

NATIVE MOVEMENTS: THE AMERICAN INDIANS
RESPOND TO EUROPEAN CONTACT

by

Stephen Thomas Rich

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
In the Graduate College
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1 9 6 9

PREFACE

STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

This paper was begun as an investigation into

This thesis has been submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for an advanced degree at The University of Arizona and is deposited in the University Library to be made available to borrowers under rules of the Library.

Brief quotations from this thesis are allowable without special permission, provided that accurate acknowledgment of source is made. Requests for permission for extended quotation from or reproduction of this manuscript in whole or in part may be granted by the head of the major department or the Dean of the Graduate College when in his judgment the proposed use of the material is in the interests of scholarship. In all other instances, however, permission must be obtained from the author.

This could enhance the understanding of efforts of

SIGNED: Stephen Thomas Reich

of the United States in the latter half of the

century.

APPROVAL BY THESIS DIRECTOR

This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:

Edward P. Dozier

Edward P. Dozier
Professor of Anthropology

May 12, 1969
Date

PREFACE

This paper was begun as an investigation into the character of the nativistic movements among the Indians of North America. As religion was a major factor in this sort of movement, it was decided to emphasize the relation and reaction to the message of the European Christian missionaries.

An attempt is therefore made to understand some of the motivations of a group living as a minority people under the dominance of another group. Perhaps this could increase the understanding of efforts of other minority groups to integrate themselves into the society of the United States in the latter half of the twentieth century.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	vi
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
Classification of Social Movements	8
2. EARLY INDIAN-WHITE RELATIONS	21
King Philip's War	25
Popé and the Pueblo Revolt	28
3. THE FIRST GREAT AWAKENING	31
4. THE PROPHET AND PONTIAC: REACTION AMONG THE DELAWARE	36
5. THE GREAT REVIVAL, OR SECOND GREAT AWAKENING	49
6. THE RELIGION OF HANDSOME LAKE	60
7. TECUMSEH AND THE SHAWNEE PROPHET	74
8. MINOR PROPHETS	87
Kanakuk, the Kickapoo Prophet	87
Patheske, Winnebago Prophet	89
Kolaskin, Sanpoil Prophet	90
Isatai and the Sun Dance	91
The Dream Dance of the Menomini Indians	92
The 1870 Ghost Dance	93
9. SMOHALLA, DREAMER PROPHET OF THE COLUMBIA	96
10. THE INDIAN SHAKERS	103

TABLE OF CONTENTS--Continued

CHAPTER	Page
11. THE INDIAN GHOST DANCE	111
12. THE PEYOTE CULT	127
13. DEPRIVATION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS	135
14. RELIGION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS	143
Christianity and the Social Movements	146
15. GENERAL STATEMENT ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS .	150
Character of the Prophets	150
General Conclusions on American Movements	153
REFERENCES	156

ABSTRACT

As the Europeans came into the new world they were quick to assert their own dominance, upsetting many of the traditions of the native American Indians. While their land was taken and the natural resources used, the Indians attempted to remove the new interference through some very interesting and spectacular movements called "nativistic" movements. Armed rebellion was tried, often including some conception of divine commandment. Prophetic leaders claiming divine connection presented plans to remove the Europeans through a return to their traditional culture, for which the gods would give help to their efforts. When these failed, other prophets promised that the gods themselves would destroy the invaders and leave the world for the Indians to enjoy.

Dominant factors in these movements were such things as the unpleasantness of the contact situation, and the influence of the European religion. The condition of the Indians led to the rebellions in the first place, and determined which type of movement would be most practical. The missionaries of the Europeans emphasized and enforced change in traditions

which would be a result of the contact, and contributed the ideas of a moral code, a promised people receiving the world, and of the necessity for all members of the society to participate.

Finally, as these movements failed to bring about their promised results, the natives turned to efforts to ritually sanction a change in their traditional life which would enable them to accept the changes imposed by the white culture.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Excited by the promise of new opportunities and greater personal freedom, many Europeans migrated to the American continent to begin new lives in a new land. As they established themselves in the area, they failed to understand the concepts of land use and land tenure of the native inhabitants, the American Indians. As the Europeans took possession of the land, they not only misused the natural resources, but also changed the Indian hunting from subsistence to commercial fur trapping. Naturally, the natives took measures to either remove the interference or to realign their own lives in order to fit into the new pattern. These movements to preserve their traditional Indian dignity and identity, known as nativistic movements, will be the main topic of this paper. The movements will be studied with regard to their causes, their goals, their leadership, and their actual methods.

In seeking a united effort to meet the common crisis, the Indians often turned to their native ideology for aid and inspiration. Relying on religion in this

situation is very common, since this is one of the most conservative elements in a society and the logical source of a movement trying to preserve the old order. In addition the religion of the natives gave them a common bond as well as the comfort of divine aid or at least the approval of the gods. But as religion was often a major consideration in the movements, the missionary efforts of the Europeans may have influenced the movements, at least in the character of the leaders and their teachings. Thus, the relation of the native and imposed European religions to the Indian social movements will form the specific problem of this paper.

North America was chosen as the area of study since the Europeans settling this area placed a great emphasis on religious life. Soon after their arrival the Europeans formed missionary societies to spread their beliefs to the unconverted natives. The extent and type of contact by the Christian missionaries did have an influence on the nature of the movement.

Three of the social movements are still in force: the Shakers of the Pacific Northwest, the Gaiwiiio of the Iroquois, and the Peyote Cult. This paper will discuss these as well as the major movements of confederation, and the spectacular movement known as the Ghost Dance.

These are the primary social movements among the natives of North America and avail themselves to the study of religion in the social movement.

In addition to the religious orientation, the movements shared such features as a central leader and a moral code much like that of the Christian missionaries. They also promised a future time when the Indians would be allowed to live in peace and would experience great prosperity. This sort of future time of bliss is often called a millennium, and is a very old concept, especially among the peoples of the Western world.

The hope of a millennium in the Western tradition began with the Jewish captivity in Babylon. After the city was conquered by Cyrus of Persia, the Hebrews came into friendly contact with the religion of the Persians, Zoroastrianism, with its doctrine of a coming Messiah. As this Messianic hope became part of their tradition, the Hebrews began to believe that His coming would signal the gathering of all of the Hebrews to the promised land and a period of world peace.

As recorded in the seventh chapter of the Book of Daniel, the Kingdom of God suddenly emerged and destroyed the great beasts or kingdoms of the world. Since this book was composed in about 165 B.C., at the time of the

Maccabean revolt, Norman Cohn (1962:32) feels that it foretold a time when Israel would overthrow the Greek empire and then dominate the world for the rest of time.

Christian teachings indicate that sometime in the future Christ will return and reign for a thousand years. This belief is based on the twentieth chapter of the Book of Revelations, verses 1-6:

And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand.

And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years,

And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season.

And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.

But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.

Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.

Although the Bible is vague as to the exact features of the millennium, it seems to be a blissful time, when those who have died for Christ shall reign with Him. There has evolved a feeling that when the millennium comes, those on earth who are good will be allowed to take part in it, while those who are not abiding by the teachings of Christ will be destroyed. This has made necessary missionary work to prepare the world for the "Second Coming" of Christ and the beginning of the millennium. All those who are not living by the truth must be warned of the peril of their way of living.

When the promise of the millennium prompts a social movement among a group of people, the movement is called millenarian. Cohn (1962:31) defines the type of millennium expected as being collective, imminent, total, terrestrial, and to be accomplished with the aid of certain agencies which are regarded by the group to be supernatural. All of the faithful, and only the faithful, are to be saved. The time will be soon, and the events will occur quickly, transforming life on earth into a totally perfect state.

Certain circumstances are often productive of this sort of movement (Cohn 1962:40-41). Catastrophe or fear of impending catastrophe often cause men to hope for

a future millennium. The famines that preceded the Crusades and the grave massacres which often came before the movements of the Jews are examples of men driven to increased activity for the millennium by the occurrence of catastrophe.

A deflection of the authority which is by tradition regarded as being responsible for the regulation of the matters which concern the cosmos also can cause this sort of movement. That is, there is often a millennial movement following some sort of upset in the traditional religion, or way of dealing with the powers governing the universe. Mass anxiety created in this fashion is easily transferred to the emotionalism of a millennial movement.

Finally, there is the existence in the societies of certain elements which cannot organize to defend and further their interests through the regular secular means. This generally assumes that the society not only recognized various classes, but also that the group permitted these classes to change their relative power and prosperity.

Cohn (1962:42) mentions that certain elements are generally necessary for these movements to originate. The society must have a world view which has a form of future

promise, a reward which will be in store for those who are faithful during their lives on this earth. This will give the group some sort of longing for a release from the sufferings of the world, longing which will be generated by a prophet leader into a collective frustration.

Relating this to the conditions in North America, the effect of the Europeans is clearly defined. European control of their lands clearly foretold a future in which life as they knew it would be no longer possible. As they were moved onto the reservations these fears were intensified. Thus the catastrophe and fear of catastrophe were definitely present. The promise of a future reward for those who had lived good lives is certainly a part of Christianity and was doubtless included in the message of the European missionaries. This concept does not seem to have been a major part of the native religion. The Delawares did, for example, have some idea of a return to a glorious country where the Creator dwelled. According to Harrington (1921:56), David Brainerd had recorded in his diary that they believed the good would be admitted to a very beautiful town with spiritual walls, but that the bad would forever hover around the walls and attempt to get in. Harrington (1921:56), however, still does feel that the ideas concerning the Devil and Hell are

evidently derived from the whites. It does not seem, therefore, that the natives would have formed such strong opinions of a reward for the Indians and destruction of the white men without some contact with the millennial hope and reward for good action that forms such a primary part of Christianity. This is not to say that they could have had no conception of an Indian millennium, only that their thoughts on this subject were very likely enlarged by their contact with the religion of the white man.

Christianity would also have provided the upset in the traditional methods of dealing with the cosmos, generating the emotionalism which was needed to begin the social movements. Finally, the prophetic leadership was provided by men who had contact with the white men and their religion, men who generally had had some dealings with the supernatural.

Thus, in considering Cohn's conditions which give rise to these social movements, the introduction of Christianity, as a part of European civilization, is quite influential.

Classification of Social Movements

The confederations of Pontiac and Tecumseh, and the sweeping spectacle of the Ghost Dance have caught the imagination of many American historians. Students of

American culture have also found these and the other social movements of very great interest, telling, as they do, of the reactions of a proud and cultured people under the stress of a new domination. It is natural, therefore, that attempts have been made and will continue to be made to establish categories of movements in order to pigeon-hole the individual activities.

Ralph Linton (1943:230) discussed what he called "nativistic" movements, which were conscious and organized efforts by members of a society to either revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture. The movement must be organized rather than some sort of spontaneous demonstration, and must be consciously directed at some specific culture elements which the people involved consider to be their own. Basically, the present is seen as failing to satisfy the needs of the members of the society, with the prospects in the future looking even less likely to do so.

Linton (1943:231) divides the movements with regard to the type of millennium the group desires. If the movement wishes to revive some extinct or nearly extinct elements, it is called a revivalistic movement. These movements generally concentrate on certain elements of the culture, since to completely recapture the past

would lead to a situation which simply would not fit into present environmental circumstances.

When the movement is aimed at continuing certain elements which are current in the society, it is called a perpetuative movement. Again the concentration is on certain elements, since if the people were completely satisfied with their culture and wanted to preserve it all just as it currently is, there would be no reason for a movement. Perpetuative movements are vaguely conscious of their past, but make no real attempt to revive it. Instead, they continue the present traits with opposition to the assimilation of any alien elements.

Various means may be employed to realize the goals, rational means and magical means being the terms used by Linton (1943:232). Magical means are spectacular methods of using the supernatural to make the movement work. Rational movements are generally attempts to remind the society of a time when they had a quality of greatness, and usually try to maintain the self-respect and social solidarity of the group. Magical movements concentrate on some familiar elements of the society, usually with new meanings attached. The idea seems to be that the return of things of the past will somehow recreate the pleasant environment of the past. Rational movements

use the psychological value of symbols of past greatness to help define the group as a unique cultural entity.

Rational movements, therefore, seem more intent on establishing the separate identity of the group, while the magical orientation is in regard to the realization of a past greatness. Combining the two types of means and two goals, there are four major categories of movements. Perpetuative-magical movements generally do not occur, since there would be little magical quality about the current elements in a society which has enough frustration to be going through a social movement. The three types which are more common are the revivalistic-magical, the revivalistic-rational, and the perpetuative-rational.

Revivalistic-magical movements are attempts to recreate the total situation in which the ancestors lived, at least those elements of ancient life which look good in retrospect. Perpetuative-rational movements are the expressions of a need for social solidarity, while the revivalistic-rational movements concentrate on a period when things were good, trying to recreate the situation through action rather than supernatural means.

These movements, almost by definition, occur in situations of contact between two cultures, when at least one of the groups feels that the presence of the other group is hampering their attempts at living a

pleasant life. When both groups are satisfied with their life at present, or if the groups feel that their situations are improving, no movements will occur. As expressed by Thrupp (1962:12):

Although the disturbance of tribal life does not necessarily produce them, the movements have not been reported at first hand in tribal culture, except in circumstances of abnormal disturbance that create hardship or make the tribesmen feel deprived because members of the intrudent society are better off.

The common denominator, then, is the inequality of societies in contact. Furthermore, this inequality must be acknowledged. When both groups acknowledge a superiority and an inferiority, but there is not actual dominance involved, there is generally not enough stress to lead to a magical movement. As the superior group begins to feel that its dominance is being threatened by the assimilation of the inferior group, a rational movement may begin. In reaction, the inferior group may develop a movement concentrating on elements in its culture prior to the initial contact.

With regard to the situations of dominance and superiority, four situations are possible (Linton 1943: 236). The dominant society may consider itself to be superior or inferior, and the dominated group may have the attitude of being superior or inferior.

When the dominant group is actually superior, it will initiate perpetuative-rational movements as soon as it gains power, and adhere to them as long as it remains in power. It will assert its superiority and dominance and attempt to keep them as long as it can.

In cases when the dominant group acknowledges that it is culturally inferior to the group it has conquered, which is probably a rare situation, it will try to remove the inferiority by assimilation with the subject people. However, since this assimilation may cost them the dominance, they may develop some sort of movement emphasizing their own values if their dominance is threatened.

If the dominated group feels that it is superior to its conquerors, it will probably develop a form of rational nativism, either revivalistic or perpetuative, and most likely some sort of mixture of the two. The dominated group which admits its inferiority will attempt to assimilate into the superior group. When they are frustrated in this attempt, they often develop a rational movement with some revivalistic and perpetuative ideas. These rational movements may turn into mechanisms for aggression and may refuse to have any elements of the dominant group. When the dominated-inferior group

experiences too much hardship, it may turn to a magical-revivalistic sort of movement.

Linton (1943:232) further distinguishes between nativistic movements and movements which he feels are Messianic and not nativistic. The former have a millennium which is based on the past with some changes, while the latter has a millennium with conditions which are something new. Naturally, the nativistic movement may also include some new elements and the Messianic movements may also include some familiar things with new definitions; but the two movements have different basic plans. Thus, he feels that the Messianic movements concentrate more on the revival of the past than the nativistic movements.

Anthony F. C. Wallace (1956a:265) continues this classification, calling any movements which are deliberate and organized by the members of a society to construct a more satisfactory culture "revitalistic" movements. This is basically the same definition as Linton's, except it makes no specific inclusion of only certain elements to be the central concentration of the movement. The "better" life may be based on the past with improvements, or it may combine elements of an idealized future with the present conditions and an idealized past. Wallace contends that when a society, or a part of it, is

threatened with extinction or if some malfunction occurs, the society will attempt to correct the problem.

A revitalization movement begins with a steady state, in which the stress on the individual is at a level which he can tolerate (Wallace 1956a:268-270). This develops into the period of intolerable stress on the individual members of the group. This could be due to some change in conditions which lead to a lessening of the efficiency of the society's ability to meet the group needs. A change in the climate or in the floral conditions, a military defeat, a famine, or economic and political pressures could all cause the added stress. Acculturation is a very common cause of this added stress.

As different persons react, there is a period of cultural distortion. Since the different members reacting to the stress do so independently and differently, there is no longer harmony in the system and the stress increases. The period of revitalization now occurs, as the individuals act together and reform the elements of the system which are the source of stress. Often this is due to the visions of a prophet who directs the program. There is a period of communication as the prophet spreads his message and society is reorganized along new lines. As the new way of life becomes natural for the members,

there is a routinization and a new steady state emerges. Once again, the society is acting to reduce the stress as much as possible and to most effectively meet the needs of the members.

Wallace (1956a:275) also stresses identification, mentioning movements which revive, imitate, or innovate conditions to create their perfect state. He feels that even though most revitalization movements include both traditional and imported cultural elements, they profess either no identification at all, a traditional orientation, or a foreign orientation. This indicates that the choice of identification is a problem due to the fact that both the traditional and foreign models are regarded both positively and negatively.

Among the Indians of North America, the reactions usually took the form of a revival of the old cultures by a ritual and moral purification. Sometimes the final end would be in a utopian future with the return of the dead, but there would be some influence of the life of the past. This is probably due to the fact that the Indians north of Mexico were not enslaved in large numbers and tended to look to a happier past rather than to a future when the yoke of oppression would be lifted in a heaven on earth. He feels that the choice of identification would be a

function of the degree of domination. This degree of domination and choice of identification will be discussed later.

This whole question of classification of social movements is summed up by Aberle (1966:316-317). He uses as the two definitive characteristics of the movements the locus of the change and the amount of change which is sought. In other words, the change could be in the individual or in the society or the total system, and the change could be partial or total. Again, this leads to four types of movements. A transformative movement is a total change in the system. The Ghost Dance and many millenarian movements would fit into this category. Redemptive movements aim at a total change, but in the individual rather than in the entire system. The Peyote movement or the movement of Handsome Lake would be redemptive, since they aim at a reorientation in individual values in the face of the dominant society. The alternative movement aims at a partial change in the individual. Some of the birth control movements would be examples of alternative movements, providing they did not attempt to change any of the anti-birth control legislation. The change is strictly in the individual and regards only one part of his total character. The

reformative movement aims at a partial change in the system, like the work towards women's suffrage.

Thus, since many of the millennial movements aim at a complete or rather sweeping change in systems, they are transformative. The millennial movements which try to change the individual goals would be redemptive. These movements are the concern of this paper.

Transformative movements, according to Aberle (1966:318-319), expect imminent and cataclysmic change. These movements are often viewed as being willed by the gods, as part of god's plan for mankind. The disapproval of the god may be the cause of the current unhappiness, so life should be altered to suit his will. The leader of these movements is generally charismatic, and often regarded as having supernatural powers. The deliverer with sacred charisma is a Messiah, so the Messianic movement is a subcategory of the transformative movement. Rejection of the things as they are and the desire to change the system with rapidity are also a part of the transformative movement. The means are quite often revolutionary as well as religious.

