REACTIONS TO CONTACT AND COLONIZATION:
AN INTERPRETATION OF RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL CHANGE
AMONG INDIANS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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This thesis examines the development of the reactions of Indians of British Columbia to contact and colonization. It is maintained that religious and social changes which have occurred among Indians of British Columbia since contact with the White man can best be understood when interpreted as phases in a continuous process of development.

This process of change began with the emergence of prophet movements at approximately the same time as the White man's presence was beginning to be felt in the area. These prophet movements exhibited characteristics typical of messianic movements elsewhere. Native prophets predicted the arrival of White men, their power and possessions. When missionaries arrived in the area they were generally accorded an enthusiastic reception. The appeal of missionary Christianity is analysed with reference to the millennial ambience established in the earlier prophet movements and to the messages and media communicated by the missionaries. For many Indians, it is argued, conversion to Christianity was equivalent to participating in a millenarian activity. An examination of typical converts and Christian communities established by various missionaries reveals the attempt by many Indians to adopt White culture and realize the expectations apparent in the prophet movements.

Disillusionment with missionary Christianity was the result of the widening colonial experience. Although desiring equality with the White man, Indians remained politically, economically and socially subordinate. Conversion to Christianity had not succeeded in satisfying Indian
needs and expectations. Indians began asserting a desire for independent control of their own affairs, a desire found among colonial peoples in other parts of the world. But the nature of the colonial situation in Canada has left the Indians a minority group with no effective political power, and thus assertions of Indian nationalism in British Columbia have been directed into such activities as political pressure groups, the revival of Indian spirit dancing and other ceremonials.
### TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER ONE  INTRODUCTION - APPROACHES AND PERSPECTIVES</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER TWO  POWER, PROPHETS AND PREDICTIONS</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER THREE  MISSIONARIES, MESSAGES AND MEDIA</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER FOUR  CONVERTS AND COMMUNITIES</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER FIVE  SHAKERS, POLITICIANS AND SPIRIT DANCERS</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER SIX  SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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... le contact des civilisations se produit à l'occasion d'une situation particulière, la situation coloniale, qui se transforme historiquement...

Georges Balandier, La Situation Coloniale
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION - APPROACHES AND PERSPECTIVES

This thesis has developed from an initial interest in missionary contact and religious change among the Indians of British Columbia. The aim, at first, was to account for the appeal of Christianity and the success of various missionaries. The missionary history of British Columbia, covering the different denominational groups, has been recorded by a number of writers (Collison, 1916; Cronin, 1960; Crosby, 1914; Morice, 1910; Usher, 1969; Young, 1955). Many more accounts exist, written as reminiscences by individual missionaries or narratives by sympathetic observers. These accounts describe incidents and events of significance in the relations between missionaries and Indians, but present a one-sided perspective. The missionary point of view is given precedence, and such accounts do not provide what seems from an anthropological viewpoint a satisfactory explanation of the appeal of Christianity to the Indians involved. In part then, this thesis attempts to correct the imbalance in the missionary history of British Columbia by presenting, as far as possible, the Indian point of view. The Indians are seen less as passive recipients of missionary Christianity than as active followers.

In order to see why Indians were often active followers of the new religion introduced by missionaries, and to assess satisfactorily the appeal of the missionaries and their impact on the religious and social life of Indians in the area, it became necessary to examine factors which
could have affected the reception given to the incoming missionaries. Such factors included not only traditional beliefs and social values in Indian society, but also the immediate situation in terms of contact with outside cultures. It was necessary to know what had already happened in the way of prior religious and social change, and to place the arrival of the missionaries in this context. Certain changes were in fact underway before any missionaries appeared in the area, and Indians had already been contacted by White men, mainly explorers and traders.

The existence of prophet movements in the period before the arrival of missionaries has led to a controversy in the literature over whether or not these activities were an aboriginal phenomenon. Spier (1935) is concerned to show the indigenous roots of the 'Prophet Dance of the Northwest' and Suttles (1957) also treats prophet movements in the area as aboriginal activities. Aberle (1959) takes issue with the assumptions of these writers, suggesting that such movements are better interpreted as the result of contact with White men. Walker (1969), in agreeing with Aberle, provides further evidence to show that prophet activities in the area did constitute a reaction to contact and were not necessarily to be regarded as a purely indigenous phenomenon. This debate, centring on the 'indigenous versus contact argument', will be taken up again later, but the main point to note here is that the controversy seems to have prevented further investigation of links between the existence of the prophet movements and the subsequent appeal of Christianity. The presence of Christian features in the prophet movements is indicated, and Spier does discuss the 'Christianized form of the Prophet Dance' (1935: 30-39), but this is only
undertaken to show that what on the surface seemed to be distorted Christian ritual was in fact the native 'Prophet Dance'. No importance is attached to any positive connections which the Indians may have made between prophet movements and the religion which the missionaries were bringing. It is only indicated that in some vague way the Prophet Dance facilitated the acceptance of Christianity (Spier, 1935: 30). This connection will be explored more fully and an examination of features of the prophet movements, focussing on the reasons for their emergence and the expectations revealed in them, will be made. This should enable a fuller understanding of the motives of many Indians who participated in the prophet movements. It will also provide the necessary background to an understanding of why Christianity had the appeal that it did.

While the initial point of the research was to account for the apparent success of missionary Christianity among Indians, it became clear that the picture would not be complete unless some explanation could be given of the later disillusionment with the new religion. This led me to look beyond the phase of conversion to Christianity and to examine factors which were operative in subsequent developments.

The scope of the thesis has thus expanded from the initial concern with one phase of religious change, conversion under the guidance of missionaries, to examining this as but a phase in a much longer process of change. This longer process may be described as reaction to contact and colonization. The study raised the whole issue of Indian reactions to White contact and colonization and it became impossible to ignore the colonial presence in discussing the changes which occurred in Indian
societies in the area. Furthermore, it is doubtful whether all the changes discussed may be termed 'religious' in a narrow sense. The early movements do appear to have had a religious character, but later developments took on a more secular, political aspect. This distinction, which is more one of degree than of kind, will be brought up again later in connection with post-missionary developments.

The colonial situation thus provides a necessary conceptual framework for considering the changes discussed here, for it has largely affected the form and direction of indigenous religious movements and political developments. A history of the Canadian Indian has recently been written explicitly using a colonial framework in order to compare the course of events for Canada's native peoples with that of other subordinate peoples (Patterson, 1972). The study is instructive. It is important to note the historical connection between the various forces of colonialism. As Balandier has pointed out

... the effort to spread the Christian gospel has been tied historically to European expansion in the commercial, political or military spheres.... The economic, governmental and missionary objectives have been experienced by subject peoples as closely associated activities (1966: 39).

Thus, the impact of the missionaries on the religious activities of the Indians in the area cannot be fully understood without reference to the broader colonial framework.

While using British Columbia and adjoining areas as the centre of study, other accounts of social and religious change in colonial situations are referred to where relevant in order to show similarity of process. In
part, the aim of the thesis is to draw together anthropological, historical and sociological data which relate to the theme of reaction to contact and colonization so as to provide evidence for a particular interpretation. This interpretation is at times speculative, based as it is on the reconstruction of past situations from literary research. No defence is offered, for reasoned speculation is in my view a valuable part of the social scientific enquiry, providing stimulus and posing questions for further investigation.

This thesis utilizes historical information, but its perspective is anthropological, not historical. In attempting to analyse processes of change, anthropology does not limit itself to looking at the actions and reactions of the participants, but seeks to understand the meaning of certain experiences to those involved in particular situations. The pattern of events and the behaviour of participants reveal the nature of social relationships in the changing situation. Historical approaches to the study of relations between Indians and missionaries have tended to document actions and reactions mainly from the missionary point of view. A fuller understanding of processes of change can be achieved by taking into account the Indian perception of the situation also.

The interpretation of religious change to be given here thus stresses the need to examine contact with and conversion to Christianity in a broader contextual framework than is usual and to examine available data from a longer period of time to be able to appreciate underlying processes and overall change. This is the approach urged by Burridge with respect to millenarian activities.
They are to be appreciated on a much longer time scale, within an historical continuum, in terms of first beginnings and further and ultimate consequences (1969: 99).

Such an approach is lacking with respect to British Columbia and adjacent areas. Particular phases of social and religious change have been dealt with in isolation by anthropologists and historians, but no synthesis has been attempted which could have linked the various phases by reference to some developmental theme. It is worth pointing out that such a process of change is always on-going, and utilization of a time perspective enables us to see that further changes are inevitable. The point at which a study of change breaks off is thus arbitrary, a matter of convenience.

This thesis is not an exhaustive account of social and religious change in British Columbia, nor was it meant to be. Rather, it is an interpretation of such change, supported by evidence from the literature available. The patchiness of the data presented is partly a result of the nature of the material available, both from missionary and ethnographic sources, and partly a result of the fact that the interpretation urged here has not attempted to postulate or assume cultural homogeneity in the data being used. The concern is directed less to people as anonymous cultural units, and more to regarding them as individuals confronted with choices and holding quite specific attitudes and beliefs. As Balandier has aptly remarked, "... contact is made by means of social groups, and not among cultures existing in the form of independent realities" (1966: 52). It is not intended to convey the
impression of a uniform entity when talking about British Columbia, rather, what is implied is a geographical region with a population of very general cultural similarity which has experienced a similarity of historic conditions and processes. The presence of fur traders and missionaries was felt at approximately the same time in the general area and the development of the colonial experience has followed the same overall pattern throughout the area. All experience in the area is not necessarily consistent with this uniform processual model, however, and inconsistencies can doubtless be found. But it is the similarity of process, and not the inconsistency, which is of interest here.

In other ethnographic areas, various studies have given attention to the effect of culture contact on religious developments. Approaches differ. Some writers are specifically interested in acculturation as a process and, among other things, may attempt to distinguish factors which affect the readiness of native people to accept aspects of the White man's culture, including Christianity (e.g. Berkhofer, 1965; Dozier, 1960). Others have been interested in the emergence of religious movements from the contact situation, attempting to classify and distinguish these movements by reference to certain variables (e.g. Linton, 1943; Voget, 1956; Wallace, 1956). Burridge indicates the limitations of these "series of eclectic empiricisms", for the labels given to various movements, descriptive terms, merely reflect the emphases observed by different investigators (1969: 103). It seems then that accounts of religious change have either focused on factors affecting the acceptance of Christianity, or they have concentrated on
emergent movements. Guiart suggests another approach (1962). Rather than talking of missionization "as an external factor which plays havoc with traditional society..." and looking for "the remnants of heathenism inside the existing Christian society...", he suggests that we can think of Christianity

... as a living factor inside the social structure, as being in many ways an entirely new phenomenon: the reinterpretation of occidental traditional religious ideas and structures by people who have chosen to make use of them as their own (1962: 122).

This suggestion accords well with that of Peel, whose aim is to show the serious limitations of any approach to religious change which centres on acculturation (1967). He regards as superficial the view that when a large number of people forsake their former religion, some of the old beliefs become mixed with the new. Peel criticizes those who consider it to be of great moment to be able to say how far any belief or practice lies along a continuum whose poles are marked 'traditional' and 'acculturated'. Indeed, most messianic and millenarian movements are syncretistic, and so to analyse them in such terms does not take us very far in understanding what this means to those involved in them. The 'acculturation' approach is used by Berkhofer in his study of Protestant missions and the American Indian response (1965). His stress on the stage of acculturation as a determinant of the Indian response to Christianity leads him to ask, rather superficially "How pure a Christian was the Indian convert?" (1965: 117). This sort of question does not take us far in the attempt to understand the appeal of Christianity to Indians and the interpretation it was given. Attempts to dichotomize
'Christianity' and 'native beliefs' in terms of stages of acculturation have limited appreciation of the interpretation given to missionary Christianity by native peoples. Suttles comes close to agreeing with this position in his work on the Plateau Prophet Dance among the Coast Salish when he notes that

... the distinction between the native belief system and Christianity may not be as clear and simple as most ethnographers have implicitly assumed; contemporary Coast Salish religion must be seen as the result of not one but a series of compromises and reinterpretations (1957: 352-353).

And again,

... ethnographers have tended to assume that they are dealing with two mutually exclusive systems, 'native' and 'Christian'... and have thus exercised too great a selectivity in collecting and reporting 'native' beliefs and practices (1957: 389).

Part of the problem seems to lie with the nature of Christianity itself. The Christian religion is not a neatly-wrapped parcel to be accepted intact. It contains elements which are universal, and individuals or groups may select the elements which are most meaningful to them. Because of these universal elements, it becomes very difficult to disentangle the 'Christian' element from the 'universal' element in a situation of contact and change. We can thus correctly talk about pre-missionary movements, but not necessarily pre-Christian movements. Movements which began before missionaries may have had for example messianic elements, and what is seized upon after the introduction of Christianity depends on what the pre-missionary prophets have already
taught and the correspondence between this teaching and that of the missionaries.

While drawing attention to this point about certain 'universals' in religious activities, there is still clearly a need to regard Christianity in a different context as a new phenomenon, something different from traditional religion and at the same time a re-interpretation of Western Christianity. By examining Christianity in its new context as a 're-interpretation', it is possible to treat it as comparable to non-Christian, post-contact religious movements. By thus broadening the conceptual framework, we can ask such questions as: Was conversion to Christianity comparable to an indigenous millenarian activity? Was it, in fact, a substitute for such a movement? Accounts of the general pattern of the development of millenarian activities and the typical phases which are apparent in them enables us to draw parallels between them and the pattern of events and activities in British Columbia. The phase of conversion to missionary Christianity can be more fully understood when treated as part of this general pattern of development. Comparable elements include the prevailing social conditions, autochthonous background, the role of the leader and the nature of the teachings.

The limitations of previous studies dealing with religious change among North American Indians in general, and those of British Columbia in particular, relate largely to the lack of an adequate explanatory framework and to the fact that their time perspective has been a narrow one. Mention has already been made of Berkhofer's work in which he produces a 'sequential hypothesis' to analyse the effect of the stage of acculturation.
of an Indian tribe on the sequence of events after contact with
Protestant missionaries. The significance of the contact situation and
its effect on the Indian response to Christianity is not disputed, but
Berkhofer's study begs many questions. He asserts that "... more and
more Indians accepted new values and aspired to a new way of life"
(1965: 127), but he fails to explain why the Indians should want to aspire
to a new way of life and accept new values. This is precisely what needs
to be explained. Further, the same writer indicates that "... the
acceptance of new values ... demanded new social relationships" (1965: 129).
Such a statement is an over-simplification when no further elaboration is
given of why Indians should be interested in new values, which necessitated
new social relationships. Berkhofer's work falls short as an adequate
explanatory model of the Indian reaction to missionary Christianity because
it does not take account of factors other than stages of acculturation.
No emphasis is given to the degree of congruence of the new religion with
indigenous religious beliefs, nor does Berkhofer indicate the significance
of the various responses to Christianity within a broader conceptual
framework.

The same general limitations can be seen in Dozier's study of
the differing reactions to religious contacts among North American Indian
societies (1960). His main concern is to determine characteristic
response patterns of whole societies to religious contacts in order to set
up types of reactions and outline general processes. He discusses this in
terms of 'religious adjustment', and while it is difficult to see how
rejection of Christianity constitutes 'religious adjustment', we have to
ask the question: Adjustment from what to what, and why? Again, the emphasis on stages of acculturation and the delineating of factors associated with these does not provide a satisfactory explanation of the overall trend of developments.

A fuller understanding of the appeal of missionary Christianity can be gained by examining what has been discussed in relation to millenarian activities. Burridge's analysis of these movements indicates within a broader frame of reference some of the processes inherent in religious change and the emergence of millenarian activities (1969). He offers a useful working definition of religion which stresses the central importance of assumptions about power (1969: 6-7). We can recognise the implications of this working definition of religion and religious activities particularly during periods of social change:

... religious activities will change when the assumptions about the nature of power, and hence the rules which govern its use and control, can no longer guarantee the truth of things (1969: 7).

As is indicated, 'periods of social unrest' and the 'weakening or disruption of the old social order'

... refer to situations where the relevant assumptions about power are weakening and no longer enable individuals to perceive the truth of things. They cannot project a satisfactory redemptive process (1969: 8).

'New ideals' giving rise to religious movements may thus be seen as

... attempts to reformulate assumptions about power so that they may account for the widening experiences of everyday life and provide the basis for a new mode of redemption (1969: 8).
In the general area of the Pacific Northwest, contact with the
White man weakened indigenous assumptions about power and precipitated
social unrest. It has been mentioned how, in such situations, religious
activities emerge which attempt to comprehend and readjust to these new
manifestations of power. Because power in the Pacific Northwest was
largely linked to and manifest in wealth and status, it becomes necessary
to examine the rules which govern the use of power and to look at
"... the ways in which wealth is distributed... and what powers are
dependent on various kinds of wealth" (Burridge, 1969: 8). Once we under­
stand indigenous notions concerning power, its acquisition and distribution,
we can see more clearly how new sorts of power were perceived and absorbed
in terms of changing religious beliefs.

Guiart's analysis of the millenarian aspect of conversion to
Christianity in the South Pacific shows the interpretation given to the
new religion by some groups of native peoples (1962). He suggests that
the missionaries often stimulated millenial expectations among the natives,
leading them to believe that acceptance of the White man's religion would
also bring them his wealth, abilities and power. While stressing the
millenial appeal of conversion to Christianity and the importance of
missionary methods and policy in the area, Guiart does not explicitly
consider treating the phase of conversion to Christianity as in itself
comparable to a millenarian movement. Rather, the stress is placed on
parallels with the cargo cults which followed conversion.

This thesis suggests that the eagerness with which elements of
Christianity were accepted by both individual Indians and groups of
natives, apparent in the early prophet movements and later in direct
contact with missionaries, reveals an attempt to absorb and reformulate new assumptions about power and can thus be treated in the same way as a millenarian movement.

The thesis begins by looking at the social situation before the arrival of missionaries and examining evidence which shows how ideas about the White man were received by Indians not as yet in direct contact with him. Indigenous assumptions about power and changing social conditions are outlined and discussed. As an indication of social and religious change, the emergence of prophet movements is significant and these are examined more closely to see what they reveal about changing expectations in a situation of culture contact. These movements created a millenarian ambience — that is, a general expectation of a better life to come. The prophets who led these movements acted as precursors of the missionaries and constituted the first phase of religious change in the area, an initial reaction to contact with the White man.

The next part of the study examines the arrival of the missionaries, placing them in the general colonial context and describing the media they used to communicate with Indians as well as the nature of the message they attempted to convey. With an understanding of the Indian situation at the time of the missionaries' arrival and a knowledge of missionary aims and methods, it will be seen how the Indians were ready for a millenium, and the missionaries were prepared to give it.

The subsequent section deals with characteristics of converts and Christian communities in order to illustrate the nature of changing assumptions about power and social relationships and how these were
manifested in missionary-inspired projects. The appeal of Christianity
is examined firstly through an analysis of some typical converts and the
social characteristics they exhibited, and secondly, through a description
of newly formed Christian communities and model villages.

