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The Jesuits in Old Oregon

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A Sketch of Jesuit Activities in the Pacific Northwest

The Jesuits in Old Oregon

by William N. Bischoff, S. J.
GONZAGA UNIVERSITY

1840-1940

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TO MY MOTHER
AND
IN MEMORY OF MY FATHER

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Preface

THIS BOOK IS AN INTRODUCTION TO A FASCINATING, BUT generally ignored, field of study. These pages make no pretense at being a history of the Pacific Northwest; nor do they constitute a history of the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest; finally, they do little more than indicate the rich story, yet to be fully told, of the contribution made to the religious, social, and intellectual betterment of this area by the members of the Society of Jesus.

Those scholars with sufficient background to formulate an opinion will admit that the history of the Pacific Northwest has been neglected until quite recent years. Still less has been written concerning the role of Catholic missionaries in the exploration, settlement, and educational development of this important region of the United States. The present work is intended as a partial rectification of such an undesirable state of affairs.

A word about the general plan of the book may not be out of place. Material has been grouped geographically rather than chronologically. Many events happened almost simultaneously in widely separated places, thus furnishing excellent grounds for the confusion of anyone attempting a historical reconstruction of scenes long past. Therefore, the foundations and activities of a limited territorial area are treated together. The result of this type of arrangement is not completely satisfac-

tory, but it does avoid the muddle consequent upon any attempt to compress the story of a century into a few hundred pages and at the same time retain an unbroken chronological order.

Like many others, this book is a co-operative venture. To many people the author is under obligation for their patience and assistance. Especially to the Very Reverend Leo J. Robinson, S.J., Rev. William G. Elliott, S.J., and Rev. Paul P. Sauer, S.J., for granting the opportunities for study; to William A. Laney, S.J., Rev. Adolph A. Bischoff, S.J., and some of my former students, who are now serving our nation in the Armed Forces, for unstinted help in collecting historical material. Special thanks, too, are due to Rev. Andrew Vachon, S.J., for the frontispiece and the design for the jacket. The laborious task of reading and criticizing the manuscript has been generously performed by Rev. David P. McAstocker, S.J., William T. Costello, S.J., and Mr. Philip N. Starbuck. To the latter the writer is especially obligated. The careful compilation and delineation of the maps by Rev. Jerome V. Jacobsen, S.J., and Richard M. O'Brien, elicit the author's sincere thanks. The consideration shown by the publishers is gratefully acknowledged. Finally, the author thanks Rev. William L. Davis, S.J., scholar and friend, whose counsel and encouragement have never been withheld. Lack of space prevents individual mention of each service rendered by those companions who have helped in countless ways, but the author is none the less deeply grateful for their assistance.

For permission to quote or paraphrase copyrighted material, indicated in the bibliography, the writer is indebted to the following: the Most Reverend Joseph F. McGrath, D.D., Bishop of Baker City, Oregon; The

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In making these acknowledgments the writer, of course, assumes all responsibility for the contents and conclusions of this book.

W. N. B., S.J.

Chicago, Illinois
November 9, 1943

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Introduction

THE PLACES MENTIONED IN THIS VOLUME ARE WELL known, and many of the men whose names loom large on these pages are familiar to me, some of them being personal friends and comrades.

Those of us who came from British Columbia and attended Gonzaga University were bound, sooner or later, to meet the dynamic little missionary, Father Folchi. As the author accurately testifies, conductors and engineers did his bidding graciously and joyously. Even the railroad's owner, James J. Hill, received not the deep devotion and sincerity bestowed on Father Folchi.

Then there was Father George de la Motte, the nobleman, the intellectual giant—above all else, the missionary par excellence. Because of his mastery over the various Indian languages, he was in great demand. Whenever a resident missionary took sick, Father de la Motte, though burdened with many responsibilities as superior of the missions, would set out immediately to supply for the sick priest. Possibly the last letter Father George de la Motte wrote was the one in which he told us that, if we obtained the necessary permission, he would gladly act as instructor. We were filled with enthusiasm. What a glorious privilege to make tertianship alone at St. Ignatius with Father de la Motte as Tertian Master! But this was not to be. A few days later, on Good Friday, came

news of his death. Thus passed a gallant soldier of the Cross.

We lived with the founder of Saint Paul Mission for four years at Havre, Montana. Father Eberschweiler loved to recall the old days. It was he who worked so strenuously to stop Louis Riel from arousing the Indians of Canada to revolt, but his efforts were in vain.

The good old Padre used to describe how one day he met Riel, riding on horseback with two companions, between Fort Benton and Saint Paul Mission. The Father (on horseback too) stopped the trio, and strove once more to forestall the inevitable. "Supposing you win every battle, but in each engagement you lose fifty men—then you will ultimately be defeated."

"Father Eberschweiler, you are a good man, but you have not been obliged to endure the many injustices which the Indians to the north of you have suffered. I tell you finally, I intend to go through with the revolt."

At this juncture, Father Eberschweiler rode away a distance with one of Riel's companions and heard his confession. When the two returned to meet the two who awaited them, Riel was in a pensive mood. Looking across the gully and up the adjacent hill, Riel said, "Father Eberschweiler, I see a gallows on top of that hill and I am swinging from it."

Riel's prophecy proved correct. He was hanged afterward in Regina. One of Riel's companions on that trip escaped into Montana and visited the good Padre. He was unharmed, except for a wound from a bullet that had plowed its way (as one parts his hair in the middle) from forehead to the back of the skull. Outside of a certain amount of disfigurement, no permanent injury

was incurred. He attributed his miraculous escape to the efficacious prayers of the Father.

Here again we are falling into the same mistake as Father Eberschweiler: we are musing over the past, dreaming of former days when the West was young and as illimitable as the broad wind-swept prairies.

Father Bischoff's volume will aid you, kind reader, in reconstructing this adventurous and interesting era.

DAVID P. McASTOCKER, S.J.

Riverside, California
November 8, 1941

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The Jesuits in Old Oregon

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A Call for Blackrobes

A CENTURY AGO THE OREGON COUNTRY WAS, FOR MOST people, that vast, indefinite, and undetermined land which lay west of the Rocky Mountains, north of Spanish California, and south of the Russian establishments. These boundaries were soon to be more carefully drawn. But for the ordinary person, many years were to pass before the Oregon Country came to be considered as a possible place in which to make one's home. Traders, trappers, squaw men, and fugitives might well—and did—call this terrifying region home. For most others, it was the most primitive of lands—a land of savages, of boundless deserts, of towering peaks, of plunging torrents. Here one had to struggle against conspiring elements and prowling natives to eke out the meanest existence.

Yet to this forbidding region the Catholic missionaries were invited by both natives and whites. To this invitation they responded with enthusiasm. Gladly they undertook perilous posts where those who would do God's work could depend on God alone for help and protection.

The Jesuits were not the first priests to bring the Catholic religion to Oregon. As a matter of historical fact, the Franciscan Friars had preceded by fifty years any of those priests about whom this narrative deals. The remains of the Spanish Franciscan missions were seen and described by Father J. B. Bolduc when he arrived in

Oregon in 1842.¹ A second point to be kept in mind is that the first to spread the tidings of the Catholic faith to the interior tribes were the trappers and other employees of the different fur companies established in the country beyond the mountains. We shall see that these employees, or those already retired from the fur companies, were white men, as well as half-breeds and Indians, and that each was to play a significant role in the story. These venturesome souls had learned their religion in Montreal or Quebec, and, though they were Catholics at heart, often enough their lives left much to be desired.

These voyageurs, as they came to be known, were much in evidence in the expedition of Lewis and Clark in 1805; they were even more prominent in the fur brigade of John Jacob Astor in 1811. The skill, endurance, and bravery of these Canadians made them the most-sought-for canoemen in the world. So renowned for their skill and prowess, they were also great home builders. Thus, the founders of the first American settlement in Oregon soon became the first settlers in the Willamette Valley. "In Astor's expedition there were thirteen Canadians nearly all of whom were Catholics, . . ." ² To this nucleus of the future Catholic settlement there was added a number of former employees of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver. Upon the expiration of their term of service, Dr. John McLoughlin supplied them with the provisions and farming implements which made it possible for them to settle in the Willamette Valley.

These people begged Joseph Norbert Provencher, Titular Bishop of Juliopolis, with headquarters at Red River, Manitoba, to quiet their yearnings by sending a pastor for their little flock.³ Replying on June 6, 1835,

to the repeated petition of the faithful, the prelate acknowledged the receipt of the request for missionaries and assured Dr. John McLoughlin:

My intention is to do all I can to grant them their request as soon as possible, I have no priest disposable at Red River, but I am going this year to Europe, and I will endeavor to procure those free people, and then the Indians afterwards[,] the means of knowing God. I send together with this letter an answer to the petition which I have received; I request you to deliver it to them; . . . ⁴

The Bishop's answer to the petitions is filled with sympathy and fatherly exhortation:

I have received, most beloved brethren, your two petitions, one dated 3d July 1834, and the other 23d February 1835. Both call for missionaries to instruct your children and yourselves. Such a request from persons deprived of all religious attendance, could not fail to touch my heart, and if it was in my power, I would send you some this very year. But I have no priests disposable at Red River; They must be obtained from Canada or elsewhere, which requires time. I will make it my business in a journey which I am going to make this year in Canada and in Europe. If I succeed in my efforts I will soon send you some help.⁵

Their venerable friend then exhorted the petitioners to lead Christian lives, that their children as well as the Indians might learn the Christian religion from their example even before the missionaries could arrive. They should begin now to prepare their souls for the teachings that would be brought by the missionaries.

My greatest consolation [concludes the Bishop] would be to learn hereafter that as soon as this letter was read to you, you began to pay a little more attention to the great affair of your salvation.⁶

The course of events proved amply that Bishop Provencher sincerely and seriously intended to do all he could for these neglected people who lived in the primitive solitude.

Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound
Save his own dashings—

He appealed for aid to his confrere, Joseph Signay, Bishop of Quebec.⁷ There followed months of negotiation, months of planning, months of disappointment and discouragement. The Hudson's Bay Company controlled all means of communication from Canada to Oregon. The company also dominated in the name of the Crown the future home of the hopeful missionaries and the zealous followers of Christ, whoever they would be, must prove satisfactory to the officials.

Finally, the long-awaited letter containing the needed permissions reached Bishop Signay. Bishop Provencher had agreed that the new mission should be established on the Cowlitz north of the Columbia River, according to the advice given him by George Simpson in the preceding year. The Bishop's gracious acceptance of Simpson's suggestions made it an easy matter to obtain passage for two priests in the canoes of the westbound brigade which would leave for the interior on April 25, 1838. The two priests were to embark at Lachine and, on arrival at Fort Vancouver, measures would "be taken by the Co.'s representative there to facilitate the establishing of the mission, and the carrying into effect the objects thereof generally."⁸

Events now followed rapidly. Father Francis Norbert Blanchet, Curé of Les Cedres, was given letters of vicar-general, under date of April 17, 1838.⁹ His companion, Father Modeste Demers, was awaiting him at Red River.¹⁰ The instructions of Bishop Signay to the brave missionaries were realistic and comprehensive:

You must consider as the first object of your mission to withdraw

from barbarity and the disorders which it produces, the Indians scattered in that country.

Your second object is, to tender your services to the wicked Christians who have adopted there the vices of the Indians, and live in licentiousness and the forgetfulness of their duties.¹¹

The priests were to preach the gospel in private and in public. To multiply their efficiency, they were to learn the native tongues as soon as possible. They were to baptize those sufficiently instructed, that they might rectify the most disgraceful condition on the frontier: irregular unions between whites and natives. The education of children was to be carried on in established schools "as much as your means will allow." Finally, in the more important places more crosses were to be planted, "so as to take possession of those various places in the name of the Catholic religion."¹²

These instructions were brief enough. Any one of them would have entailed a lifetime of work. All of them together were to cost suffering, sorrow, even death. The mission was launched: the life's blood of many would keep it afloat.

The story of Blanchet's and Demers' journey from Quebec to Fort Vancouver was the story of every westbound Hudson's Bay brigade. Yet there was a difference. These men were not adventurers leaving all that was dear to them to carve out a kingdom in the wilderness. These were not fugitives from justice, nor were they fleeing from their own consciences. Rather, they were soldiers of Christ journeying to a land they knew not. They were bound for the frontier to traffic in heavenly goods. They meant to regain those who had forgotten and gain those who had never known.

From the moment Blanchet stepped into the light bark

canoe pushing off from Lachine, his missionary work had begun. Along the way, both of the priests instructed and baptized. Each stop was spent fully in exhorting both Indian and white. The trail up rivers, across lakes, through swamps, and over the towering Rockies brought the missionaries to their chosen field, the Oregon Country. Then they traveled down the Columbia whose treacherous waters claimed the lives of twelve companions. Fort Colville, Fort Walla Walla, The Dalles, each in its turn saw the men of God come and go, and was the better for the visit. The six months' journey ended on November 24, 1838, with their safe arrival at hospitable John McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver. The first answer to the pleadings for missionaries had come. There were priests in the Oregon Country.

Blanchet and Demers had been traveling two hundred and six days to cover the 5,325 miles separating Quebec and Fort Vancouver. Bishop Provencher had kept his promise to the people of the Willamette Valley. He had done all he could "to grant them their request as soon as possible." The Bishop had finished his letter with the pious desire that the people pay a little more attention to the great affair of their salvation. His desire was fulfilled, and in 1836, when some reason had been given them for hope, the settlers built a log church, seventy feet by thirty feet. On January 6, 1839, the church was dedicated to St. Paul.

Even greater manifestations of love and good will met the priests on their first visit to Willamette. The men separated from their wives until the unions could be blessed. Sometimes this meant a whole year until proof of a former wife's death could come from Montreal:

And so great was their desire to have their wives and children in-

structed, and to lose nothing of the instructions given, that they brought them from home to live in tents around the church. The men would not do less; those living the nearest came every day to hear mass and passed the whole day at the church, returning home in time to attend to their business and prevent the wasting of their crops by their hired and slave Indians.¹⁸

The marvelous work accomplished by these two zealous laborers is matter for another story. The pastors and sheep were of such dispositions that the future beauty of this spot in the Lord's vineyard could not but elicit wonder.

CHAPTER II

Preliminary Reconnaissance by Father De Smet

CARRIED AWAY BY THE FASCINATING NARRATIVE OF these pioneer priests in the Oregon Country, it has been easy to overlook a second Catholic answer to the call from the Far West that was soon to come. As early as 1833, the venerable bishops who had gathered in the Second Provincial Council of Baltimore had foreseen the day of the westward movement with all its consequent evils and blessings. They desired that natives should have spiritual care and should be befriended even if other white men were dispossessing them. Hence did

... the Fathers judge that the welfare of the Indians, who are to be settled, by the authority of the civil power, beyond the United States and the above-mentioned Territories, and beyond the boundaries of all dioceses heretofore erected, should be provided for by entrusting their care to the Society of Jesus: wherefore they are led to petition the Holy See that the Mission be committed to it.¹

The Jesuits had their commission. Henceforth, the West was their chosen mission field.

The Potawatomis at Council Bluffs received the ministrations of De Smet and other Jesuits for several years before the founding of the Rocky Mountain Mission. One gathers the impression from early accounts of De Smet's travels that Council Bluffs was considered more or less as home, and this even after the mission had been

closed. Council Bluffs was the last field of labor which occupied the great De Smet before he set out for the mountains. He had returned from among his Potawatomis and Sioux but a few short months when the long years of patient entreaty by the Flathead Indians for a missionary reached a happy fruition.

These Flatheads had fallen under the influence of two Iroquois neophytes who had left their homeland on the shores of the Great Lakes and, with twenty-two other warriors,

. . . had settled in the country between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. That country is inhabited by infidel nations, and especially by those the French call *Têtes Plates*. They married there and were incorporated into the Indian tribe. As they were well instructed in the Catholic religion, professed by the Iroquois—converted by the early Fathers of your Society—they have continued to practice it as much as it was in their power, and have taught it to their wives and children. Their zeal goes even further: becoming Apostles, they have sown the first seeds of Catholicity in the midst of the infidel nations among whom they live. These precious seeds begin already to bring forth fruit, for they have caused to spring in the hearts of the Indians the desire of having Missionaries who would teach them the divine law.²

This encouraging sketch Bishop Rosati of St. Louis sent to Father John Roothan, General of the Society of Jesus, as an appeal for Jesuit missionaries. Long years of suffering and death on the part of the natives had finally been rewarded.

The efforts of these sincere people to gain their heart's desire is outlined in this same letter to Roothan:

Eight or nine years ago [c. 1831] some of the Flathead nation came to St. Louis. The object of their journey was to ascertain if the religion spoken of with so much praise by the twenty-four Iroquois warriors was in reality such as was represented, and above all if the

nations that have white skin (the name they have given to the Europeans) had adopted and practiced it.³

These first messengers fell sick and died in St. Louis. Both were baptized and given Christian burial.

Some years later [c. 1835] the Flathead tribe again sent one of the Iroquois nation to St. Louis. There he came with two of his children, who were instructed and baptized by the Fathers of the College. He begged missionaries for his countrymen and departed with the hope that one day the desire of this tribe would finally be fulfilled. . . .⁴

Old Ignace hoped for the diligently sought and eagerly awaited blackgowns, but none came. Again in 1837, the old Indian headed a third delegation which was never to reach St. Louis. Five more lives were to be added to the first two messengers who had died in St. Louis. The tribes represented in this delegation of 1837 are not certain. There may have been Old Ignace, three Flatheads, and one Nez Percé or perhaps three Flatheads, one Iroquois, and one Snake.⁵ What is important:

The party reached Ash Hollow [Nebraska], where they were attacked by about three hundred Sioux warriors, and, after fighting for three hours, killed some fifteen of them, when the Sioux, by means of a French trader then among them, obtained a parley with Gray and his traveling companions. . . . While the Frenchman was in conversation with Gray, the treacherous Sioux made a rush upon the three Flatheads, one Snake and one Iroquois Indian belonging to the party, and killed them.⁶

The blood of this third delegation spilled on the sandy wastes of the plains was soon to germinate the seed of Christians.

The fourth expedition sent by the tribe (but only the third to reach St. Louis) arrived in 1839. This time the tribe sent

... two Iroquois named Peter and Little Ignace (to distinguish him from the other called Big Ignace) and commissioned them to make still more persistent entreaties to obtain finally that of which they had so great a need—a blackrobe to lead them to heaven.⁷

Of this fourth delegation Bishop Rosati writes:

... these savages, who speak French, have edified us by their truly exemplary conduct and interested us by their conversations. The Fathers of the College have heard their confessions and today they approached the holy table at high mass in the Cathedral Church. Afterwards I administered to them the sacrament of Confirmation and in a sermon delivered after the ceremony I rejoiced with them in their happiness and I gave them hope of having a priest soon.

They will depart tomorrow; one of them will carry the good news promptly to the Flatheads; the other will spend the winter at the mouth of Bear River, and in the spring he will continue his journey with the missionary whom we will send them.⁸

Unless something unforeseen occurred, the Flatheads were to have their missionary—"their blackrobe to lead them to heaven."

Before signing his name Bishop Rosati adds one more story about these unusual Indians for whom he pleaded so earnestly and effectively:

Of the twenty-four Iroquois who formerly emigrated from Canada, only four are still living. Not only have they planted the faith in those wild countries, but they have besides defended it against the encroachments of the Protestant ministers. When these pretended missionaries presented themselves among them, our good Catholics refused to accept them. "These are not the priests about whom we have spoken to you," they would say to the Flatheads, "These are not the long black-robed priests who have no wives, who say mass, who carry the crucifix with them, etc." For the love of God, my very Reverend Father, do not abandon these souls.⁹

This impassioned prayer of the Bishop was to have its answer.

This letter of the prelate was probably the result of a suggestion in a letter of Father Peter Verhaegen, Jesuit Superior in Missouri. After mentioning the consolation occasioned by the visit of the two Iroquois from the mountains he adds:

They have come from so great a distance to beg for aid, which I cannot give with our slender personnel. This circumstance, Monseigneur, might furnish you an occasion for addressing to our Very Rev. Father General a letter recommending to him the nations who dwell on the banks of the Columbia and who were formerly evangelized by our Fathers, whose memory they preserve.¹⁰

That Rosati acted on this suggestion we have seen.

Father Verhaegen, also, wrote a personal appeal to the General. Among other things he said:

What I had very often heard from others these good men corroborated, namely, that the Indians dwelling beyond the Rocky Mountains are well affected towards our holy religion and could with little trouble be brought within the bosom of the Church. Considering the very great scarcity of priests among us I scarcely knew what to answer. Finally, after weighing the matter carefully and asking the opinion of the consultors, I promised them that next spring two Fathers would undertake a journey to that distant region in order to dwell for a space at least among those nations cultivated of old by our Fathers and bring them the aid they so sorely need. . . . I am desirous therefore to know of your Paternity what he wishes done by us on behalf of those poor creatures.¹¹

Whether or not the mission would be a permanent Jesuit undertaking, Father Verhaegen left to the decision of Father Roothan. That a priest would be sent to the mountains, at least temporarily, he was determined. Steps were taken toward the actual appointment of missionaries to the Flatheads. There were several volunteers in the vice-province of Missouri itself, to say nothing of the willing workers who would respond to

the appeal made for missionaries in various European Jesuit communities.

To perform the important task of reconnoitering the new Mission of the Mountains, Peter John De Smet, lately of the Potawatomi mission at Council Bluffs, was selected. De Smet was a native of Termonde, Belgium. He and his twin sister, Colette, were born January 30, 1801. "His childhood days were spent at home, where he grew up in an atmosphere of staunch Catholicism."¹² He was educated in various schools in and near Termonde and at the large boarding school in Biervelde, which was conducted by the diocesan clergy of Ghent. A year or two later De Smet entered the Junior Seminary of St. Nicholas. A short time after this, we find him enrolled in the college at Alost, in East Flanders. We next met him in the Junior Seminary of Mechlin. These academic wanderings corroborate the judgment passed on De Smet by his brother: "He could not settle down anywhere long."¹³

At Mechlin he met Father Charles Nerinckx, who was to influence the whole future life of the young Peter De Smet.¹⁴ De Smet succumbed to the vivid accounts of missionary life with which Father Nerinckx regaled the seminarians. He offered himself for the mission. To complete the offering, De Smet would have to overcome obstacles.

Since he had no money, and since he feared to ask his father's permission to set out for America, the necessary funds were borrowed. De Smet left without telling his father. This act he would regret in later life, as it caused a prolonged estrangement between his father and himself.¹⁵

To hasten the story, suffice it to say that he and his eight companions reached Philadelphia safely on September 23, 1821. Six years later, on September 23, 1827, he had finished his studies and was ordained to the priesthood. His first years as a priest were spent in a school for Osage Indians. Upon the failure of this school, he became a missionary at various times in Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin. He became treasurer of St. Louis College in 1832.

In September of the following year, he left St. Louis to return to his native land. Poor health had been plaguing him for some time, and the doctors had advised his native air. As soon as he reached Paris, he began to beg for his beloved mission in Missouri. His efforts were well repaid in money and in practical gifts. All the while his health had been declining, so much so that, at his own request, he was released from his vows as a Jesuit on March 31, 1835.

For two long years, oppressed though he was by poor health, the Abbé De Smet begged, preached, and labored for his former brothers in Christ. He was their agent in securing contributions and loans for the struggling missions. Yet, for all this, he was not happy. A feeling of frustration and of self-reproach haunted him. He would never be happy until he was working as a Jesuit in the Missouri missions, where he felt God wanted him.

Thought became reality. By November 29, 1837, De Smet was back at Florissant. He "was home again—at his true home with the Jesuits on the American frontier."¹⁶ Again he joyfully took up his work among the Potawatomis at Council Bluffs. From this mission he was called to take the Torch of Faith into the far western

mountains. This was De Smet's real vocation, for he had cherished the hope that he would be chosen missionary to the Flatheads ever since meeting the Indians at Council Bluffs, while they were en route to St. Louis.

By coincidence, he left Council Bluffs for St. Louis, February 13, 1840. He undertook the trip, however,

... on business for our house at Council Bluffs and to obtain things necessary for life and clothing—firmly resolving to return, as soon as possible, to the dear Potawatomis.¹⁷

De Smet's letter continues:

The winter was extremely severe, during this short trip I suffered much, sleeping under the open heavens for two nights, in three feet of snow, wrapped only in two single blankets. I had my nose and one cheek frozen, as they had been exposed to a piercing northeast wind. The cold and the dampness, I suppose, caused the heavy congestion in the chest, which plagued me during my trip; then, upon arriving at the University, Rev. Fr. Verhaegen put me in the hands of a doctor (and I have always had a strong prejudice against the disciples of Aesculapius).¹⁸

After recovering from this encounter with the blood-letters, De Smet was ordered to make preparations for his journey to the Rocky Mountains as soon as the weather should permit.

I left St. Louis March 28, and arrived at Westport, April 11, in time to fit out for the mountains. I have bought 4 horses and three mules. The caravan, I presume, will leave on May 1 under the command of Captain Dripps and Messrs. Frab and Ledger.¹⁹

Here he was on the frontier of civilization, awaiting the fur brigade that would take him to the long-neglected tribes. This was a journey of exploration and reconnaissance.

I was sent by the Very Reverend Bishop and by my provincial to assure ourselves of the dispositions of these savages and of the probable success which could be expected by establishing a mission in their midst. . . .²⁰

Commanded by his superiors, and with the sincerest blessing of his bishop, De Smet left Westport (now Kansas City) on April 30, 1840. The annual brigade of the American Fur Company followed the Oregon Trail as far as the Green River rendezvous, in what is present southwestern Wyoming. They crossed the boundless plains, past Chimney Rock:

On May 31 we camped two miles and a half from one of the most remarkable curiosities of this savage region. It is a cone-shaped eminence of not far from a league in circumference, gashed by many ravines and standing upon a smooth plain. From the summit of this hill rises a square shaft, thirty to forty feet through and 150 feet high; the shape of this column has given it the name of the Chimney; it is 175 yards above the plain, and may be seen from a distance of thirty miles. The Chimney is composed of petrified clay, interspersed with layers of white and grayish sandstone.²¹

De Smet and his companions worked their way wearily over the sandy wastes past the famous Independence Rock about which the missionary writes:

. . . it is the first massive stone of this renowned chain of mountains which divide North America, and which wayfarers call the backbone of the universe. It is composed of granite . . . of a prodigious thickness, and covers several miles of land; from crown to base it is completely bare. It is the great register of the desert; the names of all travelers who have passed one may read, written in rough characters; mine is among them in my capacity as the first priest to reach this remote spot.²²

The travelers continued beyond the frowning Rockies, through South Pass, to their appointed rendezvous at Green River.²³ De Smet's letters are filled with descrip-

tions of what he saw on this first stage of his journey. Nothing escaped his notice. The scenery, plants, animals, and natives—each in turn came before his keen eye to suffer comparison with what he had seen among the Potawatomis.²⁴

Once arrived at the rendezvous he set to work immediately:

On June 30, I met the escort sent by the Flatheads to serve as my guide and guard. Our meeting was that of children who came to meet a father whose return had been long awaited. In the same place there were gathered a crowd of Indians from all the tribes, come to this common meeting place to trade the produce of their primitive labor.²⁵

Here he met the Shoshones, or Snakes, who

... inhabit the southern part of the territory of Oregon, in the vicinity of upper California. Their population of about 10,000 souls is divided into several bands scattered here and there in the most desolate country in all the region west of the mountains.²⁶

At the rendezvous they gave a parade to greet the whites that were there. Three hundred of their warriors came up in good order and at full gallop into the midst of our camp. They were hideously painted, armed with their clubs, and covered all over with feathers, pearls, wolves' tails, teeth and claws of animals, outlandish adornments, with which each one had decked himself out according to his fancy. Those who had wounds received in war, and those who had killed the enemies of their tribe, displayed their scars ostentatiously and waved the scalps they had taken on the ends of poles, after the manner of standards.²⁷

What must have been the thoughts of De Smet as he watched this display! From his writings one could never guess. The description of the rendezvous is narrated as though the recorder was completely disinterested in what he saw. Yet he was on the eve of plunging into the country infested by these savage natives. He stayed some days at the rendezvous to rest his horses and

... to give good and salutary admonition to the Canadian hunters who seemed to be in great need of it and to talk with the natives of the different tribes.²⁸

The day before proceeding on his journey with his faithful Flatheads, De Smet celebrated Mass and preached in French and English and to the Indians through an interpreter:

On Sunday, the 5th of July, I had the consolation of celebrating the holy sacrifice of mass *sub dio* [in the open air]. The altar was placed on an elevation and surrounded with boughs and garlands of flowers; I addressed the congregation in French and in English, and spoke also by an interpreter to the Flatheads and Snake Indians.²⁹

It was a spectacle truly moving for the heart of a missionary to behold an assembly composed of so many different tribes, and prostrating themselves with equal submission before the Sacred Host. The nature of the congregation and the majesty of the desert concurred to render the Mass solemn. The Canadians sang hymns in French and Latin, and the Indians in their mother tongue; all distinctions, all tribal strifes disappeared before an universal sentiment—that of Christian affection. Oh! truly it was a Catholic ceremony! This place since has been called the *Prairie of the Mass*.³⁰

This meeting had been most consoling. The day following the memorable Mass, De Smet took the trail again. This time he was going to the Flatheads—to those for whom he had left St. Louis. The Flathead warriors and ten Canadians, who wished to accompany De Smet so they could practice their religion, took a northwesterly direction. They traveled up the Green River for three days, then along the mountain trail into Jackson Hole, through narrow defiles and along sheer cliffs until they reached the main fork of the Snake River on July 10:

The mass of snow melted during the July heat had swollen this torrent to a prodigious height. Its roaring waters rushed furiously

down and whitened with their foam the great blocks of granite which vainly disputed the passage with them.³¹

The natives and Canadians swam the raging stream. For the strange missionary they made a skin boat which three Indians pushed ahead as they swam the river. The next day they climbed a high mountain pass and traversed a thick pine forest. Then down into Pierre's Hole.³² After a day's journey across this valley, they reached the camp of the Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles. The goal had been attained:

The poles were already up for my lodge, and at my approach men, women and children came all together to meet me and shake hands and bid me welcome; the number of them was about 1600. The elders wept with joy, while the young men expressed their satisfaction by leaps and shouts of happiness.³³

After his formal reception by the chief, Big Face, the missionary spoke to all on religious matters. He explained the advantages of his mission and tried to impress the need of settling permanently in some suitable place. The plan of instruction which he intended to follow was outlined. Finally this first day ended with evening prayers and hymns.

There followed days of feverish activity:

At daybreak, each morning, the old chief was the first to rise; then, astride his horse, he made the rounds of the camp to harangue his people. . . . "Come," he would cry, "courage, my children, open your eyes. Turn your first thoughts and your first words to the Great Spirit. Tell him that you love him and ask his mercy on you. Courage, for the sun is about to appear, it is time for you to go to the river to wash. Be at our Father's lodge at the first sound of the bell; while there be quiet; open your ears to hear and your heart to retain all the words that he will speak to you."³⁴

As soon as all were ready, De Smet would ring the bell for morning prayers. During the days he was in their midst, their fervor never slackened. All eagerly attended the prayers; even the sick had themselves carried to the priest's lodge. Four times daily, gatherings for prayer and instruction were called. Avidly they listened to the explanations of the *Pater*, the *Ave*, the *Credo*, the Acts of Faith, Hope, Charity, and Contrition, the Ten Commandments of God. The day after his arrival, De Smet translated these essential prayers into the language of the Flatheads. Here, as in other instances, he was helped by trusty interpreters. That he was very successful may be surmised from the fact that the whole tribe knew these prayers within ten days.

Before he had finished, Father De Smet had baptized six hundred of the natives, including the two head chiefs of the Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles—both octogenarians:

... all ardently desired the same grace, and doubtless their dispositions were excellent; but since the absence of missionaries would be for a short time only, I thought it prudent to delay them until the following year, that they might conceive a noble idea of the dignity of the sacrament, and that they might prove in what esteem they hold the indissolubility of the marriage bond, a thing unknown among the Indian tribes of America, for they separate often on account of the most frivolous reasons.³⁵

Besides the instructions, De Smet was naturally studying the tribe from all possible aspects that he might give a true and trustworthy report on his return to St. Louis. The one fault he could find in them was their gambling. In a race or a "stick game" the Indians would stake everything they possessed. Even this inveterate habit was unanimously abolished once its opposition to Chris-

If De Smet had found one thing to blame, he found many things to praise:

They are scrupulously honest in their buying and selling; they have never been accused of having committed a theft; everything that is found is taken to the lodge of the chief, who cries the articles and returns them to the owner. Slander is unknown even among the women: lying is hateful to them beyond anything else. . . . Quarrels and fits of rage are severely punished. No one suffers without his brothers interesting themselves in his trouble and coming to his succor; accordingly, they have no orphans among them. They are polite, always of a jovial humor, very hospitable and helpful to one another in their duties.⁸⁶

These are by no means all the virtues of these natives listed by De Smet. There are enough here, however, to let us see the impression made on the missionary by this unusual tribe. The report which would be carried back to the East is not hard to foretell.

From Pierre's Hole De Smet accompanied the camp as it moved northwest by easy stages. On July 22, they encamped at Henrys Lake and Red Rock Lake. The former was a source of the Snake River; the latter, the ultimate source of the Missouri. In an attempt to reach the summit of a near-by peak, he climbed for six hours, but in the end, he found himself exhausted and compelled to give up his plan. While he rested, the intrepid missionary let his thoughts go untrammelled:

The fathers of the company who are in the missionary service on the banks of the Mississippi and its tributaries, from Council Bluffs to the Gulf of Mexico, came to my mind. I wept with joy at the happy memories that were aroused in my heart. I thanked the Lord that he had deigned to favor the labor of his servants, scattered over this vast vineyard, imploring at the same time his divine grace for all the nations of Oregon, and in particular for the Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles, who had so recently and so heartily ranged themselves

under the banner of Jesus Christ. I engraved upon a soft stone this inscription in large letters: *Sanctus Ignatius Patronus Montium. Die Julii 23, 1840.* I said a mass of thanksgiving at the foot of this mountain, surrounded by my savages, who intoned chants to the praise of God, and installed myself in the land in the name of our holy founder. Let us implore his aid, that through his intercession in heaven, this immense desert, which offers such great hopes, may speedily be filled with worthy and unwearrying laborers.³⁷

A loyal son of Ignatius had placed a promising corner of the vineyard under the fatherly protection of the soldier-saint. Here De Smet would fight many battles, but never unassisted.

The next day the camp moved on into present Montana:

Until the 8th of August, we were still traveling through a great variety of country. Now we would find ourselves in open, smiling valleys, now in sterile lands beyond lofty mountains and narrow defiles, sometimes in extensive high plains, profusely covered with blocks and fragments of granite.³⁸

After following the Beaverhead River through the present Dillon, Montana, they reached, by August 10, the Jefferson River. Leaving this camp, the band arrived at the three forks of the Missouri on August 21. Here, in the land of plenty, the Flatheads prepared to lay in their winter food supply. The men fished and hunted, while the women prepared each day's kill. De Smet stayed with them until August 27, the day he had set for his departure.

The appointed day dawned. The seventeen braves and three chiefs, selected to guard De Smet through the country of the hostile Blackfoot and Crow Indians, were ready:

Long before sunrise all the nation was assembled around my lodge; no one spoke, but grief was painted on each face. The only thing I

could say that seemed to console them was a formal promise of a prompt return in the following spring, and of a reinforcement of several missionaries. I performed the morning prayers amid the weeping and sobs of those good savages. They drew from me despite myself the tears that I would gladly have stifled for the moment.³⁹

De Smet appointed as spiritual head of the tribe a very intelligent Indian. This man had been specially instructed and was to call the others together for the morning and evening prayers. On Sundays, he was to exhort the others and privately to baptize the dying, and the children in case of necessity. Old Big Face promised De Smet:

When the snows disappear from the valleys, after the winter, when the grass begins to be green again, our hearts, so sad at present, will begin to rejoice. As the grass grows higher, our joy will become greater; but when the flowers appear, we will set out to come and meet you. Farewell.⁴⁰

The little band struck out on their perilous journey. For two days their trail led up the Gallatin River and then across to the Yellowstone. For several days they traveled along the Yellowstone bottoms through the country of the Crow Indians to the confluence of the Big Horn River. Well into eastern Montana they followed the Yellowstone; then they turned east and southeast to cut across South Dakota to Fort Vermillion on the Missouri River. From here they went by boat to Council Bluffs, three hundred miles farther on. The next stop was at Westport, whence they proceeded by stagecoach to Independence, Missouri. On December 31, 1840, De Smet was safe among his colleagues in St. Louis. Out of the jaws of peril and death he had returned to report his readiness "to go back to that untended vineyard of the Lord."⁴¹

Nine months had been spent by De Smet in his tour of inspection. The reports he brought back were enthusiastic. There was no doubt in his mind that a mission should be established in the mountains, nor was there the shadow of anxiety as to its possible success:

On my arrival at St. Louis, I gave an account to my superior of my journey and of the flattering prospects which the mission beyond the Rocky Mountains held out.⁴²

The field was ripe for the harvest and at least one harvester was certainly ready to garner the souls. But there was not enough money for the outfit required by the missionaries. The heart of the resolute priest was crushed by the thought that his promise to the Flatheads would have to go unredeemed and these souls be abandoned to paganism:

I would have desponded had I not already experienced the visible protection of the Almighty in the prosecution of this great work. My confidence in him was unabated.⁴³

If the means were not at hand, De Smet would do what he could to collect the needed money. He appealed to Francis Patrick Kenrick, Bishop of Philadelphia. With the latter's permission, a public appeal was made and a collection taken in the churches of the diocese:

. . . to the generous people of Philadelphia, who so liberally responded to the call of their pastors, I return my sincere thanks and will daily beg the father of mercies to reward them with his choicest blessings.⁴⁴

De Smet's appeal to Bishop Blanc of New Orleans was equally successful. He left New Orleans with \$1,100 in cash and six boxes of various useful articles. From Pitts-

burgh and from Kentucky came generous donations. The balance was supplied by St. Louis. At last, the needed men and money were ready to redeem the promise—there would be a Mission of the Mountains.

CHAPTER III

The Founding of St. Mary's Mission among the Flatheads

SOON AFTER DE SMET HAD RETURNED FROM HIS FIRST trip to the Flatheads, Father Peter Verhaegen had chosen Fathers Nicholas Point and Gregory Mengarini to be co-founders with Father De Smet of the Flathead mission. This appointment, on March 4, 1841, had preceded the doubtful weeks spent in begging the needed money. Once this last obstacle had been passed, preparations were made for immediate departure.

On April 24, Fathers De Smet and Mengarini, and Eysvogels (the last-named destined for Council Bluffs) and Coadjutor Brothers Huet and Specht left St. Louis. Seven days later they reached Westport, where they were joined by Father Point and Brother William Clacsens. On May 10, the party set out over the Oregon Trail, on their way at last to found the mission of their desires. Five days out on the trail, De Smet gave words to the feelings of the little band, when he wrote:

Aided by the grace of God, supported by the Holy Sacrifices of our Fathers and the good prayers of all our brethren, we shall brave every obstacle to fly to the conquest of souls.¹

Who were these men "flying to the conquest of souls"? Father Nicholas Point was born in Rocroy in the Ardennes, France. At this time he was forty-two. Father Gregory Mengarini, twenty-nine, an Italian, had

responded to the appeal for missionaries which had been read in the various Jesuit communities in Rome. He was

... specially selected by the Father General himself for this mission on account of his age, his virtues, his great facility for languages and his knowledge of medicine and music; and the three lay-brothers, two Belgians, William Claessens and Charles Huet, and one German, Joseph Specht, of whom the first is a blacksmith, the second a carpenter, and the third a tinner, or a sort of factotum.²

These were the men that were the foundation stones of what has become a century-old apostolic edifice.

The little band with their pilot, Thomas Fitzpatrick, famous scout and former partner of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and five teamsters joined up with the party of John Bidwell who was to become famous in pioneer California.³ In the combined group there were seventy souls. They chose Fitzpatrick as guide for the whole caravan.

The duties of the guide were very important: thus, the Captain at early dawn gave the signal for rising and for departure, and once upon the road he regulated the march and halting times; he also chose the ground for camp and looked to the keeping of discipline.⁴

If one hoped to cross the great deserts and high mountains, to traverse the land of countless hostile Indians, care had to be taken. The missionary caravan was no exception:

For greater security each owner of the animals tied them to stakes planted in the ground at suitable intervals; the tethers used were long enough to permit of the animals grazing with ease. From the first moment that sleep reigned over the camp until the following day-break each traveler in turn, even down to the priests, kept watch to guard from any surprise of the enemy.⁵

On they rolled without mishap. Once the party barely avoided a pitched battle with a band of Cheyennes because one member of the caravan had been hasty in trying to fight the Indians after they had taken his horse and gun. Fitzpatrick saved what could have been the end of all dreams and hopes. River fordings were always anxious. About the crossing of the Platte River, Father Point says:

... we had to use great precautions, particularly with the oxen, which are much harder to manage than horses, whilst the first driver goaded them on from his high seat, his subordinates on horseback at either side, or on foot in the middle of the stream, shouted and whipped them to make the team advance, and to prevent them from turning aside. For greater safety, cords were stretched from the tops of the wagons, and being drawn taut by vigorous arms, they helped to keep things well balanced. The roaring of the waters, the bellowing of the oxen, the neighing of the horses, the excited and ear-splitting shouts of the drivers—all combined to make up the most horrid din that I ever listened to; it was astonishing that we effected the passage almost without any mishap.⁶

Day after day they toiled ahead, and on August 15 they reached Fort Hall in southern Idaho. Here De Smet was to leave the caravan and journey with the vanguard of the Flatheads whom he had met the preceding day. He learned that the main camp of the Flatheads had awaited his arrival from July 1 to July 16, but, because of a shortage of provisions, had been forced to withdraw into the mountains. The three natives were left to wait his arrival as long as there was the least hope of his coming.

From these men and from Gabriel Prudhomme, who had ridden ahead of all the others to meet De Smet on the banks of Green River, the zealous priest learned the year's happenings among the tribe:

They had prayed daily to obtain for me a happy journey and a speedy return. Their brethren continued in the same good disposition; almost all, even children and old men, knew by heart the prayers which I had taught them the preceding year.⁷

He learned further that

. . . the whole tribe had determined to fix upon some spot as a site for a permanent village; that, with this in view, they had already chosen two places which they believed to be suitable; that nothing but our presence was required to confirm their determination. . . .⁸

Well might De Smet feel happy as he set out to join the main body of the tribe. The little band traveled north from Fort Hall until they reached the Beaverhead River in southwestern Montana. Here they met the rest of the tribe, who greeted De Smet warmly. The combined group now moved over the Rockies and followed the course of Deer Lodge Creek and Hell Gate River. This latter they named St. Ignatius. They passed the present site of Missoula, Montana, and went some twenty-eight miles up the Bitter Root Valley. Their journey ended September 24, 1841, the feast of Our Lady of Mercy. Here would be established the first mission.

On the first Sunday in October [October 3], the feast of the Holy Rosary, we took possession of the promised land by erecting a large cross on the spot chosen for the first reduction, an event which I am assured was foretold by a little girl 12 years old, who was baptized and died during my absence.⁹

The beautiful death of this little Indian maiden was described by Father De Smet in another letter. When this girl realized she was dying, she begged so persistently for baptism that Peter, the Iroquois, administered the sacrament and gave her the name of Mary. Afterwards,

... she spoke three times in testimony of her happiness: "Pray for me! pray for me! pray for me!" Then she began to pray herself, and then she sang a hymn in a stronger voice than any of those gathered around. On the point of breathing her last, she cried out, "Oh, how beautiful! I see Mary, my mother. My happiness is not on this earth; only in heaven must I seek it. Listen to the Blackrobes because they will speak the truth!" And immediately after she breathed her last.¹⁰

After the cross had been erected, many of the Indians remembered that the site of the first mission was the spot whence Mary had departed to join her beautiful Mother in heaven. For this reason there was a special sacredness about their first house of prayer.

The missionaries, priests, and brothers soon set to work to build a log cabin and church, and around these they built a sort of fort protected by bastions. The ground was already frozen and the trench for the foundations had to be cut with axes. Trees had to be felled, trimmed, and hauled to the spot destined for the building:

The walls of the buildings were of logs interlacing one another, the cracks being filled with clay. The partitions between rooms were of deer-skin. The roof was of saplings covered with straw and earth. The windows were 2 x 1, and deerskin with the hair scraped off supplied the place of glass.¹¹

To reach this home the brave Religious had traveled for four and a half months.

The translation of the prayers into Flathead was begun immediately. This became no easy task since experience taught the missionaries that many words in Flathead had a far different connotation than their literal English or French equivalents. In the early months of the mission, confessions were heard through an interpreter. This was not so strange for the Indians, since they

were accustomed to a form of public confession that had been in vogue before the coming of the priests.

There was a regular order of the day set down for those living at the mission. Daybreak was rising time; there followed morning prayers, Mass, and breakfast. Then came an hour's instruction, followed by work until noon; catechism from two to half past three in the afternoon, work until sunset, prayers, instruction, canticles, etc. This order reads more like that of novices in a religious house than of savages roaming the mountain fastness. Yet from the early accounts one learns that the tribe followed it without serious complaint.

For the Jesuits the days were filled with the study of the language and the teaching of catechism. The method ordinarily followed in teaching was to reduce the catechism to question and answer form. These were committed to memory by the neophytes and on appointed days "catechism bees" were held in the church, one contestant asking the questions of another. Failure to answer naturally disqualified one from sharing the prizes. These contests were limited to children under thirteen, for in the children lay the future greatness of the mission.

After Catechism on Sundays and holy days came sports. The people collected together, and the Indian boys brought their bows and arrows. Standing in their midst I [Father Mengarini] would throw up in the air, sometimes a ball of cotton, sometimes a thin stick; and the boys would shoot at it. To win a prize, the ball or stick had to be pierced in its ascent; but no matter how swiftly I threw, the arrows guided by unerring hands, flew swifter, and the ball would be seen in mid air, pierced, as if by magic, by a dozen arrows.¹²

This glimpse gives us an insight of the missionaries' method of approach. They mixed the difficult with the pleasant. For children it was play.

For the adults, the Fathers made every effort to help them become prosperous and successful farmers. It was futile to hope to keep the Indians happy in one spot if they could not find a reasonably easy living in that place. For this reason, then, Father De Smet made the tiresome journey to Fort Colville and back almost as soon as they had reached St. Mary's. He set out on October 28 for the nearest Hudson's Bay post. In spite of the lateness of the season, he was determined to make the trip for two reasons; first, they needed provisions for the winter, seeds for the spring planting, tools for the savages who were well disposed toward work, and cows and other cattle for their future farms; second, he wanted to visit the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreille tribes who usually camped in this region during the winter. He was to be successful on both scores:

After dinner next day [November 14], we went on to the fort [Colville]. There we passed three days in repairing our saddles and packing our provisions and seeds. Wherever one finds the gentlemen of the Hudson Bay Company, one is sure of a good reception. They do not stop with demonstrations of politeness and affability, they anticipate your wishes in order to be of service to you.¹³

This friendly feeling between the missionaries and the Hudson's Bay men was one of those pleasant phases in an otherwise rugged life.

Besides buying provisions, De Smet had been doing other work:

During my journey, which lasted forty-two days, I baptized 190 persons, of whom twenty-six were adults, sick or in extreme old age; I preached to more than 2,000 Indians; who, thus evidently conducted into my way by providence, will not, I trust, tarry long in ranging themselves under the banner of Jesus Christ.¹⁴

De Smet visited the Kalispels on his way to and from Colville. His success had been even greater than we may judge from his own summary, for the Kalispels were glad to join the Flatheads in the buffalo hunt of that winter simply to be near Father Point who traveled with the hunters.

