

## Smohalla

The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance by Leslie Spier, George Banta Publishing Co., Menasha Wis. 1935. 74 pages.

The so-called Ghost Dance religions of the Indians have for long been regarded as one of the most interesting phenomena of latter day Indian life.

In the religions, cults and dances, the imagination of the native American expressed and recorded its grief over the loss of ancient liberties and pleasures, its indignation and protest against the domination of the whites and the consequent decay of native cultures.

In his study of the Prophet Dance of the Northwest Leslie Spier at the hand of extensive documentation, defends the thesis that later Ghost Dance religions, beginning in 1890, lean against the background of the Prophet Dance, in many ways similar to the Ghost Dance in content but much older as well as nearer to the original native culture.

The author shows on a map the relative distributions of the Prophet Dance, the Ghost Dance as represented by the Smohalla cult and the modern Shaker cult, a christianized form of the Ghost Dance.

The geographical distribution shows the Prophet cult to be by far the most wide-spread extending south, east and north beyond the Ghost Dance thus indicating with the support of chronology that the latter developed on the older foundations laid by the Prophet cult. The Shaker cult extends along the border of the Pacific from the northern fringe of Southern California to Puget Sound. It represents a western extension of the older and native cult. Dr. Spier deserves much credit for having once again contributed to the deepening of our insight into the Indian past. Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol 36, 1936.

Gen series in Anthropology no. 1 the prophet dance of the Northwest and its derivatives; the source of the Ghost dance; by Leslie Spier 1935. George Banta publishing co agent, Menasha, Wis.

Northwestern origin of the Ghost dance:

It has been generally assumed that the Ghost dance which in 1890 spread throughout the plains from a source in western Nevada was wholly a new development engendered by the need for a messiah at the moment.. such was stand taken by Mooney .

It was known to Mooney that some 20 years earlier another prophet had appeared among the Paviotso whose doctrine was identical with that of "ovoka the accredited Paviotso originator of the 1890 affair...

It remained for Kroeber to show that about 1870 a doctrine and dance having its source in this earlier Paviotso prophet swept westward through northern and Central California as in 1890 the Ghost dances swept eastward through the Plains...

It is the purpose of this section of the paper to show that the ultimate origin of the two Ghost dance movements was not with the Paviotso but in the northwest among the tribes of the interior Plateau area. It can be shown that among these peoples there was an old belief in the impending destruction and renewal of the world when the dead would return in conjunction with which there was a dance based on supposed imitation of the dances of the dead and a condition that intense preoccupation with the dance would hasten the happy day.

From time to time men "died" and returned to life with renewed assurances of the truth of the doctrine; at intervals cataclysms of nature occurred which were taken as portents of the end..

The northwest cult appears in the ethnographic accounts under various names, dream dance, ghost dance, religious dance, praying dance etc. I have coined the name prophet dance for it.

The Prophet dance complex was known to all tribes of the northwestern interior without exception from the Babine and Sekani on the north to the Paviotso of western Nevada far to the south. It had

penetrated to the tribes of the lower Fraser River and had reverberations among the coastal peoples...into B.C. as far as the Tlingit of southern Alaska. Eastward it took root among the Athapascans of the upper Mackenzie basin.

In its typical form which is strictly identical with the better known Ghost dance the complex occurred among the Babine, Carrier, Sekani, Chilcotin, Shuswap, Lillooet, Thompson, Stasheles, Kwantlan and probably among others of the lower Fraser river group; among the Northern and Southern Okanagon, Sanpoli, probably Colville and Sinajextee, (Lakes) Spokane, Kalispel and Pend Oreille, Kutenai, Flathead, Coeur d'Alene, Modoc and possibly even among the Paviotso prior to the 1870.

In a somewhat modified form the Smohalla cult in which another ritual was developed but which retained the ancient doctrine, it was known among the Sahaptin tribes, Nez Perces, Yakima, Walla Walla, Umatilla, the Priest Rapids group, Tenino and probably others) and to the Cayuse and Northern Paiute of eastern Oregon. There is some indication that the typical form of the ~~complex~~ <sup>Complex</sup> was known in this southern quarter in pre-Smohalla days. Be that as it may, this distribution brings the Prophet dance in its northern form which is known to have flourished at least as early as the opening of the 19th century, or as the Smohalla derivative which developed between 1850 and 1870 not far from the doors of the Paviotso anterior to 1870.

Although the doctrine and ritual of the Ghost Dance are generally familiar it is advisable to recapitulate them here in order to make the parallel of the Prophet dance quite ~~clear~~ <sup>Clear</sup>. In 1887 and again in 1889 a Paviotso Wovoka, had ~~so~~ <sup>so</sup> revelations during a ~~reputed~~ reputed visit to the dead. He learned from them that he was to ~~teach~~ teach his people to live in love and peace as a consequence of which there would be a general resurrection of the dead who were to return under the guidance of Big Man or Old Man, their chief. The earth was getting old and worn out; it was to be ~~renewed~~ <sup>Renewed</sup>; turn over, flooded; when the

dead would return aged beco<sup>me</sup> the young, men would live for<sup>2</sup> ever, the game be once more abundant. He also <sup>learned</sup> learned from the dead a dance a ~~z~~ dance which was to be held at intervals <sup>of</sup> ~~for~~ five consecutive days and the performance of which would hasten the approach of the dead, already imminent. The present world would be overwhelmed in flood when the Indians would find refuge on the mountain tops and the earth shake~~n~~ by quakes. At doomsday disbelievers would suffer, grow small or be transformed into wood or rocks.

The dance has not been adequately described. We know, however, most of the essentials. Men, women and children formed a ring, sometimes around the prophet, at times perhaps a round a pole and circled, shuffling sidewise as they held their partners by the hand. During the performance some fell in a trance and on a wakening brought confirmation of the doctrine from the dead with new songs and face paints. At the end of the dance they shook out their blankets and went out to bathe.

The Prophet dance of the Northwest is strictly identical with <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ Paviotso whose dance indoctrines and much like it in ritual..

The Southern Okanagan complex involved three main conceptions, falling <sup>stars</sup> ~~stars~~, earthquakes and other strange happenings in nature portended the destruction of the world..

.. "The dreams came often.. to men who had little shamanistic power than to men who had much and <sup>brought</sup> ~~brought~~ no faculty for curing or other shamanistic acts. There were one of two prominent dreamers in every tribe, in this region. At whatever time of year one had a dream he proclaimed it within two or three days and organized a dance. All the inhabitants of his village came to his house that evening. He described to them his talk with the Creator, prophesized the speedy end of the world and told them at what hour they <sup>would</sup> ~~would~~ see the messenger bird, as a sign for the dance to begin. On the appointed day usually the next one after the announcement, the people gathered out of doors in

a circle around the dreamer. They were no paint or special clothing. They used no drums. Dance poles or other ~~paraph~~ paraphernalia at the ~~time~~ <sup>time</sup> prophesized they saw the bird flying very low back and ~~forth~~ <sup>forth</sup> over them. The ~~informant~~ <sup>INFORMANT</sup> said it was ~~not~~ a two-headed goose but that it might be bodiliness with two heads and wings or might have a body and a very long tail, as soon as they saw the bird they began to dance, standing in a circle around the dreamer, the circle not revolving or the dances <sup>R</sup> changing their position. As they danced they sang the prayer song which the dreamer had taught them. The dance followed the pattern of one performed by the dead somewhere in the sky before their great chief, ~~the~~ the Creator. Each participant held the same place throughout the day. Though the dancers never tried to jump to heaven, occasionally some one had a prophetic dream during the ceremony and at once uttered the prophecy to the people and took his place with the leader in the center of the formation. While dancing the dreamer exhorted the community not to fight. He lie, steal, com<sup>m</sup>it rape or sin in other ways and urged the young men to ask permission of a girl's father before they married her. As a result of this preaching some of the people became so righteous that they did not allow their children to run about after dark lest they do evil things. The dreamer had no curative or other magical powers, no one ~~was~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~day~~ ate in the ~~day~~ daytime while the ritual was in progress.

This continued for a number of days until the dancers observing that the world did Not come to an end, forgot about it for a while and resumed their normal task. One informant said that the dance continued for an indefinite period, sometimes all spring, summer and on into the fall. All other activities were suspended, no one hunted, fished or gathered berries. They simply danced all day and every day, standing in one spot. Dream dances seldom occurred in winter. When they did they were stopped in time for the ordinary dance; the two were never combined.

.Another form existed which was thought of as distinct from the Prophet dance by the Southern Okanagon and differently named, yet *it* undoubtedly is part of the same complex.

