

University of Montana

ScholarWorks at University of Montana

Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, &
Professional Papers

Graduate School

1997

Northern Cheyenne, missionaries, and resistance on the Tongue River Reservation, 1884 through 1934

Nancy L. Pahr
The University of Montana

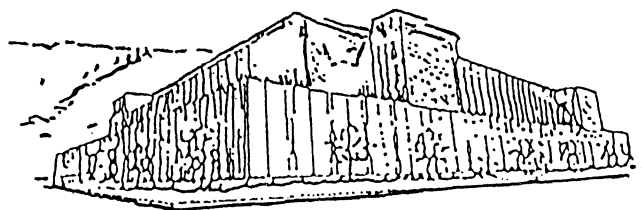
Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd>

Let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation

Pahr, Nancy L., "Northern Cheyenne, missionaries, and resistance on the Tongue River Reservation, 1884 through 1934" (1997). *Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers*. 3100.
<https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/3100>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at ScholarWorks at University of Montana. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at University of Montana. For more information, please contact scholarworks@mso.umt.edu.



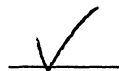
Maureen and Mike
MANSFIELD LIBRARY

The University of **MONTANA**

Permission is granted by the author to reproduce this material in its entirety,
provided that this material is used for scholarly purposes and is properly cited in
published works and reports.

*** Please check "Yes" or "No" and provide signature ***

Yes, I grant permission



No, I do not grant permission



Author's Signature Nancy Palou

Date 14 April 1997

Any copying for commercial purposes or financial gain may be undertaken only with
the author's explicit consent.

THE NORTHERN CHEYENNE, MISSIONARIES, AND
RESISTANCE ON THE TONGUE RIVER RESERVATION
1884 THROUGH 1934

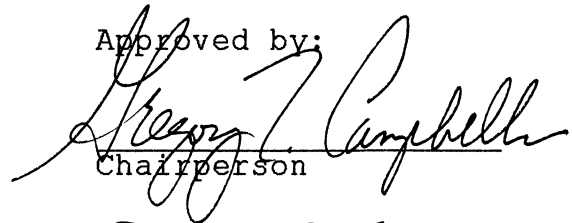
By
Nancy L. Pahr

Associates Applied Sciences
Thornton Community College
South Holland, Illinois
1984

Bachelor of Arts
University of Montana
Missoula, Montana
1987

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
University of Montana in
fulfillment of the requirement
for the Degree of Master of Arts
1997

Approved by:


Chairperson


Dean, Graduate School

4-17-97

Date

UMI Number: EP36403

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI EP36403

Published by ProQuest LLC (2012). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.


All rights reserved. This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

Pahr, Nancy L., M.A. March 1997
Anthropology

The Northern Cheyenne, Missionaries, and Resistance
on the Tongue River Reservation 1884 Through 1934

Director: Dr. Gregory Campbell 

Contribution to social anthropology concerning the mission enterprise of Roman Catholics and Mennonites among the Northern Cheyenne of southeastern Montana.

This study spans a fifty year period from the creation of the reservation by Executive Order on 16 November 1884 to prior to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. This discussion of the Roman Catholic and Mennonite missions contends that during the first fifty years of missionary activity on the Tongue River reservation, the missionaries attempted to alter and transform Northern Cheyenne cultural traits, specifically their religious traditions. This forced acculturation promoted and followed government policy and the policy of the Indian reform movement of the nineteenth century. In response to these efforts, the Northern Cheyenne became aggressive in resisting the missionaries' respective messages of Christianity.

The missionaries would assist in creating different sociological categories of Northern Cheyenne individuals in regards to their religious affiliations. These sociological groupings were the result of forced assimilation and signify Northern Cheyenne adjustment to rapid cultural change due to government Indian policy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I INTRODUCTION NATIVE AMERICANS AND MISSIONS.....	1
II A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE NORTHERN CHEYENNE..	12
III CHEYENNE COSMOLOGY AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES.....	38
IV UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT INDIAN POLICY ON THE TONGUE RIVER RESERVATION.....	72
V THE MISSION EFFORT ON THE TONGUE RIVER RESERVATION.....	123
VI CONCLUSION.....	152
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	165

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
Figure 1 The Northern Cheyenne Reservation in Southeastern Montana.....	32
Figure 2 <u>Hestanov</u> , The Cheyenne Universe	42

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION
NATIVE AMERICANS AND MISSIONS

The intrusion of Euroamerican culture would have a profound effect on Northern Cheyenne religion. This was especially true after the Northern Cheyenne were defeated militarily by the United States. Their reservation on Tongue River was granted to them by Executive Order on 16 November 1884. On the reservation, missionaries were in the vanguard of promoting and bringing forced cultural changes, specifically religious changes to the Cheyenne. The Roman Catholics, and later the Mennonites, would send missionaries among them. These prominent denominations were dedicated to assimilating the Cheyenne. The interaction between the Northern Cheyenne and these religious representatives created cultural conflict, resistance, and changes during their first fifty years on the Tongue River reservation.

Historically, missionaries were central figures in the cultural contact between Native American populations and Euroamericans. Native American history, from initial European contact to the present, includes the efforts of Christian missions. Within the missions, Native Americans and the missionaries confronted one another in ways which were different in other spheres of culture contact. Missionaries required Indians to forsake their native religions and

cultural traits to adopt those of the Europeans. The missionary required a cultural revolution for the Indian. It was their wish that their labors would bring about this transformation. The history of Indian missions could be interpreted as one of struggle. This study of the Roman Catholic and Mennonite missions contends that during the first fifty years of missionary activity on the Tongue River reservation, the missionaries attempted to alter and transform Northern Cheyenne culture. While the Roman Catholics seemed satisfied with a modicum of change, the Mennonites aggressively promoted a message which demanded the total rejection of traditional Northern Cheyenne religion. This stance, promoted and followed the government policy of the nineteenth century Indian Reform movement. That is, the forced acculturation of all Native American populations into mainstream America. In response, the Northern Cheyenne resisted the missionaries' messages of faith and salvation. The mission enterprise among the Northern Cheyenne resulted in conflict which hindered the ability of these denominations to convey Christ's message of love. The missionaries failed to communicate the spirit of benevolence. My thesis regarding the missionary efforts among the Northern Cheyenne of Montana, is concerned with the Northern Cheyenne response to Christian missions, as well as the relationship between missions and the government.

This discussion traces the history of the Roman Catholic

and Mennonite missionary efforts towards their attempts to Christianize and civilize the Northern Cheyenne and assesses them. It will assess the traditional religious beliefs of the Northern Cheyenne. To what extent did the Northern Cheyenne accept the Mennonite and Roman Catholic messages of faith and to what extent did they resist them? If the Northern Cheyenne did resist the missionaries' efforts, what was their response to those efforts? ~~To what extent~~ were the Roman Catholics and Mennonites intent upon total assimilation?

The Roman Catholic and Mennonite missions to the Northern Cheyenne will be evaluated within the large context of United States Indian policy. The Northern Cheyenne, Roman Catholics, and the Mennonites all had to adapt to changing policies and conditions.

INDIAN MISSION HISTORY

There is a particular historical image of the mission endeavor. Because missionaries were generally dedicated in their pursuit of Indian souls, their interpretation of the mission effort dominated our understanding of the mission. Consumed by zeal, missionaries struggled to bring Christian salvation and the benefits of civilization to "heathens." This ethnocentric view pervaded Indian mission writing into the 1900's. However, mission workers were more than evangelical soul redeemers. Missionaries were dynamic agents

for social change. They were dedicated to the goal of transforming all Native Americans into purified "red" Americans. The Indians they sought to transform were more than passive souls yearning for cultural and spiritual salvation. They were complex, and responded to the missionary endeavor in a variety of ways. However, this complexity and variety was not recognized in the early mission writings. Traditional mission history ignored Native American responses.

Within the last few decades, significant changes in the study of Indian missions has occurred. Through the application of revised anthropological techniques, missions are being viewed as crucial realms for culture contact and change. Anthropologists, look beyond missionary discourse to examine the way missions actually functioned. These newer studies on Indian missions focus on the cultural interaction which took place. This approach offers a subtler and more accurate historical understanding of both Indian-White relations and Indian tribal history (Ronda and Axtell 1978:3). It also offers an awareness of Indian religions, as well as the cultural and personal subtleties of Indian mission activity.

This new perspective on mission history has relinquished new insights. On the basis of culture-contact studies by anthropologists of the 1930's and 1940's, the missionary could be discerned as a cultural extremist, leaning toward a radical metamorphosis of Native American life. This change in mission

history grew out of anthropological fieldwork which brought culture contact into the forefront. It produced a means to dispel the old mission history perspective of civilization versus savagery. This is evident in the works by R. Pierce Beaver, Church, State, and the American Indian: Two and a Half Centuries of Partnership in Missions between Protestant Churches and Government (1966), and Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900 (1976). These authors illustrate the mission as a dominant force for change. Their work explains the relationship between programs promoted by missionaries and the government intent on fulfilling the tenet of manifest destiny. Likewise, Robert Winston Mardock's publication, The Reformers and the American Indian (1971), emphasizes the influence Christian reformers had on legislation, which ultimately defined Indian policy, and demonstrates that the reformers were quite effective in the formulation of public policy.

The Indian response to missionization would also receive more attention, and their actions towards these mission endeavors would be taken into consideration. The publication of Robert F. Berkhofer's Salvation and the Savage: An analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1781-1862 (1965), was the beginning of an attempt to evaluate Indians as active participants in the mission encounter. This perspective would offer a more multicultural view of the

mission in action. This new perspective recognizes Native Americans and Euroamericans as equals in a cultural conflict (Berkhofer 1965:357). The revised alternative approach to mission history views reservations as crucibles of cultural contact, conflict, and change. Even though Native American cultures were altered by the missionaries, they resisted complete cultural transformation. Likewise, Henry Warner Bowden's American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict (1981), focuses on the lack of a concerted Indian response to the missionary. He uses the conflict between Indians and the missionaries as a catalyst which accelerated the social processes inherent in both cultures.

One anthropological study which addresses the complex cultural interaction of the missionary enterprise is Kenelm Burridge's Encountering Aborigines (1974). Burridge attempts to produce an interpretive framework intending to support an understanding of the dynamics of the encounter between indigenous populations and Europeans in colonial situations in Australia. He describes what he refers to as the European cultural "signature," which emerged out of "a culturally determined appetite for learning about, and absorbing, other cultures and civilizations" (Burridge 1974:8). Burridge concludes that missionaries are an important part in the process of absorption and expansion.

Since its inception, the mission enterprise proclaimed one goal: to save the souls of Indians from eternal damnation.

Nevertheless, the mere conversion of the soul was insufficient. Conquest had to be complete. A change in all aspects of appearance and conduct were also required. Native Americans could not be Christian until they had forsaken native habits and accepted "civilized" mores. Transformation meant both the acquisition of the Indian soul and the conquest of the Indian body. These distinct but interrelated goals were operative in all missions. "Civilization and salvation" was the doctrine of the missionary endeavor. It was actually a euphemism for cultural invasion and cultural change.

Robert Berkhofer describes this formula. "Most other Americans wanted only minor changes in Indian customs, but the missionaries sought nothing less than a revolution in social relations and basic values" (1965:106). Radical social change was an essential goal and is evident in the writings of many prominent mission workers. S.J. L.B. Palladino in Indian and White in the Northwest: A History of Catholicity in Montana 1831 to 1891 (1922), emphasizes the goals of Catholic missionaries among the Native American populations in Montana, including the Northern Cheyenne. Sister Carlan Kramer discusses one hundred years of the Roman Catholic presence on the Tongue River reservation in, A Portrait of St. Labre Indian Mission Through One Hundred Years, 1884-1984 (1984).

The Reverend Rodolphe Petter recounted the aspirations of the Mennonite missions to the Cheyenne in "Some Reminiscences of Past Years in my Mission Service Among the Cheyenne," The

Mennonite (1936:1-22). Another denominational history of Mennonite involvement with the Northern Cheyenne is Lois Habegger's Cheyenne Trails: A History of Mennonite and Cheyenne in Montana (1959). These accounts do provide some valuable information concerning the mission endeavor among the Cheyenne. However, their one-sided approach, written from the missionaries' perspective, neglect the discussion of cultural conflict and change.

The nineteenth century missionaries to the Northern Cheyenne, the Roman Catholics and the Mennonites were products of a nationalistic culture. They defined civilization as a blend of individualism, capitalism, routine labor, and sedentary agriculture. Indians would be required to relinquish their traditional cultures, and embrace these "civilized" attributes.

"Missionaries showed little regard for Indian cultures while advancing the cultural values and, often, the political goals of the conquerors" (Salisbury 1974:3(31):28). In some instances, missionaries strove to undermine tribal leadership by splitting Indians into Christian and traditionalist factions. This example of missionary interest merging with those of the state are based upon the conviction that Native Americans could not take on the import of Christian faith until they had accepted the forms of American civilization.

The missionary experience sought to develop environments which would advance their goals. These locales would sever

Native Americans from their tribal values. These environments would redirect their intellect along Euroamerican paths. The Indian would be remade into the "civilized" image. In this manner, missionaries could have more control over Indian people.

While the actions and ideas of the missionaries are important, so are the actions of the Indians. Native American populations exhibited an array of responses to the mission endeavor. The missionary message of Christ's love and salvation was embraced by some Indians, while others were critical of this foreign doctrine. Other Native Americans incorporated Christian elements into their lives, while others participated in revitalization movements, such as the Ghost Dance and Native American Church.

To summarize, the new ideology of Indian missions views the conflict between Indians and missionaries as a catalyst which accelerated the social processes inherent in both cultures. Native American responses to the missionaries were not uniform because Native American populations represented unique and dynamic cultural entities. Each cultural encounter was a result of the diverse cultural backgrounds of both the missionaries and the Indians they ministered to. Missionaries should be measured according to their success or failure in persuading Indian populations to accept their messages of faith and culture. Likewise, Native American populations should also be evaluated as to how well they minimized the

influences of the missionary and retained their cultural independence (Axtell 1988:50-51). This discussion of Roman Catholic and Mennonite missionary efforts among the Northern Cheyenne examines how the Cheyenne minimized the mission endeavor, to preserve their cultural independence.

During the first fifty years of missionary work, from 1884 when the reservation was established by Executive Order to 1934, prior to the Indian Reorganization Act, the Roman Catholic and Mennonite missionaries attempted to revolutionize Northern Cheyenne culture. These two religious denominations aggressively promoted a message that necessitated the rejection of traditional Northern Cheyenne ceremonies and rituals. They promoted United States government policy; the forced acculturation of the Cheyenne.

Many Northern Cheyenne responded by opposing the missionaries respective messages of faith. This created periods of intense conflict which further complicated the missionaries endeavors to convey Christ's message of love. In this respect, the Mennonite and Roman Catholic missionaries partially failed to communicate the spirit and benevolence central to their respective faiths. This time period brought about a drastic transformation of Northern Cheyenne life with a trend toward their eventual absorption into the dominant Euroamerican society.

For Mennonites and Roman Catholics in the nineteenth century, the impetus to engage in missionary activity was a

response of spirituality to a specific historical situation. Missionaries were not "marginal" individuals acting separately from their culture. The missionary was a central figure in the drama of nineteenth century American religious culture.

The Roman Catholics would establish a mission adjacent to the eastern boundary of the Northern Cheyenne reservation in 1884. In 1904, a Mennonite mission would be erected in Busby, on the western end of the reservation. These two events mark the history of Roman Catholic and Mennonite involvement on the Tongue River reservation. That religious involvement in the lives of the Northern Cheyenne continues today.

The Mennonite and Roman Catholic presence became an important element in Euroamerican and Northern Cheyenne relations on the reservation. The presence of these denominations would cause conflict and resistance among the Northern Cheyenne.

It is my intention that this study of missions among the Northern Cheyenne will further the understanding of what transpired during their first fifty years of reservation confinement.

CHAPTER II

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE NORTHERN CHEYENNE

The Northern Cheyenne were a people recently confined to reservation existence when the first missionaries, the Ursuline sisters made contact with them in 1884. The first Mennonite missionaries would not make contact with the Northern Cheyenne until 1899. Both the Roman Catholics and Mennonites were confronted with a people possessing distinct cultural traditions. These missionaries began their proselytizing among the Northern Cheyenne; who like all other Native American populations were viewed by their Euroamerican contemporaries as "primitive" and "savage." However, the Northern Cheyenne actually were a distinct ethnic group possessing an unique history which had evolved over centuries.

Cheyenne oral tradition, is extensive and their traditions vary in character. Their history is handed down from one generation to another by word of mouth. In this manner, the Cheyenne orally pass on their religious ceremonies, customs, and traditions. Cheyenne oral history contain traditions of their Creation, and their early days prior to living in the Great Plains region. They also have traditions of their culture hero, Sweet Medicine, the savior of the Cheyenne people, who gave them their laws, religious practices, and way of living. These traditional accounts are

corroborated partly by historical and archaeological evidence.

Besides, these oral traditions, Cheyenne oral history tells of migrations and fights, as well as accounts of the trickster, Wihio, told for the children (Grinnell 1926:281-302; Kroeber 1900:161-190; Randolph 1937; Stands in Timber 1972:12-13). John Stands in Timber indicates that:

An old story teller would smooth the ground in front of him with his hand and make two marks in it with his right thumb, two with his left, and a double mark with both thumbs together. Then he would rub his hands, and pass his right hand up his right leg to his waist, and touch his left hand and pass it on up his right arm to his breast. He did the same thing with his left and right hands going up the other side. Then he touched the marks on the ground with both hands and rubbed them together and passed them over his head and all over his body (Stands in Timber 1972:12).

These gestures indicate that the Creator made human beings, just as he had made the earth. It signifies that the Creator was a witness to what was to be told. "They did not tell any of the old or holy stories without that" (Stands in Timber 1972:12). These profane as well as sacred accounts ground Cheyenne history and the cultural changes they underwent as a society.

The Cheyenne, are actually two tribes, the Tsistsistas, or Cheyenne proper, and the distantly related Sutaio. These two Algonquian speaking tribes made a political alliance sometime in the early 1800's (Dusenberry 1956:17-19; Grinnell 1923:I:95,170; Mooney 1907:370; Moore 1974:214-217). However,

by the mid-1880's, the Cheyenne separated socially into two divisions. This division was due to immigrant traffic on the Oregon Trail along the Platte River.

After being militarily defeated by the United States Army, the Southern Cheyenne were assigned to a reservation in Indian Territory (western Oklahoma), in 1875. The Northern Cheyenne would eventually occupy a reservation in southeastern Montana.

This chapter examines Cheyenne history as a series of major political and economic transformations. Their history is categorized into the following phases: an agrarian phase, a buffalo hunting phase, a military phase, and the reservation period. During their agrarian phase, the Cheyenne planted corn and lived in earth lodges. Their ceremonies were oriented toward insuring abundant crops. During their hunting phase, the Cheyenne followed the migrations of the buffalo and engaged in ceremonies intended to bring success in hunting and warfare. They accepted the social and religious reforms of Sweet Medicine, as well as the ceremonies taught to the Sutaio, Erect Horns. The military period of Cheyenne life can be characterized by intensive warfare with Euroamericans and an orientation toward raiding as a means of subsistence. The Cheyenne were militarily engaged with the United States Army over control of the Great Plains. The reservation period produced drastic cultural changes and conflicts because of the policy of forced assimilation. This section reviews Cheyenne

history before they were confined to their respective reservations. The pre-reservation encroachments on their society resulted in resistance to United States Indian policy intent upon cultural change.

AGRARIAN AND BUFFALO HUNTING PHASES

Cheyenne oral tradition locates them originally in the region between the Hudson Bay and Great Lakes. When the proto-Cheyenne migrated southward is not exactly known (Schleiser 1987:74-87; Weist, T. 1977:9-10). Early European references place them on the tributaries of the upper Mississippi River, in the early seventeenth century (Grinnell 1923:I:9-10; Jablow 1950:(19):2; Mooney 1907:361-362; Powell 1969:I:18-30). During this time, the Cheyenne had an economy based on hunting, fishing, and gathering.

From this location, the Cheyenne eventually migrated to the Yellow Medicine River in present-day southwestern Minnesota. While in this area, a change in their subsistence occurred. The Cheyenne obtained corn and began to practice horticulture. They became more sedentary, building a series of fortified earth lodge villages in the Minnesota River Valley region prior to 1700 (Berthrong 1976:5; Powell 1969:I:18-30; Weist, T. 1977:10-13).

While living here, the Cheyenne, along with other neighboring tribes, came under the influence of the French and

English fur trade. The Assiniboine and Cree, north of the Cheyenne, traded with the English for European goods, including firearms. To the east of the Cheyenne, the Chippewa traded with the French. In 1680, a party of Cheyenne contacted the French at Fort Crevecoeur on the Illinois River in order to establish trade (Moore 1974:19-20). However this trade relationship with the French was never instituted (Weist, T. 1977:16).

The colonial expansion of the French and English fur trade, in conjunction with the introduction of the gun, increased tribal competition. Firearms resulted in increased warfare between Indian populations for territory rich in fur bearing mammals. The Cheyenne came under increased pressure from the Assiniboine, Chippewa, and Cree located to the north and the Sioux located to the south (Secoy 1953:65-67; 75-77).

The hostilities of these groups toward the Cheyenne resulted in their continued migration west. The Cheyenne relocation to the northern Great Plains continued during the end of the seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century in response to this pressure. Archaeological evidence suggests the Cheyenne developed an agrarian economy and a series of earth lodge villages along the Sheyenne River in present-day North Dakota (Moore 1987:132). Although the Cheyenne continued their agrarian economy, some Cheyenne increasingly became buffalo hunters after acquisition of the horse in the mid-eighteenth century (Moore 1987:135). With

the introduction of the horse, many Cheyenne groups began to abandon their earth lodges and move to the Missouri River region, near the present boundaries of North and South Dakota. It is at this location that the Cheyenne underwent their final economic transformation. They began to hunt bison more frequently and established trade relations with the Arikara and Mandan villages along the upper Missouri River (Moore 1987:135). The Cheyenne exchanged horses and furs with these tribes for European trade goods and native produce. While the Cheyenne were in this region, they encountered and formed an alliance with the Sutaio (Dusenberry 1956:17-19; Grinnell 1923:I:95,170; Mooney 1907:370; Moore 1974:214-217).

By 1800, some Cheyenne bands migrated further south into the Black Hills region of present-day South Dakota. In 1804 and 1806, Lewis and Clark made brief contact with the Cheyenne. The explorers wrote in their journals that the Cheyenne were occupying the Black Hills region, traversing it to hunt, trade, and trap (Berthrong 1976:13-16). During their meeting, the Cheyenne expressed an interest in forming trade relations with the United States. Prior to their contact with Lewis and Clark, the Cheyenne had experienced limited contact with Europeans. They had attempted to establish trade relations with the French at Fort Crevecouer in 1680, but with little success.

The period of Cheyenne migration from approximately 1600 to 1780, brought significant cultural upheaval. They

radically changed from an agrarian and sedentary life style and became increasingly migratory as big game hunters and pastoral nomads. They established themselves as trading partners and intermediaries between the Missouri River tribes, the Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa. This relationship also was established among the Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, and Arapaho tribes located to the west and southwest (Berthrong 1976:13-16). The religious, social, and political changes which the Cheyenne experienced during these migrations are difficult to ascertain.

John Moore in The Cheyenne Nation: A Social and Demographic History, contends that the Cheyenne were never a homogenous tribal nation socially or politically prior to the late 1700's (Moore 1987:314-316). The Cheyenne instead, were a group of "hybrid" allied bands whom had intermarried with other Native American populations, particularly the Sioux nations. These "hybrid" Cheyenne bands spoke similar dialects and migrated independently toward the Black Hills region.

Moore agrees with James Mooney's contention that four "original bands," comprised the Cheyenne nation. The central band was the Tsistsistas. This prominent band, the Tsistsistas, and two other related bands, the Masikotas (Fox People), and the Omisis (Eaters), were joined by the distantly related Sutaios (Adopted People) (Mooney 1907:361-363). Another band, the Hevhaitaneos (Hair Rope People), joined the Cheyenne nation early in the nineteenth century (Mooney

1907:361-363; Moore 1987:86-87). These bands were organized socially according to their divisions into a camp circle. The place of the bands within the camp circle indicated their relationship and status to each other (Mooney 1907:402-408; Moore 1987:27-51).

Politically, these bands historically were united by the Cheyenne culture hero, Sweet Medicine. Sweet Medicine organized the Council of Forty-four and the four male societies. Sweet Medicine created laws such as the ban on intertribal killing, which helped stabilize Cheyenne society.

Sweet Medicine journeyed to the "Sacred Mountain" (present-day Bear Butte in South Dakota), and received the "Four Sacred Arrows," which are the symbol of the Cheyenne nation. The Sacred Arrows, the pilgrimage to the Sacred Mountain, and their sacred ceremonies reinforced the political reforms Sweet Medicine introduced. These reforms were responsible for the creation of the Cheyenne nation (Dorsey 1905:I:41-46; Grinnell 1923:I:348-381; Moore 1987:315; Powell 1969:I:18-20; Stands in Timber 1972:27-41).

The Cheyenne continued their existence as autonomous social and economic bands. These bands operated quasi-independently. However, these groups were united politically by the Council of Forty-four. The council was composed of "Peace chiefs." These chiefs were to possess wisdom, kindness, generosity, courage, and altruism. The council acted as a deliberative body which made decisions for the

well-being of the tribe.

The revelations of Sweet Medicine at the Sacred Mountain added to the religious structure of the Cheyenne. Cheyenne worldview was and is centered upon Maheo, sacred persons and objects, and their ceremonies. The Cheyennes' prophets, their sacred ceremonies, and associated objects, are important elements in their culture and religion. John Moore indicates these rituals, symbols, and sacred leaders serve the vital political function of uniting the Cheyenne nation (Moore 1987:319).

General Henry Atkinson in July of 1825, on a peace mission among the Missouri River tribes, met with fifteen Cheyenne leaders at the mouth of the Teton River. The Cheyenne signed their first treaty with the United States government there. This treaty acknowledged United States sovereignty and its jurisdiction to regulate trade (Mooney 1907:376). However, Cheyenne economic existence was located along the Platte Rivers, Arkansas River, Powder River, and the Big Horn River.