The tireless De Smet reached St. Mary's on December 8. While he was away, the Fathers and Brothers had been busy. Hence he could summarize the year's work:

On Christmas day I added 150 new baptisms to those of the 3d of December [60 persons], and thirty-two rehabilitations of marriages; so that the Flatheads, some sooner and others later, but all, with very few exceptions, had, in the space of three months, complied with everything necessary to merit the glorious title of true children of God.¹⁵

The report needs no comment. The missionaries had come far, but certainly not in vain.

The farming efforts were not to meet with such immediate success. In fact, the winter journey of 1841 was almost futile; if we judge from Father Mengarini's words, De Smet

... brought from Fort Colville, during the first year of our sojourn among the Indians, seeds of various kinds from which we hoped to reap a plentiful harvest. Our hopes, however, were not realized. Chickens, hogs and cows were also brought, but only the last proved to be a profitable investment.¹⁶

These first years at St. Mary's were to be the most satisfying. Perhaps it was because it was the first materialization of a dream and had about it the warmth and zest of every new undertaking. There were to be troubles, and finally this first seed was to die—die while its offspring went on living, increasing and multiplying. But St. Mary's always remains the first.

For the moment we take up the story of events that were to have much wider consequences.

This year at Fort Colville, being able to procure neither the provisions, nor the implements, nor the clothing necessary for the needs of our mission, I took the trail for Fort Vancouver, the great emporium of the honorable Hudson Bay Company. It is about a thousand miles from our settlement.¹⁷

How carelessly De Smet makes reference to this journey. "It is about a thousand miles." He was to see and do much before he returned.

He visited the Kootenai Indians, instructing many and baptizing a few. The Kalispels again received him joyfully. He spoke to them of creation, of God's goodness, of His mercy and forgiveness. Among the Coeur d'Alenes he was greatly consoled and deeply impressed. He instructed them and prayed, as was his habit. So absorbed had they become that they begged to have someone teach them their prayers while the priest was absent. To enable himself to go, and yet remain, De Smet had recourse to a very ingenious method:

After a long instruction on the most important truths of religion, I collected around me all the little children, with the young boys and girls; I chose two from among the latter, to whom I taught the *Hail Mary*, assigning to each one his own particular part; then seven for the *Our Father*; ten others for the Commandments, and twelve for the *Apostles' Creed*: This method, which was my first trial of it, succeeded admirably. I repeated to each one his part until he knew it perfectly; I then made him repeat it five or six times. These little Indians, forming a triangle, resembled a choir of angels, and recited their prayers, to the great astonishment and satisfaction of the savages. They continued in this manner morning and night, until one of the chiefs learned all the prayers, which he then repeated in public.¹⁸

This short visit by the great mission organizer was the seed of the second establishment in the mountains, as we will see. Before he left for Fort Colville, De Smet baptized the small children and the very old people.

He arrived at Fort Colville in the beginning of May. The spring freshets had so softened the ground that to reach Fort Vancouver overland was out of the question. The Hudson's Bay Company's heavy canoes for the river trip would not be finished until May 30. So the enforced delay was spent working among the Kettle Falls Indians who lived near the fort and in whose midst St. Paul's Mission was erected a few years later. These Indians

. . . were all very attentive in attending my instructions, and the old as well as the young tried assiduously to learn their prayers. I baptized all the younger children who had not received the sacrament before, for M[onseigneur] Demers had already made two excursions amongst them, with the most gratifying success.¹⁹

The valiant soul-seeker crossed over the Columbia to visit the Okinagans in present north-central Washington. By these people he was received with the "greatest cordiality and joy." Describing his labors De Smet remarks: "Many sick were presented to me for baptism, of which rite they already knew the importance."²⁰ As usual, he instructed and exhorted anyone he found as anxious to hear the word of God as the Coeur d'Alenes had been. Before turning back to Fort Colville, he baptized 106 children and some of the old people. This short journey gave De Smet an excellent idea of the dispositions of these different tribes, and his work among them sets him down as the precursor of the various Jesuit missions which one day would be established for each of these nations.

On May 30, Father De Smet embarked for Fort Vancouver. The second day on the river the barge on which he had been riding and all the crew except two were lost in one of the Columbia's treacherous whirlpools. Shortly before the tragedy occurred De Smet had asked to be put ashore; so at the time he was walking along the bank. The remainder of the journey was without incident. They stopped at Fort Okanogan and again at Fort Walla Walla, where De Smet baptized some more children.

He arrived at Fort Vancouver on June 8. Here he met Fathers Francis Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers. De Smet sang High Mass at the mission on the Cowlitz. They then met at Fort Vancouver

... to deliberate on the interests of the great mission of the Pacific coast ... all things being considered, the resolve was that the New Caledonia mission should be attended before all, and that Father De Smet should start for St. Louis and Belgium to bring temporal and personal efficient means.²¹

On June 30, De Smet and Demers started up the Columbia on the returning barges. They parted at Fort Walla Walla on July 11, Demers staying with the brigade of the North, De Smet setting out overland for St. Mary's. En route he passed the country of the Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes, finally reaching St. Mary's on July 27. He pushed on immediately to join the main camp of the Flatheads who had left St. Mary's to search for provisions. By August 2 he was with them again, only to leave on August 15 for St. Louis and Europe in the interests of the mission. Little wonder that Father Mengarini should say, "Fr. De Smet sometimes with us but oftener away from us, visiting some distant tribe or transacting our business at the forts."²²

The trip to St. Louis need not detain us. Father De Smet visited the Crow Indians while en route. He had been with this tribe in 1840, when returning from his first trip to the mountains. That time De Smet was received with demonstrations of friendship and had taken occasion to instruct the Crows in the essential points of religion. During the second visit he relates:

I promised that a Blackgown should visit them, but on condition that the chiefs would engage themselves to put a stop to the thievish practices so common amongst them, and to oppose vigorously the corrupt morals of their tribe.²³

Actually this promise was not fulfilled until many years later when the Jesuits began the serious evangelization of this quite degenerate and discouraging tribe.

De Smet continued down the Missouri by light canoe. There were the usual narrow escapes, but by now these were expected. He said Mass at St. Mary's in St. Louis on October 30. He was safely home.

CHAPTER IV

Early Jesuit Missions beyond the Rockies

SACRED HEART MISSION AMONG THE COEUR D'ALENES

WHILE FATHER MENGARINI AND TWO BROTHERS WERE left at St. Mary's in the Bitter Root, Father Point was directed by Father De Smet to leave the Flathead buffalo hunt and open the mission among the Coeur d'Alenes. He traveled

... in the company of three chiefs and some others of that tribe. Having reached the plain which is called Hell Gate, he sent off some messengers to the distance of one day's journey from there in order to obtain domestic animals for the new mission.¹

This accomplished, the little party pushed on:

After much stumbling of our horses, and upsetting of the baggage, and after many a grave accident had been avoided by the protection of Heaven, the little company at length reached the land of the Coeur d'Alene, on Friday, November the 4th. Since the first Friday of each month is set apart in a special manner to honor the Sacred Heart, and since the mission we had come to found had been already placed under Its powerful protection, it scarcely need be said, that our first duty on dismounting was to kneel down along with all those who had come to meet us, in order to renew this consecration.²

So was born the mission of the Sacred Heart among the Coeur d'Alenes. It was the second of the pioneer establishments in the Mission of the Mountains.

Father De Smet had been favorably enough impressed by the people to promise them a missionary, when missionaries were very scarce. Perhaps he grasped more fully the possibilities of these primitive people, for certainly Father Point was not particularly impressed by any superabundant goodness displayed by his new charges. Point found them, in general, a most repulsive lot, living in squalor and filth. He described them as having

... squalid faces, unkempt hair, hands doing duty for comb, handkerchief, knife, fork and spoon; in feeding, repulsive sounds were emitted from the mouth, nose and windpipe. This external misery feebled [feebly] imaged forth the pitiable state of their souls. For at this date there still reigned amongst the benighted people idolatry so debasing that they paid divine honors even to the vilest animals, a moral abandonment which knew no check save caprice, a passion for gambling so absorbing that it trenched even upon their time for sleep, unmitigated sloth which nothing but the pangs of hunger could make them shake off, and finally an habitual inclination to cheating, gluttony and every mean vice: these are a portion of the spiritual miseries in which the Coeur d'Alenes had been immersed until our coming.³

This was hardly an encouraging field for labor. Nothing daunted, Father Point set about the actual work of founding the mission. If any permanent good was to be accomplished, he needs must gather them into one spot, since they were scattered in twenty-seven localities. Even to collect them into one community in spite of the opposition of medicine men would be a real task. Father Point spent the first winter with the tribe at their fishing camp at the head of the Spokane River, where the city of Coeur d'Alene stands today. Meanwhile Brother Huet, with some whites and Indians, was erecting the buildings at the first site on the St. Joe River. The next spring the church was built at the new mission.⁴ The

work did not go on smoothly, for there were terrible habits and traditions to be wiped out. But the mission did progress.

The work accomplished in the beginning may be best set down by the one who directed it:

From the first day of meeting till the hour of dispersion, this is a summary of what was done: the church was finished, the seed was sown, each one planting his little field, while there was a public field for the whole people. Religious exercises were as follows: the *Angelus*, the *Benedicite*, thanksgiving, four or five canticles, examen of conscience, the whole of the little catechism, and all this in addition to the ordinary prayers which were learned by heart by a great many, and everyone's confession in preparation for the communion which took place only at the end of the harvest.⁵

Under this order of things the tribe should have improved. It did—and to an incredible degree. Religion and morals swept upwards.

So rapidly did grace dominate their lives that Father Point could say by the end of 1844 that, over a period of four or five months,

... there had not been committed to my knowledge in the village of the Sacred Heart a single fault that could be styled grave, and although there may have been trifling shortcomings, the greater part of them have been so well repaired, that the public good has scarcely been less advanced than if these things had not been committed. . . .

Of all those who presented themselves for their first Communion there was not one who was held unworthy of being admitted to it. The majority of them might have been proposed as models to more than one fervent Christian of civilization. What simplicity! What charity! But above all, what faith in these poor children of the forest!⁶

From this buoyant account one might think that the conversion of the Coeur d'Alenes was a simple matter of

a few weeks. Actually, it was not so easy, but was a gradual process spanning a number of years. Still they did come a long way in a comparatively short time.

Thus far Father Point had been carrying the whole burden of the labor of this particularly difficult mission. He was soon to have help. When Father De Smet reached St. Louis in October, 1842, he immediately set out on one of his begging tours through the eastern cities. By the spring of 1843, he had collected sufficient money to dispatch the second band of recruits. These included Father Peter De Vos, former novice master at Florissant, Missouri; Father Adrian Hoecken, destined to play a heroic role in these early years; and Brother Peter McGean, whose name almost became a tradition in the building up of the struggling mission. Father De Smet accompanied the band as far as Westport before turning back to St. Louis to prepare for his voyage to Europe in search of men and money. The three recruits traveled over the Oregon Trail as part of the famous "Immigration of 1843." They arrived safely at St. Mary's in the autumn of that year.

While De Vos and his companions were toiling over the Oregon Trail, Father De Smet had set sail for Europe, June 7, 1843. Arrived there, he begged money and appealed for volunteers. Four of those who had responded to a previous appeal, sent out by Father General John Roothan, were sent to America immediately: Fathers Joseph Joset, a Swiss; Peter Zerbinatti, a Neopolitan; Tiberius Soderini, a Roman; and Brother Vincent Magri, a native of Malta. On March 20, 1843, they left Le Havre and arrived in St. Louis on May 18 after a seven-day trip up the Mississippi from New Orleans. As it was too late to prepare for the journey across the

plains that year, they waited in St. Louis. On April 23 of the following year they left for their mountain homes. They reached St. Mary's on October 7, after a perilous journey. They had hoped to meet De Smet at Green River in Wyoming. De Smet's failure to keep the rendezvous, since he was at the time just arriving in lower Oregon with more missionaries, made it necessary for Father Zerbinatti and the others to attempt to reach Fort Hall without a guide. Fortunately they met Young Ignace, the faithful Flathead. When the party reached Fort Hall and still Father De Smet had not appeared, they were again forced to go on without a guide. This time they turned north with real trepidation, for they were going into the land of the Blackfeet, the deadly enemies of the Flatheads. Thanks to God's help they completed the harrowing journey, thus bringing three more permanent workers to the mission—only three, since Father Soderini did not remain on the mission, but returned East the next year.

A few weeks before Father Joset and his companions reached St. Mary's, Father De Smet had arrived in lower Oregon with five more Jesuit missionaries. This group had left Antwerp on January 9, 1844. Seven months later, they arrived at Fort Vancouver. Fathers John Nobili, who was to found Santa Clara University some years later; Michael Accolti, the pillar of the California mission; Anthony Ravalli, famous missionary doctor; Louis Veracruzse, and Brother Francis Huysbrecht made up this unusual group. The arrival of these men ended, for two years, the stream of new recruits which had been pouring into the mission. With most of the men now present who were to have a part in the history of the mission, the narrative may again be resumed.

Father De Vos had arrived at St. Mary's in the autumn of 1843. There he met Father Point who had come from Sacred Heart to get provisions and to consult Father De Smet, whom he was expecting, about some difficulty with the tribe which he had encountered. Father De Vos left Father Point at St. Mary's and, taking Father Mengarini, set out immediately to visit the mission in question.

Upon his return, he sent Father Hoecken as superior. Father Hoecken remained at his post from November, 1843, till September, 1844. This period was most unpleasant, as we learn from Father Joset. The trouble began over a sack of potatoes purchased from the Indians. The seller tried to give the Father half measure and for his pains was bluntly told by the priest, "You keep the shirt (that was paid beforehand) and the potatoes, too."⁷ The old chief who had made the bargain was very vexed by his detection and summary dismissal.

Another incident was added. "Parents had agreed that their children, then babies, would marry when of age."⁸ It happened that a girl refused to carry out one of these childhood betrothals. Father Hoecken naturally stood for the liberty of marriage. When the girl finally chose to marry the brother-in-law of an extremely unpopular interpreter who had provoked the Indians countless times, the pot began to boil over. It was rumored that the natives intended to whip the priest. As a matter of fact, they would probably have whipped the interpreter rather than the Father; but such was the rumor. The Indians, however, were soon brought to their senses by the threatened suspension of the mission. Obviously Father Hoecken could accomplish nothing under these circumstances. Father Point was sent back to take up his old post. Father Hoecken we will see doing important

work in another spot. Under Father Point, the mission progressed quietly until November, 1845, when he was replaced by Father Joseph Joset—the apostle of the Coeur d'Alenes. He had a special predilection for this tribe and they in turn loved him as a father and a friend.

Father Joset had come with orders to move the mission. Every year the spring floods covered the fields and made the mission very difficult of access, even on horseback. The mosquitoes were also a real problem. After a serious encounter with the vicious pests, Brother Charles Huet had been confined to his bed for three days with a high fever. Men could only flee from such an enemy.

In the spring of 1846, the mission was moved to a spot on the banks of the Coeur d'Alene River, ten miles from the lake of that name. They "put up a provisional bark chapel, bark barn, surrounded a field and put in wheat, potatoes, oats, and built three log houses."⁹⁰ This mission was to become a landmark. Here was to be Ravalli's famous Mission Church, here peace treaties were to be negotiated and signed, here was to be the headquarters for Captain John Mullan's surveying and construction parties. Here was to be a haven for the thousands of immigrants trekking over Mullan Road. These several phases of the Coeur d'Alene mission we shall see.

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S MISSION IN OREGON

While the mission among the Coeur d'Alenes was being pushed ahead in spite of difficulties, two other foundations were begun. Father De Smet had reached lower Oregon on July 31, 1844, landing at Fort Vancouver on August 3. With him were recruits for the Mountain Missions and Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur

to teach in Blanchet's school at St. Paul's on the Willamette River. The party had to wait eight days for Blanchet, who had not received the letter telling of their arrival. As soon as the Vicar-General should arrive, De Smet was ready to set off to the Willamette to establish a new Jesuit foundation in Oregon.

The history of this mission went back as far as 1841 when John McLoughlin had begged De Smet to found a mission in Oregon:

... if one of you with one or two of the lay brothers could come to assist Messrs. Blanchette and Demers till their reinforcement came from Canada it would be an immense benefit to religion and the only apology I can give for thus obtruding my opinion is that from my long residence in the country I have a right to claim some knowledge of it—and I am certain from your zeal in the cause you only require information to act up to it in your power.¹⁰

A few months later De Smet made his long journey to Fort Vancouver to buy provisions and tools. This was the occasion for the consultation with Blanchet and Demers, when

They assured [De Smet] that immense good might be done in the extensive regions that border on the Pacific, if a greater number of missionaries, with means at their command, were stationed in these regions; and they urged me very strongly to obtain from my superiors some of our Fathers.¹¹

De Smet had returned to Oregon in 1844, determined to establish a mother house for all the Jesuits in the Oregon Country. This was to be headquarters for men and supplies for all the missions of the interior and for the proposed missions nearer the coast. With these plans in mind, De Smet awaited Blanchet's arrival at Fort Vancouver:

On the twelfth, after an eight day wait, Rev. Monseigneur Blanchet arrived; he had not received the letter which I had written to him but as soon as the news of our arrival reached him, he hastened to join us, accompanied by a goodly number of his flock. He had journeyed one whole day and one night without stopping.¹²

The newcomers were anxious to reach their new homes on the Willamette. Blanchet therefore ordered preparations made for the departure. After a touching farewell to the good captain of the ship *Infatigable* which had borne them safely to the mission, all embarked in the longboats which the Governor had put at their disposal. Three of De Smet's party "stayed at the fort to arrange the freight and to separate what was to be sent on to the mountains from that intended for the Willamette."¹³

The little fleet of four canoes and one sloop wended its way up the Willamette River until it reached the mission site. The weary Sisters rode the last five miles in a cart. Two hours after arriving all were gathered in the church "to adore and thank our divine Saviour, with a solemn *Te Deum*, which was sung with keen emotion."¹⁴

My first care [narrates De Smet] was to seek some convenient locality where, according to the plan of our Very Reverend Father General, a mother mission could be established. For this purpose I made several unsuccessful excursions into the adjacent country. The most eligible situations were already occupied.¹⁵

The difficulty was finally overcome by Blanchet's offering such portions of the land belonging to St. Paul's as would fill the needs of the Jesuits.

Two miles from St. Paul's they found an ideal spot. There was a slight elevation gradually sloping downward and forming a charming amphitheatre on the shore of a beautiful lake. On the shores of Lake Ignatius was built

the mother mission of St. Francis Xavier. The ground was cleared and three wooden buildings under a single ninety-foot roof were built as workshops for the brother blacksmith, carpenter, etc. "Besides these buildings, a house forty-five feet by thirty is now under construction. This will be two stories and will serve as the residence for the missionaries."¹⁶

De Smet considered things well enough begun so that he might leave for the interior. A few days after his departure on October 3, 1844, Father De Vos arrived from Coeur d'Alene to assume charge of the new mission. Fathers Accolti, Ravalli, and Vercruysse were the helpers on this mission for the first months.

Father Ravalli rendered valuable service with his medical skill, since there were several sick in every Indian hut. Father Vercruysse worked among the Canadians at Grand Prairie. Here he built a church, "the most beautiful and the grandest in Willamette."¹⁷ Father Nobili worked among the whites and natives at Fort Vancouver for some months before coming to St. Paul's. Father Accolti, along with the Fathers mentioned, devoted himself to the study of English. Father De Vos was the only one of the priests who could speak English; consequently, he worked zealously among the Americans. So the winter months of 1844-45 passed. With the coming of spring, these earnest workers were to be separated and sent to several places. For supposed lack of judgment in the management of affairs at St. Francis Xavier's, Father De Vos was moved to Oregon City in May, 1845. Father Accolti became superior of St. Francis Xavier's, a place which he always ardently defended. He had visions of its future greatness as a Jesuit

college and novitiate. In this he was not alone, for Father De Smet shared the same hopes.

Actually, however, St. Francis Xavier's never fulfilled any of these dreams. The farm was well kept at considerable expense, but there was little return. The station was too far from any of the other missions to be of any use as a headquarters or forwarding station. After the gold rush of '49, when many Oregon settlers followed the feverish stream southward, the mission, which had never really been much, became less. St. Francis Xavier's turned more and more into a farming enterprise, with scarcely any spiritual ministry involved. For this reason, in 1852, Father Roothan ordered that it should be sold as soon as practicable. It is only necessary to go ahead a few years to complete the story of this unfortunate establishment, for near the end of the fifties, this ill-starred venture passed from the record of history.

To return to the story. Father De Vos had been moved to Oregon City in May, 1845. As pastor in this promising settlement he seems to have "come into his own." His efforts

... met with great success and his zeal was crowned by the reception of a number of distinguished converts, among whom were Dr. J. E. Long, Secretary of the Provisional Government [of Oregon], and Peter H. Burnett, chief Justice of Oregon.¹⁸

Besides his work in Oregon City, De Vos labored among the Indian tribes living along the Lower Columbia and made missionary excursions through the Willamette Valley, and to Fort Vancouver. We will meet this aged laborer again when we study the missions of the Upper Columbia, whither he went in 1847.

What Father De Vos accomplished among the Ameri-

cans, it might be said Father Vercruysse did for the Canadians. The chapel at St. Louis, on French Prairie, was built by him, as we saw, because he took pity on these poor people who were forced to come so far to fulfill their religious duties. What promised to be a fruitful mission came to an inglorious end when a dispute between pastor and parishioners arose over some obscure matter. Father Vercruysse took up his new work among the Kalispels at St. Ignatius' Mission in 1848.

The educational work begun at St. Paul's by the diocesan clergy must be mentioned in the sketch of the Jesuits. St. Joseph's College, conceived and operated by Father Langlois, had every reason to anticipate a glorious future, as did the school of the Sisters of Notre Dame. But these schools, as well as the missionary labors of the Jesuits, were to suffer irreparable decline by the discovery of gold in California.

Thousands of people were rushing to the gold fields, where there were practically no priests to minister to them. The attraction of California gold was as effective in Oregon as in the rest of the world. Its people were flocking south, thus retarding, disrupting, and practically destroying all that had been accomplished. Those responsible decided to send the much-needed priests where the most apparent good could be done. It was one of those very difficult decisions that must be made by men opening up a new country without sufficient means for the task. Oregon was abandoned! Men and money from the Mountain Mission were diverted to the boom towns of the South. By December 9, 1849, the Jesuits, Accolti and Nobili, were laboring in California. As they were preceded by the diocesan priests, Brouillet and Langlois, so they were to be followed, in 1852, by

the Sisters of Notre Dame. So consistently was this policy pursued that there were but two missions left in the mountains by the early 1860's. St. Ignatius' Mission in Montana and Sacred Heart Mission among the Coeur d'Alenes were the only two to survive this mode of procedure, so ruinous to the northern missions. The decision was unfortunate, as viewed from our vantage point, ninety years removed. In any case, it was a desperate course adopted by men, hard pressed for help, to meet the untoward problem.

ST. IGNATIUS' MISSION AMONG THE KALISPELS

While the missionaries had been thus struggling to gain a foothold in Oregon, events of more lasting significance had been transpiring among the tribes of the Upper Columbia. Here was founded the one Indian mission of the Rocky Mountains which continues to our own day. It has enjoyed ninety-six years of uninterrupted existence, not in the same locale, it is true, but among the same people and under the same patron saint. St. Ignatius' Mission of the Kalispels has this unique honor.

The seeds for the mission were planted in 1841 when De Smet made his hurried journey to Fort Colville to buy provisions for the embryonic St. Mary's Mission and, as he himself wrote, "to visit the Pend d'Oreilles."¹⁹ The same tribe had impressed him when he passed through their country in 1842 on his way to Fort Vancouver.

When De Smet returned from Europe in August, 1844, determined to found the mother mission of St. Francis Xavier on the Willamette, he summoned Father De Vos to come from the Flathead mission that he might assume charge of the new Oregon foundation. Before

leaving for Oregon, De Vos sent Father Point back to the Coeur d'Alene mission to replace Father Hoecken, who had become estranged from his flock on account of the purchase of the potatoes and the refusal of the Indian maid to carry out a childhood betrothal. Hoecken was ordered to meet Father De Vos in the country of the Kalispels. Here they founded St. Michael's Mission on the banks of the Clark Fork River. This took place in September, 1844.²⁰

Father Hoecken began work immediately. When Father De Smet arrived two months later, November 6, the young missionary was full of praise for his new flock. In proof of the good dispositions of the people, De Smet quotes a letter of Father Hoecken:

The first thing which struck me on my arrival among them, was a truly brotherly love and perfect union, which animated the whole tribe and seemed to make them but one family. They manifest great love, obedience and respect for their chiefs, and what is still more admirable, they all, as the chiefs themselves declare, speak and desire but one and the same thing. . . . Complaints, murmurings and back-biting are here unknown; blasphemy has never been uttered by an Indian: there are not even words in his language to express it.²¹

From this certainly over-sanguine account one might think that the only work the missionary had to perform was the administration of baptism and the inculcation of a supernatural attitude. There was more than that, for these natives were cursed with the usual Indian vices. Father Joset writes that when the mission was first founded, the tribe "was given over to superstitions of a gross fetish toward the furies of the spirit of vengeance, and to a double immorality, that of gambling, and that of polygamy."²² There was work aplenty for the most

zealous priest. The saving feature of it all was the superabundant good will of the tribe.

Father De Smet had arrived on November 6 with the intention of staying a short time. Actually he spent the winter of 1844-45 with Father Hoecken because snow in the mountains had made it impossible to reach St. Mary's. The two Fathers spent the winter at the Indians' wintering camp on the Clark Fork, probably near the present Albeni Falls, just east of Newport, Washington.

The place for wintering being determined, the first care of the Indians was to erect the house of prayer. While the men cut down fir trees, the women brought bark and mats to cover them. In two days this humble house of the Lord was completed—humble and poor indeed, but truly the *house of prayer*, to which pure and simple souls repaired to offer to the great spirit their vows and the tribute of their affections. Here the missionaries continued with care and diligence their instructions preparatory to baptism.²³

The great festival of Christmas, the day on which the little band was to be added to the number of the true children of God, will never be effaced from the memory of our good Indians. The manner in which we celebrated midnight mass may give you an idea of our festival. The signal for rising, which was to be given a few minutes before midnight, was the firing of a pistol, announcing to the Indians that the house of prayer would soon be open. This was followed by a general discharge of guns in honor of the birth of the Infant Savior, and 300 voices rose spontaneously from the midst of the forest, and intoned in the language of the Pend d'Oreilles the beautiful canticle: "*De Dieu puissant tout annonce la gloire.*"—"The Almighty's glory all things proclaim."²⁴

Many of the tribe were baptized, and at Benediction on Christmas Day fifty couples renewed their marriage vows. This beginning augured well for the future. This was one mission which would not disappoint the hopes and plans that had been centered on it.

At the first possible opportunity, De Smet left the Kalispels to go to the Flatheads. At St. Mary's he spent Easter of 1845. A few days later he returned to the Kalispels to help Father Hoecken choose a better site for the mission. The original location that had been selected rather hastily by Father De Vos the preceding year proved to be too low for the spring high water. Consequently, Fathers De Smet and Hoecken, with some of the chiefs, set about examining the country for a more desirable spot.

We found a vast and beautiful prairie, three miles in extent, surrounded by cedar and pine, in the neighborhood of the cavern of New Manresa and its quarries, and a fall of water more than 200 feet, presenting every advantage for the erection of mills. I felled the first tree, and after having taken all necessary measures to expedite the work, I departed for Walla Walla, . . . ²⁵

De Smet was bound for Fort Vancouver to get supplies for the new mission whose name he had changed from St. Michael's to St. Ignatius'.

He had arrived again at St. Ignatius' by the middle of July, 1845. With the help of Brother McGean and two half-breeds, eleven horses heavily laden with plows, pick-axes, spades, scythes, and carpenter's tools had been brought safely from Willamette. This was De Smet's contribution to the new enterprise.

Meanwhile Father Hoecken had not been resting. Since De Smet's departure sometime in April until his return in July, the little colony had built fourteen houses, prepared material for the construction of a small church, and enclosed a field of three hundred acres:

The whole village, men, women and children, had worked most cheerfully I counted thirty head of horned cattle—the squaws had

learned to milk the cows and to churn; they had a few hogs and some domestic fowls.²⁶

Spiritually the tribe had also taken great strides. Ascension Thursday, May 1, had seen the baptism of more than one hundred adults. This brought the total of baptized Christian Kalispels to more than four hundred. "The number of Christians had doubled since Christmas, 1844."²⁷

They are all animated with fervor and zeal; they make use of the hatchet and plow, being resolved to abandon an itinerant life for a permanent abode.²⁸

Spiritually and morally the mission prospered from its very inception. Man, however, has a soul *and* a body. These Indians had lived from the hunt and fishery and could hardly be happy if there was no food in their new home. That such was true gradually became more and more apparent. The beautiful meadow which lay below the mission hill was clay beneath a few inches of loam. The seeds rotted quickly and the soil itself was rapidly exhausted. Spring floods ruined crops year after year. The very first winter of 1845-46 was extremely severe; snow was five feet deep and the temperature went as low as forty below zero. The buildings were so makeshift that they were of little help against the intense cold. During the coldest spell all would gather around the fire at mealtime and take food from the pot a little at a time lest it be cold before being eaten. The long evenings were spent in explanations and discussions of the Jesuit rules. The days were occupied in caring for the cattle and gathering fuel. And despite the hardships, nowhere in the accounts is there a note of despair or discouragement.

This winter the Indians had a regular holiday, slaughtering the game that had been trapped by the deep snow and could not, therefore, escape the hunters. They killed even when the meat and skin were useless. Two years later they repeated this wanton destruction and lived to rue their foolishness, for by then the game was almost exterminated.

One story of this harrowing winter brings out vividly the conditions in which the pioneers were living. When Christmas approached, Brother Magri was asked if he had thought of building a crib in the church. "‘A crib,’ said Br[other], ‘your church, is it not a stable?’"²⁹ The snow stayed until April, but at last it melted, and in the spring of 1846, the dauntless Indians set to work again.

Here we will leave St. Ignatius’—thriving in things spiritual, struggling desperately for things temporal. The second chapter of its history begins with its transfer to western Montana some years later.

MISSIONARY STATIONS ALONG THE UPPER COLUMBIA AND FRASER RIVERS

The year 1845 had a special place in the early history of the mission. Not only was St. Ignatius’ founded, but very many of these northern tribes were given a regular opportunity to practice their religion by reason of the stations which were established in their midst. The stories of these new mission fields differ as much as the places themselves. Here, in this part of the new mission, it was a tale of brilliance, but of no permanence—there, it was a matter of quiet, calm drudgery spanning many years with just sufficient success to let the laborers keep heart.

Into the brilliant but fleeting class fell the work which

Father John Nobili did in New Caledonia, in what is today British Columbia. "In the month of June Father Nobili, accompanied by a novice brother, left Willamette to visit the tribes of New Caledonia."³⁰

Nobili and his companion, with three pack horses, traveled the first three days with a Hudson's Bay man as guide. He then deserted the Father and his companion, taking the missionary's tent and provisions. Naturally the two travelers got lost and hunger and thirst brought them close to death. Two Indians from the Cascades, whom Father Nobili had known at Fort Vancouver, saved them. An owl which the Indians had killed a short time before served to appease their ravishing appetites.³¹ This was hardly an auspicious beginning for their mission among people who had been visited but twice before by a blackrobe.

Actually, Nobili's trip of 1845 was very consoling, if we judge from his own account:

At Fort Okinagane I baptized nine infants on July 27, the children of the chief of the Siouxwaps were among the number. He seemed extremely happy to see a Blackrobe tending toward his country. I left Okinagane on the twenty-ninth and followed the Company [brigade]. Each night I would pray with the whites and the Indians. While enroute, three old men came earnestly beseeching me "to have pity on them and prepare them for heaven." They were instructed in the duties and principles of religion and the necessity of Baptism, I administered the sacrament of regeneration to these and then to forty-six children, who seemed to desire it with great ardor.

A tribe of Indians who lived in the vicinity of the Upper Lake on the Thompson River came to meet me on August 11. They manifested toward me a filial and sincere affection. They accompanied me for several days to hear my instructions nor would they depart before I had promised to return during the following autumn or winter to teach them the glad tidings of salvation.

At the fort of the Siouxwaps, I was visited by all the chiefs who congratulated me on my safe arrival in their midst. They built a

large cabin which was to serve as a church and as a gathering place for the instructions during my stay. I baptized twelve of their infants. I was obliged, when the salmon fishing began, to leave these dear Indians for some months and to continue my journey toward New Caledonia.³²

At Fort Alexandria, on the Fraser River, he was surprised to find "a frame church." Here he stayed a month to give the Canadians an opportunity of performing their religious duties. He blessed many marriages, gave Holy Communion to a great number of the children, and baptized forty-seven adults. On September 12 he reached Fort George after a dangerous ten-day journey up the Fraser River. Fifty Indians from the Rocky Mountains had been awaiting his arrival for nineteen days simply to have the consolation of witnessing the baptismal rites. "I baptized twelve of their children and twenty-seven others; of these, six adults were well along in years. I performed the ceremony of the planting of a cross."³³ On September 24, after another ten days on the Fraser River, he reached Stuart Lake.

I spent eleven days instructing the Indians, and I had the happiness of abolishing the custom of burning the dead and torturing the widows or the survivors of the husband. They solemnly renounced their jugglers and their idolatry. Their large medicine lodge where they were accustomed to practise their superstitious rites was converted into a church.³⁴

Father Nobili blessed the church and dedicated it to God under the protection of St. Francis Xavier. He solemnly erected a cross. Sixteen children and five old men were baptized before he quitted the place.

The twenty-fourth of October, 1845, found him working among the Chilcotins:

This mission lasted twelve days; during these days I baptized eighteen children and twenty-four adults and performed eight marriages. I blessed, there, the first cemetery and interred, with all the ceremonies of the ritual, an Indian woman who had been the first Christian convert. I then visited two other villages of the same tribe. In the first I baptized twenty persons, three of whom were adults; in the second, two chiefs, with thirty of their tribe, received baptism, and two were united in marriage. Polygamy was rampant everywhere and everywhere I succeeded in abolishing it. In a neighboring tribe I baptized fifty-seven people, thirty-one of whom were adults; I also performed nine marriages.³⁵

On his way to Fort Colville to meet De Smet, Nobili stopped at the Siouxwaps where he baptized forty-one natives, including eleven adults:

I visited five more near-by villages of the neighboring tribes where I baptized some two hundred people. I planted the cross in eight different spots and established four frame churches which were built by the Indians.³⁶

Here, in his own words, we have an account of Nobili's first sortie into New Caledonia.

Nobili met De Smet at Colville in May, 1846. He made his report to his superior and devoted himself to his annual retreat of eight days before recuperating for a month from his strenuous year's labor. July, 1846, saw him again northward bound. The trials, perils, sufferings, and triumphs of this year were much like those of 1845. The hardest blow came in March, 1847, when he was informed by Father Joset, Superior-General of the missions, that Father General desired all the upper country to be left to the care of the diocesan clergy. The obedient Jesuit came south immediately, leaving forever, as he thought, his chosen field. He arrived at Willamette on July 11, 1847, only to turn northward again on Sep-

tember 16 of the same year. Father Anthony Goetz was his new companion.

Father Nobili began working among the tribes while Father Goetz was left alone at St. Joseph's, a residence on Lake Okanagan. The solitude proved too much of a strain on Father Goetz and forced his recall to Coeur d'Alene Mission in the early part of 1848. Father Nobili spent another brilliant year in the mission until recalled in November, 1848. The next spring he pronounced his last vows as a Jesuit, and near the end of the same year he was sent to California, since it had been decided to suppress finally the mission of New Caledonia, owing to the alarming need of men for the mountains and for the new California mission. Some years later Father De Smet was to paint a terribly vivid word-miniature of Nobili's life in New Caledonia:

During his sojourn in New Caledonia Father Nobili was forced to endure great privations. For one whole year he had to subsist on a sort of moss or grass and roots which he pulled from the ground. His food usually consisted of horse flesh and often he was reduced to eating the flesh of dogs and wolves. What he had to suffer from cold, hunger and other privations is known to God alone. To men, the reality would appear incredible.³⁷

Little wonder God had blessed Father Nobili's few short years in New Caledonia and still less astonishing that the valiant missionary's health broke under the strain. He paid dearly for the success of his work.

Less fascinating perhaps, because less dramatic, were the other stations founded in the upper country during this same period. In the course of the year 1845, De Smet founded stations among the Kootenai tribe:

I administered the sacrament of baptism to 105 persons, among whom were twenty adults. An imposing ceremony terminated the

exercises of the day. Amidst a general salute from the camp, a large cross was elevated. The chiefs, at the head of their tribe, advanced and prostrated themselves before that sacred ensign, which speaks so eloquently of the love of a Man-God, who came to redeem a fallen race. At the foot of that sacred emblem, they loudly offered their hearts to him who has declared himself our master and the divine pastor of souls. This station bears the name of the Holy Heart of Mary.³⁸

When De Smet spent Easter of 1845 at St. Mary's among "his dear Flatheads" he made mention of another of the stations:

The solemn feast of Easter, all the Flatheads at St. Mary's devoutly approached the most blessed Sacrament during my mass; and about 300 Pend d'Oreilles (the greater number adults), belonging to the station of St. Francis Borgia, presented themselves at the baptismal font.³⁹

St. Francis Borgia's was founded for the Upper Pend d'Oreilles, as St. Ignatius' had been established for the Lower Pend d'Oreilles. The very next year De Smet paid a beautiful tribute to these Indians of St. Francis Borgia's station when he credited them with a zeal rivaling that of the Flatheads in the practice of their religious duties.⁴⁰

De Smet erected another station this same year among the Flatbow tribe. The Indians were in excellent dispositions to receive the faith, owing to the work of a Canadian trader who had been living with them for some time. De Smet baptized ten adults and ninety children. He erected a cross on the shore of the lake and named the new station Assumption.

St. Peter's was opened the same year as a station for the Lake Indians living along the Columbia north of the Kettle Falls tribe.

To the southwest of St. Ignatius' a station was opened on August 4, 1845, under the patronage of St. Francis Regis. The resident Cree half-breeds had selected land for a village, and several buildings were under construction when De Smet visited the spot in 1845.

St. Paul's Mission for the Kettle Falls Indians was also established this same year. De Smet tells the story:

About the middle of July, 1845, I arrived safe and sound with all my effects at the Bay of the Kalispels. . . .

The magnificent falls of the Columbia, called the Kettle Falls, in the neighborhood of Fort Colville, are only two day's journey from our new residence of St. Ignatius.

Eight or nine hundred savages are gathered there for the salmon fishing. I arrived in time to spend with them the nine days preceding the feast of our holy founder. During the last four years, a considerable number of these Indians have been visited by the blackrobes, who administered the sacrament of Baptism to them. I was received by my dear Indians with joy and an utterly filial kindness.⁴¹

In the midst of the Indian huts, De Smet built a little chapel of boughs in which the natives assiduously attended his instructions thrice daily. His stay ended with Solemn Mass followed by baptism.

The savages were happy. It was an inspiring scene, and all the surroundings tended to give it magnificence. On one side the towering and gigantic rocks, on the other, one heard the distant roar of the cataracts breaking in on the sacred silence of that solitude, situated on an eminence overlooking the mighty river Oregon; we were at the point where the raging waters, bursting their bonds, launch themselves with fury and hurl themselves against the rocky masses, throwing upward countless sprays whose jets reflect in myriad colors the rays of the dazzling sun.⁴²

Thus did De Smet describe the inception of this mission. "I gave the name of St. Paul to the Skoyelpi nation. . . ." He left here August 4, 1845.

The same year Father Anthony Ravalli built a crude log cabin to serve as a church. Here he worked intermittently among the Kettle Falls Indians and the employees of the Hudson's Bay post until the arrival of Father De Vos in the fall of 1847.⁴³ De Vos took up his work at St. Paul's with vigor and for three years he labored diligently. From the records one sees that he was always instructing, baptizing, blessing marriages, and performing the other spiritual functions for which he had been sent.

The whites at Fort Colville helped the work much by their good example. They came to Mass faithfully on Sundays and feast days; they approached the sacraments regularly and attended Vespers and Benediction.

The Indian chiefs were no less careful to do their part. They studiously guarded against disorders of all kinds. In the end, however, it was the apostasy of the head chief and his condoning of evil that broke the spirit of Father De Vos. The head chief had refused to punish his daughter's scandalous behavior and in his last illness had had recourse to a pretended sorcerer. This grave defection was too much for the delicate health of the aged missionary. In the spring of 1851 he was forced to retire to Willamette while Fathers Joset and Vercruysse succeeded him at St. Paul's.

The early stages of the mission were passed. St. Paul's now enters on its brief history, and here we leave our narrative for the time being.

The year 1845 ended with the Rocky Mountain Mission, to all appearances, well established. As a matter of fact, within a few years the real crisis in the mission's life would come. But at the moment there existed missions reasonably well founded: St. Mary's, the mother

mission for Montana Territory; St. Paul's, and later St. Francis Regis' for Washington Territory; Sacred Heart Mission among the Coeur d'Alenes for Idaho Territory; defunct St. Francis Xavier's was the seed fallen into the ground from which later Jesuit work was to grow in Oregon. They were the nuclei for the later growth and development of the Jesuits' work in the Far West.

CHAPTER V

Jesuit Missions in Montana

ST. MARY'S MISSION AMONG THE FLATHEADS

THE HISTORY OF THE JESUITS IN MONTANA BEGAN with De Smet's first journey to this territory in 1840. The story of the Jesuits' permanent work among these tribes commenced with the establishment of St. Mary's among the Flatheads the following year. We last saw Father Mengarini laboring in this spot in August, 1842, when De Smet passed through the country on his way back from Fort Vancouver, bound for Europe. Mengarini loved his flock and worked accordingly. But he was to work almost in vain. For the history of these ten years is the story of a meteor's rise and a feather's fall. In a few months the mission was incredibly fervent only to decline and decay until it was finally closed.

Mengarini sadly writes:

... could I have foreseen the future, 1843 would have been for me then, as it has been since, one of the saddest years of my life; for in it were sown the first seeds of the destruction of the Flathead Mission.¹

He did not foresee the future and in this ignorance he worked:

As time went on, I organized a band among the Indians. It was rather a conglomerate affair, but at the same time the wonder and admiration of the non-musicians. We had a clarinet, flute, two accor-

dions, a tambourine, piccolo, cymbals and bass-drum. We played according to notes; for Indians have excellent eyes and ears; and our band, if weak in numbers, was certainly strong in lungs; for such as had wind instruments spared neither contortions of the face, nor exertions of their organs of respiration to give volume to the music.²

More serious matters were also tended to by this enterprising Father:

Among those who had accompanied me in my return from Vancouver, was a Canadian named Biledot. He came to build and put in working order two mills at the mission, a flour mill and a saw mill. . . .

When May came the flour mill was already in operation and the saw mill was ready for starting.³

This Canadian was assisted by Father Ravalli and Brother Claessens, the three of them building the first grist mill in Montana.

The sawmill they made from old wagon tires twisted and bent for the crank; another tire they hammered and filed for the saw. Most probably it was not perfect but it was much better than doing the work completely by hand.

The little mission forged ahead in spite of the opposition which, as we shall see presently, was considerable. De Smet was astonished by its progress when he visited there in 1846:

Judge of my happiness when I saw the little log church built five years ago for divine service about to be replaced by another which might well be compared with sacred edifices in civilized countries; materials and everything needed for its construction is ready, matters only await the procural of ropes to hoist the heavy beams onto the foundations. Another pleasant surprise awaited me; a mill had been built which was destined to contribute considerably to the growing needs of the country round about. It performed a double charitable office; it fed the hungry and sheltered those without houses.⁴

De Smet also mentioned the sawmill which was in operation. He continued:

The soil yields abundant crops of wheat, oats and potatoes—the fertile prairies of this country are capable of supporting countless cattle.⁵

Two large rivers brought water for irrigating the fields, gardens, and orchards. At the time of writing there were forty head of cattle, a fast-increasing herd of hogs, and a large flock of domestic fowl. Besides the mill, there were a dozen frame houses of similar construction. “From this you can form some notion of the temporal blessings enjoyed by the Flatheads of St. Mary’s village.”

De Smet continues this letter with a glowing account of the progress that had been made on all fronts by the mission. There was plenty to eat, and a great variety. The mission had become famous among the neighboring tribes. The grosser faults of the Flatheads had been entirely abolished. War and bloodshed had decreased sharply; hate and revenge had been tempered by Christian love. A glorious picture, indeed, but hardly one to prepare the reader for the rapid extinction of the mission, which followed.

The closing of St. Mary’s was not, however, a matter of weeks or months. In spite of the laudatory narrative of De Smet, there were troubles that had to be faced by the mission from its very inception, and these did not lessen with time. Instead, with added difficulties, they forced the eventual abandonment of this establishment.

The Blackfoot Indians were a chronic problem for the missionaries:

The Blackfeet [narrates Brother Claessens] were a great trouble to us. So much so that at 3 miles from the mission we were not sure of our lives. Brother Joseph [Specht] and I spent many a weary night in sharp lookout on the top of our bastions with our guns. Fr. De Smet bade me never to undress at night, and to make a wooden cannon to keep the Blackfeet away.⁶

De Smet himself had taken a long journey into south central Canada searching for the Blackfeet during 1845, a year that had been disastrous for the tribe. They had lost twenty-one in two skirmishes with the Flatheads and Kalispels; the Crees had taken twenty-seven scalps and stolen several horses; the Crows had massacred the entire band of Little Robe and led 160 women into captivity. Some of these captives were sacrificed while others were enslaved. De Smet thought this would be an opportune time to negotiate a peace between the Flatheads and the Blackfeet. He was not entirely successful because he could only find part of the Blackfoot tribe.

Father Mengarini had an open break with the Flatheads in 1847. Little Faro, one of the natives, tried to assemble the Indians for prayer in his lodge. Father Mengarini publicly denounced Faro's action and by this made an enemy of him. Faro then began to stir up the tribe against the Fathers. The Indians were put under interdict and denied Mass until their hostility and insubordination ceased. Faro was forced to repent temporarily.