This was a confession dance, held whenever some strange natural happenings was felt to ~~impend~~ ~~portend~~ portend the end of the world. Young and old gathered in a circle about a chief within a house where they stood <sup>h</sup>rythmically swaying while he confessed his sins and called on each in turn to do likewise. This ceremony lasted two or three days and nights with short intervals for rest and was continued ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup> frequent intervals until the panic subsided. (Public confession was also incorporated in the Smohalla rites of the Tenino. Dr. George P. Murdock noted that at the Berry-Game festival young men and women dance counterclockwise around the dancing rectangle in the long house. "This dancing is regarded as a confession of faith." They dance facing the center with a hopping step to the right, the right arm flexed in front. Starting at the west end of the building they danced completely around, pausing but hopping in place before the fire at the east end. This ~~pause~~ pause was to enable the sinners in the gathering to confess publicly his sins; it was an invitation to confess. The informant insisted that the confession was aboriginal, not borrowed from christianity."

Several Southern Okanagon references date their Prophet dance from the opening <sup>years</sup> ~~years~~ of the nineteenth century or somewhat earlier...

..Again on a traditional famous occasion when "dry snow" fell from the heavens, they left off their summer food gathering and repeated the performance... This was a fall of volcanic ash noted in the records of early travellers and dateable to about 1790..

Finally there is the statement of a woman now past 70 that in her grandmother's time a double-headed four legged goose came flying from the southeast, "the direction from which the whites were to appear" This, it was said, was after the fall of dry snow but before the

advent of the whites.) The first European to enter the Okanagan country was David Tompson in 1811. In this year Fort Okanagan was erected with Alexander Ross in charge. . .

"~~accounts~~ The antiquity of part of the doctrine at least is vouched for by Alexander Ross, the first resident among the Okanagan peoples, 1811 to 1825. He wrote: "They believe that this world will have an end as it had a beginning; and their reason is this, that the rivers and lakes must eventually undermine the earth, and set the land afloat again, like the island of their forefathers and then all must perish. Frequently they have asked us when it would take place--the its-owl-eigh<sup>r</sup> end of the world. Modern informants refer to the end of the world as the final coming of the Creator and Coyote, who destroying the whites will make ~~the~~ of the world the happy place it was in the beginning of time.

"accounts of specific prophets begin with that of Michel. Probably a Sanpoil or even Colville since he lived where ~~located~~ Keller, Washington now stands, he is nevertheless looked on by present day Southern Okanagan as one of their own prophets. Years after the dry snow he had a dream in which God ~~too~~ talked to him and told <sup>ed</sup> him to predict the coming of the whites. Because he was virtuous shortly before his death God promised to receive him.

The two most detailed accounts of ~~the~~ <sup>+</sup> prophets relate to the period 1870 to 1875 Qwelasken, who is clearly the historic personage named Skolaskin, a Sanpoil, is also looked on by the Southern Okanagan as their own. He was an orphan who was abandoned and left for dead. On his seemingly miraculous recovery he preached and sang of a righteous life. Several several earthquake shocks convinced the skeptics that he had, as he declared, <sup>+</sup> dreams of God in ~~which~~ <sup>which</sup> it was affirmed that the destruction of the world was at hand unless they joined him. He advised them to build <sup>d</sup> a long house for nightly congregations, and warned them that if they did not know how to pray when doomsday

arrived they would turn into birds, rocks and other non-human things. At another time he caused them to build a large boat against a flood which was to overwhelm the earth. Quite unlike his virtuous predecessor, he inveigled young girls into illicit relations with him on the pretext that only thus might they enter heaven.

His career came to an end with his arrest by reservation officials at ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> behest of Chief Moses.

That about the same time Suipegen the last chief of the Kartar band also began to dream and prophecy. He foretold the coming of the priests to the local mission and warned against them. At this time the Kartar group began to pray, to use the sign of the cross, to sing religious songs of the dream (Prophet) dance type to believe in the resurrection of the dead and to leave their children unburied for ~~these~~ ~~three~~ ~~days~~ after death. He too seduced maidens. The whole span of his influence cannot have been long and was terminated by his death. It may be this individual who was referred to be George Gigg<sup>bb</sup>s in 1853, although the date seems early. On the way from Fort Okanogan to Fort Colville we met "at the lake" apparently Omak Lake, the home of the Kartar band, the chief of the Saht-lil-kwu-band, a religious personage who sported the title of King George and persecuted us nightly with family worship;" 12 (Stevens, Report of Explorations, 413.)

..It is important to note that the Southern Okanagon prophet cult is known to antedate the Paviotso Ghost dances of 1870 by ~~80~~ and 90 by half to three quarters of a century.

..

The testimony is principally that of Mrs. George the aged widow of the Modoc leader of the Ghost Dance and herself a powerful force between the Ghost dance movement among the Modoc of Southern Oregon. She distinguished clearly between the 1870 Ghost dance and the antecedent form.

The testimony: Dode-ik-a swiis means 'dream song.' They had these

before the Modoc war (1872-1873.) A long, long time ago man and women dreamed these songs, painted their faces and dances what they dreamed. I Mrs. George was a little child, ie about 1840-50. The Ghost dance was started by dza a,-bo, wi-nik-a, the Paviotso, who brought the 1870 cult to the Modoc but before he came there was dream dancing. Nobody knows who danced that dance first.

(From unpublished notes by Philleo Nash, 1934. Also unpublished notes by Earl W. Count, 1934.)

"The dream dance is no fun,..she stated Peo believe pretty strong and sometimes faint. If sick people dance this dream dance, they get well. Dead people live somewhere; they are going to come back some time. When people dream these songs they see the dead who talk and sing the songs and paint their faces. It is the dead who make people dream and sing these songs to them. That is why people faint; they hear the dead singing these songs, so they feel pretty weak and faint. They see and talk to the dead, afterward talking what they dreamed. The reason they dance is that people are afraid of these dreams.

If they do not dance they ~~believe~~ believe they will be destroyed. People are afraid of the one who makes the dream; that one is God (kumuk-a-mts# If they do not dance they will be turned into rocks!"

The dance itself further involved the common ingredients. Everyone danced--young and old, man and women, forming a circle around a fire but no upright pole. Joining hands they danced counter/clockwise with a shuffling sidestep; never resting through the night; dancing to the unaccompanied dream songs, Songs and face painting were dreamed. When a dancer fainted they carried him around the circle on a deerskin while they ~~see~~ sang the dream song vigorously to revive him. ...At any rate the essentials of the prophet dance ~~were~~ complex were present among the Modoc as early as 1840-50.

-The Precisely the same complex is on record for all the interior Salish east and north of the Okanagon and the Kutenai. This includes

all the Okanagon speaking tribes, (Northern as well as Southern Okanagon, Sanpoil and Naspelim, Colville and Sinajextee, Coeur d'Alene and the Flathead group (Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreille and Flathead) and Kutenai. Together they occupy a solid block of territory along the Canadian border through Eastern Washington and Idaho among the Salish tribes of interior British Columbia, Thompson, Shuswap and Lillooet in their several divisions) and those on the lower Fraser River (Stahelis, Kwatlen and probably others). Still further north it was known throughout the territory of the

Plateau Athapascans as far as the Skeena River (Chilcotin, Carrier, Babine and Sakani) and appears to have spread to the Mackenzie Basin ~~of the~~ Athapascans about 1812..

The common details and variants are available from some of these tribes. The common doctrinal background appears in a Naspelim tale collected by Teit in Boas Folk-tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes, 83, for the tribal identity of the tale see p 65 fn 1.0

...The Earth Woman concept is more narrowly limited in its distribution than the belief involved with it that the world has a definite life span. In addition to Northern Okanagon, Thompson and Shuswap it reappears repeatedly throughout the southern plateau in statements of followers of the Smohalla cult at the time of the Nez Perce war (circa 1877)

The ritual dance in the Northwest appears to have had three somewhat differentiated forms...although much of the data is somewhat indefinite..

In the Southern Okanagon from 1850 form the participants simply danced in place, the circle not revolving. This seems to be implied in Curtis' account for the Sanpoil and of David Thompson's report of 1811

In the second dance form the circle revolved as a file. The Thompson formed three concentric circles, each comprised of maidens, bachelors or married people alone. Two chiefs as leaders, one of each side divided the circular grouping into two arcs. The circle moved clockwise the participants in file, three abreast. Teit stated that the dance was performed in ~~the~~ <sup>exactly</sup> ~~exactly~~ the same way by the ~~Shuswap~~ Shuswap, Lillooet, the Okanagon speaking tribes (Okanagan proper, Sanpoil, Colville and Lakes) and the Coeur d'Alene. .

~~The~~ The third form of the dance is that of the Modoc, a circle of dancers with hands linked moving counterclockwise with a shuffling step. This is the form used by the Paviotso. For the Kutena, we know that in their dance also ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> circles revolved but whether they formed a file or danced shoulder to shoulder is not indicated.

Special regalia for the dance appears to have been absent except among the Thompson, the western Shuswap and eastern Chilcotin, whose territories are contiguous. This was no more than head bands and sashes with streaming ends made of cedar bark and quite like the common dance ornaments of the Northwest coast tribes.