During the 1820's, the Cheyenne were being pressured from Sioux encroachment. Because of this, they allied themselves with the Arapaho nation. Both the Cheyenne and Arapaho migrated south and west of the Black Hills where they hunted between the forks of the Platte River.

Several Cheyenne bands had migrated farther south to the Arkansas River region to trade at Fort Bent (established in

1834), and hunt during this time. While in this region, the Cheyenne acquired additional horses through trade, raiding, and the capture of wild horses. These horses were exchanged for guns and other goods from Northern Plains tribes (Berthrong 1976:19-23).

The migration from the Black Hills to the Great Plains brought cultural changes to the Cheyenne. It represents a shift from an agrarian based society to a nomadic, pastoral, hunting economy with an established trading network. Their economy became linked to the procurement and management of large horse herds that were important to their tribal status, hunting, and trade relations.

As a result of this economic shift, the Cheyenne bands divided into smaller family groups to obtain needed resources: grazing land for their horse herds, water, and firewood. This movement also created new enemies, the Crows to their west and the Comanches and Kiowas to the south (Grinnell 1915:12-59; Powell 1969:I:42-49). More importantly, their migration was the beginning of a permanent division of the Cheyenne nation into Southern and Northern groups.

By 1840, seven of the ten Cheyenne bands and a portion of the eighth band occupied the region between the South Platte River and Arkansas River (Moore 1987:249). The remaining Cheyenne bands lived from the South Platte River to the headwaters of the Yellowstone River. These Northern Cheyenne bands allied themselves with the Teton Sioux. Even though the

Cheyenne were separated geographically, members journeyed freely between north and south, camped together, and periodically conducted ceremonies together. They considered themselves one people and still do at present.

From the Cheyenne perspective, their history is not dominated by their relationship with the United States government and it's Euroamerican citizens. Cheyenne culture had been permanently changed by intruders onto the Great Plains. However, the Cheyenne were able to adapt to these encroachments from other Native American populations and they continued to adapt to the new unfavorable conditions of the Euroamerican invaders.

MILITARY PHASE

The Cheyenne were at peace with Euroamericans until the 1840's. However, from the 1840's to the 1880's, both the Northern and Southern Cheyenne became active combatants in the struggle over control of the Great Plains. The opening of the Oregon Trail in 1841, caused an immense influx of non-Indians into the Great Plains region, as well as debilitating diseases, and buffalo hide hunters. These pressures helped to increase conflicts among the Native American populations of the Great Plains region and Euroamericans. In response to these conflicts, the government adopted a new policy toward these so-called "hostile" Indian nations.

The United States government instituted a system to restrict the Native American populations of the Great Plains to established reservation's to protect the travel routes to the West and accelerate the "civilizing" of the Indians into members of the dominant Euroamerican society. This policy was implemented by the negotiation of treaties with the Native American populations of the Great Plains.

In September 1851, representatives of the United States government, the Cheyenne and other Great Plains tribal populations signed a treaty at Fort Laramie. The Indians agreed to accept territorial boundaries, cease intertribal warfare, and to recognize the United States governments right to build roads and forts. In return, the United States government promised protection from infringements on the Indian's rights and annuities of fifty thousand dollars annually for fifty years (Prucha 1984:I:340-343).

According to this treaty, the Cheyenne and Arapaho received land between the North Platte and Arkansas Rivers. The Sioux nations received the territory north of the North Platte River. The Northern Cheyenne were allowed to live and hunt within the territory north of the North Platte River which was recognized as Sioux territory. Because of this, the United States government acknowledged the geographic division within the Cheyenne nation (Weist, T. 1977:44-45). These negotiations were considered successful by the United States government, however, this treaty did not bring peace to the

Great Plains.

The continual influx of settlers and travellers through Indian Country increased tension between Native Americans and Euroamericans. It limited the migration between the bands of Cheyenne and made the division between Northern and Southern Cheyenne more permanent (Weist, T. 1977:48). In 1861, Peace chiefs of the Southern Cheyenne signed the Treaty of Fort Wise. This treaty ceded almost all the Cheyenne and Arapaho territory granted to them under the 1851 Fort Laramie treaty, and restricted the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho to a tract of land between Sand Creek and the Arkansas River in Colorado Territory. The Northern Cheyenne neither approved of nor signed this treaty (Berthrong 1976:149-151).

Continued hostilities due to Euroamerican encroachment and rumors that the Southern Cheyenne warrior society of Dog Soldiers were going to join forces with the Northern Cheyenne and Sioux led to the Sand Creek Massacre of the Southern Cheyenne in 1864 (Berthrong 1976:195-223; Mooney 1907:384-386). "The immediate result of this massacre was to destroy the confidence of those Indians who had hitherto been of friendly disposition and to exasperate the others to the highest pitch of hostility" (Mooney 1907:386). As a result of the massacre, hostilities between the Northern Cheyenne, Euroamerican settlers, and the United States military continued.

These hostilities of the 1860's, forced reformers to

demand a new policy towards dealing with the Native American populations of the Great Plains. The reformers intended to conquer the Indians by kindness. They would cajole Native Americans into accepting the civilization of the whites. They also requested the establishment of a humanitarian commission to negotiate fairly with these tribes. The demands of the reformers resulted in the creation of the United States Indian Peace Commission by Congress in June of 1867. The goal of the commission was to meet with representatives of the hostile tribes of the Great Plains and negotiate treaties which would "most likely insure civilization for the Indians and peace and safety for the whites" (Prucha 1976:14-29; Prucha 1984:I:488-489). The Southern and Northern Cheyenne were directly affected by this new policy. In October of 1867, the Southern Cheyenne signed the Treaty of Medicine Lodge Creek. After a year of continued hostilities, President Grant established the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation in western Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma).

The Peace Commission also negotiated with the Northern Cheyenne. In April 1868, the Northern Cheyenne signed the second Treaty of Fort Laramie. The Northern Cheyenne agreed to either relocate with the Southern Cheyenne in Indian Territory or among the Sioux. The majority of Northern Cheyenne chose to remain with the Sioux. They continued to hunt in the Powder River country; a right granted to them in both the 1851 and 1868 Fort Laramie Treaties.

President Grant in 1869, initiated his "Peace Policy" toward Native Americans. As a result of continued pressure from Christian reformers, Grant created the Board of Indian Commissioners. This Board was comprised of Protestant laymen. The goal of the commissioners was to oversee and direct government Indian Policy in a humanitarian manner. Another aspect of the "Peace Policy" was to assign religious leaders as reservation agents. Representatives of the Quaker denomination suggested to President Grant that church representatives on the various reservations could promote Christian charity and peace. Grant apportioned Indian reservation's to various Protestant denominations that nominated agents (Prucha 1984:II:512-527; Utley 1984:129-155). Grant's policy had little effect on the Northern Cheyenne. They drew their rations at the Sioux agencies and continued to live in the Powder River region.

Despite the efforts of Grant's "Peace Policy," hostilities continued to escalate between Native Americans and Euroamericans on the Great Plains. Increased Euroamerican encroachment upon Native American territory combined with the disregard of treaty rights further agitated and frustrated the Native American tribes. The United States expedition to the Black Hills in 1872, was a direct violation of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. This violation caused the Northern Cheyenne, Sioux, and Northern Arapaho to leave the Great Sioux reservation for their unceded hunting lands in the Powder

River region.

As long as these nations were able to subsist by hunting, it would be difficult for the United States government to control them; only on the reservation could these nations be totally dependent upon the United States. In February of 1876, the Secretary of the Interior declared all Indians not on the reservations were to be considered "hostile" and asked the Secretary of War to take appropriate action. A full scale military maneuver was planned against the Sioux and their Cheyenne allies (Utley 1984:129-155). This military maneuver culminated in the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

The Battle of the Little Big Horn in June 1876, was a result of the United States incursion into the Black Hills in 1872 (Utley 1984:129-155). The Indian victory at the Little Big Horn did not bring peace to the Northern Cheyenne. The Northern Cheyenne which had fought at the Battle of the Little Big Horn, dispersed and scattered into different bands. These various groups were involved in military skirmishes with United States armed forces until 1877; when they were defeated. Their lack of adequate food, clothing, guns and ammunition made it impossible to continue fighting the United States. These Northern Cheyenne would eventually be confined on a reservation, and experience forced assimilation.

RESERVATION PHASE

By 1877, the Northern Cheyenne were militarily defeated by the United States Army. This occurred after a series of military maneuvers against the Cheyenne bands who had dispersed after the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Approximately 1100 Northern Cheyenne were located at the Red Cloud Agency on the Sioux reservation. A smaller group, under Two Moons, was at Fort Keogh, Montana Territory. The Two Moon band was the last off reservation band of Cheyenne to surrender (Grinnell 1915:383-387; Weist, T. 1977:77).

The Indian Bureau decided to relocate the Northern Cheyenne to the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation in Indian Territory. This impetus grew from the supposition of the Board of Indian Commissioners and Indian reformers who theorized elaborate schemes for consolidating all the Indians onto one large reservation (Powell 1969:I:195; Prucha 1984:182-183). Contrary to the sentiments of the majority of Northern Cheyenne who wished to stay in the north, Chief Standing Elk agreed to relocate. In August of 1877, 937 Northern Cheyenne arrived at Darlington Agency, the headquarters of the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation in Indian Territory (Powell 1969:I:195-196).

Within a year of their arrival in Indian Territory, dissatisfaction existed among many Northern Cheyenne. The heat, disease, poor rations, and inadequate medical treatment, as well as the resultant losses of loved ones; disheartened and discouraged the Northern Cheyenne (Powell 1969:I:195-196;

Weist, T. 1977:80-82). They repeatedly requested permission from the Indian Bureau to return to their old home in the north and were refused. On 9 September 1879, 284 Northern Cheyenne under the leadership of Dull Knife and Little Wolf, left the reservation and began their journey north to their former homeland. This exodus created a series of events which culminated with the creation of the Northern Cheyenne reservation in Montana (Grinnell 1915:398-414; Powell 1969:I:195-197; Sandoz 1953 et. al.).

The escaped Northern Cheyenne evaded capture and split into two groups in Nebraska. The group led by Little Wolf, spent the winter in the sands hills of Nebraska; eventually they surrendered to General Nelson A. Miles, who escorted them to Fort Keogh, Montana Territory. The other group led by Dull Knife, were captured and taken to Fort Robinson, Nebraska. In January 1879, this group was informed that they would be returned to Indian Territory. They refused, and the commanding officer at Fort Robinson denied them food, water, and firewood in an attempt to coerce them back to Indian Territory. In response to these tactics, the Cheyenne escaped their confinement. Of the 149 Cheyenne in the group, sixty-one were killed in the outbreak (Grinnell 1915:414-427; Weist, T. 1977:82-84).

Those who remained from Dull Knife's group were allowed to join the Cheyenne already living at Fort Keogh (Grinnell 1915:398-414; Prucha 1969:I:195-196; Sandoz 1953 et. al.).

Besides the Cheyenne at Fort Keogh, other Cheyennes were assigned to the Arapaho reservation in Wyoming and the Pine Ridge Sioux reservation in South Dakota. These groups would not be reunited until 1891.

General Nelson A. Miles, in 1880, convinced that the Cheyenne could adapt to an agrarian society, initiated an exodus of the Northern Cheyenne away from Fort Keogh to stake out homesteads in the Tongue River region. These Northern Cheyenne settled along Muddy Creek, Lame Deer Creek, and the Tongue River. They began to farm. These Northern Cheyenne from Fort Keogh were joined by more Northern Cheyenne from Wyoming, South Dakota, and Indian Territory. However, the Cheyenne were not the only group located within this region. The Tongue River area was also inhabited by members of the cattle industry and the Great Northern Railroad. This created tension between the Northern Cheyenne and their Euroamerican neighbors who coveted Northern Cheyenne homesteads for grazing lands for their cattle (Svingen 1982:216-238; Weist, T. 1977:103).

Pressure was exerted from Indian reformers and the military personnel from Fort Keogh to establish a permanent reservation for the Cheyenne (Svingen 1982:216-239). This pressure was in response to unfounded allegations of Cheyenne atrocities against white owned cattle. This led to an Indian Bureau investigation of the existing conditions between the Cheyenne and their white neighbors. The inquiry resulted in

placing the Northern Cheyenne under the jurisdiction of the Indian Bureau. It set in motion the granting of reservation land (Weist, T. 1977:104). In 1883, the Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended the establishment of a permanent reservation for the Cheyenne. On 16 November 1884, President Chester A. Arthur signed an Executive Order establishing the Tongue River reservation (Svingen 1982:216-239; Weist, T. 1977:104).

The Tongue River reservation encompassed 371,200 square acres of land in southeastern Montana (See Figure 1). The Executive Order allowed the Cheyenne to retain their hold but it also allowed Euroamerican settlers established on Northern Cheyenne land to remain. A number of Northern Cheyenne with homesteads located east of the Tongue River also were excluded from the reservation (Svingen 1982:216-238; Weist, T. 1977:105).

The creation of the Tongue River reservation came during a period when the government was restricting all Great Plains tribal populations onto smaller reservations. The foundation of this policy was that all Native American populations could and must be assimilated into the Euroamerican society. The policy assumed that Native Americans should and would be transformed from "roving and savage hunters and raiders," into "peaceful, law-abiding, agrarian, Christian citizens" (Prucha 1984:I:562-581). The reservation became the proposed theaters for this transformation (Ibid 1984:I:562-581).

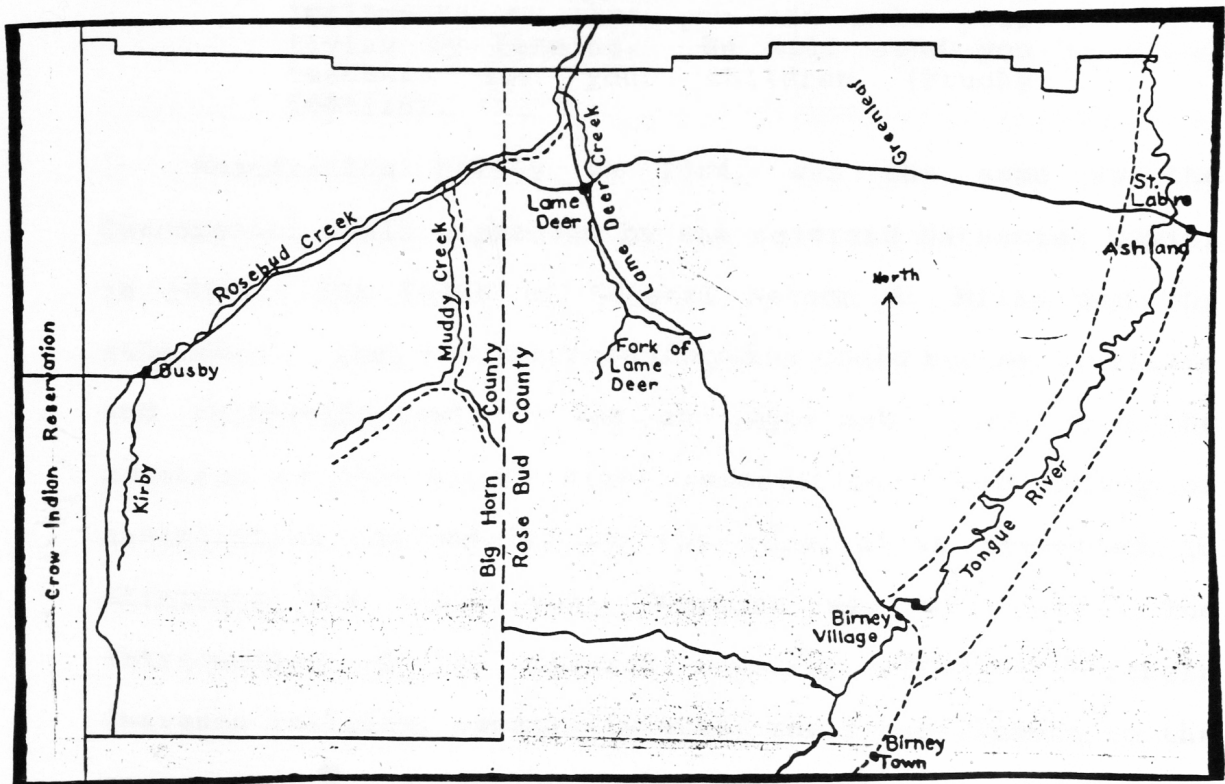
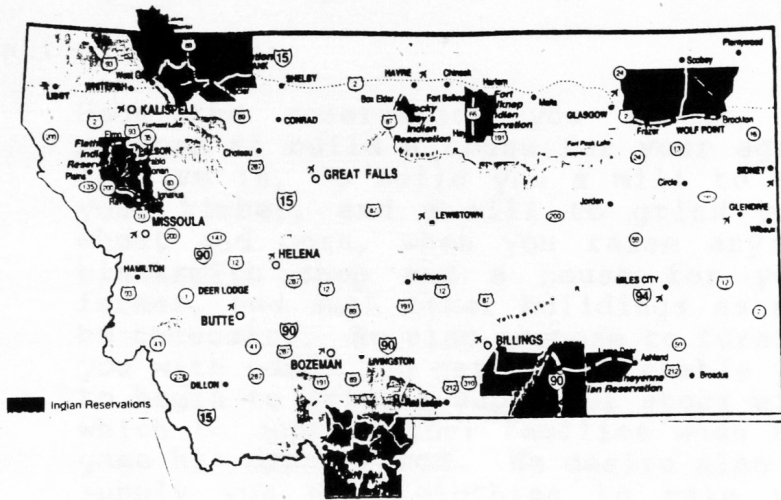


Figure 1. The Tongue River Reservation in Southeastern Montana.

The practicality of this policy was expounded by the Reverend Nathaniel Taylor, at the Fort Laramie treaty negotiations in 1868:

Upon the reservation you select, we propose to build a house for your agent to live in, to build you a mill to saw your timber, and a mill to grind your wheat and corn, when you raise any; a blacksmith shop and a house for your farmer, and such other buildings as may be necessary. We also propose to furnish you with homes and cattle, to enable you to begin to raise a supply of stock with which to support your families when the game has disappeared. We desire also to supply you with clothing to make you comfortable and necessary farming implements so that you can make your living by farming. We will send you teachers for your children (Prucha 1985:18).

Reservation policy in 1884, was the same as the fundamental goals expressed by the Reverend Nathaniel Taylor in 1868. The faith of General Nelson A. Miles and the reformers -- that the Northern Cheyenne could become civilized and self-sufficient -- was an important reason for the creation of the Tongue River reservation. The policy of assimilation implemented on the reservation attempted to eliminate the traditional Cheyenne way of life. The introduction of the mission endeavor affected Northern Cheyenne religion, especially after their confinement to the reservation. Prior to their reservation confinement, missionary activity among the Cheyenne was almost non-existent.

The first recorded encounter between the Cheyenne and missionaries occurred in 1840. On 4 June 1840, Father Jean DeSmet, a Jesuit, travelled up the fork of the Laramie River and encountered forty Cheyenne lodges. He took the opportunity to speak to the Cheyenne on the principle tenets of Catholicism, the Ten Commandments, and Articles of the Creed. Father DeSmet indicated to the Cheyenne that the reason for his journey was his desire to have Black Robes among them. Father DeSmet states that the Cheyenne seemed pleased with his offer and would welcome Black Robes among them. He states "I believe that a zealous missionary would meet with very good success among these savages" (Chittendon 1969:I:211-213). Father Jean DeSmet also engaged in proselytizing among the tribes assembled for the negotiations of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851. At this council, Father DeSmet, baptized 253 Cheyenne children (Chittendon 1969:I:211-213).

Northern Cheyenne tradition indicates that the first Protestant denomination to proselytize among them were the Lutherans (Powell 1980:69). Between 1861 and 1863, these Lutheran missionaries labored among the Cheyenne in Wyoming Territory. These missionaries abandoned their efforts due to increasing Indian and white conflicts in the struggle for control of the Great Plains (Habegger 1959:18). No further attempts would be made to Christianize the Northern Cheyenne until 1884.

The concentrated efforts of United States Indian policy, and the missionaries to eradicate traditional religious practices caused cultural change and conflicts on the Tongue River reservation. The first two decades of reservation life were responsible for significant changes in Northern Cheyenne religious culture. In 1883, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Montana Territory, Bishop Brondel, appealed for missionaries to the Northern Cheyenne. Six Ursuline sisters from Toledo, Ohio volunteered. In April of 1884, these sisters established a mission approximately twelve miles east of the Tongue River reservation. The mission aided and assisted the Cheyenne's need for food and supplies (Kraman 1984:30-44). This assistance and support created friction between the Catholic mission and white settlers located upon the reservation. White settlers viewed Catholic support for the Northern Cheyenne as a threat to their existence on the reservation.

The introduction of the Ghost Dance and Native American Church affected Northern Cheyenne religious life also (Gibson 1980:476-477; Mooney 1896; Stands in Timber 1972:259-260; Weist, T. 1977:146). These religious movements are an indication of the desperation felt by the Northern Cheyennes adjusting to a new way of life expounded by United States government Indian policy. The Ghost Dance and Native American Church also indicate Northern Cheyenne resistance against their forced assimilation.

The third change in Northern Cheyenne religion was the Indian Bureau's concentrated efforts to suppress traditional religious ceremonies. The policy was promoted and formulated by Protestant religious reformers who felt that Native American populations should abandon the elements of their culture which hindered assimilation (Prucha 1984; Hoxie 1984). The traditional religious ceremonies and practices of the Northern Cheyenne, according to the reformers were a formidable barrier to becoming "civilized."

Contact with Euroamericans produced accelerated change to Native American populations. However, religious evolution occurred within Northern Cheyenne culture prior to European contact. To insist that Euroamericans, including missionaries, endeavored to alter Indian culture is in error. Native American populations, including the Northern Cheyenne were continuously adapting prior to and after European contact. Cultures, as Henry Warner Bowden (1981:24) indicates, survive through continual readjustment. Readjustment of cultural systems is part of the human experience in North America for thousands of years (Bowden 1981:24).

The history of Cheyenne culture conforms to this ideology. This is demonstrated by the Cheyenne's ability to adapt and adjust to new circumstances and environments. The Cheyenne had been an agrarian and fishing society. Demographic pressure forced them to migrate and adapt to an

environment on the Great Plains. With the acquisition of the horse, they became a nomadic pastoral hunting economy. When the Cheyenne were later pressured by the United States government and placed onto reservations, they were forced to adjust again, to a more radical environmental change.

As for religion, Bowden adds:

The same principle holds in religious history. Ideological orientations, which gave meaning and purpose to life, must constantly adjust in response to new perspectives. Whether modifications stem from internal reformations or external influence, religions exhibit the same patterns of metamorphosis as do material changes in a dynamic culture (1981:23).

This principle also is applicable to the Cheyenne. Although their is not information available on their religion during their early history, their ceremonies and deities are consistent with an agrarian society. This knowledge is based on interviews with informants born in the 1880's and 1890's (Grinnell 1923:I:252-254).

As the Cheyenne adapted politically and socially to new environments, so did their religion. The acceptance of Erect Horns as a culture hero, the Sacred Buffalo Hat, and the Sun Dance from the Sutaio, in the early nineteenth century, exemplify their adaptation as do the acceptance of the Ghost Dance, Native American Church and Christianity among individual tribal members in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER III

CHEYENNE COSMOLOGY AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

The Cheyenne (Tsistsistas), are a society possessing a distinct history and cultural development. According to Karl Schleiser, in The Wolves of Heaven, Tsistsistas world description and institutions were in existence during their arrival in the Great Plains (1987:2). Their religious traditions required the formation of an ethnic entity closed to outsiders. However, the origins of Cheyenne religion can only be speculated upon. Regardless of the origins, religion was important to the Cheyenne for several reasons. Their system of beliefs, practices, and ceremonies were not only important to the individual, but also integrated the tribe. The greatness of their deities, is not in their ability to create and manage things, but in their wisdom about the working of things. Within Cheyenne religious practice, emphasis is on gaining power from Maheo, (their Supreme Being), through his agents; by vision, by ritual, by contemplating the universe, and by apprenticeship to a senior priest. Through cognitive association between distinct natural phenomena, the Cheyenne cosmological system can be permuted infinitely. This permutation brings more details of the universe under scrutiny. Free association is checked by the assertion that similarity should not contradict the

central core of their cosmology (Moore 1979:20:6). The logic of the central system must be acknowledged in permuting it. Cheyenne world interpretation persisted through historic times into the early reservation period and in important aspects to the present, as evidenced by the performance of the Sacred Arrow ceremony, the Sun Dance, and their cosmological worldview.

Importantly, religion, as a cultural and ethnic marker, defines whether an individual is Cheyenne or not Cheyenne (Moore 1974, 1979; Stands in Timber 1972:73-114; Straus 1976:43,327). A Cheyenne, possesses a knowledge of their cosmology and participates in their religious ceremonies; a non-Cheyenne does not. Cheyenne culture concentrates its attention on spiritual forces; those present in physical form and those which are not present in physical form.

To be Cheyenne meant to know the interplay of spiritual and physical forms and to participate in this interplay. To experience and observe the metamorphosis of these forces was considered normal in Cheyenne culture. Each Cheyenne had personal experience which confirmed the reality of the Cheyenne world understanding (Schleiser 1987:12-13).

Cheyenne religious beliefs were integrated with the political and social reforms introduced by their culture hero Sweet Medicine. These reforms were responsible for the creation of the Cheyenne nation (Dorsey 1905:9:41-46; Grinnell 1923:II:348-381; Moore 1987:315; Powell 1969:I:18-20). The

performance of their most sacred rituals, the Arrow Renewal and the Medicine Lodge (Sun Dance); perpetuated Cheyenne identity both individually and collectively.

In addition, traditional ideology derived from Cheyenne cosmology describes certain parameters of Cheyenne society namely sex and rank (Moore 1979:20:8-12). This ideology rationalizes the authority of males over females in regards to labor. It also recognizes the authority of religious males over non-religious males (Moore 1979:20:8-11). Religion is an important integrating mechanism within Cheyenne society.

This chapter provides a description of Cheyenne worldview and their ceremonies (Moore 1974: A Study of Religious Symbolism Among the Cheyenne Indians; 1979: The Utility of Cheyenne Cosmology; Schleiser 1987: The Wolves of Heaven). Their religion is a dynamic system of interrelated parts. Their rituals were taught to their culture heros, Sweet Medicine and Erect Horns, who in turn taught them to their fellow Cheyenne. These sacred rituals, sacred persons, and sacred objects were untainted by Judeo-Christian concepts when the Northern Cheyenne were confined to the reservation. The United States government and the missionaries would attempt to eradicate their religious traditions through the policy of forced assimilation. This process would inculcate resistance among the Northern Cheyenne to maintain their sacred traditions which are the soul of Cheyenne identity as "the people."