The next year the tribe went on its spring hunt. Once away from the vigilant eye of the missionary they gave themselves up to license. One of the Indians reported to Father Mengarini, "They have behaved even worse than they did before you came."⁷

The last days of the mission are described with unpolished vividness by Father Ravalli:

In the fall of 1848 and along the next year was the emigration of the Mormons going to establish themselves to Salt Lake not very far from Fort Hall. When their transit was not very far from St. Mary, the trappers of this country and environs, generally Canadian people engaged before to the H.B Company stampeded to meet the Mormons, and to swap with them ponies against cattle and other useful things. Some of our Indians too went with them. As we were the only whites who began here husbandry and agriculture, before winter we had several of such trappers at our Mission with their herd, protesting to come to make their religion and winter with us. Helas! what was their Religion! You are acquainted what is a Canadian of low extraction, especially such who neglected for many years religion and to whom Religion is a thing for *Vielles femmes!* They did not have to pretend from us the one, the other thing, which as necessary for us, and fruit of our labor, we could not give without damage of our domestic economy or to our small band of cattle. Hence the aversion from us of such saintly people, showed with continual grumbling and manifest calumnies disseminated by them amongst our Indians, the language of whom they were acquainted being generally united with Indian Women. We did not also have to see the influence of such malcontents as these in the behaviour of our Indians, growing less affectionate and indifferent, and showing pretensions unknown before by them. The absenting of them from our place for hunt, for fishing, for roots and berries which before was out of necessity, became more frequent, and in great part out of love of freedom and unrestraint. Such were the conditions of our Indians, when happened that they surprise near our camp a Blackfoot under cover, expecting the proper time for stealing horses. They took him to the camp, and after short consultation shot him there. In the same time another Blackfoot who has peaceably in the camp for several weeks, excited by fear, tried to run away from our Flatheads. The Indians interpreting in bad part this starting, ran after him and shot him in the kidney, for which he died three days after, having in the short time been instructed and baptized by me. This second Blackfoot was a favorite amongst his nation, and to revenge him they purposed to come and kill the Fathers resident with them. Our Flatheads were aware of such determination of the hostiles, but they did not say anything to us in that time, and as there was nothing of the matter they

started all, the great part for Buffalo, and some lodges to dig roots or to fish, leaving in the camp only very old women and little children, and the Father without any protection. Only one old chief and a good for nothing man and two boys remained with us. . . . I remained in St. Mary Mission alone with brother Classens. As we were too exposed, I thought prudent to gather every night such defenceless women and children with their horses in the enclosure of our palisade, and the fact proved how wisely it was done. Early in the morning of 12 September an hue of a band of Blackfeet was heard, who nearing to the sight of our wall of defense, and unaware of the number of people inside to confront them, did not dare to come to an attack but seeing the band of horses just coming out from our fort to graze, they drove them all away. The Indian boy helping us in cooking, went out of the fort, and he only suffered the cruel death prepared for me and brother. Father Joset at the news of the escaped danger arrived some weeks after with a little band of Coeur d'Alenes, and seeing how exposed we were, and the long time we had to expect before the return of the Indians from Buffalo, for our protection, determined to remove us from the place at least for a short interval and send us to other missions. Just at the same time he was with me at St. Mary, arrived there Major John Owen with the intention to locate himself somewhere in the valley. To him then he [Joset] proposed and was accepted to sell several articles of our house not easy of transportation; and also the rails of our field, the all for 300 dollars.⁸

Perhaps someone else could tell the story with more polish and style but certainly no one could trace the gradual dissolution of hopes and dreams with more feeling than Father Ravalli has in this letter.

The mission was closed temporarily. Actually it would be many years before it reopened. The main cause of the delay would be the need for men in the newest offspring of the Mountain Mission—the mission of California. Father Michael Accolti had been appointed superior of the Rocky Mountain Missions in 1850. The predilection of this great priest had been for the California mission ever since his visit there in the preceding year. Hence, it is not surprising that men and money

from the Mountain Mission were now poured out without stint to give a vigorous infancy to the new establishments in the South.

New Caledonia had been abandoned by order of Accolti's predecessor, Father Joseph Joset; St. Mary's had been abandoned by order of the same; Oregon City was abandoned as a result of Accolti's misunderstanding with Archbishop F. N. Blanchet. The northern missions were declining. What was worse, little or nothing was being done to remedy the situation. The demands being made for priests in California to work among the whites and the increasing need for missionaries in the Indian country constituted an insoluble problem. Father Nicholas Congiato replaced Father Accolti in 1854 as superior of the whole mission. It was four years after this before the mission began to forge ahead once more.

These facts explain why St. Mary's did not reopen as soon as had been planned.

ST. IGNATIUS' MISSION

The second mission in Montana had been founded by Father Peter De Vos and Father Adrian Hoecken in 1844 on the Clark Fork River in northeastern Washington. The early years were one endless struggle against conspiring elements. The history immediately preceding the transfer of this mission to a new location is the story of a futile fight against factors over which men have no control.

By 1849, the mission was well established, if judged from its buildings. There was an unfinished church sixty-five by thirty-five feet. There was a wooden house of three sections, which contained kitchen, dormitory,

dining room, and office for transacting business with the missionary. There was a house for the superior. Apart from these stood a carpenter shop, a barn, one hundred and four feet by twenty, and a stable, thirty by twenty-five.⁹ But with all these strong buildings and fine barns there was not enough for the Indians to eat.

The severe winters and the spring floods made it impossible to plan on provisions for the year. In spite of the apparent prosperity there were several good reasons why the mission had to be moved, as we learn from Fathers Joset and Ravalli:

The position of such a new mission was very unfavorable for the purpose of giving to the Indians the chance of cultivating land and, by it, means of living. The land good for agriculture was limited to a few patches along the river, which was not sufficient to be parcelled to each Indian family.¹⁰

The Indians without land lived on fish and roots, but when these failed there was famine. The big game had been practically exterminated in the first winters of the mission's existence by wanton destruction by the natives.

During the winter of 1853 the superior then at Colville [St. Paul's] received several letters intimating that the neophytes were clamoring to move to a place where they could live. In the fourth letter the Chief, Victor, was reported saying: "the Superior does not love us, since he wants us to die here of starvation.[""] Thereupon they were told, "go and look for a better situation."¹¹

Father Menetrey and Brother McGean decided on the location which was ultimately adopted. At the last minute, the Kalispels wanted to stay, but by then too much labor, money, and patience had been expended to break off the new project. To transport the equipment,

Brother McGean had built five barges and many packing cases:

Having set out from the Kalispel Mission on the 28th of August, 1854, I arrived at the place designated on the 24th of September, and found it such as it had been represented. . . . I shall never forget the emotions of hope and fear that filled my heart, when for the first time I celebrated mass in this lonely spot, in the open air, in the presence of a numerous band of Kalispels, who looked up to me, under God, for their temporal and spiritual welfare in this new home. The place was utterly uninhabited. . . . In a few weeks we had erected several frame buildings, a chapel, two houses, carpenter's and blacksmith's shops; wigwams had sprung up at the same time all around in considerable numbers, and morning and evening you might still have heard the sound of the axe and the hammer, and have seen newcomers rudely putting together lodges.¹²

By spring, Brother McGean had split some 18,000 rails, and had put a good-sized field under cultivation.

For the success of this new endeavor, Father Hoecken was deeply indebted to Lieutenant John Mullan who wintered among the Flatheads that year:

I know not how to acquit the debt of gratitude I owe this most excellent officer, and I can only pray, poor missionary as I am, that the Lord may repay his generosity and kindness a hundred-fold in blessings of time and eternity.¹³

One of the motives for moving St. Ignatius' had been to put it in a more central place so that all the surrounding tribes might have easy access to the mission. The happy results of the plan even surprised Father Hoecken.

About Easter of this year 1855, over 1,000 Indians of different tribes, from the Upper Kootenais and Flat-Bow Indians, Pend d'Oreilles, Flatheads and Mountain Kalispels, who had arrived in succession during the winter, when they heard of the arrival of the long-desired Black-gown, made this place their permanent residence.¹⁴

This same year, which seemed so full of promise for the mission, witnessed the first official contact the missionaries had with the United States Government Indian policies. In July, 1855, Isaac I. Stevens negotiated a treaty with the Kootenais, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flatheads. Father Hoecken attended the council and signed the treaty at the special request of Stevens. He was also to attend the famous Blackfoot Council held by Stevens in October of the same year. This particular Flathead treaty was to be the root of all the future troubles, and there were many, between the United States and the Flatheads.

The treaty allowed the Flatheads to remain on their traditional lands in the Bitter Root Valley so long as the government did not require them to move to the reservation on the Jocko. This clause was certainly conditional, a fact which the Indians did not seem to understand. Years later, Charlot, the great chief of the Flatheads, was to stand firmly on what he thought had been agreed by the "Great White Father" in Washington.

This Flathead Treaty also provided for schools, but neglected to make provisions for the money with which to conduct them. As early as 1855, Father Hoecken asked Father De Smet to send two dozen spelling books in the next year's supplies.¹⁵ His attempt to carry out what had been promised by the government was soon discontinued simply because the Jesuits did not have the funds and they were not forthcoming from the government in Washington.

The aid which Father Hoecken extended to Stevens on this occasion was but a forerunner of what would be repeated many times during the years that followed. Hoecken with the Flatheads; Gazzoli, Ravalli, and Joset

with the Spokanes, Cayuse, and Coeur d'Alenes; and Menetrey with the Yakimas were all to supply their experience and knowledge to help Stevens in his "Treaty Tour" of the 1850's. The services of these missionaries were to be gratefully acknowledged time and again by the men in the field and by the officials in Washington. De Smet was even appointed a chaplain in the United States Army under General William S. Harney, when the latter was detailed to quell the far-western Indians. The peace work of the Jesuits constitutes a little-known chapter in the bloody Indian wars which had their beginnings in the Whitman Massacre of 1847 and were not to end until Chief Joseph's Nez Percés were conquered in 1877. Through this whole red page of history, the Fathers played the role of peacemakers. This beautiful story was begun by Hoecken at Hell Gate, July 16, 1855.

The life of the mission settled into its regular routine. Flour mill and whippcord mill were built in the early years. The materials for both were of local origin. The power to drive them came from a near-by stream. The Fathers accomplished a good deal with the little they had.

Eight years after the first attempt to found a school for the Indians, the Jesuits once more set about making plans. On June 1, 1864, four Sisters of Providence left their mother house in Montreal. They reached St. Ignatius' Mission, October 17, after a long trip from New York, through the Isthmus of Panama to San Francisco, and thence to Vancouver. The one month's journey overland from Vancouver to the mission was probably the most difficult part of the journey.¹⁶

Once at the mission, they set to work immediately instructing the children. Father Grassi was actually con-

structing a large school building, but the good Sisters did not idly await its completion. The school, begun so inauspiciously in October, 1864, was to grow under the careful vigilance and tireless labors of the Sisters and Fathers until it had reached undreamed-of greatness by 1890.

The system of education followed by the Sisters was very simple in the beginning. As the years went by, it was perfected and polished at various points, but never radically changed. They wanted "to train and instruct their heads, their hearts, no less than their hands by the force of example."¹⁷ In the education of the Indian,

. . . it is manifest that the means of christianity and the means of material civilization must go hand in hand in the process. Without the former the Indian is at best but a whitewashed savage; without the latter he is simply a helpless being. . . .

In our opinion, after christianity, next in importance as a factor of Indian civilization is work and manual labor. The Indian has a great, deep, natural aversion to work and manual exercise of any kind; and as his lack of industrious activity, diligence, and love of toil is what constitutes materially his uncivilized condition, it must needs also be what perpetuates it; and consequently, it is not possible to improve his material condition without forming him to habits of industry and useful toil. . . .

A plain common English education—spelling, reading, and writing, with the rudiments of arithmetic—will be for the Indian at large book-learning enough for all the purposes of his civilized life and social intercourse. Anything beyond that, in our opinion, would be detrimental, not beneficial, to him; it would but feed and encourage his natural indolence at the expense of what he needs most, industrial education. An Indian youth will sooner sit five hours at a stretch, stupid-like and half asleep, with a book open before him than hoe a row of potatoes.¹⁸

These were the principles followed for boys and girls. For the boys there was a carpenter and blacksmith shop, gardens, barns, and fields where they learned the useful

arts. The girls were taught sewing, cooking, laundry, and dairy work, as well as gardening. The majority of the pupils concentrated on these manual arts while the more intellectual pursuits were kept at a minimum. As usual, the Jesuits were accused of nurturing the desire to keep the Indians ignorant, the more easily to exercise their "priest-craft" on the benighted savages. This was a stupid accusation. The explanation of the educational system was simply that the Fathers realized the futility of trying to make a white man out of a red man. Rather, they wanted to make better Indians—but still *Indians*. The failure to grasp this rather fundamental point is the reason for the many and tragic failures made by others in the field of Indian education.

What success attended the efforts of the Fathers and Sisters? Fortunately, the testimonials and praise of their work came from the most disparate sources. His Excellency, James O'Connor, Bishop of Omaha, visited the mission in the summer of 1877. Afterwards he wrote of the Indian pupils in the school:

They took great pride in showing me these little gardens and insisted on my tasting their strawberries, which were the largest and the most luscious I had ever tasted. Everyone who visits convents knows the neatness with which they are kept, but the order and cleanliness of this house surpassed anything of the kind I had ever seen.¹⁹

Probably the most unusual tribute ever paid the educational work of the Jesuits was that of George G. Vest, Senator from Missouri. Senator Vest had been appointed to a committee sent in 1883 to inspect the Indian schools. He reported his findings before the Senate on May 12, 1884:

In all my wanderings in Montana last summer [began the Senator], I saw but one ray of light on the subject of Indian education. I

am a Protestant—born one, educated one, and expect to die one—but I say now that the system adopted by the Jesuits is the only practical system for the education of the Indian, and the only one that has resulted in anything at all.²⁰

The official reports of the Indian agents and other government officials form one endless paean of praise for the schools of the Sisters and Fathers. Often enough, the agents disliked the influence the Fathers had over the people, but one has to search long to find a word spoken against the conduct of the schools.

The first school at St. Ignatius' was conducted by the Sisters of Providence for the Indian girls. The school was so successful that ways were sought to support a like institution for boys. The girls' school had been maintained from money collected by the Sisters on begging tours among the mining camps. The boys' school also would have to depend on the mission for maintenance; hence, in the beginning it was small. Until 1874, the existence of the schools was, at most, a precarious matter. Finally, in this year, the government began to subsidize these institutions. At last, plans could be made and definite objectives set down. In spite of opposition from unsympathetic officials, St. Ignatius' continued to grow. The curriculum was constantly expanding. In 1874, Father Alexander Diomedes brought a printing press from the East. The gristmill, the sawmill, the planer, and the shingle-cutting machine gave new avenues of development for the boys' talents. Cobblers, painters, tinsmiths, and harness makers became prominent in this advanced school of industrial arts. Little wonder that the government was paying for three hundred pupils at St. Ignatius' in 1890!

The years 1890-96 were the "Golden Age" for the

schools at St. Ignatius'. The Providence Sisters had a highly successful boarding school for girls; the Ursulines began a kindergarten in 1890, which prospered; the Jesuits had a well-established boarding school for boys.

The year 1896 marked the beginning of a decline. All government aid stopped. This in itself was nearly a deathblow, for the schools depended on this source of income. The kindergarten relied on charity for the support of those children under four years of age, for whom the government made no allowance. This same year the boys' school and dormitory were burned down by one of the pupils who had hoped that there would be no classes if there were no school. As another building was immediately adapted for school use, classes went on without interruption.²¹

The failure of government support and this disastrous fire made it imperative to collect more money. Father Cataldo started on a begging tour through the eastern United States beginning in October, 1900:

It was a pitiful sight to see the aged Father Cataldo, S.J., recently collecting in the city of Washington that he might help to save the magnificent schools of the Jesuit missions from utter ruin. After toiling for nearly forty years among the tribes of the Northwest and sustaining untold dangers and sufferings, it would seem that he and others of his noble type might have been spared, by a generous Catholic public, the fatigue and humiliation of begging from door to door.²²

Such was the contemporaneous comment on this trip of Father Cataldo's during which he managed to gather \$3,000. This was not enough, and though forty years have passed, the school has never fully recovered.

The whole establishment of the Sisters of Providence was lost by fire in 1919. Thus, forty-five years of wonderfully fruitful labor ceased in a few hours.

That all might share the suffering, the Ursuline School and convent burned in 1922. Here again, the faithful work of years was gone, but the Ursulines managed to rebuild their school and continue their splendid work to the present day.

The Providence Sisters remain at their posts conducting an excellently kept hospital for the Indians. These holy virgins of Christ thus hold to their trying duties, expending their life's blood for a race that is more and more forgotten.

However, there was more to the mission at St. Ignatius than a school; for, while the normal life of the mission went on round about them, the classrooms afforded a means to the salvation of the young Indians. It was in August, 1879, that Archbishop Charles J. Seghers, the future martyr of Alaska, visited St. Ignatius'. On two separate occasions during his visit, he confirmed a total of 113 faithful. Three years later, he made a second confirmation tour and this time forty received the Sacrament of the Holy Spirit. This visit was the occasion of a humorous incident:

While examining some Indians for confirmation with the help of Father Cataldo, His Grace noticed in the group before him an elderly Kalispel, whom he felt sure he had confirmed on a previous occasion. "But you, my son, have received the Holy Ghost already," said the Archbishop to the Indian. "Yes, Great Black Robe," answered the Indian; "but I lost Him; He got drowned crossing the river." The poor fellow was far from jesting or being irreverent: he only expressed himself as best he knew. The Archbishop was wont to give a little medal to each Indian he confirmed, as a remembrance of Confirmation; and the old man had lost his while swimming across the Pend d'Oreille River. He wanted another medal.²³

Nearly forty years after the establishment of the

mission, the Indians kept many of the beautiful practices of earlier days. In 1881:

At the midnight Mass, there were about four hundred and fifty communions, and the church was filled to its utmost capacity. Besides our own Indians, almost all the half-breeds were present with their families. The pupils of the Sisters sang with such devotion, and so well that they called to mind the angel choirs who chanted *Gloria in Excelsis*, at Bethlehem.²⁴

The workaday life of the missionary of this period was largely devoted to keeping the Indians as fervent as the early Fathers had made them. This became more and more difficult, owing to the proximity of the whites. It was further complicated by the complaints of the whites that they were being neglected by the priests. The only reason they did not receive more attention was simply because there were not enough missionaries to carry on the work.

One suspects, also, that it was more consoling to work with natives. Because of the many years of labor and fatherly advice, the position of the priest among the Indians was one to be envied. For the natives, as yet not too corrupted by contact with the whites, the counsel and direction of the missionary served as the last word.

In his dealings with the Indians the missionary had to use the rein more than the spur. The whole life of each Indian was centered around the church:

. . . they assemble at half past six o'clock every morning for prayer and Mass. After Mass they are instructed in the catechism for a quarter of an hour. The women and children attend another instruction of the same kind in the forenoon. In the evening about sundown all assemble for evening prayer in the church, which is preceded or followed by a third instruction. On Sundays they have High Mass and a sermon at nine o'clock in the morning and they

assist at Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament or the Way of the Cross and an instruction in the afternoon. The great majority of them approach the sacraments once a month, and many once or even oftener than once a week.²⁵

There would hardly have been any white parish in those rough and ready times where the pastor could have required such a regime.

If there were any complaints about the Indians, they were complaints that the Indians were imprudently fervent. Some of the tribes around St. Ignatius' had the custom of public whipping for more serious sins, such as slander, stealing, gambling, disorderly conduct during prayers, and drunkenness. In spite of efforts to stop this practice, the natives continued to observe it faithfully until comparatively recent times.

The reception of the Sacraments was also highly esteemed. Sometimes the natives were almost too anxious to summon the priest to have him administer the rites for the dying:

There is a standing work of great labor for the missionary in attendance upon the sick and dying; for as soon as an Indian begins to feel unwell, he immediately summons the priest from a distance of twenty, thirty or forty miles, and after having received the Sacraments, he is perfectly calm and resigned to whatever may happen.²⁶

This happy state of affairs was not destined to endure. The whites were coming into the country by the hundreds. The lands of the Indians were more and more encroached upon. James A. Garfield came to St. Ignatius' in 1872 as special commissioner to satisfy the long-standing grievance of Charlot and his tribe against the United States. Again, in 1883, there was a special commission sent out by the government to calm troubles

that had arisen because of the proximity of the whites. Gradually the Indians were tainted; certainly they were not uplifted by the whites. Their religion and morals declined; their Indian blood was weakened and lost by intermarriage. As early as 1906, Father George de la Motte, Superior-General of the Rocky Mountain Mission, lamented:

Poor St. Ignatius! What a fiasco has our work been. 50 years of work, and this is the result. Superstitious practices on the increase; the Indians lazy, uncivilized, unequipped for the opening of the Reservation, and little inclined to pray. They are doomed to a speedy, wretched end. 10 years from now, a few ghastly remains of the tribe will be sauntering around our premises to get a bite of bread; the rest will have vanished out of existence, starved, crazed by whiskey, shot by whites—Thank God, some good has been done to individuals, many children sent to heaven, many adults assisted to Heaven, and a few have performed really good actions during life, and given glory to our Lord.²⁷

Father de la Motte must have written this passage when excessively discouraged by the manifest inroads being made by the whites. Having sacrificed a brilliant intellectual career to bring Christianity to these Indians, he was terribly disheartened to see the dissipation and waste of so much of the efforts of himself and his followers. His dark thoughts and pessimistic forebodings had sufficient foundation, for today St. Ignatius' has practically become a country parish for whites and mixed bloods, with only an occasional flash of its former splendor.

The most solemn feasts of the year are the occasions of Indian celebrations reminiscent of happier days in the mission's history. Good Friday of 1924 saw the touching "Christ Dead" procession:

At 7:30 on the evening of Good Friday the Indians gather in large numbers in the church. In the sanctuary just below the large crucifix, the work of one of the pioneer missionaries, there is placed a life size statue of the dead Christ. The Stations of the cross are then conducted in Flathead, the Indians singing the Stabat Mater in their native tongue after each station. A sermon in Flathead follows. After the sermon, the image of the crucified is taken down from the cross, the crown of thorns is removed from the head, the nails from the hands and feet. These instruments of the passion are placed on trays and carried by four little Indian girls. Six stalwart Indians now reverently lift and carry the figure of the dead Christ. A procession forms. The cross bearer leads. Following him are the children of the tribe, the boys carrying lanterns or torches, then the women with a banner of the Blessed Virgin, and the men with a banner of the Sacred Heart, Altar-boys, the four little handmaidens bearing the crown of thorns and the nails, Flathead braves with the image of the crucified, and lastly the priest vested in keeping with the ceremony. On the afternoon of Good Friday, the Indians determine upon the route of the procession, and heaps of wood are placed at intervals along the road. As the procession starts, these bonfires and the torches carried by the boys are lighted. It is an impressive sight.²⁸

The days of great Indian gatherings around the mission are finished. The redskin has been dispossessed and outnumbered until now he has become a minority in his own mission. One cannot but wonder how long it will be before even these momentary glimpses of yesteryears will disappear as the Indians take on more and more of the "civilized" ways of the white man.

STATIONS SERVED FROM ST. IGNATIUS'

There remains to be sketched the third sphere of activity in which the missionaries of St. Ignatius' were engaged. From the central station of the mission, the Jesuits radiated toward all the points of the compass in exercising their ministry. Here it is possible to mention only a few of those places where the Fathers labored.

The old records tell a brief but fascinating story of constant travel. Two years after the transfer of the mission, Father Menetrey visited the Flatheads at St. Mary's. This journey in 1857 was the forerunner of the reopening of the first mission of Montana. It is not correct to consider St. Mary's as a station of St. Ignatius', except in the sense that the occasional visits of the missionaries, during the sad years when the mission was closed, kept alive the hopes of the Flatheads. St. Mary's was actually reopened in 1866 under the guidance of Father Ravalli and Brother Claessens. This cradle of Catholicity was finally given up by the Jesuits in 1891, when Charlot and his Flatheads moved to the Jocko Reservation.

Charlot, the head chief of the Flatheads, had refused to sign the treaty which provided for the removal of his tribe from the Bitter Root Valley. For ten years this noble Indian continued to resist forceful efforts to remove the tribe. Finally, in 1891, he weakened temporarily and moved to the Jocko Reservation. The next year Father Philip Canestrelli and three Ursulines opened a school for the emigrees. St. John Berchman's at Arlee was conducted until 1897 when lack of funds forced it to close.

Besides St. Mary's, other surrounding settlements saw the Jesuit priests from St. Ignatius' come and go. Hell Gate and Frenchtown were mission stations. The Jesuit Fathers built the church in Hell Gate in 1863, and that of Frenchtown in 1864. From Frenchtown the Fathers worked in Missoula. As early as 1877, the people settled there had presented a signed petition requesting a resident pastor, and their desire was satisfied at the first possible opportunity. Neither were the mining camps

southwest of Missoula neglected. As early as 1862, the traveling missionaries were in Bannack. After 1866, these places were supplied by the Jesuits from St. Mary's.

With permission from the Holy See, the Jesuits relinquished Frenchtown to the Bishop of Helena in 1884. It was a sign that this section of Montana had reached a certain maturity. The Jesuits voluntarily turned over what they had pioneered that it might be developed by the diocesan clergy.

The country to the north and west of the mission was not overlooked either. The Jesuits built a little church in Plains in 1889. About 1902, we find records of regular visits to Thompson Falls, Bonner, Sanders, and Hamilton. The question of a church at Crow Creek was discussed in 1902. The Indians at Jocko and Arlee were always well cared for by the Fathers from the mission.

The work of St. Ignatius' may be said to have been extended by the work carried on from an offspring of the mission—St. Francis Xavier's, in Missoula. From here the priests visited Stevensville, Lolo, Victor, Corvallis, and Florence. In this last place Bishop Brondel blessed the church which Father Diomedi had converted from an old hall.

Some of these places reached a sufficient peak of development to lose their mission status. Hence, in 1908, the Jesuits again turned over to the care of the diocesan priests the churches in Ravalli, Sanders, and Bonner. The rugged work was finished; it was time for the Jesuits to seek the less populous settlements.

Polson was blessed with a church in 1909. Twenty years later, a new church was dedicated at Arlee. The occasion was distinguished by the presence of many notables. His Excellency, Bishop Finnegan, Father Wil-

liam Flynn, Secretary of the Marquette League, as well as many octogenarian Indians who had been baptized by De Smet, Ravalli, Giorda, and other pioneer black-robbers, were present.

The tradition begun by these courageous soldiers of Christ lives today. In the history of the mission, the Jesuits have pioneered and then, of their own accord, have turned over their work to the care of the diocesan priests; the Jesuits have served as helpers to zealous Fathers of the Bishop's clergy; the Jesuits have acted as temporary administrators when and where other men could not be found. It is their joy to have done the work where it had to be done.

ST. PETER'S MISSION

The third Jesuit mission in Montana was St. Peter's among the Blackfoot tribe. The missionaries were to labor among the Piegan and Bloods, the southern branches of the Blackfeet, as well as the Assiniboins and Gros Ventres.

It has been seen that De Smet visited this tribe when he was returning from the mountains in 1840. Again, in 1845, he tried to find the tribe to negotiate a treaty between them and the Flatheads. Father Point labored among these Indians in 1846-47 until he was recalled to the Canadian mission. After Father Point's departure, the Blackfeet were left without a missionary for several years.

Two pioneers of the mission were commissioned to found the new establishment in 1859. Father Hoecken and Brother Magri followed the Indians for this whole summer, keeping alert for a suitable spot on which to

build the mission. The first location was on the banks of the Teton River near present Choteau, Montana.

There the Father and Brother built three log cabins in which they spent the winter studying the language and catechizing a few Indian children.

The first location proved unsatisfactory. Hence, on March 13, 1860, two cabins were erected on the banks of the Sun River, close to the future Fort Shaw. Then in August of the same year, Father Nicholas Congiato ordered the suspension of building operations. The band of missionaries was scattered. Father Hoecken returned to the Missouri Province; Father Imoda and Brother Magri returned to St. Ignatius' Mission.

The next year, 1861, Fathers Giorda and Imoda with Brother de Kock were instructed to spend the winter at Fort Benton. In the spring of 1862, they scoured the country for an acceptable location. Their first choice of a spot along the Marias River was tactfully disapproved by the Indians who feared the dispersal of the buffalo herds in this region if the mission were established here. The missionaries sympathized sufficiently with these fears to take up the search again.

The long years of instability apparently ended on February 12, 1862, when the mission was established on the north bank of the Missouri six miles above the mouth of the Sun River.²⁹ Here at last the mission was built.

The trials and crosses which had attended the foundation of the mission were not to go unrewarded, for many blessings were showered on the spiritual labors carried on from this post. Two months after the establishment of the mission, Father Giorda baptized 134 Indian children.³⁰ The life of the mission was to be short but filled with many incidents.

The buildings were simple. There were seven cabins built in a rectangle.

All the buildings are well matched, all of the same material, green cottonwood logs, the same degree of finish; they were not squared and the bark had not been removed. The walls were about 7½ ft. high. The interstices and chinking were plastered with clay. The roof was made of rails laid close together, overlaid with a heavy layer of clay. There was no ceiling to any of the rooms; and as to floor, we had, when the buildings were new[,] a most delightful velvet carpet of very dense sod. When that carpet was worn out, as the very best will do in time, we walked on a clay floor.³¹

From this rustic home the missionaries went to visit the tribes round about.

About 1862, the "gold rush" to Montana began. The greater number of the searchers were attracted to the Sun River Country, but many drifted to the Missouri, near the mission. In spite of all past experiences, the Blackfeet still thought they could stem the flow of the hated whites into the country that had been Indian from time immemorial. Guerrilla warfare by the Indians and bloody reprisals by the whites became the order of the day. Few questions were asked, nor were nice distinctions or delicate discrimination shown on either side. It was inevitable that the missionaries should become involved on one side or the other. There was no neutrality in the minds of others even if the Fathers tried to maintain such a position.

Father Kuppens visited the Indians at their camp, thirty miles below Fort Benton, in the winter of 1865-66. Here he learned from a personal friend that the Indians considered the blackrobes as white men, to be treated as they intended to treat all the whites. The crisis developed rapidly.

John B. Morgan, a squaw man, lived near the mission. He had entertained at least four Piegans in his house long enough to have a band of white men capture the Indians while they were eating at his table. The natives were hanged from trees on Morgan's property and their bodies thrown into the river through a hole in the ice. This treacherous killing was immediately reported to the tribe. There would be revenge.

Morgan begged the Fathers, a short time later, to allow him to live at the mission, owing to the generally unsettled conditions in the surrounding country. The Indians suspected Morgan and naturally came to suspect the priests who were, unwittingly enough, sheltering the wretch. Day by day the manifestations of distrust toward the missionaries became more frequent. Mission cattle were shot down or wounded and, finally, John Fitzgerald, the herder for the mission, was shot dead scarcely a quarter of a mile from the house.

Father Giorda was summoned from the mining camps where he had been laboring. With tears in his eyes, he ordered the mission to be removed. This sad chain of events only forced a more hurried evacuation to a new site about midway between the Dearborn and Sun rivers, where a new mission, already under construction for some time, was nearly ready. "On April 27, 1866, we abandoned St. Peter's Mission on the Missouri, on the same day we opened the mission at Bird Tail Rock. The next day we closed this mission temporarily."³²

What seems to be a quite peculiar manner of acting becomes very rational when we read:

During our short journey to the new place we saw several parties of Indians and whites on the warpath, and it was evident that whiskey had set their brains afire.³³

These war parties were sufficient reason for occupying the new mission for only one night.

While the mission was closed, the tribes were visited by the Fathers from Helena. It was not until 1874 that it was reopened. During these dark years, Father C. Imoda remained faithful to his flock. As his assistants this zealous missionary had Father Philip Rappagliosi and, somewhat later, Father Joseph Guidi.

The hordes of white settlers had caused the United States Government further to restrict the reservation of the Blackfoot and consequently, St. Peter's was now sixty miles from the Indians. To make matters worse, the reservation was handed over to the Methodists, a turn of events which made it impossible for the priests to exercise their ministry within the confines of the reservation.

The Fathers Imoda, Peter Prando, and Rappagliosi devised means of bringing spiritual nourishment to the natives. Rappagliosi was to burn out his life in two short years in his relentless pursuit of souls. He had come among the tribe in the winter of 1876. The next months of his life he spent following the tribe

. . . in the most inclement seasons of the year. Forging rivers, threading forests, sleeping in the open air exposed to constant attacks from hostile tribes and wild beasts was the monotonous programme on these occasions. A faggotfire, the scanty provender of the Red man with no end of childish talk and uncouth manners made things agre[e]able (?) for the Black-gown and helped to keep body and soul together. Even "at home" on the Reservation, his accommodations and bill of fare were only such as the woods could furnish. Buffalo robes served the double purpose of overcoat and counterpane while the ground figured as a substitute for spring-mattress and dinner table. Berries, roots, dried meat and the chance game of the hunt with plenty of sweet, fresh water from mountain springs made

up a menu favorable to digestion, indeed, but one that an Epicure would not be apt to enthuse over.⁸⁴

In 1877, there was famine among the Indians which forced them

... to go in search of buffaloes killed the winter before and which out of their abundance, they had left upon the plains to rot. These they brought home with them rejoicing and devoured with an appetite which only a starving man possesses.⁸⁵

Rappagliosi was living with the tribe at the time. No wonder that his health broke under the strain and that this zealous priest died on February 7, 1878.

Such a story of suffering is not unusual for men laboring in so trying a situation. Yet, in spite of the opposition of the Indian agent and despite the lethargy of the natives, the mission progressed. A school for boys was built, and from 1855 to 1879 there were 2,732 baptisms recorded at St. Peter's, to say nothing of 686 baptisms and 55 marriages performed by Father Prando in his small chapel on Birch Creek at the southern edge of the reservation.

Father Prando's first convert had been a medicine woman, advanced in years. She was very skilled in the use of herbs and roots as remedies—almost too skilled. Yet, she freely renounced all dealing that she might have had with the evil one before her baptism:

Just before the pouring of the water, when I was stretching out my hand to place it on her head, she began to tremble from head to foot with great terror. After Baptism she became tranquil in body, and her face was very calm.⁸⁶

Prando was very successful in his work with the whites as well as with the Indians, but the latter were his

chief concern. He realized that something must be done for the material uplift of the tribe if he ever hoped to convert them. It is very difficult to think clearly on any point if one is starving, for the pangs of hunger are more insistent than any other human appetite. In the summer of 1881, Prando wrote: "The Blackfeet are sunk in want and misery, and, in my opinion, they will have trouble in getting through this winter without dying of hunger."⁸⁷

The Father was a true prophet. He was able to describe the condition of these unfortunate people in a letter he wrote in February, 1884:

There was so much talk and so much noise in the newspapers about the deplorable condition of these poor creatures, but till now they received no help. And this year the effects of famine are making themselves felt horribly and the savages are dying rapidly. There is in addition a contagious sickness called erysipelas, which makes the throat and face swell up and in four or five days they die. There have been about twenty cases in this place. And between those that die of hunger and those who die of erysipelas, each day there is someone dead, some days there are as many as four. One would have to have a heart of stone, or none at all, not to have compassion on them in entering their dwellings. Indeed, we can say that two-thirds of the tribe are diseased now. What a pity it is to see little boys and girls, with their small faces pale and emaciated, with languid eyes, and at an age when they should be happy, experiencing sorrow and consumption.⁸⁸

The missionary was in an especially difficult position since the dying Indians could thank the white man for the famine. The rapacity of the Indian agents is now a fact generally known, so one may honestly agree with Father Prando that these men must have had no hearts to be able to watch the Indians die for lack of food, the sale of which was making them wealthy. How was the

missionary to explain the conduct of such men to an Indian starving to death in his filthy hut?

Furthermore, the introduction of liquor among the Indians probably worked even greater havoc than the rapacity of the agents. Occasionally, one of these agents would admit the disastrous consequences of whiskey to the Indians:

It is needless to dilate upon the disastrous and demoralizing effects to the Indian of the whiskey trade. Robes, blankets, horses—everything—is sacrificed to whiskey, and when reduced to utter poverty the Indian steals, and the result is war with the whites.³⁹

These are not the words of a discouraged missionary, although they might have been; they constitute part of a matter-of-fact report made by an Indian agent to his superior. Notwithstanding such sorely detrimental factors the mission went forward.

The Ursuline Sisters came in 1884 to open a school for girls. Ten years later there were four flourishing schools at the mission. The Ursulines had a boarding school for Indian boys and one for white boys. These boys' departments were closed and dispersed when government subsidies ceased in 1895.

The Jesuits left the mission in 1898. The buildings that had been erected under great handicaps were handed over to the Ursuline Sisters for use as schools, thus ending another chapter of the story, a chapter written with incredible labor and suffering.

St. Peter's Mission probably was one of the most important of all the Montana foundations because of the work which was begun from there and continued even after St. Peter's ceased to be a Jesuit establishment. Fort

Benton was one of the earliest stations visited by the Jesuits working in the Blackfoot country. After the establishment of St. Peter's, Fort Benton became a regular station of the mission. Here Father Imoda built the chapel of the Immaculate Conception in 1878-79. This church was given to the diocesan clergy the following year. Three years later, Fort Benton became the charge of Father Frederick Eberschweiler, S.J. His accounts of Fort Benton are an extended lamentation. He was working in the "seaport of Montana," the head of navigation on the Missouri. To this spot came the dregs of humanity, and these made up his flock.

The soldiers at Fort Shaw, Fort Maginnis, and Fort Assiniboin profited from visits made by the priests. Sun River, Dearborn, and Judith Basin were also cared for by the missionaries from St. Peter's.

In a few years, the new communities that had sprung up in the surrounding country were added to the roster of congregations supplied from St. Peter's. The Catholics in Mitchell, Craig, Wolfcreek, Augusta, Florence, Choteau, and Lewistown, to mention but a few, were added to those among whom the Jesuits exercised their ministry. Great Falls in its early days was also supplied by Jesuits from St. Peter's and later by those from Helena.

There were, besides the numerous stations just listed, three others which grew into full-fledged parishes or missions, and in turn were the parent stocks for smaller stations. These three which deserve a more lengthy study were Helena, Holy Family Mission among the Blackfoot Indians, and St. Paul's Mission among the Assiniboin and Gros Ventre tribes.

HELENA

Catholic beginnings in the Helena neighborhood go back to 1863, when Father Giorda visited Virginia City, then known as Alder Gulch. This spot was to become famous because of a rich strike; thousands were to flock there in search of gold.

When Father Giorda visited Virginia City for the first time, it was a typical boom town. Prices were high and living higher:

A few days after his arrival, some Catholic gentlemen went about among the miners and collected quite a purse of gold dust—the only currency there at the time—and brought it to him. The apostolic man cordially thanked those good people for their kindness, but told them at the same time that he had come after souls, not after gold, and declined to accept the offering. They politely told him that before leaving camp he would surely need some wherewithal to pay his board, and for the care of his mount and pack animal, but he could not be persuaded to accept the purse.

A few days after, when about to leave, he found to his dismay that the bill for his board and the care of his two horses had mounted into the hundreds, and he had hardly one copper in his possession. The gentlemen, who had foreseen all this, were ready and but too willing to relieve him of his embarrassment. They paid the bill.⁴⁰

Father Giorda had learned that it took money to save souls in a mining camp of those days.

The fall of 1864 saw Father Giorda working at Silver Creek, near present Helena. Father Kuppens built a chapel there in December of the same year, and during the winter he ministered to the faithful in Montana City, Jefferson, and the Boulder Valley. Visits to Helena by the Jesuits began after Easter, 1865. Periodically through the year Father Giorda or Father Kuppens went there to celebrate Mass and administer the sacraments. During

these early visits the house of some good Catholic family was used for services.

Soon after St. Peter's Mission was closed in April, 1866, Father Kuppens was at Helena. When he left for St. Ignatius', he carried a petition of the people requesting Father Grassi to appoint two resident priests for the town:

We will make no effort [read the plea] to give expression to the situation in which we find ourselves in being so much isolated from the comforts and consolations of our Holy & beloved Faith, but we trust that you will sufficiently consider the want under which we labor.⁴¹

Their desire was satisfied. Fathers Kuppens and D'Aste were sent to Helena and Father James Vanzina to Virginia City. The little church which the people of Helena had built during the year was blessed on November 1, 1866, by the newly arrived Fathers. On December 28, a document was duly drawn up and signed:

... at a public meeting of the Catholics of Helena, held on the fourth day of November eighteen hundred and sixty six, it was proposed and unanimously carried that the church just then completed and dedicated to the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary should forever belong to and be under the charge of the Society of Jesuits. . . .⁴²

The following year the Jesuits received the ratification of this resolution from His Excellency, James O'Gorman, Bishop of Omaha, to establish themselves in Helena. The prelate wrote:

I give you my authority, as far as it goes, . . . for the establishment of the Order in the country and I think I'd not confer a greater favour on Montana than by assenting to establish such an institution in the country.⁴³

With this encouraging permission of the Bishop, the Jesuits took up their work. As time went on, the Fathers became very popular with the people and were greatly revered by them. Many interesting tales are told of these years spent with the vigorous and sometimes vicious gold seekers. The lives of the priests had few dull moments and were usually full and interesting, as only life in such a place may be.

The constant growth of the town finally made it obvious that Sisters to teach the Catholic girls were needed. The aging Father De Smet was asked to use his influence to obtain a band of Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth. He was successful. The five pioneers arrived in Helena on October 10, 1869. The next year they opened St. Vincent's Academy.

The congregation grew so rapidly that it was necessary to begin the construction of a new church in 1874. Despite the terrible depression of the next year, the church was pushed to completion by April 9, 1876. The log-cabin days were passed. The new building was of stone and brick with granite facing. The need for money to complete the construction during the depression made it necessary to mortgage the property, but these mortgages were retired by January, 1883.

On July 2, 1883, His Excellency, John B. Brondel, Bishop of Victoria, Vancouver Island, and first administrator of the vicariate of Montana, arrived in Helena. He visited his new vicariate to discover its spiritual needs and to determine the best location for his permanent residence. Helena was naturally the most suitable. Since the Jesuits were the first and only priests there from the time of its establishment, they offered to withdraw and turn over to the new administrator the church

premises, and whatever property rights they had acquired on Catholic Hill. The deed of transfer is dated May 5, 1884. By this action the Jesuits had facilitated and hastened the erection of the new bishopric.

For freely relinquishing the fifty-thousand-dollar holdings in Helena, the Jesuits were given

... the right, possession and deed of all the property of the white Mission in Missoula City valued at about \$4,000 (four thousand dollars), and the right to establish a mission for whites and possess it, on the N. P. RR. at a point near the Crow Indians.⁴⁴

The mission for the whites near the Crow Indians was to be established that the Jesuits might gain some prestige among the natives, since the Indians belittled the black-robés unless it was obvious that they had some position among their white brothers. To supply this need the Bishop offered the Jesuits the care of the parish in Billings but this had to be refused for lack of men to staff it.

The year 1884 marks the end of Jesuit labors in Helena, even though Bishop Brondel had written:

After mature deliberation I believe that it would never do to keep the Fathers away altogether from Helena. So I hope that when the time comes for the Fathers to leave the parish that they will have a school on the college grounds.⁴⁵

This desire of the good Bishop was not to be satisfied.

Three years after the Jesuits relinquished Helena to the Bishop, the Jesuit Superior, Father Joseph Cataldo, was deluged with petitions to open a college under direction of the Society of Jesus. The requests, one signed by the diocesan clergy and another by the people of Helena, were not summarily dismissed. It was only after careful consultation that the petition had to be denied. It was

impossible to staff Gonzaga College, which was to be opened in Spokane in the fall of 1887, and another college in Helena. Again the work of the Jesuits was finished. They departed for new fields of labor.

Helena, as the other Montana missions, had also been the center from which the faith was spread. Deer Lodge had been visited by Father Giorda until 1866. Even before this year Butte, Silver Bow, and Hot Springs were attended by the Jesuits from St. Peter's Mission working in the vicinity of Helena. Cave Gulch and Diamond City also profited by the ministrations of these itinerant soldiers of Christ.

When Helena itself was little more than an infant mission, it became the center for excursions to Crow Creek, Bozeman, Fort Ellis, Gallatin Valley, and Beaver Creek. This list of stations increased when St. Peter's Mission was closed in 1866, for St. Peter's itself was served from Helena. By 1874, the Missouri Valley, Radersburg, Three Forks, and White Sulphur Springs were fields of labor for the Helena priests. Father Menetrey brought the sacraments to the faithful in Unionville, Clancy, Canyon Ferry, and Marysville. This same zealous priest built St. Joseph's church in Canton in 1875-76. Father Lawrence Palladino was able to inform Cataldo that the church at Boulder was nearly finished by May 31, 1881.⁴⁶

The names just listed mean little unless one studies the map of Helena and the surrounding country. North, south, east, and west the Fathers had ridden. They preached the gospel to all the nations of their little world. In the end, by request and by desire, their churches and flocks were relinquished. Their field of labor had ceased to be a mission; therefore, their work was finished.

HOLY FAMILY MISSION

When St. Peter's Mission was reopened in 1874, it was found to be sixty miles from the newly restricted Blackfoot Reservation. If, therefore, any work was to be done among these Indians, the missionaries would have to go to them, for the natives could not come to the mission. However, since this reservation had been committed to the Methodists under Grant's "peace policy," the prohibition of all Catholic missionaries within the confines of the reserve made it necessary to seek other ways of accomplishing the work. Father Rappagliosi died in 1878, worn out by his incessant travels undertaken to bring the gospel to the Blackfeet. A new manner of approach in the evangelization of the tribe was introduced when Father Peter Prando made his first visit to them in May, 1881. From the first, Father Prando realized that no permanent good could be accomplished unless there was a regular mission and a resident priest with the tribe. Consequently, he built a log hut thirty-six feet square which was without door or windows. This miserable shack was located on the south bank of Birch Creek, the boundary of the reservation. Simply by crossing the creek, the Father would be on the forbidden land.

Soon after the completion of this little hut, the germ out of which was to grow Holy Family Mission, Father Prando was summoned to his home mission of St. Peter's. Here he was detained until May, 1882. The story of his return to the Blackfeet at Birch Creek is very interesting:

I had foreseen that my prolonged absence from the Indians might have caused great dissatisfaction among them, and as they had repeatedly sent for me, they might easily conclude that I had little

affection for them, and tell me on my arrival that I might go away just as empty-handed as I came.

Anticipating this difficulty, I went to Helena and bought the biggest pipe I could procure. The stem was about three feet long, so that the smoker would require the assistance of some one to light it for him. Now here is the way I reasoned with myself. As soon as the Indians see me, they'll gather around me, and comment on my big pipe, and grow envious with the desire of getting a puff from it. As soon as I let them have their smoke, we'll all be friends again. My expedient was a childish one, it is true, but after all, the Indians are but children.⁴⁷

In the end the experiment was completely successful; the good priest had foreseen exactly the reactions of the Indians. He was received with the greatest admiration as the Indians "watched the volumes of smoke, clouding the air." This is one of those innumerable little incidents we find in the life of Father Prando.

The Blackfeet also had a great love for the romantic and an appreciation of the dramatic. This the clever priest knew well and often used to his own advantage. Once when trying to impress upon his listeners the necessity of fidelity to one wife and the abandonment of polygamy, he acted out his instructions graphically:

. . . I called for a large knife and putting it like a sword in my cincture, I told them that the Black Robe had orders from the Son of God to take the sword and, going among those who had many wives, to separate them. Then, knife in hand I added, "for this have I come among you, to separate you in the name of God from your many wives. But as you are aware; my knife is not the one you behold; it is the commandment of God. For the moment, I know this separation gives you pain; but what will be your joy hereafter, when you will be the friends of God and forever happy in heaven!" My words pleased them and they greatly approved my oratorical device.⁴⁸

Under the skillful guidance of this resourceful and beloved missionary, the little log-hut mission at Birch

Creek prospered. Hence, when in 1885, Father Joseph Cataldo, Superior-General of the missions, asked permission of the United States Government to erect buildings "for Indian schools and mission work among the Indians belonging to the Blackfeet, Fort Peck and Crow Agencies, on their respective reservations,"⁴⁹ the authorization was granted.

The new Holy Family Mission was built on Two Medicine Creek, a more central location than that at Birch Creek. The money for the buildings was supplied by Mother Katherine Drexel, whose benefactions to the Indians only God can reckon. The mission was ready for occupation by August, 1890. The girls' school was conducted by the Ursulines with no little success; the boys' school was supervised by the Jesuits. Both establishments prospered until the withdrawal of government aid in 1899 made matters difficult. Without the help of Mother Drexel it is not hard to surmise what would have been the fate of the schools.

Still, these first years were not without fruit. From 1890 to 1895, there were 665 baptisms, 65 marriages, and 127 confirmations. This spiritual harvest was not garnered at the mission only, but in long rides through the Blackfoot country by the traveling missionaries. This was not an easy mission.

