reflect upon one of the oldest traditions of the Crow people, the Parade Dance or *asshéeletaa dissúua, which literally meant dancing through the camp. This dance is still used and is prayed in a circle moving around the center of the camp. The dancers stop four times to honor the four seasons in thanksgiving for the last good year and then to ask for a blessing on the year to come. There is present in this a renewal of history passing in a circle as each year replays itself.¹¹

Compactness was another quality of the Crow Indian cosmological society.¹² For example, the name for the creator of the world was *Isáahkawuattee. This literally meant "Old Man Coyote." The question often asked was: "Was this Old Man Coyote, God, a representative of him, or was he someone else?" The answer to that is yes and no. Differentiation is a linear process and is born of history, of past, present, and future. The step by step process of logic saying "this and that is different from that" follows a straight line, not a circular structure. Old Man Coyote was a humorous figure who was a part of man in his position as creature somewhat like Charlie Brown in the cartoon "Peanuts". But he also hid himself in his very identity of Old Man Coyote and this hiding was a quality of a transcendent being. Therefore, he was both and neither.

The third quality of the cosmological structure, as well as the cyclical and compact elements, was the meaning of the cosmos to the Crow people.¹³ All the cosmos, or creation and nature, were a part of the sacred. Ritual, prayer, and sacredness embraced all nature. The signs of sacraments of the sacred, or *baaxpée were those parts of nature indicated by visions to be helpers such as different animals or star persons to each Crow family. Thus, religion was a way of life encompassing the Crow in a compact circular unit.

This was the type of history western European man encountered on the plains in the tribes of Indian people living there. Outsiders many times could not comprehend the meanings within a circular, compact history, so they assumed the Indian people did not know their history. Some persons who intruded upon tribal life on the plains,

however, were sensitive enough to listen to the Crow stories and understand presented there an oral history. Even then, however, the oral history was often too compact for them to understand.

The Jesuit Priests and the Ursuline Sisters brought the Catholic Church to the Crow Reservation. They carried with them the feudal pattern of the eleventh century Catholic Church with one exception. Because the Catholic Church was not founded on the Crow Reservation earlier than 1887 it had already lost some of its feudal aspects through Americanizing forces. The United States Government had already set aside acreage for the Government farms on the Crow Reservation. These were communal farms where the Indian men would work for a share of the profit. Also by 1881 one-hundred Crows had already selected allotments. In 1887 Congress passed the Dawes Act and general allotment of land was beginning.¹⁴

Thus, the Catholic Church did not find it necessary to develop communal farms around the Church. In fact it was better the Jesuits allowed individual families to work on their own plot of land in order to feed themselves and to become good citizens. Work was needed, as well as prayer. When seeing that the Crows were dancing too much, Father Prando told them, "Hereafter, you must learn two things, prayer and work."¹⁵

Even though the foundation of the St. Xavier Mission was at first limited to a school and Church there was still present the main aspect of the foundation of the European model of Church. Soon after their arrival in 1887 Father Prando and his companions made plans to erect the first building which was to function as a dwelling and a chapel,

but primarily a school for young children.¹⁶ Lumber for this first frame structure had to be hauled from thirty miles away. In the year following, 1888, a new wing was added to the first building. This new unit measured 25 x 100 feet and provided more dormitory and classroom area. By Christmas the children in school numbered 146. This same year the Church was built, a structure measuring 76 x 36 feet.¹⁷

The school was necessary for "civilizing" the Indians through their children. "The school is considered of prime importance, as the experience of missionaries among the Indians teaches them that the only effectual way of civilizing them is to educate the children. A new generation must be created before the aboriginal prejudices and predilections can successfully be eradicated."¹⁸ This the Catholic Sentinel wrote based on an interview with Father Prando in 1886.

The second reason for the school, and just as important, was the building of a community for the purpose of catechetics. Catechesis in the early Catholic Church was the simple instruction given to persons being prepared for baptism. They were called catechumens. Early in the Catholic Church their preparation for baptism was the simple telling of the "Good News", i.e. the Gospel. However, after many heresies and the Reformation, catechesis became a broad term used to designate the totality of Catholic Christian doctrine. Certainly to the Jesuits in 1880 it meant teaching about God and His attributes, Jesus Christ, sin, redemption and the whole entourage of hymns, accepted prayers, and the Catholic sacramental system.

First, the Jesuit Fathers gathered the people. In 1888 the Catholic Sentinel interviewed Bishop Brondel. "On Sunday there was a

great gathering of Indians early in the morning and even the previous evening the people gathered around the Mission and started their campfire."¹⁹ These people had come to visit their children on Sunday. The children were a magnet to draw their families to the Mission and the Jesuit Fathers capitalized on this.

The Jesuits called the Crow families together for evening catechism from 8 p.m. to half past nine. The women would sit in the front benches and the men in the back. They would repeat the prayers over and over until they finally knew them. They would sing hymns in the same fashion. Finally, the bishop or priest would tell them a story from Scripture or a story relating to the history of the Catholic Church, and all would leave with a blessing.²⁰ This was the chosen model of catechetics which was based on the European model of the Catholic Church with all the people centered around the Mission to which they had come. The people were drawn to the mission rather than the missionary being sent out to them.

The method of repetition and group response must have been troublesome for the Indian people since their prayers were not memorized but were spoken freely and individually "from the heart". Formulas for prayers were not used by the Crow for any tribal liturgical function. Spoken prayer was a very individual act based upon the person's vision or given right to speak.

The Catechists, the Jesuit Fathers, Father Peter Paul Prando and Father Peter Bandini developed the presentation of catechesis. Father Peter Paul Prando, S.J. gave much flavor to his teaching Catechism to the people. He was an outgoing, friendly person with a quick sense of

humor. He was a talkative man who continually spoke about the Indian people.²¹ Father Prando was born in Costanzana, Italy in 1845. He came to America to study the English language at Woodstock, Maryland in 1879. This was in preparation for Father Prando's future ministry in the Rocky Mountain Missions. His first mission among the Indians was St. Peter's Mission among the Blackfeet. He stayed among them until 1883 when he joined Father Barceló in Crow country.²²

Father Prando's personality was revealed in his letters to his superior in the Jesuit Order. He described some of his encounters with the Crow people. His missionary skill was illustrated in a description he wrote of his meeting with Iron Bull, a camp chief, head of a band of Crows. When Iron Bull addressed Father Prando he used sign language and raised his hand to his forehead then extended it to indicate a feather. He stated that he was a great chief and the sign he had made was to show his high dignity. The chief then proclaimed his war deeds. Father Prando listened with patience. When it was his turn to answer he raised his hand as high as he could above his head and waived it as a plume and stated that he was a great chief among white men. On Sundays the white men would come to his fine and large house where there were prayers to God. Then he, as their chief, would stand in a very high place and would "talk, talk, and talk". The white men would hear him in great silence.²³ The Crow people responded positively to Father Prando because he commanded respect with his officiousness. The Crows also highly appreciated his sense of humor. Father Prando aptly became known as *Isáahkawuattee, or "Old Man Coyote," because of these two qualities.

Father Prando could show a fiery temper and wounded pride as well. When the Blackfeet would not allow him into the place where the buffalo tongues were being prepared for the Sundance, he decided it was because of some evil which was being practiced. He thus told them even the medicine lodge was evil, said goodbye to the children, silently left the adults, and "galloped out of the camp with his habit flowing magnificently behind him."²⁴ He wore glasses for which the Crow people gave him his Crow Indian name, * Ishteúwaatash "Iron Eyes". The Crow people gave Indian names for a particular distinction in the person. Father Prando's name probably had as much to say about his personality as about his physical apparel.

Father Prando was an excellent linguist. He developed the orthography which the Jesuits used for all their Crow Language translations. Most of the hymns, the first catechism, and the Bible stories written in the Crow language were his work.²⁵ Father Barceló had begun to translate the small catechism and the prayers. When Father Prando joined Father Barceló he continued that work²⁶ but also immediately began to write a hymn in Crow and to translate the Old Testament Bible stories.²⁷ He undoubtedly did this because he realized the Crow people's love and understanding of music and stories.

Father Prando told in a letter to his superior of an experience he had during one of his first attempts to instruct using the Bible stories in Crow. He came into a camp at the big dance where two old women were sitting. As he approached they were afraid and asked whether he was a man or a woman since he was in his cassock. He said he was a man, sat down on the ground and proceeded to tell the story

of the beginning of the human race from Genesis. When he came to the part of how the woman was created, one of the women sprang to her feet in anger. She had a stick in her hands and began moving as if she wanted to get behind him. "Without judging rashly her intentions I suspected that she might give me such a blow as to make a martyr of me." So he got up, paid his respects and left in a hurry promising to return some other time to complete the instruction.²⁸ The problem here was most undoubtedly an error in pronunciation. The word for "rib" out of which woman was made was *dúuse. This word was very close to *dúushe which means "the back side", in this case a man's. The woman had reason to feel insulted.

Substitution was the overall catechetical method of the Jesuits. The Bible stories were to take the place of the Crow people's stories. This was a destruction of Crow history, literature and even theology. Had the Jesuits studied the stories of the Crows and learned the Crow Indian's special Old Testament, i.e. traditional mythology, the history of the Crow Catholic Church might have been a more dynamic story.

The myth of a cosmological people created its theology in a circle. In the Crow creation myth Isáahkuwuattee or "Old Man Coyote," made a world peopled with Crow in the center of the earth. This earth he created out of a small lump of clay at the bottom of a pond. He spread the mud, and he caused it to get bigger and bigger with the four corners of the earth as its four directions. A picture of the earth would be a round flat circle with the four directions criss-crossed on its surface.

For this story the Jesuit priests substituted the creation story from Genesis. The story as it was written in the Crow language was stilted and very simple.²⁹ It was not an attempt to translate Scripture into Crow. Rather it was a Bible story. Missionaries often translated Scripture or the Bible quoting chapter and verse. The Jesuits at St. Xavier Mission never did this. They wrote instead the stories in the Crow language from the Bible embellishing them and choosing those stories of Jesus' life which they felt would appeal to the Crow people. The Jesuits translated an extensive collection of stories from the Old and New Testaments.³⁰

In 1891 the Jesuits started a class in the Old and New Testaments for the Indian people's instruction. "The older books of the Bible especially met with great favor, and the verdict of the Indians as expressed to Father Prando was that, Moses was the greatest medicine man they had ever heard of."³¹ It is not surprising that the Old Testament stories were of more appeal to the Indian people, since they were closer to their own cosmological world view.

The New Testament or the story of Jesus was more difficult to teach. There was nothing in the Crow stories to prepare them for a coming savior. There were plenty of examples of healing and sacred power but these were never contained in one person. To wait for someone's coming required a linear historical perspective.

Father Prando decided early in his stay among the Crow that there should be a substitution of names for God and for Father Prando himself. The Crow People called both God and the Jesuit priests *Isáah-kawuattee, or "Old Man Coyote". So after putting on their cassocks,

the priests went through the camps telling everyone they were to be known as *iíttashteeshipite, or "black robes". The Indian people might ask that a designated person change a child's name if the child were in poor health or a person might receive a new name because of an heroic deed. Since this change of names was within their experience, Father Prando told the people God had thrown away his old name, *Isáahkuwuatte, and had gotten a new one for himself, *Akbaatatdía, or "maker of all things".³² Father Prando could not realize that by throwing away the name the Crow Tribe would be throwing their theology away as well.

Besides the substitution of names and of stories, hymns were a strong catechetical tool. The Crow People loved music and loved to sing. "Awe Aken" and "St. Inage" were two of the early translated hymns. Both spoke of the greatness of God and the praises of which he was deserving. Awe Aken * Awe Aakeen meant "here on earth".³³ St. Inage * St. Iiláaxe) meant "Holy Spirit". Both also spoke of heaven; the "Saint Inage" lyrics told of the road to heaven which would be a place of praising.³⁴

Father Prando also translated the formal prayers of the Catholic Church into the Crow Language. He translated the Our Father as follows:

<u>Minupgua</u>	<u>ak</u>	<u>makukure</u>
* <u>Biilapxuua</u>	<u>ak</u>	<u>baakukkule</u>
Our Father	who (the one who is)	in heaven (above)
<u>dinashe</u>	<u>izishiu.</u>	<u>Andibazeze</u>
* <u>daláshe</u>	<u>ichisshioh.</u>	<u>Anniiwacheeítche</u>
thy name	hallowed be.	Thy kingdom (chiefdom)

<u>mare hii.</u>	<u>Ba andanashde diu</u>
<u>*baleehíih.</u>	<u>Baaannalásde</u>
us come (reach).	Thy will be done (may things be according as your heart goes)

<u>makukure</u>	<u>arakota</u>	<u>ame</u>	<u>aken</u>	<u>kuh</u>
<u>*baakukkule</u>	<u>alakooté</u>	<u>awe</u>	<u>áakeen</u>	<u>kúh</u>
in heaven (above)	as (like)	earth	on	also

<u>karakotii.</u>	<u>Mare mapambarusua</u>	<u>hinne</u>
<u>*kalakóotiih.</u>	<u>Baleewaapammaaluusúua</u>	<u>hinne</u>
as it is (be it likewise)	our daily bread (food)	this

<u>mirikiu.</u>	<u>Miru baskiotao</u>	<u>arakavirett baviavuk.</u>
<u>*bilikkuúh.</u>	<u>Balee waskootáau</u>	<u>alakawíileetbaawiwuuk.</u>
give thou us.	Our enemies	without evil we wish to make.

<u>Dih</u>	<u>mare arakaviretta</u>	<u>mirikiu.</u>
<u>*Díh</u>	<u>baleealakawíileete</u>	<u>bilikkuúh.</u>
Thou	us evil without	give us.

Arakavia mare diazissa.
*Alakawíia baleeliahchissaah.
 Sin us lead not into (Thou cause us not to do).

<u>Bagavia</u>	<u>gagua</u>	<u>mare hiizissa.</u>
<u>*Baaxawíia</u>	<u>xaxúa</u>	<u>baleehíihchissaah.</u>
Things evil	all	us make Thou not reach.

Kotak.
*Kooták.
 Amen (That's right). ³⁵

In order to understand the meanings the Crows received from the teaching of the Jesuits, the catechetical tools such as the prayers and catechisms need to be examined in segments, both in the Crow language the Jesuits used to express these religious ideas and in their English translation.

In the Our Father just given there are several observations evident. Men used the form minupguá (*biilápxe) for father. Women called their father *basáake. There was no reference to this

difference in the translation. Note there was no translation for "hallowed be;" instead they used izishiu (*íchisshioh), or "let them love". They also used the word for "eat," barasua (*baaluusúua), rather than the word for "bread" (*baaxawuá).

The catechism which Father Prando translated was called the small Baltimore Catechism. This catechism was adopted through a meeting in Baltimore of the Bishops of the United States who had met in 1866. They approved a body of Catholic doctrine and called it the Baltimore Catechism. It was meant to be a catalog of truths taught by the Catholic Church but catechists, i.e. Catechism teachers, took the document as it was, in summary form, and used the method of rote memorization for instruction.

The general outline of the Catechism was presented in seven chapters: I. On God, II. The Blessed Trinity, III. Jesus Christ, IV. On Sin, V. Sacraments, VI. Confession, VII. Holy Eucharist.³⁶ The titles were written in English although the text was printed in the Crow language. The outline was a treatise on dogmatic theology, an example of differentiation, i.e. philosophical abstractions in a highly concentrated form. There were no stories or myths in concrete form here. For example, the Blessed Trinity was a mystery best told in story form, but rather the catechism was outlined in question and answer form.

Chapter III taught the beliefs of heaven and hell and Chapter IV outlined the kinds of sins. The fact that Jesus Christ came to save us on the cross was the only mention of forgiveness in either chapter, and it was a very sterile mention of salvation. One question speaks

of heaven (number 22) in reference to the last day. There are many references to hell and purgatory: (questions number 22, 29, 30, 32).

The heavy emphasis on sin and hell in these chapters of the catechism prove that there was and is an assumption the missionary can too easily make, and that is "to convince the world of sin, instead of leaving that task to the Holy Spirit, as Christ suggested." But, of course, unless the Crow people had heard of sin they would have no need of a redeemer.³⁷

There were no myths or stories of the Crow people which told of the coming of a redeemer. Such a concept needed history with a future in which to take form. Cosmology had its own saving elements within it: the renewing of life each year with the signs of the power given to them - their yearly opening of the medicine bundle. This power of medicine was to bring good to the people, family and friends. Medicine healed them and shielded them from harm. God had given them that medicine as a helper. All of its qualities were those of a savior - power, healing, shielding from harm, the gift of goodness. It was also true that a medicine possessed the power to do harm to one's enemies, but after the preaching of Christ's message "to love your enemy" those who accepted this message would be obligated to use it only for good. The Crow people would have understood Jesus as the greatest medicine man, a healer, a shield.

Father Prando instead did not once use the word *baáxpee, or "sacred," in his small Catechism precisely because it referred to Indian medicine. To the Jesuit Fathers the medicine bundle was at the least superstition and more often than not considered a diabolical

evil. Under the heading of "The Great Superstition" Father Prando wrote: "Near the entrance of almost every Crow lodge could be seen three sticks disposed in (a) pyramid; and on this pyramid rested either the stuffed head of a buffalo or a blanket tightly rolled in (a) bundle and containing some Medicine or superstitious objects; . . ."³⁸

In Chapter II of the Catechism, Father Prando translated the Holy Spirit as St. Ináge which was literally "Saint Spirit." Because Father Prando would not use *baáxpe for "holy," he was left with an English word "Saint," to convey his meaning. He also referred to the Blessed Trinity in the same way - "St. Trinity."³⁹

In Chapter I, (question and answer 3), Father Prando referred to God as a being without a body - baagúaretak *(baaxúaleetak). This expression was used for the disembodied spirits which roamed upon the earth and gave cause for fear and alarm or at least discomfort. It was surprising that he would have used that specific expression because of its meaning to the people even though it was technically correct. When referring to the Holy Spirit, in Chapter II, (question and answers 7, 11, 12) he use Ináge *(iiláaxe), which also meant "spirit," but derived its meaning from the spirit within man, that which moved him, or his soul. The word itself came from the word *iiláaxaxe, or "shadow."⁴⁰

There were several other translation problems in Chapters I and II. There was no way to distinguish between the people on earth and the three persons in one God when teaching the Trinity in the Crow language. In Chapter II (question 7) Father Prando wrote the word

"Persons" in English rather than viragpáke (*bilaxpáake) which referred to "people" or "persons," amé áken (*awé áakeen), "on the earth". In the same chapter (questions 7, 10, and 12), Father Prando spelled the Son - Inákuaze⁴¹ which is now spoken and spelled *Dáakbachee. The initial "I" stands for "His" - meaning the Father's Son - and "n" was written in the Jesuit orthographic where we now write "D." Why there is a "u" written where we now write "b" is unclear.

A concept the Crows had not developed in the Crow language because of their cosmological world view was that of past and future. In Chapter I (question and answer number 4), there was the statement that "God knew all things past, present and future". Father Prando had to resort to spatial terms rather than those of time: issakusse (*issakusseé), meaning "forward or ahead of," and iríesse (*alíassee)- meaning "behind as in a line". Both of these words may have been used in reference to the path of life which was one concrete example which the Indian people used to express a linear concept of progression. The word for present used here was hinnakkashe (*hilaakaáshe) which meant "right here and now". It was a word associated with time.⁴² This again portrayed the cosmological circle in which the past and future were not developed but the present was lived in the center of the circle over and over again.

Chapter III was entitled Jesus Christ. Virugpaktarik (*bilaxpáaktaahilik) expressed Jesus to be the "true man" or "the man with good ways". In question nineteen Father Prando also stated that Jesus saved us. Since there was no concept with the Crows of a redeemer coming, Father Prando used iré (*ilé) a word which meant to

"keep us alive" or to "keep us from harm". The Crow people could comprehend the concepts of a shield for protection and continual creation which were present in the word iré (*ilé). However, the total theme of redemption as taught in (questions 17 and 22) was foreign to the Crow people in 1887. In (question twenty-two) there were four terms which Father Prando had to invent: "the last day" - mapé ihakashe (* baapé iháakaashe): "the judge" - zirashízimazik (*chilasshíhchiihmaachik) - "the one who thinks about it; "heaven" - makustezeimazik (* baakussdéehcheihmaachik) - causing to go above; "hell" - biré isse makozikté (*bilée issée baakoochihté) - "the big fire forever".⁴³ The fact that there were formerly no terms for these concepts was again indicative of a cosmological society. The Christian concept of after life was futuristic. The division of the world into compartments was a highly differentiated scheme. The Crow's cosmological compact view of the world stressed rather the relatedness; and the myth of story created its own organization of after life right here on earth.

The fourth chapter in the little Baltimore Catechism was on sin. The first part of the lesson was concerned with what sin was, and the kinds there were. The word for sin was arakavía (*alakawíia) which meant "the bad things that we do". Question twenty-nine and thirty-two are anthropomorphic in character giving God the human act of negative rejection. This was illustrated in the English translation: God will cause the people to be enemies of Himself if they commit the big sin. Sin will cause God to love us "little". These two sentences are surprising considering the inaccurate theology contained in them. The

last question dealt with the seven capital sins. Father Prando used the word "roots," i.e. sin roots to explain the seven sins as the roots of all evils. The word he chose meant literally "roots" - izíhzhishia (*ichíhchishhiia). The use of the word "root" in this context must have been amusing to the Crow people as they thought of carrots and turnips.⁴⁴

The fifth chapter in the small catechism was the Sacraments. Father Prando again presented lists and a condensed explanation of each Sacrament. There was no descriptive word for sacrament itself but the explanation found good expression in the Crow language. It stated that the Sacraments made our spirit good, that Jesus brought us gifts, and that by things visible, or signs, God had taken pity on us and in doing so wanted to give us "good". The names of the Sacraments were explanatory. For example, Baptism was Maré ináge isshuva (*Baleeíláaxe iísshuwua) - "our soul's washing". The word for Eucharist gave no indication of bread but was Makukure barushé (*Báakukkule baaluushé) - "heavenly food". The great grandmothers on the reservation said they were taught *Baaxawúa chíakaate, or "little white bread," rather than the heavenly food translation. *Kaate meant "small" but was often used as an endearment which was most probable here; communion was *makukure barushé - which was "heavenly food" but now is *baaxawúa chía duusúua - "you eat the white bread"; Penance was described as Arakavia ziváo (*alakawíia chiwaáu) or, "telling of sins".⁴⁵

The sixth chapter on confession was mostly a how-to manual. The word used for sorry was interesting: i - mikurupiak (*iiwiikulupíak).

It literally meant "I am upset with myself". The primary reason given for confessing of sins was not to lose heaven. It is important to note that the chapter on confession preceded communion.⁴⁶ This coupled with question number 53 in the next chapter on the Holy Eucharist which gave the requirement for preparation for communion were indicative of the stronghold Jansenism had within the Church. Jansenism was transported from Europe to this country and finally, to the Indian Missions. Jansenism was a heresy which among many other beliefs held that one must receive the Sacrament of Penance just before communion so that one could be as worthy as possible. The Catholic Church held that this was not so, that one need only receive the Sacrament of Penance when one was in the state of serious or mortal sin before receiving the Eucharist. The portion of the catechism which treated Penance before the Eucharist was probably indicative of the influence of at least this one belief of Jansenism.

Question fifty appeared as: What is the Eucharist or Makukuré barushé (or "heavenly food")? This needed some adapting for Crow understanding but translated well. The answer looked like this:

<u>Bagavúarak</u>	<u>dagpizé</u>	<u>istasshé</u>
* <u>Baaxawúalak</u>	<u>daxpitchée</u>	<u>ishtásshe</u>
Bread	Bear's	slick eyes (grapes)
<u>biragé</u>	<u>zigihtta</u>	
* <u>bilaxée</u>	<u>isshixíita</u>	
juice	drinks	Jesus Christ
<u>avíou</u>	<u>írik.</u>	
* <u>awuuan</u>	<u>ilík.</u>	
inside	alive.	

This translates in this order: The bread and bear berry juice he drinks and Jesus lives inside them (the bread and the wine). The

*iisshixíita means literally "to drink a great amount." There is no need for a superlative and would more correctly be written isshíta or merely "drinks".

Father Prando named the Mass the Big Prayer - zivakáo issé (*chiwakáauisse). Question fifty-six asked what is the Mass? The answer was arakusbaréo - (*alakuss baaaléeo) which the translation in English rendered "sacrifice". This meant altogether, "God rescued us and took us away from danger so that we might have a relationship with him." The second time the word was used in the catechism it was written a little differently - ihzikusbaréak (*ihchikuss baaaléook). The *ihchi referred back to Jesus and was translated as sacrifice. The word was the same as the word which referred to one staking himself out in battle. Because of a vow, often out of anger, or to show bravery and disdain for the enemy, Indian warriors would tie a rope around their waist which had a stake on it and drive it into the ground. This was literally sacrificing oneself. Thus, the word meant: Jesus himself rescued all of us by staking himself out and took us to his Father. This was accurate theology and had real meaning to Indian life in the 1880's.⁴⁷

The Catholic Sacramental system in some ways did fit with the Crow Indian world view. The instrumentality of sacrament as a visible sign of a sacred power was familiar to a people who used things of nature which had an effectual power. When the priests brought Baptism asking the Crow people to believe in this special sacred power of water the Crow already knew that power. They had fed the river people so that the waters would remain friendly and not take any lives.

There was also the sweat bath, which originated in ancient times according to Crow Indian history. The sweat lodge was made of saplings shaped into a curved hut. Blankets were spread over it until it was air tight. Then water was poured over hot rocks inside the hut. The people would receive a steam bath and then jump into the river to wash. The Catholic baptismal waters were used the same way to cleanse the spirit of man.

The oil of Baptism was also a sacred power the Crow were told. The person was anointed with oil to show a new strength within, and you became God's son or daughter and belonged to the Church. Again there was a like experience of painting one's body which gave the person a new power. It showed that you belonged to a certain family who had the right to paint a certain way so that you would be accepted by the tribe. These were strong symbols for both the Crow people and the Catholic Church.

However, there was confusion over the meaning of sacraments and sacramentals. The ceremony was spoken in the Latin language which was totally incomprehensible to the Crow people. Because of the rigid rules of the Catholic Church this was the only acceptable language for the rites of the Catholic Church. These rules kept the Jesuits from translating the ceremonies of the Church into the Crow language. They had translated everything else, prayers, hymns, instructions into the Crow language.

Even though the Catholic Church was rigid in its rites there were some practices of the Catholic Church which paralleled traditional Crow religious and cultural customs. For example, in the early years,

Father Barceló and Father Prando gave religious medals to the Crow people at their Baptism. The missionaries saw these as a sign of belonging to the Church because of Baptism. Since the medals were blessed they had a power to shield the person from harm. The Crow people regarded the medal as a medicine. They attributed to it the powers of shield and as a power to effect good. Again there was a relationship between Crow and Catholic theology but there was the matter of degree and mysticism in Crow which beliefs which bordered on magic according to the Jesuits. This was discomfoting to Father Barceló,⁴⁸ but Father Prando capitalized on it, substituting medals and pictures to take the place of Indian medicine bundles.⁴⁹

The giving of a new name at Baptism was a symbol of a new life in Christ Jesus. The Jesuit missionaries clung to the European practice of giving the baptized a saint's name, substituting it for their Indian name. Such names as Mary, Joseph, Aloysius, Francis Xavier were common names.⁵⁰ Then in 1888 Father Bandini wrote to Father Stephan, Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions saying: "I have been notified that it would be agreeable to the Indian Department to give every Indian child an English family name."⁵¹ In December 1888 in a letter of gratitude and Christmas greetings to the director of the Catholic Bureau from the thirteen older school girls at St. Xavier the girls signatures revealed that they all had English surnames; Hildegarde Fischer and Bridget Green were among them.⁵² This practice of naming did not last long, however, because the government began giving an English translation of the Indian name

of the head of the house to the whole family for a surname. The girl who had been named Bridget Green became Bridget Little Owl.

In the matter of naming at Baptism the Jesuits missed an opportunity to teach the Christian message. They could have used the Crow system of naming. At any special place in a child's growth the Crow people would give the child a name to help them remember that day. Baptism was certainly worthy of such naming. Thus, someone of note, such as a clan uncle or aunt, could have given a new Indian name to the child or the adult being baptized. For example, if a meadow lark sang on the way to the baptism the girl might have become Meadow Lark Woman. Or a young man might have been called Strong in Spirit because of the effect of Baptism itself.

The sacrament which was also stressed was the Sacrament of Penance - Arakavía ziváo (*alakawíí chiwaáu) or "to tell the wrongs that you did." At this time in history, according to popular Catholic theology, people were considered to be steeped in sin. Because of this belief the Catholic Church stressed sin and penance. This was the part of the Catholic Church which the Crow people were told they had to accept with the rest of Catholicism. The Crows had a different morality structure, however; people were sinners but that was to be expected. They were human. One honored virtue, but the one who did not measure up was not condemned unless an act had brought disgrace to the whole family. Then the person was shunned. A God who had made people the way they were and then judged them for it was confusing to the Crow people.

Because the actual confessing of sins was in the person's own tongue the Jesuits had to formulate questions Crow speakers could ask themselves. Because of the emphasis on the confession of sin, some of the first writings of the Crow language were questions for the Sacrament of Penance. The first writing was on a single piece of paper. It was written in Crow and then translated into Italian.⁵³ It is given here as follows with the new orthography and an English translation:

Arakavía shipítkate dazizérazegu?
*Alakawíia shipítkaate dahchicheahchexxuh
 Do you remember black sins?

Arakavía shipítkate sherágu?
*Alakawíia shipítkaate sheeláaxxuh
 Did you say black sin?

Arakavía shipítkate diáragu?
*Alakawíia shipítkaate díalaaxxuh
 Did you do black sin?

Saámdiara?
*Saámdiala?
 How many did you do?

Baatdárigu shóta?
*Baaatdaalixxuh shóota?
 Did you steal or anything like that?

Iyhé virugpáke dirúpia?
*Ihée bilaxpaake dilúpia?
 Did you dislike other people?

Da-nashgavik?
*Daláskawii?
 Did you get angry?

Inaké diarakavia dikiuriysia?
*Hilaakée díalaakawíia dihkulupia?
 Are you upset with yourself (sorry) over some bad thing you did?⁵⁴

Of note in this set of questions was the use for the word "black." It was not used in any other translation when referring to sin. The word

"black" gave a concreteness which distorted the meaning of sin which was a malady of the spirit of man.

A much longer list of questions was typed in both Crow and English, but the Crow was scratched out and the notes in pencil were impossible to read. Because of this the questions given in this paper are only in English. The first two questions immediately struck at the heart of Crow Indian life - their medicine and spiritual power. The first question was do you doctor? The second was do you believe in dreams?⁵⁵ Dreams were a major part of vision seeking and were also *baáxpee or "sacred," to the Crow people.