A redemptive movement aims at going into a state of grace in the human soul (Aberle 1962:320-322). The defining characteristic is a search for a new inner peace.

Redemptive movements are more concerned with immediate interpersonal relationships and day-to-day behavior than the transformative movements. Thus, the redemptive movement aims at living in the world rather than trying to change it.

Basically, the transformative movements will appeal to people who have been or are being excluded from their traditional niche, and cannot see another niche which will offer them reasonable security, not to mention happiness. They are people being pushed out and they see no place to go.

Redemptive movements focus on living in the world, appealing to groups which are being pressed to occupy a new niche. However, though they regard the new position negatively or even ambivalently, they do not see it as hopeless. It protests the establishment, but basically is an adjustment to it.

As Voget (1959:26) says, the nativistic and revivalistic movements simply see the life of the individual as in a state of crisis and feel the immediate welfare of the group depends on acceptance of a revelatory experience or charismatic program, transcending the usual expectancies of life. Through this, health, character and the social relations are generally regenerated.

The divisions of rational-magical, revivalistic-perpetuative, and redemptive-transformative may seem a bit redundant but they do give some insight into the conditions which develop social movements and into the needs of groups under certain conditions. These characteristics of social movements will be considered as the movements in North America are discussed.

CHAPTER 2

EARLY INDIAN-WHITE RELATIONS

The Europeans did sense a sort of responsibility toward the native Americans. After their years of exploration, the Europeans realized that instead of being in a state of fallen grace from some Golden Age, the Indians were simply at a lower level in the process of social evolution which had created European society. Towards the goal of bringing the natives into the "light" of European social and moral practice, the Russians founded Indian schools in Alaska, the Spanish government helped to maintain the great mission system, and the French government not only helped to maintain their mission system but at some times attempted to regulate the sale of liquor to the natives. Kelsey (1917:7-8) states that at least some of the English colonies tried to prevent the sale of liquor to the Indians and to secure some justice to the natives.

However, while there were some feelings of responsibility to the Indians, there would be a number of requirements for the natives. The basic aim seemed to be complete reorganization of the attitudes and customs of

the natives. One of the first orders of the Spanish monarchs to Ovando, the first governor of the Indies, in 1501 (McNickle 1957:2), was to gather the Indians together into towns where they would be given homes and land for cultivation and stock raising. Perhaps taking the commandment from Genesis, the Europeans took dominion over the earth and tried to subdue it.

The earliest and probably the most extensive of the missionary establishments was that of the Roman Catholic Church, with the mission systems of the French Jesuits and the Spanish Franciscans. In Virginia the missionary zeal was cooled considerably by the Indian massacre in 1622, but the missionary concern continued in the area of New England.

When Roger Williams, who later became a Baptist, fled from Massachusetts colony in 1636 and found refuge with a group of friendly Indians southwest of Plymouth, the Protestant effort was begun. As Kelsey (1917:11) continues, about seven years later Thomas Meyhew, Jr. began his work among the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, work which was continued by his family for four generations.

John Eliot was another prominent missionary to the Indians, even learning the native language. According

to Humphreys (1913:24), he was even able to translate into the native tongue the Bible, a Psalter, a grammar, and Baxter's Call to the Unconverted, which was evidently a great favorite with the Indians. After Eliot had preached his first sermon in the Indian tongue, his efforts aroused the general interest of the Massachusetts ministers. A few weeks later, according to Sweet (1950: 156-157), it was decided that the ministers would elect every year two of their number to act as missionaries to the Indians. This enterprise met with success, and several villages of native Christians were established in the vicinity of Boston.

The Swedish Lutherans had also begun missionary work very early. In the early 1640's, John Campanius Holm learned the local Delaware language, preached to the Delawares and translated the Lutheran catechism. Although Lutheran conversion was slight, the contact to 1700 was basically good (Wallace 1956b:3).

Kelsey (1917:41) describes some of the effects of the early work in relating the visit of two Friends, Christopher Holder and John Copeland, to Martha's Vineyard in 1657. The governor of the island had them seized and hired an Indian to carry them off the island. However, this Indian had imbibed some of the religion of the

European and while the sea was too rough to permit passage to the mainland, he took good care of his visitors since Jehovah had taught him to love strangers. These Quakers had tried from the beginning to maintain good relations with the native populations and were largely successful in this effort.

One of the primary problems of the missionaries was whether civilization or Christianity should come first to the natives. While the major groups probably required some evidence of conversion to the European faith before additional work was done, it is likely that the Catholic worker would have allowed some compromise with the native beliefs. The Quakers were somewhat distinct in this situation, first changing the native system of economic support and then teaching the social and moral values of the Europeans and finally their religion.

A final area of early relations would be the dealings with respect to the land. The attitude of the Europeans to the ownership of the new territory was perhaps expressed as late as 1758 by the Swiss jurist, Emer de Vattel (in Peckham 1947:104):

Ignoring ethical considerations, Vattel laid down the principle that the uncertain occupancy by wandering tribes of the vast regions of the new world "cannot be held as real and lawful taking possession; and when the Nations of Europe, which are too confined at home, come upon lands which the savages have no

special need of and are making no present and continuous use of, they may lawfully take possession of them and establish colonies in them."

It was eventually realized that in order to get along with the natives it would be advisable to make some sort of deal with them for their land. However, attempts to understand the native ideas of land ownership and land use were not really very thorough, if even attempted. Bargains were made with Indians first found on the land who did not really understand what they were doing, and the tribes found themselves pushed westward out of their traditional territory pretty much at the will of the European.

King Philip's War

In 1675-76 a New England tribe united to drive the English from that area. The leader was a Wampanoag sachem named Metacom, or Metacomet, and known as King Philip in history. He was the second son of Massasoit and ascended to the office following the death of his father and his older brother, Alexander. Alexander had been arrested and taken to Plymouth, where he had caught the fever and later died. Philip vowed to avenge his brother's untimely death and for nine years worked on the storing of arms and the uniting of the Indians.

According to Wood (1906:87) he at one time considered Christianity, but foresaw that to accept the white man's religion would mean an end to the customs of Indian life. He adopted the Indian way of life and opposed any change from the Indian religion by his people. Pretending to be friendly to the English, he managed to unite all the Indians in New England except the Mohegans and the Pequots. He explained that while his father had been helpful to the English, he had seen that this was a mistake and he was going to drive them out or die doing so. English justice for three Indians who had been suspected of murdering an Indian traitor was the final act that brought war. Since the Indians felt that the side which shed the first blood would lose the war, they provoked the English into wounding a warrior and the war began. According to Hodge (1907:690-691), out of 90 towns in the area, 52 were attacked and 12 were destroyed. In the end, it was the treachery of an Indian which saved the colonists.

As the war continued, English numbers and arms supply prevailed and Philip began to take refuge in the power of the magicians and the sorcerers. He was told that no Englishman would kill him and made one final stand. In Rhode Island, on August 12, 1676, a final

camp of Philip and a few of his followers was betrayed by one of his men. This same man was evidently the one who finally killed the leader, in a way a fulfillment of the prophecy.

Although King Philip did not pretend to have divine qualities, his movement did come from the conditions which often cause social movements. The Indians were aware that due to the English their situation had gotten worse and would not improve in the future. Some sort of new program was needed and the plans of King Philip were accepted. King Philip was a sachem and a religious warning determined the start of the war, so religion was seen as the origin of the movement. The traditional views and regulations of the cosmos were upset, and the emotional results of this upset were channeled into the uprising.

According to Linton's classification this would be a perpetuative-rational movement, expressing the need for social solidarity where the dominated group did not feel that it was really inferior to the dominant society. This movement probably did have a combination of revivalistic and perpetuative aspects, but since assimilation seems to have had little effect at this time the emphasis was upon the keeping of traditional modes of

life with no further introduction of alien traits. Since the change was aimed at the system and was to be total, the movement would also be called a transformative one.

Popé and the Pueblo Revolt

A Tewa medicine man from the Rio Grande Pueblos, Popé is first mentioned by historians for his involvement with a group of Indians who were accused of witchcraft and the murder of some missionaries. He was, according to Hodge (1907:281-282), either the leader of the group or the leader of a delegation which demanded their release from the governor. He is later found in Taos preaching a doctrine of independence from the rule of the Spanish and a return of pueblo life.

Josephy (1961:87) says that he resisted the Christian religion all his life and that the Spaniards had enslaved his older brother for his stubbornness in conducting native ritual. He held secret meetings and told the people that the gods were against the friars and that the Spaniards must leave the Indian lands. To battle the Christians, he used the mystic powers that were his, due to his relationship to the spirit world. He was supposed to have conjured up in the gloomy ceremonial chamber the spirits of three native gods, Caudi, Tilini, and Tleume. They had been sent to warn the Indians that

the time was ripe for getting rid of the Spaniards; and as the chiefs listened, the spirits commanded Popé to set a day for a revolt and unite the pueblos in this action.

In a discussion by Ellis (1952:161), it is mentioned that this communication with the spirit world which gave Popé the power to raise the pueblos to revolt was probably a theatrical stunt utilizing smoke and hidden voices, or smoke and the sudden materialization of a supposed supernatural figure through the means of an entrance passageway or a hidden pit. Regardless of the methods he used, Popé evidently realized that only some tangible supernatural sanction could incite the group to action which might be very dangerous but which offered the best possibility of a return to the old way of life.

She also says (Ellis 1952:161, footnote 26) that at the time of Popé, the Spaniards believed as seriously as the Indians in appearances of spirits; a major reason for the rebellion was the continued persecution of the pueblo religious figures for witchcraft activities. Again there was a disruption in the traditional religious activity, especially in the dealings with the world of the spirits.

Striking on August 10, 1680, Popé managed to eventually drive the Spaniards from the area. Once this was accomplished Popé set about to restore the old life of the pueblos. Those who had become Christian were washed with yucca suds, the Spanish language and baptismal names were not allowed, the churches and all Christian objects were destroyed, and life was returned to its older traditional forms. At this time, however, it seems that Popé became something of a despot, killing all those who dared to oppose him. As drought set in, and the Apache and Ute took advantage of the absence of the Spanish troops to raid the pueblos, internal dissension split the area and the movement began to fall apart. Vargas was later able to reconquer the area.

This movement was much like that of King Philip, being basically a rational-perpetuative effort. Magical forces were enlisted to unite the tribes, but the movement itself used rational means. The character of the leaders was about the same also, both being important men in the area, shamans, and men resisting the entrance of the Christian religion. However, there is more emphasis on the return to the old ways of life than in King Philip's movement, possibly a result of a stronger control over them than the English had had over the New England Indian.

CHAPTER 3

THE FIRST GREAT AWAKENING

A society in motion is very individualistic in orientation, so that religion in this case must cater to the needs of the common man. The idea that salvation is a personal matter, to be worked out by man himself through his own actions, is a common result. And, as Sweet (1944:xii) says, to personalize religion is to make it more emotional. One of the fundamental ideas which grew from the Reformation was this very feeling, that man could make his own approach to God, and there was no need for an intermediary priesthood.

In the early 1700's, it was evident that religion and morality had declined among the colonists. They perceived a great need for reaching a number of individuals, since very little of the colonial population was related to any religious organization. The churches had a big job, and they needed a type of preaching that would reach the consciences of men. Men had to be convinced that they were guilty of sin and that through the experience of repentance could be led into the light of the gospel.

The First Great Awakening had its beginnings in the local revivals in the Dutch Reformed Church in northern New Jersey under the direction of a minister named Theodore J. Frelinghuysen; among the Presbyterians in the same area, under the Tennets; and in the Connecticut Valley, under the leadership of Jonathan Edwards. These movements were consolidated into a national operation under the influence and direction of George Whitefield. The First Great Awakening formed a spirit of national consciousness, which permitted the national spirit of independence and the eventual war with England.

The Awakening also stirred the relations of the Indians and the whites, resulting in a number of charitable projects. The new theology said that the personal religious experience was necessary. More than anything, according to Hudson (1965:78), this was a revolt against the idea that the life of religion involved only the outward observance of the formalities of religion. But, this also taught that all men were of equal status before the Lord, and perhaps it was the duty of the Christians to see to it that the unfortunate and downtrodden had a better chance in the world.

Out of this ferment came the appearance of some special individuals who had the desire to work with the

native populations. One such man was David Brainerd, who devoted himself to the work among the Delaware Indians. He found that they worshipped the birds and the animals, since they felt they had the power to good and evil. Before the white men came, the Indian believed in four gods, one from each corner of the earth. Now, the Indian felt that there were three deities: one who had created the white men, one who had created the Negroes, and one who had created the Indians (Humphreys 1913:104). Brainerd also saw that the Indians were capable of the same sort of revival experience as that of the white man. He had preached a sermon at a village of Crossweeksung, and then recorded the events that followed as a great deal like a revival among the whites. Brainerd writes (Humphreys 1913:111-112):

I stood amazed at its influence which seized the audience almost universally and could compare it to nothing more aptly than the irresistible force of a mighty torrent or swelling deluge, that with its insupportable weight and pressure bears down and sweeps before it whatever is in its way. Almost all persons of all ages were bowed down with concern together, and scarce one was able to withstand the shock of this surprising operation. Old men and women who had been drunken wretches for many years, and some little children not more than six or seven years, as well as persons of middle age. Among these was a conjuror or powwow man, and a murderer.

A young Indian woman, who I believe never knew she had a soul nor ever thought of any such thing, came, it seems to find out what was the matter.

On her way to the Indians she called at my lodgings, and when I told her I designed presently to preach to the Indians, laughed and seemed to mock, but went however, to them. I had not proceeded very far in my discourse before she felt effectually she had a soul, and before I had concluded my discourse, she was so convinced of her sin and misery that she seemed like one pierced through with a dart, and cried out incessantly. She could neither talk nor stand, nor sit on her seat without being held up. After public service she lay flat on the ground praying earnestly and would take no notice nor give any answer to those who spoke to her. I hearkened to know what she said, and perceived the burden of her prayer to be "Guttumaaukalummeh weehaumeh kineleh Ndah" which is to say "Have mercy on me and help me to give you my heart."

Another convert was a squaw, and also David's interpreter, Moses Tinda Tantamy, a man of fifty, who tells of a vision of a high mountain and a path upward hedged with thorns.

Psychologically, it would seem that the Indians were capable of the same sort of responses to the effects of dynamic preaching as the white men.

Sometime in the autumn of 1762, an Indian missionary, William Kirkpatrick, encountered a group of Oneida Indians around Oneida Lake. He was told that the Indians and their children had been baptized by ministers in their visits to their villages and that they were now ready for a minister to perform a marriage. They mentioned that they had heard of a supreme God and believed in a

revealed religion and that there were two Indians of their nation who attempted something like preaching on the Sabbath (Humphreys 1913:45).

The Indians were definitely being influenced by the missionaries, believing in the idea of one right way of God. This chosen people idea is basic to the millennial sort of movement, promising a future way of reward for a certain group of people. The morals of the white men were taken to heart by the natives, as was the value of education. In addition, the natives were strongly realizing that something must be done to protect their rights to their lands, and religion was already being turned to for that protection. There were now rumors of a man down in the Ohio Valley who was having visions and teaching a new revealed doctrine.

CHAPTER 4

THE PROPHET AND PONTIAC: REACTION AMONG THE DELAWARE

European settlement had a great effect among the Delaware. Living among Swedish Lutherans and English settlers, the Delawares had been pushed out of New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. Treaties had been made and broken and Indian warfare with the settlers had often been the result. The English colonial government could not, or would not, control the settlers and made land deals with Indians who just seemed to have the authority to do so.

Historically, as given in Hodge (1907:280), the Delaware were accorded by the other Algonquian tribes a respectful title of "Grandfather," a recognition accorded by the Huron also. This was because of their priority of political rank and from occupying the central home territory for the Algonquians.

However, from this position of superiority, the Delaware were dominated by the Iroquois in about the year 1720. This condition lasted until the opening of the French and Indian War. The Iroquois seemed to give

sanction to the Europeans as they pushed the Delaware to the Susquehanna. In 1751, the Delaware, at the invitation of the Huron, began to settle in eastern Ohio, where they met the Shawnee and the Kickapoos.

The years between 1690 and 1750 had been years of reorganization and consolidation for the Delaware. The movement west and the loss of political control to the Iroquois caused modification in many parts of their cultural life. The catastrophic depopulation of the seventeenth century and the political subjugation and migration made it necessary to consolidate for their mutual protection and to act as a group to deal with outsiders.

When the first fighting between the English and French began in 1754, the Five Nations allied with the English and promised the aid of their subject peoples. However, the Delaware, living in the Ohio Valley and influenced by the French, asserted their independence of the Iroquois. As the English won the war and occupied the land, there was a change in their relations. While the French had simply built forts and established trading relations with the Indians, the English were intent on actually settling and using the land. The state of frustration was therefore brought into focus.

Anciently, the Delawares did believe in an all-Powerful, single, creative god, who nevertheless was remote and had assistants to create and watch over the world (Newcomb 1956:59). The principal way to contact these powers was in a dream or vision with public recitation of visions even being the basis for the major religious ceremonials. The vision quest was the climax of the formal education of a young man. At about ten years of age, the young men tried to obtain spirit guardians through sacrifice, fasting and isolation. The supplicant was evidently trying to get some supernatural being to take pity on him and protect him (Newcomb 1956:61).

The boys were sent into exile despairing of their own inadequacy and in the hope of gaining a guardian spirit to aid them through the rest of their lives. If the vision quest did produce a guardian, the boy was assured of a good place in the tribal community. In addition, he acquired self-confidence and his future life was mapped out for him. Not all of the boys were successful in this quest; only favored individuals were so blessed. The persons with guardian spirits composed chants referring to their visions for use at the annual ceremonies and dance songs to go along with them. In

other words, the relationship between the individual and his vision spirit was very important for the layman and the shaman alike.

During the decade from 1730-40 the full impact of the white contact was felt among the Delaware. By 1740 they had lost their lands and they were refugees with other groups. White culture, being much richer than the native culture, was attractive to the Indians and created new desires and wants among the natives. Some elements were simply improvements on the Indian elements and some were very new. The religion of the Roman Catholics, brought by the Jesuit fathers to the tribes around the Great Lakes, was very acceptable due to the common Catholic tendency to include some native beliefs in their teachings of Christianity. Their feeling, evidently, was that a few native elements introduced into the doctrine were small concessions if it got the natives into the Church.

However, white culture also introduced such things as new disease, guns, and liquor. The liquor destroyed their minds, and the guns made them dependent on the fort gunsmiths and caused them to lose their skill with the bow and arrow. They were also dependent on the Europeans for the necessary powder and shot.

