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UTE PEYOTISM

A Study of a Cultural Complex

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By OMER C. STEWART

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UTE PEYOTISM

By Omer C. Stewart*

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I. INTRODUCTION**

The peyote cult has been the subject of several long studies, of dozens of short papers, and of hundreds of newspaper and magazine notices. In spite of this attention, many gaps remain in our knowledge, and there are wide differences in interpretations. This paper is presented to furnish new data concerning the peyote cult among the Ute Indians and newly-discovered historical material relative to the original contacts which led to the introduction of peyotism into the United States and, by comparing the Ute cult with those of other tribes in the United States and Mexico, to cast some light on the much-disputed question of the origin and meaning of "Christian elements and ideas" everywhere present in the peyote cult in the United States.

My research has led me to different conclusions from those reached by several other writers—conclusions which are of basic importance to most theories concerning the spread of the cult.[1] The place given to "Christian elements" in the cult largely determines explanations of its diffusion. Did the cult spread as a fairly stable unit, combining many elements, ideas, and practices into a cultural complex which was borrowed as a whole? Or did the cult develop anew among

* Assistant Professor of Anthropology.

** This monograph is based in part upon field work which was incidental to a culture element distribution study for the University of California from September, 1937, to January, 1938. It was accepted for publication by *Anthropos* in 1938, but the war prevented its appearance. Since post-war shortages in Europe would further delay it, I asked to have it returned. It has been brought up to date by the addition of references to pertinent material published since 1938.

[1] This difference of opinion has already been made known in a "Brief Communication" by me to the *American Anthropologist* (vol. 43, pp. 303–308, 1941), questioning some of Marvin K. Opler's interpretations in "The Character and History of the Southern Ute Peyote Rite" (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 42, pp. 463–478, 1940). His rebuttal appeared in the same journal, vol. 44, pp. 151–159, 1942. I think this paper places the problem in a broader context.

many different tribes, based on only a few ideas and ritual elements, or possibly solely around the use of the narcotic cactus? If "Christian elements" are a part of all existing peyote ceremonies, and if they have been present since its first introduction into the United States, the case for the first alternative is strengthened. This presumption seems to be true. "Christian elements" and many other characteristics of the ritual are common to all cults now in the United States, and there are many points of similarity to the Mexican cult. Furthermore, documents establishing the fact that Apache Indians attended peyote rituals and Christian services in Mexico in 1770 furnish a basis for the view that peyotism in the United States acquired its "Christian elements" and many other features in Mexico at least by that date and that the resulting complex diffused as a unit.

The most important relevant ethnographic data based on original observation have been published by Lumholtz, Mooney, Diguet, Kroeber, Gilmore, Mason, Radin, Skinner, Murie, M. R. Harrington, Curtis, Petrullo, M. E. Opler, La Barre, M. K. Opler, Stewart, and Malouf.[2] Further, numerous articles, such as those by Lundquist and Newberne, were expressly aimed to prejudice public opinion against the cactus, with the hope that national and state legislatures would enact laws prohibiting its use. Shonle, Wagner, and Hollander attempted comparative surveys, but incomplete data partly nullified their conclusions. The first adequate and integrated comparative study of the peyote cult is Weston La Barre's doctoral dissertation, published in the Yale University anthropological series.[3] However, since he gives little information concerning Ute peyotism, I consider this a worthwhile addition to our knowledge of this feature of American Indian culture.

I obtained my data by participating in three Ute peyote cult meetings and conversing with believers at other times. The Indians welcomed me as a visitor sympathetic with Indian culture. During the meetings I ate six to eight dried cacti and found, as have other ethnographers, that they sustained me through the sleepless night, keeping me mentally alert and enabling me to sit for hours in an extremely uncomfortable position. I experienced a remarkable heightening of visual acuity—all colors appeared more vivid and the sunlight seemed intense in the morning. At my second meeting, I must have eaten slightly more of the cactus, for I had even more vivid hallucinations and could not suppress the impulse to vomit. Whenever I closed my eyes, "visions" of beautiful places I had visited came to me, during which I felt detached from, although conscious of, my presence at the meeting. My whole being seemed to throb in unison with the rapid drum beat.[4]

[2] See Bibliography.

[3] La Barre gives an extensive bibliography.

[4] When in the ritual the staff and rattle were handed to me with a request to sing, I started by singing a short California Indian song over and over. Later, I learned several "peyote songs," but alternated them with French folk songs, "Alouette," and "Auprès de Ma Blonde," and a German drinking song, "Bier her," the only songs I could fit into the fast tempo of the peyote songs. I passed them all off as "California Indian songs," and although my interpreter at Towaoc practised one for a week, I failed to recognize it, even when he said, "I've stolen your song."

Ute was the principal language used during two meetings, and at one English was spoken predominantly because several Indians could not speak Ute. Parts of speeches, prayers, and conversations in Ute were translated for me at the time or their meanings explained after the services.

Peyote, "*Lophophora williamsii* (*Anhalonium williamsii* Lemaire), is a succulent spineless cactus, usually shaped like a turnip or carrot with a depressed globose or hemispherical head bearing low inconspicuous tubercles and a tapering tap root." Its geographical range is "from southern Texas along the valley of the Rio Grande, from the mouth of the Pecos river southeastward, to southern Querétaro, Mexico."[5]

Modern scientific interest in peyote was first aroused by Mrs. Anna B. Nickels, of Laredo, Texas, about 1880.[6] From the Indians she learned of its supposedly marvelous therapeutic properties and sent samples to Parke, Davis and Co., drug manufacturers, and subsequently to scientists in Washington, D. C., Germany, France, and England for detailed and exhaustive study.

Chemical, pharmacological, and physiological analyses of peyote were conducted by Prentiss and Morgan, Heffter, Lewin, Rouhier, and others. Experiments to determine its psychological effects were started by Havelock Ellis, and continued by Dixon, Weir Mitchell, Knauer, Fernberger, and others. Kluver summarizes the psychological studies and presents a long bibliography. Peyote has been discussed at length in botanical literature. Safford found that Sahagun (1560), Jacinto de la Serna (1626), and Hernandez (1638) were among the early Spaniards to give descriptions of peyote, and he himself did much to establish its botanical identification. Reko and Schultes have further clarified the complicated botanical problem. Historical research, especially by Safford, and more recently by Reko, La Barre, Schultes, and Hijor y Haro, has revealed numerous additional references to peyote in early Spanish chronicles. Ferías, Cárdenas, Mendieta, and Molina in the 16th century; Ruiz de Alarcon, Ponce, Sanchez de Aguilar, Basalobre, and Estrada in the 17th century; Ortega, Clavijero, and Leon y Gama in the 18th century, and Alegre, Arias, and Arlegui in the early 19th century all wrote about it.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

It has been generally known that the Uintah Ute[7] were peyote users since 1925 when Newberne published an abridged compilation of the information on peyote from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. That official list did not include, however,

[5] Safford, 297.

[6] *Ibid.*, 300.

[7] The Ute form a branch of the Shoshonean-speaking Indians who formerly lived in what is now central and southern Utah, western and southern Colorado, and northern New Mexico and consisted of about ten bands. For administrative purposes they have been collected on the Uintah-Ouray Reservation in northeastern Utah, the Ute Mountain Reservation near Cortez, and the Southern Ute Reservation near Ignacio, both in southern Colorado. I shall refer to the two groups as the Uintah and Southern Ute, although no cultural distinctness separates the two groups as they are now constituted. The Goshute belong to the Shoshoni group of Shoshonean linguistic stock and live in the western Utah desert.

the Southern Ute, the Goshute, the Northern Paiute, or the Washo,[8] who a now peyote users.

The Uintah Ute received peyotism in 1914 from a Sioux Indian named Sa Roan Bear. Possibly he came to Ouray, Utah, expressly to proselyte the Ut although he worked there as a sheepherder for a short time. He attracted atten tion to the cult by persuading old John McCook, brother-in-law of Chief Ouray to submit to a peyote treatment. John, having been ill a long time and receivin little help from either the Ute shamans or the Indian Service doctors, more o less in desperation agreed to try the peyote medicine in which Sam had so muc confidence. Sam's treatment, according to accounts from both Indians an white settlers, was conducted in a tipi and appears to have been a regular peyot meeting. He told the other Indians that the doctoring would be more effectiv if they would join in the eating of peyote. He went so far as to promise them that God or Jesus would speak to them from the top of the tipi.[9] John McCook was cured; consequently, he and many other Indians[10] joined the cult.

However, some soon withdrew, among them Pawwinnee, whose wife, Elise, told me of the early history of the cult. According to Elise, the deserters left because Roan Bear demanded too much money.[11] After starting the meetings Sam returned to the Sioux reservation in South Dakota, visiting the Ute periodically to encourage them and bring new supplies of peyote. Elise accused him of collecting all the money, fancy bead work, baskets, and buckskin that were gathered together by the Ute members and even prompting them to sell their cattle and sheep to pay him. When finally he got all the money the members could possibly raise, he left and did not return.

Indians who still belong to the cult agree with the foregoing, except in the amount of money given Sam. They say they liked him and were so grateful for teaching them the true religion that they gave him everything they could. Even sexual favors were freely accorded him by several young women, and his children are scattered among several Ute families.