Within this list there were three questions asking about their new life in the Church and their participation in that life. Did you miss Mass on Sunday? Did you comply with your Paschal duties (literally, did you confess your sins during Easter or the time to eat eggs)? Did you neglect your prayers?⁵⁶

The last set of questions in the list of questions for confession was centered around European cultural morés which were that culture's interpretation of the Ten Commandments. They were the rules to live by in "civilized" society. There were three sets of questions. The first regarded sexual sins which irritated the European and American sensibilities and social niceties. The second set of questions was about stealing and the third lying.

Did you commit adultery?
 Did you kiss any one immodestly?
 Did you touch anyone immodestly?
 Did you look immodestly?
 Did you speak immodestly?
 Did you think immodestly?

Did you steal anything?

What?

Did you steal beef?

You must return what you stole - did you pay your debts?

Did you tell small lies?

Did you tell a big lie?

Did you talk about anyone?

Did you listen to talk about a neighbor?⁵⁷

There were undoubtedly many Crow responses to the catechetical teaching of the Jesuit Fathers. Some Crow people reacted positively, others negatively and some were bewildered. For instance, in spite of the cultural confusion of a European Church model and historical perspective intruding into a tribal cosmological life style, at least one young man was able to hear the Gospel message. "One Indian after receiving a blow from another...threw away his knife and so removed the temptation to kill him."⁵⁸ This was a new word to the Crows and to all nations. Love your enemies.

There were also responses which rejected the Christian message, many times because of the discrepancy between the approach used by the catechist and the reception of the message. A good illustration of this was a story told about Plenty Coups. One day Plenty Coups wanted to know where the good Indians went who had died before the missionaries had come. This question was in response to the teaching that good Christians go to heaven and the bad ones go to hell. Father Prando had to stop and think for a moment. Then he drew two circles, both of them small. These he said were heaven and hell. Then he drew a larger circle, named that purgatory and pointing to the larger circle said that those who had died as heathens went there if they had

been good. Plenty Coups' answer was: "That's where I want to go, where most of my people are."⁵⁹

Plenty Coup's response was indicative of the collision of two cultures with two widely diverging world views. The Catholic system with many different compartments for after life was a highly differentiated scheme. Plenty Coups' people represented a gathering of community, a symbol of completeness and wholeness. That was after life. Dividing the whole up into parts was destructive.

To the Jesuit Fathers the catechetics was the most important aspect of their work. But the Crow people needed a place around which to gather for catechetics and this was the school. Their children boarded there and the Crow people loved their children and would come see them there as often as the administration of the school would allow. Furthermore, the school was the place where the missionaries trained the children in "European and American ways" in order to show the children the ways of "civilization". The missionaries definitely cared about these children and felt it best for the children to replace their "savage" ways with European and American norms. However, caring with a superior attitude was paternalism which by its very nature was unjust since there could be little sharing between equals if one party felt it was superior.

The school was overcrowded already in 1888 with from 60 to 100 pupils. The school was a success as one Jesuit observed. "This good people we say is already all Catholic; they like the Priest; they like the Church and prefer our school to any other existing on the Reservation."⁶⁰ Agency employees took a census of the Crow Tribe and

said there were seven hundred Crow children of school age in 1888, but the Fathers believed there were scarcely five hundred. St. Xavier Mission was asking for a U.S. Government contract for 150 students. The Agency Boarding School had thirty pupils at that time and the Unitarian school, which had started around the same time as St. Xavier in 1887, had eleven pupils in 1888.⁶¹

The agent in 1889 said, "The Catholics have an excellent school, fine buildings, thoroughly competent instructors and are doing much good work." This had been his report for the two years previous as well.⁶²

By 1890 the Jesuit Fathers were teaching all forms of industrial work: farming, gardening, herding, raising stock, and carpentry. The Sisters taught baking, washing, ironing, cooking, housekeeping, dress-making and embroidery to the girls. There were one-hundred thirty-nine pupils all of the Crow Tribe. There were two priests and six sisters as academic teachers and three brothers who acted as industrial teachers.⁶³ Besides the industrial arts the academic subjects were reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and music.⁶⁴

In June of 1890 the Priests had trouble with the agent in trying to secure Indian permission for the construction of another school building. The agent, however, was busy trying to secure approval himself to build a new school at the Agency and the Jesuits felt that was where his loyalties were. They were all finally able to go ahead with their plans. The Jesuit Fathers decided to build in brick since it was more durable than lumber, and lumber was expensive even if they

had been allowed to use the government saw mill. The brick was made on the premises that same summer.⁶⁵

By the next year, 1891, the school was able to accommodate comfortably two-hundred twenty-five students since the new brick building was completed. This new building and the two earlier buildings were built solely with funds from the Mother Katharine Drexel inheritance. She was a wealthy Philadelphia heiress who founded the Blessed Sacrament Sisters. Under Mother Drexel's direction, her large fortune was used by the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions for the Indian and Negro Schools.⁶⁶

In 1890 the Pryor Creek Indian people headed by Plenty Coups, Long Face, and The Man that Hits wrote to Father Stephan asking for a school and Church in Pryor.⁶⁷ Pryor was the Northwest district of the Crow Reservation, and these people living in the Pryor District were quite a long distance from St. Xavier Mission.

In that same year Father Stephan sent to Father Joseph Bandini the letters from the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs granting authority to build both a chapel and a school at Pryor Creek.⁶⁸ In the following year, 1891, the Jesuits built a church at Pryor Creek.⁶⁹

In February, 1892, three of the Ursuline Sisters from St. Xavier traveled in a sleigh filled with provisions to Pryor. There was not much snow and the sleigh's tongue broke when the sleigh ran aground. One of the Indian men went to get a lumber wagon while the Sisters tramped in the snow trying to keep warm after it got dark. When they wanted to sleep for awhile in the sleigh they used a butchered pig for

a pillow. In the morning the wagon came; they went on and a great crowd of people met the Sisters while Father Prando rang the Church bell.⁷⁰

The Church was used as a school and was divided temporarily into compartments for living and classrooms, with the sanctuary closed off. Thus, it was used for a school, a dwelling and a chapel.⁷¹ That summer, however, a separate Sister's home and a school were built. These buildings were again made possible because of Mother Katharine Drexel.⁷² Thus by 1892 there were two Catholic boarding schools on the Reservation.

As new buildings were going up people were added to the religious community. Father Joseph Bandini, S.J. replaced his brother Father Peter Bandini, S.J. in 1889.⁷³ Father Crimont came shortly after Father Joseph Bandini. He was to stay only a short time. He was born in Amiens in the North of France. In the novitiate he was so frail he asked John Bosco to pray for him that he might regain his health to become a missionary. His health did improve and he came to Woodstock, Maryland for his final studies. His first assignment was St. Xavier, among the Crows. The Crows gave him the name of Little Body (*Axúa Iakáatash). The children liked him, so that it was natural for the parents to like him when he was so kind and gentle with their children.⁷⁴

Later in 1945, after an assignment in Alaska, he visited the Crows and the people crowded around him saying over and over, "Little Body stay with us." They held onto him and even his car in an effort to detain him as he left. He departed to become a bishop in Alaska.⁷⁵

These men added their skills to the translating and teaching of catechetics and to the school. Crimont was a linguist and co-authored with Prando catechetical material in the Crow language. Although much of these men's time was spent translating and teaching in the Crow language, the children were not allowed to speak Crow in school. "We do not allow our pupils to speak but in English, therefore, of course, we cannot pretend to have it done from the very beginning; for the present we limited ourselves in encouraging the children with little rewards or prizes to express themselves in English if they can."⁷⁶ This, however, was not only their opinion, it was also held by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The Mohonk Conference, a Protestant missionary organization, discussed the rules coming from that office:

The orders as we read them refer to schools attended by children and they forbid the teaching of such children to read and write the Indian languages; they forbid the teaching of grammar, geography, arithmetic, and other branches of common school education in the vernacular and, of course, ⁷⁷ the use of school books printed in the vernacular.

The Conference then took pains to explain that this did not forbid the teaching of the Gospel or religious exercises in the vernacular, and that there was no intent to restrict religious liberty.⁷⁸

In fact, some people at the Mohonk Conference spoke in favor of the use of the Indian language. Miss M. C. Collins, a missionary, talked to Indian people in their homes and two years previously had found that the children who did not speak English could read and write their own language. Miss Collins also spoke of a young man who could speak only his own tongue and had lost two sons in death. Because he had become a Christian he asked the people not to cut themselves in

mourning. He preached a sermon to his own people next Sunday. He could not speak a word of English, but the sermon he gave no one will ever forget. "Has the work of that teacher Edwin Phelps, been in vain because he did not know English?" Miss Collins asked.⁷⁹

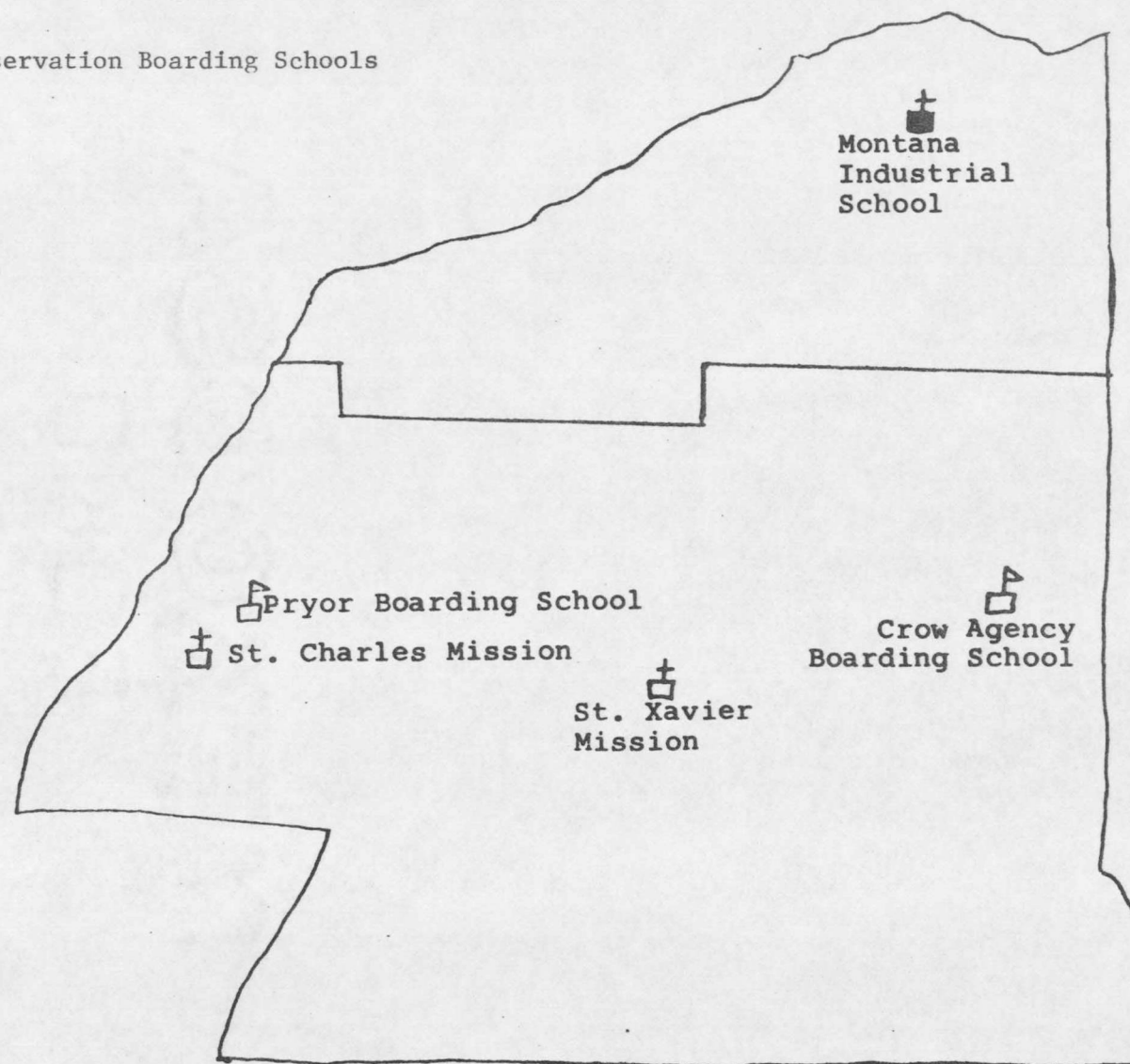
Nevertheless, whatever the story, the Indian languages were to be suppressed. By 1893 Agent Wyman wrote to the Commissioner D. M. Browning that there were a few cases at the Crow agency and contract schools where children who were taken from their parents to the boarding school when they were quite young had "repudiated their mother language entirely and refuse to converse in it with their relatives." This was regarded as a positive step. He then evaluated the schools for having "done good work".⁸⁰

Despite the agent's questionable grammar the government inspector reported that Father Bandini and Father Crimont spoke very broken English. To this the Superior of the Rocky Mountain Missions replied that both spoke fluent English and used the language correctly. He felt that Father Crimont, although in the country for only four to five years, had a purity of accent and a fluency in the English language.⁸¹ It seems very probable that they both had an accent in English but likely had more knowledge of the language than most people who had spoken it all their lives. Jesuit training was thorough and disciplined.

Many different people evaluated the schools often. The government examiner came and reported back to the Board of Indian Commissioners. He reported in 1889 that the teacher at the Crow Agency Boarding School was young but bright and capable. There were

Figure 2. Crow Reservation Boarding Schools

-  - Catholic
-  - Government
-  - Unitarian



64 students. There was an wholesome atmosphere which pervaded the school. However, the school building was unsafe. The posts extended only one story and the second posts were merely bolted to the first.⁸²

By 1891 a new school building was underway at the Agency. It was of brick, 70 x 40 feet, with an L and two stories. This was to have an effect on the Catholic Mission Schools because Agent Wyman decided that with one more building there was no longer any reason to increase the number of students for the contract schools affiliated with the churches since the Agency would be able to accommodate all children of school age.⁸³ One can see here the beginning of a struggle between government and church connected contract schools which was to explode nationally in the next decade.

In 1893 the directors of all three schools sent evaluations to Agent Wyman. The boarding school in Crow Agency had the highest enrollment it had ever had (99), with an average attendance of 84, and three teachers. There was industrial work for the boys - taking care of stock, cultivating the garden, and cutting wood. The Agency had fifty head of cattle, ten milk cows and forty yearlings. The cows were old so the superintendent suggested they be sold to buy fifteen new ones so that the school would have ample milk and butter. There had been an outbreak of whooping cough and one death from it the same year in the Crow Agency School.⁸⁴

The Unitarian School, which was called the Montana Industrial School, reported that they were making an effort to increase the use of English, and inspiring the students with songs, especially patriotic songs. A study of the 1893 World's Fair had interested the

children greatly. The boys were learning carpentry, farming, gardening, and care of horses and cattle. The girls occupations were sewing, kitchen and dining room work, care of dormitories, and household duties in general. They had also an epidemic of whooping cough and one death from it. They also had much eye trouble.⁸⁵

In 1893 Father Joseph Bandini reported from St. Xavier that St. Xavier Boarding School had started six years ago, and in that time the students all spoke English and read and spelled from the first to the fifth reader and did this as capably as white children. They were taught arithmetic, grammar, geography, and history; and they were improving. The girls sang and played the organ. The boys had a brass band. The boys learned carpentry, blacksmithing, baking, farming, gardening, and raising stock. The girls were getting experience in housekeeping, cooking, washing, ironing, machine and hand sewing, and even dressmaking.

The only problem which Father Bandini stated was the lack of appreciation from the parents for their children's education. He stated that: "All those concerned with the school agree that the smaller the children are taken in the better and faster they learn." The school had a branch school at Pryor Creek with about 20 children enrolled.⁸⁶

The Bishop was also an evaluator. In 1893 he wrote: "The Church was filled with Crow Indians who behaved most respectfully, the six red gowns keeping order." Then in the afternoon from 3 to 7 o'clock the people came to see "their spiritual chiefs", the Bishop, Father

Cataldo, Father Bandini, and Father Prando. Father Prando was interpreter. The boys at the school did calisthenics and the fifteen piece brass band played for the Bishop. The girls played the organ, sang in the English language and showed skills in reading, writing, ciphering, geography, history, grammar, catechism, and useful handiwork. The Bishop wrote, "I fancied myself to be in a school of white girls and admired especially the modest and natural deportment - the result of good morals."⁸⁷

Thus did the schools try to wipe out the language, to substitute European and American culture for the Crow Indian people's tribal culture and customs, and to christianize the pupils without regard or even knowledge of the religious customs of the tribe. Despite the Jesuit Fathers' glowing reports of progress achieved towards the fulfillment of these goals, such attitudes represented the height of cultural narrowness and ethnocentrism. That there would be serious limitations to the prospects of missionary success was noted upon by the Agent in 1893:

I have never seen a tribe more attached to their traditions and older customs than the Crows, and beyond a disposition to labor and earn money, which they exhibit to a marked⁸⁸ degree, they do not favor progress in civilization.

The Crow people still valued what could be salvaged of the old way. Neither the Jesuit Fathers nor the government were aware of the destruction the schools and even Christianity were having on these people, even from those with the best of intentions. Despite the negative methods the children did receive an education, which was needed

for the future, as the tribal leaders knew. The leaders continued to instruct their people with their farsighted wisdom.

The Catholic Church in 1887 founded a Mission among the Crows. The building of the first school indicated that the Mission was to be stationary. The Church had come to stay, using a European model of Church around which the Crow people would gather for instruction and worship. The catechesis or instruction was based on an historical model while that of the Crow people had been a cosmological order. Finally, the schools themselves threatened to annihilate all culture, language and the communal structure of the Crow Tribe.

CHAPTER III

THE GROWTH OF THE MISSION & CATECHESIS 1893-1906

From 1887-1893 the Jesuits built St. Xavier Mission by transplanting a model of European Church among the Crow people - a people who could relate to a sense of communal relationship because of their own tribal structure. The school of St. Xavier was the center around which the catechetical teaching revolved. The method of catechesis which the missionaries used was that of the substitution of European Catholic Church symbols and doctrines for that of the images and traditions of the Crow people. This they did out of love which was evident in the letters of the Jesuit missionaries. However, coupled with this love was the condescension present in a belief of the missionary that he was a member of a superior race. Therefore, the images and the traditions of the Crow people were not considered as possible liturgical symbols in the Catholic Church. X

The life of the Catholic Church on the Crow Reservation was centered around the school in 1893. First, people saw the school as a little village. "The school has become a little village, and affords the Indian youth every opportunity of being formed in the habits of civilized life."¹ Bishop Brondel of the Helena Diocese in which St. Xavier School was located wrote: "the munificent help of Miss Drexel has developed" a unit "so that the buildings - boy's school, girl's school, Church, and outhouses form quite a village of

educational establishments in the lonely valley of the Big Horn."² The Jesuit missionaries established St. Xavier Boarding School around the church; and thus as a village it was a definite replica of the European settlement around the church in feudal Europe.

The Jesuits had a vision that the students would settle around this church after they had been educated. As Father Palladino summarized: It was because both boys and girls were educated in the Jesuit schools that it was successful. They are both educated and "by their similarity of tastes and by their advance in civilization, they become husband and wife, and as soon as this took place the Jesuits and the Agents would build them a little house, break up a piece of ground and the single couple became a nucleus of civilization and of Christianity."³ This was a model of the educational goal of the Catholic school. It was still based on the European model but one began to see the presence of the Agent in allotting the land which may or might not be around the Catholic Church. Thus, there were Americanizing forces taking a part in the life process of the feudal Catholic life model of the Indian people.

Father Palladino then set forth the components of the educational system which would bring the goal to realization:

- 1.) One cannot eliminate Christianity and educate the Indian. If one does this, civilization of the red man is impossible.
- 2.) Next in importance after Christianity is work and manual labor in civilizing the Indian. "In other words, indolence and ignorance, both by turn cause and effect of Indian barbarism, are as second nature with the savage and an Indian who knows how and loves to work is civilized."⁴

- 3.) The Indian student needs only a "plain common English education. Like a weak stomach, that can receive and digest but little food at a time, so is the head of an Indian with regard to book learning."⁵

In 1893 there were eighteen employees in both schools of St. Xavier Mission. Industrial education instructors held twelve of these positions. Most of these teachers performed a necessary life function such as cook, laundress, or farmer. Besides the usual industrial work such as gardening, haying, tending and feeding the stock, and milking the cows, the Mission had a grist mill, a shingle cutting machine, saw mill, blacksmiths, carpenters, and harness and saddle making for the boys.⁶

One of the main sources to further our understanding of the student and parent involvement in the catechizing process is to look at the daily, weekly and yearly schedule of the school and church. The children arose at 5 a.m. and went to Church at 6:30. The Priests spoke very clear Crow. During the Mass the Priest first spoke in Latin up to a certain point, then he would tell them what he had said and done in Crow - a running commentary on the Mass. The students went to breakfast at 7:00. After breakfast they combed their hair and got themselves presentable for school. They then lined up for inspection. Older girls were responsible for younger ones. The students spent the morning reading, writing, and doing math.⁷

When the children first came to the Mission they only knew the Crow language. It took Philomena Crooked Arm two years to understand English at all. The older students were responsible for teaching the new students the English language. They were not allowed to speak

Crow, but when they did the Sisters put clothespins on their lips. The missionaries taught the catechism in English; and the students answered in English. The Sister was the instructor, but some of the older students would explain the meaning to the younger students in Crow.⁸

School was held until 11:30. Then there was a lunch break. The Sisters prepared the lunch and some of the older girls were called out to help. The boys lived in a separate building but came to the girl's building to eat, but at separate tables from the girls. Afterwards other girls washed the dishes and wiped off the tables and chairs. Those who did not have duty had playtime until 2:00 p.m. It took so long to do everything by hand. Then there was class from 2:00 - 4:00 p.m.⁹

At 4:00 p.m. it was playtime again unless the girls were on duty to help with supper. Supper was served at 6:00 p.m. After supper they had playtime or duty again. Since the boy's building was on the other side of the Church the girls and boys had different playgrounds. They went in again at 8:00 for prayer time. At nine they had to be in bed.¹⁰

The weekly schedule for the girls included all the house chores and industrial training. All day Mondays they washed clothes until nightfall. They did not have school that day. On Tuesdays the older girls ironed the laundry while the younger ones mended until noon. On Thursday afternoons they did not have regular class but had sewing class. The Sisters taught them interesting ways to sew, such as embroidery. A letter from a girl named Scholastica to My Lord, Rev.

J. B. Brondel, the Bishop of the Helena Diocese said: "we can make our own dresses now and have just finished a new uniform." She said she was in the fourth reader class which had school in the morning and work in the afternoon. She used words which showed a grasp of English such as "humble", "earnest", "bestow upon us", and "privilege"¹² which probably meant the teacher wrote the message and the student copied it. On Saturdays the Sisters took the girls walking, carrying a basket of lunch, bread and jam with milk. Then in the afternoon they hiked back to the Mission.¹³

The School was often operated as an orphanage. On November 28, 1893 a Mr. Lawrence Read brought six children who had lost their father Edmund Read the year before and their mother just a few days ago.¹⁴ A major theme throughout the years 1893-1895 was the parents' efforts to take their children from school and the constant recording of runaway attempts. Crow Indian policemen, whom the Jesuits paid, brought runaways back. They were also paid for bringing new students to the school. For example, Fire Bear, a policeman, came with a letter. He was paid \$6.00 for the letter and for "bringing to the school some few children."¹⁵ In March several parents insisted on taking their children from school. The Jesuits refused. The only recourse for the Crows was to refuse Christianity. Istapis, who had been baptized as early as 1883, "threw away his red gown" which was a symbol of leadership in the Church.¹⁶ The Jesuits did, however, send children home when they were seriously ill. The missionaries gave the sick child to a chief, usually either Plenty Coups or Pretty Eagle. The Jesuit Fathers were not without compassion for the feelings of the

parents. When in January 1894 a "Policemen brought in one more little girl to school four years old:" the Father noted, "It was very difficult to persuade the parents to let the child in school."¹⁷

From the foundation of the Mission and the beginning of school in 1888 until September 1895 the children never left the school to see their parents at their own home. They were, however, allowed outings and vacation from school at the Mission. In 1893 in August the boys went horseback riding for their vacation everyday until September 3.¹⁸ The Jesuit Father wrote: "The Sisters and the girls went to the river for a boat riding, but could not find the boat. Deo Gratias!"¹⁹

This policy changed in the fall of 1895. On September 9, 1895 Pretty Eagle and his chiefs had a meeting with the Jesuit Priests to decide about vacation. "Everybody was much pleased and given promise that the children would be back in seventeen days. All the boys were allowed to go and the girls those only who were eleven years old from then up were kept home."²⁰ When the children came back they were sick and very lonesome.²¹ The older girls had been kept "home" at the Mission which showed that the missionaries saw the children as belonging to the Mission rather than to their parents. The parents, however, had attained a victory in a very small way.

The use of force and the lack of home vacation were not Mission policy alone. The Government Boarding School used force to enroll pupils also. Agent J. W. Watson in 1894 said: "The Indians do not take kindly to these schools. It has been necessary to use force to get pupils and keep them in school. It is one of those cases, however, where force must be added to persuasion and reason to have

the Indians do what is best for themselves."²² The Superintendent of the Montana Industrial School, also situated on the Crow Reservation, thanked the Commissioner in 1895 for allowing the students to go for the first time to their homes for vacation.²³

Eventually, the Jesuits extended vacation time to two months. The older girls were left at the Mission so that they could not be given in marriage by the chiefs or their families before they were eighteen. Girls from 12-18 were not allowed to go. First, the older girls did the cleaning - spring cleaning of the dorms, which took about two weeks. Usually, after clean up the Sisters and the girls went up to the mountain. A priest went along with them so that they could go to Mass in the morning. After breakfast they went hiking. They came back for lunch and then went horseback riding. The place they camped was called Three Artesian Wells - *Baahé Dáwiia.²⁴

By the time they had returned from the mountain it was time to harvest the garden. After that was finished they went berry picking for chokecherries and plums. They put them in tubs and then canned them for winter. And at four in the afternoon they had prayer. The rest of the summer was leisure time.²⁵

The school personnel set aside recreational times throughout the year as well as the summer recreation activities. Often the students performed musically and either the boys or girls or both enacted a short skit or playlet. The boy's brass band often played when there were visitors. The girls played guitar, mandoline, and violin,²⁶ and were often praised for their accomplishments.²⁷ There were also from

time to time magic lantern shows,²⁸ a forerunner of motion pictures. Pictures were moved quickly in a shadow box and reflected on the wall.

The Crow Indian people had a pow-wow and celebration each July 4 in the 1890's. School policy did not allow the children to go with their parents. They were kept at the school. The school staff, however, worked very hard at a celebration of their own at the school. In 1895, for example, someone raised the flag while the boy's brass band played. One Jesuit Father wrote in the house diary, "At 2:00 p.m. Flag of San Sabastian, then candy and ice tea." At 5:00 p.m. they had Washington's play and candy. This was followed at 8 p.m. by entertainment at the Sisters and then fireworks until 10:00 p.m. After all this there was confession of the boys.²⁹ In 1893 the girls rode two horses in their yard all day, while the boys shot prairie dogs. Those who were the best shots were provided with another serving at lunch.³⁰

Also part of the schedule for each year was an annual retreat for the school children. There were two instructions for one half-hour each day plus also a quarter of an hour instruction at Mass. The directors instructed the children to keep silence. They also made a general confession which was a review of their total past life.³¹ The duration of the retreat was three days.

References to discipline were confined to the boys. A meeting of the Fathers and prefects concerning discipline dealt with these points:

- 1.) How to prevent talking Crow and going around in groups of two and three boys.

- 2.) Politeness.
- 3.) Running away - runaways should be whipped.
- 4.) How much time should be spent outdoors and how much in school.
- 5.) Silence and study.³²

The only discipline referred to elsewhere in the house diaries was whipping for immorality, running away, and for "trying to stop a prefect."³³ There was one extreme case in which a run-away, Phillip, was found after twenty-two days, was whipped and put in a dark room for ninety days for a "retreat."³⁴ In January the scribe for the house diaries noted that there was stir among the Indians about Phillip for being punished so severely.³⁵

Government and Church officials often made visitations. On one occasion the inspectors said that there should be sheets on the beds, but were pleased since the boys read exceptionally well. No where else had they seen such improvement. Pretty Eagle had said this was a good school and that they wanted their children nowhere else.³⁶ Since Pretty Eagle had always opposed the Mission School, he may have been afraid that they would take the children to a distant school off the reservation.

Dress uniforms, the construction of the buildings, marriage age, language, music, and Church activities reinforced Jesuit ideas of European civilization. The discipline of whipping was also European. Indian people did not strike their children. If a child was out of line he or she was reprimanded by a clan uncle or a clan aunt.

Besides the European based education in regard to dress and environment, an underlying structure of the system struck at the very heart of Indianess. Schedule was based upon a European model of time. The European model of time directly related to life structure framed in history. There was a past, a present, and a future which structured itself in a straight line. That straight line differentiated the tasks of the day. In the beginning of a day those tasks were fitted into time slots which made up the day's activities. Indian time came from a structure of circle so that time was not differentiated but compact. It was an activity itself which determined time allotment, not the time allotment which was framed by a schedule of time. It was not necessary to define where one activity began and where the other one ended. If they were washing clothes they would finish that activity before beginning another. If it took one hour, fine; if it took all morning that was fine too. Thus, the Old Testament of the Crow Indian was expressed in a non-differentiated whole in which activity participated, while the European whole was broken into differentiated segments each activity separate in building the whole. Schedule fitted the latter but was confusing to the Indian concept of day space, prayer, and ritual.

Not only the children faced this complex life pattern of history, their parents faced it as well. They were perplexed at being allowed to visit their children only one day a week, Sunday. The Jesuits persuaded the Indian parents to attend a round of Sunday scheduled activities in order to see their children in the boarding school. The usual schedule for Sunday started when someone rang the bell at 10:00

a.m. At 10:30 five strokes of the bell were rung and all entered for Mass. Red-gowns were at the door five minutes before the five strokes. They ushered the people in after the children had processed. Then they would go out and bring the rest of the people into the Church. Mass was usually low, but on a feast day such as Pentecost the Congregation celebrated High Mass and the boys and girls sang in Latin. The priest and the people offered prayers in Crow and in English. The Jesuits said the canticle of the Sacred Heart in Crow. Then a member of the congregation started the rosary in Crow and after one decade the priest began Low Mass if it were not a feast day. The priest gave the Gospel and sermon in both Crow and English. After Mass the people recited the Angelus in English. Following this the Jesuits gave instructions to the Indian adults in the Crow Catechism.³⁷ However, the priest wrote in the house diaries that, "The Indians find that too long, and uninteresting, and go out. We must see what will be the best way to interest the Indians, and to instruct them."³⁸ In order to remedy this for awhile Sunday Mass was eliminated with only the Rosary in Crow and then the catechism of the children retained. "Explanations were done in forty-two minutes: each child had one question and one answer, except ten little babies who only gave one short answer. All absaruki (*Absáalooke) enjoyed the performance, and so they learned something of God, and Man's Destiny."³⁹ The parents brought their own lunch and left it in the parlor. The children ate as usual with the girls removing their bonnets. They dressed in their Sunday uniforms.⁴⁰ After lunch the parents visited their children. The boys went to the recreation room

and the girls to the boy's refectory.⁴¹ The missionaries allowed the parents to stay one hour, but if they had both boys and girls the bell would ring after one-half hour so that they could switch rooms.⁴² After the visit the priests held the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, often followed by meetings of the chiefs and the Fathers or of Church groups.⁴³

The Red Gowns were a men's group who acted as ushers, and as a good example for the Crow men. They went to communion often. They usually had their meetings on Sunday after Benediction. In 1893 they pressured the priests to let their children come home for vacation. Some even resigned and threw away their red gowns. But several Sundays later the group added four more Red Gowns, the last two being Istapis (*Ishtéhppiish) and William Moore.⁴⁴

The women formed a sodality and wore the black hood.⁴⁵ The girls in the school also formed a sodality. Not much was said about their duties and functions except in 1894 the sodality made a "tridium to take off a kind of bad spirit put in the school by some of their parents . . .".⁴⁶

Besides the schedule of Sunday there was the round of feast days. The Church year was cyclical in form from Christmas, to Ash Wednesday, to Good Friday, Easter and Pentecost. This renewal of spiritual life each Catholic Church year still held some of the cosmological cyclical seasonal element within it. The Indian people related better to the Church year than to the schedule of Sunday.

