

NATIVISTIC RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS
AMONG INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES

by

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PREFACE

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ABSTRACT

Nativistic religious movements among the Indians of the United States from 1680 to the present day are discussed. These movements sought by supernatural means to restore selected elements of aboriginal culture. In most cases the cults were begun by one individual who based his teachings on a vision experience.

Some of the problems which beset the Indian peoples following contact with Europeans are examined also. These include the introduction of new diseases, the depletion of game herds causing loss of sustenance, and the discrimination against the Indians by the dominant peoples. It is theorized that these difficulties, coupled with the subordinate political position of the Indians resulted in many individual Indians becoming maladjusted. It is concluded that these maladjusted Indians were responsible for the initial acceptance of the movements.

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

On a cold night in 1762 the air rang with excited voices as the Delaware Indians discussed a strange new religion, a miraculous faith with power to free the Indian lands from the encroaching Whites. Today, two centuries later, as dawn breaks over the prairie, the descendants of these same Delawares reverently contemplate the "Father Peyote" while the last notes of the Water Song bring to a close the night-long ritual of the Peyote Way. These two seemingly unrelated events have much in common. Both are manifestations of the many religious movements which arose among the Indians of the United States following their contact with Europeans. These new faiths were attempts on the part of the Indians to seek supernatural aid to protect their lands, their means of sustenance, their customs, and their very lives from the ravages of the European conquest. Often these religions took a militant tone, exhorting the faithful to expel the hated intruders. On other occasions the new cults promised that the Whites would vanish magically if only certain practices were followed. Several movements did not include anti-white hostility in their doctrines but taught instead accommodation and peaceful coexistence with the conquerors.

It is my intention to compare these movements in an attempt to discover the factors which were responsible both for their formation and their popularity. To this end the history, ceremonial pattern, and doctrine of each movement will be presented against a backdrop of Indian-White relations during the past 200 years. A discussion of the problems of the individual Indian during this period will follow, lest in our study of these religions as social phenomena we forget the importance of the individual worshipers who created and supported them.

Definition of Terms

Since this paper deals with the problems which arise when two cultures come into prolonged contact with one another, it is necessary to define a few basic terms used to describe such situations. Invaluable in examining the phenomenon of culture contact is the concept of acculturation. Though this term has been defined by many, e. g. Redfield, Linton, Herskovits (1936: 149) and Spicer (1961: 379), I prefer the definition by Herskovits (1958: 10) which sees acculturation as "comprehending those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into contiguous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups." Acculturation may be distinguished from the process of diffusion in that the latter does not imply first-hand contact. Both these terms differ from assimilation, a concept used to

describe the process by which two cultures occupying a common territory, "achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to achieve a national unity" (Herskovits 1958: 13).

Summary of Previous Research

With these definitions well in mind we may next progress to a brief summary of the work done previously in the study of nativistic movements. The most famous study of such movements was done twenty years ago by Ralph Linton. Linton stressed the frustrations which often arise from the inequality of two societies in contact. He noted that this situation may result from political or social domination of one society over the other or from long-standing prejudice. When one society is politically or technologically subordinate to another, the people of the inferior group are often unable to achieve the material wealth or social position to which they aspire. This inability may give rise to frustration and resentment toward the superior group. Such was the case in the contact situations between the Europeans and the native inhabitants of Africa, the Americas, and the islands of the Pacific (Linton 1958: 467-71).

First the natives felt awe at these strangers with white skins, but as years passed White men and their customs became more familiar. Many natives came to identify with the dominant culture with the result that tribal traditions were no longer a major influence in their

lives (Thurnwald 1932: 563). The frustrations which arose when they found themselves unable to assimilate completely the new way of life often caused them to turn in their disillusionment to their old native ways, seeking to revive customs which had been lost and to perpetuate those which still existed (Linton 1958: 468).

There were many ways in which this might be done. Rational movements sought to re-assert the superiority of native ways by political or military action. At other times the native revival took the form of a magical or religious movement. Linton described both rational and magical types as nativistic movements. He defined such a movement as "any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture" (Linton 1958: 467). He divided nativistic movements into two main categories: (1) revivalistic movements, and (2) perpetuative movements. Each of these types may be further classified into rational and magical sub-groupings (Linton 1958: 471).

The movements discussed in this paper are of the magical revivalistic type; each one sought to revive by magical means some elements of native life which had passed out of general use or knowledge. In a few cases, however, influences from other religions make it difficult to distinguish revived aboriginal traits from traits borrowed from other cultures. The picture is also complicated by the fact that many of the movements were directly connected with movements of the

rational type which were dedicated to restoring native conditions through use of force. Today, though rational nativistic movements met with defeat long ago, the magical revival lingers on in the form of Indian religions.

In 1956 Anthony Wallace published a reclassification of the movements which Linton had described. Employing the term revitalization movements, Wallace defined his subject as "deliberately organized conscious efforts by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (Wallace 1956: 254). Under his method of classification there are six sub-types: (1) nativistic movements which stress destroying aliens, (2) revivalistic movements which emphasize reviving the old culture, (3) cargo cults which stress the importation of alien goods, (4) vitalistic movements which stress importation of alien customs, (5) millennium movements which transfer the problem to the supernatural by hope of a better life in the afterworld, and (6) messianic movements which are religious in nature and revolve around a divine savior (Wallace 1956: 265).

Wallace (1956: 264-81) has also described the processes which take place when these movements occur. He feels that during the first conditions of contact a few persons may undergo stress because their needs are no longer satisfied. Gradually this number increases until a point is reached when the elements of the culture are no longer in harmony and the culture itself becomes distorted. In this situation

non-rigid members of the society try to find ways to relieve the conditions of stress. Some may regress to violence, drunkenness, apathy, and even neurosis. Usually the birth rate falls and the society may even become extinct. This trend of events may be reversed, or at least temporarily halted, by the start of a revitalization movement. These movements are often begun by messiahs who commune with the supernatural and then preach a new religion. If the formal objectives of this religion are reached, it may become routinized and eventually a new steady state may be achieved.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

A Review of Indian-White Relations

In order to comprehend the problems facing the Indian today, let us review some of the factors which have contributed to his situation. Fey and McNickle (1959: 4) estimate that at the time of first European contact there were 800,000 Indians in our country. By 1900 this number had been reduced to 240,000 (Fey and McNickle 1959: 4). Several factors explain this great decline in population. Lack of immunity to European diseases resulted in epidemics which took many lives. In addition, many perished from the decades of warfare against United States forces. Problems of sustenance arose when herds of buffalo and other game animals were driven away by increasing settlement. Attempts to convert hunting Indians to a farming economy often met with disaster, and the result was malnutrition or even starvation (Fey and McNickle 1959: 4-6). In addition, for many years the Indian population was also plagued by a falling birth rate (Stewart 1945: 282-88).

The story of Indian-White relations is a tale of treaty after treaty being broken by the Whites. Indians were promised that their territory would remain inviolate "as long as the grass shall grow" only to have it overrun when Whites desired to settle there. Change in government policy over the years of contact, resulted in much

mismanagement of the Indian problem. At the start, government policy called for the treatment of the Indian tribes as sovereign nations (Baerreis 1956: 51). Annuities were paid to the tribes in exchange for land or services and gradually they assumed a dependent relationship in respect to the United States government. Later, tribes were settled on reservations, and all attempts were made to segregate the Indians from other citizens. However, in the 1800's it became government policy to settle Indians on individual homesteads, thus incorporating them into national life as individual citizens. To this end the General Allotment Act of 1887 was passed (Fey and McNickle 1959: 68). This act authorized the President to permit the allotment of a quarter section of land to each Indian family. Titles to this land were to be held in trust by the President for at least 25 years. The law allowed the government to purchase any tribal lands which remained after the division, and as a result some 90,000,000 acres of Indian land were lost in the next 45 years (Fey and McNickle 1959: 74).

In 1934 the Indian Reorganization Act was passed by Congress. This law provided money for the purchase of tribal lands, a credit fund from which tribes might obtain loans, and specified that no lands still under tribal ownership could be allotted in the future. The rights of the Indian tribes over use of the land which they controlled were extended, tribes even being allowed to incorporate for more efficient handling of their affairs. Although the Second World War put a halt to much of the

program of 1934 a good beginning was made (Baerreis 1956: 58-59).

Problems of the Indian Today

Despite the many problems which have beset the American Indian, today we find this people on the increase and ancient native tradition still strong in many areas. This increase in population has been attributed to the end of warfare and increased resistance to disease (Loumer 1954: 145-50). The even more surprising survival of Indian ways against such odds probably resulted from the isolation of Indian peoples on reservations, the lack of large-scale intermarriage between Indians and Whites, and the feeling of Pan-Indianism which has arisen from the various nativistic movements which have become popular among the Indian peoples (Vogt 1957: 137-40).

This is not to imply that individual Indians did not suffer some frustration during this process, frustration from discrimination as well as war, disease, loss of sustenance, and changes in traditional mores. In fact, even today the person of Indian descent may still meet occasionally with discrimination in employment or social life (Baerreis 1956: 60).

It is my contention that this discrimination, coupled with the more tangible aspects of deprivation which the American Indian has undergone in the last three centuries, is directly related to the incidence and the popularity of the nativistic movements which have arisen among

this people during this time. I shall attempt to prove this hypothesis following an examination of the history, doctrine, and ritual of the religious movements themselves.

NATIVISTIC MOVEMENTS EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI

Delaware Prophet--1762

The first nativistic religious movement to gain prominence among the Indians of the eastern United States began in 1762 among the Delaware Indians (Peckham 1947: 98). According to legend, its founder had visited the spirit world and spoken with the Master of Life. This deity had commanded him to exhort his tribesmen to cease their drinking, fighting, and practice of polygyny. He forbade the singing of the medicine song because it mentioned evil spirits and ordered the Indians to return to their aboriginal ways. He stipulated also that the English be driven from the land. The Master of Life then gave the prophet a prayer carved in hieroglyphics on a piece of wood and insisted that everyone repeat this prayer each morning and night. After a long journey back to his people from the land of the spirits, the Indian reported his adventures to the other members of his tribe and began to preach his new religion. Thereafter, he journeyed over a wide area, preaching his cause until many tribes had adopted the new beliefs (Peckham 1947: 99). Gradually, under Pontiac, the famed Ottawa chief-tain, the religious awakening of the tribes became the basis for a confederacy of the northwestern tribes against the British. In April, 1763, Pontiac summoned the tribes of the Great Lakes region to a great

council near Detroit. Here he explained to them the will of the Master of Life as described by the Delaware Prophet (Peckham 1947: 100). Soon the confederacy embraced most of the Algonkin tribes, as well as the Wyandot, Seneca, and Winnebago. Despite Pontiac's genius, however, the uprising was a failure. Following the death of Pontiac, both the confederacy and the religion on which it was based slowly disintegrated (Mooney 1896: 669).

Although history has not preserved for us the name of the Delaware Prophet, some of his methods for the promotion of his doctrine have survived. While preaching, it was his practice to use a parchment map illustrating the various topics of his talk (Peckham 1947: 99). In one upper corner of this map was portrayed a lovely region of happiness and plenty. This, he explained, was the place for all Indians who followed his instructions. But the path leading to this heaven was difficult, being guarded by an evil spirit who delighted in snatching Indians away to his land of evil. This was realistically diagrammed in a lower corner of the drawing. Here the land was parched and dry, and game was scarce; in short, it was a most disagreeable place to live. On the edges of the map the Prophet had portrayed the land which had belonged to the Indians before the arrival of the Whites. Drawing attention to this portion, he would berate his listeners for losing this area by their disregard for the will of the Great Spirit. Only by returning to the pure life of their ancestors

could the stolen land be regained and the Whites driven beyond the ocean over which they had come (Peckham 1947: 98). In conclusion to this sermon, the Prophet always suggested that each family should have a copy of the map to remind them about religious matters. Since he was only too glad to supply these for a buckskin or two, the whole affair proved most profitable as far as he was concerned.