Conditions were bad, but they suddenly got worse when the French surrendered control of the area to the English. As the Indians soon realized, the new rulers would not be so generous as the old ones; and there were to be more restrictions. There would be no more gifts of powder and shot and food, and there was to be no more rum for their celebrations. The frustration was increased, and all that was now necessary was a prophet with a plan of salvation. From the years of 1760 to 1770, four new prophets appeared among the Delaware, getting their revelations by means of visions after a period of hardship.

John McCullough, who had been taken captive by the Delawares and moved to Mahoning on Beaver Creek, recorded in his diary an account of one of these leaders known as the Delaware Prophet (Peckham 1947:98-99):

My brother has gone to Tus-ca-la-ways (Tuscarawas, a Delaware town on the Tuscarawas River), about forty or fifty miles off, to see and hear a prophet that had just made his appearance amongst them. He was of the Delaware nation. I never saw nor heard him. It was said by those who went to see him, that he had certain hieroglyphics marked on a piece of parchment, denoting the probation that human beings were subjected to whilst they were living on earth, and also denoting something of a future state. They informed me that he was almost constantly crying whilst he was exhorting them. I saw a copy of his hieroglyphics, as numbers of them had got them copied and undertook to preach or instruct others. The first (or principal) doctrine they taught them was to purify themselves from

sin, which they taught they could do by the use of emetics and abstinence from carnal knowledge of the different sexes; to quit the use of fire arms and to live entirely in their original state that they were in before the white people found of their country; nay, they taught that the fire was not pure that was made by steel and flint, but that they should make it by rubbing two sticks together It was said that their prophet taught them, or made them believe that he had his instructions immediately from Keesh-she-la-mil-lang-up, or a being that thought us into being, and that by following his instructions they should in a few years be able to drive the white people out of their country.

Thus, this account seems to lay stress on the doctrine of purification of all things and especially a new moral code to be introduced among the people, and a strong moral code at that. However, later accounts of his message are much more militant, with the principal emphasis placed on the driving of the whites from the area. This could easily be due to the influence of Pontiac, an Ottawa chieftain, who saw a use for the religion of the Prophet of the Delawares.

Pontiac himself was born about 1720, and had evidently been a leader of his people for quite some time. Hodge says that he was probably the commander of the Indians who defended Detroit against the attack of some northern tribes in 1746. In 1760 he met Major Rogers, who had been dispatched to take possession of Detroit on behalf of the British. Pontiac objected to

any further invasion of the area, but consented to the fort's surrender when he learned of the surrender of the French. However, failing to get the recognition he felt he deserved as a chief and being deceived by a rumor that the French were preparing for the reconquest of their North American possessions from their bases in Louisiana and with their new Spanish allies, he devised a plan for the confederation of all tribes in the region which would strike at once and drive the British out of all the forts in the area. Sensing that the one obstacle was the jealousies and rivalries between the various tribes, he realized that the message of the Prophet would unite the area and would goad the people into the necessary action to carry out the plan.

Accordingly, on April 27, 1763, he called a great council of chiefs and warriors from all around and opened the meeting with the story of the Prophet. As recorded in Peckham (1947:113-116), the version he told was colored to fit his purposes. The Delaware, anxious to know the Master of Life, decided to journey to his dwelling place in paradise. The Delaware did not know how to get there, so he performed a ritual and in a dream was told that if he would just start out and keep going, he would get to the Master of Life. The next day

he set out and traveled for eight days. As he made camp on the eighth day, he noticed there were three paths coming out of a clearing. When the night got darker, the paths became more distinct and he knew that one of them must be the way to the Master of Life. The next day he started, picking the widest of the paths, and continued until about noon. At this time he was stopped by a huge fire which seemed to issue forth from out of the earth. As it appeared to spread toward him, he retraced his steps and began to take the next widest path. The same fate met him on this path, so he finally started on the narrowest path. He followed this path to the foot of a gleaming white mountain. Puzzled, he looked around and saw a beautiful woman in white garments who addressed him in his own tongue. She knew his purpose and said that he was to bathe in a river, and climb the mountain using only his left hand and left foot. At the summit, he would find the object of his search. With some difficulty, he managed to get to the top where he was greeted by a man in white who took him to the Master of Life. The Master of Life gave him a hat rimmed with gold for a seat and talked to him. He told the Prophet to tell his people to give up drinking, polygamy, warring (against each other, probably), and

the medicine dance. He continued, saying (Mooney 1896: 665):

The land on which you are I have made for you, not for others. Wherefore do you suffer the whites to dwell upon your lands? Can you not do without them? I know that those whom you call the children of your Great Father (the King of France) supply your wants; but were you not wicked as you are, you would not need them. You might live as you did before you knew them. Before those whom you call your brothers (the French) had arrived, did not your bow and arrow maintain you? You needed neither gun, powder, nor any other object. The flesh of the animals was your food, their skins your raiment, but when I saw you inclined to evil, I removed the animals into the depths of the forest that you might depend on your brothers for your necessaries, for your clothing. Again become good and do my will and I will send animals for your sustenance. I do not, however, forbid suffering among you your father's children. I love them; they know me; they pray to me; I supply their own wants, and give them that which they bring to you. Not so with those who are come to trouble your possessions (the English). Drive them away; wage war against them; I love them not; they know me not; they are my enemies; they are your brother's enemies. Send them to the lands I have made for them. Let them remain there.

He was further given a wooden stick on which was engraved in Indian hieroglyphics a prayer which he was to deliver to his chief on returning to his village. He was told by the Master of Life, in short, that he was to become good and he would have need of nothing.

The political influence of the French is clearly seen in the story. Not only did the French worship their god, but the Master of Life had removed the

animals so that they could get their food from the French. They were to drive the English out of the area, whereas the message related by McCullough said all white men. The emphasis is changed from the moral code, probably to suit the purposes of Pontiac. In addition, since they were to give up drinking, the likely friends would be the British, who forbade giving rum to the Indians.

Christian elements are seen in the washing at the river, a ritual baptism which was needed to enter in to the presence of God. The French Catholic influence may also be seen in the statement that the French knew the Master of Life. Probably the Catholic missionaries attempted to consolidate the native and European beliefs while the English Protestants insisted on strict adherence to their beliefs.

But whatever the influences, the story did what was expected and the persons present at the council approved the plan of Pontiac and sent runners to inform the other tribes of the message. In a short time, the confederation embraced every important Algonquian lineage, and also the Wyandot, Seneca, Winnebago, and some tribes to the south.

Hodge (1907:280) says that the date set for attacking the forts was the end of May, 1763. This

would seem very close to the time of the council, so one of the dates may be incorrect. But the time was probably just before summer of that year. The special task of Pontiac was to be the capture of the fort at Detroit. Shortly after the attacks began, Sandusky, St. Joseph, Miami (Ft. Wayne), Ouiatenon, Michilimachina, Presque Isle, Le Boeuf, and Venagno were taken and the garrisons in most places massacred. But Fort Pitt and Detroit were defended and the Indians eventually had to raise the siege. Pontiac had kept the Indians together for quite a while, but their restlessness and information that the expected aid from the French was not likely to materialize caused the Indians to lose heart and return to their homes.

Pontiac attempted to incite the tribes along the Mississippi, but being unsuccessful, finally made peace at Detroit on August 17, 1765. In 1769, he was killed by a Kaskaskia Indian at Cahokia, Illinois. His movement was ended, but would be later taken up by another Indian leader, Tecumseh.

The Delaware Prophet was basically a revivalist, telling the people of a new revealed way of life. The moral code he preached was very much like the one that the Christian missionaries were likely to have preached

to the people, and probably was a result of that influence. Christian influence was begun among the Delaware by Swedish missionaries in the 1640's. By August 8, 1747, David Brainerd had been able to evoke the type of mass hysteria at a meeting which was characteristic of the revivals among the Europeans. It seems probable that the methods of the Prophet in exhorting the people to a new type of life, crying as he spoke, and promising a new future of happiness, would have been an extension of the preaching of the missionaries.

A young Quaker trader to the Delaware made mention in his diary (Peckham 1947:99-100) that the map of the Prophet included the idea of heaven, with the white man blocking the traditional path to the blessed place, forcing the Indians to go to hell through a path which was lined with the vices of the white man. He also mentioned that several years prior to the advent of the Prophet, some Indians came from the West who had lived outside the contact of the white man. This may have given the Prophet the idea that Indians could certainly live without the comforts of the white man, or at least reinforced this idea in his mind.

Catastrophe, the fear of continuing misfortune, an upset in the traditional religion, an element which could not meet its needs through the normal secular means, the existence in the society of a world view including the promise of a future heaven, and the presence of a man with the leadership ability and a definite plan were all present in the Delaware nation and contributed to the movement. Linton would probably call this a revivalistic movement, but it would be a mixture of magical and rational means. The emphasis would be on the rational aspects, since the magic primarily gave sanction to the movement and united the tribes. Like the revivalistic-rational movements, it concentrated on times when things were good, but re-created the situation through a course of action. It would seem that the dominated group did not really acknowledge its inferiority.

Following Aberle's classification, this would be in the category of transformative movements, Messianic since the leader did have some sacred charisma.

CHAPTER 5

THE GREAT REVIVAL, OR SECOND GREAT AWAKENING

The effects of the First Great Awakening were largely lost during the excitement of the revolution. With the stabilization of the society, minds turned once again to religion. There were, according to Weisberger (1958:5-6) three particular things which caused the clerical leaders to express concern. The nation had succumbed to the Devil in adopting some new-fangled and "infidel" doctrines. Political and social life had displaced the rightful place of religion, and the people moving West had abandoned the old churches and showed no concern for building new ones so that the frontier was destitute of religion.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, some revivals were being held in the rural areas of New England, and in 1787 there were some college revivals in Virginia. From these college revivals especially, there went out itinerant preachers to the backwoods areas of the Carolinas, Kentucky, and Tennessee. From

this beginning came the great camp meetings which were a primary characteristic of this period.

One great difference between this revival and the religious concern of the 1740's was that now the revival was an actual technique. Before, the revivals had been waited for; but now they were created. Jesus had said that a man must be "born again" before he could enter into the Kingdom of God. This rebirth became a central point of Protestant concern, and people were encouraged to confess themselves and plead for admission into the Kingdom. The meetings in the West were particularly frenzied, since the congregations had to be made to realize their sins, repent, and be converted in a rather short period of time. The theology of the two revivals was essentially the same, with emphasis on the individual experience and rejection of the doctrine of predestination. Emotion and the salvation of the individual were the two props for the revivals.

Camp meetings, typical of the Great Revival, were large gatherings with several ministers in attendance. The congregation would camp in the area so that the meetings could continue for several days. Different ministers would preach simultaneously in different areas, and people would wander around and generally

become part of one man's congregation. These meetings left a pattern of special participation in revivals to save souls.

Weisberger (1958:23-25) tells of a Presbyterian minister, James McGready, who developed a particular talent for revivals at a meeting in June of 1800. He already had demonstrated some power over audiences during a meeting held at Red River, where he had been accompanied by several other ministers. The preachers all spoke to the meeting; and all but one named William McGee went outside to rest. McGee was wrought upon and went to the pulpit and slumped to a sitting position beside it. At this, his brother, John, rose and urged the congregation to submit to the power of the Lord. Soon, according to McGready, the floor was covered with people crying for mercy and praying for redemption.

Revivalists felt that the perfect society was approaching, and they could hasten the advance through the promotion of revivals, establishing churches and participating in the newly formed societies designed to remove evils from the world.

Large scale operations to the Indians now began, administered in part by great societies to spread the gospel. There began to be some degree of unity in

dealings with the Indians as the Protestants began to realize the ties that bound them together. There was a national strategy to remake the civilization, especially of the heathens.

A Cherokee missionary (Berkhofer 1965:35) required parents to see that: (1) no scholar used profane language or broke the Sabbath by laboring, hunting, fishing, or amusement, but rather attended Sabbath school and public worship; (2) no scholar used intoxicating liquors; (3) no scholar attended ball games, gambled on cards or horses, or assembled with those who did; (4) that no scholar employed provocative language, fought, wrestled, or danced at any feasts or rites.

The effects were as they had been among the Delaware, with some people having visions regarding the new teachings and showing the rapid influence of the missionaries. Finley, in his History of the Wyandot Mission, related the dream of a Wyandot woman (Berkhofer 1956:116-117):

One night, after being at meeting . . . I lay down to sleep and dreamed that I saw at the council house, a high pole set in the ground, and on the top of that pole there was a white child fastened and it gave light to all round in a circle. At the foot of the pole stood the missionary, calling the Indians to come into the light, for they were all in the dark. No one went. At last, I thought if it was a good thing it would not hurt me, and I would venture. So I

went; and from the foot of the pole there were two paths started: the one was a broad road and it led down hill; the other was a narrow one, and led up a hill. These roads he said were the only two roads that lead out of this world. The broad one leads down to hell, and the other leads up to heaven. I looked in the dust, and saw that all the large moccason (sic) tracks were on the broad road and the small ones were on the narrow road. So I determined at once to take the narrow road. I had not traveled far until I found the way steep, and my feet often stopped, and I fell to my knees; but I held by the bushes, and got up again. So I traveled on for some time; but the higher I got, the easier I traveled, until I got almost to the top of the hill. There I saw a great white house, and a white fence around it. There was a large gate that led to this house. At this gate stood a man, and his hair was as white as snow. He held in his right hand a sword, and the point of it blazed like a candle. I was greatly afraid. I heard in that house the most delightful singing I ever heard before, and had a great desire to go in. When I came up to the gate, the man spoke to me and said, "You cannot go in now. You must go back and tell all your nation, that if they want to get to heaven they must take this narrow road, for there is no other that leads here." Then, I started back with heavy heart; and when I got down near the council house I saw my people all in the way to ruin, and began to call on them to hope. Here I awoke.

Christian elements are plain in the white child radiating light, in the two paths to heaven, in the man with white hair holding a sword and blocking the gate, and the love of the hymns. The blend with the Indian beliefs is evident in the pole and council house. The idea of the select few making it to heaven is a theme often repeated, as is the return of the dreamer to inform the people of the new message.

Revivals and their success have been the topic of many discussions. Davenport (1905:9) feels that the elements of suggestibility, imitateness, imagination, and emotion made the many types of people who attended the revivals react in the same way. It would have the tendency to spread among people very rapidly and would only be stopped when a large percentage of the people could resist its appeal.

The speakers would carefully get the complete attention of the audience and would play upon the emotions and imaginations of the listeners. As the inhibitions were lessened and fears of damnation grew, emotion grew to an almost unbearable level.

Finney, one of the greatest of the revivalists, would use such methods as inviting people under conviction of their own sins to come forward to sit on the anxious bench, or praying for people in public meetings by name; and he would call out to certain persons in the audience that they were in need of salvation. The ideas of great sin and apostasy and of the impending wrath and penalties overcame the weak minds.

Shaking and jerking, which were common occurrences of the revivals, and the public confession of

sins, were perhaps over-encouraged by the preachers. They would tend to be some sort of proof of the salvation of the individual. As said in Cleveland (1916:113), "the more imaginative, both young and old, were tempted to fabricate experiences in accord with the expectations of friends and neighbors." Historically, Cleveland (1916:107-107) discusses a number of instances of the same type of physical experience. As early as the eleventh century, there was a diabolical possession which took the form of raving, jumping, especially among the women and young members of society. Inmates of nunneries were said to be subject to emotional epidemics.

Among the French Huguenots and the Jansenists in the eighteenth century, and in England, Scotland, and Ireland at the same time, there were some revival seasons with emotional epidemics. John Wesley talks of persons falling to the ground under preaching as if they had been hit by a streak of lightning. Similar occurrences were found in 1742 in Cambuslang Parish, Lanarkshire, Scotland in 1774 and in the Parish of Northmoven in the Shetland Islands.

Nervous excitement was such that the mere inflection of the voice by the revivalists was sufficient to begin the physical exercises. One

Presbyterian clergyman, after a smooth and gently presented course of expression, suddenly changed his voice and language to express something awful, and instantly some people would begin jerking. If they did preach that they did not want the people to jerk or shake, they often did not have the physical manifestations. As Cleveland (1916:123) says, a phrase like "bodily exercises profiteth little" would be enough to check the disorder.

Some cases of the shaking were doubtless involuntary, but many may have been so earnestly seeking this sort of experience that they would yield to the first impulse.

Hypnotic suggestion, the emotional conditions on the frontier, the early Bible training of the people, the closed rooms, the singing, the lack of inhibition of the preacher, and the responsiveness of the people themselves have all been presented as possibilities for the jerking and shaking. These were probably all included and, indeed, considerably increased the effect of the movement.

Nevertheless, the revivals did have some good effects on American life. The morals of the nation were improved, religion was brought into the lowest reaches of society, church membership was increased,

and the whole influence of religion was increased. It did, however, tend to emphasize the emotional rather than the rational in religion.

Among the white population, a few new religious sects resulted from this ferment. The Shakerism of Mother Ann Lee was based on a theory of the Second Coming and the Millennium. Ann Lee was the second embodiment in human flesh of a bisexual god. Her followers lived in a new dispensation, believing in celibacy, community of interest, nonresistance, and the full equality of women in both physical and spiritual life. They had a very strict code for human behavior and believed in the divine and direct guidance of the Holy Ghost in personal and community worship. Some of their doctrines could only be carried out in the life of the millennial society and could not be done by unregenerate man. Literal adherence to the Bible was supplanted by direct revelation. The chaste, honest and saintly life, rather than any sacrament or creed, was the path that led to salvation. The Shaker code forbade chewing tobacco, alcoholic beverages, and corporal punishment, and it demanded the discharge of all debts and the labor of all for one (Cross 1950:31-32).

Another sect was founded by Jemima Wilkinson, who had been profoundly influenced by the teachings of the First Great Awakening. She had been given the traditional Quaker religious training during her childhood. At one time (1776), she had fallen seriously ill. She was not in any sort of trance nor was she thought to be dead; but when she recovered, she said that she now had a new spirit inside her body which had been sent from God empowering her to perform a divine mission. As Wisbey (1964:21) relates, her teachings were a blend of practical and familiar Bible axioms and some obscure mysticism involving the interpretation of dreams and some faith healing and prophecy. Although the faith healing was later abandoned, the prophecies and the work with dreams continued to the end of her life.

In June of 1791, she had the opportunity to influence a large encampment of Indians. About five or six hundred Senecas were camped not far from her house on their way to meet with Commissioner Timothy Pickering at Newton. The leaders of this band included the famous orator, Red Jacket, the preacher, Good Peter, and Cornplanter, the chief who was half-brother of Handsome Lake. With such a congregation close at hand, she went to the

camp and spoke. It is interesting that a few years later, Handsome Lake began to have his own visions (Wisbey 1964:134-135).