There were the week day feasts in which the children participated. Such was the Feast of St. Aloysius in 1893. First there was

Mass at 6:30 and the children went to Holy Communion. The students dressed in their best clothes. There was no school and there was recreation all day. The Mission staff gave little gifts to the children. The sisters decorated the Church. The sacristan had lighted all the candles on the altar when the children came at 5:00 p.m. to consecrate themselves to the Sacred Heart. Altar boys and sodalists formed a vanguard at the communion railing. The girls sang in English in honor of St. Aloysius and the brass band played. Then the students went to a great feast in the refectory. The children were pleased and surprised. The scribe of the house diaries summarized that the children had prepared themselves and had deserved all. If only they "had no Crows for parents - how much better would they be."⁴⁷

In the cycle of feast day celebrations described in the house diaries from 1893-1895 there was usually a gift given - the Sacrament itself, a reward, or food after the ceremony. The Feast of Aloysius, for example, prompted the boys to ask the prefect to cancel bad merits, which he did, in honor of St. Aloysius. At first communion one year each of the communicants received a nickle. Ash Wednesday and the receiving of ashes on the forehead was special to the Crow people. They had a custom of putting ashes on their children's forehead when they were having bad dreams. They saw the receiving of ashes as a power to heal. For Christmas, 1893, the Jesuits did not prepare a beef to give to the Crow people "because they think that they must be fed everytime they go to Communion."⁴⁸ The usual custom was discontinued to show the people that feeding did not automatically

follow a service, when in fact it did for the Crow. The Crow people never had a religious function without a feast after it.⁴⁹ At a feast celebrating the 50th anniversary of Father Prando each received a bisquit and two cookies. Some even ate three or four and were pleased.⁵⁰

Another characteristic of feast days which was appealing to the Crow Indian people were processions. On Rogation Day, before Mass, they would have a procession to the gate opposite the Church door singing litanies. In the evening the children processed to the Church with lighted candles singing hymns to the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁵¹ On the visit of the Bishop there was also festival. The girls stood on the sides of the sidewalk to the Church, then the Sisters, then the brass band, and the altar boys were next. The Bishop passed through and everyone processed behind him.⁵²

The most solemn procession was held on the Feast of Corpus Christi (Body of Christ). The order of procession was a little different each year. Always first was the cross bearer. After that it was at times the girls and the Sisters who held bouquets of flowers which they spread on the road. The Crow men and then the women were next. The brass band followed. The candle bearers, altar boys, and then the celebrant with the Blessed Sacrament under the canopy always went last. The feast was a special celebration giving honor to the Bread of Life in the Eucharist. The procession in honor of the Blessed Sacrament stopped at an altar, where the Sisters were, to have Benediction. They then went to the Fathers' corridor to an altar the Fathers and the boys had prepared. The scribe of the house diaries commented in 1894 that "our altar was far nicer than the Sisters."⁵³

The feast of Corpus Christi has always been one of elaborate decoration on the Crow Reservation. The feast as the Bread of Life followed again the idea of feast as being central to the religion of the Crows, since the Bread of Life was eaten as food. This was the beginning of a feast which would prove to be central in the Crow Catholic celebration of the feasts of the liturgical year. The Eucharist or Communion held a special power for the Crow people. Through their own understanding of the power of their medicines they could easily believe that this bread once consecrated was the Body of Christ, and that His presence within the host strengthened and healed them. It is still the practice of older Indian people to begin a fast in the Church in front of the Blessed Sacrament on Holy Thursday night, the night the Eucharist was instituted by Christ, and to remain there until Holy Saturday.

Mother Loyola, an Ursuline Sister stationed at St. Xavier (1913-1918), told a story about the attraction of the Holy Eucharist to the Indian people. Cold Wind, a man of prayer among his people, was not in favor of the St. Xavier Mission. But after being against the Mission all those years one day "he walked in out of the clear blue sky." It was pouring rain when Cold Wind rode in on a shetland pony at 4:00 a.m. and knocked on the Father's door. He told Father that he had come because he was hungry for the "little round God". Father instructed him and baptized him. Cold Wind went to Communion at the 7:00 a.m. Mass. The Sisters almost fell over when they saw him going to Communion they were so surprised.⁵⁴ This was Cold Wind's response to the strong medicine of Catholicism.

The Sunday schedule and the Mass were of paramount importance to the catechizing process since the parents would come to see their children and thus feel obliged to participate in the Mass, catechism and Benediction. However, the hold was not as extensive as it was at the Spanish missions in earlier centuries where mission life was the totality of Indian life. Thus, at St. Xavier celebrations outside of Catholic Church auspices clashed with church celebrations. As for example, on September 3, 1893 the author of the house diary wrote: "The Devil got up a dance against first Sunday." He said that there were no Indians at Mass or at catechism but they did come later to see their children, and that after the visit all went to Benediction and catechism "immediately."⁵⁵ Another celebration which often interfered with the Church schedule was the 4th of July celebration.⁵⁶ If the Church could have been a little flexible the children, Sisters, and Fathers could have gone and enjoyed the celebration and had Mass following the celebration. But this was not possible since the schedule itself was holy in a European western man's mentality.

Baptisms continued in large numbers - 40 at a time at Crow Agency.⁵⁷ Thus, many Crow people believed in the power of Catholicism. Most of the Baptisms were in Lodge Grass and Crow Agency, the outlying areas.

Within the structure of the schedule resided the power of the Eucharist itself which spoke to the Indian people. However, the ritual which surrounded the Eucharistic Sacrifice was based on western man's world view. The content of the catechesis itself in the sermons and the Crow catechism were a direct and mostly literal translation of

the theology of the Catholic Church in Latin, French, and English into Crow. The Jesuits also coined words which might or might not convey the message intended. The images within the language were sometimes only too clear but remained foreign to the people. For example, under "black" in Father Vrebosch's Crow-English Dictionary he wrote: "Every child born has his soul black."⁵⁸ That was a very vivid image. However, the message was a contradiction to Crow thought. In Crow Indian theology God created man in human state and that is what he was meant to be. Washing a baby's black soul meant the baby was born with evil and could get rid of that evil. The Crow person's theology said that the baby was merely born human. The way God made a child could not be evil.

Besides the confusion of language and image the method of teaching in the Church itself was a direct opposite of the Crow Indian style of teaching. Even now one will go for information and someone will warn him or her: "Do not ask a lot of questions. Just be quiet, listen and learn." The greatest lesson a Crow Indian could learn was to listen to his or her particular helper in life. The advice and prayers of others and their own listening, watching, and purity of heart supported the Crow Indian man or woman. The method was: "Be watchful. Be attentive." Listening was more important than speaking. It was not the speaking of the teacher which took the lime-light; instead the act of listening and the learner which were in the center of the stage. So that when the method became a "talk at, talk at" affair in church the Indian people had to adjust, for certainly the Catholic Church was not going to adjust. Thus, the good news became a

message of speaking and content rather than an active listening and acceptance. The content was contained in the sermons, the catechisms and the Bible stories. The Jesuits translated all these into the Crow language. The Jesuit Fathers continued from 1893-1906 to learn the Crow Language and to teach religion in the Crow language which was certainly a step in the right direction.

The sermons which were preserved were few in number. Each Sunday the priest gave the sermon both in English and in Crow, thus there were many sermons written. Four of Father Boschi's sermons showed a clear picture of catechetics. His sermons were written between 1895-1902 since that was the term he spent among the Crows. His sermon entitled "Instructions on the Sacraments and Grace" began with an instruction on man's "soul" - inage (*iláaxe). If the soul was good it would be happy; if it was bad it would go to the "big fire" - bire issé (*bilée isée). Our spirit was bad from birth because the first man and woman made the first sin for us and they gave it to us. Father Boschi's sermon on grace thus started with sin and its consequences. This was where he had to start because without sin there was no need for grace. This was particularly important when teaching the Crow people, since their Old Testament held no concept of sin nor had they been waiting for a savior. The missionaries, therefore, had to teach them about sin so that they could have a reason to save the Crow people since this was the central message of Christianity. But "grace" - ambanashde (*ammaalaásde) was medicine for the spirit and it came from God. It was a "holy" - baaxpe (*baaxpée) medicine. This was the first time the missionaries used baaxpe (*baaxpée) in their

writings. Evidently the fear the Jesuits' had of using the word was waning. The word's connection with Indian medicine was no longer a threat to understanding because of its dualism but rather the Jesuits began to see it as a help to understanding the Christian concept of holy. The Priest could now use these holy medicines to doctor our spirits. This was a concept Father Boschi did well to emphasize. The idea of healing of the body was a saving grace to which the Crow people could relate since the Crow used their own medicines for bodily and spiritual healing. They could understand Jesus as healer. In the light of this attribute they could understand Redemption. They could see the sickness of the soul - ináge (*iláaxe) as a counterpart of body sickness.⁵⁹ In Father Boschi's sermon "Jesus Christ Our Chief" for Christmas Day he again told of the people's need for a savior. He used the word bishdehuk (*íiwishdiak húuk), meaning "paid for," to teach satisfaction for sin.⁶⁰

Father Griva's sermon "On the Preciousness of the Soul" began at a better place than the sin of the soul. Rather, he began with creation and showed how God created everything good, but most especially the human spirit which He made to resemble God. Man's spirit was God's breath. But then Father Griva returned to the sin theme. The people did not listen to God's words so that "they made themselves poor" - majeshkiahuk (*baatcheeshihkaáhuuk). Therefore, they, the people, were bad and they would go to the big fire. But God loved our souls so he did not throw them away. He died to save our souls which would praise in His house forever, since the Crow people now knew Him and obeyed Him. In this same set of sermons there were also several

Christmas Novenas. They were written in the form of poetry. Each of the first Novenas began with - "My God we kneel to you and we say you are good." There were three stanzas. The first asked that the petitioners be helped to understand God's words; the second pleaded for help to repent; and the third asked for help to enter the door of God's house which Jesus had opened.⁶¹

Father Vrebosch wrote a sermon entitled the "Sacred Heart of Jesus" (1906-1909). Father Vrebosch, however, never used a word for sacred in the Crow translation. He referred to the apparition as God's Son's Heart. The writers of the sermons seldom referred to the Son of God as Jesus but rather used the term God's Son - Akbatatdia Inaguaze (*Akbaatatdía Iláakbachee). The theme of this sermon followed the same pattern as the sermons formerly mentioned. The soul needed the love of God's Son's heart to save it from its poor and pitiful condition. Father Vrebosch, however, stressed the love of God's Son's heart - there was no end to the power of His heart, His kindness toward us did not end, the flame shown in the picture of the heart stood for His love for us. The Crow people must love God in return by obeying His words.⁶²

Thus, the outline of all of these sermons in general was the soul's need for redemption. Jesus was that redeemer and savior, and those who listened to His words praise forever, but those who did not would go into the big fire. There was another similar characteristic in all of Father Boschi's and Father Vrebosch's sermons. They ended by saying that the Crow people must obey God's words. They would know what God's words were if they listened to the priest, for he spoke

God's words. This was stretching the magisterium of the Church a bit far and was definitely paternalistic.

The Jesuits sometimes used visual aids with their sermons. Father Prando in 1902 used "forty pictures illustrating the principal events of the Old and New Testaments" to compliment his sermon on each biblical occurrence. These pictures held enough material to last seven or eight month's worth of sermons. He showed a picture around the Church and illustrated each sermon so that the "essence of the truth" could be understood more easily.⁶³

The Jesuit Fathers were very dedicated to learning the Crow language in order to teach the Crow people. For example, Father Vrebosch arrived on June 26, 1906.⁶⁴ He gave his first sermon in Crow on July 1, 1906. No doubt someone wrote it for him and all he needed to learn was the orthography for pronunciation. Nevertheless, it showed that the Crow language held a place of high priority.

The small catechism in Crow which Father Prando had written was used until 1893. In 1893 Father Prando began teaching the large catechism in church in the Crow Language. By June 8, 1893 he had corrected three chapters of the catechism.⁶⁵ The procedure was to teach the catechism a quarter of an hour after Mass on Sunday.⁶⁶ The children were drilled in the catechism in the Crow language as well as in English.⁶⁷ In 1898 the scribe of the House Diaries wrote that the catechism was still being very well attended;⁶⁸ in 1901 the writer said that many women and few men attended the catechism.⁶⁹

The Jesuits translated the large catechism from English into Crow. Father Griva was the scribe because the penmanship was

definitely his. This raises some question, however, since Father Griva was only on the Crow Reservation for one year. More than likely a diversity of translators translated the catechism, Father Prando and Father Vrebosch among them. Then Father Griva put them all together, and wrote the work in his small neat hand writing so that the catechism would look uniform. The translator or translators of this 225 page undertaking used the English translation of Rev. Joseph DeHarbe's Large Catechism which was written in French and translated into English by a Rev. Fander, S. J.⁷⁰ Thus, the catechism was a definite transplanting of European Church into Crow church and Crow language.

The preface to the sixth American edition of the English translation stated that the author used a triple catechetical method. However, this reference to method dealt rather with content than with methodology. The author outlined the three phases of content:

- 1.) . . . Faith and what is to be believed.
- 2.) of the Christian rule of life, i.e. the commandments of God and of the Church.
- 3.) salvation, grace, and channels which Jesus Christ instituted for the communication of grace.

The catechism was meant to be a "comprehensive statement of our holy religion." The author also cautioned against using any other than the language used even if it be difficult in order that it remain free from heretical error. Also the catechism was not meant for younger children but for adults. He cautioned that Pope Pius X warned that the Gospel was bread to be broken among adults who already believed and needed meat. The catechism was the milk for the "newly born children." The catechist, however, could have chosen one of

three methods: the historical, the logical, or the liturgical. The catechism of DeHarbe used the logical plan. After the Council of Trent, which was convened for the purpose of resisting Protestantism, the logical method predominated for three centuries.⁷¹

The choice of a logical catechesis was perhaps better than an historical approach since the Crow people's "Old Testament" was not historical. However, the choice of logical catechesis as translated from DeHarbe's catechism was meant to be a comprehensive statement of Catholicism; and the translator or translators of the Crow translation tried to copy the actual complete design of the large catechism. In doing this the Jesuits had to coin many technical terms in the Crow language, and the Christian message was often lost in the difference between English and Crow language thought transfer.

The shape of the large catechism in Crow was an exact replica of the DeHarbe English translation. The first section was on "faith," the second section on the "commandments," and the third section on the "means of grace." This progression was didactic rather than experiential. Experiential catechesis began with God's gracing the person, then that person was called by God. Finally, that person returned this love by obeying the commandments. Thus, in the experiential progression the focus was on God's action within the person. The didactic expression was that of a person's believing in faith. In this progression the person's action received the focus rather than God's action. He believed and was thus bound by the laws of God and of the Church. As a reward for this belief and obedience he received grace. The didactic or logical method was philosophical while the

experiential tended to fit the cosmological framework in which the concept of sin and alienation were not a part of the Crow Indian world view.

The translator skipped a few sections in the first chapter. He dealt mostly with a few thoughts - that those who were baptized must believe what the Church told them to believe. God would help them to understand. Also "God's sayings or writings" - Akbatatdia iswawaraze (*Akbaatatdía isbaawaalaáche) - they must believe.⁷² If they did not have faith they could not save their souls. God gave his words to his "apostles" - isirupaze agpiruue (*iilápaache axpíluue)⁷³ or "Jesus' twelve friends" who were the keystones in the foundation of the Catholic Church.

Chapter two outlined the twelve articles of the Apostle's Creed, the prayer which contained all the beliefs of the Catholic Church that one must believe in order to be a Catholic. Chapter two included definitions of God, the three Divine Persons, creation and the angels, and man and his fall. The translator referred to God as a spirit - baaguaretak (*baaaxúaleetak) or "one without a body."⁷⁴ This was a strange word to choose since to the Crows it meant "the wandering dead." In another context the translator used the word akikiessak (*ihkíkassaak). "Invisible" was the translated word, literally meaning - "he does not see it."⁷⁵

One theme which immediately appeared in the large catechism was that of salvation. Man must be saved. This was not a necessary function in Crow people's lives, but in order to Christianize these people they must learn this need. The word the Jesuits chose was ireviarak

(*iléewialak)⁷⁶ meaning "if he wants them to be alive." This was the best possible idea attachment available theologically. It was understandable to the people since the gift of life or the absence of it was a part of everyday existence. No matter to what culture a man or woman belonged saving from death would be a part of the gift of life.

The section on the Blessed Trinity caused some necessity to find words to fit the concept:

Ak ire
*Akilé
Those alive

iravit
illáwit
all three

irataive
ih alataawé
"his way" or "the
way he does things"

i baz kiarakotuk
*ii bach kalakootúuk
They are the same because of it.⁷⁷

Considering the difficult concept of a mystery which cannot be explained the Jesuits did very well. The word "trinity" they did not translate, however, and the last pages of the section were written only in English.⁷⁸

There were two words for "angel" which the Jesuits used interchangeably, the first was virugpake iagpabishe (* bilaxbáake iaxbawishé)⁷⁹ or "man with wings." The term for "devil" in the catechism was apenage (*ahpaláaxe).⁸⁰ This word referred to a malevolent spirit who was connected to the dead. It was the worst insult one could hurl at a person for it took away all the person's luck. Since this was the worst possible word the Crows could think of it was most probable that this was the word the Jesuits used for devil who was the worse possible being. The term did not last, however, and no one in the present day remembers this word as a name for the devil.

So far the Catechism had contained only images that were understandable to the Crow people - God's attributes, angels who were much like their own messengers who came to them when they fasted, a devil connected with the wandering dead. In the next part of the Catechism they were confronted with "our first parents and their fall." The woman ate of the mazua (*baáchuua) or "berries" which God forbid and lost God's gift to them. Now they could go to the bire issakashe makoziktak (* bilée isáakaashe baakoochihták) or the "very great eternal fire."⁸¹ This first sin, though not committed by the Crows, was nevertheless a true sin. Just as Adam and Eve knew the difference between good and evil after they had eaten so now did the Crows know the difference between good and evil after the Jesuits gave this teaching.

The concept of hell needed a separation of good and evil. For a cosmological people good and bad resided together; they were not differentiated. God was the author of misery as well as good fortune and thus evil was unclarified, while in the Jewish myth God was author of good alone. In the historical scheme man was responsible for his own evil, and hell was a necessary place. The biblical creation myth revolutionized Crow theology.

The second article of the Apostle's Creed logically spoke of Jesus Christ as Savior. This section referred to Him as bazeze (* bacheeítche) or basbazettua (* basbacheeíttua) as "Chief of Our Lord."⁸² Jesus batbakaré kon ihzimaarekiuke (*batbakálee koon ihchi balikkuúk)⁸³ - Jesus on the Cross gave Himself for us. The word for cross came from a word which referred to a crossing of the wood to

make it a cross. The word for sacrifice meant literally to give himself. Another term for sacrifice was ammareo (*ammaaaleéoo).⁸⁴

The satisfaction of Jesus' sacrifice was infinite. Here the translator used the words ibishe uhparetak (*iíwishe uhpáleetak).⁸⁵ Satisfaction was literally the price paid - ibishe (*iíwishe). Uhparetak (*Uhpáleetak) was used for infinite when the translator referred to God. When the translator spoke of the "everlastingness" of heaven or hell he used the word makozikte (*baakoochihté).

After Jesus' sacrifice He "arose" - arazine (*alachilé) - from the dead. The word for Resurrection was translated simply "where he got up."⁸⁶ Jesus descended into hell according to the Apostle's Creed. The word used for hell in this context was arazipassé (*alachihpashé) or "the dark place."⁸⁷ This showed a differentiation from the place of fire where the evil souls lived. Rather this was the place where good souls who had died awaited the Savior.

After Jesus' life the judgment day became the focus. Arakavia ak mare inage dappé (*Alakawíia akbaleeiláaxdappee) meant "the sin which kills our spirit" or "mortal sin." Arakarvia ak mare inage dappessak (*Alakawíia akbaleeiláaxdappeessaak) then became "the sin which did not kill our soul," or "venial sin." The translator used the word ibishe (*iíwishe) again for penance, meaning in Crow "the price paid."⁸⁸ Thus, the language lent itself to graphic description of theological terms.

The last articles in this section of the catechism were written about the Catholic Church. The translator endeavored to find a Crow term for the four marks of the Catholic Church - izikiashik

(* itchikáashik) - "holy or very good"; kiota iyaguattarik (* kootáa iáxuataalik) - "universal," or "where I can go all over He is there"; amattarikiatuk (* hawáttaalikaatak), or "only one"; and "Apostolic," which was not translated.⁸⁹

There was a particular form which the translator used when he was using an English term, for example, infidels huk (*huuk), schismatics huk (*huuk), excommunicated huk (*huuk). The huk (*huuk) was the word for "is called."⁹⁰

The words to describe infallible did well to get the meaning across: bag iverak baihazereterak (*baaxawíialak baaiháahcheleetelak) - "whoever told them (the Catholic Church) there is no other meaning." The translator should be commended for his bravery because he attempted to translate indulgences. He came up with - ammairisheviavua ihagin (*ammaailísshewiawuua iháaxiia). Roughly the literal meaning was - "remove things causing fear or our tendency to be afraid."

The second part of the Catechism consisted of all the commandments - the chief commandment of love, the Ten Commandments, and six commandments of the Catholic Church and sins against the commandments. The general word used for commandment meant "things he wants us to do" - ambare badiaze (*ammalée baalíahche).

Two words used in the section on general sin the translator did not translate, "witchcraft" and "money." "Bad medicine" had a name and one wonders why the translator did not use it. The Indian people used money by this time but apparently used the English word when referring to money. In fact, the word now used for money (i.e. * bálee) the linguists feel the Crow people derived from

transposing the English word directly into the Crow word by using Crow sounds.⁹¹

The Second Commandment included swearing and cursing. The word the Jesuit translator used for taking an oath was marazipurak (*balachípuulak)⁹² which was an idiom in the Crow language meaning to lick metal. This was the Crow way of taking an oath and meant the same as putting one's hand on the Bible. If one lied the truth would be there right in front of him to face him.⁹³ In the context of the Second Commandment the words for curse were "God's name dishonouring" or hawattua (*hawáttuua) - by evoking that name.⁹⁴

The translator wrote in the explanation of the Fourth Commandment that the people must obey their chiefs as well as their parents and teachers. After several pages he made it clear that their chiefs were the priests who represented God to them and that they must therefore honor and love them.⁹⁵ This theme reoccurred in the explanation of the First Commandment of the Church which said that "what the priest tells us we must do."⁹⁶ This was a recurrent theme in the sermons also which evoked the image of feudal paternalism and spoke of the Crow people as children. It also was again the principle of substitution at work where the priests took the place of the chiefs of the tribe.

The Sixth Commandment as explained was introduced as shishia (*shishíia), or dirty.⁹⁷ This word was used consistently throughout this section of the catechism. This concept of dirty connected with the sexual act was certainly European and Victorian. One wonders what a Crow person must have imagined when faced with this expression.

The final noted expression in Part II on the Commandments was its reference to God in anthropomorphic terms. "God will declare war on us" - maziimmazik (*bachíaihmaachik)⁹⁸ - was the literal meaning for this word. This was a definite human characteristic given to God. There were two instances in the last few pages of God taking on human characteristics which had the quality of vengeance:

- 1.) irabbishittukbuk (*ilápbishittak buuk)⁹⁹ - We say "He (God) takes good revenge."
- 2.) irabbishkzek (* ilápbishihchek)¹⁰⁰ - He likes to take revenge.

In the first case the context stated that serious sin was so grievous so "immense" issátum (* isáatuua) that God was quick to take revenge.¹⁰¹ In the second case it was capital sin which illicited revenge from God. The translator also gave God the human characteristic of hate. "Sloth of any kind God hates very much."¹⁰² The reason for this anthropomorphic tendency in the writing of the catechism could again be paternalism; a thought which runs as follows: "We must put the catechism into terms these poor simple people can understand."

The final section of the catechism was a teaching on grace. This was the experience of God's gift to man and would have made a better starting place for catechesis, since the experiential realm was God's love and the Crow people had already received this love in their own religious experience. They also would have learned what they were already experiencing in the sacramental life of the Catholic Church. They had already received Baptism, the Eucharist and, the Sacrament of Penance and some had received Marriage with the Church's blessing.

Also the English translated into the Crow vocabulary was more understandable when speaking about grace.

The word consistently used for the term grace was ambanashde (*ammaalaásde) or "kindness" using the literal translation.¹⁰³ This was an excellent translation since it was based on relationship rather than a term denoting grace as a thing or a quantity. Later, however, the translator talked about grace increasing within the soul. He used a word - kakagpizek (*kakáxbitchek) - which meant "to add on, or to put more in."¹⁰⁴

There were again at least two instances of anthropomorphism - it pleases God¹⁰⁵ and God's heart we make sad.¹⁰⁶

The Eucharist posed some problems for the translator. He did not translate the words of the consecration¹⁰⁷ nor the section on the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.¹⁰⁸ This probably stemmed from the warning that the translator must be able to translate the words exactly so that there was no question of heresy. He did translate around it, however. Makukkure barusse (*Baakúkkule baaluushé)¹⁰⁹ was the word used for the Sacrament of the Eucharist. However, there was also a familiar term which he used when speaking about the host - bagawa ziziakate (*baaxawuuá chichíkaate), or "little many pieces of white bread." The technical term "species under" he translated as arazize big serak (*alachichée biaxséelak)¹¹⁰ - which literally meant "those similarities included in the bread and wine." In other words, the consecrated bread and wine still looked like bread and wine.

The word for "sacrifice" was used consistently throughout the catechism-mareo (*baaaléeoo)¹¹¹. This meant "offering" and was used

for any sacred offering, such as the Sundance doll or the black and white cloth on the Sundance pole, or pieces of flesh offered while mourning.

Neither the Sacrament of Holy Orders nor the last few pages of sacramentals were translated into the Crow Language. The catechism as content was 225 pages long. The Jesuit Fathers were almost totally silent on methodology. Because of the format of the catechism one can deduce that it was mostly a formal question and answer approach. There was mention in the years 1898, 1899, and 1903 that the children were given merit cards to redeem.¹¹² It was entirely probable that their correct responses were rewarded with such merit cards. The method most often used in Catholic catechesis was simple memorization of prescribed answers to formalized questions.

The third area in which content of catechesis played a large role was in the Bible stories which were also translated into the Crow language. The Scripture itself was not translated since at this time in history it was still held that "our holy Mother Church hath held and holds, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scripture."¹¹³ This was a statement which came from the Vatican Council. Thus individual interpretation was suspect and those who were too simple to read scripture might fall prey to misinterpretation.

Fathers Prando, Boschi and Cataldo chose the Gilmoure, History of the Bible¹¹⁴ for translation. The stories they translated were both Old Testament and New Testament stories. One example showed the measure of catechetical content. There was an entry on March 26, 1899

in the Jesuit house diaries which read "Father Boschi read the Passion in Crow" on Palm Sunday.¹¹⁵ The first part of the Passion stories were attributed to Father Prando and the second part were credited to Fathers Boschi and Cataldo. Father Prando translated the words of consecration as Jesus spoke them on Holy Thursday night. Although the translator would not translate these words of consecration in the catechism, Father Prando did so in the stories of Passover. Perhaps this was not considered as technical as the catechism since it was only in story form. The consecration of the wine was as follows:

<u>Piszissa</u> <u>*Piishchiisaa</u> Afterwards	<u>bate</u> <u>baaté</u> cup	<u>duzik</u> <u>dútchik</u> he took	<u>awúa</u> <u>awuúa</u> inside
<u>bazuamimbishik.</u> <u>*baachuuawimmishik.</u> berry juice.	<u>Kalazi</u> <u>Kalachíí</u> Again	<u>Akbatatdia</u> <u>Akbaatatdíá</u> God	
<u>Kush- iría - izek,</u> <u>*Kuss ilíia ítcheek</u> word	<u>zivakik</u> <u>chiwakíik</u> prays		
<u>irupaze</u> <u>*iilápaache</u> companions	<u>isshizek</u> <u>isshíihchek</u> drink	<u>irik:</u> <u>ilíik:</u> says:	
<u>"dígagua</u> <u>*diixaxúa</u> "all of you	<u>inné</u> <u>hinne</u> this	<u>isshiara</u> <u>isshíiaalah</u> drink it	<u>inne</u> <u>hinne</u> this is
<u>basíre kok</u> <u>*basíle koók</u> my blood	<u>virugpake</u> <u>bilaxpáake</u> men's	<u>arakavas</u> <u>alakawáaush</u> sins	
<u>ak - ihagiazernmnaje</u> <u>*ak ihaaxiahcheihmaache</u> will take away - literally: throw away."			<u>kok."</u> ¹¹⁶ <u>koók."</u>

The second part of the Bible Stories in the Passion series contained the Resurrection story. The translators included the soldiers being paid to tell the people that Jesus' friends took him away while

they slept and the women going to the grave to "rub stuff" on his body.¹¹⁷ The stories were from the Gospel of Matthew but the order was scrambled.

The schedule of the day, week and year thus gave a framework in which the teachers could relate the content of the catechesis. The sources of content, the catechism, sermons, and Bible stories were exhausting pieces of translation into the Crow language. Instead of translating the English concepts and words into the Crow language the Jesuits may have found it easier to have used the already existing theology of Crow practices and beliefs to teach Catholic Church doctrine. There was, however, always present the fear of heresy and the belief that the European race, "civilization," and Christianity were superior.