Opposition to the new religion was not limited to educated Indians, such as Elise Pawwinnee, and some of the more conservative Indians devoted to traditional Ute culture. Government administrators also did all they could to repress the new cult. They, as well as laymen, thought peyote as harmful as opium and

[8] Washo Indians are a distinct linguistic group of the Hokan stock who live in western Nevada and eastern California in the region of Lake Tahoe.

[9] A trader told me that Sam Roan Bear was a ventriloquist who threw his voice to the tipi top just to fool the Indians and get their money. This report might be true, but is not necessarily so, for the "hearing of voices" is a common result of peyote intoxication. Radin reports it for the Winnebago, Curtis for the Taos Indians, and Opler for the Lipan Apache.

[10] Newberne, 34, gives the number as 581, fifty per cent of the total reservation population in 1919.

[11] This would suggest influence from John Wilson's Delaware "Big Moon" practise of requiring payment for building a moon. There appear no other features, however, to bear out such an affinity. See Petrullo for a full explanation of Delaware peyotism.

morphine, clinging to the idea because none has visited the meetings and tried the medicine. Peyote is blamed, usually falsely, for much of the poverty, illness, and death on the reservations, in spite of the scientific opinion that, as used by the Indians, it is neither habit-forming nor permanently injurious to body or mind. Not long after peyotism was adopted by the Uintah, the Utah State Legislature passed a law prohibiting the transportation and possession of peyote. Consequently, local and federal agents broke up meetings and confiscated the medicine, such opposition merely forcing the Indians to hold their ceremonies secretly and to smuggle peyote. Neither was extremely difficult, and probably the persecution strengthened the faith of believers.

The persistent were rewarded when the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, insisted that the Indians be absolutely free to carry on their own rites and ceremonies. Having escaped Federal oppression, the Uintah defeated State opponents in court, winning the right to hold peyote meetings on the grounds that the National Constitution guarantees religious freedom. After years of surreptitious ceremonies, usually with no cover but the thick woods along the rivers, the Indians now put up and arrange their peyote tipi to be freely visited during the county fair.

The cult introduced by Roan Bear is now called the "old Ute way" or "Sioux way," in contrast to the "tipi way" or the Native American Church, the incorporated peyote church of Oklahoma, whose members have visited the Ute, sold them a large canvas tipi, and taught them the ritual. The new converts try to perform the ceremony exactly as do the visiting authorities from Oklahoma or as they have seen it while in Oklahoma to get the dried cactus. There is really no great distinction between the two Ute sects, however, and adherents to either form attend meetings of the other. The major differences are actually only matters of degree, except that the "old Ute way" has no smoking during the ritual, members being supposed not to smoke at any time.[12] Less peyote is eaten by the "old way" devotees, four "buttons"[13] being a usual dose and eight a large dose, whereas the eight is average and thirty a large dose for "tipi way" members. Accordingly, the "old Ute way" cult is much less boisterous, with singing more subdued, talking almost absent, and the entire meeting conducted with solemnity. I did not visit an "old Ute way" meeting, but the differences were described by Francisco Cesspooch, a follower of the "old way," after he had attended with me a meeting conducted in the "tipi way." He had traveled to Wyoming, South Dakota, and Oklahoma to study peyotism and was well aware that each leader had a slightly different way of conducting the ritual.

[12] La Barre, 1938, 77, 168-69, believes the prohibitions on smoking in peyotism can be traced to Christian influences of the Oto leader, from whence it spread to the Iowa, Winnebago, and Pawnee.

[13] A "button" is the dried hemispherical top of the peyote cactus. The root of the plant is not taken from the ground because several small cactus plants will sprout from it.

Indian opposition to the cult in Uintah Basin, although no longer supported b law, is still present. No generalizations can be made concerning the opponent or the adherents, because both include old conservative Indians and educate younger ones who have adopted European ways and ideas.[14] In the former clas is the Sun Dance "boss," Sapanese Cuch, who said "Peyote kills the Indians" several peyote users, nevertheless, have danced in the Sun Dance. Many Uintal have received religious instruction during the forty years the Episcopalian Missio has existed on the reservation, and a large percentage have been baptized an confirmed. Others have attended and become members of the several Mormo churches in communities of white men who have purchased Indian land on th reservation. Indian members of both these churches are on either side.

Naturally, the white Episcopalian missionaries and Mormons attempt t frustrate peyotism. Peyotist leaders, however, considering it a true Christian religion, offered to combine with the Episcopalian mission. The meetings were to be held jointly in the mission church, the white missionary conducting his usual Sunday morning services for the Indians who had congregated and spent the preceding night in a regular peyote meeting in the chapel. To prove their religion truly Christian, the Indians cite the Bible, especially Exodus 12, 8 concerning eating the feast of the Passover "with bitter herbs."

Information concerning the beginnings of the cult among the Southern Ute is less definite. My informant, a man about forty, said the first meeting on the Ute Mountain Reservation he remembered hearing about occurred when he was a school boy, and he calculated the date to be 1907. This statement agrees fairly well with Parsons' date of 1910.[15] My informant said Indians from Oklahoma visited them at that time, as they have since, and also that the Southern Ute have made numerous trips to Oklahoma to get new supplies of the cactus. Dried peyote has also been redistributed to both the Uintah and Southern Ute from Taos, New Mexico.

Although peyotism exists on both the Ute reservations in southern Colorado, it is much stronger at Towaoc than at Ignacio, over 90 per cent of the Indians near Towaoc belonging to the cult against only about 10 per cent of those around Ignacio, even though the Ignacio group undoubtedly became acquainted with the use of peyote during their residence in New Mexico just east of Taos, where they lived until after 1875. The Ignacio Ute are much more Europeanized than those at Towaoc, who notoriously resist all governmental attempts to make them agriculturists and to have them live in houses. Thus the group which retains

[14] M. K. Opler, 1940, 468, attributes differences in attitudes toward peyote to "general differences . . . in the emotional hold of aboriginal customs" among the Southern Ute. A thorough analysis of Washo-Northern Paiute participation and socio-economic status revealed no positive correlations (see Stewart, 1944, 123).

[15] La Barre, 1938, 120. M. K. Opler, 1940, found two types of the cult among the Southern Ute. The type generally practiced in 1916 persists only at Ignacio; another form which exists at Ute Mountain (Towaoc) is said to have come from Uintah, Utah, in 1931.

more of the aboriginal culture has adopted this new faith wholeheartedly. Yet among the Ignacio people the followers of peyote are principally descendants of a Negro who married into the tribe about seventy-five years ago. The half-Negro, half-Indian Ute are the most literate, the most independent, and most Europeanized on the reservation.

A group of mixed Southern Paiute and Ute descent, located at Blanding, Utah, has been using peyote for a number of years without the knowledge of local authorities. Following two apparently miraculous cures attributed to peyote—one of a venereal disease—the Blanding Indians recently greatly increased their use of the cactus. The police, learning of the development, invoked the state law to suppress it and arrested two Towaoc Indians for selling dried peyote, but released them on learning that the Federal government no longer prohibited the use of peyote and that Indians in northern Utah had won the legal right to hold their meetings freely.

La Barre gives 1921 as the date peyotism started among the Goshute Shoshoni Indians west of Salt Lake City, Utah, and states that "possibly Cheyenne teaching is responsible."[16] I was told by the Goshute, however, that it started "about ten years ago" (1927), and came from the Ute. There were Goshute at the meetings I attended at Whiterocks and Randlett, on the Uintah reservation, and I learned that Uintah had visited the Goshute reservation to teach them the ritual. Francisco Cesspooch had taught them the "old Ute way"; but more recently a tipi and written instructions were received directly from the Native American Church in Oklahoma. Among the 150 or so Goshute Indians there exist two peyote sects and a small, but militant opposition.

The representative of the Native American Church who most frequently visits the Ute and Goshute at present is a Washo Indian called Gray Horse.[17] He took part in the Ute peyote meeting I attended at Randlett, and from the manner in which he encouraged the use of larger amounts of peyote, I suspect he derived a considerable financial benefit from its sale. I was told, however, that the current price delivered on the Uintah reservation was two or three cents a "button."

Gray Horse's testimony at the meeting revealed his eventful and, as he termed it, sinful past as a professional gambler, bootlegger, bartender, and pimp before becoming connected with the "true Indian religion." Having joined in Oklahoma, he returned to his own people and attracted a devoted following among the Washo and Northern peyote, which I studied in 1938, and about which I wrote in 1944. (I did not learn of peyote while among the Washo at Lake Tahoe, California, in the summer of 1936, although it had been introduced and had a short popularity in 1929.)

[16] La Barre, 1938, 120. Malouf, 1942, 93–94, demonstrates that the Goshute knew of peyote by 1907, but that the cult became firmly established between 1925 and 1928.

[17] I have given a long account of Gray Horse (Ben Lancaster) and his missionary activities for peyote among the Washo and Northern Paiute in my study of those tribes. (See Stewart, 1944.)