In the same region of southern British Columbia ~~the~~ dance included as an ingredient ~~to~~ what is called the "marriage" or touching dance. It was common ~~enough~~ enough throughout the Plateau for a man to force a girl to marry him simply by ~~touching~~ touching her. This became formalized in a dance arranged especially for the purpose in ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> area just north and south of the Canadian boundary. While among the Coeur d'Alene the marriage dance remained separate ~~from~~ from the Prophet dance, the practice was incorporated with it among the Thompson, Shuswap, Lillooet and Northern Okanogan. . .

Not only is it demonstratable that the Ghost <sup>+</sup> dance parallels the Prophet dance of the Plateau tribes and that the latter is known as long antecedent to the Ghost Dance movements, but it can be shown that the

Prophet dance was thoroughly at home in the cultures of the Northwest which cannot be maintained for the Ghost Dance in relation to Paviotso culture. It is also evident that basic elements of the complex were an integral part of Northwest coast culture as well as that of the Plateau which in turn argues for their antiquity.

One of the most striking features of Northwest Coast mythology is the concurrency of numerous tales concerning visits of the living with the dead. ..quite as frequently they are counted as historical happenings.. similar tales are known from the plateau tribes..

Several of these resurrections are known from western Washington--  
A Kathlamet informant dictated a tale of his grandfather's death and visit with the dead at the time of the smallpox epidemics, 1820-30. ~~From the Makah~~ Boas, Kathlamet texts, 247-51.

From the Makah there is a similar historic tale of a man who died, visited the land of the dead and was sent back because he was still alive. This was said to have taken place in 1856.

.....these adventures are intimately related to the curing practice wherein shamans go to the land of the dead in pursuit of souls or spirits (sometimes guardian spirits) whose loss has caused their patients to sicken. The practice is common in the Northwest. It may be presumed that everywhere the concept of illness caused by soul-loss occurs shamans attempt to a cure in a this manner, although it is not everywhere clear that the land of shades is visited.....

...There are some data from modern informants of middle Columbia and lower Snake river tribes which are cogent. Teit stated that the Middle Columbia, Salish (Wenatchi and Moses Columbia) had "a religious or praying dance.," the epithet he used elsewhere for the prophet dance (Teit-The middle Columbia Salish.) An upper Chinook prophet was supposed to have made his appearance at the Cascades of the Columbia, "long before the coming of the whites." This man dreamed he

saw ~~people~~ strange people and heard new songs. Everyone young and old gathered to hear him and then dance for "joy" every day and every night." He predicted the arrival of the whites and their marvellous possessions. "here is only a meagre note on this so it cannot be assigned to the Prophet Dance.

Other Upper Chinook, "ishram, gave evidence of several persons dying and returning with their revelations. (Sapir, "ishram texts, 229.)

..It is possible that like others it pertains to the Smohalla cult, however as I will show that the Smohalla cult is ultimately derived from the Prophet dance. This individual ~~started~~ started that about 1855-6. He died and visited the land of the dead. Here on instruction from the dead he learned their songs and dance that he might carry these back to the living to whom he was to preach a righteous life.

For the Nez Percés and Klikitat there is also a direct record by Curtis which for the sake of its introductory generalization may be quoted in full: "Curtis, North American Indian VIII 76.76.)

Throughout the northern region west of the ~~Rocky~~ Rocky mountains one hears in almost every tribe a tradition that before the appearance of the first white man a dream or in some instances (and nearer the truth) a wandering Indian of another tribe, prophesized the coming of a new race with wonderful implements. In every case the people formed a circle and began to sing according to the instructions of the prophet. At the end of the song the palms were extended upward and outward and sometimes it closed with an ejaculation that is unmistakably a corrupted amen. The following was the prophecy song of the Nez Percés. It will be noticed that the air is reminiscent of a Catholic chant and the words savor of the Christian doctrines of angels..

"These coming from above

These coming from noise (were) created children  
 and coming down tilapits (an untranslated word) coming  
 down from above Hiya-hi-ya-haiya."

The report of a strange race in the east spread from tribe to  
 tribe far in advance of the earliest explorers. A Klickitat woman says  
 that her great-grandmother was drowned as the result of dancing  
 forward into the ~~dark~~ water of the Columbia at the command of one  
 of these prophets.

A Yakima ~~Orphan~~ account of a man who died and visited the  
~~land~~ afterworld seems pertinent. This was recently obtained  
 by Dr. Du Bois, who permits me to quote:

"A Yakima man, Ben Buffalo Olney, from the Yakima reservation,  
 gave the following <sup>a</sup> account to a Hupa informant from whom it was  
 obtained.

There was an epidemic of smallpox among the Yakima and people  
 were dying and leaving the country. One old man, a chief, took sick and  
 was left left behind. He died. In his <sup>dream</sup> he travelled and came to  
 a place where people were gathered eating lots of good things. He was  
 awfully hungry; he was weak, he was so hungry. He came to a kind  
 of gateway and asked for food. The people turned him away and told him  
 it wasn't time for him to come in yet. So they directed him to  
 another place a long way off. He travelled and finally he reached  
 there. They told him when he asked for food that they didn't eat there.  
 They looked thin, and raw boned and didn't say much. They said "We are  
 people called "angels" They told him to go back where he came from.  
 We can't take you in, they said. He felt bad and went back. When he came  
 to his place he came to life again. But his people thought he was  
 dead. He followed them. He surprised them. The first place he  
 went to was to hell. The second place was heaven."

The informant dated this epidemic as ~~approx~~ approximately 1800.  
 because his aunt, who died at the age of 110 in ~~180~~ 1890 was a

young woman at the time this ~~epidemic~~ epidemic reached the Hupa. It spread down the Trinity and up the Klamath. Sufferers developed a rash and severe headache from which they died.

I could not discover that the old chief preached any doctrine as the result of his trip to the land of the dead. However that the story is still being told by the Yakima may have some significance, however, meager.

Additional evidence from the southern Plateau and basin occurs in three levels; first certain statements of the earliest travelers in the region (circa 1811) second a form of the prophet cult compounded with Christianity which was ~~established~~ established by the early- ~~1830s~~ eighteen-thirties; and finally the Smohalla cult flourishing in the same period, 1860-80, this will be shown to be a derivative of this second Christianized Prophet cult.

..In July, 1811, Thompson descended the Columbia river to its mouth the first white man to pass along it above its junction with the Snake. He stopped at every Indian encampment he saw and in each case recorded what transpired.

(Clark in 1805 recorded that near the junction of the Columbia with the Snake "a chief came from this camp..at the head of about 200 men singing and beating on their drums stick and keeping time to the musik, they formed a half circle around us and sung for some time," (in his first journal) Formed a ring and danced for some time around us. ( On the return journey, 1806, while in the same locality he wrote: "We then requested the Indians to dance which they very cheerfully complied with; they continued their dance until 10 at night, the whole assemblage of Indians about 350 men and women and children sung and danced at the same time. Most of them danced in the same place they stood and merely jumped up to the time of their music. Most of them danced in the same place they were they stood and merely jumped up to the time of the music. Some of

men who were esteemed most brave entered the space around which the main body were formed in solid column and danced in a circular motion side wise. (None of this seemed significantly connected with the prophet cult.)

The Christian-compounded form of the Prophet dance flourished throughout the middle Columbia-Snake river area during the early ~~thirties~~ thirties:

..Thirty years later the Smohalla cult was the vogue over the Columbia-Snake area. By the end of the seventies it had become the vital religion of probably all the Sahaptin tribes and the linked Cayuse and had found adherents among the Wishram adjacent on the west and the Spokane on the north.

It had ~~penet~~ penetrated to the Klamath and perhaps the Modoc well to the south and had some ~~foothold~~ foothold among the Oregon Paiute and Bannock at the time of the Bannock war in ~~1850-1860~~ 1878. I have treated this cult at length in a section of this paper.

It is sufficient to note here that the doctrine of the Smohalla cult was identical with that of our ~~prophet~~ prophet dance. There was the familiar belief in the imminent destruction of the world, the Earth-woman and in the resurrection of the dead. Prophets, Smohalla, of for one, died and returned with this message; others met the dead in their dance-induced trances. The only doctrinal peculiarity lay in a fiercely nationalistic turn which emphasized the ~~annihilation~~ annihilation of the whites at Doomsday.

But the dance form of the Smohalla cult was not that of the original prophet dance. It was rather the alter-native ritual of the Christianized version of the thirties, very like a prayer meeting service with dancing in place. There is a striking parallel between the Smohalla ritual of the Yakima described by Mooney about 1890 and the Nez Perce-Cayuse Christianized performance seen by

Townsend in 1834-35. In the Smohalla affair this ritual was revised to resemble a Catholic mission practices somewhat more closely and had engrated some elements of military display, the use of the hand-drum and of eagle feathers. Taken as a whole, however, it is clear that doctrine and ritual were derived from the earlier Christian stratum.