CHAPTER 6

THE RELIGION OF HANDSOME LAKE

Across the Great Salt Sea is a queen's country which is very crowded. Among the queen's servants was a preacher who, while cleaning some old volumes, learned of a great man, the son of the Great Ruler, who had been on earth and had been killed by the white men to whom he preached. He had promised to return in three days and start his kingdom. When this did not happen, his followers were worried and decided to watch for him.

The young preacher was angry since he had not been told this by his teachers. The chief preacher said he should seek out the king and he would tell the right story. The next morning he saw a beautiful island in the river, with a castle of gold among the trees.

Feeling that this was the house of the one he sought, he and his teachers went to the river and saw a bridge of gold. One man fled since he was afraid to meet the Lord. The other and the young man crossed the bridge; then the other teacher also fled. The young man knocked on the door, and a handsome man welcomed him. He said he was in need of a wise and fearless young man.

He told the young man of another world across the sea, and gave him five things to take to this new world. These things would make the people there like the white men. The five things were: a flask of rum, playing cards, coins, a violin, and a decayed leg bone.

The story was told to Columbus; and with the discovery of the new land, many boats came with the five things. The gifts, however, had been sent by the evil one. The cards would make the people gamble and idle their time away, while the money would make them dishonest. The violin would make them dance; the rum would make their minds foolish; and the secret poison would decay their bones.

But the young man and even the evil one began to regret what they had done. Now the Creator began to feel sorry for his own people whom he had molded from the soil of the earth of the Great Island, so his four messengers tried to bring the message to the people. After trying to tell many good men, with no result, they saw one of their leaders who was sick from the evils and told him. Thus, the Gaiwio came to the world.

This is the modern account of the entrance of the white race to America and the subsequent need for the Gaiwio, or good message (Parker 1912:16-18). This religion is still practiced by about half of the 15,000

Iroquois Indians living in New York and Ontario. It is still a going thing among a progressive population. The Indian prophet, the sick headman, was named Ganiodaio, which means a handsome lake.

Handsome Lake was born in 1735 at the Seneca village of Canawaugus on the Genesee River. He was married and had at least two sons and one daughter. During the Revolutionary War, he was on the side of the British. In 1779, when Sullivan raided the Iroquois villages, he and his family moved to Ionawanda, near the town of Buffalo. The next year, they moved to the Seneca villages on the Allegheny River in western New York and Pennsylvania. Here he was given the name of Ganiodaio, and a hereditary chieftainship, being a member of one of the important families. He was now one of the forty-nine chiefs in the Central Council of the Iroquois Confederacy.

His description (Parker 1912:9) is of a middle-sized man, slim and unhealthy looking. He was relatively unknown prior to his vision, and was for four years an invalid due to a wasting disease aggravated by his drinking. During his sickness, he evidently had a good deal of time to contemplate the folly of liquor and to think about the ways of the gods.

These years were very hard ones for the Iroquois people, who had been virtually crushed. In 1797, the Seneca had sold most of their lands, reserving for themselves only one small plot of land. Uncertainty as to the payment, the problem of being able to retain the land they wanted for themselves, and suspicion of the nature of the new "big brother," the Americans, were causing a great deal of apprehension.

By 1799, the Allegheny Seneca were largely in one small village south of the state line in an area given to Cornplanter after the Revolution. Burnt House was a sort of Indian Shangri-La, with about 400 people. The culture, according to Wallace (1952:156), was a stable and century-old blend of the Indian and frontier white cultures. The women still did the farming, and the basic institutions were the same as in pre-Columbian days.

In 1791, Cornplanter, who was chief after his uncle had died, asked the Quakers to educate his oldest son. However, the project was delayed and Quaker work was started in 1796 with the Oneida. By 1798, the Quaker interest shifted to the Allegheny Seneca. During 1795 to 1798, many contacts were made between the Indians and the whites. Five Quakers came to Burnt House in May of 1798. The next month two men left, while another two settled

about nine miles upstream from Cornplanter's personal property. The fifth man, Henry Simmons, stayed with Cornplanter at Burnt House to teach the children to read and write.

Simmons was a good man to deal with the Indians. They would ask him about the white man's beliefs and he was very discrete in his answers. He told them of a book the white man had and how they knew it was true since the Great Spirit made them know this in their hearts. Several of the chiefs including Cornplanter agreed with this. Simmons urged them to read the book and find out for themselves.

According to Deardorff (1951:88), about February 28, 1799, there was a council meeting, after which Cornplanter told Simmons that they had decided to quit their wild dancing which had come from the white man. They would continue to dance the native ceremonies, since they were still all right. The following May they decided to give up whiskey. Thus, many of the reforms of Handsome Lake had actually been in effect in his village, before his first vision.

Dreams in the community, according to Deardorff (1951:89) showed the influence of the new teacher. A young man told of a dream he had about hunting. He

thought that an Indian had hit him and that he was on an upward path with many tracks. He came to a house where a beautiful man invited him to sit down, but he could not do it and went out through a door opposite to the one from which he had entered. He came to another building with a large door in which he was met by a man who looked very dismal, with his mouth appearing to move in different shapes. Many drunken Indians were here; some he knew to have been dead for some time. There was also an old woman who was dying. He was told that when she died, the world would also go. The man gave him a drink like melted pewter which he should take since it would not do him any more harm than liquor. He saw people punished for earthly wrongs, and was told if he gave up all his evil practices, he would have a home in the first house he had entered.

Simmons told the Indian that the dream was probably true. The old woman was the Mother of Wickedness and when she died, the worldly spirit would die too. Cornplanter remarked that even the Devil would die if all would try to do good. Simmons could approve of the dreams that the local residents had, and probably only a Quaker could have done this.

The Quaker theology of the Inner Light was explained to the Indians. The Great Spirit had put this guiding light inside people, so they should look to it for guidance. This was what told people the difference between good and bad. Upon learning the white man's Bible, the Indians would be able to distinguish good and evil and would be all prosperous in this life and assured of a good life in the next world.

This was the atmosphere in which Handsome Lake began to have his visions. The dream and even the form of the dream were established in the area, as was the white acceptance of such dreams. Conditions were right for the appearance of a prophet with a new plan to help his people regain their self-respect.

On June 15, 1799, Handsome Lake awoke from a two-hour trance and spoke the first words which launched his career as a prophet. Cornplanter had been called to the bedside of his dying brother and, with several others, saw his brother lying breathless. Later in the day Handsome Lake awoke and told his brothers that he had returned from a vision. He said that he had felt someone calling him out of the house, where he saw three men dressed as Indians of long ago. The men had bushes in their hands which they said could help him. They told him the Great

Spirit was displeased with his people for getting drunk, but since he had been sick he had been unable to drink too much. If he got well, he must not take to drink again for the Great Spirit knew his actions and his thoughts.

Handsome Lake asked that his brother call a council and tell the people what he had said.

The three persons had promised that a fourth messenger would come for him when he was ready to leave the earth. One night the fourth man came and asked if he remembered the three men and if he wanted to come with him. In the morning Handsome Lake said he would come and told his brother that if he went, no clothes were to be put on him. He fainted away that evening and went into a trance which lasted for seven hours. His arms and legs were cold and his body was warm but breathless. In his vision he saw a guide with a bow and arrow who told him to look forward. When he did so, he saw his deceased son and his brother's daughter. The guide now told him that they had one fault to find with him, his drinking. He must do it no more, and he must quit all kinds of frolics and dancing except the worship dances.

He was told that the Creator was angry with some of the Indians who had been ashamed that they were Indians. Some day in the future, the world would be destroyed by

fire and those who followed this message would fall asleep and the Creator would lift them up into the sky to a new land. Handsome Lake even saw Jesus, who said that to follow the ways of the white man would mean they were lost. They should follow in their own ways (Fadden 1955: 350-354). A great sickness would come to the village if they did not change their ways. The people should collect together in worship, and cook a white dog in the old way and everyone eat thereof, as a preventative against the sickness.

Simmons said (Deardorff 1951:92) that Quakers often went into trances and saw the good and bad places. The Indians were of the same blood so they could very well do it too.

The influence of Handsome Lake grew rapidly. He preached against witchcraft and against schooling for the children. He said that they may farm, but they were under no circumstances to sell anything that they raised. Instead, they were to enjoy everything in common.

The Quakers urged Cornplanter to get the people to keep animals and to farm with a plow. Cornplanter agreed to this and teaching the white man's farming methods was a primary objective of the Quaker mission. They proposed a set of premiums whereby they offered two dollars to

to every male who raised twenty-five bushels of wheat or rye on his own land in a year. To each woman they would give two dollars for every twelve yards of cloth she could spin from her own wool. The offer stood for four years, with a note from the chief necessary to prove they were telling the truth (Berkhofer 1965:80).

In order to convince the Seneca to let the men do the farming instead of the women, since a woman could not handle a plow, they had each of the sexes plant half of a field of corn. When the plowed side had a better yield, they were convinced that the gods would not be angry at the switch in the sex of the farmers. Cattle herds were increased and fences and houses were built. The Indians went into Pittsburgh twice a year and brought back clothing and food instead of whiskey.

Handsome Lake was in accord with the Quaker's attitude toward war and kept his people neutral during the War of 1812. The Quakers, according to Deardorff (1951:96), were in such close accord with Handsome Lake that when the Quaker delegation of 1806 delivered its usual advice--to love the Lord and one's neighbor, to listen to the Inner Voice, and to obey the code regarding the family relations and moral standards--Governor Blacksnake could reply for the Indians, in the presence of Handsome Lake, that the young Quakers and the Indians

were like one. When the Indians wanted anything done, they would consult the Quakers and they would assist. Furthermore, he said that the Prophet told them to do this, so instruction came from both parties.

Handsome Lake did make some concessions to the Quakers. The Indians could farm in the same way as the white man, but they could not sell the crops. They could have some of their children go to school to learn to deal with the white man. The way of life he preached was a mixture of some of the white elements mixed in with Indian life.

The moral code taught by the leader was very much in keeping with the code probably taught by the missionaries. Wallace (1952:160-164) feels that another influence on the movement of Handsome Lake was the Great Revival. The state of anxiety of the soul, the guilt, the physical collapse, the trance, and the compulsions to tell the message on awakening were characteristics of both movements. The preoccupation with subjects like heaven and hell and the need for proper action for salvation were also present in both. The white man on the frontier and the Seneca were under a great deal of emotional strain which could lead to the revivalistic phenomena.

Wallace (1952:153) also feels that the moral code was something of a dream wish on the part of Handsome Lake. He drank and knew the results, but the Great Spirit still informed him that he was not the worst of sinners and there was hope for his salvation. The sanctions against witchcraft could be due to a fear of witches on the part of Handsome Lake.

The three Quakers would correspond to the three men in the vision, except, as Deardorff says, only one stayed in the village. The influence of white contact was probably in the fact that they were too much a part of the white system to get completely out of it. Therefore, they chose a path which would lead to living in the white world, rather than to get rid of all things from white culture. This would be what Aberle calls a redemptive movement, aiming at a change in the individual. A state of grace for the Indians is aimed at attainment through a new set of goals.

By Linton's classification, this would probably be a dominated group that feels itself to be inferior. He feels that this generally leads to a magical-revivalistic idea. However, this will arise only when the members of the subject society find that their assimilation into the dominant culture is being

effectively opposed. This is a different type of movement from the ones formerly discussed, so it would seem that something in their conditions might be different.

Although their situation, historically, was just as bad as that of the Delawares, the Iroquois were receiving some good induction into the dominant culture. The English had recognized their political power and perhaps had treated them somewhat better than other groups. Their cultural make-up at the time of Handsome Lake, according to Wallace, was a blend of the white and Indian cultures; and the Quakers were certainly having good contact relations with them. This combination of longer and perhaps more complete contact with the Europeans, good religious contact with the Quakers, the absence of an outside pressure such as the French with Pontiac, and probably the realization of the hopelessness of their trying to drive the whites out of their area combined to give what Voget (1959:250) calls a reformative nativistic movement. The life of the ancients was good, but it was imperfect since this was the first time that they had completely known god. He moved against certain of the ancient institutions like witchcraft, and generally preached a new way of life of getting along with the white men. The movement would take the best of

Iroquois values and add what is good in the white culture and make a situation of acceptable goals within the contact situation.

Handsome Lake kept his people neutral during the War of 1812, probably an influence of the Quakers. He died at Onondaga on August 10, 1815. His message taught them to give up rum, to love their families, to take care of the aged and infirm, and to stop using witchcraft. It was practical in that the Indians could follow certain of the white man's ways and could elevate themselves to the type of living of the white man, making possible a revival and renewal of the Iroquois as a group.

CHAPTER 7

TECUMSEH AND THE SHAWNEE PROPHET

Pontiac's plan had failed but his dream lived on. After the American Revolution, the Indians now had to deal with a new master. And now, it was the British, hoping to regain their lost possessions, who encouraged the Indians to revolt.

England had made treaties with the Iroquois and Cherokee in 1768 which fixed the Ohio and Kanawha as the boundaries between the two races. But the white men would not be contained, and in resentment, the Indians sided with the British in the Revolutionary War. With the war over, the Americans refused to be bound by any English treaties and the Indians were again forced to fight for their lands. Twice, under Little Turtle, they rolled back the white advance; but they were finally crushed by General Wayne at Fallen Timbers. In 1795, they signed a treaty renouncing that for which they had fought.

The period had been a hard one, with almost constant war with the whites between the French and Indian War and the Revolution. Most of the expeditions,

according to Hodge (1907:714), which were sent across the Ohio during the Revolutionary period were directed against the Shawnee. This tribe, due to the Treaty of 1795, was forced to give up their territory on the Miami in Ohio and retire to the headwaters of the Auglaize. In 1798, some of those in Ohio settled on the White River in Indiana by the invitation of the Delawares. It was here that the Prophet first began to have his visions.

According to legend, the Master of Life was an Indian and had made the Shawnees out of his brain. He gave them all the knowledge he possessed before bringing them up out of darkness to live on the North American continent--the "Great Island." According to Oskison (1938:4-5), the other red people were descended from the Shawnees. Then the Master of Life made the French and the English out of his breast, the Dutch out of his feet, and the "long knives," or Virginians and Kentuckians, out of his hands. All of these inferior races he made white and placed them over the sticking lake.

The legend continued (Oskison 1938:21) that once men and animals were so much alike that they could talk together. The animals often helped the men, so they should always offer thanks to the deer they killed. The bad people of the old times had tried to destroy the good

people, but the animals helped the good people outwit them. Not all of the bad people had yet gone to their just reward of extinction. There were still witches and the medicine man was to learn to outwit them. This medicine man came to power after a long and severe period of preparation by his predecessor. He had to know the beliefs and credulities of the people, their history and the habits of the minds of the people. He had to be a sleight of hand artist, an adept in magic, and an interpreter of dreams; he also had to understand the curative powers of herbs and earth plasters.

During an epidemic among the Shawnee in 1805, an aged medicine man named Penegashega died and a young man named Laulewasikau announced himself as his successor.

Prior to this time, Laulewasika had been known as a depraved drunk and loafer who, according to Josephy (1961:148), had been influenced by the religious revival among the whites, particularly by the itinerant Shaker preachers whose jerking and dancing stirred mystic forces within him. Deardorff (1951:96, footnote 9) also says that the Shakers had been in contact with the Prophet and that the original teachings of the Shawnee Prophet had been regarded by the Shakers "who knew him very well" as a Christian.

In 1805, however, Laulewasika said that he had been overcome by a sense of his own wickedness and that he had been taken up to the spirit world where he had been permitted to lift the veil of the past and the future. He was told of the torments and sufferings of persons doomed by drink and then was shown a sweet and beautiful path which was reserved for abstainers. Mooney (1896:672) says that he saw the happiness which awaited those who followed the precepts of the Indian and not the white man's God. He denounced witchcraft and the medicine juggleries of the tribe. Firewater was poison and the young should cherish the infirm and the aged. He said that property was to be held in common and that the two races were to cease all intermarriage. He also announced that he had received the power to arrest the hand of death on the battlefield or in sickness.

As he continued to have these trances and commune with the Master of Life, he changed his name to Tenskwatawa, which means the "open door." Josephy (1961:148) feels that this comes from the saying of Jesus, "I am the door." As Hodge (1907:730) says, "the movement was therefore a conservative reaction against the breakdown of old customs and modes of life due to white contact, but it at first had no military object, offensive or defensive."

He now allied himself with his older brother, the great chief, Tecumseh. The chief, like Pontiac, saw the usefulness of this message for other purposes. Drake (1841:87) also states that,

at this time, nothing, it is believed, was said by him (the Prophet) in regard to the grand confederacy of the tribes, for the recovery of their lands, which shortly afterwards became an object of ambition with his brother; and in the furtherance of which he successfully exerted his power and influence as a prophet.

Tecumseh was about forty at the time, and the plan of confederation for the purpose of driving the whites from the area had long been in his mind. His father and two brothers had been killed in battle with the whites. Hodge says (1907:714) that one brother was killed in battle with the whites under General Wayne in 1794 while fighting at Tecumseh's side. Tecumseh had a great hatred for the whites, feeling that they were the destroyers of his race. He felt that the treaty signed at Greenville in 1795 was invalid and that the only true boundary was the Ohio, which had been established in 1768. Tecumseh then capitalized on the message of the Prophet to his people, since even those who doubted the spiritual revelations would see that they were in danger from the whites. Thus, the religious revival changed into a political movement. Tecumseh knew that the whites

were not going to be destroyed by some power from heaven, but he felt that a combination of the Indians could stop them at the Ohio. He may have been encouraged by the English in Canada (Mooney 1896:685).

The doctrines were now in the form of an anti-white code which urged the Indians to return to the ways of their fathers and end all intertribal warfare. The brothers moved their headquarters to Greenville, Ohio, and built a large meetinghouse and several cabins for their followers. Mooney (1896:684) says that several of the tribes, like the Kickapoo, entered quickly into the confederation. However, others, such as their traditional enemies--the Miamis, considered the rising power of the Shawnee as a rival group.

General Harrison, evidently worried about this movement, asked the people to demand some sort of proof that the man really was possessed of divine power. Josephy (1961:149) says that after this the Prophet learned of an eclipse of the sun which would take place in the summer of 1806. He used this to very good advantage, and his power and fame spread very rapidly.