There is some significance in the extension of peyotism beyond the influence of Plains culture. Several investigators have emphasized the similarities between rituals and concepts formerly existing in the various tribes and those in peyotism to explain why peyotism has diffused so widely. The Plains "vision quest" was signalized by Shonle as the factor which made peyotism so acceptable there. Its irregular acceptance by separate Ute groups, as well as its varied history on the Plains recorded by La Barre, proves that adoption or rejection does not depend upon a few easily recognizable factors. The enthusiastic reception of the cult by some Goshute and Washo, who possess even fewer Plains traits than the Ute, shows peyotism is probably espoused for as many and as diverse reasons as determine the acceptance of a new religion by any people at any time. The problem resolves itself into a consideration of each individual who joins the new movement. No generalization, even for one tribe, can be valid, for as shown by Newberne, within the groups where peyote is used the devotees vary from 90% of the population to 1.0%.[18]

III. THE UTE PEYOTE MEETING

The following description rests on observations at ceremonies at Whiterocks and Randlett, Utah, and Towaoc, Colorado, and on conversations with members of the cult at these places, as well as on the Goshute reservation at Ibapah, Utah, at Blanding, Utah, and at Ignacio, Colorado. I obtained a copy of the written instructions giving the sequence of the ritual of the Native American Church.[19] Unless otherwise stated, it is to be assumed that the three Ute meetings were virtually identical.

The principal variations were in the structures serving as a meeting place. At Whiterocks a 16-pole canvas tipi was used, and a slightly smaller one among the Goshute[20] (Fig. 2). A large room of a regular dwelling served the purpose at Randlett, and a Navaho-built hogan at Towaoc (Figs. 5 and 6), although the same night another meeting was held on the reservation in a frame dwelling. I shall henceforth refer to the place of assembly as "tipi" because all members said it should be used when possible.

The order of this account conforms as closely as possible to that of the meeting itself. Since the tipi and paraphernalia are arranged beforehand, they will accordingly be discussed first (Figs. 1, 2, and 3).

The tipi might be left standing for an indefinite time, but if not, it is put up sometime during the day preceding the evening, usually Saturday, that the meet-

[18] Newberne, 34.

[19] Mr. A. L. Robertson, the teacher in charge of the Goshute Reservation, was asked by one of the Indians to typewrite a copy of the "Program—Native American Church." As a routine matter, Mr. Robertson placed a carbon copy in his files, which he kindly allowed me to copy.

[20] The Goshute did not have the tipi until they obtained one to use as a peyote church.

ing is to start. The size of the tipi determines the number of poles necessary. The entrance is invariably toward the east. The leader or chief directs the erection of the tipi and the construction of a crescent-shaped altar (called "moon"

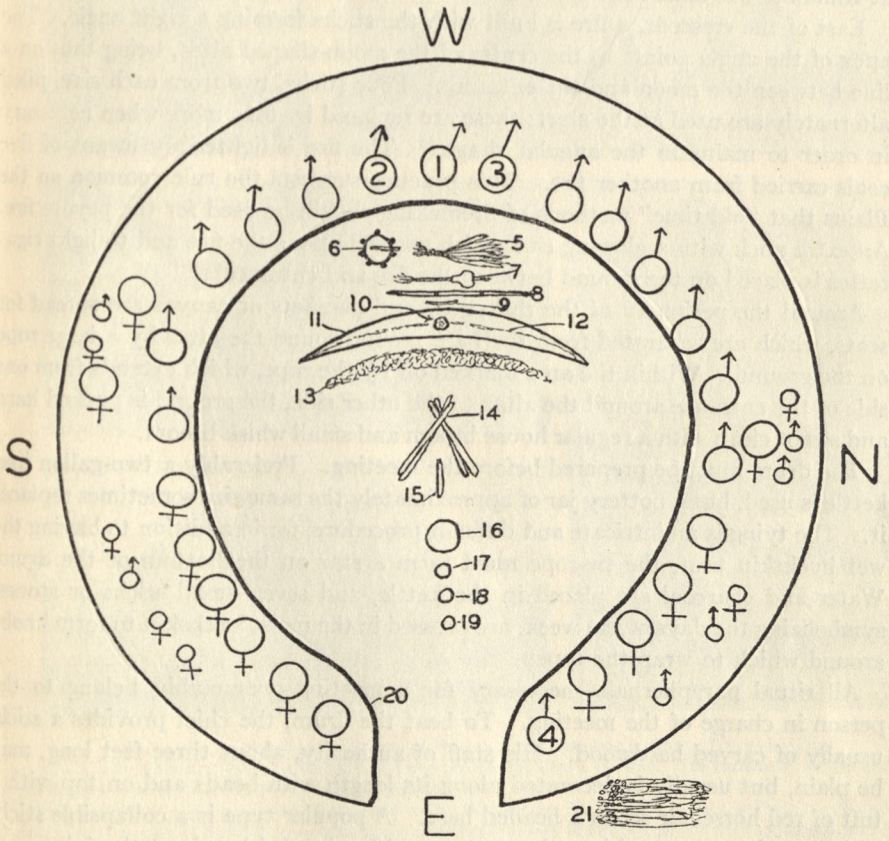

FIG. 1
ARRANGEMENT OF TIPI

1. Chief
2. Chief-drummer
3. Cedarman
4. Fire-chief
5. Fan
6. Drum
7. Rattle
8. Staff
9. Whistle
10. Chief peyote
11. Sand moon
12. Peyote road
13. Ash moon
14. Fire
15. Fire-stick
16. Water
17. Maize
18. Fruit
19. Meat
20. Rope
21. Wood pile

by the Indians) of sand or clay on the ground just west of its center. The crescent at Whiterocks was about four or five inches high in the middle, which was due west of the entrance and had its concave side and tapering points to the east.

A shallow groove, extending from tip to tip along its crest, represents the "peyote road" over which thoughts or visions travel to and from God. Moons vary in size, that at Whiterocks being about ten feet from point to point, whereas the one at Randlett was about two feet.[21]

East of the crescent, a fire is built with the sticks forming a right angle. The apex of the angle points to the center of the moon-shaped altar, being thus on a line between the moon and the entrance. Four sticks, two from each side, piled alternately are used at the start; these are replaced by four more when necessary in order to maintain the angular shape.[22] The fire is lighted by means of live coals carried from another fire. This practice suggests the rule common on the Plains that "old time" methods of firemaking should be used for the peyote fire. An extra stick with a glowing end which serves to poke the fire and to light cigarettes is placed on the ground between the fire and entrance.

Around the periphery of the tipi straw and blankets or canvas are spread for seats, which are separated from the bare ground round the altar by a large rope on the ground. Within the area marked off by the rope, which extends from one side of the entrance around the altar to the other side, the ground is packed hard and swept clean with a regular house broom and small whisk broom.

The drum must be prepared before the meeting. Preferably a two-gallon iron kettle is used, but a pottery jar of approximately the same size sometimes replaces it. The tying is an intricate and difficult procedure, for in addition to having the wet buckskin taut, the tie-rope must form a star on the bottom of the drum. Water and charcoal are placed in the kettle, and seven small sticks or stones, symbolizing the days of the week, are pressed in the moist buckskin to form knobs around which to wrap the rope.

All ritual paraphernalia necessary for a meeting presumably belong to the person in charge of the meeting. To beat the drum, the chief provides a stick, usually of carved hardwood. His staff of authority, about three feet long, may be plain, but usually is decorated along its length with beads and on top with a tuft of red horsehair set in a beaded base. A popular type is a collapsible stick, which can be unscrewed into three parts and has beaded bands at the joints. A gourd filled with small glass beads and attached to a stick is the required rattle. Sometimes the gourd is decorated with small perforations, and the handle, which extends through the long way of the gourd and is elaborately beaded, has a tuft of colored horsehair on its distal end and a dozen or so decorative strings tied to the near end. A small gourd about two inches in diameter, which produces a

[21] La Barre, 1938, 120, quotes Mrs. Ann Cooke's account obtained at Whiterocks to the effect that "sometimes they have a half moon instead of a crescent—depending on the size of the moon in the sky at the time. . . . They had twice had a moon which had eyes and a mouth made in it—this is 'God peeping'."

[22] At Randlett, four unignited sticks and a common coal-oil lamp replaced the fire. Hot coals were carried from an open fire built outside and placed on a sand platform which extended from the base of the altar to protect the wooden floor.

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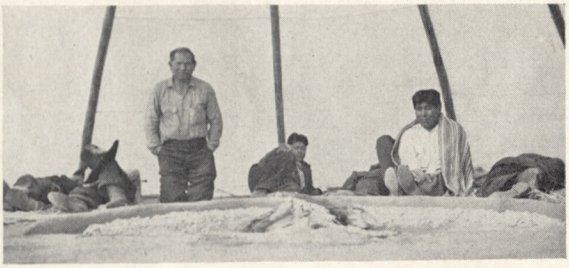

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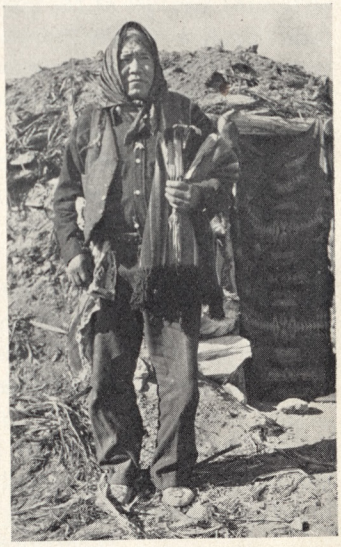

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FIG. 2. Peyote tipi; Goshute Indian of Ibapah, Utah, standing in front. November, 1937

FIG. 3. Ute Indians at Whiterocks, Utah, inside a peyote tipi after a meeting. The remains of the fire and the ash and sand crescents are in foreground. September, 1937.

