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Demons, Saints, & Patriots: Catholic Visions of Indian America through The Indian Sentinel (1902-1962). By Mark Clatterbuck.

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two entities. He examines the cases of other tribal governments in similar situations that have gone through the process and how things worked out.

He concludes with a discussion of what the future may hold for the Delaware. Obermeyer's ethnographic study is an interesting presentation of the ins and outs of Indian existence and political activities in Oklahoma. Oklahoma has the dubious distinction of being the federally selected site used to develop a mid-continent diaspora for indigenous peoples without regard to previous history or culture. A colonial administrative bureaucracy (the Indian Service, later called the BIA) was placed in a management role in order to control the exiles who were held on designated land areas called federal Indian reservations. These people were identified as belonging to specific tribes with names that may or may not have been used by any particular group. The Delaware are named after an English aristocrat; the Cherokee are called by a name of uncertain origin.

After the federal mold had produced named tribes located on designated land areas, a legislative and policy process of forced acculturation began. The end of the process would have been when there was no longer anything Indian, except in museum exhibit halls and storage rooms. But Obermeyer makes it clear that this is not what happened. He points out that indigenous leaders have been nimble in finding ways to shape policies for the benefit of their constituents.

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**Demons, Saints, & Patriots: Catholic Visions of Indian America through *The Indian Sentinel* (1902–1962).** By Mark Clatterbuck. Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2009. 288 pages. \$29.00 cloth.

In literature or films about American Indians produced pre-1960s, the images are mainly negative: Indians are devil worshippers, ignorant, and savage. Perhaps a few tales depict them as noble savages, a romanticized view that excuses Indian "depravity" as the result of contact with ignoble white people. Overall, few citizens had direct contact with Indians and, therefore, generally relied on literature and Hollywood films for impressions. Scholarly works by or about Indians—especially Catholic Indians—were scattershot and scant, but in the 1970s, Marquette University became a repository for the national records of American Catholic Indian missions. Among the material collected has been a gold mine of sorts: reports by and about Catholic missionaries and their wards, told using words and photography.

In *Demons, Saints, & Patriots*, Mark Clatterbuck traces the trajectory of the premier publication about the Catholic missions among the Native Americans—*The Indian Sentinel* (1902–1962), a prize collection in the Marquette archives. This magazine primarily contained material by and about missionaries in the field, with the intent of gaining sufficient financial support to continue their missions indefinitely. Clatterbuck describes distinct periods of change when, in reaction to various events and movements, the missionaries altered their approach to and attitude toward the Native Americans.

The irony is that Catholic missionaries and Native Americans shared the same status for much of US history, as outsiders in the eyes of most citizens. Catholic missionaries were criticized—mainly by white Protestants—as being disloyal to the nation because they gave primary allegiance to the Pope in Rome. Almost all people viewed Native Americans as pagans—animalistic, unintelligent, and destined to disappear. These two groups shared, as well, stereotypes about one another—to the detriment of both. Native Americans often saw the missionaries as agents of imperialism while the missionaries viewed them as “children,” needing a strong paternal hand to keep them under control.

Clatterbuck states that the issue of identity was at the core of the relations between missionaries and Native Americans; both groups struggled either to retain their own image of themselves or to forge a new identity that would make them acceptable to one another and to the nation as a whole. He notes that the early missionaries (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, mainly) were strongly Eurocentric while later ones (post–World War I, in particular) tried to prove themselves to be 100 percent American. As the missionaries claimed this latter identity, they discarded their former distrust of the federal government’s policies and actions toward Native Americans and the Church, instead becoming active partners with the government in forcing a new identity on their wards.

From the 1880s to World War I, the Eurocentric identity, though weakening, still prevailed among Catholic missionaries, but World Wars I and II changed that; from 1917 to 1945 these missionaries became zealous patriotic Americans, flag wavers *par excellence*. Issues of *The Indian Sentinel*, particularly post-1920, show this change as writers report a growing mutual respect and warming relations between the missionaries and the government. Clatterbuck quotes Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions (BCIM) Director William Hughes in the winter 1931–32 issue of *The Indian Sentinel*: “The American Nation and the Church alike have done and are doing for the Indians more than was ever done by any other nation or by the Church in any other period of history for a dependent people” (179).

