

# Converging Cultures

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Today I'd like to talk to you about unintentional cultural convergences. We live in the most diverse city in the U.S. One in six in the Washington metropolitan area is foreign-born. Other cities may have higher percentages of immigrant populations, but our population is the most diverse, the most cosmopolitan.

How can we as a church engage with those from differing cultures and backgrounds? How can we intensify cultural convergences? How can we bridge the gaps between our heritage as a predominately white, European church to welcome those with other backgrounds? Those who have traveled other paths? Should we even attempt to do this?

I don't have any answers today except to bring you this story from our history because it illumines how our "unintentions" can sometimes build our most powerful bridges and lasting legacies.

Marie Gerber Petter was skeptical. Born in the Swiss Jura Mountains, she knew that one does not find water in high places. It was 1893 when Marie and her husband, Rodolph Petter, came to North America for the express purpose of bringing Christianity to Native Americans. After studying English and visiting Mennonite churches to garner monetary support for their work among the Southern Cheyenne, they made the 40-mile journey from Darlington, Oklahoma Territory, to an area near present-day Hammon by covered wagon. She was in need of water. When she asked, the local Cheyenne Chief, Red Moon, pointed to the top of a nearby hill. To Marie's great surprise an abundant spring gushed forth.

Chief Red Moon's men brought deer to the camp, fresh venison for the evening meal. The women gathered wood for Marie's fire. Firewood and water were scarce on the territory's semi-arid plains.<sup>1</sup> These were acts of Cheyenne hospitality from a group that was said to be hostile to whites. So it was that Swiss emigres and Mennonite missionaries Marie and Rodolph Petter were welcomed into Chief Red Moon's band on the far edges of allotment land.<sup>2</sup> Away from the interference of other whites, they decided to live like their new neighbors and pitched a tipi. There they continued their studies of the Cheyenne language, and became familiar with the ways of the Cheyennes.<sup>3</sup>

Rodolph's lifework, an annotated ethnographic dictionary of the Cheyenne language, stands to this day as a reference for scholars and students. Less well known is the story of the sewing circle begun by Marie, shortly after she arrived. Although overlooked by previous scholars, Mennonite women's missionary work among Cheyenne women endured, especially the sewing circle. Cheyenne women's sewing from 1893 through the 1970s, supported the churches, the Cheyenne and Arapahoe tribes and outlasted missionary schools. The convergence of Cheyenne needlecraft traditions with Mennonite women's sewing circles was unanticipated by the missionaries. Missionaries did not intend for the sewing circles to be the touch points for their mission, the place where cultural traditions converged.

At times, the sewing circles spun in cohesive patterns, bringing Mennonite and Cheyenne cultures together in mutually beneficial exchanges. At other times sewing circle practices and rituals were manipulated by missionaries, thus forcing native dependence on whites and damming/damning these natural convergences.

Initially, there was much to divide Cheyenne from Mennonite. A few in Chief Red Moon's band had survived two brutal massacres: Sand Creek in 1864 and Washita in 1868, in addition to years of U.S. Army harassment, displacement and genocide. The U.S. Army, the hated enemy, assisted Mennonites in their missionary efforts, inviting them to take over failed government schools and even offering abandoned military buildings, which the Mennonites eagerly, if naively, accepted.<sup>4</sup> Missionaries sought to reach parents through the children, who were required by the Federal Government to attend boarding schools. Missionary records contain numerous photographs of well-scrubbed, uniformed Cheyenne and Arapaho children standing in straight lines in front of the former army buildings.

These photographs were used as promotional materials, sent to Mennonite "home" churches in the United States to raise funds for the mission.<sup>5</sup> In spite of the appearance projected by the photographs, schools encountered resistance, as found in stories documented by missionary H.J. Kliever. Kliever noted how youngsters ran away from the boarding schools and eluded their befuddled pursuers by hiding in trees and slipping off the backs of horses, to return home.<sup>6</sup> One senses in Kliever's accounts that he was sympathetic to the boys and delighted in their resourcefulness.<sup>7</sup>

Missionaries, even those who were sympathetic story-tellers, did not escape identification with government entities. When Mennonite missionaries moved into vacated U.S. Army buildings they also inherited failed strategies or approaches to pacify and Christianize the Cheyennes. Working to promote government objectives led to identification not with the runaway boys but with the policemen who pursued them. Chief Red Moon explained the problem to Rodolph Petter:

