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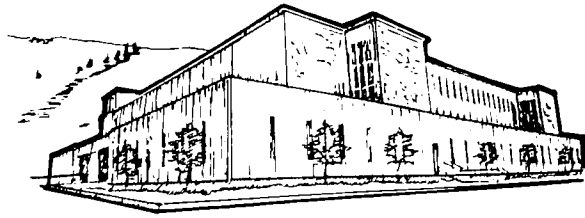
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**AKBAATASHEE: THE OILERS
PENTECOSTALISM AMONG THE CROW INDIANS**


by

Timothy P. McCleary

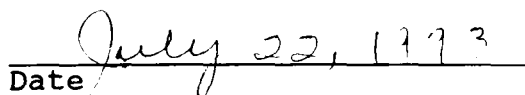
B.A., Montclair State College, 1985

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1993

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McCleary, Timothy P., M.A., August 1993

Anthropology

AKBAATASHEE: THE OILERS, PENTECOSTALISM AMONG THE CROW
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From the 1970s to the 1990s the Crow Indians of southeastern Montana experienced an apparently sudden and rapid conversion to a variant of fundamentalist Christianity known as independent Pentecostalism. The development of the ideology associated with this form of Pentecostalism and its subsequent spread has, in large part, been due to the activities of self-appointed Crow Pentecostal ministers. The development of independent Pentecostalism and its attendant ideology has caused changes in the socio-political structure of the Crow Tribe.

This research addresses the issue of Crow religious conversion to independent Pentecostalism and the impact of this development on the Crow social and political organization. This is accomplished by reconstructing the diffusion of independent Pentecostalism on the Crow reservation, from its initial acceptance in 1923 to its furthest expansion in 1992. Through oral tradition regarding the individuals involved in the diffusion of the religion the author was able to construct a model for its acceptance and spread.

The development and expansion of independent Pentecostalism is shown to have been influenced by internal as well as external factors. An explanatory model of the development of independent Crow Pentecostalism as an origination point for the reorganization of Crow culture and society is presented.

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Though many people, both Crow and non-Crow, have contributed information contained in this document, I have not cited them within the text. This was done purposely to protect these individuals from possible embarrassment or ridicule. However, all names contained in the text are, to the best of my knowledge, the real and correct names, pseudonyms were not used. I hope the use of proper names brings pride to these people and their families. To these contributors, ahó.

Aside from these individuals, others have contributed prominently to the understanding of native/reservation Crow culture, independent Crow Pentecostalism, and how the two have interacted and developed. Among these individuals are: Barney Old Coyote Jr., Dale Old Horn, Daniel Old Elk Sr., Tyrone Ten Bear, Gussie and Annie Costa, Guy and Eloise White Clay and family, Vernon and Carol White Clay Jr. and family, Tommy Morrison, Alice LaForge, Wilson Lincoln, Patricia LaForge, and the Reverend James and Dorothy Roper. To all these special contributors, ahó.

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We've all had our demons
From the garden of white lies
Dressed them, amused them
Pullin' the wool over our eyes
Go so far as to love them
To keep from letting them go
All the while they were killing us
But we couldn't let it show

S.R. Vaughan
In Step, 1989

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

From 1970 to 1990 the Crow Indians of southeastern Montana experienced a widespread conversion to Pentecostalism, a form of fundamentalist Christianity. (1) Crow followers of Pentecostalism have become influential in tribal politics; in fact, they have recently come to dominate reservation politics from the early 1970s to the 1990s. The involvement of Crow Pentecostals in tribal politics has magnified the socio-political factioning of the Crow people. The ideology of Pentecostalism, beyond its effect on politics, has caused a change in the social structure of the Crow tribe.

Pentecostalism was first introduced to the Crow reservation in the 1920s. However, it did not spread beyond the community of Crow Agency until the 1950s and it is only since the 1970s that Pentecostal churches were established in other communities on the reservation. Nine of the twelve churches on the reservation have been built since the 1970s, the most recent in 1992. As of 1992, every community on the Crow reservation has at least one Pentecostal church.

Associated with this spread of Pentecostalism is the development of independent Pentecostal sects which have diverged from the original Pentecostal church on the

reservation, the Four Square Pentecostal Church. These independent sects have emerged as a mixture of fundamentalist Christian ideology and Crow spiritual beliefs and practices, yet remain antagonistic to native culture. This form of independent Pentecostalism is unique and specific to the Crow. The evolution of what has become known as native or independent Crow Pentecostalism has produced an ideology which has altered the religious, social and political structure of the Crow people.

This study, then, will examine the spread and development of independent Pentecostalism among the Crow Indians of southeastern Montana. Following a brief discussion of Pentecostalism and native Crow culture, the emergence of independent Crow Pentecostalism will be examined in the context of the political, social, and economic conditions which have shaped it and affected it.

Literature Review

Two major anthropological works concerned with the effects of fundamentalist Christianity on American Indians have been published: Robert Rapoport's, "Changing Navajo Religious Values: A Study of Christian Missions to the Rimrock Navajo" (1953) and Deward Walker's, Conflict and Schism in Nez Perce Acculturation (1985). Their works will be examined for their anthropological contribution to the study of the effects of fundamentalist Christianity and how

their theoretical perspectives compare to the present study.

Rapoport presented a description of the development of the Mormon and fundamentalist Galilean Church among the Navajo during the 1950s. He approached the subject by developing descriptions of Navajo personality types who maintained traditional native religious beliefs and of those who had converted to either the Mormon or Galilean faiths. Through these personality types, Rapoport was able to discern changes in values held by the personality types that had converted to Christian faiths.

Rapoport found that the Mormon faith had weak conversion rates and many of the individuals who had converted to this faith quickly accepted the Galilean faith when it arrived in their community. He postulated that Navajos, mainly women, who converted to the Galilean Church did so because it offered them new avenues of social status which they did not have in the existent reservation culture. The loss of status for Navajo women was a consequence of the new economy created by reservation policy.

Rapoport's theoretical approach derives from the Boasian theories of culture and personality. The research is important for understanding how personality types are involved in religious change. The examples clearly show social value changes. However Rapoport's research model is static, lacking a temporal element, thus not explaining the process of change in the larger sense. The conflict between

native oriented Navajos and the fundamentalist Christian Navajos and how these conflicts are resolved, leading to change and/or the continuation of conflict remains unexplained.

The more recent study by Deward Walker utilizes a temporal component to isolate the development of factions and schisms among the Nez Perce. He carefully laid out the political and religious history of the Nez Perce tribe from the beginning of the reservation period to the 1960s. This ethnohistory was constructed to show how factions and schisms originated within Nez Perce culture.

Walker's theoretical approach is concerned with the origins of the factions and not with their purpose. He perceives competition and conflict between factions as an evolutionary process contributing to the survival potential of a culture. Walker delineates two forms of factioning; schismatic factioning, and party factioning. Schismatic factions are basically religious and occur when a society's social structure has been disrupted, one faction separating from the parent group and the two factions becoming two distinct sub-groups. Schismatic factioning occurs during times of accelerated acculturation. Party factions are political and occur after rapid acculturation, the two groups resolving their differences through periodic votes and arbitration.

Walker's analysis provides a broad picture of Nez Perce

acculturation, showing aspects of the relationship of religious schisms and political factions to acculturation. However, Walker's analysis does not take into account elements of Nez Perce culture that aided in and shaped the formation of the factions. Also, Walker does not consider how the changing reservation economy might have effected the development of both religious and political factioning.

The study presented here will not only include a temporal component, but an examination of the external elements and internal formations of Crow culture that have lead to and shaped the factioning expressed through Pentecostalism. The centrality of economics within this process is important to understand the conflicts which lead to the factioning and eventual restructuring of society. This study, unlike the two described above, will contribute to the understanding of the effects of fundamentalist Christianity on native North American culture through a diachronic research orientation.

Theoretical Orientation

This study utilizes a historical materialist approach to explicate the dynamics and process of change as presented by the case of Crow Pentecostalism. This approach includes the use of conflict theory, a historical perspective, and a discussion of antecedent social formations.

Conflict theory examines tensions and conflicts within

a society at the time of the introduction of outside elements. A historical perspective can be seen as the understanding of how the gradual incremental process of time causes the expression of these internal elements in the form of factions and schisms. Antecedent social formations being understood as the existing social structure at the time of the introduction of outside elements (Klein 1980:137; Moore 1980:147).

This process of change caused by outside factors, but shaped by internal contradictions present in the antecedent social formations occurs within the relationship of the economic structure and the socio-historical superstructure. When a change occurs in the economic structure, then it follows that a change will occur within the attendant superstructure. The force behind social change is the continuing contradictions derived from the previous antecedent social formations, and hence contradictions will occur between the emerging ideological superstructure and the previous social formations as the new social formations proceed towards their ultimate productive potential. When enough quantitative change has occurred, usually in incremental form, then a "nodal point" is reached and a shift to qualitative change occurs (Klein 1977:67-68). That is, when the incremental process of time has caused a great disparity between the existing superstructure and the new social formation, then a nodal point is reached and a shift

occurs to a new superstructure which fits the new economic structure. The new superstructure being a negation of the former one.

Schisms and factions are the result of and simultaneously reveal the process of change, especially in the superstructure. One faction often choosing to maintain the ideology of the former economic structure while the other faction attempting to restructure its ideology to fit the present economic structure. This struggle most often appears in the forum of religion (Moore 1980:147).

My central thesis, therefore, is that the exposure, acceptance, and diffusion of Pentecostalism among the Crow directly was related to the antecedent cultural formations and the varying political, social, and economic conditions present on the Crow Reservation from the 1920s to the 1990s. Economic and political changes brought on by fluctuating Federal policy lead to restructuring of social relationships, resulting in factioning in Crow society. The factionalism, in part, being played out in the dynamics of Pentecostalism.

To understand the dynamics and process of change as presented by the case of Crow Pentecostalism it is important to examine the internal formations of the Crow culture as well as the formations of the external impinging society. An appreciation of the interaction of these two will be developed by locating them in a historical context. This

process of change can best be understood as the incremental movement of time within the antecedent form which reveals itself in conflicts and, ultimately, factions. Though change may come from the external spheres, it is in and through the workings of these antecedent internal formations that change is accepted, diffused and developed. This study will gain greater organizational and theoretical orientation through the application of principles from historical materialism. Historical materialism principles will provide for a more detailed analysis of the incremental process of social change and an empirical basis for the construction of an explanatory model for the historical development of independent Crow Pentecostalism. Having provided a discussion of the theoretical orientation of this study, it is important to now discuss the methodological procedures employed in this research.

Methodological Procedures

The methods employed in this research included historical analysis of archival material, extensive interviews with members of the Crow tribe and other relevant individuals over twelve months of fieldwork, as well as fieldnotes on personal observations on the Crow Reservation in southeastern Montana.

An important aspect of this study was the identification of the individuals involved in the

development of the Crow Pentecostal movement. Once identified, an appreciation of the status and position of these individuals in the context of Crow society was the next step. The social relationships of these individuals were examined in order to identify internal elements from Crow society which shaped the developmental course of Crow Pentecostalism. Data was obtained from a variety of sources, including Crow oral tradition, documentary evidence, and participant observation.

The initial phase of this research involved interviews with Crow consultants to identify past and present Pentecostal churches. Subsequently, the temporal duration and leadership of each church was determined. This information allowed the construction of a general model for the spatial and temporal diffusion of Crow Pentecostalism. This included a clear identification of the individuals involved. The above, then, established the framework within which this research was conducted.