Holy Family had difficulties with the Indian children in school just as had the other missions. These children of the plains were not fascinated by sitting in a schoolroom day in and day out:

New Years day [1892], several of our pupils were taken from school by their parents. I complained to the agent. He, Protestant though he be, showed more than mere words of sympathy. Not only did he send his police to apprehend the deserters, but he also held back the

parents' requisitions for provisions from the Government. Thanks to such measures these escapades have almost ceased entirely.⁵⁰

There were still other qualities in the Indians which made life very trying for the missionaries. The greatest Indian fault was lying and deception. Father Peter Bougis tells of one unimportant, but revealing, incident which shows the point clearly:

Brother is looking for about a hundred head of cattle. We need six steers; tomorrow, is the day for butchering. There is a man at Milk River who promised six steers for 1050 francs. Since he is slow in bringing them here, I sent Brother to find out the reason for the delay. Brother lost his way. He returned shortly[.] Friday evening he reached the merchant's cabin after a ride of almost 40 miles. The seller told him that the steers were 5 miles farther on. Brother started out at a gallop, but found nothing[.] He spent the night riding, without food, without a moment's sleep and returned the next day without dinner, and more dead than alive.⁵¹

This struggle against grievous and petty annoyances went on unceasingly. Yet, the missionary could write:

I am truly happy. My position here is not easy, and I feel I will be soon worn out. Moreover, because of the surroundings, the dispersion of the savages, their character, the climate and so forth, this mission will always be a very trying post. In closing I can say I have suffered much.⁵²

This pithy summary of Holy Family Mission Father Bougis had begun by writing *j'en suis fort content*. In the face of trials he was joyful. The actual history of this mission is told better in terms of the men who worked with this same spirit, *j'en suis fort content*, because the tangible results of their labor among the Blackfeet were never impressive.

The buildings of the girls' school burned in 1898. They

were replaced by substantial sandstone structures. The stone was quarried from neighboring hills. This fire was only one of a long series of trials and difficulties.

Crops were poor, for the land was very mediocre. When crops promised well, the weather failed. Early rains, early frosts, long winters, dry summers, strong winds—all seemed to conspire against the zealous Fathers and Sisters. Food had to be shipped in. Fuel had to be brought in. Supplies were stolen from the mission. Indeed, it would be difficult to find a more extended series of misfortunes. Yet the mission continued.

The wearying work was broken, in 1910, by the visit of the renowned Dutch philologist and ethnologist, C. C. Uhlenbeck. Professor Uhlenbeck spent four months collecting data for his later works on Blackfoot customs and language. The missionaries were of great help to him as we gather from his own words:

Though I was recommended by the Dutch Government and by the Royal Academy of Amsterdam, the American authorities did not do very much to facilitate my connections with the Indians, and my linguistic investigations among them. The more I appreciate the generous help, I received from the Reverend Fathers of the Holy Family Mission, the more I am grateful for the true friendship, which was shown to me by some educated members of the noble Piegan tribe.⁵⁸

The years of experience of the missionaries had not been entirely in vain.

The recent years of the mission's history were little different than those that had gone before. Spiritually, it was a struggle because the Indians could not be brought together in one spot, since there was no land fertile enough to support a large band. Materially, it was even more desperate, for the reservation lands were of the

poorer soil of Montana, with no water for irrigation where irrigation was badly needed. Finally, in 1936-37 an ambitious program was undertaken to rebuild and repair the mission which had become considerably run-down during many lean years. The large indebtedness incurred by these operations forced the abandonment of Holy Family Mission in 1940. So another tragic ending was written to many years of disheartening toil against countless odds.

Holy Family also had its stations visited by itinerant missionaries. Briefly, the stations of this mission were definite places among the Blackfoot tribe where the Fathers celebrated Mass and administered the sacraments. Little Badger Creek and Heart Butte are among the first places mentioned by the Fathers. During the summer of 1902 one of the missionaries, while riding along Little Badger Creek, saw an Indian tepee. On account of the superstitious charms that were hanging outside the wigwam he judged that someone inside was sick. He found an Indian woman very near death. So successfully did he speak to her of the next life, that she renounced her idolatrous charms and prayed to the true God and His Blessed Mother, the Virgin Mary. The same hour she was baptized and anointed, and the following day she died.⁵⁴ Thus, in a few simple words is described a conquest for Christ.

By 1910, there were churches at Heart Butte and Browning. Besides these, the missionaries visited Birch Creek, the original location of the mission, White Tail, Black Tail, and Badger. Later on, Goldstone, near the Canadian line, and Rudyard were visited from Holy Family. The Jesuits ceased working in Browning in

1916, when they willingly turned over this parish to His Excellency, the Bishop of Helena.

These outlying stations were tended by the Jesuits until Holy Family was closed. In 1928, Bishop Finnegan of Helena confirmed four hundred during his tour of the Blackfoot Reservation. This same year Father Thomas Grant appealed to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions to help him build new chapels at Little Badger and at Old Agency. Now, with the parent mission closed, the stations are supplied by the Jesuits working at St. Peter Claver Church, Heart Butte. Holy Family Mission, the mission of heroic sacrifices, is gone, but the work begun there long ago still continues.

ST. PAUL'S MISSION AMONG THE ASSINIBOINS AND THE GROS VENTRES

The third important offspring of St. Peter's was St. Paul's Mission, founded among the Assiniboins and Gros Ventres. Father Peter De Smet was the first missionary to travel through their country. Father Point passed through the same territory in 1846-47, when he worked among the Blackfeet. In 1862 Father Giorda came from Fort Benton and spent a few weeks before Easter with these Indians and during this time he baptized 134, most of whom were children. Under Grant's Indian policy, Fort Belknap Reservation was given over to the care of the Methodist ministers. Though nothing was ever done by this denomination on Belknap Reservation, yet, the Catholic missionaries were forbidden entry. Actually, the Fathers made occasional trips in the forbidden territory to bring the consolation of religion to the faithful. Father Rappagliosi died in 1878 while on such a trip.

Some picture of the conditions existing at the time may be gathered from the official government reports:

Certain it is, that affairs at this agency [Milk River Agency] were grossly mismanaged, it being made a rendezvous for whisky dealers and illicit traders of all descriptions. . . . I discovered how matters had been conducted there; provisions sent for issue to the Indians were traded to them for robes and furs, and whisky openly traded at the post, and Government property squandered and sold in the most barefaced manner.⁵⁵

The next year Father Urban Grassi had made a brief visit to these tribes. Fathers Joseph Damiani and Joseph Bandini continued these scattered visits until 1884. Such was the early history of St. Paul's Mission.

Father Frederick Eberschweiler was appointed missionary to the Assiniboins and Gros Ventres in September, 1885. "At one of his visits to the garrison [at] Ft. Assiniboin, Indians told him that they greatly wished that a mission be founded for them."⁵⁶

Father Eberschweiler wrote to President Cleveland asking permission to erect a mission and school building on the reservation belonging to the Fort Belknap Agency. The official letter granting the permission came in November, 1885. On December 8, Father occupied the log cabin which was to serve as the first church built on Fort Belknap Reservation. He spent that winter studying the Assiniboin language and translating the catechism and prayers into the native tongue.

This mission was only temporary in character, for the wiser Indians wanted a permanent establishment near Peoples Creek in a beautiful valley of the Little Rockies. Before he committed himself Father Eberschweiler wanted to see the proposed land. He reports, May 2, 1886, what he saw:

I just this evening returned from the "Little Rockies," and hasten to write this for the mail of tomorrow. I only can compare that most beautiful country with the promised land where milk and honey flows. I wished you had seen it. St. Peter's Mission is a good place for a Mission, but it is just nothing in comparison with that place I have seen now. The cattle country with grazing land: the best I ever saw. Timber: that whole mountain range is thickly covered from the bottom to the top of the mountains. Water: seven beautiful creeks, running into the Milk River, clear as crystal, sweet as honey. Cultivating land; at all the creeks, but especially at "Peoples Creek"; at least 15 miles long remaining near the mountains is a deep, wide valley of the best garden-land, enough to make the whole tribe here very rich and happy.⁵⁷

This was too good to miss. Father Eberschweiler drew up a petition which the Indians signed asking the President of the United States to transfer to the Little Rockies those members of the tribes who wished to go. The petition was favorably received by Congress, who decided that all should be settled by a treaty. This treaty was duly executed by a commission on January 21, 1887. Not only were the Indians moved as they desired, and lines of the new reservation determined, but it was also provided:

That the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, set apart a tract of land, within said reservation, not to exceed one hundred and sixty acres in extent, for the establishment and maintenance of an Indian mission and industrial school, under the auspices of the Society of Jesus, to include the site of their present mission buildings; but such privilege shall not debar or exclude other religious societies from establishing Indian missions and schools within said reservation, under direction of the Secretary of the Interior.⁵⁸

This single treaty gave unusual stability to the whole enterprise from its very inception; the natives were secure and the mission had indisputable right to its property.

The same spring of 1886, when Father Eberschweiler had gone to look over the property in the Little Rockies, he tried to find a contractor at Fort Benton who would put up the buildings, but in this he was not successful. A war had broken out between the Fort Belknap Indians and the Bloods; hence, no white man would risk his scalp in the Peoples Creek country. Moreover, it was impossible to buy lumber and other building material because of the long distance such things would have to be freighted. Finally, Father found some gold miners in the Little Rockies who took the contract to erect large log houses as a residence for the missionary, a church, schools, and dwellings for pupils and Sisters. Work was begun; logs were cut in the near woods, the foundations and basement were made. The cornerstone was laid on the fifteenth of September, 1886. During the whole of that winter the unfinished buildings were left deserted, but the summer of 1887 saw the work resumed when the lumber, which had been ordered the preceding fall, finally arrived. This same summer peace was restored between the Assiniboin and Bloods. Thus the Indians were in a mood to take advantage of the new mission when it was completed on September 15, 1887, one year after it was begun.

The Ursuline Sisters had arrived the day before to take charge of the girls' school. Owing to arrangements completed in the summer of 1887, the school had a certain amount of government support from its very beginning. Both the boys' and girls' departments of the school flourished. There were 160 pupils supported by the government in 1894, with many more actually in attendance.

The system followed in the schools was the same as

that in the other Catholic contract schools. There were special problems at St. Paul's by reason of the long-standing degradation of the tribe and the perfect willingness on the part of parents to see this condition perpetuated. This state of affairs was so notorious that even the government officials welcomed the mission school because of its possible uplifting effect on the grossly immoral Indians.⁵⁹ But these hopes for improved conditions were to be realized only after terrible trials and disappointments.

The fruits of the labors of the Fathers and Sisters began to appear as the mission became more and more firmly established. From 1898 to 1901 there were one hundred and ninety-three baptisms, twenty-one marriages, and seven marriages blessed. This, too, was the period during which a new stone church, a stone residence, and a school were erected for the Sisters and girls by a wealthy friend of Father Charles Mackin. These substantial improvements, added to the stone school building for the boys built previously by Father Balthasar Feusi, were definitely encouraging to the missionaries who were working in a difficult field. The troubles at St. Paul's scarcely ever came from material needs, for the mission was actually located in a spot abundantly blessed. Here the heartbreaks came to the missionaries in the early days rather from the background of the Indians and from the horrible examples given them by the whites. However, by 1910, the Gros Ventres had become, with very few exceptions, a Catholic tribe. The Assiniboinis were Catholic and Protestant.

The recent years at the mission have been given over to retaining what had been gained. This is especially

true of the schools. The Sisters have been working under great handicaps since their school was destroyed by fire in 1931. Yet, in 1933, there were 120 in the boarding school. Even more recently, the schools have been converted into day schools to avoid the crushing expense of feeding so many Indian charges. Here the struggle continues for the salvation of as many children as possible for the faith.

Today the mission is not as prosperous and attractive as of old but the important fact is that the Fathers are still among the Indians of St. Paul's, working for them and remembering them when so many seem to have forgotten.

This mission was also a center for expansion, for it was from here the Fathers traveled to outlying districts. The Catholics at Fort Belknap, the Lower Assiniboins at Fort Peck, the Assiniboins at Lodge Pole, the miners at Zortman—all received and profited from the ministries of the tireless priests. Chinook, Glasgow, and Milk River were also on the itinerary of the Jesuits living at St. Paul's.

The most important station of St. Paul's, if we judge from its subsequent development, was Havre. In 1890 the Bishop of Helena divided the missionary district which formerly had been tended solely by Father Frederick Eberschweiler, S.J. Under the new plan, the Jesuits from St. Paul's cared for one portion of the newly divided territory and the other portion, which included the whole Milk River district, was tended by the pioneer missionary, Father Eberschweiler. For the first five years after the division, Father Eberschweiler worked from Fort Benton, and then for ten years Chinook served as

his headquarters. It was in 1903 that the aging priest took up his residence in Havre, newly constituted a parish. Three years earlier, he had rebuilt the church in Havre after a severe storm had destroyed the original structure. Consequently, Father Eberschweiler was no stranger in a strange land, nor was it surprising that the parish flourished under his paternal care.

In later years, long after the founder of the parish had gone to receive his reward for a life well spent, Havre became the center of an extended mission field. Occasionally there were as many as fifteen outlying districts that depended on the priests of Havre for Mass and the sacraments. Among these districts were the following: Chester, Dunkirk, Devon, Gildford, and Kremlin. Gradually some of these places grew enough to warrant a resident pastor. The desire of the people was satisfied by their bishop as one by one these parishes passed from the Jesuits to the diocese.

The story of Jesuit labors in this part of Montana ends with this sketch of Havre. Far back across the span of years, St. Peter's Mission had been opened among the Piegans and Bloods; from this stock Holy Family Mission among the Blackfeet had sprung; from the same stock had come St. Paul's among the Gros Ventres and Assiniboins; from the same stock had come Havre, and with this last we have reached well across central Montana. As the line of advance moved east, the country to the north and south was being explored, occupied, and conquered. It has been an advance replete with trials, tragedies, and triumphs which here merely have been touched upon. It has been the story of the Jesuits opening new country as shock troops of the Church.

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S MISSION AMONG THE CROWS

The mission among the Crow Indians was one of the later foundations in Montana. Actually, there had been a few Jesuits working sporadically for the salvation of this tribe since De Smet first met them on his way back to St. Louis in 1840:

I rode with this tribe for two days; they had plenty of everything, and according to their custom were passing the time in feasts and rejoicings. Since I hide nothing from you, I hope you will not be scandalized at learning that in a single afternoon I took part in twenty different banquets; hardly was I seated in one lodge, when somebody would come and call me to another. But as my stomach was not as accommodating as those of the Indians, I satisfied myself with tasting their messes. . . .⁶⁰

The good missionary did more than gracefully avoid eating of these Indian feasts, for he tells us, "I took a favorable occasion to speak to them upon various points of religion." There were no conversions among the tribe during this brief meeting.

Again in 1842, De Smet stopped in the Crow camp while he was en route to St. Louis. At the time, the Blackfeet had just killed two distinguished Crow warriors; an atrocity which, in the minds of the Crows, cried out for retaliation. This second visit was equally barren from a spiritual point of view.⁶¹

De Smet quotes a letter of Father Point to the effect that he had baptized fourteen Crow Indians during the time he worked among the Blackfeet in 1846-47. These would, then, be the first Christians from the Crow tribe. Moreover,

Every returning spring they [the Crows] send pressing invitations to the Black-robos to come and establish themselves among them, in order to be taught the way of the Lord.⁶²

This desire of the tribe was unfulfilled until 1880 when Father Peter Barcelo visited them for the first time.

He reported the results of this first excursion:

... according to the arrangement made I left this place [Helena] for the special purpose of visiting the Crow Indians. After visiting some Catholic families on the way I reached an Indian camp for the first time in about the middle point between Fort Custer and Terry's Landing. They received me very well, and through a coloured man, who knew their language, I made them understand that my wish was to teach them the right way to heaven.⁶³

Father instructed the Indians and baptized a few children and one old squaw. He also had some very amicable conversations with the agent concerning the possibility of establishing a mission on the reservation. It was decided to seek permission from the President of the United States. With respect to the Indians themselves, however, Barcelo writes:

From the very beginning I declared to them that I could not teach them properly, if they were to be all the time roaming about; that it was necessary for them to settle themselves in a fixed place, and there cultivate the ground, to build a large and nice church, and to do all the rest for their civilization. They all agreed to that and showed themselves willing to follow my teaching and directions.⁶⁴

This was the first of many visits which Father Barcelo made to these Indians. Reading the letters he so punctually wrote during these early years, one may trace the rise and fall of his hopes. He had to be circumspect with the agent who feared the strong Methodist element on the reservation; he had to be tactful with the Indians who were pressing him to seek permission for them to settle in some suitable part of the reservation. He wrote in July, 1881:

I feel very happy with these poor Indians, and extremely anxious to settle them in an excellent place of their reservation far away from the whites.⁶⁵

In his very next letter, written a week later, he uncovers his innermost feelings after a keen disappointment:

I have felt sometimes very much disgusted and strongly inclined to leave the Indians before the two months appointed by Y[our] R[everence] expire. It is the hope of baptising some more children that keeps me. With the grown-up Indians I have no hope unless I can show them by actions that I am their true friend; a thing which I cannot do in the present circumstances.⁶⁶

Three years spent generously enough by Barcelo found the establishment of a permanent mission no more probable. A feeling of futility began to haunt the tireless priest. He worked and prayed; still he realized he could do no lasting good whatever until there was a Crow mission, not just a missionary among the Crows. Father Peter Prando was sent to help the overburdened Barcelo in 1883. New blood meant new life. Father Prando, however, actually was destined to work more among the neighboring Cheyennes, though he did not neglect the Crows. This was especially true as it became more and more obvious that Father Barcelo's health was breaking under the load he mercilessly had taken upon himself.

Father Prando baptized 533 Crow children during the two months he spent with this tribe in the spring of 1886. In May of the same year, Father Urban Grassi visited the Crow mission with Father Prando to select a spot for the mission buildings:

They thought a good place was Big Horn Valley. And as soon as Fr. Grassi saw the mouth of Rotten Grass [Creek] he looked around and said, "This is the right place to build a mission," and so it was.⁶⁷

The first step toward fulfilling Father Barcelo's dream had been taken.

Not quite a year was to elapse before the mission buildings were begun. Fathers Peter Prando and Joseph Bandini left Helena on February 18, 1887:

... travelling three days over one foot of snow they arrived at Rotten-Grass on February 21st and clearing a patch of snow 12' x 9' they stuck their first tent which [was] their kitchen and everything. ... After some days, the weather getting milder, they put up two more tents one as a parlor and store room, and another as a chapel. They began to have the service every Sunday and the Indians would throng and fill up the large tent. As soon as the snow disappeared and the ground got soft they put up a fence around the land. They broke land for a garden and gave the contract to build a school house two stories and a half high, 60 x 40 feet. In the month of May the contractors came, and in September the school house was finished.⁶⁸

As simple as this is the firsthand account of the foundation of yet another Jesuit Indian mission.

The Ursulines arrived October 1, 1887, to take charge of the school. They had chosen a poor time to come to their new home, for the Crows were greatly excited by an Indian medicine man, named "The Man-who-rides-a-horse-that-has-his-tail-wrapped-up." The eve of their departure for St. Xavier's, the Sisters had spent at Fort Custer, where the Indians passed the night riding around the agency buildings and firing their guns into the structures. Father Prando remarks on this unusual reception:

They were coming to take charge of the poor debased Crow girls to take them away from the abyss of corruption and beastly life and raise them up to the path of virtue and civilization, to wrest them from the grasp of the Devil, and to have their sort among the children of God and populate heaven.⁶⁹

The next day the imminent battle between the Crows and the soldiers was put off while the brave Sisters passed between the battle lines to reach the mission twenty-three miles away.

The "Crow War," whose beginning the Sisters witnessed, was nothing more than a skirmish. The United States soldiers demanded the surrender of the seven Indians who had actually fired their guns into the agency buildings. The Indians, encouraged by the medicine man, remained obstinate. At the end of the allotted time, the soldiers started to take the seven culprits by force. Swordbearer, or Man-who-rides-on-a-horse, was wounded in the ensuing skirmish and, while attempting to flee, he was killed by one of the Indian policemen. So ended the "Crow War."

The Indians soon quieted down and began to send their children to the mission school. There were fifty in school by the Christmas of 1887.

The difficulties encountered in the operation of a boarding school so far from settled country were numerous. Many trips on horseback in every kind of weather had to be made. But the mission prospered: very soon more buildings had to be erected. A church 75 x 36 feet and another school building 100 x 24 feet and two and a half stories high were built; finally, a brick building for the boys' school was begun in 1890. The money for all this expansion came from the faithful friend of the Indian missions, the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions of Washington, D. C.

Money spent on these schools was certainly well invested, for it was with the young people that the future of the mission lay. At the time when the missionaries were building schools for 150 Crow boys, Father Prando

gives us some hint of the reason why working with the older generation was, at most, a barren and thankless task:

It is hard now to convert the old Indians, whose body is lying down in laziness in their lodges, while their brain and memory is going back over to the old times[,] remembering the Buffaloes which are gone and crying for them, and fearing to die of starvation.⁷⁰

The old people were living in the past—the past filled with medicine men, immorality, irresponsibility, and inactivity. To effect a wholesale conversion from such universal degradation would have required a miracle of grace, which man has no right to expect.

The future, however, had definite promise:

But the work with the little ones in the school is full of consolation and blessed with fruits. On the days of communion we count 80 of our pupils approaching the sacraments and this with conviction and joy in their hearts, and with great devotion as sometimes they cry out: "I love Jesus Christ!"⁷¹

The very fact that the children were kept at the school was a great step toward their improvement. Away from the Indian lodges, the children were away from the old women who considered it a duty to keep the young ones filled with the tales of pagan days, pagan traditions, and pagan mythology. To offset such a background was the work of the missionaries.

But to obtain really the proposed end, it admits of no fun; it requires people who made up their mind to toil, to set a good example to the Indians, people who will never stop at any hardship, and never back out, who will gain their ground inch by inch and die on the battlefield. When people of that stamp are found the conversion of the Indians will be sure, sometime.⁷²

Thus was described a missionary of the Crows by the greatest of them, Father Peter Prando.

The history of the mission, staffed by priests and Sisters of the mold just described by Prando, is not a story of unbroken triumphs; rather it is the tale of tireless labor and steady, albeit, unsensational progress.

The advance made in the educational work is summed up nicely in the annual report of 1893:

St. Xavier's Mission School, located at the mouth of Rotten Grass Creek, on Big Horn River, has three main buildings, besides a dozen smaller ones. . . .

This school was commenced not quite six years ago, and it can show already very remarkable progress in every branch of learning for Indian children. They all speak English and read and spell from the first to the fifth reader as well as any white children, and they have improved enough in arithmetic, grammar, geography and history. They sing and play the organ very well, and the boys have a small brass band that astonishes all the visitors.

Their improvement in industrial branches is equally good. Some of the boys learn carpentry, blacksmithing, baking, farming, stock-raising and so on. The girls have been learning housekeeping, cooking, washing, ironing, machine and hand sewing and even dressmaking.⁷³

The report speaks eloquently of the school's success.

The year following this encouraging report was rather unpleasant for the missionaries. The separation of the Indian children from their homes for a whole year at a time and the attempt to keep the children in the mission boarding school until they were practically ready for marriage, had been the cause of much complaint and dissatisfaction on the part of the parents. The crisis came in 1894. One of the Indian police, who was a truant officer, committed suicide while intoxicated. A few days later, an Indian girl died at the mission after a long illness. Some of the older natives wanted to take this

occasion to whip and then kill the priests, thus destroying the mission utterly. This calamity was prevented by a timely concession. The children were permitted to visit home for one month in the summer, and they were not to be kept in school beyond their sixteenth year. This quieted the agitators and reconciled the parents for a time, at least.

This discouraging incident is only one of several that could be cited. As long as one studies the educational work among the Crows one reads a hopeful story. But in the spiritual advance of the tribe it was toil filled with shadows and discouragement. If twenty adults attended Mass and prayers, it was a notable event. True enough, children were baptized, and even some of their pagan parents. Usually, for the parents, baptism was just some strong medicine of the priests; of the dignity and of the effects of the sacrament, they knew little.⁷⁴ In the face of such deep-rooted superstitions, the missionaries were wont to console themselves with the thought that God surely would never allow the lives of so many missionaries to be consumed in vain. Sooner or later the tribe would be converted.

These hopes were not entirely vain. Most of the Indians at St. Xavier's and the neighboring stations were baptized Catholics by 1910. Strange to narrate, by this time the mission was definitely on the decline. For instance, in 1911, there were only forty-eight boys in the mission school, while the branch schools had been closed entirely. The withdrawal of government support in the late 1890's was a singularly important factor in this decline. The mission had to retrench on all fronts, and the missionary became more and more engrossed in the fight to find sufficient funds to keep the schools open.

This meant there was much less time to visit his flock who needed constant encouragement if they were to remain faithful. The government schools were converted into day schools which were much more attractive to the Indians because of the greater liberty permitted the pupils. Against these schools, supported by abundant budgets and made attractive to the Indian character, the struggling mission boarding schools had to contend. The number of pupils in the schools dwindled to five boys and five girls in 1920. The next year the school was closed, not to be reopened until a few years ago.

The work accomplished at St. Francis Xavier's since its opening in 1887 has been considerable. The ground gained has been gained inch by inch, and men have burned out their lives to consolidate those gains. The reward of those years has been the conversion of many groups of Crows, but underneath, a thread of doubt, or of suspicion that all is not as it seems is found in the records of the missionaries. The Crows, with some remarkable exceptions, always gave the priests cause for worry. This is why St. Francis Xavier's was a mission for brave and not easily discouraged men.

The people near St. Xavier's were not neglected. Catholics in Billings, Hardin, Glendive, Miles City, and Fort Custer were tended by the Jesuits from the mission. These cities of Montana were struggling settlements in those days, too small to support their own pastors. Some of the stations were established by the Jesuit Fathers and then, when sufficiently developed, turned over to the Bishop. Other localities were visited only until a zealous diocesan priest could be found to tend the flock. Wyola, Crow Agency, and Warman were also visited by the "missionaries on horseback." A little school for the

Crows of Upper Big Horn Valley was opened in 1921. The building was supplied by Bird Horse, the Crow chief, and the teacher was Barney Old Coyote, a talented Crow Indian. Two years later, a chapel for the Indians was built at Soap Creek. So the work continues and, with God's help, will continue so long as there are Crow Indians needing the help, counsel, and encouragement of the missionaries.

Two of the stations supplied from St. Xavier's deserve special mention. Writing in September, 1882, Father Peter Barcelo remarks that the interpreter at Fort Custer "offered himself to help me with his teams to build a church and a house and pointed out a certain place, which they call Pryor Creek as most suitable for the purpose."⁷⁵ This is the first mention of the future station of St. Charles at Pryor Creek. Here, in 1892, the Ursulines taught in the school which had been built for the Indians of Plenty Coups, a staunch Crow chief. The school prospered until 1898, when the lack of money forced the Jesuits to close this branch. The school buildings were sold to the United States Government in 1901 for use as a government school.

When the Fathers gave up the Pryor school the Indians lost heart. Little by little they gave up their religious practices and returned to their old superstitions. They keep away from the church.⁷⁶

The tribe was finally brought back by the tireless energy and inexhaustible patience of Father Aloysius Vrebosch who visited Pryor Creek for six years without any apparent effect. About 1912,

. . . the Indians began to be struck by his untiring zeal; it was beyond their understanding; it went to their hearts. Finally all the Pryor Indians returned to the church of the Blackrobe. . . .⁷⁷

The second interesting station supplied from St. Xavier's was that of St. Ann's Mission, Lodge Grass. Father Aloysius Vrebosch built the chapel in 1909 in an effort to counteract the effect of the Protestant church at Lodge Grass. The chapel was also used as a day school conducted by an efficient teacher, Mr. Alexander A. Anderson. The school and the church at Lodge Grass were not immediately successful because of ill will on the part of some and the ill reports spread by others. Finally, the limitless patience of Father Vrebosch overcame all obstacles, and in 1911 a frame church was built. Three years later, on September 24, 1914, Bishop Lenihan confirmed thirty-four people at St. Ann's Mission. The little outpost had succeeded in saving this flock to the Church.

The story of St. Francis Xavier's Mission has merely repeated what happened in almost every establishment. From the central house the Jesuits pushed on to the four points of the compass. The mission among the Crows left but one major tribe deprived of a missionary. This deprivation was not to last long, for very soon after the Jesuits began to work among the Crows, they took up their posts with the Cheyennes in southeastern Montana.

ST. JOSEPH LABRE'S MISSION

The Cheyennes had been harassed and driven about since the coming of the white man. From the beginning of the great westward movement, they had been fighting the whites. When gold was discovered in the Bad Lands in the early 1870's, the rush of whites into their territory brought trouble. Some Cheyennes were with Sitting Bull, the great Sioux war chief, when the allied tribes massacred Custer and his command. As punishment for

their role in this massacre, the Cheyennes were sent to Oklahoma. Here they were most unhappy, so much so that they made repeated and determined efforts to return to their homeland.

Finally, General Nelson A. Miles recommended to the officials in Washington that the Cheyennes be permitted to go back to their lands between the Tongue River and Rosebud in southeastern Montana. In May of 1882 they returned to resume their old habits of hunting and traveling about at their leisure. This could not last, for the buffalo were rapidly disappearing. Two hundred and fifty thousand of the beasts were killed in the Cheyenne country by the whites in 1883. The disappearance of their food supply gave rise to the government ration stations, where the Indians could obtain enough to keep themselves alive.

Such was the condition of the Cheyennes when Fathers Barcelo and Prando visited them in 1883. Their coming had been brought about by the intercessions of George Yoakam, a Catholic soldier of Fort Keogh. Yoakam had asked Bishop James O'Connor, Vicar Apostolic of Nebraska, to send a priest among this rapidly dwindling tribe.

Barcelo was enthusiastic over the possibilities of a mission among the Cheyennes:

These Indians are well disposed; they are specially anxious about their children's schooling. We have only to be constant in our work. . . . They show good disposition to piety; their women are remarkably modest and reserved. I hope the Lord will grant them the light of holy faith.⁷⁸

Though Barcelo had expressed the opinion that there was far more chance of success among the Cheyennes than

among the Crows, yet in obedience to the order of his superior he left the Cheyennes to go among the Crows.

The mission among the Cheyennes was actually founded by His Excellency, John B. Brondel, Bishop of Helena. In response to the call of the prelate, six Ursuline Sisters arrived at Miles City on January 17, 1884. They were accompanied by Father Joseph Eyler, of the Diocese of Cleveland. Bishop Brondel and Father E. W. J. Lindesmith, army chaplain at Fort Keogh, met the band of recruits on their arrival at Miles City.

Father Eyler set out soon after for the Cheyenne country. For the future mission, he bought a piece of land with a log cabin on it at the point where Otter Creek flows into the Tongue River. The mud-roofed log hut was divided into three unconnected compartments, each with a small window and door. Two of the compartments had only dirt floors. The largest room was to be chapel and living quarters for the Sisters; the middle compartment was used as a classroom, while Father Eyler occupied the other end of the cabin. Boxes and benches were the furniture of the mission.

The Sisters reached their new home on April 2, 1884. The poverty of the mission was so manifest that St. Benedict Joseph Labre, the poorest of God's poor, was chosen patron. The history of this mission was stormy. Trouble came, not because of the Indians, for they loved and obeyed the missionary, but because of the interference of the whites who desired ardently to provoke the Cheyennes into giving some pretext under which the tribe could be forced to vacate this excellent cattle country. To have begun the mission any time would have been difficult enough, but under these circumstances it was too much for Father Eyler's health. In June he returned East. Two diocesan priests succeeded one an-

other for short periods. By July 1, 1884 Father Barcelo was writing his letters from St. Labre's. He relates that he spent his days working at the language, instructing, baptizing, and trying to save the Indians from the whites.

... a dastardly attack was made [on September 15] on the zealous layman, George Yoakam. This friend of the priest had heard of Father Barcelo's return and hastened to pay him a visit. Late in the evening four cowboys wearing masks appeared at the door of the priest's quarters and demanded that George Yoakam be brought out. They declared that he had been siding with the Indians against the whites. Father Barcelo was interceding for him when one of the roughs thrust the barrel of a six shooter into the chest of the priest, while the other three men fetched out Yoakam and took him away. An hour later Yoakam returned, limping as he came. They had tied him to a tree not far from the mission and had given him a severe whipping. After untying him, one of the men said, "This is only a foretaste of hell, if you do not hit the trail at once we will send you there." Yoakam left the country. . . .⁷⁹

This harrowing experience hastened the break of Father Barcelo's health. He had been complaining in his letters for some time of a weak stomach. He left the Cheyennes on December 18.

The valorous and persevering Sisters remained at the mission for two months until the visit of Bishop Brondel in February, 1885. The Sisters, who now had no chaplain, were living in a hovel. The Bishop undertook a lecture tour through the East in an effort to raise money. The new building, blessed at the mission on November 8, 1885, is sufficient evidence of his success. The Jesuits now took charge of the mission for the time being and Fathers Aloysius van der Velden and Peter Prando were assigned as missionaries among the Cheyennes. Father van der Velden was to spend twelve years with this tribe.

Life at the mission went along smoothly for a time.

The annual reports of the Indian agent always mention the work of St. Labre's favorably. The Fathers apparently were satisfied with the results of these early years, for there is nothing in the letters or records of the time to prove the contrary. Quite unexpectedly, in 1888, the harmony was shattered.

Trouble was brought on by an Indian medicine man, named Porcupine. The year before, a Paiute Indian, Wo-vo-ka, started in Nevada a peculiar religious rite called the Ghost Dance, which Porcupine introduced among the Cheyennes. To make his medicine seem more real, he disappeared for a time. When he returned, he declared that he himself had met the Messiah on the Wind River in Wyoming, and had been told that all the Indians were to get back their land, that the buffalo would once more return, and that the white man's guns would no longer be able to hurt them. The Ghost Dance was then advocated as a charm to hasten on these days of plenty. Thus the minds of the Indians became unbalanced. Things went from bad to worse, and to punish them for their infidelity, the Jesuits abandoned the mission.⁸⁰

Father van der Velden returned to St. Labre's, January 1, 1889. The times were still troublous and the Indians restless. The next year one of the pupils at the mission was accused of murder. Events now moved rapidly toward the end. The new boys' school was built in 1891-92 only to be closed in July of the latter year, owing to a fresh outbreak of the Ghost Dance craze. The school reopened in March, 1893. A new church was built during 1895-96 with the first Mass being celebrated on May 3 by Father van der Velden, who had just returned as superior of St. Labre's. In the spring of 1897, Hoover, a shepherd was murdered by three Cheyennes.

The three culprits were eventually captured and taken to Miles City for trial.

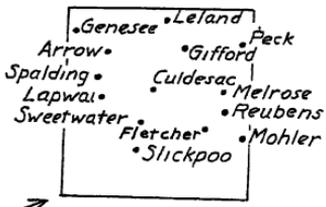
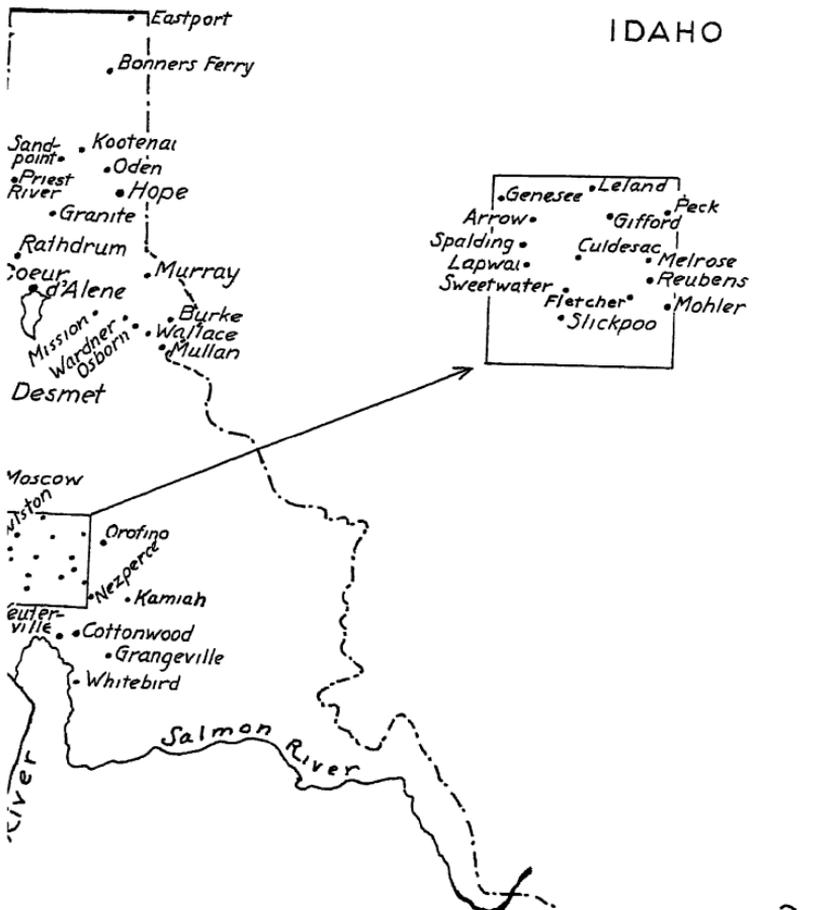
After the Hoover murder, the Indians once more became sullen and refused to send their children to school. All the children had gone by July of 1897. This was all that was needed to convince the higher Jesuit superiors that there were far more profitable places to sacrifice men than among this ungrateful and fickle tribe. No doubt Father van der Velden and Father John van der Pol would have stayed on at the mission if allowed to act in accord with their personal feelings. But such was not to be. The missionaries were ordered to abandon St. Labre's. In spite of their own desires and in spite of the touching loyalty of the Ursulines to the tribe, the two Fathers departed for the Crow mission on August 10, 1897. Father van der Velden's parting words were:

Sisters, God bless you for your devotion and for your many examples of virtue. I leave Our Lord with you. May He be your consolation.⁸¹

This ends the history of St. Labre's as a Jesuit mission, except for occasional visits by traveling missionaries in later years.

Thus the curtain rings down on the role of the Society of Jesus in forwarding the church in Montana. A century ago it was St. Mary's, the cradle of the church in Montana; then through the century, St. Ignatius', St. Peter's, Holy Family, Helena, St. Paul's, St. Xavier's, and finally St. Labre's. From these as centers, the missionaries carried the gospel to the four winds. "Obscure toil, solitude, privation, hardship, and death were to be the missionary's portion"⁸² and, quite incidentally, the price to be paid. The reward? The church gloriously vital in the Montana of 1945.

IDAHO



CHAPTER VI

Missions among the Coeur d'Alenes and Nez Percés

SACRED HEART MISSION

WE LAST READ OF SACRED HEART MISSION AMONG THE Coeur d'Alenes in 1846 when Father Joset had just completed its transfer from the St. Joe River to the Coeur d'Alene River. Here he had built a rough bark chapel, three log houses, and inclosed a field in which wheat, potatoes, and oats were planted. From this point we resume our story.

The very next spring, that of 1847, Joset returned from spending the winter with Father Hoecken at St. Ignatius' on the Clark Fork River. The cattle belonging to Sacred Heart Mission had all perished during the severe winter; only the horses were saved by the moss which the Indians fed them. This was a serious blow to the new establishment, but not nearly so important as the crisis which now arose.

One evening during prayers in the church, Father Joset was disturbed by a commotion in the congregation. Upon investigation he found a woman had been stabbed by her former husband because she refused to live with him, now that he had married again. The priest took it for granted that this atrocity had been perpetrated in the church. Father, thoroughly disconsolate,

. . . shut the church and shut himself in his room with a single little boy to serve him: he was considering that it would be useless to try

any longer, if the faithful could not enjoy security even in the church: he wrote to Fr. Hoecken to send him Indians to take away the little property we had: he was about sending the letter, though it [cost] him a severe interior conflict, when he chanced to hear that the wound was not inflicted in the church and that the guilty party had run away.¹

The threatened abandonment of the mission ended by the election of a capable chief to keep order and the missionary was now ready to begin his real work.

Contrary to a common misapprehension, the conversion of the Coeur d'Alene tribe was not a task of a few weeks. These Indians had not been the terror of neighboring tribes and of the Hudson's Bay traders without reason. When the missionaries first went among them, it was the boast of the tribe that there was no neighboring nation whom they had not fought and conquered; even the Hudson's Bay traders stayed away from them because they knew they would be worsted in any trading transaction, and probably suffer physical violence besides. These, then, were the Indians whom Joset now undertook to convert.

Like other Indians, the Coeur d'Alenes were wont to roam about a good deal. The digging of camass roots, fishing, and the hunting of buffalo were the usual reasons for their constant shifting about from place to place. Therefore, the first end to be attained before any lasting good could be accomplished was to make the Indians settle near one spot. Furthermore, the location selected must be made attractive to them.

To bring this about, several events now transpired. St. Mary's Mission among the Flatheads was closed in 1850, thus freeing for other work the gifted priest-doctor and architect, Anthony Ravalli. Father Ravalli came to

Sacred Heart Mission in the fall of 1850. The spring of 1851 saw Father Peter De Vos leave the mission of St. Paul's at Kettle Falls. Father Joset was sent to replace him. This left Father Ravalli, the artist and builder, at the mission which needed a church to fill the role of rallying place for a roving savage tribe.

With the encouragement of Father Gregory Gazzoli, his superior, and with his own talent for such things, Ravalli undertook the construction of a magnificent church for the forest—and an excellent church for any place, forest or town. It was ninety feet by forty feet, and twenty-five feet from floor to ceiling. It was built entirely by the Indians under the supervision of Brother Magri. At the time of the building, there were only some three hundred and twenty members in the tribe, war and smallpox having destroyed hundreds since the days of Lewis and Clark (1805) when there were two thousand Coeur d'Alenes.

The actual construction of the church is graphically described by Joset:

Large quantity of heavy timbers were to be hewed, 24 posts over 25 feet long, squared $2\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, some 3 by 3; sills, joists, wall plates, rafters, etc., all in proportion: 20,000 feet of boards to be manufactured at the saw-pit, to be dressed by hand, 50 thousand shingles, [30,000 cubic feet] of stones for the foundation to be dug from the mountains: then the whole to be brought to place on the top of the hill: the stones $\frac{1}{2}$ mile distant, timbers, some more than a mile: large quantity of clay to serve as mortar and filling between the posts. Trucks with block wheels were roughly made and for want of sufficient teams were drawn mostly by hand. They gathered from the prairies a sufficient amount of fibres to make all the ropes needed, and made all other preparations for they were left entirely to their own industry.²

For all the work entailed in the collection of material and

later, in the construction of the church, there was no question of wages. Each Indian was given a bowl of mush once a day. Their only complaint was that too much mush stuck to the cook's serving spoon. In fact, it was a reward for good Christian living to be allowed to work on the church. The worst punishment inflicted on the natives at this time was to be forbidden to take part in the construction of their house of prayer.

When the church was actually being built, the mission resembled

... a large beehive: men, women and children all were busy[.] Some at the saw-pits, others making mortises, tenons or shaping columns; some, again, carrying water, or mixing the clay, which others used as mortar in making the foundations [and] walls and Br. Magri having an eye to everything.³

The work went ahead steadily. On October 15, 1853, Governor Stevens notes in his diary:

We started at 8 o'clock, after having given Brother Charles as many lariats for raising the timbers of the church as we could spare.⁴

The church was sufficiently under cover to hold services before the end of the year. However, the work went on for several years since the Indians still had to hunt and fish and dig camass roots for their year's provisions. This meant they could only work on the church for short periods at a time. The church had, in 1859:

... two fine altars, with handsome pictures of the Sacred Heart and of the Blessed Virgin, but all the rest is naked, without doors, windows or flooring, and not being framed in on the outside, I fear it will rot before it is completed. The neophytes have done their best: but in the absence of resources we cannot continue the work.⁵

The years of labor on the church were not wasted. More and more, the Indians began to look on the mission

as home. Greater numbers built their log huts near by and began to cultivate plots of ground, for there was growing up a generation more Christian than any before. Because of the prayers, instructions, and services at the church, they were more civilized and less dependent on their former roving life. Then too, the Coeur d'Alenes began to manifest an aptitude and a liking for farming. These qualities were becoming more and more developed when the mission was almost ruined for a second time.

Father Congiato, Superior-General of the Mountain Missions, was ready to abandon the Coeur d'Alene mission in 1857 because the Indians had become less fervent in attending church. There is no doubt that this tepidity was due in part to Father Ravalli's difficulty with the Coeur d'Alene language. Ravalli did exceptional work with his medical and artistic talents, but he never accomplished much with his catechetical instructions since Indian languages were always a puzzle to him. Father Joset saved the mission at this juncture by proving to Congiato that the Coeur d'Alenes were as pious as ever, if given instructions. There is no question that the people, young and old, flocked to the explanations of their newly returned Father.

Hardly had this crisis been met when the Indian Wars of 1858 broke out. In spite of all his efforts, Joset saw his dear Indians join with the Spokane, Palouse, and Yakima tribes against the United States Army. The work of Joset and of the other Jesuits at this critical period makes a story in itself. Suffice it to say that, having failed to prevent the war, Joset tried to save Colonel E. J. Steptoe and his men from utter annihilation; having failed to prevent a serious encounter, Joset left no stone unturned

to bring about peace as soon as possible. For many years Joset was accused of treachery toward the United States during these wars. That such talk was utterly unfounded we may judge from the notes of thanks and the extremely cordial relations existing between the army men and the missionaries at this time. Governor Isaac I. Stevens had written to Joset in 1855:

I am personally and officially under weighty obligations both to yourself and Father Ravalli for your repeated good offices, and I shall bear testimony to the efficient services you have rendered in the cause of humanity.⁶

Three years later, on the day the treaty with the Coeur d'Alenes was signed, Colonel George Wright wrote to Joset:

Now my dear sir, I must thank you very sincerely for your zealous and persevering efforts in bringing about this accommodation, which has terminated so successfully.⁷

Peace had been restored, but the good Father was discouraged by the fact that his Indians had profited so little from the years the missionaries had spent among them, that part of the tribe had readily joined in the uprising. He had agreed with Father Congiato that the mission should be abandoned.

Colonel Wright counseled against such a disastrous move and Lieutenant John Mullan wrote a very touching letter to Father Congiato:

I trust, therefore, father, you will not abandon these poor children of the wilds to themselves, but, on the contrary, since they have been willing to retrace their steps, rather let them be confirmed in their present good intentions, to set to work to build themselves up again, to forget the errors of the past and live only in the brightness of the future.⁸

This appeal was heeded and the mission was not deserted. The story from here moves quickly, for the Coeur d'Alenes had learned a lesson. They became faithful to their prayers; dutifully they tilled their little farms; less and less did they leave the mission. Father Cataldo, writing to De Smet in 1872, tells the patriarchal founder of the mission:

I can assure you, Rev. Father, that you have truly great motives to rejoice in being the founder of this mission; for these "poor Indians," as they are often styled, manifest a spirit of piety and morality which those who have never dwelt among them would hardly credit.

Yesterday after returning to their several camps to work their little farms, they signified their intention of coming back to the mission towards the end of the month, in order to be present at the devotions of the month of Mary. I am confident they will keep their word as they did last year.

The day before yesterday, all the Indians, without a single exception, approached the Holy Sacraments. I think there is hardly another people or tribe on earth of which the same can be said.⁹

Little wonder that the Coeur d'Alene mission became known as a Utopia. The years of patient effort had certainly produced a hundredfold. It was now time to take the last important step. The mission must be moved.