The doctrine of the Prophet's new religion centered around a return to the aboriginal life. No White goods were to be used; guns were forbidden, only the bow and arrow being allowed for hunting. Even flint and steel were considered unclean, so fires were kindled using the friction method (Peckham 1947: 98).

In addition, great stress was placed on purifying one's self from sin by the use of emetics and sweat baths. Carnal acts were frowned upon, and it was considered absolutely imperative to "discontinue running after other peoples' wives and daughters" (Mooney 1896: 655).

Although this movement was only in existence from 1762 to 1765, it is important both as the first religious movement to arise after contact among the Indians east of the Mississippi, and as the first deliberate attempt in this area to persuade these people to return to their aboriginal ways. That it was connected with a well-organized political movement makes it all the more interesting since it foreshadows

the relationship of the Shawnee Prophet to Tecumseh's confederacy some 40 years later.

In summary, though few details are known about the Delaware Prophet himself, the form of his religion suggests that he was acquainted with some Christian doctrines as well as aboriginal religious customs. . Also the suggestion of the Master of Life that the British should be driven out implies that even at this time the Indians resented the increasing intrusion of the Whites into their ancient tribal lands. The initiation of the movement resulted from the vision experience of one man, its acceptance from the appeal of the new doctrines coupled with the nativistic appeal of Pontiac's confederacy.

Shawnee Prophet--1805

The story of the Shawnee Prophet begins with his birth in Central Ohio in 1773. Seven years younger than his brother Tecumseh, the boy was named Laulewasika or "Loud Mouth." As his father was killed by White settlers several months before his birth, his mother nursed the young child on a strong diet of revenge and hatred toward the Whites. Abandoned by his mother at age four, Laulewasika was raised by relatives. On reaching adolescence he began to drink heavily and spent most of his time loafing around the village. While Laulewasika was in his teens, the Indians were defeated at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. The Treaty of Greenville which followed meant

the collapse of Indian resistance to White encroachment in southern Ohio and part of Indiana (Tucker 1956: 23).

Then at the age of 32 this drunkard was transformed almost overnight into a man of intense religious zeal and great energy. An Indian agent, who observed his transformation, reported it to be a result of contact with the Shakers, a religious group in the area (Tucker 1956: 92-3). This Shaker religion was founded by Ann Lee, an English immigrant. The Shakers got their name from their habit of dancing and jerking during their services. Their doctrine included a belief in abstinence from violence, politics, and worldly ambition. They felt that God was both male and female and believed Christ to be the incarnation of the male aspect while Ann Lee represented the female. Theoretically, they proposed a life of celibacy; however, they allowed for carnal weakness and permitted most members to produce offspring. Their doctrine and especially their wild dancing appealed to the Shawnee and thus probably inspired Laulewasika's religious regeneration (Tucker 1956: 93-4).

According to reports, his conversion occurred during 1805 when a "deep and awful sense of sin" overtook him and he lapsed into a trance state (Tucker 1956: 90). During this period of unconsciousness he had a vision portraying the contrast between the sinner's life in Hell and the good person's life in Heaven. Convinced, he began to preach to his people and adopted a life completely free from the influence of

alcohol (Mooney 1896: 692). Several months later he received a revelation instructing him to go to Greenville, where the peace had been signed, and construct a place of worship. Shortly after this, an old religious leader of the Shawnee died, and Laulewasika responded by terming himself "the" Shawnee Prophet (Tucker 1956: 102).

Meanwhile his older brother, Tecumseh, had gained prestige as a warrior and a skillful orator in council. Much of Laulewasika's early success was more the result of Tecumseh's influence than the appeal of his own doctrine. However, in November of 1805 the Prophet appeared before the Shawnee settled at Greenville in a new and more forceful role. He announced that he had changed his name to Tenskwautawa, "the Open Door", a name which he took from the saying of Jesus, "I am the door" in the Gospel of St. John (Tucker 1956: 93). The new code which he proposed was a combination of anti-white doctrine, Shaker precepts, and Algonkin tradition. As such, it had great appeal for the Shawnee people. The new faith began to spread beyond the confines of Shawnee territory. Soon it was responsible for a religious purge reminiscent of the Salem witch hunts. When an epidemic of typhus broke out, Open Door declared that some evil person must be causing the calamity by witchcraft. Under this rationalization he tortured and killed several Christianized Delaware Indians in 1806. As usual with purges of this sort, things got out of hand, and before it was over, several hundred people had been put to death.

Meanwhile Tecumseh was gradually undermining the authority of the older chiefs and assuming the power of the Shawnee nation for himself. At this point the growing movement received an impetus from a strange source. In an attempt to quell the rising religious fervor of the Delawares Governor Harrison of the Indiana Territory challenged the Prophet to produce a miracle. Open Door armed himself with an almanac procured from some traders and very dramatically predicted an eclipse. When the eclipse actually occurred, everyone was tremendously impressed, and many new converts joined the ranks of his faithful (Tucker 1956: 92).

In 1808 Tecumseh, busy preparing his forces for possible warfare, convinced his brother to move his mission from Greenville to the juncture of the Wabash and Tippecanoe Rivers. There in 1811, while Tecumseh was away recruiting more tribes for his Indian confederation, the Battle of Tippecanoe took place. Actually a mere skirmish between the Shawnee and American volunteers under Harrison, the affair was built by Harrison into the glorious conquest appropriate to a presidential hopeful (Mooney 1896: 690). On his return Tecumseh severely reprimanded Open Door and all but banished him for his weakness in allowing Harrison to goad him into attacking and then compounding his error by doing it unsuccessfully. Without his brother's backing, the Prophet quickly lost his power. He died in Kansas in 1837, an old

man much given to reminiscing about his more glorious youth (Mooney 1896: 691).

Regardless of what one may think of Open Door's methods, one is forced to admit the sincerity of his personal beliefs. From the time of his conversion he did not touch alcohol nor take part in actual fighting. This did not, however, prevent his chanting incantations against the enemy in the midst of the battlefield.

His doctrine, known as the Prophet's Code, began by extolling the glories of the Shawnee but was soon changed in order to attract converts from other tribes. At the beginning the Prophet described the Shawnee as being created before other men from the brain of the Master of Life. Other inferior races like the British were made from His hands and feet and were settled across the water. However, the Shawnee, after being masters of the American continent for many years, fell into evil ways, and the Master of Life transferred their power and knowledge to the people living across the sea. Open Door assured his followers that they would regain this power if they followed his precepts. Some of his converts came to believe him the reincarnation of Manabozho, an early Algonkin teacher and culture hero, and therefore they obeyed his instructions eagerly. He promised that he would travel over the land restoring the game herds (Mooney 1896: 692).

To be a loyal convert one had to destroy all old medicine bags and kill all the family dogs. Also one could not allow the household

fires to go out. There was the general feeling that items of White manufacture, especially alcohol, should not be used if one wished to hasten the eventual disappearance of the Whites and the restoration of the land to the Indians (Tucker 1956: 75).

Induction into the new faith was accomplished by the handling of strings of sacred beans by each convert. Called "shaking hands with the Prophet" this ceremony was supposed to protect the initiate against the Whites in battle. These beans were sent by Open Door to all parts of the eastern continental area in an effort to gain new adherents for the faith. The Prophet also possessed a torch presented to him by Manabozho himself and a bowl from the Master of Life as well. A shabby straw dummy representing the Prophet's body was considered most sacred and was closely guarded (Tucker 1956: 75).

The main significance of the Prophet and his religious movement may be found in the supernatural sanction which it lent to the attempts of Tecumseh to form an organization of Indian tribes. When Tecumseh and his allies were defeated during 1813 by the Americans, enthusiasm for the new faith declined. With the death of the leaders and the best warriors most of the Indians lost confidence in ever regaining their lands by religious means.

In review, here once more we have a religion begun by one individual who was influenced by Christian as well as native ideas. Evidently Open Door's conversion was sparked by his contact with the

Shaker missionaries. His religion was given an additional emphasis by Tecumseh who recognized its value as a unifying bond between the various tribes of his confederacy. The 1795 Treaty of Greenville which resulted in the loss of good hunting lands to the Indians may also have been a factor in the acceptance of the cult.

Handsome Lake--1799

The religious movement which has persisted the longest in the area east of the Mississippi River is that begun by Handsome Lake in 1799. Handsome Lake, or Ganiodayo, was a Seneca leader who had fought for the British during the American Revolution. After the war he settled with his brother Cornplanter in a small Seneca community, whose members were receiving both aid and religious council from the Quakers, a group liberally-minded in religious matters and practical in mundane ones (Deardorff 1951: 77). Here Handsome Lake became ill and was unable to recover his health for several years. Falling into a trance one day, he regained consciousness seven hours later to describe the following vision: Three men carrying three types of berry bushes had accosted him and bidden him to eat some berries from each. After he had done this, they told him that the Great Spirit was most displeased with the drunkenness of his people. Handsome Lake was instructed to abstain from alcohol and suggest that others do the same (Deardorff 1951: 80-92). Several weeks later he fainted again

and this time a spirit conducted him to the land of the dead. There he met and conversed with his son and his niece, Cornplanter's daughter, both of whom had died in a recent epidemic. The girl expressed her disgust over the family quarreling which often occurred, while the guide stressed the duty of sons to behave respectfully toward their parents. He also reiterated the evil resulting from drink and mentioned that only dances of worship should be performed. For protection from sickness it was necessary to eat the flesh of a white dog, the spirit declared (Deardorff 1951: 92).

Handsome Lake gradually regained his strength and began to teach a religion based upon his vision experiences. The new cult received an impetus from an unexpected source. Simmons, the Quaker missionary with the Senecas at the time, responded to questions concerning the new religion by declaring that indeed it might be true. Evidently, his interest in the welfare of his charges exceeded his Christian ethnocentricity (Deardorff 1951: 92). Although some Whites in the area were not so tolerant, approval of the new teacher and his ideas by President Jefferson in 1802 effectively silenced all adversaries, allowing the continued diffusion of the cult.

Handsome Lake's ideas, known as the Great Message of Gaiwiiio, spread to other Algonkin communities, then westward as far as the Shawnee, who were too busy with their own cult to pay much

attention. In 1808 Cornplanter was given a pass to enable him to carry the Message to the western tribes.

Throughout its early life the cult had the support of the government, supposedly because it sanctioned the type of behavior which the government desired to produce in the Indians. In the War of 1812 Handsome Lake remained neutral. Three years later he journeyed to Onadaga to preach and died there on August 10, 1815. Without his leadership some members of the faith fell away and joined the evangelistic Christian movements which entered the area in 1820. Others remained true to their faith until the twentieth century (Deardorff 1951: 95-104).

During his lifetime the cult of Handsome Lake was not aggressive in its nativism; however, after 1815 the situation changed. The Seneca were pressed by various land companies to give up their lands and move west of the Mississippi River. Under this pressure the tribe split into progressive and conservative factions (Wallace 1961: 148). The progressives adopted revivalistic Christianity, while the conservatives held to the Good Message of Handsome Lake. Thus, a cult which had begun as a revolutionary doctrine in conflict with traditional mores, eventually became the "Old Way" associated with tradition and conservatism (Wallace 1961: 149).