Ethnographic Methods

Among American Indians, oral tradition is an important manner in which history is discussed and passed on. Crow Pentecostals are no exception; they have developed a rich oral tradition about the origins and history of their churches. This is especially true for the descendants of early Crow Pentecostal converts and leaders.

Gathering the oral tradition of Crow Pentecostals composed the bulk of the fieldwork. Oral tradition is often made up of not only the traditions of a people, but the experiences of the individuals involved in relating the traditions. In order to isolate bias, interviews were conducted in various forms and information was cross-referenced to insure validity.

Oral tradition relevant to independent Pentecostalism was initially obtained by using formal one-on-one interviews. However, it soon became apparent that Crow consultants were reluctant, if not embarrassed, to be interviewed in English. The Crow people have maintained a high degree of native language usage and for older individuals knowledge of the English language is limited. In the case of this study this fact made interviews of the descendants of early converts and leaders difficult.

In an effort to remove this obstacle two approaches were utilized. First, younger Crows, more fluent and comfortable with the English language, were used as translators when possible. Second, the author endeavored to learn the Crow language. This was accomplished by enrolling in Crow language classes at the community college located on the Crow Reservation, Little Big Horn College. After nine months of language classes and intimate contact with Crow speakers, the author developed an ability to comprehend the spoken Crow language.

Even though the author's comprehension of Crow was limited in the early interviews, it soon became apparent that the Crow consultants admired the effort and, subsequently, would spend longer periods of time in the interview process. As more interviews were conducted, the word spread about the research. Soon individuals were seeking out the author to describe their part or an ancestors part in the development of Crow Pentecostalism.

Once the interview process was well under way two styles of two forms of interviews were used: single and group, formal and informal. Most single, that is one-on-one, interviews were formal. Formal meaning that a time and date was established. Some single interviews were informal however, that is the author was approached by an individual and provided information when the author was otherwise unprepared. Group interviews were also generally formal; in fact one group interview was purposely set up by the descendants of early Crow Pentecostal leaders and converts to provide for the author a sense of early house meetings. Informal group interviews occurred when the author was in a public place and/or visiting friends and the topic of this research came up. Both forms of informal interviews were followed up with single formal interviews when possible. It was through these styles of interviews that information was gathered, cross referenced, and validated (Vansina 1961 76-77, 95-106, 114-117).

Consultants for the present study can be divided into four categories. The first group consisted of older Crow individuals who have first hand knowledge of the original leaders of Crow Pentecostalism, many being descendants. The second group consisted of young Crows who were active in the independent Pentecostal sects. The third group consisted of individuals not presently active, or who have never been active in Pentecostalism, yet who have knowledge of the history of Pentecostal churches. This group includes ex-members and non-members. Interviews with these individuals aided in understanding the role of Pentecostalism in the Crow socio-political organization. The fourth group consisted of non-Indians who have knowledge of, or participated in, the exposure of the Crow to Pentecostalism. This group included retired white ministers and the wives of ministers who were active among the Crow from the 1940s to the 1970s. In excess of one hundred individuals were interviewed as part of the research process.

Historical Methods

The documentary evidence consists of primary and secondary sources. The primary sources consist of papers and manuscripts produced by Crow Pentecostals and Federal Government officials. Secondary sources consist of writings by historians and anthropologists which aid in reconstructing the social and political conditions in which

Crow Pentecostalism developed.

Personal observations consisted of participation in various public and private gatherings where Pentecostal activities occurred. These included revival meetings, regular church services, house meetings, and Pentecostal weddings, birthdays, and funerals. The author also participated for three months in a Baptist men's breakfast group which was made up largely of male Pentecostals.

Therefore, it is through Crow oral tradition, documentary evidence, and participant observation that data was collected for analysis. The methodological procedures, being comprehensive and thorough, allowed for the construction of a data base commensurate to the theoretical orientation outlined above.

With the review of the relevant literature, description of the theoretical orientations and the methodological procedures given above, it is at this point that a brief history of Pentecostalism will be presented. This discussion, which will follow in the next chapter, will allow for the isolation of the external formations which existed in Pentecostalism at the time of its exposure to the Crow.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER ONE

1. The Crow Indians formally call themselves Apsáalooke, which translates as "Offspring of the Large Beaked Bird". It is this term which was erroneously translated as "Crow" by early Europeans. However, for want of maintaining consistency with existent material on this tribe I will use the term Crow.

All Crow words are spelled using the Crow alphabet as developed by the Bilingual Materials Development Center and as utilized by Medicine Horse, A Dictionary of Everyday Crow.

CHAPTER TWO
HISTORICAL SETTING

A Brief History of the Pentecostal Movement

At the end of the nineteenth century, a religious movement swept America. This movement, which utilized the concepts and ideas of the Gifts of the Holy Spirit as outlined in the Bible, became known as the Holiness Movement. This movement attracted individuals from across the United States and Canada, and it was from these early Holiness groups that the first Pentecostal leaders of the twentieth century originated (Durasoff 1972:44; Herbert 1984:11).

The Pentecostal movement in Christianity is often referred to as the "Third Great Awakening". This reference links the Pentecostal Movement to two previous religious revivals in United States history. The First Great Awakening, erupting in the colonies in the 1730s, is credited to the teachings of the dissident Anglican minister, John Wesley. His teachings focused on the spiritual development of the individual after conversion. Wesley's teachings stated that after conversion the individual had to experience another experience called sanctification, or Christian perfection, which was vital to a life of holiness. Sanctification meant expressing

Christian values and ideals over sinfulness. It does not imply living a sinless life, but in thought and manner attempting as much as humanly possible a Christian lifestyle. These teachings, as well as spurring on a vast American religious movement, led to the development of the Methodist Church (Durasoff 1972: 44-45; Herbert 1984: 11).

In the early 1800s a renewed interest in the concept of Christian perfectionism led to the Second Great Awakening. This movement was marked by large revival meetings, with boisterous sermons and testimonials, which often led to emotional and physical displays of religious fervor. Once again the message focused on the idea of Christian perfection. However, this second movement diluted this concept to intention revealed through behavior being sufficient to win God's affection, and therefore, His granting of sanctification (Durasoff 1972: 45-47; Herbert 1984:11).

These two movements founded the tradition in Christianity known as the Holiness Movement. This tradition is characterized by the concept of Christian perfection or sanctification, the literal interpretation of the Bible, and the conversion experience or salvation. During the beginning of the twentieth century, the addition of the baptism by the Holy Spirit to the Holiness tradition led to the development of the Pentecostal Movement, or the Third Great Awakening. Baptism by the Holy Spirit being revealed

through the display of any or all of the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, with the Gift of Tongues, being prominent (Durasoff 1972: 52-55; Herbert 1984: 11-12).

The inclusion of the Holy Ghost baptism and the addition of the Gifts can be traced to the activities and teachings of two ministers, A.B. Simpson and John Dowie, just before the turn of the century. These two ministers founded their independent churches in two different areas of the United States. Simpson founded his church in New York State and Dowie established his church in Chicago, Illinois. Both of these ministers held church meetings which reflected the activities typical of the meetings held during the Second Great Awakening. These meetings also included mass conversion of the audiences, healings, and the manifestations of speaking in tongues. In fact, Dowie is credited with the promotion and establishment of divine healing as a strong component of the Third Great Awakening (Durasoff 1972: 49-54; Herbert 1984:12).

The teachings of Simpson and Dowie greatly influenced a Methodist minister named Charles Fox Parham. Even though the beginnings of the Pentecostal Movement can be seen in the activities of Simpson and Dowie, it is Parham who is credited with the key Pentecostal doctrine which would shape and perpetuate the movement, that is the baptism by the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues as a sign of this baptism (Durasoff 1972: 55: Herbert 1984: 12).

Parham attended Southwestern, a Methodist College at Winfield, Kansas, and received his first pastorate in Eudora, Kansas. However, he soon left this position due to a desire to preach to larger, non-denominational crowds, concerning his thoughts about the baptism of the Holy Spirit and the Gifts of the Holy Spirit. In order to accomplish this end he first established a Divine Healing Home in Topeka, Kansas. From this location he began spreading the word about divine healing. He accomplished this mainly through pamphlets which featured stories of persons healed in answer to prayer (Durasoff 1972: 55; Herbert 1984: 12).

From this small beginning, Parham was encouraged to expand by opening a Bible school. By October of 1900, Parham had rented a mansion in Topeka, Kansas. Soon he was inviting ministers and laymen from all denominations to attend his Bible school so as to expand the teachings of divine healing and the baptism of the Holy Ghost. His invitation was quickly accepted by many individuals from all over the United States and Canada. The new school was named the Bethel Bible School (Durasoff 1972: 56-57; Herbert 1984: 12).

The seminars at the college focused on discovering whether or not speaking in tongues was an indication of baptism by the Holy Spirit. Through readings of the Bible, the Book of Acts in particular, it was believed by Parham and his fellow scholars that speaking in tongues was a sign

of the baptism by the Holy Ghost. These new findings were collaborated when students of the school began speaking in tongues during a New Year's Eve meeting (Durasoff 1972:56-57).

Parham wished to spread his new revelations across the United States and Canada. Initially, however, his meetings were small and restricted to Kansas and the bordering states. This changed dramatically when he healed the blind eye of Mary Arthurs of El Dorado Springs, Missouri in the summer of 1903. Soon people were flocking to Parham at Mrs. Arthurs' home. He eventually rented a large tent to accommodate all the people. When winter arrived a warehouse was rented in order to continue the revival (Durasoff 1972:61).

In the fall of 1905 Parham opened the First Pentecostal Bible School in Houston, Texas. From the short and small classes held at this college came many new Pentecostal preachers. These preachers went to all corners of the United States and Canada to spread the message of the Gifts of the Holy Spirit (Durasoff 1972:66-67).

One of these new ministers was William Seymour, an African-American. He so impressed members of the Nazarene and Baptist churches of his home city, Los Angeles, with the Pentecostal message that he was encouraged to open his own church. That church, located at 312 Azusa Street, Los Angeles, became the focal point from which the Pentecostal

movement was effectively spread (Durasoff 1972:66-67; Herbert 1984:12).

From the Azusa experience came a humble, yet important individual in the history of the Pentecostal movement, that person being Robert Semple. Robert Semple established his Pentecostal mission in Canada. One of his converts was a seventeen year old girl who would become known as Aimee Semple McPherson. After her dramatic conversion and baptism in the Holy Spirit, she felt a pressing need to pass on the Pentecostal message, or Full Gospel as it had become known. She married Robert Semple and the two went to China as missionaries. Not long after arriving in China, however, Robert Semple died. Aimee returned to the United States (Durasoff 1972:70-71; Herbert 1984:12).

Back in the United States, Aimee Semple McPherson remarried and was soon responding to her call to ministry. Aimee called her mission the Foursquare Gospel to commemorate the four principle articles of her message: Christ as the Savior, the baptism by the Holy Spirit, Christ as the Great Physician (the gift of divine healing), and the eminent second coming of the King, Christ. To spread her message she traveled extensively by automobile across the United States and Canada. She would hold large tent revivals in towns where she stopped. It was at such a meeting held in Miles City, Montana that newly converted Crow Indians would first meet McPherson.