As early as 1874, this action was discussed. The reasons given were many, but the following few were much more patent than others. The tribe had settled down almost completely; they had given up their migrations for fishing and root-digging, and hunted for the last time in 1876; they had taken to farming and, to find land, some had already moved to Nilgwalko, or Andrew's Spring, on Camas Prairie, where a temporary chapel had been constructed for the use of the missionaries who would spend a few weeks with the Indians during the

root-gathering season. Here, on this prairie, was wonderful farming land, and enough for all, if they would come soon and anticipate the whites.

Furthermore, the whites were filtering into the country around the mission on the Coeur d'Alene River. This trickle was to become a flood when prospectors began to pour into the country a few years later. The Indians had to be saved from the baneful influence of the whites if the good accomplished was not to be dissipated.

A third factor was the isolation of the mission in its present location, with the consequent delays and expense in communication. For example, the trip to Walla Walla for provisions took three months.

They have a great wagon at the Mission, which is to be loaded with hams, cheese and other results of their industry and transported to market. No political economist ever imagined that bacon and cheese could overcome such difficulties as these will have to encounter. The wagon is rolled down the hill to the riverside, then out upon a raft built for the purpose. Here it is loaded, and the ark moves down the Coeur d'Alene River to its mouth, many miles below. A sail is now hoisted, and aided by this the Indian boatmen and their paddles propel the boat up the Coeur d'Alene Lake to its southern extremity. The lake is a beautiful sheet of water surrounded by mountains. When we have reached the southern end, our cheese seems farther from market than ever. What is to be done with a huge wagon heavily laden, where there is no sign of road save a narrow pack trail? Some Indians from the mission have come through the woods to the head of the lake with oxen and ponies. They take the wagon to pieces, load these pieces, together with the merchandise, on the backs of the animals, and then cross the mountains. Having emerged on the prairie beyond, the wagon is again put together, reloaded, the oxen are hitched to it, and after many days of patient journeying Walla Walla is reached, the hams and cheese are disposed of, necessary supplies are purchased for the mission, and the journey just described is repeated.¹⁰

This crushing toil is what the Fathers wanted to end by putting the mission in a more accessible location.

Against moving the mission, there were strong arguments. The church had just been finished; many of the Indians had their homes and their farms near by; at the new mission they would have to begin again from the very foundations. The Fathers knew these arguments, but the others seemed to be of greater weight. Hence the missionaries began in 1876 to persuade the Indians that the removal of the mission was the only sane mode of acting under the present circumstances. In the instructions and talks in the church, Father Diomedes insisted that the Indians

. . . were bound to move, first, for self-preservation; secondly, for the education of their children; thirdly, for the preservation of their religion and especially for the morality of the women.¹¹

The removal of the mission began February 11, 1877, and by November of that year was practically completed, with only a few of the old Indians refusing to make the change. A log school house, sixty by thirty feet, and twenty-two feet high, had been built in anticipation of the Sisters of Providence who were to come from Vancouver. These courageous Sisters arrived from Walla Walla in the fall of 1878. The new mission marked another stage in the development of the tribe.

During the very year of the mission's removal, 1877, occurred Chief Joseph's Nez Percé War. The Nez Percés tried to gain the Coeur d'Alenes as allies, but failed miserably. The year 1877 was not to be a repetition of 1858. Although rumors of a Coeur d'Alene rising had caused many whites to desert their farms and rush to the protection of near-by settlements, the Coeur d'Alenes actually guarded and protected these deserted farms from any chance marauders. When the fighting was

finished in the Palouse country, Father Cataldo received a vote of thanks signed by 107 of the settlers in this district:

We the undersigned desire to express our sincere gratitude for the kindness shown us by Mr. Cataldo and do hereby tender a vote of thanks to that gentleman for his office in assuring us of the friendliness of the Indians under his charge, and also to signify our appreciation of the good will manifested by the Northern tribes generally and especially the Coeur d'Leon.¹²

This rising had no attraction for the Coeur d'Alenes, for by now the missionary had them well in hand. His word was law. Besides, the Coeur d'Alenes were established in a veritable garden of Eden from which they drew a comfortable living. Their days of hating and fighting the white man were finished.

From this time forward, the Coeur d'Alene mission progressed steadily but unobtrusively. The colorful days of Indian wars, tribal hunts, and pagan celebrations were gone.

Four years after its moving, the mission was still in the pioneer stage as far as buildings were concerned:

The church is a small affair, scarcely fit for a stable; the residence has two rooms worse than many Indian huts, and the school house—so necessary, if we wish to preserve the faith of the rising generation, and guard against the wiles of Protestant agents,—consists of four upright posts. All that could be done so far was to erect an orphan asylum for thirty girls, supported by the Government, and directed by Sisters of Charity.¹³

The Indians had collected two thousand dollars toward the erection of their new church but this sum was woefully inadequate for such a structure as was needed.

Spiritually, the tribe retained its fervor. Regularly

they attended Mass and approached the sacraments. So striking was the example of their lives that not a few white people were attracted to the church. On the Feast of the Assumption, 1883, no one failed to come to church, although it was their harvest time and many had miles to ride. At the High Mass, sung by the Indians, there were nearly three hundred communions.

In turning around to sing the *Dominus Vobiscum*, I [Father Aloysius Robaut] was struck with admiration at seeing them kneeling on the floor, without any support, and again, at the *Gloria* and *Credo* at seeing them sitting Indian fashion on the floor. . . .¹⁴

The residence for the priests and the outside of the new church had been completed by 1883, and the school was operating successfully in 1887. Sacred Heart Mission had become a model Christian settlement.

So Christian was the atmosphere about this mission that on November 13, 1888, the novitiate of the Society of Jesus was begun at Sacred Heart Mission. The next month the tertianship, as the last year of the Jesuit's ascetical training is called, was also begun at the mission. Superiors thought the spiritual life of the Indians would be helped by the example of fervent young religious, while the young Jesuits would certainly be inspired by the example of this thoroughly Catholic tribe.

It is an interesting fact that the internal affairs of the tribe were handled entirely by the Indians. The "Soldiers of the Sacred Heart" was a select body of men, outstanding for their piety and general behavior, who led all religious exercises and acted as the police for the tribe. They arrested any wrongdoer and brought him before the tribal judge where he was sentenced to be imprisoned or whipped or fined—sometimes to all three,

if the gravity of his offense merited such harsh treatment. Two things resulted from this native police force; first, it was the greatest of honors to be a member of the force and a terrible calamity to be discharged from it for misconduct; second, the Coeur d'Alenes became a model tribe, trusted and respected by white men because of their uniformly civilized conduct.

Sacred Heart Mission was not spared when government support was taken from all the mission schools in the 1890's. With the other missions, Sacred Heart was saved by the generosity of Mother Katherine Drexel. Produce from the farm, gifts from friends, and the money sent by Mother Drexel kept the school open. A certain decline, however, set in as the restricted means necessitated more and more retrenching. All the while the government schools were built up without stint.

The mission school had reached a low point by 1922. Years of struggle to keep the school open had been successful, but the buildings and equipment had become dilapidated or outmoded. Still the school remained open. In 1927-28, there were forty-five pupils. This was a far cry from the days when there had been eighty boys and eighty girls in the schools, but in those times there were relatively no obstacles to be overcome in conducting these institutions.

What had happened to the school had happened to the mission. The whites had come onto the reservation in the early 1890's. Inter-marriage and liquor had brought hitherto unknown problems to the Coeur d'Alenes. Today, the mission goes on, but there are not many full-blooded Indians left to profit from the instructions of the Fathers. Sacred Heart Mission still retains more of its former greatness than any of the old Indian missions,

but one cannot stifle the thought that its "Golden Age" is past.

A mere catalogue of the stations visited from Sacred Heart Mission during its many decades of life would include almost every district west of St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana. For many years Sacred Heart, either on the St. Joe River, on the Coeur d'Alene River, or at Camas Prairie, was the most important Jesuit residence of the surrounding country. Hence, the intrepid priests made their way from here to the north, south, and west; to Colville, Chewelah, and Canada; to Sprague, Spokane, and Cheney; to Tekoa and Lewiston.

The mining towns of Wardner, Burke, Wallace, Murray, and Mullan were visited in 1889:

The miners do not rush *en masse* to the confessional the very first night the priest arrives. So after the few fervent souls (that are found even here, where are there not?) had gone to their duty the priest has to go out and *draw* the others to the sacraments. He must see them in their cabins, eat with them in their restaurants, visit them in the tunnels and down the shafts of the mines.¹⁵

The fruit of two months of such determined labor was three hundred and fifty-two confessions, sixteen baptisms, twelve marriages rehabilitated, and one marriage performed. The trials were amply repaid.

There was one other station of Sacred Heart Mission which grew into a mission in its own right: St. Joseph's among the Nez Percés.

ST. JOSEPH'S MISSION

The story of the Flathead delegations sent to bring missionaries from the East is a chapter in history known to many. Less widely known, but no less interesting,

were the attempts made by the Nez Percés to secure Catholic priests. The difference between the two is that the Flatheads succeeded in 1840, whereas the Nez Percés had to wait until 1867.

From time immemorial, the Flatheads and the Nez Percés have been very friendly. Trade and intermarriage have occurred between the two from earliest times. It is commonly thought that one or two Nez Percé warriors were in the first Flathead delegation to St. Louis in 1831.

About 1835, a young Nez Percé went East with a party of returning emigrants. While in St. Louis, he learned something of Catholic doctrine. When he returned to the camp, he gave instructions to the other Indians. Salmon River Billy, as he came to be known, warned the Nez Percés not to accept the religion of the Protestant preachers when Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman came in 1835, and again the following year when Whitman returned with Henry H. Spalding and W. H. Gray to establish missions among the Cayuse and Nez Percé tribes.

When Fathers F. N. Blanchet and Modeste Demers reached Fort Vancouver in November, 1838, they were told about the Nez Percés.

The Canadians who live among them for the purpose of obtaining the beaver fur, have for a long time spoken to them of the black robes—the chiefs of the French. Naturally good, mild and full of respect for the prayer to the Master of life, they anxiously desire that priests may come to instruct them, and make known to them the religion of the French.¹⁶

Their praiseworthy desire had to be denied because there were no priests to send.

The Nez Percés were visited by Father De Smet in 1840.¹⁷ On Christmas Day of 1841, De Smet baptized

thirty Nez Percés and their chief, and for the whole year of 1841 De Smet reported eighty baptisms among the Nez Percés.¹⁸ The Nez Percés were visited quite regularly after the establishment of Sacred Heart Mission among the Coeur d'Alenes. As this arrangement, however, did not satisfy them, they continued to beg for their own missionary. They renewed their petition in 1849 to the Bishop of Walla Walla, His Excellency, Augustine Magliore Blanchet. The petition had to be denied again owing to the dearth of men.

During the unsettled years which followed the Whitman Massacre, although the question of a Nez Percé mission was often mooted, nothing was accomplished. Finally, in 1867, Bishop Augustine M. Blanchet asked Father Urban Grassi: "Will you be able to accept Lapwai, if it is offered to you? I hope you will."¹⁹ Father Grassi promised to do what he could.

Father Joseph Cataldo and Brother Achille Carfagno were sent to take charge of a little government day school at Lapwai in October, 1867. But such opposition had been stirred up against a Catholic priest's teaching in a government school that Father Cataldo had to alter his plans. While awaiting a change of spirit among the Indians, he built a little frame church for the whites in Lewiston.

The first rude church for the Indians was built in the beginning of 1868. Here, on the north bank of the Clearwater River, about a mile above the Lapwai Indian Agency, Father Cataldo and three miners from Lewiston, erected a rough log building. The work of Cataldo with the Nez Percés of Chief Stuptup's camp, where the church was located, was only mildly successful. There was never any trouble about instructing the Indians,

young and old, but there was determined opposition by the head men of the tribe to baptizing those instructed. Their main objection was the fact that the small number of Catholics would make it difficult for them to remain good amidst so much evil and disorder. Furthermore, the converts wanted a priest to live with them constantly. Actually, Father Cataldo had been living in Lewiston and only spending a few months with the Indians. The priest finally left Stuptup's camp and returned to Lewiston. From here he began visiting another Indian camp about a mile up the river. A somewhat greater response greeted his efforts in this new place, but nothing in proportion to the labor entailed, so, by 1870, it had been agreed to abandon this apparently futile field of labor.

Father Cataldo left the Nez Percés in the summer of 1870 to go to the mission among the Yakimas. After a three or four weeks' visit there, he proceeded to Sacred Heart Mission among the Coeur d'Alenes. The Nez Percés had been deserted temporarily to give them an opportunity to appreciate the priest in his absence, since they had not responded when he was with them. The treatment proved effective.

Joseph Lakosken came to Sacred Heart Mission in October, 1871, as a messenger sent by some of the Nez Percé chiefs to beg the priest to return and remain with them:

"Blackgown," said he, "you know I am the only man whom you baptized among the Nez Percés; that is the reason why the chiefs sent me here. Blackgown, our people did not listen to you, or rather to God, for more than two years, and then you left us; but now all are sorry; they want you back, and they promise to be baptized. You must go at once, or you will lose most of your people; for now at the agency all are preachers: the agent is a preacher, his father is a

preacher; Mr. Spaulding, who is expected to return is a preacher; the teacher is a preacher; and all try to have the Catholics turn Protestant; so come at once."²⁰

The fears expressed by the good Indian were not without foundation. John B. Monteith, the agent to whom reference is made, was to cause the Jesuits endless trouble during the first years of the mission. Particularly did he play havoc with the Christian Indians while the priests were absent.

Finally, in April, 1872, Father Cataldo returned to Lewiston. He was astounded to see a large crowd of Indians at Mass the day after his arrival. Following the Mass, Father gathered the Indians in the church to recite the prayers in their native tongue. Although he had never taught the adults the prayers, he found that, much to his surprise, they knew them all. There was no doubt of their fine dispositions for receiving baptism. After instructing the whole group in their camp about a mile above Lewiston, Father decided they were ready to be received into the church. The solemn baptism of the group took place on May 14, 1872; five days later, seven more were baptized; and on May 30, another eighteen. These were mere beginnings. From all sides came requests for reception into the church. Young and old, Protestants, pagans, and Indian preachers were converted.

This conversion of the Indians in such numbers could hardly go on without opposition. In 1873, the Protestant preachers began a systematically organized opposition. Letters were written to the Indian Commissioner asking that the Catholics be barred from the reservation; the Christian converts were subjected to constant persecu-

tion, sometimes petty, sometimes serious; the missionary, also came in for his share.

One of the preachers, a white man, contrived to meet Father Cataldo, and told him he should leave and not return to the reservation, since the President had given the mission to the Presbyterians. The priest smiling, said, "Well, Mr. N. . . do you believe that President Grant is greater than Almighty God? I do believe that President Grant sent you; but I also believe that Almighty God sent me." The preacher then shook hands with the priest and went his way.²¹

The church for the Catholic Nez Percés was built in 1874. First, permission to build had to be obtained from Washington, D. C. Then, money was collected from the whites in Lewiston, from the Coeur d'Alene Indians, and even from the Chinamen working in the mines:

They all felt that it was a protest against bigotry and persecution of the Catholic Indians. An old English gentleman gave \$20 with the remark, "Fr. Cataldo, I am neither a Catholic nor a friend of the Indians. If I were to consult my own feelings, I would rather give the \$20 for ammunition to shoot the Indians; but I wish to support religious freedom. Tell my friend [N.], the preacher, that I am a Presbyterian; and if he troubles your Indians again, come and I will give you another \$20."²²

It is not surprising that with such help from all parties, the little church was finished by September 8, 1874.

Their beautiful church was a source of joy and consolation to the Indians, but they were still unhappy without a regular pastor. Moreover, they feared that they would soon drift back into their old infidel practices and superstitions if there was no priest among them. Hence, they never ceased asking for a missionary. They asked Father Joseph Giorda, Superior-General of the Missions; they asked James Razzini, Visitor-General of the Missions; they asked the Very Reverend Father Peter

Beckx, General of the Society of Jesus; finally, in 1875, they begged His Holiness, Pope Pius IX, to send them a Father. This time their fervor and patience were rewarded.

Father Anthony Morvillo arrived on November 2, 1875, the first resident missionary among the Nez Percés. The mission of which Father Morvillo now took charge consisted of one church with two little rooms in the back. For some years these rooms served as sacristy, dining room, kitchen, office, parlor, and sleeping quarters. Here Father Morvillo began to study the Nez Percé language, a subject on which he was later to become an authority.

The arrival of the missionary gave the Indians new hope. They began to build their log huts around the church and soon there was a little village at the mission. More of the Indians began to take up farming and others to enlarge their farms. Gambling and drunkenness were less and less apparent among them. The presence of the priest and the organization of their police force, similar to the "Soldiers of the Sacred Heart" among the Coeur d'Alenes, was responsible for this improvement. A school building had been started in the early days but never finished. The classes that were conducted were gathered in the church.

At this point in its growth, surrounded by unsympathetic Protestants and harassed by petty persecutions as it was, still another obstacle was thrown in the path of St. Joseph's Mission. It was Chief Joseph's Nez Percé War of 1877. There were only four Catholic Nez Percé Indians who participated in this war. More serious were the slanders spread against Father Cataldo. The Indians in the Umatilla district of eastern Oregon had invited

Father Cataldo to give them a series of sermons in February, 1877. The priest's talks were blessed, with all the Catholic neophytes receiving the sacraments and about twenty infidels being converted. By purest chance it happened that Young Joseph, second chief of the Nez Percés, was in the Umatilla district at this same time attempting to stir up feeling for the Nez Percés of Chief Joseph who had determined to fight the United States. Naturally, those who desired to do so could and readily did misconstrue the presence of Father Cataldo. When the question arose of taking action against the priest for this alleged treacherous conduct, there was such a furious outburst of public opinion in Lewiston that the Indian Agent feared to push the matter.

Although the Catholic Indians, with the mentioned exceptions, did not join in the war, yet the evil consequences touched all, Catholic and non-Catholic. The war was a check

... on the progress of religion among the Indians of the tribe. There was engendered in the infidels a feeling of bitterness against everything that came from the whites, even their religion, while partly for a like reason, and partly because of the distraction caused by the war and its consequences, many of the Catholic Indians slackened in their fervor, and this lukewarmness paved the way, later on, for some apostasies. However, a considerable number remained faithful and fervent, and conversions continued for some years.²³

The education of the Indians at St. Joseph's had not been neglected, although the means for a real school could not be collected for many years. Meanwhile, the children were sent to the schools at Sacred Heart Mission and St. Francis Regis' Mission, near Colville. It was not until August, 1902, that the construction of a school began. Mother Drexel, His Excellency, A. J. Glorieux, and

Father Aloysius Soer contributed the money needed.²⁴ The school was put under the care of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Tipton, Pennsylvania. Father Cataldo had to travel East in 1904 to beg for more Sisters to help the three who were wearing themselves out in their attempt to operate the school alone. He returned with twelve postulants for the Sisters of St. Joseph at Slickpoo, Idaho. Three years later forty young women had come to join the Sisters at the mission.

In the course of a few years some white orphaned children had been taken into the school. At the time, this caused no little unpleasantness with those who insisted that St. Joseph's was solely an Indian school. This little difficulty had just been straightened out when the whole school burned on August 27, 1916. Rough board shacks were built immediately, and these were to serve as home and school for Sisters and pupils for eight years. The trials and problems of keeping 144 Indian children in such a hovel defy description. Finally, in 1924, the foundations for a new school were laid, thanks to money sent by the Marquette League. But on October 4, 1925, a more disastrous fire destroyed the rough shacks and burned to death six of the little Indian boys who had gone back to get their clothes. This terrible tragedy evoked the sympathies of many Catholics throughout the United States. By August 24, 1926, the venerable Father Cataldo could write:

All the small donations continued to cheer us and through the grace of God finally we finished the outside of the building and the inside comfortable enough, though not finished, to put our boys in.²⁵

Through many sufferings and tribulations St. Joseph's

at last had a beautiful school for the orphans, white and Indian.

The narrative of the mission's work paralleled quite closely the fate of the school. As the younger generations came into closer contact with the whites, who had been admitted to the reservation in 1894, the piety of the Indians grew less fervent. It was for this reason that such tremendous efforts were expended to keep the school open, since this was the bulwark of the children's faith. Unfortunately, much harm was done in spite of these heroic efforts. The annual report for 1912 was filled with forebodings and regrets. The old Indians were faithful but the young natives were picking up more of the white man's "civilized evils." However, one must not conclude from this that the mission was defunct. In 1927-28 two new additions were built for the orphanage. This same year there were about 15,000 communions.²⁶ Today the mission and orphanage, nestling in the beautiful mountains southeast of Lewiston, carry on the tradition begun by De Smet a hundred years ago.

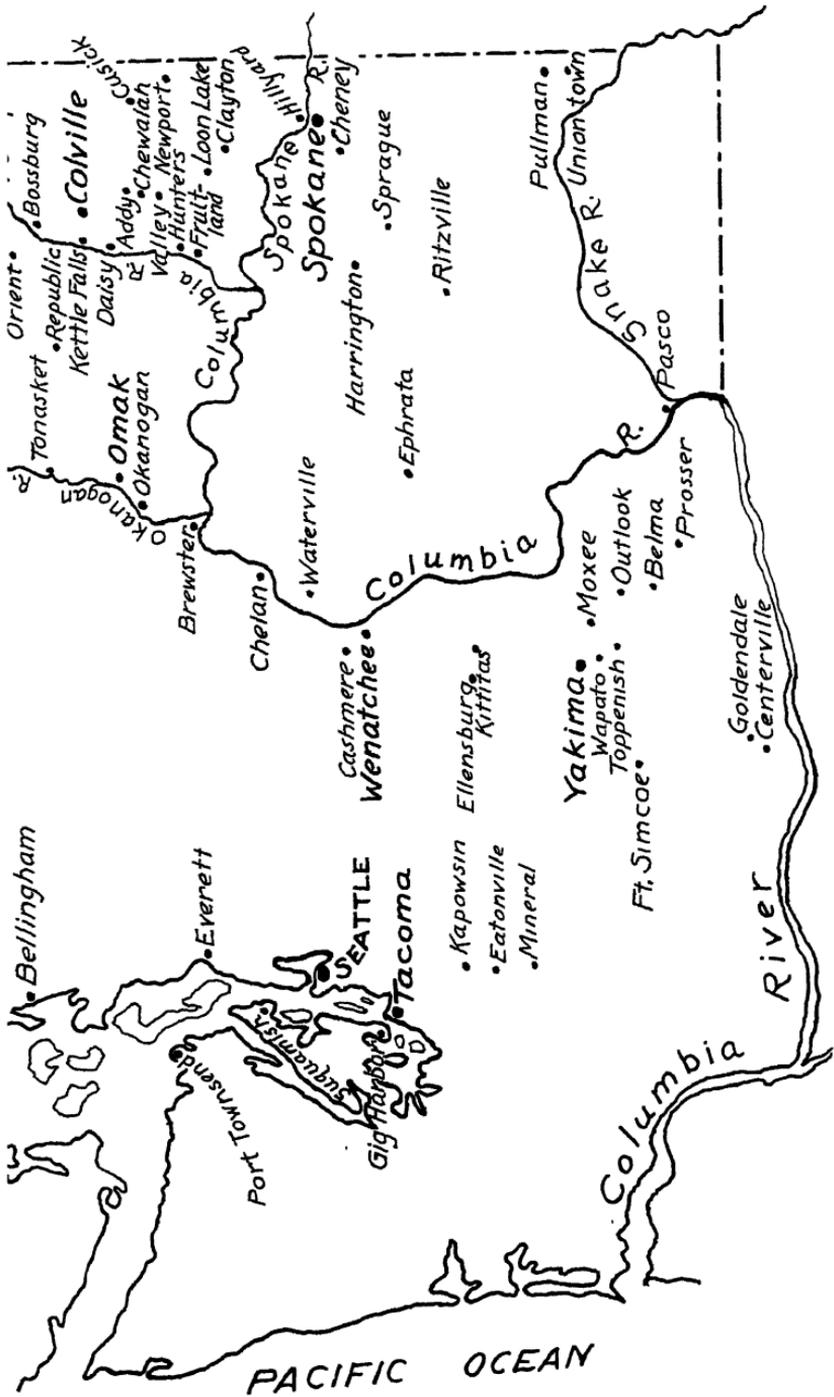
St. Joseph's Mission has a record of spiritual work accomplished which would console the heart of the most exacting. The story of the excursions undertaken, places visited, people converted, and churches begun by the Fathers living at the Nez Percé mission is one of the more impressive pages in this sketch of the Jesuits in the Northwest. St. Joseph's Mission and the Jesuit parish in Lewiston have a history closely united. Cataldo had come in 1867 to open a mission among the Nez Percés, but owing to the ill feeling then current among the Indians, he actually began his work among the whites in Lewiston. When the first Indian mission was built, miners from Lewiston did the building. Technically,

however, once the mission was established, Lewiston became a station administered by priests attached to St. Joseph's. This station of St. Stanislaus became greater than the parent house if we judge from the number of faithful. The Jesuits were instrumental in bringing the Sisters of St. Joseph to Lewiston to operate a hospital; the priests built up a flourishing parish, with a beautiful church, school, and recreation center.

Other settlements not so easily reached were visited regularly. Cataldo was in Pomeroy, Walla Walla, Colfax, and Uniontown when these towns and cities were scarcely more than scattered settlements. Tekoa and Clarkston housed the early Fathers on their regular rounds. The historic grounds where Chief Joseph repulsed the white soldiers near Cottonwood and Grangeville were later the scene of spiritual conquests by the sons of the Company of Jesus. Camas Prairie, Gold Springs, Russell, and Nezperce were not neglected by the tireless missionaries. The list grew as the years went by. Fletcher, Mohler, Melrose, Lapwai, and Winchester became objects of the Jesuits' solicitude. Spalding, Leland, Arrow, Peck, Ruebens, and Kippen were also among the stations visited at different times. The little German settlement at Keuterville had its desire for a missionary fulfilled. St. Rose's at Culdesac was built by the Catholics under the supervision of their Jesuit pastors. Woodside and the mining district of Orofino had reason to be grateful, for they, too, were remembered by the missionaries at large.

The role played by the Company of Jesus in these many places varied. Sometimes they were merely the pioneers opening the country for Christ; sometimes they were responsible for the churches built by the pious

Catholics; and sometimes they filled the role of emergency men working for a while until a regular pastor could be found. As each one of these scattered villages reached a condition meriting a resident shepherd, the Jesuits readily withdrew in favor of a zealous diocesan priest.



Early Missions in the Inland Empire

ST. PAUL'S MISSION AT KETTLE FALLS

ST. PAUL'S MISSION AT KETTLE FALLS, AFTER ST. IGNAZIUS' among the Kalispels, was the oldest Jesuit mission in Washington. Father Ravalli had been sent to the Falls to construct a rough chapel in 1845. This action resulted from a rumor that the Presbyterian mission under Elkanah Walker, located in Walker's Prairie, was about to begin proselytizing the Kettle Falls Indians. St. Paul's, then, was built to forestall this threatened "Protestant invasion."

The rude chapel, hastily erected by Ravalli in 1845, was replaced by Joset with a much more substantial structure in 1847. The same year St. Paul's welcomed its first resident missionary, who was to work with great diligence for these Indians until 1851. He was Father Peter De Vos. Imprudent work and heart-rending disappointments forced his withdrawal from the mission.

The narrative is resumed with the return of Father Joseph Joset in 1851. He began work among a tribe that had been almost entirely converted by the tireless De Vos, as were also the whites and half-breeds of the Hudson's Bay post who were exemplary Catholics in these early days. This year Joset was joined at St. Paul's by Father Louis Vercruysse who had been working with the Canadians and half-breeds at St. Francis Regis'

located near present Chewelah. After Vercruysse's removal, this station was visited regularly by one of the priests from St. Paul's until the little church at Chewelah was burned by the settlers sometime after 1851.

The two Fathers were stationed at St. Paul's at a very difficult time, yet a great harvest of souls was garnered by reason of their incredible labors when smallpox ravaged the tribe during 1853-54, the infection having been brought into the Indian camp by a native who had been visiting the Sanpoil tribe. Father Joset tried to prevent the spread of the terrible disease by forbidding the man's entry into the mission camp, but this measure was in vain. The resourceful priest narrates his next action:

There was no doctor in the country, and no vaccine to be had; as the man was of a very good constitution, the father took the matter from him and inoculated first his wife and children and everyone escaped the infection: the father had never done such [a] thing before [since] he was no doctor: but a missionary in such circumstances must improvise himself a doctor. Camp after camp succeeding one another to the church the sickness lasted almost one year: generally those who would mind the recommendations of the priest escaped and bear the signs of the pox: but many would not listen and paid with their life.¹

"Doctors of their bodies," and even more, "doctors of their souls," were titles well merited by the priests during this epidemic. Those who were dying were never neglected if it were possible to reach them. Long rides on horseback, narrow escapes from death by drowning or freezing or starving were routine risks for this year.

Terrible as the raging disease had been, it was profitable because of the souls gained to God when they were at death's door. Quite different effects followed the pseudo-revelations of several dreamers who plagued the

tribe at this same period. It became almost the vogue to have visions and conversations with the angels. The credulous Indians were difficult people to convince of their delusion. Fortunately, the tribe remained firm in its faith and constant in attendance at church and approach to the sacraments.

The "dreamers" had not injured the faith of the natives appreciably, but liquor was to accomplish the task. It was about 1854 when two white men built a saloon at a place which had to be passed by all coming from the valley to church.

It soon had its effect: the settlers continued to come to church every Sunday but they began to pretend that their horses could not well stand to wait for the afternoon service, but they stood well at the door of the saloon, and the Indians soon followed the example; and what was worst, some of the more influential chiefs began, too, to drink. It was a great drawback.²

The discovery of gold in the district in 1855 sealed the doom of the mission. The crowds of adventurers who flocked into the country aggravated an already trying condition. These venturesome souls, with gold their only god, convinced the Jesuit superiors that the extreme shortage of priests and countless cries for help in more promising fields did not warrant the further maintenance of the mission of St. Paul. Consequently, this pioneer station was temporarily closed in 1859.³ The general craze for gold made any spiritual labor foredoomed to failure. Moreover, the year the mission was suppressed, Father Ravalli had become involved in debt through an ambitious scheme of building a church for the whites in the valley. The church was abandoned and the mission closed. The Indians and the whites, particularly the soldiers at Fort Colville, were visited during

the four-year interim by Father Joset who had been sent back to the Coeur d'Alene mission in 1857 to save it from abandonment. The soldiers at Fort Colville, of whom many were Irish, built a church during the four years that the mission was suppressed.

ST. FRANCIS REGIS' MISSION

The faith of the soldiers and the improved feeling among the Indians induced Father Joseph Giorda to reopen the mission in 1863. This was one of the first official acts of the "Second Founder of the Rocky Mountain Mission." Joset returned to the Indians at St. Paul's and Father Menetrey to the Church of the Immaculate Conception near the fort. Six years later, Fathers Grassi and Joseph Bandini established a little chapel among the Stlacken about fifteen miles down the river from St. Paul's. Although they had come in response to the explicit invitation of the chief, the mission failed badly. This same year Father Grassi bought a plot of ground about halfway between St. Paul's at Kettle Falls, and Immaculate Conception, just east of Colville. The Jesuits lived here from 1869 to 1873. The advent of the whites, with the resultant change in conditions for Indians, whites, and missionaries, had determined Father Grassi to locate the mission of St. Francis Regis at this central point. Furthermore, the Indian children now needed special attention and a formal education. Hence, in 1873, when the four Sisters of Providence arrived to conduct the school, the mission was moved about a half a mile west of its present location. St. Francis Regis' Mission was to absorb most of the work conducted formerly from the surrounding stations, thus to become

one of the three focal points of future Jesuit expansion in Washington.

The temporary log church at the new mission was built by the Indians in 1873. The four Providence Sisters arrived on September 20 to take charge of the school. The success of their efforts may be judged from the report of the Indian agent for the following year:

... school was opened on the 1st of October, in charge of the Sisters of Charity. The progress made was gratifying in every respect, greatly exceeding my most sanguine expectations. Parents readily availed themselves of the opportunity of sending their children to school, and the children have shown great aptness in learning.⁴

This first report was a prelude to all those that were to come. The same system of instruction that obtained in the other contract schools was followed at Colville, and year after year the official reports attest its complete success.

The work of the Fathers does not escape a word of official commendation:

The self-sacrificing devotion of Jesuit Fathers to their flock renders the work of the Indian Agent comparatively easy, and to their influence more than to any other are we indebted for the long peace that has prevailed on this frontier.⁵

This peace for which the Jesuits strove was a boon to religion. By 1879 a new church was under construction.⁶ This beautiful house of prayer was to be the setting for the colorful functions of the church which the Indians loved so much. The "Christ Dead Procession," elaborate Corpus Christi processions, High Mass with the Indians' beautiful singing, the huge bonfire on Christmas Eve, and the solemn services of Good Friday were all linked indelibly with their church in the minds of the Indians.

Their house of prayer was destroyed by fire on Christmas Eve, 1888, and for many years the boys' recreation hall had to serve as the church.

The school for boys at Colville followed nearly the same course we have seen in the other missions. The withdrawal of government aid in the 1890's was a blow to the flourishing school at St. Francis Regis', but the struggle for existence went on unabated. The real decline, though, began about 1905 with frequent instances of runaway boys. As more white boys entered the school, racial hatred became apparent, for the white boys refused to associate with the Indians. Withdrawal and running away became an increasingly difficult problem. Finally, on September 1, 1908, the boys' school was closed.⁷ The step was taken because the Fathers thought it possible to do more good by frequently visiting the Indians and whites who lived in the immense district dependent on St. Francis Regis'. The mission stations visited by the Fathers were spread from the eastern boundary of Washington to the Cascade Mountains, and from the Canadian boundary to a point about thirty-five miles north of Spokane. By 1916, when there was but one priest for this immense district, it became evident that the Indians would be lost to the faith if there was not made some provision for their early Christian education. Hence, in 1917 the school for Indian boys was reopened on a greatly reduced scale. It was practically certain that the school would have a desperate battle to reach even mild prosperity. This second well-meant but exceedingly handicapped venture ended in 1924. The school simply could not be operated without financial help, which was not forthcoming.

The years of St. Francis Regis' were much like those

of the other Indian missions. Yet the variety of incidents and the appearance of the unexpected make the story of St. Francis Regis' one of the most colorful and fascinating in the annals of the Rocky Mountain Mission. There was, for example, the incident in 1882 when a threatened massacre of the whites was prevented by Father Caruana. An Indian had been arrested and tried for murder. After he was condemned, the settlers around Colville feared a general retaliatory attack by the condemned man's relatives. Father was called to console the prisoner and prepare him for death; the relatives were assured by the priest that he would accompany the young man on the appointed day and that he would, moreover, claim the body after the hanging so that it might be buried by the relatives. The Indian died joyfully and the Father fulfilled a bargain which he piously hoped he would never have to do again. This was the first execution ever witnessed by Father Joseph Caruana.⁸

St. Francis Regis' was also the scene of Father Louis Ruellan's death in 1885. Father Ruellan was one of the most promising men on the mission. He had done splendid work in Spokane among rich and poor and was beloved by all. In spite of his recent arrival on the mission, and in spite of his relatively youthful years, he had been appointed vice-superior of all the Rocky Mountain Mission during Father Joseph Cataldo's journey to Europe in 1884-85. But the young priest had undermined his health by overwork and excessive mortifications. Hence, when illness struck, he had no strength to fight off pneumonia. He passed to a better life on January 7, 1885. His last whispered words were a magnificent picture of his soul, "I had come for the sanctification of my brothers, but I was not good enough."⁹ He had immo-

lated his life in a few short years of feverish labor and yet he thought himself "not good enough." Men like him are the reasons why the early missions went on in the face of what might easily have proved crushing obstacles.

The same spirit of selflessness motivated the Fathers at the mission while influenza ravaged the tribe in 1918. It takes no special imaginings to fill in the brief entries in the records. Constantly the missionaries were going about to console the dying, to visit the sick, to bury the dead, to help fatherless families, and to care for orphaned children. The following passage of the Protestant historian, Francis Parkman, was written of the Jesuits laboring in Canada in the 1600's; it might well have been ascribed to the Jesuits at St. Francis Regis' in the 1900's:

... toiling on foot from one infected town to another, wading through the sodden snow, under the bare and dripping forests, drenched with incessant rains, till they descried at length through the storm the clustered dwellings of some barbarous hamlet,—when we see them entering, one after another, these wretched abodes of misery and darkness, and all for one sole end, the baptism of the sick and dying . . . we must needs admire the self-sacrificing zeal with which it was pursued.¹⁰

Day after day, for weeks on end, this story of tireless work is written.

What has become of this hub of spiritual activity? Year by year, as more churches and chapels were built for the tribes and people who formerly came to St. Regis', the mother mission declined. Today, it stands on a hill overlooking Colville Valley, but it is not the St. Regis' we have seen. There is no school, there is no church; these have been destroyed by fire. There is only a residence for the Jesuits who still supply the stations and churches for miles on all sides. St. Regis' lives in the

memories of the past, while the offspring of the mission carry on the work of the present.

The work prosecuted from St. Francis Regis' could be simply described with these words: the Jesuits went every place, north, east, south, and west, from Idaho to the Cascade Mountains and from British Columbia to Clayton, north of Spokane. In this vast field they worked among Indians and whites. There are scarcely any towns in the district which were not visited by the Father's at some time or other. There are few places in this extended area which today boast of a church that have not the Jesuits to thank for this blessing.

The Catholic history of the region along the Upper Columbia began with the visit of Blanchet and Demers in 1838, and the subsequent missionary expeditions of Demers alone. The great Jesuit mission organizer, Peter De Smet, visited this whole region in 1841 and 1842. The log chapel at Kettle Falls was built in 1845. Even before this the natives had come in contact with the Fathers at St. Ignatius on the Clark Fork River near present Cusick, Washington. Father Louis Vercruysse worked among the Cree half-breeds near present Chewelah from 1848 to 1851, when he joined Joset at St. Paul's near the Kettle Falls of the Columbia. So, it was from earliest days that the Jesuits were spread widely in this vicinity.

The removal of St. Francis Regis' in 1869 from the neighborhood of Chewelah to its present location between Colville and the Kettle Falls was the beginning of an intensified missionary activity through the length and breadth of northern Washington. From St. Regis', the Fathers traveled to the Kalispels, among whom De Smet had founded the original St. Ignatius' Mission. The

Kootenai Indians, living in northwestern Montana and southern Canada, were visited regularly. By 1907, the stations to which the Jesuits ministered had grown into a formidable list. Periodically, the Fathers made extended trips down the Columbia River. They worked in individual Indian camps, in Indian villages, and in white settlements. These isolated journeys resulted eventually in churches at Fruitland, Hunters, and Daisy. North from St. Regis' the Jesuits spread fanlike to reach Curlew, Molson, Oroville, Tonasket, on the extreme west; Orient and Rossland, British Columbia, in the center; Bossburg and Northport to the east. Going southeast from the mission, the Fathers worked in Colville, Cusick, and Newport; due south they tended the whole Colville Valley as far as Loon Lake and Clayton; to the southwest there were Omak, Okanogan, and Chelan. This quick survey is by no means complete. To finish the list of places one would have to put down all points in between those mentioned.

ST. MARY'S MISSION (OKANOGAN)

The district of the Okinagans was the scene of the labors of Father Stephen de Rougé, one of the great, though little known, Jesuit missionaries in Washington. His special mission of St. Mary's, at Omak, grew from his work in this country and the work of several other very capable Jesuits who had preceded him. The settlements and tribes on the western side of the Columbia had been visited as early as 1842 by De Smet. Later, they were occasionally visited by the Jesuits stationed on the Colville mission, or sometimes even by those on the Yakima mission.

Here Father James Vanzina had the unpleasant experience of a narrow escape from stabbing at the hands of an Indian. Father was preaching to the tribe at the time the attempt on his life was made.¹¹ It was with these same Indians that Father de Rougé was to do so much spiritual good in later years.

Father Urban Grassi had been the pioneer missionary in north central Washington. He had made his first visit to the Chelan country in 1873.¹² The journey of the following year among these same tribes was filled with excitement:

On the way I met various people who suggested that I should not go, that I would be beaten, what Ninusize had done about here and there wherever there were any who had been baptized and had forced them to abandon the prayer and to throw away the medal and cross which they had hanging from their necks. My companion was terrified, and when we arrived he asked me to permit him to put up his tent on this side of the Mitgan River, the Cilans being on the other side of the river. . . . I permitted him to do this, while I, without dismounting from my horse, crossed the river and went directly to the tent of the chief. The tent was full of people of every age and both sexes; when I saw Ninusize, I advanced, offered him my hand, but he let me wait a long time before giving me his; with a ferocious face he asked me savagely whether I had been sent from Washington; I answered, no, but that I had been sent from God; . . .¹³

Contrary to what one might expect after this hostile reception, Father Grassi succeeded in softening the chief's bitter attitude before the end of the visit. Some weeks later, when Grassi met the Chelans at their fishing camp, he found that practically all of his work had been in vain. Someone had told the chief that Father Grassi was in league with the white officials. This time Grassi had a real struggle to convince the chief and the rest of

the tribe of his sincere motive. His third visit ended with the baptism of four members of the tribe.

The repetition of such visits had the effect at least of accustoming the Indians to the sight of the blackrobes. The frigid silence was broken by the time De Rougé took up the work which was to fill his life. A letter of May, 1886, gives some notion of his labors and the fruit they bore:

After spending a few weeks at Colville, I am again among the Okanagan Indians. The journeying was laborious—the flood waters and the wretched roads, without the aid of an Indian lad whom I took with me, we would not have been able to progress. . . . This poor lad has performed wonders of distress and valor to surmount the obstacles, and although he is only sixteen, he is worth much more than many of more mature age. When we came to crossing the river, there was no canoe to be found on our side, but there was a chance of finding one on the other side. The boy did not hesitate a second; he went off with his axe in search of a tree trunk; he pushed a piece of the tree he had found into the water, with three strokes of his hatchet he made an oar, rowed his way across the terrible current, and landed safe and sound on the other side.

Half an hour afterwards the cry of the lad announced to us his arrival; he had a canoe and sturdily labored to remount the rushing current. In the meantime supper was prepared, of which it is not easy to give an idea. Then everything was put in the canoe, hollowed out of a tree-trunk, in order to carry them across to the new mission. The horses were pushed into the river, and we entered the canoe and found ourselves on the opposite side of the river.¹⁴

The beginning of this excursion was to presage what was to follow. When he had returned, the missionary could report a successful trip, and on the next journey he baptized in one day eleven of the Chelan Indians. It was also on this occasion that De Rougé bought the log hut which was the forerunner of St. Mary's Mission, Omak.¹⁵ Gradually superstition and prejudice were

broken, and tentative plans for a permanent mission were drawn up.

Father de Rougé made an extended trip throughout the district in August and September of 1886. The week before he left Colville for the Columbia tribes, he made a brief journey through the white settlements beyond the reservation:

My purpose was first of all to visit the new colonies which little by little are coming to populate the countryside, and then to have a petition to the Secretary of the Interior drawn up against those scoundrels who sell brandy to the poor Indians. They are a breed of men without honor and without laws, who buy cows, horses, etc. for a few glasses of liquor. A drunken savage is a demon; he smashes, tears up, murders anyone at all.¹⁶

Father de Rougé was fighting for the preservation of his home mission at Colville and for the prevention of a similarly sad fate for his proposed mission among the Okinagans.

The missionary's journey began on August 2 and was to last thirty-eight days. The diarist notes for August 5:

Today we arrived rather late at a little encampment of Indians, almost all Christians, who gave us a warm welcome. All those who had been baptized came to prayers with us.¹⁷

Two days later he writes:

Some Indians, seeing that my provisions are almost exhausted, replenished me. An old woman gave me some fruit in a birchbark bag; another, a little grain; a third, a piece of dried salmon; another, a few pieces of deer meat dried in the sun.¹⁸

He notes on August 19:

I travelled these past days with fever, and with difficulty was able to arrive at Ellensburg, a tiny city which sprang up four years ago, after the manner of American cities.¹⁹

Here he rested a day with Father Louis Parodi who had been working with these Indians and whites for some years. The next day, De Rougé went by train to Yakima where he spent ten days recovering from the fever and visiting with his countryman, Father Victor Garrand. The journey home was marred by his losing the trail occasionally, but by September 8, De Rougé was safe at St. Francis Regis'.

This ceaseless journeying among his beloved Indians convinced De Rougé of the need for a mission. There was no money at hand to carry out his project, so he collected the necessary funds while in France for his tertianship in 1888-89.²⁰ The money thus secured made possible the erection of a better building at the new location of St. Mary's on Omak Creek, whither De Rougé had moved the mission in 1887.

St. Mary's became the wintering place for the missionary. Here the Indians requested a school. A day school was opened, with Indian catechists taking care of the children in the camp. This system was a great step forward but it became obvious that a day school would not suffice; some children had to be taken as boarders and more buildings were needed.²¹

There were one hundred children enrolled in the two schools—the boys' and the girls'—by 1916. A kindergarten was opened and a hospital built. The little log hut had grown into a village.

The girls' school was conducted in great part by generous women volunteers, the boys' school by young men who gave their lives to this work or who were preparing for the priesthood. These volunteer teachers made it possible for the school to operate on very limited means. What money there was came from the Bureau

of Catholic Indian Missions and from an annuity bequeathed to Father de Rougé by his mother.²²

The founding and operation of St. Mary's was a difficult task, but not so engrossing that De Rougé did not continue to visit the neighboring settlements. His excursions took him from Yakima to Rossland, British Columbia, and all way points. Brewster, Okanogan, and Waterville were blessed by his labors. He was working in Cashmere and Wenatchee long before they had outgrown their infancies. These names, as usual, are mere indicators of the work carried on from St. Mary's. For instance, in 1889 De Rougé was listed as the missionary for Colville and Umatilla—one in northern Washington, the other in northeastern Oregon. These tremendous distances which had to be covered by one man make the narration of his labors a catalogue of names—mere names for those whose acquaintance with the country described is gained solely from an armchair. One must see the scorched plains, the towering crags, the spring rains, and winter's ice; one must live on moss and rodents and be harassed by the maddening insects, before it is possible so much as to imagine what it meant to live, and travel, and die, as these early Jesuits joyfully did in central Washington.

CHAPTER VIII

Spokane Mission and the Rise of Gonzağa University

THE STORY OF JESUIT LABORERS IN SPOKANE AND THE surrounding territory reaches back almost a century. Father Peter De Smet mentions the Spokane Falls and the Indians when he passed through the district on his trip to Fort Vancouver in 1842. Father Louis Ver-cruysse traveled along the trail from Walla Walla to Colville in 1848. Missionary excursions of the Jesuits from Cœur d'Alene Mission to the Spokane tribes were made frequently. Usually, accounts of such excursions refer to any natives in the Spokane Valley or in the country in general which lay west of Coeur d'Alene Mission.

Father Joseph Caruana accompanied Father Giorda on a visit in October of 1862 to the Spokane Indians, then at their fishery on the Spokane Falls:

We remained there for about one month and through Fr. Giorda's kindness, Fr. Caruana administered the Sacrament of Baptism to 17 (seventeen) Indian children and five adults at the large Indian camp situated where is now the N[orthern] P[acific] Depot in Spokane City. Not a single shanty could I then see on either side of the Spokane River.¹

The missionaries were particularly interested at this time in the Spokane Indians who lived in the camp of Baptist Peone, northeast of present Spokane. A very

rough shanty was built on Peone's Prairie by one of the Jesuits from Coeur d'Alene Mission in 1864.² The following year Father Joseph Cataldo passed through Spokane on the last stage of his journey from California to Coeur d'Alene Mission:

We were travelling by what we called in those times Mullen Road and one day about 1, P. M. we emerged from the woods into the Spokane Prairie.