CHEYENNE COSMOLOGY

THE SKY SPACES

Cheyenne religious traditions were not the equivalent of attending church services on Sunday. They profoundly effected their daily life and permeated all aspects of it. The Cheyenne world description understands power in the universe as cosmic power. Cosmic power conglobates in spiritual potencies which have unrestrained access to this power. They are not limited to time and space and have control over quantum phenomena. Cosmic power can be causal (brought about by specific Cheyenne behavior), and non-causal (may manifest itself without a trigger). It is non-local (everywhere) and local (may appear in a specific locality or a specific physical form). Cosmic power is outside or outside and within the construct of time and therefore represents universal information. A Cheyenne knew the interplay of the metamorphosis of these and participated in it. Cosmic power over a wide range of manifestations in the universe was empirical knowledge to each Cheyenne. These forces are located within the seven regions of the Cheyenne universe. These regions of the universe are described below.

Hestanov, is the Cheyenne term for the universe (see Figure 2). Hestanov, the generally visible world includes matasoomhestanov, the generally invisible world of spirits.

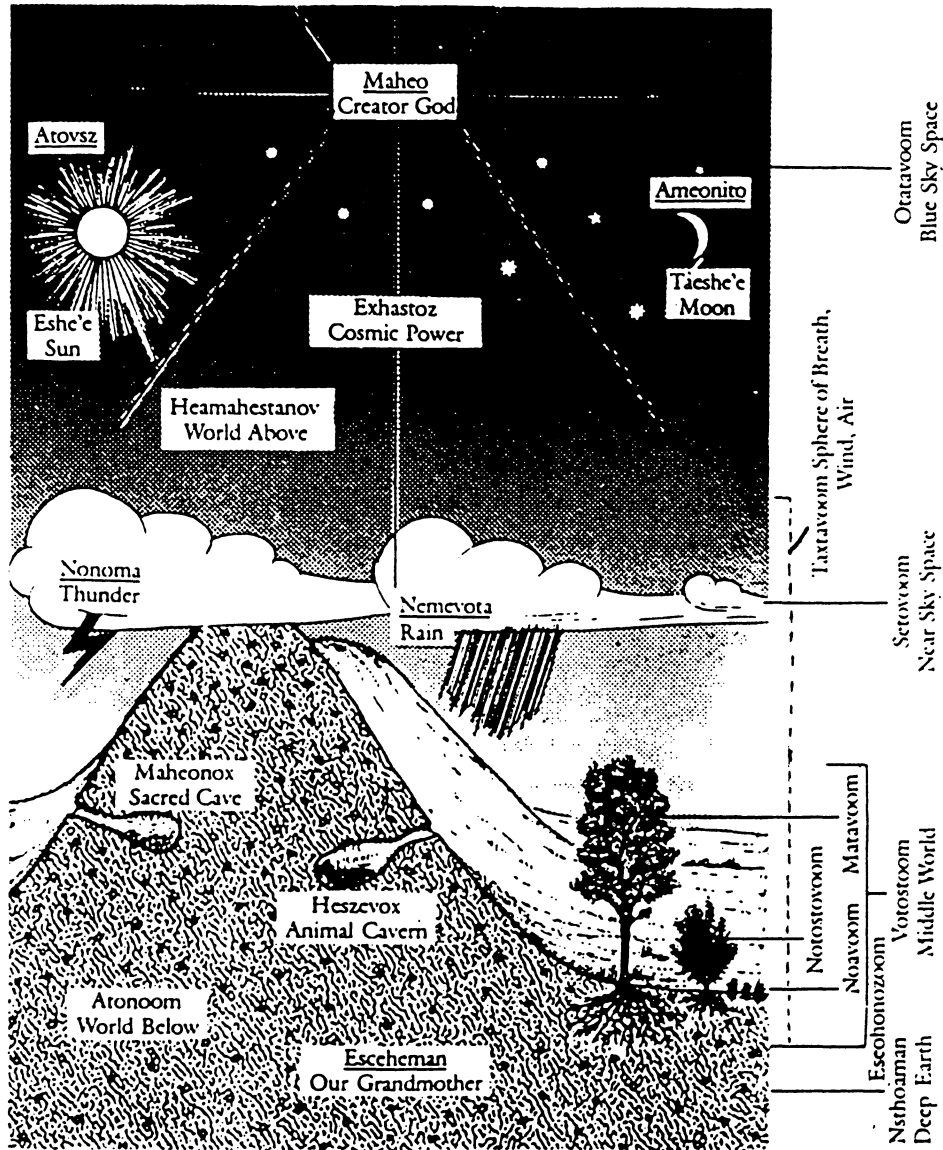


Figure 2. Hestanov, The Cheyenne Universe
 Reproduced from Schleiser, Karl The Wolves of Heaven, 1987.

The universe is divided at the earth's surface into Heamahestanov, the World Above, and Atonoom, the World Below. Both of these regions are divided into several distinct, but related regions (Moore 1979:20:1-4; Schleiser 1987:4-6).

Otatavoom, the Blue Sky Space, is the most sacred region of the Cheyenne universe. It is the uppermost region of the universe. The sun eshe'e, and the moon, taeshe'e, are located within the Blue Sky Space (Moore 1979:20:2; Schleiser 1987:7-9). Various stars, hotoxceo, are also found within the Blue Sky Space. The constellation known as the Milky Way, Seameo, is the road travelled by Cheyenne souls on their way to the land of the dead, Naevoom. Persons who have committed suicide or who lead evil lives, travel down another branch of the Milky Way to nothingness (Hoebel 1960:7-8; Moore 1979:20:2; Powell 1969:II:440-441).

Setavoom, is the Near Sky Space. The Near Sky Space includes the following phenomena: clouds, thunder, rain, tornadoes, and some birds which include dragonflies, but excludes bats and hummingbirds. The Near Sky Space is a mediator between the sacred forces of the Blue Sky Space and human beings (Moore 1979:20:2; Schleiser 1987:7-9). The Near Sky Space is adjacent to the regions located upon the earth's surface.

THE EARTH'S SURFACE

Taxtavoom, is the region of breath, wind, and air in immediate contact with the earth. Taxtavoom, covers the whole surface of the earth, from horizon to horizon. It is the area that makes physical life possible through the quality of breath, omotomhestoz (Moore, 1979:2:2; Schleiser 1987:8-10).

Votostoom, the Middle Earth is divided into four regions. Eseohonozoom, is the area where roots, animal holes, and dens are located. The region of low growing plants, sedges, short grasses, and small animals is referred to as Noavoom (Moore 1979:20:2-3). Humans, large animals, tall grasses, and bushes, inhabit the area known as notostovoom. Trees and forests grow in the place called matavoom. Exposed surfaces of the sterile earth, such as mountains, cliff faces, and desert, for example, are considered part of the Deep Earth, a part of the Cheyenne universe discussed next (Moore 1979:20:2-3; Schleiser 1987:4-6, 15-16).

THE WORLD BELOW

Nsthoman, is the Deep Earth (Schleiser (1987:4-6). The Deep Earth, expresses the idea of firmness and stability. Another important attribute of the Deep Earth is its embodiment of the "female principle," Heestoz. The essence of this female principle is the idea of biophysical sterility and

spiritual inertness. While the Deep Earth supplies the substance of all living things, it does not supply life itself, which is only possible through the Cheyenne Supreme Being, Maheo (Moore 1979:20:2-3; Schleiser 1987:7). Maheo, through his agents, sun and rain, regenerate the Deep Earth every spring with plants and animals on the earth.

Important symbols of the Deep Earth, are represented by the badger, the bear, and the buffalo. The buffalo receives the most attention in Cheyenne ceremonies and religious thought (Grinnell 1923:II:87-126, 192-285, 337-345; Powell 1969:II:467-478; Schleiser 1987:6). When Maheo, wants to bless the Cheyenne, the buffalo who live in animal caverns, present themselves to be killed (Moore 1979:20:2-3). The female principle as it relates to the buffalo, is embodied by the Sacred Buffalo Hat (Issiwun), brought by the sub-tribe, the Sutaio (Powell 1969:II:467-478).

Maheonoxsz, the sacred caves are located within the Deep Earth. In these sacred caves, human seekers of knowledge maybe received and instructed by powerful spirits, Maiyun (Moore 1917:20:2-4; Schleiser 1987:46, 13-16). The ceremonial structures of Cheyenne ceremonies -- the lodge of the Sacred Arrows, the world lodge of the Sun Dance, and the wolf tepee of the Massaum, -- are symbolic of the maheonoxsz, where the original ceremony occurred. The most sacred cave to the Northern Cheyenne, is located inside Bear Butte in present-day South Dakota (Moore 1979:20:2-4; Schleiser 1987:4).

Heszevoxsz, animal caverns, are also found within the Deep Earth. The spirits of animals of all species, hematasooma, preside here. These animals spirits may or may not become available again as animals in physical form (Moore 1979:20:2-4; Schleiser 1987:4-6). During Cheyenne ceremonies when the sod is excavated to provide a sacred space to enact the rituals, the performers are operating directly on the Deep Earth. Thus they are in contact with the powerful substance of the Deep Earth and in proximity of the sacred caves and animal caverns.

Spirits inhabit all the regions of the Cheyenne universe. They are willing to share their knowledge with humans if shown the proper respect. These deities of the Cheyenne are discussed below.

THE SPIRITUAL BEINGS

Spirits are ambiguous in Cheyenne cosmology, because they are mysterious. An individual can never be certain which spirit has been encountered in any given corporeal form. Maheo, is the Cheyenne Supreme Being (Moore 1979:20:3; Powell 1969:II:433; Schleiser 1987:7). He created emamanstoom, "all the world," and gave it the order, vonoom, to which the Tsistsistas world description is adapted. The annual Cheyenne tribal ceremonies, held in the presence of Maheo and the spiritual powers of the universe, depict the ancient order,

vonoom, of the creation and serve its preservation (Schleiser 1987:7). Physical and spiritual life in the universe come from Maheo (Schleiser 1987:7-8).

Subordinate to Maheo, but superior to all other supernatural beings are the anthropomorphic spirits, the Maheyuno, and the Maiyun (Powell 1969:II:434-437; Schleiser 1987:4, 7-8, 13-16, 88-109). The Maheyuno, are the sacred guardians at the corners of the universe. These sacred persons act as the guardians of nature. Their importance is based on the direction from which natural phenomena associated with the particular spirit are observed to originate. Hesen, the east, is the direction of the rising sun. Notam, the north, is the source of winter. The west, Onxsovon, is the source of the moon. The source of thunderstorms and spring is the south, Sovon. Because of their sacredness, the Maheyuno, have personal spirit names only (Moore 1979:20:2-4; Powell 1969:II:434-437).

The keeper of the southeast is Hesenota. This sacred person symbolizes light, life, and the season of spring (Moore 1974:151; Powell 1969:II:434-437). Hesenota, is associated with the color red. Objects on earth such as red stones (catlinite used for pipe bowls), red headed woodpeckers, and red willows have a specific relationship with Hesenota (Moore 1979:20:4). Onxsovota, is the keeper of the northwest. This spirit symbolizes the night, the moon, and death. Onxsovota, is associated with the color black. Nightmares, deep water,

and the interiors of caves are associated with Onxsovota (Moore 1974:151-152; 1979:20:4; Powell 1969:II:434-437).

Notamota, is the keeper of the northeast. This deity symbolizes cold and the season of winter. Notamota, is associated with the color white (Moore 1974:151-152; 1979:20:4; Powell 1969:II:434-437). Sovota, is the spirit of the southwest. Sovota, sends the anthropomorphic rain spirit Nemevota, with thunder, lightning, tornadoes, and hailstorms to bring life to the world. Sovota, is associated with the color green, and symbolizes warmth and the season of summer (Moore 1974:151-152; 1979:20:4; Powell 1969:II:434-437).

The Maiyun, are spirits who work in the seven regions of the universe (Moore 1979:20:4; Schleiser 1987:7-8). Physical forms of humans, plants, and animals are possible through the Maiyun, of the sun, Atovsz, thunder, Nonoma, rain, Nemevota, and the female spirit of the Deep Earth, Esceheman, (Our Grandmother) (Moore 1979:20:4; Schleiser 1987:5-8). The Maiyun, responsible for physical life on earth belong to either the Deep Earth or the Sky Spaces (Powell 1969:II:430-437). Specific plants and animals are associated with the Maiyun. (Schleiser 1987:13-14). In ceremonies plant and animal forms signifying the Maiyun, or aspects of the Maiyun, are entwined with plant and animal forms that represent the seven levels of the Cheyenne universe (Schleiser 1987:8).

These sacred persons who lived above and below the earth, granted revelations to those who sought them. They were also

capable of taking on the form of any living creature. The Cheyenne religion also included spirits which were either benevolent or evil toward humans (Moore 1979:20:2-4; Powell 1969:ii:440-441). These sacred entities were willing to share their power and wisdom with humans. Besides these supernatural beings, every living form is blessed with a spiritual essence which is derived from Maheo.

THE SPIRITS OF HUMANS, ANIMALS, BIRDS, AND PLANTS

The spiritual forms of every living being under the laws of Maheo's, order, vonoom, consist of omotome, the immortal gift of breath essentially derived from cosmic power, exhastoz, and the immortal hematasooma. The spiritual potential consists of these four separate forces (Moore 1974:166; Schleiser 1987:9; Straus 1976:179). Each of these forces is capable of leaving the body independently.

The omotome (gift of breath derived from cosmic power) of humans and animals become localized in the physical remains: teeth, bones, claws, feathers, antlers, and horns, for example. These remnants of the omotome, eventually depart to rejoin their hematasooma, to become spirit selves in the spirit world (Schleiser 1987:9-10).

The hematasooma, of a Cheyenne becomes free upon physical death. This hematasooma, of a Cheyenne can do several things. It can participate in a physical form in continuing

expressions of Cheyenne culture as a guardian spirit or helper. It may travel through the Sky Spaces. A hematasooma, can join once again the omotome, for reincarnation as a Cheyenne in physical form (Schleiser 1987:9-10, 145-148).

The hematasooma, of an animal returns to the animal caves (heszevoxsz). Every species of animal has a male Maiyun, as its species specific protector. These Maiyun, are subordinate to: Esceheman, the female spirit of the Deep Earth, and Nonoma, thunder. These two Maiyun, are the animal keepers (Schleiser 1987:8-10). The hematasooma, of a slain animal has to be formally released. The proper treatment of all physical remains of an animal, including its omotome, were inherent in Cheyenne hunting laws which were regulated by the Maiyun (Schleiser 1987:8-10). The hematasooma, of an animal or different species of animals, could choose to associate with the hematasooma of a human and grant him spiritual influence on one or more animal species (Schleiser 1987:8-10). The parts of animals used for ceremonial purposes, teeth, claws, bones, and feathers, for example, are kept with the permission of the animal spirit (Schleiser 1987:9-13). This animal spirit provided the human practitioner with a part of the omotome, of a guardian animal whose hematasooma, could be summoned to provide assistance.

Plant, animal, and human physical forms originate from the reproduction process as given in each species. The initiation of new life, however, is not solely the result of the biological fusion of parental particles, but requires, for

procreation, the infusion of spiritual forms that remain with the organism until death (Schleiser 1987:9).

Plants, animals, and humans were all participants in a cycle of exchange. Each was a part of the other. Animals, plants, and humans all have a physical and spiritual component. Plant and animal physical forms are part of the Cheyenne material culture.

Upon ingestion of a plant, or animal flesh, the Cheyenne became part of the plant and animal community. Upon death, the human body, after the hematasooma had separated, became animal food. After the omotome had left, the human body became plant food. The human body became a participant in plant and animal existence according to the eternal cycle of transformation (Schleiser 1987:98-101).

Individual Cheyenne had personal experiences which confirmed the reality of their worldview. For example, the vision quest can be viewed as submission of an individual to the spiritual powers of the universe. It exposed the individual to cosmic power, exhastoz, and to the entering of hematasooma, out of body spirit selves.

The hematasooma of plants, animals, Cheyenne, or the Maiyun, associated themselves with a human through their choice (Schleiser 1987:9-16). The human is "adopted." The source of this association is made possible by Maheo. This organization of relationships was available to every Cheyenne and determined the direction of his or her life (Schleiser

1987:13). The Cheyenne worldview reveals that all parts of the universe are interrelated. Physical form is temporary, but spiritual form is immortal and unconstrained in space and time. Cheyenne cosmology is arranged along parameters which manifest themselves sociologically. The relationship between these parameters is provided in the following section.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COSMOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY

Cheyenne cosmology arranges the universe on three axes: an east-west axis, a north-south axis, and a sacred-profane axis. The sacred-profane axis supplies a static classification for all discrete items in the Universe (Moore 1979:20:6).

The east-west, north-south axes, show how the discrete items in the universe interact to maintain physical life for the Cheyenne. The east-west axis expresses the difference between a healthy life and death (Moore 1979:20:6). For example, an individual who communicates with Maheo, through the eastern axis (by means of the sun and its associated spirits), gains life. Or, an individual can communicate through the western axis (by means of the moon and its associated spirits), and be protected by the moon and its associated elements and escape a violent death (Moore 1979:20:6).

The north-south axis addresses the problem of the

continuation of life seasonally and on a tribal basis. Maheo, acts through the Maiyun, sun (Atovsz), and rain (Nemevota), to bring useful plants and animals to the Cheyenne. Maheo, also brings winter, and he must be propitiated by the Medicine Lodge ceremony to repeat the regeneration of plants and animals in the spring (Moore 1979:20:6).

The emphasis throughout Cheyenne religious practice, is gaining power from Maheo, through his agents. This is accomplished by visions, ritual, contemplation of the universe, and apprenticeship to a senior priest. By cognitive association between disparate natural phenomena, the Cheyenne cosmological system can be infinitely permuted.

One crucial dividing parameter in Cheyenne society, is sex. It also is addressed in Cheyenne cosmology. Cheyenne cosmology asserts that women are material and sterile. The spiritual qualities of men, are emphasized in Cheyenne cosmology (Moore 1979:20:8). Because men are spiritual, they undergo vision quests, pray, heal, and take part in tribal ceremonies. In pre-reservation times, men participated in secular activities which required spiritual power, such as buffalo hunting and warfare (Grinnell 1923:I:127-311; Grinnell 1923:II:1-336; Moore 1979:20:8; Schleiser 1987:31-32, 52-58, 168-171). These activities almost comprise the complete list of traditional male roles, warfare, hunting, and the preparation of and participation in their ceremonies (Grinnell 1923:I:127-311). These ideas are relevant to the sexual

division of labor in Cheyenne society.

Women, on the other hand, had the traditional activities of fruit, vegetable, wood gathering, and the preparation of buffalo hides (Grinnell 1923:I:127; 209-230; Moore 1979:20:6,9). These activities involve items taken from the earth in their cosmology. While the association between the earth, wood, fruit, and vegetables is obvious, the cosmology also derives the buffalo from the earth. The cosmology states that they live in caves. The physical relationship between female and buffalo is legitimized symbolically. However, females are traditionally not allowed to handle the skin, or feathers of animals which are sacred to Maheo. Generally women usually are permitted to handle the omotome, (physical remains), of buffaloes, badgers, and bears; those animals associated with the Deep Earth. The curing bundles maintained by women (for childbirth), contain medicine relating to these animals, or to plants (Moore 1979:20:6,9).

Another parameter visible in the cosmology is rank. Men who have become enlightened through religious instruction, have a different status than non-religious men. The sociology of religion describes relationships among Cheyenne males. The status of women is derived from their fathers and husbands. Senior priests, tend to interpret the religious experience of a novice so that the guardian spirit of the novice has some taxonomic relationship with the guardian spirit of the instructor. Throughout his religious life, a Cheyenne male

moves up the taxonomic hierarchy from mundane creatures to more sacred ones (Moore 1979:20:9-10).

The entire social and moral structure of Cheyenne society is not expressed in this description of their cosmology. The full cosmology includes more possibilities for symbolic moral instruction, and explicit lessons found in Cheyenne "myths" and oral traditions.

ZOOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION

Cheyenne priests, are most concerned with the classification of animals. Their system is not comprehensive, nor is it mutually exclusive. Biological categories are not utilized. The sanctity of an animal or group of animals is the criteria used. Entities which are important are represented within their classification system. Birds, vekseo, are considered more sacred than animals, hovan, because they can leave the ground and approach the sacred spirits of the Blue Sky Space. Some animals embody the sacred principles of the earth; animals who live in caves or animals who can tunnel into the surface of the earth (Moore 1979:20:6-7).

Animals and birds are said to be organized like people. They have chiefs, a family structure, and are ruled by father-figures. Bird and animal chiefs, have the same restricted social power as war chiefs. The chiefs do not necessarily

control them. Their followers do so on a voluntary basis. Father-figures are 'sacred" to their followers; where as chiefs are first among equals (Moore 1979:20:6).

Vekseo, includes either all birds and dragonflies, or all birds excluding large carnivores. The most important birds are the maxevkse, great birds. Their definitive characteristic is the consumption of meat. There are two categories of maxevkse, nizeo, birds who can soar high in the sky, and aenoo, hunting birds. Nizeo, includes eagles and vultures. Aenoo, include hawks and eagles, but not the bald eagle (Moore 1979:20:6-7).

Hovan, is a general category of animals, excluding birds, fish, and invertebrates. This category is divided into emhoneheo, the predatory animals, and mevavovan, game animals. Wolves, honeheo, are the most important predatory animals, followed by bears, nako. Other predatory animals and mammals are much less important. Game animals, are not important, however, buffalo are the exception and have a unique place in Cheyenne cosmology (Moore 1979:20:7-8).

RELIGIOUS PRACTITIONERS

Cheyenne formal cosmology, is tribal rather than personal property. A Cheyenne priest is "qualified" to perform tribal ceremonies because he represents some major spiritual entity in the shared cosmology. The apprentices of senior priests,

are generally associated with spiritual entities in the shared cosmology. But the spirits to whom the apprentices are related, are not as prominent in the cosmology. If a man has been an apprentice, his spiritual contacts are generally considered correct by instructors and pledgers. Senior priests dominate Cheyenne religion by directing major ceremonies and controlling the training of their apprentices (Moore 1979:20:10). An apprentice who pledges, fasts, and makes the proper gifts to his mentor rises up the hierarchy of guardian spirits, the same as rising up the priestly hierarchy. Men who do not pledge ceremonies, or who seek spiritual power without the direction of a priest, are outside the formal cosmology, priestly hierarchy, and merely observers at major ceremonies (Moore 1979:20:11).

A Cheyenne male's primary religious task, is to determine the best way to energize himself by making contact with an entity within the system of cosmic energy generated by Maheo (Moore 1979:20:8-11; Powell 1969:II:436-441). This is done by seeking religious knowledge from older men and priests, and by pledging and participation in various ceremonies. The amount of power a man attains is apparent in his worldly success. Women, have no personal access to cosmic energy (Moore 1979:20:10).

Some individual Cheyenne were singled out by the Maheyuno and Maiyun, or by hematasooma more than other Cheyennes. These individuals were generally called by the Maheyuno and

Maiyun and were taught in the sacred caves, maheonoxsz, or the animal caves, heszevoxsz (Schleiser 1987:13-14, 36-39). The Tsistsistas prophet Sweet Medicine and the Sutaio culture hero, Erect Horns, were sought by the Maheyuno and Maiyun and were responsible for introducing the great tribal ceremonies among the Tsistsistas and Sutaio (Powell 1969:II:18-20, 39-40, 488-610).

The Cheyenne term for shamanism is ehoneheonevestoz (Schleiser 1987:14). Shamans were referred to as either Zemaheonevsz, or maheonhetan (Ibid 1987:14). The latter term also refers to one who has served as a priest in one of the great ceremonies. Shamans formed a closed group known as ononevataneo (Schleiser 1987:4). This group was composed of both males and females. Shamanistic power could only be given by the Maheyuno, Maiyun, or hematasooma. After the Maheyuno, and Maiyun, introduced through shamans tribal ceremonies such as the Sun Dance and Massaum, a group of priests developed (Schleiser 1987:14). These priests were responsible for the maintenance of the ceremonies.

A person's spirit helper who represents the hematasooma of a human or an animal is known as nisimon (Schleiser 1987:14). Persons who work without the assistance of a spirit helper or a Maiyun, are not considered priests (Moore 1979:20:8-9; Schleiser 1987:14). These individuals are physicians and healers and referred to as naetan or nae (Schleiser 1987:14). Cheyenne shamans represented the

spiritual powers of the seven levels of the universe (Schleiser 1987:14-16, 20, 40-41). Religious practitioners associated with the Sky Spaces were separate from other shamans. This is because they were concerned with the creation of the universe and primordial time.

The hemaneh, or half man and half woman, was a transvestite shaman associated with the Blue Sky Space. They symbolically represented the union of otatavoom, the Blue Sky Space, and nsthoman, the Deep Earth. Another group according to Rodolphe Petter, indicates that the Cheyenne used to have experts who knew the stars and the names of the constellations, but this knowledge has gradually been neglected and forgotten (Petter 1915:1009). It is unknown whether this group were actually shamans.

Another group of priests was associated with the Near Sky Space. They used inverted speech and contrary behavior. These shaman were committed to a life of meditation and privation. They received their vocation from the Maiyun, thunder (Schleiser 1987:14-15).

Shaman associated with the Middle and Deep Earth were called by species specific Maiyun protectors, Esceheman, (Our Grandmother), or the hematasooma of animals or Cheyenne. This group of priests were concerned with the propitiation and protection of animals and their animal spirits. They directed medicine hunts (Schleiser 1987:16).

E'ehyo'm, were shamans who could cause harm over long

distances. This group included religious practitioners who controlled spirit lances or oxzem. This category of shamans includes the Keeper of the Sacred Arrows (Schleiser 1987:17). Witchcraft was referred to as Ehonestoz, and was possible through ovahoamazistoz, or magical shooting (Schleiser 1987:18). Cheyenne ethics dictated that any unjust harm to innocent individuals due to witchcraft, struck back at the person responsible for the abuse of power. It also punished members of their own family. Because of this, the use of witchcraft was curtailed.