On January 1, 1923 Aimee opened Angelus Temple, then eight miles outside of the city limits of Los Angeles, California. This church featured the largest unsupported dome in North America and had seating for more than five thousand. It was from Angelus Temple that the Foursquare Gospel Pentecostal Church would disseminate its message. This was accomplished first by training preachers at its seminary, the Life Bible College, and latter, through correspondence courses by mail (Durasoff 1972:74-75).

Having reviewed the history of the Pentecostal movement it is now relevant to examine the ideology of the Pentecostal faith. The standard philosophies, values, and theologies of the Pentecostal faith will be presented for comparison to the belief systems developed by the independent Pentecostal sects of the Crow Indians.

Ideology of the Pentecostal Movement

According to Pentecostal belief there are nine gifts of the Holy Spirit. These nine gifts are listed in I Corinthians 2:8-10. After baptism by the Holy Spirit, an individual is expected to manifest one or more of the gifts. The most important apparently being the gift of tongues, this being followed by the other eight which are interpretation of tongues, word of wisdom, word of knowledge, faith, gifts of healing, working of miracles, prophecy, and discerning spirits. The gifts generally are

divided into three categories. The first being the utterance gifts, which include speaking in tongues, interpreting tongues, and prophecy. The second category is power gifts, which include healing, miracles, and faith. The third, gifts of revelation, includes the discerning of spirits, word of knowledge, and word of wisdom (Herbert 1984:86). Below will follow a section for each of the three categories of Gifts.

The Utterance Gifts

The Utterance Gifts are composed of speaking in tongues, interpretation of tongues, and prophecy. As stated earlier, the gift of speaking in tongues is the one most often perceived as being a sign of baptism by the Holy Ghost. Pentecostals believe that the first occurrence of the relationship between speaking in tongues and baptism by the Holy Spirit was on what is known as the Day of Pentecost as related in Acts 2:1-15. The Day of Pentecost is described as the day when the apostles gathered after Christ's death and through baptism by the Holy Ghost were given the ability to speak in human tongues unknown to them so that they could spread the Word of Christ throughout the world. It is because of this that Pentecostals stress the gift of speaking in tongues.

According to Pentecostal belief the language spoken after receiving the gift of tongues can be of another human

language, previously unknown to the speaker, or it may be a language known only to God. Further, Pentecostals distinguish between speaking in tongues as a "sign" and as a "gift". As a "sign" it is proof of the individual's baptism in the Holy Spirit. As a "gift" it is perceived as a prayer for the edification of the individual or for the congregation. The reason given for the act of speaking in tongues, is that the person is unable to articulate his thoughts and feelings with his usual voice (Herbert 1984:46-47).

Associated with speaking in tongues is the interpretation of tongues. As stated above, there are two forms of tongues: those of other human languages, and those perceived of as being from God. When the tongue is of another human language there is often a speaker of that language in the gathering, and it is because of this that the Holy Ghost will utilize that language. However, in the case of a tongue from God, then there has to be an interpretation of this tongue, which is one of the other gifts. The interpretation of this tongue is usually not a direct word for word translation, but a general synopsis of the moral teaching being communicated through this process (Herbert 1984: 48-50).

The last of the three gifts categorized under utterances is the gift of prophecy. Prophecy is defined by Pentecostals as speaking under the influence of the Holy

Spirit, that is speaking the mind of God. It is not, in most cases, the foretelling of future events, but is mainly for the edification of the congregation in the sense of admonishing, encouraging, advising, etc. Prophecy can be expressed in a number of ways, but usually it is through visions. The vision may be verbal or visual. If verbal it may come through speaking, writing, or song. If it is visual than it can come through any form of visual comprehension, from apparently dream-like to undistinguishable from reality. Visual visions almost always contain angels (Herbert 1984:97-98).

The Power Gifts

The second group of gifts is composed of the power gifts. These include faith, miracles, and healing. Faith is described by Pentecostals as a gift to the saved which provides them with a sense of knowing all is well. Evidence of faith is shown as knowing all will be well in a serious crisis and this coming to pass. Also, the gift of faith is described as believing in God for the impossible. The gift of faith is provide most often through three sources, by reading the Bible (more commonly called the Word), through revelation (see below), and/or through inner voice (Herbert 1984:92-93).

The next gift of this triad is the gift of miracles. Miracles are described as events which transcend the

ordinary, or the understanding of ordinary. Examples of the gift of miracles often include avoiding or getting out of a dangerous situation. Such as, avoiding a car accident which appeared unavoidable, or after being in an accident quickly receiving help when none appeared likely, or receiving help when a car breaks down in a remote area and aid seemed unlikely (Herbert 1984:96-97).

The last of the three gifts of power, the gift of healing, is often seen as second in importance only to the gift of tongues. The gift of healing was a prime part of the founding churches of the Pentecostal faith and it is strongly stressed by the Four Square Gospel Church. The gift of healing is quite literally healing of the physical body through supernatural means. Healing most often occurs through the laying on of hands by a minister or elder of the church or by the use of holy oils to anoint the sick. The gift of healing is credited with the healing of many if not all of the forms of illness and injury which the human body can sustain (Herbert 1984:93-94). Pentecostal conversions are often credited to an initial healing. Pentecostal literature is predominantly composed of stories which relate personal accounts of healings through this gift. The importance of this gift in attracting potential converts and maintaining the converted can not be underestimated.

The Revelation Gifts

The third and last group of gifts is made up of the gifts of revelation. These gifts are the word of knowledge, the word of wisdom, and the discerning of spirits. The first gift, the word of knowledge, is perceived by Pentecostals as the knowledge that is gained through supernatural means (Herbert 1984:89).

This knowledge is differentiated from the other four forms of human knowledge. The first is facts gained through normal human abilities. The second is facts that are attained through supernatural means other than the Holy Spirit, this would include the Devil, witchcraft, and the occult. The third is knowledge attained through the studying of the Bible and "walking" with the Lord. All three of these forms of knowledge are distinguished from knowledge which is gained directly from the Holy Ghost (Herbert 1984:89-90).

The gift of the word of knowledge is defined as facts suddenly known to a person when they would have no natural means of gaining that knowledge. These facts could be such mundane things as knowing that a certain activity group would form in the church, or such important things as the fact that Jesus knew that Peter would betray him. The gift of knowledge is often hard to differentiate from the gift of wisdom which is the next gift in the revelation set (Herbert 1984: 90).

The gift of the word of wisdom is believed to be knowledge given by the Holy Ghost. This gift can be revealed to a person in a number of ways; through supernatural "intuition", as understanding of the written word in the Bible, as a voice or angel, or in dreams and visions. Pentecostals often relate to solving a problem, whether their own or a friends. Through a dream, or a voice heard while awake, or by reading Bible verses, they gain the answer to the problem (Herbert 1984: 87-89).

The last of the revelation gifts is the discerning of spirits. Pentecostals believe the world to be inhabited by three forms of spirits; the spirits of the Light or the those that originate from God, the spirits of the Dark, or those that originate from Satan, and the spirits of man (Herbert 1984:91).

The discerning of spirits is included in the revelation gifts because it is used to determine the origins of the gifts of wisdom and knowledge. Pentecostals believe that demonic spirits are present everywhere and can take on the form of good spirits. Therefore, to determine whether facts revealed to individuals are from God and to be followed, one must use the gift of discernment of spirits (Herbert 1984:91-92).

The other way in which the discerning of spirits gift is used is to locate individuals who are under demonic possession. Members of a congregation may appear to be

under the control of the Holy Ghost but in fact will be possessed by a demon. Through the discernment of spirits an individual, most often a minister, will be able to discern the origin of the possession. Often when discovered, the demon will attack the minister, but through the protection of Christ, the demon cannot harm the minister (Herbert 1984:91-92).

Pentecostal Thought and Philosophy

Having discussed the gifts of the Holy Ghost, which are seen as the foundations of the Pentecostal faith, below will be presented some of the thought and philosophy of the Pentecostal faith. These concepts are particularly important for understanding the general Pentecostal movement and how Independent Crow Pentecostalism has diverged from it.

Pentecostals believe that humans are the descendants of the fallen Adam and, therefore, all man has original sin. Man must accept Christ into his heart to be "saved". That is, accept Christ as the one and only Savior. This act will remove original sin and allow entrance into heaven (Campbell 1951:225).

Pentecostals believe that the road to salvation begins with repentance and saving faith. Repentance is the genuine sorrow for sins committed and the confession of these sins followed by strong attempts to rectify the wrongs against

fellow man. Through repentance the believer often attains saving faith, which is belief with the heart and not just the head (Campbell 1951:225).

Baptism by water is not important to the Pentecostal faith (though it is often used). However, baptism by the Holy Spirit is important for the individual's spiritual growth. After baptism by the Holy Ghost, the individual must lead a life of Holiness. This is defined as no longer practicing worldly behavior in general and carnal behavior in particular. If this behavior is not abandoned than the individual may fall from grace. Falling from grace is seen as the result of imperfect faith. The individual did not repent genuinely and therefore did not believe with the heart and did not receive true baptism (Campbell 1951:225-226; Herbert 1984:16-17).

If an individual has received saving faith, it is their duty to preach the Word to non-believers. This is most often referred to as giving witness. That is, describing the experiences that an individual has had with Christ and/or the Holy Ghost to anyone who will listen in hopes that they may to come to know God's grace. The most important thing that a Pentecostal can do in this life is convert others to the faith so that they may be saved when the Second Coming occurs (Campbell 1951:225-226; Herbert 1984:21).

All Pentecostals believe in the imminent return of

Christ, what is commonly referred to as the Second Coming, or the End Times. At the beginning of the Second Coming a period termed the Tribulation will occur. The Tribulation will be a time when the Devil and his demons will be given one season to reign on the earth. Then Satan will be captured, and along with the unsaved, will be judged and cast into a lake of fire. Some Pentecostals believe in a time before the Tribulation which is termed the Rapture. The Rapture is a time when the saved dead will be raised and, together with the living saved, "translated", made holy, and taken to heaven (Campbell 1951:225-226; Herbert 1984:20-21).

It is because of the belief in the imminent second coming that Pentecostals feel it is imperative to give witness and save as many people as possible. It is an extension of this belief that is the reason most Pentecostals do not become involved in politics. Pentecostals are not interested in bettering mankind but are interested in saving individual souls. There is no need to improve the world in their opinion, because the Second Coming will destroy this world and replace it with the Kingdom of God (Herbert 1984:23).

Another important philosophy of the Pentecostals is the belief that the Bible contains the revealed will of God. Therefore the Scriptures in the Bible are irrefutable. This is characterized by the literalism with which the Pentecostals view the Bible. To the Pentecostal believer

the Bible is all truth and therefore anything written in it is divine truth and cannot be faulted. Because of this belief, the Bible is turned to as a final answer when all other means have been exhausted, and sometimes sooner. The belief that the Bible, and ultimately God, is the source of divine truth and power has limited the development of a ministerial hierarchy in the Pentecostal faith, and has in fact placed much of the authority of leadership of the church in the hands of the local minister, and has encouraged leadership by untrained lay-ministers (Campbell 1951:226; Herbert 1984:24).

Having reviewed the history and ideology of the Pentecostal faith, the next chapter will present an overview of the social and political structure of the Crow people. This will provide a foundation for the isolation and analysis of the internal and external conditions in which Pentecostalism was introduced, accepted, and developed among the Crow.