This must not be mistaken to mean that the Smohalla cult was not rooted in ~~abundant~~ aboriginal practices and views. On the contrary in the single case where we have definite information, namely Dr. George F. Murdock's data on the Tenino of Warm Springs, there is well definite evidence that the rites of the Smohalla cult date from before the appearance of the prophet Smohalla in 1850-60. This was not only Dr. Murdock's conclusion in the course of his inquiries among the Tenino but the repeated statement of his informants.

Traditionally the Tenino Smohalla cult had its origin in a ~~man~~ lad named Dla-ipac (A Walula) according to a Umatilla informant, who was dead for ~~four~~ five days. On the fifth morning he was found singing, keeping time with arms flexed at the elbow and waved from left to right, back and forth. He told what he had seen in heaven. "In the song, the boy predicted the end of the world, either by ~~fire~~ flood or by fire, just as once before, long ago, it had been burned up. He advised the Indians to prepare to meet Awamipama (God) He predicted that all the dead would come to life, would be resuscitated, just before the destruction of the world. Tenino mythology adds force to this prediction of the end. The world has been completely destroyed twice before; the second time by a great flood when the water subsided and land appeared at the beginning of the present (third\* world twelve supernaturals appeared who established the rites basic to the Smohalla cult (The recurrent destruction of the world is also the theme of the Southern Okanagon) "It is (still\* believed that the present world will come to an end at some time--how is not stated

and that the dead will then arise to be judged by the heavenly father. "

The several informants were in agreement that Dla-upac was not Smohalla., but lived much earlier, "long, long ago."

Indeed one informant born 1850 or earlier, had herself seen Smohalla when a girl. "Smohalla" she said, taught almost precisely the same beliefs and practices which prevail today among the Tenino under the Smohalla cult , but these beliefs and practices are really older than Smohalla himself."

Corresponding to the predictions of the coming of the whites known from other tribes --that is, of a fundamental change in the nature of the Indian world--is the story of a Tenino born about 1853 who learned it from his grandmother when he was very young. At that time the event was already ancient. "A very ~~old~~<sup>old</sup> man, long, long ago, used to dream at night and tell the people of his dreams the next day. He dreamed of a different race of men who lived across the ocean and would some day come bringing things that the Indians had never seen or even imagined. Here follows the prediction of new devices and utensils, new laws and the driving away of the Indians." He became very important and people flocked to hear him. He danced religious dances (those now danced in Smohalla ceremonies) and his listeners danced with him (the Tenino data are from Dr. Murdock's notes .

...Winnemucca..

The several Paiute groups collected in the Pyramid Lake-Walker river district about the middle of the last century spoke the same language nearly the same as the Oregon Paiute and Bannock (Kroeber Shoshonean Dialects of California 114.)

It is easiest to show the character of the linkage with the Oregon Paiute by tracing the movements of the best known Paviotso band, the Winnemucca's. This was the Kuyuidike, whose original home was on

Smoke Creek, near Honey Lake, California and eastward to Pyramid, Winnemucca and Humboldt Lakes, Nevada (Handbook of American Indians, 1 vol 743.) They seem to have been accustomed to wander over a wide territory from north central Nevada to the Sierras and northward to the Malheur-Harney lake district of Oregon.

At the time of the arrival of the whites, 1844-50, they were camped near Humboldt lake; in the following years they resided successively on Humboldt River and Pyramid Lake and were established on Pyramid Lake Reservation in 1860. In 1875

Winnemucca with some of his people were residing at Camp Harney fifty miles west of the Malheur agency, Oregon while the remainder were still at Pyramid Lake (Hopkins, Life among the Paiutes.)

Their close and friendly relations with the Oregon bands in 1869 when it was proposed to the Snakes, i.e. the northern Paiute of the Harney-Malheur districts that they go to the Klamath reservation is attested thus:

"They said they could not give the answer without the old Win-ne-muc-ca," the head chief of all the Shoshones, Snakes. The council was adjourned and this celebrated old fraud was sent for, a distance of one hundred miles (Meacham, Wigwam and War-Path, 226) Not that they were consistently friendly, for in 1877 when the Pannock-Paiute trouble was brewing the agent in charge of Malheur reported that the local bands of Paiute were unfriendly to Winnemucca's people who temporarily withdrew from that reservation (Report Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1877, 173, re-affirmed in report for the year 1878-116.

Through this decade they seem to have led a wandering existence over southeastern Oregon and northern Nevada. It was reported in 1879 for instance, that Winnemucca's people deserted Pyramid Lake Reservation for this (Malheur reservation) and soon abandoned it for a worthless life of vagabondage around frontier military posts and

~~frontier~~ border towns (report for the year 1879--pg 131.

At the close of the Bannock war in 1879 the Malheur Paiute, including part of the Winnemucca band, were removed to the Yakima reservation but by 1884 all who survived had drifted back to their former home. (Report for 1879, page 129-130; 158; report for year 1884, page 175.)

..But more important..inferences is the evidence for the Prophet Ghost dance itself among the Basin Shoshoneans, prior to 1870. We have cited Bonneville's record that in 1834- or 35 the chief of the Shoshoni on Bear River in southeastern Idaho converted his people to the Christian compounded form of the Prophet cult. Whether influenced by this or not we find that about 1840 a prophetic revelation somewhat similar to those we have been describing occurred among the adjacent northern Ute. The prophet in this case was the chief Wah-ker or Walker. Wah-ker was born about 1815 on the Spanish Fork river, Utah county, Utah Territory. When about 25 years old he had a curious vision. He died and his spirit went to heaven. He saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, dressed in white. The lord told him he could ~~not stay~~ <sup>Not stay</sup>; he had to return. He desired to stay but the Lord told him he must return to earth; that there would come to him a race of white people that ~~would~~ <sup>would</sup> be his friends and he must treat them kindly. The Lord gave him a new name. It was Pan-a-karry, ~~Wah-ker~~ (Iron Twister) Huntington in Gottfrndson-- Indian depredations in Utah, 317-18. This account seems to have been written about 1872.)

This in itself is no means certain evidence for the Prophet Dance complete although it is possible it is ~~also~~ derived from the 1830 stratum. But it does certify that the notion of a prophet dying and returning with a revelation was afloat in the heart of the Basin 30 years before the Ghost dance was heard of.

Walker was a man of considerable influence not only among the Northern Ute bands but also among the Indians in the west, Gosiute and Pah-Ute, whether Shoshini, Paviotso or Southern Paiute is uncertain.

Fremont's manner of reference to his meeting with the man in 1844 indicates that he was even at that time a person of consequence or at least self-importance. (Fremont Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains 272.)

Walker was largely responsible for the opening of warfare against the Mormons in 1853.

There is some weak evidence that the Prophet dance complex was also known to the Athapascan tribes of the Mackenzie area. It seems to have been carried northward to them about 1812 through the instrumentality of a Kutenai woman.

Historians of the Northwest have made much of the self-Christianization of the Indians of intermontane Idaho-Montana far in advance of white settlement and missionary effort. "All they might for the whole course of settlement of the Columbia basin was directly consequential. In their treatment however they have assumed that Christianity was along involved; to be sure, a Christianity distorted by pagan rites. In consequence they have left a but partly requized puzzle, why Christianity should have taken so strong a hold upon these particular natives.

The fact is that the Christian forms which the travellers of the eighteen-thirties encountered west of the Rockies were compounded with the native prophet cult. Further it would seem that it was the prior existences of the Prophet dance which explains both the ready acceptance of Christianity at its point of introduction and its rapid spread.

Townsend described another devotional among the Cayuse at the mouth of the Umatilla River, July 1836 (Townsend, in Thwaites

early Western Travels, XXI 226-27.)

"In the evening all the Indians belonging to the cillage assembled in our lodge, ie the chief's lodge. A very large one, about sixtyfeet long by fifteen broad. and with the chief for minister, performed divine service or family worship. This I learn is their invariable practice. Twice everytwenty four hours, at sunrise in the morning and after supper in the evening. When all the people had gathered, our large lodge was filled. On entering every person squatted on the ground and the clerk, a sort of sub-chief, gave notice that the Diety would now be addressed. Immediately the whole audience rose to their knees and the chief supplicated for about ten minutes in a very solem but low tone of voice at the conclusion of which an amen was pronounced by the whole company in a loud, swelling sort of groan. Three humns were then sung, several of the individuals present leading in rotation and at the conclusion of each another ~~said~~ amen. The chief then pronounced a short exhortation, occupying about fifteen minutes which was repeated by the clerk at his elbow in a voice loud enough to be heard by the whole assembly. At the conclusion of this each person arose and walked to one of the doors at the lodge, making a low inclination of his body and pronouncing the words "tots sekan" (Good night) to the chief, he departed to his home. I shall hear this ceremony every night and morning while I remain.