Cheyenne shamanistic power is linked to the order of Maheo's design. Cheyenne religious practitioners act within the frame of a world description established thousands of years ago. For every Cheyenne the four parts which comprise his or her hematasooma was an empirical certainty which allowed for a wide array of possibilities (Moore 1979:20:8-10; Straus 1976:302).

The order of Maheo's design is inherent in the sacred ceremonies of the Cheyenne. These ceremonies which were essential, and acted to integrate the Cheyenne as a people are discussed below.

THE SACRED ARROWS

The Sacred Arrows are the most revered objects venerated by the Cheyenne (Dorsey 1905:9:41-46; Grinnell 1923:348-381;

Powell 1969:I:18-220; Powell 1969:II:488-610; 875-895; Stands in Timber 1972:27-41; 87-89). Cheyenne oral traditions indicate that Sweet Medicine went on a four year pilgrimage to the sacred mountain where he was instructed by the four sacred persons of the cardinal points and given the Sacred Arrows (Mahuts). These arrows are comprised of four sacred arrows; two provide Northern Cheyenne males with power over animals, and the other two provide spiritual power over other males (Powell 1969:I:18-20, 39-40). The shafts of the Sacred Arrows represent the original four male societies. The arrowheads are emblems of incorruption. The hawk feathers which adorn the Sacred Arrows are a representation of the spirit world (Habegger 1959:10).

The Sacred Arrows provided insurance for the procurement of food and protection from enemies. Sweet Medicine gave the sacred arrows to the Tsistsistas, band. A Holy person from this band is designated as the Keeper of the Arrows (Hoebel 1960:7-8; Powell 1969:I:39-40). The Sacred Arrows unite the Northern Cheyenne with Maheo, and are a symbol and source of male power (Powell 1969:I:18-20, 39-40).

The Renewal of the Sacred Arrows was a supreme act of Cheyenne worship. The rite brought harmony to the Cheyenne nation. The ritual associated with the Sacred Arrows brings Maheo's own life for renewing Northern Cheyenne unity as a people (Powell 1969:II:488-610). Generally, a chief pledged the rite when a murder had occurred or when their was a

national crisis. Since their confinement to the reservation, any Cheyenne male in good standing may pledge the rite. The ritual lasts for four days. After the ceremony, the Cheyenne nation is unified and harmony is returned to the people (Powell 1969:II:485-610; Stands in Timber 1972:87-89). The ritual ensures Northern Cheyenne males spiritual dominance over animals and other males. The Sacred Arrows are a resource against anxieties such as failure of the food supply and extermination from enemies. The Sacred Arrows represents the Northern Cheyenne's most sacred power from the supernatural and their central assurance for survival (Powell 1969:I:18-20). The renewal of the Sacred Arrows is not an annual occurrence. The ritual has specific effects: it emphasizes dependence on the benevolence of the supernatural, it reinforces the norms of the individual and the group as instructed by Sweet Medicine, it reinforces tribal authority (elders and priests), and it is the symbolic integrator of the tribe. It indicates the group is a component of parts and the parts cannot act individually (Hoebel 1960:10-11). John Stands in Timber, states that the ritual continued to be conducted by the Southern Cheyenne in Oklahoma, and was not as important to the Northern Cheyenne. However, Northern Cheyenne priests continue to participate in ceremonies held at Bear Butte, the sacred mountain where Sweet Medicine received the Sacred Arrows (Stands in Timber 1972:87-89).

ISSIWUN, THE SACRED BUFFALO HAT

The other sacred rituals of the Northern Cheyenne were given to Erect Horns, the Sutaio culture hero. On his pilgrimage to the Sutaio sacred mountain, Erect Horns was instructed by the supernatural and given powers to renew the buffalo (the Sacred Buffalo Hat or Issiwun), the earth, and its inhabitants (the Sun Dance or Medicine Lodge). His sojourn to the sacred mountain is the underlying element of the Sun Dance. The origins of the Sun Dance can be traced to the buffalo. This tradition underlies the identification of the Sutaio with the buffalo.

Throughout their rituals, the buffalo skull symbolizes the continual presence of the Buffalo Hat. The Sacred Buffalo Hat, possesses the power to attract the buffalo, the major source of sustenance among the Cheyenne. It is a symbol of prosperity and survival. The Sacred Buffalo Hat has its own keeper and occupies its own Sacred Lodge. The Sacred Hat has been permanently in Montana since 1882. This sacred object is as important to the Northern Cheyenne as the Sacred Arrows are to the Southern Cheyenne (Stands in Timber 1972:74).

THE MEDICINE LODGE (SUN DANCE)

The Sun Dance or Medicine Lodge, symbolizes world renewal (Dorsey 1905:9; Grinnell 1923:II:211-285; Hoebel 1960:12-13;

Powell 1969:II:341-381). This ritual restores harmony and vitality to the Cheyenne. It revitalized the world and all its inhabitants (Hoebel 1960:12-13). It enables creation to operate soundly and keep the people alive and well when disorder emerges within the world (Liberty 1965:121-122). The Medicine Lodge ceremony was performed annually over a period of eight days. As a sacrificial act, an individual had his chest pierced with skewers attached to a rope. The rope was attached to the center pole of the Sun Dance Lodge and the sacrificer danced around the pole, pulling against the rope until he broke free. John Stands in Timber relates that the elements of self-torture was not originally a component of the Sun Dance ritual. This sacrificial element did not contribute to world renewal, instead, it was for the spiritual benefit of the individual (Grinnell 1923:II:211-214; Stands in Timber 1972:93-96). The act of self torture was outlawed by Euroamericans in the 1880's (Powell 1969:I:366-381; Stands in Timber 1972:93-96). The performance of the Medicine Lodge ceremony is a supreme act of Northern Cheyenne worship.

MASSAUM OR ANIMAL DANCE

The Animal Dance or Massaum, was a hunting ritual (Grinnell 1923:II:285-34; Schleiser 1987 et. al.; Stands in Timber 1972:100-102). The ceremony of the Massaum was taught to Sweet Medicine by Thunder and Grandmother Earth, the

keepers of the animal spirits. It commemorates the Cheyenne relationship to the spirit world and their sacred relationship with animals and the proper approach of hunting herd animals by calling them into pounds. The ceremony was intended to insure the procurement of meat. The first four days of the ceremony consisted of closed rites. The pledger and his wife are instructed by a priest (an individual who has previously pledged and participated in the ceremony).

The ritual focuses on the preparation and painting of a wolf skin which the pledger wears on the fifth and final day of the ceremony (Schleiser 1987 et. al.; Grinnell 1923:II:285-334). Women, on the fourth day of the ceremony, build a corral of upright poles with two divergent arms extending outward. On the fifth and final day of the ceremony, men dressed up in imitation of particular animals, run around and enter the corral, and are hunted by Contrary Warriors, the Cheyenne male society which does things backwards (Grinnell 1923:II:285-334; Stands in Timber 1972:101). The Contrary Warriors represent the spirit of the Maiyun, thunder (Nonoma).

One of the messages inherent in the Massaum is that life and death have meaning with regards to physical form but not in the spirit world. The last ritual was conducted in 1911 (Hoebel 1960:16-17; Stands in Timber 1972:100-101). However, according to Karl Schleiser, the ritual did not become extinct until 1927, when it was last held in Oklahoma by the Southern Cheyenne (Schleiser 1987:2).

THE SWEAT LODGE

The Cheyenne terms for the sweat lodge are emaom, and vonhaom. Emaom, is derived from the words ema, meaning "concealed heat, " and om, or "lodge." Vonhaom, is comprised of the terms vona, or "to lose by heat," and om, or "lodge" (Schleiser 1987:63). Emaom, refers to a sweat lodge undertaken by a person or persons without elaborate ritual. However, a ceremonial sweat of purification by heat is referred to as vonhaom. The sweat lodge is a special type of spirit lodge where heat and steam are used to purify participants so they can receive the unadulterated power of the spirits unharmed (Schleiser 1987:62).

The sweat lodge is symbolic of the life-giving forces. The sun, which shines on the wood used in the fire to heat the sweat lodge, imparted its life and power to the wood. The fire, transmitted to the stones the sun's power which had been stored in the wood. The vapor given off from water being sprinkled on the heated stones, carries the sun's power which encloses those in the sweat lodge. Thus, the vapor reaches every part of the individual, within and without (Grinnell 1919:21:363). The burning of herbs such as sweet grass, releases the plant's influences which have a purifying and medicinal effect.

In taking a ceremonial sweat, the man is thought for the time being to give over his whole body and spirit to the great power. Then when he leaves the sweat

house, and his body has been wiped off with white sage -- the male sagebrush, he-ta-ne-wan-utz, his body again belongs to himself (Grinnell 1914:16:255).

No ceremony of any type occurs without the participants first taking a sweat bath. Participants are cleansed, spiritually, mentally, physically, and morally by the sweat lodge. When Cheyenne religious practitioners were outlawed by reservation officials and the missionaries, the spirit lodge aspect of the sweat lodge declined. However, the use of the sweat lodge for purification and healing has endured to the present (Schleiser 1987:65).

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The religion of the Cheyenne was not limited to the tribal ceremonies. Pipe smoking and purification by the sweat bath served ceremonial functions. Individuals sought personal power from the divine powers through visions. These individuals were sometimes granted special powers or medicine; an example is the power to heal. John Stands in Timber said "The Indians did not worship just once a week. They used religion in most of the things they did, hunting and healing and even horse racing" (Stands in Timber 1972:100). Religion was an ever present aspect in Cheyenne life. These aspects of Cheyenne traditionalism are presented symbolically in their oral history and cosmology (Moore 1974:302).

The sacred ceremonies of the Cheyenne and the objects

associated with these rites, and the culture heroes who went on pilgrimage and received these sacred ceremonies have been important elements in Cheyenne religion and culture. These rituals, sacred objects, and their culture heroes serve to integrate the Cheyenne both religiously and politically (Moore 1974:301-303).

Northern Cheyenne cosmology can be analyzed according to two elements of Cheyenne society, sex and rank. Attitudes governing their views on the spirit world and the earth justify the exploitation of females by males, and the division of labor between males and females (Moore 1979:20:11). Cheyenne taxonomy reflects the ranked social relationships between males and the exploitation of younger males by older males. Cheyenne society cannot be fully expressed by this description of their cosmology. However, aspects of Cheyenne society; sex and rank, are described by the cosmology (Moore 1979:20:8).

Sex, is one parameter which divides Cheyenne society into halves. By the notion of femaleness, Heestoz, Cheyenne cosmology asserts that females are sterile and material. The spiritual quality of males is emphasized in the sense that the Supreme Being is the All Father rather than the All Mother (Moore 1979:20:8-11). These values are related to the division of labor within Cheyenne society (Ibid 1979:20:8-11).

Because males are spiritual, they participate in tribal ceremonies, pray, are healers, and undergo vision quests.

Prior to reservation confinement, males participated in secular activities which required spiritual power; warfare and hunting. These activities: participation in ceremonies, warfare, and hunting comprise the list of traditional male activities (Grinnell 1923:I:127-311).

In contrast, traditional female activities such as gathering vegetables, tubers, wood, and the preparation of animal hides involves items taken from the earth in Cheyenne cosmology. Because buffalo live in caves in the earth, they are legitimated symbolically with females within Cheyenne cosmology. The association with gathering and their association with the earth is more obvious. Females do not handle the skins of animals or feathers which are considered sacred to Maheo. Medicine bundles held by females contain medicines related to buffalo, bears, badgers, and plants which conforms to the cosmology (Moore 1979:20:8-11).

The other parameter within Cheyenne society is rank. Non-religious males or younger males are referred to as ignorant ones. To become enlightened spiritually, a non-religious or younger man must undergo a period of religious instruction. Commitment to a religious role signifies an acceptance of the traditional lifestyle. The attitudes which men should have are expressed as religious values. The sociology of Cheyenne religion describes the relationships which exist among Cheyenne males. Because females are generally excluded from religious instruction and cosmological

inference, they usually derive their status from their male relatives (Moore 1979:20:8-11).

There is a relationship between Cheyenne cosmology and sociology. The traditional ideology is a means to rationalize the authority of males over females and older males or religious men over younger men or non-religious men. Their religious system embodied central values within their culture.

The Cheyenne zoological taxonomy is basically hierarchical. A main tenet of Cheyenne religious practice indicates that males have individual guardian spirits taken from the zoological classification. A male's spiritual instructor generally interprets the religious experience so that the novice has a classificatory link to the guardian spirit of the instructor. Because of this, groups within the zoological taxonomy reflect groups of Cheyenne males. Cheyenne males transcend the zoological hierarchy from more mundane to more sacred creatures, throughout their religious lives (Moore 1979:20:8-11).

Sociologically, relationships among the spirits are representative of relationships among Cheyenne extended family groups. These groups do not claim precedence or authority over each other. All are related and share attributes, but remain subordinate to Maheo. (Moore 1979:20:8-11; Schleiser 1987:14-16). The tribal ceremonies strengthen the collective solidarity of the Cheyenne. Competition, factionalism and familism are discouraged. The major spiritual entities are

mysterious and ambiguous, they preserve Cheyenne unity. This unity is symbolized by Maheo (Schleiser 1987:90-109).

The introduction of the mission enterprise affected the Northern Cheyenne, after their confinement to the reservation. The missionaries sought to permanently sever Cheyenne solidarity inherent through Maheo. When the Indian Bureau implemented their policies on the reservation, they attempted to transform traditional Cheyenne cultural practices. These cultural practices which are inadvertently linked to their religious ideologies were an affront to traditional religious practice and thought. This created resistance among the Northern Cheyenne to maintain their traditional religious practices. The people would engage in an organized effort against domination by the missionaries to perpetuate their culture in the face of this pressure to change. The Northern Cheyenne would resist the missionaries. Because of their determination, many of their religious customs have survived in one form or another to the present.

CHAPTER IV

UNITED STATES INDIAN POLICY ON THE TONGUE RIVER RESERVATION

Throughout two centuries, a major component of American political history dealt with the relations of the federal government of the United States with Native American populations. Indians, as tribal entities or as individuals have been in the consciousness of officials of all three branches of the federal government. The executive branch and Congress faced a political dilemma as diverse cultures came into contact. This contact resulted in conflict within the expanding territorial boundaries of the United States.

Native American populations such as the Northern Cheyenne possessed rich and diverse cultures. However, they were generally unable to resist the economically and militarily powerful United States. Once some native populations lost their indigenous and European allies, after the War of 1812, it became evident that the United States would deal with Native Americans from a position of dominance. This dominance or paternalism, translated into a relationship between Indians and Whites which resembled that of a ward and its guardian.

The majority of the legislative programs which would establish Indian policy were negative and restrictive. They tried to regulate intercourse and trade between the United States and Indian nations. In conjunction with these

restrictive activities was a constructive effort to alter the Indians and their cultural patterns. Operating under the principle of Christian philanthropy, government officials proposed to better the condition of the Indians. It is here that the paternalistic aspects of federal Indian policy become apparent. The controlling force in Indian and white relations would be a policy determined by the United States government, not the wishes of Native Americans. This next section examines United States Indian policies on the Tongue River reservation. It provides an overview of Indian policy and examines the manner in which these programs were instituted to suppress Northern Cheyenne religious expression. Although the Northern Cheyenne essentially were powerless politically and economically after their confinement, they would resist these attacks on their traditional ideology. The Northern Cheyenne would adjust to these drastic changes expounded by the Indian Bureau and their missionary allies on their own terms.

OVERVIEW OF UNITED STATES INDIAN POLICY

The relationship between the United States government and the Northern Cheyenne forms an integral part of Northern Cheyenne history. In 1876, after the annihilation of Breviate General George Armstrong Custer by the Cheyenne and their Sioux and Arapaho allies on the Little Bighorn River, heavy army reinforcements were sent into Montana Territory to hunt

down the bands who had scattered after the battle. The military pressure was more than the Cheyenne could withstand. Eventually during the fall and winter, the bands were defeated and surrendered to various Indian agencies. The Indian wars over the conquest of Native American lands, made the army an agent of the federal government in the control and management of the Indians just like the Indian Office. The political goal was to place the Cheyenne on the reservation where they could be trained and educated for American citizenship. The destruction of the Northern Cheyennes' traditional way of life, was the ultimate goal of both military and civilian officials.

Prior to the confinement of the Cheyenne on the Tongue River reservation in 1884, officials responsible for Indian Affairs sought to treat the Northern Cheyenne honorably. These officials acted upon the premise that Euroamerican society would prevail. This persistent attitude was a determination to do what was best for the Northern Cheyenne according to Euroamerican norms. A central component was the humane Christian approach to the so-called "Indian Problem." It culminated in leading Indian populations along the path to Euroamerican Christianity and civilization. Programs for "Americanizing" all Indians were pushed with enthusiasm. Humanitarians, by arousing and channeling public sentiment forced through Congress a reform program which was considered the final solution to the "Indian Problem." These reformers

and their allies in government, were confident in the righteousness of their cause. Convinced of the superiority of Christian civilization, these reformers were determined to eradicate Indianness and tribal relations. Individual Indians would be transformed into patriotic Americans indistinguishable from their Euroamerican counterparts. Lacking any appreciation for Indian cultures, the reformers were intent upon forcing Native Americans to adopt the qualities they embodied. The harmony which hall-marked this new reform movement was based on a common religious outlook. The word Christian was used unanimously by the reformers as they performed God's will to guide the Indian "from the night of barbarism into the fair dawn of Christian civilization" (Prucha 1984:I:594-597). The intense religious drive for a unified American society was the momentum for the new Indian reform programs.

American evangelicalism insisted on individual salvation: the conversion and reformation of individuals was the means to correct societal evils. The reformers were adamant about the individualization of the Indian. This individualism was connected closely to the Puritan work ethic of hard labor and thrift. These reformers represented and were a reflection of a predominant segment of late nineteenth century Protestant American society (Utley 1984:203-226). The explicit goals of the reformers was promoting agricultural labor, the notion of private property, the development of monetary funds and by

instilling civilized wants and aspirations through education (Hoxie 1984:43-44; Prucha 1984:I:594-597; Utley 1984:203-226).

The decades at the end of the nineteenth century when Indian reform flourished were marked by a desire to create a righteous empire in America. The Northern Cheyenne and all Native Americans became part of this concerted effort. The missionaries were viewed by reformers as being an important promotor of this policy.

THE PREMISE OF UNITED STATES INDIAN POLICY

The policy of assimilation implemented on the Tongue River reservation sought to destroy the traditional Cheyenne lifestyle. The reservation would become a controlled society where the trappings of civilization could be attained. However, the inhabitants of the Tongue River reservation were not a homogenous entity in their reaction to government policy and the reformers' intentions. The reservation was split into two factions, designated by the reformers as "progressives" and "non-progressives" (Prucha 1984:217-218). "Non-Progressive" Cheyenne were considered hostile to the government and to White civilization, if they believed in what was Indian. On the other hand, "progressives," what could properly be termed the Christian faction, were nourished and trained by missionary enterprises and devotion (Prucha 1984:217-218). The reformers' goal was to encourage the

"progressive" faction and stamp out the "non-progressive" contingent. They supported Indians and measures which promoted the former and restricted or crushed the latter. The main figure in the process was the Indian Agent. His primary concern was to induce "his" Indians to labor in civilized pursuits. If the agent could control the "non-progressive" Indians and aggressively foster the civilization program, he gained the commendation of the Indian Office and the reformers. The success or failure of an agents administration was measured by his ability to encourage the "progressive" Indians and eliminate the "non-progressive" population on the reservation. All Indian Bureau personnel became the instruments in carrying out all civilizing programs.

The fundamental assimilation policy among the Northern Cheyenne which was the goal of Christian reformers in the nineteenth century, were implemented on the Tongue River reservation in the beginning of the twentieth century.

The theory embodied in the Dawes Act, of land allotments in severalty and its provisions for Indian citizenship, as well as the national establishment of an Indian school system would be implemented. Under these conditions the paternalism of the government increased instead of diminished. The bureaucracy of the Indian Office dominated the Indians' existence.

Even though the basic tenets of assimilation continued to be the foundation of White-Indian relations, important changes occurred in the twentieth century. There was a shift in the

emphasis from the Christian reform movement that would abruptly and dramatically transform the Indians into Christianized Americans, to a practical, pragmatic approach.

By the turn of the twentieth century, a reaction against evolutionary modes of thought in the social sciences arose. This shift was a result against "social Darwinism" or the racist implications of nineteenth century evolutionist writings. It stemmed from a growing emphasis upon empirical field research. Through contact with non-western cultures, anthropologists could provide empirical evidence for the premise that cultures could not be evaluated as superior or inferior, but simply as different. However, anthropologists could not escape a terminology which reflected their recognition of a ranking system based on developmentalism (White 1947:165-192).

Based upon these revised anthropological views of Native Americans and the reality that acculturation was more difficult than previously believed, the government altered its goals. The optimism of nineteenth century Christian reformers transformed to a pessimistic assessment of Native American populations during the Progressive Era. Assimilation remained the goal, however, Native Americans could not be considered equal to their Euroamerican counterparts. Assimilation had come to mean knowing one's place and fulfilling one's role. That place and role for the Northern Cheyenne, as well as all other Native Americans, was on the periphery of American

society economically, politically, and constitutionally (Hoxie 1984:211-237). The government relegated Native Americans to the same status of other ethnic Americans. These ethnic groups also experienced similar economic and social inequities (Hoxie 1984:239-244).

Father Francis Paul Prucha also identifies the significant changes which occurred after 1900. The influence of the Protestant reformers was diminished. They were no longer able to control the legislative formulation of Indian policy. The loss of Protestant influence came from the increasing secularization of American society. This is visible in the shift in government policy (Prucha 1984:II:759-762).

The Progressive Era of United States government Indian relations became directed by an agenda which emphasized Indian citizenship and the businesslike management of Indian affairs, as well as promoting bureaucratic efficiency. Self-support and self-reliance were the hall-marks of this new age. All Indians through improved education and the guidance of the Indian Service, would no longer be dependent upon the government.

Even though the missionaries did not retain the status they held during the Christian reform era, they were still regarded as important agents of assimilation. Commissioner Cato Sells in his 1918 Annual Report, expressed thanks for "the cooperation and helpful assistance rendered by the

missionaries at large and in the field ... Their accomplishments have been constructive and effective, not only in the advancement of the Indians spiritually, but industrially, morally, and otherwise" (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1918:66). The Progressive Era ended with Native American populations losing a majority of their land base and becoming more controlled by and dependent upon government bureaucracy (Prucha 1984:II:763).

Federal Indian policy became more scrutinized under the presidencies of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. The tenet of assimilation, the mainstay of Indian policy since the 1880's, was the focus of this scrutiny. The Office of Indian Affairs came under attack by persons demanding change and reform in United States Indian policy. The controversy was centered on land claims of the Pueblo Indians and non-Indians.

John Collier, a representative for the Indian Welfare Committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, opposed the bill introduced by New Mexican Senator Holm Bursum to resolve the Pueblo land disputes (Prucha 1984:II:797-798). The controversy stemming from the Bursum Bill brought national attention to the need for Indian policy reforms. After visiting Taos Pueblo in 1920, John Collier devoted his life to preserving the cultures and land base of Native American populations (Prucha 1984:II:797-790).

Collier founded the American Indian Defense Association in May of 1923. The goals of the organization were to

preserve Indian civilization by encouraging tribal loyalties, developing Indian arts and crafts, and by protecting religious and social freedoms (Philp 1977:46-47). John Collier became the leader of the new Indian reform movement.

These "new reformers" also had conflicting views with government policy on Indian dances (Prucha 1984:II:800-806). These views challenged the assimilationists' goal of eradicating elements of Native American culture perceived to oppose the Judeo-Christian foundation of Euroamerican society. Collier led the movement to defend the right of Native Americans to practice their religions. The Pueblo land claims and religious freedom for Native Americans were by no means the only basis of attack upon the Indian Office. John Collier and the "new reformers" also criticized government Indian policies concerned with health issues, education, and allotment of land in severalty.

Collier asked for an end to a policy which: "...is sanctioned by the belief that the Indian as a race must perish from the earth in order that, naked of memories, homeless, inferior, and fugitive, some creatures with Amerindian blood in their veins may rush to the arms of Civilization (sic): this policy, historically so natural but now so inhuman and un-American, is still the policy of the guardian before whose command all Indians must bow down" (Prucha 1984:II:806).

The new Indian reform movement of the 1920's influenced the Indian Bureau especially during the Herbert Hoover

administration. Secretary of the Interior, Herbert Work, requested the Institute of Government to undertake a study on Indian affairs in 1926. The 900 page study referred to as the Meriam Report, identified the deplorable conditions on Indian reservations. The report recommended increased appropriations to improve reservation education, health care, and economic development (Prucha 1984:II:810).

The Meriam Report included a section entitled "Missionary Activities Among the Indians." The section was supportive of missionary work conducted among Native American populations, however, it recommended changes in the way those efforts were initiated (Institute of Government Research 1928:812-817). It advised that the various missionary societies try and meet the Indian's economic and social needs, in addition to saving souls (Institute Government Research 1928:834-836). Above all else, the report advocated the cooperation between all individuals and organizations concerned with Native Americans (Ibid 1928:838-844).

The report also included a section on Indian religion and ethics. It identified, "the common failure to study sympathetically and understandingly the Indians own religions and ethics and to use what is good in them as a foundation upon which to build" (Institute of Government Research 1928:845). The missionaries were encouraged to appreciate Indian's religious culture. The Hoover administration was a transitory period from the traditional policy of the

"Christian reformers" to the radical changes of the "new Indian reformers" (Prucha 1984:II:921,939).

The election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his "New Deal" programs, affected all Native American populations. The ideals and goals which had dominated government policy since the 1880's, were reversed. The role the government contended missionaries should have on the reservations was altered. The missionaries would no longer be entrusted with the status of promoting social change.

The appointment of John Collier as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, radically altered Indian policy. The passage of the Indian Reorganization Act which became law on 18 June 1934, was the soul of New Deal Indian reform. Its main tenets: the appreciation for Indian culture, a movement toward tribal economic activity, and concern with Indian self-government and self-determination were the summation of what Collier's administration attempted to accomplish. However, the vision John Collier had for regenerated Indian communities and the acceptance of Indian culture as a positive contribution to American life never became a reality. He was so firm in his convictions of what was right for the Indians that he sometimes manipulated the Indians to behave in ways that he thought best (Prucha 1984:II:939-945).