We travelled some few miles up the river, and there we found a camp of Seltis (or Seltees) the chief of the Coeur d'Alene Indians, whose mother was a Spokane. Seltees said many things about the Spokane Indians and added, "that the Spokane Indians should be attended by the Fathers because several of them were well disposed towards the Catholic religion."

I took that word in my heart and began to think, to pray, and then to speak about the Spokane Indians.³

These few words of Chief Seltis were the seed from which the Jesuit mission in Spokane would spring. Father Cataldo became enamored of the idea of a mission among the Spokanes. Finally, in September, 1866, he came to spend the winter with the tribe and to build the first log mission of St. Michael's. This first winter was passed in teaching catechism every morning and afternoon. As though this were not enough, the adults asked for special classes, since they could not learn as rapidly as the children:

So after a few days we began the night catechism school which grew in number every night. And they got so interested, that they would keep me till 10 and sometimes 11 o'clock, and sometimes I had to dismiss them almost by force at half-past eleven.⁴

There were some hundred baptisms as fruit of this winter's labor. The spring of 1867, Cataldo departed for St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana.

Thenceforth, a priest spent every winter with the Spokanes. In 1868, to replace the log hovel which was later destroyed by fire, Father Grassi built a little church and house. The mission prospered so much that the hostility of the Protestants was thoroughly excited. To counteract the strenuous efforts of the Protestants among this tribe that once had been dominantly Protestant, the Jesuits, in 1875, gave a two weeks' series of sermons to the Spokanes. Many were strengthened in their faith and several more were converted. Another building for use as a school was erected in 1880, during a visit of several months which Cataldo made that year.

Father Cataldo, now superior-general of all the missions, ordered Father Philip Canestrelli to locate a land claim for St. Michael's Mission, and another claim near Spokane Falls, since the town would surely grow in importance with the coming of the Northern Pacific. These measures were taken in the winter of 1880-81. By February 24, 1882, the Jesuits had fulfilled all the conditions of purchase and only awaited the formal deed to the property near the Spokane River.

Moreover, an additional half section of land was purchased from the Northern Pacific and a quarter section was claimed by Brother Bernard Cunningham as a homestead. These plots combined made five hundred and eighty acres for the new St. Michael's Mission, which was about two miles nearer Spokane Falls than the original mission on Peone's Prairie. A log hut and a neat chapel were built at the new mission site, and a cabin was erected on the homestead claim as a legal residence for Brother Cunningham.

From this spot, the Jesuits worked in the town of Spokane Falls. The Fathers lived at St. Michael's and

walked to and from town, sometimes making the round trip three times in a single day. It was not long before all realized that the future of the church was in Spokane Falls and not at the mission. Consequently, the mission was visited from Spokane until 1893. The Indians, by this year, had scattered to the different neighboring reservations where they were under the care of other Jesuit missions. The spiritual labors of the Fathers now centered around Spokane Falls and emanated from there to many surrounding settlements.

Two important projects occupied the priests in these early years: one was the establishment of a parish and a parochial school in the town proper; the other was the foundation of a boys' school conducted by the Jesuits and located in the then sparsely settled section of the town on the north side of the Spokane River.

Father Cataldo bought three lots on August 8, 1881. Later he added two more lots adjoining the original three. These five plots on present Main and Bernard streets embraced the first Catholic center in Spokane proper. A blacksmith shop was converted into the first church. Here a congregation of a dozen was considered quite large. However, by September, 1884, the little shanty church was too small for the number of Catholics in Spokane. Father Louis Ruellan undertook to collect the necessary money for the new church. He begged from all whom he visited, Catholic and non-Catholic alike. While the priest begged, his good parishioners gave dinners and socials to help raise the money.⁵ When plans were rapidly maturing, Father Ruellan, weakened by overwork and oppressed by his new duties as vice-superior of all the missions during Father Cataldo's journey to Europe, succumbed to pneumonia. This unexpected

intervention of God caused a momentary setback to the plans for the new church.

Fortunately, Father Ruellan was succeeded by another zealous Jesuit, Father Aloysius Jacquet. The new pastor threw himself vigorously into the work at hand:

It was no easy task to collect money for the purpose as the Catholics were few but I was helped also by non[-]Catholics and Jews who helped me generously as well as the officers and soldiers of the 2 Forts I attended and other places I attended.⁶

No one escaped the persistent pleas of the universally esteemed Father:

One day appealing to the Colonel in command at Fort Sherman for assistance in this undertaking the latter tantalizingly replied: "But, Father, I am not a Catholic; and what do I care for your church?" Quick as a shot came the answer: "Colonel, neither do I care for yours; but I need some money all the same." The reply was worth ten or twenty dollars in gold. . . .⁷

Such unflagging perseverance had its reward when the beautiful Church of Our Lady of Lourdes was dedicated by Bishop Junger on July 4, 1886.

After the new church was dedicated, the former church, the converted blacksmith shop, was made into a school. St. Ignatius Preparatory School remained open until 1892. In that year it was closed because of the desire to concentrate all the boys at Gonzaga College, and because of the increased enrollment in Our Lady of Lourdes Parochial School.

Our Lady of Lourdes School had been built in 1887-88 with money collected by Father Jacquet. This imposing brick structure was blessed in August of 1888. Sisters of the Holy Names were entrusted with the management of the new school. The agreement under which the Sis-

ters came to Spokane, provided that the parish would care for all the expense of the school; moreover, the Jesuits promised to give two lots on which the Sisters might construct a college at some future time. That these stipulations were agreeable may be judged from the letter of the superioress-general:

Your letter of April 7th stipulating conditions was duly received. Those that you propose are considered satisfactory and are hereby accepted. The friendly relations which have always existed between your esteemed Society and our Community leave no fears as to their fulfillment.⁸

The parish school flourished almost from its first day. The completion of Holy Names Academy in 1891 and the removal of the Sisters of Our Lady of Lourdes to the new academy meant changing the parish school into a day school only. Under this form it prospered until its removal to the present location in 1905.

The educational work of the Jesuits in Spokane is identified with Gonzaga University. The Fathers assisted the Sisters of the Holy Names in Our Lady of Lourdes Parochial School and later in Holy Names Academy, but their real work was Gonzaga.

The contract for the bricks, which were to be made on the property, was let in July, 1883. By mid-October of the same year the foundations were finished.⁹ Although work was suspended during the winter until June, 1884, the outside of the building was finished, and covered by October. The building was not entirely finished, inside and out, until April, 1886. Only at this point was the deed for the property turned over to the Jesuits. There had been certain unfriendly persons desperately trying to find some flaw by which the Jesuits'

property could be reclaimed. The completion of the building removed their last hope. Furnishings had to be brought from the East and the innumerable accessories had to be checked and rechecked so that school did not open until September 17, 1887.

The first year there were only a few students. One reason for this was that Gonzaga was strictly a boarding school. Any boys in Spokane Falls had to attend the parochial school in town. There is no doubt, however, that the limited numbers, supervised study, restricted recreation, and the relative isolation of the new school helped for greater concentration and more rapid progress in study. It was not too difficult for the Fathers to introduce the European curriculum.

The recreation of the students seems quite naive to our sophisticated generation. Horseback riding, boating, swimming, and regular sports could be had without leaving the property. Occasional picnics, as well as periodic visits to Spokane Falls, were events that merited special notice in the old chronicles. Such confinement and supervision may seem peculiar to some, but there is something to be said for it. The boys were sent to Gonzaga for character training as much as book learning. It is quite common to read of some proud parent enjoining the Jesuits "to make a man of my boy." Often enough they did.

The enrollment had increased so steadily that a new building was needed by 1897. Finally, the imposing new structure was occupied on September 6, 1899. The new school was one hundred and eighty-nine feet long and four stories high. After the destruction of St. Ignatius' College in the San Francisco earthquake, Gonzaga was,

for a number of years, the greatest Catholic college of the West.

Just five years later, another wing two hundred and twenty-five feet long was added. The session of 1904-5 saw four hundred and thirteen registered students. This constantly increasing student body forced the erection of a new wing which was completed by October, 1904.

The history of the school for these years is the history of any active Catholic college. There were years filled with dramatic productions, concerts, academic displays, debates, social gatherings, and athletics. There were school heroes, such as Robert Monaghan, United States Army, killed in action at Samoa; there were distinguished visitors like William Jennings Bryan; and there were school tragedies—for instance, the typhoid epidemic that carried off several students in 1906. Finally, of triumphs there were many; of these, perhaps the greatest in early years was Gonzaga's constitution as a university on June 21, 1912. This was a fitting crown to the labors of the first quarter of a century.

Gonzaga became the center of Jesuit activity in the city of Spokane. Besides their interest in Our Lady of Lourdes and Gonzaga itself, the Jesuits donated the land for the Academy of the Holy Names in 1890. This was in fulfillment of the agreement originally signed in 1888. The gift was gratefully acknowledged in these words:

I thank you for your missive, and earnestly hope & pray you will never have cause to regret your generous line of conduct towards my community.¹⁰

Three Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis (Philadelphia Foundation) arrived in Spokane on August 22,

1890, to open an orphanage. They had come at the request of Father Charles Mackin. Once arrived, they were helped by him, and by the ever generous Mr. and Mrs. James Monaghan, until the orphanage building was finished in September.

Besides the invitations extended to the Sisters of the Holy Names and to the Franciscans, the Fathers had invited the Sisters of Charity of Providence to open a hospital to fill a crying need in the new town of Spokane Falls. In response to this pressing invitation, the zealous Sisters opened their first hospital in Spokane in 1886.

Again, in 1905, His Excellency, Edward J. O'Dea, Bishop of Nesqually, requested Father Charles Mackin to supervise all arrangements attendant on the arrival of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd in Spokane to open a House of the Good Shepherd.

St. Joseph's Church had been finished by Father Leopold van Gorp in the spring of 1890. The new church was blessed by His Excellency, Aegidius Junger, Bishop of Nesqually, May 16, 1890. The new parish was on the north side of the river but some distance west of Gonzaga.

This year of 1890 was a milestone in Spokane's Catholic history. On May 3, Father Cataldo offered to turn over to Bishop Junger Our Lady of Lourdes Church and School, the newly completed St. Joseph's Church, the property on which these were built, three lots on the South Hill where Sacred Heart Church now stands, three lots for the future Cathedral and, finally an alley near Our Lady of Lourdes which had been vacated and turned over to the Jesuits:

The above pieces of ground [wrote Father Cataldo] exclusively of the buildings are worth at the present moment not less than on hundred and twenty thousand dollars (\$120,000,00)....¹¹

The final transfer of the property did not occur until December 26. The delay was occasioned by the Jesuits' attempt to make certain that their promises to the Holy Names Sisters and to the Franciscan Sisters would be fulfilled by those receiving the property. This contribution of the Society of Jesus to the Diocese marked the withdrawal of the Jesuits from a great part of their former pastoral work. They now began to develop their Parish of St. Aloysius. A frame church was built in 1892. This building was moved and enlarged in 1900, though the present impressive edifice was not dedicated until 1911.

The Jesuits had begun working among the laborers in Hillyard as early as 1893. Two years later, the modest but beautiful church of St. Patrick was dedicated. Later, permission was given to build a church for the Italians; Bishop O'Dea had agreed to this on January 3, 1905.¹² At the same conference, the Jesuits were appointed temporary pastors of St. Anne's Parish. This office was filled by Father James Rebmann until October, 1906. In November, too, of the same year, St. Francis Xavier's Church was opened for the faithful of the Lidgerwood district. Four years later, a fine parochial school was finished. This excellent parish was under the devoted care of Father Rebmann until 1923, when it was given over to the diocesan clergy.

Gonzaga was also the center of Jesuits' activity in the country surrounding Spokane. Long before the college had been built, the Fathers made missionary excursions from St. Michael's Mission to points near and far. After

the college was erected, the Fathers attached to the faculty kept alive this tradition, some working in the parishes in Spokane, others in outlying settlements. The weekdays were spent in the classroom, but the free days were devoted to carrying the consolations of religion to less fortunate Catholics. Through the years, the work done and the territory covered by these priest-professors and by the missionaries at large was truly astonishing.

Father Aloysius Jacquet was easily the foremost of the early traveling missionaries. His work in the towns and settlements lying east of Spokane we have seen in connection with his begging tours. Besides his endless missionary trips he lectured, wrote for newspapers, visited the mining camps and soldiers' barracks.¹³

From Spokane I began to attend the Coeur d'Alene Mining Camps in Idaho, Murray, Osborne, Eagle City, Wardner, Mullen, Burke, etc.,—then also Coeur d'Alene City, Rathdrum, Sand Point, always all the time traveling on horseback.¹⁴

The tradition begun by Father Jacquet was continued by his successors. Father Aloysius Folchi was one of the most tireless and most successful of the men following Father Jacquet. Father Folchi worked in Umatilla and in Wyoming before he died, but he is remembered best in the towns between Spokane and British Columbia. Valley, Chewelah, Newport, and Sandpoint were a few of the places visited by this colorful missionary priest. The older people of all this territory remember Father Folchi's bag of toys and his horse, "Jack."

Whenever Father began one of his missionary journeys, he was burdened with three traveling bags, one for personal effects, one for vestments, and one full of toys. He entered the homes and hearts of adults by means of

his bag of toys and tricks for their children. Nothing more delighted the busy priest than to spend an hour with children gathered around him and crawling over him. He was loved by the little ones and he loved to be with them.

The three suitcases of Father Folchi were no more famous than "Jack," the faithful horse. This animal had grown old in the service of the missions and was thoroughly reliable most of the time. However, one day while jogging back from his missions southeast of Spokane, Father Folchi lost his glasses. He dismounted to find the precious spectacles, and after a short search, triumphantly replaced the much-sought-after object. Meanwhile, "Jack" had trotted ahead a short distance. No amount of coaxing or cajoling could entice the horse to approach. "Jack" stayed just a little ahead of the missionary for the whole seventeen miles to Spokane. Fortunately for Father Folchi, and for "Jack," these temperamental flurries were unusual.

Father's missionary field was in great part coextensive with the land traversed by the Spokane Falls and Northern Railroad. It was understood by all employees that Father Folchi had a standing permission to ride on any train and to stop any train whatsoever, either to get off or get on. It was not at all unusual for a freight train in the wilds of northern Washington to be flagged by a little black-clad figure who would clamber into the caboose carrying the three inevitable suitcases. Payment for these privileges was made by filling the post of "Company Chaplain." Father Folchi was expected to administer the pledge to the railroaders who frequently had a strong propensity toward excessive drinking.

Despite all the humorous tales that are told on him, the

fact remains that Father Folchi performed invaluable service in the northern part of the state. He instructed and baptized, he visited and consoled the faithful, he built churches and, where there could be no church, he faithfully celebrated Holy Mass in the home of some good Catholic. The record of his mission stations contains as many names of private homes as names of towns and villages. He sought souls, going wherever they could be found.

The towns west of Spokane were also visited by the Jesuits. There is often mention of Sprague, Cheney, Harrington, and Ephrata. The missions of the Jesuits were spread clockwise around Spokane. Some stations that formerly had been tended from Coeur d'Alene Mission, some that had been attached to St. Francis Regis', and some that had been administered by the Jesuits from the Nez Percé mission of St. Joseph were now developed by the Fathers from Spokane. To Addy, Penrith, and Pullman, Washington; to Wallace and Burke, Idaho, the Jesuits rode.

This summary of the work which radiated from Spokane is complete enough to show why Gonzaga is called a second focal point for Jesuit labors in Washington.

Gonzaga was also the center of Jesuit activity for the whole Northwest. The new building was completed in 1899, and this same year, in September, the house of studies for the young Jesuits was transferred from St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana, to Gonzaga. The sixty-five Jesuits, pupils, professors, and lay brothers lived in the original brick building which had been moved from its first location to a spot behind the new building. Here the young men who had devoted their lives to the salvation of souls studied philosophy and theology, here many

were ordained priests of God, and here they took up their priestly duties.

The situation at Gonzaga was not ideal for men supposedly studying. The school was growing rapidly and needed more help constantly. The scholastics were studying at Gonzaga and, although they were not supposed to work in the school, necessity had no law. The school prospered, but the studies of the young Jesuits suffered. The only solution was to take the young men away so they could pursue their studies without interruption or distraction.

The new Scholasticate of Mount St. Michael's was begun in March, 1915. The faculty and students occupied the building on January 6, 1916.¹⁵ An impressive structure, built in the same district that had seen the first established mission in Spokane, it was a symbol that the Mission of the Mountains had reached maturity. For long years the Rocky Mountain Mission had depended on Europe and the eastern United States for men and money. Here, now, was a house of the Mountain Mission for the training of boys graduated from her own schools. Now, the Mountain Mission might look with less fear to the demands made upon her by the mission of Alaska. She who had been a mission nurtured by the province of Turin was now in her own right a province nurturing dependent missions.

St. Joseph's Mission (Yakima) and Its Stations

THE THIRD, AND LAST, FOCAL POINT OF JESUIT PENETRATION and radiation in Washington, was the mission of St. Joseph among the Yakimas. This mission was originally founded in October of 1847 by those stalwart laborers in Christ's vineyard, the oblates of Mary Immaculate. Fathers Chirouse, Pandosy, and Ricard had traveled over the Oregon Trail in that year with His Excellency, Augustine M. Blanchet, Bishop of Walla Walla.¹ The oblates began work in the Yakima Valley in the month preceding the Whitman Massacre. Naturally, after the massacre, there followed a period of unrest among the tribes, but nothing short of open hostility could cool the zeal of men of their caliber. They established several mission stations in the vicinity of St. Joseph's. Their zealous labors among these different camps is sufficiently established by the extant records.

The Indian War of 1855 struck the Yakima mission with special violence, for the Yakima tribes were the ringleaders of the rising. Consequently, these terrible and inveterate haters of the whites had to be crushed if the war was to end. The United States troops occupied the valley and billeted at St. Joseph's, which had been deserted by the oblates who accompanied the retreating Indians. Before abandoning the mission, Father Pandosy

had buried half a keg of powder to prevent its falling into the hands of the Indians. The soldiers found this and concluded that the oblates were aiding and encouraging the natives. For this alleged and unproved treachery, the mission was sacked and burned. Bigotry, prejudice, and hatred close the first chapter of St. Joseph's history.

For ten years the Yakima tribe was abandoned except for a single visit in 1864 by Father Aegidius Junger, later bishop of Nesqually. The next year Father L. N. St. Onge was again at work among the tribe. He and his companion, J. B. Boulet, the future Monsignor J. B. Boulet, set about rebuilding what had been destroyed by the whites.

The task was doubly difficult. After the abandonment of the mission, the Methodists were given the Yakima Reservation. They were extremely well entrenched in this mission field, for the Methodist minister, J. H. Wilbur, was also the Indian agent. The Catholic missionaries were to experience the pressure of this united office before many months had passed. A second reason for difficulty was the rapid influx of the whites. It was not long before Father L. N. St. Onge realized he could never accomplish the work by himself. He begged the Jesuits to accept the mission, but the shortage of men dictated a prudent refusal.

Bishop Augustine M. Blanchet joined his petition to that of Father St. Onge:

As regards the Yakimas, Fr. Congiato, when Superior of the Missions, told me he would accept [the mission]. Now, what will you do if it is offered? It would be sad if you refused so important a post. Consider and formulate your future plans that you may have priests

in case an opening gives us the means of doing much good for these savages.²

Father Grassi still had no one to send.

Two years later, the superiors were asking the opinion of the various Fathers regarding the advisability of accepting the Yakima mission.³ Meanwhile, Bishop Augustine M. Blanchet had been in Rome and had carried his point with the General of the Jesuits, Father Peter Beckx. The General wrote to Father Giorda:

The Bishop implored me on his knees and I could not refuse him. Take over the Yakima Mission, even if you have to give up some other place.⁴

In the summer of 1870, Father Cataldo was sent to visit the Yakima mission. He stayed there three or four weeks before returning to Coeur d'Alene Mission where he and Father Joseph Caruana pronounced their final vows as Jesuits on August 28, 1870. Immediately after this memorable day, Father Caruana departed to take up his new duties at St. Joseph's of Ahtanum, the Yakima mission.⁵

Father L. N. St. Onge and Mr. Boulet remained at the mission until the summer of 1871. They helped Father Caruana with the language and introduced him to his new flock. The last baptism recorded by Father St. Onge was on July 15, 1871. The same day the new church of St. Joseph's was blessed. Father St. Onge now turned over his church, house, and congregation to the Jesuits.

Although the mission was comparatively well established, it was destined to be a very arduous field of labor. The chief obstacle was the powerful and comprehensive opposition of Rev. J. H. Wilbur, minister and Indian agent of the tribe. Wilbur had come to the district in

1859 or 1860, and from that time until the arrival of Father St. Onge, had conducted affairs very much as he desired. With the success of Father St. Onge among the Indians, the old antipathy between Protestant and Catholic came to the fore. Wilbur could not bear the sight of this Catholic success and took measures to stop it.

He traveled to Washington in 1870 to present the whole matter to the Indian Department. Under Grant's Indian policy, he succeeded in obtaining the allotment of the Yakimas to the Methodist Church and his own appointment as Indian agent. That Wilbur was sincere in all his work for the tribe no one can deny. That his labors, previous to the advent of the Catholic missionaries, had been successful, is a fact commonly admitted. He had managed to gain high repute in Washington, a circumstance which made his opposition to the Jesuits all the more telling.

How clever he was and how difficult to circumvent, one may gather from the official report of the agent who temporarily substituted for Wilbur at the time the dispute was growing more bitter:

Furthermore, by comparing the highly-favorable reports made from this agency in previous years, copies of which are on file in this office now, regarding the wealth and industry of Yakima Indians on this reserve, with the result of my inquiries instituted on this subject, the conclusion forces itself to my mind that these reports were grossly exaggerated far from the true state of affairs, and must have been so colored with a view to create certain favorable impressions personally.⁶

The writer then enumerates several examples of this exaggeration. He concludes:

In one word, these glowing reports have been far from the truth, but must have been purposely and systematically exaggerated.⁷

Apparently this report affected Wilbur's standing very little. As he forbade the Jesuits to reside on the reservation, so he tried to force them to vacate their mission which was off the reservation. With respect to the Catholic mission, Wilbur assured the officials in Washington, "There is more danger of difficulty between the whites and Indians from this quarter than all others put together."⁸

While Wilbur was moving heaven and earth to have the Jesuits removed, the intended victims were not idle. The aged De Smet wrote several touching letters to his former companion and associate, Hon. E. S. Parker, who was Indian commissioner.⁹ The upshot of this unpleasant incident was a stalemate for both parties. The feeling ran high—and the mission continued to progress.

Father Caruana and his companion, Father Urban Grassi, strove zealously during those foundation years. The work at St. Joseph's was less glorious than some of Father Grassi's brilliant missionary expeditions, but the home mission developed solidly. The missionary at the central station was engrossed by duties ranging from the spiritual care of the novice lay brothers (the novitiate for lay brothers of the Rocky Mountain Mission had been established at St. Joseph's in 1874), the care of whites and Indians, and supervision of the not-too-productive farm. These tasks involved a good deal of routine and drudgery with very little encouragement for the home missionary. Despite the perpetual uphill struggle, the mission was strengthened and continued to develop.

The agitation against Wilbur was still strong in 1881. Since his attitude toward the Jesuits had not altered, the Fathers continued to teach the Indians in private homes. Moreover, the white settlers in the valley, and especially

at Yakima City, near historic Union Gap (a narrow break in a range of hills through which the Yakima River flows on its way to the Columbia) needed the spiritual care of the priests. The horizon of their work was expanding.

A new school in Yakima City was built on ground donated by a wealthy Catholic of the town. It was formally opened on November 22, 1875, under the direction of the Sisters of Providence. One of the Jesuits from the mission acted as chaplain for the Sisters and worked among the white settlers in and around the town. It was not until 1884 that another church was erected about one mile west of Yakima City. Father Caruana had planned that this should serve the Indians from the reservation and the whites in Yakima, but this arrangement did not satisfy the whites, who now built their own church in town.

The Northern Pacific Railroad was to disrupt all the well-matured plans of the Fathers and Sisters. Whether it was owing to exorbitant prices asked by the settlers for land, or because the company considered Yakima City ill-fitted for a station, is not clear, but the fact remains that the railroad built their depot four miles north of Yakima City. They offered to move anyone to the new site free of charge, and in some cases helped the emigrants financially. Here was the new town of North Yakima. All that had been accomplished in Yakima City in the face of growing indifference would have to be done again in North Yakima, for the Fathers realized that the city would be where the railroad was.

Father Victor Garrand undertook the transfer of the mission to North Yakima in September, 1886. The buildings, not yet three years old, were dismantled,

transported to the new site, and there reassembled. The new location had been given to the Fathers by the city and by the Northern Pacific; money had been donated by the people of North Yakima.¹⁰

The following year, the Sisters built a new school in North Yakima which was opened in September. Until the school building was finished, they conducted the classes in the Father's residence. Further expansion in the educational field was begun in 1887, when a school for Indian children was planned by the Sisters. A frame building was put up in the spring of 1888, and this project operated successfully until 1896, when, with government support withdrawn, the school was forced to close.

Then a new church was erected:

... we have been building what might be called a double church, the one upstairs, for the whites of the neighborhood, and the other, a sort of half-basement, for the Indians.¹¹

If the Jesuits could not remain with the Indians, they did not forget the original object of their missionary lives. While building the church, Father Garrand had written:

However, I have no fear of a deficiency in funds, when the time for final settlement arrives. Nevertheless, I have informed my creditors that I rely upon the good will of the people, and that, in the event of their insisting upon a prompt payment, they may have to send me to jail for awhile; in which case, doubtless those who are holding back their subscriptions will be sure to come forward.¹²

Actually, the preoccupation on the part of the people with their own material progress and a marked negligence toward the material condition of the parish, was one of the important drawbacks at this time.

The Catholic population continued to increase, until, by 1900, the original church had been outgrown. The first Mass in the new church was celebrated on May 21, 1905. This was the climax to the task begun in the fall of 1903. The year after the church was completed, a new residence for the Fathers was erected. The school for boys, Marquette College, was built in 1909 to fill the pressing need of a Catholic school for the rapidly increasing population. This same year the Sisters of Providence built a large addition to their academy which served as the girls' school for the parish.

St. Joseph's Mission of Ahtanum had begun in a log hut built by the oblates in 1847. It had grown and expanded with the country, so that sixty-two years later it had become a thriving parish, centered around a beautiful stone church, and blessed with vigorous schools for boys and girls. Through great trials and sacrifices the course had been run, and at least the first goal had been attained.

The recent history of St. Joseph's is written in terms of the spiritual labors of the Jesuits and their appreciation by the people. What was built, spiritually and temporally, has been carefully husbanded. Today, the tradition of ninety-eight years goes on.

The chapter on the stations visited from St. Joseph's Mission is highly interesting. The Yakima mission was the most westerly of all the Jesuit Rocky Mountain houses. Owing chiefly to this geographical position, we will discover that at one time Seattle and Alaska were attached to Yakima. This gives St. Joseph's the historic right to the title of "The Largest of All the Rocky Mountain Missions."

Prescinding from this quirk of geographical position, Yakima mission was for many years the center of a ten-thousand-square-mile missionary field. The boundaries of the mission lay north of the Columbia, east of the Cascades, south of British Columbia, and west of Spokane. After the departure of the oblates, until well along in the 1880's, the Jesuits were the only permanent missionaries in all this vast expanse.

Father Caruana came to St. Joseph's Mission of Ahtanum in 1870. He was joined in the following year by Father Grassi, who went about ceaselessly visiting the tribes. Before 1875, Grassi had contacted the Okinagan and Wenatchee Indians, the Kootenai and the Klikitat.

These excursions were filled with interesting, although discouraging, events. The medicine men were a constant problem for the priests, and this was more than an ordinary obstacle to be surmounted:

The evil one shows himself very frequently to our medicine men and speaks to them through wild geese and caiotes. Usually he teaches them a song which they take good care to sing during their incantations. By the application of the hands I believe that magnetism is taught them; and that they have worked cures thereby, not only upon Indian patients but upon white ones also who had been given up by other doctors, are incontestible facts.¹³

Despite these diabolical machinations, the records reveal steady victories gained by the Fathers.

Father Aloysius Parodi was pastor for the people of Ellensburg when the first church was built in 1883.¹⁴ Four years later, in the summer of 1887, Ellensburg was given to His Excellency, Aegidius Junger, Bishop of Nesqually. The Catholic Indians in Kittitas moved to

the Yakima mission, or joined the Columbia River tribes.¹⁵

For a time the tribes in Okanogan and along the Columbia were visited from Yakima as well as from St. Francis Regis', Colville. The determining factor in these puzzling shifts of men and missions was usually the absence or presence of priests. The talents and stamina of each and every man had to be used to its full capacity.

Other parts of the district were not neglected. To the south, the Jesuits evangelized the Klikitat tribe, and labored among all the white settlements along the Lower Columbia. Mass was celebrated by Father Caruana in the new church in Centerville on February 10, 1884. Two years later, Father Garrand wrote concerning nearby Goldendale:

I left Goldendale yesterday after mass, very sorry of it because during that fortnight I had no[t] time enough to see all that poor people left without any help a full year. . . . I left several families for want of time: & if Your Reverence had seen their disappointment when I started yesterday you would have been very moved. It is a pity that this poor people is without a priest.¹⁶

Gradually the whole valley was tended by Fathers from St. Joseph's. A church for the Indians was built on the reservation at White Swan in August, 1889. Two years later, a Jesuit was regularly visiting Moxee, Outlook, Tampico, and Fort Simcoe.¹⁷ The church in Prosser was built by the Jesuits in 1901; in 1908 the Jesuits were assigned as pastors of Toppenish, where, in the following year, they built a church. At various times they were in Belma, Ahtanum, where the mission had begun, and in Wapato. Two other stations attached to Yakima merit special mention; the mission in Alaska and the station of Seattle.

ALASKA

Alaska was attached to Yakima simply because there was no established Jesuit house nearer to the proposed mission in the North. Actually, men or money never came from St. Joseph's for the Alaskan mission and in practice the new mission was the special and immediate care of Father Cataldo, Superior-General of all the Rocky Mountain Missions.

His Excellency, Charles J. Seghers, Archbishop-Bishop of Vancouver Island, had dreamed of and planned for a mission in Alaska since his exploratory journey through the country in 1877. The realization of his dream came in 1886. He had written to Father Cataldo in September, 1885, with the hope of interesting the Jesuits in such a project:

... I write to you to interest you in the missions of this Territory. I know your zeal which shrinks before nothing and I remember the assurance you gave me once to assist me to the extent of your power. My desire is to locate your Fathers on the Aleutian Islands. I am now preparing the way to establish permanently a priest here [Juneau] and another at Sitka.¹⁸

The Archbishop had changed his plan by the time of his next letter of November, 1885. The headwaters of the Yukon had not been visited by priest or minister; therefore, His Excellency considered this a much more promising field.

My plan would be to take 2 or 3 of your Fathers, with Brothers, with me next March, put them in charge of that new field and then, leaving them, sail the Youcon down to visit the other parts of Alaska.¹⁹

It is evident that finally, in the spring of 1886, the

earnest pleadings of Archbishop Seghers had received an encouraging response:

I hasten to reply to your [Father Cataldo's] favor of the 10th inst. Let me first thank you fervently for your earnestness in the matter; you are indeed the only one to whom I made application who considers the matter of Alaska missions seriously.²⁰

The revered prelate was to have Jesuit companions on his Alaskan adventure. Almost on the eve of his departure for the scene of his future death and the country of his life's ambition, which would be watered with his blood, the Archbishop informed Cataldo, "Humanly speaking, it is a foolhardy undertaking, something like my trip in '77; but before God it is the wisdom of the Cross."²¹ These were the words of an apostle about to begin his "foolhardy undertaking," accompanied by the Jesuits, Pascal Tosi and Aloysius Robaut, and a companion, Frank Fuller, the future murderer of the Archbishop.

The little party left Victoria in July, 1886; by the end of the month they were pushing into the interior. They studied the country carefully as they went along, selecting the most promising sites for future missions. In one of their lonely camps near Nulato, Fuller shot the Archbishop through the heart.

The mission of Alaska, thus baptized in the lifeblood of its noble founder and bequeathed as an heirloom to the Society of Jesus, was undertaken amid the mournful strains of the *De Profundis*.²² With their great-souled friend, companion, and founder lying at their feet bathed in his own blood, the Fathers resolved that his life's dream would be fulfilled. There would be missionaries—Jesuit missionaries in Alaska.

The following year two more recruits arrived. As many stations and missions were erected as the small band of Jesuits could tend.

Beyond this point the story of Alaska belongs to a separate book. It ceased its connection with Yakima after these first few sorrow-laden months.

SEATTLE

There remains but one other station begun by the Fathers from St. Joseph's and nurtured by succeeding Jesuits. The diocesan priests had been in Seattle for several years before the arrival of the Jesuits, but Seattle was as yet little more than a town when Father Augustine Lauré made his first journey to the coast city in 1890.²³ His Excellency, Aegidius Junger, Bishop of Nesqually, had invited the Fathers to open a school and a church in Seattle. From 1891 to 1895, these were combined in a single building which they leased from Seattle's pioneer diocesan priest, Father F. X. Prefontaine.

It was understood from the beginning that such an arrangement would be temporary. The Jesuits bought property at Broadway and Madison on February 6, 1891. The building operations were begun in 1893 after superiors had decided to establish a permanent house in Seattle. Father Garrand had all necessary powers to proceed with the work when the panic of '93 began. From January, 1894, until July 12, everything seemed to be working against him. Then there was a change for the better. Permission came from the Pope to proceed; powers were delegated by higher superiors than those in Seattle; the long-sought money was borrowed in Amsterdam, Holland. At last, patient months were rewarded, and building operations were taken up immediately.²⁴

The workers were Irish and German Catholics; for the most part they are my own parishioners and have the interest of the church at heart; besides, the Irish want to convince me that their devotion is superior to that of the Germans; these latter pretend to be better than the Irish. They were proud to work directly under the supervision of their pastor for I have neither architect nor contractor; they know we are poor, and that it is for economy that we have neither architect nor contractor, and they work to the end with an energy and a spirit that astonish the whole town. On September 8 my building was under cover; the whole outside was finished. On December 8th that section set aside temporarily to take the place of a church, was opened; the happiness of our flock was great.²⁵

The upper floor of the new building was to serve as the Church of the Immaculate Conception until 1904. The lower floors were used for classrooms and for living rooms for the Jesuits. The year of removal from Spring Street to the new building on Broadway, the two Jesuit scholastics were teaching the seventh and eighth grades and the first and second years of high school. The Holy Names Sisters were teaching the girls and younger boys in a frame building which had been built by the former owners of the property to be used as a day nursery.

The Jesuits' school grew gradually. In 1900 there were fifty-nine boys in regular attendance.²⁶ The Fathers had to overcome strange opposition in some quarters and it was only by dint of persevering efforts that the enrollment grew. To attract the boys, a gymnasium was built and later on, handball courts; such things are commonplace enough for us, but were certainly unusual in those days.

The new Church of the Immaculate Conception was finished by the beginning of December, 1904. Permission to build this imposing church had been given in February of the same year. The Jesuits were anxious to have an established church which would permit them to dis-

continue the public chapel in the school building at Broadway. The limits of the Cathedral Parish, after a new agreement, had come to include the district where the school stood. In deference, then, to the desire of His Excellency, Edward J. O'Dea, Bishop of Nesqually, the Fathers retired to the new parish of the Immaculate Conception. Schoolrooms now occupied the whole of the old building.

Fire destroyed the upper story of Seattle College on May 1, 1907. There were no injuries and no lives lost, in spite of the fact that classes were in full session at the time. Neither were they interrupted for any appreciable period. While the serious damage was being repaired, classes were convened in the frame building on the school property and in the basement of St. Joseph's Church, which had been built the preceding year. The years following the fire were marked by no special event until 1919.

In this year, with the help of a munificent benefactor, Mr. Thomas C. McHugh, the Jesuits purchased the beautiful Adelpia College on Interlaken Boulevard. The two fine buildings had belonged to the Swedish people in the city. To that location Seattle College was moved. It remained on the boulevard until the autumn of 1931, when a greater Seattle College was reopened at the property on Broadway. The ten years since this final removal have been marked by a phenomenal growth which necessitated the erection, in 1941, of an imposing new liberal arts building. Definitely, the future of Seattle College is assured.

The preparatory school remains at the property on the boulevard. This outlet for Jesuit activity maintains its position as a select high school. Today, there is no ques-

tion of securing sufficient numbers; rather, it is a matter of training the best type of student.

Educational work has always been the main task of the Jesuits in Seattle. However, the people were not neglected. The Jesuits built the church and school of the Immaculate Conception and were pastors of the faithful until September, 1929, when they turned over this well-established parish to the Bishop.²⁷

A church and school for St. Joseph's Parish were erected by the Jesuits in 1906. Constant growth of the parish with the passage of years made necessary the enlargement of their facilities. A new rectory was completed under direction of the pastor, Father James M. Brogan, S.J., in August, 1921. Two years later, on November 13, the Feast of St. Stanislaus Kostka, S.J., the boys—for it was intended just for boys—marched into a new school building whose cornerstone had been laid the preceding May by the Most Reverend Joseph Raphael Crimont, S.J., Vicar-Apostolic of Alaska. By the following September there were 175 boys in attendance, with Sisters of the Holy Names as teachers. Today (1943-44) there are 330 boys and girls enrolled.

To complete the program of expansion the erection of a new church, to replace the old frame building, was undertaken by Father William J. Deeney, S.J., and his assistants. The edifice, a concrete structure, considered by many to be one of the finest examples of modern church architecture in the country, was dedicated on October 26, 1930, by His Excellency Edward J. O'Dea, Bishop of Seattle.

The Italian parish of Monte Virgine has its Jesuit pastor; and until it was recently given over to the dio-

cesan clergy, St. Ignatius' Church, now Our Lady of the Lake Church, was under Jesuit care.

Outside the city itself, the Fathers at various times have exercised their ministry in Renton, Bremerton, and Mercer Island; and for the last fifteen years, the Indians of Suquamish have been faithfully tended by them. For a number of years, too, a parish on Bainbridge Island has been attended by a Jesuit Father. Occasionally, when their help has been requested, the Fathers have assisted in the various parishes in Bellingham.

TACOMA

The Jesuits were invited to assume charge of St. Leo's Parish, Tacoma, in the spring of 1911. The formal agreement by which the Jesuits were given this parish, and by which they agreed to care for the Italian people in both Seattle and Tacoma, was signed in December of that year.²⁸ A few years after the Fathers had taken over the care of St. Leo's, a very commodious school was built. This was the only Catholic boys' high school in the city. In December of 1927, the construction of Bellarmine High School was begun. This new institution, which opened in 1928, was to serve as an all-city Catholic boys' high school, while the building at St. Leo's housed the girls' Catholic high school.

Soon after they had settled in Tacoma, the Fathers began their regular missionary excursions. We find them at different times in Gig Harbor, Eatonville, Mineral, and Kapowsin. The prisoners in the Federal Penitentiary on McNeil Island have Jesuit chaplains, as do the residents of the Ozanam Home for the aged. And to the Indian children in the Cushman Indian School, the Fathers were no less devoted.

PORT TOWNSEND

The last Jesuit house established on the coast, of which mention has not yet been made, was Manresa Hall in Port Townsend. This beautiful spot serves as the tertianship, or the house for the third year of the Jesuits' ascetical training. On September 8, 1927, the tertianship was inaugurated. By this simple occurrence, the Rocky Mountain Mission had almost reached its full stature. There were now within the province a scholasticate, where the young Jesuit pursues his higher studies in philosophy; and a tertianship for those who have finished their course and are to reanimate themselves before beginning their work for souls. The mission, which had begun under so many difficulties and doubts a century ago, had, with God's blessing, come far and done much.

CHAPTER X

Oregon Jesuits in Wyoming and South Dakota

ST. STEPHEN'S MISSION, WYOMING

THE MISSION AMONG THE ARAPAHOES WAS FIRST OFFERED to the Rocky Mountain Jesuits in 1885 by His Excellency, James O'Connor, Bishop of Omaha.¹ Father Joseph Cataldo, Superior-General of the Rocky Mountain Mission, was forced to decline because of the lack of men. Hence, it was the Missouri Jesuit, Paul Mary Ponziglione, who began to work at St. Stephen's Mission among the northern Arapahoes in July, 1886.

This mission had previously been under the care of the Jesuits of the Buffalo Mission who, through some misunderstanding had abandoned it while Bishop O'Connor was absent from his diocese. On his return, His Excellency had begged the Jesuits of the Missouri province to assume temporary charge until permanent missionaries could be found. This the Missouri Jesuits did out of gratitude for the many kindnesses Bishop O'Connor had manifested toward them.² But the Missouri Jesuits never intended to keep the mission, partly because they needed their men elsewhere, and partly because St. Stephen's was too far from their other establishments.

The provincial superior of Missouri naturally turned to the Rocky Mountain Jesuits as possible laborers in a field which was not far removed from their Cheyenne

WYOMING

Big Horn Mts.

•Cody

Meeteetse .

Wind River

Washakie

Wind River

Range

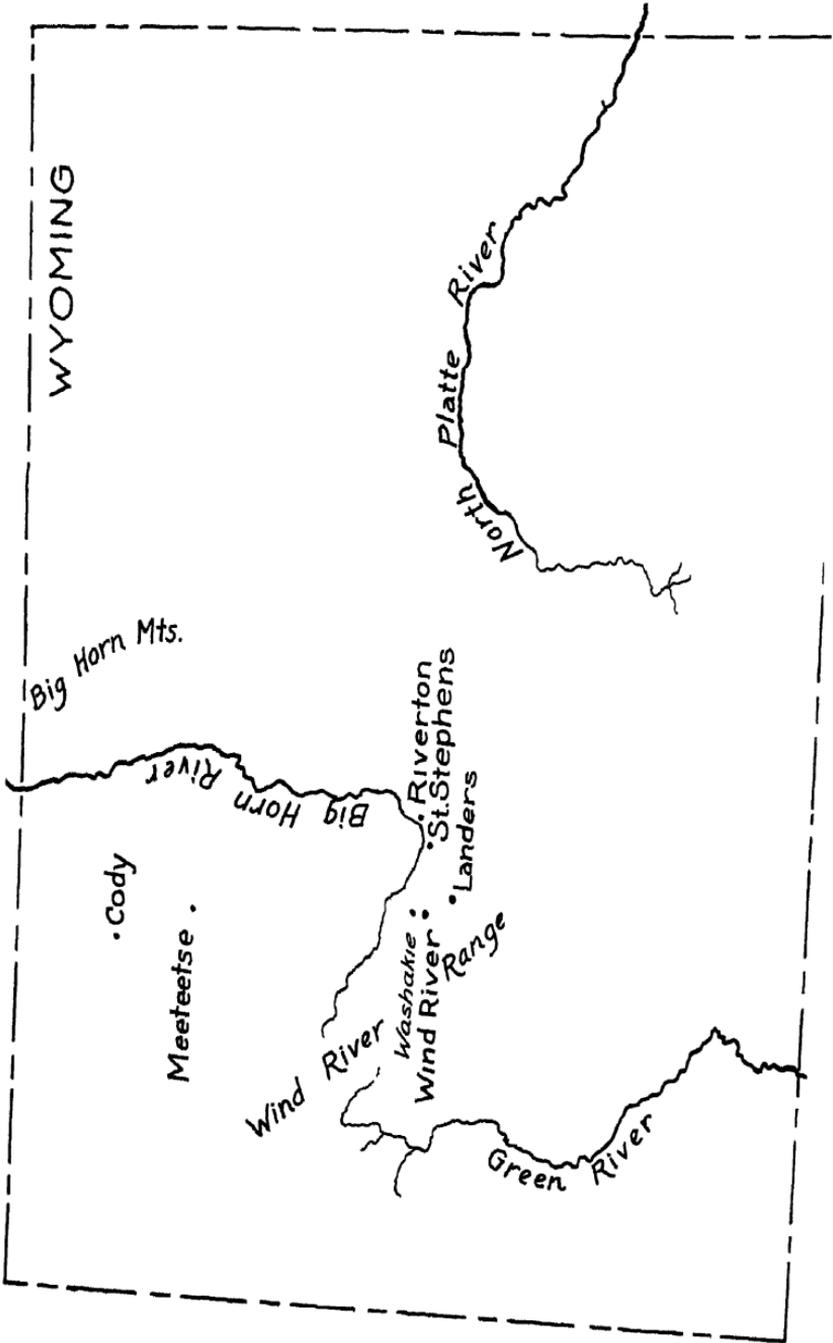
•Riverton

•St. Stephens

•Landers

North Platte River

Green River



mission, St. Labre's. Father Cataldo pleaded dearth of men, but to no avail. The Missouri provincial offered him two or three young men if he would assume responsibility for the mission in Wyoming. These negotiations lagged, with nothing definite being decided on either side.

A new phase in the negotiations was opened when, on April 21, 1891, Mother Katherine Drexel wrote to Father Leopold van Gorp:

And now Revd. Father, I have a request to make [of] You, which I beg you to consider before our Lord. Cannot the Rocky Mt. Jesuits take St. Stephen's Mission on July 1st?³

A short time later, as a postscript to a letter which enclosed \$12,000 for the Mountain Missions, Mother Drexel wrote, "Please don't forget St. Stephen's Mission."⁴ Mother Drexel had chosen a rather powerful means to influence Father van Gorp. It is not surprising to read in Mother Drexel's next letter:

The telegram you so kindly sent saying that the prospects for taking St. Stephen's were favorable was like a gleam of hope at a very dark hour.⁵

Father van Gorp accepted the Wyoming mission because of his indebtedness for the countless favors given the Mountain Missions by Mother Drexel. The Wyoming mission was transferred on August 24, 1891, to the care of the Rocky Mountain Jesuits. Four days later, Father Aloysius Folchi arrived at St. Stephen's to take charge.

The interim during which the status of the mission had been left in doubt were years of decline for the institution. Much work awaited the new superiors. Moreover, Mother Drexel was very anxious to have the mission brought back to its original condition lest any

serious trouble should arise with the government, which might result in a cessation of Federal aid.

A new school building was erected in 1892 for the boys. Furthermore, money was promised by Mother Drexel to be used for a new church. Father Balthassar Feusi became superior of St. Stephen's in 1894 and remained at this post until 1901. It is owing to his labors that the mission was greatly improved and the school brought to a flourishing condition.

To appreciate his accomplishments one must realize that:

The Arapahoes' heavy intelligence, narrow ideas and native superstitions make them altogether indifferent. We hope that after this protracted sleepy state, they will awaken to new life and vigor. A few years ago some of them were baptized, but the grace of the Lord fell on barren ground and therefore it still lies dormant.

Our children, who are 55 in number and (except a few half-breeds) Indians to the back bone, are as wild as little coyotes. They inherit from their parents indifference in matters of religion. The only thing which makes them happy is to get a cigarette and clamber up the hills, ramble around and kill with their bows rabbits, birds and coyotes. But if they will escape home to their tepees, this is the climax of all happiness.⁶

Such characteristics would hardly attract one searching for an easy mission.

Nevertheless, the spiritual work accomplished was considerable. One hundred and thirty were confirmed before 1913; from 1904 to 1924 the number of baptized Indians living at the mission increased from 360 to 973. There would have been many more conversions if it had not been that the language was so difficult for the missionaries to learn, that the mission had to live down the slanderous talk of Protestant ministers, and that those

in charge had to struggle desperately to find provisions and clothing for the Indian pupils.