John K. Townsend, the ornithologist who accompanied Wyeth on his second expedition. Describing the devotions of a mixed group of Nez Perces, Chinook and Cayuse who in July 1834 had journeyed south to the newly established Fort Hall:

"We saw ourselves down on a buffalo robe at the entrance to the lodge to see the Indians at their devotions. ) The day

was Saturday. The whole thirteen were soon collected at call, of one whom they had chosen for their chief and seated with sober, sedate countenances around a large fire. After remaining in perfect silence for a perhaps fifteen minutes the chief commenced an harangue in a solemn and impressive tone reminding them of the object for which they were thus assembled, that of worshipping the great spirit who made the light and the darkness, the fire and the water and assured them that if they offered up their prayers to him with but one tongue they would certainly be accepted. He then rose from his squatting position to his knees, and his example was followed by all the others. In this situation he commenced a prayer consisting of short sentences uttered rapidly but with great apparent fervor. His hands clasped upon his breast and his eyes cast upwards with a beseeching look toward heaven. At the conclusion of each sentence a choral response of a few words was made, accompanied frequently by a low moaning. The prayer lasted about twenty minutes after its conclusion the chief still ~~was~~ maintaining the same position of his body and hands but with his hands bent to his heart commenced a kind of sacred song in which the whole company presently joined. The song was a simple expression of a few sounds, no intelligible words being uttered. It resembled the words Ho-ha-ho-ha-ho-ha-ba-a., commencing in a low tone and gradually swelling to a full round and beautifully modulated chorus. During the song the clasped hands of the worshipers were removed rapidly across the breast and their bodies swung with great energy to the time of the music. The chief ended the song that he had commenced by a kind of swelling groan which was echoed in chorus. It was then taken up by another and the same routine was gone through. The whole ceremony occupied perhaps one and a half hours, a short silence then succeeded; after which ~~when~~ each Indian arose from the ground and disappeared into the darkness with a step noiseless as that of a spectre...

A close parallel to these descriptions was written by Dr. Gairdner of 1850 at Fort Walla Walla in 1835. "I attended the religious services of the Walla Walla Indians. The women and children to the number of about 200 were assembled in their council, squatted on their hams and the chief and chief men at the head arranged in a circle; these last officiated; towards this circle the rest of the assembly were turned, arranged in regular ranks, very similar to a European congregation. The service began by the chief's making a short address in a low tone which was repeated by a man on his left hand. In short sentences as they were uttered by the chief. This was followed by a prayer, pronounced by the chief standing, the rest kneeling. At certain intervals there was a pause when all present gave a simultaneous groan. After the prayer there were fifteen hymns in which the whole congregation joined. These hymns were begun by five or six of the men in the circle who acted as leaders of the choir; during this hymn all were kneeling and kept moving their arms up and down as if to aid in keeping time. The ~~succeeding~~ airs were simple, resembling the monotonous Indian song which I have heard them sing while paddling their canoes. Each was somewhat different from the other. All kept good time and there were no discordant voices. The hymns were succeeded by a prayer, as at first and then the service ended. My ignorance of the language prevented me from observing much of this service but I was struck with the earnestness and reverence of the whole assembly. All eyes were cast down to the ground and I did not see one turned toward us, who must have been objects of curiosity as chief chiefs and strangers. It is about five years since these things found their way among the Indians of the Upper Columbia. All were dressed in their best clothes and they had hoisted a union jack outside the lodge. The whole lasted about three quarters of an hour. (Gairdner;

notes on the Geography of the Columbia River, 257.)

This procedure so closely parallels the Smohalla ritual that we must conclude that we have here a source of the latter. It is not that I mean to imply that the sources was specifically Cayuse or Wallawalla; it is more than likely that this procedure was common to all the Christianized tribes of the Snake-Columbia region at this time. I will return to this latter when discussing the Smohalla cult.

..So far we have accumulated evidence that in the period 1832-36 a set of Christian rites compounded with native practices flourished in the Snake-Columbia region. We have direct evidence of it among the Flathead, Nez Perces, Cayuses and Walla Walla; we may infer it for their immediate Salish and Sahaptin neighbors and we know that it reached as far south as the Shoshoni in Southern Idaho and west to the Upper Chinook or Sahaptins of the Dalles.

..With THE HISTORIANS OF THE NORTHWEST WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE CHRISTIAN ELEMENTS WERE INTRODUCED BY THE IROQUOIS OF MONTANA.

..I have identified with the Prophet Dance this can be met in two days..first antedating the arrival of the Iroquois in Montana in 1816-20 there is the native testimony going back and the records of Ross and Thompson in 1811 concerning elements of the complex..second we may enquire whether there was an Iroquoian background similar to the Prophet Dance which might have been carried to the west.

If this connection it is natural to look to the then newly instituted Old religion of the prophet Handsome Lake which at the very time these twenty-four set out from Onondaga seized so strongly on the imagination of the Iroquois in the east. Handsome Lake had been preaching his new doctrine dispensation for some sixteen years prior to his death in 1815; teaching that salvation for the Iroquois lay in avoiding vices

from contact with white civilization by deliberately turning their backs on it and returning to the pagan past. At that time only a portion of the Iroquois were christian (Arthur Parker, The Code of Handsome Lake, the Seneca Prophet, Morgan. League of the Iroquois, 217-48, Beauchamp, New Dr religion.

#### The Smohalla Cult..

The Christianized version of the ~~Seneca~~ Prophet Cult has current existence in modified guise as the well known smohalla cult and the Pompon religion. The smohalla cult is almost certainly a direct off-shoot of the cult of the 1830s.

The Smohalla cult made its appearance among the Sahaptin tribes of the interior in the 1860s or earlier and played an important role in fomenting the Nez Percé and Bannock wars in the next decade.

It persists to this day, still confined for the most part to the Sahaptins with additional, probably derived forms, known locally as the Pompon or Feather religion.

(There is some question of the distinctiveness of the Smohalla and Feather Cults. Casual statements of informants on Eastern Washington reservations implied that the Feather-Pompon religion is no more than a modified form of the Smohalla cult. But Dr. George P. Murdock has found that at least the Tenino of Warm Springs distinguish sharply between the Smohalla and Feather cults, both now extant on the reservation.)

The Shaker religion, avowedly a Christian club was almost certainly affected at its origin by the Smohalla revival although there is a somewhat remote possibility that some of its roots still lie further back in the original form of the prophet dance. This religion had its inception in 1882 in southern Puget Sound, spreading ultimately to southern British Columbia and as far south as northwestern California. It has a flourishing existence today as one of the principal faiths of the Indians of the coastal districts.

Both the Smohalla cult and the Shaker religion have been sadly neglected, although they offer unique opportunities for the study of religious syncretism. The first has been particularly ignored there is not even a single description of its ~~the~~ present-day ceremonies in print. My purpose here is merely to outline its source and diffusion as well as maybe and to make but passing reference to the Shaker affair.

(I have been ~~be~~ unable to find that Prophet dance or Smohalla cult doctrines played any part in the Yakima war. There is only a possible reference in a letter of George Gings, Nov. 27, 1857 "A very curious statement was recently made me by some of the Indians near Steilacoom, on Puget Sound. They said that the Klikitats had told them that Choosuklee, Jesus Christ, had recently appeared on the other side of the mountains, that he was after a while coming here when the whites would be sent out of the country, and all would be well for themselves. It needed only a little reflection to connect this second advent with the visit of Brigham Young to the Flathead and Nez Perce Country." (Manring, Conquest of the Coeur d'Alenes 58) This ~~is~~ was written of course at the time of the anti-mormon furor and may rather refer to Smohalla or some other prophet of the day)

So far as prophets and doctrines are concerned the Smohalla cult was substantially the Prophet dance. It differs however in its ceremonial forms, which it can be shown are probably derived from the Christianized version of the 1830s and not directly from the older Prophet dance rites.

The origin of the cult is ordinarily ascribed to a Columbia river Sahaptin, Smohalla. Certainly his personal influence was great and he may have been responsible for the particular combination of elements we associate with his name. But it is not only clear that his prophetic role and doctrine were merely temporally

local expressions of the older complex we have been tracing but that there were other prophets concerned in this particular cult.

Precisely when Smohalla began his prophetic career is not clear.

Born about 1815- or 20 Mooney stated.. Shortly after the Yakima War, probably about 1860, he disappeared, left for dead after a fight..

Other prophets or visionaries appear in connection with this cult precisely as in the older Prophet dance--Money mentions Kotai-aqan, an early high priest of the doctrine among the Yakimas... Other prophets were also known to the Tenino.

Somewhat confused evidence from a Wishram informant that more than once Wishram had died and returned with revelations from the dead was given by way of description of the Smohalla cult.