CHAPTER THREE

AN HISTORICAL-ETHNOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF CROW CULTURE

Origins and Migrations

The Crow people of southeastern Montana are of the Siouian linguistic stock. Linguistically they are closely related to the Hidatsa people of North Dakota. How the two tribes diverged to become the modern Crow and Hidatsa people occurred through a series of political breaks. Crow oral tradition links the origin of the tribe to a separation from a parent group. The other group created by this separation became known as the Hidatsa. The original parent group was called the Awatixé, which in the Hidatsa language means the Earth Lodges Set Closely Together. The Awatixé, before coming to the Great Plains, had traveled extensively across the upper Midwest of the United States and possibly even into southern Canada (Medicine Crow 1992:17-18; Curtis 1976:38).

Around the early 1500s this group was under the leadership of two brothers, No Vitals and Red Scout. These two leaders had their respective followers and, even though they camped as one group, the two divisions were clearly defined within the camp. While camped near Devil's Lake in North Dakota, a quarrel arose between the wives of the two leaders. The quarrel was over the rights to a drowned

buffalo found in a stream, the meat of drowned buffalo being considered a delicacy. This argument led to the permanent separation of the two groups. The group following No Vitals called themselves Biiiluke, Our Side, and would become the historic Mountain Crow. The group under Red Scout would move to the Heart River area of North Dakota and learn horticultural ways from the Mandan of that region. This group would become part of the historical Hidatsa. Throughout the history of the Crow people political factioning has been a central social mechanism used to adapt to their changing social and economic conditions (Bowers 1965: 22; Curtis 1976: 38; Medicine Crow 1992:18-19).

Crow oral tradition lends religious credence to the separation of the Crow and Hidatsa. Oral tradition relates that the two leaders had fasted at Devil's Lake in North Dakota and had each received a vision. No Vitals' vision told him to seek the seeds of Sacred Tobacco, Ihchichiaee. Once locating the sacred Tobacco he would be in the center of the world, in the best place for his people. Red Scout, on the other hand, received a vision instructing him to settle with his people on the bluffs above the rivers and plant corn on the flood plains below (Medicine Crow 1992:19).

After the initial visions and subsequent dispute No Vitals and his followers began a long trek west. The Biiiluke eventually stopped near present-day Cardston,

Alberta. No Vitals traveled south to Chief Mountain, where he fasted. On the fourth day he received a vision telling him he was not at his destination, the area was too cold. The Biiluke then moved south, passing by Salt Lake, Utah and an exposed burning coal seam in northern Arizona. No Vitals and his group eventually reached the Canadian River in Oklahoma. Here, No Vitals fasted again and was told to move north. The Biiluke moved northeast, passing through the forests of the state of Missouri, eventually reaching the Mississippi River. They followed this river to the Missouri, and then, following the Missouri, reached the Platte River. The Platte River led them to the Powder River which they followed north until they reached the Big Horn Mountains in northern Wyoming. The crest of the Big Horn Mountains is called Awaxaawakússawishe, Extended Mountain, by the Crow people and it is considered the center of their world. The highest peak of this crest is known as Cloud Peak, and it was on this peak that No Vitals fasted for the fourth time. He received a vision telling him that he was in the right place and that the Tobacco seed could be found at the bottom of Cloud Peak. As he looked to the base of the mountain he saw the seeds as twinkling stars. The locating and subsequent planting of the Tobacco seeds became the genesis of the Crow's Sacred Tobacco Society (Medicine Crow 1992:18-22; Voget 1984:7).

The Tobacco Society, through its rituals, defined the

Crow people as a nation for themselves. Sacred Tobacco was the only ceremony, practiced by the Crow, that was exclusive to them. Through the planting and harvesting of the Tobacco, the Crows believed that they promoted growth within their tribe, protection from enemies, and an abundance of the things which they needed to survive; horses, plants, wild game, etc. (Voget 1984:5-6). (1)

After the discovery and planting of the Tobacco, the Biiiluuke then made their home in southern Montana and northern Wyoming, with the Big Horn Mountains at the center of their nation. Archeological evidence places the Crows in the Big Horn Mountains approximately 1580 (Frison 1975:43; Medicine Crow 1992:18-22; Voget 1984:7).

Socio-Political Structure and Economy

The Crow economy, once on the Great Plains, was based largely on game and edible plants. The most important food resource for the Crow being the buffalo. The buffalo provided for most of the needs of the people, including food, shelter, clothing, and household items. Other game animals, such as deer, elk, antelope and big horn sheep, were utilized, especially when buffalo was scarce (Bernardis 1986:13).

Game was hunted in a variety of ways. The most common method being by single or small groups of men. The buffalo, and sometimes deer and antelope, were hunted in large

communal hunts. Before the introduction of the horse the most common communal hunt was the bison jump. This method employed driving buffalo over a cliff which was high enough to cause death or injury. When the cliff was not high enough, a corral was built at the base of the drop in which the buffalo could be easily dispatched with bow and arrow. This method survived into the time when horses were introduced. However, the "surround" method became more popular as horses became more numerous. The surround was simply a number of mounted hunters cutting out and circling around a portion of a buffalo herd in order to kill them. In the winter buffalo were sometimes driven into snowdrifts or onto ice where they could be easily killed (Bernardis 1986:13-14; Lowie 1956:72-74).

Edible plants gathered by the Crow included berries, such as choke cherries, june berries, and buffalo berries, and roots, such as wild turnip, biscuit root, and yampa. The collection and processing was generally the work of women, sometimes, however, young men and women would jointly collect berries. Roots were dried, to latter be used in soups. Berries were mashed and dried into cakes or mixed with dried meat and tallow to make pemmican (Bernardis 1986:14; Lowie 1922a:210).

It was the buffalo, however, which shaped the economic, social, and political organization of the Crow. The buffalo provided the modes of production and distribution of lifes

essentials. The habit of the buffalo to gather into large herds during the summer and then separate into smaller herds during the winter months lead the Crow to follow a similar procedure (Bernardis 1986:13; Voget 1984:29-30).

In the beginning of spring the Crow people would gather in larger and larger groups until the late summer buffalo hunt. This was possible because of the increasing availability of roots, berries, as well as the larger buffalo herds. After the late summer buffalo hunt the large groups, sometimes being the whole tribe, would break into small groups. These small groups would seek sheltered areas in which to spend the winter. The tribe would break into these smaller groups because of the dispersal of the buffalo (Bernardis 1986:13).

Therefore, over a year the Crow people could be found as one group, tribe, or in separate political units, bands or kin groups. Through time the Crow people have recognized four bands. The first band, originating with No Vitals, would become known as the Ashalahó, Where There Are Many Lodges, or the Mountain Crows. This group lived in northern Wyoming and southern Montana, ranging as far east as the Powder River and west as far as Livingston, Montana (Bernardis 1986:7; Lowie 1956:4).

During the migrations of the Crow there arose another division called the Bilápiiutche, Beaver Dries Its Fur. This group became lost on the journey of the Crow people.

Oral tradition provides four possible explanations for the disappearance of this group. Some believe the Beaver Dries Its Fur group split off in Canada and remained there. Others say they turned east, ending up at Lake Michigan. Both of these beliefs stem from the claims of Crows who, after visiting in northern Canada or Michigan, say they have found a people who they could converse with in the Crow language. Others believe this group became part of the Kiowa, with whom the Crow were closely associated in the 1600 and early 1700s. Still, other traditions relate that the Comanches located a group of massacred people in southern Colorado who were dressed like Crows.

The next band of the Crow originated with a separation from the Awaxaawé division of the modern Hidatsa. Awaxaawé in both the Hidatsa and Crow languages means mountain, and is freely translated as the Mountain or Hill People. This separation occurred when subsequent migrations of proto-Crow-Hidatsa peoples from the Minnesota area moved west to join the Awatixé residing on the Missouri. At least one component of the Awaxaawé preferred to maintain a nomadic lifestyle and continued west to join the Ashalahó Crow. This group, under the leadership of Daxpitchée Daasalitchileetish, Bear That Always Has A Bad Heart, formed the core group of the historic Binnéssiippeele, River Crow. Later, members of all three of the Hidatsa divisions (Awatixé, Awaxaawé, and Hidatsa proper) as well as some

Mandan, moved west to join the River Crow. This division ranged from the Yellowstone River, in the south, to the Milk River, in the north (Bernardis 1986:7; Bowers 1965:21-23; Curtis 1976:39).

The last division of the Crows are known as the Ammitaallasshé, Home Away From The Center, or, more commonly, Eelalapíio, the Kicked in the Bellies. This division derived from the Mountain Crow band. They became a distinct band because of their habit of spending the winters in the Wind River country of southwestern Wyoming and summers on the eastern side of the Big Horn Mountains in Wyoming and Montana. (Bernardis 1986:7; Lowie 1956:4). (2)

The three historic bands of the Crow, the Mountain, River, and Kick In The Belly, consisted of several smaller political units made up of clan and/or lineage related individuals. During most of the year, especially winter, these groups remained independent and scattered about the respective territories of each band.

The Crow identified eleven clans arranged in five phratries. The phratry existed to promote cooperation when larger numbers were needed, especially for protection or when hunting. The first phratry consisted of the Greasy Mouths, Uutuwasshe, and Sore Lips, Ashíiooshe. The second consisted of the Whistling Waters, Bilikóoshe, and the Bad War Deeds, Ashkápkauiia. The third consisted of the Ties in a Bundle, Xúkaalaxche, the Filth Eaters, Ashpeennusshé, and

the Brings Home Game Without Shooting, Uússaawaachiia. The fourth consisted of the Treacherous Lodge, Ashbatsúa, and the Blood Indian Lodge, Ashkaámne. The fifth phratry consisted of Big Lodges, Ashitchite, and the Newly Made Lodges, Ashhilaalíoo (Frey 1987:40; Lowie 1912:189-190; 1956:15-16). (3)

The Crow, being matrilineal, received their clan affiliation from their mother. The mother's clan taking care of the physical and emotional needs of the individual. The relationship with the father's clan was also important, since this clan promoted the status of the individual through public announcements of their achievements, and, more importantly, by providing dream-blessings for a long, happy, and successful life. The father's clan also provided the individual with joking relations, or teasing cousins. Individuals whose fathers belonged to the same clan regarded each other as teasing cousins. The joking relations had free license to tease each other about public or private misconduct. This relationship kept deviant behavior effectively in check (Frey 1987:40-58; Lowie 1912:201-206; Voget 1984:31-32).

Political and Religious Leadership

Over each of the political divisions, tribe, band, and kin group, there was a leader. A man became chief by achieving the minimum four recognized war exploits and

through the distribution of wealth, mainly in the form of horses obtained in raids. The four customary war deeds were; counting coup (touching the enemy with the hand or an object), capturing a picketed horse from an enemy camp, taking an enemies weapons and leading a war party successfully. A man achieving at least one of each of these deeds was known as a Bacheeítche, Good Man (Bernardis 1986:7-9; Voget 1984:37).

To achieve the four war deeds a man needed to have religious power, baaxpée. An individual could seek religious power by himself, however a more reliable and common approach was to seek out a proven warrior, both militarily and spiritually, to provide guidance and, possibly, the baaxpée to be successful (Voget 1984:43).

Retired warriors known to possess strong baaxpée formed an elite group that was consulted by young men seeking success. Often times the old warrior would have dreams of the location of the enemy. These dreams being very explicit, not only locating the enemies camp, but describing the coups that would be counted and the types and colors of horses taken. These dreams would be given to the novice along with a song and a religious object to insure success (Nabokov 1970:55, 166; Voget 1984:37-39).