Tenskwatawa now taught the people, according to Mooney (1896:675), that he was an incarnation of Manabozho, the "first doer," of the Algonquian system, and that his words were the utterances of a deity. The

people had become impure through their acceptance of things which had been brought by the new race of people in their land. Because of this, the deprivation and misery had come upon them. Manabozho had called the game away from the forest and had hidden them away. The people were to pluck out their hair as in ancient times, wear eagle feathers on their heads, love each other, do away with secret wizzardry, clothe themselves in the breechcloth, and slay the animals with their bows and arrows. They were to make fire by rubbing two sticks together and keep a fire burning in their lodges as a symbol of their devotion as well as of the eternal life. If they did all of these things, they were promised that at the end of four years (1811), he would bring on two days of darkness, during which time he would travel invisibly throughout the earth and cause the animals to come forth again. They were also promised that their dead friends would be returned to them, and they would be able to recover their lands from the white man.

Mooney (1896:679) continues that the religion spread to the Ojibwa, who even threw away their medicine bags. In a year, he had over a hundred followers, and in June of 1807, it was reported from Ft. Wayne that a constant stream of warriors had passed on their way to

the Prophet. Oskison (1938:111-112) says that their devotion to the Prophet was so great that they refused to accept a band of Quaker missionaries who were prepared to spend \$6,000 a year for their civilization and the redemption of their souls.

Rumors said that the Prophet was urging the followers to arm themselves and prepare to make war on all Indians who would not listen to the new message. The ambassadors of the new revelation (Mooney 1896:679) appeared at the different villages acting strangely and with their faces painted black. They told the people that they must light a fire with two dry sticks and keep it going, and send the fire to each of their principal stations to be kept sacred and burning.

In August of 1808 the Prophet visited Harrison at Vincennes and explained the doctrine he had been giving to the Indians. He insisted that peace and sobriety were desirable above all else in his doctrine. Present Jefferson even sent out a letter in which he said that he was expressing his approval of their abstinence of liquor and bade them to take up the implements of agriculture. He also asked them to put all thoughts of war from their minds. However, Tecumseh still went about organizing the Indians for rebellion in a less spectacular and more effective manner than before.

In the summer of 1810 (Mooney 1896:685-686), Tecumseh conferred with Governor Harrison, beginning on the 15th of August and lasting for three days. Tecumseh said that the land belonged to the Indians, and the chiefs of five nations voiced their support of this claim to the Governor. Harrison then said that the government of the United States would never admit that any section of land belonged to all the Indians in common; and he further stated that they had bought the land in the first place and would defend their title. Thus, the two sides seemed to face an inevitable fight. Tecumseh said that he would prefer to be on the American side in the approaching war with England, but this might force him to go to the other side.

Tecumseh now even went to the deep South to recruit the Seminoles for his confederacy. Mooney (1896: 687) says that when the chief returned through the Creek country, he said that when he reached Detroit a shaking of the earth would come and cause damage to their homes. By a coincidence, an earthquake did happen the day he got to Detroit, and the Creeks were firmly in his corner. This feeling was kindled by the Spanish and English until the Creek War at the opening of the War of 1812.

Harrison now decided to break up the camp of the Prophet and took 900 men to help him do the job. The Indians had fortified the place very well, and were rather secure in its invulnerability. The Prophet sent messengers to Harrison saying that he would like to avoid any hostilities between the two groups and a truce was arranged until the next day. At that time, the chiefs and Harrison would meet and draw up the terms of peace. The next day the Indians attacked just before dawn, after the soldiers had been called for the day. The troops fell into place and managed to drive the Indians into the swamp and end the battle. The Prophet had assured them that the bullets of the white men could not hurt them; he had watched the battle from an overlooking hill. The defeat completely disheartened the Indians and the Prophet was deserted by all but a few of his own tribe.

Tecumseh now returned from the South and found his camp in ashes. He tried to gain an audience with the President, but Harrison said that he would have to go alone, so the Indian declined. Tecumseh now joined the British Army and was later made a Brigadier General. In the process of retreating after the victory of Perry, Tecumseh convinced the British Commander, Proctor, to make a stand at Thames, in the vicinity of modern

Chatham, Ontario. After the American cavalry had broken through the English lines and forced their surrender, Tecumseh was finally killed. His movement had been shattered at Tippecanoe.

The Prophet later rejoined his own tribe and went west with them in 1827. A portrait of the Prophet is given by Drake (1841:221):

There is enough, we think, in the character and conduct of this individual to warrant the opinion that he was really desirous of doing good to his race; and that with many foibles and some positive vices, he was not destitute of benevolent and generous feelings. That in assuming the character of a prophet he had, in connection with his brother, ulterior objects in view, is not to be doubted. It so happened that the adoption of his doctrines was calculated to promote harmony among the tribes; and this was the very foundation of the grand confederacy, to which he and Tecumseh were zealously devoting the energies of their minds.

This movement was the outgrowth of three things: The Christian Shakers, the doctrine of Handsome Lake, and the militancy of Tecumseh were all evident in the message of the Prophet. His vision and original moral code were very much like that of Handsome Lake, teaching of the usefulness of giving up liquor and living in harmony with each other in the Indian world. As Pontiac did in the 1760's, Tecumseh influenced the movement to make it one of anti-white militancy.

Linton would probably consider this movement rational and revivalistic. It was the logical outgrowth of the Delaware movement, rising out of basically the same conditions. Aberle would call this a transformative movement, since it aimed at a total change in the system.

There was perhaps more magic to this movement than to earlier ones. This could be due to an increased need for some assurance to the Indians to get them to fight. This was a logical outcome for a dominated group which felt that it was not inferior. Conditions were such that it could realistically be felt that the whites could be driven from the area.

While it was at the same time as Handsome Lake, the two movements were very different. The pressures of the British and the tradition of Pontiac would probably make a considerable difference. The Shawnees had had a tradition of resisting white contact while the Iroquois had had dealings with the British. The religious contact might also have had some influence. The Quaker contact was very good, and of course very much in favor of peaceful relations with the Indians. The Protestants were probably more determined in changing the Indians quite quickly and they seemed more reluctant to tolerate the Indian customs and work in with them.

The movement was typical of the Messianic outbreaks under situations which were likely to evolve such a movement.

CHAPTER 8

MINOR PROPHETS

After the death of Tecumseh, the confederation fell apart and the government began a series of treaties with the Indians which removed most of them beyond the Mississippi River. While the movements came to depend on magic rather than on the actual force of the Indians, there were a series of prophets and movements in various tribes.

Kanakuk, the Kickapoo Prophet

When the Kickapoo ceded their lands in 1819, they were supposed to go to Missouri to land still occupied by their enemies, the Osage. Some of the tribe went to Texas and the rest were forced by the government to go to Missouri. Hodge (1907:650) feels that Kanakuk was inspired with the ideas which had moved Tenskwatawa when he promised his people that if they lived worthily and abandoned their native superstitions, they would inherit a land of plenty, clear of enemies. He displayed a chart of the path through fire and water which the virtuous must pursue in order to get to the happy

hunting grounds, and gave his followers prayer sticks engraved with religious symbols.

When the Kickapoo were removed to Kansas, he accompanied them and remained their chief, still keeping liquor away from them until he died of smallpox in 1852.

Mooney (1896:697) feels that his influence was a good one and that the people were turned from vice to virtue. The followers met for worship on Sunday and on Friday they met and made confessions of their sins, after which a certain person appointed for the purpose gave each penitent several strokes with a rod of hickory. Kanakuk condemned the use of medicine bags and songs. His religious views were that the Great Spirit had put men on the earth and had given each national group a piece of land on which they ought to live in peace and happiness. The Great Spirit told him to go to the Great Father about this dispute over the land and he would listen. The people were not to steal, tell lies, murder, quarrel, or fight among themselves. They were told that if they did not get on the straight path, they would be on a crooked and bad path and would not be able to get to the good place after death.

The Great Spirit said that no one owned the lands, since he owned them all. There was some vague

idea of a destruction of the earth, since he said that the lives of their children would be short and the earth would sink.

After he died, a number of his followers remained watching the corpse, since he was regarded as having supernatural powers and had said he would rise in three days. By staying with the body, a number of them contracted the smallpox and died. After his death, the decline of his tribe was rapid. By 1894, Mooney (1896: 700) says there remained only about 514 members of the tribe, divided between Kansas and Oklahoma.

Patheske, Winnebago Prophet

Mooney (1896:700-701) discusses a prophet who came to the Winnebago when they were living on Turkey River in Iowa. This prophet instructed the people in a new dance which he had learned in a vision called the Friendship Dance. The people were to dance at intervals for one year and then take up their weapons and go on the warpath against the Sioux. The Prophet predicted they would reap a rich harvest of scalps. The dance was danced only by men, and one was designated to lead an expedition at the appointed time. The dance continued during summer and winter; in the spring the Prophet

canceled the expedition due to a new vision. His followers deserted him and he died a few years later while on a visit to Washington.

Kolaskin, Sanpoil Prophet

In Lanternari (1963:138-140) there is a discussion of a prophet who began a cult among the Sanpoil, Spokane and Okinagan Indians, about the time of Smohalla. After about twenty years of colorless existence, Kolaskin contracted a disease that caused his body to swell and become covered with sores. After lying for two years like this, he went into a coma and was thought dead. He later awoke, singing a song no one had heard and said he had had a vision of the healing process going on in his body. The Creator had told him to preach a new doctrine and to found a new cult rejecting liquor, renouncing theft and adultery, and requiring the members to pray every morning and evening before meals and before any important undertaking. On the seventh day of each week, the faithful were to worship together.

A second revelation predicted a flood in ten years which would engulf all humanity. Only those who followed his cult would be saved if they built an ark. The movement grew after several minor earthquakes had occurred in 1873 which Kolaskin had prophesied. He now

became something of a despot and built a prison for anyone who would disobey him. His followers divided and in the resulting intratribal battles, Kolaskin was arrested. On his release from jail, he abandoned his position as prophet and went back to being a chief. He had tried to raise the religious strength of the tribe to resist their cultural disintegration.

Isatai and the Sun Dance

In 1873, the Comanches had a short-lived Messianic outbreak using a new dance--the Sun Dance--as the ceremonial form. This was new to the Comanche and did not tie into their religious objectives. Hoebel (1941: 301) says that it also had the necessary ritualized supernaturalism and was new and spectacular.

The founder was Isatai, who claimed immunity to the bullets of the white man and the power to raise the dead. Lanternari (1963:141) says this was claimed due to his having had a vision and having communicated with the Great Spirit. His doctrine was founded on the fact that the Wichitas had practically been destroyed by moving onto the reservation and he expected the same result if his group obeyed the whites. He believed that if they marched on the whites, power and prosperity would come to them. He assured his people that they

would be immune to the bullets, but on a punitive expedition against white buffalo hunters in Texas he met disaster. The flame did not go out and the next year the Indians attacked some American forts on the plains. By 1875, the Comanche had been all but annihilated.

Hoebel (1941:301) feels that when the conditions were bad, the Comanches conceived the idea of holding tribal medicine dances like the Kiowa ceremonies. As a result of this movement, the Comanche were cold to the Ghost Dance of 1890.

The Dream Dance of the Menomini Indians

Arising out of the influence of white contact, this movement remained strictly a religion, with the anti-white motivation implicit rather than open. According to Lanternari (1963:142-145), the movement did not become political, with the white man recognized and accepted in a principle of peaceful coexistence. The antagonism was revealed in a ban upon anyone who belonged to the Roman Catholic Church and upon the English language from the Indian rites.

The dance was supposed to establish direct and immediate contact with the Great Spirit to ask him to shower prosperity and health on the people.

It has the characteristic message of peace, solidarity within the tribe, and brotherhood. A legend is told of a girl saved by the Great Spirit from some United States troops. The Spirit told her to establish a new religion among the Indians and taught her the proper rituals. The purpose of the dance seems to be to express the right of the Indians to self-determination and religious freedom. This religion was a rather characteristic outcome of the challenge of changed conditions.

The 1870 Ghost Dance

The Ghost Dance first appeared in 1870 among the Paiute, a group living between Nevada and California. The prophet was named Wodziwob, who started the cult after a revelation in 1869. Lanternari (1963:131) says that the real growth of the movement did not come until two years later when it reached the tribes in the West. His vision had shown him a railroad train carrying the ancestors of the Indians, and warned him that these travelers would announce their return to earth with a great explosion. (The first transcontinental railroad had made its first run in 1869.) The dance was performed around a totem pole, with men and women holding hands and

dancing and singing songs taught by the prophet. Woziwob had an assistant, Tavibo, who may have been the father of Wovoka.

Mooney (1896:701-704) says that he preached that within a few moons there was to be a great upheaval or earthquake. All the improvements of the whites would remain, but the whites themselves would be swallowed up. The Indians would be left to enjoy the improvements of the white man. Later, he announced that the disaster would swallow up everyone, but that the Indians would be resurrected in the flesh and would forever enjoy the bounty of the earth. This spread, especially among the Indians of California. By 1875, the movement was exhausted, since it had not fulfilled its promises. It is basically felt that these Indians were more deprived than the others in the West in 1870. However, during the 1890 Ghost Dance, other tribes were now ready and the groups in California were already finished with such movements. It would seem that once a group had a Messianic movement, it was immune to later movements of a similar nature.

These movements were characteristic reactions to conditions of deprivation. If rational means of alleviating the condition of the Indians had been possible, it is highly probable that the Indians would have made use of them; however, as this was not the situation, they placed their reliance on magic to help resolve their difficulties.

CHAPTER 9

SMOHALLA, DREAMER PROPHET OF THE COLUMBIA

While the Paviotsos, or Paiutes, were waiting for their millennium, a dreamer prophet on the Columbia began to teach a new religion. His name was Smohalla, and his doctrine included the destruction of the whites and resistance to the government of the United States. According to Mooney (1896:708) it was felt by some to have made moral virtues of all the crimes in the catalogue.

His tribe had never made any treaties with the United States so claimed the right to take salmon from the streams and dig kamas in the prairies undisturbed. They firmly rejected the idea of going onto a reservation. They were sure that once forced onto a reservation, they would be at the mercy of the white man, who would then break any and all agreements. Smohalla reassured them in the religion which he taught, promising expulsion of the whites, the return of the dead, and the restoration of all the land to the Indians, and a final military victory over the Americans.

Mooney (1896:708) says that in 1872 Smohalla had about 2,000 followers along the Columbia, with his apostles constantly winning over new converts.

Smohalla's missionaries went about spreading the word that a new god was coming to their rescue; that all the Indians who had died heretofore and who would die hereafter were to be resurrected. The Indians would then be as numerous and powerful as the white men and would be able to conquer them; and then they would be able to live as free and unrestrained lives as did their fathers in the old days. Their model of a man was an Indian and they aspired only to be good Indians.

Smohalla (or Shmoqula, meaning preacher) was born between 1815 and 1820 in the area of the Columbia in eastern Washington. Hodge (1907:602-603) says that he frequented a neighboring Catholic mission in his boyhood, from which he could have derived some of his ideas of ceremonials. Smohalla was called Shouting Mountain, since it was believed that a portion of the revelation came to him from a mountain which had come alive for the moment and had spoken to his soul while he was dreaming on the summit. He fought valiantly in the Yakima War of 1855-56, and four years later was involved in the events leading to his career as a prophet. He was

challenged to a duel by a rival shaman called Moses, who left Smohalla for dead on the bank of a river. His body was carried downstream and he was saved by a white farmer. After his recovery, he traveled south, returning to his village saying that he had died and been taken to the spirit world. Smohalla's people thought Moses had killed him, so were willing to believe his story. The Great Spirit was angry that they had forsaken their native beliefs and the people were convinced to return to their old ways. He told his people that their present miserable condition was due to their failure to observe the old religion and for violation of the laws of nature.

In the Nez Perce war of 1877, the members of that tribe under Chief Joseph were also under the influence of the Dreamer. Mooney (1896:711-712) says that the government had some reason to believe that an uprising inaugurated by some of the Nez Perce would involve all the small tribes in sympathy with them. As the situation became critical, members of a commission were appointed to make some arrangements with other tribes in the area. They met with Smohalla at Wallula, Washington, on April 23, 1877, and as a result, the non-treaty tribes did not participate in the war. The Americans raided the Indian camp and in the open warfare

that followed, Chief Joseph held his own from June to October of 1877, withdrawing his people more than a thousand miles into Canada. He was finally forced to surrender.

Smohalla was next heard from in 1883 with the opening of the Northern Pacific Railroad, which brought to a focus the land grievances of the Indians in the area. His frequent trances caused him to be called "The Dreamer." He had seen the stars and planets in their courses and even predicted some eclipses. Mooney (1896: 720) says that he had the aid of an almanac in doing this. His cosmic theory held that the Great Spirit had created the earth, the animals, and all things. He first created the Indians, then came the French, then the priests, and much later the Americans. Finally, came the English, whom he referred to as King George's Men; and last of all came the Negroes. Only the Indians were of the original God-made stock. Therefore, the earth rightfully belonged to them.

Lanternari (1963:129) feels that his cosmic theory reflects the needs of the aborigines who are tied to their lands by bonds of religion. The religion of Mother Earth is peculiar to the Indians, who had always lived by hunting and fishing and harvesting, but not

farming their land. It would not be right to touch the soil from which the dead were to rise again. He rejected things from the white man; but one of his disciples advocated small-scale farming and stock raising. The movement, then, embodies two attitudes to the dominant culture: one which rejected it, and one which partially accepted it. The first prevailed during the early Messianic stages of the movement, dying out when the goods and ideas of the white man had been gradually adopted into the native culture.

The rites of worship, as described in Lanternari (1963:130), began with a long procession headed by a rectangular banner. This banner had the yellow of the plains as the basic color, with a green edge representing the hills. It was banded on the top in sky blue with a central star representing heaven. A circle in the middle of the yellow was the House of Prayer. The procession began from a place called Salmon House, since it was once a salmon factory taken over by the worshipers. The accompaniment of tomtoms and the dancing with a great variety of rhythms, a responsive recitation of the litany, and some choral singing constituted the ritual, which took place on Sunday. On some occasions, a lament for the dead took place, in which case the worshipers took

designated positions against the walls, with the prophet in the center.

Two major seasonal ceremonies were practiced, the Salmon Dance in the spring and the Dance of the Berries in the fall. These ceremonies marked the start of the fishing season and the beginning of the harvesting season. The Spring Festival, also known as the Fisherman's New Year, involved libations and a banquet, at which the young salmon were ceremonially eaten. Ritual excitement was heightened by singing, dancing, and the rhythmic beating of the drums, which gradually hypnotized the participants and sent most of them into a trance or dream. Visions were periodically narrated, with the Dream Dance being regarded as the cure of every ill introduced by the white man.

Spier (1935:46) says that although there are many Christian elements in the ritual, the church buildings, the litany with questions and answers, the partaking of food and drink in concert, and the movements at the door on leaving, it must not be forgotten that the cult was not Christian. The ceremonial forms were probably largely unconscious, and the doctrinal emphasis lay in the old notions of impending destruction, the return of the dead, and the recurrent prophetic revelation.