This doctrine viewed White culture selectively, adopting some customs and rejecting others. For instance, it advocated a redefinition

of male and female roles to fit the White pattern. Men were to till the soil, a task which they would not have dreamed of performing in aboriginal times. Also the nuclear family was thought to be more important than matrilineal sib relationships. In addition, an emphasis was placed on guilt and confession, peaceful conduct, and the importance of self-control (Wallace 1961: 147).

The doctrine also cautioned the convert to abstain from drink, gambling, and card playing. However, here its resemblance to Christianity ends. The Sabbath was not kept and it was felt that the Bible, though perhaps important for Whites, was not necessary for Indians. Carried over from the aboriginal faith were four sacred dances: the Harvest Dance, Great Feather Dance, Bowl Game, and the Personal Chant. Public confession was also a part of the ceremonial calendar.

The most sacred symbols of the religion were strings of beads, held to be so holy that they were kept hidden, only being displayed to the faithful on an appointed day every two years. Since the day of their showing had to be absolutely clear and since they were hurried into cover at the first sign of a cloud, we have little information about them. It seems that there were several belts and about 30 strings bearing pictures and designs. In a burst of nativism, Handsome Lake forbade their handling by White men (Deardorff 1951: 95-104).

In evaluating Handsome Lake's teaching we discover a blend of Christian and native elements. Yet, unlike some later movements, his religion did not specifically suggest improvement of the Indian situation by annihilation of Whites or even by the hope of a fast approaching millennium. This may reflect the fact that during the lifetime of Handsome Lake the Algonkin tribes were not undergoing direct deprivation. The prophet sought instead to remove the evil practices of both White and Indian ways in an attempt to restore a way of native life tempered with some Christian ethics. The origin of this cult may be traced to visions experienced by Handsome Lake during a long illness. Its acceptance was helped along both by the Quaker missionaries and by government sanction.

Kanakuk--1820

The spiritual successor of both the Delaware and Shawnee prophets was Kanakuk, a Kickapoo shaman who presided over his tribe from the 1820's until his death in 1852. At the time Kanakuk began preaching, the Kickapoo were facing a move from their territory in Illinois to the home of their enemy, the Osage, in Missouri. They were not anticipating this move with any enthusiasm; in fact, half the tribe emigrated into Spanish territory south of the Red River to avoid being sent to Missouri. Into this depressing situation came Kanakuk, dispensing a doctrine of abstinence from alcohol and peaceful conduct

as a panacea for all their ills. Using a diagram which reminds one of that of his Delaware predecessor, Kanakuk explained that if everyone led a good life, all the Indians would be able to pass over a chasm of fire and a great sea, thus escaping into a new and better world. In order that this might be accomplished he specified that medicine bags be burned, and that everyone abstain from stealing, murder, and telling lies as well as from alcohol (Mooney 1896: 695).

An important part of this new religion was based on the use of prayer sticks in morning and evening devotions. These sticks were about 12 inches long and 2 1/2 inches across at the widest point. At each end the stick widened into a cross bar, the lower one being carved to represent the home of the wicked, while the top displayed the abode of the righteous. On the stem were hieroglyphic-like devices, each suggestive of a certain prayer. Thus the stick was used as a memory aid in private devotion. The whole prayer cycle was sung as a chant and took about ten minutes to repeat. It is interesting to note that these prayer sticks were specially carved by Kanakuk himself, and that he received a substantial revenue from their sale (Mooney 1896: 696).

Sunday was the usual day of worship. Kanakuk would deliver a sermon after which a line would be formed, and all would march around in single file chanting prayers and shaking hands with bystanders. Departing, they would continue to chant until they reached the "Father's House", that is, the top sign on the prayer stick. In addition to this

ceremony, confessions were held on Friday. Specially appointed persons struck each penitent with a hickory rod in accordance with the seriousness of his sin.

Despite the earnest prayers of Kanakuk, the Kickapoo were removed into Kansas. Here the prophet died of smallpox in 1852. In awaiting his resurrection, an event supposed to occur three days after his death, some of his followers contracted the disease from his corpse. Without his leadership the cult gradually decreased in vitality, just as the Kickapoo themselves dwindled until there were only 500 of them in 1894 (Mooney 1896: 697-700).

Although many elements of this cult obviously suggest Catholicism, Kanakuk himself always resisted the inroads which missionaries sought to make among his faithful. Instead, he preached his own doctrine of dependence on the mercy of the Great Spirit, and the importance of prayer, peace, and abstinence from alcoholic beverages. Rather than stressing a direct return to pre-contact ways, he, like Handsome Lake, sought to improve the lot of his people under the conditions which existed at the time.

We know too little about Kanakuk's early life to allow us to determine the personal factors which encouraged him to begin preaching. However, a study of his teachings shows them to be a blend of the religions of the Shawnee and Delaware prophets. The members of his

tribe, distraught over their proposed move into enemy territory,
turned eagerly to his doctrines for comfort.

NATIVISTIC MOVEMENTS OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Washani--Pre-contact

Because it is the theory of some authorities that the several religious movements of the Pacific Northwest trace their beginnings to the Washani or Prophet Dance of the aboriginal peoples of that region, we shall summarize these native beliefs briefly. The main tenets of faith involved the destruction and ensuing renewal of the world accompanied by the return of the dead. To hasten this occurrence special dances were held at which the dead were called to return to their tribe and families. Each tribe had its own self-appointed dreamer who had talked to the Creator while in a trance state and then organized a dance and lectured to others concerning his vision. Natural phenomena were believed portents of the approaching doomsday; the faithful would hold frenzied dances until the appointed time of resurrection, then, when the world failed to disintegrate, they would return to their mundane affairs until the next prophet appeared with his warnings of coming disaster (Spier 1935: 1-2).

Spier (1935: 6) states that such dances were definitely held in pre-1800 days, before contact with Whites had taken place, among the Babine, Kutenaii, Flathead, Bannoc, Modoc, Klikitat, Yakima, Lillaoit, and Chilcotin tribes. Based on the Indian feeling that the Earth Mother

was old and needed to be renewed, this strange faith was strengthened by the practice of immediate burial which resulted in many people being buried before they were actually dead. As the reports of these reborn mystics were substantiated by legends about visits to the spirit world by culture heroes, many people believed their tales (Spier 1935: 1-8).

Iroquois Cult--1830

The study of this pre-contact religion is complicated by a Christianized cult that developed in this region in the 1830's. A small band of Iroquois Catholics from eastern Canada journeyed to Montana in search of a place to settle. They were welcomed by the Flatheads and began to live with that tribe. Their knowledge of Catholicism prompted them to perform Christian rituals which were gradually adopted into the aboriginal dance pattern of their host. The Christian elements were so obvious that early missionaries were certain that these Indians had had some contact with Europeans though later research proved that this was not the case (Spier 1935: 30).

Smohalla--1850

This serves as a background for a discussion of the Smohalla cult of the 1850's. Smohalla was born around 1817 in a small tribe in central Washington. In his youth he came in contact with Catholicism in both its Iroquois and orthodox forms. After becoming prominent as

a warrior, he became a shaman and began to preach around 1850. It was at this time, during a fight with Moses, a rival chief, that he was badly wounded and left for dead on the battlefield. He recovered and began a long journey which is thought to have taken him down the Pacific Coast into Mexico (Mooney 1896: 719). Spier (1935: 41), however, insists that he could not have gone this far. On his return he reported to his people that he had been in the spirit world. There he had learned that the spirits were angry with the Indians and that the only way to relieve this anger was for everyone to return at once to their primitive way of life.

In obedience to this command Smohalla came out strongly against the government's attempts to get the Indians of the Columbia River region to give up their lands and move to reservations in the eastern parts of Washington and Oregon (Mooney 1896: 708). Continuing the essentials of the Washani doctrine, he insisted that the Earth Mother was sacred and thus should not be plowed or mined. As he expressed it,

You ask me to plow the ground. Shall I take a
 knife and tear my mother's bosom?
 You ask me to dig for stone. Shall I dig under
 her skin for her bones?
 You ask me to cut grass and make hay and sell it
 and be rich like White men,
 But how dare I cut off my mother's hair? (Mooney 1896: 721)

His adherents were also warned against any sort of wage labor as Smohalla felt that work interfered with dreaming and dreaming was

the only way to obtain wisdom. True to his own words he abstained from labor and spent most of his time in a trance state or holding lengthy services. Like the Shawnee Prophet he obtained an almanac and astonished everyone by successfully predicting an eclipse (Mooney 1896: 720).

The services were held several times each Sunday. They began with the ringing of a hand bell by a small boy, followed by the raising of Smohalla's flag in front of the meeting area. This flag was a brilliant affair of green, blue, yellow, and red concentric squares crowned by a representation of the north star. It is not known whether Smohalla got the idea of having a flag from seeing one used at military posts or in Catholic processions. After the flag was flying properly from the flagpole, Smohalla and his small acolyte led the way into the large wooden structure which served as a church. The congregation was seated by sex and height, each group of seven being dressed in colored robes of a certain hue. Smohalla and his assistants also dressed for the occasion, Smohalla being attired in a priest's robe, a white shirt with a red band sewn down the back. Twelve young women dressed in white stood in a line along one side, keeping time to the drum beats with their heels. Songs began and ended at the signal of the hand bell. They consisted of seven lines each and involved the repetition of a few ideas over and over. Smohalla was careful to include a sermon as the climax of the service (Mooney 1896: 719-21).

During the beginning of the salmon season a special salmon feast was held which included a meal reminiscent of communion in the Catholic liturgy. Salmon and a cup of water were placed in front of each participant. At the command from Smohalla a bit of salmon was eaten, at a second command sips of water were consumed. Then all helped themselves to the food provided, and a general feast ensued. At the dance which followed all stood in lines, alternating heel and toe in a dance step while moving their hands across their breasts in a fan-like motion. On the completion of the ceremony, the congregation left in a single file, turning at the door to make a bow much like a Catholic genuflection (Mooney 1896: 722). As Smohalla came in contact with Catholicism during his youth, it is not surprising that he employed Catholic ideas in his rituals, while still retaining an anti-White doctrine.

To summarize, this cult combined elements probably derived from the aboriginal religion and Catholic Christianity. It gained impetus from the government drive to sell the tribal lands. Although it did have some nativistic components in its rejection of Whites and their ways, it was not essentially a militant movement and caused little conflict beyond upsetting a few Indian agents. These officials were horrified at the "renegade" Indians who gathered around Smohalla and refused to return to their homes (Spier 1935: 46). The cult lasted well into this century as Murdock is reported to have witnessed a Smohalla-type ceremony in 1934 (Spier 1935: 44).

Kolaskin--1870

Another messianic movement in the Pacific Northwest was that begun by Kolaskin in 1870. As a young man Kolaskin was confined to bed for two years. During this time he fell into a trance. When he regained consciousness, he announced that he was cured and stated that he had a message from the Great Spirit. Thereupon he elaborated on a moral code which involved abstinence from alcohol, stealing, and adultery. He declared that grace must be said before meals and everyone should pray morning and evening as well. The seventh day must be observed soberly; friendliness and kindness should be prime motives of behavior. More important, Kolaskin introduced a new god, gioilantsa tin. The young messiah converted the Spokane to his faith over the objections of the Presbyterian missionaries in the area. Then he returned to his own tribe, the Sanpoil, and gained many converts (Ray 1936: 68).

A lodge was built as a meeting place, and rites were held there each Sunday. Soon Kolaskin underwent a second mystic experience during which he learned that there would be a great flood in ten years time. To prepare for this disaster the prophet ordered his followers to build a huge boat that they and selected animals might survive the inundation. In 1873 he went to Kartaro where he prophesied that something horrible was bound to occur in the near future. When

his words were followed by a series of destructive earthquakes, many flocked to hear his teaching (Ray 1936: 68-71).