The concluding part of the thesis discusses later developments
which can be more readily understood in the light of the interpretation
given here and by reference to the colonial situation. These developments
have included the Shaker Church, a number of Indian political organizations
and the revival of spirit dancing in some areas of British Columbia.
Attempts to distinguish aboriginal religious beliefs from subsequent syncretic movements may be both misleading and superficial, particularly if ethnographic material is inadequate. Yet the autochthonous cultural background is significant, as it largely influences the form and direction of changing religious activities. This is not to say that the indigenous background totally determines the emergence of a new movement, but it provides a framework from which the new forms develop. By referring to the autochthonous cultural background, we can indicate the aspects of the society which appear to have been significant in conditioning the changes which began to take place after contact with the White man. As Köbben suggests in his discussion of eschatological-adoptive movements\(^1\), we need to take account of various factors in seeking a satisfactory explanation of this type of prophetic movement (1960: 133). Such factors would include the indigenous culture pattern, traditional religious convictions, the colonial situation and the desire for material goods.

It is thus relevant and necessary, before outlining reactions to contact with White men, to examine certain aspects of aboriginal social organization, values and religious beliefs. Recognizing as we did earlier

\(^1\) By 'eschatological' Köbben means 'the-end-of-this-period-of-misery and the advent of another and better world'; by 'adoptive' he means those movements which express a desire for the culture of the Whites; or at least for its material aspects which, as it were, are spiritually adopted (1960: 118).
that religion is concerned with the truth about power, we need to analyse indigenous notions of power to see how it was gained and distributed and to see its significance for political organization. By examining the relationship of power to wealth, we can understand how status and prestige were measured in traditional Indian society. With this insight on traditional assumptions about power, wealth and status we will be able to see how they were beginning to weaken in reaction to contact and consequently, how religious activities were beginning to change. An understanding of traditional social organization, beliefs and values may reveal, despite various complex reactions, that throughout the processes of change, certain patterns can be discerned which relate to the cultural background and indigenous categories of understanding. While recognizing that there are differences between the Indian groups in the area, it is still possible to discuss common basic features of the conceptions of prestige and status, and their relationship to power in social and religious institutions.

Drucker notes that the basic social unit of North Pacific coast society was a localized kinship group which acted autonomously (1965: 46). Ray points to a similar type of social organization for the tribes of the interior plateau (1939: 8). Here again, the basic social unit was the autonomous local group. The localized groups of kin who lived and worked together "... owned not only lands and their produce but all other forms of wealth: material treasures and intangible rights usually referred to as 'privileges'..." (Drucker, 1965: 47). These latter 'privileges' consisted of such things as names, crests, songs, dances, secret procedures and medicines. In addition, the local group operated as a unit in the
major ceremonials in which wealth and privileges were used. Wealth was scarce among the peoples of the interior plateau, and hence there was little of the cultural elaboration based on wealth which was characteristic of the relatively affluent coastal groups who had more abundant natural resources at their disposal.

On the coast, "... the guiding themes of social organization were hereditary transmission of status and privilege, with stress on material wealth" (Drucker, 1965: 46). Local groups each had their own chiefs, whose position was acquired through inheritance. Heredity chieftainship was the general pattern among the plateau cultures also, but on the coast there were additional bases for chieftainship. As Ray indicates (1939: 19-21), chiefly heredity was directly correlated with wealth on the Northwest coast, whereas nowhere in the plateau was chieftainship based upon wealth. As noted, wealth was rare in the plateau and did not function as a prerequisite to political power.

Rank was an important feature of social structure in this area. Members of the localized kinship groups were stratified according to rank status. Concepts of class distinctions did vary over the area, being more marked on the coast than in the interior. Typical plateau structure was based on a premise of equality, although in the cases of groups subject to coastal influence (Carrier, Chilcotin, Lillooet and Shuswap) modified class concepts were adopted. As Suttles noted with respect to Coast Salish society, broad divisions existed comprising of high-born people, commoners and slaves (1954: 33). Elsewhere, Suttles noted (1958: 504) that these three classes consisted of a large upper class of good people, a smaller lower class of worthless people and a still smaller class of slaves.
Within each of the ranks of high-born and commoners status was not uniform, rather, there was a grading of positions from upper to lower with no two individuals being of exactly equal status. Although one's membership in one's social rank, and hence one's rights and privileges, were inherited, mobility was possible, more so perhaps among the Coast Salish than groups further north. Groups from Vancouver Island northward had the most elaborate and rigid system of graded ranking. The highest-ranking member of the nobility, who acquired his position through inheritance, was the chief of his community. Pre-eminent social status thus implied chiefly political status.

It is important to stress the close connection between heredity and wealth. As Drucker notes "... social status on the Northwest Coast did not depend entirely either on heredity or on wealth, but on the inter-relationship between the two" (1955: 127). High class position resulted from a combination of 'good' birth and the use of wealth. The display of wealth was a means of maintaining prestige and status, and in the southern part of the coast possession of riches was also a means of gaining increased social status. As Suttles states,

> Status of the individual depended on what he owned. Material possessions - food and wealth in blankets, canoes and slaves - were important. But they were acquired only to share... the essential feature of this giving was that it validated the status of the giver, or some member of his family... (1954: 34).

Through inheritance, one gained certain rights and prerogatives, but the social status with which these privileges were associated could not be assumed until the individual's claim to them was formally validated. This was done at the potlatch ceremony, where guests were rewarded with
food and gifts for acting as witnesses. Wealth was therefore necessary to an individual sponsoring a potlatch and at the same time demonstrated his ability to assume his claims. Drucker noted that

The prime purpose of Indian wealth was display and ostentatious consumption to demonstrate prosperity and power to others, thus enhancing the local group's prestige. The maximum expression of this use was to give away or destroy quantities of valuables (1965: 50).

So far, several themes have been mentioned in connection with indigenous notions of power. It has been stressed that power in the Indian societies in this area hinged on inherited privilege and the display of wealth. But this is not the complete picture. It was generally believed that success in the economic and social spheres was the result of the possession of supernatural power. As Suttles indicates,

Material wealth itself was an indication that a man had non-material possessions. It was the non-material things that brought him the wealth (1954: 34).

Apart from inherited rights and 'private knowledge', these non-material possessions included supernatural power. An individual's success, which gave an indication of his power, was generally seen as the result of having acquired supernatural skills. The interrelationship between social status, prestige, wealth and spirit help now becomes clearer. Throughout the area supernatural powers were sought through the spirit quest. Details of the guardian spirit quest varied, but the underlying beliefs were similar among the different groups. As Drucker points out,

Among some groups the trainee sought a particular type of power by incorporating special secret procedures in his training
ritual. One sought hunting power, another war power, yet another, curing power. Among other groups, curing power was the principal type sought; other sorts of power were believed to be encountered more or less by chance (1965: 86).

Guardian spirit helpers could thus be acquired by certain individuals and gave power in the secular sphere - wealth, position and prestige. Possession of supernatural power was manifested in spirit dances - ceremonies which publicized the acquisition and demonstration of private individual powers. The supernatural 'expert' was the shaman, whose main concern was curing sickness. The shaman was a powerful figure in the local community, despite the fact that he lacked inherited rights and economic privileges. Drucker notes that

Many commoners who possessed no high social rank... found a compensatory prestige in shamanistic power... to be a shaman sent an individual on the road to wealth.... What the shaman actually obtained was public recognition, either esteem or fear or a blend of both, far beyond that to which his modest birth would have entitled him (1955: 159).

Ray also indicates that in the plateau

... shamans can properly be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possess is the result of their unusual supernatural powers, not their riches (1939: 26).

Having outlined some of the indigenous notions relating to power, wealth and status, a final word needs to be said about another aspect of the traditional cultural background which is relevant to the discussion of changing religious activities. This concerns the recurrent theme of beliefs concerning the relationships between the living and the dead. Although the theme of a continuity in the relationship between living and dead is a
universal one and not unique to the Pacific Northwest area in general, certain features of this theme are worth stressing. In relation to Northwest coast cultures, Wike indicates the beliefs that

... the status rankings of real life are maintained or intensified in life after death... (and) physical and ritual contacts with the dead will insure personal successes (1952: 98).

These beliefs are seen as reflecting the cultural emphases upon inherited position and ancestral pride, as well as individual supernatural assistance. The mythology of the area contains numerous tales of the living visiting the land of the dead and Spier mentions dreams of the dead as being a 'type-dream' of the Northwest coast peoples (1935: 16). In addition, shamans ventured into the land of the dead when searching for souls in the course of their curing practices, and 'resurrections' were not uncommon (Spier, 1935: 13). A further aspect of relationships between the living and the dead is linked to what would appear to be indigenous millenial beliefs. According to Spier, among the tribes of the interior plateau there was an old belief in the impending destruction and renewal of the world, when the dead would return (1935: 5). Beliefs in the end of the world, a type of Doomsday, are recorded in several Thompson tales of Old Man and Coyote (Spier, 1935: 60). The Shuswap are reported to have performed ceremonies which were expected to

... hasten the return to earth of the souls of the departed, and the beginning of a golden age, when everyone would lead a life of ease and happiness, and when the dead would be reunited with the living.... They were also said to make it easier for the dying to reach the spirit-land, and to make life there more pleasant for them, and to strengthen the bonds between the living and the dead (Spier, 1935: 60, citing Teit, 1909).
While it is not altogether certain if such ceremonies were an indigenous phenomenon or influenced by contact with the White man, it seems as if the notion of the ancestors' return did belong to traditional Indian culture, and could have provided a millenarian basis to changing religious activities.

Before proceeding to discuss initial Indian reactions to White contact, it is necessary to describe the form these first contacts took. Indians of the Pacific Northwest were first contacted directly by White men in 1741. In this year, Bering's expedition approached the Aleutians from the west. Krause notes that the significance of this first recorded contact lay in the reports of the sailors about the vast wealth of furs in the area (1956: 15). Such reports encouraged the Russians to undertake commercial ventures in the Aleutians and, later, through the islands east to the Alaska mainland. Russian trading posts were established at Kodiak in 1783 and at Sitka in 1799. From a relatively early date, Russians were thus in direct contact with the Tlingit, who likely conveyed information about these strangers to neighbouring Indians with whom they traditionally traded.

Spaniards entered the area which is now British Columbia from the south. In 1774, Juan Perez explored the coast in the vicinity of the Queen Charlotte Islands and the west coast of Vancouver Island, trading at Nootka Sound. Bodega y Quadra's ship reached as far north as the Alaska coast in 1775, landing in Sitka Sound. The British under Captain Cook reached the area in 1778, and trading was carried on with the Indians, particularly in the Nootka Sound region.
In the years following these initial expeditions, especially after 1785, a great number of trading ships, mainly from Britain and America, entered the area and in a fairly short time trade goods swamped the entire coast. Trade items included a wide variety of things such as iron, copper, brass, guns, cloth, rum, trinkets, blankets, rice and bread.

While sea-based trade was developing on the coast, Indians in the interior were encountering White traders coming overland from the east. Alexander Mackenzie was the first fur trader to cross the Rockies and reach the coast by an overland route. In 1793, he reached the mouth of the Bella Coola river by way of the Peace and Fraser rivers. In 1808, Simon Fraser reached the coast in Salish territory, travelling down the river named after him. Another fur trader and explorer, David Thompson, descended the Columbia river to its mouth in 1811. The North West Company began to establish trading posts in the northern part of the interior from 1805 and the Hudson's Bay Company set up forts on the coast, beginning with Fort Langley in 1827. Port Simpson was established at the mouth of the Nass river in 1831 and other forts were set up at strategic locations on the coast.

Several points need stressing in connection with the effects of this early fur trade period. Firstly, while some Indians were in direct contact with the explorers and traders, other Indian groups were contacted indirectly. As Duff mentions in connection with Indians in the interior, they

... felt the effects of the white men's presence before they actually saw any. Horses, guns, and other trade items passed quickly from tribe to

1. Although established as Fort Simpson, it later became known as Port Simpson.
tribe from the south and east in advance of the first explorers. So did diseases such as smallpox, and some European religious ideas. Stories of strange ships and strange men, and some trade goods, filtered to them from the coast (1964: 55).

Aberle draws attention to the importance of long chains of communication in diffusing information among native groups before direct contact is made (1959: 76-77). This point will be taken up again in discussing how both direct and indirect contact can cause social unrest. Even though the early explorers and traders had little overt concern for changing the Indian way of life, they demonstrated a powerful, yet ill-understood force to the Indians and undoubtedly created changes in traditional assumptions.

The possible effect of the fur trade on indigenous social organization even before direct contact is indicated in the following statement:

... trade may lead to changes in productive activities or in the balance of such activities, and to changes in the distribution of wealth and power, long prior to direct contact (Aberle, 1959: 77-78).

It is thus possible to see how such indirect effects as changes brought about by trade, as well as the impact of various diseases, could quite easily bring about far-reaching changes in traditional ideas relating to the perception of power, sources of wealth, and social stratification.

The second point relates to the direct involvement of Indians in the fur trade and the effects of the influx of new types of wealth on

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1. Suttles (1954: 39) observes "The aim of the fur-traders was not to revolutionize native culture. The fur-traders wanted only a re-emphasis; primarily they wanted the natives to spend more time hunting fur-bearing animals and less time quarrelling among themselves". We may note that even such a 're-emphasis' could have repercussions in social activities.
indigenous society. Some of the chiefs first in contact with the coastal traders managed to strengthen their economic and social positions, manipulating the new source of wealth to their own advantage. Nootka and Haida chiefs tried to claim trading monopolies and act as middlemen between White traders and tribes not yet contacted directly. Some Tsimshian and Tlingit chiefs controlled the trade all along the Skeena and Stikine rivers, and fought White traders to retain their profitable monopolies (Duff, 1964: 58).

As well as entrenching the privileges of these particular chiefs, the fur trade had the additional effect of increasing general social mobility by introducing new opportunities to gain wealth. The introduction of various diseases had a devastating effect on the Indian population, with the result that a greater number of positions of higher rank were being left unfilled. Suttles notes that this situation made it possible for people of lesser rank to attain positions which they would not have otherwise occupied (1954: 45). The new source of wealth provided by the fur trade made such social mobility possible, as Suttles points out.

It permitted hunters and trappers to accumulate wealth more rapidly than before and probably enabled them to rise socially at the expense of the hereditary owners of fishing locations and other productive sites. This increase in social mobility may have stimulated others to seek other sources of prestige and authority (1957: 392).

This last sentence draws attention to the fact that even in the initial stages of contact the traditional bases of power and status were weakening. The seeking of 'other sources of prestige and authority' implies that the old social rules were no longer entirely satisfactory or relevant in the contact situation, and new rules were coming into being. Wike also notes
the extent of the effects of the fur trade and the introduction of diseases.

The aboriginal economic foundation of the hereditary chieftainship and the normal responsibilities and controls vested in that office were destroyed in this period by the terrible reduction of personnel and by the introduction of opportunities to gain wealth outside of aboriginal productive relations (1952: 99).

The wealth thus acquired could be used by the newly rich to demonstrate their worth in potlatches. General increases in the amount of wealth available made potlatches more lavish and numerous. One significant point in this development was that wealth could now be amassed without an individual demonstrating possession of supernatural power or inherited rights. Yet, in the pre-contact situation, as previously emphasized, success and good fortune were attributed to such sources. It is not surprising to find, in these circumstances of weakening indigenous conceptions of prestige and power, that changes were precipitated in religious activities. As Wike mentions, the traditional religious bases of power were breaking down.

Not only were the supernatural sanctions for privileged secular status minimized but the religious functions of privileged status were weakened in a general setting of the undermining of inherited power (1952: 99).

Wike stresses that, on the Northwest coast, the response of the Indians to European contact was not religious revivalism, but an emphasis on the manipulation of wealth. Furthermore, she notes:

That this manipulation [of wealth] was an earthly manifestation of supernatural power and related to supernatural power was lost sight of (1952: 99).
Whereas other groups of North American Indians experienced nativistic-type movements, this was not the case among Indians in this area of the Pacific Northwest. Köbben suggests that the development of nativistic-type movements may be explained by the abrupt way a culture pattern is disturbed, while if the change is slower and more gradual, movements of the adoptive or accommodative type are more likely to occur, other conditions permitting (1960: 149). It is noteworthy that contact between Indians and White men in this area, while having profound effects, had not resulted in loss of basic livelihood to the native population. Rather, it has been stated, "Wealth of itself did remain among the people in this period" (Wike, 1952: 99). But it must be noted that this wealth was not entirely indigenous, most of it was entering the area through the White man and was contingent upon his presence. The emphasis upon wealth in the pre-contact culture predisposed the Indians to accept the wealth brought by the White man, yet such acceptance placed them in a socially subordinate position. Indians participated in trade beyond the level of subsistence requirements because there was an immediate use to which the newly acquired wealth could be put. But this degree of involvement meant that Indians became dependent on the White man for supplying necessary items. Envy of the wealth of the Whites was probably great and may well have led to an attitude of deprivation of the type: We are not as well off as 'they' are - deprivation in the area of possessions and status (Aberle, 1959: 79 and 1966: 326-329). Such deprivation seems to have been countered in this area by adopting the trappings of White culture. Goods acquired through trade not only enabled an increase of prestige in the native system, but also gave Indians the opportunity to maintain, in their own eyes, an
equivalence with the Whites. One could apply to the Northwest coast Indians the conclusion Burridge reached when writing about Melanesians:

> European goods were wanted partly for purposes of trade and enjoyment within their own native prestige systems, but also in order to compete with Europeans on even terms (1969: 41).

This might well have been the prime gratification for those chiefs who actually competed with the Whites in attempting to entrench their positions in the trade network. It might also explain the complaints of some of the early traders about "... the greedy character of the Northern Indians, their tendency to theft and their overbearing attitude" (Krause, 1956: 19).

They wanted guns, ammunition and blankets, but only of good quality, also axes, files, knives, small mirrors, glass beads, handkerchiefs and other goods of linen and wool. For a good sea-otter skin they demanded and received a gun. Biscuits, rice, molasses and liquor served as bonus (Krause, 1956: 39).

But access to trade goods was not equal, and with the competitive elements present "... discrepant powers and privileges were inherent in the circumstances" (Burridge, 1969: 38).

We are now in a position to examine the nature of changes in religious activities, having discussed some of the effects of early contact and change. Apart from the undermining of traditional religious bases of power mentioned by Wike, the first documentary evidence of what seems to be a change in religious activities relates to what Spier termed the 'Prophet Dance'. This name was coined to subsume the various dances which Spier saw as belonging to the one northwestern cult, yet which were differently described in the ethnographic accounts: "dream dance, ghost dance,
religious dance, praying dance, etc." (Spier, 1935: 5). Spier's work on the Prophet Dance attempts to demonstrate that the Ghost Dance movements of 1870 and 1890, which until then had been seen as deriving from the Paviotso of western Nevada, can in fact be traced to an origin in the Northwest among the tribes of the interior plateau (1935: 5). In connection with the old belief in the impending destruction and renewal of the world, Spier indicates that

... there was a dance based on supposed imitation of the dances of the dead, and a conviction that intense preoccupation with the dance would hasten the happy day (1935: 5).

In addition, there were inspired leaders who made prophecies obtained from visions, men who from time to time 'died' and "... returned to life with renewed assurances of the truth of the doctrine" (1935: 5). Spier's main concern is to show that the roots of the Prophet Dance lay deep in the aboriginal beliefs of the Indians of the Northwest.