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE, MEDICINES, MISSION, AND

THE BEGINNING OF ECONOMIC AND PHILOSOPHIC STRUGGLE

While the Eucharist fitted into the Crow sacramental life, marriage in the Catholic setting changed the life of the tribe. The Government too, as well as the Catholic Church, sought to regulate marriage. In 1890 Agent Wyman wrote to Commissioner Morgan that the marriage customs were very crude among the Crow people. The young man asked a girl and then went to her parents. If they consented then they made a couch or bed and the young man and woman would "retire immediately." Other times the young man sent a horse and went hunting. He brought her family meat. The bride might have been very young and, thus, the family would wait to see if the young man was faithful. The young man, if he married her, was entitled to all the sisters in his wife's family. However, polygamy was not so prevalent anymore.¹ There were several points about marriage which Agent Wyman missed. The wife was put on the horse the young Indian man had given her and wore finery which the women in his family had prepared for their sister-in-law. Then she was paraded through the camp to officially become the young man's wife in the eyes of the tribe. The wife's family then began to plan a give-away for the girl's new husband's family.

Agent Wyman also spoke about divorce. Divorce was common since the Lumpwoods and the Foxes, which were men's clubs, would by custom go wife-stealing in the spring. If another man stole a wife it was disgraceful for her husband to take her back.

In 1892 Agent Wyman was unable to furnish the Department with marriage statistics. He found that if he even asked such a question about marriage the Crow people showed surprise, because they attached so "little importance to the marriage ceremony."² Even as late as 1905 the Agent was "meting out severe punishment" to those who stole wives. He did not say what the punishment was, only that it was working.³

The Jesuit missionaries and the Government Boarding School had a partial solution to this state of affairs. They kept the girls age 11 to 18 at the school year around. In 1895, the first year the small girls and all the boys went home for their vacation, many of the older girls ran away but the school staff immediately retrieved them.

With this arrangement the marriages of the 18 year old girls were in the hands of the Jesuits. No longer could their families have complete control of their daughter's marriage. Pretty Eagle, a young Crow Chief, did not succumb to this situation quietly. In 1893 he lay siege to the school for three days in an effort to arrange a marriage of a 13 year old girl to a young man. The Jesuits finally sent for a policeman and all was quiet.⁴

In 1894 the Jesuit scribe of the house diaries began to keep full record of the marriages and the preparation for marriage. Jasper Farrel Istewas came in February 14 to learn his prayers and to work

for three months in order that he might marry Clara Fitzgerald. The spoken agreement was that each would receive twelve dollars a month if he worked everyday.⁵ But by the first of March Jasper was already tired.⁶ Soon another young Crow, Ignatius, joined Jasper in order to marry another girl, Martha. Here there was mention of a note from Pryor which was presumably a note from the parents giving their consent about the marriage.⁷ On April 23 the parents were again involved and there was a meeting in which everyone promised "to help in the indissolubility of marriage" of Ignatius and Martha.⁸ On April 9 Clara and Jasper were married at 6:30 a.m. Mass. After Mass all went for a first class breakfast where the married couple received some books and little presents with ten dollars to the groom.⁹

All these men considering marriage had been students of St. Xavier in 1888.¹⁰ These young men when they came for a girl were called postulants.¹¹ Sometimes, as in the case of Carl Lieder, they had a job. A suitor was then expected to come every Sunday for 15 Sundays to be instructed in the Catholic religion.¹² The marriage was always a festive occasion with Mass and a grand breakfast afterwards. However, in the case of Ehcheech and Hildegard Fischer Izikish there was no one in Church but Peter Lump on the Nose and a few women. There were not many at breakfast either.¹³ Or in the case of Ursula, who married Leo Dune, Ursula never went "to see the Father and get the book as customary," nor to say good-bye to the Sisters. She had been considered as one of the best girls.¹⁴

There were often multiple marriages on one day. Four were married on November 4 and four couples on November 18. Then again there

were three couples married December 9.¹⁵ At the end of 1895 the house diaries were silent regarding the 18 and 19 year old marriages. The continuance of this system, however, had become tradition since in 1917 Philomena Crooked Arm experienced much the same preparation for marriage. "When I found I was being married-off to this guy, he was living at Black Lodge; and I was living at the Mission still." Her husband-to-be had to agree to ten days of instructions in the Catholic faith and to four months of work. After their marriage the Priests and Sisters gave them money that covered four months of labor. This gave them something to start on. They were taken to the storeroom before they left and were given blankets, sheets, clothing for him, and twenty yards of cloth from each bolt of cloth. They moved to Black Lodge with his people. "My husband and I were taught from the Mission. It was a way of life for us. I still say my daily prayers and have my sewing skills. My husband became a farmer. The products we would use and what we did not we sold."¹⁶ The vision of the Jesuits was now a reality. At least one couple was able to start their life on a farm. Though they prayed as white people, they continued to pray Indian way. They continued to speak the Crow language. They remained poor but held the richness of their culture. They had lost much of family life while they were growing up, such as hunting skills and the wisdom of their grandparents. But they had gained much: sewing and music skills, a new language, farming skills, and an addition to their religious life.

This addition to their religious life was often an integration of Catholicism and Crow Indian religion. What the Church was unable to

do in this regard the individual was able to do in his own spirituality. Philomena told a story of this in her own life. Her husband, Crooked Arm, was ill and it was storming. Just the two of them were home. It was storming so badly she could not go to get anyone. He said, "My woman I am in such pain." She told him she was helpless and could do nothing. But he said, "My woman you have always prayed to the Almighty. Could you not pray to the Almighty to help me in this pain?" She said, "That is right I will pray to the Almighty and he will help you." She took a cup of water, then she bowed way down to kiss Mother Earth and prayed into the cup of water. She gave the cup of water to her man to drink. He became better almost at once and got up. Philomena quickly assured me that that was the only time she did that in order to make it clear that she did not profess to be a medicine woman. Here was the symbolism of Crow religion mixed with the symbolism of Catholicism. It was a story of strong faith.¹⁷

From 1899 to 1907 the house diaries referred to the marriage of older couples who had their marriages blessed, or young people who had been mission raised and had been married by the Baptist minister or had been married Crow fashion.

Father Taelman wrote a marriage formula in the Crow language between the years 1902 and 1905. It read as follows:

Name: This young woman who is here do you think you want her for your wife; when you are married will the Catholic Church own your children?

The answer was "Kodak" which meant "That's right." The woman was asked the same thing. The ring ceremony was also simple. "I give you

this ring. Now we are married."¹⁸ The marriage ceremony was thus made a part of Mission life and was Europeanized.

Another aspect of life choice was added to the lives of the young people. Only one girl took that avenue of life. Katie Adams broke off her engagement to be married in order to join the Indian girls who were training to be Sisters at St. Peters. Pretty Eagle and Gets Down Spotted wanted to send Josie also but the missionaries refused.¹⁹ Katie's mother went into deep grief when Katie left. She mourned all night on the Mission grounds as if Katie had died. "No one slept it was so pitiful and distressing."²⁰ This took place in June 1899. In October 1900 Katie returned but she would not go home to the camp. She stayed at the Mission until November when she left for Carlisle.²¹

Marriage was an important community function of which the Catholic Church took control, but there was a far deeper thrust into the heart of the Crow people and into the very deep roots of their own religion. This was the Church's discouragement of medicine. Both Father Taelman and Father Lindesmith recorded a part of one of Father Prando's sermons to the Crow people in which he listed what he considered to be "fifteen divinities of the Crow people." The Priests considered the medicines which the Indian people worshipped and adored as idols and as the devil's work. At least the Priests considered the medicines as superstition; and mysticism of any sort unless sanctioned by the Catholic Church was to be feared and quelled. One man who dared to walk into the Church with his medicine bag was sent out.²²

Father Prando in his letter to Father Lindesmith listed these idols: the sun, the meadowlark, the weasel, the prairie dog, the

coyote, snakes and old women's teeth. He reported in his sermon to the people how ridiculous it was to worship these things and that the people laughed showing how ridiculous medicines were even to the Crow people.²³ He perhaps missed the whole point of their laughter. The Crow people did not worship their medicines as idols; they looked upon them as symbols of their messengers or helpers such as angels in Catholic belief. They may have been laughing at his lack of understanding.

Ironical, though it seemed, the Jesuit Fathers followed the substitution method again. They substituted religious pictures, "nicely framed," to give to the people to keep in their homes instead of the medicines. The Indian people were overjoyed at the receipt of such presents. The Jesuits replaced the power of the medicines with the power of the Holy Spirit, the Holy Family, the Sacred Heart, and the Immaculate Heart of Mary.²⁴ Thus, the Crow people had new helpers to add to their old helpers. This was how the Crow people saw Christianity - an addition to the old ways, not as a substitution. The Church would have benefited also by such an understanding. The medicine of the people was used for much good in healing and prayer. But as it was, the Catholic Church, with its fear of the mystical qualities of the Crow Indian Old Testament, lost a much richer heritage.

Within Catholic Mission life in Eastern Montana in Crow country the missionaries and students experienced many high points as well as threats and calamities. One of the high lights at the Mission was its brass band. The band often played in the Church at Easter, when the

Bishop came, at funerals, or in the evening for recreation. They not only played at home but went to the Agency to play at Custer's Battlefield for the Memorial Day service.²⁵ They also went on occasion to the Government School at the Agency to provide entertainment. This would include a military drama, a calisthenic drill and twelve band pieces.²⁶

The excursions to Sheridan and to Billings in 1902 and 1904 were what gave them fame. They played in concert, at the National Bank, after Mass, and at the hospital in Billings. In Sheridan the town gave \$90.00 to the boys and the rest was for expenses.²⁷

Crow Fair was another event which the agent fostered in 1904. In both 1905 and 1906 the Fathers and the Sisters took the children to Crow Fair. This set a custom that was followed every year after that.²⁸

More numerous were the setbacks and calamities. There was always disease. In these years the people most feared smallpox. In 1900 in March there was a smallpox scare. The Indian people headed for the mountains and school was closed and quarantined. St. Xavier had eight cases of smallpox.²⁹ In 1903 smallpox was at the Agency in February, by the middle of March the parents were allowed to come see their children.³⁰ In 1905 smallpox appeared in Billings in January. The danger was over by the first part of February.³¹

Floods and storms were always a complication and sometimes a tragedy. A windstorm in 1895 blew the tower bell down and the bell was broken.³² Floods happened often as there were many creeks and rivers on the Crow Reservation. In 1895 the water in Soap Creek and

Rotten Grass flooded and the bridge on Rotten Grass had to be prevented from floating away. In the same flood the new water gates and the head gate were badly damaged in the new dam for irrigation on the Big Horn.³³ In 1897 the Rotten Grass flooded again in March.³⁴ The big flood was in 1899, "All communication from the outside world was cut off. The Little Horn River flooded the Agency" and the school children slept twice in the Catholic Church.³⁵ The Mission dam sank out of sight so that any work on the dam had to be abandoned.³⁶

The high waters in the spring caused a tragic incident in 1898. In June, Father Andreis with Mary Angela Star Black Hawk and Joseph Moore (Ludicher) were coming back to St. Xavier from Pryor. They had to cross a slough to get to the ferry and Joseph Moore (Ludicher) could see the wagon tracks where the Old Coyote's had crossed earlier. So he went right into the water and the two seater buggy started to float sideways. When the buggy went Joseph hung onto the tail of the horse and then swam to shore and Mary Angela grabbed some willows that bent over the water. They saw Father Andreis come up only once making the sign of the cross and then he disappeared. Ludicher was able to throw a cottonwood branch out to Mary Angela and pulled her in. They got help at the ferry. They were brought to St. Xavier where everyone was camped including Mae Old Coyote's family. Everyone was crying and the bell was tolling. Everybody went to the river to look for Father Andreis.³⁷ They did not find Father Andreis' body until August 5 about 19 miles down the Big Horn.³⁸

Then there were the everyday problems. The Mission had received \$500 from Mother Katharine Drexel to sink an artesian well which never

did produce water.³⁹ The same year (1899) they papered the Chapel walls which immediately started cracking.⁴⁰ Sister Theresa was unable to function for some reason and the girls could not sing High Mass without her. The scribe of the house diaries penned a chagrine in this regard: "The Ursulines fail to keep up their share of the work."⁴¹

The greatest obstacle which caused fear to spread among the missionaries did not come from within or from the Mission's immediate surroundings but from afar in the United States Government policy. It was influenced by a changing tide in the Federal Government's perception of Indian people and a need for economic efficiency. One author already in 1889 stated that Indian people had changed from within and that therefore day schools were much better since the school was considered a community changing area. Also, day schools were cheaper.⁴² By 1895 the Secretary of the Interior refuted a charge against him which said he was discontinuing contract schools. St. Xavier was a contract school. This was an arrangement whereby the Federal Government paid so much money per capita for a set number of Indian pupils to schools directed under Church auspices. The Secretary of the Interior said he would give plenty of notice to prepare for the change so that the schools under Church direction would be able to continue. Also, the Church if not involved in school management would find better resources for "direct missionary work." His last argument was economic in character. The Government could no longer afford to subsidize a separate school system for Indian children.⁴³

These two reasons, economic strain and a new philosophy of "Indianess", brought about a cut-back in finances to contract schools. This far reaching decision had at least one disastrous effect: the boarding school was closed in Pryor. It was never a contract school but had lived on contributions from St. Xavier funding which was a contract school, and with the cut backs St. Xavier could no longer afford to give aid to St. Charles Mission at Pryor.⁴⁴

In 1897 because of a scare that St. Charles would close, the Pryor Indians applied to Agent Watson for a Government school in Pryor.⁴⁵ The scare subsided for a few months, but on July 26 the Sisters and eight school girls came from St. Charles, having closed up the Mission.⁴⁶ Father Vander Pol wrote to Father Stephan, Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, that, "The buildings are left in good order and condition for the government."⁴⁷ The buildings were actually the property of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions rather than the Diocese or the Rocky Mountain Missions of the Jesuit Order. The Bureau of Catholic Missions was officially established in 1875. Its function was to be an official arbiter between the U. S. Government and the Catholic Missions. It was located in Washington D. C. for that purpose. The Bureau was instrumental in negotiating for the contract school in the Catholic Mission school system. Since it was central to this transaction the Bureau became the clearing house for the moneys to be sent to the missions according to contract on a quarterly basis. In fact it became the clearing house for all moneys sent to the Catholic Indian Missions. One of these was the Mother Mary Katharine Drexel fund. All the buildings on the Crow Reservation

connected with the Catholic Church were financed by Mother Drexel. Thus, the buildings belonged to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. For this reason the Acting Commissioner Tanner of the Department of the Interior submitted a bid of \$4000 in September 1899 to the Bureau for the Catholic Mission buildings in Pryor.⁴⁸ The Bureau accepted the terms, even the stipulation that the Chapel be moved to a "point remote" from the school grounds.⁴⁹ In June, 1900 the Department of the Interior, after much negotiation, finally declined to buy the Catholic Mission buildings.⁵⁰ The buildings fell to ruins while the Government built a new boarding school near the Mission site and not all that far from the Chapel. This caused a deep erosion around the edges of the European structure of Church.

In effect what was happening was this: white Protestant America was moving away from a guardianship position. Rather than remain as wards of the Government, the Indians would be put on their own resources and encouraged to become members of the total American community. Education would be of the mind and the soul, but the latter would not be the function of the State.⁵¹

This argument held that to "undo the damage our paternalism has done" Indians must be told what to do. The immediate plan to do this, of course, was also supplied, now that the Government ironically was no longer paternalistic. The Indian needed a practical education and this was best supplied by the Public School System.⁵² But if this was not feasible the best education would be in the Reservation day school.⁵³

Besides guardianship and paternalism the U. S. Government elected to negate tribalism. The Indian Commissioner, William A. Jones, stated that the old way to deal with the Indians was with the tribe. The new way he lauded was to treat them as individuals. The 1871 vote to no longer make treaties with Indian tribes he dubbed as "a mighty pulverizing machine for breaking up the tribal mass."⁵⁴

The outing system where children were put into white people's homes while they attended school, worked against tribalism, since it worked against the idea that Indian people were considered as a "separate and peculiar" people. This means of schooling and living would put the child on an "equal footing" with the "other elements of our population."⁵⁵

On the Crow Reservation a bill before Congress contained a clause permitting the building of a horse-breeding undertaking. The bill was voted down in the house. The objection to the horse-breeding operation was that it was against Government policy because it dealt with the Indians as tribes not as individuals.⁵⁶ When the agent went on his rounds to check on the Indian people's farms on the Crow Reservation he would not allow a group meeting or "pow-wow" in any particular district. He brushed it off as a waste of time and "tribal foolishness."⁵⁷

While Indian educators and Federal Government Officials were using individualism as a reason to change the Indian boarding school system to a day school system and where possible, the public school system, the Catholic Schools and the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions were panicking. The Catholic's first response was to brand

the action as anti-Catholicism. Father Harry Sievers, S. J. in the Catholic Historical Review likened these developments to the behavior of the xenophobic "Know Nothing Party of the 1840's and 50's." An 1880's outgrowth of that party was the American Protective Association which, according to the author, placed anti-Catholics in strategic positions to eliminate Catholic influence in the political arena. He suggested that Morgan the Indian Commissioner and Dr. Daniel Dorchester, who were Protestant ministers, were part of the infiltration.⁵⁸

In 1893 Father Stephan, the Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, sent a letter to a meeting of the missionary boards with the Board of Indian Commissioners in Washington. In his letter he gave way to an angry outburst which called the effort to secularize the Indian Schools "a dishonest, hypocritical one, whose sole aim and purpose is to drive the Catholic Church out of the Indian educational and missionary field." He questioned the Board's stand for non-sectarizing the Indian schools since all faiths were sectarian.⁵⁹

Bishop Brondel, the Helena Bishop in whose Diocese the Crow Reservation lay, was a bit more cool-headed and appealed to the lack of justice involved and to Catholic philosophy. First, it was unfair since the Church had built school plants in Montana costing \$400,000. In fact these structures "were put up in compliance with suggestions, if not demands of the Government officials and inspectors." Secondly, if this unfair treatment was because of religion being taught it was a well-known fact that "in order to successfully civilize the Indian it is necessary to Christianize them."⁶⁰

The reaction to this anger from the Catholic Church was one of incredulousness for the most part and in other circles distrust. The incredulousness was genuine confusion. At the missionary board meeting where a member read Father Stephan's letter members responded with questions: How was it that the U. S. Government was constricting missionary work if it did not give them appropriations? Why shouldn't any denomination do its own missionary work?⁶¹ Other Government Officials responded with mistrust. For example, when St. Charles closed in 1898 the annual report of the Department of the Interior contained this sentence: St. Charles had closed "upon the alleged grounds of gradual discontinuance of Government aid."⁶²

The Catholic Church on the Indian Reservation in the late 1890's and early 1900's was fighting a battle for survival. The Protestant Church and the U. S. Government could not comprehend the vehemence with which the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions responded to their enlightened propositions for Indian education. The heavy blow could only be comprehended from within or by someone aware of the model of Church the Catholics had built on the Reservation. Protestantism on the Reservation had adapted to its design of American Protestantism in the rest of the country. That design was built around a division of religion and the work-a-day-world. Protestantism was a back to basics Christianity which was simple in design. Catholicism was complicated with its system of catechesis, Church History, its interpretation of Scripture and its Sacramental System. The boarding school on the Reservation was the last stronghold of feudal European Catholicism. The children drew their parents in to visit them. There was the

daily, weekly, and yearly schedule of Sacraments and Feast Days. In the house diaries the scribe commented on the excellent spirit among the children and attributed this attitude to the reception of Penance and Holy Communion often.⁶³ This was a wholistic approach which involved the total lives of the student. For example, the marriage contract would no longer be a part of the system if the children were switched to day schools. In short the Protestant bent of the Government acted off its image of Church and the Indian and were taken aback when the Catholic Church reacted in outrage. When the Government said, "We don't want to finance the Catholic Church because all the other churches have gotten out of education. It is too expensive," the Catholic Church stood to lose everything, not just a once a week Bible lesson. The whole concept of what the Church was was wrapped up in the boarding school model of European Church.

Some few Protestants in Government did realize this, however. T. J. Morgan was one of these. He cautioned that if anyone listened to the Catholic Church's criticism they may find themselves going "back to mediaevalism with all that condition implies."⁶⁴ In a Baptist paper he referred to the Catholic Church as "alien in its spirit, unrepblican in its organization."⁶⁵

Another battle was also being waged. T. J. Morgan insisted that the Government was obligated to place Indian students in schools which they saw fit. The Bureau argued that the parents alone had the right to select the proper school for their children.⁶⁶ This fight the Catholic Church won, but only after a long hard struggle.

The cut back of funds started in 1893 until it reached 20% in 1895. All funds were abrogated in 1900. By this time all other private Protestant schools had been slowly bowing out of the picture. The Indian Appropriation Act lowered apportionment each year until the schools were phased out. In 1901 no appropriations were made. Economics was the question. Because of the expense the Government no longer wanted to fund sectarian schools and was advocating day schools even for Government schools.⁶⁷

The Catholic boarding schools on the Reservation needed the Government's financial aid to survive. The missionaries were continually asking the Bureau whether Government funding could be relied upon. Once in awhile there was reason for hope, such as the Congressional response in 1897. Charles Lusk, the Secretary of the Catholic Bureau, wrote to the Superior of the Jesuit Missions that the "drift" of the last congress was so strong that there was no fear of loss of "provision for the schools."⁶⁸

Because of a lack of finances in 1898 the Bishop of Montana, Bishop Brondel, wrote about the situation in the Catholic Indian Schools in his Montana Diocese. "We formerly had 1000 pupils in our schools, but now there are about 600." He ascribed the reason as "withdrawal of Government aid."⁶⁹ By 1902 Father Taelman at St. Xavier wrote to Father Ketcham, the new Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, that the former attendance of 150 students was down to 60 because of a lack of funds from the Government.⁷⁰

Repairs became a major problem at St. Xavier Mission. The missionary reminded Mr. Charles Lusk that the buildings were in disrepair

after 12 years and that these buildings belonged to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions.⁷¹ The director wrote back and said that the Bureau had never been responsible for the maintenance of buildings. This year, 1900, since the Government was withdrawing all funding, the Bureau would have to "assume the entire cost of running the schools."⁷² St. Xavier Mission was still asking the Bureau in 1901 if they were going to pay the bills.⁷³

Many persons suggested alternatives to help the financial system of the Catholic Indian Schools. One which came from the Superior of the Jesuit Missions was to have the boys go to school in the Government school where chaplains for the boys could be provided. The girls would continue their schooling under the Sisters.⁷⁴ There was no mention as to why the boys would be safer in the clutches of Protestants. One could conjecture that the girls' immorality might become evident or that the girls were the ones responsible for morality which was a common understanding in the nineteenth century. No one accepted such a scheme as this at St. Xavier.

The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions took responsibility for the provision of funds for the Catholic Indian Contract Schools after the Government funding was stopped. There were three main sources for income after 1900. Mother Katharine Drexel, a Philadelphia heiress, used her entire fortune for the Indian and Negro. She pledged so much a contract after the Government eliminated funding. The Bureau established the Society for the Preservation of the Faith in 1901 in response to the economic disaster. The full name was Society for the Preservation of Faith Among Indian Children. The purpose stated was

TABLE NO. 1. Amounts set apart for education of Indians in schools under private control for the fiscal years 1890 to 1894 inclusive.

	1800	1891	1892	1893	1894
Roman Catholic	\$356,957	\$363,349	\$394,756	\$375,845	\$389,745
Presbyterian	47,650	44,850	44,310	30,090	36,340
Congregational	28,459	27,271	29,146	25,736	10,825
Episcopal.	24,876	29,910	23,220	4,860	7,020
Friends	23,383	24,743	24,743	10,020	10,020
Mennonite	4,375	4,375	4,375	3,750	3,750
Unitarian	5,400	5,400	5,400	5,400	5,400
Lutheran, Wittenberg, Wis.	7,560	9,180	16,200	15,120	15,120
Methodist	9,940	6,700	13,980		

TABLE NO. 2. Amounts set apart for education of Indians in schools under private control for the fiscal years 1895 to 1900, inclusive.

	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900
Roman Catholic . .	\$359,215	\$308,471	\$198,228	\$156,754	\$116,862	\$57,642
Episcopal	7,020	2,160				
Friends	10,020					
Mennonite	3,750	3,125				
Unitarian	5,400					
Lutheran,						
Wittenberg, Wis. .	15,120					
Methodist		600				

the maintenance of the Catholic Indian Mission Schools. The condition of membership was 25¢ in dues. The benefits were spiritual and consisted of prayers, Masses, and Novenas which the missionaries, Priests and Sisters, and the children prayed. There was a certificate of membership.⁷⁷ The Bureau published the Indian Sentinel, a magazine, in which missionaries wrote of their experiences and needs. Besides the money obtained from subscriptions the Society received large and small contributions from many sources. The Marquette League was established in 1904 as an auxiliary to the Preservation Society. There was a \$2.00 membership fee. These funds and other funds collected by the Marquette League were used for the restoring and building of Chapels, the salaries for Indian catechists and scholarships for Indian students to Catholic schools.

The Bureau also made appeals in behalf of Catholic Indian Mission Schools. The arguments used in a pamphlet to elicit funds were as follows;

1. It was a matter of justice. Since the white people had taken Indian land, the white people, at least, should contribute for their spiritual welfare.
2. The honor of the Church was at stake. Shall people make "void the blood of Martyrs?"
3. Help was needed so badly that Father Cataldo was out begging. Protestants were using money to "pervert" the Catholics.
4. Everyone should feel it a duty to take his part in this great obligation.
5. The boarding schools were necessary among "savage and semi-civilized tribes."⁷⁸

Finally, the Bishop made appeals for the Indian Mission in his Diocese. Bishop Lenihan of the Diocese of Great Falls in which the Crow Reservation lay encouraged Catholics to become members of the Marquette League. They should write letters to their congressmen beseeching them, "in the language of the Chief Executive of the nation," to "give a square deal to the Catholic Indians and the mission schools."⁷⁹

The Jesuit Priests and the Protestant Ministers were allowed to go once a week to the Government boarding schools to instruct students of respective faiths. In Crow Agency the children were allowed to go to the little church every Monday evening for one hour. However, Father Taelman observed that "it amounts to very little, when we reflect that the children can never come to assist at Mass or receive the Sacraments."⁸⁰

Father Taelman also complained about the Protestant service the children had to attend twice weekly.⁸¹ He had reason to complain. In the report to the Secretary of the Interior there were printed summaries from personnel in the various Indian Government Boarding Schools. One such writer spoke of the Bible as the character building fabric of the school. This was, of course, contrary to Catholic catechesis since the Bible should be read by only those who could understand the teachings of the Church for any given chapter or verse. Another wrote about their evening hour which on some nights included hymns.⁸² This was not a new obstacle for the Catholic Church, however. Nineteenth-century schools were "for all intents and purpose Protestant Schools." The Church had always because of this

established its own schools.⁸³ There was also the European structure of Church which upheld the wholistic approach to its catechesis and, thus, required its own school system in which religion could envelop the whole day and life of its people.

Besides this arrangement, which was not all that positive for Catholicism, the control of the children was left to the Superintendent or to the matron who might be in favor of or militate against any given church. In Crow Agency in the early 1900's the Jesuits met with some serious opposition at the Crow Agency Boarding School.⁸⁴ In January 1902 things changed for the better and the new agent Mr. Reynolds seemed friendly. But in September when Father Prando went to get the children Mr. Watson the superintendent refused to let them go and said that there were no Catholics in the school.⁸⁵ What's more, Mr. Watson witnessed his own wife driving the Catholic girls to a Christian Endeavor Meeting with a stick.⁸⁶ The agent was not cooperative. He did not wish to get mixed up in the matter. Father Taelman complained to Miss Reel who came to inspect the school and he wrote a letter to the Bureau with eleven points regarding Mr. Watson's unfair conduct. He finished his letter with, "I could have mentioned many other things against the school and its discipline."⁸⁷

The opposite situation proved to be true in Pryor at the Government Boarding School. The report of H. L. Oberlander, the Superintendent stated that all the children were Catholic and that there was Sunday School every Sunday in the morning and the evening. Father Prando had services often and many of the old Indians came.⁸⁸

Father Taelman also expressed appreciation for Dr. Oberlander. Only 25 children were not baptized in the school. After five months of instruction they were baptized. Miss Quinn, a teacher in the Pryor School, was Catholic so she conducted the Sunday School since Dr. Oberlander knew nothing about Catholic Sunday Schools. Since this was the case there was no hurry to move the Chapel.⁸⁹

The years between 1893 and 1907 were years of magnificent growth at St. Xavier Mission. The extensive and complicated structure of European styled Church was realized on the plains of Eastern Montana among the Crow Tribe. The schedule of day, week and year filled the lives of the Crow Indian students, as well as that of their parents. The Sacramental life of the Church called them in to the Mission. But even as this Church structure was reaching the success with which the Jesuits felt comfortable Federal empathy and support diminished. Money was finally withheld completely by 1900 and the Catholic Boarding School system was doomed to die. St. Xavier continued the struggle for awhile and thought of alternatives which did not even begin to compare with the wholistic approach which the European Church structure had supplied. This economic blow to the Catholic Church opened the door to an erosion of the Boarding School of St. Xavier which would eventually prove fatal.

CHAPTER V

THE BEGINNING OF THE DECLINE OF THE
MISSION BOARDING SCHOOL AS THE CENTER OF
THE EUROPEAN FEUDAL MODEL CHURCH - 1907-1921.

In 1910 Haley's Comet passed over Eastern Montana. In 1914 Pope Pius X died and World War I was declared in Europe. The children at St. Xavier Boarding School enrolled in the Junior Red Cross to do their part in the war effort. In 1921 oil was struck on the Crow Reservation at Soap Creek which sent people scrambling for leases.¹

Through the eyes of Agent Reynolds on the Crow Reservation the life of the Crows was becoming more favorable. More land was plowed than other years and the Crow Fair was a success. The agent visited each individual on his farm and refused to relate to the pow-wows which the Indian leaders formed in each district to talk over business with the agent in a group. He and his staff fostered individual enterprize through Crow Fair and other means.

The Agent also reported in 1906 that most of the Crows had now been allotted their land. The agency mills ground 500,000 lbs. of flour that year from the wheat the Indians had raised themselves. The "stumbling blocks" to the Crow as he still saw them were immorality which he defined totally as the refusal of the Crows to obtain marriage licenses. Also, consumption had a "strong hold on them."²

The economic situation was beginning to show success. Individualism in enterprise was being fostered by the agent and staff.

The only cultural aspect of dancing from the old way of life, dancing for social entertainment, survived. The Government still forbade the Sun Dance, a serious religious ceremony. There were no longer any angry outbursts in the Jesuit House Diaries regarding dances. The children were even able to attend the dances with the Sisters. In 1915 during the Fourth of July dances even the older girls were allowed to attend.³

From 1914-1916 the Jesuits complained in their correspondence and in the diaries that the Indian people were neglecting their "homemaking" and were "too often away from their respective places."⁴ Authorities in Washington, D.C. forwarded these complaints to the Superintendent on the Crow Reservation, Superintendent Scott, who was visiting in Washington. He decided that on his return to the Crow Reservation he would prohibit camp dances.⁵

The Jesuits complained because of their frustration and futility they felt for the condition of the Crow people. In 1912 they had not enough hay for the hard winter.⁶ In 1913 their crops amounted to little or nothing.⁷ Nineteen-fifteen was a good year until a July hailstorm wiped out most of the Indians in the Big Horn Valley.⁸ In 1918 most of Lodge Grass District was hailed out.⁹ A drought hit in 1919 and the Indian farmers were left with a complete crop failure.¹⁰ By 1920 most of the people were discouraged. A late spring caused low spirits and many cattle smothered in the mud. In July the heat was intense and it looked as if there would be only one crop of hay.¹¹

Reality hardly fit the success story the Government, the missionaries, and the schools had claimed for the Indian people.