One such was the informant's uncle who had an experience of this sort about 1880-85. Curtis Wishram information cited below is that the rites were held frequently during the year when someone had dreamed the moral injunctions that enter the doctrine. A Klamath informant gave similar testimony regarding the cult during its very brief existence in that quarter. These few data offer evidence that Smohalla was not the sole prophet of his cult and that others received revelations during the performance just as in the prophet dance and in the later Ghost dance.

Doctrinally the Smohalla cult was good Prophet dance. It was held that a terrible convulsion of nature would destroy when the world when the Creator would restore the halcyon days of long ago and bring the dead to dearth. A strict adherence to Indian dress and ways of life and an upright life was enjoined on all true believers for only such would participate in the final resurrection.

In this rendering of the ancient doctrine however emphasis was laid on active animus toward the whites and their ways. It is not merely that primitive pristine conditions would be restored on

doomsday but the whole point of the event was the destruction of the whites. Even the earth-woman doctrine was taken so literally that no interference with her was permitted there would be no parcelling of the land and above all no tilling of the soil.

(Mooney cited, MacMurray cited. Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnology*, 251-54.

Report commissioner of Indian affairs for 1877, page 213.

"Dr. Murdock <sup>R</sup>emarks; "The Tenino Smohalla cult is anti-white to be sure, but I doubt very much whether the animus at least today, is as strong as you here suggest. I did not come across any notion in the Tenino-Smohalla cult or elsewhere of an earth-mother nor any religious opposition to agriculture."....

The ceremonial of this cult, so far as known, does not ordinarily follow the original Prophet Dance patterns of circular dances but is rather a churchlike ceremony.

Good descriptions are wanting, yet there is record of a circular dance in the Tenino Berry-game festival, at least. Mooney stated that regular services took place on Sunday morning, afternoon and evening. "There are also services during the week besides special periodic observances such as the lament for the dead, particularly the dead chiefs, in early spring, the salmon dance, when the salmon begin to run in April and the berry dance when the wild berries ripen in autumn. The description of the ceremonial of the salmon dance will answer for others as it differs ~~on~~ only by the addition of the feast" (Mooney, 727.

Permanent buildings were erected especially for these ceremonies at least in later times. In 1884 there was such a church at Priest Rapids; it or a successor was still there in the 90s. Another stood near Union Gap, south of Yakima, where I saw such a structure in 1922. That of the Tenino was seen by Murdock on the Warm Springs reservation in 1934. There may have been others; a Wishram reference may

be to one in their own villate at Spedis near the Dualles. The church was the familiar mat-covered long house of the Southern Plateau, rectangular and gable-roofed. Smohalla's at Priest Rapids was seventy five feet long by twenty-five feet wide and that described by the Wisram forty or fifty feet long by four or five paces wide. The present day building at Warm Springs is a plank shed--a substitute retaining ~~the~~ essential features of the old mat lodges--nearly 100 feet long and twenty to twenty-five feet wide. It is oriented east and west with entrance ~~on the~~ on the south side (formerly two entrances at this point) Inside the space at the sides and ends are reserved for spectators or rather the west ~~end~~ end is reserved for officers and drummers; a smooth dirt floor reserved for the dancers is bounded by a low plank border. At the east end is the stove (originally fire?) which has ceremonial importance (Data from Dr. Murdock) Smohalla's building had attached an open space...etc.

How far such buildings were reserved for church functions is not known; Smohalla's served as his residence as well..

IN the ceremonial of the salmon dance as described by Mooney... (Not copied) in Mooney report.

The same ceremony was seen among the Tenino of Warm Springs in 1934 by Dr. George P. Murdoc,. Since his description agrees even in details with mooney's I give here from his notes only particulars of difference.

While the building lay east and west its entrance was on the south side. The "speaker" was here the chief, provided with a single hand bell. There was no formal entrance but the sexes were separated. As above. The ritual drink of water followed the bites of food. The dance, however preceded the ritual

rating. There was no balancing on heel and toe but there were numerous dances of the shuffling side-step variety moving counterclockwise

in each of which were two or eight participants, always of one sex but of all ages. There were several speeches at intervals between the songs and dances, presumably with moral preaching, ending with the cry "ai." The exit ceremony, with turn and bow at the door, agrees exactly after the dance, the participants stood about outside to return, later to partake of the feast, in which the entire tribe and any visitors (including whites) joined.

Much the same ceremony with interesting additions was seen by MacMurray in 1884 at Smohalla's church at "Prie Rapids...

(Copy omitted..Have copy)

Among ~~Catholics~~ the W'ishram the ceremonial had very much the same form. The bell-ringing and antiphonal responses were lacking according to the available account of their services but the first at least appears in a description of a funeral.

"They worshipped the sun, chiefly, sometimes they spoke of the moon and stars in this connection. (I have pointed out elsewhere among the Klamath the hand-drum, itself a recent relatively acquisition from the north, was in recent times decorated with stars painted on its head. This seems to have been derived from the practice in the Smohalla pompon cult (Spier -Klamath Ethnography 89) In their prayers they mentioned the sun more frequently. The one who prayed stood up in the center of the house, their church--he or she would speak in a very low tone while another ~~would speak in a low tone beside~~ ~~him~~ him would repeat the words louder. As soon as he was finished the drums were beaten. The drummers were at one end of the church. A row of women down one side and a row of men down the other danced face to face. They danced in place, hopping up and down, with their extended right hands, holding an eagle tail feather." In a count of another informant the dancers held their arms flexed, swinging their hands back and forth before their chests.

"The church costumes were decorated with eagle features and yellow

and yellow paint. Their faces were painted with various colors. The wings of eagles and other large birds were used as fans when it was warm. (The lower ends of these were buckskin covered.)

"The one who preached was a person who had died and come to life again. On this account to the Indians never buried sooner than five days and nights since many of them came to life again. Dr.

Murdock obtained a similar statement apparently applicable to the Wasco, that burial was preferably deferred five days "because the dead sometimes came to life again a day or two after death." The Tenino on the other hand usually bury on the day after death.)

He told what he saw in the other country as they called it. Some saw the same things and people there; others saw different things. This religion was strongly believed in and is to this day by the older Indians. They know there was another place to go after death in this world. (Spier and Sapir--Wishram ~~and~~ ethnography, 252 on the hand drum see p 201.)

A description of a Smohalla funeral among the Wishram adds details:

"The body was taken to a long house, a church, not used for secular dances. A row of men faced the body on one side, a row of women opposite. Perhaps three of the men had hand drums of the tambourine type and one a little bell. They stood in place singing. Then the bell was rung a little and someone stepped forward (The widow or another relative and prayed.) They continued this through the night until sunrise, various men praying between intervals of drumming, and singing. The body decked out, was then carried to the burial vault, on the island of the dead in the Columbia river) in the easiest manner.

A variant form has been described from the same people, again lacking Catholic ritual. "The Wishram still (circa 1911) practice a form of so-called ~~dreamer cult~~ dreamer cult of which the later religion of Smohalla is a well-known development. The ancient custom is thus described by an old man:

"At irregular intervals, probably six or eight times during the year, either the chief or some other prominent man, having dreamed, stood in the centre of the village and announced in a loud voice that on a certain day he wished the people to assemble at his house

In the summer time the meeting was outside. On the appointed day men and women tied a few eagle down feathers in their hair and with bird-wing fans in their hands came to the house. The man who had summoned them made a speech: "Now my people, I want you to do the right thing and help sing the song I am going to sing." He beat his drum and began to sing and to dance up and down. Two or three others, each with a drum of different pitch stood in a row at his side. After this song he spoke again: "I dreamed that a person spoke to me saying: 'You must tell these people to try to do right and to be careful in what they do.' Each of them this and tell them this." He continued in this strain.

The people giving close attention for they had great confidence in dreams, lying, stealing, trouble making, killing without cause were recognized as wrong and those who did such things were not highly regarded. Having finished his exhortation he struck the same drum and began to sing, and the people danced up and down or in whatever manner the dreamer might direct. Some three or four songs were repeated over and over and the people dispersed. (Curtis, North American Indian VIII 175.

..Military sources may not have provided very much. The flags for instances, may well be derived from their use in the cult of the eighteenth-thirties. Gairdner, in 1835, noted that the "allawalla raised a Union Jack in connection with their performance, and Parker in 1836 danced around a flag provided by a white man. Those in charge of the Hudson's Bay Co company at the time made a practice of providing the Indians with flags as an open declaration of British territorial claims. The Indians for their part seem to have

adapted these to cult purposes.

In brief it appears probable that the source of the body of Smohalla ceremonial was not in the contemporary missions but in the less pagan portions of the eighteen thirty rites. To be sure there can be little question that mission experience sharply affected Smohalla or whoever was responsible for the configuration of 1860-70 but it can be doubted that it provided the prototype. The ultimate source then appears to be the brand of Christianity brought in by the Iroquois of Montana.