... it can be shown that the Prophet Dance was thoroughly at home in the cultures of the northwest.... 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 (Spier, 1935: 13).

With respect to the distribution of the Prophet Dance in the area under study, Spier notes that

All the tribes through the plateaus of British Columbia from the Thompson northward to the Sekani and Babine had the Prophet Dance (1935: 59).

and

It had penetrated to the tribes of the lower Fraser River and had reverberations among the coastal peoples of British Columbia as far as the Tlingit of southern Alaska (1935: 5-7).
While not disagreeing with Spier on the distribution of the so-called Prophet Dance, we may question the assumptions which underlie his main argument. He argues that the Prophet Dance complex existed before contact with the White man, but as Walker points out, Spier claims to have demonstrated the 'aboriginal' existence of a cult movement in the plateau using almost entirely documentary materials (1968: 31). This supposed demonstration of the aboriginality of the Prophet Dance rests on the apparent similarity of basic elements of the cult and features of indigenous culture. Rather than assuming, as does Spier, that this argues for the antiquity of the Prophet Dance complex, all we can note (as we did earlier) is that changes in religious activities are generally influenced by autochthonous beliefs, and this would account for apparent continuities.

Another significant point which relates to the question of whether or not the Prophet Dance may be presumed to be aboriginal is that of the time of occurrence of the cult. Spier is concerned to show that the Prophet Dance antedated the introduction of Christianity into the area, pointing out that

... the Prophet Dance in its northern form...
is known to have flourished at least as early as the opening of the nineteenth century... (1935: 7).

But, by this time, as we have pointed out, Indians had already been contacted by the White man, and the fur trade was having far-reaching effects. As Walker has recently pointed out (1969: 247), by using ethnographic, ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence, it is possible to show that Indians of both the plateau and the Northwest coast were sharply affected by White influence before 1800. Such a situation cannot be ignored in
attempting to account for the development of a religious movement such as the Prophet Dance.

While Spier dismisses the possibility that the Prophet Dance could have represented a reaction to White contact, Aberle suggests that this may well have been the case. In commenting on the work of Spier and a later article by Suttles on the Prophet Dance among the Coast Salish (1957), Aberle indicates that the Prophet Dance can be interpreted as a reaction to indirect White influence. He stresses

... the importance of considering mediate, as well as immediate communication, mediate as well as immediate trade, and deprivations other than those occurring when a group is overwhelmed, conquered, and totally transformed by contact (1959: 76).

Aberle suggests that indirect contact with White culture could have produced several types of deprivation, which in other parts of the world have been shown to figure largely in producing movements like the Prophet Dance (1959: 78-81). Of particular significance in the present context is what Aberle cites as his fourth possible reaction to change in external conditions, a factor he hesitates to call a deprivation, namely:

When a native group hears of a strange, materially and magically powerful new group which is having a variety of fortunate and unfortunate effects on other and more remote tribes, this knowledge can scarcely fail to produce an impact on the group. The problem for the group is that of assimilating and controlling ill-understood but potentially powerful forces which may affect one's own fate (1959: 80).

Aberle's ideas fit well with those of Burridge. In explaining how the mere sighting of an aircraft stimulated a cargo cult among a tribe in New Guinea, Burridge states that this represented "... a demonstration
of capacities and power which they had to absorb and explain to themselves if they were to continue to retain their integrity as men" (1969: 35). It was also "... a manifestation of a power outside current comprehensions" (1969: 143). Both writers stress the importance of growing awareness of an apparently powerful new people, an ill-understood yet potentially imminent force, as giving rise to cult activity, which seeks to assimilate and explain to its adherents the new social situation.

In connection with the possibility of indirect White contact causing cult activities, we may note a point made by Kübben in a discussion of prophetic movements and acculturation (1960: 156ff). He indicates that most prophetic movements are the result of acculturation, but stresses that this does not necessarily imply western influence but many include other external factors such as epidemic diseases or domination by another group. Thus it is possible to find, through oral traditions, prophetic movements which existed before direct White contact. The main point to note here is that prophetic movements are observed to occur when a group is exposed to alien influences, whether before or after contact with western culture, which upset the social status quo. We may pursue this reasoning further and ask why the reaction to such influences often seems to take the form of prophetic movements. This involves looking at the nature of prophetic thinking and its implications for social change. Bastide notes that prophetism, messianism and millenarianism reflect a sharp break with traditional society, representing a growing awareness on the part of subordinate groups in a situation of contact (1961: 470-471). He contrasts this with mythical thinking, which he states is a
... cyclical kind of thinking... that consequently imposes a repetition of the same gestures and rigid types of behaviour... messianism represents in many respects a definite break with this kind of thinking. But it is merely the substitution of a long cycle for shorter ones. The cyclical factor remains. The contact between indigenous populations and the white man produced such a state of social instability that traditional creeds and rituals were found incapable of reestablishing the former social equilibrium. The need arose to invent new gestures, new rites and ceremonies, in order to escape from social chaos. It was necessary to recreate the world once again. That is why messianism abandons the short cycle which, year after year, repeats the myths of one's origins (1961: 474).

Cohen also contrasts mythical beliefs with prophecy in attempting to account for the emergence of the latter.

If myth anchors the present in the past, then prophecy anchors it in the future. Prophecy is a sort of myth in reverse. So prophecy should emerge in those social conditions where the basis of traditional legitimation is weak and where there has been, in any case, a weakening of other bonds of traditional, multiplex structures of relationship. The disruption of traditional society and, in particular, the promotion of tension between its secular and religious authority, may give rise to the kind of despair which produces a longing for an earlier condition or for a transcendence of present conditions: this encourages a focusing of attention on the future and away from the past (1969: 351-352).

The main point which emerges from both these statements is that contact with another society, whether this is a western one or not, causes a re-focusing of traditional thinking towards the future. Messianic movements may thus be seen to begin when a previously closed system becomes an open one, when social horizons are expanded and the range of cultural
awareness is increased. With this broadening of the social 'space' into an openness hitherto unknown and possibly beyond comprehension, there is room, so to speak, for a more open religious system. Prophets who articulate notions about the new found 'openness' and the place of native people in relationship to the new cultural group are given credence. It is hard to conceive of a self-contained, 'closed' society producing prophets who direct attention towards the future.

Various factors can be seen as contributing directly to the development of cult activities in this area, in addition to the general situation which encouraged prophetic thinking. Walker argues that population decimation most probably brought about cult activity on the coast as well as in the plateau (1969: 247). Spier himself, as noted, had emphasized the importance of relations of the living with the dead in both aboriginal culture and in the Prophet Dance (1935: 13-16). Walker stresses the possibility that population decrease resulting from epidemic diseases did intensify the concern with death, and he gives specific examples from his own informants and one of Boas' to show the link explicitly made between death from disease and cult activity. He also cites a Nez Perce tradition that the first knowledge of White men came from the prophecy of an old man who said that they would come as a disease (1969: 246).

Another factor which Walker sees as contributing to the particular type of cult movement which emerged in this area was the emphasis in indigenous culture on the acquisition and display of wealth. He observes that Spier's hypothesized Prophet Dance possessed features reminiscent of cargo cults, with prophecies of the arrival of a strange new people with

It becomes clear when one considers the basic features of Spier's 'aboriginal' Prophet Dance cult, the details of which will be discussed shortly, there is a very strong case for agreeing with Walker and Aberle that the prophet movements were initially a response to indirect White influence. As has been indicated, the very notion of prophecy implies an increased cultural awareness and anticipation of future changes. In the light of the preceding discussion, Spier's assertion that the Prophet Dance was wholly a pre-contact phenomenon seems untenable. It is now appropriate to examine the content of the prophecies, to see what they revealed about Indian reactions to contact, their expectations and perception of changes to come.

Walker indicates that the predictions contained in the Prophet Dance clearly reveal anticipation of the arrival of the Whites and the imminence of great cultural changes (1968: 35). Mention is frequently made of

... 'dying' and resurrection, a visionary experience, prediction of great cultural changes, and the arrival of strange new people (1969: 36).

Most of the tribes in the area are recorded as having their visionary, prophet or dreamer who, before the arrival of the White man, prophesied the coming of a new race who possessed wonderful implements. Such statements, which were collected after contact, may be regarded as fabrications of prophecy after the fact. If this is the case, then such statements which create a myth of prophecy may be regarded as an assertion
by the informant that his people, through the prophecies, did have some control over the situation. Alternatively, and possibly more likely, native prophets did exist in the time immediately before direct contact, emerging as a reaction to indirect contact and having some limited knowledge of the White man and his possessions. The basic prophecies no doubt became more detailed and elaborated as knowledge of the White man increased.

The prophecies reflect ambivalent feelings towards the potentialities of the Whites. While indicating the desire of the Indians to share in the material goods to be brought, the prophecies refer to the demise of the Indian. Quoting from Teit's information on the Prophet Dance among the Thompson Indians, Spier records that

Occasionally prophets made their appearance among the tribe. They generally bore some message from the spirit world... and would travel throughout the country, escorted by Indians, and would be listened to with great respect.... These prophets, or others with similar visions, predicted the coming of the whites with their novel possessions and the extinction of the Indians. One such was a Lower Thompson chief, Pe' lak, who about 1855 or earlier predicted the advent of white settlers (1935: 59-60).

Also, citing information from a Tenino source, Spier records:

A very old 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 come some day, 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 (Spier, 1935: 22).

This ambivalence is also apparent in the prophecy revealed in a vision to a man near Agassiz in about 1840.
Someone will come all dressed in black, dressed up like a woman, to teach you. These men who come with black suits on will be half bad and half good* (Duff, 1952: 121).

* My emphasis.

As previously mentioned, the content of the prophecies and associated movements, with their strong emphasis on acquisition of the material possessions of the Whites, are reminiscent of Melanesian cargo cults. The ability of the traders to satisfy new wants was not necessarily accepted without question. A Kutenai woman prophet declared in 1811 that...

... the whites had cheated the Indians by trading whereas it had been intended by 'the great white chief' that presents alone should be made (Spier, 1935: 26).

The following account, reported by Sir John Franklin in 1820 concerning a group of Chipewyan Indians, reflects a similar attitude.

This fellow had prophesied that there would soon be a complete change in the face of their country; that fertility and plenty would succeed to the present sterility; and that the present race of white inhabitants, unless they became subservient to the Indians, would be removed, and their place be filled by other traders, who would supply their wants in every possible manner (Spier, 1935: 25).

Spier's accounts of various prophet movements provide evidence for the view that acquisition of the material possessions of the Whites was a significant feature of these activities. He refers to an Upper Chinook prophet who supposedly made his appearance "... long before the coming of the Whites".

This man dreamed he saw strange people and heard new songs. Everyone, young and old, gathered to hear him and then danced for joy
'every day and every night'. He predicted the arrival of the whites and their marvellous possessions (Spier, 1935: 16-17).

McIlwraith also reports the news of a vision which he calculates reached the Bella Coola in about 1800.

Strange people, somewhat resembling yourselves, are approaching from the far east. They will help you out of your plight. You will find them cooking without the cumbersome boiling box; their houses will be warm and they will even have smooth coverings to their floors; there will be special places for sleeping and wonderful cooking-pots. Though all will be warm in these houses, yet the fire will be invisible (1948, Vol.1: 589).

As well as referring frequently to the goods and possessions of the incoming Whites, a number of the prophecies contained moral teachings and also prescribed correct behaviour and conduct to the White man. Certain individuals among the Lillooet who had the gift of prophecy "... cured the sick, and told how to live and act" (Spier, 1935: 61). Deans gives an account of a Haida prophet, Skaga Belus, which contains several significant points. After disappearing for a year, Skaga Belus returned to his people. Deans writes:

Still anxious to teach them everything good, the more earnest was he to urge them to love and help each other, and above all to keep from inter-tribal wars. He further told them, if they did so they would become a great, a happy and a prosperous people. If... they fought tribe against tribe... they would become weak, because few in numbers, and at last a fair complexioned race of people from the land of the rising sun would come and take possession of their country and all their belongings, until their existence as a people would cease.... When these people came, they (the Haidas) were neither to kill nor ill treat them, because they would bring among them implements far better than the rude stone ones then in use.
And he also told them that these people would give them a new and better food... with his latest breath could be heard to say, "Be kind to each other" (Deans, 1891: 81-84).

Spier points out that prophets in the Southern Okanagon area "... preached a more righteous and God-fearing life" in addition to the other typical prophetic pronouncements. They "... exhorted the community not to fight, lie, steal, commit rape, or sin in other ways..." (Spier, 1935: 8).

Such moral teaching is characteristic of millenary prophets and it has been suggested that this moral code introduced by the prophets, as well as rejecting certain kinds of conduct, demonstrates "... the concern of the prophets with the ills of everyday life, such as sickness, and tension within small groups..." (Mair, 1959: 128).

Concerned as they were with the place of native people in the future and with their relationship to the White man, the early prophet movements are significant for what they reveal about the supposed connections between Indians and White men. A Fraser Lake woman prophet named Bopa taught, among other things, that

... the dead become white men on the far side of a great sea, and that the whites, who were then beginning to enter the country of the Carrier, were their own kinsmen returning to their old homes (Jenness, 1943: 549).

The belief that White men were Indians returning from the dead or creatures from the supernatural world is also found in connection with some of the early explorers.

When Simon Fraser and his party reached Fraser Lake in 1806, the local Indians... looked upon them as the reincarnated shades of cremated
Indians, because they not only came from the east, up the Nechako river, but they blew smoke from their mouths (Jenness, 1934: 257).

A similar reception was accorded the first missionaries by the Shuswap Indians, as Spier notes.

The Shuswap... believed that first priests who arrived were Coyote and his assistants presaging the great event [i.e. Doomsday] (Spier, 1935: 18).

Such beliefs can be seen as attempts to explain the presence of White men in terms which placed both Indian and White men in the same conceptual scheme of things. The intrusion of the White man brought about a fundamental change in the closed cultural system of the Indians. They were now exposed to a social group impinging on their narrow world and first attempts to accommodate these aliens placed them in the Indians' traditional cultural context. They were all part of the same order; the White men were not an anomalous singularity, they were dead Indians, ancestors, returning home. Such a belief 'explained' the White man and at the same time asserted the equivalence of Indians and Whites. That these initial beliefs did not last for long does not affect the premise on which they were founded. Similar attitudes underlay the development of the prophet movements, which sought accommodation to the new cultural presence.

A significant feature in the development of messianic movements in this area is what Spier termed "the Christianized form of the Prophet Dance" (1935: 30ff). Spier is concerned to show that a phase of the Prophet Dance which emerged in the 1820's and 1830's having a strong Christian emphasis was an overlay of the 'original form'. He endeavours to
point out that what historians have regarded as the 'self-Christianization' of many of the Indians of the interior plateau was in fact the superimposition of various elements of Christianity on the original Prophet Dance. While we have disagreed with Spier that the so-called Prophet Dance was an entirely indigenous phenomenon, supporting the view that it constituted an initial reaction to contact, we do not have reason to disagree with his view that

... it was the prior existence of the Prophet Dance which explains both the ready acceptance of Christianity at its point of introduction and its rapid spread (1935: 30).

In fact, we can go as far as to say that, in the light of what we have discussed about the conditions surrounding the emergence of the prophet movements, the acceptance of elements of Christianity was a logical development in the social and religious change in the area. While Spier's answer to the question of "why Christianity should have taken so strong a hold upon these particular natives" (1935: 30) is found in reference to the prior existence of Prophet Dance, our focus encourages us to enquire further. We can see the interest in Christianity in terms similar to those which stimulated the actual prophet movements. Spier's focus precludes him from asking why the Indians were interested in Christianity, and why elements of Christianity were included in the basic ritual of the Prophet Dance.

In the category of 'indisputably Christian elements' in the Prophet Dance Suttles includes the observance of a Sabbath, the use of written documents for preaching, the sign of the cross and Christian terms such as Jesus Christ and amen (1957: 386). Elements which may have been
native as well as Christian include a belief in a supreme being, group worship and confession (1957: 376). These elements combined with the earlier movement to produce the so-called 'Christianized Prophet Dance'. Spier notes that this version began in the Columbia-Snake country and diffused northward, affecting the Salish tribes, Athapaskans, Tsimshian, Tlingit and Haida (1935: 36-39). The Carrier prophet of the Bulkley river, Beni, was typical of this particular phase of the general movement. Morice recorded that he taught a series of beliefs, including the sign of the cross, songs, a doctrine of repentance and atonement, and a code of morality (1904: 234-236).

The incorporation of such overt symbols of Christianity as mentioned reveal an attempt to absorb the new cultural force impinging on the Indians from the outside. The rituals and gestures were practised, but not necessarily understood. These elements of Christianity did not, however, conflict with the changing assumptions. As Spier pointed out,

So far as the natives were concerned then the new religion from the east was confirmation and stimulus to existing beliefs (1935: 35).

This interest in Christianity, or at least elements of it, which became apparent in the later stages of the prophet movements, was to be more clearly shown in the acceptance of the new religion as presented by the incoming missionaries. In a sense, this 'imported millenialism' offered a ready-made pattern for a religious movement (Wilson, 1963: 105). The expression of Christianity was quickly imitated by the Indians and, as will be seen, appeared to substitute for or function as a sort of native millenarian movement.
CHAPTER 3
MISSIONARIES, MESSAGES, AND MEDIA

It has been shown how pre-missionary contacts with the White man were responsible for changes in religious activities, and that the prophet movements which developed in the Pacific Northwest area in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries constituted an initial reaction to contact with the White man. We have examined some of the conditions which led to the development of these prophet movements and some of the typical expectations which were revealed in them. We now turn our attention to the arrival of missionaries in the area and will examine interpretations given by the Indians to Christianity. The significance of early interest in elements of Christianity, which became apparent in the later stages of the prophet movements, has previously been mentioned. Available missionary literature records some of the Indian attitudes and ideas prevalent both at the time of the missionaries' arrival and during their subsequent work. It is possible to examine these attitudes and ask to what extent they are comparable to those expressed in the earlier prophet movements, and to what extent they are a development of the overall trend of native thought.

Missionary activity is, needless to say, a significant factor in bringing about social and religious change. Indeed, it has been noted that the main aim of the missionary is

... to transform the inner life of the tribe and of the individual. They are cooperating in creating a new religious, moral and often social order (Westermann and Thurnwald, 1948).
In view of the importance of missionary work in its attempt to bring about change in the social and religious spheres, it is necessary to examine briefly some relevant aspects of the social and theological background of the missionary movement itself, its aims and methods, to see what results these had in practical terms.

Of particular significance in the discussion of the philosophy and ideals of missionary movements is the part played by millenial expectations in their own development. This is pertinent because of the effect which millenial expectations, inherent in missionary thinking, may have had on the native population. The missionaries' enthusiastic hopes for the future may have been readily conveyed to the Indians, who were becoming more and more concerned about their own future and their relationship with the White man.