Though he may have been successful as a prophet, Kolaskin's skill as an administrator had definite shortcomings, and his dictatorial policies caused his downfall. Upon becoming chief of several villages, he insisted that everyone conform to his religious ideas. Those who failed to obey were thrown into a jail which he had constructed especially for that purpose. Eventually, a man was killed as a result of his actions, and Kolaskin was sent to prison for three years. On his return he recanted, declaring that all his previous teachings had been erroneous. He became a shaman and espoused aboriginal beliefs until his death in 1920 (Ray 1936: 74-75).

To summarize, visions occurring during illness were responsible for the origin of this religious movement. The influences from Christianity may probably be attributed to the Presbyterian missionaries in the neighborhood. The acceptance of the cult was influenced by Kolaskin's dictatorial measures as well as the anxiety caused by the earthquakes and prophecies of the world's end.

Shakerism--1882

One of the best documented Indian religions of this region is that of the Shakers. This religious group, although bearing no direct connection with the Shaker group previously mentioned, is so called

because of the strange habit of involuntary trembling which seizes the members during a service. The origin of the Shakers may be traced to John Slocum, a member of the Squaxin tribe on the shores of Puget Sound (Barnett 1957: 1). In 1881 Slocum fell ill as a result of a logging accident. When he went into a death-like trance, his relatives, believing him dead, dispatched someone to a nearby town to obtain a coffin. However, before the coffin arrived, Slocum sat upright in his burial wrappings and began to preach to the assembled mourners. He reported that he had visited the Place of Judgment but had been refused admittance and instructed to return to earth that he might lead sinners to Christ. He was also told that he must have a church in which to preach if he wished to live. His friends and relatives took him at his word, and several weeks later he was giving sermons in a small clapboard building.

As the months passed, however, Slocum gradually returned to his old sins of drink and gambling. In 1882 he became ill once more. His wife, Mary, became hysterical when Slocum's father insisted on calling in a shaman in an attempt to save him. Pushing the shaman aside, Mary went to his bedside and began to tremble and shake as she prayed in a frenzied voice. Following this outburst the sick man began to improve. This caused him to infer that his wife's shaking was a manifestation of God's power (Barnett 1957: 4-25). Because she had been the recipient of this power, Mary became an instrumental figure

in the formation of the Shaker Church. In later years command was assumed by Mud Bay Louie, a friend of the Slocum family (Barnett 1957: 398). Because the Shaker services rivaled those led by the missionaries in the area, the Shakers experienced discrimination against them in the early years of their organization. However, in 1892 they obtained legal aid which silenced their adversaries, and the religion spread quickly throughout Washington, Oregon, northern California, and British Columbia. Today Shakerism is still a vital religious force, but it has probably reached the apex of its influence and is falling in popularity (Collins 1950: 399).

Like other cults discussed above Shakerism recognized individual revelation, a practice which makes generalizing about church doctrine rather difficult. However, to most Shakers the Shaker Church was conceived as belonging to the Indians as a special dispensation given to their race by God. Whites could belong, but they were not allowed to become influential in church affairs. On the other hand, in contrast to this attitude of Indianism, the Shakers were vehement in advocating the abandonment of shamanism and similar Indian traits (Barnett 1957: 100).

In terms of daily life both belief and practice were left up to the individual; a hierarchical organization did oversee church affairs but there was no true priesthood to direct the soul of the individual believer. God was regarded as a ruler who bestowed blessings on those

who avoided sin and prayed faithfully to him. His power was expressed in the shaking spasms of the faithful. There developed a schism between the conservative and progressive factions of the church over the method of obtaining wisdom. The conservative group never accepted the Bible as a means to knowledge. For them the shaking itself provided the only means of revelation needed or acceptable. The progressive members, on the other hand, accepted the Bible and believed in consulting it often. They also stressed that the teaching of Christ was more important than the experiences of Slocum (Barnett 1957: 140-50).

Regarding ethics, the Shaker Church officially condemned drinking and smoking, but again, doing or not doing these things was purely a matter of individual conscience. Public confessions were held which usually consisted of testimonials by converts who described their sinful lives before they became church members (Barnett 1957: 150-57).

One of the major concepts of Shakerism was the belief that shaking and prayer could be used to heal. It was specified that in order to receive the benefits of these healing powers, a patient had to request the aid of the Shaker congregation. After such a request, a night-long ceremony was held at which many people hovered over the ill person in an effort to get him to shake and thus be cured. This healing rite is very similar to the rite used by the native shamans. Shamanistic rites themselves were pronounced illegal by the government in 1871. It is thought that the Shaker religion not only borrowed important ideas from

shamanistic practice but also served as a substitute for it in providing a method of faith cure to which the Indians were accustomed (Collins 1950: 402).

The shaking itself was a violent trembling and jerking which possessed the members of the congregation during the service. This trembling, known as "getting the Power," appeared to be involuntary on the part of the individuals affected. In truth, however, it was probably produced by auto-suggestion, during the emotional singing and praying. It seemed to be contagious, passing from one person to another until the whole group was shaking and jerking uncontrollably (Barnett 1957: 313).

The services were held in frame buildings with an east-west orientation. There was usually a belfry with the altar and its cross situated beneath. Benches for spectators formed parallel rows in back while those for participants lined the walls near the front altar. A table, a wood stove, and chairs for patients completed the furnishings. Over the altar was hung a cross with candles on the top piece and the two ends of the cross bar. More candles, regarded as "the lights of Heaven," were used as the illumination during services. The prayer table was covered with a white cloth upon which various religious articles were placed, covered in turn by another cloth when not in use. Ideally, each home had a private prayer table which was decorated with religious pictures. It was here that the family gathered for

morning and evening prayers (Barnett 1957: 201-205).

White robes adorned with blue crosses were selected as the correct dress for services. These vestments were worn only at Sunday meetings and were usually brought to the church and donned right before the main portion of the ceremony. Hand bells, which resembled those used in rural schools during the last century, were an important feature of the Shaker service. These were held like rattles and shaken to accent the beat of the stamping as well as to mark divisions in the ritual (Barnett 1957: 240-245).

Some elements contained in the private devotions of these people should be described before discussing the ritual occasions celebrated by the Shaker Church. Most obvious of these was the use of the sign of the Cross accompanied by the words, "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen." This sign was made before and after prayer, at meals, and during church services. The attitude of prayer was also formalized; it was the custom to partially extend the right arm with the hand turned so that the thumb was toward the body. Originally everyone was required to kneel throughout all the prayers of the service, but as this was a matter of several hours, this rule was soon changed to allow the worshipers to either stand or kneel on one knee while the prayers were recited. (Barnett 1957: 243).

Like most churches in America, the service of major importance in Shakerism was that held on Sunday morning. It was begun with an invocation and an opening hymn and included a sermon, donning of vestments, prayers and songs, bell ringing, and a ritual handshake. This handshake was an expression of the brotherhood of the members and was accomplished in a moving line which progressed in such a fashion that everyone shook hands with everyone else. The songs used for this and other services were of two types. The first type was sung in English and resembled the emotional hymns of revival groups. The second variety was sung as an accompaniment for the dancing and stamping and consisted of nonsense syllables (Barnett 1957: 239-45).

There were other ceremonies as well as the Sunday service. Meetings of a revival nature were often held on Saturday and followed by a general feast. Also meals in pious Shaker households were accompanied by a short sermon by the father and a procession around the table as a sign of thanksgiving. No rites existed for baptism or ordination. However, the acceptance of new converts into the brotherhood of the faithful was marked with some ceremony. The prospective member was treated as a patient and the members shook, stamped, and danced around him in an effort to induce the shaking phenomenon. Witnesses of this rite attributed the success of this endeavor to the hypnotic effect of the stamping and singing. If the new member showed the slightest tendency to tremble, the efforts of the others were

redoubled until he "got the Power" and began shaking himself (Barnett 1957: 255).

The curing ritual was similar to the conversion ceremony. Since it was believed that Mary Slocum's shaking was responsible for her husband's recovery, this rite was very popular among members who were ill. Usually the service was held in the home of the patient. Amazingly enough, sometimes the patient actually was much improved following the ceremony, a fact which places the Shaker healing on a plane with other examples of faith healing. Actually, Barnett (1957: 398) feels that this part of Shakerism was a direct descendant of shamanism despite the fact that the Shakers never charged for their services whereas the shamans healed as a profession. Like shamanism the main rationale behind the curative procedure rested in the belief that illnesses were of two kinds. There were those obviously of mundane causes which could be cured by drugs and rest, and there were those attributable to supernatural sources. The latter were thought to be caused by spirit intrusion. Thus someone with very strong Power had to remove the spirit, place it in a jar filled with water, and bury it in the ground if the patient was to regain his health (Barnett 1957: 250-58).

To review, Slocum's trance during his illness and his wife's seizure at his bedside were the original stimuli of Shakerism. The prohibition against shamanism left the Indians at the mercy of disease

without the comfort of a traditional cure. Also at this time the Indians were anxiously waiting for title to their lands which had been promised them by the government many years before but had not yet arrived. Thus it is no wonder that Shakerism became so popular among the Indians of this region during the latter part of the last century.

Pom-Pom Cult--1904

The last religious cult of this region which we shall discuss arose as a result of Shakerism. In 1904 Jake Hunt, a Klikitat who lived in the mountains north of the Columbia River, called in some Shakers to cure his wife and daughter who were dying of tuberculosis. However, efforts to help his wife failed, and she was buried shortly after the arrival of his Shaker friends. Distraught, Hunt threw himself on her grave, weeping hysterically. In the throes of grief he fell asleep and experienced a vision. Voices called to him, insisting that he cease mourning and make a buckskin tambourine. A disk of light (titcam) appeared, brought from the sky by an eagle. Intuitively, Hunt suddenly knew all the old Washani songs, although he had not been fluent in them before. He was also instructed to convert people in seven lands to this new religion (Du Bois 1938: 1-20).

Awaking, Hunt rushed into the family hut where his friends were saying grace according to the Shaker custom. Frantically, he overturned the table in his revulsion and drove them from his home.

In the days which followed he adopted a frontiersman dress of buckskin and retired into the woods where he constructed a home of the native type. Thus began the Feather or Pom-Pom religion, a sect which later diffused until it was practiced on the Yakima, Warm Springs, and Umatilla Reservations (Du Bois 1938: 25-30).

Like the movements discussed above, the Feather Cult combined features of several other religions. This was apparent in the teachings and even more so in the ceremonies. It is thought that Hunt was a shaman in his younger days, and that this activity as well as Shakerism and the Washani Cult may have given him ideas for the Feather Cult (Du Bois 1938: 25).

The main teachings of this group consisted of an absolute rejection of alcoholism and a recognition of a future life to be spent in Heaven or Hell depending on the state of one's soul. An emphasis on a return to aboriginal ways was reflected in the buckskin dress adopted by adherents, the long house in which services were held, and the harvest feasts reminiscent of pre-contact days. All true believers were supposed to eat salmon, venison, camass, huckleberry, and water on Sunday, and these foods, representative of aboriginal times, were also named in the grace used at meals. Feathers were used as the symbol of the cult; they were held during the services and worn by the men in their hatbands as the badge of their belief (Du Bois 1938: 30-35).

Preparation for the feast of first foods began several days before the time set for the feast. At this time the members would go out into the mountains where the women gathered roots and berries, and the men set about procuring salmon and deer. Everyone returned in three days and contributed the food which they had obtained. It was prepared in a ritual manner by women especially appointed for this task. Each dish of native food was placed on long tables with great ceremony, and then dishes of butter and other non-sacred foods were added. In a manner very like the ritual of Smohalla, everyone took small bites of salmon, venison, roots, berries, and water, and then general feasting ensued. The clanging of a hand bell signaled the beginning of singing, while the taking of a final sip of water concluded the service (Du Bois 1938: 31).