FIG. 4. Ritual equipment of Juddy Long Hair, a Ute, Whiterocks, Utah. Left to right, in front row: four dried peyote buttons, sack of Bull Durham tobacco, eagle-feather fan, sack of tobacco, peyote buttons; second row: eagle humerus whistle, gourd rattle with beaded handle; third row: fan, sprigs of Artemisia, rope to tie drum, fan; fourth row: fan, staff, iron kettle with dry hide on top and drum stick, fan; in background behind drum: a velvet altar cloth, a branch of cedar, and paraphernalia-valise containing cloth sack of peyote, silver pins.

FIG. 5. Some Ute Indians and the author in front of the Navaho hogan in which the meeting was held at Towaoc, Colorado, January, 1938. Note the jar which was made into a drum and the difference in the size of the two rattles held by the man in the front center.

FIG. 6. An old Ute in front of Towaoc hogan. Note beaded buckskin moccasins, silver pin, and blanket worn especially for the peyote meeting. The silk handkerchief hanging from his belt is to wrap around the fan.

high-pitched, swishing sound, is the most common, but ones up to five inches in diameter are used sometimes. A fan of twelve eagle-tail feathers is also part of the chief's ritual equipment. Fastened separately to the feathers are strings of buckskin or cotton, with a small bright-colored feather inserted at the attachment. A beaded band encircles the strings and serves as a handle. Dried juniper or cedar leaves, usually in a small, beautifully beaded buckskin bag closed with a drawstring, are provided for purifying incense by the Chief. He or the person giving the meeting also supplies peyote to be eaten during the ritual, which is carried in almost any type of sack, from fancy velvet to common paper bags. An extra large peyote decorated with white lines is preserved to be used time after time as the talismanic "chief peyote." An eagle humerus whistle, a small bunch of Artemisia sprigs, two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco with the ordinary wheat straw papers, and sometimes a small scarf or rug about two by four feet complete the necessary ritual equipment. The Chief usually has a leather satchel or suitcase in which to carry the paraphernalia, and members wishing to use personal fans, rattles, drumsticks, or peyote also carry them to the meeting in satchels or boxes. Nearly everyone keeps his feathers not in use carefully wrapped in silk handerchiefs (Fig. 4).

Before attending the meeting, all members are supposed to bathe. Popular, but not required, is the wearing of moccasins during the service, some devotees changing from store-made shoes just before entering the tipi. Various types of "thunder bird" silver pins are worn on ties or pinned on shirts, and some Indian men with long hair decorate the braid hanging over each shoulder with bright-colored yarn or ribbon. Nearly everyone wears commercially-woven woolen (Pendleton) blankets, which are used to sit on when not wrapped around the shoulders during the ritual. A few of the older men paint their faces and the parts in their hair with red "Indian paint," but no designs are made.

About nightfall the devotees assemble in small groups outside the tipi. Any time from seven to ten P.M. they line up back of the Chief, the men with their hats off, ready to enter. The Chief-drummer is second in line, the Cedarman third, next the men, then the women and children, with the Fire-chief last. The leader offers a short prayer just before the group files into the tipi, all passing to the left, that is, south of the fire and crescent altar. The Chief sits cross-legged directly west of the center of the altar, the Chief-drummer on his right, the Cedarman on his left, the men ranged next to these on either side, the women and children on both sides nearer the entrance, or in some instances behind their male kin, and the Fire-chief on the north side just inside the entrance. Paraphernalia-satchels are placed out of sight behind the members, after which the leader places his "chief peyote" upon some crossed sage brush (Artemisia) leaves on the top of the middle of the moon. He then prays for five or ten minutes. The prayer

invokes divine guidance for the ceremony and blessings for all assembled. Following the opening prayer, the Chief and others may speak quietly concerning the special aims of the meeting, and anyone present is allowed to tell of his ills and struggles, so that all faith and prayer during the ritual might be especially voiced in his behalf. Protection from the evil effects of bad dreams, dreams of evil ghosts, or of the Devil, is at times sought through peyote meetings.

The two sacks of tobacco are passed down each side away from the leader. Each man and woman, using the papers which come with the sacks,[23] rolls a cigarette, which is lighted from the glowing fire-stick. The Fire-chief hands the stick to the first person (usually a woman) south of the door; from there it passes clockwise around the group, each lighting his cigarette in turn. Each person blows the first four puffs of smoke toward the "chief peyote" and the altar, at the same time making a motion in the same direction with the mouth-end of the cigarette. After the Fire-chief has lighted his smoke, replaced the fire-stick in line between the leader and the entrance, and made the four puffs and motions, the leader starts to pray aloud, while others present are supposed to pray silently. Following the prayer, first the leader, then the other devotees, one after another, starting at the door and proceeding clockwise, place their cigarette butts against the convex base of the crescent.

The next step is to pass sprigs of sage brush clockwise from the Chief around the tipi. The leaves are rubbed between the hands, sniffed, rubbed over the limbs, and beaten four times against the chest. This procedure is to add to the purification of the body started by the bath that preceded the meeting.

A sack[24] of peyote follows the sage around the circuit, from which each adult takes four buttons. The fuzz is scraped from the button with the finger nails and pushed under the blanket seats.[25] The button may be motioned in the direction of the altar before it is chewed, but often the button is first masticated, then spit into the hands, rolled into a ball, motioned toward the "chief peyote" and finally swallowed in one gulp. Since the peyote is extremely bitter and nauseous, coughing and spitting often succeed the arduous swallowing. Some Indians expectorate into their hands and then rub the saliva over their head and limbs; others spit on the ground and cover the spittle with straw, etc. Everyone sits as still as possible until all have finished eating the medicine, because the partaking of the divine plant during meetings is a sacred procedure and supposed to be accompanied by a silent prayer.

When the last of the first four peyotes has been consumed, the leader removes

[23] The instructions from the Native American Church to the Goshute say corn husks are used.

[24] At Whiterocks, a stew pan of crushed and moistened peyote, called the "chief's pan," was passed and each person took four teaspoonfuls of the mixture. A special peyote tea had been brewed for me.

[25] When the meeting was held in the dwelling at Randlett, tin cans were provided for spittoons, or, as it happened, for containers in which to vomit. The peyote fuzz was also put in these cans. The belief, reported by La Barre, 1938, 82, that the fuzz causes blindness seems absent among the Ute. When a boy got fuzz in his eyes from blowing his nose into a can, only laughter resulted.

the rest of the ritual equipment from its container and spreads it before him on the ground or on a special small rug. A few sprigs of sage are tied near the top of the staff. The Cedarman throws some juniper leaves on the fire to smudge or incense the paraphernalia. By motions back and forth, the leader passes the staff, whistle, fan, and rattle through the smoke four times. The Chief-drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick, and the singing begins as soon as the leader places the eagle humerus whistle on the ground near the moon just below the "chief peyote."

Holding the staff and fan in one hand and resting the lower end of the staff on the clean ground, the leader shakes the rattle and sings the Opening Song, accompanied by the Chief-drummer's rapid drum beats. Only four songs have to be sung at fixed times—the Opening Song, the Midnight Water Call, the Morning Water Call, and the Quitting Song; during the remainder of the ritual each man sings any song he wishes when it is his turn to lead. The Chief sings any three songs other than the Opening Song, then holds the staff, rattle, and fan together in one hand and passes them to the Chief-drummer, the second singer. The Chief drums for him, as well as for the Cedarman, who receives the staff, rattle, and fan third. When the staff is moved past the drum, it must go between drum and altar; that is, over the drum.

From here the paraphernalia proceed clockwise around the circle. Each man holds the staff and the fan in one hand, shakes the rattle with the other, and sings four songs of his own choosing. Often the actual songs, being short, are repeated four or more times to be counted as one. The drum, with the drumstick held carefully on top, follows the staff around the circle, each man beating the rhythm indicated by the singer at his left. Songs end with a few extra-rapid shakes of the rattle and beats of the drum. Women neither hold the staff, etc., to lead the singing nor beat the drum, but they do grasp the ritual equipment in the required manner to relay it to the next man and sing accompaniments to the men's songs. The paraphernalia continue their clockwise course until about midnight, when a special variation in the ritual occurs.

At the approach of midnight and its particular ritual, the Midnight Water Call, the leader has the outfit passed to him from wherever it is—a signal to the Fire-chief to replenish the fire and to form the accumulated ashes and hot coals into a crescent corresponding to the one of sand. Extreme care and considerable skill are displayed during this process.[26] The convex edge of the glowing moon remains about a foot from the concave side of the sand altar. All of the ground not occupied by the devotees is carefully swept, fluffy ash is fanned from the altar, the cigarette butts are collected from along its base and piled at its two points, and the eagle humerus whistle is handed to the leader.

As soon as the Fire-chief completes these preliminaries, cedar leaves are sprinkled

[26] At one meeting the Fire-chief was new at the job, and a more experienced man formed the ash crescent for him.

along the hot-ash moon by the Cedarman, and the leader and Chief-drum incense the equipment four times. The devotees may at this time or whene cedar smoke is made, draw some of the purifying incense to themselves. N the Chief blows four blasts on his whistle and sings the set Midnight Song. he finishes, a bucket of water is brought into the meeting by the Fire-chief, w places it between the fire-stick and the entrance and kneels, usually on a fol blanket, just east of the bucket, where he remains while any other songs are su by the leader to the accompanying beats by the Chief-drummer. The songs co pleted, all the paraphernalia are carefully placed on the ground beside the north end of the altar, the top of the staff and tips of the feathers pointing north.