A persistent concern for the Church, however, was the extent to which missionaries were able or willing to accommodate Native American culture

as the process of Christianization and Americanization proceeded in tandem. Clatterbuck devotes most of his attention to this question, one that has yet to be settled completely even in our times. By the 1920s and 1930s, clearly some missionaries were showing more tolerance for Native American beliefs and practices. *The Indian Sentinel* articles were presenting a “decidedly more benign, harmlessly quaint, and often comical portrait of the American Indian” (174).

Surprisingly, Clatterbuck makes only one brief reference to Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier (181). Yet Collier, who served in that position from 1933 to 1945, did more than any previous government administrator to support the integrity of Indian culture. As part of the Indian Reorganization Act (1934), which had tribal self-determination at its heart, he called for the survival of Native languages and the promotion of Native arts and crafts. Although not completely refuting the long-held policy of assimilation (a policy from at least the 1890s), Collier made it acceptable for those in and out of government to allow aspects of Native American culture to continue and expand. On some reservations, missionaries began instructing the children how to do beadwork and how to tap the maple trees.

Above all, World War II gave missionaries and Native Americans the chance to prove themselves as loyal Americans. *The Indian Sentinel* was awash in pictures of schoolchildren role playing as American heroes and saluting the flag. Thousands of Indians enlisted in the armed forces, serving on far-flung battlefields. It was now unquestioned that Indians could be viewed as Indian, Catholic, and American (194).

The Catholic Church began a housecleaning of its own in the 1960s—reforming some aspects of liturgy and outreach. Vatican II (1962–65) called for a new approach to mission work, stressing that inculturation (adapting elements of one culture to another) was not only acceptable but also was desirable. Actually, some inculturation was well underway even in the 1950s as *The Indian Sentinel* pictures showed bishops and priests wearing Indian head-dresses, and missionaries reported about attempts to blend Catholic rites with those of the Native Americans. But mission work post-Vatican II has shown the greatest change in attitude and policy: affirming in non-Christian religions whatever is good and true. Missionaries were now encouraged to “appropriate the cultures of those they hope to evangelize” (252).

Clatterbuck cites the Tekakwitha Conference (1939–present), as it evolved by the late 1970s into a strong voice for and by the Native Catholics; Native participants demanded a bigger role for themselves in how they and the Church would interrelate. In response, BCIM directors from the 1970s to the present have supported inculturative experimentation, or “the blending and overlaying of Catholic and indigenous rituals, symbols, and beliefs by

reservation priests and religious" (255). Tensions remain, but the Church and the Native Americans are at least equals now in an ongoing dialogue.

Clatterbuck ends his book with a brief foray into the post-Vatican II years as he ponders "the future of Catholic Indian missions." I wonder what *The Indian Sentinel* would have made of the stunning developments in the 1980s—the elevation of two American Indians into top positions in the Church. In 1986, Pope John Paul II named Donald E. Pelotte, an Abenaki (1945–2010), as Coadjutor Bishop of Gallup, New Mexico, and in 1988 named Charles J. Chaput (Potawatomi) as Bishop of Rapid City, South Dakota (Archbishop of Denver as of 1997). Generations of *The Indian Sentinel* readers and writers would surely have been astounded.

*The Indian Sentinel* ceased publication in 1962, though Clatterbuck does not give any clear-cut reasons. Perhaps it had become too expensive to maintain or, more likely, it had fulfilled its original purpose: to raise awareness of missionary work among the Indians and to raise financial support for this work. Clatterbuck surmises that the very title of the publication was now questionable—as it implies a militancy that is no longer applicable. He has given us a valuable study of this publication and, I believe, clearly proves that *The Indian Sentinel* teaches that "the Catholic Indian missionaries of yesterday were a widely diverse coterie of workers with wildly varying motivations for serving the church across hundreds of isolated reservations" (262).

Henry W. Bowden's book *American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict* (1981) covers much of the same material that Clatterbuck does, though the latter gives more case studies and details. Bowden scans a broader sweep of history (1540–1980), but, like Clatterbuck, he focuses on Indian-missionary relations, citing cultural encounters both positive and negative. Bowden's book is a superb source to complement Clatterbuck.

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**Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity.** J. Kehaulani Kauanui. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. 264 pages. \$79.95 cloth; \$22.95 paper.

*Hawaiian Blood* contributes to an emerging literature on the origins of blood quantum as a marker of indigenous identity. Authors such as Joanne Barker, Karen Blu, Eva Garrouette, Melissa Meyer, Tiya Miles, Amy Den Ouden, Theda Perdue, and Circe Sturm have also investigated the role of racial ideas in colonial contestations over indigenous identity and indigenous peoples'