De Jong (1970) discusses the importance of biblically-based, millenial expectations in the rise of the Anglo-American missionary movement in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These expectations largely consisted of a vision of the global diffusion of Christian knowledge in an era when faith in Christ would become universal. De Jong explains the nineteenth century surge in Protestant missions from Britain and America as partially the result of this earlier vision which was inspired by the hope for world-wide Christianity. He notes that "... often a strong desire to realize the promised age of glory for the church motivated mission work" (1970: 2), and

... it was the belief in the approach of an era when the gospel would be universally proclaimed which motivated the formation of missionary societies and revitalized existing missions (1970: 3).
An indication of the stimulus provided by such millenial expectations is provided in a statement by an early Protestant missionary who visited the Northwest coast in 1829;

Will not all who watch the dawn of millenium day, pray and labor, that on these shores and upon these hills, the voice of the Christian ambassador may be heard...?
(J. S. Green, 1915: 105).

Universal knowledge of Christ had to be achieved through preaching and teaching and therein lay the missionary task. Large scale evangelistic efforts began in the late eighteenth century in Britain, the Church Missionary Society for example, being founded by the Evangelicals in 1799. De Jong notes that this particular society relied on millenial expectations for missionary vision and inspiration both before and after 1800 (1970: 114). The emphasis on the proliferation of knowledge of Christ during the millenium led the new societies to understand that their major responsibility was the proclamation of that knowledge. It also encouraged the emergence of figures willing to undertake missionary work (De Jong, 1970: 198).

Conversion to Christianity involved more than a change of religion. As far as the missionaries were concerned, it also involved the substitution of elements of western culture for traditional culture. Everywhere, missionaries attempted to persuade the natives to 'settle down' and adopt new ways of life in order to preach to them more successfully. 'Christianization' thus came to be inextricably linked with 'civilization', the one necessitating the other.

North American Indians were among the primary targets of Anglo-American missionary work concerned with the salvation of the native. One
of the main stated objectives of early colonization on the eastern seaboard was to impart the gospel to the heathen and to create an orderly Christian society among the settlers which would so impress the natives that they would be encouraged to join the Christian faith (De Jong, 1970: 31). Earliest English mission efforts were rooted in decades of theorizing about heathens and England's responsibility towards them. Many social movements of the age were dominated by ideas of reform and Christian humanitarianism, and it was generally held that western culture was superior and should be the possession of all people. Colonization would provide centres from which English trade and customs, and then the gospel, would penetrate all nations of the earth (De Jong, 1970: 31). As indicated earlier then, missionary activities were only part of the various forces of colonialism, experienced collectively by native peoples (Balandier, 1966: 39).

Another minor but interesting aspect of the millenial expectations in the missionary movement may be noted. This concerns the old notions about the Jewish origin of North American Indians, supposed descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel. De Jong (1970: 224) recalls the belief held by some Christian groups that conversion of the Jews would herald the beginning of the millenium, with its vision of world-wide Christianity. At least one missionary to the Pacific Northwest, Samuel Hall Young, who arrived in Fort Wrangell, Alaska in 1878, held the belief about the Jewish origin of the Indians. In attempting to account for the apparent similarities between certain Bible stories and Alaskan native legends, as well as for the ready acceptance by the Indians of the doctrines concerning the Holy Spirit and blood-atonement, Young points out
that these provide striking evidence "... in proof of their derivation from the same generic stock as the ancient Jews" (Young, 1927: 101). For those who held such views, conversion of Indians, supposed descendants of the Jews, was perhaps even more directly linked to the hastening of the millenium.

In examining the role of the missionaries in the general context of Indian and White relations and as part of the larger colonial presence, it will help to take account of at least two main points to understand how the missionary was perceived by the Indians and to assess the extent of his representativeness vis-a-vis other Whites. Firstly, the missionaries were not typical White men. Brown has pointed out that missionaries represent a western sub-culture (1944). Stressing theology and moral taboos more than his fellow country-men, the missionary is distinguished by the intensity of his belief and more rigid adherence to a particular theological code. It seems that missionaries themselves were at some pains to point out that they were different from most other Whites already encountered by native peoples. An example is found in the journal of the Protestant missionary, J. S. Green. In explaining his reasons for coming to visit them, Green explicitly told some of the Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands that "... trade is no part of my object" (1915: 64). Such assertions were no doubt designed to arouse the curiosity of the Indians, as well as stress the uniqueness of the missionaries' purpose.

Missionaries were aware that they represented only a part of western culture. In the missionary literature, reference is frequently made to the debauching effects of first contact with 'unscrupulous Whites', to their 'coarse vices' and 'foul habits' and the consequent need to
counteract such influence. In drawing attention to the necessity of establishing a mission as quickly as possible on the Northwest coast, J. S. Green states:

How desirable then that the natives of this wilderness should hear the Gospel, before they are prejudiced against it by the fraud, injustice and dissolute lives of men, who give up the blessing of Christianity, that they may not be troubled with its restraints (1915: 18).

This problem was perhaps most imminent for Green, who was trying to teach the blessing of Christianity from a trading vessel, whose crew was hardly a paragon of Christian virtue. This may have been the source of the doubt apparently expressed by some of the Indians about Green's sincerity (Green, 1915: 71).

Yet, despite his avowedly different purpose, the missionary was still a White man and part of the colonial power, and this point indicates the second aspect of how the missionary could have been perceived by Indians. The native population had come to have certain expectations of Europeans' behaviour and their attitudes. Hence, the Indians may not have found it easy initially to regard the missionary outside of the usual frame of reference to which they were already accustomed. The missionary would have to behave differently and reveal divergent attitudes before the initial perception of the Indians would be modified.

The aim of the missionary was to teach those elements of his culture which were of primary importance to him. While noting the lack of collected material on how missionaries present a new religion, Peel (1967: 127) indicates that there are two broad approaches apparent in this. One emphasizes the discontinuity involved in adopting a new
religion, while the other emphasizes the continuity between old and new. Both approaches are evident in the presentation of Christianity to the Indians of British Columbia. For the most part, missionaries were opportunistic, for while condemning most aboriginal beliefs and practices and therefore emphasizing discontinuity and the need to reject the past, at the same time they utilized any similarities and themes of continuity which suited their aims (e.g. William Duncan of Metlakatla, Usher, 1969).

It is apparent that the missionaries' task was made easier initially by virtue of the fact that in certain areas the ground was prepared for them by native prophets. Thought not necessarily aware of it at the time, missionaries entered a situation of change which was favourably disposed to what they had to offer. Leaders of the later prophet movements modelled themselves on the missionaries, and their activities and behaviour reveal something of the image they first had of these new men of religion. As well as 'preparing the way' for the incoming missionaries, these later prophets, as harbingers, symbolized the meaning of early interest in Christianity. As previously indicated, they anticipated the changes to come, the power of the Whites and the need to accommodate to the changing situation. The later prophet movements, particularly the more Christianized forms, developed after missionaries had travelled through the area. Almost all the native prophets imitated aspects of Christian ritual, including the role of the priest. These Christianized movements cannot be understood outside the frame of reference of contact with Christianity, for they indicate the initial interpretation given to the new religion.
An example of the way in which a native prophet prepared the ground for a particular missionary is given in a study of William Duncan, an Anglican missionary who began work in Port Simpson in 1857. The incident was related to Duncan by local Indians and officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. An Indian from the interior had appeared in Port Simpson prior to Duncan's arrival and promised that a teacher would be sent. Duncan later reported:

The sum total of his teaching amounted to a few popish ceremonies, mixed with Indian customs. Crossing - bowing - wearing crosses around the neck - singing and dancing without laughing were all he demanded. The enthusiasm of the man was so great and his appearance and tenets so startling that the Indians almost to a man welcomed him and obeyed his injunctions. The officers in charge of the Fort were astounded to see how readily they responded to this man's call (Usher, 1969: 117).

Another case of a native prophet imitating a Christian priest is provided by Beni, a prophet among the Bulkley river Carrier. Various accounts of this prophet's activities have been written, giving different versions of the story (Barbeau, 1923; Jenness, 1943). All agree, however, that having disappeared for a while, Beni returned to teach his followers to say prayers, make the sign of the cross, repent and lead a new life. The puzzle presented by this story was that, despite the obvious similarity between Beni's teaching and that of a Christian missionary, the activities of the native prophet antedated the appearance of missionaries in his area. An interesting clue to the puzzle is provided by G. H. Raley, which indicates a possible connection between the early Russian missionaries in Alaska and Indians of the northern interior and coast of British Columbia.
In discussing the significance of the work of Veniaminoff, a Russian missionary, Raley quotes the following story.

A bright old man, Absileahkus, related the following to me about three years ago:— "In my father's days, the Stikine Indians came across the country to trade with us at Kitamaat for the oil of the oolican fish. They told my father that the great spirit had sent Beni* (* Short for Veniaminoff. The nearest approach to the name contracted, as pronounced by the Coast Indians) with a strange and wonderful message to this effect that the chief of the above is our father. He wishes us to be good, if we do good and live at peace he will reward us; if we do evil he will punish us."

Raley goes on to say,

Veniaminoff in his travels by canoe, visited various tribes on the Stikine. The Stikine Indians contacted the Tsimp sheans on the Skeena. This missionary's influence had a permanent effect, through his inspired message, on the Kitamaat people who, on their travels met many Christians... (undated MS, Provincial Archives, Victoria, pp.2-3).

This story offers an intriguing view of the history of the prophet Beni. It seems quite possible that during his disappearance, Beni heard of the 'strange and wonderful' message of the missionary Veniaminoff through contact with the Stikine Indians, gave himself the contracted version of the missionary's name and went back to teach his people the new religion. Hence the Christian elements in his ritual. The significance of this interpretation lies in the effect which missionary activity had on the native prophet movements and the desire of the native prophet to imitate the preaching of the missionary.

Before examining aspects of Indian interest in Christianity, we will describe and consider the arrival of missionaries into the area.
All the first missionary contacts with Indians of the North Pacific coast were made during the voyages of the early explorers and maritime fur traders. Priests accompanied many of the early vessels and although directly concerned with the spiritual needs of the crew, they did contact the native population. In 1774 two Franciscan friars arrived at Nootka Sound with Juan Perez's expedition and in 1789 four Franciscans accompanied Martinez on his voyage to the Northwest coast. The settlement established in 1789 at Nootka Sound included a Catholic church.

In most of the literature in English relating to early missionary contact in the area little mention is made of the significance and effect of Russian missionaries in Alaska. This may be partially a result of the fact that studies relating to early contact in British Columbia have tended not to extend the limits of their information beyond the boundaries of the present province and have generally omitted reference to contacts in neighbouring areas. We have noted in the story of Beni just quoted the significance of a possible connection between Russian missionaries in Alaska and the emergence of 'Christianized' native prophets.

In his Brief History of the Early Days of the Kitamaat Mission (MS, nd., Provincial Archives of B.C.), the Rev. George Henry Raley indicates the importance of the early Russian missionaries on the Northwest coast, noting that the Empress Catherine of Moscow declared as early as 1793 that missionaries should be sent to the new colonies to spread Christianity among the heathen. In particular, Raley recalls the Russian Orthodox missionary, Veniaminoff, as one of the remarkable men in the early history of mission work on the Northwest coast. Veniaminoff's work apparently
... either directly or indirectly affected powerfully the early days of Christianity at Kitamaat... for he was one of the church to leave a lasting impression on whites and Indians in Alaska and in communities on the Northwest coast of the Pacific (Raley, nd., p.2).

Further reference is made to the presence and significance of Russian missionaries in Alaska in reports documented in J. S. Green's *Journal of a Tour on the North West coast...* (1915). These reports reached the American Mission at the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) via trading ships which were returning from business on the Northwest coast. In October 1821 the crew of a ship gave the information that at Norfolk Sound, Alaska

... is a small Russian settlement, a fort, a church and a school under the care of two competent instructors and open for the reception of native youths along the coast (1915: 9).

A letter from the Russian Governor of the area dated September 5, 1820 informed the American missionaries

... that, except a few wandering tribes, all the Aborigines enjoy the sweet blessing of the Gospel of our Lord, and even these wandering tribes are visited by our priests, to recommend to them the principles of Christianity (1915: 13).

This statement may overestimate the extent of influence of the missionaries, but it does serve to indicate a firm beginning to their activities.

A Protestant missionary, J. S. Green was sent, in February 1829 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to investigate the need for a mission in the Pacific Northwest. He accompanied the trading vessel 'Volunteer' and travelled from the Russian settlement at Norfolk Sound in the north, to the Queen Charlotte Islands and other trading stops on the mainland, as far south as Oregon and California. His
journal is valuable for the references he makes to the reaction of the Indians both to himself and other Whites, and also for the indication it gives of the message he attempted to convey to the Indians and the reasons he gave for coming to them.

The first missionaries to set up permanent missions in the southern part of the area, working from the mainland rather than the coastal trading vessels and more concerned with the needs of the native population, were Roman Catholics. In 1838 the Oblate missionaries, Demers and Blanchet, arrived at Fort Vancouver on the lower Columbia river from St. Boniface, Manitoba. In 1841, Demers visited Fort Langley, preaching, performing baptisms and marriages. Apparently, he found the Indians there eager for instruction in Christianity, already being familiar with the sign of the cross and some hymns which they had learned from contact with the tribes of Puget Sound previously visited by the Oblates. Demers taught elements of Catholicism using Blanchet's 'Catholic Ladder', a device which was popular with the Indians, consisting of a long sheet of paper on which was drawn in symbolic form the history of the church, significant events from the Bible and important days in the church calendar. After the visit to the Fraser valley, Demers returned to Fort Vancouver and the following year he travelled north to New Caledonia, visiting Fort Kamloops, Fort Alexander and Fort St. James. Chapels were constructed at Fort Alexander and Williams Lake, and Demers returned to Fort Vancouver in 1843.

The southern interior of British Columbia was visited in 1840 by a Jesuit missionary, De Smet, and when James Douglas established Fort Victoria in 1843 he was accompanied by the Rev. John Bolduc, another
Oblate missionary from Quebec, who subsequently baptised many children in the area and celebrated mass with Songhees, Clallam and Cowichan Indians. In 1845 and 1846, another Jesuit missionary, John Nobili, also travelled to the northern interior of British Columbia, visiting most of the Carrier Indians. In 1847, Demers was consecrated Bishop of the diocese of Vancouver Island, and in the same year four more Oblate missionaries arrived in Oregon Territory from France to establish missions among the Yakima and Cayuse Indians. These missions were to encounter difficulties because of the hostilities developing in the area between Indians and Whites, and so in 1858 the Oblates withdrew from Oregon Territory, leaving only their missions at Olympia and Tulalip. They moved north into British Columbia, founding a mission at Esquimalt in 1858. From this point priests were sent out to investigate possible sites for establishing further missions, to survey the extent of Protestant missionary activity and the degree of interest on the part of the Indians. A need was recognized for setting up permanent missions, following the earlier, more exploratory journeys undertaken by Catholic missionaries. The Okanagan mission was established in 1859 by Father Pandosy, and another Oblate missionary, Father Chirouse, began extensive expeditions among the tribes of Vancouver Island, to determine the disposition of the natives. Chirouse was eagerly received by the Indians near Nanaimo in 1860 on another journey, and also travelled as far north as Fort Rupert and Milbanke Sound, baptizing many children on the way.

The Oblates extended their missionary work. In 1861, St. Mary's Mission was established on the Fraser river; in 1863 a mission was
consecrated at Fort Rupert; and in 1864 churches were built in Nanaimo and Victoria.

Apart from the 1829 visit of J. S. Green, the first Protestant missionaries on the Northwest coast were Anglicans, the Rev. and Mrs. Beaver who arrived at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia river in 1836. The Rev. Beaver was ostensibly chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company's employees at the fort, little contact was apparently made with the Indians of the surrounding area and the Beavers left after two years. An Anglican mission was established at Fort Victoria in 1849, and the well-known mission station among the Tsimshian at Port Simpson was established by William Duncan in 1857, the new Christian community at Metlakatla being formed in 1862. By 1864, Anglican missionaries were also working from sites at Fort Langley, Nanaimo, Hope, Yale, Lillooet, Douglas and Sapperton. Further north, missionaries were established on the Nass river and during the 1870's extended their field to include the upper Skeena river and the Queen Charlotte Islands.

The first Methodist missionaries arrived in the lower mainland area in 1859, working among both Whites and Indians. They established missions at Victoria, Nanaimo and Hope, and with the arrival in 1862 of Rev. Thomas Crosby, work on Vancouver Island and in the Fraser valley was extended. In the 1870's, Methodist missionary work on the northern coast increased as a result of conversions of Indians who acted as native preachers in several villages. One such native preacher was W. H. Pierce, a converted Tsimshian, who records the arrival of Christianity in several villages on the coast in his autobiography (1933). Other Methodist
missions were located on the Nass river, on the Skeena river and on the Queen Charlotte Islands. Some friction existed between these and the Anglican missions which were in close proximity.

Most of these missionaries were eagerly received, in fact there were a number of instances of requests from Indians for missionaries to visit or stay with them permanently. Evidence of this early interest in Christianity is found in 1821, when Rev. Green noted in reference to Indians of the northern part of the coast,

A desire for instruction begins to be manifest among them.... Some of the savages when they heard of missionaries being sent to teach the Sandwich Islanders, inquired why they were not sent to them (1915: 9).

In the same year, a letter was sent from the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands to 'the head chief of the most important tribe on the Northwest coast, called Captain Skittegates', who had enquired why the missionaries did not come to him. These missionaries attempted to explain the intention of the mission to the chief and suggested that he send some of his own children to them to be educated, 'with a view to their future usefulness to the tribe'. This, the missionaries expected, would prepare the way for a mission among the Indians of the Northwest coast (Green, 1915: 14-15).

In 1841, when the Catholic missionary Demers visited Fort Langley, hundreds of Indians apparently came from many parts of the southern coast to hear the 'blackrobe' speak. Morice records that one Yooklta chief assured Demers that he would carry the 'wonderful message from heaven' to his people (1910: 301). This same author records that four tribes, the Carriers, Chilcotins, Babines and Sekanais, had heard directly or indirectly of the 'man of God' and were clamouring for the
favour of a visit from him. As news of the missionaries spread, requests were more frequently made for them to visit different groups of Indians. In 1867, a Carrier chief went to Quesnel to ask for a priest (Morice, 1910: 334). The Methodist mission in Port Simpson was officially established as a result of a strong petition from the Tsimshian (Pierce, 1933: 14), and W. H. Collison, an Anglican missionary who had been working at Metlakatla, crossed to the Queen Charlottes in 1876 at the request of one of the Haida chiefs to announce the opening of a mission there (Collison, 1916). Such enthusiastic interest was very gratifying to the missionaries, but rather than simply noting it we need to explain it.

Different writers have stressed various reasons for this interest in Christianity in explaining the enthusiastic acceptance of the new religion. Morice indicated that it was necessary to keep up missionary efforts among Indians because "... much of their first fervour is usually attributable to enthusiasm consequent on novelty" (1910, Vol,2: 317). Rather than attributing the appeal to novelty, however, Spier stresses links between Christianity and the old beliefs apparent in the Prophet Dance:

The doctrines are parallel; the rites are not in conflict. Both tell of an apocalyptic end with the return to earth of its pristine happiness and the resurrection of the dead, the way prepared by a righteous life and a strict adherence to devotions; in both prophets bring affirmation (1935: 35).