The cedar bag in hand, the Cedarman then kneels on one knee beside the al and prays at length before again sprinkling the aromatic leaves on the ash Smoke thus formed is drawn over the water with four motions by the kneeli Fire-chief. As the Fire-chief smokes a cigarette, which was lighted from the fi stick handed by any man from the north side of the circle, he blows four pu and makes four motions toward the "chief peyote" on the altar, prays, and bless the water. It usually happens that the cigarette goes out during the long pray and must be relighted before being handed to the Chief. The Chief hands t butt to the Chief-drummer, who blows four clouds of smoke toward the alt and hands the butt to the Cedarman. The latter blows the four puffs and giv the remains, often very small, back to the leader. Four puffs and motions a repeated by the Chief, who also prays.

After the almost interminable prayer, the Chief-drummer places the cigaret stub beside the moon just below the "chief peyote," the Fire-chief spills a litt water on the ground, and hands the bucket to the first person on his left. Th bucket of water and the cup, which had rested on the whisk broom beside th bucket during the prayers, goes from person to person clockwise around the tip All drink deeply and most squirt some of the water from their mouths into the hands to be rubbed over their heads and limbs and patted on their chests. Th peyote drum is given "a drink" by the Chief-drummer, who pours water on th buckskin head. Water dipped from the cup with the tips of the feather fan i sprinkled on the other paraphernalia, the "chief peyote," and the moon.

Reëntering after placing the bucket of water outside, the Fire-chief passe clockwise around the altar and takes his place beside the entrance. In the mean time, the ritual equipment has been returned to its position before the midnigh ritual starts, and singing is resumed after the Chief goes outside. Alone there he prays and blows his whistle to the cardinal directions, starting at the south and proceding clockwise around the tipi. A special smudge is created to enabl the Chief to incense himself on his return. He replaces the whistle at the bas of the moon.

Singing continues with renewed vigor and increased variation after the midnight drinking. One by one the devotees take from their containers their individual rattles, fans, and drumsticks, which could not be used until now. Both men and women shake their fans and rattles of varied sizes and shapes to the time set by the staff holder. Feathers from numerous species of birds are used, one person wielding a half dozen fans during the morning. Feathers for young people should be from swift, active birds regardless of color; those for women from birds of dark shades. The large eagle feathers, white with black tips, are usually owned by the leader although desired by all men; those of pheasant, crow, hawk, seagull, woodpecker, grouse, etc. are used by all. Although the twelve tailfeathers are most common, bunches of up to fifty small feathers are sometimes seen. The Chief's fan continues the rounds, but personal fans may be held on the staff with it. Only the Chief's rattle, however, is used by the song leader.

Personal supplies of peyote may also be consumed after midnight,[27] but the leader will pass his sack to anyone who wishes it at any time during the meeting. The member always assumes a solemn attitude while eating peyote, and no one will pass between him and the altar or give him the paraphernalia at these times. The drumming and singing, however, continue while anyone is eating peyote or praying.

Besides the prayers required by the ritual formula, individual men or women can ask for the sacred bags of Bull Durham tobacco in order to make personal prayers. These occur whenever other special rituals are not going on. All cigarettes are lighted from the special fire-stick, the four puffs and motions with the butt end are made toward the altar, the lighted stubs are smoked by the three principal officials, and the butt is placed beside the altar. Each prayer by an individual is followed by one of about equal length by the Chief. Intense emotional display during these personal prayers is not uncommon, both men and women often weeping copiously.

Permission to leave for a short time is granted by the leader when no special ritual is in process, and most of the members go out at least once or twice. The Fire-chief keeps watch over those outside and directs all reëntrances. Profane smoking and water drinking are indulged in during these intermissions, and not infrequently the retching of an excused member provokes smiles from those inside. Vomiting, nevertheless, is considered natural and beneficial in removing poison from the system. Peyote, a sacred remedy for all disease and evil, is especially efficacious for removing poison due to whiskey drinking—a cure which at times continues for dozens of years. A person is encouraged to eat more peyote, if the

[27] One young man at Towaoc had ground his peyote to facilitate the unpleasant task of chewing it. Four pinches of the "meal" replaced the usual four buttons.

first is regurgitated.[28] To consume and retain large amounts, say twenty to thirty peyote buttons, is an accomplishment boasted about.

A special morning ritual duplicates some features of the Midnight Water for example, the newly formed ashes are carefully arranged into the ash cresc which is at this time pushed to about six inches from the sand moon, the fi refueled, and the entire central area is carefully cleaned. The Fire-chief a hands the leader the eagle humerus whistle, after which the incensing of the p phernalia is repeated. Since the members have their individual fans, the inc is drawn over themselves, or their kin, with a fluttering of feathers. Next, Chief sings the third set song, the Morning Water Call, but the water is brought in until after four blasts on the whistle. This time a woman, usually Chief's wife, places the water east of the fire-stick and kneels between the buc and the door. She remains kneeling while three more songs are sung and w the staff, rattle, fan, whistle, and drum are placed near the south end of crescent, the distal ends pointing away from the leader, and while the Cedarm prays and sprinkles juniper leaves on the hot ashes. Like the Fire-chief, draws the smoke over the water by extending her arms in front of her, cupp her hands and drawing them over the bucket. A cigarette rolled by herself or the Chief is smoked, accompanied by the four puffs and motions and the lo prayer. The relighted cigarette butt is, of course, puffed by the Chief and assistants seated beside him, and held during the Chief's equally long prayer The water is again spilled on the ground, passed clockwise around the tipi, rubb on the bodies of the participants, sprinkled on the paraphernalia, and remov from the tipi. The woman makes a clockwise circuit of the altar before picki up the bucket.

As soon as possible the woman, aided by the Fire-chief, reënters the tipi a aligns the peyote breakfast between the fire and the entrance. Nearest the fi is the bucket of water, then shallow pans of maize,[31] fruit,[32] and meat.[33] After th food is arranged, the Chief retrieves the paraphernalia and sings three songs

[28] During the Randlett meeting, the visiting dignitary, Gray Horse, chewed the hard and nauseous peyote, roll the masticated pulp in his hands and gave it to other members to swallow. This was considered an extremely pote pellet, because Gray Horse motioned it toward the altar and administered it with a special prayer for the well-bei of the recipient.

[29] When the ritual is performed in a dwelling, a few shovelfuls of live coals are arranged to symbolize the ash moo As one of the Indian exhibits at the 1937 Uintah Basin fair (UBIC), a tipi was arranged for a peyote ritual meetin and then opened for public inspection for a week, a peyote ceremony being held the last night. Instead of the co ventional crescent, the fluffy ashes were arranged in the shape of an eagle or thunderbird, the representation bei improved by the use of colored dye.

[30] One such prayer lasted fifteen minutes as timed by my watch, although under the influence of peyote it seeme four times as long. This experience, with other of my experiences, verifies the observations of previous investigato that peyote intoxication causes intervals of time to seem longer.

[31] At two meetings, parched corn in sweetened water was served; at the other, canned corn.

[32] Canned grapes were served once; canned peaches the other times.

[33] At Whiterocks, venison, dried, pounded, and mixed with uncooked pieces of fat, was served; at Randlett, canne corned beef; at Towaoc, boneless pieces of boiled mutton. The mutton was in the hot soup when brought in, but be fore it was passed around a thick covering of hard tallow had formed.

his choosing, then the Closing Song, the last of the meeting. Following this the official paraphernalia are placed in orderly fashion on the ground between the leader and the altar, most of the personal fans and rattles having already been put away. The Chief then prays and in a very long prayer blesses all the participants and everyone else he can think of.

Next the leader's equipment is put away, a procedure which also takes some time, for the tightly tied drum must be dismantled. At the Towaoc meeting all the parts of the drum were passed around the circle, each devotee tugging on the rope, twisting the wet buckskin, rubbing the seven knob-sticks in his hands, daubing his joints and chest with the moistened end of the drumstick, and sucking the drumstick after dipping it four times in the water in the kettle. At Randlett, only the kettle was passed, but then each member took a drink of the black, charcoal-flavored water. Any residue is poured over the sand altar and between the sand and ash crescents; at Whiterocks all the water was poured between the two moons because the parts of the drum were not handed around the tipi. All cigarette butts are burned.

While the drum is being untied by the Chief-drummer and, in some instances, while it is being passed around the clockwise circuit of the tipi, the leader removes the sage from his staff and takes the staff apart, carefully arranges the feathers of his fan and wraps it in a silk handerchief, retrieves the bag of cedar from the Cedarman, takes the talismanic "chief peyote" from the altar, wraps it in silk and puts it in a special container, and puts all the ritual equipment neatly in his suitcase. The Fire-chief takes the dismantled drum, the buckskin, the rope, etc., now inside the kettle, and also the Chief's outfit and places them outside. Returning, he circuits the altar clockwise and sits in his usual place.

Another prayer and blessing of the breakfast is recited by anyone named by the Chief before the water and food are handed by the Fire-chief to the first person south of the door. This time some of the water is squirted from the mouth to wash hands and face. All present use one spoon to take several mouthfuls of maize, another spoon to eat the fruit, whereas the meat is taken with the fingers. The Fire-chief, being last to eat, arranges the receptacles in reverse order to that when the food was presented. Since the dishes make but one circuit, any food remaining is taken out by the Fire-chief as he leads the general exit. The Chief is the second to leave, followed by his principal assistants; the rest leave in any order, although those south of the moon must pass around it.