I love the good white people, but the Washington people are wolves, they tore our people apart, they tear our land, they change their paths [contracts] with us every year, they oil themselves like serpents...and whoso goeth with the wolves is a wolf himself, so says the great Medicine Chief in Heaven, does he not?"<sup>8</sup>

It is hard to comprehend how Mennonites, avowed pacifists in the historic Peace Church tradition, could succumb so easily to army patronage. But the early missionaries did and their attempts to work with the Cheyenne were often met with abject, and perhaps, deserved failure.<sup>9</sup> Where the mission schools struggled the sewing circles fabricated by Marie and Cheyenne, succeeded. The circles were sites of a natural cultural convergence. Long standing Cheyenne traditions of sewing guilds and familiarity with needlework fitted neatly with Mennonite church-based sewing societies, or sewing circles.<sup>10</sup>

Beading, tent making, quilling and dress making were highly regarded skills in Cheyenne society. Early observers noted, skilled craftswomen enjoyed tribal status and prestige and brought honor and income to their families. Art historian Winfield Coleman has researched Cheyenne women's sewing societies wherein young women sought admittance by offering gifts to older female teachers. He relates that the guilds, called *moneneheo*, the "Selected Ones," "defined aspects of wealth and status" and were economically important both to the tribe and to individual female members.<sup>11</sup>

Anthropologist John C. Moore has argued that the Cheyenne nation was built to a large extent on the society structure. These powerful "societies," "clubs" or "guilds" were religious but also the most powerful expressions of political life.<sup>12</sup> Petter has described the women's societies among the Cheyennes, which were organized in much the same manner as the men's societies. Women, like men, defined their place in tribal

life not only by family, clan and band, but also by one's participation in the guilds or societies.

As with other native plainswomen, Cheyenne women's productivity, virtue and status were linked. It was important for a young woman to stay busy.

Girls who could quill and bead, who knew how to prepare hides, and who were good cooks were recognized as potentially good wives....Such a girl would attract fine young men of the best families, who would bring many gifts and horses as her bride-price; she would bestow honor on her family.<sup>13</sup>

Admission into a society such as the Moneneheo bestowed honor on the family, but also the chance to learn a skill that was highly valued and could be used to create items for trade. "Excellence in craftwork brought prestige and wealth to the woman and her family."<sup>14</sup>

With the growing trade in buffalo robes, Cheyenne women's skills at robe making were valuable indeed. Buffalo robes were mass marketed for use as lap robes in carriages. They quickly became a symbol of wealth for privileged whites. Turning buffalo hides into robes was a time-consuming task and women worked in large groups, some scraping the hides, others tanning and still others doing the finish work and decorating the robes. Tanners were highly valued. Among Cheyennes only a post-menopausal woman, highly trained in the religious ceremonies and known as an excellent tanner, could tan the white buffalo robes used for ceremonies. The work of turning hide into robe was arduous and lengthy and recognized as potentially sacred work, and if not sacred, at least very good for trade and economic gain.

Even after the decline in the buffalo robe trade, Cheyenne women's sewing skills remained in high demand. G.A. Linscheid, a Mennonite missionary to the Cheyenne

starting in 1920, wrote that Cheyenne women's needlecraft handiwork made for brisk trade:

Women are very adept in making beadwork of various kinds, buckskin dresses, beaded vests, beaded leggings, beaded saddle blankets and all kinds of beaded pouches and purses and various other articles...many Indian women of this and other tribes [benefit from] gainful occupation in their own handicraft."<sup>15</sup>

In contrast to Cheyenne women, whose needlework could be traded for horses, cash or other easily measured commodities, and whose skills endowed status or prestige to the artist, Mennonite quilting, though now recognized as a distinctive American art form, did not garner the same level of economic autonomy, status and prestige on the craftswoman.<sup>16</sup> Although Mennonite women's sewing was prized, they did not sew quilts for individual monetary gain until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century. Scholars have found that early women's sewing societies were not supported by men in their congregations or in their conferences, especially when women's sewing and dues earned more money for the missions than the men were able to raise. Women countered male resistance by putting wives of preachers in positions of "authority" such as being the president of the sewing society. It was assumed that minister's wives would be more complacent and follow male instruction regarding the distribution of funds.