It would seem, then, that this was a magical-revivalistic movement which was transformative in that it aimed at total change in the system. The fact that, as white goods were introduced, they became more a part of the movement; which would seem to demonstrate that the amount of contact did have a great deal to do with the sort of movement it was. Groups with a great deal of white contact and who had already incorporated white culture into their own will generally form a movement to continue the assimilation with the sanction of the new religion. A group with less white culture will aim at removing all traces of the white man from their society.

CHAPTER 10

THE INDIAN SHAKERS

The Indians of the Pacific Northwest have a wide range of religion, with some representation of Catholic, Protestant, and native faiths in the area. Very early, or comparatively early, Roman Catholic and Presbyterian missionaries reached the area, and by the end of the nineteenth century, most, if not all, of the Indians had heard of Western Christianity (Gunther 1949:37).

One of the groups of the native beliefs is called the Shakers, so named for the bodily shaking during rituals. This seems to be partly derived from shamans and partly from an interpretation of King David's dance before the Lord, according to Lanternari (1963:146). It is also a possible result of contact with Christian forms of the same sort of thing that was so common during the revivals east of the Mississippi.

The Shakers were founded by a man named John Slocum among the Squaxin tribes of Puget Sound around 1881. John Slocum was born about 1840, and in 1881 he went into a coma at dawn one morning. He was thought to be dead until he awoke that evening and announced that he

had been to heaven but was barred entrance due to his dissolute life on earth. He had been sent back to carry out the commandments of the Great Spirit, who told him to preach a new religion and a new way of life.

In his vision he had seen his body dead and decomposing, an experience which Lanternari (1963:146-147) says is common to many Messianic cults, symbolizing the death of an old religion.

James Wickersham, the attorney for the Shakers during the 1890's, is reported in Mooney (1896:750-751) as saying that the Shakers believe in an actual localized heaven and hell, reverence for the Bible, but regard the revelations of John Slocum as having more authority. They practice the strictest morality, sobriety, and honesty. Their five or six hundred members are models of decorum, and it is beyond question that they do not drink, gamble, nor race, and are more free from vice than members of any other church.

John Slocum himself was about five feet, eight inches tall, weighed about 160 pounds, and was rather stoop-shouldered. He was married, and up to the time of his transformation, was regarded as a common Indian, slightly inclined to firewater and pony racing.

Another of the Shaker leaders was Louis Yowaluch, the strong man of the church. He was about six feet tall,

rawboned, muscular, and rather slow of movement. A statement made by his brother, Sam Yowaluch, said that Slocum was the first member of the church and Louis was the next. Mooney (1896:755) says that they did not believe the Bible, but they did believe in God and in Jesus Christ as the Son of God, and in hell. In these matters they believed like the Presbyterians.

Due to a court ruling that anyone owning land could be considered as a free citizen, the Shaker people decided to establish themselves as a church. On June 6, 1892, they met at Mud Bay at Louis Yowaluch's house and organized on a regular basis.

The cult originated in a vision from Jesus Christ and was Christian; but due to its leaning toward the Roman Catholic Church, it was at first persecuted by the Presbyterians. Jesus had a leading part in Shaker beliefs, with his passion being a fixed part of their doctrine along with a consecrated place of worship, the crucifix, and most of the Roman Catholic iconography. The faithful made the sign of the cross several times a day, and always before and after meals. The shaking of hands as a form of greeting was taken to signify the exchange of blessings; people recognized each other by raising their right hands. The wooden table or altar

was adopted from Christianity, as were several ritual elements, and a millennium was promised as the day when happiness and well-being would prevail and mankind would be healed.

They rejected the Bible only on the grounds that Jesus Christ directed the affairs of the church himself, so that the Bible was an obsolete text for the use of the white man (Lanternari 1963:147).

Shaker policy in denouncing the medicine men and the shamans was probably an effort to gain the acceptance of the government. Slocum maintained that his sickness was the evil-doing of a shaman, and gradually most of the medicine men accepted the cult. The influence of the medicine men is seen in the fact that the principal purpose of the cult was to heal the Indian from all diseases. The Shaker priest performs the healing ritual by ringing a bell over the sick person while everyone in the congregation kneels holding lighted candles in each hand. This is to expel the evil spirit from the ailing body. The bells and candles were borrowed from the Catholic belief and are also a link with the ancient forms of Indian magic and exorcism (Lanternari 1963:148-149).

Though the belief in a Supreme Being came originally from the Indian tradition, the cult conveyed to the natives did include a great number of Christian elements. These included the Sunday worship, prayer, belief in heaven and hell and in angels, and their moral code, the belief in God, and the belief in Jesus Christ as the Son of God.

The conditions of the Indians at the time of the cult show the familiar features of the social movement. Traditional Indian economy based on fishing and farming, as well as traditional religion and social structure, had been upset. This was partly because of the use of pressure on the part of the white man and partly due to the reluctance of the Indian to change. The segregation of the tribes on the reservations made it almost impossible for them to continue to trade with each other; and the ban on native religious festivals, on traditional marriage customs; and on the leadership of the shamans had reduced them to a low mental and physical condition. A cleavage had developed in the Indian children, educated in white man's schools and indoctrinated with modern ideas, coming back to their homes with conceptions which their parents could not understand nor accept. Soon, more and more of the Indians were seeking comfort

in alcohol, gambling, and in idleness and the general corruption of their mores (Lanternari 1963:150).

They had a belief in the guardian spirit prior to the contact with the white man. According to Collins (1950:401), they went into a period of isolation to attain this contact. As the whites prohibited the ceremonies necessary to get the guardian spirits, there was a breakdown in the relationship of men and the cosmos.

Slocum preached a remedy for these ills. The movement was in some respects like Handsome Lake in that it sought religious independence for the Indian, but did not have a definite political goal. Through the promise of an eventual redemption, the religion enabled the Indian to survive adversity and the breakup of their traditional life.

Mrs. Slocum evidently began the tradition of shaking. Smith (1954:120) says that about a year from the time when John Slocum was returned from the dead, he was taken very ill. His relatives wanted a regular shaman to come to him, but he refused. Mrs. Slocum was greatly upset and later fell into a trance. When she came to her senses, she said the Holy Spirit had taught her a ritual, including shaking, which the services closely followed. With this ritual John Slocum was cured.

The ritual itself took the form of an Indian camp meeting, with some features in common with the revivals of the whites. There is a lot of singing, dancing, sharp exclamations, and encouragement of those who begin to exhibit muscular tremors.

Leslie Spier (1935:49) feels that the Shaker religion is a combination of shamanistic curing practices, the Catholic mass with its religious equipment, and a generalized Christian theology. It is difficult to see definite Protestant influences except in the absence of communion, confession, and the like.

The Shaker church consists of a single room, rectangular in shape, and proportioned like the Northwest Coast houses of old. Several steps lead to the entrance on the east end, and a little belfry is usually at the other end of the building. This makes it easier for the minister to pull the bell cord during the service. The only furniture is a row of backless benches set parallel with the walls, and a prayer table in the front. If the room is painted at all, it is generally white, with the ceiling a light green or light blue. The prayer table is white and usually covered with a white cloth, often with a lace border like an altar cloth. On the table, or sometimes behind it, is a large white

wooden cross. Two brass bells stand in from the cross, together with some real or artificial flowers.

The movement itself is without the militancy of some of the other groups and seems to have had no urge to preserve or revive the ancient distinctness of the Indians. Aberle would probably put this in the category of the reformatory movement, since it aims at a state of grace which was attained by changing the outlook of the individuals rather than the actual system. Like Handsome Lake, it would be an example of reformatory nativism.

Linton says that as an inferior group is unable to mix in with the dominant society, they turn to rational movements with some sort of revivalistic and perpetuative ideas. However, this is not really a rational movement and seems to best fit in with that category Linton says does not actually exist--the perpetuative-rational. Linton says that this movement does not occur since there is usually nothing magical about the present if a movement is going on. However, in the case the society is being changed so as to bring some magical qualities to present and newly introduced ideas, it seems the movement could be classed as perpetuative-rational. The end of the movement is imitative, probably due to the many white contacts and previous introduction of white culture traits into the society.

CHAPTER 11

THE INDIAN GHOST DANCE

The Red Skins left their Agency, the Soldiers left
their post
All in the strength of an Indian tale about
Messiah's ghost.
Got up by savage chieftains to lead their tribes
astray;
But Uncle Sam wouldn't have it so, for he ain't
built that way.

They swore that this Messiah came to them in
visions' sleep,
And promised to restore their game and buffaloes
a heap,
So they must start a big ghost dance, then all would
join their band,
And maybe so we lead the way into the Great Bad
Land.

Chorus: They claimed the shirt Messiah gave, no
bullet could go through,
But when the Soldiers fired at them they
saw this was not true.

This song, from Wallis (1918:139-140) was supposed to have been popular with the troops of the United States during the time of the Ghost Dance. It not only points out some features of the movement, but also shows the inability of the white culture to understand the doctrine of this new religion.

When Wovoka was about fourteen years of age, his father died. The prophetic claims of his father, who may have been the leader Tavibo in the earlier Ghost Dance,

and the teachings he received in his native valley must have made an impression upon him. Wovoka became attached to the white family of a farmer named Daniel Wilson. The family would read to him from the Bible, but the white man's tales of the creation of the earth by their God was confusing in light of what he had learned from his father.

Bailey (1957:28-31) explains the native creation which would have been told to Wovoka in this way. In the beginning the land in which they lived, with big mountains on the east and west, was rich with game and very green. In this pleasant land lived the Lelangon-appep, who were taller than the pine trees in the land. This was a very happy race who never quarreled nor drew their bows in a fight. Their women were faithful and good looking.

In the center of the land was a great mountain fire where the sick and injured were taken to breathe magic vapors which would heal them in an instant. Into the fires of the mountain they would cast their dead, for the Great Spirit to reclothe them with flesh and send them to the happy hunting grounds.

On the other side of the mountains lived the Zhashmock, a tribe of fierce and hungry men. The Great

Spirit forbade the Zhashmocks to enter the land of the Lelangonappess, but sometimes they raided them in great force. After these wars, the wounded and dead of the Lelangonappess were taken up to the mountain fire where the dead were consumed by the flames and the injured were healed. It was during this ceremony that a woman, heavy with child, was frightened by a bear. When her boy-child was born, he was so crippled and misshapen that he became the object of ridicule from all the race of giants. Strangely, the mountain vapors would not heal him, and the tormented youth finally climbed the mountain to cast himself into the flames. Suddenly, as he stood on the brink of the fire, thunder shook the earth and lightning split the heavens. The Great Spirit stepped down from a cloud and stood on a mountain top. In wrath he cursed the Lelangonappess people for their cruelty to the boy. He then picked up the boy and dipped him into the fire three times; and from the flames the boy emerged, perfect, and as bright as the Great Spirit himself.

Amid great thunder the Great Spirit vanished, taking the boy with him. The earth shook, the rocks split, and the beautiful land became brown and shriveled. The great giant of the lower world bellowed in his wrath. This continued for two days until the flame had

split the magic mountain asunder and melted rock flowed down into the once green valley.

The molten rock shrunk the Lelangonappess down to the size of man and burned their skins to a dark brown. And then, amid this misery, the Zhashmocks attacked and the Lelangonappess were massacred. Only one man and one woman survived because they had hidden themselves in a cave. The man's name was Pauite and he and his woman were forced to live in this hot and barren land.

Wovoka was told that this was how his people had come to be and why they were always kind to the crippled ones who lived among them.

But Wovoka was also entranced by the stories of Jesus, who could heal by his touch and had been able to transform one small trout into enough food to feed five thousand people. He had taught men to live in peace, to love one another, and that killings were all wrong. Gentleness, kindness and contemplation of the Great Spirit were the only true ways to get into the world of the spirits when breath vanished from the body. Jesus had claimed to be the Son of God, but unbelievers in his own tribe had killed him by nailing him to a wooden cross.

But that only sped him to the Spirit World where he spoke with the Great Father and then rose from the dead three days later.

On growing up, Wovoka married and even continued to work for Mr. Wilson. However, he did continue to learn the ways of the Indian shamans, since his father had been an Indian leader.

Mooney (1896:763) feels that Wovoka is likely to have also come into contact with the Shakers. Two doctors of the Shaker cult had gone into the area of central Oregon and were supposed to have met a youth to whom they taught their doctrines. The youth learned so fast that he soon outstripped his teachers and later began working even greater wonders among his people. While this youth might have been Wovoka, the question is whether the myth was based on rumors of other "Messiahs" who were working wonders, or whether Wovoka actually derived some of his knowledge from the men from the North.

Mooney feels that the latter proposition is entirely possible, since time is supposed to correspond with the time of the original revelations of Wovoka. Although he had not been far from home, his tribe did roam around in the watershed of the Columbia.

Bailey (1957:36-58), however, says that Wovoka had heard of the Shaker religion of John Slocum only enough to take part in some of the household rites, with no opportunity to participate in any of the churches or public forms of worship. However, their ability to cure men from the vices that had destroyed them as a people and their ability to float a man's spirit out of his body may have been lasting impressions.

Due to his parentage he was expected by his people to be sort of a spiritual leader himself. Bailey says that he did become a sort of minor medicine man and had a desire to achieve some real importance among his people through the demonstration of some spectacular supernatural powers. (Bailey 1957:62-66)

With this in mind he led a seance and announced that the next day, at noon, some ice would be seen floating down the river. The time was midsummer and this did seem to be an impossible thing for him to do. However, at noon the next day, after a good deal of heckling by the watchers, some ice did indeed float down the river. Bailey (1957:69-71) says that the actual fact was that the Wilsons, like many of the other farmers, would cut the ice from the lakes during the winter and store it in caves or somewhere for use during the summer.

Wovoka had simply talked them into dumping a load of ice into the river upstream from his gathering. This did help to establish his reputation as a prophet and he could now get out of the risky business of healing. Another time he placed a blanket on the ground and said that the Great Spirit would cause something to happen to it. While the people intently stared at the blanket, a block of ice dropped from some trees onto it. When this happened, Wovoka had the people drink water melted from the ice and then bathe in the river. This could have been some sort of ritual sacrament and baptism.

Wovoka's dance came from his first great sleep which occurred sometime around 1886. He had been staring into the fire when the trance overcame him. Some thought he was dead and others thought he was with God. They could not revive him, and not until two days later did the color come back into his body. He announced that he had been to the other world and had spoken to the spirits of the Indian dead. At a dance which he organized the next night he told of the wonders of heaven that he had learned in his vision. Bailey (1957:82) says that he revealed that Jesus is on the earth and that he moved in a cloud, that the dead were all alive again and should not be mourned. They must not hurt anybody or do

harm to anyone. They should not drink, fight, or refuse to work for the white man. They should always do right and should dance the dance of goodness. This would make the people free, and it would make them glad.

Men and women both danced this dance. On their faces he painted some unknown signs with red ochre. Facing the dancers inward toward the center, he joined hands, with the fingers intertwined so as to form them into a circle. In a soft undertone he commenced to sing, and then carefully coached the rest of the people into the song. Once the song could be sung with confidence, the circle started moving, the left foot lifted from the ground and danced a step with the right foot following into its place. This was done in unison with the song. The dance was done for five nights, with a final afternoon performance, after which, at the insistence of Wovoka, the dancers dipped themselves into the Walker River to wash away their signs and to make themselves pure before God and all the spirits which had gone before. (Bailey 1957:83-84)

About two years after the vision, Wovoka accepted a winter assignment at Pine Grove for David Wilson. While on this assignment, he got sick with what was probably scarlet fever. His wife told the people at the river who came to see him that he had contracted a dread

disease of the white man. They cautiously brought him home, where he survived the illness which had taken many of their people. This probably served to give him some degree of invulnerability in the eyes of the people. Then came the elipse of the sun, which Mooney (1896:774) feels was the total eclipse of January 1, 1889. When the sun came out again, Wovoka was stretched out as though he were dead.

The Indians satisfied themselves that this was not an ordinary sleep; and when he awoke, he announced that he had been with God. All the people who had died long ago were engaged in their old sports and occupations, all happy and forever young. God told him that he must tell his people to be good and love one another, and to live at peace with the whites. If they obeyed his instructions, they would be at last reunited with friends in this other world where there would be no more death or sickness. He was also given control over the elements so that he could make it rain, snow, or be dry, at will.

Mooney (1896:777) further states that the main principle of the Ghost Dance was that in time the whole Indian race, living and dead, would be reunited upon a regenerated earth and would live a life of aboriginal happiness. All that was needed to bring this about was for them to discard their warlike attitudes and practice

good will. Some apostles had even thought that race distinctions were going to be obliterated and that the whites would be included in the time of peace; but this seems to be definitely in contradiction to the original doctrine.

The regeneration would probably take place in July, but the actual date had been set several times as predictions failed to materialize.

The mythology of the movement held that the dead were already arisen and the spirit hosts were advancing and already at the boundaries of the earth. The change would be ushered in by a trembling of the earth, and the righteous would have nothing to fear and no harm would come to them. Then would come a state of happy immortality in perpetual youth, similar to the Christian resurrection. The moral code was very pure and simple in doing right always. Mooney sums up the doctrine by quoting a statement of an investigator about one of his apostles (Mooney 1896:783):

He has given these people a better religion than they ever had before, taught them precepts which, if faithfully carried out, will bring them into better accord with their white neighbors, and has prepared the way for their final Christianization.

The dance spread very rapidly throughout the Plains area, with tribes from the Rockies to the Mississippi knowing of the miracle of the West. The dance was not taken up by tribes in the Columbia basin, probably because of the long influence of Catholic and other Christian missionaries and the influence of the Shaker and Smohalla doctrines.

According to Mooney (1896:819-820), the Sioux heard of the Messiah in 1889 and a delegation went West to investigate further. When they returned, they said that the Messiah had indeed come to help the Indians and not the whites. A second delegation confirmed the first report and the Ghost Dance was inaugurated among the Sioux at Pine Ridge in the spring of 1890. The delegates all agreed that there was a man near the base of the Sierras and they thought that he was the Son of God, who had once been killed by the whites and who bore on his body the scars of the crucifixion. He had now returned to punish the whites for their wickedness, especially the injustice of the whites to the Indians. The next spring (1891) would bring the end of the whites on the earth and the resurrection of the dead Indians, the buffalo, and the supremacy of the early race.

The railroad, the extermination of the buffalo, and the miners in the Black Hills gold rush who stormed into the reservation created a desperate situation for the Sioux. The Ghost Dance itself was merely a reaction to these conditions and would not have caused any trouble but for the arrest of Sitting Bull, since there was no trouble on the other reservations practicing the dance.