The following section examines religious suppression on the Tongue River reservation. This suppression would span a fifty year period. Throughout this time, the Northern

Cheyenne would endure and resist. Even though this suppression would alter their religious traditions, it would not eliminate them. The Northern Cheyenne would hold on tenaciously to their traditional religious ideology and ceremonies.

RELIGIOUS SUPPRESSION

The Indian Agent and the mission enterprise were the primary instruments of directed change on the Northern Cheyenne reservation. The Agent would implement Euroamerican oriented organizations to assist with forced assimilation. The Agent and the missionaries were the power structure on the reservation. The Northern Cheyenne were expected to dutifully carry out the whims dictated by this power structure.

United States Indian policy had assumed that Indian tribes were political entities which maintained their own law and order. Nevertheless, the elimination of tribalism, a component of Indian policy, had been moved forward in 1871 by the abolition of the Treaty system and would be extended by jurisdiction over Indian reservations. The institutions known as the Indian Police Force and Court of Indian Offenses, would be incorporated to dispense law and order on the Tongue River reservation.

A Cheyenne police force was established in 1886 by Agent Robert L. Upshaw (Weist, T. 1977:124). This quasi-military

unit acted under the commands of the agent. They were an extension of his authority; a means to ensure that rules and regulations on the reservation were properly observed.

Unwittingly, the Agents drew their officers from former male society members. These Indian police assumed the enforcement powers of the pre-reservation male societies. Like the pre-reservation societies which had regulated much of tribal life, the Indian police force would perform similar functions. Their major responsibilities were to return truant children to school and stop cattle butchering. They faced a major obstacle of having to go against the traditional norms of the Cheyenne. Because of this, the Indian police were not as respected as the pre-reservation male societies (Weist, T. 1977:124). The Indian police force was joined by a complimentary institution, the Court of Indian Offenses based upon United States law.

The Court of Indian Offenses was instituted on 10 April 1883, by Indian Commissioner Hiram Price (Prucha 1984:219). The court had jurisdiction over "heathenish dances," public intoxication, theft and destruction of property, misdemeanors, the interference of medicine men, polygamy, and any other acts which infringed upon the "civilizing" process (Prucha 1984:218-219). A reason why the Indian Bureau attempted to outlaw the practices of the "medicine men" was because many were spiritual leaders. Commissioner Price established this set of rules to aid reservation agents and the imposed Court

of Offenses in abolishing these "evil practices" (Prucha 1984:218-219). A Cheyenne court of Indian Offenses was organized in 1889 (Stands In Timber 1972:270; Weist, T. 1977:124).

The legal basis on which the courts of Indian Offenses rested was extremely vague. Punishments were generally in the form of a fine or imprisonment. All court decrees were subject to the approval of the Agent. The court had no jurisdiction over major crimes committed on the reservation. Like the Cheyenne police force, the Court of Indian Offenses was accountable to the Agent. Both enforced the laws of Euroamerican society. The agents for the Tongue River used the Indian Police and Court of Indian Offenses to ensure compliance of government assimilation policies.

During their reservation confinement, the political authority of the Cheyenne Council of Forty-four lost its major decision making power to the Indian Agent. The agent and Indian Bureau made all the decisions affecting the Cheyenne, their daily lives, and their future. Even though they were stripped of their formal powers, the chiefs remained the informal and ceremonial leaders of the Cheyenne people (Weist, T. 1977:125). The judicial powers of the Council of Forty-four were supposed to be replaced by the Court of Indian Offenses.

Despite these attempts over jurisdiction, the chiefs had covertly, "illegally," and "immorally" been influencing all

sorts of decisions, right up to 1934 (Moore 1974:135). The Northern Cheyennes still maintained a semblance of their pre-reservation organization. The reports of agents and commissioners are full of unappreciative references to the chiefs and male societies (Moore 1974:136).

When the Northern Cheyenne adopted their constitution under the conditions of the Indian Reorganization Act (I.R.A.), it gave powers to a Tribal Council. The creation of a Tribal Council tended to legitimate a native political leadership already in existence (Moore 1974:137). The traditional chiefs, as a group had continued to direct sanctions and force consensus among the people. These Northern Cheyenne chiefs actively sought terms of office to the Tribal Council and were elected. This leadership continued to resist Euroamerican absorption and domination.

However, the Indian police and Court of Indian Offenses were utilized to enforce the suppression of traditional ceremonies such as the Sun Dance and the use of the Sweat Lodge, as well as other traditions of a similar nature. The Sweat Lodge ceremony, prayers, and curing or healing rituals were punishable offenses when these rites were discovered by Indian Bureau personnel.

Reservation life also sought a transformation in the religious culture of the Northern Cheyenne. This was in part caused by the Indian Bureau's concentrated effort to eliminate the traditional religious ceremonies of the Northern Cheyenne.

This policy was promoted and formulated by Protestant religious reformers who believed that the Indians should abandon the elements of their culture which hindered their acculturation (Utley 1984:203-226). To these reformers, traditional religious ceremonies and practices were formidable barriers to becoming "civilized." For the majority of Northern Cheyenne, loyalty to deeply ingrained tribal beliefs were stronger than the Christian messages of salvation. The missionaries would attempt to convert a people simultaneously adapting to the harsh realities of reservation life while obstinately retaining elements of their traditional culture.

MEDICINE LODGE (SUN DANCE)

The Sun Dance and its ritual feature of torture, drew the attention of Euroamericans and demands for its suppression followed. Suppression of the Sun Dance began during the 1880's as part of the broad policy of acculturation and continued for approximately fifty years (Prucha 1984:II:646-674). Despite government efforts to eradicate the dance, the Northern Cheyenne held the Sun Dance annually except when they were actively prevented from doing so. It is suggested that the ceremony was performed secretly while it was publicly prohibited (Liberty 1965:125-127; Powell 1969:I:366-381; Prucha 1984:II:646-674). Initially, the element of "self-

torture" was the primary reason for opposition to the dance. To Euroamericans the Sun Dance's self sacrifice was an act of barbarism; to the Northern Cheyenne it was a supreme act of sacrifice to achieve a desired outcome (Hoebel 1960:16; Powell 1969:I:366-381; Stands in Timber 1972:92-93). Torture was not an integral part of the Cheyenne ceremony. "The torture never was part of the true ceremony at all. It began by itself, and then got worked in until people thought it belonged" (Stands in Timber 1972:93).

Later, another source of opposition to the Sun Dance involved the offering of the "Sacred Woman" (the pledger's wife), as a sexual sacrifice to the instructor. "The "Sacred Woman's" offering is not only the supernatural channel for the rebirth of the race and of the world; but also the means by which she herself transfers sacred power from the Instructor (a priest who represents Maheo himself), to the pledger (sponsor)" (Powell 1969:II:459). "The people regard with respect one who has made the Sacred Woman's offering. She is filled with spiritual beauty. She has fulfilled, in a sacred way and within a sacred context, woman's mission as perpetuator of the tribe, of the race and of creation itself" (Powell 1969:II:459).

The Northern Cheyenne conducted the Sun Dance during fifty years of general suppression by the Indian Service. However, three definite breaks occurred during which time the ceremony was not held: in 1890 and in 1904 by Indian Bureau

pressure; and the third time by local Mennonite missionaries for a few years after 1919. However, John Moore stipulates that the Northern Cheyenne resorted to a series of ruses such as performing part of the ceremony publicly and part privately, or holding the ritual out in the hills beyond the reach of white authorities. By instituting these deceits the Cheyenne maintained the Medicine Lodge ceremony in some form throughout the "banned" period (Moore 1974:140). The initial ban occurred sometime between 1887 and 1908. John Stands in Timber, Cheyenne historian, thinks the ban became effective about 1887 and lasted about twenty years (Liberty 1965:126).

In 1908, Northern Cheyenne leaders petitioned Superintendent J. R. Eddy to receive permission to conduct the Sun Dance ceremony under the guise of a "Willow Dance." He corresponded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and stated "The Indians here are a deeply religious body, and they are desirous of annually holding the Willow Dance ... Personally I should not care to arbitrarily refuse to permit the Indians to participate in this religious ceremonial, but if the policy of the Department is to altogether restrict this modified "Sun Dance" I shall be glad to let the Indians know that I am instructed to discourage the holding of this dance" (Bureau of Indian Affairs, Northern Cheyenne Indian Agency, Letters to Commissioner 1886-1913, RG 75, Box 12, Book March 1908:NA-PNR). These Northern Cheyenne indicated that the President in Washington had permitted the Cheyenne freedom of religious

worship. Superintendent Eddy granted permission to conduct the "Willow Dance," under the premise that no "torture" would occur. The offering of the Willow Dance continued for three more years.

In response to the 1909 Circular 331, concerning dancing, agents were requested to provide information as to the extent of dancing on Indian reservations and in Indian schools (Bureau of Indian Affairs Northern Cheyenne Indian Agency, Circular Letters 1884-1924, RG 75, Box 31, Book Circular 303-342:NA-PNR). Particularly, the effect of dancing on the Indians' general demeanor and their amenability to discipline were requested. Superintendent J.R. Eddy, responded that "In connection with the Willow dance (sic) there are no immoral practices viewed as such by the Indians, but I have recently learned that there is a certain custom that the Indians still care to include in this dance that from a Christian standpoint is immoral. Upon learning of this incident of the Willow dance (sic) we have taken up the matter with a view to wholly restricting the dance if the Indians interested do not promise to cut out this feature" (Bureau of Indian Affairs, Northern Cheyenne Indian Agency, Letters to Commissioner 1886-1913, RG 75, Box 13, Book:M Commissioners:395-397:NA-PNR). Superintendent Eddy indicates that all full blooded Indians, both educated and uneducated, take an interest in the dance whereas mixed bloods participate very little in any of the dances. "The Indians seem more amenable to discipline when

not cut off entirely from participation in their dances." He felt "the Cheyenne, if requested would give up the dances altogether; but in view of the fact that the dances no longer mean a great deal to these Indians, I would not, at the present time, recommend that they be asked to give up their dances altogether. We will see to it that there are no immoral practices continued in connection with any of the dances that these Indians may indulge in" (Bureau of Indian Affairs, Northern Cheyenne Indian Agency, Letters to Commissioner 1886=1913, RG 75, Box 13, Book M:395-397:NA-PNR).

It is interesting that J.R. Eddy in 1909 mentions that he recently learned of a certain custom among the Cheyenne included in their performance of the Willow Dance which is "immoral." This custom is not considered "immoral" by Indian standards but is considered profane from a Christian viewpoint. Eddy does not indicate if this is the role of the "Sacred Woman" as a sexual sacrifice in the Medicine Lodge ceremony. If this "immoral" custom is indeed the role of the "Sacred Woman" in the Sun Dance rite, it was known for ten years prior to the 1919 controversy. In any case, the Cheyenne continued to conduct the ritual.

The Sun Dance was banned again in 1911, when the Indian Bureau renewed its prohibition against the Willow Dance and other dances of a ceremonial nature. The Northern Cheyenne petitioned annually until 1918 to conduct the dance but were denied permission to perform the ritual. The Indian Bureau

believed the Sun Dance and other dances perpetuated "Indianness" which undermined their Americanization. These dances kept the Indians away from their farms and therefore were detrimental to having the Indians become self-supporting (Prucha 1984:II:594-597). The ban placed upon conducting the Sun Dance forced the Northern Cheyenne to conduct their ceremony secretly on the reservation (Moore 1974:140).

The Cheyenne endured. Some Euroamericans did provide assistance. F.W. Hodge, Bureau of American Ethnography wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and argued that:

Such harmless rites [as the Sun Dance] have a tendency in a psychological way to promote moral uplift. I shall be glad ... to detail Mr. Mooney to proceed to Montana in order to make observations of a ceremony that will soon be entirely extinct (Powell 1969:I:341).

The reply from the Indian Bureau was the same. The ceremony was seen as detrimental to Indian welfare and a step backward in the efforts to civilize them. All efforts to discourage the Sun Dance would continue.

In 1918, the Sun Dance was performed openly. This would cause another period of controversy surrounding the Medicine Lodge ceremony. At this time, the Mennonite missionaries, the Reverend Rodolphe and Bertha Petter, began a campaign to have the Sun Dance permanently banished. They believed Cheyenne converts should take a stand against what they considered sinful dances (R. Petter to Mission Board, April 3, 1918, I-1c, Series 2, Box 1, File 8, MLA).

Some of these Northern Cheyenne Mennonite converts confessed of the "immorality" of the Sun Dance. This "immorality" was based upon the role of the "Sacred Woman" within the Sun Dance ceremonial context. The testimonies included complaints that the dance was organized by the priests so they could collect monies and gifts, and the dances hindered the progress of the Northern Cheyenne (Powell 1969:I:343). These affidavits would create discourse between Cheyenne traditionalists and the Mennonites. It would result in factionalism between Cheyenne traditionalists and Cheyenne Christians which would last for over two decades.

The testimonies of Robert Yellowfox and Marion Mexican Cheyenne incited controversy on the reservation. Some Cheyenne Mennonite converts condemned the two men for disclosing the role of the "Sacred Woman." The unrest intensified when Cheyenne traditionalists responded to this attack on their religion. The Tribal Council discussed the removal of all Indians and missionaries opposed to the ceremony from the reservation (Powell 1969:I:343-353).

Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, E.B. Merritt, responded to the events in a letter dated 1 March 1919. Commissioner Merritt indicated the practices of the "medicine men" were in violation of federal guidelines. The offenders should be apprehended and made to stand trial before the Court of Indian Offenses (E.B. Merritt to John A. Buntin, March 1, 1919, I-1, Petter Collection, Box 3, File 27, MLA).

In March of 1919, Superintendent John A. Buntin called a meeting of all "Indian Doctors" from the reservation. The Reverend Rodolphe Petter was also invited to attend. Superintendent Buntin began the meeting by discussing Euroamerican medical concepts of disease, cause, and cure. He then discussed the practices of the medicine men during the Sun Dance and relayed the response from Assistant Commissioner Merritt; that they cease these practices or stand trial (Powell 1969:I:343-353).

After Agent Buntin's discussion, several Indians spoke in response to the charges made against them, including Iron Shirt, the instructor in Marion Mexican Cheyenne's testimony. Iron Shirt claimed he had practiced their traditional religious ceremony and had done nothing improper with Emma Mexican Cheyenne. Both Marion and Emma Mexican Cheyenne reaffirmed Marion's affidavit. After the denial of the testimony, the traditionalists eventually admitted the importance of the role of the "Sacred Woman" in the ceremony (Powell 1969:I:343-353).

In response to the meeting, Superintendent Buntin, issued his own set of regulations regarding the practices of the "Medicine men." These regulations prohibited the medicine men from practicing their traditional healing and curing rituals. They also prohibited advise to others against anything perceived to hinder the Northern Cheyenne's progress. Only one regulation referenced the dances: "All ceremonies wherein

the debauching of women forms a part of the ceremonies and the collection of fees from candidates to become doctors is prohibited and considered an Indian Offense" (Circular to Indians, May 8, 1919, I-1, Petter Collection, Box 3, File 27, MLA).

The issue of Native American religious dances created dissension and conflict on the reservation. This transpired within the context of the "new Indian reform" movement. In 1921, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles H. Burke, issued a circular which allowed recreational dances. However, the circular condemned religious ceremonies such as the Sun Dance, giveaways, use of injurious drugs, or excessive performances which promoted idleness. Burke also encouraged missionary activities on the reservations (Philp 1977:56).

Nonetheless, by February of 1923, Burke strengthened this order by prohibiting anyone under fifty years of age from participating in ceremonies which revealed "immoral" or "degrading" influences, and limiting dances to one day per month (Philp 1977:57). Commissioner Burke also issued a "Message to all Indians." This message included what he believed to be harmful about Native American dances. He did not order these activities stopped, instead he gave Native Americans a year to voluntarily abandon these practices (Philp 1977:57; Charles Burke, "A Message To All Indians," February 14, 1923, Petter Collection, Box 4, File 31, MLA). This message caused the new Indian reformers to step up their

efforts to end restrictions on Indian dancing (Philp 1977:57-59).

Commissioner Burke's order to stop Indian dances had no effect on the Tongue River reservation. In 1922, Northern Cheyenne traditionalists circulated a petition to hire an attorney to help them "fight for their religion" (R. Petter to Richert, May 5, 1922, I-1c, Series 2, Box 1, File 9, MLA). The Northern Cheyenne responded by raising \$1000.00 to send a delegation to Washington D.C., to secure the freedom to practice their religion. They returned to the Tongue River reservation without convincing the Indian Bureau to alter its regulations. The Northern Cheyenne who wanted to continue the traditional ceremonies were at a political disadvantage.

The Northern Cheyenne delegation which had travelled to Washington D.C., was informed that the regulations posted by Agent John Buntin concerning the practices of the medicine men were to be followed. Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, E.B. Merritt, informed Agent Buntin that "the Tongue River delegation which recently visited this city was offered no encouragement in the matter of permitting the continuance of the practices of Indian medicine men but were told that the regulations recently promulgated must be observed. You will therefore permit no deviation from the regulations in question. Please keep the Office advised relative to the medicine man situation on your reservation" (Assistant Commissioner E.B. Merritt to Buntin, Subject files 1900-1925,

RG 75, Box 59, File 364:A.J. Dennis Self-Styled Messiah:NA-PNR).

Government policy which continued to condemn Indian traditionalists remained status quo. Even though the Indian Bureau was asking for voluntary abandonment of their ceremonies, they were outwardly professing their disdain toward traditional practices. Whether the Northern Cheyenne acted voluntarily or not, suppression of the Sun Dance had been effected by 1926.

Agent Edward Lohmiller received a petition in 1927 to allow a "Willow Dance" (the euphemism for the Medicine Lodge ceremony). Lohmiller forwarded the request to Commissioner Charles Burke (Lohmiller to Burke, June 15, 1927, RG 75, Series 0009, Box 86:NA-PNR). Burke consented to the dance, probably because of the political battle between the Indian Bureau and John Collier and the new Indian reformers. Agent Lohmiller warned the Northern Cheyenne Sun Dance priests that if anything immoral took place when the ceremony was performed, the Indian Police would stop the ritual.

Lohmiller reported to Commissioner Burke that the dance was to be held in September and outlined what would occur on each day of the four day ceremony. To assure compliance, six police officers would be present, three representing the "old Indians" and three representing the Mennonites (Lohmiller to Burke, August 8, 1927, RG 75, Series 0009, Box 87:NA-PNR). Lohmiller later reported that the occasion went well, with

only a few instances of drunkenness (Lohmiller to Burke, September 13, 1927, RG 75, Series 0009, Box 87:NA-PNR).

According to Margot Liberty in Suppression and Survival of the Northern Cheyenne Sun Dance, the Sun Dance was not halted but held annually and sometimes twice a year since 1927 (Liberty 1965:127-128).

What happened on the Tongue River reservation was a reflection of the reversal in government Indian policy which began in the 1920's. The pressure created by John Collier and the other new Indian reformers caused Commissioner Charles Burke to soften the once rigid stance taken by the Indian Bureau in regards to Indian dances. The Indian Bureau regulations which banned the Sun Dance, remained in effect until 1934. After the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, John Collier was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Along with other "New Deal" programs, Collier placed Indian Bureau departmental regulations into effect and governmental suppression of the Sun Dance was officially over (John Collier to Superintendents, "Indian Religious Freedom and Indian Culture," January 3, 1934, RG 75, Series 00011, Box 264, File 816:NA-PNR).

In addition to their traditional religious ceremony the Sun Dance, the Northern Cheyenne also sought out new spiritual alternatives to the imposed reservation religious systems. The Northern Cheyenne adopted the doctrines of the Ghost Dance and Peyotism (Native American Church) (Gatschet 1891:(4):108-

111; Lanternari 1963:63-157; Stewart 1983:33(2):2-15; Weist, T. 1977:137-154). These movements would also be attacked and condemned by the Indian Bureau and the missionaries. Both would attempt to eradicate this new expression of Indian faith. In addition to the indoctrination of these alternative religious practices, the Northern Cheyenne would be introduced to the religious tenets of a "self-styled Messiah." This "Messiah" came to the Cheyenne when they were embroiled in the turmoil of the 1919 Medicine Lodge controversy.

A.J. DENNIS CONTROVERSY

A. J. Dennis, was responsible for another religious dispute on the Northern Cheyenne reservation in 1919, following the confrontation between Northern Cheyenne traditionalist and the Mennonites over the Sun Dance. The first reference to A. J. Dennis, was in February of 1917. The Reverend Rodolphe Petter, corresponded to Agent John Buntin that letters were being sent to Porcupine, the Northern Cheyenne who had been leader of the Ghost Dance movement. This correspondence was from a David Israel, self-proclaimed as "Head Chief and King Priest of the Restored Kingdom of Israel" (Petter to Buntin, February 6, 1919, RG 75, Series 0007, Box 67:NA-PNR). David Israel was an alias for A.J. Dennis from Salt Lake City, Utah. Dennis had written to Indians in Oklahoma stating that all would be cut down unless

they were adopted into the tribes of Israel. The Reverend Petter warned Agent Buntin of Dennis' influence on the Northern Cheyenne (Petter to Buntin, February 6, 1919, RG 75, Series 0007, Box 67:NA-PNR).

The next reference to Dennis is in May of 1919. On the 21st of May, Mr. Dennis, a "Self-styled Messiah," according to Agent John Buntin, came to the reservation and held meetings with groups of Indians for several days. Agent Buntin had Mr. Dennis removed from the reservation. However, Dennis' presence and his message had appealed to some Northern Cheyenne. This left Agent Buntin and the missionaries disgruntled (Buntin to "Friends" May 28, 1919, RG 75, Series 0007, Box 59, File 364:A.J. Dennis Self-Styled Messiah:NA-PNR). Agent Buntin responded to the Northern Cheyenne stating: "take the advise of the real missionaries of the reservation, Rev. and Mrs. Petter, Rev. P.A. Kliever, Rev. Habegger, Rev. G.A. Linchild (sic), and Rev. Arandzen (sic). These people will give you sound advise along all lines and especially along the line of Christianity ... Don't be fooled or deceived by such people as Dennis, as their teachings are liable to get you into trouble" (Buntin to "Friends" May 28, 1919, RG 75, Series 0007, Box 59, File 364:A.J. Dennis Self-Styled Messiah:NA-PNR). Buntin also corresponded to Dennis, condemning his influence on the reservation and accusing him of taking advantage of one of "the most backward of the North American Indians" (John A. Buntin to A.J. Dennis, November 12,

1919, Petter Collection, Box 3, File 27, MLA).

Despite this warning from Agent Buntin, Dennis had gained a following among the Northern Cheyenne. He organized his followers into "Bands," headed by "Captains," and "Subcaptains." (Bureau of Indian Affairs Northern Cheyenne Indian Agency Subject Files 1900-1925, RG 75, Box 59, File 364:A.J. Dennis Self-Styled Messiah:NA-PNR). A.J. Dennis had snuck back onto the Montana reservation and conducted meetings where he baptized Indians into his church. His religious message conveyed the belief that a judgement day would arrive in which non-Indians would be destroyed, the buffalo would return and the Indians would live as they had. This doctrine introduced by Dennis, is very similar to the tenets of the Ghost Dance. When Agent John Buntin heard of Dennis' meeting with the Cheyenne, he interviewed Dennis and had him expelled from the reservation.

Nonetheless, Dennis' following grew among the Northern Cheyenne in the summer and fall of 1919. In his message to the Northern Cheyenne, Dennis predicted a storm would destroy the present world and create a new one. Agent Buntin indicated that the day came and went with unusually warm weather. This caused doubt among the Cheyenne who had believed Dennis (Buntin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 20, 1920 RG 75, Series 0007, Box 59, File 364:A.J. Dennis Self-Styled Messiah:NA-PNR).

Christian Indians corresponded with Dennis condemning him

(Unsigned Letters to Dennis, January 31 and February 2, 1920, RG 75, Series 0007, Box 59, File 364:A.J. Dennis Self-Styled Messiah:NA-PNR). A letter from James Bites of Lame Deer is typical of the correspondence which did not condone Dennis' association with the Northern Cheyenne. James Bites states: "Most all grafters hold themselves above attempting to graft by invoking the assistance of the Almighty, or fraudulently representing themselves to be Christ or his equal in healing powers ... I can never consent to be your agent to rob my people ... if you will cease to correspond with any of the Northern Cheyenne and attempt to get your living by some industrial occupation it will be appreciated" (James Bites to A.J. Dennis, RG 75, Box 59, File 364:A.J. Dennis Self-Styled Messiah:NA-PNR).

Despite these letters of condemnation, A. J. Dennis continued his correspondence with various Northern Cheyenne. Agent Buntin intercepted these letters with the assistance of the postmaster, and Reverend Alfred Habegger, a Mennonite missionary. By the early months of 1920, Dennis' influence on the reservation was over. The expulsion of A.J. Dennis from the reservation and his subsequent loss of converts, was another victory for the Indian Bureau, Northern Cheyenne Mennonite converts, and the Mennonite missionaries.

The tenets A.J. Dennis expounded in his "church" were similar to the doctrines of the Ghost Dance. This religious movement was accepted among some Northern Cheyenne in the

1890's. The appeal of a new order without white interference gained acceptance among many Native American populations suffering under the inequities of Euroamerican policies.

The indoctrination of the Ghost Dance was one spiritual alternative to the imposed Roman Catholic and Mennonite religious faiths. It is understandable that the Ghost Dance found Northern Cheyenne converts who were experiencing an uncertain future. It was a prayer to replace the unsatisfying substitutes offered by the government: an alien ideal of what the Cheyenne should strive to be.

THE GHOST DANCE

There were actually two Ghost Dance movements (Lanternari 1963:151-157). Around 1870, a Paiute shaman, Wodziwob, prophesied the end of the world and the destruction of the white aggressors. This movement swept through many Native American populations in northern California, Nevada, and southern Oregon. It was scarcely known to Euroamericans. This early Ghost Dance movement was brief. It died out among the tribes who embraced its promise of an earthly paradise free from white oppression (Lanternari 1963:151-157). One of the followers of Wodziwob, was a northern Paiute named Tavibo. Tavibo, was the father of Wovoka. The second Ghost Dance movement would draw national attention because of the massacre of Big Foot's Minneconjou Sioux at Wounded Knee, South Dakota

in 1890. Wovoka was responsible for the wider diffusion of the second Ghost Dance movement.