Valerie S. Rake found that Mennonite women's sewing circles, which began in the late-19<sup>th</sup> and early-20<sup>th</sup> centuries, initially did not sew quilts but focused on clothing for mission stations. With the rise of relief sales, quilts sold on auction became a big business and encouraged quilt making as a cottage industry. By the 1960s, sewing circles were sewing almost exclusively for relief sales and Mennonite women became known for their artistry. This is not to say that prior to this time Mennonite women were

not praised for their handiwork or that they did not earn money for their needlework. Indeed, women, working in sewing circle groups, similar to the Cheyenne model of group labor, took in sewing for profit, but the profit was donated to mission stations. In addition, Mennonites, who prescribed humility, may not have praised quilt makers for their artistry, although women's domestic skills were known and lauded.

As with Cheyenne women, Mennonite women were valued for their productivity. In large churches, a number of sewing circles were formed, often delineated by age and family connections. Circles took responsibility for selected mission fields, preferring to support the same missionaries over the years. Sewing circles cut fabric squares, which they then sent to the missions to be made into quilt tops. They made dresses for little girls and layettes for newborns. They sent clothing, towels and cloth for Native women to cut and sew their own dresses. Sewing circles sent Christmas bundles, which consisted of small toys, handmade dolls and children's clothing.<sup>17</sup> Sewing circles also sent cash so that missionaries could purchase candy and other small items to distribute to the children at Christmas time.<sup>18</sup>

When Mennonite women became missionaries, they brought with them needles, thread and sewing circle organization and culture. Other missionaries preceded the Petters on the mission field in Oklahoma. It is with Marie, though, that we find the earliest evidence of a Native American sewing circle that met regularly.

In 1927 Anna Linscheid reviewed the history of the Mennonite mission in Oklahoma. She commented on how critical sewing circles were to the work of the mission, stating that sewing circles were considered the best means to "bridge over this gap" between missionary and Indian.<sup>19</sup> Linscheid's description of sewing classes during

the 1920s highlights the fact that Cheyenne women already had sewing skills. Linscheid also laid out the reasons why missionary women invested considerable time and effort in the Native sewing circles. In addition to “bridging this gap” with the Cheyenne, she offers these objectives:

...to teach younger ones who were willing to learn, knitting, crocheting, fancywork and the like...to make at least a limited number of articles during the year to be given at Christmas time, and last, but not least, to bring a Gospel message, spiritual food to them, at each meeting.<sup>20</sup>

Her final two points, making items for Christmas gifts and that of bringing the Gospel message to the women during the sewing classes, augurs tensions and cultural differences which were soon apparent in the church setting.

Over time, Missionaries deliberately undermined Cheyenne religious ceremonies with materials and goods sent from the home church sewing circles. Gift giving or giveaways were and are central to many Native American religious and community rituals. From 1920 comes this description of a Cheyenne giveaway:

People in the district...go to the Heathen dances during the Christmas season, to attend their feasts and the giving of gifts to one another. Horses, expensive shawls, dress goods, moccasins, war-bonnets, skins and other highly treasured things would be given.<sup>21</sup>

Scholars have shown how giveaways encouraged community cohesion, bonded friends and families, and redistributed wealth from rich to poor.<sup>22</sup> It is a point of honor as well, for the family to giveaway staggering sums of gifts. At a pow wow two years ago, I was incredulous at the number of honor dances that included copious amounts of gifts. As an honored guest I was expected to dance out into the circle and select a gift at every dance. Not to do so would have been highly offensive.

Perceptions of being in competition with Cheyenne religious thought led missionaries to practices that limited access to economic resources and material goods.



Sewing circles became a way of dominating Cheyenne spiritual choices, as illustrated in this letter from Missionary Alfred Habegger who worked with the Northern Cheyenne in Busby, Montana, from 1918 until his death in 1956.

The giving of the Christmas gifts made by the loving hands of faithful Christian women in the home churches would take place on Christmas day. All present would receive gifts, but there would be nothing for such who attended the Heathen doings and did not come to our meeting.... *One faithless Christian said, "That's kicking, you are going to cause bad feelings." Others said, "You could have the giving after we get back just as well, we want to come to your Christmas, but we are invited to the other doings." ...* Quite a number who came back from the heathen doings were feeling bad that they were not given anything here after their return, but they had been warned before and made their choice...<sup>23</sup>

The Linscheid's arrived in Montana in 1904 and served there until leaving for Oklahoma in 1920. Before they appeared in Montana, the Linscheids made it clear in letters to the Cheyennes that only those Cheyennes who attended church would receive economic assistance from the mission station.<sup>24</sup> Anna Linscheid noted how missionaries took advantage of Cheyenne poverty, "Winters were long and cold and the Indians at that time destitute and poor. Soon requests came from other places on the reservation to have missionaries and mission stations in their vicinity also."<sup>25</sup> Later, in Oklahoma the Linscheid's continued this practice and experienced considerable success with the Christmas bundle bribe as noted in Anna's letter to the home societies:

...the distribution of gifts is, of course, very interesting to the young and old as well. Beside the usual bag of treats there were presents of more lasting value given to those who were more faithful in attending the services during the year. All these gifts were purchased with money sent by sewing circles in the churches supporting the work.<sup>26</sup>

The Petters also used Christmas bundles to bribe the Cheyenne. Rodolph's second wife, Bertha K. Petter, deliberately planned to have the Christian ceremonies and gift distribution conflict with Cheyenne religious ceremonies.