This explanation of the ready acceptance of Christianity accords well with the point made earlier concerning native prophets preparing the way for the missionaries. But Spier's position rests on the assumption that the Prophet Dance was not a reaction to White contact and in his
analysis of the so-called 'Christianized Form of the Prophet Dance' his main concern is to segregate native ingredients from Christian ones in order to show indigenous roots (1935: 35). The relationship between the Prophet Dance and Christianity is regarded as coincidental and Spier does not carry his analysis further and ask why the Indians were interested in incorporating Christian elements into their ritual and why they became more interested in accepting Christianity as presented by the missionaries. Alternatively, accepting that the Prophet Dance was a reaction to White contact, yet recognizing the significance of parallel doctrines as an important factor in facilitating acceptance of the new religion, we are in a better position to assess the interest which the Indians showed in Christianity. Spier's explanation is only partial, the main objection to it being that similarity of doctrine and rite alone cannot explain the ready acceptance of Christianity. The same line of reasoning could well be used to explain why a group of people chose to retain their indigenous beliefs. Other explanations need to be taken into account to give a more complete understanding of the phenomenon.

Suttles suggests another reason for the acceptance of and interest in Christianity, which, he states "... is the one so often given for a primitive people's conversion";

> The whites are more powerful, therefore it must be that their religion is more powerful. Let us accept their religion and gain their power.

Further,

> In the native system, success was usually interpreted as resulting from the possession of some sort of power. The whites were certainly more powerful, and the whites themselves argued that conversion was the first step in becoming like whites (1954: 70).
This reasoning is not disputed, but again, dealt with separately, only offers a partial explanation. While mentioning the significance of parallels between the new religion and native beliefs, Suttles does not make clear the connection between changing assumptions about power and changing religious activities, the effect of disruptive culture contact and the significance of the desire for the power of the Whites.

A final suggestion as to the reason for Indian interest in Christianity is that previous culture contact had been detrimental to Indian social systems and that the Indians were 'unsettled' (Barnett, 1942). The missionaries are said to have arrived at an opportune time, for the Indians were prepared to accept the teachings of the missionaries as the promise of something better. The success of the missionaries is attributed mainly to the nature of the social situation and their ability to take advantage of it. But we need to know more about the reasons for the 'unsettlement', why the arrival of the missionaries was 'opportune', and what it was that the missionaries were giving which appealed to the Indians.

In combination, these various explanations provide a more satisfactory interpretation of Indian interest in Christianity. This interest can best be understood as part of an overall process of post-contact religious activity in the area and as a continuation of the interest shown in the preceding prophet movements. But there is another point which is relevant and needs stressing, largely because it appears to have been underestimated, yet provides a framework for analysing the appeal of missionary Christianity. This involves what can be termed 'messages and
media', and focuses on the content of what the missionaries were offering the Indians. It is necessary to distinguish the actual messages of the missionaries from the media they used, to show whether there was any difference in the reactions of the Indians to what was being communicated and how it was being communicated.

The message of the missionaries largely concerned the need for spiritual enlightenment, love and goodness. But abstract ideas had to be conveyed in terms meaningful to the native population, and together with the emphasis on both 'Christianization' and 'civilization', this led missionaries to give attention to the material welfare of potential converts in order to save them. Thompson (1962) has noted that evangelical benevolence was not preoccupied with spiritual welfare at the expense of physical welfare and that the missionaries were well acquainted with the difference between saving souls and saving people.

The missionaries attempted to convey their Christian messages in different ways. The media took various forms and the activities of native prophets revealed what aspects of Christianity were initially absorbed - crossing, proselytizing as well as some moral concepts. These were some of the initial media perceived. Later, missionaries offered the Indians the same education as the White man. Schools would be provided where Indians could learn to read and write: Christianity was presented through the medium of ritual and organizational forms; material items were offered to the Indians as incentives to becoming converted. All these things were media for the Christian message, yet it is apparent on further analysis that by becoming involved in the media, the message was scarcely comprehended by the Indians; the media used by the missionaries in fact
constituted the message of Christianity to the majority of Indians. At this point, therefore, it is relevant to examine more closely the message and preaching of the missionaries, before outlining the significance of the various media which were used. This should enable a more complete understanding of the appeal of missionary Christianity.

One of the main themes stressed by missionaries in their preaching to various groups of Indians concerned in general 'the future'. This theme fitted well into the prophetic ambience already established. The missionaries frequently contrasted the present 'evil' and 'corrupt' life of the Indians with the happy and prosperous life of the future if they became converted to Christianity. William Duncan, the Anglican missionary at Metlakatla illustrated to the Tsimshian their present and possible condition by showing them a rotten stick and a healthy stick (Usher, 1969: 126). Further, he tried to point to their misery by telling them

Tsimshian are not happy, but poor-miserable and diseased. Why so? Because their way is not God's way. You see misery follows sin here. Why do you stick to your sins then? (Usher, 1969: 231).

Having tried to convince the Indians of their sinfulness, Duncan offered them an alternative in the Christian way of life.

The theme contrasting the present and future of the Indians is further indicated in the early preachings of J. S. Green on his journey in 1829. In August of that year he was able to record:

I have been able to tell them in their own tongue, the object I have in view in coming hither, and the wishes of the Christian public in my own country to do them good. I have told them of God and their duty and
with some of them have had a very pleasant intercourse... I labored to the extent of my ability to show them their necessitous circumstances, and the inestimable value of Christian instruction (1915: 33-34).

Further indications of the message which Green conveyed to the Indians of the Northwest coast are revealed in the following:

... through my interpreter, I told them my object, what had been done at the Islands, and what the gospel could do for them. I told them of the Bible, which disclosed the character of God, and Jesus Christ, which taught men to be good, made them happy in this world, and prepared them for heaven; and I asked them if they did not wish to be instructed, to receive teachers, have the Bible, learn to read, and become good and happy (1915: 56).

According to the Russian Governor at Sitka, the Indians reacted favourably to Green's visit. "The intelligence of my arrival and object will, he thinks, spread widely among different tribes" (1915: 57).

R. C. L. Brown, an Anglican missionary who worked among the Lillooet and Chilcotin Indians in the 1860's also stressed the changed conditions of the future. The following quotation represents a conversation which Brown had with a group of Indians sentenced to death for the murder of some White men, but can be taken as indicating the nature of the message regularly conveyed to the Indians in the area:

After the present race of whites had passed away, I said, there would come a better generation. Indian children would be educated and taught to understand the mysteries of reading and writing. They would also learn trades. Their people would be raised above the low and sensual life they now led, and learn to find pleasure in useful work. They would no longer live an unsettled and roving life, a life in which virtue and
religion were alike impossible. They would build good houses and till the soil, and wear respectable clothing; each having his own separate dwelling, being each the head of his own family, having but one wife, as the Lord had ordained. A race of Indian priests should be trained up who should understand as well as the white priests the knowledge of the Highest, and proclaim it in the Indian language to the Indian tribes. Then they would no longer be at constant war with other Indians. Whites and Indians, too, would live together in peace and righteousness (1873: 114-115).

This passage reveals several aspects within the general theme of 'the future', which may be presumed to have had considerable appeal to the Indians. Firstly, the missionary's prophesy of spiritual and material comforts if the Indians followed the Christian way of life and secondly, the assertion of the equivalence of the Indians and White men. Christianity would enable the Indians to become the moral equals of the White man, with the same abilities, possessions and way of life. This change would involve a repudiation of Indian identity, a phenomenon which became more apparent in the later mass conversions to Christianity.

The stress on the future in the missionaries' message had particular significance when coupled with their attempt to 'save' Indians. Guiart has stressed "... an essential aspect of the symbolism of conversion in Oceanian thought", namely that of 'life versus death' (1962: 131). He points out that acceptance of Christianity came to be considered as a total choice, "... adherence to the more important aspects of paganism inevitably spelling death". The same theme is apparent in the area under study. The 'life versus death' theme had a literal meaning, for missionaries often encouraged the belief that epidemics and
other misfortunes were punishment for non-believers. Krause notes that in 1834 Veniaminoff had tried without success to persuade the Indians at Sitka to use smallpox vaccine. In 1835, the smallpox epidemic came and decimated the Indian population, while none of the Russians contracted the disease.

Now they saw that the Russians had greater knowledge than they, and their own cures of ice and snow and the shamans' practice had not helped them.... So, as Veniaminoff thinks, the smallpox epidemic of 1835, since it convinced the Tlingit of the obviously superior knowledge of the whites and shattered their faith in the shaman, became the turning point in their spiritual development (1956: 223-224).

Duncan's move to Metlakatla from Port Simpson in 1862 provides another example. It has been noted that this missionary's converts escaped the smallpox epidemic while the heathen who remained at Port Simpson suffered badly (Duff, 1964: 93). No doubt this incident was taken as showing that 'death' was the fate of non-believers.

Raley records an event which illustrates the misfortunes held to be in store for the heathen, and the good fortune for the Christians. No date is given for the incident, which occurred in connection with the work of a missionary, Miss Lawrence, at Kitamaat, but it probably took place in the late nineteenth century.

The oolachan or small fish was the essential food supply of the Kitamaat people. The day when the swarm was expected was Sunday. Miss Lawrence exhorted the Christian people not to break the Sabbath assuring them that she believed God would protect them if they obeyed his commandments. They resolved to do so. The heathen made all preparations and on midnight Saturday they started to set out and fixed their nets in the river, work which occupied the greater part of the Sabbath.
Their nets were soon filled but at night a black fish, a species of whale, at high tide broke the net and ate the fish. The broken nets were carried out to sea and the tide receded, thus it was that the heathen people lost both nets and fish. When the promised light in Miss Lawrence's window indicated the Sabbath was passed, the Christians repaired to the river, fixed their nets during the night and on Monday were rewarded by a great catch of fish. This test of faith had a remarkable effect on the heathen who decided that the Christian God the Great Spirit must be on the side of his people and many were converted (Raley, nd., MS in Provincial Archives).

Apart from these literal 'life versus death' aspects of the missionaries' message, it is apparent that a further theme was that of 'the new versus the old'. Missionaries regularly presented the choice as being one of adopting the 'new way' and abandoning the 'old way'. There was rarely room for compromise, and the 'new way' was invariably presented as being the only viable alternative. Thus we find Samuel Hall Young, a Protestant missionary in Alaska, presenting the choice in the following terms:

... I told the people that we were met to decide the question as to whether the Stickeens were to remain a heathen tribe holding to the old-fashioned beliefs... or whether they were to take the new way as believers in God and followers of Jesus Christ... (1927: 138).

The question is whether you are to follow your old fashions, believe in your medicine-men and do as they say, or follow the new way... (1927: 139).

Are you going forward to learn Christian ways and bring your tribes up to the light, or are you going to sit in darkness? (1927: 142).

And the reply that Young received from one of the most influential chiefs of the tribe was phrased in the following way:
... he agreed to the fact that their ways and their old teachings and customs had brought them only war, trouble and dissension. He pointed out the superiority of the white men, their weapons, their great steamboats and their manufactures, and said: "Mr. Young has told us what is for our good... I here give up my old fashions, and declare for the new ways. I am going to learn about God and all good ways" (1927: 142).

The fact that this aspect of the Christian message was perceived in terms of a mutually exclusive choice is further shown in the case of Wahuksgumalayon (later Charlie Amos), a Kitamaat Indian. Raley describes how Wahuksgumalayon travelled to Victoria to procure whisky, heard the 'story of the Cross' and wanted to repeat the news to his own people. He returned to Kitamaat, stating that 'the new way' was the better and he had finished with 'the old way' (Raley, nd. MS).

A millenial-style of preaching the Christian message no doubt encouraged Indian expectations about the happy future awaiting converts, both on this earth and after death. Usher (1969: 234) indicates that on at least one occasion William Duncan warned the Indians of 'the coming destruction of the world', and hence by implication, the need to repent and prepare. A native preacher, W. H. Pierce, had been working at Port Essington for several months when he told the Indians the story 'The Half was never told', concerning the visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon. The Indians later came to ask Pierce the rest of the story.

"You have told us of King Solomon and all his riches, but as we have only heard the half, you will please tell us the other half"...
At last I replied; "Dear friends, keep on praying and believing, serve God faithfully to the end of your lives, and then when you reach heaven you will hear the other half" (1933: 21-22).
There is no doubt that missionaries fostered a millenarian attitude among converts through some of the methods they used. As Guiart has pointed out in relation to the situation in the South Pacific:

... the early missionaries were moreover responsible for creating the hope among the natives that they in turn could become rich through Christianization, for they doled out material goods as rewards for conversion and religious zeal (1962: 125).

In British Columbia, a similar situation developed. Not only did material goods offer an incentive to potential converts, but they also constituted one of the most significant media used by the missionaries. Missionaries offered tangible rewards and this was early recognized by many Indians in the area. Green noted on his voyage in 1829 that one chief remarked that he would protect a missionary who came to live with his people, saying that "they were all ignorant and wished to have teachers sent to them" (1915: 57). Interestingly enough, the missionary made the following remark concerning this incident:

Still I am aware that they have no correct idea of the nature of instruction, and are thinking of deriving pecuniary benefit from a plan of this kind.

The activities of an early Russian priest at Sitka also indicate the sorts of gifts offered in encouragement of interest in Christianity. This missionary "... persuaded the Indians, through a gift of a new shirt with a red cross, to allow themselves to be baptized two and three times" (Krause, 1956: 229).

The drawbacks to this sort of activity were recognized by some of the missionaries, but the pattern was already established. Samuel Hall
Young notes that one of their big blunders was that "... we gave the natives too many presents" (1927: 109). He recalls that Duncan freely distributed gifts to people at Port Simpson and Old Metlakatla before he learned the art of leading the Indians to self support. The Methodist missionaries who succeeded Duncan at Port Simpson pursued the same policy of distributing gifts. Although missionaries complained about the materialistic motives of some of their converts, such attitudes were hardly surprising in the circumstances. Various incidents indicate that the medium of material offerings in large measure became the message of Christianity to many Indians. Regarding gifts, Young points out:

Naturally, the natives thought of these as their right and reward for embracing Christianity ... they looked upon their acceptance of Christianity as a distinct favor conferred upon us! Many a time when urging an old savage to come to church, he would ask: "How much you pay me?" (1927: 109).

Usher notes that, rather than freely helping Duncan in the initial stages of his work, the Indians expected some reward. One chief apparently asked the missionary if he (Duncan) intended to pay the parents to send their children to his school (1969: 132). Krause also indicates a similar attitude in the following incident concerning the Chilkat Indians.

... after they had gone to church for half a year and sent their children to school, [they] went to the missionary and complained that they had not been rewarded for their virtue and had not received boards to build their houses as the Tsimshian had (1956: 230).

A last example serves to show that the Christian message of brotherly love and goodness was scarcely comprehended by many Indians.
Christianity appears to have been understood as an enterprise consisting of the distribution of material items. An event described by Young clearly demonstrates this point. States Young:

Many of the natives still hold the same attitude as one of my men: I found him very ill and helpless, suffering from a form of rheumatism. I cared for him for more than a year; gave him a room in one of our houses within the fort, and my wife and I tended him and nursed him as if he were a brother. We expended upon him more than a hundred dollars in medicine, food and clothing. After... he was able to return to his home and do some work, I found him standing by his small canoe on the beach one day and I said: "Charlie, I wish you would take me in your canoe over to Shustaak's point", half a mile distant.

He looked at me for a moment then said: "How much you goin' to pay me?"

"Have you no shame?" I asked. "Have you forgotten all that I have done and spent for you in the past year?"


Another form of media used by the Christian missionaries involved the teaching of reading and writing. Indians were generally very eager to acquire these skills. Usher notes that according to Duncan, there was "... a general belief among Indians that whites do possess some great secret about eternal things and they are gasping to know it" (1969: 118). Possibly because they saw the importance of reading and writing in White man's culture, Indians may well have presumed that this knowledge would unravel the secret. Furthermore, Duncan had observed that the Indians "... are brought so much into contact with the whites that they naturally desire to acquire their learning and language" (Usher, 1969: 235). While questioning how 'natural' this desire for knowledge was, we
can recognize the importance of the fact that the missionaries were to become instrumental in imparting it. The journal of one of Duncan's Indian pupils reveals, among other things, the importance attached to becoming literate. Shooquanaht wrote; "When we understand to read and write, then it will very easy (sic)..." (Usher, 1969: 121).

Berkhofer pointed out in connection with North American Indian groups that "... many parents and children expected much more concrete results from the 'magic' of reading than mere literacy after attainment of such an arduous mystery" (1965: 18). The belief held by some Sioux that writing a request for a gift and the presentation of a slip of paper to the missionary would make him grant their wish is reminiscent of features of some cargo cults. Reading and writing, it seems, were regarded by Indians in the Pacific Northwest as the key to some of the White man's skills. An incident recorded by the missionary Tate reveals the symbolic importance attached by some Indians to writing, and the value accorded to it. The incident took place in Pop-cum in 1877. Tate writes:

... I was invited into a house where several people were congregated waiting for God to reveal his presence by writing on papers which they held in their hands.... The writing they speak of comes in the form of round spots, as though drops of water had fallen on it. I sat down in the midst of them, and asked for a paper which was handed to me. I discovered a spot of grease on it which they said was writing.... They then commenced a hum-drums kind of singing which afterwards became a loud scream... they held the papers close to their faces, and in the midst of their screaming drops of saliva from their mouths touched the paper making it almost transparent, this they called writing. I secretly touched my finger to my mouth and pressed it upon the paper, when I held it up where they could see it.
They became very much excited at this and said that I would become great among them and all the Indians would follow me... (Tate, Diary, June 25, 1877).

Tate then proceeded to expose the 'writing' and tell the Indians of their so-called foolishness. The Indians refused to believe Tate and became very angry. It appears that this writing was attributed some sort of supernatural significance, and the Indians wanted to write.

To a certain extent the various missionary groups themselves represented different media for the Christian message. Although in their long-term aims there was little difference, it is apparent that aspects of the doctrine and practice of the several missionary groups operating in the area were perceived differently by some Indian groups. Relationships between the missionaries and the denominational groups to which they belonged were not always amicable, and some Indians found that they could play one denominational group off against another to their own advantage (Krause, 1956: 229). Protestants were critical of Catholic missionary methods. In April 1859, the Methodist Robson who was working at Hope pointed out that Roman Catholic missionaries

... have been all through this country and have succeeded in teaching almost all the natives how to make the sign of the cross which appears to be the sum total of their religious knowledge. They have been baptized and taught the sign but haven't abandoned the pagan customs (W. D. Young, 1955: 7).

An Anglican missionary, Brown, while in the Williams Lake area in 1861 also pointed out that

Some twenty years previously, certain Roman Catholic missionaries had crossed over from Canada into British Columbia, and with their wonted zeal had preached to the natives. Probably from want of time, they did not teach
them very much of religion, but what they did teach had been received with ardour and retained with amazing fidelity (Brown, 1873: 6).