The old warrior and novice would usually build a relationship of mentor and apprentice and would address each other as father and son. For the father's baaxpée, the son

would pay horses, food, and other material wealth. Through this relationship of material wealth for religious power an individual could attain the achievements necessary to become a chief (Nabokov 1970:55, 166; Voget 1984:37-43).

The old warrior elite group was also in control of religious leadership. As they had built their careers they had purchased rights and memberships to public and private religious organizations. They, in turn, controlled these rights and their distribution. Through purchase and good reputation a novice could also gain access to these religious organizations. Once being considered for membership, the initiate often needed a dream communication from the spirit helper to validate the new position (Voget 1984:75-76).

Women could also attain religious leadership roles. A wife commonly joined public religious organizations with her husband, thus providing her with membership rights in the organization. Beyond this, though, a woman, through the standard practice of purchase and adoption, could gain leadership roles in private and public religious organizations. Women were especially prominent as leaders in the Tobacco Society. A woman, Nellie Stewart, would become the first Crow leader of Pentecostalism by utilizing traditional concepts of leadership (Lowie 1919:133; Voget 1984:65-66, 75-76).

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER THREE

1. For a comprehensive description and analysis of the Crow Tobacco Society see Nabokov 1988.
2. The three political divisions of the Crow settled in separate areas on the present reservation. Descendants of the Mountain Crow can be found in the central and western parts of the reservation, in the communities of St. Xavier and Pryor. The descendants of the River Crow can be found in the northern part of the reservation, in the communities of Dunmore, and Crow Agency, and Two Leggings area. The Kicked In The Bellies are located on the eastern side of the reservation, in the communities of Lodge Grass and Wyola.
3. Lowie made two errors in his tabulation of Crow clans. First he mistakenly considered the Kicked In The Bellies, a political band division, as one of the clans. Second, he considered the original name of one clan as a separate clan. The Spotted (Streaked) Lodge, as he calls them, are the Ashxaché, or Hair Remaining Lodge, the original name for the Bad War Honors 1912:189.

CHAPTER FOUR
EARLY CROW PENTECOSTALISM

Pre-conditions of Crow Pentecostalism

The early 1900s were a time of great change for the Crow. By 1883 the buffalo had totally disappeared from Crow country, making the Crow reliant on government rations. Inter-tribal raiding had been successfully suppressed by 1888. The loss of the buffalo caused the Crow to emphasize the horse as the main source of wealth and medium of exchange. This process had begun well before the demise of the buffalo, except that the horse was now the center of the Crow economy (Nabokov 1970:193-197; Oswalt 1978:282).

The end of intertribal raiding, and sedentary residence, among other factors, lead to a population explosion of Crow horses. By 1920 there were an estimated 40,000 head on the reservation. This new found wealth lead to inflated memberships in Crow social and religious organizations, in particular in the Crow's Tobacco Society. Politically, the Crow were still relying on traditional leaders, such as Plenty Coups, Pretty Eagle, and Medicine Crow (Bearss 1970:345; Lowie 1919:135; Medicine Crow 1992:106; Roberts 1983:44).

All this would change rather dramatically, however, in December 1919 with the appointment of C.H. Asbury as Agent

of the Crow Reservation. Asbury carried out a number of policies enacted by Congress and intended to prohibit the Crow from practicing most elements of their traditional culture and assimilate them into the dominant American society. First among these was the passage of the Crow Allotment Act on June 4, 1920. The intent of the act was to make the Crow farmers and to destroy tribal life by treating each family as separate economic units. The effect of the act was a dispersing of the concentrations of the Crow population that had dotted the reservation, and opening land for lease to white ranchers and farmers (Oswalt 1978:284; Roberts 1983:44).

The Crow Act effectively divided the Crow Reservation into privately owned allotments. Some allotting had been attempted on the Crow Reservation at three different times in the past, 1897, 1899, and 1905. However, these were generally unsuccessful due to the reluctance of the Crow to place themselves on isolated allotments. By 1920 only portions of the Little Big Horn valley and the Pryor creek area had allotments. In most cases the few allotments that existed had absent owners, these individuals preferring to stay in the communal camps of their bands. The Crow Act would once and for all allot the Crow Reservation and disperse the camps (Bradley 1970:127-142; 230-232).

Once white ranchers started leasing Crow land they began complaining about the Crow horse herds that competed

with their sheep and cattle for grass. Following a departmental circular Asbury ordered the rounding up and killing of "wild or worthless horses", each Crow family being allowed to keep a team of work horses (National Archives 1919).

This last policy had a devastating effect on the Crow's revised economic system. The importance of the horse to the traditional Crow economic system was paramount. Overnight many individuals lost wealth and a sense of worth. Along with this policy came a banning of social and religious gatherings. If Asbury discovered a religious meeting, he would have the tribal police disperse the gathering and arrest suspected leaders. Asbury was particularly stringent against Tobacco Society meetings, acting on the slightest intimation, he would have Tobacco Society leaders rounded up, bound hand and foot, and displayed in the park at Crow Agency. The destruction of the horse herds and the anti-native assembly policies shocked the Crow into submitting to the desired reservation economy (Medicine Crow 1939:19-21; National Archives 1919-1930).

Asbury also set up a tribal government, as stipulated in the Crow Allotment Act. The initial tribal government was known as the Crow Tribal Business Committee. The committee was comprised of representatives from the six reservation districts and headed by an elected chairman. In August 1920 the committee elected its first chairman, Ralph

Saco, but by January 1921 a dispute lead to his impeachment and replacement. Complaints of an educated minority controlling an uneducated majority were leveled against the committee. Nonetheless, the committee and its bylaws were approved by Asbury in May 1922 (National Archives 1922; Roberts 44:1983).

During the 1920s some improvements occurred on the reservation. Crow Agency, Lodge Grass, and St. Xavier became centers for the developing farm and ranch activity. Rude roads were constructed to connect these communities. Log or frame homes were being constructed on allotments to move the Crow out of tipis and wall tents. The new homes were being furnished with modern furniture and by 1930 at least one family owned a radio. Birth rates had passed death rates, but not by a substantial margin (National Archives 1928a; Petzoldt 1932:22-23).

It was during this time of social, political, and economic change that Pentecostalism was introduced. These conditions lead to a situation in which Pentecostalism could be introduced and accepted.

Exposuro and Early Development

It was in the 1920s, during the outlawing of tribal religion, forced establishment of a tribal political council, and the allotting of lands to individuals, that Pentecostalism was first introduced among the Crow. The

first Crows introduced to Pentecostalism lived in the Black Lodge District, the most northeastern of the six districts on the Crow Reservation. The first Pentecostal missionaries to the Crow was a white couple, John and Georgia Forbes. Brother John and Sister Georgia, as they were better known, would go from house to house in the Black Lodge District and preach the message of Pentecostalism. The couple were itinerant preachers for the Four Square Gospel Church of California.

Eventually the couple was able to gain the use of various homes in the Black Lodge area for house meetings. These homes generally belonged to elderly Crow warriors, such as Sees The Ground, Takes The Enemy, and Pretty Paint. A number of people began attending the regular house meetings. At these meetings Brother John would preach, having his sermons translated by Otto Bear Cloud, or Joe Stewart, two boarding school educated Crows. Otto Bear Cloud's wife was an African-American named Lizzie who had prior knowledge of Pentecostalism, this aided in the transferring of religious concepts. Also, Sister Georgia would often sing hymns to a guitar accompaniment. These meetings were often followed by a meal and they came to be regular social events in the district.

Under the confusing social, political, and religious conditions facing the Crow people of the 1920s, the Pentecostal meetings were a welcomed relief. They had been

forced onto allotments and expected to learn an alien occupation. The Pentecostal meetings were tolerated by Agent Asbury since they did not represent a native form of gathering. Therefore, the meetings provided the people of the Black Lodge District with an opportunity to leave their isolated allotments and gather without threat of harassment (National Archives 1928b).

While the Forbes' were ministering among the Crow the son of Joe Stewart died from a serious illness. Joe's wife, Nellie Pretty Eagle Stewart, was deeply effected by the death. To console her, Sister Georgia went to Nellie's home everyday. Georgia prayed for and with Nellie, and told her that if she would only believe in Christ that she would be saved not only from her present misery but all of life's ills. Nellie converted and was very active in bringing the Pentecostal message to other Black Lodge residents.

In 1923 Nellie Stewart, along with five other Crows, attended a revival held by Aimee Semple McPherson, the founder of the Four Square Gospel Church, outside of Miles City, Montana. McPherson was impressed with Nellie's devotion and asked her to come to California. The following summer, Nellie, her husband, and three other Crows, traveled to Angelus Temple in Los Angeles, California to learn directly from Aimee McPherson. After three weeks Aimee McPherson gave Nellie a white dress and baptized her in the main chapel of Angelus Temple. With this ordination,

McPherson told Nellie to return to her people and establish a church.

Nellie returned to the Crow Reservation and gathered a core group of followers in the Black Lodge District. Nellie was a mono-lingual Crow speaker, but her husband, Joe Stewart, had spent fourteen years at Carlisle and could speak and read English. Before a meeting, Nellie would have her husband translate a passage from the Bible and then she would preach about it. Nellie developed a strong following from her friends and neighbors.

Nellie blended traditional Crow beliefs and practices with her Pentecostalism. For example, she would often go to the Wolf Mountains, east of Crow Agency, to fast for visions. In her fasts she often heard songs which she would teach her followers and they would sing at meetings. These songs are still popular among Crow Pentecostals and derive from the native Crow style of music. Nellie maintained ownership of these songs much as traditional Crow religious songs were "owned"; in order for another individual to have the right to sing the song they had to have a vision including the song, and/or purchase it from Nellie, or have her give it to the person. Nellie was not the only one to dream songs and maintain ownership to them, many other members of her congregation practiced this right (Graber 1991).

Nellie claimed rights to leadership of the Pentecostal

faith. Both Nellie and her followers recognized this ceremonial right because of her ordination by McPherson. Even though both the religion and the bestowing of leadership rights had come from outside of the reservation, they had been validated by subsequent visions and dreams. Nellie had created a position of religious leadership by utilizing existing Crow concepts of leadership acquisition to validate her position. Her position as leader was re-enforced by two other attributes she possessed. First, not only was she the possessor of the knowledge of the Pentecostal faith, but she was also recognized as a great repository of traditional Crow myths and traditions. Second, she became well known for her acts of divine healing, which was often a component of the traditional Crow leadership role, as well as a strong part of the Pentecostal faith.

As Nellie's group of followers grew they attempted to save money to build a church. They called for offerings at the weekly meetings and were often able to save a fair sum of money. However, the potential building fund was often depleted by the sudden needs of a member. In 1931 a Four Square Gospel Church was established in the white community of Hardin, Montana, eleven miles north of Crow Agency. The couple that ministered to this church, Elwin and Jean Fitch were from the Sarpy country, an area east of Hardin. Elwin had been a cowhand which earned him the nickname Cowboy, and

Jean had been a teacher in the rural school at Sarpy. This couple would often attend Nellie's services and Nellie is said to have reciprocated the visits. When Nellie died in 1937, the house meetings of the Black Lodge District were continued by Cowboy and Jean Fitch.