Once outside, informality reigns, but stretching the hands toward the sun and beating them on the chest is a common practice. Even the Indians appreciate the relief from ten or twelve hours of sitting, most of the time crosslegged, and they walk about. The meetings, which closed about nine A.M., were so crowded that legs were kept closely flexed all night.

As soon as the ritual is over, most women leave to prepare the noon feast;

the men return to lie full length in the tipi. This time hats are worn, cig smoked, and everyone is at ease. Many avail themselves of this opportun tell their experiences of the previous night, of other meetings, of their faith to exhort and encourage one another. The Indians boast of the amount of p they eat, of the visions they see, and say peyote has taught them a new life Whiterocks, one man explained that Jesus, as a little man, had descended thr the smoke hole of the tipi, had walked on the peyote road marked on the n and had assured him that this was the one true Indian religion. Many te peyote has led them away from drinking and debaucheries. Tales of dis cured and deaths solaced are graphically told.

The Ute meetings impress me as similar in spirit and feeling to many Protes Christian church services. Although the Bible and crucifix are lacking, the fessions, testimonies, prayers, and speeches of the Indians closely resemble m festations of the religion in which I was reared. The prayer of which the lowing is a part could be duplicated in effect in several Protestant churches.

"God, Jesus, Mother Mary, Peyote, we beg you this morning to bless each every one of us. God, we thank you for this good thing you have given us, peyote you have created for the Indians. We know that peyote is for us. B us that through the use of peyote we will have health, strength, ambition, pr perity, and energy every day of our lives. God, we pray to you through Peyo to bless all the brothers and sisters assembled here, also bless their paren brothers and sisters, and all their loved ones. Especially, bless the children th they will grow up to be strong men and women to carry on this great wo Dear God, and Jesus and Mary and Peyote, bless the Indians everywhere America. Especially, bless John P. Hart, Sam Stanewater, and Alfred Wilso the leaders of the Native American Church in Oklahoma, that they will be pr tected from all sickness and evil. Bless all members of your true religion wherev they may be. God, we beg you to bless President Roosevelt, so that he w know how to run this country straight. Bless Commissioner Collier with unde standing of the Indians and their ways. Help him to work for the good of t Indians as he is now. Bless Senator Thomas that he will always be able to prote the Indians when their rights are in danger in Congress.

"Also, bless Agent Wright and guide him in his work on this reservation. W especially pray for our white friend, Mr. Stewart, who is here tonight. Giv him health and strength and understanding that he may do his work with us wo and learn everything straight. Bless his automobile so it will carry him wherev he wants to go. Bless his family and loved ones, no matter where they are.

"We pray to you, Dear Father, Father of all men, Creator of all things, to giv us knowledge of all things through peyote. We know that we learn by eatin peyote and that all things are made known to us by eating this divine plant tha you have created for each and every one of us.

"Help us to go straight, to live the right way. Especially make us strong to resist temptation when someone offers us whiskey. We know that all liquor is bad; but we are weak. Make us strong. Help us to become clean and pure through the use of peyote. Clean out from our bodies all poison and sickness.

"We know, dear God, that by the use of this divine medicine that all sickness can be healed and we pray to you to help us also. We know that we must be pure inside and out, in body and in mind, if this peyote is to do its work. Help us to be right in its use.

"Dear God, we thank you for the right to use this good thing that you have given us. By its use we are all brothers and sisters. We want to help each other, to love each other as true brothers and sisters should and we ask you to help us in this. God, we pray to you through Jesus and Mary and Peyote, Amen."

IV. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The following List resulted from a comparison of individual elements or traits of the Ute cult with those among other Indians in the United States and Mexico. I realize that I may have misinterpreted several ethnographers in indicating an element as present, but from the nature of the material and the reports it is impossible to be absolutely certain at all times. Since, however, I did not mark a plus sign unless an element was definitely affirmed (not merely, as in some cases, implied), the greatest error probably lies in too great a number of blanks.

In fact, nearly all cults north of Mexico are probably identical in most respects. In order to ascertain exactly how many elements are present or absent among all tribes, it would be necessary to collect the same information from them, which could be best accomplished by a single investigator. For a similar List used in my Washo-Northern Paiute study (Stewart, 1944) ten ethnographers, who knew about the peyote cults among twelve tribes, marked Lists for me. Their answers showed that peyote rituals among tribes in the United States are much more similar than is indicated by comparisons based on published accounts.

The sources for the data in the List and the column abbreviations are as follows:

T.: Tarahumara of So. Chihuahua, Mex. Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, 357–379, 1902.

Te: Tepehuan or Tepecanos of Jalisco, Mex. J. Alden Mason, "The Fiesta of the Penole at Azqueltan." *The Museum Journal* 3: 163–167, 1912.

Li: Lipan Apache of New Mexico, formerly in Texas. Morris E. Opler, "The Use of Peyote by the Carrizo and Lipan Apache Tribes." *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 40: 271–285, 1938.

Me: Mescalero Apache of New Mexico. Morris E. Opler, "The Influence of Aboriginal Pattern and White Contact on a Recently Introduced Ceremony, The Mescalero Peyote Rite." *Jour. of American Folk-Lore*, 49: 143–167, 1936.

Ki: Kiowa of Oklahoma. James Mooney, "The Mescal Plant and Ceremony," *The Therapeutic Gazette*, 20: 7–11, 1896, and Weston La Barre, *The Peyote Cult*, 1938.

13: Composite picture of cult of 13 tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto,

(*Continued on p. 30.*)

PEYOTE ELEMENTS DISTRIBUTION LIST

Key: +, element present; −, element absent; blank, element not reported; ( ), exactness of interpretation doubtful; R, recent development; *, note appended at the end of the list.

	T.	Te	Li	Me	Ki	13	Ot	D1	D2	Om	Io	Ar	WA	Wi	Ta	Ut	WP
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
2. 3 to 5 feet long "cane"		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
3. Tufts of hair at top					+									+		+	−
4. Artemisia tied near top or held with cane					+	+	+		+			+	+		+	+	+
5. Passed around			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6. Always passed over drum													+			+	+
7. Person holding staff leads singing			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. Rattle of leader	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. Gourd	(+)		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10. Decorated			+		+						+	+			+	+	+
11. Handle beaded					+							+				+	+
12. Tufts of hair on top					+							+				+	+
13. Rattle passed around			+		+	+	+					+			+	+	+
14. Person singing shakes rattle			+		+	+	+				+	+			+	+	+
15. Individual rattles also used	+		+		+			+	+		+				+	+	+
16. Only after midnight								+	+						+	+	+
17. To accompany singer holding staff					+										+	+	+
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)					+	+			+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
19. Each feather tied separately					+						+	+				+	+
20. Binding decorated					+							+				+	+
21. Passed around					+	+						+			+	+	+
22. Held with staff while singing					+	+						+			+	+	+
23. Individual fans also used					+						+				+	+	+
24. Only after midnight															+	+	+
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body					+	+										+	+
26. Eagle-wing-bone whistle of leader			R	+	+		+	+				+	+			+	−*
27. Used at special midnight ritual					+		+					+	+			+	−
28. At special morning ritual					+		+									+	−
29. Placed near altar in front of leader																	

31. Paraphernalia satchel					+											+	+
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+				+			+								+	+
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum			+[R]		+	+	+	+	+			+				+	+
35. Iron kettle			+[R]		+	+	+				+					+	+
36. Pottery jar								+	+			+				+	−
37. Charcoal in water			+		+							+				+	+
38. Head of deerskin			+		+	+	+				+	+			+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting					+		+					+			+	+	+
40. 7 rocks or sticks used in tie					+							+				+	+
41. 7 rocks represent days					+											+	+
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum					+							+				+	+
43. Star significant					+							+				+	+
44. Skin removed at end of meeting					+		+					+			+	+	+
45. Only one drum used			+		+	+	+					+	+		+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader					+	+							+			+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used					+											+	+
48. Only after midnight																+	+
49. Drum and drumstick passed around					+	+		+	+			+	+			+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer			+		+	+	+				+	+			+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer			+		+		+				+	+			+	+	+
52. Only men drum			+		+							+				+	−
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader					+	+	+				+	+				+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire					+	+	+				+	+				+	+
55. Usually by Cedarman					+	+	+				+	+				+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used					+	+	+					+				+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	(+)		+	+	+	+		+	+			+		+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	(+)		+		+	+		+	+			+			+	(+)	−
59. In oak leaves			+	+		+										−	−
60. In paper																+	+
61. Only leader's tobacco used			+		+	+									+	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual							+									+*	−