Both these missionaries seem to be criticizing Roman Catholics for not conveying the true Christian message, but only giving the Indians a superficial knowledge of some of the Christian media such as the sign of the cross and the gesture of praying. Yet Anglicans and Methodists were also critical of each other's methods and ill-feeling existed at times between them. Friction was caused by the decision of the Anglican missionary group to set up a school in Nanaimo, thus duplicating the school service already provided by the Methodists. Robson accused the Anglicans of injuring work among the Indians by

... dividing their attention by causing them to attach themselves to the party from whom they hope to derive the greatest worldly advantage (Robson's diary; quoted in W. D. Young, 1955: 56).

As this statement shows, missionaries were well aware that they were competitors for Indian converts and that the Indians were also aware of this rivalry. Duncan had noted in his journal in 1863 that

The progress of the Tsimshian in civilization under our guidance goes a long way in impressing the Indians favourably with Protestant's missions, in opposition to Romish, for in vain do they look for any social advancement among Indians where Romish missions are established (Usher, 1969: 174).

However, in commenting on the fact that the Thompson Indians had shown themselves 'exceptionally slow in accepting the yoke of Christ in exchange for their heathen rites', Father Morice, a Catholic missionary, notes that these Indians accepted an Anglican minister because this was an easier option than Roman Catholicism (1910, Vol.2: 360).
In the field of ritual and services, missionary groups differed somewhat. The appeal of elaborate ritual was recognized fairly early by different missionaries, particularly by the Catholics working among the Salish. Lemert notes that Father Durieu encouraged church pageantry, rituals and processions among the Sechelt Indians, as a substitute for traditional ceremonials (1954).

The significance of the medium of church ritual, the degree of its variation between different missionary groups and its appeal to Indians are shown in the following quotation from a missionary superintendent for the Methodists, J. S. Woodsworth, who visited Port Simpson in 1896.

Woodsworth states

... the noisy and spectacular methods of the Salvation Army appealed strongly to many of the Indians. Some of them detached themselves from the Methodist Church and joined the Army. A section of those who remained loyal to the church were anxious to adopt some of the Army methods in the regular church services. This was deemed unwise, but they were allowed the introduction of brass band music in services held in the school house.... There was animation enough to satisfy the most emotional and demonstrative (1917: 197).

While the missionaries were prepared to a certain extent to modify their methods to suit the needs of their Indian congregations, it is apparent that Indians selected the aspects of Christianity which had most meaning for them. The pre-missionary prophet movements had emerged in response to a particular set of circumstances and, whether they realized it or not, the missionaries exploited this messianic 'ambience' in their presentation of Christianity. This point relates to something which was mentioned earlier, that is, the notion of Christianity not being a neatly
wrapped parcel. Rather, it contains a number of elements which can be interpreted differently by different people and which do not all have to be absorbed simultaneously for the religion to be meaningful to any individual. Thus the particular elements of Christianity which were accepted by the Indian groups described, in addition to being dependent on what the missionaries actually did and taught, were largely dependent on what the earlier native prophets had taught the Indians to believe and expect.

The 'imported millenialism' which the missionaries brought offered the Indians a meaningful pattern for religious and social change. As Wilson has pointed out with respect to the work of some missions in Africa, they

... offered new organization for self-expression for indigenous peoples, and they quickly took over, or imitated, their style. They became important new social forms for peoples faced with the breakdown of kinship structure, and they offered greater viability to contend with the influences and pressures of western civilization on its own terms. Thus the missions provided not only ideological expression, but they also provided the model for social re-organization (1963: 105).

It is to this feature of missions as models for social re-organization that we can now turn, having discussed some of the main reasons for the immediate appeal of the missionaries, their messages and media.
CHAPTER 4
CONVERTS AND COMMUNITIES

Conversion to Christianity formed part of the overall process of religious change in the area, which began with the prophet movements as a reaction to contact. Having outlined some of the main features of the message and media of the missionaries, we now turn our attention more directly to the conversion process itself. Specifically, we will be looking at the followers of the missionaries and at some of the Christian communities which were established. By examining some of the social characteristics of those who became converted to Christianity, we will be able to suggest reasons for the appeal of the missionaries' teaching both to groups of Indians and to individuals. Also, an analysis of the new Christian communities or model villages will reveal the nature of the social structures and relationships which the missionaries sought to create. These communities represented in concrete form evidence of the appeal of missionary Christianity and the aspirations of Indians. The earlier prophet movements were indicative of the expectations of many Indians and it will be shown that these same expectations were largely fulfilled through the activities of various missionaries.

Köbben notes that 'eschatological-adoptive movements' may end through repeated failures of prophecies, but that the expectations may be resurrected after a time, although under different leadership and with a slightly different emphasis (1960: 125). This point has significance for the interpretation given here. We can see how the ambience of beliefs
generated during the phase of prophet movements could have been sustained and given new impetus in the missionary phase of religious change. The missionaries, in a sense, were the new 'prophets', acting as religious leaders. They gave direction to the general expectations and it is apparent that to many Indians, the missionaries were some sort of superior beings who were going to lead them to a new way of life. With reference to the role of a prophet in millenarian activities Burridge notes that for the action to become coherent a prophet is necessary.

He focuses attention on the meaning of the millenium and brings order to the inchoate activities,..., he succeeds or fails to fulfil his role in terms of his own personal qualities, the content of his revelation, and the history and experience of the people to whom he communicates. He claims to be able to realize and order the power which seems currently unrealized and unordered; the new ordering promises a satisfactory way of measuring meaningful qualities, a new redemptive process (1969: 172).

In British Columbia the missionary fulfilled in large measure such a role. His message, and the media he used to transmit it, were relevant in terms of the past experience of the people and appeared to show the way to a more coherent existence. A missionary with charismatic qualities was more assured of successfully fulfilling the role of prophet, guiding the people and showing appreciation of the situation.

There is some evidence that missionaries were indeed credited with prophet-like qualities. Recording the attitudes of Indians to missionaries in about 1860, Morice states that they thought of him as a 'man of God', a being apart in creation who was greeted with great ceremony (1910, Vol.2: 310). One particular chief welcomed the 'envoy' from heaven in the name
of his people. Similar attitudes were prevalent well after initial contact with missionaries. Usher notes that in the transitional situation of the Tsimshian Indians much of their religious faith rested on the missionary William Duncan himself. Quoting from Duncan's journal dated December 23, 1860, Usher points out

The Indians certainly appeared to feel Duncan had particular spiritual powers. One of the old chiefs remarked to him... "you see they follow you - they want to see you - they are learning from you about God and regard you as the same as God to them" (1969: 127).

Furthermore, according to Usher (1969: 150), the increased scale of social problems following culture contact meant that an Indian solution to problems was no longer viable. Many Tsimshian apparently recognized that they could no longer control their own society and hence the significance of the missionary, who offered a different way of life with happiness and prosperity, was greatly magnified. William Duncan had an exceptionally strong personal influence on the Tsimshian. He assumed leadership in many areas of Tsimshian life. A further indication of the qualities of this missionary is found in a remark made by one of Duncan's followers.

The Tsimshian people say that Mr. Duncan was a more eloquent orator in their language than the orator of their people (Diary of Mathilde Munthorn, New Metlakatla, 1945. Quoted in Usher, 1969: 136).

Duncan's success seems at least partially due to his capacity of leadership and ability to organize activities in terms meaningful to the Indians. In fact, his leadership went further than that desired by the Church Missionary Society, to which Duncan belonged. CMS policy stated
that "prompting to self-action is more important than inducing men to follow a leader" (Venn quoted in Usher, 1969: 54). This policy reflected the society's general goals of self-help and the establishment of native churches, yet in the practical circumstances which a missionary faced, his chances of success in establishing a mission would have been considerably diminished if he had not assumed the role of leader.

Recognizing that traditional leaders in Indian society might resent White usurpers, the Church Missionary Society, under Venn's direction, explicitly instructed missionaries to convince chiefs that there was no intention to decrease their authority. As Usher has stressed, the influence of chiefs was important to a European who wanted to introduce a new set of beliefs to their people. "Respect was due to the chiefs partly to prevent a breakdown of society, and partly because the power they wielded could be of value to the missionary" (1969: 65). Realizing this, Duncan attempted to treat the chiefs as they were treated by their own people. This point is of significance in analysing the association between leaders in traditional society and first followers of the missionaries. We can begin our examination of the status of the converts to Christianity by looking at the leaders in traditional societies.

It is important to note, as does Kübben, that a movement may have a different appeal to different sections of a community (1960: 153). That is to say, the leaders may be attracted by certain aspects, and the followers by others. Hence the appeal of Christianity as propounded by missionaries was not necessarily the same to all adherents. To this we may add that the appeal of missionary Christianity seems to have varied
over a period of time. Initial disinterestedness or hostility in some cases was subsequently followed by enthusiasm and acceptance.

It is apparent from the literature on the prophet movements that leaders of the various cults were generally persons of prominence in the group. 'Superior' religious knowledge was likely to give a person an increased amount of power and authority. Before the actual arrival of missionaries, some shamans increased their prestige as religious leaders through their visions and prophecies of impending changes. An example of such a shaman is Beni, described by Barbeau (1923: 17), who attracted a large following after announcing the content of his visions and acting in the manner of a Catholic priest. Other examples of shamans who initiated prophet movements among their followers are given by Deans for the Haida (1891), and McIlwraith for the Bella Coola (1948, Vol.1: 588).

With increased knowledge of the new religion and the arrival on the scene of the missionaries themselves, the pattern of leadership seemed to change. Shamans maintained their traditional methods of dealing with the supernatural, seeing the missionaries as rivals, while the chiefs, the political leaders, sought to increase their power by aligning themselves with the new religion, becoming converted and assisting the missionaries. This change of leadership pattern is noted by Walker. He records as one feature of an early Nez Perce cult "... a new religious leadership status (priest) specifically distinguished from that of the shaman" (1968: 34). Bonneville had observed in 1832 that it was "... the principal chiefs who officiate as priests..."
(Spier, 1935: 32). Following this, Walker points out "... the apparent eagerness of chiefs and headmen to become religious leaders during the later missionary period..." (1968: 38). He connects this with the distinction made earlier in the prophet movement between the aboriginal status of shaman and the new status of priest. But he then goes on to explain this eagerness to become religious leaders in terms similar to Suttles (1957: 393), who refers to a 'poverty of political institutions'. Walker suggests that because of the limited amount of power available to aboriginal Nez Perce leaders, they seized on this new status as a means of buttressing their positions. This interpretation may well be correct, but does not take into account the point that rather than seeking power in their own traditional terms, chiefs were seeking power in terms of the White man. It was an attempt to absorb and participate in the new power being demonstrated by the incoming Whites. The appeal of the new religion to these indigenous leaders was not only in the form of drawing on a 'superior' supernatural power, but a way to achieve equal power with the Whites.

This explanation enables us to understand the eagerness of many chiefs to act as priests and receive instructions from the missionaries. This fitted well with the missionaries' aim of utilizing the prestige of the chiefs within their own communities. Neither was fully aware of the position of the other, yet, to an extent, the situation was mutually beneficial.

Hanley has pointed out in connection with the teachings of the first Catholic missionaries at Fort Nisqually and elsewhere in the Puget
Sound area that these missionaries concentrated on teaching the chiefs elements of Catholicism. These chiefs were eager to learn from the 'sahali stick', and to learn the sign of the cross and simple hymns; then, acting as priests, they taught their own people about the new religion. Indian chiefs used the 'sahali stick' and the Catholic Ladder to instruct their followers, and according to Hanley, the teaching carried more weight by virtue of the fact that it came from the chiefs. Walker also points out that missionary activity in outlying areas was not conducted by the White missionaries, but remained largely in the hands of native chiefs and headmen, who "... were the first acceptors of Christianity..." (1968: 40). Some of the chiefs and headmen among the Nez Perce became teachers and preachers and together with their respective families "... constituted the bulk of the approximately twenty converts made during the first period" (i.e. 1836-1847. Walker, 1968: 43). In describing Prophet Dance-like activity among the Lummi Indians, Suttles mentions a particular leader, Davy Crockett, who was the first to be converted after the priests came and also helped convert others (1957: 354). Davy Crockett was the chief in the 1860's and led the Lummi in Catholic worship.

Chiefs did not always show such readiness to accept Christianity. Some were more cautious. Usher notes that while no Tsimshian chief entirely committed himself to Duncan at first, none prevented him from

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2. The 'sahali stick' (stick from heaven), invented by the Catholic missionary, Blanchet, was a carved stick simply representing key points from the Bible and the history of the Catholic church. Later drawn on paper, it became known as the 'Catholic Ladder'.

going about his work (1969: 136). Missionaries gave a community a certain prestige, and once there Indians did not seem to want them to leave.

Walker states that the Nez Perce were very fearful that the missionaries might not like them or their country and leave (1968: 40). A similar point is made by Usher concerning the Tsimshian. Duncan had apparently become a source of prestige to the Tsimshian and they felt a group pride in the fact that "... they had been chosen before other tribes to receive the Book from this messenger of God" (1969: 137). Because many other tribes along the coast knew of his presence at Port Simpson, the chiefs in particular felt the Tsimshian would be shamed if Duncan ever left them.

The chiefs were quick to realize the advantages of association with missionaries. When Duncan first addressed the Indians in June 1858, it was in the house of a chief, with an audience of about one hundred.

According to Barnett

William Duncan... preached his first sermon in the house of a chief who was looking for an opportunity to get even with a rival. The Indian sought to make political capital of Duncan's patronage and succeeded in doing so. First his rival, then other chiefs invited Duncan to preach in their homes... they were attempting to use him rather than understand him (1953: 362).

Usher also indicates that when the chiefs "... saw that he [Duncan] had gained some influence among their own people... they sought to use his influence for their own ends" (1969: 136).

While some chiefs were eager to accept both missionaries and Christianity, and others were prepared at least initially to accommodate to them, others were less than enthusiastic. Pierce mentioned a particular "Chief Skadeen" in the Nass river area who, in about 1880,
... strongly objected to having a missionary in the village, or to any of his people becoming Christians. He knew that this would change all his old heathen customs and, in his opinion, weaken his power as chief (1933: 35).

And another example in Bella Coola in 1883. "... the chiefs and older people were strongly opposed to having any change whatever" (Pierce, 1933: 45).

Duncan also encountered a certain amount of resistance from the chiefs and had trouble with them. He noted that almost all of them were opposed to change - to any "progress". Barnett cites Duncan to the effect that this was because the chiefs did not want the White man's customs (1953: 405).

Such different attitudes on the part of the traditional leaders of Indian society seem to represent various themes. On the one hand, those who were enthusiastic about the new religion seem to have been the more progressive, attracted by the opportunity to share in the leadership of the new way of life that was being offered. On the other hand, those who were either disinterested or opposed seem to have been asserting in a more conservative way a degree of Indian control over the situation, wishing to retain cultural dominance. Such resistance did not last for long, especially when it was realized that those chiefs who did not listen to the missionaries' teachings might soon be left without any followers.

We can now examine more closely the characteristics of some of the other followers of the missionaries. Without attempting to explain the reasons, Usher indicates that youth was the main characteristic of
Duncan's followers (1969: 128). She bases this on the information that of the fifty-eight Tsimshian who were either baptized or who were candidates for baptism between July 1861 and July 1862, twenty-two were under the age of twenty, twenty-seven were between the ages of twenty and thirty, nine were over thirty, of which four were over forty. The appeal of Christianity to the young is further substantiated by some of Pierce's descriptions of the first converts to the new religion. He notes that in Bella Coola in 1883 "... the young people were anxious to have a missionary and learn the new way..." (1933: 45). In 1885 at Kitsegukla on the upper Skeena, Pierce records that young people had requested missionaries by writing to Thomas Crosby, the Methodist missionary at Port Simpson (1933: 51). Pierce further notes that at a Christmas feast at Kitsegukla...

... two of the chiefs Cooksun and Haask, made speeches. Both urged the young people to do their utmost to learn the white man's ways and become clever... the increased attendance at school after Christmas was no doubt due to the effect of these two speeches (1933: 54).

A similar statement was made by a Haida chief to the Anglican missionary, Collison, on his first visit to the Queen Charlottes in 1876. Collison records the following words from the chief:

We have heard of the white man's wisdom. We have heard that he possesses the secret of life. He has heard the words of the Chief above. We have seen the change made in the Tsimshians. But why did you not come before?... You have come too late... you can lead our children in the new way, but we do not desire to abandon the customs of our forefathers. We cannot give up the old customs (1916: 106-108).
The reason for the appeal of Christianity to young people among Indian groups seems to have two aspects. Firstly, both missionaries and Indian leaders seem to have encouraged the teaching of Christianity particularly among the youth. Older Indians found it more difficult to change their beliefs, but thought their young people should benefit by learning the 'new way'. In their turn, younger Indians had no power or authority in the traditional system and it may be expected that they might be more amenable to change, especially when the change promised a better way of living, prosperity and happiness. Usher (1969: 128) finds no evidence to support Barnett's claim that Duncan's early followers were "... older people, among them orphans, slaves, third cousins and illegitimate children, for whom the future held no prospect of emancipation or gratification of the social ambitions accredited in the Tsimshian scheme of values" (1953: 405).

Apart from the youthfulness of some of the missionaries' early followers, another significant feature was that of community conversion. Frequent mention is made in the literature of complete villages or tribes becoming converted and desiring to lead a new life. Such mass conversions showed a strong degree of group solidarity, an attempt by the society as a whole to meet the new demands being made of it. The collective rejection of the old ways revealed a desire for a complete break with the past and the establishment of new norms. Beynon states that when Duncan moved with his converts to establish the Christian village of Metlakatla "... the Gyi'tlā'n tribe went almost intact" (1941: 83). Pierce notes that when he arrived in Port Essington in 1877,
Everybody gave me a glad welcome. The two tribes of Kit-sumkalum and Kitselas, having now moved down from their old villages in a body, renounced heathenism and became Christianized and civilized, thus forming a Christian village (1933: 18).

In his description of how the Bella Bellas accepted Christianity, Pierce recalls how a council meeting was held to decide whether the Bella Bellas would accept Christianity or not (1933: 40-41). When all were agreed and united in their decision, Chief Charley told Pierce, the native evangelist, of the group decision in favour of giving up the old ways and becoming Christians. Lemert also indicates the rapid group conversion of the Sechelt Indians, noting that by 1871 the entire tribe was confirmed in the faith (1954).

Mass conversions under the guidance of the missionaries were followed by significant changes in almost every aspect of life for the Indians. The break between the old ways and the new ways, a theme continually stressed by most missionaries, often took the initial form of destroying the symbols of traditional culture. Guiart mentions an incident in the South Pacific when all the new converts rejected their idols and received instead copies of the gospels and elementary books (1962: 135-136). In British Columbia, a similar incident is recorded by Pierce concerning Chief Tom of Bella Coola. After this chief's conversion, Pierce notes, he was "... anxious to burn all his idols" (1933: 45). Hall Young also recalls that after the Stickeen Indians had resolved to accept Christianity and formed a council, they presented him with "... a multitude of old dance implements, pipes, stone axes and other relics of their past life..." (1927: 143-144). Cronin also records a similar event involving
a Catholic missionary and Indians on Vancouver Island. In 1859

... he baptised about 400 Indian babies and persuaded over 2000 adults to renounce gambling, sorcery, and murder. They did this publicly apparently, divesting themselves of all their diabolical instruments of witchcraft and torture and loading them in Fr. Chirouse's canoe... (Cronin, 1960: 77).