For Christmas we had planned a short series of meetings from the 23rd to the 25<sup>th</sup> of December. It was made plain that we wanted to have this at the same time the other celebration was going on.<sup>27</sup>

In a 1931 article in *Missionary News and Notes* she disparagingly wrote of non-Christian natives:

I was also impressed again over the holiday season to note that our church people are much cleaner than the rabble that appears on the scene only at Christmas time in the eager hope of getting some of your coveted gifts.<sup>28</sup>

Cheyennes soon assessed the manipulation of the missionaries and responded in a number of ways. Instead of choosing between "Heathen Doings" and the missionary Christmas Day celebrations, they simply changed the times of their religious ceremonies and dances so that there would not be a conflict with the Christmas services, as noted by the Habegggers.

Christmas day found the church too small to hold the crowd as the Heathen doings were suspended during the day, so they could come and get of the gifts at the big giving.<sup>29</sup>

In 1928 Mrs. Alfred Habegger reported a disappointing Christmas program attendance: "We had hoped the Christians would attend regularly, but some had gone to camp near the Indian celebration and took part in the dances and giving."<sup>30</sup> Ultimately missionary attempts to control Cheyenne spirituality failed. Missionary sources suggest that manipulating cherished cultural practices such as giveaways with materials from the sending societies produced resentment and resistance.

Despite the manipulations and bribes, by 1930 Cheyenne's women's sewing circles were well established as can be seen from this reference: "The men at Hammon will have to do some more organizing to keep up with the women. The women not only have a sewing society but also a Chicken Club and a Garden Club."<sup>31</sup> The main source we have for Southern Cheyenne women's sewing societies comes to us in the form of a small booklet, the "Star Mission Club Minutes book" of the Mennonite church in Clinton, Okla.<sup>32</sup> The mission club formally met for eight years, from August 1939 to December 1947. During those years, between five and 15 women met at least once a month and as often as twice a week to sew quilt tops, dresses for girls, tea towels and lunch cloths. One learns from the *Cheyenne Arapaho Messenger*, a newsletter published by General Conference missionaries, that by the late 1930s a number of sewing circles were established.<sup>33</sup>

As with women's work making buffalo robes, women worked in large groups. Pictures from early sewing circles in both Southern and Northern Cheyenne tribes show large groups of women seated on the ground, either inside or outside the church, attending to their sewing. Women brought their babies and taught their daughters to sew. Women were in control of their production and used the proceeds from quilt sales, lotteries, auctions and offerings as they saw fit. According to the Star Mission Club minutes book, during the first few months missionary J.B. Ediger gave the devotions, but after March 1940 he did not attend and let the women run their own services.

Cheyenne women did not make layettes, quilts or Christmas bundles to send overseas. Instead, Star Mission Club members were deeply concerned about the welfare of local Cheyenne people and others in the community. In an e-mail message,

Cheyenne Peace Chief Lawrence Hart explained, “The Star Mission Club helped all Cheyenne, or Arapaho, irregardless of whether they were Mennonite. We saw this still practiced when we got here [in 1963]. One of the activities that was a good ministry was the making of layettes, given to new mothers at the Clinton Indian hospital, as an example.”<sup>34</sup> The Star Mission Club provided a way for women to assert themselves in the community. They had a legitimate place in the community, one that was approved of by the Mennonite church, but also drew upon the much older Selected Ones or Chosen Women tradition.

The group provided a venue for women who wished to serve. Much of what the Mission Club did during these years can be described as benevolent or charitable work. It was not unusual for the Mission Club to pay for groceries, to pay for gas or utility bills, or to take prepared food to the elderly or sick. Their visits often started with a short program that could include singing, prayer and scripture verses.