In the Spring of 1944 Reverend Fitch contacted James Roper, the Four Square Gospel minister in Sheridan, Wyoming, to request that he meet his congregation for a Sunday while he was absent. Roper agreed, since his wife, Dorothy, was ordained and able to provide the service for the Sheridan church. When Roper arrived for the Sunday service, he was informed by a member of the congregation that they would sometimes attend house meetings on the Crow Reservation. Roper decided to go to that Sunday's scheduled house meeting at Pearl Hogan's home.

After this initial contact, Roper felt a strong desire to minister on the reservation and in 1947, when Fitch left for another appointment, he accepted the ministry of the Hardin church. As preacher at the Hardin church, Roper continued to meet the house services on the reservation, eventually planning them for every Thursday. Initially, these meetings alternated between the homes of Howell Hoops and Frank Stewart. Frank Stewart being Nellie's son and Howell Hoops being a strong supporter of the church. Later, however, the meetings were held at the homes of newly converted members of the faith. The sponsoring of meetings

became a way of publicly announcing conversion to the Pentecostal faith. In 1951, the Crow congregation was able to save up enough money to purchase Howell Hoops' abandoned log cabin in Crow Agency. In that same year, Cowboy Fitch returned to the Hardin ministry and Roper was able to focus his full attention on the Crow congregation.

By 1950 the Pentecostal faith had expanded beyond Crow Agency. Some house meetings being held in Lodge Grass, Wyola, and St. Xavier. Nonetheless, for the most part Pentecostalism was still restricted to the community of Crow Agency and the adjacent Black Lodge District. With the construction of a church in Crow Agency and the encouragement by Roper of young Crow men to attend seminary, Pentecostalism would soon have a strong foothold in other reservation communities. This would be the beginnings of independent Pentecostalism among the Crow.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CROW PENTECOSTALISM

Independent Pentecostalism: Development and Diffusion

The Depression Era posed many of the same problems for the Crow as for other communities in the United States. The existent poverty was only accentuated as white ranchers and farmers leasing Crow land lost profits and crops and were unable to pay their lease payments, what had become the main source of income for many Crows. It was also during the 1930s that many of the communities on the reservation increased in population, as Crows moved off their allotments to be closer to employment in CCC-ID and WPA projects. The living conditions in reservation communities were poor at best. The majority of the Crow lived in tents and water was hauled from nearby rivers. Adequate housing could not be provided under the existing economic conditions. For many of the Crow the works projects were their first experiences with wage labor. Wage labor introduced the Crows to the consumer economy of the wider United States. Many purchased goods they could not previously afford, in particular automobiles. The reservation economy remained infused by Federal recovery programs through World War II (Roberts 1983:44; Kiste 1962:15).

The political situation had not improved during the 1930s and 1940s. After the rejection of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the Crow Tribal Business Committee remained largely impotent to provide any real government for the Crow. In 1948 the Crow adopted a constitution which to a large degree left political decisions for the Crows in the hands of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Roberts 1983:45-46).

The 1950s proved even more catastrophic for the Crow. The Federal policy at this time called for termination of reservations and relocation of individuals to urban areas. It was during this period that the Crow were first made aware of the Federal Government's desire to build a dam on Crow land. In 1954 the issue was formally presented to the Crow Tribal Council. A debate ensued on whether to sell the land outright or to retain the land and lease it to the Federal Government if the dam had to be built. The two sides developed into political factions, the one supporting the outright sale becoming known as the River Crows and those wanting to retain ownership becoming known as the Mountain Crow. The River Crows desired the outright sale because they thought it would be quick money to pick up the post-war sagging economy. The Mountain Crows wanted to retain ownership because they saw the move as yet another land grab by the government. The Federal Government grew tired of the Crow's internal bickering and had the Bureau of

Reclamation condemn the land and force the sale on the Crow Tribe. The convictions of the two factions formed the foundation of the two political factions of the present Crow. The beliefs of the River Crow can be seen in the pro-Federal Government faction known as the Southsiders and the Mountain Crow concepts formed the basis for the self-determination, self-rule Northsiders (Kiste 1962:125; Plainfeather n.d.:4).

With the increase of populations in the towns on the reservation during the 1940s, the conversions to the Four Square Gospel Church began to increase. At first, the Crow Agency congregation met in the old log cabin of Howell Hoops', but by the end of 1951 a new frame church building was built behind the log cabin. Many members of the church helped in the construction. One of the members, Philip White Clay, a grandson of Nellie Stewart, was instrumental in engineering the pouring of the foundation and assembly of the structure.

Frank Stewart was converted to the Pentecostal faith during this time. He had suffered from a heart condition and while in the hospital he was visited by Dorothy Roper, the wife of James Roper, and Catherine Sanford, the wife of an engineer working on Yellowtail Dam. The two prayed for Frank and his weak heart was healed. After this healing, Frank became a strong believer and helped as a lay-minister in the new church. At regular services and meetings Frank

would lead hymns, translate passages from the Bible, and translate Roper's sermons. Roper soon encouraged Frank, along with Harold Carpenter, Frank LaForge, and Ben and Calvin Jefferson, to attend the Life Bible College in Los Angeles, California.

These men had been converted at a house meeting held at Howell Hoops' home. After his conversion, Harold Carpenter went to the home of his sister and brother-in-law, Martha and Allen Hunts The Arrow, in the hills outside of Lodge Grass. There he prayed and received the baptism of the Holy Spirit. After this baptism, he traveled around the reservation preaching the Pentecostal message.

In 1951 all five men attended the Life Bible College. After one semester all, except Frank LaForge, returned to the reservation and aided in the establish of a church in Lodge Grass. LaForge returned after a full year at the college and helped with the new church. The Lodge Grass church, or the Full Gospel Pentecostal Church as it came to be known, opened its doors in 1952, its minister being Harold Carpenter.

Harold Carpenter was a charismatic leader that infused the Crow Pentecostal movement with new vigor. Carpenter is credited with introducing much, if not all, of the anti-nativistic ideology which is a definitive component of Crow independent Pentecostalism. The Roper's had held a revival meeting in the Round Hall, a community building at Crow

Agency, in the summer of 1951. In 1952 Carpenter had asked to host the summer revival. That summer, and each successive summer, he held a week long revival in conjunction with the annual Crow Fair. At first the revival was held at the Round Hall, which is inside the camp grounds, but was later moved due to complaints from non-Pentecostal Crows. Today the revival is known as the Jubilee Revival and it takes place across from the entrance to the Crow Fair campgrounds during Crow Fair week. The Jubilee Revival and other camp meetings effectively spread Pentecostalism across the reservation. Young men who were converted at revivals held by Carpenter would establish churches in their home communities. Robert Nomee of Lodge Grass, Harold Stone of Wyola, and Pat Stands Over Bull of Pryor are all men converted by Harold Carpenter who have established churches in their home communities. Since Harold Carpenter's death in 1983, his son, Tommy Carpenter, has assumed the role of leader of this church.

Carpenter's evangelistic fervor helped to spread Pentecostalism not only on the Crow Reservation, but on to the Northern Cheyenne Reservation as well. One of Carpenter's converts was a half-Crow/half-Cheyenne named Sylvester Knows Gun. Knows Gun's brother, Gordon, had been healed of a serious illness by James Roper and had been preaching the message of Pentecostalism, but Sylvester had not taken it seriously. However, when he saw the change in

Harold Carpenter, an individual who had always been an adversary to Knows Gun, after his conversion and the subsequent death of his brother, Sylvester converted. Knows Gun was fluent in both the Crow and Cheyenne languages. He grew up in Busby, a small community on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. At first, Knows Gun held revivals styled after Carpenter's Jubilee Revival in dance halls in Lame Deer, Muddy Creek, and Busby, until he was able to establish a church in Lame Deer during the 1960s. Knows Gun was able to maintain a small following until his death in 1993.

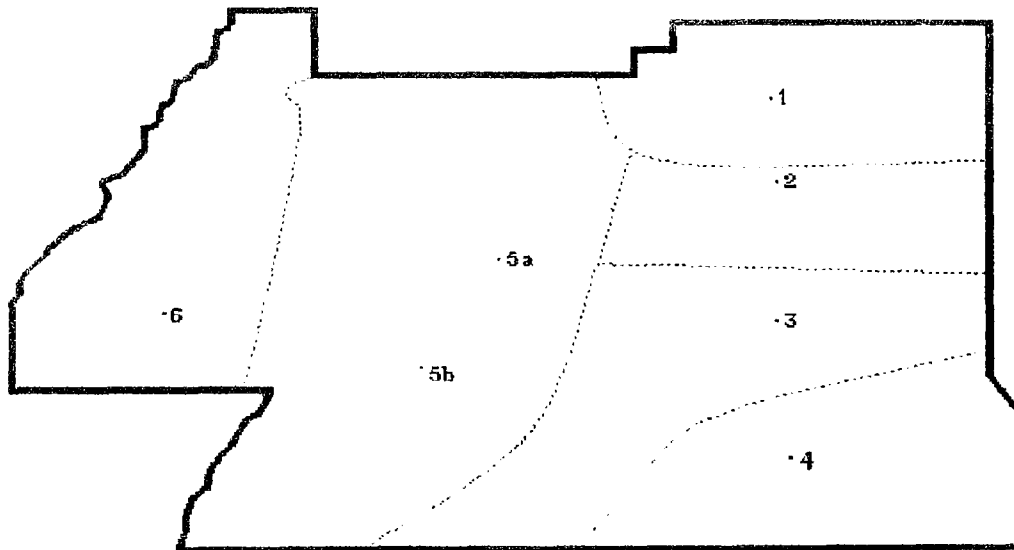
Not all of the preachers of independent churches originated with Carpenter's ministry, however. Some came directly from the teachings of Roper. The best example of this was Philip White Clay. A grandson of Nellie Stewart who had been very active in the founding of the Four Square Church in Crow Agency. In the late 1950s he established his own church north of the small community of Dunmore in the Black Lodge District. Philip is recognized as the heir of Nellie Stewart's leadership rights to the Pentecostal faith. This is due to his direct lineage to Nellie and the establishment of his church within the Black Lodge District.

Others originating directly from the teachings of Roper include younger ministers such as Larry Little Owl of Crow Agency and John Bull In Sight of Ft. Smith, the latter being the most recent church (See Figure 1). These younger ministers coming directly out of a school, the Kinsman

FIGURE 1

CROW INDIAN RESERVATION

Districts, communities, and independent Pentecostal churches



1. Black Lodge, Dunmore, Black Lodge Pentecostal Church.
2. Reno, Crow Agency, Spirit of Life Four Square Church (the original Four Square Gospel Church), Crow Revival Center Church.
3. Lodge Grass, Lodge Grass, Full Gospel Pentecostal Church, Nomee Pentecostal Church, Blackbird Pentecostal Church.
4. Wyola, Wyola, Rose of Sharon Church, Al Shadai Church.
- 5a. Big Horn, St. Xavier, St. Xavier Pentecostal Church.
- 5b. Big Horn, Ft. Smith, Bull In Sight Pentecostal Church.
6. Pryor, Pryor, Stands Over Bull Pentecostal Church Turns Plenty Pentecostal Church.

School, established by the Ropers. This school employed a curriculum developed by the Four Square Church known as the Accelerated Christian Education.