Pom-Pom curing rites seem to be a direct borrowing from Shamanism. Their curing practices were especially directed at certain Indian diseases. With their tambourine-like drums setting the rhythm, Feather believers attempted to get a grip on the sickness and carefully lift it out (Du Bois 1938: 33).

Most fascinating of all Feather Cult ceremonies was that of initiation. It took place in the long house where a shiny mirror set in a beaded pouch had been suspended at eye-level from the ceiling. The initiate was instructed to gaze into the mirror which represented the titcam or disk which Jake Hunt saw in his vision. After a feather was

placed in his hand, the convert drank three dippers full of hot water. Then the disk was dropped upon him, and he was supposed to spin violently in place. It was reported that during this spinning the initiate would see his sins spread out before his startled eyes. Questioned by the leader, the poor sinner had to confess his former misdeeds. Later the leader forced the convert to vomit as a symbol of his purification from these sins. Two members of the cult would lead the the initiate around the room, all spinning together at intervals, and making the circuit seven times. Upon completion of these activities the convert was considered a full-fledged member of the Feather religion (Du Bois 1938: 30).

Ceremonial paraphernalia used by these people included the tambourine drum, a hand bell, and the mirror mentioned above. Before the long house where the rites were conducted stood a flagpole topped with a stuffed eagle. Two flags were flown, one with five stars on a dark background, the other with the sun portrayed in the center. The colors of the cult, yellow and green-blue, were used in the flags (Du Bois 1938: 41).

In summary, Jake Hunt's revelations occurred while he was distraught over the death of his wife. Contact with his Shaker friends probably turned his thoughts to religious matters. One may postulate that he turned in disgust away from Shakerism to aboriginal ways because he resented the inability of the Shakers to save his wife.

At any rate, his new religion had more elements of aboriginal doctrine than Christian concepts.

NATIVISTIC MOVEMENTS OF THE SOUTHWEST

Pueblo Revolt--1680

The first attempt by the Indians of the Southwest to reinstate their native customs occurred in 1680 among the Indians of the Rio Grande pueblos. Santa Fe had been settled by Oñate in 1610 and from that time on, these Indians had been subjected to Spanish influence (Underhill 1953: 202). Churches were built in the pueblos, and the Indians were forbidden to practice their native beliefs. In 1675, 47 Indian leaders were whipped and imprisoned for witchcraft. Their punishment served to crystallize the frustration and anger of the Indians and thus provided the stimulus for the revolt which occurred in 1680. Led by two Indian priests, Popé and Cahiti, the pueblo united and attacked Santa Fe. The town was taken, many priests were killed, and the mission churches were destroyed. Outnumbered more than ten to one, the Spanish were forced to retreat to El Paso. The Rio Grande pueblos retained their freedom from Spanish rule for 12 years. (Spicer 1962: 160-64).

Nakaidoklin--1870

The next religious movement to occur among Indians in this area was the Nakaidoklin movement among the White Mountain and

Cibecue Apache. In 1870 the Western Apache peoples had made their peace with the United States, and by 1875 they had settled on farms along the Gila River. There they came under the influence of Lutheran missionaries, who added a veneer of Christian doctrine to their aboriginal beliefs. These beliefs centered mainly around the concept of Power; each individual had a certain amount of Power and those who possessed the most became shamans. During this period the Apache peoples were worried because settlers and miners were encroaching upon their lands (Spicer 1962: 532). Thus they were eager to follow a shaman who instigated ceremonies to bring back the dead leaders so all might join in an uprising against the United States Army. However, the shaman was killed at the Cibecue Massacre in 1883, and his Nakaidoklin movement came to nothing (Mooney 1896: 704).

Dahgodi yah--1900

Years passed, and the twentieth century brought boredom to the Apaches. With their raids into Mexico finally prevented by the authorities, life became a dull routine. To this lack of action the Apaches at Cibecue responded by initiating a new movement, dahgodi yah ("They will be raised up"). Although this religion also emphasized the return of the dead, this time anti-White hostility was not featured. Instead, peace and moral behavior were taught. The originator of this cult worked diligently to preserve the faith among his fellow tribesmen

but when the dead failed to return, people lost interest (Goodwin and Kaut 1954: 387-88).

Big John Edwards--1921

However, in 1921 a new movement, containing many features of the last, was begun by Silas John Edwards, often referred to as Big John. He based his right to preach on a vision in which he had spoken to yo·sn (Supreme Deity). In this interview he was instructed to tell his people that they must return to the old way of life. The cross and snake were suggested as sacred symbols, and a ceremony which should be performed was described as well. Big John succeeded in convincing others that they should obey his doctrine, and soon the religion was started in earnest (Goodwin and Kaut 1954: 389).

A main tenet of the new cult was that the good Indians would be lifted up while the world was renewed. When all was refreshed, they would be put down on the land and there would dwell in peace and prosperity. In order that the faithful would be distinguished from others at the time of the world's destruction, the members of the cult adopted a special costume. The women wore white dresses, the men donned white shirts and trousers, black vests, moccasins, and curious silver ornaments. Each wore a cross topped with a crescent and hung with five silver disks. In addition, each participant wore colored streamers hanging from his shoulders during ceremonies. It was

thought necessary for everyone to carry a small bag of corn pollen at all times.

To ensure that all his followers would survive the world's renewal Big John gave each a new name, assuring them that they had only to remember these names to be saved. In addition, he ordered a special village to be built in a secluded spot in the mountains. Never used, this town was supposed to serve as a tribal retreat during the coming catastrophe (Goodwin and Kaut 1954: 385-90).

Dances were held at three-day intervals. Six dance bosses led by Big John ensured the participation of everyone. After purification in a sweat bath the faithful performed four sacred dances with social dancing in between each. Four girls distributed sacred corn pollen to the dancers, and corn meal was sprinkled on the ground as well (Goodwin and Kaut 1954: 385-90).

This cult combined aspects of Protestantism, Catholicism, and aboriginal beliefs. The main deities included the Supreme Deity, and Nauyenesgani (the twin god monster-slayers from aboriginal times) sometimes identified with Jesus (Spicer 1962: 532).

Through the 1920's Big John gained fame among his people. Some regarded him as the reincarnation of a legendary culture hero, while others revered him as Jesus. However, John's marital problems were fated to interfere with his sainthood. He was convicted of his wife's murder in 1933 and sent to prison. Even then his followers did

not desert the cause; some visited him in prison that he might heal them by his touch (Goodwin and Kaut 1954: 389). At last report in 1955 the religion was known as the Holy Ground religion and was still going strong (Spicer 1962: 534).

The story of these movements illustrates the fact that messiahs have a strong power over their fellows even in this century. These cults also began with vision experience of individuals and were initiated during periods of stress for the Apache. Though they did become quite popular among the tribe of origin, they failed to spread to other Southwestern groups. Norbeck feels this was due to lack of unity of the Apache tribe as a whole (Norbeck 1961: 250). Perhaps another factor in the failure of these cults to diffuse was the previous exposure of the other tribes to the Ghost Dance, which taught a similar doctrine and made promises which were not fulfilled.

NATIVISTIC MOVEMENTS OF THE BASIN AND PLAINS

The Ghost Dance--1870

Without doubt the nativistic movement which gained greatest notoriety among White citizens of the United States was the Ghost Dance. According to Spier (1935: 24), the initial inspiration for this movement may be traced to the Washani Dance of the Pacific Northwest. The ideas of this movement, including the concept of a renewal of the world and the game thereon, were consistent with the legends and traditions of the Pacific Coast tribes, but not with those of the Paviosto among whom the Ghost Dance originated. These facts, coupled with the knowledge that contact was common between the Paviosto and tribes of the Columbia River region, cause Spier to conclude that inspiration for the Ghost Dance doctrines was gained from the Washani teachings mentioned previously.

The story of the first Ghost Dance, that of 1870, begins in the Walker Lake region of Nevada in 1869. Here a Paviosto shaman named Wodziwob (Gray Hair) spoke to the dead in a trance and began to preach their return. Such contact with the dead was not unusual to tribes of this area; however, in this case the Paviosto and their neighbors were very impressed with Gray Hair's teachings and adopted his doctrine. One person largely responsible for spreading the anticipation of the

dead's return and the dances necessary to accomplish this end, was Frank Spencer. Also known as Weneyaga, Spencer was Wodzibob's disciple and the chief missionary of his ideas to other tribes (Norbeck 1961: 241). Another helper was a shaman named Tavibo, whose son was largely responsible for the 1890 Ghost Dance. Despite Mooney's report (1896: 701-4) that Tavibo and Wodzibob were really the same person, later investigation has shown that Tavibo was only a minor shaman connected with the cult (Du Bois 1939: 3).

By 1870 Spencer had converted the neighboring Washo to the new religion. It is implied by one authority that it was he who enlarged on Wodzibob's original idea until the cult taught that all the dead were going to return rather than just a few of the shaman's friends and relatives (Du Bois 1939: 5). In the years following, the doctrine spread until the Achomawi, Yana, Wintun, Modoc, Karok, and Yurok tribes of Northern California, the Yokuts and the western Mono of Southern California, and the Klamath of Oregon were all involved (Gayton 1930: 57-60). Interest in religious matters was stimulated by the Ghost Dance teachings, and the result was the conception of the Earth Lodge cult and the Bole-Marú religion (Du Bois 1939: 1).

The 1870 Ghost Dance revolved around the idea that if dances were conducted faithfully the dead would return and the Whites would vanish. There was no militancy against Whites inherent in the doctrine. To hasten the return of the army of the dead, the faithful danced

in a circle, holding hands, in a form of the Paviosto round dance.

Following the dances everyone bathed, a custom also taken from the Paviosto who always bathed following such events. Face painting and dress during the dances followed the local traditions of the particular tribe involved. In some tribes it was the practice to dance around a pole but this was not the case universally (Du Bois 1939: 7).

Included in the doctrine of the dead's return and the world catastrophe was the warning that skeptics would be turned into beasts when the great day finally arrived.

The Earth Lodge Cult

A man called Norelputus, of Wintu-Northern Yama ancestry, was responsible for spreading the cult southward to the Wintun, the Pomo, and the Hill-Patin. In doing so he changed the emphasis from the return of the dead to a prediction of the end of the earth by wind, fire, and water. To prepare for this emergency all the Indians were expected to gather in groups where deep earth lodges were built to shelter them. Since worldly goods were regarded merely as encumbrances, some zealous converts destroyed much of their property. This cult spread back to Ghost Dance territory, reaching the Achomawi in 1873. The Earth Lodge cult, as it was called, seemed to gain a much stronger hold in some tribes than the Ghost Dance had. It was carried northward where it became known as the Warm House Dance and enjoyed

prominence in Oregon for several years (Du Bois 1939: 13).

Bole-Marú

In turn there evolved among the Wintun and Pomo an elaboration of the Earth Lodge cult which became known as the Bole-Marú religion. This new sect gradually abandoned the concept of the end of the earth and stressed instead the ideas of an afterlife and the importance of the Supreme Being. Although each local dreamer had individual revelations which determined what form his religious activities would assume, responses became fairly standardized so that among most tribes the following devices were used: (1) a flagpole by the dance house from which the dreamer's private flag was flown during ceremonies, (2) a dance form taken from the old Patwin Hesi dance and called Bole-Marú, (3) full-skirted dresses for the women, and (4) a Ball Dance (Du Bois 1939: 1).