Like the Chosen Women societies, women from the best families participated in the club. The roster and pictorial evidence is replete with high status family names such as Hart, Heap of Birds and Whiteshield. Additional cultural continuities can be found in giveaways, fundraisers for church and local camps and hospitality sponsored by the Mission Club. They sponsored the Cheyenne custom of “giveaways” by giving quilts to those who were recognized as being in need. Sewing raised money for the group and they determined how to spend it. Blanche Hart Whiteshield remembered selling quilts as a way to sustain families during World War II.<sup>35</sup>

Of course the prestige and status associated with the club was not on the scale of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Selected Ones or Chosen Women. Young women did not vie to gain

admission to the society, nor did the quilts made by the club produce wealth for their families. However, Star Mission Club women were able to make decisions autonomous from male control and their charitable work was valued highly in the community and brought them visibility.

Christmas bundles and offerings to the Indian missions in Oklahoma and Montana continued, but according to published records the contributions diminished every year. In spite of limited support from the home churches, it is clear from pictorial evidence that Cheyenne Mission Clubs lasted until at least until the mid-1970s. Begun by missionary women like Marie Petter and Anna Linscheid, quilting was passed down to daughters and helped to sustain Cheyenne customs, tribe and community.

Abandoned white clapboard churches are all that remain of over 40 decades of Mennonite missionary outreach in western Oklahoma. Leaves accumulate in the portals and sanctuaries of the empty buildings. The church in Clinton, though still active, has few members and only a handful of regular attendees on Sunday mornings. The sewing circles started and restarted during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> Century are no longer in existence as many of the stalwart members have passed away or are too old to participate. The circles remain only in the memories of the children of the quilters. Today, quilting is not taught in the Clinton area. Younger women prefer to learn beading, a reemerging tradition.<sup>36</sup>

Sewing circles have been overlooked by scholars of Mennonites even though these women's traditions were some of the longest lived expressions of Mennonite and Cheyenne culture. The examination of sewing circles provides an example of the multi-

layered meanings of cultural convergences and conflicts and through it all, the remarkable endurance of Cheyenne women's traditions.

The quilt on display today was made by my great-grandmother, during the 1940s. It is a star quilt, the favored design of Plains Indian quilters, a symbol in our worship service of cultural convergence. I started this morning's service by stating that missionary "unintentions" had the most lasting effects on the mission station. I wonder what unintentional we are practicing today here at Hyattsville Mennonite? Should we become more intentionally multicultural? I think of our work with the refugee families. How culturally sensitive and reflective are we when we strive to serve those who come from different histories and paths? Like I said, I don't have any answers to these questions, but I would bet that 50 years from now, some well-intentioned historian will let us know

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<sup>1</sup> John H. Moore discusses central plains topography in "The Central Plains Environment" in *The Cheyenne Nation: A Social and Demographic History*. (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1987): 127-175.

<sup>2</sup> "Allotment" refers the pattern of land distribution as a result of the 1887 Dawes Act of 1887 which, as applied to the Southern Cheyenne, carved reservation land into individual plots of 160 acres then given to every adult in the tribe. The remaining acreage was sold to land-hungry whites. See Donald J. Berthrong, *The Cheyenne and Arapaho Ordeal: Reservation and Agency Life in the Indian Territory, 1875-1907*. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976, rpt. 1992): 118-119.

<sup>3</sup> Petter's work resulted in his still widely referenced annotated dictionary of the Cheyenne language.

<sup>4</sup> James Juhnke, in *A People of Mission: A History of the General Conference Mennonite Overseas Missions*. (N. Newton, KS: Faith and Life Press, 1979): 12 expresses astonishment that the Mennonites would so hastily and naively accept assistance from the very entity that had so viciously persecuted the Cheyennes.

<sup>5</sup> Previous to 1907, when Oklahoma was received into statehood, the Mennonite mission in Oklahoma Territory was considered a "foreign: mission.

<sup>6</sup> H.J. Kliewer, "Information" MLA-MS-13, Folder 1, Correspondence & Articles, 1892-1940. Please note that all quotes from archival sources are not edited for clarity or spelling.

<sup>7</sup> These stories are about Arapaho not Cheyenne children. However, as George Bird Grinnell points out, "Among the tribes of the plains the Cheyennes have had one ally on whose fidelity they could always depend. These are the Arapahoes, who for many generations have been associated with the Cheyennes on terms of closest friendship, camping with them for long periods...." See *The Fighting Cheyennes* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press: 1915, rpt. 1956): 5.

<sup>8</sup> Juhnke, 12.