As well as rejecting the tangible objects of their previous life, new converts to Christianity rejected most of the old system of social organization. The enthusiasm of many Indian converts for joining the new Christian villages which the missionaries began organizing showed a desire to forsake their past methods of organizing society in favour of the missionaries' method. Köbben pointed out in connection with prophetic movements that

The emphasis in many movements is on a total rejection of the old norms as no longer appropriate to the changed circumstances and the conscious creation of new ones (1960: 153).

The same emphasis seems apparent in the process of conversion to Christianity in this area, with the missionary providing the guidelines for the creation of the new norms.

What the missionaries were offering the Indians came to be carried out through the medium of model Christian villages. Organizational forms, ritual and material goods of a new kind could be achieved in the missionary-inspired communities and it is apparent that these media largely constituted the actual message to most of the Indians involved.

The establishment of model Christian villages had a precedent in the Jesuit 'reductions' in Paraguay in the seventeenth century. The Jesuits had planned self-supporting agriculture, villages, church-centred,
controlled by the priests, and aimed at making model Christians of the nomadic Indians. Sundkler points out that this method was also used by Roman Catholics in Africa, where the Christian village became a new sociological phenomenon, a refuge from tribal paganism (1965: 200-201).

The first Christian village established among Indians of British Columbia was Metlakatla. Duncan organized the migration of his Tsimshian converts from Port Simpson to Metlakatla, an old winter village site of the Tsimshian, in 1862 - five years after his arrival on the Northwest coast. The apparent success of this venture encouraged other missionaries to follow. Duncan's idea was to segregate his converts from the influence of the heathen Indians in order to achieve a better environment in which to civilize and Christianize his followers. The suggestion of creating a model Christian village had been first mentioned in the summer of 1859. Usher records that Duncan hinted about

The good going away to some good land and establishing a village for themselves where they could be free from the drunkenness and the bad ways (1969: 155).

The plan was discussed between the missionary and the Indians for nearly two years. Duncan was offering them a set of rules to follow, prosperity and a new way of life. In a letter written shortly before the group moved, Duncan expressed a desire to

... place our example of order and industry in the shape of a model Indian village before the numerous Indian tribes around here, shewing them the proper road to improvement, wealth and happiness (Cited by Usher, 1969: 154).

In terms of what has previously been discussed about Indian expectations concerning the future and the desire of Indians to share in
the power of the Whites, we can readily appreciate the appeal of such villages. Under the missionary's guidance the Indians were to achieve equality with the Whites, by making a new kind of society and suppressing most of their own heritage. Dissatisfaction with the old form of society was beginning to lead, in Burridge's words, to

... the adoption of new assumptions, a new redemptive process, a new politico-economic framework, a new mode of measuring the man, a new integrity, a new community... (1969: 13).

The new community represented aspects of the White man's society desired by the Indians, for the introduction of community supporting industries brought material benefits. As Beynon states, Duncan's small industries kept his converts employed:

... a sawmill, a salmon and clam cannery, and a trading post. They purchased a small schooner and marketed their products themselves, in the markets of Victoria, and even in London, England. These industries took the place of the former tribal activities (1941: 83).

Other industries were gradually added - blacksmith's and carpenter's shops, a soap-house, a brick manufactory and cooperage. As well as keeping the Indians busy, these industries provided many of the goods directly necessary for a 'Christian, civilized life', and their profits enabled purchase of other items.

Progress and social advancement were among Duncan's goals and he sought to impress other Indians with the Metlakatla community, and thus encourage them to join the village on his terms. As it happened, other missionaries followed his example and Indians had the chance of joining similar schemes in other locations. The similarity of motivation in these cases is made apparent in a report of the Superintendent of Northwest
missions of the Methodist Church who visited Port Simpson in 1896. After Duncan had left Port Simpson in 1862, no missionaries had been resident there until the Methodists established a mission at the site in 1873. In 1896, J. S. Woodsworth found the Indians at Port Simpson comparing themselves to other Indians and to their previous situation.

They claimed that they were not so prosperous as they used to be, and therefore wanted a preacher who would build them a cannery, or a steamboat, or a sawmill, or to do something else to help them along material lines. Further they wanted their young men to have power, this did not mean spiritual power, but authority, especially in church government (1917: 193).

This report gives a clear indication of what the preacher was expected to offer the Indians. The industries, businesses and schools being established by the missionaries in Christian villages provided not only economic prosperity to those involved, but encouraged adoption of new standards of measuring themselves - White standards.

Metlakatla, the model community consisting of neat houses and gardens, a large church and a variety of growing industries, represented a changed social system. Membership in the Metlakatla community required conformity to fifteen laws of conduct which required giving up many significant aspects of the traditional way of life. Chiefly rank was no longer a criterion for success.

1. The fifteen rules were:

longer recognized, and Duncan aimed to place all the Tsimshian people on an equal footing. "Thus an abrupt change had come over the whole social structure of these Metlakatla Tsimshians..." (Beynon, 1941: 84). Clan obligations and tribal divisions were abolished and the old matrilineal rule of inheritance was changed to a patrilineal one. The interests of the community as a whole took precedence over kinship allegiances. The village was organized into ten companies, each with its own headman, two elected elders, two constables, three councillors and ten firemen. The council elected by the group governed the affairs of the community and the church, but Duncan "... controlled everything as a fatherly autocrat" (Beynon, 1941: 84).

Despite the fact that Duncan attempted to suppress almost all aspects of the Indians' previous way of life, it seems that some of the new institutions that the missionary introduced were at least functional substitutes for the old institutions. Usher notes that the potlatch was substituted by the communal celebrations of Christmas, New Year and the Queen's birthday (1969: 213). Further, on the New Year's Day celebrations, the constables, fire brigade and band assembled in uniforms, while the chiefs and council members displayed their badges of office and speeches were made in order of importance (1969: 215). All this represented a demonstration of rank, wealth and status in a manner similar to the traditional one. The main difference was that new rules were operative in defining positions of power and authority and individuals were using new methods of measuring worth.

Other mission villages were established on the same principles as Metlakatla. In the 1860's, the village of Kincolith was formed among
the Nishga. It also presented the same outward appearance as Metlakatla, with its sawmill, church and neat white houses. In the 1870's, Collison opened a mission station at Massett for the Haida and proceeded to create a new social structure and new industries based on the model devised by Duncan.

Protestant missionaries were not the only ones involved in establishing model communities for their Christian converts. The Catholic missionary, Durieu, initiated a system to be used in the organization of newly-converted Indian groups. By 1871, all the Sechelt Indians had become converted to Catholicism and their community became a model of the Durieu-system. These Indians had traditionally been located at a number of village sites, and as with Duncan's Metlakatla community, an important feature of the new Sechelt community was their physical relocation at a different and strategic site. The Durieu-system also required certain rules of conduct, including giving up all Indian dances, potlatches, patronage of the shaman, drinking and gambling. Positive compliances included learning prayers, observing the Sabbath, being clean, neat and industrious. The missionary had effective and paternal authority, supplemented with chiefs and watchmen to report on the conduct of the people, and soldiers to act as policemen and administer punishment. New houses and a large church were built. Lemert indicates that the social structure imposed by the Catholic missionaries allowed status differences to be recognized (1954). Wealth could still be used to signify high status by making donations to the church, and feasts enhancing social status could still be given. Church pageantry, dramas and processions replaced the loss of winter ceremonials and dances, but
there was less emphasis on the establishment of industries in the Sechelt community compared to the Protestant mission villages.

Again, the appeal of this system can be attributed not only to the missionaries' abilities to create a new society and new social relationships in terms relevant to Indian aspirations, but also to the Indian desire to participate in a new way of life. Previous assumptions about the ordering of society were no longer relevant after contact with the White man and the introduction of new wealth, guns, alcohol and disease. Many Indians throughout British Columbia sought help and protection from the missionaries in order to re-organize their social lives. Christianity was largely perceived by the Indians in its millenial dimension, and it was this particular aspect of missionary Christianity which formed the basis for conversion and led to the establishment of model villages.
CHAPTER 5
SHAKERS, POLITICIANS AND SPIRIT DANCERS

Model Christian communities established by various missionaries continued to be viable for a number of years, but their appeal gradually decreased. The villages described proved to be temporary phenomena, but they were a significant phase in the overall process of religious change in the area. A number of writers have suggested reasons for the waning interest in Christianity (e.g. Walker, 1968; Usher, 1969; Lemert, 1954) and almost all of these reasons relate to the ultimate failure of the missionaries' Christianity to meet the religious, social and economic needs of Indian communities. This line of reasoning is derived from the immediate situation of Indian groups at the time of declining interest in Christianity. It is possible, with the advantage of hindsight, to suggest another set of related reasons to explain the apparent disillusionment of many Indians with missionary Christianity. These reasons relate more explicitly to the nature of the colonial situation and focus on a growing sense of Indian identity, a form of emergent Indian nationalism. It is suggested that reaction to contact and colonization followed a processual pattern, linking the earlier phases of religious change, including prophet movements, conversion to Christianity, with later developments which have included the Shaker Church, political organizations, spirit dancing and other forms of Indian ceremonies. It can be demonstrated from the data available on religious and political movements in British Columbia that developments here have followed a pattern similar in many
ways to that described for other ethnographic areas which have undergone colonial experience (Bastide, 1966; Bodrogi, 1951; Guiart, 1951; Kübben, 1960).

Walker attributes the failure of the missionaries among the Nez Perce to the varying functions of religion in Euro-American and Nez Perce cultures. Whereas in the Indian culture, religion was at the basis of secular success, for the missionaries:

... the functions of religion were moralistic and otherworldly in orientation, and they failed entirely to satisfy the complex mixture of religious and economic needs apparently responsible for early Nez Perce interest in Christianity (1968: 44).

According to Walker, initial enthusiasm for Christianity only lasted for about three years. The Nez Perces apparently came to the realization that "... the presence of missionaries and acceptance of Christianity were not going to bring the desired goods" (1968: 44).

For other Indian groups, the period of enthusiasm for the new religion was considerably longer. Even if the message of the missionaries was not clear, the media were and it seems that the duration of interest in Christianity was directly proportional to the amount of tangible rewards received. Where immediate economic and social needs were better met, as in model communities, interest lasted longer.

Usher puts forward several reasons for the breakdown of William Duncan's Metlakatla community, all of which relate to the particular details of the Tsimshian situation and do not take account of the overall trend of developments (1969). The breakdown of the model village is related both to Duncan's conflict with church authorities and to his
apparent failure to continue to satisfy the needs of traditional Tsimshian leaders. In the dispute between Duncan and the Anglican Church, the Metlakatlans were forced to take sides. At first, Usher points out, Metlakatlans adhered to Duncan because in the past "... his policies had brought his followers secular benefits" (1969: 298). But eventually, some of the Indians went against Duncan. According to the missionary, these were

... three or four Indians who had been chiefs under the old tribal arrangement, but who had lost their prestige by the progress of civilization (Usher, 1969: 300).

Apparently they resented Duncan for usurping their power. They were unable to find an acceptable place in the new social structure created by the missionary, for, despite certain concessions to positions of status, Metlakatla demanded a social and religious egalitarianism incompatible with the social and cultural needs of all the Tsimshian. The significant feature of traditional Indian society, that revolving around status, rank and privilege, was seemingly a crucial factor in the dissension which destroyed the original model community. The breakdown of the Metlakatla community represented not so much a dissatisfaction with Christianity itself, but rather a dissatisfaction on the part of some Indians with the balance of power, a sentiment which became anti-missionary. The majority of Indians remained loyal to Duncan and accompanied him on a second migration to re-create the utopia they left. In the summer of 1887, with renewed idealism, about seven hundred Indians moved to Annette Island in Alaska to form New Metlakatla. Usher points out that
The Indian utopia had depended for its survival on its dynamism, and on its continual attempts to close the ever-widening economic gap between whites and Indians (1969: 341).

She indicates that during the previous five years of conflict there had been no growth in the economic life of the village and hence Metlakatla was unable to attract surrounding heathen Indian groups.

While it is clear that Duncan had helped the Tsimshian to achieve a large degree of economic independence, it was predominantly on his own initiative. Conversion to Christianity had involved both suppression of Indian identity and a desire to be like the White man. There was now becoming apparent a reversal of this attitude, which initially took the form of a stance against the paternalistic guidance of the missionary. It was no coincidence that developments including the Shaker Church and political organizations began in the same decade as the breakdown of the model Indian villages, for similar elements were present in the different situations and similar processes were operative.

With regard to the Durieu-system instituted among the Sechelt Indians, Lemert indicates several immediate factors which contributed to its decline in the early 1890's (1954). He stresses the encroachment of government authority on the power of the priests, institutionalized schooling, a gradual rise of anti-clericalism and increased mobility on the part of the Indians. While external factors such as these mentioned by Lemert no doubt contributed to the decay of the system, he attaches little, if any, significance to factors operating within the Indian community itself. Disregard for the priest's authority is mentioned and in connection with the rise of 'anti-clericalism', Lemert indicates that
the priests could not help in economical, medical and educational matters and this led to feelings of bitterness on the part of some Indians.

An underlying factor which was clearly operating in the decline of these missionary-led communities was that relating to the desire of various Indian groups to control their own affairs. The missionaries had been responsible for teaching the Indians not only how to read and write, but also how to operate businesses and organize for political action. It was seemingly an inevitable outcome of such learning that Indians would no longer desire to be in subordinate positions and would wish to manage things for themselves. Among colonial peoples in general Balandier notes "... the quest for norms coincides with the quest for autonomy" (1966: 52). This feeling was apparent and recorded by Woodsworth in 1896 at Port Simpson, when he noted that the Indians there "... wanted their young men to have power, this did not mean spiritual power, but authority, especially in church government" (1917: 193). After Duncan had moved to Old Metlakatla, Methodist missionaries established themselves in Port Simpson. According to Beynon (1941: 86), the Methodist missionary set up the Christian Band of Workers "... as a unit of the Church and a safety valve where religious enthusiasm could be given free vent without hurting the dignity of the parent body" (1941: 86). A development followed this move which resembles the formation of separatist churches in Nigeria and South Africa where there was a desire for independence, "... to break away from the official Christian churches to form their own 'church'" (Köbben, 1960: 143ff). Beynon notes that

Differences of opinion over the proper conduct of church members led to the severance of the Band of Workers from the Methodist Church, and
under native leaders* they established themselves as an independent group which kept the name and imitated what they had learned but allowed freedom of interpretation and emotional expression (1941: 86).

* My emphasis

In addition, a faction within the Band of Workers gained the authority of the Salvation Army to set up another native-led organization (Beynon, 1941: 87).

The Shaker Church began as a prophet movement and later became institutionalized as a Christian separatist church among various Indian groups in the Pacific Northwest. Minor details concerning the beginnings of the church differ, but Gunther provides an account generally agreed upon which is paraphrased from an informant:

In 1881 an Indian by the name of John Slocum died at Shelton, Washington. His relations went to Olympia in a canoe to buy a casket, and while they were gone he came back to life again. He told the people that he had died and gone to the gates of heaven, but could not get in because he had not lived the right kind of Christian life, so that he was sent back to be reborn. He was told to tell the people that they too must confess and be reborn, so that when they go to heaven they can get in. This man spent his life as a preacher among the Indians and founded the Shaker Church (1949: 38).

Sometime after his first 'death' Slocum fell ill. His wife in mourning began to tremble, and the 'shaking' seemed to bring about his cure. 'Shaking' over sick people thus became one of the main activities of the Shaker Church.

From the various accounts of the Shaker religion several significant points emerge which are particularly relevant to the present
study (Gunther, 1949; Collins, 1950; Smith, 1954; Barnett, 1957).

Gunther notes that the first Indians who turned to the Shaker religion in the Puget Sound area had all had some experience of the Christian faith (1949: 57-58). Some, like Slocum, had been baptized in the Catholic Church while others were members of the Congregational Church. According to Gunther, missionaries of the established churches noticed that their congregations were diminishing as more Indians joined the Shakers (1949: 60). This would seem to indicate that the phase of conversion to Christianity was more important in the circumstances surrounding the formation of the Shaker Church than most accounts would recognize. Those becoming converted first to orthodox Christianity can be presumed to have found something more satisfactory in their subsequent conversion to the Shaker religion. Apart from the fact that it was a wholly Indian inspired movement, a point which will be developed shortly, the Shaker religion had an additional appeal in terms of its ritual. Gunther indicated that

... a well-developed Catholic mission will stop the spread of the Shakers more readily than the presence of any Protestant denomination (1949: 75).

Both Catholic Church and Shaker Church incorporate more ritual and ceremony in their services than do Protestant Churches, and the Indians' apparent love of overt ritual could be better expressed in one or other of the former churches. With regard to the ceremonial side of the religion, Gunther also notes that the new Indian religion had more appeal when shaking was included in the ritual (1949: 42). It called attention to the individual religious experience in the same way that the old religion had done. A feature which emphasized the separation of the Indian
Shaker Church from the orthodox Christian churches involved the rite of baptism. Since most of the original members of the Shaker Church had already been baptized in one of the other Christian churches, they explicitly avoided taking over this rite, believing "... that a person must come into the church through his own confession of faith" (Gunther, 1949: 58).

Another aspect relates to the significance of the fact that the Shaker Church was a movement begun by an Indian. Gunther states that the God of the Christian

... had been talked about by both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, but in terms not readily understandable to the Indian. At last one of their own people had talked to Him and had been told what to do. Slocum's visit to heaven and his instructions can easily be compared to the spirit quest, differing in that it was not the result of a deliberate venture (1949: 59).

Such a statement indicates the importance to the Indians of one of their 'own people' communicating directly with the God of the Christians. Smith makes a similar point. She stresses the significance of the new power introduced by the Christians, and the point that it could be obtained by certain ways of life.

A person had or he did not have the old types of power and that was the end of it. But the tie between the supernatural and ethics, presented to the Indians for the first time, offered an opportunity by which anyone could obtain curing power. The first demonstration proving beyond doubt that such power would lodge in an Indian occurred on the Squakson reservation. This was the beginning of the Shaker cult now active and widespread among the Indians of the Northwest (1940: 30-31).
The Shaker religion had a strong appeal by virtue of its 'Indianness'. Although adopting many elements of Christianity, it was an Indian-inspired movement which would give certain powers to its followers if they led a Christian way of life. It seemed as if Indians themselves could now have access to the same powers as the White men, without involving the intervention of missionaries or anyone else. According to Gunther, one White official in the 1890's observed that the Shakers

... do not seek to convert people who claim to understand the white man's religion (1949: 73).

It would thus seem that those Indians who were converted to Shakerism from one of the established Christian churches had either not understood the religion that the missionaries preached or their expectations had not been fulfilled. It could also have been that a new religion begun by an Indian for other Indians, combining elements of Christianity and features of the old religion had a greater appeal, because it provided a greater degree of autonomy.

Various accounts of the Shaker religion attach considerable importance to the fact that the Shaker Church was a 'blend' of Christianity and the old religion. Both Collins (1950) and Smith (1954) stress the significance of links between the old religion and the Shaker religion in seeking to explain the appeal and success of the latter. As Collins puts it:

The success of the church is due on the one hand to parallels between it and the pre-white religious practices and on the other, to resemblances between it and the Christian churches of the whites (1950: 399).