PEYOTE ELEMENTS DISTRIBUTION LIST—*Continued*

	T.	Te	Li	Me	Ki	13	Ot	D1	D2	Om	Io	Ar	WA	Wi	Ta	Ut	WP
63. Peyote furnished by leader			+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+			+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
65. Decorated with white lines				+	+											+	−
66. Placed on altar in front of leader		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
67. Remains uneaten	+		+	+	+	+	+					+				+	+
68. Artemisia leaves under "chief peyote"			+		+	+						+	+			+	−
69. Form cross					+	+						+				+	−
70. Peyote for eating passed around			+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+			+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight								+	+							+	+
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Named Chief or Peyote Chief			+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants	+	+	+		+												−
78. 3 assistants					+		+									+	+
79. 4 or more assistants								+	+		+						−
80. Chief-drummer			+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		+			+	+*
81. Sits at leader's right			+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		+			+	+
82. Drums for leader			+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		+			+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn											+					+	−
84. Cedarman or Cedar-chief					+		+	+			+		+			+	+
85. Sits at leader's left					+		+				+					+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire					+		+	+			+					+	+
87. Offers special prayers								+			+					+	−
88. Fire-chief or Fire-tender		+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance			+		+		+					+			+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting							+	+	+			+	+			+	+
91. Replenishes fire			+		+						+	+				+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes					+						+	+				+	+
93. Conducts people in and out					+		+					+			+	+	+

94. All bathe before attending meeting			+		+		+					+				+	+
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)			+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. In open	+	+	+												+	+	+	+
97. Entrance or opening toward east			+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar crescent mound of sand				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)*	+	+	+
99. Ends toward east				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon					+			+	+			+				+	+
101. Fire east of leader's place	+		+		+	+	+				+	+			+	+	+
102. East of moon					+	+	+				+	+			+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle					+			+			+			+		+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire								+	+							+	
105. 4 sticks on fire											+					+	+
106. Special fire-stick (poker)					+	+										+	+
107. Worshippers congregate outside					+							+				+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc. preferred					+											+	+
109. Meeting starts in evening	+		+		+		+	+	+		+	+			+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting					+		+					+	+			+	+
111. Order of entrance: Chief 1st					+		+	+				+	+			+	+
112. Chief drummer 2nd					+											+	+
113. Cedarman 3rd					+											+	+
114. Men before women and children	+				+R	+		+	+			+				+	+
115. Women prohibited			+		+		+									−	−
116. Fire-chief last					+		+					+				+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+		+		+		+				+	+				+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader			+		+							+				+	+
119. Women, either side, near entrance			+R		+											+	+
120. Separation of men and women	+		+		+			+	+			+		+		+	−
121. 2 assistants either side of leader	+	+					+	+			+	+	+	+		+	+
122. Women sit back of men											+					+	+
123. All pass to south of moon			+R		+		+				+	+				+	+
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.						+									+	+	+
125. Sit on Artemisia (sagebrush)			+		+	+	+	+		+	+	+				−	−
126. "Chief" peyote placed on moon					+	+	+				+	+			+	+	+

PEYOTE ELEMENTS DISTRIBUTION LIST—*Continued*

	T.	Te	Li	Me	Ki	13	Ot	D1	D2	Om	Io	Ar	WA	Wi	Ta	Ut	WP
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting		+			+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes			+		+	+						+			+	+	+
129. Cigarettes lit with fire-stick, clockwise					+	+						(+)			(+)	+	+
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking			+		+	+									+	+	+
131. Others pray silently						+										+	+
132. Smoke blown toward moon	(+)*		+		+											+	+
133. All motion toward moon					+											+	+
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	(+)				+		+									+	+
135. Artemisia (sage) leaves passed clockwise						+	+					+				+	+
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes					+	+	+					+				+	+
137. Chewed						+	+		+			+	+			+	+
138. Peyote incensed before passing					+							+				+	+
139. Peyote passed around circle			+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
140. Clockwise					+	+	+					+			+	+	+
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start					+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed					+										+	+	+
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button					+										+	+	+
144. 1st peyote eaten before singing starts			+		+	+	+				+	+			+	+	+
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief					+	+	+				+	+				+	+
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar					+						+					+	+
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire					+	+					+					+	+
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+				+	+	+					+	+			+	+
149. 4 times					+	+						+				+	+
150. Worshipers incensed					+	+	+	+	+				+			+	+
151. 4 times					+											+	+
152. Whistle placed near altar					+											+	−
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song					+		+				+		+			+	−
155. Holds staff in front of him			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum				+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+
157. Chief-drummer beats drum			+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+

158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed around clockwise	+		+	+			+	+			+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+		+		+		+	+			+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+	+			+			+	+	+
161. Rule against women singing			+			+	+						−	−*
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+		+	+	+			+	+			+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess		(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.			+							+			+	+
165. Fire-chief forms ashes into crescent			+			+		+	+	+			+	+
166. Fire replenished			+					+		+			+	+
167. 4 sticks added								+					+	+
168. Altar carefully cleaned by Fire-chief			+					+	+	+			+	+
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire			+					+	+				+	+
170. Whistle blown by leader			+		+				+				+	−
171. 4 times			+		+								+	−
172. Leader sings fixed water song			+		+				+	+	+		+	−
173. Bucket of water brought in by Fire-chief			+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
174. By woman					+	+			+				−	−
175. Water-bearer kneels east of bucket			+		+			+					+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire			+		+			+		+			+	+*
177. Water-bearer draws incense to water			+		+	+				+	+	+	+	+
178. Water-bearer prays, blesses water			+		+	+		+					+	+
179. While smoking cigarette			+										+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays			+										+	+
181. Water-bearer spills water on ground			+		+								+	+
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink			+		+				+		+	+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water								+			+	+	+	
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled										+			+	+
185. Water-bearer takes water outside			+		+						+	+	+	
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water					+								+	+

PEYOTE ELEMENTS DISTRIBUTION LIST—*Continued*

	T.	Te	Li	Me	Ki	13	Ot	D1	D2	Om	Io	Ar	WA	Wi	Ta	Ut	WP
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight					+								+			+	+
188. After paraphernalia replaced, leader goes outside					+		+					+	+			+	+
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions					+		+					+	+			+	−
190. Prays to cardinal directions					+		+					+	+			+	+
191. Leader incensed upon return					+		+					+				+	+
192. Replaces whistle near moon					+											+	−
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used															+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible			+	+			+					+		+	+	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much											+					+*	−
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men			+	+	+			+	+					+	+	+	+
197. By women					+											+	+
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader			+		+										+	+	+
199. Cigarette lit with fire-stick					+	+									+	+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start					+	+										+	+
201. Butt handed to leader					+											+	−
202. To Cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar					+											+	−
203. To Chief-drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar					+											+	−
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar					+											+	−
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader					+											+	−
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+				+	+					+		+		+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)			+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	−
208. Water brought in by Fire-chief			+		+												
209. By woman					+	+	+					+	+		+	+	−
210. Who blesses water					+		+						+			+	−

210. Who blesses water				+		+						+			+	–			
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside				+		+						+			+	–			
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water				+	+	+						+		+	+	+			
213. Called "Peyote breakfast"	(+)	+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+			
214. Lined up in front of door, as follows:				+							+	+			+	+			
215. Water placed nearest fire				+		+				+	+	+		+	+	+			
216. Maize next nearest to fire			+	+	+					+	+	+		+	+	–*			
217. Parched maize in sweetened water				+							+	+		+	+	–			
218. Fruit placed after maize			+	+						+	+	+		+	+	–			
219. Meat placed after fruit			+	+	+						+	+		+	+	–			
220. Candy also included in the breakfast					+					+				+		–*			
221. Flood blessed												+		+	+	+			
222. Wash before eating	+		+							+	+				+	–			
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing											+				+	+			
224. Before eating						+					+				+	+			
225. Drum untied			+	+							+			+	+	+			
226. Water from drum drunk				+							+				+	+			
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands, "baptism"				+						+					+	+			
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents				+											+	+			
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body				+							+				+	–			
230. All parts of drum passed, handled				+							+				+	–			
231. Leader's outfit taken outside by Fire-chief												+			+	–			
232. Food passed clockwise				+	+	+					+	+		+	+	+			
233. Placed in reverse order before door												+			+	–			
234. Taken outside by Fire-chief												+			+	+			
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 a.m.				+	+	+					+			+	+	+			
236. Sun greeted	+*	+	+			+		+			+			+	+	+			

PEYOTE ELEMENTS DISTRIBUTION LIST—*Continued*

	T.	Te	Li	Me	Ki	13	Ot	D1	D2	Om	Io	Ar	WA	Wi	Ta	Ut	WP
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke					+										+	+	+
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting			+		+		+									−	−
239. Feast follows meeting	+		+			+	+					+			+	+	+
Aligned between leader and door starting at west:																	
240. Bible										+	+					−	−
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers		+			+		+			+	+	+			+	+	+
242. Whistle					+		+					+				+	−
243. "Chief-peyote"	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of sand				+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash					+			+			+	+	+			+	+
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire-stick					+											+	+
248. Water					+		+	+			+	+	+			+	+
249. Person blessing water					+		+				+		+			+	+
250. Peyote breakfast					+		+					+	+			+	+
Beliefs connected with peyotism:*																	
251. Belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+				+		+	+	+	+	+			+		+	+
252. Belief in Spirit-forces subservient to the Great God	+				+		+	+	+	+	+			+		+	+
253. Peyote is a Spirit-force chosen to guide the Indians	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+		+	+
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethico-religious			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+		+	+
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through Peyote intoxication	+		+	+	+		+	+	+					+		+	+
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment			+		+		+	+	+	+				+		+	+
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching Spirit-forces			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						+	+
260. An important function of Peyote meeting is to purify	+	+			+	+	+	+	+					+		+	+

261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+		+		+			+	+	+
262. Approach to Spirit-forces should be humble	+		+	+	+						+	+
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical, religious	+		+	+	+		+		+		+	+
264. Identification of Peyote road with the Creator's road			+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus road			+		+	+	+		+		+	+

NOTES TO LIST

26. WP: Eagle-bone whistle thought desirable, but not owned by Chief. He explained difference by saying, "We are just learning."