Within this national and economic scenario the United States Government's philosophy toward the Indian was that of assimilation. As one author put it, "The aim of the Government is to do justice to the American Indian and to bring him into efficient citizenship. Before there can be any such achievement for the Indian, tribes must be dissolved as social, commercial and political entities. The Indians must come into the nation as individual units."¹²

Assimilation with its anti-tribalism counterpart was not only an economic and political doctrine but was also a plan of education. Between 1907 and 1921 the Government boarding schools changed to day schools, then to public schools. The establishment of public schools was the culmination of assimilation for now the Indian was part of the public and would be forced to participate in the politics of the European based community. "This process of disintegration of the Indian reservation is a splendid example of the elimination of the Indian as a distinct problem either for the Federal or the State governments." The public school was the necessary element in this process. Here the student would learn the "better ways" of the white man.¹³ In this recitation assimilation sounded much like a form of annihilation - to erase all Indian culture.

The Jesuit Fathers were not opposed to tribalism. In fact the tribal structure fit the purposes of the European feudal Church model. The Church was communal based also. Father Grant expressed this well by stating, when asked his opinion of the Wheeler-Howard Act in 1934,

that the same provisions of the Act had been carried out by the Catholic missionaries in the early days of the Missions. In fact, "Tribal rule was a powerful weapon any way it was turned." The Indian people had a developed civilization of their own and were good at organizing it. But the Government supplanted Indian rule with white man's rule and ruined everything.¹⁴ The basic approach to Christianizing the Indian using the tribal model was one of substitution. The major structure remained but each part would be Christianized within the basic framework. This worked for the most part, but often the missionaries were unable to read the Indian culture correctly. Also the feudal system was doomed to die with St. Xavier Boarding School as its center. Both from within and without the boarding school was buffeted by events which undermined its foundations. This was to have a profound effect on the form of catechetical teaching within the Catholic Church on the Crow Reservation.

The Catechists from the years 1907 - 1921 were still mainly the Jesuit Priests and the Ursuline Sisters in the girl's school. Father Grant was Superior at St. Xavier from 1907-1913.¹⁵ As a young boy he had earnestly gone to the Sacrament of Penance stating his decision to dedicate his life to Christ. The Priest who heard this plan advised Thomas to go west where they needed Priests among the Indians.¹⁶ Father Grant did just that, and as a Scholastic taught at the little school in Pryor.¹⁷ In 1898 he was there with Father Boschi when Father Griva arrived.¹⁸ He returned in 1905 and was made Superior of the mission in 1907. He spoke the Crow language fluently.¹⁹

Father Vrebosch was most recognizable on his big horse, "Rex," coming over the hills to Lodge Grass or to Pryor.²⁰ He came to the Crow Reservation in 1906. Except for two brief periods elsewhere he spent twenty years of his life among the Crows. He was born January 13, 1873 and entered the Society of Jesus in 1893.²¹

Father Taelman was the third missionary of influence during the years 1907 - 1921. He was born in Exaards, Belgium in 1867 which was eighteen miles from the birthplace of Father Pierre De Smet. Father Cataldo came looking for missionaries and Father Taelman responded.²² In 1901 he came to the Crows to take Father Boschi's place and to join with Father Prando. He began his ministry, felt at home, and learned the Crow language. He stayed four years until 1905.²³

In 1913 Father Taelman was called back to the Crow Reservation from a four year presidency at Gonzaga College. Compared to Gonzaga the destitution of St. Xavier Mission was profound. He installed bathtubs and toilets almost at once in both schools and put pews in the Church. He worked for the improvement of the water system which plagued St. Xavier for the water was alkaline and bitter.²⁴

In 1913 Father Vrebosch had been transferred to St. Ignatius in the summer. The Pryor Indians sent a petition to the Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, Father William H. Ketcham, requesting Father Vrebosch's return because he understood their ways and was liked by all of them.²⁵ Father Taelman asked the Superior of the Missions to recall Father Vrebosch. Father Vrebosch returned in August. Father Taelman believed that they would make a good team both naturally and supernaturally.²⁶ In later years Father Taelman said,

"We pulled together like a team."²⁷ For the most part this was born out in the manuscripts and letters of the years 1907 - 1921. They seemed, however, to have had somewhat opposite dispositions. Father Vrebosch was always very pleased with the Indian people. -"My Crow Indians are being blessed by our dear Lord..."²⁸ George Takes the Gun remembered Father Taelman as strict and Father Vrebosch as a practical joker who tried to loosen up the policy of separating the girls from the boys. Father Vrebosch gave a note to George one day to deliver to the girl's school. He told George not to bother to ring the doorbell but to just walk in. So George followed his orders. Sister Stella did not see him, but the girls let out a squeal. George told Sister Stella he was following Father Vrebosch's orders. Sister Stella replied, "Well, that crazy thing."²⁹

George's first teacher was Mother Gabriel. "She trained us like a wild horse. She gave us candy but not quite enough. We would crave it so we would have to listen some more."³⁰

In 1910 Father Grant wrote to Father Ketcham: "After all, we find that the schools are our main resource to be able to impart to the Crows a knowledge of Christianity."³¹ In 1911 he commented that the children were doing well spiritually and that it was to the schools everyone must look for the "staunch" Catholics of the future.³²

George's memories were of the order of the day and chores. The catechesis of physical labor seemed to have spoken strongly to the students. "Everything was nice and in order." Father Vrebosch asked George to take care of the hallways. He had to use a ladder to clean

the lamps, and refuel them. The children had fish every Wednesday and Friday. The boys would tie up a net and then come back in two or three days and fill the wagon with fish. They had pigs as well as cows for lard and link sausages. The girls took care of the garden with the Sisters except for the potato patch. The boys took care of that. They had to pick potato bugs.³³

The boys hauled the wood and coal for everyone. "Even at noon hour after we ate we would chop a little wood. We were always chopping wood for the stoves."³⁴

Not only the children were taught in and around the school but so were the baptized adults. The school was still the center of Church events. The Christian Community was drawn into the life of the Mission by their participation in the spiritual life of the Catholic Church. Father Grant wrote to Father Ketcham in 1912 that it was almost impossible for the Indian people to come to Mass and the Sacraments because they were so scattered. The Indian people, furthermore, needed a camping place where they might stop over on Saturday night to prepare a meal and feed their horses. He could get a 40 acre lot for \$10 an acre and he asked the Bureau to buy it. The Indians might even build a small hotel and corrals and even an old folk's home for which the field matron could care. Thus, the Indians would have a convenient place for their sick - an advantage for both people and priest.³⁵

Several events had indicated the need for a camp site. On September 4, 1909 Moccasin had come barefoot through the water and the mud for the distance of two miles with his wife to receive

Communion.³⁶ On January 1, 1909 the Indians were camped on an island and because of an ice jam were unable to cross for two hours to Mass.³⁷

Father Ketcham from the Bureau answered that he could not buy a 40 acre piece of land since there was a struggle to put bread in the mouths of children and it would be "criminal."³⁸

The Mission itself must have purchased the 40 acres for camping since Father Taelman was protesting paying taxes on the 40 acre tract in 1914. He argued that the land was not used by the Jesuits at all but rather as a camp ground where the Indian people stayed when they came to the Mission, especially on Sundays and Feast Days. "It is the beginning of an Indian Village."³⁹ Thus, the school gathered the Indian people to form Christian Community which was drawn in from quite a distance all over the Reservation.

The Feast Days reflected the form of catechesis in this unified tribal Christianized Community. The Feast which gained the most emphasis in the Jesuit House Diaries was Easter. In 1912 the scribe noted the progress of Holy Week. On Holy Thursday the Fathers said Mass at 6:30 A.M. followed by the Procession of the Blessed Sacrament to the side altar. The boys spent the morning in adoration, and the girls took the evening. Adoration was closed at 8:30 P.M. On Good Friday the Jesuits gave a short instruction and the Way of the Cross at 3:00 P.M. Holy Saturday services were held at 7:00 A.M. and Confessions at 2:00 P.M. There was no school on Thursday, Friday, or Saturday. On Easter there were large crowds. The last Mass was a

High Mass. Father Grant sang the Mass, and Father Vrebosch gave the sermon.⁴⁰

In 1914 the Jesuits carried out Holy Week Services "to their full extent" with only the school children present. On Easter, however, everyone from all the districts was invited to participate in the festivities at St. Xavier. The total Christian Community was pulled into the center of the feudal structure of the Church. On Holy Saturday the Indian people arrived from Pryor, Lodge Grass, Crow Agency, and Hardin. The tents of the Indian People filled the forty acres. On Easter Sunday there were between 400 to 500 Indian people present. An Indian from Pryor interpreted. The Lodge Grass Indians were conspicuous because of their good behavior. Even the Catholic school girls from Crow Agency were allowed to come. In the afternoon the Indians played games - district against district. The Mission gave the people a steer, some flour, and coffee for their feast. To conclude the day all participated in a Solemn Benediction. Father Vrebosch gave a sermon as did Big Hail from Pryor. The celebration was so festive that the scribe spoke of a plan to gather the Indians every year for Easter.⁴¹

There were several notable differences in the Easter Celebration in 1916. First, practically all the Indian people had moved in by Thursday evening or Friday morning. Thus, they were able to participate in Holy Week services, not just Easter Sunday. On Friday the Way of the Cross was filled. The scribe noted especially a great attendance of men. The Way of the Cross was prayed in both English and Crow. Ralph Saco interpreted. Between each station the people sang

one stanza of a Crow hymn. Easter Sunday in 1916 was much like that of 1914 with two exceptions. On Easter Sunday after Mass there was an outdoor procession of the Blessed Sacrament and Father Taelman was alone because Father Vrebosch was at St. Ann's in Lodge Grass.⁴² In 1919 a number of Lodge Grass Indians came for Easter but the scope of the Easter of 1916 was never again attained. The Procession remained, and grew in magnificence: "The same kind of procession as was witnessed these last three years: banners, stations, brass band, Indians on horse back, etc. firing of guns, singing, etc."⁴³ The attendance was never again from the whole Reservation in the years 1907 - 1921.

There could have been at least two reasons for this. First, this made the Big Horn Indians the continual host. This meant the gifts always went from the Big Horn's to the other districts. This was especially difficult since the Indian people's crops had failed during these years. Secondly, the Mission was beginning to spread out. There was now a church at Lodge Grass, at Crow Agency, at Hardin, and at Pryor. These were becoming Church communities of their own and were ceasing to see St. Xavier as the center. This was especially true of Lodge Grass which now had its own day school.⁴⁴

The Mission followed the same pattern in the celebration of the Feast of Corpus Christi. In 1916 everyone came from all the districts. The Mission band met the Pryor Indians as they came. The Lodge Grass Indians also came and "it was said that none were absent". The emphasis of the feast centered around the procession of the Blessed Sacrament. The procession in point of size and beauty

surpassed anything previous. "Two altars had been decorated for the procession outdoors."⁴⁵

In 1917 only the Indians of the valley were present at Corpus Christi with a few Indians from Hardin and Crow Agency. A storm spoiled the preparations for an outdoor procession, so the people held up over one hundred small and large banners during an indoor procession. After the services the people had a feast in common consisting of meat, bread, coffee, sugar, canned fruit and oranges which the Indians contributed themselves.⁴⁶ There was no reason given for the celebration being limited to the Big Horns and a few others; nor was there mention of the feast being held again between 1917 - 1921.

Christmas in 1912 also began to show the pulling away from the center of St. Xavier Mission School. Midnight Mass was held also at Pryor so that many of the people went to Pryor.⁴⁷ In 1913 the festivity surrounding Christmas was still high, however. The first part of the celebration was the camping on the forty acres. Father Grant bought this land and the Indians were gradually using it on Saturdays and Sundays. Secondly, everyone celebrated Midnight Mass and Frank He Does It interpreted the sermon. Thirdly, the people had the customary feast to which the Mission through Father Taelman contributed a steer, some sacks of flour, and some potatoes. The same had been given on Thanksgiving Day.⁴⁸

In 1920 the Lodge Grass Indians were invited to St. Xavier for Christmas. There were about 300 confessions and communions. The Lodge Grass Choir sang the High Mass on Sunday. The house diaries reported that everyone was surprised. Possibly this surprise was

present because a station Church had learned the Latin Mass before the St. Xavier center Church. The Indian people had as usual a Christmas tree where gifts were presented to all the day after Christmas. This year they hired the pool hall for their Christmas Dance.⁴⁹

Besides the number of communions given for all feasts, which were usually around 300 over the whole Reservation, there were several other references to Sacramental life. Father Grant wrote to Father Ketcham that confession and communion were more difficult for the Indian people than elsewhere because of the distances and poor transportation so that 10 would mean 100 elsewhere and 50 Crows were 500 in any other parish. Four Crow men were baptized on Easter Sunday in front of the whole congregation. Father Grant said that this would not have been dared a few years ago since these men would have been laughed at.⁵⁰

The Sacrament of Confirmation was celebrated several times between 1907 - 1921. In May 1912 the Bishop confirmed 30 children who said their prayers, sang the hymns, and recited the Catechism. There was no clue as to the age of the children. Forty-three adults were also confirmed and 30 of these were from St. Xavier alone.⁵¹

In 1920 Bishop Lenihan confirmed 79 at Pryor. Everyone was waiting for the red-black-robe in June when flood rains drenched the whole area. The Bishop could not come that day because of the flooding. Old White Man, a scout, waited on a hill in the rain for seven hours waiting for the Bishop. In his feathers and regalia he truly looked "like a wet rooster". The Bishop finally arrived; the women had decorated the Church with the only flower in bloom - the

Dandelion. After Mass the Indian people asked to kiss the Bishop's pectoral cross as well as his ring. These sacred things had been a substitute for or an addition to the Crow Indian medicines by this time.⁵²

Each of the missionaries when they arrived would start a new men's club or woman's sodality. Nothing was ever said about the previous group but the reorganization was made to seem the first attempt at such a group. Father Grant in 1907 tried to form a young men's club. He also had plans for a sewing circle among the young women. He wanted to try "to get a better hold on them." The effort was to further this purpose - to get the young people to go to Church and to Communion more often.⁵³ This "hold on" the young people spoke of a desire to keep the young people within the framework of the feudal community much like they were when they were students at St. Xavier. Once the young people had graduated there was a fear of losing them. Since the Crow people had been allotted land there was no longer the assurance of the compound type of arrangement as there was in the early Franciscan communes in California.

The first month there were only eleven members in Father Grant's men's club because so many lived quite a long distance from the Mission.⁵⁴ At the same time the Indian men requested of the agent a lodge. By January 1908 the membership was already about 150. The members had several obligations. They were:

- 1.) to obey the laws of the country.
- 2.) not to cheat anyone.

3.) to be honorable and upright.

4.) to assist families in sickness and death.

The last obligation was interpreted "to give a decent and civilized burial."⁵⁵

Again in 1914 Father Vrebosch organized a married woman's sodality and a men's club which they called the League of the Sacred Heart. The purpose given for these groups was to unite the Indians, "bring them nearer to the Church, and accustom them to confession and communion once a month." Similar sodalities were later organized in Pryor and Lodge Grass.⁵⁶ Here again was an example of the spreading out to the Missions. The fledgling stations now had their own societies as well as their own Confirmation classes. There were several references to spirituality. Father Ketcham offered books to the Missions - the De Harbe's small and large catechisms and the Gilmore Bible Histories - not only for the school but also for the young married men and women who wanted them for their homes to teach the older men and women.⁵⁷

Another part of the catechesis was to teach the people a theology of life. It was a predicted statement from the newly Catholic Indians when after a hail storm they said, "We now go to church, we pray to God, morning and evening; and now we have bad luck; our crops are gone!"⁵⁸ Their medicines were no good if they did not work. Evidently the Catholic medicine was not working. The Jesuit's response was: God's ways are not our ways. It is punishment for the sin you have committed.⁵⁹ The first response was food for thought; the second added a new found guilt to their lives.

A cultural factor which was a constant complaint of the Jesuits was the discrepancy in the philosophy of time and schedule. All the way through house diaries the Jesuits wrote: "People don't come in time. Many come late."⁶⁰

There was one reference to audio visuals used for catechetical instructions. In 1910 Father Dinand and Father O'Brien showed a Magic Lantern presentation of the "Life of Christ" at the church in Crow Agency.⁶¹

Another of the factors which pressured the life of the European model of Church besides the spreading out of Mission was sickness and death. Sheer numbers were in themselves a threatening element. In 1898 the population of Crow Indians was 2,300. By 1921 this had dwindled to 1,500.⁶² In April 1904 Father Taelman wrote that 51 Crows had died since July 1903.⁶³ Over and over again the Jesuits said, "The Crows are dying off."⁶⁴ "The Crows as a tribe are bound to become extinct. It's a question of only a few years. May they all go to heaven."⁶⁵ Because of these deaths the enrollment in the school was dwindling along with the population in the Big Horn Valley.

During these years death not only carried away many Crows but four of the religious personnel also died in 1919 and 1920. Three Sisters were buried in the St. Xavier graveyard: Sister Bernard died from old age, Sister Scholastica died from cancer, and Mother Ursula of pneumonia as a result of the flu. Brother Husske died after suffering many years.⁶⁶

The main cause of sickness and death was consumption from 1905 - 1910.⁶⁷ There were also small pox cases during this time on the

Reservation but none of them caused death. These resulted in a quarantine for the whole Reservation. The disease was usually held to a small number of cases, and these occurred in 1905, 1907, and 1914.⁶⁸ These cases were not found at St. Xavier Mission but quarantine affected the school.

Another disease which warranted quarantine was infantile paralysis which appeared in 1916 in the Pryor District.⁶⁹ Also in 1906 meningitis was the cause of death of six small children in the Big Horn Valley.⁷⁰

There were the usual communicative diseases in St. Xavier School as well as the quarantines from small pox, infantile paralysis, and meningitis which affected the school. The scribe of the Jesuit House Diaries listed measles in 1907,⁷¹ and in 1913 the boys had mumps and measles.⁷²

After the 1907 - 1910 references to consumption as the main cause of death, there was a flu epidemic in 1912.⁷³ This flu was the cause of death of a great many children in St. Xavier School. The children were still dying in 1913.⁷⁴ Again in 1920 in the winter the entries in the house diaries reported much sickness and death giving no specific cause.⁷⁵ The Jesuit house diaries listed funeral after funeral during these years. Thus, this time must have been a very depressing time. The attendance of the children in the school dropped drastically.

As early as 1893 the Jesuits held to one custom which was a movement away from the center of the Mission at St. Xavier. Children were allowed to go to see their dying relatives. In June 1893, Father

Prando, Sister Angela, and Isabella went to Lodge Grass to see Isabella's dying Father.⁷⁶ In 1895 the Indians made known their wish that the children come home to visit their sick. Mr. Cardon consequently took the children to see their sick parents.⁷⁷

Besides this outward movement there was, however, a movement in toward the center of the Mission in regard to sickness and death. The first reason was to seek doctoring. Rather than the doctor going out to the home as the Medicine Men had done, the patients were brought to the Mission. Father Prando was a well known doctor and many came to him.⁷⁸ The old school boy Michael O'Brien came to stay at the Mission to have Father Prando doctor him.⁷⁹ One sick woman was abandoned near the Mission and Father Prando doctored her while the Sisters took care of her material needs.⁸⁰ A story often told was that Father Prando nursed an abandoned man at the Mission. When the old man went home they brought him back to Father Prando saying, "He is your child. He was dying you have cured him. Now feed him!"⁸¹

There appears to have been a resident doctor at St. Xavier Mission before 1917, because in a request that year for the services of a Doctor Lieurance, Father Taelman noted that a doctor's house had been in use the previous Spring. Lieurance's services were in demand because the Agency doctor was too far away, and because Lieurance apparently had developed a good relationship with the Crow people from some previous connection.⁸²

These people came not only for the healing of their sickness but also to die in the presence of the Sacraments where they were readily available. Columba Rides the Horse, for example, went home but came

back to the Mission to die. She received all the Sacraments and continued to receive Holy Communion. She died "smiling a beautiful smile three times."⁸³ The mother of Germaine came to the Mission "to prepare herself for her last moments."⁸⁴ This was a constant practice referred to throughout the entire house diaries.

This acceptance of the Mission as the center of preparation for the after life took many years to take hold among the Baptized Crow Indian people. In 1895 when Father Andreis tried to assist at the death of Bird Horse son of Dancing Woman the mother had "dissuaded him from listening to the Priest."⁸⁵ Father Prando went to Amcavis who was dying even though he was surrounded by Medicine Men, and remained with him until dark in 1893.⁸⁶

When the missionaries arrived they found many healing agents among the Crow. The Crow used roots to heal, and poisons for enemies. These were acceptable to the Jesuits. The Crow people, however, regarded the drum as a healing agent which the Jesuits labeled as superstitious along with stone pebbles, the objects seen in dreams or stuffed animals.⁸⁷ By 1909, however, Catholic "medicines" were being substituted for the traditional medicines, or in many cases were added unto them. Indian people were asking for bottles in which to take home holy water. They were saying it was a good thing.⁸⁸ Many families that year took blessed candles home on February 3, the Feast of St. Blaise, and many came with their babies to have their throats blessed.⁸⁹ That same year a great crowd came to receive palms on Palm Sunday.⁹⁰

There were many deaths in 1904 and most of them were referred to as saintly deaths.⁹¹ Lump on the Nose, a very old man who had been around since the beginning of the Mission, "died a good and happy death."⁹² Frank Poor Face, Faces the Mountain, and Regis Mount all died beautiful deaths.⁹³

There were several stories which portrayed the saintly death. One was the saintly death of Mary Born Last. She had tuberculosis. She couldn't stay in the school so Father came and got her and took her to a tepee in the 40 acres where the Indians camped. This way she could receive Communion often. The Father and Sisters could go and visit her. One of the Sisters brought her a pie because she liked them so much. She said, "I don't care for anything like that anymore. All I want is one thing!"

"And Mother said, "Well what is that Mary? We'll get it for you!"

"I want a nice white spread that I can have on my bed when Father brings me Holy Communion."

Her request was granted. Her Mother also had a request: that her younger sister Felicitas could stay with her. So Felicitas was with her and was saying the rosary. She stopped to rest awhile. Mary said, "Oh Felicitas, don't stop. Our Lady wants you to go on."

Felictas choked trying to go on because she knew her sister was dying.

Mary said, "Oh! She is smiling now. She's smiling," and then she died.⁹⁴

There were mentioned only two persons during this time who were refused burial in the Catholic Church at St. Xavier. A woman was brought for burial in 1913. She was refused burial because she had been living with a man who was separated from his lawful wife. The Indians buried her outside the graveyard.⁹⁵ Karl Leider died without being baptized so the funeral could not be performed in the Church. Father Vrebosch, however, assisted at the burial as a friend. The comment which followed this was that this sudden death had made an impression on the Indian people.⁹⁶

Father Joseph Cardon wrote to Father Ketcham in 1907 that he was glad the Indian Commissioner was going to put an end to the "Barbarous custom the Crows have of mutilating their bodies" when relatives died.⁹⁷ Father Ketcham did some research on receipt of this letter and found that no other tribe was still practicing this particular act of mourning.⁹⁸ In letters mailed the same date, Francis E. Leupp, Indian Commissioner, called for prompt measures to stop this particular "barbarous practice". He usually did not interfere with religious practices, but this one was a "barbarity." His one request in both letters was for the agent and missionaries together to find a substitute in order that the people might be able to express their grief in a "more acceptable manner".⁹⁹

Both Father Grant and the agent at Crow Agency assured Father Ketcham and the Commissioner that the practice of mutilating their bodies was dying out among the Crows as an expression of mourning. Father Grant felt that the younger people did it only to please the old people.¹⁰⁰

The third deciding factor which continually plagued the Jesuits stationary foundations of the feudal model of Mission centered around the boarding school was the economic pressure. It was a struggle to feed, clothe, and house the children, much less make improvements on the plant. In 1908 Father Grant complained because he needed money to fix the Church roof, to paint the Sister's building, to put in a new water system, and to fix windows and doors around the place. He said he would try to get the money from the Indians. Those who contributed would have their names placed on a placard to hang in the Church in a glass frame.¹⁰¹ Father Grant still needed money to repair the buildings in 1909 and declared in a letter to Father Ketcham that the buildings belonged to the Bureau. What did Father Ketcham plan to do about it, was Father Grant's request.¹⁰² In 1912 Father Grant was worried that the Sisters might leave because of discouragement. There were not enough of them, they were overworked and so many children were dying from the flu and consumption. There were not even the minimal conveniences around the places. He was also worried about debts.¹⁰³

Father Taelman in 1913 again wrote to the Bureau saying that the Bureau owed them money since they had not been paying St. Xavier enough each quarter. Charles Lusk, the Secretary of the Bureau, wrote in return that this was a misconception. Father Grant had thought the contract read \$.271/capita when actually it was \$.271/ capita for only 17 pupils and Mother Katharine would pay for 30 more if 43 pupils in excess were attained.¹⁰⁴

In 1919 Father Taelman again took up the cry saying that the payments from the Bureau were not enough since the Bureau paid \$.091 per day for 50 children when the school had 100 children. Since St. Peter's had burned, the Cree children from there had come to St. Xavier. Could the money Mother Katharine Drexel paid to St. Peter's be sent to St. Xavier for the Cree children?¹⁰⁵

Father Ketcham from the Bureau sent back a scathing letter. He wondered how any of the schools had made it financially, especially St. Xavier, "which, for some reason or other, has always been the sole exception to all our other schools in that it apparently never has been able to get along as the others have been done... and has I believed, every year asked for an extra allowance." If Mother Katharine paid them then there would be delay in all the payments to all the schools, so that could not be done.¹⁰⁶

The receipt of money from the Bureau remained the same from 1914-1917. The amount given by a friend increased some in 1917. Expenditures for Catholic Indian Missions and Schools in the Diocese of Great Falls, 1914 were:

Beneficiary	By Bureau	By friend of the Mission
St. Xavier	\$1836.00	\$2714.04
Salary teacher Lodge Grass		\$ 600.00
Mass Intentions:		
Rev. A. Vrebosch, S.J.	\$ 50.00	
Rev. L. Taelman, S.J.	\$ 48.00	

140

1916

St. Xavier Mission School	\$1836.00	\$2714.41
Crow Agency, Montana		

St. Xavier Mission School	\$1836.00	\$3149.59
Crow Agency, Montana		

Mass Intentions	1916	
Father Vrebosch, S.J.		\$ 68.00
Father Taelman, S.J.		\$ 75.00

Mass Intentions	1917	
Rev. A. Vrebosch, S.J.		\$ 30.00
Rev. L. Taelman, S.J.		\$ 90.00

\$1000.00 all total from Lenten Collection.¹⁰⁷

In 1914 the Bishop also gave a contribution of \$200 to each of the five Indian Missions in Montana.¹⁰⁸

In 1915 there was an economic catastrophe in the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. Each year there was a Lenten collection for the Indian and Negro Missions. That year the Bishops on the Distributing Commission parceled out a mere \$12,500 for all of the Indian Schools. The rest of it, \$122,688.53, was allocated to the Bishop and Negro work. Father Ketcham was angry and discouraged and suggested that Father Taelman write to the Bishops of Baltimore, New York, and Philadelphia who were the incorporators of the Bureau as well as on the Distributing Commission to ask for money.¹⁰⁹ In October Father Taelman asked Bishop Lenihan of Great Falls to also write to these three prelates to get some action,¹¹⁰ and at the same time wrote to the prelates through their secretary.

Thirty years we have labored among the Crow Indians; and the secret of whatever success we have had amongst them, lay in the work of our school. The future of this mission and consequently the salvation of the Crow principally depend on it.¹¹¹

Father Taelman repeated this same statement in letters to each of the three prelates, Cardinals Gibbons, Farley, and Prendergast.¹¹² Here again was the center of the Mission stated. It was the Mission boarding school.

In a few years Father Ketcham was again facing financial struggle since he wrote to Father Taelman that the effects of the war in 1918 were beginning to show decline in the contributions from patrons.¹¹³

In 1918 the Assistant Commissioner, E. B. Merritt, wrote to Father Ketcham that Bill No. 3256 contained a provision to attain a patent in fee for land owned by the Bureau on the Crow Reservation, on both the St. Xavier site and one acre at Crow Agency. Nine acres at Crow Agency had been set aside for use but were never meant to be a possession so, that only one acre could acquire a fee.¹¹⁴ But later in the year Father Taelman wrote that it had been a mistake to get title to the land since they would have to pay taxes on it.¹¹⁵

Because of these financial struggles the missionaries creatively developed at least four schemes which would give assistance to the school or would use the school as a center but with a different purpose. In 1912 the Assistant Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions was very much in favor of the sponsorship of Indian children through the adoption of an Indian child through the mail. An anglo child would adopt an Indian child in a Catholic School and send money contributions to the Mission for this child. In return the Indian child would send the anglo child a picture and a letter now and then to thank him or her for his or her contribution. Father Grant was afraid to take up such a project since it would involve so much work.

Also, according to Father Grant, the Crow people were not far enough along in Christianity, nor did they have any love for school.¹¹⁶

The Assistant Director, however, did not easily give into a negative response. Several months later he sent the story of Rosa Mystica, a California Mission Indian child to St. Xavier. She was given as the "first experiment in adoption." In his letter to Father Grant he appealed to the idealization of the Plains Indians in the "minds of ordinary Americans." He wished to capitalize on this romance. Also, "the purpose of this scheme is to get money for the general school work of the Bureau by interesting the white children to make contributions now and to become interested for the future." He went on to explain how this should be done: "If you can get one of the good Sisters, to work up some notes on a child or more, giving Indian name and translation, family and tribal history and photograph, then they could get started. Furthermore, he need not tell the adoptee about the adoption if it would upset him or her."¹¹⁷

The second financial hope was a totally new use of the Mission buildings. Father Grant saw this new possibility when in 1910 the Government was making plans to build a hospital at Crow Agency. Instead, Father Grant saw a help to both Government and the Mission if the boy's building could be used as a hospital. The Sisters would manage the hospital which would be less expensive for the Government.¹¹⁸ The Sisters would do all the business transactions and the Priest would act merely as chaplain, leaving the Priest free to occupy himself with spiritual matters.¹¹⁹ In May, 1911, however, the Assistant Commissioner, F. H. Abbott, wrote to Charles L. Lusk,

Secretary of the Catholic Bureau, that Father Grant's proposal regarding a hospital on the Crow Reservation "cannot be given favorable consideration."¹²⁰

Later in that year, however, Father Grant wrote elatedly to Father Ketcham about a talk with Mr. Abbott, who saw the possibility of the hospital at St. Xavier. He gave the same reason for the hospital as for the school; by facilitating the visiting of the sick it would draw people to the Mission.¹²¹ This was the same "pulling inward" to the Mission experience the school had been. It would be in Father Grant's mind perhaps a more lucrative spiritual center which would still bear the stamp of a European feudal model of Church.