The Bole-Marú probably began with a Hill-Patwin shaman named Lame Bull who was also a believer in the Earth Lodge cult. In less than a year Bole-Marú replaced the Earth Lodge cult, and soon it had diffused to the Chico Maidu, the River Patwin, the Wintun, Wintu, Shasta, and Achomawi. It has persisted, though with some changes, to the present era (Du Bois 1939: 1-2).

From the dreams of Bole-Marú believers came the beliefs, dances, and costumes used in the religion. The chief deity was referred

to as "Our Father," and he sanctioned an ethical code which included prohibitions against drinking, quarreling, and stealing. All were encouraged to join in the dances. Reward for faithful observance of the cult's demands was a life of peace and plenty in a pleasant after-world. The sect's belief in the existence of a Heaven and Hell may have been the result of influence of Christian missionaries (Du Bois 1939: 1).

A description of the dances used by this cult shows them to be of two types. The Bole-Marū Dance was performed with two lines of women on either side of the fire keeping time with bandanas or grass whisks while the men danced between them. It may be distinguished from other dances in that the women and sometimes the men were attired in frontier costume. In the performance of the Ball Dance the women lined up on one side of the fire and the men on the other. Each dancer then tossed a ball over the fire to his partner. The balls used were made of rags and covered with rawhide painted with sacred designs. It is interesting to note that the Ball Dance is today the principle surviving element of the Bole-Marū tradition (Du Bois 1939: 2).

Before leaving the details of the Ghost Dance of 1870 and the sects which it inspired, let us summarize the manifestation of this movement in Southern California. According to Gayton, the tribes in the area from the upper Fresno River to Tulare Lake received word of Wodzibob's revelations through contact with Paviosto missionaries in

1871. For several years huge gatherings were held which continued until lack of food forced the ardent converts to disperse. Only children were allowed to sleep; all others had to spend the night in constant dancing. Here the dance form consisted of holding hands and dancing in a circle, waving the joined hands up and down at each step. On the final night of the dancing, old horses were led around inside the dance circle to rejuvenate them. Although the participants were expected to refrain from anger and erotic indulgences, no food tabus were imposed (Gayton 1930: 71).

Here also we find the concept of the expected arrival of the dead. One had to dance, both to hasten this event and also because anyone who persisted in spending his nights in sleep rather than dancing was doomed to perish. Finally, enthusiasm waned, and when the most intensive dancing did not produce the desired result, the cult disappeared in 1875 (Gayton 1930: 62).

In the ready acceptance of a doctrine evolved by a distant prophet by tribes other than his own, we find reflections of the situation of the California Indians at that time. The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 resulted in increased White contact for these Indians. Evidence that acceptance of the 1870 Ghost Dance movement was dependent upon the deterioration of the Indian culture in question is given by Du Bois (1939: 136). She cites the example of two tribes, the Hupa and the Kato, whose beliefs were firmly held and who

did not accept the new faith although they had contact with it. On the other hand, too much sophistication was also a deterrent to acceptance. Du Bois notes that the younger people, lacking knowledge of the aboriginal ways, were not intrigued by the revivalistic doctrine of the movement. One may infer that the Ghost Dance had much to offer to people only partly acculturated to White ways. In addition to the hope of a better life to come, the cult also allowed fulfillment of individual esthetic needs through dances, songs, and costumes. No doubt those who were in mourning gained comfort from the idea that soon their loved ones would return and be with them once again. Diffusion from tribe to tribe undoubtedly was aided by tribal intermarriage and employment of Indians on agricultural labor projects in addition to the usual influences of the reservation system and the use of English as a common means of communication (Du Bois 1939: 135).

Though short-lived in most areas, the Ghost Dance of 1870 and its various offshoots influenced tremendously the tribes which became affiliated with it. Perhaps it was the disillusionment which arose when the dead failed to fulfill the prophecy of their return which was responsible for the lack of interest on the part of the California tribes in the movement of two decades later, the Ghost Dance of 1890 (Kroeber 1925: 865).

The Ghost Dance--1890

The Ghost Dance of 1890 was the work of a messiah, the son of Tavibo, an assistant of Wodzibob. Born in 1856, Wovoka (The Cutter) had been raised by a rancher who had given him the English name of Jack Wilson. This young man lived a life typical of members of his tribe at that time, working on nearby ranches and attracting little notice, until the time of his religious rejuvenation. This occurred as Wilson lay ill during an eclipse of the sun. After his recovery he immediately began to teach his fellow tribesmen a religion based on peace, honesty, and hard work. Old war practices were forbidden, and special dances were held for four nights in succession. If all these things were carefully done, the dead of the tribe would be united with their living relatives and all would live together in a land where there was neither sickness, death, nor old age. It is important to note the simplicity of the messiah's demands that we may contrast his original religion with the interpretation of its doctrine by others. His teaching expressly forbade hostility against anyone and soothed the frustrations of his adherents by the prophecy of the glorious life to come (Mooney 1896: 764-920).

The date of the resurrection of the dead was placed by most as late spring. Later Wovoka held that the dead had already arisen and were advancing from the spirit world to the land of the living. He warned everyone to prepare for the millennium which was close at hand.

From this simple doctrine some amazing variations spread across the land. Let us consider a few examples. Among the Paviosto themselves it came to be believed that all the Whites and all the Indians who did not follow Wovoka's teachings would be drowned during a great flood preceding the regeneration of the world. The messiah himself was believed invulnerable.

Porcupine, a Cheyenne sent by his tribe to find out about this new movement, sent back a report to his people, summarized as follows: Wovoka is Christ come back to life. Bearing the scars of his crucifixion, He has come back to help the Indians because the Whites murdered Him. If one man disobeys Him, his whole tribe will be destroyed. Wovoka heals by his touch. Soon the heavens will be torn away so that the earth can reach up to the sky and contain all the dead and the living. Here youth will be renewed every spring so that no one will ever be over 40, and all races will live together in peace (Mooney 1896: 785).

The Washo, Pit River, Bannoc, and Navajo tribes stressed mainly the resurrection and return of the dead. This may be the reason why the movement had few adherents among the Navajo. With their deeply ingrained fear of ghosts, the idea of the dead's return must have terrified them (Hill 1958: 478-82).

Among tribes where the emphasis was on the destruction of Whites, several different ideas were held as to how this would occur.

East of the Rocky Mountains it was believed that the faithful would sleep through the catastrophe which would last four days. In Oklahoma it was thought that a new world would slide over the old one. The Indians would be able to fly up to the new one by use of sacred feathers held in their hands, but the Whites, lacking such supernatural aid, would perish. The Arapaho maintained that the Whites would be driven back to Europe by a wall of fire, while the Walapai were sure that a hurricane would strike, destroying the Whites and restoring the Indians to their rightful domain. The Sioux developed the idea of the Whites' destruction to include the notion of their being drowned in a flood of mud and water, while the Indians remained unharmed. Among various tribes the movement was known by different terms. Although best known by the Sioux term for Ghost Dance, the sect also gained renown as the "Dance in a Circle" among the Paviosto, "Everybody Dragging" among the Shoshoni, and "The Father's Dance" among the Comanche (Mooney 1896: 777-85).

Over the years of its popularity the Ghost Dance was accepted by 35 tribes. Approximately 60,000 people eagerly awaited the return of the dead and the start of the millennium. Included in tribes affected by the doctrine were the Shoshoni, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Caddo, Pawnee, Comanche, Washo, Pit River, Wichita, Iowa, Apache, Bannoc, Coconino, Walapai, Mohave, and Sioux. As previously mentioned, the Navajo heard about it but did not become believers in any great numbers.

This was the case with the Hopi also. The Ghost Dance never was accepted by the eastern branch of the Sioux, the Crow, Sauk and Fox, Blackfoot, or Ojibwa. (Mooney 1896: 807).

Diffusion was aided because distant tribes often sent delegates to Wovoka to learn about the new religion. Sometimes the delegate returned with a skeptical report. This was the case among the Kiowa. Earlier, in 1887, a Kiowa prophet had foretold that the Whites would be destroyed by the gods and that the buffalo would return. Many Kiowas became very enthusiastic about the new religion. However, they lost interest when the prophet insisted that it would rain fire from the heavens, a phenomenon which failed to occur. Therefore, when word reached the Kiowas about the Ghost Dance in the summer of 1890, they were accustomed to such concepts and sent a representative to find out about the movement. Upon his return their delegate reported the discouraging news that the messiah himself had admitted that he was a fraud and cautioned him to counsel his people to forget the whole thing (Mooney 1896: 785).

Regarding ethics, Wovoka exhorted his followers to do no harm to anyone, to refrain from telling lies, and to end the extravagant mourning rites which were then the custom. Fighting of any sort was expressly forbidden, an injunction, however, which was completely ignored by the Plains tribes (Mooney 1896: 776).

Among the original believers the most sacred object of their faith was a red paint made from powdered ochre moistened with water. This paint was thought to render its wearer safe from all harm and delegates from other tribes eagerly petitioned Wovoka for cakes of it to take home. Even more sacred among the Plains tribes, however, was the ghost shirt. Though Wovoka disclaimed authorship of this article, it certainly was deemed important by the Sioux and some of their Plains neighbors. It is Mooney's opinion that the ghost shirt resulted from contact with Mormon missionaries. The use of a sacred garment as a symbol of faith is common practice in the Mormon Church; some members even believe that wearing such a garment renders them invulnerable. Even the form of the Mormon robe, a seamless affair of white muslin adorned with sacred symbols, calls to mind the fringed muslin ghost shirts decorated with symbols of the Ghost Dance beliefs (Mooney 1896: 790). Whether or not this interpretation is correct, the fact remains that the Indians had intense confidence in the power of these garments. Warriors went into battle fully convinced that no bullet could penetrate their sacred cloth. Women and children were provided with the garments so they would be protected also. In fact, among the Sioux these shirts were an important part of the Ghost Dance ceremony itself (Mooney 1896: 790-91).

The Sioux version of the rite, in the main typical of the Ghost Dance among the Prairie tribes, usually began in the afternoon. After

the dancers--men, women, and children--assembled in a line facing the sun, the leader waved a decorated staff over their heads while reciting a prayer. Following this, the line closed to form a circle around a tree or pole hung with offerings to the Great Spirit, and the dance began in earnest. Joining hands, the dancers rapidly circled the tree or pole, meanwhile repeating the words "Father, I come; Mother, I come; Brother, I come. Father, give us back our arrows" (Mooney 1896: 917). One by one, the excitement would prove too much for the dancers, and they would fall inert in trance on the dusty ground. This continued until almost everyone had collapsed. Then the remaining dancers stopped and seated themselves to await the revival of their comrades. Those who had been unconscious would describe their visions. One observer reported, however, that only a few actually saw visions and even they did not seem to put much faith in them. Probably, the visions were induced as much by the fasting of the dancers as by their religious fervor or the hypnotic effects of the dance itself (Mooney 1896: 917-19).

One variation of this rite, comparable to our ordination, was the "giving of the feather" to the priests of the dance. Usually seven men and seven women were chosen by the apostle who had brought the Dance to the tribe. These leaders were invested with a feather of a crow, this bird being sacred to the Ghost Dance. Once this was done the newly converted group could begin composing its own songs for the

Dance, whereas previously they had used songs composed by other tribes (Mooney 1896: 790).

All the dancers wore feathers in their hair during the dance. Often these were painted in designs which were said to be popular in the Spirit World. Those who had visited this realm in their trances gladly painted the feathers of their friends. Painting of the body was also carried out in accordance with visions, the most common designs being suns, crescents, stars, crosses, and birds done in brilliant primary colors.

As was the case with the other movements which we have discussed, interest in the Ghost Dance gradually diminished when the dead failed to return. Its demise was hastened by the Sioux outbreak of 1890 and the failure of the Ghost Dance shirts to protect the Indians from soldiers' bullets. Some tribes kept Ghost Dance traits, blending them with other aboriginal beliefs, but most, realizing the unlikelihood that the dead would return and the Whites vanish, turned to other religions which offered hope of deliverance in an afterlife (Mooney 1896: 920).