The bell signals which also ~~see~~ figure so prominently in Shaker meetings appear to have been taken among the Indians throughout the region as early as the first Catholic missions. There is a possibility that this too goes back to the Montana source, but this is doubtful. In 1841 Drayton of the Wilkes party observed some unidentified Indians on the south bank of the Columbia river, some 15 miles ~~south~~ above John Day river. "At sunset, at the lodge of the old chief, a little bell was rung, when all repaired thither and joined in devotions, the leader praying very loud. On the prayer being finished they commenced gambling and kept it up all night; but when the sun rose they again reported to the lodge of the chief for prayer as before (Wilkes Narrative IV 402.)

Again in 1853 about ten years after the Catholic missionaries had arrived Suckley wrote of the Kalispel: "Shortly after our entrance All-o-sturgh rang a little bell; directly the lodge was filled with the inhabitants of the camp, men, women and children who immediately got upon their knees and repeated or rather chanted a long prayer, in their own language to the creator. The repetition of a few pious sentences and invocation and a hymn closed the exercises. These prayers etc. have been ~~seen~~ taught them by their kind missionary--" Suckley in Stevens report of Explorations 294.

We are ~~unable~~ <sup>unable</sup> to say much at the present time of the background of

clearly aboriginal elements; namely the hand drum and feather plumes and fans. These have so large a place in the modern form of the cult as to provide its name, pom-pom, ie drum and feather religion. We do not know their functions nor the attitude of the devotees toward them. The hand-drum is demonstrably modern in the southern Plateau. Perhaps both elements came with the relative recent accession of the Plains culture which may not be earlier than the acquisition of the horse.

The hand-drum was widely known throughout the northwest coast and plateau, but drumming by beating on a plank, block or box seems to have been more characteristic. The hand drum is the circular shallow tambourine type having but one face and with thongs crossing the opposite open face to provide a hand grip. In some instances it is rectangular. There are records of drums but without description among Carrier, Chilcotin and Kwakiutl. Since the large double headed drum is not aboriginal here, I presume that these were hand drums. The circular hand-drum is definitely on record in the interior for Shuswap, Thompson, Northern Okanago, Kutenai, Coeur d'Alene, Nez Perce, Wishram, Wasco, Warm Springs, Northern Shoshone (Tait-Shuswap) for a Snake group below Fort Wallawalla in 1841 (George Simpson, Narrative of a Journey, 163.) Klamath, Surprise Valley Paiute, Bannock and Paviotso; on the coast for Tlingit, Nootka, Makah, Kallam, Twana? Quileute and Quinalt, (Nibleck Coast Indians of Southern Alaska) from the Takelma southward through California there was an area devoid of the true drum with only the substitute foot-drum known in north central California and beaten baskets in the south. Drums were probably lacking until recently through all the western Basin, also.

There is evidence that the southern ~~the~~ plateau was originally a drumless area. it is wholly lacking among the southern Okanagon.

..these data suggest that the hand drum was spreading through the southern Plateau in the first half of the century at about the time

that the Smohalla cult was budding from the Christianized version of the 1830s...

Summarily speaking the Smohalla cult has a ~~confused~~ multiplicity of sources. Its doctrines and the prophetic revelations were derived from the older Prophet Dance complex, perhaps directly, perhaps by way of the Christianized version of the 1830s. The latter compound furnished the chief ritual forms with their semblance of Christian practices.

In turn these were reinforced and augmented from the local missions in the middle of the century; the military posts may also have contributed pomp and parade, readily digested by these Plains-like Indians of the southern Plateau. Hand-drum, eagle ~~plume~~ plume and feather fan, wholly adventitious to the original texture of the complex were assimilated from ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> direction of ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> plains and attained an unusual prominence as ritual articles.

It must not be forgotten that first and last the Smohalla cult was not Christian. It made use of Christian ceremonial forms, probably largely unconscious of their Christian origin.

But doctrinal emphasis lay on the old notions of impending destruction the return of the dead and recurrent prophetic revelation. The aboriginal ~~and~~ elements of drum and feather bulked large, probably ~~used~~ because they were definitely divorced from all association with the whites ~~and~~ and their religion.

It is not easy because of the paucity of information to definite the distribution of the cult in any complete way..

...The agent of Warm Springs reported.. the following year, 1873, they were induced to do so, leave by the influence of bad men and also they are believers in a superstition known as the Smohallah.

This religion if such it may be called is believed in by Nearly all the ~~Yakima~~ Umatillas, Spokane, a great part of the Yakimas and many renegades of other reservations.

..It was about this time that the cult spread southward to the Klamath

and possibly to the Modoc. This is practically coincidental with their acceptance of the Ghost dance religion from the south.

Coley Ball, informant, stated that the Smohalla cult came from the north at the time of the Modoc war, 1872-73, but did not become rooted for by 1875- it no longer had a hold on them. The Ghost dance had already made its appearance along the Klamath who acquired it in 1871 (1870?) from the Paiute resident on their reservation. They in turn had it from the south (S. Pier the Ghost dance.) Quite obviously the Smohalla doctrine must have served as affirmation of the Ghost Dance beliefs but the ritual of the latter alone was followed. The Ghost Dance seems to have the adherence of the Klamath to a man; the Smohalla form, on the contrary, made no headway. The informant stated:

A man would say he was going to sing Smohalla songs; others would come there to dance one night. Perhaps they would go to another man's next night. They dreamed to dance. The name he gave to the Smohalla performance, dode-uks siuluks, (dream dance.) is, so far as I know, the same as that for the Ghost dance but he distinguished clearly between them.

On the other hand we cannot be wholly certain that the Modoc accepted Smohalla. A. B. Meacham, who took an active part in the Modoc war wrote: "It cannot be denied that in every Indian camp along the frontier line there are sympathizers with the Modocs but nowhere were they in sufficient force to precipitate a general war although the new religion proclaimed by Smoheller had found leaders everywhere and was gaining strength by every victory won by Captain Jack (the Modoc leader) Meacham; - Wigwam and Warpath, 510-551.

This does not explicitly ascribe the Smohalla cult to the Modoc. At the same time Meacham is authority for the statement that at the time the Modoc believed in the coming resurrection of the dead and the annihilation of the whites..

The cult was also present among the Nez Perce, ~~and~~ by the early seventies at least (Spinden's Nez Perce Indians p. 260.)

E.A Hoyt note of the causes of the Nez Perce war:

So Long as the Wallowa Valley remained unsettled Chief Joseph and his followers retained it in quite possession under the full sway and influence of Smohalla and other dreamers or medicine men, who held that the earth was part of themselves, and that Chief Joseph had a right to roam wherever impulse or inclination led him. Report of Commissioner of Indian affairs, 1877.

At the time of the war ~~the~~ 1870-1877 the hostile portion of the Nez Perce were under the sway of the Smohalla cultists (Commissioner of Indian affairs report for 1876.) Also Howard, also report for 1877.

The opening of the Bannock war of 1878 followed on the heels of the Nez Perce campaign. Howard implied ~~that~~ that the Oregon Paiute and ~~the~~ Bannock were aroused by one of more dreamer prophet-priests referring ~~to~~ in particular to Oytes, the Pi-Ute Dreamer as leader of one of the hostile bands. Howard ~~337-8~~ 376, 378-9; 391-92, 398, 419, 382, 410) He inferred that this was Smohalla influence which seems quite likely since Cayuse, Umatilla and Columbia, ie, the non-reservation Sahaptins of Priest Rapids were ~~also~~ present among the Bannocks as allies, At the same time we must bear in mind the possibility that what these Shoshoneans held was the Christianized version of the Prophet cult. This we know reached the Shoshoni in southern Idaho in 1832. With no description of their ~~own~~ ritual and doctrine we are in no position to decide.

The area covered by the Smohalla cult in 1870-80 seems to have included the solid block of Sahaptin tribes from the Dalles and Warm Springs to the Bitterroot mountains in Idaho, together with their immediate neighbors, Cayuse, Wishram, Wasco and among the Salish, Spokan) at greater remove were Klamath, possibly Modoc, Northern Paiute and Bannock. It is curious that the movement did not vitally affect beyond

affecting any beyond the limits of the Sahaptin tribes. Was this because it was so fiercely nationalistic.?

It is barely possible that the cult reached the tribes of Siletz Reservation in <sup>ORE</sup> ~~Western~~ <sup>Agent</sup>. The agent in charge wrote in 1877 "Some opposition to progress of Christianity among them has been manifest....."

Precisely where the Feather Pom pom religion flourished during recent decades is not on record. The Yakima reservation) A questionable statement of the Yakima doctrine, annual feasts of first fruits, roots and salmon and the waning of the cult were noted by the agent in 1897 (Report commissioner of Indian affairs for the year 1897..299) The "ishram, "asco and probably their Sahaptin neighbors at Spedis and Celilo near the Dalles are involved. I would also look for it on the Nez Perce and Umatilla reservations. As noted above the Tenino of Warm Springs distinguish themselves <sup>es</sup> between the feather and Smohalla cults; a few are feather cultists, <sup>S</sup> the bulk Smohalla devotees. Some of the Northern Paiute the eastern end of the Klamath reservation may also belong to one or the other of these cults I have not heard of it in Palish territory in Northeastern Washington.