Further, Collins sees the development of the Shaker Church as an outcome of the suppression of Indian religious ceremonies by the laws of the White man.
In order to survive, Collins indicates, the Shakers had to meet with White approval and make themselves acceptable to Christians. When this was done, the Shaker Church could become formally incorporated. In conclusion, Collins states that the Shaker Church represented a 'transitional step' in religion for the Indians accepting it, because both old and new were incorporated within it. While recognizing the importance of continuity between autochthonous religious beliefs and newer modified ones, such an interpretation of the Shaker religion only explains part of the reality. By saying that the Indian society was in a transitional phase, as represented through the Shaker Church, is not explaining very much. As Köbben indicated with respect to cargo cults being connected with a 'half way situation', we can then only recognize the 'half way situation' or 'transitional step' through the cargo cult (1960: 132-133). The same can be said of the 'transitional' explanation of the Shaker Church. What needs to be explained is the need for such a transitional step and why it took the form it did. It is necessary to account for its appeal not only as a 'transitional step', but in the whole process of religious change in the area. To be able to observe evidence of syncretism in a new religion is not 'proof' that the new religion is representative of a transitional step. Collins does not attempt to explain the nature of the assumed transition beyond the statement that it incorporated old and new beliefs. We do not know from this interpretation what the transition was from, nor how it ended. Some sort of complete cycle is implied, with the Shaker Church acting as the agent of adjustment. Why has the Shaker Church thus persisted if it was only a transitional step? And why have other developments occurred more recently, often involving revival of
traditional religious beliefs, which might also be said to have represented a transitional step? While these questions present theoretical problems which anthropology may not be equipped to answer, we can turn to an assessment of the position of Indians in developing Canadian society to see if such an assessment provides a satisfactory explanation. The assumed transition which has been mentioned in fact has never occurred, Indians have not abandoned all their traditional values and beliefs and become, to all intents and purposes, White Christians. They have remained Indians and thus we cannot adequately discuss the significance of the Shaker Church in terms of its being a 'transitional step'. Although the chronology of events is not simple, with some developments overlapping others, it is still possible to regard the Shaker Church as constituting a phase, though of a different type than that implied by Collins. Köbben notes that one function of prophetic movements is that they pave the way for "... movements of a more political or economic character", and that they

... may be regarded as a phase, which, provided the culture in question remains in existence, are followed by movements of a more rational kind sooner or later (1960: 153).

Rather than regarding the development of the Shaker Church as constituting a transitional step simply in religious beliefs, it seems more appropriate to regard it as a 'phase' in Köbben's terms. It was one type of movement, which was preceded by movements of one kind and followed by other movements, not necessarily religious ones. In the process of social and religious change in British Columbia, it can be seen that the various movements followed a pattern which commenced with millenarian-style
prophet cults, later included conversion to Christianity under the guidance of missionaries and continued in the form of Indian inspired religious movements and movements of a more 'political and economic character'.

A broader time perspective permits a more general understanding of the nature of the processes involved in religious and social changes. In retrospect, 'short term' explanations are only partial. It cannot be disproved that a psychological interpretation of a development such as the Shaker Church has some validity, but it does not take us very far. Barnett favours such an explanation, noting that Slocum "... was impelled by a personal need for greater security than his society could at that time offer him" (1957: 352). Barnett states that Slocum was not alone in his anxiety, for others were grateful for the 'escape' which he offered them. The same author also points out that

... for many individuals the emotional experience of shaking is a healing instrument. It is a medicine, the fulfilment of a prophecy for the afflicted and the oppressed, an unmeasured gift to the faithful (1957: 353).

Gunther sees the Shaker Church both as an interesting and completely indigenous example of old and new beliefs and as the result of a "... constant search for what the Indian calls 'help'" (1949: 37). The Indian, apparently, "... not knowing how to improve his economic condition, turns to religion" (1949: 76).

This explanation draws too clear a distinction between the various components of such activities, i.e. religious, economic and political. As Sundkler showed in his study of separatist churches in South Africa, the problems raised are not only of a religious kind, but include the whole question of reaction to White domination, and social
problems traditionally treated as in the economic and political spheres (1948). Rather than viewing the Shaker Church as a psychological reaction to anxiety or economic deprivation, or as a transitional stage between old and new beliefs, a more complete understanding of the new religion can be achieved by viewing it as an attempt to achieve a degree of independence and autonomy in religious matters. In this sense, the newly formed Indian Christian Church represented a pre-political phenomenon. Guiart (1951) sees the various cults and movements which developed in Melanesia after the impact of the White man as 'forerunners of Melanesian nationalism'. Cargo cults and independent sects all seem to reveal "... the wish for independence in religious as well as secular affairs..." (1951: 89).

Worsley (1957) regards millenarian movements as incipient national and political movements and Talmon (1962: 138) is of the same opinion, seeing them as pre-political phenomena. Talmon indicates that they function as agents for the transition to other political forms which can develop in various ways. It is in this framework of interpretation that the religious changes in British Columbia are best understood.

New political forms in the area, preceded by religious changes, were stimulated initially by the missionaries. Usher notes that under the missionaries the Indians had become politically aware (1967: 324). Duncan and his followers were involved in a controversy over land ownership, petitioning for recognition of the aboriginal title to the land. Kopas also points out that "... the missionaries gave the Indians their first lessons in the techniques of European politics" (1972: 41), assisting them in drafting petitions about the land question, and forming delegations and deputations to various levels of government. The advent of European
settlers had begun to turn Indian political activity away from tribal and inter-tribal affairs to relations with the White man, which involved mainly the land issue and the right to retain traditional activities such as the potlatch. One outcome of this change of focus of political activities was the beginning of protest and even though one significant feature of Indian political activity has been its lack of unity, particular issues united Indians in a common concern over their rights and created an identity for Indians which had not previously existed.

During the 1870's, land grievances were the main reason for Indian unrest on the north coast of British Columbia, and eventually Indians of the Nass river formed the Nishga Land Committee, raising money to send delegations to Victoria and Ottawa to present their claims (Kopas, 1972: 62). Further south, Kwakiutl, Nootka and Coast Salish Indians were protesting the law against the potlatch. In 1916, the Allied Tribes of British Columbia was organized after a meeting of sixteen different Indian groups, representing interior and coast tribes. Main concerns of this organization were the demand for more reserve land and the recognition of Indian title to the land. After a few years, this organization collapsed after a Special Joint Committee of the Federal Government rejected their claims. But, after a pause, rather than declining, political activity and level of political awareness were increasing.

Political movements in the economic field also began at about the same time. Fishing unions were organized in the last decade of the nineteenth century, including Indians on the Fraser river, Skeena river and central coast. The Indian missionary, W. H. Pierce organized the
first Indian fisherman's union on the Skeena river in 1914, but it apparently collapsed when he moved to another mission. The Nass River Fisherman's Association was also successful for a number of year (Kopas, 1972: 103). In 1931, with the effect of the depression beginning to be felt, the Indians organized on an inter-tribal basis to protect their interests. As Beynon indicated;

... through their own initiative and that of other natives, they have organized the Native Brotherhood of B.C., which is endeavoring to organize all the native tribes for fraternal and economic purposes (1941: 88n).

Again, the stress is on Indian initiative in organizing the movement. Although based on the model of economic organizations derived from western culture, the movement was led by Indians to further the interests of the native population. The constitution of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia stressed the need for Indians to communicate and cooperate with each other, to organize for the betterment of their social, mental and physical conditions and to increase their learning (Drucker, 1958: 178). It has been noted that even though the leaders of the Native Brotherhood were unable to unite the Indians of British Columbia in one political organization, they were successful in building an association which served a number of Indian interests (Kopas, 1972: 115). These included pressing Indian interest in such issues as taxation, enfranchisement, voting rights, exemption from military service, fishing and trapping rights.

The North American Indian Brotherhood, formed in 1944 in Ottawa and including members from across Canada, expressed in its constitution a theme which was becoming clearer in the development of various Indian political and economic organizations in British Columbia. It indicates
the nature of emergent Indian nationalism and the form it was beginning to take. A constitution of the Brotherhood written in 1947 stated:

The solemn object and aim of the North American Indian Brotherhood is to give leadership to the Indian nation within the sovereignty of the British Crown, a nation, by treaty obligation, under a protective government. It aims to salvage material from the ashes of the past, and thereby awaken the Indian race in the dormant nobility which is, by heritage, rightfully theirs... (Special Joint Committee Report, 1947, p.853; quoted in Kopas, 1972: 117).

Subsequent Indian political organizations, including the most recent, have not only forwarded their claims to aboriginal title and expressed opposition to the Federal Government's position on matters affecting Indians, but have also stressed the importance to Indians of retaining and reviving aspects of their traditional culture and heritage. The emergence of these political and economic organizations and associations has revealed a theme of protest among the Indians of the Pacific Northwest. This was the same element that Kübben found to be similar and comparable in all of the prophetic movements which he discussed (1960: 148). This element of protest has emphasized a desire by Indians to achieve independence in the control of their own affairs and to further their own interests in the face of White governmental opposition. This trend can be interpreted as the outcome of the events and process of change in the area. Earlier prophet movements had given the Indians certain expectations of the White man, the goods that he would bring and the good life that would follow. The arrival of the missionaries had fitted well into this ambience of expectations and at first it seemed that prophecies were being fulfilled with the changes brought about by
conversion to Christianity. But something was apparently not being satisfied, and the developments which followed revealed what this was. Indians began asserting their rights and stressing their desire to administer their own affairs. Under the guidance of the White man they were suppressed, paternalistically led and frequently misguided. The power desired was not just in the management of their own affairs, but also to enable them to be less subordinate to Whites. Despite factionalism and conflicting interest groups which existed among the Indian population, it seemed that better results could be achieved for Indians if they had power to manage their own interests. The recently formed Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs (formed in November 1969) is the first Indian organization to try to gain the right to administer the affairs of the natives (Kopas, 1972: 193).

The persistence and revival of spirit dancing and other ceremonial complexes among the Coast Salish has received attention in several recent studies (Suttles, 1963; Robinson, 1963; Kew, 1970). All three accounts stress the same reasons in explaining why the Salish continue spirit dancing and why it seems to be undergoing a revival. These reasons lend support to the interpretation of processual changes given here, and emphasize the significance of a growing sense of Indian identity. Suttles states:

Perhaps most importantly being a dancer is the most unequivocal symbol of being Indian.... Both the dancing itself and the potlatching that forms a part of the big dance may thus be seen as attempts by individuals and kin groups to maintain psychic integrity and social status. Underlying both dancing and potlatching is the theme of reaffirmation of shared identity as Indians (1963: 519).
While many different activities can be seen as a search for 'identity' and it is not always easy to ascertain exactly what identity is being sought, it may be noted that various kinds of identity may be being sought at different times. In the case of the activities discussed here the identity affirmed or sought is one of belonging to Indian society, as opposed to the dominant White society. Suttles notes that on at least one occasion in the speechmaking which usually accompanies these activities, reference was made to the Whites as enemies (in 1962 on Vancouver Island).

The gist of one speech was that a united effort might get the 'enemies' removed from their positions... on this occasion for a few moments, the gathering was less a dance than a political rally (1963: 520).

Robinson mentions that in the last years of the nineteenth century, there was a 'rash' of initiations to spirit dancing, and that potlatching, feasting and dancing were combined in one ceremonial activity in the period up to about 1920 (1963: 130). After a decline in the 1920's, spirit dancing gathered increased momentum during the 1950's and at the time of her fieldwork in the early 1960's, one third of the Salish Indians on Vancouver Island participated in the spirit dances. She notes:

The revival of potlatching and dancing coincide because both are aimed at establishing Indianness... receiving an Indian name, displaying wealth and a sense of obligation by potlatching bring honor and prestige the Indian way... (1963: 134-135).

Kew also indicates that the ceremonial complexes of the Musqueam Indians, which include winter spirit dances, Shaker Church services, funerals and canoe racing, have been retained because
... they provide the one area in which expectations of status can still be satisfied within the Indian community. Indian status has no meaning in the white community (1970: 350).

Salish ceremonies... strive for a symbolic separation of the Indian social system from the white and a consequent affirmation of the Indians as the meaningful reference group. They could appropriately be termed rites or ceremonies of separation in which the participants affirm an identity as Indians (1970: 351).

It would seem, therefore, that this growing sense of Indian identity, a form of emergent Indian nationalism has been manifested in various forms. The Shaker Church, political and economic organizations, spirit dancing and other ceremonial activities all reveal this theme. Revival of interest in Indian art also expresses the same sense of identity. Further research might show how and why this assertion of Indianness has taken the various forms it has. Different types of organization or ceremonial activity have had a stronger appeal to some groups of Indians than others. They would seem to be functional alternatives, but participation in any one is not mutually exclusive. Some Indians may be simultaneously involved in Shaker activities, spirit dancing and other ceremonial forms.
CHAPTER 6
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In retrospect, it is possible to view religious changes which have occurred in British Columbia as following a general pattern, each phase developing as part of a process and being more readily understandable when seen in historic context. A similar comment has been made about the Melanesian situation.

The process of change exhibited by these movements has been continuous, carrying forward the past, and yet in some ways breaking with it to form something new (Cochrane, 1970: 170).

Although the processes of change have been continuous, it is possible to distinguish a pattern or model of sequential phases. This has been implicit in the foregoing analysis and it is appropriate to review these phases and abstract a simple model of development from the data considered. We can distinguish four partially overlapping phases:

1. Prophet movements.
2. Conversion to Christianity.
3. Pre-political activities and movements - developing Indian nationalism.
4. Contemporary organizations - separatism and nativism.

In conclusion we will examine briefly each of these phases, with particular reference to the notion of power as outlined in the introduction. Maintaining that the various changes are the results of conditions created by contact and colonization, we are interested in showing how Indian reactions to the colonial situation have changed and developed and how these reactions are related to assumptions about power and its distribution.
Prophet Movements

Prophet movements were a widely spread initial Indian reaction to contact and colonization. The first encounter with a technologically superior culture produced "... a mixture of doubt, anxiety and hopeful expectation" (Burridge, 1969: 106). Traditional assumptions about power, prestige and status were undermined and contact with the White man brought about fundamental changes in Indian experiences and thinking. There was very little resistance to the White man, however, and typical prophecies expressed a desire to adopt the culture of Whites, particularly its material aspects. An apparently superior system of ordering power began impinging upon that of the Indians, and having recognized this, Indians attempted to comprehend and participate in these new assumptions. Prophets gave expression to the problems experienced and articulated appropriate responses. At this stage, although in a relatively dependent position, Indians expressed a desire to understand the White man's ways and his ordering of power in order to be able to participate fully in the same system. The colonial experience was just beginning.

Conversion to Christianity

Indian reaction to the arrival of missionaries was generally very favourable and converts were soon made. Following the native prophets, missionaries communicated some understanding of the assumptions of the dominant group and of their system of redemption, whereby a more satisfactory social integrity seemed to be achieved. They preached equality of all men and Indians were prepared to become part of "... a
single social order in which the moral qualities of all men are measured against commonly accepted and acknowledged criteria" (Burridge, 1969: 113-114). Conversion to Christianity implied involvement in the same social order as the White man and promised the experience of his power. This involvement meant a rejection of Indian traditions in favour of new ways of measuring prestige and status. Model Christian villages gave expression to the adopted values and social structures, which for a time proved satisfactory to the Indians involved.

Pre-political Activities and Movements

Interest in missionary Christianity gradually began to decrease, and the phase which followed conversion to the White man's religion constituted a reaction on the part of a subordinate group in a colonial situation. Although conversion had offered tangible rewards and the possibility of participating in the same social order as the White man, the widening colonial experience was presenting a contradiction in terms of the distribution of power and accessibility to it. White colonists began arriving in increasing numbers and the authority of government, commercial enterprise, and unscrupulous individual Whites, as well as the benevolent missionary were all entering more areas of Indian life. Conversion to Christianity had not given Indians equality with the White man and they attained little power and control over their own lives. Interests of the White man took priority over Indian interests in such areas as land, resources and legal issues. Legislation outlawed certain Indian activities such as the potlatch and Indians were subject to a
paternalistic authority which treated them as inferior.

The emergence of movements such as the Shakers, religious sects like the Band of Workers and the formation of the Nishga Land Committee, various fishing unions and protests against the potlatch law all represent variants of this phase of religious and social change. The theme common to these activities was the attempt to regain control over affairs concerning Indians. These activities created an awareness of common interests among Indians and in this sense were 'pre-political'. Again, assumptions about power were changing as the colonial situation was changing. The apparent desire for independence in certain religious, economic and ceremonial matters was an attempt to reformulate assumptions about power to "... account for the widening experience of everyday life..." (Burridge, 1969: 8). This phase in the model of development is characterized by Indian attempts to gain power within the White man's institutional framework.

Contemporary Organizations and Activities

The fourth phase in the model represents a continuation of the theme which had become apparent in the earlier phase. This last phase has two main variants which co-exist but have different foci. The first consists of political organizations which have emerged in response to particular issues and social needs. These organizations are not political parties in any nationalist sense, but function as pressure groups, being run by Indians and articulating Indian needs to various levels of government. Such organizations include the North American Indian Brotherhood
and the more recently formed Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs. Representing the Indian viewpoint, organizations such as these attempt to defend Indian rights, modify government policy relating to Indians and better the position of Indians in Canadian society. While representing a developing Indian nationalism, they do not constitute a radical political movement intent on gaining political power. Rather, they reflect an attempt within the present system to achieve a more satisfactory solution to Indian problems. But to the extent that these organizations stress the continuation and even strengthening of Indian identity, their efforts can be regarded as separatist.

The second main variant of this last phase of change consists of activities in the religious sphere. Revival of interest in Indian spirit dancing, ceremonials and other cultural forms also constitute a response to the subordinate position of Indians in contemporary society. Being excluded from making decisions concerning their own lives and from participating in the same social order as the White man, Indians can only achieve integrity as a social group when they participate in activities meaningful to them. In such activities, Indians re-establish their own measures of power and prestige, creating perceivably separate and autonomous fields of experience controlled and run by Indians. Such activities are a conservative, nativistic force in that, while providing satisfaction to individual participants, they do not seek to change the subordinate position of Indians in the larger society.
Conclusion

The nature of the historic colonial process in British Columbia has affected the development of social and religious change among Indians, change which has been summarized in the model presented. The early stages had parallels in other colonial situations, but the subsequent phases reflect a differing set of conditions for the native people of British Columbia. Whereas the desire for independence and self-determination in non-settler, administrative colonies such as found in parts of Melanesia and Africa could, at some time in the future, be realized by indigenous peoples, this was not so for the native people of British Columbia. In the settler colony of British Columbia there could be no possibility of dominant political power for the Indians. Protests and agitation, although apparent in the third and fourth phases described, failed to bring the subordinate political group, the Indians, any independent control over their own affairs. In many of the non-settler colonies, messianic movements were the precursors of nationalist parties which agitated for political independence and eventually gained it. Developing Indian nationalism in British Columbia, because of the particular colonial situation, could not achieve political self-determination and as a result, stirrings of nationalism and assertions of 'Indianness' have been channelled into political pressure groups and the revival of Indian cultural activities.
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