In the middle of all this expansion, the initial church at Crow Agency was also going through changes. In the 1960s the State of Montana wanted to construct a highway through Crow Agency and the Four Square church building was in the right of way. After negotiations the land was sold to the State and the building was moved to its present site in Crow Agency. This building was converted into a parsonage and a new building was built in Crow Agency for church services. This building, now known as the Little Red Church, was built by funds raised by the congregation, mainly through lunch socials.

In 1979 Reverend Roper retired from the Crow Agency church and was replaced by an interim minister named Lynn Kerns. Kerns raised funds and built a new church in Crow Agency, across the street from the Little Red Church. When Kerns left in 1981, the leadership of this church was taken up by Kenneth Pretty On Top, a great grandson of Nellie Stewart.

The ministers of the independent Pentecostal faith, beginning with Harold Carpenter, have little or no seminary training. This, however, is not divergent from standard Pentecostalism. In fact it is commonly believed by Pentecostals that the minister will learn from the Holy

Ghost and does not need other teachers. These ministers have combined the Pentecostal message with Carpenter's anti-nativistic ideology and have created a new distinct Pentecostal ideology.

Contrary to mainstream Pentecostalism, however, Crow Pentecostals have been involved in reservation politics. Early Crow Pentecostals believed in noninvolvement in politics, like their non-Crow brethren. However, in 1968, Edison Real Bird, a Northsider, sought Pentecostal votes to insure his election as chairman. Edison recognized the Pentecostals as a large, untapped voting block. As an incumbent seeking a second term he knew he needed a new set of voters, since unfulfilled promises to the previous supporters would leave his faction in the minority. Edison sought to bring in Pentecostal votes by having Philip White Clay, run as his Secretary. The plan worked as Edison's party won not only that election, 1968, but the following one as well, 1970, with the aid of Pentecostal voters.

The outcome of these two elections made the Pentecostals aware of their political capabilities. Joining the ranks of the pro-Federal Government Southsider faction, the Pentecostals have shown their political importance. Since the Edison Real Bird administration, the Pentecostals have voted in fellow Pentecostals for the next four successive administrations.

The new found political strength of the Pentecostals

was challenged in 1986 when a Northsider administration was voted in and was able to hold two terms. In the second term, however, this administration left office under Federal indictments. The succeeding administration was a Pentecostal administration. As the Pentecostals have increased their political power, conversions and schisms have increased. By the 1970s the Pentecostals had gained control of the Southsider party, and at the same time the faith spread to every reservation community.

Control of tribal politics has had significant economic repercussions. The Crow tribe has a high unemployment rate, reaching as high as 80% during the winter months. Summer months provide the best employment with the availability of seasonal ranch, farm, and fire fighting jobs. Approximately 65% of the Crow tribal members derive their income from a combination of lease payments, welfare, and per capita payments. The greatest opportunity for a non-labor intensive job on the reservation is with the Tribal Council. Most, if not all, jobs with the Tribal Council are political paybacks for support during elections. Therefore, it is important to be on the winning side to gain a Tribal Council appointment (Voget 1980:170-171; Lopach, et al. 1990:64-67).

Pentecostalism, therefore, has influenced and even become dominant in numerous aspects of Crow Reservation life. This includes the realms of religion, social interaction, and political/economic control. The next

section will look at the ideology of the independent Pentecostal sects of the Crow Reservation.

Ideology of Independent Pentecostalism

Since its introduction Crow Pentecostalism has incorporated native Crow beliefs. This relationship, however, has fluctuated between mildly antagonistic to outright contempt. Pentecostals, feel the world is filled with spiritual power. Pentecostalism, however, diverges from traditional Crow beliefs by setting up a dualistic universe. To Pentecostals the universe is divided into two mutually incompatible, and even hostile, spheres generally termed good and bad, or holy and evil. The two are in a constant struggle for the control of men's souls, a struggle which will only cease with the second coming of Christ (See Figure 2).

Heading the "good" side is the Trinity: Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The concept of a Christian god, Akbaatatdía, remains largely unaltered by the Pentecostals, however His role in Pentecostal worship is minor. (1) The Son, Jesus, referred to generally as Akbaatatdía Dáakbachee, God's Son, or sometimes Ischawúuannakkaasua, One who they nailed in the palms, is important as the savior, comforter, and protector of man. The concept of the Holy Spirit, Baleiláaxpaaxpe, is where Pentecostals differ from the other Christian faiths. The Holy Ghost, as representor of Christ

FIGURE 2

Schematic presentation of independent Pentecostal ideology

Good	Evil
Tawéek Hot	Chiliak Cold
Akbaatatdía /He who made everything/ Father	Isáahke /Old Man/ Devil
Akbaatatdía Dáakbachee /God's Son/ Jesus	Baleiláaxxawiia /Bad spirits/ Demons
Baleiláaxpaaxpe /Holy Spirit/ Holy Ghost	
Bilaxpáakiaxpawishe /Winged Person/ Angel	
Baaxpée /Sacred Power/ Power of the Holy Ghost	Baaxpée /Sacred Power/ magic, trickery
Gifts of the Holy Ghost speaking in tongues interpretation of tongues prophecy discernment of Spirits word of knowledge word of wisdom faith miracles healing	Dúshkuuo Evil Possession Xapáaliikxawia /bad sacred power/ Witchcraft

on earth is the entity the Pentecostals seek in their worship.

Pentecostals believe that they must become sanctified to receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Sanctification is achieved by accepting Christ as the one and only savior, to be "born-again" or "saved", and then changing former values which deviate from values acceptable to Pentecostals.

When one is baptized in the Holy Spirit, he is "spirit filled", or "hot", tawéek, in his beliefs. A Pentecostal who is struggling, "fighting", with his belief and salvation is "cold", chiliak, in the Spirit. When speaking of the power of the Holy Ghost, Pentecostals use the term baaxpée. To be hot in the Spirit is to manifest at least one of the nine gifts of the Holy Ghost. The first gift most commonly acquired is the ability to speak in tongues. In fact, speaking in tongues is seen as evidence of an individual's baptism in the Holy Spirit, some Crow Pentecostals believe that they are not truly saved until they speak in tongues. Associated with speaking in tongues are two of the other nine gifts, interpretation of tongues and prophecy. The interpretation of tongues is the ability of an individual to interpret what another individual is saying when speaking in tongues. Prophecy is usually attained through interpretation of tongues or through a vision of Angels or Christ.

Important to validating prophecy through visions is the

ability of one of the other gifts, discernment of spirits. Since Satan seeks out the saved, any visualization must be interpreted by this gift to make certain that it is not an attempt by the Devil to lead the individual astray. Angels may appear in stereotypical form, white flowing gowns and wings, however this dress does not certify the intent or origins of the spirit. As a rule of thumb, Crow Pentecostals say that good spirits have no racial qualities and bad spirits have definite racial qualities. How racial ambiguity is achieved has remained unexplained however, this belief assaults native Crow religion since tutelary spirits often appear in the form of "old-time" Crows.

Accompanying discernment of spirits are two other gifts, the word of knowledge and the word of wisdom. The gift of knowledge is usually a revelation. That is, knowledge which is suddenly realized by an individual. This knowledge is not attained through normal means and is believed to be a part of God's infinite knowledge. This gift provides answers to questions which cannot be answered through common knowledge. The word of wisdom is also a revelation but is usually acquired through a vision, or through the reading of the Bible. Crow Pentecostals often remark on how, when struggling with a problem and upon opening their Bibles, the first passage they read applies to their dilemma.

The last three gifts are faith, miracles, and healing.

The gift of faith provides the individual with a sense of confidence or security in situations where a non-believer would see no solution. The gift of miracles are events which seem to contradict the natural manner in which things occur. The most common example given as an instance of this gift is when an individual has survived a car accident without any physical injury or property damage in what appeared to be a potentially serious accident.

The last of these gifts and one of the most important to Crow Pentecostals is the gift of healing. The ministers anoint the foreheads of the ill with olive oil to induce healing. This behavior is how Pentecostals received their Crow name, Akbaatasshée, Those Who Oil Things or, simply, the Oilers. In almost every Pentecostal meeting there is an altar call at which time members will approach the altar and ask the minister or church elder to cure them of psychological and/or physical ailments. Ministers and church elders listen to each person's request and then anoint them with oil and place a hand on the member's forehead to bring about a cure. Cures are sought for everything from "backsliding" in one's faith to broken bones and diabetes.

Along with visions associated with the various gifts, prophecy, knowledge, discernment of spirits, etc., there are visions which are believed to be simple gifts from Christ to bring comfort and joy to the visionary. For example, one

individual described a vision she had of a beautiful white horse. In the vision she approached the horse and stroked its neck. This brought her great joy.

Opposing Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost are a number of individuals and concepts. The main character on this side is the Devil. He is often called Old Man in English and Isáahke in Crow. This is a direct reference to the Crow culture hero, Old Man Coyote. Pentecostals have correlated the lecherous, wanton behavior of Old Man Coyote to the evil desires of the Devil. Women are harangued to watch out for the Old Man and are reprimanded that they can never be hot in the Spirit if one piece of the Old Man is left in their hearts. This equating of Old Man Coyote to the Devil completely changes his traditional role of one who helps the Creator to one who is his adversary.

The Devil is not omnipotent, as is the Trinity, so he must rely on demons, baleiláaxxawia: bad spirits, to do his work. Old Man and his helpers also have baaxpée, which in this context is translated as magic or trickery. The use of medicine bundles by nativists and the use of peyote by Native American Church members is viewed as this form of baaxpée. Traditional use of baaxpée in hand games, curing, and love, is perceived as witchcraft, xapáaliikxawia. Due to this belief, the winter hand games, a socio-religious activity that once helped to unify the Crow is now being seriously affected by Pentecostal activities. The use of

gambling medicine is apparent at any hand game and this is viewed as witchcraft by the Pentecostals. Conversions to Pentecostalism have been so great in the past few years that in the winter of 1939 one reservation district was unable to organize a hand game team. With much embarrassment, they had to rely on players from other districts in order to compete.

Also, it is believed that Old Man "goes after" the saved. That is, the Devil seeks out Pentecostals in hopes of stealing them away from Christ. If he succeeds it is believed that the possession is stronger than for a non-believer, since Satan fills the void left from the Holy Spirit. One individual believed to be suffering from this form of possession is a Pentecostal minister's wife. She utilizes the power given to her by Satan to control members of her husband's congregation. This type of power is termed *dúshkuuo*, or evil possession.

Now Pentecostals believe the evil action and behavior by man is seen as the effects of demons controlling or possessing the individual. Antisocial behavior, such as robbery, rape, and murder, is seen by Pentecostals as the action of demons on man. A rash of robberies in one reservation community during the winter of 1990 was explained as the result of the exorcisms of evil demons from a community just north of the afflicted community. Pentecostals believe that they cannot kill demons, however,

they can force demons to leave people or places. When this is done, the demons are believed to move on to the next suitable victim or place.

Two other concepts important in the philosophy of Crow Pentecostalism is the eternal life of the human soul and the coming of the millennium. The great fear of death and the desire to secure a place for an individual's soul in Heaven is almost a complete reversal of native Crow thought. To Crow Pentecostals, however, the destiny of the soul after death is paramount and the knowledge that the "saved" will live eternally with Christ is seen as the greatest gift available to man.