<sup>9</sup> See Barbara A. Thiesen, "Every Beginning is Hard: Darlington Mennonite Mission, 1880-1902" *Mennonite Life* 61:2 (June 2006): 1-36; [www.bethelks.edu/mennonitelife/2006June/thiesen.php](http://www.bethelks.edu/mennonitelife/2006June/thiesen.php). See also Juhnke, op cite, 13.

<sup>10</sup> The exhibit "Identity by Design: Tradition, Change and Celebration in Native Woman's Dresses" at the National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, DC displayed exquisite examples of Plains Indian needlecraft.

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Among this exhibit were numerous examples of Cheyenne craftswomanship. See the book by the same title (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2007).

<sup>11</sup> Winfield Coleman, *Art as Cosmology: Cheyenne Women's Rawhide Painting*. Internet Source: <http://www.tribalarts.com/feature/Cheyenne/index.html>.

<sup>12</sup> John H. Moore, *The Cheyenne Nation: A Social and Demographic History*, (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1987): 106.

<sup>13</sup> Royal B. Hassrick, *The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964): 42.

<sup>14</sup> Schneider, 109.

<sup>15</sup> G.A. Linscheid. *Southern-Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians*. MLA-MS-13:3, "Cheyenne Membership Records". p. 3. As an aside, the Mohawk Lodge, now located in Clinton, Oklahoma, is still in operation and still offers a wide variety of Indian handicraft items for sale. The proprietors have accumulated many artifacts and photographs over time and the business also serves as a kind of ad hoc museum.

<sup>16</sup> For a treatment of Mennonite women's quilting as artistic expression see Marlene Epp, *Mennonite Women in Canada: A History*. (Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2008).

<sup>17</sup> Annual Report, Willing Helpers, Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church, 1948-1949, no page numbers.

<sup>18</sup> Annual Report, Willing Helpers, Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church, 1939-1940. Descriptions of sent items are also found in Bertha K. Petter, letter to the "Dear Sisters of the Mission Societies" *Missionary News and Notes*, V:7 (March 1931); 2; Mrs. G.F. Friesen, "Girls' Missionary Societies" *Missionary News and Notes*, VIII:4 (Dec. 1933): 2.

<sup>19</sup> Anna S. H. Linscheid, "Cantonment Mission," *Missionary News and Notes*. 1:4 (January 1927):1.

<sup>20</sup> Anna S. H. Linscheid, "Cantonment Mission," *Missionary News and Notes*. 1:4 (January 1927): 1.

<sup>21</sup> Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Habegger, "Bulletin. Christmas 1922 Busby, Mont." MLA-MS-13. Folder 4.

<sup>22</sup> Habegger.

<sup>23</sup> A. Habegger, "Christmas with the Cheyennes at Busby, Montana." MLA-MS 13:1, a & a, 1892-1940 (no specific date given). This letter was filed with other memos dating from the 1920s and most likely comes from that era.

<sup>24</sup> Mrs. G.A. Linscheid, Mission Talk, #5 MLA-MS-13: Folder 1, Correspondence and Articles, 1892-1940.

<sup>25</sup> Mrs. G.A. Linscheid, Mission Talk, #5 MLA-MS-13: Folder 1, Correspondence and Articles, 1892-1940.

<sup>26</sup> no author, *Missionary News and Notes*, V:6 (Feb. 1931): 4.

<sup>27</sup> Bertha K. Petter, "Christmas with the Cheyennes at Busby, Montana" MLA-MS 13:1 a&a, 1892-1940.

<sup>28</sup> Bertha K. Petter, letter to the "Dear Sisters of the Mission Societies" *Missionary News and Notes*, V:7 (March 1931): 2.

<sup>29</sup> Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Habegger. "Bulletin: Christmas 1922, Busby, Mont." MLA:MS-13:4, p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Mrs. Alfred Habegger, *Missionary News and Notes*, II:4 (Jan. 1928): 1.

<sup>31</sup> *The Cheyenne and Arapaho Messenger*, vol. 3 (March 1930): 4.

<sup>32</sup> Star Mission Club minutes book, opening page. The book is in the collection of the Cheyenne Cultural Center, Clinton, OK.

<sup>33</sup> *The Cheyenne and Arapaho Messenger*, op cite.

<sup>34</sup> Email from Lawrence Hart to Kimberly D. Schmidt, March 8, 2006.

<sup>35</sup> Interview with Blanche Hart Whiteshield, Hammon, OK, May 9, 2005.

<sup>36</sup> Interview with Leonore Hart Holliman, Clinton, OK, May 8, 2005.