The greatest hindrance to this plan was the procurement of Sisters who were instituted for hospital work. The Ursulines were not founded to staff hospitals.¹²² Father Ketcham refused to help find a Community for Father Grant. He had tried to do so twice before for others and decided never to do so again.¹²³ Only a month later Father Ketcham feared Father Grant would not be able to find Sisters because of the antigarb ruling. He felt it wiser to continue the school, which Father Taelman did.¹²⁴

The third economic plan for preserving the center Mission was the cattle operation. Father Grant let the herd dwindle to about 150 head. He sold most of them because he needed money for the school. Also they would butcher one about every ten days for meat for the school.¹²⁵ By 1916 Father Taelman had built the herd up again to about 380 head.¹²⁶ Since the Mission personnel were able to secure hay from the 40 acre campground, and since in the summer the cattle

were fed on open range, the meat provided for the school through this project more than paid for itself.

The fourth plan was to again secure Government support for Indian Mission Schools. Even those schools which still had contracts were being threatened by what was called the Sioux Amendment to the Indian Appropriation Bill in 1917.¹²⁷ During this critical period thirty-six St. Xavier Indian people signed a petition requesting Government aid to their school.¹²⁸ This was certainly an unusual request since the Crow Indian people had never before been in favor of the boarding schools. Father Ketcham felt this was bad timing and held the letter.¹²⁹ The new law, however, proved to be advantageous for the contract schools and Father Ketcham held out hope that there might be even more contracts available for the religious schools.¹³⁰ The result was that in September of 1917 Charles Lusk gave the go ahead to Father Taelman to send a petition to the Commissioner, asking for a Tribal Funds Contract for St. Xavier. No answer was forthcoming, so in November he again wrote wondering why there was a delay.¹³¹ Father Taelman answered that the timing was poor for them since the Crow people were wanting day schools and were at present against the boarding schools. Consequently, he would write no petition for their support.¹³²

During this time, 1907-1921, the catechists continued to be European religious. Church was still centered around the St. Xavier Boarding School, but forces from within and without were beginning to pull away at this center. Feast Days were more frequently celebrated at the station churches away from St. Xavier. Death and sickness re-

duced the numbers of students. Since the United States Government was cutting back on financial contracts the financial base for the boarding schools was dwindling. Finally, the Crow people began to want day schools rather than boarding schools so that they could have their children with them.

CHAPTER VI

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MISSION BOARDING SCHOOL

AS THE CENTER OF A EUROPEAN FEUDAL MODEL CHURCH, 1907 - 1921

The wish of the Crow parents for day schools for their children was the final blow to the Mission Boarding School system, the center of the feudal model of the Church. The assimilation philosophy of the United States Government which the Protestant Churches for the most part supported advocated the same end: day schools. On the Crow Reservation the Baptist day schools caused unrest among the Catholic Crow people who continually pressured the Jesuits for Catholic day schools. Some Catholic Crow people sent their children to the Baptist schools because they were closer or because they could then have their children with them. The outlook of the Jesuits and the Crow people upon this type of action was again at odds. If the white man's religion was good then it all must be good and the more you had the better it was. The Crow people were a cosmological people and did not think in categories or easily understand different kinds of religions. Their religious background was concerned with unity rather than with differentiation. The Jesuits on the other hand were still very much affected by the history of the Church during the Reformation in Europe. To them such action was heresy and the Crow people needed to understand this.

Already in 1911 the pressure from the Crow Indian people for day schools forced the Jesuits to respond to their wishes. Lodge Grass Day School was opened that year. Father Grant received permission to begin a day school in the Big Horn District's dance hall, which was just across the way from St. Xavier Boarding School.¹ There were six boys and two small girls in attendance. The door was locked and they did not have a key so Sharp Nose broke the door in.² In October Father Grant applied for permission to start another day school between St. Xavier and the wagon bridge at the mouth of the Two Leggings Canal.³ In a letter to Father Ketcham, Father Grant expressed the belief that it would be best to give in to the parents and allow the young boys and girls to go to day schools. This would cut down on expenses; and they might as well make "the best of the situation."⁴

By November Father Grant wrote to Father Ketcham "...we decided to try to hold on to the boarding school, as to give it up would mean as much as to break the backbone of the Mission." This was again the reassertion of the school as center of the feudal model of Church. Day schools were a threat to this model since the people would no longer gather around the Mission. In fact the hierarchy of the Catholic Church saw the end of Mission without a boarding school. Father Rockcliffe told Father Grant that if the "Mission closes" the Sisters would have to go and there would be left one Priest or maybe none on the Reservation. So Father Grant was left with his two excuses for having considered day schools: in order to show the parents the inconvenience of sending their children to day schools and to keep the Protestants from getting a foothold in the Big Horn Valley. Thus,

Father Grant tried to influence the Indians against day schools for awhile on the argument the children did not attend regularly.⁵

By 1913 Father Grant saw that either the day schools must be smashed immediately or the boarding schools soon would be left standing empty.⁶ The whole conflict was brought to a fevered pitch when the Baptist minister from Lodge Grass, Dr. Petzholdt, started a school at Soap Creek in the Big Horn Valley just above St. Xavier Mission. This school was opened without Governmental authorization. The Jesuits saw this as a direct attack upon the boarding school;⁷ they feared it might be impossible to keep it, and "without the school, the future of Catholicity among the Crows looks very uncertain."⁸ Because of the favor Dr. Petzholdt did for the Crow people he asked the people "to renounce their Catholic faith, to have their names removed from our Baptismal Register, to have them inscribed in his own book..."⁹ These people may not have believed in Dr. Petzholdt but for the sake of the day school went along with him. Father Taelman also believed that Dr. Petzholdt knew he had a powerful means to "undo Catholicity". In the Big Horn Valley in 1917 there were about fifty children of school age and Dr. Petzholdt's new day school had about twenty while the Mission Boarding School had the other thirty. There were a number of Cree in the Valley who willingly sent their children as boarders¹⁰ to St. Xavier which numbered twenty-four.¹¹ But the boarding school could not depend upon the Crees to keep the school open, yet its closing would mean the loss of the Sisters. The Bishop might not stand for such a decision; and the public might see it as a failure of the missionaries "and discredit our Holy Religion".¹² Father

Taelman was indeed aware of the institutional Church's status quo.

Father Ketcham wrote in return to Father Taelman that it might be necessary to run some day schools and even St. Xavier as a day school, but that the Sisters should be retained. The Sisters could be paid a salary which would still not be as expensive as a boarding school.¹³

Father Vrebosch in early 1918 wrote to Father Ketcham that a good day school would bring about the salvation of St. Xavier. "The Indians are head-strong against boarding schools. They will withdraw their children and put them in any kind of school, provided it be a day school." He found it sad that Father Taelman could not understand the situation.¹⁴

The house diaries noted that there was no Benediction in 1918 during the Month of May. This was not out of any lack of love of the Blessed Mother but because there were so few girls to help with all the chores after supper in the evening.¹⁵

In August of 1918 the man who had given his house for Dr. Petzholdt's day school and had become a Baptist received the last Sacraments before he died. He was, thus, "reconciled to God and to the Church. His death may be a lesson to the other Indians who fell away from God and from religion."¹⁶ Since Baptists worshiped God and were considered a religion, this way of looking at things probably confused the Indian people.

In September of 1918 the Jesuits allowed all the Crow boys and the small Crow girls to come to school as day schoolers. The older girls were kept as boarders and any of the smaller Crows who still

wanted it were taken as boarders up to the number the school could accommodate.¹⁷ The Crees increased during that year from twenty-five to forty-six.¹⁸

Many Crow people consider 1918 as the year the boarding school closed since for the most part except for the older girls the Crow students were day schoolers. George Takes the Gun said the day school made it hard on him in one way. He had to get up early and ride his horse to school. There was a stream he had to ford. In the winter when the stream froze he was able to ride on a little home made sled behind his horse. In the winter he would bring a bale of hay so the horse could eat on it all day long.¹⁹

In October of 1918 Father Taelman went to a meeting in Spokane to discuss the meaning of mission in modern times. There seemed to be a great change regarding mission and "the boarding schools especially seemed doomed to extinction in the future."²⁰

In July of 1919 Father Taelman, however, was again writing to Father Ketcham that the day school was next to no school at all, and that it was the Baptist Minister, Dr. Petzholdt, who ruined the boarding school system. The day school children went to school or did not go to school as they pleased and the boys boasted of the fine time they had with the girls. There was no progress in English, and civilization and morality were ignored so that the reason the Government built the Indian school system in the first place was annihilated. If the Jesuits punished the children the parents would take them out of the boarding school and place them in a day school.²¹

In 1919 the boarding school had the greatest attendance it had ever had. The girls constituted 48 boarding students and 15 day schoolers. There were 45 boarding boys and 12 day schoolers.²² However, most of these were Crees. St. Peter's had burned that year and a large number of Crees sent their children to St. Xavier so that by the end of the year there were 73 Crees enrolled.²³

By 1920 Father Taelman wrote: "Besides the fact that there are left few children in this valley, the Crows are set more and more against the boarding school. We cannot control the situation. And it is useless to argue." The Indian people did not want to work and few had put crops in.²⁴ Considering how year after year their crops had been destroyed by drought or hail it was easy to see why these Indian people would be discouraged, but so also were the Jesuits. Besides all this, in 1920 the Crees began decreasing. In that year they decreased from 69 to 45.²⁵

In 1920 the Jesuits opened another day school. This school was located at the other end of the Big Horn Valley from St. Xavier at the Camp of Bird House. Father Ketcham said he would secure the \$200 to fix up the place and \$60 a month for a teacher.²⁶ By December the school opened as St. Mary's and Barney Old Coyote was the first teacher.²⁷

There was another feud between the Baptists and the Jesuits in regard to the boarding schools and day schools. This entailed a program for the older girls from 12 to 18. In 1912 the Acting Commissioner wrote to Father Ketcham that the boarding school system was only best for girls who were not protected properly and who did

not receive the proper training at home: "there is a question as to whether it equips them in the best manner for self-protection after they have left the boarding school and returned to their reservation homes."²⁸

Evidently Acting Commissioner Abbott had asked for a summary of opinion from Dr. Petzholdt and Father Grant since both wrote him their opinions. Dr. Petzholdt said that the best way to uplift the degraded Crows was to reach them through their school children, thereby influencing their home life for better things. Furthermore, a girl's purity was the responsibility of the girl's mother. As far as the girls who went astray at the Baptist school all but one were caused by boys from boarding schools home on vacation. In eight years only three girls had gone wrong and four had gone to the Crow Agency Boarding School while two girls had graduated with a clean record from the Baptist Day School in Lodge Grass, and eight were at the school presently giving no trouble.²⁹

Father Grant divided his argument into two sections - the moral aspect and the educational considerations. Morally the boys tried to entrap the girls and the girls wanted to be entrapped. Daily life in the camps put everybody in one small room; everyone talked about everything in front of the young people; illegitimate babies were not looked upon as a disgrace and Crows had little or no control over their children and never resorted to corporal punishment. The boarding school protected the girls since they all married within a month to two months after they left school.

Educationally the girls' attendance was sporadic, the Crow language was used exclusively at home, the children were naturally dull and would not do their homework. The old people stuck to their customs so that the children would retain the old tribal traditions rather than learn the whiteman's way and how to work. Finally, the children look healthier in boarding schools. Father Grant, furthermore, knew no families on the Crow Reservation who would profit from the day schools.³⁰ Father Ketcham felt this was poor timing for this question to appear since Abbott was only Assistant Commissioner and only acting in absence of a commissioner.³¹

The ruling in 1912 and again in 1914³² was that "all girls on the Crow Reservation twelve years old and older will be required to attend the boarding schools except where home influences make it safe for them to attend a day school."³³ This ruling could be interpreted anyway one wished, so the battle continued. The catechetical statement of the situation at St. Xavier School was first and foremost a defense of the European model of Church. The idea of "protection" of the older girls especially was reminiscent of the wall of protection around feudal lands. Just as the day schools threatened this way of life so also did this policy regarding the older girls for at least some remnant of the boarding school remain if the older girls were required to attend the boarding school.

The older boys also found the transition to a new way of life difficult. The emphasis of the Mission in regard to the boys was work rather than chastity. George Takes the Gun, for example, was kept out of school in the fall to roundup cattle for shipment. George had a

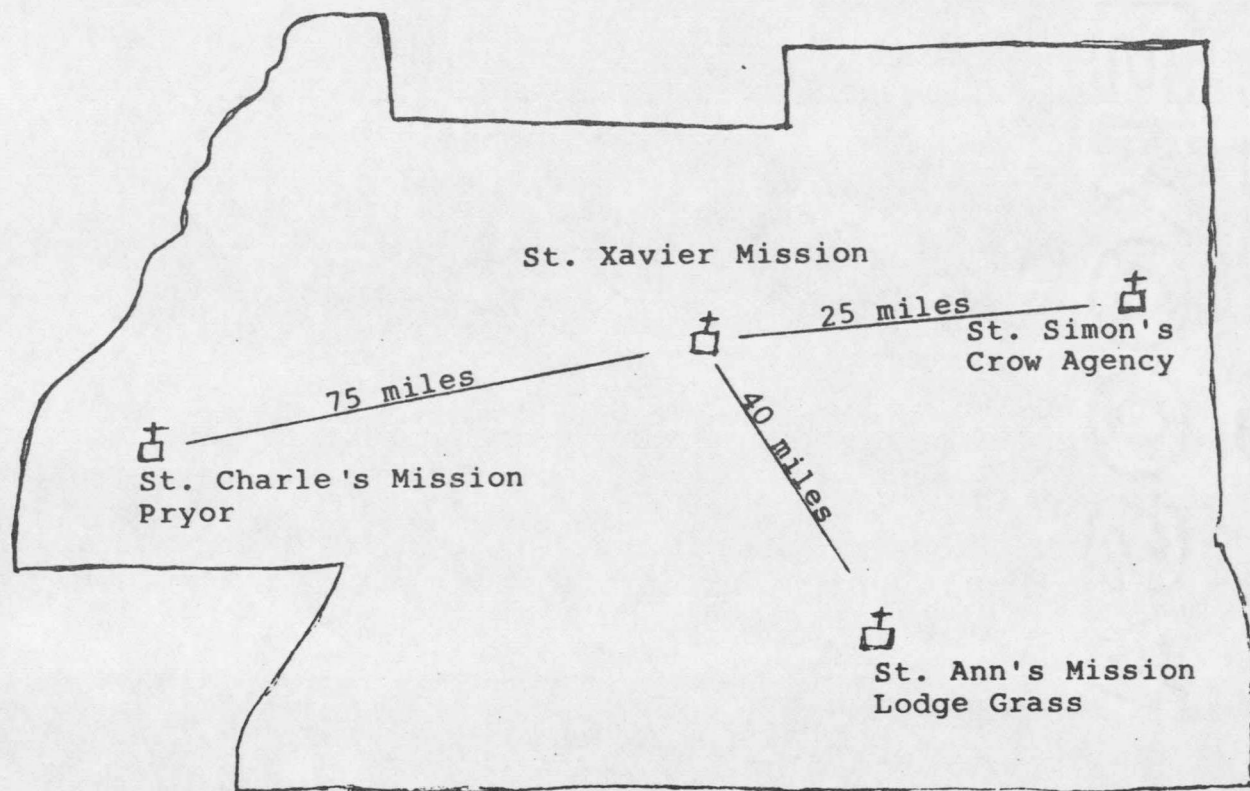
few of his own cattle in the bunch with his Father's. As a seventh grader all felt he had had enough school. He would work all day and then in the evening would go to the pool hall. No one liked that, so he was sent back to school this time in Crow Agency.³⁴

Another pressure which caused the dissolution of the boarding school at St. Xavier was the spreading out of Mission because of the schools on other parts of the Crow Reservation: "For the Crows are localized for schools and their love for children, that none of them from any other districts... will hear of it that their children go to school in another district."³⁵ Thus, the missionaries needed to attend the Churches and schools in each district. This gave way to an outward movement rather than an inward drawing to the main Mission.

The stations in 1908 and 1909 were next to the government schools in Crow Agency and Pryor, whereas in Lodge Grass the station was located along the Lodge Grass Creek about five miles out of Lodge Grass. Mass was held twice a month at Pryor and every Sunday at Crow Agency with catechism for thirty children every Monday. Mass was held once a month at Lodge Grass where there was still no Church. At that time there were three priests to cover these Missions - Father Grant, Father Vrebosch, and Father Dinand.³⁶

By 1910 Father Vrebosch did most of the traveling. On the first and third Sundays of the month he said Mass in Crow Agency which was about 25 miles from St. Xavier. The second Sunday he went to Pryor and the fifth to Lodge Grass. Pryor Mission was about 75 miles from St. Xavier and Lodge Grass 40 miles away.³⁷

Figure 3. Crow Reservation Catholic Missionary Journeys



In 1907 land was procured for the Church in Lodge Grass, and by March of 1908 the Indians were up in the mountains hewing logs for the new Church. On May 31, 1909 on the Feast of Pentecost the Church was dedicated to St. Ann.³⁸

Father Ketcham had suggested to Father Grant that they build a women's memorial chapel at Lodge Grass. Father Grant replied that this was not a good idea since the building would be in an obscure place and would be attended only by Indians so that there would not be sufficient appreciation of the gift. The plan rather was to put up a less costly building so that the Indians could contribute themselves since it would be good training for them to help out as a test of their good will.³⁹

In 1908 the Jesuit Fathers took a greater interest in the Lodge Grass District since parents of children who had been baptized Catholics were sending them to the Baptist day school rather than sending them all the way to St. Xavier. In 1909 there was a showdown in Lodge Grass. Father Vrebosch visited Lodge Grass in August to see about children coming to St. Xavier. Three boys went to register at St. Xavier. Two days later Scolds the Bear, a Crow policeman, appeared looking for the three boys. The boss farmer had sent him from the Lodge Grass District. Father Dinand and Father Grant went to Lodge Grass to protest. The children stayed until Sunday at St. Xavier when the parents signed their names in front of witnesses that they wished their children to attend St. Xavier. Meanwhile, the word was that Dr. Petzholdt was circulating a petition to keep the Catholics from working in the Lodge Grass area of the Reservation.⁴⁰

The struggle between the Jesuits and the Baptist minister was continual. The Jesuits had baptized people at Lodge Grass and considered it a Catholic domain, while the Baptist minister had been called to Lodge Grass by Indian people and felt it was his area since there was no Catholic school or church in or around Lodge Grass. In 1910 Father Dinand went to Lodge Grass "to bury a little girl which the Baptist preacher had tried to have brought to his church." The scribe of the House Diary noted that even the time of the burial service had been set.⁴¹

In 1910 Father Vrebosch wrote to the Bureau that they had lost only two Catholics to the Baptists, but even so it had broken his heart. So Father Vrebosch immediately asked for a day school at Lodge Grass Creek in the new Church at \$600 a year.⁴² By December that same year Father Ketcham had secured \$600 for the beginning of a day school, but for only one year.⁴³

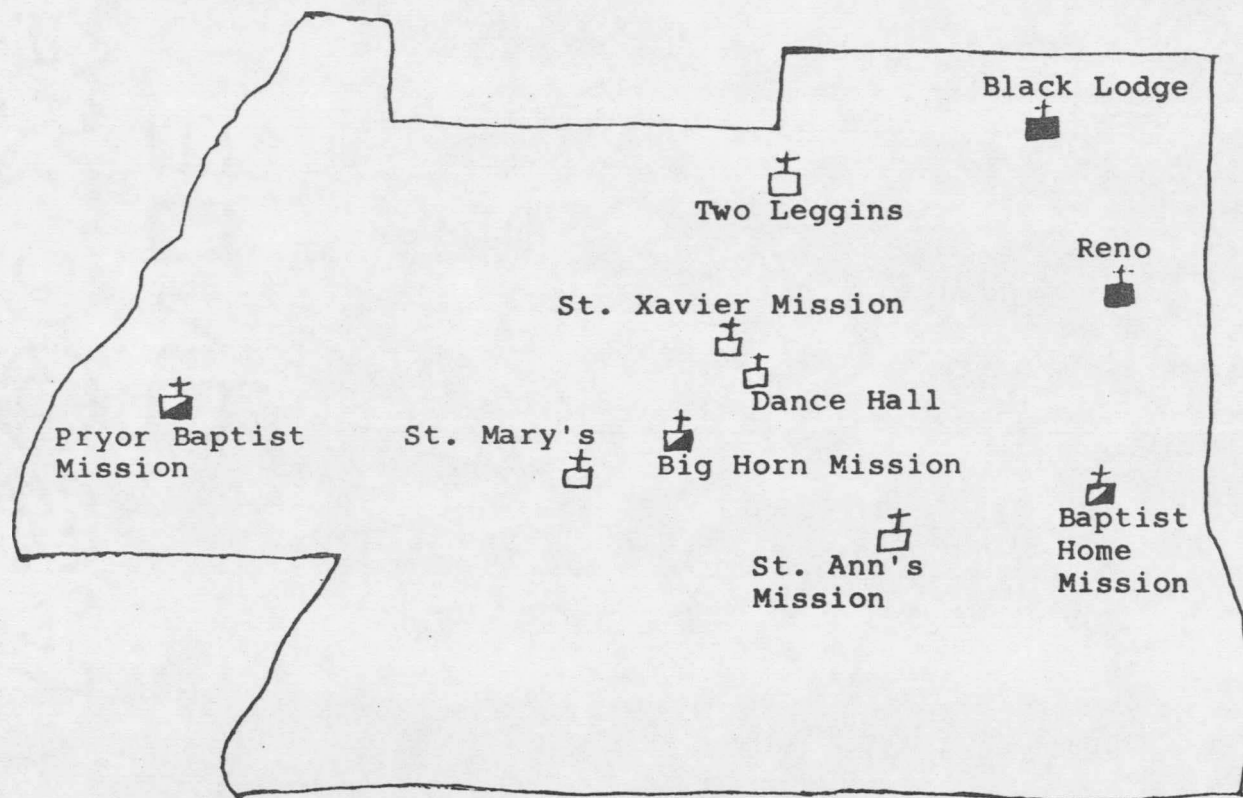
In September 1911 the Catholic Day School at Lodge Grass opened with 23 pupils. The teacher was Mr. Savage who brought his wife with him. Most of the children had been withdrawn from the Baptist School. The Indian people brought the hay and feed for the horses, but even after all this expended energy Father Vrebosch called the day schools a "farce." "The reason why I have a day school in Lodge Grass, is to withdraw the Catholic children from the baneful influence of a Protestant school; to choose a lesser evil." Furthermore, he said, "If the boarding school at St. Xavier is abandoned, and turned into dayschools, then...this is the ruin and will be the ruin of the Mission, and will be the ruin of the Crow Tribe..."⁴⁴ Father Grant

Figure 4. Missionary Day Schools on the Crow Reservation

■ - Congregational Day Schools

□ - Catholic Day Schools

⊞ - Baptist Day Schools



also called it a "negative good" since the only reason for the day school to exist was because of the "blind love of the parents for their children."⁴⁵ In fact he had another plan but did not say what that plan was. He said he was merely letting Father Vrebosch have his way for now.⁴⁶

In 1912 Father Vrebosch wrote to Father Ketcham that Lodge Grass had five communicants and that the first year "was successful beyond expectations". However, he still was convinced that day schools were an evil for the Crow.⁴⁷ In May the teacher, Mr. Savage, explained that if St. Ann's Day School was closed at least twelve of the children would return to the Baptist day school.⁴⁸ Mother Katharine Drexel provided the allowance until June 1913.⁴⁹

The house diaries were filled with praise for the Lodge Grass Indians. Attendance at Sunday Mass was usually around 80 to 100 Indian people.⁵⁰ They also banded together a choir which was known to have special excellence. In August 1915 Father Vrebosch brought an organ to St. Ann's.⁵¹ In December the teacher, Alexander A. Anderson, wrote to a friend asking for a better Mass for the choir at St. Ann's since they were preparing for Easter. He explained that they had fine voices and the easy Masses were monotonous to them. He wanted a Mass which had plenty of life in it. John Grasshopper, a former schoolboy from St. Xavier, was the organist. "You can hear them for a mile when they sing their hymns in Crow."⁵²

In 1916 the choir sang for their own Holy Week and Easter celebration. That was the first time a Priest was in Lodge Grass for Easter; usually the Priests were at St. Xavier for Feast Days. This

showed a marked tendency toward an outward ministry. Continually, Father Vrebosch remarked that these Indians were pious and fervent. He commented that the choir sang well for the Mass on Thursday of Holy Week, especially the Pange Lingua. The boys were acolytes and the girls wore white with veils and scattered flowers during the procession. The Chief organized adoration hours, taking the noon hour himself while people ate. He knelt for about two hours.

On Good Friday the people participated in the Way of the Cross and on Holy Saturday the church was crowded for both morning and afternoon services. Each evening in the dark the Indian people had blazing fires by their camps, assembled themselves for evening prayer and were heard "chanting hymns of praise to God." The most glorious thing of all was the procession of the Blessed Sacrament on Easter Sunday. The Chief came first on "a fiery steed" carrying the Cross. Three other Indian men rode on horseback. All followed with the canopy last in line. "It was a scene that could best be portrayed in the poetic language of the Indians."⁵³

Alexander A. Anderson, the teacher at St. Ann's in 1915, wanted money for a schoolhouse separate from the church. He felt it was poor training for the Indian people to talk loudly in a place of divine worship.⁵⁴ In 1918 and 1919 the people built a new school at St. Ann's. It was a little frame building about sixty feet away from the Church. The parents supplied the coal and wood and were responsible for any repair to be done. "The Indians consider the place their own and are taking jealous care of it." In 1920 Father Vrebosch was unable to secure a teacher so he urged John Well Known, also known as

John Chicken and his wife, Mary Ursula Big Rock, to take the School. Both were graduates of St. Xavier. Father Vrebosch felt that they did much better than a white teacher since they could speak in both languages to the children. Therefore, they did much better in teaching and in imparting religion to the children.⁵⁵

The boarding school at Crow Agency required attendance at least once a month from the Mission. Otherwise one of the Catholic employees at the school took care of the catechizing of the children in the Crow Agency Boarding School. Crow Agency was the center of activity on the Reservation so that in October 1907 many attended the catechism lesson in the boarding school because of a large meeting with "D.C. Inspectors."⁵⁶

In 1908 Father Grant wrote that they had succeeded in procuring the children from Crow Agency Boarding School for Mass and for Sunday School once a month on the fourth Sunday. The Superintendent was very cooperative in regard to the Government ruling that children were allowed to participate in Religious activities according to their parents' choice. His plan was to have the children choose either Protestantism or Catholicity at the first of the year. They would then adhere to that religion and its activities for the remainder of the year.⁵⁷

This plan, however, did not solve the animosity of the religious sects toward one another. In 1909 the Jesuits found that Mr. Burgess, the Congregational minister, held services in the school buildings which was against the Government ruling. The Jesuits asked, "Is he thus non-sectarian?"⁵⁸

The second rule for religious instruction in Government Schools gave parents the right to request the particular religion in which their child would be instructed providing the children were under 18. Father Grant felt that since most of the parents were considered pagan and would go to the Church where they received the most material benefit, the people weren't strong enough in the faith to make such a decision for their children. By April in 1910 the Catholic instruction class was only half the size of the original thirty students.⁵⁹

The next school year in October Father Vrebosch made the same complaint in a letter to Father Ketchum. During the summer vacation the Protestant minister, Mr. Burgess, came to the Indian people's houses with beef and vegetables and the parents signed their children into the Protestant service and religious classes. Thus, the Catholics asked that the child be present when the parent signed. The question was: "Are ignorant and pagan parents allowed to change the religion of their children?" The parents of one seventeen year old girl signed her to a Protestant class even though all her years she had been Catholic.⁶⁰

Father Ketcham answered Father Vrebosch's letter with the command not to change the regulations regarding the parental right to determine the religious education of their children. This was a safeguard for all the rest of the Indian work in the country and maintained that all Indian work in the Catholic Church should not be threatened because "of the foolishness of a few Crow parents."⁶¹

It was true that the Crows were poor and thus often times would take food no matter what the consequences. But there were several

other factors at work here. First, it was too much to expect the Crow Indian people at that time to make the distinction between Protestant and Catholic. It was all white man's religion. Secondly, this white man's religion was seen in the same light as the power of their medicine. It was difficult for the Crow people to determine which had the stronger medicine. Also just out of courtesy you never said no when one asked you to do something. If a person would come and ask for a signature it would be given out of courtesy. It was definitely a thorny problem. A signature might mean only proper etiquette, not necessarily commitment.

By 1910 the children were not allowed to use the Catholic Church for instruction. All kinds of excuses were given: it was too cold; the children could not be disciplined on the way to and from the school. The Catholic children were gathered in the dimly lighted dingy dining room in the school. There was no piano or organ.⁶² All this was in comparison to the Catholic church which had an organ and pictures and symbols hanging to inspire the children. The Jesuits interpreted this particular stance as a jealous reaction because the Protestants had no Church in Crow Agency.⁶³ There was always the fear that the Protestant people were trying to get the Catholic employees transferred. In 1910 there were three Catholic employees in the Crow Agency Boarding School.⁶⁴

In 1911 the Congregationalists started day schools in Reno and in Black Lodge.⁶⁵ In 1911 Superintendent Scott sent several of the Catholic eighteen year old girls to Mr. Burgess, the Congregational minister, to be married. Several of them were the best girls "to whom

we were looking to build Catholic homes on the reservation." Father Vrebosch had even gone and asked for the girls, but they were all sent to Mr. Burgess for marriage. One of these girls was even marrying a boy who had gone to the St. Xavier Mission School.⁶⁶

Because of the schools at Reno and Black Lodge, there was a smaller number of pupils in the Crow Agency Boarding School. In 1912 Mrs. Barber, a teacher at the boarding school, did not want to drop out as a teacher because of the small attendance. She was afraid that all the Catholic teachers would be removed and there were still twenty children to instruct in the Catholic religion and the Priest came only once a month.⁶⁷ In 1914 Miss Cody wrote that the Crow Agency Boarding School was a "joke" since there were only seventeen girls, seven of whom were Catholic, and twenty boys, eight of whom were Catholic. She felt the four day schools on the reservation were responsible.⁶⁸ By 1919 the Congregational day schools had closed - the schools among the Black Lodges and the Renos. Father Vrebosch reported that it seemed the Congregational missionary lady left in disgust.⁶⁹

The only mention of the content of any catechesis in Crow Agency was an evening sermon entitled "The Man With Religion and the Man Without Religion."⁷⁰

Pryor also had a Government Boarding School. The Jesuits were even more committed there than in the other areas of the Reservation because all the children had traditionally attended Mass and catechism since they had been all baptized Catholic.⁷¹ In 1908 and 1909 the security of total Catholicism was shaken profoundly. Miss Quinn, the Catholic Sunday School teacher, felt that people were trying to under-

mine her work; and she was afraid this would "creep" among her students who were all Catholic. All she could do she felt was warn her Catholic students not to be led away from her Friday evening instructions or her Sunday School class. The Baptist minister was meeting with people to try to start a day school in Pryor and some of her school boys had attended in spite of her warning. Dr. Petzholdt had made a preacher out of one of their best Catholics. Children were being taken out of Sunday School to do chores. Miss Grimes, The Catholic matron, was leaving and Miss Quinn decided to stay another year rather than marry so she could stay and save the situation.⁷² Miss Quinn also wanted Father Ketcham to try to secure more Catholic positions. Miss Boas would probably take Miss Grimes' place but they needed a laundress and a seamstress.⁷³

Mr. and Mrs. Oberlander, the Superintendent of the Pryor School and his wife, were the major cause of much of the trouble in Pryor. An incident during Crow Fair time showed the animosity present. Bridget Quinn had charge of the St. Xavier Mission girls while Mrs. Oberlander had the Pryor girls. The Pryor girls asked Bridget to take them to visit the St. Xavier girls since most of them were related to each other. Mrs. Oberlander refused permission. Father Vrebosch then asked Mr. Oberlander who also refused. Instead the Pryor girls were taken to the Baptist chapel car parked on the tracks close to the Catholic Church. Father Dinand, Bridget, and the St. Xavier Mission girls followed them into the chapel car where the Pryor girls were seated with Gospel hymn books in their lap. Father Dinand suggested they sing something they all knew and led them in singing "America."