In conclusion, Wovoka had a religious background since his father was involved in the movement of 1870. He experienced his vision while ill and under the additional stimulus of an eclipse, believed by the Paviosto to be a time of supernatural happenings. Before his vision

Wovoka was considered a hard worker and was evidently fairly well adjusted.

The prominence of the Ghost Dance of 1890 among the Plains tribes may be attributed to the state of these Indians at this time. Defeated at last and settled on reservations, they were enduring the frustrations of attempting farming in a country never suited to agriculture. In addition, many of their government rations were reduced during this period, thus threatening them with actual starvation. One may assume that they turned to the Ghost Dance doctrine for aid from the supernatural.

A PAN-INDIAN NATIVISTIC MOVEMENT

Peyote Cult--1885

One of the most widely known Indian movements is still very active at the present time. This cult centers around a button-like cactus found in the Southwest and Mexico. Peyote (from the Nahuatl peyotl) is known scientifically as Lophora williamsii (La Barre 1959: 7). Chemical analysis has shown that the plant contains narcotic alkaloids of the isoquinine series which, though non-addicting, produce a heightened sensitivity to visual and auditory phenomena when eaten (La Barre 1959: 138). As a result actual hallucinations are often induced in anyone who eats this plant (Anonymous 1923: 1-5).

There are several different theories concerning the origin of peyote use. The Indian version exists in several forms, one of which is summarized here: A Comanche tribe on a raid into Mexico was forced to leave an old woman and a young boy behind in the desert. The boy became frightened and deserted the woman to follow the rest of his tribe. While hobbling in search of him, the woman had a vision in which an Indian youth appeared to her. He told her that the boy was safe and pointed out the peyote plant which he stated would not only restore her strength but aid her people as well. Later she rejoined the tribe and introduced them to the use of peyote (Petrullo 1934: 35).

It is well known that peyote was used in Pre-Columbian times by the Aztecs and the Cora-Huichol Indians in Mexico (La Barre 1959: 110). Peyote has also been found in a ceremonial context in prehistorically occupied caves along the Pecos River in Texas, a fact which has caused some to postulate an ancient peyote religion north of the Mexican border (Campbell 1958: 156-62). Others feel that the Peyote Cult is but a later development of a ritual which existed in pre-contact times among the tribes of the Plains area. Centered around the mescal bean (Sophora secundiflora or mountain laurel), a berry containing the toxic alkaloid sophorine which grows in the southern plains, this cult had elements similar to that of its supposed descendant. A drink was made from the berries for use as an emetic for purification; also the positions of participants in the tipi was similar to the arrangement used in the Peyote Way. Howard (1957: 75-87) postulates that the existence of the cult as the ancestor of peyote worship could explain the confusion between peyote and mescal beans in the literature.

However, other authorities feel that Howard had no sound evidence for such a conclusion, and trace the diffusion of peyote north from Mexico in post-contact times (Petrullo 1934: 19). Through the use of Spanish missionary records it was learned that the Lipan Apache knew of Peyote as early as 1716 through raids into Mexico proper (Stewart 1959: 700). By the 1870's the Mescalero had learned of it, and quickly it spread to the Kiowas, Comanche, and Caddo. It was in

1885 in the Indian Territory of Oklahoma that the cult was started in the form which it has today. Even now Oklahoma is regarded as the Mecca of peyote worship (Slotkin 1956: 25). During its long period of diffusion the cult acquired traits that were quite foreign to its original users. For instance, in the Lipan form women did not participate, nor was the moon altar used. Neither peyote tea nor water was used in the ceremony as is the case today (M. Opler 1938: 271-88).

It was also in Oklahoma that a Delaware named John Wilson gave the use of peyote a tremendous impetus. Having heard of peyote's powers of curing, he determined to try it. He went into the woods and spent several weeks experimenting with its use. Upon his emergence he took the name of Moonhead, and began to interest others in his method of performing the peyote rite. His ideas spread quickly both because of his engaging personality and because he allowed no variation in matters of religion among his followers. Most of his innovations incorporated direct borrowings from Christian theology and symbolism (La Barre 1959: 151-61).

In direct opposition to Moonhead's teaching, a conservative Delaware, Elk Hair, continued to preach a form stressing aboriginal symbolism, and his variation became known as the Little Moon form (Petrullo 1934: 82). Conservative factions among other tribes soon found themselves confronted by those wishing to incorporate Christian ideas into peyote worship. For example, among the Winnebago a

religious skirmish broke out between one John Rowe who had introduced the Winnebago to peyote and an Albert Hensby who insisted on including Bible reading in the ritual (Radin 1923: 420).

Referred to as "Mescal Bean Eaters," peyote users met with opposition beginning shortly after the turn of the century. Bills were put forward in Congress in 1916-1921, 1924, 1926, and 1937 forbidding the use of peyote. Although no federal laws were passed against peyote use, state laws were. At one time the states of Arizona, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming prohibited its use. In 1917 a federal law was passed which outlawed sending peyote through the mails, and this law remained in force until 1940. In an effort to avoid religious discrimination against their faith, peyote users incorporated the Native American Church in Oklahoma in 1918 (La Barre 1959: 167). In 1944 this organization became a national one, and today it functions as any other such group with national officers and conventions. Its membership is in the tens of thousands and includes Indians from tribes in 17 states and Canada. Thus today the peyote religion has more adherents among Indians than any other form of worship (Bergquist 1957: 36).

Truly the peyote movement is a Pan-Indian one. Often a peyote meeting will have participants from several different tribes. There is also some effort on the part of its Indian members to keep it a religion for Indians only, although some non-Indians do belong.

As the Peyote Cult allows individual revelation as a guide to action, several ceremonial variations have developed in different regions. These will be discussed following an examination of the basic ceremonial pattern. The typical peyote rite is held in a tipi whose doorway faces east. A cedar fire is carefully laid in the center, and a crescent-shaped mound of earth is built around it. This mound is the altar, and upon it is placed a perfect specimen of peyote, referred to as the "Father Peyote" and never eaten. Following sundown on a Saturday evening the participants, carefully washed and attired in clean clothing, file into the tipi and take their places. Four of their number officiate. The leader of the ritual, usually called the "Roadman," has the task of directing the ceremony. His assistants, the drum chief, cedar chief, and fire chief, perform minor duties. Usually the Roadman begins the ritual by explaining the purpose of the meeting. If prayers are desired for a sick person, he requests them at this time; also he reminds everyone of the rules which must be followed during the ceremony. Then the Roadman makes a prayer, smoking a hand-rolled cigarette as he does so. After he sings the Opening Song, the drum and rattle are passed clockwise around the circle, each person singing four songs of his own choosing and drumming for his neighbor. Meanwhile the peyote has been passed and each person has taken several. Peyote is usually taken in dried button form, but tribes close to the source of supply also use it whole in the green state, and an infusion is sometimes

drunk as well. The amount of peyote consumed varies with the individual and ranges from four to 40 buttons. The singing, individual prayer, contemplation, and eating of peyote continues throughout the night.

Although leaving the tipi during this time is frowned upon, permission to do so is usually granted by the fire chief who is stationed at the door. At midnight a special song is sung followed by the drinking of holy water and sometimes the eating of a communion meal (Slotkin 1956: 480-86).

Those who have eaten peyote say its effects include a heightening of sensitivity which lends a new depth to the chanting and an eerie glow to the firelight. While under peyote's influence the individual feels no fatigue, and often experiences a feeling of intense mental alertness. Ideas come to one with a terrible clarity; God seems very near. To some, peyote brings visions, occasionally of a terrifying nature but usually consisting of but momentary glimpses into another world.

At sunrise a designated woman, usually a relative of the Roadman, enters the tipi bringing fresh water. A special rite is enacted during which the Water Song is sung, and prayers are offered. The meeting is then closed and all go outside where they partake of a ceremonial breakfast consisting of fruit, beef, and corn products, pure native foods. Some of the food may be taken home to children and friends (Slotkin 1956: 480-86).

The best known of the variants of this ceremony is the Moon-head form. This form includes many elements borrowed from Christianity. For example, in the arrangement of the tipi many lines are drawn on the ground to represent the Peyote Road, morning sun, evening star, and cross. Also a crucifix may be placed on the moon-shaped altar together with the Father Peyote. The ritual itself varies in that there is no special ceremony at midnight, and when a member re-enters the tipi after being outside he must be purified before he retakes his seat. This is done by his assuming the position of Jesus in the Ascension, standing with his arms partially extended and his palms up. Others carefully fan his body with the eagle feather fans to remove any evil which may have contaminated him while he was outside. In the Moonhead form abolutions are performed outside at sunrise, after which everyone combs his hair with a common comb. The singing then continues until noontime when dinner is held. Unlike the Little Moon form this meal stresses candy and sweets rather than typically Indian foods (Petruccio 1934: 94).

In another variation among the Winnebago everyone participates in public confession during the service. This is followed by everyone present shaking hands as a sign of forgiveness. Also, among this group baptism of the peyote convert is effected with peyote tea and the words "God, His Holiness" (Radin 1923: 416).

It is difficult to give a true description of the doctrine of the peyote user as this religion allows, even forces, the individual to answer religious questions from within himself. Within the Native American Church, however, religious ideas have reached a more concrete form. For the peyote believer there exists a supreme yet impersonal Power whose being is diffused throughout the world. On a lower level of the supernatural, we find a multitude of spirits taken both from Christianity and aboriginal beliefs. The Trinity is recognized, and God is thought of as the Creator with Jesus considered a guardian spirit or hero. The importance of Jesus is reflected symbolically in the ritual; even the 12 poles of the tipi are said to represent His disciples. The Holy Ghost is only vaguely conceptualized. The Devil plays a minor role in the doctrine, but angels are thought of as representing the four cardinal points (Slotkin 1956: 68).

From aboriginal beliefs there has been preserved a faith in Thunderbird, equated with rain; the White Dove, thought of as a messenger; and the spirit of the peyote, also a guardian and messenger. The Power of these supernatural beings is believed to be incarnate in the peyote itself, the holy water used in the ceremony, and the food eaten after the service. It is eating the peyote while in a mood of prayer and concentration on the holy which imbues the worshiper himself with Power, much in the same way that the vision quest of the Indian youth obtained supernatural aid for him in pre-contact times. Although the

communion with the spiritual world does occur in a group situation, the old stress on the individual search for the sacred is retained through the lack of a priesthood to interpret religious matters. Thus each man must undergo peyote intoxication and the enlightenment it brings for himself (Slotkin 1956: 69).

The ethics of this religion, known as the Peyote Way, consist mainly of absolute avoidance of alcohol, and an emphasis on family life, self-reliance, and brotherly love. Mutual aid between members is stressed; some members even refer to each other as "Brother" and "Sister." The Bible is respected as a means of revelation for Whites, and certain of its passages such as those referring to the use of sacred herbs are quoted as proof of peyote's holiness and efficacy. However, since users of peyote receive direct revelation from God while under peyote intoxication, it is not deemed necessary for them to read the Bible. Thus the Bible may be interpreted in terms of peyote but the reverse does not hold true. Though there is no mention of Hell, there is the general expectation that the good people will eventually arrive in Heaven (Slotkin 1956: 45).