#### The Shaker religion.

The Shaker religion is different from any we have so far considered. Normally Christian, in actual practice it is an extraordinary blend of old shamanistic performance with Catholic ritual and ~~Protestant doctrine~~ Protestant doctrine. The sole reason for considering <sup>it here</sup> ~~it here~~ is the possibility that its inception was induced by the Smohalla movement.

The sect ostensibly had its origin with John Slocum a Squaxin Indian of Skookum Bay near Olympia at the head of Puget sound. IN November 1882 Slocum died and on his revival gave notice that he had been at the gates of heaven. (This is the date given by

Bels who is unquestionably correct. "ickersham gives October 1881 but it is likely that he confused it with the actual death of Slocum's predecessor in that year--Mooney-Ghost Dance religion 751.)

..See Mooney.

There is good evidence that the Indians of Puget sound were aware of Smohalla and his activities. There was, for instance, a man of Green River and Suisse Creek who about 1880 as a small boy visited the prophet at Lake Keechelus just east of the Cascade divide. The prophet gave him his own name, Smoxeie (Ballad, Some tales of the Southern Puget Sound Salish.

There was constant communication of the Sound tribes with the Sahaptins across the Cascades much visiting and intermarriage and most of the Salish east of the Sound spoke some Sahaptin dialect as a second tongue (Ballard, Mythology. 35.)

...It is not suggested that this proves that Slocum had his inspiration from the Smohalla cult but that in the circumstances it is quite possible.

Shaker ritual has in general three occasions: Church services, curing the sick and grace at meals. Data are not at hand for any length description of these rituals.

The church on the Skokomish reservation where I attended a curing performance in 1922 was a rectangular farm building. Benches along the sides of the room seated the spectators who were placed indistinctly, men, women and children. Above them at intervals along the walls were rude brackets, each holding a single lighted candle. At the end opposite the entrance was the altar, a table covered with a white cloth on which was mounted a large wooden cross. Three lighted candles, symbolic of the Holy Trinity were set on the cross; one on each arm, the third on the tip. A pair of candles stood in front of the cross. Several large bells with wooden handles of the type known

as dinner bells or such as are used in country schools, stood beside it on the table. These were used later by the bell ringer to provide the rhythmic accompaniment to the dance. It may be noted in practice that the shakers make no use of drums. Several religious pictures of the Virgin, the Sacred Heart and the like were fastened to the wall behind the altar. Similar altars with pictures stand in Shaker houses, one was seen among the Mishram of the Yakima reservation several years later. Waterman notes that the principal functionaries in the ceremonies were white cassocks (Waterman, the Shaker Religion, 501. So much seems indubitably a Catholic mission ~~and~~ imitation.

The church service consists first of a sermon which serves to quiet everybody down and induce a feeling of solemnity. The leader then turns to one of the worshippers who stand facing him and says pray. The member called on delivers an extemporaneous prayer which like the sermon is in the native Indian ~~and~~ language, at the close of his devotions he repeats the others following in his words in a deep chorus: "In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, it is well..every member of the Shaker congregation in turn (every convert that is) leads a prayer or singing or both. At the close of each petition the well remembered chant rolls forth "in the name of the Father ..deep toned, thrilling with fervor and a thing moving even to a neutral observer. At the end of the terminal prayer a deacon or assistant grasps two of the bells and begins to shake them as Indians do a rattle, one in each hand in a pounding rhythm., The progress of this deacon around the premises in a sort of crowhop followed in ~~Indian~~ Indian file by the devotees is accompanied therefore by a considerable din..Meanwhile a song mounts up in time to the clang of the bells and as each dancer passes the altar, he or she revolves ~~once~~ <sup>ONCE</sup>. This exercise or parade is repeated as often as necessary or convenient. The worshippers often in going by the altar pass

their hands through the flame of one of the candles, trying to purify themselves by driving away sin. At the close of the dance or parade every worshiper shakes hands or touches hands with every other worshiper and with every spectator, sometimes blessing his vis-a-vis with the sign of the cross-- In all these performances the rhythm is very strongly marked, the subject making many voluntary gestures, which pass in some cases into the tremor or shaking spell which has given the sect its name. (Waterman, op cit 501)

In the curing rite I saw at Sknkomish the file of participants made a clockwise circuit of the room, invariably crossing themselves before shaking hands with each spectator in turn (laying palms together without grasping and giving a single shake, up and down)

Shaker emphasis is rather on curing the sick than on relative impersonal church services. The sick or ailing person is put in a chair or bed and the operators gather ~~about~~<sup>about</sup>. A general situation appropriate for a cure is brought about by a ranging of candles acrosses and religious pictures and singing and praying. The assumption on the part of the believers is that sickness is produced by sin, sin being something that can be bodily removed from a person by manipulation. When the patient, for example, is in the proper frame of mind, they pass their hands over the body gradually working the sinfulness to his extremities and then gathering it up in their hands and throwing it away. The pantomime is often very clever and convincing. On occasions they may vary proceedings by passing a lighted candle along the patient's limbs to burn away the sin. It is conspicuous that the shaking exercise in its most noticeable form, usually seizes the persons who are curing the sick. I have observed some shaking during the course of the Sunday service in the church though a large part of the movements seems to be voluntary by way of inviting shaking spell or trying to induce one. The people who treat the sick however, very often have shaking visitation to such a

degree that ~~they~~<sup>they</sup> are completely lifted out of themselves, become suffused with religious emotion and ringing the bells in a perfect fury and not seldom losing their senses. " Saturday evening meeting is often called in the church for the purpose of curing sick people and the excitement at that time mounts much higher than it does in the Sunday services. (Waterman, op cit 502.)

..The third recurrent rite is that of grace at meals. The common form of this calls for the tinkling of a small handbell by the leader before and after grace; present crossing themselves in unison with him and intoning a prayer to the Trinity. A candle may be lighted during the performance. This is repeated at the close of the meal. (Waterman)

..To turn now to specific Smohalla resemblances I would like to point to three. In all probability the elements resembling those of Catholic mass (altar, tapers, bells, cassocks, prayer and responses, the sign of the cross, genuflections before the ~~altar~~ altar) were brought in by communicants of the mission stations in Puget Sound. But there is a possibility that much of this was derived from the Smohalla cult or their incorporation suggested by it. My second point relates to certain of the rhythmic hand movements, primarily the fanning motion in front of the breast. This it will be recalled was a characteristic Smohalla gesture which in turn probably stemmed from similar motions used in the Christian compounded cult of the eighteen-thirties. )As seen by Townsend among the Nez Perce and Gairdner among the "allawalla) We cannot be certain that any of these elements were derived from the Smohalla cult but the possibility is well worth investigating.

" specific accretation from that cult can be demonstrated from the Shakers on Yakima reservation. If Mooney is right the sacred colors of these people, as exemplified by the use of yellow, white and blue candles, are identical with the three flags flown from

from the Mohalla church. In both yellow represents heavenly light of the spirit world or is symbolic of the celestial glory; white represents earthly light and blue the sky..

The Shaker religion..was carried east of the Cascades in the early eighteen-nineties..The quotation above continues:"They are (in 1893) sending out runners to the Yakima east of the Cascade mountains and expect before long to make an effort to convert that tribe.

o. old. man. . dream. . spilled foods, evil spirit. . do not pick up. .

"Before this time there had been a great famine. The people had then had no prayers, no worship, only the belief in the animal spirits which appeared in dreams and fasting. In the famine nearly all the people died: only a few were left. After the worship dance was dreamed, just divisions of fish and game were made and there were no more quarrels between individuals striving for leadership. People then went hunting only in regularly organized parties and the game taken was divided equally among the people who needed meat.

The Colville, Curtis stated, "Have been known to destroy their winter's supply of dried fish at the command of a prophet in the belief that the end of the world was at hand.

Other data on the Kutenai, have been recorded among the Blackfoot (Wissler and Duval, Blackfoot Mythology 157-59.)

"A Kutenai man, long ago, returned died returning with a revelation and dance which he brought. He said. I have come from the land of the dead. I have come to teach you more songs and prayers. Then he rose and picked up a small bell..so he led the dancers around in a circle and keeping time with the bell sang the songs he had learned when in the land of the dead.....Now everyone takes part in this dance before he goes out to hunt..they dance in the evening and at night they can see in dreams where game is to be found.

The Shaker handshake, as seen at Foppenish, consisted of laying the palms together so that only the fingers crossed those of one's vis-a vis (without grasping hands) and moving them slowly up and down. Then each crossed himself.