Father Dinand then sang a Crow hymn for them entitled "Diku Matse Mary". Miss Quinn then said that that is what they had to contend with when other than a Catholic was appointed matron.⁷⁴

In September of 1909 Father Dinand wrote to Father Ketcham that they were losing the Pryor Government School. Mr. Oberlander asked a Crow man who had come back from Carlisle, an Indian boarding school, to interpret for him during the registration of the students. He asked the parents such questions as: "Do you want your children to get up at five and go to Church?"⁷⁵ Because of this most of the parents chose not to send their children to Catholic services anymore.⁷⁶ When Father Grant visited Pryor in the middle of September he found the spiritual condition of the Catholics to be in a sorry state. There were present at Sunday Mass only one boy and six girls from the Government School and twelve adult Indians.⁷⁷ In searching for further information they found that the young man from Carlisle was to be a teacher until the appointed one arrived. Dr. Oberlander was now in charge of the Sunday School and wanted all employees to be present. Miss Emma Barnett was the only Catholic employee left. The Indians were saying that they did not want idol worship and that they liked Mr. Burgess' hymns.⁷⁸

Miss Quinn wrote again 1909 saying that Dr. and Mrs. Oberlander scoffed at religion. She also had dates, if they needed them, when the boys were sent out to do ranchwork on Dr. Oberlander's and Upshaw's ranch. The oatmeal of the children was used to feed chickens and turkeys which Dr. Oberlander kept on the schoolgrounds. The boys

had built the chicken coop.⁷⁹ This part of the affair would have been considered industrial education, no doubt, and would have been refuted on those grounds.

Father Grant took a very level-headed approach and went to confront Dr. Oberlander. Dr. Oberlander explained that parents had complained about the early morning hour their children had to rise for Church services so he had decided to have the parents write their names "according to their wishes." Father Grant objected to his choice of interpreter. Dr. Oberlander said he had not known him and since he was just standing around asked him to interpret. The people remained steadfast in replying they liked the Congregational minister. Father Grant gave several explanations for this attitude of the parents. They did not like to send their children to school and since the school was all Catholic sending them to Church meant sending them to school. Since Rev. Burgess was building a day school at Reno, the Pryor people were hoping that he would build one at Pryor as well. Father Grant threatened to abandon Pryor but the young people begged him to wait.⁸⁰

By January 1909 Father Grant was planning with the belief that they could get "complete control at the Pryor Schools." He could get Sisters and have them paid by the Government and the school could continue as a Government School. Only the personnel would change. He reiterated that all the students were Catholics.⁸¹

Father Ketcham answered this dream with the reality of the situation. When the Government took over a school in which the Sisters were teaching they already had the right to "blanket" Sisters into the

Indian Service, but the Government could not hire the Sisters into a school because of the rules of the Civil Service.⁸²

In April the Baptists renewed their interest in building a day school in Pryor. Father Dinand urged Father Ketcham to oppose such a school since the Catholics were there first.⁸³ Father Ketcham replied that he could not oppose the school. "The Bureau has from the beginning always insisted upon absolute freedom in the matter of carrying on Missions among the Indians and refused to recognize the right of any Church to exclusive jurisdiction of mission work on any reservation." Furthermore, he stated that not to uphold this principle would be a violation of religious liberty.⁸⁴

In April, 1910 after reiterating that the schools were the main resource in imparting the knowledge of Christianity to the Crows, Father Grant stated that the only hope for Pryor would be the presence of a new Superintendent. Also if things were straightened out he would send a Priest each week on a week day to teach the children as well as once a month for Mass on Sunday.⁸⁵

Only a month later Father Grant wrote that it looked as if a "comet" had hit Pryor. All the people appeared for Mass with four children for Baptism. There was Sunday School for the children even if the Father was not there. Two of the employees taught the children on these Sundays. "The children will go to the Church for about an hour, say their prayers and the beads, sing a few hymns, have Bible History class." The Priest went on a week day each week to teach the school catechetical instructions.⁸⁶ There was no clue as to the

reason for the dramatic change in the people's attitude toward the Catholic Church in Pryor.

In 1912 Father Ketcham wrote to Father Vrebosch that it was the intention of the Indian Office to make the boarding school at Pryor into a day school.⁸⁷ That in fact did not happen. In 1919 sixty-four Indian people signed a petition to continue the boarding school and if this could not be done that a Government day school for both older and small children be allowed at Pryor. The overriding concern was that their children not be taken to school in another district.⁸⁸

Two days later Father Vrebosch added to the letter his own reflections. He said the Pryor People were anxious to have a Sister's boarding school. There had been only one decent couple as teachers during the year and he felt the Government wished to punish these poor people for its own neglect.⁸⁹ Evidently the Indian people at Pryor were ready for any kind of school just so their children would not be taken across the Reservation to Crow Agency. Their fight for day schools was put aside during this crisis. Again the Pryor people were able to keep their school because the capacity which had been available at the Crow Agency Boarding School would again be filled with children from the Reno and Black Lodge Districts since the Congregational day schools were closing.⁹⁰

Another change came in 1921. The Indian Schools were to be given to Big Horn County and become public schools.⁹¹ The Indians of Pryor again protested since this was seen as a loss of their school. They stated if some wanted to send their children, fine, but not all should be forced to do so.⁹²

Because the Mission stations became as needful of spiritual leadership as St. Xavier Mission there was a spreading out of energy. This spreading energy was carried by the Priests who were usually two in number and for short times three. This was an impossible task arithmetically. Father Ketcham suggested sending Sioux catechists to help them. Father Grant saw no problem with this except to get the proper authority.⁹³ However, Father Grant later wrote and said that in St. Stephen's, Wyoming among the Arapahoes the Sioux catechists themselves had not been a success. The Arapahoe people, however, because of the Sioux Catechists demanded their own catechists from among themselves.⁹⁴

A few days later in 1908 Father Grant wrote that they could not find accommodations for the Sioux catechist. Instead, he thought he would try to get one of the "old school boys" to do the job. It would cost less because he would be with his own family. He would be able to speak the Crow language and thus speak to the old people and lead the prayers.⁹⁵

There had been other types of leadership among the people in the Church at St. Xavier. Father Grant referred to these. There were the fine older men who served as Church police. Their duties were to get the people to come to Church on Sunday, keep order in the Church, keep out the dogs, and put the people on benches rather than the floor. This was an honorary service for these men. There were always the leaders of the League of the Sacred Heart. But he did not feel it was yet time to send Crow men to the Sioux for training as Catechists. Although the older people looked for a position of superiority among

themselves if a young person took leadership in the Church he was considered too much of a whiteman.⁹⁶ In Crow society age brought wisdom and only the wise had the right to speak. Even then an older man could only speak if given that right by another elder or the community.

In 1911 when Plenty Coups, the Chief of the Pryor Indians, requested baptism the young men began acting as catechists on their own by calling the old folks to prayers.⁹⁷ In 1912 after a long catechumenate Plenty Coups was baptized. By this time a young man explained the Catechism, led the singing of hymns, and led the prayers in common.⁹⁸ It wasn't until 1920 that the first catechist was employed by the Church. The Marquette League promised to supply \$15 a month for the employment of Simon Bull Tail at Pryor as catechist for that District.⁹⁹

The need for catechists and a catechist's positive response was a sure sign that the European feudal model of Church was breaking down, for that response brought the spreading out of the Church rather than the gathering of everyone under the direct tutelage of the Sisters and the Priests at the central Mission.

The Church continued to spread. By 1916 the Fathers from the Mission were saying Mass at Hardin for the white community. The war postponed the building of a Church but by Christmas in 1919 Father Taelman said the first Mass in the new Church.¹⁰⁰ On May 17, 1920 Bishop Lenihan blessed the new Church in Hardin.¹⁰¹ Father Taelman took his own altar boys from the Mission, George Takes the Gun and Stephen Sun Goes Slow.¹⁰² In 1921 Father Taelman began to build a

church in Wyola. On December 8 of that same year Father Taelman and Father Vrebosch blessed the new Church of St. Anthony's in Wyola.¹⁰³

Because of all these pressures the dwindling population in the Big Horn Valley, the need for more money to relieve a state of virtual destitution, competition from the Protestant day schools, and the spreading out of the energy of the Catholic Church to its Mission stations (the center of the European Church model) the St. Xavier Boarding School could not continue.

In August of 1921 Father Dillon, the Provincial of the Jesuit Order in the Oregon Province, simply informed Father Ketcham that St. Xavier Boarding School was closing and that they would look after the Church at St. Xavier as a Mission.¹⁰⁴ Father Taelman announced in St. Xavier that the boarding school was closing and that the Sisters were leaving. The people were sorry. Father Provincial arrived at the end of September and ordered the Fathers to return the farm to the Bureau and sell the cattle since Hardin would now be the headquarters of the Fathers.¹⁰⁵

Father Vrebosch wrote Father Ketcham telling him not to be anxious about the move and that all would "come out for the best." He said that St. Xavier would continue as a day school and that St. Mary's and St. Anne's day schools would continue.¹⁰⁶

Father Ketcham wrote to Charles Lusk, his secretary, telling him to talk to Father Dillon like a "Dutch uncle" and get him to keep a Priest, a few Sisters and a day school. He was very angry because he had not been consulted. "To advise with us not at all beforehand and give us no notification or chance is despicable."¹⁰⁷

Father Dillon wrote in defense of his actions but again merely informed Father Ketcham that they would continue a day school at St. Xavier and that, for the present, one Father would reside at St. Xavier and one at Hardin since the stations were more readily reached from Hardin. Revenue would be necessary and the Bureau would need to pay the salary of the teacher.¹⁰⁸

Father Vrebosch informed Father Ketcham in the middle of September that St. Xavier had opened as a day school with 30 children, 22 of whom were Crow, which were nearly all the children in the District. St. Mary's at Bird Horse had 10 children.¹⁰⁹

Father Ketcham's reply was a testy statement reporting that since the Bureau was not consulted in the opening and closing of schools he did not see that the Bureau had to take any financial responsibility where such conditions existed.¹¹⁰

The central role of the St. Xavier Boarding School in the Mission to the Crow Indians ended. The European Church model within a boarding school center could no longer fit the situation. Change happened slowly as forces from within and without forced the closing of the St. Xavier Boarding School in 1921.

EPILOGUE

The closing of the boarding school at St. Xavier terminated the school's value as the center of mission and Church for the Crow people. The European model of Church with its physical aspect of feudal society gathered around the Church was lost and would never again attain its full meaning among the Crow people.

When the school closed in 1921 the Jesuit Superior assigned only two Priests to the Crow Reservation. There was not any way two Priests could meet the needs of the Catholic Crow people spread over almost 3,500 square miles. Therefore, the Priests appointed Crow catechists to help them in each district. These men did almost everything but administer the sacraments.

In 1935, however, Father Grant returned to minister on the Crow Reservation. He became aware that one of his catechists and the family of another one of his catechists were attending Peyote meetings. Father Grant informed them that if they continued to participate in Peyote meetings they could no longer receive the sacraments. This, for the most part, destroyed the strength of the Crow catechists' influence.

Also in 1935 Father Owens came to minister in Hardin. He was an ardent fund raiser and was able to procure enough income to re-establish the St. Xavier Boarding School. However, because of the change in economics, culture, language, and outlook the school never

regained its centering force. St. Xavier was rather another mission with an appendage - the boarding school.

In 1965 the Bishop of the Great Falls Diocese asked the Franciscan Capuchins to staff the Crow missions and the Jesuits who were spread too thin left the Crow Reservation to the Capuchin order. During this historical period the Catholic Church was undergoing many changes after Vatican II. Also the Indian people were beginning to make their cultural heritage known as a positive force in their life and in the religious life of their peoples. The Catholic Church on the Crow Reservation was forced to look at itself and evaluate its center in regard to Vatican II and Crow culture.

At first the European ministers who were called to the Crow Reservation took a direct approach. They asked the question, "How can we make our liturgies more meaningful to the people - more Indian?" They responded by actively involving the Crow people in such actions as the Our Father expressed in the Indian sign language. A Crow woman or man dressed in the Indian traditional manner signed the Our Father as it was sung. While this was a step it was only a superficial approach to an integration of the Crow Indian religious response in their own culture within the Catholic Church.

In 1978 the Crow European ministers in the Crow Reservation and the Capuchin Order accepted a proposal to begin a Religion Research Center recognizing the Catholic Church's responsibility to preserve the Crow language and culture since the Church had participated in the past in destructive patterns which negated the sacredness of a people's language and culture. One of the special works of this

Center since has been the translation of the Scriptures into the Crow language. (The Crow language is still the primary language of the Crow people.)

Since 1979 there has been a drastic personnel turn over among the European ministers and efforts to "build Crow Catholic Church" using a direct approach have dwindled. Since this has happened the changes have flowed more from the Crow people themselves. This has been difficult for the European ministers since the feudal aspect of hierarchy is still very much a part of their thinking. Letting go of their positions calls for deep suffering since who they are is often bound to how much they accomplish.

In these last few years the Spirit has worked strongly and simply in the Crow people toward an integration of their Crow values and insight into the Catholic Church community. Historically, Corpus Christi has always been celebrated dramatically on the Crow Reservation. Each time the European ministers allowed it to die the Crow people would ask for it. Most recently the people have done all the planning and the European ministers have had to ask the sponsoring Crow family what part the European ministers are to play. The Feast of Corpus Christi is a feast which celebrates the presence of Jesus in the bread of the Eucharist. As a medicine the bread of the Eucharist has always been strong for the Crow people. Feeding the people is a part of any Crow religious celebration, so Eucharist and feast are central to their lives. Thus, the Feast of Corpus Christi flows very naturally from the culture of the Crow people.

Retreats have grown to anywhere from ten to thirty people each weekend. Reflection shows why this is a valid expression for the Crow people. Again it flows out of their past religious expression. They have always gone into the hills to pray and to fast in order to receive power and strength for their lives.

The healing ministry which came about as a new understanding of the Spirit's life within the Catholic Church is growing. People lay hands on their brothers and sisters in Christ asking that Jesus heal their hurts - physical, emotional, spiritual. The Crow medicine bundles are used in such a way - to heal.

Ministry is still seen as a prerogative of the European ministers in the Catholic Church on the Crow Reservation. The European ministers themselves have wondered how to involve the people in ministry. While some have tried, no Crow woman or man has ever persevered in the seminary or the convent. A few years ago the European ministers seemed for the most part to see ministry in only an hierarchical fashion, the historical and traditional mode of European Catholic Church ministry. Thus, the European ministers discussed designing a diaconate program in which men would study scripture and theology and then would become the Priest's "helper." This plan never materialized, however, because the European ministers were not comfortable with this design. They were becoming aware that this was a superficial and ethnocentric response. Rather the European ministers have designed an adult ministry education for the Crow Reservation in which the gift of the ministry in each person's life is called forth

and strengthened. These classes and discussions are centered in scripture and the message of ministry there.

There are in fact Crow people ministering daily to their own people. Men are ministering who have the powers to build the sweat and must never refuse anyone who comes to ask for prayer in this way. Also ministering are a couple who lead prayer meetings because the woman has received many sacred songs in the Crow language in her dreams. The list of Crow ministers would fill pages. The Bishop would be most blessed if he were to come and lay hands on these people. What the European ministers need in the Catholic Church on the Crow Reservation is not an answer to what is necessary for the Church to become Crow as well as Catholic so that they can direct and guide it. Rather, they must pray for ears that will hear and hearts that can understand and with humility receive Jesus from the Crow people.

When Father Barceló planted the seed of Catholic Christianity for the first time in 1880 among the Crow people he could not know whether or not that seed would take root and grow. He had planted that seed beside the Sacred Tobacco seed of the Crow Indian people. Their rootedness and their growth together remains a mystery but they have grown together for a hundred years.

Jesus said, "In truth, in very truth, I tell you, a grain of wheat remains a solitary grain unless it falls into the ground and dies; but if it dies, it bears a rich harvest." JN 12:24. At each new planting of the seeds of both cultures - the Crow culture and the culture present in the European Catholic Church - there has been a death in both religious expressions. But with the continued hope of

the Spirit's presence there has been a new life out of the death of each seed.

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

¹This is the name given to the Little People who live in the Pryor Mountains on the Crow Reservation. They are dwarf creatures with special power who are often the helpers or medicine of Crow men and women. Many of the old Crow legends refer to the Little People and their special powers. The Crows named Arrow Creek and Arrow Rock after them. The Crows used to shoot arrows into Arrow Rock in order to gain admittance to the Pryor Mountains. A young Crow man whose face was burned was adopted by the Little People until the Crows found him and brought him back with his many powerful gifts from the Little People.

²Charles Crane Bradley, Jr., and Joe Medicine Crow, The Crow Indians 100 Years of Acculturation, (Wyola, Montana: Native American Studies, 1976-77), p. 6.

³Ibid., "Indian Law and Order Regulations," p. 3.

⁴Charles Crane Bradley, Jr., "After the Buffalo Days: Documents on the Crow Indians from the 1880's to the 1920's," (Ed.D. dissertation, Montana State University, 1978), p. 195.

⁵I. B. A. Brouillet, Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions to Father Peter Barceló, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

⁶Father Peter Barceló, S.J., to His Reverend Superior, Helena, October 1880, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

⁷Register of Baptisms, #1, St. Xavier Mission, 1880-1892, pp. 1-22, Crow Catholic Religion Research Center, Lodge Grass, Montana.

⁸"Sketch of St. Xavier Mission," n.d., p. 32, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington. See for further details of the ministry to the Crow Indians 1880-1884: Karen Watembach, "The History of the Catechesis of the Catholic Church Among the Crow Indian People, 1880-1884". Lodge Grass, Montana, Crow Catholic Religion Research Center, July 1978.

⁹Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 41.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²"A Sketch: St. Xavier Mission," 1883, p. 151, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

¹³"A Sketch of St. Xavier Mission," n.d., pp. 42-44, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Peter Barceló, S.J., Letters to Rev. Superior, Helena, October 1880, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

¹⁸Bishop John B. Brondel, "Notebooks of Events in the Diocese of Helena," 2 vols., 1883-1903, Archives of the Diocese of Helena, Helena, Montana.

¹⁹Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sixty-Second Report to the Secretary of the Interior 1893 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), p. 181.

²⁰Bishop John B. Brondel, "Notebooks of Events in the Diocese of Helena," 2 vols., 1883-1903, Archives of the Diocese of Helena, Helena, Montana.

²¹Thomas Grant, S.J. to Father Ketcham, 11 March 1912, Correspondence File, Crow Reservation, Montana, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Memorial Library, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

²²Ibid., Thomas Grant, S.J. to Mr. F. H. Abbott, 14 October 1912.

²³L. B. Palladino, S.J., Indian and White in the Northwest: a History of Catholicity in Montana 1831-1891. (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Wickersham Publishing Company, 1922), pp. 105-107.

²⁴Ibid., p. 135.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 114-115.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 113-114.

²⁷See Chapter II and III for translated catechetical materials. See also Appendix A, B, C, and D.

²⁸Interview with Andrew Bird in Ground, Crow Agency, Montana, Crow Reservation, November 1974.

²⁹L. Taelman, S.J. to Father Ketcham, 7 July 1919, Correspondence File, Crow Reservation, Montana, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Memorial Library, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

³⁰Francis Paul Prucha, S.J., The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press), 1979, p. 13.

³¹Ibid.

³²Charles Crane Bradley, Jr. and Joe Medicine Crow, The Crow Indians 100 Years of Acculturation, (Wyola, Montana: Native American Studies, 1976-77), p. 6.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵See Chapter VI, pp. 156.

³⁶See Chapter VI, pp. 156.

³⁷See note #21.

³⁸F. C. Dillon, S.J. to Rt. Rev. Msgr. William H. Ketcham, 12 August 1921, Correspondence File, Crow Reservation, Montana, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Memorial Library, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

CHAPTER TWO

¹Eric Voeglin, Order and History: Israel and Revelation, 3 vol., (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1958-1969), pp. 13 and 14. The definition of cosmology and cosmological societies in this text refer to a specific society based upon the order of the universe. The philosophical studies of Eric Voeglin and Mircea Eliade in The Myth of the Eternal Return: Cosmos and History give support to this specific definition.

²The capitalization of Resurrection follows the accepted tradition of the Catholic Church. All following terms will also follow the Catholic custom of capitalization.

³St. Paul made four missionary journeys if the journey to Rome for imprisonment is counted. Since St. Paul did much missionary work from prison it is sometimes counted as the fourth journey.

⁴Alexander Jones, gen. ed., The Jerusalem Bible, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co. Inc., 1966), The Acts of the Apostles 13: 2-3.

⁵Vincent J. Donovan, Christianity Rediscovered: An Epistle from the Masai (Notre Dame, Indiana: Fides/Claretian, 1978), pp. 100-101.

⁶Peter Paul Prando, S.J. to Joseph M. Cataldo, S.J., MSS. 26 September 1883, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington, p. 14.

⁷Walbert Bühlmann, The Coming of the Third Church, (Slough, England: St. Paul Publications, 1974), pp. 7-8.

⁸Richard P. McBrien, Catholicism, 2 vols. (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Winston Press, 1980), p. 641.

⁹Bruce Walter Barton, A Story of the California Missions: The Tree at the Center of the World, (Santa Barbara: Rose-Erikson Publishers, Inc., 1980), pp. 96-97.

¹⁰"The Colorful Drama of Historical Big Horn Valley", Great Falls Tribune, 8 December 1957.

¹¹Eric Voegelin, Order and History: Israel and Revelation, 3 vols., (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1958-1969), pp. 13-45. The qualities of cosmological societies are Eric Voegelin's. The adaptation to Crow Culture is this author's.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Joe Medicine Crow and Charles Crane Bradley, Jr., "The Crow Indians 100 Years of Acculturation", (Native American Studies 480, Wyola, Montana, 1976-1977), pp. 6-7.

¹⁵Peter Paul Prando, S.J. to Joseph M. Cataldo, S.J., MSS. 26 September 1883, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington, p. 14.

¹⁶See Chapter I, pp. 8-10.

¹⁷"A Sketch of St. Xavier's Mission", MSS 1893, St. Xavier File. Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington, p. 153.

¹⁸"The Crow Indians", Catholic Sentinel, 26 November 1886, Archives of the Diocese of Helena, Helena, Montana.

¹⁹"Visit of Bishop Brondel", Catholic Sentinel, 12 May 1888 Archives of the Diocese of Helena, Helena, Montana.

²⁰"Bishop Brondel visits the Crow Indian Reservation", Catholic Sentinel, 18 May 1893. Archives of the Diocese of Helena, Helena, Montana.

²¹Peter Paul Prando, S.J. to Father Lindesmith, MSS 1883, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

²²Michael Engh, S.J., "A True Gentleman and a Crow: Peter Paul Prando, S.J.", (MA Thesis, Gonzaga University, August 1978), pp. 1-2.

²³Peter Paul Prando, S.J. to Joseph M. Cataldo, S.J., MSS, 26 September 1883, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington, p. 11.

²⁴Howard L. Harrod, Mission Among the Blackfeet (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), p. 61.

²⁵These documents bear Father Prando's name or are written in his distinctive hand. These writings are located in the Oregon Province Archives, Museum of Native American Cultures, Spokane, Washington.

²⁶Father Peter Barceló, S.J., to his Reverend Superior, Crow Agency, Indian Camp, 11 August 1883, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

²⁷Peter Paul Prando, S.J. to Joseph M. Cataldo, S.J., MSS, 26 September 1883, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

²⁸Ibid, p. 6.

²⁹Peter Paul Prando, S.J., Raphael Crimont S.J., Joseph Cataldo S.J., Old Testament Stories in the Crow Language, (Idaho: Desmet Mission Press, 1891), Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Museum of Native American Cultures, Spokane, Washington. See Appendix A for the copy of the Crow Language translation of the Creation Story in Genesis. Note there is no reference to the creation of woman out of man's rib.

Hu Mathews, Doris Hill, and Gladys Decrane, trans., "The Creation Story from the Bible in the Crow Language", July 1980. See Appendix B. The story is transliterated into the present day accepted orthography.

Jesuit	z	r	m	g	v	n
Present day	ch	l	b	x	w	d

Note also there is no differentiation regarding short and long vowels in the Jesuit Crow orthography while there is in the new orthography.

³⁰These manuscripts of Bible stories in total are found in the Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Museum of Native American Cultures, Spokane, Washington. A second copy of these stories is kept in the Crow Catholic Religion Research Center at the Lodge Grass Catholic Church in Lodge Grass, Montana through the courtesy of the Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus.

³¹"With the Crow Indians", Catholic Sentinel, 8 March 1891, Archives of the Diocese of Helena, Helena, Montana.

³²Peter Paul Prando S.J. to Joseph A. Cataldo, S.J. MSS, 26 September 1883, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington, pp. 6-7. The Crow people had many other names for God according to His attributes. There is, however, no mention of these other names in the Jesuit's letters or notes.

³³The Crow words written in both the Jesuit orthography and present day orthography are underlined in this paper. The present day accepted Crow orthography is marked with an asterisk. The meaning in English is set within quotation marks.

³⁴See Appendix C. These two hymns are a part of a collection of songs preserved in the Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Museum of Native American Cultures, Spokane, Washington. Through their courtesy a copy of them is also housed in the Crow Catholic Religion Research Center in the Catholic Church in Lodge Grass, Montana.

³⁵"Prayers in the Crow Language." MSS, n.d., Indian Language collection, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Museum of Native American Cultures, Spokane, Washington. The first line in the Our Father is written in the Jesuit orthography. The present day accepted Crow orthography is printed in the second line. The final line is the English translation.

³⁶Peter Paul Prando, S.J., "Catechism in the Crow Language" MSS n.d. Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Museum of Native American Cultures, Spokane, Washington. Through the courtesy of the Oregon Province Archives there is a copy of this catechism in the Crow Catholic Religion Research Center in the Catholic Church in Lodge Grass, Montana. See Appendix D.

³⁷Vincent J. Donovan, Christianity Rediscovered: An Epistle from the Masai, (Notre Dame, Indiana: Fides Claretian, 1978), p. 56.

³⁸Peter Paul Prando, S.J. to Joseph A. Cataldo, S.J., MSS, 26 September 1883, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington, p. 12.

³⁹Peter Paul Prando, S.J., "Catechism in the Crow Language", MSS n.d., Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Museum of Native American Cultures, Spokane, Washington, Chapters I and II, Question number 22.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Peter Paul Prando, S.J., "Catechism in the Crow Language" (with English translation), MSS n.d. Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Marquette University Memorial Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Chapter IV, Question number 22.

⁴⁴Peter Paul Prando, S.J., "Catechism in the Crow Language" MSS n.d. Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Museum of Native American Cultures, Spokane, Washington, Chapter IV, pp. 15-16.

⁴⁵Ibid., Chapter V, pp. 16-18.

⁴⁶Ibid., Chapter VI, pp. 18-20.

⁴⁷Ibid., Chapter VII, pp. 20-22.

⁴⁸Karen Watembach, "The History of the Catechesis of the Catholic Church Among the Crow Indian People 1880-1884," (Lodge Grass, Montana: The Crow Catholic Religion Research Center, 1978), pp. 23-24.

⁴⁹Peter Paul Prando, S.J. to Father Lindesmith, MSS. 1883, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

⁵⁰"Registers of Baptisms, Confirmations, Marriages, and Burials", Lodge Grass, Montana, Crow Catholic Religion Research Center, 1880-1921.

⁵¹Father Bandini to Father Stephan, 24 May 1888, Correspondence File 1888-1921 Montana, Crow Reservation St. Xavier, Montana, Bureau of Catholic Indian Records, Department of Special Collection and University Archives, Marquette University Memorial Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

⁵²Ibid., St. Xavier girls to Father Stephan, December 1888.

⁵³Both Father Prando and Father Bandini were Italian born so it was probable that this page of questions was found among their personal notes.

⁵⁴"Questions Regarding the Sacrament of Penance in the Crow Language and Italian translation" MSS n.d., Indian Language Collection, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Museum of Native American Cultures, Spokane, Washington.

⁵⁵"Questions Regarding the Sacrament of Penance in the Crow Language and in English," MSS n.d. Indian Language Collection, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus. Museum of Native American Cultures, Spokane, Washington.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸"With the Crow Indians", Catholic Sentinel, 8 March 1891, Archives of the Diocese of Helena, Helena, Montana.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Father Peter Bandini, S.J. to Father Stephan, 24 May 1888, Correspondence Crow Reservation, St. Xavier, Montana, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Marquette University Memorial Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

⁶¹Ibid., 20 December 1888.

⁶²Board of Indian Commissioners, Twentieth Annual Report, 1888 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), p. 226.

⁶³Rev. Joseph Bandini to Father Stephan, 1890, Correspondence Crow Reservation St. Xavier, Montana, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Marquette University Memorial Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

⁶⁴Ibid., Father Peter Bandini to Father J. A. Stephan, 20 March 1888.

⁶⁵Ibid., Father Van Gorp to Father J. A. Stephan, 23 June 1890.

⁶⁶"History, St. Xavier Mission" n.d. Great Falls Diocesan Archives, Great Falls, Montana.

⁶⁷Plenty Coups, Long-Face, the Man That Hits to Father Stephan, 14 March 1890, Correspondence Crow Reservation, St. Xavier, Montana, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Marquette University Memorial Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

⁶⁸Ibid., Father J. A. Stephan to Father Joseph Bandini, 27 March 1890.