In 1886, Wovoka (Jack Wilson), A Paiute from the Pyramid Lake reservation in Nevada, received a vision during an illness with a high fever. In his vision, Wovoka meet with God and was taught the Ghost Dance. Wovoka, claimed that Jesus Christ was rejected by the whites when he was crucified. God had sent his son to earth again in the form of Wovoka. The Ghost Dance promised that the whites would disappear and all Indians would be united in a perfect world; free from suffering, want, pain, and sickness. Through prayer, the singing of Ghost Dance songs, and dancing the Ghost Dance, persons could briefly die and receive a vision of this world (Lanternari 1963:151-157, Stewart 1980:179-187).

Prior to this new world order, Indians were supposed to conduct themselves under a moral code which resembled the Ten Commandments. One of Wovoka's, main tenets urged non-violence and to live peaceably with the Euroamericans (Lanternari 1963:151-157; Weist, T. 1977:198). The doctrines of the Ghost Dance were conciliatory towards Euroamericans yet their was no place for whites within the precepts of the movement. The Ghost Dance symbolizes a catastrophic world end, the regeneration of a new world order, physical healing, and spiritual redemption from intolerable political and economic conditions (Lanternari 1963:154).

The tenets of the Ghost Dance spread quickly, attracting

Indians from the adversity that had befallen them. It offered a spiritual solution to the conditions upon the reservations. In 1889, Porcupine, a Northern Cheyenne holy man, journeyed to Pyramid Lake to hear the prophesies of Wovoka. Porcupine brought the Ghost Dance ritual to the Northern Cheyenne (Gatschet 1891:108-111). Porcupine instructed other Northern Cheyenne who spread the doctrine to other Cheyenne on the reservation. Many Northern Cheyenne were skeptical of its tenets. This new world order meant a return of the buffalo and their traditional cultural practices. It meant an end to the imposed reservation system which sanctioned Northern Cheyenne assimilation into the mainstream Euroamerican society.

In February and March of 1890, Ghost Dance rituals were conducted on the reservation. The dance was performed by both males and females (this is the opposite of traditional Cheyenne cosmology, where women are generally excluded from religious practices). Fires were built to resemble tepees and were placed at the cardinal directions. The dancers stood in a circle, facing inward. They moved in slow stepping motions left and right in time with the accompanying music, as they sang the Ghost Dance songs. Usually an older man stood in the center of the dancers and urged them to continue dancing and singing. As the dancing progressed, individuals would become agitated and rush to the center of the circle and collapse into a trance state. Upon reviving, these individuals would

tell others what they had experienced during their trance state. The dancing generally occurred for four nights from sunset through the early hours of the morning (Weist, T. 1977:141).

Wovoka, had prophesied that the new world order would occur in the fall of 1890. Many Northern Cheyenne lost faith in the Ghost Dance and its principle leaders when the new world failed to arrive. By December of 1890, the Northern Cheyenne scouts at Fort Keogh were sent to the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota, to suppress an outbreak among the Sioux caught up in the Ghost Dance fervor. General Nelson A. Miles, concerned about the possible Sioux reaction to Northern Cheyenne scouts, interceded and ordered those Northern Cheyenne living on that reservation to be transferred to Fort Keogh as a military necessity. This transfer was effected in January of 1891, and by September of 1891, these Northern Cheyenne were allowed to move onto the Tongue River reservation.

The Ghost Dance was revived sporadically among the Northern Cheyenne. The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1901, indicates that on "May 5 1900, Agent James C. Clifford reported a serious condition of affairs existing at the Tongue River Agency, Mont., (sic) growing out of the prospective revival among the Northern Cheyenne of the "Messiah Craze," with its attendant "ghost dancing," which some ten years ago prevailed at widely separate points

throughout the Indian country. Porcupine, a Northern Cheyenne, who was the leader of the Messiah Craze of a decade ago, had advised the Indians not to obey the orders of the agent or of the Department, but to listen to him as he was an inspired "medicine man." He had made his followers believe that he was endowed with supernatural powers. He assured them that if they did not heed his advice they would certainly die, and that the resurrection was surely coming in summer, when all the dead Cheyenne would come to life and sweep the whites out of existence" (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1901:163).

The Agent's report of the incident was forwarded to the Department of the Interior on 14 May 1900. This information was communicated to the Secretary of War. He instructed Brigadier General Wade, to look into the matter. General Wade, reported on 23 May 1900, that he did not anticipate any serious trouble from the Indians (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1901:165-166). Approximately one month later, the Agent reported further problems with the Ghost Dancers and indicated that the Indian Police were unable to stop the dancing and those who were dancing were neglecting their gardens and undermining the attempts undertaken toward their civilization and progress.

On 27 June 1900, Agent James C. Clifford, reported that Porcupine had gone off the reservation without permission taking several of his followers with. Porcupine had gone to

visit the "Great Messiah" (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1901:164). In response to his actions, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was forwarded a petition endorsed by 328 "headmen and members of the Northern Cheyenne Indians," condemning Porcupine's behavior (Ibid 1901:164).

Agent James C. Clifford was convinced that the removal of Porcupine from the reservation would break up the bad influence he had among his followers. In October of 1900, the Department of the Interior, recommended that Porcupine be confined and punished at Fort Keogh or elsewhere. In accordance with this recommendation, Porcupine was turned over to the commanding officer at Fort Keogh and sentenced to hard labor. He was released from his confinement in February of 1901. After his return to the reservation, it was believed that the punishment given was effective. Porcupine's punishment symbolizes the fate of those persons who resisted Indian Bureau assimilation policies. Incarceration was used to quell any Indians who went against the programs promoted for their betterment. Even though the Indian Bureau felt they had eliminated the Ghost Dance from the reservation, elements of this movement remained.

A report submitted to Office letter, "Finance," dated 10 January 1902, states "that some young men still painted their faces in camp, and had not cut their hair. These young men were followers of Porcupine, Howling Wolf, Medicine Bear, etc., who are still more or less tainted with "Messiahism,"

and who adhere to the old Indian customs as much as possible" (Bureau of Indian Affairs Northern Cheyenne Agency, Letters received 1920-1924, RG 75, Box 10, Book April 1902 to December 29, 1903:NA-PNR). Components of the Ghost Dance were still present in 1911. In his description of the Sun Dance, George B. Grinnell discusses Ghost Dance elements such as the use of Ghost Dance paints on several of the participants and ornamented sticks passed around camp to the women for a contribution of food (Grinnell 1923:II:215,271,280).

The Ghost Dance had been created out of a spiritual need, but it had failed to bring the promised new world Wovoka had prophesied. The appeal of the Ghost Dance among the Northern Cheyenne indicates their discouragement at having to adjust to a totally different way of life; the controlled and imposed reservation system with its forced doctrines of Christianity.

PEYOTISM (NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH)

As the Ghost Dance lost its appeal because of the failed arrival of the new world order, the factors which contributed to its acceptance among the Northern Cheyenne remained. The forced change and its subsequent adjustments, the dependency, and the Indian Bureau repression of traditional Northern Cheyenne religious practices, combined to create a spiritual need still left unfulfilled by both the Ghost Dance and the presence of the missionaries. An additional religious

movement would be embraced in an attempt to fill this void.

The ceremony of this spiritual alternative was centered around the use of a small spineless cactus, Lophophora williamsii, known as peyote (Anderson 1980:139). Peyote is one of the Cactaceae, a family of about two thousand species mostly native to the "New World." Peyote is a Hispanicized version of the Nahuatl word, peyotl, or peiotl. This name is thought to mean "silk cocoon," or "caterpillar's silk" (Anderson 1980:130). The name evidently refers to a distinctive tuft of white, woolly flocculence which crowns the apex of the plant (Ibid 1980:130). The cactus has a limited growth range confined to the desert regions of the Rio Grande Valley of Texas and northern and central parts of the Mexican Plateau. The earliest historical reference to the native use of peyote is that of the Franciscan missionary Bernardino de Sahagun in 1585 (Safford 1916:401).

It is probable that peyote was used by prehistoric peoples which inhabited the area of its natural growth range. It spread north, south, west to the Sierras, and east to the Gulf of Mexico as migrations of people carried it. At the time of Spanish conquest, the ritual use of peyote existed several hundred miles beyond its natural range. The use of peyote persisted and spread during Spanish control despite efforts from the Catholic church to suppress it. When the United States took control of Texas in the nineteenth century, the resulting movement of indigenous peoples of the

southwestern United States and northern Mexico further spread the use of peyote and changes in its ritual use occurred (Stewart 1983:33:(2):2-7).

The Lipan Apache learned the ceremonial use of peyote from Carrizo Indians south of Laredo, Texas between 1770 and 1870. The Lipan Apache who settled near the Comanche in Indian Territory around 1880, taught the ritual use of peyote to the Comanche. From the Comanche, the use of peyote spread erratically. The Southern Cheyenne adopted the ceremonial use of peyote after 1885. It had been introduced to the Southern Cheyenne by the Kiowa (Stewart 1983:33:(2):6-7).

In 1889, Leonard Tyler, a Southern Cheyenne graduate from the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, travelled to Montana and proselytized the tenets of this new spiritual way (Stewart 1983:33:(2):4; Weist, T. 1977:144). This new form of spiritual expression, like the Ghost Dance, combined traditional Native American forms of worship with elements of Christianity. The doctrine of peyotism taught acceptance and accommodation to the new conditions the Northern Cheyenne were experiencing. The "Peyote Road" gained wide acceptance among the Northern Cheyenne. It reinforced many traditional religious acts and beliefs that were outlawed in other Cheyenne ceremonies. Peyotism represented a way to endure the current conditions on the reservation.

Within ten years of Leonard Tyler's initial indoctrination of peyotism, another Southern Cheyenne, Alfred

Wilson, journeyed to the Tongue River reservation to further proselytize the tenets of peyotism to his northern relatives. By the winter of 1903-1904, the Northern Cheyenne held regular peyote meetings (Weist, T. 1977:146). Agent John A. Buntin in correspondence to Henry A. Larson, Special Agent with the Bureau of Indian Affairs estimates "there are about one sixth of the tribe who use peyote. The recognized leader of the peyote eaters is Thaddeus Redwater, an exCarlisle (sic) pupil" (John A. Buntin to Henry A. Larson, November 11, 1916; Bureau of Indian Affairs, Northern Cheyenne Indian Agency, RG 75, Subject Files 1900-1925, Letters Received 1890-1924:NA-PNR).

Connected with the ritual use of peyote, is a set of beliefs known as the "Peyote Road." The road, teaches that spiritual character and strength are a means to overcome life's hardships. The Peyote Road was a positive affirmation of life and hope for the future, after two decades of governmental regulation and interference. It reaffirmed one's identity as a Northern Cheyenne. Peyotism gave the Northern Cheyenne religious independence from white imposed cannons upon their traditional religious beliefs.

"Traditional Cheyenne belief tells that peyote is a strong medicine which Maheo, the Almighty God, gave to the people" (Weist, T. 1977:146). Doctoring was an important aspect of the ritual. Peyote was a spiritual and physical cornucopia for illness, as well as other misfortunes, such as the death of a loved one. Peyote provided the participant

with psychotherapeutic and social treatment. A peyote meeting through prayers to Maheo and Christ, provided strength and comfort (Weist, T. 1977:146). It gave thanks to blessings received. Peyotism in Montana, is remarkably similar to the ceremonies conducted elsewhere in the United States (Stewart 1983:33(2):4). Certain refinements derived from older Cheyenne spiritual ways have been made over the years and incorporated into the ritual (Weist, T. 1977:146).

Peyote meetings are generally held at the request of a sponsor who provides the peyote and food for a feast which concludes the all-night ceremony. A priest, or "Roadman," directs the ceremony and provides the necessary ritual paraphernalia consisting of a staff, feather fan, gourd rattle, and the Father peyote. A chief drummer provides the metal water pot drum. A cedarman ceremonially incenses the fire (cedar is also used in the renewal of the Sacred Arrows). A doorman or "foreman," also assists with the ritual. The doorman supervises the construction of a crescent shaped altar and V-shaped fire which are located west of the center of the tepee entrance to catch the first rays of the morning sun (Hoebel 1950:(3):126-130; Stewart 1983:33:(2):4).

After sundown and an initial prayer, participants circle the tepee clock wise, enter it, and take their seats on the floor. A large or "Chief peyote" (Father peyote), is placed upon the altar by the roadman. Tobacco is passed to the participants and ceremonial cigarettes are rolled and smoked

as the roadman makes an opening devotion. Peyote is then passed out to the participants in the form of dried buttons, tea, or a paste. The Cheyenne ritual number of four is ingested (Hoebel 1950:3:126-130; Stewart 1983:33:(2):5).

Following the sacrament of receiving peyote, the roadman sings the opening hymn accompanied by the chief drummer. After singing four additional songs, the roadman passes the ritual staff, fan, and rattle to the next participant. Likewise, the chief drummer passes the drum to the participant to his right. This process continues with each participant signing and accompanying on the drum for four songs until dawn. An interruption in the ceremony occurs at midnight when water is brought into the lodge by a female. The water is blessed and each participant consumes a little of it. Throughout the ritual any participant can receive additional peyote or prayer cigarettes to pray to Maheo, Jesus, or peyote for health, personal strength, or the health and protection of loved ones (Stewart 1983:33:(2):5).

The ceremony is ended by a closing prayer, and participants greet the morning sun. After the lodge is disassembled, a blessing is invoked and everyone partakes of the ritual feast given by the sponsor of the ceremony. The participants disperse after the feast and the ritual is over by midday.

Peyote meetings are solemn and behavior is directed along fixed, known patterns. Besides producing visions which

promote private communications with the supernatural, peyote stimulates and enhances a religious feeling and sense of mutual respect and understanding (Hoebel 1950:3:126-130). According to a Northern Cheyenne peyotist, "Peyote is a wonderful herb. It is given to the Indians by God. Through peyote we come to know Him. It makes a man good" (Hoebel 1950:3:129).

The rapid diffusion of the Peyote religion among Native American populations, alarmed the Indian Office. Peyotism prompted the Bureau of Indian Affairs to take action to outlaw its use among the Northern Cheyenne and all other Indian populations. As early as 1898, and again in 1907, correspondence between the Southern Cheyenne agent and Northern Cheyenne agent implicate Leonard Tyler as a "high priest" in the ceremony. Requests to incarcerate and prosecute Tyler are indicated (Bureau of Indian Affairs Northern Cheyenne Agency Letters Received 1890-1924, RG 75, Box 6, Box 3, Book July 26, 1906 to October 17, 1907:NA-PNR). The correspondence does not stipulate whether or not Leonard Tyler was actually arraigned. Peyote ceremonies continued to be conducted on the reservation.

By 1912, the official Indian Bureau policy was to eliminate peyotism from the reservation (Prucha 1984:II:786-787). Bureau of Indian Affairs Annual reports from 1913 through 1919, promote a policy against peyote which outlaw its use, transportation, or possession (Prucha 1984:II:786-787).

However, it became apparent that stronger legal authority against peyote would be necessary to limit its spread (Stewart 1983:33:(2):3). The Reverend W. Arendzen, a Roman Catholic, missionary, and the Reverend G.E.E. Lindquist, a Mennonite missionary reported peyote use among the Northern Cheyenne in 1889 (Stewart 1983:33:(2):6). On the Tongue River reservation, Superintendent John A. Buntin, collected a series of interviews about this religious movement in 1919. The information obtained was based upon questions asked in Circular 1522 prepared by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Bureau of Indian Affairs Northern Cheyenne Agency, Circular Letters 1884-1921, RG 75, Box 34, Book 1373-1574:NA-PNR). These interviews collected information from three reservation district farmers, P.A. Kliewer and the Reverend Rodolphe Petter, Mennonite missionaries, the Reverend W. Arendzen, a Catholic missionary, and one Northern Cheyenne peyotist, Marion Mexican Cheyenne (Ibid 1919 Book:1373-1574:NA-PNR).

Marion Mexican Cheyenne defended the use of peyote pointing out its spiritual value and curing properties. He reported peyotism helped him to resist whiskey (Bureau of Indian Affairs Northern Cheyenne Agency Circular Letters 1884-1924; RG 75, Box 34, Book 1373-1547:380-383:NA-PNR). Nonetheless, Superintendent John A. Buntin's preconceived ideas of peyote were confirmed by the interviews of the missionaries. The Reverend Petter viewed peyote users as "slaves of a drug habit," which hindered productive labor and

civilized pursuits (Bureau of Indian Affairs Northern Cheyenne Agency Circular Letters 1884-1924; RG 75, Box 34, Book 1373-1547:385-387:NA-PNR). Similarly, the Catholic priest, the Reverend W. Arendzen, likened peyote to opium and stated peyote was taken as a substitute for whiskey. "The peyote habit especially encourages feasting and indolence" (Ibid 1919 Book:1373-1547:388-389:NA-PNR). The data gathered from the questionnaires indicate that thirty-five percent of the Northern Cheyenne openly identified themselves as peyotists despite attempts by reservation officials and the missionaries to discontinue its use (Newberne 1922:33-35, Tables I-II).

Because the Bureau of Indian Affairs attempts to discourage peyote use failed, they would lobby Congress, and State legislators to assist with limiting its use. From 1916 through 1937, ten measures were introduced to the United States congress to outlaw peyote. None of these bills were enacted (Aberle 1966:18; Stewart 1983:33:(2):3). For awhile, state laws against peyotism enjoyed the upper hand. The peak of state level anti-peyote legislation was from 1917 through 1923, when a total of nine states passed such laws (Aberle 1966:18).

A Montana anti-peyote bill was made into law by Governor Joseph Dixon on 24 February 1923 (Stewart 1983:33:(2):11; Weist, T. 1977:147-154). The Northern Cheyenne had no knowledge of this legislation. This Montana Session Law 1923, Chapter 22, declared the possession or transportation of

peyote illegal in the State of Montana (Stewart 1983:33:(2):11). This legislation was used to arrest and prosecute Northern Cheyenne peyotists until 1934, when interference with the peyote religion was prohibited by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier.

Northern Cheyenne peyotists responded to these attacks on their religion by incorporating their church under the laws of Montana. Articles of Incorporation were filed in Hardin, Montana on 25 March 1925. These Articles of Incorporation were recorded by the Secretary of State in Helena, Montana's capitol, on the following day. Three Northern Cheyenne, Thaddeus Redwater, Frank Waters, and Dallas Wolf Back were trustees, as well as nine Crow Indians (Stewart 1983:33:(2):12).

The same year, the Reverend T. O. Roque, a Catholic priest from St. Labre mission, wrote to Agent Edward Lohmiller, to request information about a state bill which would legalize peyote. Reverend Roque heard the Northern Cheyenne were sending a delegation to Helena, Montana, to lobby in support of the bill. The priest was opposed to the bill which sought to legalize peyote and referred to those Northern Cheyenne who were peyotists as "Fools" (Bureau of Indian Affairs Northern Cheyenne Agency Subject Files 1900-1925, RG 75, Box 41, Folder 404: St. Labre's Mission:NA-PNR). Reverend Roque may have this "bill" confused with the Articles of Incorporation filed in Helena that year.

Peyotism among the Northern Cheyenne indicates that they were able to make individual decisions about freedom of religious expression. Many of the converts to peyotism continue to actively participate in traditional Northern Cheyenne ceremonies and the imposed Christian doctrines of Catholicism and the anabaptist Mennonites. The survival of peyotism through government suppression testifies to the determination and persistence of the Northern Cheyenne in their struggle for freedom of religious worship.

The "New Deal" programs of Roosevelt with their accompanying radical changes in Indian policy implementation, had a positive affect on the Northern Cheyenne. The decades of religious persecution were alleviated. A policy of non-interference was instituted (Slotkin 1956:55). Tolerance and appreciation of traditional Northern Cheyenne religious ideology would be expected by Indian Bureau officials and the missionaries. The role the government contended missionaries should have on the reservation was altered. The ideals that had dominated government policy since the 1880's, were challenged. The new Indian Bureau administration under John Collier were responsible for these reforms.

Collier initiated his most controversial element of reform on 3 January 1934. Circular 2970: Indian Religious Freedom and Indian Culture was in response to governmental restrictions of traditional religious practices. The circular states: "No interference with Indian religious life or

ceremonial expression will hereafter be tolerated. The cultural liberty of Indians is in all respects to be considered equal to that of any non-Indian group." The Circular concludes: "The fullest constitutional liberty, in all matters affecting religion, conscience and culture, is insisted on for all Indians. In addition, an affirmative, appreciative attitude toward Indian cultural values is desired in the Indian Service" (Circular No. 2970, Indian Religious Freedom and Indian Culture, January 3, 1934, RG 75, Series 00011, Box 264, File 816:NA-PNR).

A second directive was issued later that month on 15 January 1934. This circular was entitled Regulations for Religious Worship and Instruction, which prohibited compulsory attendance at religious services and all proselytizing by the imposed Christian religions (John Collier, "Regulations for Religious Worship and Instruction, Amendment 2", January 15, 1934, RG 75, Series 00011, Box 264, File 816:NA-PNR).

These documents nullified the mission effort as a controlling force upon the reservation. However, compulsory religious training had been deemed necessary, in order to ensure the Americanization of the Northern Cheyenne prior to John Collier's term as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. To the missionaries, religion was an indispensable means to civilize the Northern Cheyenne. Civilization would come to them because they could be Christianized. The work of the missionaries on the Tongue River reservation prior to 1934,

was closely associated with the Indian Bureau and their administration of forced acculturation. Both worked toward attaining the same goal, the transformation of Northern Cheyenne ethnic identity with their emergence into Euroamerican society.

CHAPTER V

THE MISSION EFFORT ON THE TONGUE RIVER RESERVATION

Christianity has always been an evangelical, proselytizing religion. The missionary is essential to its nature. Jesus Christ attempted the spiritual conquest of the world. The realization of the Christian vision entails the conversion of all adherents of every other religion. Christianity is intolerant and exclusive: the Cheyenne could not practice their religion and be Christian simultaneously. Under Christ's Kingdom, all other practices and beliefs are insignificant. Euroamerican Christianity introduced the Northern Cheyenne to the civilized notion of conquest through conversion. Under this guise, much harm was done in the name of philanthropy. The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions was organized in 1874 to coordinate mission work with federal policy (Ronda and Axtell 1978:18). The General Conference Mennonites established their Board of Missions in 1872 (Juhnke 1979:5). Indians were inevitably asked to bear the effects of policies for their redemption "for their own good."

When the Roman Catholics and Mennonites began their mission efforts on the Tongue River reservation, they acted within full accord of the existing government policy and the goals of the nineteenth century Indian reformers. Both the Roman Catholic and Mennonite missionaries believed that the

Northern Cheyenne must be Christianized, civilized, and assimilated into Euroamerican society. The missionaries were involved with the federal government whereby religious instruction, an important element central to the "civilizing" process could be fulfilled.

The policy concerned with Christianizing the Northern Cheyenne was a part of the legislative programs that established United States Indian policy: a constructive attempt to let the Indians provide for themselves within the larger white society, eventually without government support. These legislative programs were carried out on the Tongue River reservation in an attempt to bring "Christianity" and with it, all the comforts of civilization to the Northern Cheyenne. The change was to be made from the nomadic hunter to the sedentary agriculturist; from communal patterns to an individualist one; from native religious ceremonies and practices to Christian practices; and from Indian languages and oral traditions to spoken and written English. For the Northern Cheyenne, these changes were a demoralizing rather than uplifting experience. The Roman Catholic and Mennonite religious denominations were responsible for delivering Christ's message of love and salvation to the Northern Cheyenne. However, these ideologies would fail in their attempt to foster the double goals of the mission enterprise (Christianity and civilization). The missionaries would instead create cultural change, resistance, factionalism, and

conflict. The zealousness of the Northern Cheyenne to maintain their ethnic identity was as durable as the transformation sought by the Mennonites and Roman Catholics. The following section identifies the attempts made by the Roman Catholics on the reservation to promote the tenets of Catholicism.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION EFFORT

The last decades of the nineteenth century resulted in significant changes for the Northern Cheyenne. During this period, the Roman Catholics would establish a mission east of the reservation and begin their enterprise towards the salvation of the Northern Cheyenne. According to S.J. L.B. Palladino in Indian and White in the Northwest: A History of Catholicity in Montana, 1831 to 1891, the Northern Cheyenne requested Catholic missionaries to proselytize among them prior to 1882, but the Indian Bureau did not respond to this request (1922:236). This request is possibly due to the earlier ministering done by Father Jean DeSmet among the Cheyenne during the 1850's and 1860's. Palladino felt religion was the most indispensable means to civilize the Northern Cheyenne. A rudimentary education for the children, along with religion and manual training were essential if civilization were to occur (1922:104). The salvation of the Northern Cheyenne was made possible by the actions of a

soldier stationed at Fort Keogh, Montana Territory. Prior to their confinement on the reservation, the Northern Cheyenne at Fort Keogh were befriended by a Catholic convert, Private George Yoakum.

Private Yoakum was concerned with the welfare of the Northern Cheyenne who had moved from Fort Keogh to the Tongue River region. He contacted the Right Reverend James O'Connor and indicated the need for a mission among the Northern Cheyenne. "Catholic sisters could do as much for the good of the Cheyenne as a regiment" (Kraman 1984:2-3). The Right Reverend O'Connor asked the Jesuits of Helena, Montana, to see what could be done to assist the Cheyenne. The Jesuits responded and sent Father Peter Barcelo from Helena in 1882 and 1883, to visit the reservation and make an assessment of the situation. Because of a lack of personnel, no mission was founded in 1883 (Schoenberg 1962:106). However, the recently appointed Vicar Apostolic of Montana, Bishop John H. Brondel, acting on the favorable report of Father Barcelo, sent out an appeal for personnel to staff the proposed mission. The Reverend Bishop Gilmore of Cleveland, Ohio, invited members of his Diocese to answer the call for missionaries. The Ursuline order of Toledo, Ohio, sent the names of thirty volunteers of which six were chosen (Clotilde 1936:34; Palladino 1922:236-244). These six Ursuline sisters led by the Mother Amadeus and the Reverend Joseph Eyler arrived in Miles City, Montana Territory, on 17 January 1884. The Reverend Eyler selected a

site for the mission located where Otter Creek empties into the Tongue River on its west bank (Palladino 1922:236).