The Last Day, *baapiháake*, or the conversion of the earth to a place on which only the saved live, all evil being destroyed, is believed to be fast approaching by Crow Pentecostals. Many, if not all, believe it will occur by the year 2000. One Crow minister pointed out that Christ said he would return to earth in two years and then went on to explain that a year to Christ is a thousand years to man. As with other Pentecostals, some Crow believe in a rapture as a component of the End Times, while others reject such a notion.

Included in the ideology of independent Pentecostalism are beliefs that are overtly antagonistic to native social and economic practices. Traditional kin obligations have been down played by some Pentecostals and totally dismissed

by others. A few Pentecostals still participate in powwows and give-aways, and produce traditional crafts, but strict Pentecostals object to these activities. Pentecostals, therefore, have removed themselves from and have negated the native social and economic system.

To many leaders and members of the independent Pentecostal sects, conversion to Pentecostalism is perceived as a natural progression in the evolution of Crow religion. Native beliefs are thought of as having been important and functional during the "buffalo days". However, once becoming aware of Christ and the message of Pentecostalism it was recognized as the belief system appropriate for the contemporary world.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER FIVE

1. Historic and contemporary nativist Crow recognize an omnipotent creator who they call Iichihkbaalia, Creator of All Things, more commonly translated as First Maker or First Worker. Iichihkbaalia is perceived as an impersonal supreme being who created the universe and endowed it with His power which is termed baaxpée. Baaxpée is most often translated as medicine, but is better understood as supernatural power or something which is holy (Curtis 1976:52).

The activity of Christian missionaries on the Crow Reservation at the turn of the century led the Crow to create two terms to identify or describe the Christian concept of God. The two terms being, Akbaatatdía, The One Who Does Everything, and Báakkaaawaaishtashiile, White Man Above (Lowie 1922b:315; Wildschut 1975:1).

The term Akbaatatdía implies the Christian idea of a higher being involved in the daily affairs of humans. This term has been further "Christianized" by adding the Crow suffix for endearing, -káate, to this term, Akbaatatdiakaate, The Loving One Who Does Everything, or simply, Dear Creator (Graber 1991:10; Lowie 1922b:315; Wildschut 1975:1).

The second term, Báakkaaawaaishtashiile, White Man Above, clearly shows the Crow's attempt at understanding the missionaries' teachings. That concept being that God was a single entity, a white man, that lived up in the heavens. Both ideas are contrary to the native concept of an impersonal, all present creator (Wildschut 1975:1).

CHAPTER SIX
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Discussion

This study has focused on the development and diffusion of independent Pentecostalism among the Crow Indians. The exposure, acceptance, and diffusion of Pentecostalism was directly related to the pre-existing social formations and the varying political, social, and economic conditions present on the Crow Reservation from the 1920s to the 1990s. The economic and political changes were brought on by fluctuating Federal policy. These changes lead to the restructuring of social relationships, resulting in factioning in Crow society. The factionalism has, in part, been played out in the dynamics of independent Pentecostalism.

The historical development of independent Pentecostalism can be divided into three phases (See Figure 3). Phase I, 1923-1937, the initial exposure and acceptance of Pentecostalism can be linked to the political and economic changes present on the Crow Reservation at this time. During the 1920s the Crow were faced with drastically changing social, political, and economic conditions. The political change was brought on by Federal Indian policy, specifically, the Crow Act of 1920.

FIGURE 3

**Schematic model for the historical
development of independent Pentecostalism**

Phases, Pentecostal leaders, and their districts

PHASE I - 1923-1937: Initial Exposure and Acceptance

John and Georgia Forbes
Nellie Stewart (Black Lodge)

PHASE II - 1938-1969: Development and Diffusion

Elwin Fitch
James Roper
Harold Carpenter (Lodge Grass)
Philip White Clay (Black Lodge)

**PHASE III - 1970-1992: "Nodal Point"
Schisms and Political Involvement**

Vernon White Clay III (Black Lodge)
Larry Little Owl (Reno)
Wayne Not Afraid (Reno)
Ken Pretty On Top (Reno)
Tommy Carpenter (Lodge Grass)
Robert Nomee (Lodge Grass)
Sammy Blackbird (Lodge Grass)
Harold Stone (Wyola)
Myron Falls Down (Wyola)
John Bull In Sight (Big Horn)
Pat Stands Over Bull (Pryor)
David Turns Plenty (Pryor)

This act provided that the Crow establish a political council with which the Indian Office could deal with directly. This council, made up primarily of educated young mixed bloods, effectively nullified the traditional Crow pattern of political leadership, of middle aged to elderly men who had proven themselves in battle.

This act also instigated social change. It divided the Crow Reservation into separate allotments on which single nuclear families would reside. This action dispersed the Crow population from large camps dotting the reservation into small family groups scattered across the reservation. Coexistent policy also prohibited public religious and social gatherings. These combined policies effectively separated the once communal Crow into isolated family groups.

The Crow Act also introduced the Crow to a new economic system. Previously they had based their economy on a combination of the products of the hunt, the buffalo in particular, and the products of the raid, the horse. After the demise of the buffalo, the horse had taken on prime importance in maintaining the traditional economic system. That system being to "purchase" what was needed to gain social status from clan uncles and "medicine" fathers. This modified economic system was facilitated by an explosion of the Crow horse population.

The Crow Act changed the economic system in two ways.

First, it was stipulated in the act that the Crow would be taught to farm on the allotments provided to them. Second, it offered an option to lease land to white farmers and ranchers. The latter component of this act led to a successive policy which further altered the Crow economy. Once whites started utilizing Crow lands they complained about the everpresent Crow horses. In response, the agent of the reservation had all "useless" horses killed. This effectively suppressed the modified traditional economic system.

During this social, political, and economic disruption Nellie Stewart was able to gain leadership control of the Pentecostal faith, to which the Black Lodge District Crow had recently been exposed. She gained and maintained leadership of the Pentecostal faith through the recognized Crow pattern. She received the "right" to lead this faith directly from the founder of the Four Square Gospel Church, Aimee McPherson. Through dreams, the ownership of dream-songs, and acts of divine healing, Nellie was able to validate her leadership role. Simply stated, through the pre-existing social structure an outside element was introduced and developed.

The social, political, and economic conditions present on the reservation were exactly what aided in the initial acceptance of Pentecostalism. The demoralizing effects of the destruction of Crow horse herds, the dispersing of the

Crow people onto allotments, and the banning of social or religious gatherings made the Pentecostal house meetings a welcome relief. They were not only tolerated by the Agent but, more importantly, allowed. The meetings became regular social events in the Black Lodge District. After the meetings a feast would be served at which time all the participants could socialize.

Also, the banning of religious practices and the implementation of an all male political body left no options open for female leadership. Through the Pentecostal faith, Nellie Stewart was able to construct a leadership role based on Crow concepts of the acquisition and execution of female leadership. Phase I essentially ended with the death of Nellie Stewart in 1937.

Phase II, 1938-1969, the development and diffusion of independent Pentecostalism began with the involvement of the Four Square Church of Hardin, Montana with Nellie's group. Through the initial activities of the white preacher Elwin Fitch and his successor James Roper, Pentecostal white preachers were able to gain leadership of the Black Lodge congregation.

The activities of James Roper, unintentionally and intentionally, began the process of diffusion. First, by usurping the leadership line of the Black Lodge congregation he splintered off the heir apparent, Philip White Clay, who built his own church at Dunmore. Second, in the 1950s,

Roper sent young Crow converts to the Four Square seminary in California. Upon their return they were able to establish their own church in Lodge Grass. It was one of these young men, Harold Carpenter, who developed the ideology now recognized as independent Pentecostalism and effectively spread this new faith across the reservation.

From the 1940s to the 1950s the Crow faced new social, political, and economic changes. They had accepted a new constitution which established a new form of tribal council. Economic changes came via the relief programs of the post-Depression era. These programs introduced the Crow to the larger American economy of wage labor and consumerism. Crow families left their allotments and moved into the growing communities on the reservation. This was done to be closer to potential work opportunities. The economy of the previous era, farming, had utterly failed for the Crow people. The congregating of people into the reservation communities lead to a growth in the membership of the three Pentecostal churches.

Harold Carpenter was able to spread independent Pentecostalism to other reservation communities through his tent revivals held during the summer. Converts from these gatherings would later establish churches in their home communities. Another significant factor in the diffusion of independent Pentecostalism came near the end of Phase II. In 1968 the Crow Pentecostals were drawn into tribal

politics. The Edison Real Bird administration introduced the previously non-political Pentecostals to the benefits of tribal office by having Philip White Clay, the heir apparent to Nellie Stewart's leadership role, run as Secretary of the Tribal Council.

The Crow Pentecostals had been non-political because of the prevalent Pentecostal belief that they should not be concerned with worldly things, especially politics. However, once drawn into tribal politics, by the running of Philip White Clay for office, the Crow Pentecostals came to recognize their political power. And, as has been shown, tribal political appointments are the most readily available form of economic opportunity to Crow people. Political appointments often are rewards for political support.

The involvement of Pentecostals in tribal politics came to full fruition during Phase III, 1970-1992. During this phase the Pentecostals dominated tribal politics through the Southsider political faction. And, it is in this time period that conversions and schisms in the independent Pentecostal faith increased to the point that by 1992 there existed at least one independent Pentecostal church in every reservation community.

The independent Pentecostal movement has effected the social structure of the Crow people as well. Pentecostals no longer participate in the redistribution of wealth to secure social status. Clan relations are played down or

totally ignored. Therefore, clan uncles and aunts are not recognized as the holders and distributors of status. Instead, Pentecostal ministers and their followers, as elected and appointed tribal officials, control the distribution of economic resources.

Conclusion

By applying a historical materialist approach to this situation an analysis of the incremental process of social change and the construction of an explanatory model for the historical development of independent Pentecostalism can be produced. A dialectical model of social change is based on the idea that external factors provide the conditions of change and the internal factors the basis of change (Swan 1990:498).

In terms of independent Pentecostalism, the external ideology of the Four Square Gospel Church was accepted and developed through the internal elements of Crow religious leadership and native ideology. Eventually, independent Pentecostal ideology was developed from the interaction of these factors.

The acceptance and spread of Pentecostalism has been shown as the result of the development of independent Pentecostal ideology. This ideology, though a mixture of Crow beliefs and fundamentalist Christian beliefs, is really neither. It is not an accommodation or integration of both

or either. Further, this ideology negates the native form of superstructure to bring about a resolution to the internal contradictions between the pre-existing social structure and the prevailing economic system.

The appearance of a new form and the negation of the previous form is considered dialectical synthesis. Dialectical synthesis can be seen as the "leap" from quantitative change to qualitative change. Or, in other words, the actualization of the "nodal point" (Klein 1977:73-74).

In the case of Crow Pentecostalism the quantitative change can be viewed as the gradual, incremental development of the ideology which attempted to reconcile the contradictions between the prevailing economic system and the superstructure of Crow society. When this historical process achieved a nodal point, perceived as the sudden widespread Pentecostal conversions and political domination of the 1970s to the 1990s, a qualitative change had occurred. The new form, independent Pentecostalism, negated the previous form, Crow tribal religion, and consequently reconciled the contradictions between the socio-political superstructure and the prevailing economic system.

Independent Pentecostalism can therefore be seen as a transformative social movement. Perceiving independent Crow Pentecostalism in this way does not imbue it with positive or negative qualities, it is simply a manner in which to

view the historical process of social change. Finally, independent Crow Pentecostalism should be regarded as only one epoch in the continuing evolution of Crow culture.

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