⁶⁹Ibid., Thomas Grant, S.J., "The New Chapel at Pryor Creek, Montana," May 1, 1930.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹"A Few Facts Concerning St. Xavier's Mission" MSS 1895, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

⁷²Ibid., Thomas Grant, S.J., "The New Chapel at Pryor Creek, Montana," May 1, 1930.

⁷³Father J. M. Cataldo to Father Stephan, 28 November 1889, Correspondence Crow Reservation, St. Xavier, Montana, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Marquette University Memorial Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

⁷⁴"Sketch of Father Crimont's Life" MSS n.d., Bishop Crimont File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

⁷⁵Ibid., Mrs. J. E. Keough to Father Vachon, 20 September 1946.

⁷⁶Father Peter Bandini to Father J. A. Stephan, 20 March 1888, Correspondence Crow Reservation, St. Xavier, Montana, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Marquette University Memorial Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

⁷⁷Board of Indian Commissioners. Nineteenth Annual Report 1887, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), pp. 11-12.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Board of Indian Commissioners, Twentieth Annual Report 1888, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), pp. 82-83.

⁸⁰Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sixty-Second Report to the Secretary of the Interior 1893, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), p. 287.

⁸¹Father L. Van Gorp, S.J. to Father J. A. Stephan, 18 February 1891, Correspondence Crow Reservation St. Xavier, Montana, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Record, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Marquette University Memorial Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

⁸²Board of Indian Commissioners. Twenty-Second Annual Report 1889. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890), pp. 16-17.

⁸³Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sixteenth Annual Report to the Secretary of the Interior, 2 vols., (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), pp. 270-274.

⁸⁴Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sixty-Second Report to the Secretary of the Interior 1893. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), p. 181.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 182.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 181.

⁸⁷"Bishop Brondel Visits the Crow Indian Reservation," Catholic Sentinel, 18 May 1893, Archives of the Diocese of Helena, Helena, Montana.

⁸⁸Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Sixty-First Report to the Secretary of the Interior 1893. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), pp. 287-288.

CHAPTER THREE

¹L. B. Palladino, S.J., Indian & White in the Northwest: A History of Catholicity in Montana 1831-1891, 2nd edition, revised and enlarged, (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Wickersham Publishing Company, 1922), p. 160.

²"Scrapbooks of the Helena Diocese," May 18, 1893, Archives of the Diocese of Helena, Helena, Montana.

³L. B. Palladino, S.J., Education for the Indian: Fancy & Reason on the Subject: Contract Schools & Non-Sectarianism in Indian Education, (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1892), p. 4.

⁴Ibid., p. 11.

⁵Ibid., p. 12.

⁶L. B. Palladino, S.J., Indian & White in the Northwest: A History of Catholicity in Montana 1831-1891, 2nd ed., revised and enlarged, (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Wickersham Publishing Company, 1922), p. 160.

⁷Interview with Philomena Crooked Arm, Crow Reservation, Crow Agency, Mt., 18 July 1980.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²John B. Brondel, "Notebooks of Events in the Diocese of Helena", 2 vols., 1883-1903. Archives of the Diocese of Helena, Helena, Montana.

¹³Interview with Philomena Crooked Arm, Crow Reservation, Crow Agency, Mt., 18 July 1980.

¹⁴"The Jesuit House Diaries, Written at St. Xavier Mission", 23 November 1893, St. Xavier Mission File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington. The Jesuit Fathers at St. Xavier Mission kept daily records of events at the mission. These they kept as historical papers called the Jesuit House Diaries.

¹⁵Ibid., November 1893-September 1895.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid., 19 January 1894.

¹⁸Ibid., August 1893.

¹⁹Ibid., 4 July 1894.

²⁰Ibid., 9 September 1895.

²¹Ibid., September 1895.

²²Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Annual Report to the Secretary of the Interior, 1894, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), p. 168.

²³Ibid., p. 188.

²⁴Interview with Philomena Crooked Arm, Crow Reservation, Crow Agency, Mt., 18 July 1980.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶"The Jesuit House Diaries Written at St. Xavier Mission", 10 February 1895, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

²⁷Photograph of St. Xavier Girls, n.d. St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

²⁸"The Jesuit House Diaries written at St. Xavier Mission," 22 February 1894, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

²⁹Ibid., 4 July 1895.

³⁰Ibid., July 4, 1893.

³¹Ibid., 3-5 October, 1893.

³²Ibid., 14 November 1894.

³³Ibid., 27 October 1895.

³⁴Ibid., 9 December 1895.

³⁵Ibid., 6 January 1896.

³⁶Ibid., 28 January 1895.

³⁷Ibid., Sundays 1893.

³⁸Ibid., July 2, 1893.

³⁹Ibid., July 23, 1893.

⁴⁰Interview with Philomena Crooked Arm, Crow Reservation, Crow Agency, Mt., 18 July 1980.

⁴¹"The Jesuit House Diaries Written at St. Xavier Mission," 21 May 1893, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

⁴²Ibid., 28 May 1893.

⁴³Ibid., 21 May 1893.

⁴⁴Ibid., 9 July 1893.

Ishtéhpish means "navel" and was Eli Black Hawk's Indian name.

⁴⁵L. B. Palladino, S.J., Indian and White in the Northwest: A History of Catholicity in Montana 1831-1891, 2nd edition, revised and enlarged, (Lancaster, PA: Wickersham Publishing Company, 1922), p. 261.

⁴⁶"The Jesuit House Diaries Written at St. Xavier Mission," 26 January 1894, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

⁴⁷Ibid., 21 June 1893.

⁴⁸Ibid., 1893-1895.

⁴⁹It is interesting to note that neither Robert Lowie nor Wildschut ever included feast or food as a part of religious ceremony among the Crows in any significant way in their writings.

⁵⁰"The Jesuit House Diaries Written at St. Xavier Mission," 1 January 1895, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

⁵¹Ibid., 30 April 1894.

⁵²Ibid., 13 June 1894.

⁵³Ibid., June 1893, 1894 and 1895.

⁵⁴Interview with Sister Loyola, O.S.U. Great Falls, Montana, Fall 1976. Cold Wind was an Hidatsa or Gros Ventre. He was a good story teller and lived among the Crows after being a scout at Fort Custer. The Hidatsa were a sister tribe to the Crow.

⁵⁵"The Jesuit House Diaries Written at St. Xavier Mission," 3 September 1893, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

⁵⁶Ibid., 25 June 1893.

⁵⁷Ibid., 20 May 1893.

⁵⁸Aloysius Vrebosch, S.J., "Dictionary: English-Crow," n.d., Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Museum of Native American Cultures, Spokane, Washington, p. 34.

⁵⁹John Boschi, S.J., "Catechism in the Crow Language: Instructions on the Sacraments and Grace," M.S.S. n.d. Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Museum of Native American Cultures, Spokane, Washington.

⁶⁰John Boschi, S.J., "Sermon in the Crow Language - Christmas: Jesus Christ, Our Chief," M.S.S. n.d., Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Museum of Native American Cultures, Spokane, Washington.

⁶¹Edwardo Griva, S.J., "Sermons in the Crow Language: On the Preciousness of the Soul," M.S.S., n.d. Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Museum of Native American Cultures, Spokane, Washington.

⁶²Aloysius Vrebosch, S.J., "Sermons and Instruction on the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the Crow Language," M.S.S., n.d., Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Museum of American Cultures, Spokane, Washington.

⁶³Louis Taelman, S.J. to Rev. W. H. Ketcham, 21 April 1902, Bureau of the Catholic Indian Mission Records, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Memorial Library, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

⁶⁴"The Jesuit House Diaries Written at St. Xavier Mission," 1 July 1906, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

⁶⁵Ibid., 8 June 1893.

⁶⁶Ibid., 16 June 1893.

⁶⁷Ibid., 18 June 1893.

⁶⁸Ibid., 15 May 1898.

⁶⁹Ibid., 21 April and 12 May 1901.

⁷⁰Rev. Wm. H. Ketcham to Rev. L. Taelman, S.J., 1 March 1915, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Memorial Library, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. See also: Edwardo Griva, S.J., "Catechism of Christian Doctrine in the Crow Language," M.S.S., n.d., Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Museum of Native American Cultures, Spokane, Washington. For the English translation from the French see: Rev. Joseph De Harbe, S.J., De Harbe's Large Catechism, translated by a Father of the Society of Jesus, (Chicago: Benziger Brothers, 1882).

⁷¹Rev. Joseph De Harbe, S.J., A Complete Catechism of the Catholic Religion, trans. Rev. John Fander (New York: Kervin Schwartz, 1919, pp. iii to vi).

⁷²Edwardo Griva, S.J., "Catechism of Christian Doctrine in the Crow Language" M.S.S. n.d. Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Museum of Native American Culture, Spokane, Washington, p. 4, #8.

⁷³Ibid., p. 5, #11.

Note that is is deleted in the new orthography. It is not needed for kinship terms.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 10, #3.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 15, #34.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 13, #21.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 15, #38.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 16, #47-47.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 45, #6.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 20, #68.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 23, #84.

⁸²Ibid., p. 26, #5.

⁸³Ibid., p. 26, #6.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 31.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 39, #9.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 42, #8.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 43, #2.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 45, #10.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 55, #30.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 63, #67.

⁹¹Father Randolph Graczyk and Hu Matthews, Crow Catholic Research Center, Lodge Grass, Mt., Interview, 1982.

⁹²Edwardo Griva, S.J., "Catechism of Christian Doctrine in the Crow Language." M.S.S., n.d. Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Musuem of Native American Culture, Spokane, Washington, p. 92, #8.

⁹³Barney Old Coyote and George Reid, Bozeman, MT. Interview 1981.

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⁹⁶Ibid., p. 121, #13.

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⁹⁸Ibid., p. 110, #13.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 132, #33.

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- ¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 156, #1.
- ¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 156, #1.
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- ¹¹²The Jesuit House Diaries Written at St. Xavier Mission, 17 April 1898, 6 April 1899, 2 January 1903, St. Xavier File, Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.
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- ¹¹⁶Peter Paul Prando, S.J., "History of the Bible, Passion of Our Lord, Part I" M.S.S. n.d. Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus, Museum of Native American Culture, Spokane, Washington, p. 11.
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CHAPTER FOUR

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CHAPTER FIVE

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The Biblical Creation Story

Crow Translation - Father Peter Paul Prando, S. J.

1891

(original housed in Museum of Native American Cultures,
Spokane, Washington)

APPENDIX A

CAP. I.

Creatio.

Adam et Eva.

Cain et Abel.

Isko baamnétárik. Akbátatdia kuttázkiatak. Wassákó Akbátatdia maakukurérak amérak kondíak, ambáikiúa ambá-ikiéssúa gagúa díak. Amé áken baamnétak, kotá zipassik. Akbátatdia irik-"Saáshi;" karakón, saasáhik: mapé wassé kok. Mapé inúpe Akbátatdia awagé kon-díak. Mapé inaámmia Akbátatdia miné gagúa baz-a-hik, kóta amé asi-zek karakón bahé, ashkiáte, áashe diuk; karazí maragáve maappáre frua-shishiché gagúa diuk. Mapé ishópa aggáshe, minitázia ihkkié kondíak. Mapé iziggúa búarak dakákerak kon-díak: bua mimbúarazék, dakáke maáku-kódazék. Mapé iakkáva Akbátatdia baisbiráreto gagúa kondíak.

Hákse Akbátatdia irík: "Virugpáke diavávuk, mihzi-kótbávuk; ba-akké-vatták, amé kotá bazéze-vazévuk." Shipía dúttak, shipía virugpáke agúa i-díak; karakón kuss-iriháhém ináge awúss-iríhahik; kóta bazé wassé kar-inník. Akbátatdia násh-díak Adam, amé-i-diush kok. Mapé isápua Akbátatdia ambadia kóvem bariéssak, ihz-ishik.

APPENDIX B

The Creation Story from the Bible
in the Crow Language

APPENDIX B

The Creation Story from the Bible
in the Crow Language

Transliterated from the Jesuit orthography into the current accepted orthography.

Transliterated by: Hu Matthews
Doris Hill
Gladys DeCrane

July 1980

APPENDIX B

Iísko baahámneettaalik. Akbaatatdía kuttáchkaatak. Bassáako Akbaatatdía báakukkolak awélak díak. Ammaaíkuua ammaaíkaassuua xaxúa díak. Awé áakeen baahámneetak kootáa chihpashík. Akbaatatdía iláak "Sáashi" hek. Kalakón sáashik baapé bassée kóok. Baapé iilúupe Akbaatatdía awáxe díak. Baapé illáawia Akbaatatdía bilé xaxúa bachaahiiák awé asíihkaak kalakón baháalak áashkaatalak áashe díak. Kalatchií balálak baaapáalilak iilúa shiíshiaahe xaxúa díak. Baapé iishoopé áxxaashelak bilítaachiialak ihké kúh díak. Baapé iichiaxxó buálak dakáakalak kúh díak. Buá bimmúualaachik dakáake baakukkoláachik. Baapé iiakaawé Akbaatatdía baaishiláaleeta xaxúa díak.

Háaksee Akbaatatdía iláak. "Bilaxpáake díawaawuuk bihchikoót-baawuuk baaakeehawátak awé kootáa bacheeítche baachiwéewuuk" hek. Shipía dúttak shipía bilaxpáake axúa iilíak kalakón iláaxe awúussiliahik. Kootáa bacheé bassée kanníak Akbaatatdía dáashdiak Adam awé iilíash kóok. Baapé iisáhpe Akbaatatdía ammaalía Koowéen baahilíssaak ihchishík.

APPENDIX C

Awe Aken! Saint Inage

Hymns written in the Crow Language.

(the original is housed in the Museum of
Native American Cultures, Spokane, Washington)

4 Arwe aken!

I

Arwe aken barere di,
Akbatatdia!

Vingpake gagia
Di kus xivakauk;
Akbatatdia mararik;

Kus irao iriu!

II

Makuhure Di korak,
Akbatatdia!

Vingpake arire
Makus dehia mahorikto!
Akbatatdia mararik;
Kus irao iriu! -

5 Saint Inage.

I

Saint Inage, hu! Akbatatdia di.
Hiak manasse korio;
Ba-arixe ak-korio;
Manasse iria maku!

II

Saint Inage, hu! Di barivahik:
Di aiasashia mi hikia maku,
Makuhure kus ariende,
I awakak ewarevik!

III

Saint Inage, hu! Di mararik:
Di ammarare mi hikia maku,
Makuhure kus ariende,
Mi kingshi, ko kon barivik!

APPENDIX D

Catechism

Small catechism in the Crow Language

Translator: Father Peter Paul Prando S. J.

Late 1800's

(original housed in the Museum of Native American
Cultures, Spokane, Washington)

11.

Catechism

Chapter I on God.

1.Q. — Sapèn di virugpàkaze ?

A. — Akbatatdia ko mi virugpàkaze.

2.Q. — Akbatatdia saptak i-di virugpàkaze ?

A. — Akbatatdia ehwazèviavak, awazishiviavak, iria diavàviavak amè àken, písziſa màkukko: awàgpak mihkiamatviavuk makoziktè: Akbatatdia ko-i-mivirugpàkaze.

3.Q. — Akbatatdia sàpa ?

A. — Akbatatdia baaguarètak, ize wasjè uparètak, baatats gagüa akdia kòk.

4.Q. — Akbatatdia bātats gagüa ehze ?

A. — Akbatatdia bātats gagüa ikiak ehzek: ariesſe gagüa ehzek; hīnākkāshe gagüa ehzek, hīrēn iſſakusſe gagüa ehzek: marè nas-sāvuat ikiak ehzek.

5.Q. — Akbatatdia Shōra ?

A. Akbatatdia makukurè kōrak, amè kotà kōrak, shohleht gagüa kōrak.

12.

Chapter II
The Blessed Trinity

6. Q. Akbatatdia savi?

A. — Akbatatdia amättarikiätak.

7. Q. Akbatatdia kuttè Persons savi?

A. — Akbatatdia kuttè Persons nàvik. Inupgè
Inàkuaze; st. Inàge. Iràvit st. Crinity huk.

8. Q. Saint Crinity Säpa?

A. — Saint Crinity Akbatatdia amatka-
tahtah kuttè Persons nàvik.

9. Q. Inupgè Akbatatdia?

A. — kòtak: Inupgè Akbatatdiak.

10. Q. Inàkuaze Akbatatdia?

A. — kòtak Inàkuaze Akbatatdiak.

11. Q. Saint Inàge Akbatatdia?

A. — kòtak Saint Inàge Akbatatdiak.

12. Q. Inupgè, Inàkuaze, Saint Inàge Ak-
batatdia nàmi?

A. — Barèttak: Persons nàmitah Akbatatdia
amatkàtak.

13. Q. Persons nàmik hère, ize wasjè sapè? Baz
èhze wasjè sapè? Mazàze wasjè sapè?

A. — Persons nàmik bätats gəgəa i-bəzkingük.

ittua bazkinguk, baëhttua bazkingik: ma-
zàttua bazkinguk.

Chapter III

Jesus Christ.

14. Q. Persons nàmik bèrè ak-ihze virugpà-
kaze sapè?.

A.— Akbatatdia Inàkuazè kon ihze virugpà-
kazek.

15. Q. Shöttak Akbatatdia Inàkuaze ihze
virugpàkaze?

A.— Akbatatdia Inàkuazè Zinètta Mary
nàzisshe avuon kon ihze virugpàkazek; st.
Inàge ambàzazia Mary i nak appàrik; ko-
tà Zinètta Mary babwòkom Akbatatdia Inà-
kuaze bishizek.

16. Q. Akbatatdia Inàkuaze kar ihze virugpà-
kazèrak, it Akbatatdiagu shötta?

A.— Akbatatdia Inàkuaze kar ihze virug-
pàkaze Akbatatdiak zih virugpaktàrik.

17. Q. Akbatatdia Inàkuazè sàptak i-ihze
virugpàkaze?

A.— Akbatatdia Inàkuaze marè arakavi:

14.

= bishim marè irèviak ko i-ihze virugpàkaze:
birè isfè marè aragiàzisfàviak, ko i-ihze virug-
pàkaze.

18. Q. Akbatatdia Inàkuaze ak ihze virugpà-
kaze nash sakin?

A. Akbatatdia Inàkuaze ak ihze virugpàka-
ze nàshe Jesus Christ-huk.

19. Q. Jesus Christ shöttak marè irè?

A. Jesus Christ bàtbakarè kus dakàsuk savarè-
kiüak ko i-marè irèk.

20. Q. Jesus Christ karashèrak awè arüsfin mak-
ko sàvi?

A. Jesus Christ arashè makko inàmia kon zinèk..
isfàkusfè karashèretimàzik.

21. Q. Jesus Christ karazinèrak màkko sav a-
mè aken dakü?

A. Jesus Christ zinè, màkko shopàpirakàm a-
mè aken daküan makusdèk: Inupgè iràpako korà-
màzik.

22. Q. Jesus Christ karazi huimàzi-qu-shötta?

A. Eh. Jesus Christ karazi huimàzik mapè ihàka-
shè arirèrak arashèrak gagüa zirashizimàzik..
virugpàke arakavibishè birè isfè kusdezeimàzik makoziktè.

15.

Chapter IV

On' sin.

23.Q. Arakavia sàpa ?

A. — Akbatatdia iria diësua, arakavia kòk.

24.Q. Arakavia shishiahe sàvi ?

A. — Arakavia shishiahe nùpak; amatè arakavia marè bishkiò bàò; amatè arakavia mira diavua.

25.Q. Arakavia marè bishkiò bàò sàpa ?

A. — Arakavia marè bishkiò bàò baksua wasjè, màzua dushisja kùash dūsum, diamirikiuok.

26.Q. Arakavia mira diavua sàpa ?

A. — Akbatatdia marè ambadiaze mira diavasua arakavia mira diavua kòk.

27.Q. Arakavia mira diavua shishiahe sàvi ?

A. — Arakavia mira diavua shishiahe nùpak; amatè arakavia isjè; amatè arakavia ihakàte.

28.Q. Arakavia isjè sàpa ?

A. — Akbatatdia ba isjèrizem marè diazèrak mira diavasurak, arakavia isjè kòk.

29.Q. Arakavia isjè diavurak marè shoti imazii ?

A. — Arakavia isjè Akbatatdia marè ùhkqizeimazik zih birè isjè marè avusdezeimazik makopiktè.

16.

— 30. Q. — Virugpàkem arakavìa isjè sàmdiarak birè isjè kus dèimàzii?

A. — Virugpàke arakavìa isjè amatarikiat daht diarak hawagiesga kotà shèrak birè isjè avusdeimàzik makoziktè.

— 31. Q. — Arakavìa ihakàte sàpa?

A. — Akbatatdia ba ihakàtem marè diazèrak diavassurak; zih ba isfàrizem marè diazèrak bashi-zikiashisga diavassurak arakavìa ihakàte kok.

— 32. Q. — Arakavìa ihakàte diavurak marè shò-tiimazii?

A. — Arakavìa ihakàte Akbatatdia marè izishikiashizisga, zih birè ihakàte makoziktèsge marè avusdeimàzik.

— 33. Q. — Arakavìa izihzishia sàvi?

A. — Arakavìa izihzishia sàpuak: Akittatdua, bāe-tizisua, araguskarào, igpasharìo, baòrittua, manashkarào, ishitua.

Chapter V Sacraments

— 34. Q. — Sacrament-hua sàpa?

A. — Sacrament-hua ak marè inàge ize kok. Je-

12.

= sus Christ kondiak, Akbatatdia ammarè nashle.
iegiesje diak zih mirikiuik.

— 35.Q. — Sacrament sävi ?

A. — Sacrament säpuak. 1. Marè inäge isjhuvua.
2. 9-marè mazàriu. 3. Makukure bärushè.
4. Arakaväa zivào. 5. Carè i-ba makupè ap-
zisjua. 6. 9-ittàste shipitè diu. 7. 9-bais agpàtua.

— 36.Q. — Marè inäge isjhuvua säpa ?

A. — Marè inäge isjhuvua ak marè inäge ize
haxxak: arakaväa marè bishkio bäs zih ara-
kaväa gagüa miru andiasua ko ihagiak
kotà Akbatatdia marè näkazèk, zih arazivakia
marè hërerazek

— 37.Q. — Japèn marè inäge isjhüm mirikiui ?

A. — Ittaste shipite kon marè inäge isjhüm
mirikiuik. Ittaste shipite koresjarak kotà vi-
rugpàkem karashèindak virugpak shohtdajt
marè inäge ishuvimazik.

— 38.Q. — Marè inäge isjhuvua shotak diu ?

A. — Ak marè inäge isjhuvua minitäre dutta
mishirua apzago erapko iriatzeshèimàzik :
"Inupgèrak, Inakuazèrak, St. Inàgerak nashje-i
di avishhuvik.

18.

39.Q.— I marè mazàriu sàpa?

A.— I marè mazàriu ak marè inàge ize hawak. It. Inàge kon marekiuk: Jesus Christ marè isukissatdekiak marè inàke iziak, zih mazàzek.

40.Q.— Earè i-ba makupè appisgua sàpa?

A.— Earè i-ba makupè appisgua ak marè inàge ize hawak, ba makupem karasheindak. Ittaste shipite zivakào tarè iappisgak zih zivakakuak inàge mazàzek dazetta agua kuh mazàzek.

41.Q.— Ittaste shipite diu sàpa?

A.— Ittaste shipite diu ak marè inàge ize awak: Jesus Christ is akbairiak, viruqpake: orakavào ihagiak, zih zivakào-isgè diazek.

42.Q.— I bats agpàtua sàpa?

A.— I bats agpàtua ak marè inàge ize hawak: bazèrak miarak ak inàge ishuvè bishè ambats agpua izèk Akbatatdia arishize.

Chapter VI.

Confession.

43.Q.— Arakavia zivào sàpa?

A.— Ak inàge kar ishuvubishè arakavia

19.

diarak ihagiazviak Ittaste Shipite zivërak, arakavia zivao kok.

— 44. Q. — Arakavia andiasua Ittaste Shipite ihagia bazeviasurak sapdiasu?

A. — Arakavia andiasua Ittaste Shipite ihagia wazeviasurak. Hiren zigut diasavuk.

1. Arakavia andiasua bazizwazevuk.

2. Arakavia andiasua i mikiurupiasuk.

3. Hiren izjakusje arakavia diasasjaviasabuk.

4. Arakavia andiasua Ittaste Shipite bazivesu.

5. Arakavia andiasua ibishje Ittaste Shipite mazè diaze diasavuk.

— 45. Q. — Arakavia andiasua shöt bak ih bazizewazevu?

A. — Arakavia andiasua Ittaste Shipite am bazivesua ko bazizewazevuk: shishiehe sapdiasurak zih sahnia diasurak gagua ko bazizewazevuk.

— 46. Q. — Säptak ih-arakavia andiasua i-mikiurupiu?

A. — Arakavia andiasua ih-makukurè gapivak birè izje ih avusbevumajik: zih Akbatatèia izje wasje uparetak ba. awan izishishesh nasse ga-

20.

=vivakum ih-arakavia andiavûa i-mikiurupîuk.

— 47. Q. — Hirên isakusjê arakavia diavassâvia-
vuk-bûa sâpe ko wakû ?

A. — Hirên isakusjê arakavia diavassâvia-vuk-
bûa, arakavia isjê gagûa diavassâvia-vak zih
sâpkâte gagûa arakavia ak marê diazeiru-
stâze kar-hawagivariavuk.

— 48. Q. — Arakavia shôte ko bazivêvu ?

A. — Arakavia isjê andiavuk gagûa Ittâte
shipite ambazivêszua ko bazivêvuk: amat-
katdaht hirimbak bazivêsurak zikius ara-
kavia gagûa ambazivaosh ihagia mirikius-
gaumâzik

— 49. Q. — Virupâkem hirîndak arakavia
isjem zivessârak shozeimazii ?

A. — Virupâkem hirîndak arakavia isjem
zivessârak, irûhpa arakavia zivêrak hinnê
arakavia zivâkzik ihê arakavia andia ap-
pa arazivêh karazî zivêimâzik.

Chapter VII

Hoij Eumerst.

— 50. Q. — Makukurê Barnushê sâpa ?

21.

A. Makukurè Barushè ak marè inàge; ize hawak: Jesus Christ agüarak, is-irerak inàgerak ar Akbatatdiarak kök: бага- vüarak dagpizè istaszhè biragè zigihtha Jesus Christ anion irik.

51.Q.— Makukurè Barushè ak dia wasjè sàpè?

A.— Jesus Christ makukurè Barushè ak dia wasjè kök: Itäste Shipite kuh kozèzek.

52.Q.— Säptak ih Jesus Christ makukurè Barushè dia?

A.— Marè inàge barushikiak iziak mazèviak ih Jesus Christ makukurè Barushè diak: zih agüarak marè agüarak batsabiak, mapè ihakkashè zinèzeviak.

53.Q.— Makukurè Barushè izebushvia- vüarak sapdiavavu?

A.— Makukurè Barushè ize bushvia- vüarak arakavia andiavüa i- mikiuru- piak Itäste Shipite bazivèruk. Özia kua- hiak karakukkà barushissak zih minish- = biszäbuk.

54.Q.— Viruqpäkem arakavia issè èbissak kotà Makukurè Barushè:

22.

Dush dak arakavigu shotta ?

A.— Viruypäkem arakavia isse ebissak
ba wagieszak kotà Makukurè Barushè Dush
dak zikus arakavia issem diaimàzik.

55.Q.— Shòrazin bāgawa zizargàte Jesu Christ
agūa kòì; zih dagpizè ishtashè biragè Jesu
Christ is ire kòì ?

A.— Ittaste shipite zivakào isse diak kon kotüh.

56.Q.— Zivakào isse Säpa ?

A. Zivakào isse Jesus Christ is viruypäke Ak-
batatdia arakusbarèo kok. Ittaste shipite
zivakào isse diak Jesus Christ kon Inupgè
ihzikus barèak. —

Inuprè, Inàkuatse, St. Inàkhe nashe ak. kotak.

1. Akbatatdia, barakaviga imikurupiak

2. Diyawatsissik.

3. Diria yakkaratsik

4. Bästak, mi makusdèkia, Danàkuatse ko i-sayakuk.

APPENDIX E

Ursuline Sisters stationed at St. Xavier Mission

APPENDIX E

Ursuline Sisters stationed at St. Xavier Mission

- 1887 - Mother Magdalen
Sister Joseph
Sister Rose
Sister Gertrude
- 1888 - Sister Thomas
Sister Angela
Sister Ursula
- 1890 - Sister Blessed Sacrament
Sister Cecelia
Sister Aloysia
- 1893 - Sister Aurelia
Sister Felicitas
- 1895 - Mother Mary Rose
Sister Paula
Sister Mary Theresa
- 1896 - Mother Scholastica
Sister Amata
Sister Rita
- 1897 - Sister Cordula
Sister Redempta

- 1898 - Sister Eugenie
- Sister Agatha
- Sister Lucy
- 1901 - Sister Regina
- Sister Anastasia
- 1905 - Mother Conception
- Mother Eugenia
- 1906 - Mother Marianne
- Mother Philomene
- 1907 - Sister Eulalia
- Sister Barbara
- Sister Justina
- 1909 - Mother Monica
- Sister Gertrude
- Sister Phillippa
- Sister Gabriel
- 1910 - Sister Gonzaga
- 1912 - Sister Stella
- Sister Loyola
- 1913 - Sister Bernard

"St. Xavier Mission Among the Absaroke or Crow Indians," The Indian Sentinel, April 1921.

Note: Since the Ursuline archives remained closed to me during my research I could not obtain a list of those Sisters stationed at St.

Xavier from 1913-1921. My work centers mostly on the Jesuit's work among the Crows since the Ursuline Sisters, who were a major part of the catechesis as well, would not give me access to their records. I regret that this part of the story could not be incorporated into this work since the women have always played a major part in the teaching role of the Catholic Church.

APPENDIX F

Jesuit Fathers stationed at St. Xavier Mission

1887-1921

APPENDIX F

Jesuit Fathers stationed at St. Xavier Mission

1887-1921

Pastors:

- 1888-1891 - Bandini, Peter - SJ
- 1891-1892 - Feusi, Balthasar - SJ
- 1892-1893 - Crimont, R. Joseph - SJ
- 1893-1898 - Cataldo, Joseph - SJ
- 1898-1902 - Van der Pol, J. - SJ
- 1902-1905 - Taelman, Louis - SJ
- 1905-1907 - Cardon, Joseph C. - SJ
- 1907-1913 - Grant, Thomas - SJ
- 1913-1921 - Taelman, Louis - SJ

Assistants:

- 1888-1905 - Prando, Peter Paul - SJ
- 1892-1894 - Bandini, Joseph - SJ
- 1893-1895 - Andreis, B. - SJ
- 1889-1899 - Turnell, P. - SJ
- 1899-1902 - Boschi, John - SJ
- 1905-1908 - Grant, Thomas - SJ
- 1906-1909 - Vrebosch, Aloysius - SJ
- 1909-1910 - Dinand, August A. - SJ

1909-1911 - O'Brien, William - SJ

1911-1925 - Vrebosch, Aloysius - SJ

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