Father John B. Sifton was appointed superior in 1905. He was the first missionary to master the language well enough to use it fluently. As a consequence, he was instrumental in many conversions.

Until 1911, when the government again began to help the mission financially, Mother Drexel bore a great part of the burden. With this help, Father Sifton built a laundry building during his term of office. This was of inestimable value to the heavily burdened Sisters of St. Francis.

Meanwhile, the Missouri province of the Society of Jesus had absorbed part of the Buffalo Mission from which they had taken over many priests. Since Father General thought St. Stephen's might be more easily managed by the Missouri province than by the newly-formed California province, Father P. F. Sialm replaced Father J. B. Sifton on August 22, 1912. The mission, undertaken as an act of gratitude, was relinquished.

ST. FRANCIS' MISSION, SOUTH DAKOTA

On September 1, 1907, Father Francis Xavier Wernz, General of the Society of Jesus, decreed the separation of St. Francis' Mission and Holy Rosary Mission, South Dakota, from the Buffalo Mission and their attachment to the Rocky Mountain Mission.

St. Francis' Mission, Rosebud, South Dakota, had been taken over by the Jesuits of the Buffalo Mission on January 1, 1886. Before the mission could progress easily, Protestant opposition had to be overcome. By 1897 there was an average of over two hundred pupils in the

school. Later, from 1900 to 1904, when no money was given for the support of the school by the government, an average of 232 pupils were supported chiefly by the munificence of Mother Drexel. Two years after St. Francis' had fallen to the care of the Mountain Mission, there were 318 pupils. By this time the school was also receiving financial aid from the tribal funds of the Sioux.

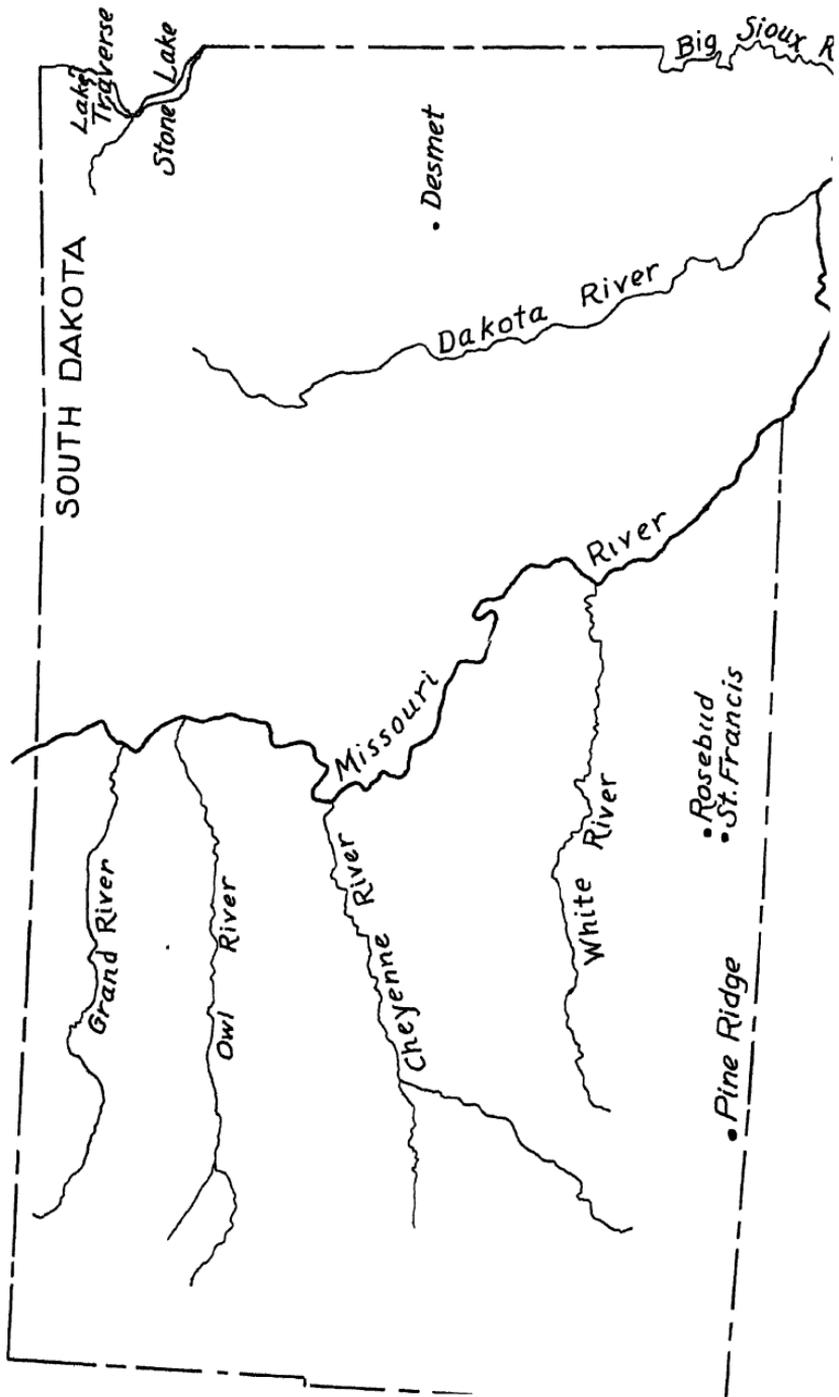
To accommodate this increase in number, a new stone school building was erected in 1908-9. The Fathers concentrated their work on the young Indians in the school. Success blessed their introduction of a temperance union among the mission Indians and those living near by, for the Sioux had not been immune from the devastating effects of white men's whiskey. Sodalities for the boys and girls were organized in the school.

The labor bore fruit. From 1908 to 1910 there were 203 baptisms, 6,138 confessions, and twenty-one marriages performed and blessed. The other years surpassed these representative figures, for the Fathers became more and more endeared to the Indians.

This mission had cost much but it had repaid well. The few years that it was in care of the Rocky Mountain Jesuits had been very fruitful and consoling. In 1912, the Mountain Jesuits were ordered to relinquish St. Francis' Mission and to concentrate their men and labors in the Pacific Northwest which was then developing rapidly.

HOLY ROSARY MISSION, SOUTH DAKOTA

Holy Rosary Mission, Pine Ridge, South Dakota, was turned over to the Rocky Mountain Jesuits at the time they received St. Francis'. Holy Rosary Mission had been founded for the Oglala Sioux by Father Martin Marty,



SOUTH DAKOTA

Lake Traverse

Stone Lake

• Desmet

Dakota River

Big Sioux R

River

Missouri

Grand River

Owl River

Cheyenne River

White River

• Rosebrid
• St. Francis

• Pine Ridge

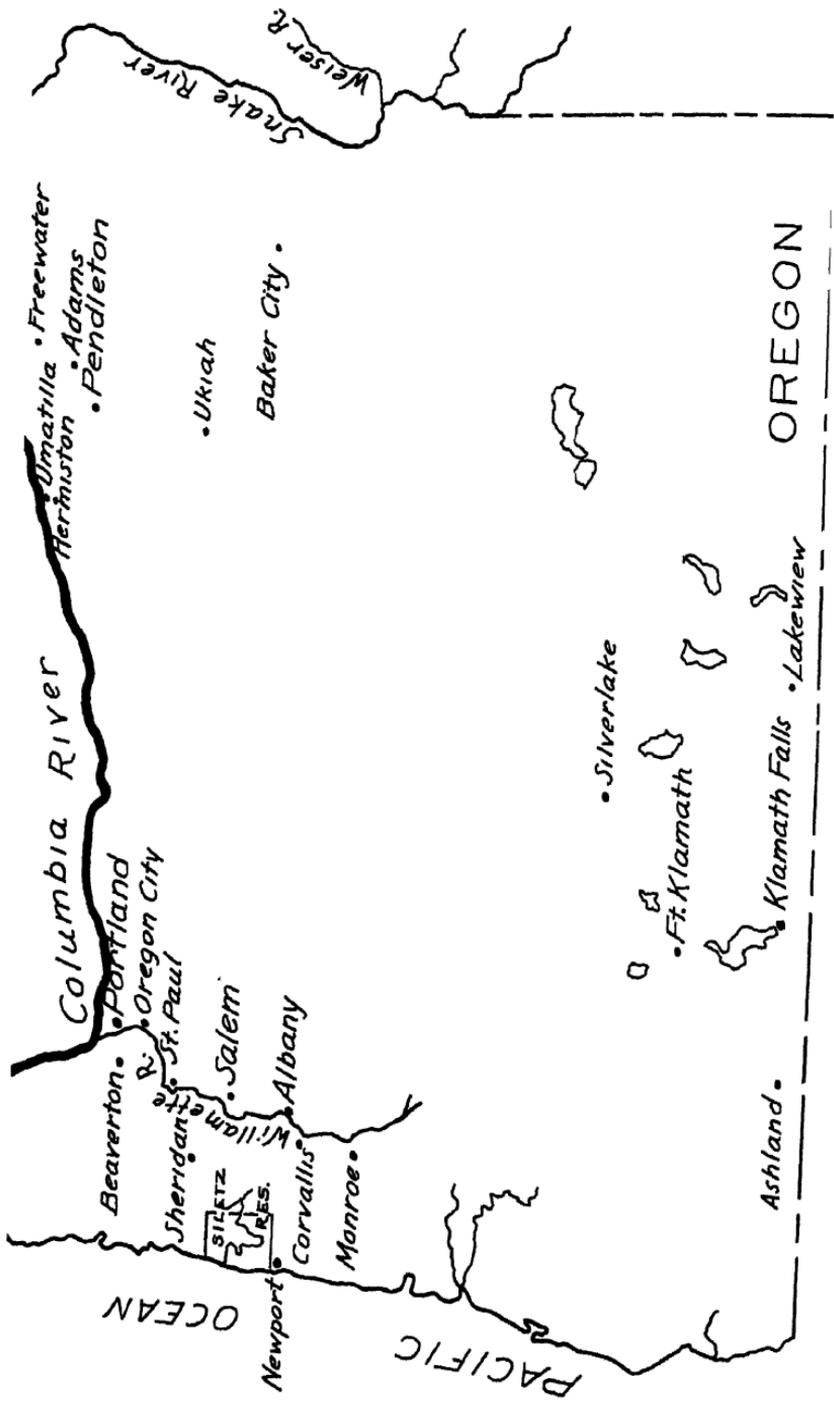
O.S.B., in 1887. The Jesuits of the Buffalo Mission had taken charge in 1888 when the \$40,000 establishment was completed. The money, again, was furnished by Mother Katherine Drexel, of Philadelphia.

From the beginning, Holy Rosary Mission had a goodly number of pupils. One reason for this immediate success was the patronage of the school by the great Sioux chief, Red Cloud. Although it is true that the Sioux children were no more attracted by the confines of a schoolroom than the other Indians whom we have seen, yet with the help of Red Cloud and the other chiefs, there were 250 pupils by 1905.⁷ The method followed was that which we have seen time and again in our narrative. Here, as usual, it succeeded.

Schoolwork occupied most of the priests' time in the early years of the mission. The adults, however, were not entirely neglected, for the Fathers traveled among the camps as much as possible. With Mother Drexel's help, chapels for the Indians were built or repaired in Rushville, Gordon, Hay Springs, and Mirage Flats.⁸ The results were encouraging for there were 265 baptisms, 33 marriages blessed, and 310 children given instructions in the one year of 1908-9.⁹ This flourishing mission reverted to the Missouri Jesuits in June, 1912, at the same time as St. Stephen's, Wyoming, and St. Francis', South Dakota, were returned to their previous pastors.

Besides receiving the ministrations of the Jesuits living at Holy Rosary Mission, this section was occasionally visited by Jesuits from the more westerly stations. The ubiquitous Peter Prando was with the Dakota and Wyoming tribes in 1903. Cody, Lander, Wind River, Riverton, Meeteetse, and Washakie are some of the places mentioned in his records.

At the time of the Wyoming and Dakota ventures, the original Rocky Mountain Mission, then but lately become part of the California province, covered the widest area in its history. Oregon, Washington, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, South Dakota and Alaska were under the one superior, Very Reverend Father Herman Goller. From the Dakota Bad Lands to the frozen glaciers of Alaska, the Jesuits of Oregon were laboring for Christ and His Kingdom.



Umatilla • Freewater
Hermiston • Adams
Pendleton

•Ukiah
Baker City •

Columbia River

Beaverton •
Portland
Oregon City
St. Paul
Salem
Albany
Willamette R.
Corvallis •
Monroe •

OCEAN

PACIFIC

•Silverlake

•Ft. Klamath

Klamath Falls • Lakewiew

Ashland •

OREGON

CHAPTER XI

Among the Indians and Whites in Oregon

ST. ANDREW'S MISSION AMONG THE UMATILLAS

THE JESUITS HAD WITHDRAWN FROM OREGON CITY IN 1853, and more than twenty years were to pass before any member of the Order returned to Oregon for missionary work. Doubtless they passed through the country while en route to the Lower Columbia, but there is no record of any spiritual ministrations until Father Cataldo's sermons to the Umatilla tribe in the fateful year of 1877, the year of Chief Joseph's Nez Percé War.

The Jesuits were preceded on this mission by a long line of heroic priests. The oblates, Fathers Pandosy and Chirouse, who had worked among this tribe in 1847; Father John Baptist Brouillet, Vicar-General of the diocese of Walla Walla, who was there at the time of the Whitman Massacre; Father Toussaint Mesplie, who was later to do outstanding work among the tribes of southern Idaho; and Father Bertram Orth, future bishop of Victoria, were some of the great men who began their missionary careers in this region. Father Louis Conrardy came to the mission in February, 1875, and, with the exception of the year 1885, remained until March, 1888. He left the Umatilla mission to complete the immolation of his life among the lepers at Molokai. While he was in Umatilla, the Jesuits, Cataldo and Morvillo, came often

from St. Joseph's Mission to help this zealous diocesan priest. Fathers Conrardy, Cataldo, Morvillo, and His Excellency, Archbishop Charles Seghers, gave an extended course of sermons and instructions to all the Indians in 1882: "All the Catholic Indians of the Reservation attended, to the number of some six hundred and also many of the yet pagan Indians."¹

Father Conrardy built a little school in 1882-83, which was conducted by the Sisters of Mercy under the supervision of a government superintendent. It was one of those rare combinations, a Catholic government school. As time went on, the government officials began to interfere more and more until, finally, in 1888 the Sisters of Mercy withdrew and Father Conrardy set out for the leper colony in Molokai.

Father Urban Grassi arrived on July 8, 1888 to assume temporary charge of the mission. This action had been taken only after repeated requests from His Excellency, William Gross, Archbishop of Oregon City. Father Grassi had the difficult task of re-establishing and rebuilding a mission that had declined because of endless interference from without and, occasionally, poor administration from within.

Father Grassi first moved the fine church, which had been built by Father Conrardy, to a more convenient location about a quarter of a mile to the east. Here he began to work in earnest. The next year, with the financial help of Mother Drexel, a new school was constructed. Under the direction of the Sisters of St. Francis' from Philadelphia, the finished building was opened on February 25, 1890, with thirteen pupils in attendance. Fifteen years later, there were eighty-three pupils. Father Grassi was not destined to see the remark-

able fruits of his strenuous two years on the mission. On March 21, 1890, not quite a month after the opening of the school, this pious and indefatigable laborer, leaving his earthly cares to be guarded by his brother Jesuits, went to receive the reward of his fidelity.

The school flourished. The rapidly increasing enrollment necessitated another building for the pupils. With the help of Mother Katherine Drexel, the new addition was completed in February, 1892. The Oregon legislature appropriated \$6,000 annually for the school, beginning in 1893. The next year, by December 25, a recreation center and assembly hall was ready for use.

The future of the school seemed uncommonly bright by 1895. Then, in that year, government aid to Indian contract schools was radically restricted or completely withdrawn, and St. Andrew's did not escape the general hardship brought on by this bigoted policy. However, it is no less true that the marked decline was much later in coming to St. Andrew's than to some of the other contract schools. Perhaps this was due to the state subsidy and the continued support of Mother Drexel, Archbishop Gross, and other kind benefactors. There were still ninety-five pupils in the school in 1911. Fire destroyed the girls' school and hall in 1926. The Fathers wanted to rebuild, but the struggle for money to carry on had become well-nigh desperate by that time. The school was continued in this much-curtailed condition until its final closing in 1943.

The work carried on from St. Andrew's covered most of northeastern Oregon. As though the labor of operating this difficult mission was not sufficient to occupy them, we find the missionaries bringing the gospel to those not fortunate enough to have a pastor of their own.

The Jesuits worked in Ukiah, Freewater, Butter Creek, Umatilla, and Echo. The church in Athena and the church in Adams were built under the supervision of the missionaries. Hermiston, Reith, and Gibbon were stations supplied from St. Andrew's.² His Excellency, Archbishop Gross, appealed to the Jesuit Fathers at St. Andrew's Mission to take charge of the parish in Pendleton:

Please inform your V[ery] R[everend] Fr. General of all these matters, and insist with him especially on the extreme need of those poor souls that are now being lost, and have a claim to your charity at least as great as any poor Indians. Also assure Father General, that by accepting Pendleton, not only he will confer a great favor on me, but also will do a great act of charity to this Archdiocese, which charity God will bless in all his other works of zeal A. M. D. G.³

In answer to this strong letter, the Jesuits assumed the charge of St. Mary's Parish in Pendleton. This was to be the largest station begun by the missionaries at the mission. While today most of the other churches pioneered by the Jesuits have been relinquished to the Bishop, they still work among the flock that, so troublesome in the beginning, has now grown so consoling.

For the most part, the remaining history of the Jesuits in Oregon is a tale of the occupation of temporary stations at the request of the Bishop. Consequently, the work was spread over a large part of the state. Here the Jesuits administered a parish until a regular diocesan pastor was available; there they worked among the long-forgotten Indians; sometimes the Fathers gave missions, at other times they were sent as helpers to some overburdened pastor. The narrative of these labors is uneven and broken, but the theme is constant throughout—the

Jesuits helped as much as they were able where help was needed most.

KLAMATH FALLS

His Excellency, Charles J. O'Reilly, Bishop of Baker City, asked the Jesuits to take charge of Klamath Falls and the surrounding country on February 2, 1905.⁴ The request was filled by the arrival of the Jesuits on June 30 of that year. Here the Fathers labored with great fruit until April 10, 1916.⁵ These years were filled with the problems, successes, and disappointments attendant on any good vigorous parish. Church improvements, parish socials, sermons, converts, confirmation classes, and First Communion instructions are all noted in the diaries of the time. There were days of consolation occasioned by the return of a member of the flock long strayed; there were cloudier days when difficulties arose or the conduct of one of the congregation saddened the heart of the pastor. For all that, it was only under obedience that the Jesuits laid down their charge in Klamath Falls. These years were abundantly blessed and usually consoling.

One of the most satisfying aspects of the work at Klamath Falls was the good accomplished in the near-by towns. Merrill and Holy Cross were visited regularly, while a priest resided in Lakeview where a permanent parish had developed. The Catholics in Silver Lake and Plush were cared for from Lakeview or Klamath Falls. These outlying stations were the occasion of some thrilling experiences when the visiting priests began to travel in automobiles. Neither the roads nor the Fathers were really prepared for such a radical innovation. One might honestly question the wisdom of the benefactor who presented the "Padres on Horseback" with their first

horseless carriage. No deaths are on record for these adventurous days, though bruises, severe jostling, and harrowing escapes are frequently noted.

Two years after the Jesuits accepted the parish in Klamath Falls, His Excellency, Alexander Christie, Archbishop of Oregon City, asked the Fathers to assume the care of Beaverton, Corvallis, and Ashland. In the preceding year, 1906, His Excellency had requested the Jesuits to take charge of the Indians on Siletz Reservation. To each of these requests the Fathers responded with all the resources at their command.

The mission among the Siletz Indians was particularly disheartening. Four years of labor were summarized by Father Dimier:

I went from house to house teaching children and the grown-ups the elements of Xtian doctrine. I did a good deal of that work in some families in hope of drawing them to the church whither they very very seldom come; but no results followed. So I give them up if Providence does not interpose miraculously in their favor.⁶

Fortunately the missionaries had some other work among the whites in Newport, Corvallis, and Monroe which was not quite so discouraging.

PORTLAND

The Jesuit parish of St. Ignatius' in Portland was offered by Archbishop Christie in 1907, but construction did not begin until 1908. This latter year, Archbishop Christie offered the Italian parish in Portland to the Jesuits. Again in 1929, the Archbishop found himself urgently in need of a priest to conduct the services in the traveling chapel car. The Jesuits were called on to supply the need.

NOVITIATE OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER

The most recent Jesuit foundation in Oregon was the new novitiate near Sheridan, Oregon, located fifty-two miles southwest of Portland. The California province of the Jesuits had been separated into two administrative divisions on November 6, 1930. This action was preparatory to the establishment of two new provinces, that of Oregon and that of California.

The future need of a house of training for candidates of the Oregon province was partially filled when property for the new house was purchased the same month of the preliminary division of the province. The temporary frame building which served at first as the novitiate was blessed on July 31, 1931. The first part of the permanent novitiate of St. Francis Xavier was begun April 13, 1932, and the new building was occupied in the last week of June, 1933. In the same district where De Smet had founded the original ill-fated St. Francis Xavier's in 1844 to serve as a mother house for all the Rocky Mountain Mission now stands the novitiate of St. Francis Xavier, the house of training for the young Jesuits of the Oregon province.

These few notes indicate the type of work which has been done by the Fathers in Oregon. It has been patterned on that style of life which answers to the words, "Come and he cometh; go and he goeth." That the Jesuits assisted in the advancement of the Church in Oregon consoles them; that their work has been of an unheralded and humble character, that their labors have been expended, for the most part, in helping a zealous diocesan clergy makes their joy no less.

Conclusion

VARIED, INDEED, HAS BEEN THE STORY OF THE JESUITS in Old Oregon during their first century of existence. Originally, the Mission of the Mountains was founded, staffed, and supported by the Jesuits of the vice-province of Missouri. In those days the great organizer, De Smet, and the tireless missionaries, Joset, Mengarini, Nobili, and Ravalli spent their lives for their Indian neophytes.

Shortly after Joset's appointment as superior of all the missions in the Oregon Country, the new field of labor was placed under the immediate supervision of the Father General in Rome. Thenceforward, all Jesuits in Europe might be called upon to support this far-distant vineyard.

However, in a very few years, stability, progress, and solid development dictated that the far western country be assigned to a definite group of Jesuits who would be responsible for the successful expansion of the work already accomplished. Thus it happened that the Italian province of Turin was charged with the care of the mission of California and of California's parent, the Rocky Mountain Mission. Through long years and hard years the Italian Jesuits supplied as best they could, men and money to carry on spiritual work from Alaska to Mexico, and from the Pacific Ocean to the lands beyond the Rockies.

The territory was vast and the demands almost with-

out end. But, by 1907 sufficient progress had been made to warrant the reuniting of the Mission of the Mountains with her offspring, the mission of California, into the newly constituted province of California. No longer dependent on European resources, the Jesuits of the West looked to their own United States for any needed assistance. The new province struck deep roots in its native soil and the work increased and spread the length and breadth of the West. Schools, colleges, and parishes increased in number; the Indian missions were retained and new institutions for the natives were established. As the West grew and wider vistas opened, the Jesuits kept in step with the constant development. New towns, larger cities, shifting populations, changing interests, all necessitated new policies, new allocations of men, new expenditures of money, if the most good was to be accomplished with the little means in hand. In large part, the decisions through the years were wise.

Finally, by February, 1932, the time had come to separate the two sections. Efficiency of government, diversity of work, and local needs and projects demanded a division into two provinces—Oregon and California. The former Rocky Mountain Mission became the province of Oregon, and the former mission of California became a newly delimited province of California. The age of maturity was attained!

A century has passed since De Smet's memorable journey, a century filled with the labors of men

. . . who devoted themselves entirely to the salvation of souls, yet in such a way that their zeal seemed to be nothing else than a flame bursting forth from the fulness of a heart, most closely united with God.⁷

A century of trials and of failures, of triumphs and of hopes; a century of labor among Indians and whites, in hovels and in homes, in prisons and in camps, in schools and in hospitals; a century of confessing Christ before men that He might confess them before His Father in Heaven—this has been the response to the pleadings of a few Flathead Indians by the Jesuits in Old Oregon.

As their second century begins, they find themselves surrounded by a world at war. Men bred in the tradition begun by the versatile stalwarts, De Smet, Giorda, Joset, De la Motte, and others, have not failed their God and their country in these critical times. Not a few have donned the uniform of their homeland and gone off to the wars to bring spiritual strength to the fighting men. The Jesuits left behind have not hesitated to place their experience and their schools at the disposal of the armed forces that the day of blessed peace may be hastened.

With peace will come other problems—new problems for the West. Against this day the Jesuits are preparing. To instill correct attitudes toward new concepts of labor, of industry, and of unemployment; to staff schools and colleges for the Christian education of generations at peace; to tend the Indian missions of the West and the missions of Alaska; to work among the people in parishes, in hospitals, and in prisons—for all these tasks there will be men ready and prepared. One full century of progress and accomplishment is not the end; it is but the beginning.

Biographical Appendix

BARCELO, PETER: Father Peter Barcelo was born of Mexican parentage at the village of Montezuma in Sonora, Mexico, on August 1, 1838. He studied the classics and some philosophy with great success at the seminary in the city of St. Michael of Culiacan. On September 9, 1861, he entered the Society of Jesus at Santa Clara, California. After his novitiate, he reviewed his previous studies and then was sent to Woodstock, Maryland, to complete his preparation for the priesthood. He was ordained priest on June 29, 1872, by the Right Reverend James Gibbons (afterwards Cardinal and Archbishop of Baltimore), titular bishop of Adramyttum and Vicar Apostolic of North Carolina. In 1880 he was sent to Helena, Montana. From 1880 to 1885 he visited the Crow Indians from Helena. From 1885 to 1887 he was among the Cheyenne Indians at St. Labre's, Montana. In 1887 ill health, caused by hardships and self-imposed mortifications, induced his superiors to transfer him to Gonzaga College, Spokane, Washington, where he died November 1, 1888.

BOUGIS, PETER CLOVIS: At Les Sables d'Olonne in the Ardennes Mountains of France, on March 31, 1860, was born Peter Clovis Bougis. He entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Angers, France, August 28, 1879, but before the end of the two years' probation he, with the other members of the Society, was expelled from the country by the anticlerical laws of March 29, 1880. Wherefore, he pronounced his first vows at Aberdovey in Wales. From 1881 to 1884 he studied philosophy at Woodstock College, Maryland. For a year he was professor of French at Holy Cross College, Worcester, Massachusetts. During the three years following, he studied the Indian languages at St. Peter's Mission, Montana. Theology, he studied at Woodstock, the Isle of Jersey, and Chieri, Italy. He was ordained priest at Tassano, Italy, September 8, 1890. From 1891 to 1895 he was at Holy Family Mission, Montana. The year of "third probation" (1905-6) was followed by twelve years of labor in the towns

of southern Alaska. From 1908 to 1911 he was a confessor in the College Church of St. Ignatius, San Francisco, California. After spending the next three years in Montana, he returned once more to St. Ignatius' College, San Francisco, where he remained until a few months before his death. His end being hastened by arterial sclerosis and other complications, Father Bougis died at the Sacred Heart Novitiate, Los Gatos, California, on March 27, 1920.

CANESTRELLI, PHILIP: Father Philip Canestrelli, an Italian, was born March 19, 1839. He entered the Society of Jesus on September 28, 1854. A professor at the Gregorian University at the time of Father Rappagliosi's death, he was inspired to follow the missionary's example and, upon volunteering, was accepted. He arrived at the missions in 1878. Two years at Fort Colville were followed by seven years at St. Francis Regis' Mission, Washington. From 1887 to 1893 he was at St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana. The year 1893-94 was spent at Santa Clara University, California. He was recalled to Rome in 1894. The language used in his Kalispel translation of the Baltimore Catechism is said, by a very competent authority, to be perfect.

CARUANA, JOSEPH: Father Joseph Caruana was born on August 28, 1836, at Valetta on the Island of Malta. He studied for the priesthood at the College of the Society of Jesus on the Island and at the Roman College. On June 18, 1859, he was ordained priest, by a dispensation, at the early age of twenty-two and a half years. Almost immediately after his entrance into the novitiate on July 15, 1860, he volunteered for the Indian missions of the Rocky Mountains. Before the expiration of his novitiate, he was sent to Santa Clara, California, where he pronounced his vows in 1862. Then he set out for the Coeur d'Alene mission. The year 1862-63 he spent at St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana. From 1863 to 1870 he was at Desmet, Idaho. From 1870 to 1880 he was at North Yakima; from 1880 to 1883 at Colville; from 1883 to 1885 at North Yakima; from 1885 to 1890 at Desmet; 1890-91 at Umatilla; 1891 to 1893 at Gonzaga College, Spokane, Washington; from 1893 to 1896 at Colville; and, from 1896 until his death—caused by a stroke of apoplexy—on October 29, 1913, at Desmet, Idaho. Father Caruana, the first Jesuit superior at the Yakima mission, founded in 1873 and became the first novice-master of the first novitiate of the Rocky Mountains.

CATALDO, JOSEPH M.: Father Joseph M. Cataldo was born on March 17, 1837, at Terrasini, near Palermo, Sicily. After preliminary

studies at Terrasini and Castellamare del Golfo, he entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Palermo, December 22, 1852. In the second year of his novitiate young Cataldo was declared by the doctors to be consumptive and was sent home, but after six months he returned to the novitiate. When Garibaldi drove the Jesuits from Sicily in 1860, Father Cataldo was sent to Louvain to study theology. He was ordained priest at Louvain on September 8, 1862, by the Bishop of Liége, Mgr. D'Argenteau, a former officer in the army of Napoleon I. Having completed his study of theology at Boston, Massachusetts, and at Santa Clara, California, he arrived at the Coeur d'Alene mission in October, 1865. In November, 1866, he founded St. Michael's Mission on Peone Prairie near Spokane Falls, Washington. In 1867 he began the mission among the Nez Percés near Lapwai, and 1876 marked the beginning of his foundation of St. Joseph's Mission among the Nez Percés near Culdesac, Idaho. From 1877 to 1893 he was superior-general of the Rocky Mountain Missions. Until 1883 he resided at Lewiston. From that year until 1886 he was at St. Michael's Mission. In the latter year he made the newly founded Gonzaga College, Spokane, his headquarters. Upon the earnest entreaty of Archbishop Seghers and Bishop Brondel, Father Cataldo went to Europe in 1884 in quest of laborers for the mission. From 1901 to 1903 he was in Alaska. In 1915 he was transferred to St. Joseph's, Culdesac. He died at Pendleton, Oregon, April 9, 1928, at the close of a mission for the Nez Percé and Umatilla Indians.

CONGIATO, NICHOLAS: Father Nicholas Congiato was born at Ploaghe in northern Sardinia on September 14, 1816. He entered the Society at Cagliari on May 15, 1835. This young man, in whom superiors saw an ardent love of virtue and rare administrative ability, was driven from Italy by the revolution of 1848. Coming to America, he completed his course of theology, begun in Italy, at the Jesuit College of Bardstown, Kentucky. In 1854, Father General Peter Beckx appointed him superior of the California and Rocky Mountain missions. He held this office until 1858, when he became superior of the Rocky Mountain Mission alone for a three-year term. After forty-six years spent in governing the missions and individual colleges and houses, he passed to his reward at the Sacred Heart Novitiate at Los Gatos, California, a house which he had founded, on May 10, 1897.

DIOMEDI, ALEXANDER: Born at Bevagna in Umbria, Italy, May 10, 1843, Father Alexander Diomedi had received a good education

before his entrance into the Jesuit Novitiate at Rome, November 20, 1861. He pronounced his first vows in 1863. During the following year he was engaged in reviewing his studies in the classics at the Roman College, where he remained for three more years studying philosophy. From 1867 to 1869 he tutored the less brilliant students at the Roman College and at Tivoli. He began his study of theology in 1869, but it was interrupted the next year by the troubles consequent upon the unification of Italy. He was then sent to St. Bueno's in Wales, where, after being ordained on January 1, 1872, he completed his course of theology in 1873. Upon his arrival in New York, 1874, he was sent to Woodstock, Maryland, to learn the printer's trade that he might print the Indian language dictionaries and grammars. Father Diomedi moved the Coeur d'Alene mission from Cataldo, Idaho, to Desmet, Idaho, in 1879. He built St. Francis Xavier's church in Missoula in 1892 and completed St. Joseph's, Yakima, in 1903. He died at Manresa Hall, Port Townsend, Washington, on December 31, 1932.

EBERSCHWEILER, FREDERICK: Father Frederick Eberschweiler was born on June 19, 1839, in Wasenweiler along the Rhine River in Germany. He attended the Jesuit College at Trèves, Germany. He entered the Society's novitiate at Münster, Westphalia, on September 30, 1858. After twelve years of study, three years of which were spent in France, he was ordained priest on July 1, 1870, at Maria-Laach in the Rhineland, a scholasticate of the Society of Jesus, and once a Benedictine Monastery founded in 1093. Father Eberschweiler served as a chaplain in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. When Bismarck expelled the Jesuits from Germany in 1872, Father Eberschweiler was sent to Buffalo, New York. Ten years later he arrived at Fort Benton, Montana. In 1885 he was sent to Fort Assiniboin, Montana. In 1887 he was detailed to found St. Paul's Mission in the Little Rockies. He was at Fort Belknap Agency in 1892, whence he visited Havre. Father Eberschweiler built a church in the latter place in 1900 and became its first pastor in 1903. He remained there until his death on July 13, 1918.

FEUSI, BALTHASSAR: This pioneer missionary of the Gros Ventres and Assiniboin Indians was born at Schwyz, Switzerland, on March 19, 1854. On September 29, 1873, he entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Exaeten, Holland. He came to America in the early eighties and made his theological studies at Woodstock, Mary-

land. His Excellency, Aegidius Junger, Bishop of Nesqually, ordained him in St. Aloysius church, Spokane, Washington, on December 3, 1886. Upon the completion of two more years of theology he made his year of "third probation" under Father Joset at Desmet Mission during the year 1888-89. During the latter year he was sent to St. Paul's Mission, Montana, where he was superior from 1891 to 1894. This year he went to St. Stephen's Mission, Wyoming, remaining there until 1901, when he went to North Yakima. From 1903 to 1905 he was back at St. Stephen's again. He was administrator of the parish at Klamath Falls, Oregon, from 1905 to 1907. Father Feusi was at St. Francis Regis' Mission, Washington, from 1907 to 1917; at St. Paul's Mission, Montana, from 1917 to 1925; and at St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana, from 1925 to 1928. This latter year he was given pastoral work at Yakima, Washington, caring, at the same time, for the Indians at White Swan. In 1930 he returned to St. Paul's Mission, Montana, where he remained until January 4, 1936, when he was taken to the Sacred Heart Hospital at Havre. Worn out by a half a century of labor among the Indians, Father Feusi died on January 23, 1936.

FOLCHI, ALOYSIUS: Father Aloysius M. Folchi, scion of a noble Roman family, was born in the Eternal City on November 25, 1834. Having entered the Society of Jesus on October 29, 1853, he crossed the ocean shortly thereafter and began his novitiate at Frederick, Maryland. It was while teaching at Gonzaga College, Washington, D.C., that superiors, on account of some particular need of his family, recalled him to Rome, dispensed him from his vows, and advised him to return to his home. When his assistance was no longer needed, he asked to be readmitted into the Society. Father General Peter Beckx, however, told him to apply to some American bishop to work in his diocese, and in time he might be readmitted as a priest. After completing his studies, Father Folchi was ordained in St. Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna, Austria, on November 6, 1864, for the diocese of Charleston, South Carolina. He was readmitted into the Society of Jesus, January 31, 1878. From 1879 to 1882 he was stationed at St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana. The year 1882-83 he spent at the Coeur d'Alene mission, Desmet, Idaho. From 1883 to 1900 he labored among the Indians and whites in the vicinity of Colville. From 1900 to 1909 Gonzaga College, Spokane, was the headquarters for his missionary activities. Age and sickness finally halted this zealous priest in the fall of 1909. He died on December 11 of that same year at Gonzaga.

GARRAND, VICTOR: Father Victor Garrand was born at Royal (Puy-de-Dôme), France, May 8, 1848. He entered the Society of Jesus on October 13, 1868. After missionary work in Syria and Egypt, he came to Yakima, Washington, in 1885. In 1893 Father Garrand was sent to begin a school and parish in Seattle. In 1895 he became pastor of the church in Missoula, and in 1897 he was sent to Pendleton to become the first Jesuit pastor of St. Mary's Church. He was recalled to France in June, 1899, and sent as a missionary to Egypt and Algeria. He died at Constantine, Algeria, on March 6, 1925.

GIORDA, JOSEPH: Father Joseph Giorda was born of a rich and noble family near Turin, Italy, March 19, 1823. He entered the Society of Jesus on March 29, 1845. In his youth, according to all accounts, he gave promise of becoming one of the most brilliant men of his age. He came to America in 1858 and, after a short stay in St. Louis, arrived at the Coeur d'Alene mission, Idaho, in the fall of 1861. Father Joset, in his short sketch of Father Giorda's life, does not hesitate to call the latter the second founder of the Rocky Mountain Missions, for, when Father Giorda was made superior-general of the missions in 1862, he found but two missions: St. Ignatius' Mission in Montana, and the Sacred Heart Mission among the Coeur d'Alenes. The suppression of the latter, had, moreover, been twice proposed by his predecessor. In 1861-62 he went to California to bring back, if possible, the men borrowed from the Rocky Mountain Mission to begin the California mission. He returned north in 1862 with Father Anthony Ravalli and immediately set about with characteristic earnestness to reopen St. Mary's Mission among the Flatheads, and St. Paul's among the Colville Indians. Moreover, he founded St. Peter's among the Blackfeet, the Mission of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary at Helena, St. Joseph's among the Nez Percés, and accepted St. Joseph's among the Yakima Indians, thus leaving eight residences where he had found but two. He was superior-general from 1862 to 1866 and from 1869 to 1877. Higher superiors were, in the latter year, forced to relieve Father Giorda of his charge since his health was undermined by apoplexy. He died at the Sacred Heart Mission among the Coeur d'Alene Indians on August 4, 1882.

GOETZ, ANTHONY: Father Anthony Goetz was born on March 12, 1813, at Altkirch in the department of Haut Rhin, France. He entered the Society of Jesus on May 27, 1835, and arrived in the

Rocky Mountain Mission in 1847. During his first winter in the mission, that of 1847-48, he lived with Father John Nobili at St. Joseph's Mission at a place the French Canadians called "Spruce Grove," in the mission of New Caledonia, or as it is now called, British Columbia. Since Father Nobili was recalled from New Caledonia in 1848 and it was not thought advisable to leave Father Goetz alone, he was transferred to the Sacred Heart Mission among the Coeur d'Alenes in what is now the state of Idaho. In 1851 he was called to St. Francis Xavier's on the Willamette by the superior of the mission and was sent on to the newly founded mission of California. On December 10, 1851, he was appointed pastor of the parish church of San Jose. This charge he held until 1863. On April 12, 1882, he died at the College of Santa Clara and was buried in the cemetery of the California mission near the college. He was in the seventieth year of his age and his forty-seventh in the Society.

GOLLER, HERMAN: Father Herman J. Goller, the son of well-to-do parents, was born at Hagen, Westphalia, Germany, on September 19, 1867. At the age of twelve he was sent to the Jesuit College of Stella Matutina at Feldkirch, Austria. He entered the novitiate of the German province at Blyenbeck, Holland, on September 30, 1886, leaving for Woodstock College, Maryland, in 1888. After his course in philosophy he went to Gonzaga College, Spokane, in 1891, to prefect and teach. In 1896 he returned to Woodstock to study theology, where he was ordained priest in 1899. He made his fourth year of theology at St. Louis University. For a year, 1901-2, he was prefect of studies at Gonzaga College, Spokane. His year of "third probation" at the Jesuit College, Brooklyn, Ohio, followed. He was appointed acting president of Gonzaga College, July 31, 1905, and the first provincial superior of the California province, July 31, 1909. He died from heart trouble at the Sacred Heart Hospital, Spokane, Washington, on November 5, 1910.

GRASSI, URBAN: Father Urban Grassi was born at Girola in the province of Voghera, Italy, November 25, 1830. He entered the Society of Jesus on December 5, 1850. Three years later he arrived at St. Louis and remained there for two years. From 1855 to 1861 he taught in California at Santa Clara College and at St. Ignatius' College, San Francisco. He was at St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana, from 1861 to 1869. From 1866 to 1869 he was vice-superior of the Rocky Mountain Missions. He was stationed at Colville from 1869 to 1871; at St. Joseph's, North Yakima, Washington, from 1871 to

1876; at Colville again from 1876 to 1879; 1879-80 at Lewiston, Idaho; from 1880 to 1884 at North Yakima, and from 1884 to 1886 he worked among the Okinagan Indians. The supervision of the erection of Gonzaga College occupied him during the year 1886-87. Then, after a year at North Yakima, he resided at Umatilla, Oregon, until his death, which was brought on by pneumonia, on March 21, 1890.

HOECKEN, ADRIAN: Father Adrian Hoecken was born at Tilburg, North Brabant, Holland, on March 18, 1815. His studies for the priesthood were made at the seminary of Bois-Le-Duc, where he was ordained deacon in May, 1839. He came to America the same year and entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus on December 2. After his ordination to the priesthood at St. Louis, May 30, 1842, by His Excellency, Peter Richard Kenrick, coadjutor to Bishop Rosati, he was sent to the Indian missions of the Rocky Mountains. He was among the Kalispel Indians from 1844 to 1854, when St. Ignatius' Mission was on the lower Pend d'Oreille River, and in 1854 he founded St. Ignatius' Mission where it now stands, in the Bitter Root Valley of Montana. He was recalled to Missouri in 1861 because of ill health. On Easter Monday, April 19, 1897, he died at Marquette College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, at the age of eighty-two.

IMODA, JOHN B.: Father John Baptist Camillus Imoda was born in Turin, Italy, November 29, 1829. He entered the Society of Jesus on April 22, 1854, following the example set by his brother, Henry, who was at that time already a priest with several years of experience as a pastor in a town near Naples. After his two years of novitiate at Massa e Carrara, Italy, he was made treasurer of the house. He arrived at Frederick, Maryland, in May, 1858. From there he went to California by way of the Isthmus of Panama. The winter of 1859-60 was spent at St. Peter's Mission, Montana, but in the spring of 1860, after the departure of Father Adrian Hoecken for St. Louis, Missouri, he was sent to St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana. In June, 1861, however, he returned to St. Peter's with Father Joseph Giorda. Although this mission was suppressed in 1866 because of the lack of men, it was due to the earnest entreaty of Father Imoda that it was reopened the following year. The years 1867-80 he spent at the mission. From 1880 until his death on June 18, 1886, he was at the cathedral church at Helena, Montana, having been from 1883 to 1886 the vicar-general of the diocese.

JACQUET, ALOYSIUS: Father Aloysius Jacquet was born at Bruges, Belgium, January 18, 1854. He entered the Society of Jesus on March 19, 1872. It was during his year of "third probation" that he received the order to proceed to the Rocky Mountain Mission, and he arrived in Spokane on April 21, 1883. Until the fall of 1884, he labored among the whites in Spokane, and the Indians and the whites of the surrounding districts. In 1886 he ministered to the Kootenai and Coeur d'Alene Indians. In 1887 he returned to build Our Lady of Lourdes School in Spokane. In 1888, after successfully completing this edifice, he was sent to St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana, but during the next year, owing to ill health, he resided in California. In 1900, the "builder" was sent from California to Nome, Alaska, to erect a church. He served as a hospital chaplain in California from 1903 to 1913, when he was transferred to a hospital in Montreal, Canada, where he lived until his death on March 27, 1922.

JOSET, JOSEPH: Father Peter Joseph Joset was born on August 27, 1810, at Courfaivre, in the French canton of Berne, Switzerland. He received his early education from the vicar of the parish and later from a school conducted by diocesan clergy in the neighboring town of Delemont. In 1826 he began his studies at the Jesuit College of Friburg, and on October 1, 1830, he entered the Society of Jesus. After teaching and studying at the University of Friburg, he was ordained there on September 19, 1840, by His Excellency, Peter Tobias Yenni, Bishop of Lausanne and Geneva. He arrived at St. Louis, Missouri, in 1843, too late to go West that year. After a winter spent in teaching French and learning English, he came to the Rocky Mountains in the spring of 1844. Sacred Heart Mission was moved by Father Joset in the fall of 1845 to Cataldo on the Coeur d'Alene River. He became superior-general of the Rocky Mountain Missions in the fall of 1846. From 1851 to 1856 Father Joset was at St. Paul's Mission, Kettle Falls, Washington. From 1857 to 1859 he was at the Coeur d'Alene mission; from 1861 to 1871 at St. Paul's; from 1871 to 1883 at Coeur d'Alene. In 1883 he took up residence at St. Michael's Mission near Spokane, whence he visited all the small towns around Spokane on horseback to say Mass and to hear confessions. From 1889 to 1891 he was the instructor of the Fathers making their year of "third probation" at Desmet, Idaho. In 1891, after a stroke of apoplexy, Father Joset was removed from office, but he remained at Desmet, preaching and hearing confessions until his death on June 19, 1900.

LA MOTTE, GEORGE DE: The son of a French army officer and his English wife, Father George de la Motte was born at Schlettstadt near Strasbourg in Alsace, France, February 19, 1861. After attending the school of the Eudist Fathers at Redon in Brittany, he entered the Society of Jesus on September 7, 1878. His novitiate was made at Angers, France, and his humanistic studies at Aberdovey in Wales. So successful was he in the latter, that he was sent to take a licentiate at the Sorbonne. It was while studying philosophy in Paris that he volunteered for the Indian missions. After two years of theology at the college on the Isle of Jersey, he went to Woodstock College, Maryland, in 1888, where, on the completion of his course in 1889, he was selected to defend all scholastic philosophy and theology, and, after this "grand act," he was asked to remain at Woodstock as a teacher of theology. He refused, and was seconded by the firm determination of his French provincial superior to recall him to France if he were not permitted to go to the Rocky Mountain Mission. While at Colville (1891-93), typhoid fever, contracted while caring for a sick Indian, brought him to death's door. He recovered, but the bad effects of this illness, added to the strain caused by the preparation for the defense at Woodstock, so undermined his strength that he carried the continual cross of ill health to his grave. In 1895, after the year of "third probation" at Florissant, Missouri, and a year at Desmet, Idaho, he was made superior and professor of dogmatic theology in the scholasticate of St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana. In 1899, with the removal of the house of studies to Gonzaga, he became superior both of the college and of the scholasticate. He was made superior-general of the Rocky Mountain Mission in 1900, and in 1907, of the united California and Rocky Mountain missions. With the formation of the California Province in 1909, he went to live the last nine years of his life with "his" Indians at St. Ignatius', Montana. Death came on Good Friday, March 29, 1918.

LAURÉ, AUGUSTINE: Father Augustine Lauré was born at Aups, Provence, France, January 31, 1857. He entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Lons-le-Saulnier, France, on September 17, 1874. After studies in France and England, he went to America and was ordained priest at Woodstock, Maryland, by Cardinal Gibbons on August 27, 1887. In 1889, upon the completion of his fourth year of theology, he was sent to Desmet Mission where he made his year of "third probation" under Father Joset. In 1890 he was

appointed to assist Father Garrand at North Yakima, where he died on December 19, 1892.