There appear to be some obvious reasons for the popularity of peyote worship. To begin with, converts are usually attracted by claims of its curative powers. Not only is peyote credited with arresting cases of tuberculosis which had been given up for lost by doctors, but it seems to be effective in curing minor respiratory ailments as well (Slotkin

1956: 41). Since diseases of this sort have wrought havoc among the Indian population since first contact times, it is not surprising that its adherents enthusiastically testify to cures produced by its use. One does not know whether to attribute these cures to the chemical action of the peyote itself or the effect of suggestion on the patient (La Barre 1959: 86-89). Also since the cult forbids the use of any intoxicating beverages, many credit it with making substantial progress in the reduction of drunkenness on the reservations. At the least many individuals have described the change which peyote has made in their lives, insisting that it has turned them from sin to useful activity (Slotkin 1956: 18-19).

Peyote appeals to other Indian needs as well as the physical. Due to the relatively unstructured form of leadership in the cult anyone may gain the respect necessary to become a leader, and thus a new set of acquired statuses is provided. Unlike many statuses surrounding him in American society, these are positions which the Indian can actually attain. Thus he is provided with a goal to strive for which is within his reach. Like other movements the Peyote Way also offers an ethical code around which the individual can reorganize his personality (Slotkin 1956: 43).

Despite these factors, however, peyote does not appeal to all Indians. G. D. Spindler discovered in a study of Menomini acculturation that peyote worship was highly correlated with class and level of

acculturation. The least Americanized Menomini held to the aboriginal beliefs while the more well-to-do and more highly acculturated class preferred more orthodox Christian sects. The group in between the two ways of life was the group with the highest percentage of Peyote Cult members. Spindler concludes that for the members of this group peyote worship fulfills religious needs by providing the individual with satisfactions which he is unwilling to accept from an alien Christianity and which his old faith can no longer provide. However, personality traits are important too. Rorschach tests of peyote adherents in this group found undue amounts of fantasy, introspection, and diffuse anxiety ingrained in their personalities. This suggests that members of this faith tend to have more of these qualities than are usually present in the person under strain due to an acculturative situation. This also may explain why more of the Menomini are not peyote worshipers (Spindler 1952: 151-59).

Another example of the acceptance pattern of peyote by some groups within a tribe and not by others is found among the Southern Ute. Two settlements on the Ute reservation are involved with peyote. The people of Ignacio, the most acculturated town of the two, subsist mainly by farming, while the inhabitants of Tawaoc live by herding and are only now coming into contact with modern American life. It is interesting to note that in Tawaoc, where the rite greatly resembles shamanistic practices, peyote is the way of life of practically the whole

settlement. As Opler states, "In view of his unstable position the Tawaoc native is looking backward seeking an escape into a past which is actually unattainable. Peyote offers such an escape and one in which the community can share" (M. K. Opler 1940: 466). Ignacio residents, on the other hand, do not believe so unanimously in peyote's worth. Although services of the Christianized type are held, many of the townspeople disapprove and do not hesitate to overtly condemn the use of the cactus. Usually their criticism centers around the high cost of peyote participation. The Ute, far from the source of supply, must buy their peyote from other Indians. At 50 cents a button this rapidly becomes a financial burden.

Nevertheless, interest in the Peyote Way continues to grow among the Indian peoples of our country. Many would agree with the Shawnee woman who spoke of peyote as the "help, the aid, the comfort of us poor Indians" (Slotkin 1956: 77).

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

Comparison of the Movements

A comparison of these movements discloses at once certain similarities. For instance, in examining the creation of the movements we find that with the exception of the revolt of 1680 and the Peyote Cult, they were all begun by individuals who gained religious knowledge by a trance experience and then passed on this holy information to others in the form of a new religion. This is not in itself so surprising since many aboriginal Indian religions used visions and trance experiences as a source of power. In these cases, however, the individuals who went into trance were either ill or experiencing personal difficulties.

There were other similarities among these cults also. The ethics they proposed were amazingly alike and may have been a reflection of Christian morality. Alcohol was always frowned upon; gambling and card playing were often forbidden as well. In fact, there was a great emphasis on sin in all the cults. Daily prayer was stressed in some, while special rituals were an important feature of each movement.

All the cults except that of 1680 combined aboriginal ideas with some White ways, either in ceremony or in doctrine. Although it was always considered important to return to the ancestral way of life, this way of life was pictured in an idealized form often tempered with

Christian morality. For instance, the Indian convert was frequently told that the practice of polygamy was a major sin, an injunction which certainly reflects Christian missionary influence. Thus, imperfections were seen in ancient ways, imperfections which had to be corrected before the wonderful prophecies of the religion could be fulfilled.

Often the movements carried the implication that the Indians were a special race, the chosen people of God, who had only to follow His commands to achieve a solution to all their problems. This solution took many forms, from the renewal of the world expected by the Ghost Dance faithful to the closeness to God brought by the peyote to the follower of the Peyote Road.

Another important feature of these religions was their emphasis on healing. As previously mentioned, new methods of curing offered a substitute for the ancient curing rites and at the same time provided a spiritual answer to the threat of new diseases introduced by Europeans.

The new statuses and roles included in these new faiths must also be considered. Not only did they provide positions of power for their instigators, but many cults such as Shakerism had places of authority for others also. Some movements had a regular tradition of sending out missionaries to spread the message to other tribes. Also esthetic needs were served by the creation of new songs, dances, and costumes for the new religions.

Further, a comparison of the movements reveals that only five of the cults sought actively to destroy the Whites though others tried to produce this end by supernatural means. The militant movements were the revolt of 1680, the Ghost Dance of 1890, the cults of the Delaware and Shawnee prophets, and the Apache religion of the 1880's. Also we find that four of the cults stressed the approach of an immediate millennium: the Apache religion of 1921, Kolaskin's cult, the Ghost Dance, and the Earth Lodge cult of California.

Conclusions

Next, we come to the basic question which confronts the student of nativistic movements, i. e. what factors are responsible for the formation and growth of these movements? Are they the result of the conditions which exist during culture contact or could they occur during a non-contact situation?

Before attempting to answer these questions let us review the conditions under which these movements occurred. During this time the Indian peoples were subjected to many types of strain: (1) threats to life and health, (2) discomfort from poor food, heat, cold, etc., (3) loss of means of sustenance, (4) enforced idleness, (5) restriction of movement, (6) dislike and ridicule from others, (7) isolation, (8) seemingly capricious behavior of the persons on whom their welfare depended, (9) lack of meaningful roles, and (10) lack of modes of

esthetic expression (Leighton 1949: 76). Aberle (1958: 79) describes these stresses under the general term "deprivation," a term he defines as "the negative discrepancy between expectation and actuality." Such a condition may occur in two ways in a contact situation. In the first case, the native peoples actually are worse off than they were in pre-contact times due to factors such as disease and crowding. In the second, the deprivation results from exposure to new wants which cannot be entirely satisfied (Aberle 1958: 79). Although deprivation is a relative thing and what may seem to be deprivation to an observer may not be recognized as such by the person involved, still some Indians seem to have undergone deprivation since contact with White culture began.

I feel that these stresses were responsible for the emotional maladjustment of some individual members of the Indian population. Hallowell (1955: 333) found evidence of such maladjustment in his recent studies of the Ojibwa. He discovered that persons midway between native and American ways of life frequently showed evidence of personality disturbance. Rorschach protocols revealed that these persons showed undue suspiciousness, diffuse anxiety, and immature outlooks. It is Hallowell's contention that these traits are the result of the acculturation process. Curiously enough, the men seemed more emotionally disturbed than the women, a fact revealed by their aggressiveness when drunk and their tendency toward lack of activity. The

women, still comforted by the satisfactions of raising a family, showed a much better adjustment (Hallowell 1955: 335).

In a similar study of the Menomoni G. D. Spindler (1952: 155-59) discovered breakdown of emotional control and prevalence of anxiety in those of the lower income, slightly acculturated class. Though usually diffuse, often this anxiety took the form of suspicion and fear of witchcraft.

It seems quite probable that such maladjusted individuals formed the nucleus of the religious movements. As Barnett (1957: 2) expresses it:

Prophets are seldom honored among a people who feel that they are masters of their own destiny. A social atmosphere which stimulates a spirit of self-confidence is not one to encourage reliance on superhuman forces. It is only when the shocks and perils of existence are overwhelming that the individual feels the need for something to support his mortal weakness.

If the emotionally disturbed, unhappy persons were the first to embrace the new doctrines, then other people might have joined because of social pressure, desire to belong, or the contagion of religious enthusiasm.

Next, let us turn our attention to the actual initiation of the movements. In almost all cases the prophet and messiahs who began the cults received divine revelation while in a trance state during illness. Arbitrarily ruling out the possibility of actual divine intervention, I think we may conclude that the visions which these men

experienced were the result of illness, personality problems, and the culture-instilled belief that divine knowledge could be gained through vision experience. Most of these visions included mention of world destruction fantasies, desire for a better way of life, and a figure of authority, such as the Master of Life (Wallace 1956: 270). Often these visions resulted in the physical and psychological transformation of those who experienced them (Wallace 1956: 270).

Although studies have shown that in persons suffering from hallucinations of a religious nature "The strength of the hallucinations appears to be a function of emotional reactivity in anxiety arousing situations" (Lowe 1953: 458), it is difficult to say whether anxieties produced by the stresses of the contact situation actually increased the incidence of trance experience, despite the fact that accounts of the movements show that stress and anxiety were present.

I do feel, however, that the content of the visions was influenced by these anxieties. With his culture under a direct threat, it would seem quite possible for an individual to unconsciously defend this culture through visions which extolled its glorious past. Yet the picture is much more complex. Almost all the movements incorporated ideas from White culture as well as those from aboriginal religion. Could this have been an attempt to benefit from the efficacy of the religion of the conquering Whites or does it merely reflect the efforts of the missionaries to convert the Indians to Christianity?

Though such questions will probably never be definitely answered, several facts remain. First, some of the movements did occur directly following some specific incidence of deprivation. The Pueblo Revolt took place after harsh punitive measures were taken by the Spaniards; the Ghost Dance of 1870 followed population pressures after the railroad brought an influx of settlers and miners into the Paviosto territory; Shakerism started while the Indians of the Puget Sound area were upset about title to their lands. Even more important, these movements progressed across the country in the same way that White settlement did, thus suggesting a direct connection between the two.

These additional facts support my hypothesis that the formation of the nativistic movements did result from the conditions of contact with European culture. The movements were one of several responses which occurred when aboriginal cultures were confronted with Christianity and White customs (Dozier 1960: 168).

In their development the cults tended to follow the revitalization processes described by Wallace (1956: 144-51) and outlined in the section entitled "The Problem." Thus they progressed from the original steady state through the period of individual and then cultural distress and finally to the period of revitalization. Some of the cults, such as that of Handsome Lake, underwent routinization and eventually new steady states were evolved.

Summary

In summary, we have traced the history of the nativistic religious movements which occurred in the last two centuries among the aboriginal inhabitants of the United States. Our comparison of these movements has shown that although they differ in many aspects, yet the situation of their creation and their appeal to the Indian peoples of their areas justify our lumping them into one category, that of nativistic movements of a revivalistic character. Each movement stands out in history as a visible sign of the physical deprivation and mental frustration suffered by many Indians of this land. Whether their plight resulted in a messianic movement such as the Ghost Dance, a militant movement such as that of the Delaware Prophet, or the strange blend of Christianity and native lore which is the Peyote Way, still the unifying factor which groups all these religions into one type is the fact that all arose under conditions of White contact and the many pressures which accompanied it. The problems engendered by this process combined with the personal problems of the individual, and the result was a wave of new religious fervor which swept the land, until, its promises proved untrue, disillusionment brought it to an end. The fact that one of these religions, the Peyote Cult, still is a vital force suggests that it provides some Indians with satisfactions which they can find neither in the ways of their ancestors nor in the modern culture of the White American.

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