A three room log cabin was purchased from a Mr. Sam Cook for \$600.00. This cabin was to serve as a chapel, school, and dormitory (Kraman 1984:40). On 2 April 1885, the Ursulines and Father Eyler arrived to open the temporary mission station. The Reverend Eyler conducted the first mass and dedicated the cabin on the following day. Because of the extreme poverty of the Northern Cheyenne and the new mission, Bishop Brondel dedicated the mission to St. Joseph Benedict Labre, the "French Beggar Saint," the poorest of God's poor; who devoted his life to the poverty stricken. Joseph Labre had been recently canonized in 1883 (Kraman 1984:45).

After the mission was opened, fourteen female and male Northern Cheyenne children attended the mission school (Kraman 1984:47). A number of Cheyenne families settled near the mission to be close to their children (Kraman 1984:47). The relations between the missionaries and Cheyenne were generally good. The mission supported and aided the Northern Cheyenne's need for food and medical supplies. However, this aid created friction between the missionaries and white settlers who lived on the reservation. The missionaries assistance was interpreted as a threat to the settlers' existence on the reservation.

One evening (15 September 1884), the Ursuline sisters and Father Barcelo were awakened by settlers demanding Private

George Yoakum in order to lynch him. After several tense hours, the Father had convinced the crowd to disperse (Palladino 1922:245-250). Cheyenne females often sought sanctuary at the mission on occasions when their men were away from camp and the white cattle hands became drunk and disorderly (Kraman 1984:42). This animosity between the Cheyenne and their white neighbors was due to competition. Euroamericans on the reservation were determined to control Cheyenne held lands for the maintenance of their livestock enterprises. The mission's existence was a factor in the Indian Bureau's enlargement of the reservation east to the Tongue River by 1900. This helped to alleviate the friction between the Cheyenne and whites (Kraman 1984:30-44).

During the first decade of operation, the federal government and private sources provided financial assistance to the St. Labre mission school (Utley 1984:215-219; Weist, T. 1977:107). This is because it was the only school operating on the reservation. The initial attendance of fourteen pupils gradually increased to between forty and sixty-five students (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1900:22; 1901:27; 1902:41; 1903:23; 1905:35). However, after the government opened their boarding school in Busby in 1904, federal aid to the mission school ceased (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1905:35). Nevertheless, the Northern Cheyenne who had children attending St. Labre, signed a petition whereby tuition was appropriated from trust

monies for students attending the mission school (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1906:51-57). Father Barcelo attended to the spiritual needs of the Cheyenne, and was in charge of administrating the mission. The Ursuline sisters taught the Cheyenne children a rudimentary education consisting of the use of the English language, writing, and arithmetic.

Children and adults who wished to be baptized were. The Roman Catholics welcomed those who wanted to attend their services. They occasionally visited the Cheyenne camps and proselytized their message of faith to those who were willing to listen. The missionaries tried to dissuade the Cheyenne from traditional religious and cultural practices but they did not use the Indian Bureau to enforce their religion upon the Northern Cheyenne. The Cheyenne generally attended the Catholic masses because food was offered as an incentive for their attendance. Documentation indicates that their hunger was a detriment from receiving God (Kraman 1984:8-9; Palladino 1922:247; Weist, T. 1977:106-107). "The Northern Cheyenne need for food and good health were more important than their education or conversion" (Kraman 1984:8-9). So, the Cheyenne went to mass because of their extreme hunger.

By 1885, The Jesuit order became the administrators of St. Labre. The Ursuline sisters continued to educate Northern Cheyenne children with white cultural norms as part of the curriculum. Truancy was common among the students. The use

of corporeal punishment and separation from their families were the main factors for this absence. The refusal to use the Cheyenne language to facilitate English as a second language also contributed to this non-attendance (Weist, T. 1977:106-107). However, the boarding school method was favored by both the missionaries and the government. It provided more control over the lives of the Cheyenne children. The immense task of cultural transformation was viewed as a round the clock undertaking.

In his 1887 annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Agent Robert L. Upshaw, commended the work done by the Ursuline sisters and the Jesuit Fathers. "Though they devoted most of their time to the Indians the evidence of their work was not such as should be wished. Patience and zeal will eventually be rewarded" (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1887:165-168). That same year, Bishop Brondel dedicated a new school convent which was erected from monies donated from the east coast (Schoenberg 1962:106). The mission effort would continue despite temporary recesses of operation.

The Catholic mission was closed on two occasions. Once for three months in 1888, and again from July 1892 to March 1893, because of the conflict between the Cheyenne and their white neighbors over Cheyenne held lands (Weist, T. 1977:107). However, Angela Clotilde in Ursulines of the West 1535-1935, indicates these closures were due to the Ghost

Dance religious movement among the Cheyenne (1936:35). Other sources confirm the mission was closed because of the Ghost Dance (Schoenberg 1962:107; Stands in Timber 1972:110-111).

The Reverend Bede Scully, O.F.M. Capuchin order, states that "in the history of the Mission (sic), the priests and Sisters (sic) had to leave twice because of the intense opposition to the Catholic Religion (sic) on the part of the Indians" (Scully 1941:14). The insignificant rate of conversions among the Cheyenne is indicated as another reason for the closure of St. Labre and also the withdrawal of the Jesuit order (Clotilde 1936:35-36). Despite these setbacks, mission records indicate that approximately 200 baptisms mostly among children occurred between 1884 and 1890 (Kraman 1984:10; Palladino 1922:245-250). Palladino states that the small number of conversions was due to the Cheyenne's assumptions of their superiority, "the Holy Writ states that God gives grace to the humble and refuses it to the proud" (1922:247). Sister Kraman in her history of St. Labre mission states that the early missionaries found conversion to be difficult because traditional Cheyenne religious ideology was not confined to one day of worship like the Catholic faith (1984:47).

The Roman Catholics continued to spread their Gospel through the mission and occasional visits to the various Cheyenne camps without a large degree of success. The Northern Cheyenne were tenaciously clinging to their

traditional religion. The Roman Catholics hoped that compulsory religious instruction, and their education of some of the Cheyenne children, would make them abandon their traditions for those of American society. Through baptism and the last rites upon death, older Northern Cheyenne could find acceptance within the Kingdom of Jesus Christ. However, this was in contradiction to the Cheyenne concept of the soul and its perpetuity in time and space.

From 1897 through 1914, different orders continued to assist with the spiritual needs of the Cheyenne. The Ursuline order continued to be a constant at the St. Labre mission school. The "desolate" location of the reservation and the poverty of the Cheyenne and the spreading of the Gospel without mass conversion caused Catholic priests to abandon their missionary endeavors (Palladino 1922:245-250). Despite these obstacles, by 1894, the Roman Catholics had expanded their missionary efforts and erected a church at agency headquarters in Lane Deer. This chapel was dedicated to the Blessed Sacrament. Because of the lack of priests to carry out the mission effort, the Roman Catholics focused their labors on the education and hopeful conversion of the students at their boarding school.

In 1914, the Society of St. Edmunds took charge of the mission and the Northern Cheyenne had full time priests (Kraman 1984:5-6; Schoenberg 1962:110). After approximately two decades, the Roman Catholics believed they had achieved a

level of success. They now had priests to proselytize among the Cheyenne on a more permanent basis. The Catholics had established St. Labre near Ashland, and had a continual enrollment of Northern Cheyenne children as students at their boarding school. A church had been erected at agency headquarters in Lame Deer. The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1914 reports that out of a population of 1,421 Cheyenne, 890 were professed Catholics (1914:91). However, the Indian Bureau, filled its public reports with optimistic predictions. These statistics are inflated and do not reflect the true number of Catholic converts on the reservation. The Catholics had not attained the salvation of Cheyenne souls as they had aspired to (Kraman 1984:47). Northern Cheyenne loyalty to deeply ingrained tribal beliefs were stronger than their Christian message of faith.

Even though the Catholics had a church in Lame Deer, they would concentrate their missionary endeavors to the eastern portion of the reservation at St. Labre. By 1925, they would expand their proselytizing to include sewing clubs for Northern Cheyenne women and girls. The practical benefit was that the nuns could causally introduce topics of religious instruction and discussion during these sessions (Clotilde 1936:37). The Roman Catholics would not extend their missionary endeavors beyond the eastern portion of the reservation until the late 1920's.

The Cheyenne business council granted tracts of land in Birney and Busby, for the erection of Catholic mission stations. The Sacred Heart Church was constructed in the western village of Birney, with the assistance of the Marquette League. It was dedicated with a mass in December of 1928 (Schoenberg 1962:124). Christ the King Chapel was erected by the Capuchin order in the southeastern village of Busby and dedicated in 1929. This expansion of the Catholic mission effort would incense the Mennonite missionaries (Habegger to Mission Board, July 30, 1929, I-1c, Series 2, Box 2, File 16, MLA; Marsden 1980:187-191). Despite the competition between the Catholics and Mennonites for the conversion of Cheyenne souls, the Roman Catholics would continue to promote their version of Christianity. They were no longer concerned with confining their sphere of influence to the eastern portion of the reservation. The Roman Catholic's "accept[ed] a minimal indication of Indian faith in basic beliefs and rely[ed] on the efficacious action of the sacraments to transform the Indians" (Prucha 1988:79:134).

Despite their less rigid stance concerning traditional religious practices, the Catholics did not condone the use of peyote. The Catholics lobbied in Washington, D.C. for a law prohibiting its use. While the Roman Catholics did not abuse their political power by engaging the aid of the Indian Bureau to ensure religious compliance; they supported Bureau attempts to outlaw peyote. Their efforts to stop the Native American

Church among the Northern Cheyenne would not be realized.

By the 1930's, the Roman Catholics changed their missiology from the stance taken in the late nineteenth century. New methods to bring Christianity to the Northern Cheyenne would incorporate Catholicism and their own religious ideology (Kraman 1984:67). Straus also indicates that the Catholics incorporated native ritual rather than condemning it (1976:326). The administration of John Collier as Commissioner of Indian Affairs would end Roman Catholic interference with Northern Cheyenne expressions of freedom of religious worship and compulsory religious instruction. However, the Roman Catholics would continue to work toward Northern Cheyenne salvation. "The work of really converting the Northern Cheyenne Indians is going to take some time. The Mission (sic) here has been in existence over fifty years and the number of adult Catholics who practice their religion (meaning Catholicism) is very small. I would place the number at about twenty, and am doubtful of about at least half of these. I think the past history of the Mission (sic) amply proves one cannot "buy" them over to the Catholic Religion (sic). They are not doing the Fathers or Sisters a "favor" by practicing their Catholic Religion (sic) or sending their children to our school." (Scully 1941:14).

While the Catholics were engaged in their mission attempts and education of the Cheyenne, the Mennonites through their missionary work among the Southern Cheyenne became

interested in expanding their missionary endeavors to their brethren in the north. The following section discusses the attempts on the Mennonites on the Tongue River reservation. The more critical stance of the Mennonites and their more aggressive attacks on Northern Cheyenne traditional religious ideology, would create intense periods of conflict on the reservation which would last for decades.

THE MENNONITE MISSION EFFORT

The first Mennonite contact with the Northern Cheyenne occurred in 1898 when the Reverend Rodolphe Petter, then missionary to the Southern Cheyenne travelled to Montana. He came at the request of the Southern Cheyenne. After this initial contact, Petter visited the reservation again in 1901 and 1903. In 1903, he applied through the reservation agent in Lane Deer, for forty acres to begin a mission on the reservation (Petter 1936:1-3).

In May of 1904, the Reverend and Mrs. Linscheid arrived in Montana, and made their way to Busby, a community on the reservations' western border. The Busby mission station, the Bethany Mennonite Church, became the focal point of the Mennonite mission. The main emphases of the Mennonite missionaries were: establishing and maintaining the Bethany chapel in Busby, teaching in the government boarding school also located in Busby, and visiting the Indians in their

homes. Attendance at the Busby church averaged more than fifty Northern Cheyenne each Sunday. Two years would pass before the missionaries considered membership a serious commitment. Prospective Cheyennes were required to attend classes which presented the tenets of the Mennonite Church. Individuals were publicly baptized after accepting Jesus as their savior and agreeing to walk the "narrow path." Julia Gravewoman became the first Cheyenne member of the Bethany Church on 12 August 1906 (Habegger 1959:19). After fifteen years conversion rates were minimal with one to four members baptized annually.

Between 1908 to 1918, the number of Mennonite missionaries and mission stations increased. In 1910, stations were established at agency headquarters in Lame Deer, and in the village of Birney. The fourth mission station was dedicated in Ashland in 1917 (Kaufman 1928:178). In addition, two other missionaries entered the field to assist with Northern Cheyenne salvation.

The Mennonite mission to the Cheyenne was significantly influenced by the assignment of the Reverend Rodolphe and Bertha Petter to Montana. His presence would dominate Mennonite missionary endeavors on the Tongue River reservation. Petter believed that the key to Cheyenne salvation lay in the missionaries' ability to speak and write in the Cheyenne language. This would usher the Cheyenne into Christendom and into American civilization (R. Petter to

Board, August 19, 1914, I-1 Box 8, Folder 47, MLA). By 1915, Rodolphe Petter had published the English-Cheyenne Dictionary, which would allow him to translate the Gospel into Cheyenne.

The Petters assumed the leadership of the Mennonite mission effort from the Linscheids. Their presence shaped the Montana mission until mid-century. The Northern Cheyenne's perceptions of the Gospel would be based upon the content and manner of the Mennonite's message. The Mennonite missionaries were faced with issues concerning the direction of their proselytizing. While they agreed with the goal of civilizing thorough assimilation, they believed conversion to Christianity was their foremost priority. Their efforts were prioritized into conducting services and erecting churches. The Northern Cheyenne failed to respond in the way the Mennonites had anticipated. The Cheyenne were in the position of having to remain on the fringes of the church, totally conform, or drop out. When confronted, they usually denounced their status as church members.

In the first fifteen years in Montana, the Mennonites were part of the non-Indian power structure on the reservation. The Northern Cheyenne responses to the Mennonites' message of faith and salvation were varied. They adapted on their own terms. Since the Mennonites limited their disdain of participation in traditional religion and peyote meetings to Cheyenne Mennonites, tribal opposition was limited. But, after the arrival of the Petters, the

Mennonites began a reservation wide attack on traditional and peyote ceremonies. This would result in a period of intense conflict.

In 1919, the Mennonites initiated a campaign to rid the Tongue River reservation of indigenous religion and its associated ceremonies and rituals. This would be a struggle for the Northern Cheyenne to maintain their traditional religion. The conflict in 1919 between the Northern Cheyenne and Mennonites would last until 1934, and effect the relationship between the two groups. This confrontation reflects the increased resistance of the Northern Cheyenne to maintain their religious culture. The confrontation was centered around the performance of the Sun Dance. The Reverend Petter felt that Cheyenne converts should take a stand against the dance (R. Petter to Mission Board, April 3, 1918, I-1c, Series 2, Box 1, File 8, MLA).

In response to sermons delivered by the Reverend Petter, two Cheyenne males confessed their participation in the 1914 Sun Dance (Powell 1969:I:342-353). The Reverend Petter recorded the testimonies of Robert Yellowfox and Marion Mexican Cheyenne in response to their sponsorship of the ceremony. These testimonies were forwarded to Washington D.C., to convince the Indian Bureau to ban the dance (Petter Collection, Box 3, File 27, MLA). The affidavits of these men incited protest on the reservation. The controversy intensified as traditionalists responded to the attack on

their religion. This controversy created division and turmoil among the Northern Cheyenne. Those who wished to continue the traditional ceremonies were at a disadvantage; their resistance was limited. The Northern Cheyenne had little political clout on the reservation or in Washington D.C. Years of oppression due to government assimilation policies left them defensive.

Before the 1919 controversy, the missionaries' opposition to traditional religious ceremonies was limited to their converts. The 1919 ordeal expanded their attack to include all Northern Cheyenne. The Mennonites condemned traditional ceremonies and dances whether they had religious significance or not. This resulted in a conflict where the Mennonites became protagonists against the Northern Cheyenne's religious ideology. This was detrimental to their message of Christ's love.

Mennonite mission work in the 1920's was encouraged by their "victory" of 1919. The Mennonite missionaries were adamant in the complete rejection of Cheyenne traditions for their converts. They differed from other religious denominations who desired accommodation of Native American culture. There was "no easy salvation" as far as the Mennonites were concerned. They continued to work toward repression of Cheyenne religious ceremonies and the practices of the "medicine men." The Northern Cheyenne simultaneously persisted in keeping their ceremonies.

The confrontation of Cheyenne traditionalists and the spreading of the Gospel remained the focus of the Mennonite mission effort. By the 1930's, the Mennonites continued to lobby for the abolishment of traditional ceremonies and the use of peyote. Following 1919, the Mennonites attempted to "civilize" the Northern Cheyenne by forcing them to conform to appropriate behavior before their Christianization. This attempt to force conformity among all Cheyenne resulted in the animosity of those Cheyenne who had no desire to change and embrace the Mennonite message.

The Mennonites were able to rely on government support during the turmoil of 1919. But by the 1920's, pressure from the "new Indian reformers" resulted in a policy shift towards tolerance of Native American cultures. This caused a flux in the power structure and the Northern Cheyenne retained the upper hand. In the 1930's, the Cheyenne were supported by the government. The administration of John Collier as Indian Commissioner completed this trend. Collier's administration restricted the role that missionaries would have on the reservations. The old assimilationist policies were replaced by new policies which respected and encouraged traditional cultural expressions. Despite the turmoil created, the Mennonites were genuinely concerned with the welfare of the Northern Cheyenne. This same concern is also evident among the Roman Catholic missionaries. However, these religious denominations differed in their approach to ensuring Northern

Cheyenne salvation. Their attempts to bring the Gospel to the Indians would result in conflict between these two denominations.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Northern Cheyenne conversion consists of broad sociological categories. There were those who became baptized and dedicated to either the Roman Catholic or Mennonite faiths, but they separated themselves from these faiths. The cultural changes due to conversion were too severe or maybe these Northern Cheyenne just realigned themselves with their culture. Another group of converts followed the prescribed norms of the missionaries. They held their ground despite pressures from their fellow Cheyenne. The majority of Cheyenne converts accepted either the Roman Catholic or Mennonite messages of faith and adapted the message in a way which allowed them to be both Cheyenne and Christian. These converts believed in and practiced two or more religions simultaneously. The Roman Catholics and Mennonites played a central role in Northern Cheyenne religious life during their first fifty years on the reservation. They represented messages of hope which many Northern Cheyenne embraced in varying ways and in varying degrees. It was also during this time that the Northern Cheyenne adopted alternative religious doctrines to ease the confusion of forced acculturation with

its attempts at cultural change. The Ghost Dance and Peyotism offered solace and hope during this difficult transition period. It is no wonder these two religious movements gained a following among the Northern Cheyenne. The following provides a discussion of the methods employed by these missionaries to promote Christianity and civilization on the reservation.

METHODS OF CONVERSION

The Roman Catholics, Mennonites, and Northern Cheyenne all possessed a strong determination to pursue their respective goals. The resulting contact became a conflict which involved the missionaries, the United States government, and various Cheyenne factions.

The relationship between the Roman Catholics and Mennonites deteriorated as each ventured into the other's domain. Northern Cheyenne perceptions of the Christian Gospel were shaped by both the content and manner in which each denomination conveyed their message. The Catholic use of ceremony with its rites and symbolism differed greatly from the Mennonite tradition of preaching austere services. As these two denominations began their missionary endeavors with the Northern Cheyenne, they confronted a culture extremely different from their own. As the missionaries established their mission stations, they were confronted with issues

regarding the direction of their work. The relationships between the Northern Cheyenne and Roman Catholics and the Mennonites were created as these denominations developed the nature of their missionary endeavors and as the Northern Cheyenne responded to this new Euroamerican presence on the reservation.

A main issue of the Roman Catholics and Mennonites was to determine the nature of their messages of faith to the Cheyenne. In Salvation and the Savage, Robert Berkhofer, identifies the debate within nineteenth century Protestant denominations, whether to first Christianize or civilize the Native Americans they were ministering to. In general, they promoted Americanism (1965:4-5). The Roman Catholics and Mennonites both were in agreement with the goal of civilizing the Northern Cheyenne through acculturation into the dominant Euroamerican society. However, conversion to Christianity was their main priority.

For the Roman Catholics, religion and education plus industrial training were seen as essentials for achieving civilization (Palladino 1922:104). Mennonite efforts were fueled into constructing mission stations and holding services. Other activities such as camp visitations, religious instructions in government schools and sewing classes for Cheyenne women were important but secondary to the goal of conversion to Christianity.

Were these denominations responsible to address the

physical needs of the Northern Cheyenne? The Northern Cheyenne were continually faced with sickness and hunger. An issue which confronted the missionaries was whether to alleviate these problems. Both the Roman Catholics and Mennonites offered some physical aid to the Northern Cheyenne. Each denomination dispensed medicines to the Indians. Food was generally offered at Sunday services because it was customary in Cheyenne culture to feast at a meeting and this hospitality provided an incentive for the Cheyenne to attend church services (P.A. Kliever to Board, March 31, 1901, I-1, Box 6, File 28:MLA; Kraman 1984:8-9). Food and medical assistance to the Cheyenne however, was an individual option of the missionaries. In spite of this option, not providing assistance goes against the Christian tenet of benevolence toward all others who are less fortunate. Likewise, this lack of support went against traditional Northern Cheyenne culture, which provided aid to any tribal member when the need manifested itself.

There were several reasons for the Roman Catholics and Mennonites position in regard to Northern Cheyenne aid. First there was a lack of funds. Both missionary groups were short on finances and the majority of their monies were diverted to maintaining and establishing mission stations and their respective personnel. Each group never developed an ethical or theological basis for extending concerns outside of their respective religious communities. The second issue which

confronted these missionaries was their relationship with the government. An area of mutual endeavor were the government schools where the missionaries conducted Bible classes. This curriculum fulfilled a government mandate to provide religious instruction, a tenet central to the goal of Indian "civilizing." This instruction provided an opportunity to introduce Northern Cheyenne youth to the Christian message and was a means of gaining converts.

Generally, the Roman Catholics and Mennonites were in support of government policy on the reservation. Any disagreement with federal policy was based on implementation of that policy. These denominations judged the government representatives on the reservation on the basis of how well their administration promoted either Catholic or Anabaptist Christian values and whether they supported the efforts of either denomination. Official and interpersonal dealings between the Roman Catholics, Mennonites, and the government were usually harmonious.

The most important issue which confronted these denominations were their attitude toward the Cheyenne culture and people. These denominations attempted the religious conversion of a people simultaneously adapting to the realities of reservation confinement while persistently maintaining elements of their traditional culture. The Roman Catholics and Mennonites had to deal with both traditional and peyote religious practices. First, was their attitude towards

Cheyenne religion and their position in regards to Cheyenne Christians and traditional forms of worship. Both the Roman Catholics and Mennonites believed that Northern Cheyenne religion was without value. The Cheyenne rituals represented and perpetuated the "heathendom" of the Cheyenne (Linscheid to Richert, January 2, 1913, I-1, Box 8, File 39, MLA). Although the Roman Catholics and Mennonites did not approve of the religious ceremonies and dances, they did not attack them during these early years. These missionaries supported governmental policy to ban the Sun Dance, but they were not active in furthering the policy on the reservation. It was the Petters' stance which created the controversy in 1919, and produced strained relationships which lasted for decades. Unlike the Roman Catholics who were more tolerant, the Mennonites were very critical of their Cheyenne converts. These Cheyenne Christians, were expected to sever their relationship with their traditional culture in order to remain church members in good standing.

The Mennonites developed a standard for their converts to follow and emulate. Salvation had to be followed by a complete transformation of behavior and attitude. Members were also expected to attend church services and testify of their faith in word and deed. This strict code adapted by the Mennonites, made it quite difficult to retain church members and religious leaders. The Roman Catholics on the other hand, did not require any adherence to specific standards, or codes

of behavior and conduct. Their only exception was toward members who professed to be Catholic and simultaneously practice peyotism. Roman Catholic converts whom were not peyotists, could be both Christians and Cheyenne.

As the missionaries became more familiarized with Cheyenne culture, they were able to differentiate between religious and non-religious ceremonies. The missionaries probably believed that with enlightenment, these rituals would disappear. For a Northern Cheyenne, abandonment of their traditional religion was a violation of cultural norms. To be ostracized by one's people often created an identity crisis. Pressure from other Cheyenne served as a strong force against Christian conversion.

During the early years on the reservation, the Roman Catholics and Mennonites were part of the non-Indian power structure which dominated the reservation. Because the Cheyenne were not a part of this power structure, Cheyenne responses to these missionaries varied. The Cheyenne adapted to the missionaries on their own volition. Few Cheyenne deserted their cultural traditions.

Cultural transformation was generally not desired by Native Americans. From the viewpoint of the government, the missionary presence on the reservation was positive. The missionaries were convinced that they were providing the Northern Cheyenne with God's message. To the government, the Mennonite and Roman Catholic presence on the reservation

promoted the policy of forced assimilation.

The Mennonites and Catholics made an effort to maintain their own areas of influence: the Catholics in the east and the Mennonites in the west. However, as the decades past, each expanded into the others domain. The Mennonites moved from Busby and Lame Deer to Birney and Ashland. Likewise, the Catholics expanded from Ashland and Lame Deer to Birney and then Busby.

The resulting antagonism between the Mennonite and Catholic missionaries on the Tongue River reservation during the 1920's is consistent with Father Francis Paul Prucha's analysis. In Two Roads to Conversion: Protestant and Catholic Missionaries in the Pacific Northwest, he indicates that both denominations agreed that "civilization and Christianity must go hand in hand, that education in hard work and civility was necessary for acceptance of Christian living" (1988:79:133). However, the Roman Catholics and Mennonites differed in their approach to Christianizing the Northern Cheyenne.

The Catholics relied upon on-reservation schools like St. Labre and any indication of Indian faith to their proselytizing. The Mennonites, relied more on preaching and an infusion of the Holy Spirit to bring about individual salvation. To the Protestants, salvation demanded "a total and external transformation ... [and] ultimately the obliteration of Indian Culture in its entirety -- language, religion, ceremonies, social practices" (Prucha 1988:79:134).

The Catholics on the other hand were willing to:

...accept the Indians' nature to accommodate themselves to the cultures they were seeking to make Christian. They studied Indian languages, appealed to the Indians' love of ceremonialism with the Catholic liturgical splendors, and looked for evidences of an inner faith, not external conformity (Prucha 1988:79:134).