MACKIN, CHARLES: Father Charles Mackin was born in North Ireland, on September 29, 1856. His early education was at a "hedge school" and later he attended a Protestant university. He came to the United States in 1878. Soon afterwards, he went to Canada and began to study at the Jesuit College of Sainte Marie, in Montreal. Two years later, he returned to the United States and on October 9, 1880, he entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at West Park on the Hudson. Father Cataldo called him to Spokane in August, 1886, and on December 3 he was ordained priest by His Excellency, Aegidius Junger, Bishop of Nesqually. From December 5, 1886 to 1888, he was at the Colville mission. He made his year of "third probation" from the middle of 1888 to August, 1889, at Desmet Mission under Father Joset. August of 1889 saw his appointment as superior of Gonzaga College and pastor of Spokane, Palouse, Coeur d'Alene, Cheney, and Chewelah. In 1890 he began St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum and St. Aloysius Parish Church. From 1891 to 1893 he was superior of the novitiate of Desmet. He died at Port Townsend, Washington, December 28, 1928.

MENETREY, JOSEPH: Father Joseph Menetrey was born in Friburg, Switzerland, November 28, 1812, and he entered the Society of Jesus on September 29, 1836. He arrived on August 13, 1846, via Cape Horn, at St. Francis Xavier's Mission on the Willamette, Oregon. From 1848 to 1854 he was stationed at the Coeur d'Alene mission at Cataldo, Idaho. From 1854 to 1857 he was at St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana; then, after two years at the Coeur d'Alene mission, he returned to St. Ignatius' for three years. In 1862 he went to St. Peter's Mission. The following year he was transferred to St. Paul's Mission, Kettle Falls, Washington. In 1867 he was sent to Willamette, near Portland, Oregon, to act as procurator for the missions. In 1868 he returned to St. Ignatius' Mission. Three years of parochial work (1874-77) in Helena, Montana, were followed by three years at St. Mary's Mission, Montana. From 1880 to 1884 he was at St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana. From 1884 to 1889 he served as assistant pastor of St. Francis Xavier's Parish, Missoula, Montana. In the latter year he retired to St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana, to prepare for death, which came on April 27, 1891.

MENGARINI, GREGORY: Born in Rome on July 21, 1811, Father Gregory Mengarini entered the Society of Jesus on October 22, 1828. In his second year of theology the young Jesuit volunteered to go to the Rocky Mountains and was accepted. After completing his course at the Roman College, he set out on June 21, 1840, from Leghorn for Philadelphia, whence he went to St. Louis. Father Mengarini, with Fathers De Smet and Point, and Brothers Huet, Specht, and Claessens set out from St. Louis on April 24, 1841, for the mountains. St. Mary's Mission, Montana, was founded in September of the same year. When, in 1842, Father Point and Brother Huet were sent to found the Mission of the Sacred Heart among the Coeur d'Alene Indians, Father Mengarini was left alone at St. Mary's Mission. After the closing of St. Mary's Mission in 1850, Father Mengarini was sent by the superior of the Missions, Father Accolti, to Oregon, where he remained a year. In 1852 he was transferred to the California mission. For thirty years treasurer of Santa Clara College, Father Mengarini was removed only when apoplexy and failing eyesight incapacitated him for further work. He died at Santa Clara College, September 23, 1886.

PALLADINO, LAWRENCE: Born at Bodia de Tiglieto, Italy, August 15, 1837, Father Lawrence Palladino received his early training at the Junior Seminary in Genoa and later at Stazzlus. On November 18, 1855, he entered the novitiate of the Society near Massa e Carrara, Italy. During the anticlerical agitation then brewing, this novitiate was closed, and he was sent to complete his novitiate at Verona. His studies, begun at Feldkirch in the Vorarlberg, Austria, and continued at Fourvières, France, were completed at Monaco. After his ordination to the priesthood at Nice by the Ordinary, John Peter Sola, in February, 1863, he left for Santa Clara, California. He remained there until the fall of 1867. From 1867 to 1873 he was at St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana. In 1874 he went to Helena and bought the three blocks, whereon the cathedral, the school, and the hospital now stand. He was made pastor of the church and, with the coming of Bishop Brondel, he was appointed his secretary and vicar-general. In 1894 was published Father Palladino's history of the first half century of Catholicity in Montana, *Indian and White in the Northwest*. From 1894 to 1897, he was president of Gonzaga College, Spokane. After a year at the Immaculate Conception Church, Seattle, he returned to Missoula for eight years. From 1906 to 1908, he was at Lewiston, Idaho. From 1908 to 1910, he was at North Yakima, and after two years at Missoula, he returned to

North Yakima for three more years. He resided at Mount St. Michael's, Spokane, as the spiritual director of the community from 1915 to 1917. He then returned to Missoula where he remained until his death, which occurred at St. Patrick's Hospital, on August 19, 1927.

POINT, NICHOLAS: Father Nicholas Point was born at Rocroy in the diocese of Reims, France, on April 10, 1799. In 1810 he was received among the students of Latin under the tutorship of the village curé. After two years he left the school and found a position in a lawyer's office. In 1815 he again entered the school. In 1819 he petitioned for admission into the Society of Jesus and was accepted by Father Loriquet, Rector of the College of St. Acheul, but spent the next two years as a prefect of discipline at the college. He entered the novitiate of the Society at Montrouge, France, on September 23, 1822. Forced to interrupt his novitiate by ill health, he did not pronounce his first vows until March 9, 1827. When the college was closed in 1828, he began the study of theology at Brig, Switzerland. During the year 1831-32 he was prefect at Friburg, Switzerland. Driven from Switzerland to Spain and expelled from there in 1834, he arrived in the United States on December 13 of the same year. In June, 1836, he was at Bardstown, Kentucky, and shortly thereafter at St. Mary's College, Kansas. He was founder and first Rector of St. Charles' College, Grand Coteau, Louisiana. During the year, 1840-41, he was a missionary at Westport, Missouri. In 1841 he went to the Rocky Mountains and helped to establish St. Mary's Mission, Montana. In 1842 he founded the Coeur d'Alene mission on the St. Joe River in Idaho. In 1844 he returned to St. Mary's Mission. The year 1846 found him among the Blackfoot Indians. In 1847, he received an order which recalled him to Canada. He died at Quebec, July 4, 1868.

PRANDO, PETER PAUL: Father Peter Paul Prando was born in the diocese of Vercelli, Italy, on January 1, 1845. He entered the Society of Jesus, September 9, 1864, and was ordained priest after a brilliant course of studies at Monaco and Rome. A few years later, he volunteered and was accepted for the Rocky Mountain Missions. Father Prando arrived at St. Peter's Mission in 1880. For nearly thirty years he labored among the Cheyennes, Crows, and the Piegans, but *Isteumate* (Iron-Eyes), as he was called by the Indians because of his horn-rimmed spectacles, is known as the Apostle of the Crows, for it was among them that he was most successful. He baptized

with his own hand over three thousand Indians. Worn out by hardships, penance, and the ravages of a painful disease, he died at St. Michael's Mission near Spokane on June 20, 1906, at the age of sixty-one.

RAGARU, ALOYSIUS: Father Aloysius Ragaru was born at Combrée, France, November 29, 1847. He entered the Society of Jesus on November 10, 1869, and came to St. Michael's Mission, Washington, in 1885. In 1886 he was sent to Helena, Montana, as assistant pastor. From 1887 to 1901 he was in Alaska. In 1901 he was sent to Holy Family Mission, Montana, and, in the following year, to St. Andrew's, Oregon. In 1903 he returned to Nulato, Alaska. In 1904 and 1905 he was at Tanana and St. Paul's, a station of Tanana. The next year he was sent to St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana. In 1907 Father Ragaru was transferred to the French Canadian Province. Death came at Montreal, Canada, May 24, 1921.

RAPPAGLIOSI, PHILIP: Father Philip Rappagliosi was born of a noble family in Rome on September 14, 1841, and entered the Novitiate of San Andrea, Rome, September 28, 1856. From 1858 to 1860 he studied rhetoric. In 1860, because of the turbulent state of Italy, he was sent to Vals, France, to study philosophy. At the end of the second year, he was recalled to the Roman College, where he completed his course in 1863. After philosophy he taught for several years in Rome and Ferrentino. One year of theology at Rome was followed by three years at Laval, France, and the year of "third probation" at Tronchiennes, Belgium. His ardent request to be sent to the Rocky Mountains was granted, and he arrived in Helena, Montana, December 21, 1873. After a short rest, he proceeded to St. Mary's Mission, Montana. Shortly thereafter, he went to St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana. Worn out by hunger, cold, fatigue, and grief, he died, February 7, 1878.

RAVALLI, ANTHONY: Father Anthony Ravalli was born at Ferrara, Italy, on May 16, 1812. He entered the Society of Jesus on November 12, 1827. At the close of his novitiate, he studied the classics and philosophy. Then he taught for two years at Turin, Italy. After the study of theology, to which he had added courses in medicine, art, and mechanics, he was ordained priest. He pronounced his final vows while on his way to America. The vessel crossed the bar of the Columbia on July 31, 1844, and he spent the

following winter at St. Paul's Mission on the Willamette River, Oregon. In the spring of 1845 he was sent to Colville to build a church. A month later orders came, transferring him to St. Mary's Mission, Montana, to take the place of Father Zerbinati who had died during the summer. In 1850, St. Mary's was temporarily closed, and he was sent to the Sacred Heart Mission among the Coeur d'Alene Indians. From 1857 to 1860, he was at Colville. From 1860 to 1863 he was Master of Novices and spiritual adviser of the community at Santa Clara College, California. In 1863, he returned to St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana. From October, 1864, to 1866, he was stationed at St. Peter's Mission, Montana. In the fall of the latter year, he returned to St. Mary's Mission, where he remained until his death on October 2, 1884. The church at Cataldo, Idaho, is a monument to his genius. The lives he saved by means of his medical skill were legion.

REBMANN, JAMES J.: Father James J. Rebmann was born at Speyer, Bavaria, Germany, on June 20, 1851. He entered the diocesan normal school at the age of five and remained there for fourteen years. He entered the Society of Jesus, April 10, 1872. After his ordination to the priesthood in 1884, he came to Woodstock, Maryland, from Europe. He had been there only a year when he was sent to Spokane, Washington, to be the first president of Gonzaga College and pastor of St. Aloysius Church. In 1890 he was appointed treasurer of St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana. From 1891 to 1897 he was superior of different Indian missions in Montana. In 1897 he returned to Gonzaga as superior and in 1898 he became its first vice-rector. In 1900 he was again appointed pastor of St. Aloysius Parish, while at the same time he taught moral theology to the young Jesuits residing at the college. Sent to Seattle College in 1904, Father Rebmann was soon forced by ill health to return to Gonzaga, where he held the office of treasurer until 1910. He was the founder and first pastor of St. Francis Xavier's Church, Spokane. In 1924 he relinquished this post and returned to Gonzaga as spiritual director of the community, until illness necessitated his removal to the Sacred Heart Hospital, Spokane, where he died, November 5, 1935.

ROBAUT, ALOYSIUS: Born at Peillon, France, April 12, 1855, Father Aloysius Robaut entered the Society of Jesus, March 18, 1873. He arrived at St. Michael's Mission, Spokane, Washington, in 1883. In 1885 he was sent to St. Francis Regis' Mission, Colville, Washington, but the next year he was transferred to the newly founded mission of Alaska. In 1887 he was at Holy Cross; in 1888 at Nulato;

in 1889 once more at Holy Cross; then, for two more years, 1890 to 1892, at Nulato. From 1892 to 1916 he was attached to Holy Cross, although for several years he resided at Kuskokwim and Pimute. From 1916 to 1918 he was at Akularak. Then after a year at St. Michael's Mission, Alaska, Father Robaut returned to Holy Cross, where he remained until his death on December 18, 1930.

ROUGÉ, STEPHEN DE: Father Stephen de Rougé was born of a noble family at Chenille, France, on January 28, 1860. He received his early education at home. From 1876 to 1879 he studied at the Jesuit College at Mans, France. He entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Angers, August 14, 1879. Driven from France by the anticlerical laws of March 29, 1880, he finished his novitiate at Aberdovey in Wales. He arrived at St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana, in 1883 and was ordained there in 1885. He worked among the Okinagan Indians from 1885 to 1888, when he returned to France to make his year of "third probation" and to solicit funds for the Rocky Mountain Missions. From 1890 until his death, May 9, 1916, at St. Mary's Mission, Omak, Washington, he labored among the Okinagan Indians.

RUELLAN, LOUIS: Louis Marie Ruellan was born at Pordic near Saint Brieuç, France, December 15, 1846. His education he received at the Institute of Saint Charles at Saint Brieuç. He entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Angers, February 1, 1870, and was ordained priest at Laval on September 14, 1879. The next year the Society was suppressed in France and Father Ruellan was sent to the French novitiate in England near Canterbury. In 1881 he was sent to the Apostolic School at Littlehampton and in August of 1882, he left England for America. But, since Father Cataldo wished him to have a good knowledge of the English language, it was not until April, 1884, that he was summoned from the East to the Rocky Mountain Missions. Immediately he was appointed superior at Spokane Falls, a charge which included the care of the white people at Spokane Falls and the supervision of the building of Gonzaga College. When in September of the same year Father Cataldo had to leave the mission to attend the Council of Baltimore, he appointed Father Ruellan to be superior in his absence. On December 13, he left Spokane to visit the Colville residence. He arrived on December 22 at Colville, where he opened the retreat for the lay brothers on January 2. The following day a sudden attack of pneumonia brought him to his bed. He died on January 7, 1885.

SOER, ALOYSIUS: Father Aloysius Soer was born in Holland, November 8, 1853, and entered the Society of Jesus on September 26, 1872. He began his year of "third probation" in 1885 and arrived at St. Joseph's Mission among the Nez Percés at Slickpoo, Idaho, on August 12, 1886. Father Cataldo, in his history of St. Joseph's Mission, praises very highly Father Soer's great zeal for the conversion of the Nez Percés. In 1905 he was sent to Holy Family Mission, Montana, where he remained until shortly before his death, which took place at Great Falls, Montana, November 29, 1931.

TOSI, PASCAL: Father Pascal Tosi was born at Santo Vito in the province of Forli, Italy, April 25, 1836. He made his studies for the priesthood at the seminary at Bertinoro, Italy, and was admitted into the Society of Jesus on October 24, 1862. He came to St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana, in 1866. From 1867 to 1877 he was near Colville, Washington: for three years at St. Paul's, and the remaining seven years at St. Francis Regis' Mission. From 1877 to 1886 he was stationed at the Coeur d'Alene mission. In 1886 he was sent to Alaska. From 1887 to 1894 he was vice-superior of the Alaska mission, with his residence at Holy Cross. In 1894 he was named first prefect apostolic of Alaska and superior-general of the missions. In 1897 he was sent to Juneau in southeastern Alaska, where he died on January 14, 1898.

VAN DER POL, JOHN BAPTIST: Father John Baptist van der Pol was born at Osterhout, Holland, January 24, 1862. He entered the Belgian novitiate at Arlon on September 24, 1883. After his novitiate, he studied philosophy two years at Louvain. For the third year he was sent to Woodstock, Maryland. After a year at Florissant, Missouri, and three years at the Colville mission in Washington, he returned to Woodstock for four years of theology. He was ordained there in 1895. Then, for a year he was director of the school at St. Labre's Mission, Montana. From 1897 to 1900 he was superior at St. Francis Xavier's Mission among the Crow Indians in Montana. Then he made his year of "third probation" at Florissant, Missouri. In 1901, he was sent to Alaska to help Father Jacquet at Nome, but, because of a mistaken judgment of a superior, he was soon recalled. On his return, he was made treasurer of Gonzaga College, Spokane, Washington. When the Superior had received more exact information from Alaska, he saw his error and sent Father van der Pol back to Alaska as the superior of the residence at Nome. During the year 1906-7 he was at Douglas, Alaska. From 1908 to 1910 he was at

St. Francis' Mission, South Dakota. From 1910 to 1925 he labored at Cordova, Valdez, Seward, Douglas, Ketchikan, and other towns of southeastern Alaska. He was at Lewiston, Idaho, in 1925; in 1926 he was chaplain at Seattle College. From 1927 until his death he was pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Hillyard, Washington. He died on May 16, 1930.

VAN GORP, LEOPOLD: Father Leopold van Gorp was born on June 11, 1834, at Turnhout, Belgium. On September 25, 1855, he entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Tronchiennes, Belgium. When he had completed his philosophical and theological studies in America, he was ordained priest on June 24, 1865, by His Excellency, Martin John Spalding, Archbishop of Baltimore. In 1868 he was made superior of the residence at Helena, Montana. In 1875 he became the superior at St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana, and in 1888, the temporal administrator of the same mission. His ability in financial matters was well employed during his term as procurator of the Rocky Mountain Missions from 1890 to 1892. From 1893 to 1900 he was superior-general of the missions. From 1900 to 1904 he again held office as procurator of the missions. The year 1903 was spent in visiting the missions in Alaska. Appointed superior of St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana, in 1904, he held that office until his death on April 7, 1905.

VREBOSCH, ALOYSIUS: Father Aloysius Vrebosch was born in Louvain, Belgium, on June 13, 1873, and came to America at the age of sixteen. He entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Desmet, Idaho, October 26, 1893. From 1895 to 1898 he studied philosophy at St. Ignatius' Mission, Montana. From 1898 to 1903 he taught at St. Francis Xavier's Mission among the Crow Indians. In 1903 he began the study of theology at Gonzaga College, Spokane, Washington, where he was ordained priest in 1906. From 1906 to 1925 Father Vrebosch was at St. Francis Xavier's Mission, Montana. He was in Tacoma, Washington, from 1925 until his death in an automobile accident, December 13, 1928.

Notes

To avoid many lengthy repetitions, several symbols and abbreviations are used in these notes. (O) placed after a note indicates that the document is preserved in the Historical Archives of the Oregon Province of the Society of Jesus, located at Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington. (SPL) indicates the Archives of the Northwest Room in the Spokane Public Library. Other abbreviations are *Voyages* for P. J. De Smet's *Voyages aux Montagnes Rocheuse*; *Oregon* for the same author's *Voyages dans l'Amérique Septentrionale—Orégon*; CR, *DeSmet* for Chittenden and Richardson's *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet, S.J.*; *Ann. Prop.* for *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* (Lyon); WL for *Woodstock Letters*; *Jersey* for *Lettres des Scholastiques de Jersey*; *Mold* for *Lettres de Mold*.

CHAPTER I

1. Bolduc à Cayenne, February 15, 1844, printed in *Ann. Prop.*, XVII, 463.
2. F. N. Blanchet, *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon*, p. 7.
3. Joseph Norbert Provencher, Titular Bishop of Juliopolis (Galatia) at Red River, first Bishop of St. Boniface, Manitoba, and Vicar Apostolic of northwestern Canada, was born on February 12, 1787. From the time of his ordination as a priest on December 21, 1811, until May 22, 1822, he labored zealously in various mission fields of western Canada. He was consecrated bishop and designated vicar apostolic on this latter date. The vicariate of Oregon City and that of Nesqually were attached to Red River until 1843; not until 1846 were the vicariate of Victoria and that of Walla Walla given autonomy. Bishop Provencher, therefore, was in immediate charge of the spiritual welfare of the Catholics in the Oregon Country for a good portion of his life which ended on June 7, 1853.
4. Provencher to McLoughlin, June 6, 1835, printed in Blanchet, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
5. Provencher to All the Families Settled in the Willamette Valley and Other Catholics Beyond the Rocky Mountains, June 8, 1835, printed in Blanchet, *loc cit.*
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
7. Joseph Signay, first archbishop of Quebec, was born on November 8, 1778. After completing his studies he was ordained a priest at Longueuil on March 28, 1802. He began working in the small towns of Chambly, Longueuil, Saint Constant and continued in this task until 1814 when he was appointed curé in Quebec. On May 27, 1827 he was consecrated coadjutor bishop of Quebec, an office which he filled until 1831 when he became bishop of Quebec. In 1844 he was made first archbishop of Quebec. This pioneer ecclesiastic died on October 1, 1850.

8. Simpson to Signay, February 17, 1838, printed in Blanchet, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

9. Francis Norbert Blanchet, first Archbishop of Oregon City, was born on September 3, 1795, at Saint-Pierre-de-la-Rivière-du-Sud in the county of Montmagny. After completing the required studies in Quebec he was ordained on July 18, 1819. Richibucto, New Brunswick, was the scene of his labors until 1828 when he was assigned to Les Cedres, where he remained as curé until his departure for the Oregon Country in 1838. In Montreal, on July 25, 1845, he was consecrated bishop and a year later, on July 24, 1846, he was placed over the newly erected archdiocese of Oregon City. Until his retirement in 1882, he administered his see with great devotion. Oregon's pioneer missionary and archbishop died on June 18, 1883.

10. Modests Demers, first Bishop of Victoria, B.C., was born at St. Nicholas in Levis County on October 11, 1809. He pursued his studies in Quebec, where he was ordained on February 7, 1836. Two years after his ordination he accompanied Francis N. Blanchet to the Oregon Country. At Oregon City on November 30, 1847, he was consecrated first bishop of Victoria. During 1870 he was present at the Vatican Council in Rome. His death occurred at Victoria on July 21, 1871.

11. Blanchet, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

CHAPTER II

1. *Concilia Provincialia, Baltimori Habita ab Anno 1829 usque ad Annum 1840*, p. 100.

2. Rosati à Roothan, October 20, 1839, printed in *Ann. Prop.*, XII, 275-76.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

4. *Ibid.*

5. CR, DeSmet, I, 29; also Victor, *The River of the West*, p. 233.

6. Gray, *History of Oregon*, p. 173.

7. De Smet, *Voyages*, p. 124.

8. Rosati à Roothan, October 20, 1839, printed in *Ann. Prop.*, XII, 276-77.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

10. Verhaegen à Rosati, October 21, 1839, quoted in Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, II, 248-49.

11. Verhaegen à Rosati, November 8, 1839, quoted in Garraghan, *op. cit.*, II, 250.

12. Davis, "Peter John De Smet, The Years of Preparation, 1801-1837," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXXII (1941), 167.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

14. Charles Nerinckx was born on October 2, 1761, in the village of Herffelingen in Brabant. After his ordination in 1785, he worked at various times in Mechlin and Everberg-Meerbeke until 1804 when he left Belgium because of restrictions imposed by the Revolutionary officials. The next twenty years of his life were given generously to the Kentucky mission. In 1817 and in 1821, he returned to Belgium to seek men and money for his mission. Peter De Smet was one of nine young men who came to the United States with Father Nerinckx in 1821. Charles Nerinckx died at St. Genevieve, Missouri, on August 12, 1824.

15. Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-71.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

17. De Smet à Nicolet, April 21, 1840. (SPL)

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.* Andrew Drips was born in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, in 1789. Throughout his life he was more or less constantly engaged in the fur trade. He and eight other men formed the Missouri Fur Company in 1820; later he was associated with Fontenelle in a private venture, and still later he was in the employ of the American Fur Company. President John Tyler appointed him Indian agent for the tribes of the Upper Missouri for the years 1842-46. When his term expired he rejoined the American Fur Company and remained with this group until his death on September 1, 1860, in Kansas City, Missouri.

Henry Frapp (Fraeb) was a well-known fur trader of that time. At various times he had been associated with Thomas Fitzpatrick in the fur trade and from 1830 to 1834 Frapp was a partner of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. It is generally thought that he was killed in a battle with the Sioux and Cheyenne Indians in August of 1841.

Ledger is not so easily traced. Mention of this man by De Smet constitutes a problem which has not yet been solved.

20. De Smet à Chanoine de la Croix, February 4, 1841, printed in *Voyages*, p. 1.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14. Chimney Rock is 571 miles west of Independence, Missouri, near the north branch of the Platte River, about ten miles west of Bridgeport and three miles south-southwest of Bayard, Nebraska. This formation of earthy limestone was some two hundred feet in height (five hundred feet if considered as one with the hill on which it stood), and served as an important landmark, since it could be seen for forty miles.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19. Independence Rock is located 838 miles west of Independence, Missouri, at $107^{\circ} 56' W$: longitude and $42^{\circ} 29' 36'' N$. latitude. Today it introduces the traveler into the valley of the Sweetwater in Natrona County, Wyoming.

23. South Pass is situated at $42^{\circ} 26' N$. latitude and $109^{\circ} 26' W$. longitude, at the south end of the Wind River Mountains. The pass lies in the Wyoming Basin which extends between the northern and the southern Rocky Mountains. This pass, which leads from the Sweetwater branch of the North Platte west to the Big Sandy branch of Green River, is twenty miles wide and 7,489 feet at the summit.

24. De Smet à Chanoine de la Croix, February 4, 1841, printed in *Voyages*, p. 5.

25. De Smet à un Père de la Compagnie de Jésus, February 4, 1841, printed in *Ann. Prop.*, XIII, 488.

26. De Smet à Chanoine de la Croix, February 4, 1841, printed in *Voyages*, p. 20.

27. CR, *DeSmet*, I, 217.

28. De Smet, *Voyages*, p. 30.

29. CR, *DeSmet*, I, 262.

30. De Smet à un Père de la Compagnie de Jésus, February 4, 1841, printed in *Ann. Prop.*, XIII, 488.

31. CR, *DeSmet*, I, 222.

32. *Ibid.*, I, 223, footnote.

33. *Ibid.*, I, 223.

34. De Smet à Chanoine de la Croix, February 4, 1841, printed in *Voyages*, p. 35.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

36. CR, *DeSmet*, I, 227.

37. *Ibid.*, I, 229-30.

38. *Ibid.*, I, 231.

39. *Ibid.*, I, 233-34.

40. *Ibid.*, I, 234.

41. De Smet à Chanoine de la Croix, February 4, 1841, printed in *Voyages*, p. 78.

42. CR, *DeSmet*, I, 273.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*, I, 274.

CHAPTER III

1. De Smet à Roothan, May 15, 1841, quoted in Garraghan, *op. cit.*, II, 259.
2. De Smet to Verhaegen, June 2, 1841, printed in CR, *DeSmet*, I, 278.
3. Thomas Fitzpatrick, famous guide and scout, was born in county Cavan Ireland, in 1799. He was called "Broken Hand" by the Indians because he had lost a finger and otherwise mutilated his left hand when a rifle burst. Until 1847 he engaged in the fur trade: with Ashley in 1823, with Smith in 1824, as an active partner of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company in 1830, and with Bridger and Sublette in 1834. Fitzpatrick acted as guide to Marcus Whitman and Samuel Parker for part of their trip of 1835, and he performed the same service for the group with whom De Smet traveled in 1841. From 1847 until his death in Washington, D. C., in 1854, he was Indian agent to the tribes along the trails to the West. Cf Le Roy R. Hafen and W. J. Ghent, *Broken Hand; The Life Story of Thomas Fitzpatrick, Chief of the Mountain Men*. Denver, Old West Publishing Co, 1931.
4. Point, "Recollections of the Rocky Mountains," *WL*, XII, 6.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, XII, 16.
7. CR, *DeSmet*, I, 293.
8. *Ibid.*, I, 294.
9. De Smet aux Religieuses Thérésiennes de Termonde, October 26, 1841, printed in *Voyages*, p. 177.
10. De Smet à ———, August 16, 1841, printed in *Voyages*, pp. 127-28.
11. Mengarini, "The Rocky Mountains, Memoirs of Father Gregory Mengarini," *WL*, XVII, 307.
12. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 34.
13. CR, *DeSmet*, I, 356.
14. *Ibid.*, I, 354.
15. *Ibid.*, I, 359.
16. Mengarini, "The Rocky Mountains, etc.," *WL*, XVIII, 36.
17. De Smet, *Voyages*, p. 264.
18. CR, *DeSmet*, I, 376.
19. *Ibid.*, I, 381.
20. *Ibid.*, I, 383.
21. Blanchet, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-30.
22. Mengarini, "The Rocky Mountains, etc.," *WL*, XVIII, 36.
23. CR, *DeSmet*, I, 396.

CHAPTER IV

1. Point, "Recollections, etc.," *WL*, XII, 147.
2. *Ibid.*, XII, 148.
3. *Ibid.*, XII, 148-49.
4. Joset, MSS., "History of the Coeur d'Alene," p. 2. (O)
5. Point, "Recollections, etc.," *WL*, XIII, 5-6.
6. *Ibid.*, XIII, 6-7.
7. Joset, MSS., "Sketch of the Sacred Heart Mission, p. 2. (O)
8. *Ibid.*

9. Joset, MSS., "History of the Coeur d'Alene," p. 4. (O)
10. McLoughlin to De Smet, September 27, 1841, printed in CR, *DeSmet*, IV, 1555.
11. CR, *DeSmet*, I, 388.
12. DeSmet, *Lettres des RR. PP. P. De Smet et A. Vercruyssel*, p. 41.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
15. CR, *DeSmet*, II, 449.
16. De Smet à *Mon cher Frère*, October 9, 1844, printed in *Orégon*, p. 70.
17. De Smet, *Lettres des RR. PP. P. De Smet et A. Vercruyssel*, p. 46.
18. O'Hara, *Pioneer Catholic History of Oregon*, pp. 129-30.
19. CR, *DeSmet*, I, 342. Pend d'Oreilles or "Ear Drop" was a popular name given these Indians by the early French-Canadian trappers. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 646.
20. Joset à Fouillot, February 13, 1847, printed in *Ann. Prop.*, XXI, 153.
21. De Smet to Verhaegen, July 26, 1846, printed in De Smet, *Oregon Missions*, p. 248.
22. Joset à Fouillot, February 13, 1847, printed in *Ann. Prop.*, XXI, 153.
23. CR, *DeSmet*, II, 467.
24. *Ibid.*, II, 468.
25. *Ibid.*, II, 474. These rocky caverns are located in the cliffs across the Clark Fork River from Cusick, Washington. The larger of the two caverns is about 75 feet wide and 50 feet long; the smaller is little more than an indentation in the cliff.
26. *Ibid.*, II, 471.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*, II, 480.
29. Joset, MSS., "St. Ignatius Mission, 1845-46." (O)
30. CR, *DeSmet*, II, 477.
31. Accolti à De Smet, February 9, 1846, quoted in Garraghan, *op. cit.*, II, 327.
32. Nobili à De Smet, June 1, 1846, printed in *Orégon*, pp. 196-97.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 197-98.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-99.
37. De Smet au Directeur des Précis Historiques, January 18, 1858, printed in De Smet, *Cinquante Nouvelles Lettres*, pp. 465-66.
38. CR, *DeSmet*, II, 494.
39. *Ibid.*, II, 472.
40. *Ibid.*, II, 572.
41. De Smet à Monseigneur ———, August 7, 1845, printed in *Orégon*, p. 90.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
43. Joset, MSS., "Notes on the Colville Mission." (O)

CHAPTER V

1. Mengarini, "The Rocky Mountains, etc.," WL, XVIII, 40.
2. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 34.
3. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 143.
4. *Orégon*, pp. 263-64.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 264.
6. Classens to ———, n.d. (O)

7. Mengarini, "The Rocky Mountains, etc.," *WL*, XVIII, 151.
8. Ravalli to Palladino, December 8, 1879. (O)
9. Hoecken ad Roothan, March 25, 1849, quoted in Garraghan, *op. cit.*, II, 308-9.
10. Ravalli to Palladino, December 8, 1879. (O)
11. Joset, MSS., "Origin of St. Ignatius Mission." (O)
12. CR, *DeSmet*, IV, 1232-33.
13. *Ibid.*, IV, 1233-34.
14. *Ibid.*, IV, 1233.
15. Hoecken à De Smet, July, 1855. Copy in Hoecken's Letter Book. (O)
16. Mère Marie-Antoinette, *L'Institut de la Providence*, Vol. V: *Les Soeurs de la Providence en Orégon*, pp. 195-201.
17. Palladino, *Indian and White in the Northwest*, p. 144.
18. Palladino, *Education for the Indian*, p. 10.
19. James O'Connor, "The Flathead Indians," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, III (1883-91), 102.
20. Palladino, *Education for the Indian*, p. 3.
21. McKeogh to [A Woodstock Theologian], n.d., printed in *WL*, XXVI, 83. Thomas C. McKeogh was a young Jesuit seminarian attached to the Missouri province. At the time this letter was written he was studying theology at St. Ignatius Mission, Montana.
22. *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, XXXVI, 1119.
23. Palladino, *Indian and White in the Northwest*, p. 172.
24. Guidi to Cataldo, December 27, 1881, printed in *WL*, XII, 52.
25. J. O'Connor, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.
26. [A Father of St. Ignatius' Mission] to ———, n.d., printed in *WL*, XI, 184.
27. MS., "Diary of Reverend George de la Motte, S.J.," p. 39. (O)
28. Sullivan, "Good Friday Among the Flathead," *The Indian Sentinel*, IV, 54.
29. Kuppens, MS., "Corrections of Indian and White in the Northwest," (O)
30. Palladino, *Indian and White in the Northwest*, p. 196.
31. Kuppens, MS., *op. cit.*, (O)
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. MS., "Sketch of Rappagliosi's Life." (O)
35. *Ibid.*
36. Prando to Cataldo, January 13, 1881, printed in *WL*, X, 146.
37. Prando to Cataldo, 1881, printed in *WL*, XII, 37.
38. Prando a Cataldo, February, 1884, printed in *Missione Della Provincia Torinese Della Compagnia di Gesu Montagne Rocciose Della America Settentrionale*, pp. 36-37.
39. J. A. Viall, Supt. of Indians for Montana to the Commissioner for Indian Affairs, September 15, 1871, printed in *The Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs—1871*, p. 409.
40. Palladino, *Indian and White in the Northwest*, p. 306.
41. MS., "Petition," October 10, 1866. (O)
42. MS., "Deed," December 28, 1866. (O)
43. O'Gorman to [Grassi], December 11, 1867. (O)
44. "Agreement," May 5, 1884. Certified typescript copy. (O)
45. Brondel to Cataldo, October 31, 1883. (O)
46. Palladino to Cataldo, May 31, 1881. (O)
47. Prando to Cataldo, n.d., printed in *WL*, XII, 306.
48. *Ibid.*

49. Palladino, *Indian and White in the Northwest*, p. 228.
50. Bougis à De Beaucourt, February 26, 1892, printed in *Jersey*, May, 1892, p. 128.
51. Bougis à ———, May 28, 1893, printed in *Jersey*, November, 1893, p. 325.
52. Bougis à De Beaucourt, February 9, 1894, printed in *Jersey*, December, 1894, p. 333.
53. C. C. Uhlenbeck, *Original Blackfoot Texts*, p. 5.
54. MSS., "*Litterae Annuae Missionis Sanctae Familiae*," 1901-1904. (O)
55. J. A. Viall, Supt. of Indians for Montana, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 15, 1871, printed in *The Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs—1871*, p. 411.
56. Eberschweiler, MS., "Sketch of St. Paul's," p. 2. (O)
57. Eberschweiler to Cataldo, May 2, 1886. (O)
58. Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs—Laws and Treaties*, I, 265.
59. A. O. Simons, U.S. Indian Agent, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 26, 1890, printed in *The Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs—1890*, p. 130.
60. CR, *DeSmet*, I, 239.
61. *Ibid.*, I, 397-98.
62. *Ibid.*, III, 956.
63. Barcelo to Cataldo, October 7, 1880. (O)
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.*, July 15, 1881. (O)
66. *Ibid.*, July 22, 1881. (O)
67. Prando, MSS., "Sketch of St. Francis Xavier Mission," p. 2. (O)
68. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
73. Joseph Bandini [, S.J.,] to M. P. Wyman, U. S. Indian Agent, July 6, 1893, printed in *The Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs—1893*, p. 181.
74. MSS., "*Historia Domus Missionis S^ti Francisci Xaverii*," 1895-98," p. 2. (O)
75. Barcelo to [Cataldo], September 16, 1882. (O)
76. Barney Old Coyote, "An Indian's Appreciation," *The Indian Sentinel*, II, 295.
77. *Ibid.*
78. Barcelo to [Cataldo], July 21, 1883. (O)
79. Arendzen, "The Cheyenne and Their Catholic Mission," *The Indian Sentinel*, II, 68.
80. *Ibid.*, II, 70.
81. *Ibid.*, II, 71.
82. Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, p. 84.

CHAPTER VI

1. Joset, MSS., "History of the Coeur d'Alene," p. 5. (O)
2. Joset, MSS., "Sketch of the Sacred Heart Mission Church." (O)
3. *Ibid.*
4. I. I. Stevens, in *Reports of Explorations and Surveys etc.*, XII, 134.
5. De Smet, *New Indian Sketches*, p. 66.
6. Stevens to Joset, November 28, 1855. (O)

7. Wright to Joset, September 17, 1858. (O) This letter, with others, appears in "The Jesuits and the Coeur d'Alene Treaty of 1858" by William N. Bischoff, S.J., and Charles M. Gates in the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXXIV (1943), 178.
8. Mullan to Congiato, September 17, 1858, printed in *WL*, XVII, 89.
9. Cataldo to De Smet, April 2, 1872, printed in *WL*, II, 58.
10. Sherman, "Across the Continent," *WL*, XI, 155-56.
11. Diomedi, "Sketches of Modern Indian Life," *WL*, XXIII, 32.
12. MSS., "Vote of Thanks Tendered to Mr. Cataldo." (O)
13. "The Missions of the Rocky Mountains in 1881," *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, XVII (1882), 88.
14. Robaut to Bougis, October 1, 1883, printed in *WL*, XIII, 152.
15. MS., "Accounts of the Tertian Fathers of 1889." (O)
16. Blanchet, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
17. CR, *DeSmet*, I, 277.
18. *Ibid.*, I, 338-39.
19. A. M. A. Blanchet à Grassi, January 20, 1867. (O)
20. Cataldo, MSS., "Sketch of St. Joseph's Mission," p. 32. (O)
21. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
24. MSS., "*Historia Domus Sti Josephi*." March 12. 1902. (O)
25. Cataldo to Hughes, 1926. Copy. (O)
26. MSS., "*Litterae Annuae Sti Josephi, 1927-28.*" (O)

CHAPTER VII

1. Joset, MSS., "Notes on Colville Mission." (O)
2. *Ibid.*
3. Joset, *Histoire de la Mission de Colville, d'Après Notes du P. Joset*, p. 7.
4. John A. Simms, Special Indian Agent, to Hon. E. P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1874, printed in *The Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs—1874*, p. 328.
5. John A. Simms, Special Indian Agent, to Hon. E. P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1875, printed in *The Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs—1875*, p. 362.
6. MSS., "Diary of St. Francis Regis Mission," April 7, 1879. (O)
7. MSS., "*Historia Domus Sti Francisci Regis*," September 1, 1908. (O)
8. Caruana to Cataldo, January 21, 1882, printed in *WL*, XII, 46.
9. "Necrologie du Père Louis Ruellan," *Jersey*, August, 1885, p. 328.
10. Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, p. 98.
11. Historicus [G. F. Weibel, S.J.], "Beginning and Progress of Catholicity in Spokane," *Gonzaga Magazine*, III, 289.
12. Grassi to Giorda, November 10, 1874. (O)
13. *Ibid.*
14. De Rougé a Cataldo, May 9, 1886, printed in *Missione Della Provincia Torinese Della Compagnia di Gesu etc.*, pp. 87-88.
15. De Rougé a Canestrelli, May 8, 1886, *ibid.*, p. 86.
16. De Rougé a De la Motte, July-August, 1886, *ibid.*, p. 92.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

20. Olivier de Rougé à M. Vandewalle, O.F.M., May 4, 1923. (O)
21. "St Mary's Mission School," *The Indian Sentinel*, 1916 (Father De Smet Number), p. 15.
22. MS. "Diary of Reverend George de la Motte, S.J.," December 23, 1907. (O)

CHAPTER VIII

1. Caruana to Meagher, December 11, 1899. (O)
2. *Ibid.*
3. Cataldo, MSS., "Sketch of the Spokane Mission," p. 12. (O)
4. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
5. Ruellan, *Louis et Auguste Ruellan, Prêtres de la Compagnie de Jésus*, p. 81.
6. Jacquet to Weibel, January 12, 1912. (O)
7. Historicus [G. F. Weibel, S.J.], "Beginning and Progress of Catholicity in Spokane," *Gonzaga Magazine*, III, 236.
8. Sister M. J. Baptista to Cataldo, April 13, 1888. (O)
9. Cataldo, MSS., "Sketch of the Spokane Mission," p. 63. (O)
10. Sister Mary Margaret to Cataldo, May 12, 1890. (O)
11. Cataldo to Bishop Junger, May 3, 1890. (O)
12. MS, "Diary of Reverend George de la Motte, S.J.," January 3, 1905. (O)
13. Smith to ———, April 15, 1886, printed in *WL*, XV, 197.
14. Jacquet to Weibel, January 12, 1912. (O)
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CHAPTER IX

1. Augustine Magloire Blanchet, first Bishop of Walla Walla, and later Bishop of Nesqually, was born on August 22, 1797, in Saint Pierre. He completed his ecclesiastical studies in Quebec and was ordained on June 3, 1821. For the following twenty-one years he labored in various parishes and missions of French-Canada: at Saint Gervais, Isle de Madeleine, Cheticamp, Saint Luc and Saint Jean d'Iberville, Assumption, Saint Charles sur Richelieu, and from 1838 to 1842 he was curé of Les Cedres. From 1844 to 1846 he was a canon in Montreal. In this latter year he was consecrated first Bishop of Walla Walla, one of the bishoprics within the metropolitan see of his brother, Francis Norbert Blanchet, Archbishop of Oregon City. Walla Walla remained as seat of the diocese until 1850, when it was moved to Nesqually. Here the Bishop resided until his retirement in 1879. Eight years later, on February 25, 1887, he died at Vancouver, B.C.
2. A. M. A. Blanchet à Grassi, January 20, 1867. (O)
3. Caruana a Giorda, December 27, 1869. (O)
4. Historicus [G. F. Weibel, S.J.], "Fifty Years of Peaceful Conquest," *Gonzaga Magazine*, V, 125.
5. Cataldo, MSS., "Sketch of St. Joseph's Mission," p. 30.
6. *U.S. House Executive Document*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, No. 1449, p. 497.
7. *Ibid.*
8. James H. Wilbur, U. S. Indian Agent, to General T. J. McKenny, Supt. of Indian Affairs, Washington Territory, August 10, 1871, printed in *The Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs—1871*, p. 285.
9. CR, *DeSmet*, IV, 1303, 1335.
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11. Garrand to Cataldo, April 4, 1888, printed in *WL*, XVII, 196.

12. *Ibid*, December 9, 1888, p. 192.
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14. Parodi to Cataldo, September 8, 1884. (O)
15. Parodi, MS., "Memoirs," September 30, 1907. (O)
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18. Seghers to Cataldo, September 24, 1885 (O)
19. Seghers to Palladino, November 26, 1885. (O)
20. Seghers to Cataldo, April 15, 1886. (O)
21. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1886. (O)
22. Barnum, *Life on the Alaska Mission, with an Account of the Foundation of the Mission and the Work Performed*, p. 2.
23. *Lettere Della Provincia Tormese, 1893-1896*, p. 257.
24. Garrand à ———, May 23, 1895, printed in *Mold*, 1895, p. 83.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
26. Brown to [A. Brown], November 17, 1900 (O)
27. MS., "Diary of Reverend Joseph M. Piet, S.J.," September 4, 1929. (O)
28. "Agreement," December 15, 1911. Typescript. (O)

CHAPTER X

1. Bougis à ———, November 13, 1885, printed in *Jersey*, April, 1886, p. 155.
2. Meyer to Cataldo, May 28, 1886. (O)
3. Drexel to Van Gorp, April 21, 1891. (O)
4. *Ibid.*, 1891. (O)
5. *Ibid.*, 1891. (O)
6. Vasta to ———, April 26, 1892, printed in *WL*, XXI, 186.
7. Schmitt, MS., "Sketch of Holy Rosary Mission." (O)
8. MSS., "*Litterae Annuae Missionis Sti Rosarii, 1907-1910.*" (O)
9. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XI

1. O'Sullivan, MSS., "Notes on Catholic Oregon History," p. 36. (O)
2. O'Connor, *A Brief History of the Diocese of Baker City*, *passim*.
3. Gross to Van Gorp, September 7, 1897. (O)
4. MS., "Diary of Reverend George de la Motte, S.J.," February 2, 1905. (O)
5. MS., "Diary of Klamath Falls Parish," April 10, 1916. (O)
6. Dimier to Cataldo, September 7, 1911. (O)
7. A. R. P. Praepositus Ledochowski ad Patres Provinciae Califae, December 8, 1931. Copy. (O)

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ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

ARCHIVES OF THE OREGON PROVINCE OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

These archives contain both administrative and historical material. The files of a dominantly administrative character were of incidental assistance only. The greater part of the documents used in the preparation of this sketch is preserved in the Historical Archives of the Oregon Province of the Society of Jesus. This collection is now in the process of being catalogued and is temporarily located at Gonzaga University's Graduate School of Philosophy, Mount St. Michael's, Spokane, Washington. For obvious reasons the archives are closed until this work is finished. Historical items of particular value which will be available for consultation at some future date are:

THE JOSET PAPERS. These writings of Joseph Joset, S.J. (1810-1900), include manuscript sketches of the early missions, missionaries, and Indian tribes among whom the Jesuits labored. There are several letters of Joset and some very interesting letters to him from the U.S. Army officers in the Northwest during the Indian wars of 1855-58.

THE CATALDO PAPERS. The diaries, letters, and manuscript sketches of the Nez Percé and the Spokane missions by Joseph Cataldo, S.J. (1837-1928). This collection includes several hundred items of great interest and value for the period of 1864-1928.

THE PRANDO PAPERS. The writings of Peter Prando, S.J. (1845-1906), contain much information on the Crow Indians. His letters, a few of which have been printed in the *Woodstock Letters*, his colorful sketches of the Crow mission, and his *opus magnum* on the "Traditions and Mythology of the Crow Indians," are preserved in this collection.

THE O'SULLIVAN PAPERS. Father J. M. O'Sullivan, S.J. (1850-1932), was one of the first historians of the Jesuits in the Northwest. Most of his work remains in the form of unpublished

manuscripts. These are helpful on many points by reason of corrections which had been made by the pioneer missionaries who were alive at the time of the writing.

THE WEIBEL PAPERS. Letters, collected historical notes, manuscripts, and other varied historical writings of Father G. F. Weibel, S.J. (1868-1935). Father Weibel did more work on the subject of the Jesuits in the Northwest than anyone until recent years. He wrote profusely in the *Gonzaga Quarterly* and his uncompleted "History of the Diocese of Spokane" (typescript), has much that would have been lost otherwise.

INDIAN WRITINGS. There is an unusual collection of the writings in the various Indian languages done by the different missionaries. In this group of documents there are many unpublished manuscripts and the originals of several works that have been published. Morvillo's monumental "Dictionary of Nez Percé" (MS.); Cataldo's gospels, sermons, etc., in Nez Percé; Joset's prayers and word lists in Coeur d'Alene; Boschi's Crow grammar; J. Post's scholarly Kalispel and Kootenai manuscripts, and Giorda's Kalispel catechism (MS.), may be found here.

MISCELLANEOUS. Not so extensive, but none the less valuable, are a few, as yet unpublished, letters of De Smet; sketches and letters of Ravalli; a letter copybook of A. Hoecken; manuscript notes on St. Peter's Mission by F. X. Kuppens; an intensely interesting collection of Father Barcelo's letters; the letters and accounts of Father Frederick Eberschweiler on the Assiniboin and Gros Ventre tribes.

SPOKANE PUBLIC LIBRARY ARCHIVES. The collection in these archives has a few items valuable for Catholic Northwest history. The little-known and unpublished letter of De Smet to Nicolet, dated April 21, 1840, is preserved here.

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