Mooney (1896:854-855) says there is little doubt that Sitting Bull was plotting some mischief and that he contemplated leaving the reservation to visit other leaders of dissatisfaction at the southern agencies of the Sioux. The agent realized that the arrest of the chief by the military might cause trouble and ordered his arrest by the Indian police. A detachment of troops went along in case of danger. The police surrounded the house of Sitting Bull and arrested him. His followers surrounded the police and as he was brought out, his followers tried to rescue him. Sitting Bull was killed, but the police managed to drive their assailants into the woods and hold the house until the troops arrived; and the warriors went off. This eventually led to the massacre of the camp at Big Foot at Wounded Knee Creek by an army battalion under Col. George A. Forsyth. The warriors chanted their death chants and when a medicine

man named Yellow Bird signaled, the Indians began the battle. The Hotchkiss guns of the cavalry flamed death and all were killed, even the women and children.

Wovoka maintained that they had perverted his doctrine; that he had taught only peace and brotherhood with the whites. The Indians at Wounded Knee felt themselves invulnerable to the white man's bullets, since they were wearing what they called the Ghost Shirt (Mooney 1896:772). Wovoka evidently disclaimed any responsibility for the shirt, but the Sioux felt it had supernatural powers.

The protective idea does not seem to be aboriginal since the Indian warrior generally went into battle with nothing above his waist. A charm or the war paint were all that he needed for the protection. Mooney (1896:790-791) feels that the idea of an invulnerable sacred garment is one of the points of the doctrine gained from the whites. However, the shirts seem to have no part in the Ghost Dance as performed in Mason Valley.

For a decade after Wounded Knee, the dance continued to be a vital force, but the uncertain nature of the prophecy and the failure of the miracle of the passage of the earth to actually happen brought final neglect of the doctrine. By setting some sort of

positive dates for the millennium, Wovoka had signed the death warrant of the new faith. He died on September 20, 1932, at the age of seventy-four.

Wovoka came to the Indian people when they were beaten and without hope, and he gave them a religion which they could understand. Christianity had made the white man no kinder to the Indian and probably had made him less tolerant of all forms of native belief. Had the millennium been ephemeral, the religion may have had a more enduring quality.

Alexander Lesser (1933:109-113) details another influence which made the Ghost Dance of cultural importance to the Indians. With the extinction of the buffalo, the ceremonial life of the Indians had been greatly upset, since some ceremonies needed the sacred buffalo meat as part of their ritual. In addition, the only way that traditional lore in the field of ceremonialism could be taught was from demonstration by an older shaman to an assistant. As the ceremonialism was not practiced, the lore died with the older shamans. Since it was not possible to perform any ceremonial which was not completely understood by the leader, a number of the rituals had passed away forever. Thus, the Ghost Dance not only allowed for a future return of the buffalo and of the dead, permitting the eventual return of the

rituals, but it also allowed for the dancers to go into a form of trance and visit with the dead themselves. Thus, in the present circumstance, the Ghost Dance allowed for a return of the rituals lost to the tribes.

One notable group that did not accept the Ghost Dance was the Navaho. It has been felt by some workers, Barber (1941a) among them, that this was due to the greater prosperity of the Navaho and the lack of the deprivation needed for widespread participation in such a movement. This might well be the cause, but another idea was detailed by Hill (1944:524-525), when he suggested that the idea of the return of the dead was very much feared by the Navaho. They were suspicious of witchcraft and were experiencing abnormal weather conditions; but the real anxiety was due to the return of the dead. The Navaho had an almost psychotic fear of the dead and all connected with them, so that no greater cataclysm could occur than the return of the departed.

According to Linton's classification, the Ghost Dance would be considered one of revivalism using magical means. It was revivalistic in that it was leading to a millennium with the qualities of the ancient past, but it preached a doctrine of accepting the white man and living in peace with him.

Voget calls this a sacro-revivalistic movement which was trying to maintain the traditions in a reaffirmation of traditional, social and cultural elements. It was like the Shakers and Handsome Lake, but differed from them in the eventual goal. This movement would also be a transformative one, aiming at a total change in the society.

CHAPTER 12

THE PEYOTE CULT

The Peyote movement is largely a continuance of the tradition of Handsome Lake and John Slocum, seeking a change in the goals of the individual in order to attain some self-dignity under changed circumstances. The cult teaches the acceptance of new conditions, stressing the need to live in the world rather than trying to fight the dominant system.

Peyote, or Laphophora williamsii, is a small, spineless carrot-shaped cactus which grows in the Rio Grande Valley and southward. Physiologically, the characteristic of peyote is its production of visual hallucinations, as well as olfactory and auditory derangements. La Barre (1964:7) says that it is neither harmful nor habit forming.

Barber (1959:643) agrees that it is not addicting, but under some circumstances could be abused to such an extent that the person could be harmed. He feels that the use of peyote under the social and ideological control of the Peyote cult or the Native

American Church apparently does not result in addiction of the individual nor bring harm to the person.

In Mexico peyote was used in an agricultural-hunting festival, preceded by a ritual pilgrimage for the plant. As early as 1569, peyote was present in the area, in a ritual centered around the tribal shaman. Not until the nineteenth century did it go north, according to Barber (1941a:673), when it was introduced to the Mescalero about 1870. This group used the peyote in a manner which was rather transitional between Mexican use and the use in the Plains. In the 1880's, Kiowa and Comanche groups began to practice its use and were the chief sources of dissemination into the Plains. After 1890, there was a rapid spread, which carried the cult to about thirty tribes.

As a national movement, then, peyote came in more or less approximate temporal succession to the Ghost Dance of 1890. The Ghost Dance had failed to fulfill its prophecies and the government had instituted means to wipe it out. This disorganization still existed on the Plains and facilitated acceptance of the Peyote cult in which there was no threat to the white culture. The cult, instead, centered around the passive acceptance, resignation, conciliation, and compromise

with the existing world while maintaining a spiritual realm which the whites could not reach to destroy.

The diffusion through the Plains was also helped by segregation onto the reservations. Shonle (1925:57) feels that this broke up the competitive ranking of the tribes and realigned them as common participants in a way of life which they did not particularly like. The Ghost Dance had established intimate and friendly contacts among the tribes, which were maintained and utilized by the postal and train service in the area.

Frank White, the Pawnee Ghost Dance prophet, became devout in the new cult. A Kiowa named Baiya said in 1888 that the whites would be destroyed in a wind and fire. When this failed, his adherents turned to the use of peyote. A Caddo Delaware named John Wilson, who had been a leader in the Ghost Dance of the Caddo, had peyote visions that led him to modify the ceremony. Wilson's nephew, Anderson, later described (Lanternari 1963:70-71) the peyote hallucinations experienced by Wilson; he took pity on him and guided him to visions of the heavenly kingdom where he saw signs and images which were supposed to represent events in the life of Christ. He saw the "road" that Jesus had taken in his ascent from the grave to the Moon in the sky and was told that

he was to remain on the road for the rest of his life. Only in this way could man be taken into the presence of Christ and Peyote. Wilson received precise instructions for setting up a sacred area in the peyote tent; he was taught chants to be sung during the rituals and shown all the particulars of the ceremonial to be followed in the new cult. The white man had need of the Bible and of the word of Christ, but the Indian needed only the power of peyote. The Bible was given to the white man since he had been guilty of crucifying Jesus. The Indians had no part in the crucifixion so they did not have any need for the Bible. The Indian knew God's words from the peyote spirit and the white man needed the Bible and the words of Christ. Thus, the cult opposed the efforts of the whites to impose their own official religion on the aborigines.

The Oto teacher, Jonathan Koshiway, found a Christianized version of peyotism which spread to the Omaha, Winnebago, and others. An organization of confederated tribes which grew out of Koshiway's group is now called the Native American Church.

La Barre (1964:54) continues that in Mexico as a whole the curing is the most evident aspect of the use of peyote, while both curing and doctoring are evident in

Mescalero. In the Plains, while doctoring is important, it is not indispensable. Therefore, he says, in Mexico the peyote cult has a tribal character; in Mescalero, a form of rival shamans, and on the Plains a societal nature. These have a bearing on the cultural manifestations of the physiological action of peyote. In Mexico, visions are directed to the use of prophecy; in Mescalero, they enable a shaman to detect rival witchcraft; and on the Plains, visions are a source of individual power. But in all cases, the cult is a replacement for the older forms of ritual life which are no longer acceptable under present conditions or are not allowed by the dominant culture.

Thus, the Peyote cult is seen as the outgrowth of conditions of white contact and failure of the Ghost Dance. It came at a time when white men had finally replaced the doctrine of destruction for one of assimilation. It was necessary for the tribes to oppose the superimposed white culture rather than the armed forces of the Americans. The elements basic to its strength, according to Lanternari (1963:109-113), are the paganism of the Indians, the belief in visions, the magical and healing practices of the cults, the belief in salvation, social solidarity to oppose the whites, and the religious

elements of Christianity. The cactus is the basis for communication with God and a sort of cure-all.

As Aberle (1966:11-12) describes the ritual, it lasts all night, with praying, singing, drumming, and the eating of peyote as the major practices. The meeting has a purpose which is to cure, to avert evil, to promote future good, and to thank God for past blessings. The members come to the round dwelling at sundown, with the meeting lasting until the next morning.

Praying and doctoring in meetings and occasionally public confession of sins are the major means for the liquidations of life's anxieties suffered by the present communicants. Ritually, peyote is used to tell the future, protect the person from witchcraft, and for curing their system of ethics. Brotherly love, family responsibility, self-reliance, and avoidance of alcohol are all advocated. The people are to be honest, truthful, friendly, helpful, and are to have no extramarital affairs. This is a response to the condition of the people, requiring things which would be very helpful for the group. Their condition was such that helping each other, yet taking care of themselves, would be very helpful.

As expressed by Dittmann and Moore (1957:643), the cult is a nativistic semi-Christian religious movement which uses a ritual involving the eating of peyote cactus as a means of communion with God. The definition of God is derived from Christianity, but incorporates general Plains Indian and local cultural variants.

Among the Navaho, the cult manifests minor influence of traditional beliefs but little of traditional overt aspects of ritual. These two authors also stated that their findings indicated, in work with the Navahos, members of the tribe who were more disturbed mentally by present conditions were more likely to be members of the cult. Interpretation and analysis of dreams provided a resource for those whose traditional methods of problem-solving had failed.

Aberle's study of the cult among the Navaho (Aberle 1966:352-353) shows some characteristics of the movement. He found that from 1868 to 1930--the beginning of their return to their home territory until the time before the stock reduction--they manifested no real full-blown social movement. Starting in 1933, livestock reduction imposed by the government to help with the problems of overgrazing and erosion created profound disturbance among the Navahos. The cult then spread

from the Southern Utes in 1936, when systematic rather than spasmodic reduction began. By 1951, the cult numbered about 14 percent of the tribe and by 1964, estimates varied from 25 percent to 50 percent. Aberle (1966:261) felt that the initial spread was related to the disturbances of livestock reduction and control. It was shown that those who lost the most stock joined the cult first; and that among those who had been wealthiest prior to the reduction program, the percentage of members was higher than in other segments of the society (Aberle 1966:271).

The cult is an example of a redemptive movement, aiming at the total change in the individual. Like the movements of John Slocum and Handsome Lake, it grew out of a more substantial white contact, a contact which has very largely broken native resistance.

CHAPTER 13

DEPRIVATION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

When conditions imposed by a contact situation disrupt the traditional patterns of a group's existence, the people will often react in order to reestablish an acceptable form of life. The nature of this reaction is determined by the type and extent of the disruption and the amount of deprivation.

Deprivation itself is the relative discrepancy between legitimate expectations and actual conditions, or between legitimate expectation and anticipated actuality. David Aberle (1966:323) feels that the idea of deprivation rests on three assumptions: the potentially limitless character of human wants; on the idea of legitimate expectations of the socio-cultural system; and the potential for the disruption of these expectations by socio-cultural change. In another article, Aberle (1962:209) says that there are three measurements for relative deprivation: (1) the present condition of the individual as opposed to the past conditions; (2) the present condition of the individual as compared to the expected future condition; and

(3) the present condition of the individual compared to the present condition of another individual. While these are all factors, the social movements in North America seem to be concentrated on one or the other of them. The early movements, those which were attempting to remove the European influence and return to the ways of the past seemed to be dependent primarily on the first area of deprivation. Later movements anticipating the coming of a millennium were probably most concerned with the second factor, the future, which looked less than bright. Finally, the movements attempted to incorporate some of the elements of white culture into native society in order to become a part of a system which they were not going to be able to effectively resist.

In order to research the connection between deprivation and social movements, a study was made of three groups in California relating their dealings with the European culture to their participation in the Ghost Dance of 1870. The Klamath and Modoc, closely related to each other in language and culture, and the Paviotso, with a more separate identity, were brought together on the Klamath reservation in 1864. The Ghost Dance began among them in 1871 and lasted until 1878. It was found by Nash (1937:412-420) that the Paviotso, who had

experienced the least cultural change, participated least in the movement. In addition, the Modoc, who had suffered most, experienced the greatest participation in this movement. Nash (1937:442) felt that the most important deprivation with respect to a movement like this was the success or failure in gaining the ends anticipated in the acceptance or rejection of white culture. The participants were those who did not get the satisfaction expected from a particular course of action.

Thus, another area of deprivation is the result of a specific course of action. King Philip's movement followed a period of friendly contact with the Europeans. However, it was becoming evident that this had been a mistake since the Indians were being forced to give up their lands and their traditions.

In certain cases, according to Voget (1956:249-250), the dominant group is so dominant that the subordinated group simply develops a sort of passive resistance or an apathy to the beliefs that are imposed on them. Out of this submission comes a social movement which brings new meaning to life and assumes an attitude of critical appraisal toward the past. This movement type, called a reformatory movement, is more or less an attempt to gain personal and social reintegration through the rejection of both traditional and alien cultural components.

The scheme which affects the movement goes like this (Voget 1956:253): (1) People suffer disease and experience want because they have drifted away from the old values and are living bad lives; (2) the ways of the past have failed, and it is no longer possible to return to them; (3) a new way, divinely led, is necessary if the Indian is to be freed from disease and want; (4) god wants the Indian to remain physically and culturally distinct from the foreigners, so the new way must use basic Indian beliefs; (5) some of the ways of the alien conquerors may be in line with the new life planned for the Indians. There is a chosen people concept, and a desire to remain distinctly Indian, but a realization also that some culture elements of the white man are desirable. Some old ideas like witchcraft and shamanism are rejected, indicating a wish to adapt to the life of the dominant group.

Further study of the relation between the deprivation of contact and social movements in Northwest Coast America was made by Leslie Spier in his study of a cult he termed the Prophet Dance. He felt (Spier 1935: 5) that the two Ghost Dance movements as well as the Smohalla and Shaker movements of the Northwest Coast had their ultimate origin in the cult of the Prophet Dance, particularly regarding their ideas of the dead

and the future. The concept of an impending destruction of the world, together with its subsequent renewal and the return of the dead, was present in aboriginal thought. Furthermore, there was in conjunction with these beliefs a dance which was in supposed imitation of the dance of the dead, the devotion to which would hasten the world's renewal.

During the 1830's, there emerged some fusion of the old beliefs and some Christian ideas, namely the Sabbath and the cross. Spier (1935:30) felt that this would possibly have been a result of the settlement in the area of the Flathead Indians of Montana, of a band of Iroquois. From the Iroquois leader, Old Ignace, the Flathead Indians learned of the Christian doctrines and a mixture of the two sets of beliefs emerged. This was called the Christianized Prophet Dance. From 1850 onward, there were definite cults formed. Smohalla and the Indian Shakers and eventually the Ghost Dance movements were the eventual results.

Similarly, dealing with the Prophet Dance among the Coast Salish Indians, Suttles (1957:387-389) says that there was a sequence for this area much like Spier's sequence for the Prophet Dance on the Plateau. The

pre-contact Coast Salish believed in power through visions, prophecy, control of rites through the knowledge of formulas, and little development of rites for the benefit of the community. Actually, there was little that could be called a real technique of dealing with the supernatural, and no idea of a supreme deity.

The Prophet Dance was introduced to these people in pre-mission times, bringing such elements as worship as a method of controlling the supernatural, deity worship, status of the leaders through visions, as well as knowledge of ritual and participation in ceremonials by the whole community. Then came the local cults with more and more elements which could be called Christian, ending with the Shaker religion.

The point seems to be that perhaps the Ghost Dance and the Shaker and Smohalla cults were not so much responses to white contact as often thought, since most of their basic elements were found in the area prior to white contact. However, such things as an epidemic of smallpox or other diseases, and the fur trade which upset the status system of the area, may have produced some deprivation and a need for seeking a new status.

Replying to this article, Aberle (1959:76-78) feels that the Prophet Dance could have been a result of deprivation resulting from the change imposed by contact,

and that this possibility should not be excluded. A group could know of the white culture and what it had done to other groups without actually meeting the Europeans themselves. Trade and the dealings of the fur hunting Indians had changed the relative status of the men who controlled the good fishing spots and were previously very high in the status rankings.

Elaborating on the concept of deprivation, Aberle (1959:78-81) feels that there are three basic types of deprivation and a fourth basis for cult movements which may or may not be considered as deprivation and which should be discussed. The three types of deprivation are a general worsening of the condition of the tribe, the addition of new wants which they cannot satisfy, and a shift of status inside the tribe. The fourth basis for the cult movements is the arrival of information about a strange and powerful new group which was having a variety of fortunate and unfortunate effects on other tribes. This knowledge could be expected to produce an impact on the group. Thus, the idea of deprivation caused by white contact could still be an important stimulus to the Prophet Dance.

Spier, Suttles, and Melville Herskovits (1959: 84-87) responded to Aberle, saying that they did not try

to indicate that deprivation had no part. They conclude that there was no evidence to indicate that the cult was revivalistic in the sense of protest or rebellion against alien pressure until later days. They feel that the cult originated from purely native preoccupation with revivalism as a later consequence of contact and distortion. In other words, the movements, like the Ghost Dances, did not spring fully instituted from conditions of distress. Instead, they feel that an older form was turned to nativistic and revivalistic account when acculturative conditions became intolerable.

The conclusions seem to be that even though the actual form of some of the social movements of North America were known in pre-contact times, the actual aspects of revivalism and nativism were a result of the problems encountered after culture contact. Deprivation is still an important consideration.

American movements began using native traditions and individual means, turning later to supernatural powers and finally to the passive reformative movements after their situation was too hopeless to give rise to a practical revolt. Thus, the contact situation, either direct and immediate or indirect, did influence these movements, both in causing them to get started in the first place and in influencing the means they would use.

CHAPTER 14

RELIGION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

It has been seen that religion was a driving force behind these social movements in North America. There are perhaps several reasons for this connection, probably dependent on the functions of religion itself in the lives of the American natives.