These patterns are similar to the Roman Catholic and Mennonite missions with the Northern Cheyenne. The Mennonites disapproved of the Roman Catholic's supposed tolerance of Indian ceremonies, they felt Catholic Indians were not true to their Christian convictions. The Mennonites on the other hand, stressed individual conversion; they expected a complete transformation by their converts.

Not all of Prucha's analysis applies to the reservation in Montana. The Catholics at St. Labre did not make efforts to learn or preserve the Cheyenne language. However, the Mennonites had mastered the Cheyenne language and therefore could better minister to the Cheyenne in their own tongue. The Catholics used translators out of necessity.

Another difference was peyote. Both opposed the use of peyote, but the Catholics did not take a strong or aggressive stand against peyotists on the reservation like the Mennonites. Both denominations worked with the Indian Bureau to deter and eradicate the use of peyote. The Catholics did not institute a reservation wide campaign to eliminate traditional ceremonies.

In summary, Catholic and Mennonite relations deteriorated in the 1920's and remained as such for years. This deterioration was due to each denomination extending their influence and ministering outside their established domains. While each denomination zealously proselytized the number of Cheyenne converts was small. To reiterate, The Reverend Bede Scully indicates that since the establishment of St. Labre, the number of practicing Catholics was small, he estimates the number at about twenty and feels that half of these Cheyenne practiced Catholicism (Scully 1941:14). Likewise, Mennonite conversion rates consisted of one to four tribal members being baptized annually (Habegger 1959:19). Bureau of Indian Affairs statistics also confirm the minimal rate of conversion to Christianity. For example, the 1915 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, states that out of the reservation population of 1,456, 55 Cheyenne were Protestant and 300 Cheyenne were Catholic (1915:65,76). In other words, three percent of the reservation population were Mennonite, while twenty-one percent were Catholic (Ibid 1915:65,76). Likewise, in 1919 (the year of the Sun Dance controversy), Bureau of Indian Affairs data indicates that from a population of 1,411 Northern Cheyenne, 120 or nine percent were Mennonite, whereas 370 or twenty-six percent were Catholic (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1919:82). Both the Roman Catholics and Mennonites failed to replace traditional Cheyenne religious expression with Christianity.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The Northern Cheyenne were among the last of the Plains tribal populations to be subdued by the United States government. They were adjusting to reservation confinement and the assimilationist policies of the government when the Roman Catholic and Mennonite religious denominations arrived. The Northern Cheyenne welcomed both denominations to the reservation. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Northern Cheyenne were a tribal population who were fighting to maintain their cultural identity. They were also economically deprived and politically powerless. After the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, and other Roosevelt "New Deal" reforms, the Northern Cheyenne became more empowered politically. However, they remained economically impoverished. Economic self sufficiency remained an elusive objective for the Northern Cheyenne as with most Native American populations.

The Roman Catholic and Mennonite presence on the Tongue River reservation had an impact on the Northern Cheyenne's religious and political life. Both these denominations were in active partnership with the Indian Bureau in pushing assimilationist goals. The Mennonites in particular, assisted in the development of political factions which developed in

the 1920's.

When Northern Cheyenne traditionalists organized to protest government suppression and opposition to the Sun Dance and other Northern Cheyenne rituals; the Northern Cheyenne Mennonite converts became defenders of government policy. Going against traditional Mennonite non-involvement with politics; the Reverend Rodolphe Petter also entered the political arena. The Reverend Petter and the Cheyenne converts were subdued and defeated in the 1930's by the new government administration, Cheyenne traditionalists, and Peyotists. The initiation of John Collier's reforms were responsible for the demise of their political clout.

The factions which resulted from the 1919 Sun Dance controversy are present on the reservation today. According to Anne Straus, Christian Cheyenne are considered to be outside of the Cheyenne way, whereas, Catholic converts are considered to be Cheyenne. This is because those Cheyenne who participate in the Catholic faith have also maintained their tribal beliefs and take part in tribal ceremonies. She states many traditionalists "are Catholics and some are Sun Dance priests" (Straus 1976:326-327). Cheyenne peyotists also take part in traditional forms of worship. Because the Roman Catholics and Mennonites identified themselves with the United States Government from 1884 through 1934, they became associated with the power which had militarily defeated the Northern Cheyenne, and had them confined to the reservation.

From the Cheyenne perspective, the missionaries continued to repress them religiously.

Neither religious denomination assisted with Northern Cheyenne economic development. Both the Roman Catholic and Mennonites supported the premise that economic change followed religious and cultural transformation. While the missionaries were sympathetic to the hunger and abject poverty of the Cheyenne, these denominations did not have the resources to provide economic assistance. They did attempt to alleviate some suffering by providing food at their services. However, this hospitality was generally employed as an incentive to entice the Cheyenne to attend Sunday services.

These missionaries played a major role in the cultural changes which occurred to the Northern Cheyenne. Their main objective and goal was to convert the Cheyennes to Christianity and to establish churches and congregations. By the 1920's, both denominations had churches in all four villages on the reservation. Together, both the Roman Catholics and Mennonites became the conveyors of Christianity to the Northern Cheyenne and many were responsive to their respective messages of faith.

To reiterate, the Roman Catholics and Mennonites each sought the salvation of Cheyenne souls through their conversion to Christianity. However, their methods of proselytizing differed. Both denominations worked toward the conversion of the Cheyenne into God fearing "red Americans" no

different than their white neighbors.

The Roman Catholics consistently educated Northern Cheyenne children in Euroamerican cultural traits and industrial skills at St. Labre. In the 1920's they expanded from the eastern portion of the reservation to the villages of Lame Deer, Birney, and Busby. Likewise, the Mennonites established churches from the western portion of the reservation to Ashland, Birney, and Busby. The Roman Catholics accepted any expression of interest in their faith. They baptized any Cheyenne who wanted entrance into Christ's Kingdom. They believed in and worked toward the assimilation of the Cheyenne but, did not use their position of dominance to ensure Cheyenne compliance to accept their faith. They did not exert pressure upon the Cheyenne to abandon their traditional ceremonies, but they discouraged their continuance. However, they did openly oppose the doctrines of the Native American Church (Peyotism).

The Mennonites on the other hand, expected total rejection of traditional religious practices and complete conversion to Protestant tenets. They went against their doctrine of non-involvement and used their power with the assistance of the Indian Bureau to attack Cheyenne religious practices with the hope of eradicating them. Their actions resulted in intense conflict and resistance as Northern Cheyenne traditionalists and peyotists fought for their freedom of religious worship. The Cheyenne at present, accept

Cheyenne Catholic practitioners whereas Mennonite or "Christian" converts are outside of the Cheyenne way.

Both the Roman Catholic and Mennonite tenets of their respective faiths are vastly different from traditional Northern Cheyenne worldview. The only similarity is that all three religious traditions possess a Supreme Being with all other entities subordinate to it.

The hematasooma of a Cheyenne has limitless possibilities within time and space. Maheo, and his subordinate are benevolent toward humans. On the other hand, the Judeo-Christian doctrines have a God who is judgmental. Those who do not live by his laws are eternally damned to suffer. Upon death, the soul either travels to heaven or hell for eternity. These symbolic representations of the soul are different from traditional Cheyenne concepts. The soul of a Christian is restricted within time and space, when compared to the boundless hematasooma of a Cheyenne. The Cheyenne also have no concept of suffering in the afterlife. Therefore, the Cheyenne accepted those Judeo-Christian concepts which allowed them access to cosmic power and disregarded the rest. The stark difference between Christianity and the Cheyenne worldview was a component which hindered conversion on a large scale. Cheyenne traditional worldview offered an individual more religious expression than Christianity.

The Tongue River agency's 1935 Annual Report indicated the population of the reservation to be 1,541. From this

population, 600 attended church or identified with the Catholics, while 750 attended services or identified with the Mennonites (Tongue River Agency Annual Report, June 30, 1935, RG 75, Box 112:NA-PNR). The number of actual converts was smaller. These statistics are not a true measure of Northern Cheyenne receptiveness to the missionaries respective messages of faith. "Our Records (sic) show that about half of the 1,700 odd Indians on the Reservation (sic) have been baptized Catholics, but at present time only a handful practice their Catholic Religion (sic) to any extent" (Scully 1941:6). Lois Habegger indicates that fifty-five years after the inception of the Mennonite mission effort in 1904, 500 Northern Cheyenne had been baptized (Habegger 1959:34).

In 1933, Agent W. R. Centerwall in correspondence to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs states "the Mennonites, no doubt, have done good work here on the reservation as well as the Catholic or other religious denominations. Their following might not be large, but I can truthfully say that listed among their members are some of our better and more efficient Indians" (Bureau of Indian Affairs Northern Cheyenne Agency, "Liquor or Drug Traffic", RG 75, Box 143, Folder 126, Correspondence 28896-33:NA-PNR). The Northern Cheyenne identified with either denomination for any number of reasons. The conviction and loyalty toward the imposed messages of faith were mixed. Their response to the missionary endeavor can be placed into several sociological categories.

First, were the Northern Cheyenne who became baptized, "converted," and dedicated to either denomination but eventually separated from the church. An example is Robert Yellowfox. Robert Yellowfox, was a Cheyenne Mennonite who exposed the role of the Sacred Woman in the 1919 Sun Dance ceremony. However, by 1933, he had turned to peyotism to which he had prior affiliation, and his association with the Mennonite church terminated (R. Petter to Richert, July 28, 1933, I-1c, Series 2, Box 2, MLA). The cultural changes demanded and espoused by the Mennonites were too severe. Yellowfox had reinstated himself to the culture which perhaps he never abandoned in the first place.

Marion Mexican Cheyenne could also be placed within this category. In Circular 1522 in response to questions concerned with the use of peyote among the Cheyenne, Marion states he is a member of the Catholic church, but is thinking of joining the Menonite (sic) church. He indicates the Catholic church is the only church he belongs to. When he is questioned if "the Catholic church does not teach the use of peyote in connection with their services, is he not departing somewhat from the teachings of the church when he uses peyote in connection with your religious work;" he replies "I do not know whether it is a departure from the rules of the Catholic church or not, but God knows where I am and what I am doing" (Bureau of Indian Affairs Northern Cheyenne Indian Agency, Circular letters 1884-1924, RG 75, Box 34, Book: 1373-

1574:1381:NA-PNR). However, despite his association with the Catholics and the Native American Church, he eventually converts to the Mennonite faith. Marion Mexican Cheyenne was responsible for divulging the role of the "Sacred Woman" in the 1914 Sun Dance which caused the controversy in 1919 (Powell 1969:II:342-353). His testimony to the Reverend Petter helped to instigate the struggle between Cheyenne traditionalists and Christian converts over freedom of traditional religious worship.

The abandonment of an Indian's traditional religion was a violation of cultural mores. To deviate from these customs often created an identity crisis. Deviation against norms often resulted in being ostracized. Generally social pressure from other Indians created a deterrent against conversion to the Christian faiths.

Another group of Cheyenne became Christians. Through their devotion, they followed the way prescribed by the missionaries. They accepted the message of the gospel and transformed their behavior to prescribed standards. They adhered to these beliefs in spite of pressure leveled at them by their fellow Cheyenne. These Cheyenne were promoted by the missionaries as examples of their success.

Vohokass, was an example of a "successful Mennonite convert." In Two Life Sketches of Vxzeta and Vohokass, Bertha Petter states "Both he and his family joined our church and Vohokass became not only Sunday school superintendent, but

speaker in the pulpit. His public utterances became more and more 'clear-cut,' bold, refreshing as he bared the superstitions of his people, their fears, their valueless ceremonies, their sins, their false religion" (Petter, B. 1936:67-70). Vohokass had taken a strong stance and confronted Cheyenne traditionalists during the 1919 Sun Dance dilemma (Powell 1969:I:347).

The majority of Northern Cheyenne adapted either denominations gospel in a manner which allowed them to be Cheyenne. They did not conform in the exact specifications stipulated by the missionaries. Many of these Cheyenne continued to participate in traditional Cheyenne religious ceremonies, others practiced peyotism. They identified with more than one religious form of expression. John Stands in Timber, the Cheyenne historian, is an example.

In Cheyenne Memories, Stands in Timber states he was orphaned as a child. He was baptized a Catholic and attended St. Labre. From 1900 to 1905, he was sent to Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas. When he returned to the reservation, he attended the Mennonite mission in Busby. "I joined the Mennonite Church myself in 1916" (Stands in Timber 1972:293). He never indicates that any conversion occurred (Stands in Timber 1972:286-293).

In Cheyenne Memories, Stands in Timber indicates he "never had anything against the Indian Religion. I just never took part in it, except once when I was a little boy ...

afterward I learned it was an offering to the Great Spirit" (1972:293-294). He also participated in the Peyote religion, but did not become a member or adhere to the tenets of this alternative religion (Ibid 1972:293-295). Stands in Timber did not condemn Cheyenne traditionalists. However, he did not follow the narrow path espoused by the Mennonites. He is like other Christian Cheyenne, he did not deny his association with the Mennonites, nor did he deny his heritage as Cheyenne. John Stands in Timber preserved the culture and history of the Northern Cheyenne until his death. He assisted in traditional rituals (Powell 1969:I:xvii).

Another sociological category consists of those Cheyenne who accepted the doctrines of the Ghost Dance and Native American Church. These alternative religious movements contained elements which were more consistent with traditional religious practices than the imposed Christian religions. The Ghost Dance was a prayer to alleviate the abject poverty which resulted after reservation confinement and governmental assimilation policies. It offered a new order which would replace the existing imposed system with a new world similar to their pre-reservation existence.

Even though the Northern Cheyenne lost faith in the doctrine of the Ghost Dance when the new world order did not occur, elements of this religious movement were retained by the Cheyenne. George Bird Grinnell, in The Cheyenne Indians, in his description of the 1911 Medicine Lodge ceremony

discusses Ghost Dance elements such as the use of Ghost Dance paints on several of the participants and ornamented sticks given to a woman from whom a contribution of food was expected (1923:II:215,271,280).

At the time the Cheyenne were being exposed to the doctrines of the Ghost Dance, they also were gaining access to another religious movement known as "Peyotism." The Peyote Road acted as a bulwark against the demoralizing effects of Euroamerican impact. Peyotism was based upon moral elements (in some instances derived partially from Christian doctrines) incorporated into a well-organized "church" setting.

This religion assures Indian fulfillment in the kingdom of God on earth. It presented a solution to the dramatic changes which resulted from the official cannons upon Cheyenne culture and religion. Peyotism was a form of Christianity: it was given to the Indians. God did not intend for whites to understand it. It was accepted by the Northern Cheyenne because it provided a dispensation and renewal of their culture.

It is difficult to ascertain the number of Northern Cheyenne who practiced their traditional religion. Because the Indian Bureau and the missionaries hoped to eliminate traditional religious practices, their records would show conversion to Christianity rather than indicate the continuance of religious ceremonies they wanted to eradicate. The number of Cheyenne practicing Christianity, their

traditional religion, and Peyotism demonstrate that statistics promoting the success of the mission effort are misleading. For example, Circular 1522 concerned with the use of peyote on the reservation in 1919, provides conflicting responses in regards to the number of practicing Peyotists. Agent John Buntin states that thirty-five percent of the Northern Cheyenne use peyote, whereas the Catholic missionary the Reverend Arendzen, stipulates that more than ninety percent of the younger generation use peyote (Bureau of Indian Affairs Northern Cheyenne Agency, Circular Letters 1884-1921, RG 75, Box 34, Book 1373-1574:377,388:NA-PNR). Likewise, J.M. Thomson, the farmer in the Ashland District on the reservation estimates that eighty percent of the population practice peyotism (Ibid 1919 Book 1373-1577:390). If these percentages are in fact true, they conflict with the data concerned with Christian converts on the reservation for the same year. Indian Bureau statistics for 1919 conclude that out of 1,411 Northern Cheyenne, nine percent or 120 Cheyenne are Mennonite while twenty-six percent, or 370 Cheyenne are Catholic (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1919:82). These figures do not take into account the number of Northern Cheyenne who were traditionalists. If the data on the number of Peyotists and Christian converts were correct, statistically, there would have been no Northern Cheyenne traditionalists on the reservation to defend the performance of the Sun Dance.

The Northern Cheyennes' history during their first fifty years on the reservation was one of struggle. Both religious denominations played a central role during those years. They presented a message of faith which many Cheyenne embraced in varying ways and in varying degrees. These missionaries imposed Euroamerican ethnocentrism. They were the representatives of the dominant society. This made adjustment to new conditions more difficult for many Cheyenne. This is reflected in the Northern Cheyennes' responses to those missionization efforts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival Material

- National Archives-Pacific Northwest Region, Seattle.
Washington Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of
Indian Affairs Northern Cheyenne Agency Records,
1884-1952
- National Archives-Pacific Northwest Region, Seattle.
Washington Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau
of Indian Affairs Consolidated Ute Agency Records,
decimal files, 1879-1952
- National Archives-Pacific Northwest Region, Seattle.
RG 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs,
Microfilm 205, Tongue River Reservation
Classified Files 1907-1939
- Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas.
General Conference Mennonite Church, Board of Missions
Montana Mission
General Conference Mennonite Church
Alfred Habegger papers
Gustav A. Linscheid Papers
Rodolphe Petter Papers

Unpublished Material

- Dusenberry, Vern
1956 The Varying Culture of the Northern Cheyenne.
M. A. dissertation, Missoula:Montana State
University.
- Kaufman, Edmund George
1928 The Development of the Missionary and
Philanthropic Interest Among the Mennonite
of North America. Ph. D. dissertation,
University of Chicago.
- Moore, John H.
1974 A Study of Religious Symbolism Among the
Cheyenne Indians. Ph.D. dissertation. Ann
Arbor, MI.: University Microfilm
International.

Unpublished Material

- Straus, Anne
1976 Being Human in the Cheyenne Way. Ph.D. dissertation. Ann Arbor, MI.: University Microfilm International.
- Svingen, Orlan J.
1982 The Administrative History of the Northern Cheyenne Reservation, 1877-1900. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toledo.

Published Material

- Aberle, David F.
1966 The Peyote Religion Among the Navajo. Chicago: Aldine Press.
- Anderson, Edward F.
1980 Peyote the Divine Cactus. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Axtell, James
1988 After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America. New York, Oxford University Press, Inc.
- Beaver, R. Pierce
1966 Church, State, and The American Indian. St. Louis: Concordia Press.
- Berkhofer, Robert F. Jr.
1965 Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Responses, 1787-1862. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.
- Berthrong, Donald J.
1976 The Cheyenne and Arapaho Ordeal: Reservation and Agency Life in the Indian Territory, 1875-1907. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Bowden, Henry Warner
1981 American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Burridge, Henelm
1974 Encountering Aborigines A Case Study:
Anthropology and the Australian Aboriginal.
New York: Pergamon Press Inc.
- Chittenden, Hiram Martin and Alfred Talbot Richardson
1969 Religion in America: Life, Letters, and
Travels of Father DeSmet, Vol. 1-4.
New York: Arno Press and The New York Times.
- Clotilde, Angela
c1936 Ursulines of the West, 1535-1935, 1880-1935,
by an Ursuline of the Roman Union. Everett, WA:
Publisher Unknown.
- Dorsey, George A.
1905 The Cheyenne Ceremonial Organization.
Field Columbian Museum Publication 99,
Anthropological Series, Vol. 9, No. 1,
Chicago: Field Columbian Museum.
- 1905 The Cheyenne, The Sun Dance. Field
Columbian Museum Publication 103,
Anthropological Series, Vol. 9, No. 2,
Chicago: Field Columbian Museum.
- Gatschet, Albert S.
1891 Report of an Indian Visit to Jack Wilson,
The Payute Messiah. Journal of American
Folklore. 4:108-111.
- Gibson, Arrell Morgan
1980 The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present.
New York: D.C. Heath and Co.
- Grinnell, George Bird
1910 The Great Mysteries of the Cheyenne. Journal of
American Folklore. 20:542-575.
- 1914 The Cheyenne Medicine Lodge. American
Anthropologist. 16:245-256.
- 1915 The Fighting Cheyennes. New York: Charles
Scribner's Sons; Reprint, Norman: University of
Oklahoma Press.
- 1919 A Buffalo Sweat Lodge. American Anthropologist.
21:361-375.

- Grinnell, George Bird
 1923 The Cheyenne Indians: Their History and Life
 2 Vol. New Haven: Yale University Press;
 Reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press,
 1972.
- 1926 Cheyenne Campfires, 2d ed., New Haven: Yale
 University Press.
- Habegger, Lois R.
 1959 Cheyenne Trails: A History of Mennonites and
Cheyennes in Montana. Newton, Kansas: Mennonite
 Publication Office.
- Hoebel, E. Adamson
 1950 The Wonderful Herb: An Indian Cult Vision
Experience. Western Humanities Review.
 3:126-130.
- 1960 The Cheyennes: Indians of the Great Plains. New
 York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Hoxie, Frederick E.
 1984 A Final Promise to Assimilate the American
Indians, 1880-1920. Lincoln: University of
 Nebraska Press.
- Institute for Government Research
 1928 The Problem of Indian Administration. Baltimore:
 The Johns Hopkins Press.
- Jablow, Joseph
 1950 The Cheyenne in Plains Indian Trade Relations
1795-1840. Monographs of the American
Ethnological Society, Vol. 19.
- Juhnke, James C.
 1979 A People of Mission: A History of General
Conference Mennonite Overseas Missions.
 Newton, KS: Faith and Life Press.
- Kraman, Sister Carlan
 1984 A Portrait of Saint Labre Mission Through
One Hundred Years. Publisher Unknown.
- Kroeber, Alfred L.
 1900 Cheyenne Tales. Journal of American Folklore
 13:161-190.

- Lanternari, Vittorio
 1963 The Religions of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
- Liberty, Margot
 1965 Suppression and Survival of the Northern Cheyenne Sun Dance. The Minnesota Archaeologist 17:120-143.
- Mardock, Robert Winston
 1971 The Reformers and the American Indian. St. Joseph: University of Missouri Press.
- Mardsen, George M.
 1980 Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mooney, James H.
 1896 The Ghost Dance Religion and The Sioux Outbreak of 1890. 14th Annual Report of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington D.C.: Reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.
- 1907 The Cheyenne Indians. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association 1(6):357-442. Lancaster Pennsylvania: The New Era Printing Company.; Reprint, Milwood, New York: Kraus, 1964.
- Moore, John H.
 1979 The Utility of Cheyenne Cosmology. Papers in Anthropology, Vol. 20(2):1-15. Norman: University of Oklahoma.
- 1987 The Cheyenne Nation: A Social and Demographic History. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Newberne, Robert E.L.
 1922 Peyote: An Abridged Compilation from the Files of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Washington: Government Printing Office, 33-35:Tables I and II.
- Palladino, Lawrence Benedict S.J.
 1922 Indian and White in the Northwest or a History of Catholicity in Montana. Baltimore: J. Murphy and Co.

- Petter, Bertha
 1936 Two Life Sketches of Vxzeta and Vohokass.
 Newton, KS: General Conference Mennonite
 Church.
- Petter, Rodolphe
 1915 Cheyenne-English Dictionary. Kettle Falls [Mont].
 1936 Reminiscences of Past Years in Mission Service
Among the Cheyenne. Newton, KS.: General Conference
 Mennonite Church.
- Philp, Kenneth R.
 1977 John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-
1945. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Powell, Peter J.
 1969 Sweet Medicine: The Returning Role of the Sacred
Arrows, the Sun Dance, and the Sacred Buffalo Hat
in Northern Cheyenne History. 2 Vol. Norman:
 University of Oklahoma Press.
 1980 The Cheyennes, Ma?heo?o's People: A Critical
Bibliography. Bloomington: Indiana University
 Press.
- Prucha, Francis Paul
 1976 American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian
Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900. Norman:
 University of Oklahoma Press.
 1984 The Great Father: The United States Government
and the American Indian. 2 Vol. Lincoln:
 University of Nebraska Press.
 1985 The Indians in American Society: From the
Revolutionary War to the Present. Berkeley:
 University of California Press.
 1988 Two Roads to Conversion: Protestant and Catholic
Missionaries in the Pacific Northwest. Pacific
 Northwest Quarterly 79:130-137.
- Randolph, R.W.
 1937 Sweet Medicine and Other Stories of the Cheyenne
Indians. Caldwell ID: Caxton Printers.
- Ronda, James P. and James Axtell
 1978 Indian Missions: A Critical Bibliography.
 Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- Safford, William E.
1916 Narcotic Plants and Stimulants of the Ancient Americans. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution:337-424.
- Salisbury, Neal
1974 "Red Puritans: The 'Praying Indians' of Massachusetts Bay and John Eliot."
William and Mary Quarterly 3(31):27-54.
- Sandoz, Mari
1953 Cheyenne Autumn. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Schlesier, Karl H.
1987 The Wolves of Heaven: Cheyenne Shamanism, Ceremonies and Prehistoric Origins. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Schoenberg, Wilfred P.S.J.
1962 A Chronicle of the Catholic History of the Pacific Northwest. Portland: Catholic Sentinel Printery.
- Scully, Reverend Bede, O.F.M. Capuchin
1941 "The Cheyenne and Peyote." Mission Almanac. June:6-14.
- Secoy, Frank Raymond
1953 Changing Military Patterns on the Great Plains: 17th Century through early 19th Century. The American Ethnology Society. No. 21 Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Slotkin, J.S.
1956 The Peyote Religion: A Study in Indian White Relations. Glencoe, IL.: Free Press.
- Stands in Timber, John and Margot Liberty
1972 Cheyenne Memories. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967; reprint: Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Stewart, Omer C.
1980 The Native American Church. In Anthropology on the Great Plains, Edited by W. Raymond Wood and Margot Liberty, pp. 179-187. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- 1983 Peyotism in Montana. Montana the Magazine of Western History. 33(2):2-15.

U.S. Department of the Interior

- 1887 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.
- 1900 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.
- 1901 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.
- 1902 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.
- 1903 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.
- 1904 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.
- 1905 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.
- 1906 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.
- 1914 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.
- 1915 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.
- 1918 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.
- 1919 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.
- 1934 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.

- Utley, Robert M.
1984 The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Weist, Tom
1977 A History of the Cheyenne People. Billings, Montana: Montana Council for Indian Education.
- White, Leslie A.
1947 Evolutionary States, Progress, and the Evaluation of Cultures. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology. 3:165-192.