As man makes a place for himself in the universe, he tends to form certain ideas about the universe and the forces governing it. Consequently, he tends to institutionalize specific actions in order to maintain good relations with such forces, either controlling them in some way or appeasing them in order to gain favorable blessings from them. While these beliefs in supernatural forces and the rituals for dealing with them are found around the world, each group has specific concepts which relate to the particular needs of the society. In other words, the native ritual traditions seem to be a product of the particular needs of a group. At times, either due to a change in the needs of the group or because of imposed new beliefs, the old ceremonies and traditions no longer are practical and something must be changed to

either remove the interference or find a way to change the religion to meet the new requirements.

Perhaps the religious men themselves sensed that native religion would have to fight for existence. Since the powers over the universe are often seen as static, the ritual and way of life which deals with them is also unchanging. While the culture was changing under the influence of the new contact, these men realized that either things would have to be put back to normal or they would have to come up with a new religion to meet the new changes. If religion was still going to be a vital force in the lives of the tribal members, something would have to be done to let them practice religion. Either the white man would have to go or they would have to come up with a form of worship the white man would allow and which would satisfy the new requirements of the Indians.

Religion would also be a bulwark of Indian tradition, the real symbol of their identity as Indians. It would be a natural place of retreat for them, since it would symbolize the concept of an Indian world, created by an Indian god. The prophets often taught that the Indians were the first men created by the gods and therefore had the right to sole possession of their lands.

Overwhelmed by the superior technology of the Europeans, the Indian religion seems to be a natural refuge from the new conquerors. Although the Indians were constantly being told to change their beliefs, religion resulting from largely mental processes would still be the area of culture the Europeans would find most difficult to enter.

Practically speaking, religion was a fine way to gain converts. As Mooney (1896:675) said about the Shawnee Prophet, "but we may well surmise that the whole elaborate system of Indian mythology and ceremonial was brought into play to give weight to the words of the prophet" Whether it is the idea of supernatural aid or supernatural command or the hope that by action the reward in some future will be brighter, religious movements do inspire a good deal more dedication and devotion to causes than other forms of human endeavor. The religion was also the most practical way of uniting the tribes, in giving the movements a sort of pan-Indian quality. Just as Popé used the command of the gods to stir the people to action, and many of the later prophets either claimed supernatural powers or supernatural inspiration to attract followers, religion was used as a motivating force for concerted action. Although the followers of Tenskwatawa and the Sioux adherents of the

Ghost Dance were destroyed by expectations of supernatural powers, even this shows the great action spurred by religion.

Finally, religion was perhaps an area of last resort for some of the movements. Just as King Philip turned to religion when his movement was failing for one last bit of inspiration and action, so man naturally may try to work things out for himself, turning to religion when economic and political action fail. As Aberle says (1962:212), religion and movements of religious orientation occur when there is a sense of blockage, when ordinary action is insufficient. Increasingly, the movements seemed to depend more and more on religion, until the Ghost Dancers felt that they did not have to do anything except adhere to certain standards and the gods would do the rest. Finally, the movements which are still in force are religious sanctions to join the Europeans rather than fight them.

Christianity and the Social Movements

Christianity probably had its greatest influence in that the Christian leaders often determined the conditions of the contact situation. While they were probably responsible for whatever attempts were made to buy lands from the Indians, and while they kept slavery

from becoming widespread north of Mexico, they did introduce a certain amount of intolerance into the contact. A missionary-oriented religion such as Christianity is likely to prohibit any deviation from a certain dogma. Although the Roman Catholic missionaries were in some cases known for their acceptance of a fusion of native and European beliefs, even they banned the native rituals in the pueblos of New Mexico. Among the Protestants there was likely a great insistence that the natives change in accordance with Christian standards quickly and completely. The missionaries were probably well-meaning men themselves, but they were bound by a doctrine which could not be stretched and would settle for nothing less than total submission by the natives.

The one exception to this seems to be the Quakers, who used native beliefs to introduce some western elements, attempting a gradual change in native standards aimed at eventual conversion to Christianity. However, among most groups the missionaries simply made clear to the natives that there was no more room for their old way of life and made necessary some sort of action.

Where the Christians were well-established and were able to effectively control the Indians and their

customs, the movements were attempts to bridge old and new beliefs into an ideology acceptable to Indian and white alike. Among the Shakers, for example, the movement was a way of living with the white society after native ceremonies and marriage customs and shaman leadership had been prohibited. As the native's relation to a guardian spirit was essential to his emotional well-being, the Shaker religion, according to Collins (1950:403), taught that when a man joined the new church, his guardian spirit went away and then returned as the spirit of God. The Shakers allowed each man to maintain his own contact with his spirit; there were to be no intermediaries in the form of priests to contact the spirit world for the members. Furthermore, Gunther says (1949:42) that the Shaker Church spread much faster after the introduction of shaking, since this activity was like the procedure of the shaman and the outward expression of spirit possession. Thus, the success of the movements often depended on the acceptance that the Indian god was in accord with the action and was supporting it.

Also obvious among the movements were such things as the revival techniques of the prophets and the moral codes which they all taught. These were apparently influences of Christian missionaries, since the Indian

mind was evidently, according to Davenport (1905:34-35), very suggestive to the techniques of the white revivalists.

Handsome Lake, for example, could well have been influenced by the revival among the whites at the time of his visions. Wallace (1952:163) mentions several possible influences, including the emotional condition of the prophet who was in a state of anxiety and guilt, in the physical collapse of the prophet, the trance, and the compulsion to speak on awakening, and the preoccupation with the subjects of heaven and hell. However, these movements--Handsome Lake and the white revival--could have been products of the loneliness and emotional frustration of the frontier and the hard conditions of life in that area.

Thus, religion itself was important to these movements, with them depending on more of it for the intense relations of the Christian religion and its additional upset of native values. The intolerance generated through the missionary systems and the upset in native traditions would have added to the deprivation of the movements. A new religion was enforced on a group whose needs it did not meet, a challenge to the entire order of life as they had known it. It would seem inherent in religion that it was necessary to react.

CHAPTER 15

GENERAL STATEMENT ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

As the world got out of order, the American Indians set about to regain the power to control their own future. Various activities were attempted: armed resistance, reliance on magical powers, and finally attempts to integrate with the intruding white man and to adjust to his world. The actual form depended on the nature of the contact situation and the strength and zeal of the native populations.

Character of the Prophets

Most of the men who led these movements were well-acquainted with the manipulation of supernatural power. Many were medicine men and from families used to directing the affairs of their tribes. As was mentioned earlier, Oskison (1938:29-30) describes some of the necessary qualifications of the tribal spiritual leaders. These men came to power only after a long and severe period of preparation by their predecessors. They were required to understand the history of the tribes, their remotest connections, and the exact nature of their peoples. They should know the habits of mind of the

members of their groups, their beliefs and credulities, as well as their feelings toward the tribe as far as loyalty and respect were concerned. They had to also be able to interpret dreams and perform sleight of hand tricks to convince the people of their powers. Their divinations could be enough to cause the sentence of death for witchcraft.

Often after taking power the prophets became somewhat despotic. Reports of Popé state that he began to silence any opposition to his movement; and Tenskwatawa often had his enemies accused of witchcraft and destroyed. As mentioned in Parker (1912:11), Handsome Lake, on being opposed by Red Jacket, and becoming aware of his influence as an orator in persuading tribe members to sell their land to the whites, accused him of perfidy and said he was doomed to carry burdens of soil through eternity as punishment for his sins. Several prophets claimed divine qualities and powers and used natural phenomena like the eclipses and tricks with ice to win followers to their cause.

Dorothy Emmet (1956:7) discusses three types of prophets who commonly became leaders of social movements. There are the institutional men, the shamans and their kind who fall into trances and have a recognized role in

the society. They generally have been trained in a traditional manner for their role. Other leaders are men with a great ability to stir the emotions of men; while some are the moral and intellectual leaders of the tribe. Most of the leaders in North America were included in this first group, but naturally had some of the characteristics of the other two types.

Voget's (1956:251-252) article mentions that the leaders of the reformative movements tend to make considerable use of new cures. This not only makes special use of the basic Indian preoccupation with the subject of health, but also puts the traditionally trained curing men in a central position. It also attracted converts since anyone who had been cured would become both a good member of the movement and a good missionary.

Regarding the visions themselves, Warner Lowie (1953:458) says that religious delusions can be regarded as introjected group-shared beliefs which have gone through a period of cognitive distortion under the pressure of individual needs. The necessity of the dream can often make it happen, or at least convince the dreamer of its occurrence. He continues that hallucinatory trends result from preoccupation and daydreaming which cause delusional developments. The strength of the hallucination seems to be a function of emotional

reactivity in situations which arouse some anxiety. Religious delusions (Lowie 1953:462) are the result of emotional and socially blocked needs, varying in degree of fixation upon or regression to infantile symbols as a function of social sophistication and deprivation. Thus, the prophets were reacting to certain natural emotions which resulted from their position in the group. Those who were most preoccupied with religion and the need for the solution of current problems were the ones who were most likely to experience the hallucinations.

Extending what Drake said about the Shawnee Prophet to the other prophets, they were probably all really desirous of doing good for their people. That some of them may have developed ulterior motives, or at least let their movements become part of some more political plots, seems evident, but the prophets themselves were trying to do what they felt was needed to relieve the stresses present in their society.

General Conclusions on American Movements

Activist movements intended to prepare a better future have probably found some support at all levels of society at some time. However, they seem to have a special appeal to those longing for deliverance from conditions they consider oppressive.

According to the opinion of Peter Worsley (1957: 227), such movements often occur among people who are divided into small social units, who are unable to act as a united political force. The movements integrate them to face a common enemy, allowing them to overcome their individualism in the face of a common enemy. Also, they come at a time when political institutions fighting through secular military or political means are meeting defeat.

Just as the Ghost Dance may have developed from aboriginal beliefs employed under a religious sanction to meet the needs of the natives, the Ghost Dance itself failed and made way for the movement of accommodation--the payote cult. This would seem to illustrate the type of sequence for these movements. Native religion was drawn upon at first to unite and activate the people, alter and stimulate their confidence, and reassure them that they could succeed. Later they attempted to retain some of their native dignity as they finally gave in to what seemed to be rather inevitable.

These movements were attempts to somehow escape from an existence on the earth which was bleak and forbidding and which showed no signs of improving in the future. The prophets were generally men who wanted to improve the lives of their people, promising them a

method of removing the whites through natural or supernatural means, or providing them a retreat into which the white world would not be able to penetrate.

The final movements, those which are still in force today, are the ones which successfully changed the methods of native religion into a form the white man would accept; and which changed the goals of the Indians to objectives which they would be able to reach under the new domination. When land and sheep and natural resources were taken from them, they gained new status by religious participation and concentration on a blissful life after death. Only through the mechanisms of religion could they so successfully forget the trials of this world and escape into other realms of concentration; and religion did this quite well.

REFERENCES

ABERLE, DAVID F.

- 1959 The Prophet Dance and Reactions to White Contact. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 74-83. Albuquerque.
- 1962 A Note on Relative Deprivation Theory as Applied to Millenarian and other Cult Movements. In "Millennial Dreams in Action," edited by S. Thrupp, pp. 209-214. Comparative Studies in Society and History, Supplement II. Mouton, The Hague.
- 1966 The Peyote Religion among the Navaho. Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago.

BAILEY, PAUL

- 1957 Wovoka, the Indian Messiah. Westernlore Press, Los Angeles.

BARBER, BARNARD

- 1941a A Socio-Cultural Interpretation of the Peyote Cult. American Anthropologist, Vol. 43, No. 4, pp. 673-675. Menasha.
- 1941b Acculturation and Messianic Movements. American Sociological Review, Vol. 6, No. 5, pp. 663-669. Menasha.

BARBER, CARROLL G.

- 1959 Peyote and the Definition of a Narcotic. American Anthropologist, Vol. 61, No. 4, pp. 641-646. Menasha.

BERKHOFER, ROBERT F., JR.

- 1965 Salvation and the Savage. University of Kentucky Press, Lexington.

CLEVELAND, CATHARINE C.

- 1916 The Great Revival in the West, 1797-1805.
The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

COHN, NORMAN

- 1962 Medieval Millenarism: Its Bearing on the Comparative Study of Millenarian Movements. In "Millennial Dreams in Action," edited by S. Thrupp, pp. 31-43. Comparative Studies in Society and History, Supplement II. Mouton, The Hague.

COLLINS, JUNE McCORMICK

- 1950 The Indian Shaker Church: A Study of Continuity and Change in Religion. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 399-411. Albuquerque.

CROSS, WHITNEY R.

- 1950 The Burned-over District. Cornell University Press, Ithaca.

DAVENPORT, FREDERICK MORGAN

- 1905 Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals. The Macmillan Company, New York.

DEARDORFF, MERLE H.

- 1951 The Religion of Handsome Lake: Its Origin and Development. In "Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture," edited by William N. Fenton, pp. 77-108. BAE, Bull. 149. Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

DITTMANN, ALLEN and HARVEY C. MOORE

- 1957 Disturbance in Dreams as Related to Peyotism among the Navaho. American Anthropologist, Vol. 59, No. 4, pp. 642-649. Menasha.

DRAKE, BENJAMIN

- 1841 Life of Tecumseh. E. Morgan and Company, Cincinnati.

ELLIS, FLORENCE HAWLEY

- 1952 Jemez Kiva Magic and Its Relations to Features of Prehistoric Kivas. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 147-165. Albuquerque.

EMMET, DOROTHY

- 1956 Prophets and Their Societies. The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 86, No. 1, pp. 13-24. London.

FADDEN, ROY

- 1955 The Visions of Handsome Lake. Pennsylvania History, Vol. 22, No. 4, pp. 341-358. Gettysburg.

GUNTHER, ERNA

- 1949 The Shaker Religion of the Northwest. In "Indians of the Urban Northwest," edited by Marian W. Smith, pp. 37-76. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, No. 36. Columbia University Press, Ithaca.

HARRINGTON, M. R.

- 1921 Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape. In "Indian Notes and Monographs," edited by F. W. Hodge, No. 19. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.

HILL, W. W.

- 1944 The Navaho Indians and the Ghost Dance of 1890. American Anthropologist, Vol. 46, No. 4, pp. 523-527. Menasha.

HODGE, FREDERICK WEBB, editor

- 1907 "Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico." BAE Bull. 30. Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

HOEBEL, E. ADAMSON

- 1941 The Comanche Sun Dance and Messianic Outbreak of 1873. American Anthropologist, Vol. 43, No. 2, pp. 310-313. Menasha.

HUDSON, WINTHROP S.

- 1965 Religion in America. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

HUMPHREYS, MARY GAY, editor

- 1913 Missionary Explorers among the American Indians. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

JOSEPHY, ALVIN M., JR.

- 1961 The Patriot Chiefs. The Viking Press, New York.

KELSEY, RAYNER WICKERSHAM

- 1917 Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917. The Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, Philadelphia.

LA BARRE, WESTON

- 1964 The Peyote Cult. The Shoe String Press, Hamden.

LANTERNARI, VITTORIO

- 1963 The Religions of the Oppressed. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

LESSER, ALEXANDER

- 1933 Cultural Significance of the Ghost Dance. American Anthropologist, Vol. 35, No. 1, pp. 108-115. Menasha.

LINTON, RALPH

- 1943 Nativistic Movements. American Anthropologist, Vol. 45, No. 2, pp. 230-240. Menasha.

LOWIE, WARNER L.

- 1953 Psychodynamics in Religious Delusions. American Journal of Psychotherapy, Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 454-462. New York.

McNICKLE, D'ARCY

- 1957 Indian and European; Indian-White Relations from Discovery to 1887. In "American Indians and American Life," edited by George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, pp. 1-11. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 311. Philadelphia.

MOONEY, JAMES

- 1896 "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890." BAE, Annual Report 14, No. 1. Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

NASH, PHILLEO

- 1937 The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation. In Social Anthropology of North American Tribes, edited by Fred Eggan, pp. 377-442. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

NEWCOMB, WILLIAM W.

- 1956 "The Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indian." Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Anthropological Papers, No. 10. Ann Arbor.

OSKISON, JOHN M.

- 1938 Tecumseh and his Times. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

PARKER, ARTHUR C.

- 1912 "The Code of Handsome Lake, the Seneca Prophet." New York State Museum Bulletin 163. Albany.

PECKHAM, HOWARD H.

- 1947 Pontiac and the Indian Uprising. Princeton University Press, Princeton.

SHONLE, RUTH

- 1925 Peyote, the Giver of Visions. American Anthropologist, Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 53-76. Menasha.

SMITH, MARIAN WESLEY

- 1954 Shamanism in the Shaker Religion of Northwest America. Man, Vol. 54, Article 181, pp. 119-122. London.

SPIER, LESLIE

- 1935 "The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives: the Source of the Ghost Dance." General Series in Anthropology, No. 1. Menasha.

SPIER, LESLIE, WAYNE SUTTLE, AND MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

- 1959 Comment on Amerle's Thesis of Deprivation. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 84-88. Albuquerque.

SUTTLES, WAYNE

- 1957 The Plateau Prophet Dance among the Coast Salish. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 352-396. Albuquerque.

SWEET, WILLIAM WARREN

- 1944 Revivalism in America. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
- 1950 The Story of Religion in America. Harper and Row, New York.

THRUPP, SYLVIA L., editor

- 1962 "Millennial Dreams in Action." Comparative Studies in Society and History, Supplement II. Mouton, The Hague.

VOGET, FRED W.

- 1956 The American Indian in Transition: Reformation and Accommodation. American Anthropologist, Vol. 58, No. 2, pp. 249-263. Menasha.
- 1959 Towards a Classification of Cult Movements: Some Further Contributions. Man, Vol. 59, Art. 26, pp. 26-27. London.

WALLACE, ANTHONY F. C.

- 1952 Handsome Lake and the Great Revival in the West. American Quarterly, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 149-165. Philadelphia.
- 1956a Revitalization Movements. American Anthropologist, Vol. 58, No. 2, pp. 264-281. Menasha.
- 1956b New Religions among the Delaware Indians, 1600-1900. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 1-21. Albuquerque.

WALLIS, WILSON D.

- 1918 Messiahs: Christian and Pagan. The Gorham Press, Boston.

WEISBERGER, BERNARD A.

- 1958 They Gathered at the River. Little Brown, Boston.

WISBEY, HERBERT A., JR.

- 1964 Pioneer Prophetess: Jemima Wilkinson, the Publick Universal Friend. Cornell University Press, Ithaca.

WOOD, NORMAN B.

- 1906 Lives of Famous Indian Chiefs. American Indian Historical Publishing Company, Aurora.

WORSLEY, PETER

- 1957 The Trumpet Shall Sound. Mac Gibbon and Kee, London.