62. Ut: Tobacco not used by one Ute sect, "Old Ute Way."

83. WP: Chief's wife was Chief-drummer.

98. WA: Mound called "Mt. Sinai"; shape not specified.

132. T.: Smoke blown toward actual moon during Yumari.

161. WP: Women hold staff and rattle to lead singing; also drum.

176. WP: Sprinkles cedar, but does not pray.

195. Ut: During "Old Ute" ceremony.

216–219. WP: Fruit (canned peaches), boiled rice, stewed beef is order of food.

220. WP: Candy not part of breakfast, but served after meeting.

236. T.: After Yumari.

251–265. Elements defined by Petrullo, 1934, 154–158.

Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, "Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony," *Botanical Museum Leaflets*, Harvard University, 4: 127–152, 1937.

Ot: Oto of Oklahoma. Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian*, 19: 199–213, 1930.

Di: Little Moon Cult of the Delaware of Oklahoma. Vincenzo Petrullo, *The Diabolic Root*, 1934.

D2: Big Moon Cult of the Delaware of Oklahoma. Vincenzo Petrullo, *The Diabolic Root*, 1934.

Om: Omaha of Nebraska. Melvin R. Gilmore, "The Mescal Society among the Omaha Indians," *Nebraska State Historical Society*, 19: 163–167, 1909.

Io: Iowa of Oklahoma. Alanson Skinner, "Iowa Societies," *American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers*, 11: 724–728, 1915.

Ar: Arapaho of Oklahoma and Wyoming. A. L. Kroeber, "The Arapaho," *American Museum of Natural History—Bulletin*, 18: 398–410, 1907.

WA: Arapaho style cult among the Winnebago of Wisconsin. Paul Radin, "The Winnebago Tribe," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report*, 37: 415–419, 1915–1916.

Wi: Winnebago of Wisconsin. Paul Radin, "A Sketch of the Peyote Cult of the Winnebago: A Study in Borrowing," *Jour. of Religious Psychology*, 7: 1–22, 1914, (also *Bureau of American Ethnology—Annual Report*, 37).

Ta: Taos of New Mexico. Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian*, 16: 53–59, 1926.

Ut: Ute of Utah and Colorado. Observation and inquiry by the author.

WP: Washo-Northern Paiute. Omer C. Stewart, "Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 40: 63–142, 1944.

V. DISCUSSION OF THEORIES OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEYOTE CULT OF THE INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES

Records prove[34] that peyote has been used ceremonially in Mexico from the 16th century to the present. Most accounts, however, are from tribes at a considerable distance from the United States—the Tarahumari in southern Chihuahua; the Huichol and Cora in Nayarit; the Tepehuan in Jalisco; and the Indians in Tamaulipas. Partly, perhaps, because of the distance between known Mexican peyote users and those in the United States (especially the center of highest development, Oklahoma), and partly because of the differences between the cults of the two areas, several investigators have considered peyotism in the United States a local development independent of Mexican influences. Shonle expresses this opinion as follows: "The Plains culture complex was radically different from that of Mexico and it was apparently not possible for one ceremony from the Mexican complex to be lifted in its entirety over into the Plains culture. Hence, when the peyote plant reached the Plains tribes, it came without the ceremonial ritual and another ritual was developed about it, based on the native Plains culture complex but not an integral part of it."[35]

Not only was peyotism in the United States regarded as an independent devel-

[34] Hernandez (1530); Sahagun (1540); Ferias (1585); Cardenas (1591); De La Serna (1640); Ortega (1754); Prieto (1873); Lumholtz (1894); Diguet (1897); Bennett and Zingg (1935). Leonard, 1942, reports on and reproduces an Inquisition document from Mexico dated 1620, which prohibited the use of peyote for divination by Roman Catholics.

[35] Shonle, 69.

opment, but many investigators thought they found in the cult of the tribe they studied features added directly from older ceremonies of that particular tribe. Gilmore, for example, writes, "No doubt the fundamental rites antedate the coming of white men . . . but since then Christian ideas have been added together with aboriginal religious ideas of the various tribes to which the cult has been brought . . . the Omaha, of Nebraska, have interjected the use of the wild sage, *Artemisia gnaphaloides*, in connection with mescal peyote ceremonies, that plant having been an immemorial symbol of sacredness among the Omaha."[36] He also points out that peyotism was introduced to the Omaha in 1906–7. Artemisia, however, is part of all United States peyote cults and was essential to the Arapaho cult in 1900.[37] Radin goes even further than Gilmore in his statement: "We have, then, at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element. This view does not, of course, interfere in the least with the fact that the Winnebago themselves thought the presence of the peyote represented the introduction of a new element."[38] Radin makes this statement after explaining that John Rave, who introduced peyotism to the Winnebago, had lived a year or two in Oklahoma and had there become a member of the cult; and in Radin's incomplete description of the cult, there are between 30 and 40 elements almost identical with those of the Ute and other tribes (see List). (Praus' list for Winnebago sent me in 1939 had 108 of 265 elements the same for Ute and Winnebago.)[39]

Radin's brilliant analysis of original Winnebago features out of the peyote cult of that tribe stimulated Petrullo and M. E. Opler to make similar studies of the Delaware and Mescalero Apache. Petrullo found numerous ritual features and concepts of the old Delaware "Big House" ceremony in Delaware peyotism and described it as "an Indian product they know to be ancient and free of European defilement."[40] M. E. Opler states that "in externals the Mescalero use of peyote bears marked resemblance to the practices of the Plains tribes," but he considers its growth to have been "entirely within the traditional bounds of Apache ceremonialism . . . and resulted . . . in an intensification of aboriginal values and concepts."[41] M. E. Opler admits the cult was of non-Apache origin, but says

[36] Gilmore, 165.
[37] Kroeber, 1907.
[38] Radin, 9, 1914.
[39] Stewart, 1944, 103–121.
[40] Petrullo, 1934, 26, 28.
[41] M. E. Opler, 1936, 144.

"the reason for this slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage."[42]

A few additional statements will demonstrate the prevalence of the notion that peyotism depended on the previous cultures of various tribes. Universal features, such as the midnight water ceremony and the form of the drum and rattle, Murie thinks were introduced by a Pawnee leader. He also says, "One of his [Pawnee leader] individual doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may acquire knowledge or understanding previously unknown";[43] yet this concept is common to peyotism in the United States and in Mexico. Curtis writes, "There is a striking similarity between Wichita ritualistic form and the Peyote ceremony of today; indeed so much is this the case that one may assume the ritual of the widely distributed Peyote ceremony to have been borrowed from this tribe."[44]

In spite of these statements the foregoing List shows that all cults had many essential features in common. Schultes found so few differences that he gave a composite picture of the cult among thirteen tribes.[45] La Barre similarly describes the Kiowa-Comanche as the "type rite" for the Plains,[46] at the same time, on the basis of M. E. Opler's analysis, considering the Mescalero cult transitional between those of Mexico and the United States, even though external features of the Mescalero cult fit into the Plains pattern.

There are, of course, numerous slight tribal and even intra-tribal variations. In fact, each leader conducts the ritual as he wishes; consequently, no two meetings are identical, but all conform to a standard.

Linked with the idea that peyotism in the United States developed distinctively and independently is the belief that all apparently Christian qualities are recent additions to a purely aboriginal ceremony. Opinions vary greatly concerning the time of Christian influences. Although Mooney[47] considered the Kiowa peyote cult he witnessed in 1890 partly Christian, La Barre says that "Christian elements were originally quite absent" from the basic Kiowa-Comanche rite and the Plains as a whole. "The elements in the Plains are distinctly a secondary development," he says, "stemming from the Oto Koshiway and such Oto-influenced groups as the Omaha, Iowa and Winnebago and the groups taught by John Wilson, such as the Delaware, Quapaw and Osage."[48] Yet Kroeber, in 1899–1900, found that the Arapaho peyote cult "contains many Christian ideas, but they are so incorporated that fundamentally the worship is not dependent on Christianity."[49]

[42] *Ibid.*, 164.
[43] Murie, 636–638.
[44] Curtis, vol. 19: 74.
[45] Schultes, 1937.
[46] La Barre, 1938, 43.
[47] Mooney, 1896.
[48] La Barre, 1938, 162–163.
[49] Kroeber, 398.

These differences probably arise from the investigators' concepts of Christianity. Only Curtis defines what he means by it. Knowing the cults of several tribes and describing in some detail those of the Taos and Oto Indians, he says: "The description of the ceremony as given by a missionary who witnessed it among the Comanche forty years ago (1890) would serve for the ceremony as it is practised today.[50] . . . The formula of the ritual is a blending of Christianity and Indian ceremony which varies in minor details according to the religious bent of the particular leader. Indian religion . . . does not of itself necessarily embody a moral code, and in this respect the Peyote formula differs from other Indian cults."[51]

Radin[52] considers the Christian element to have been introduced when the Bible was actually used in ceremonies; although La Barre refutes Radin, he believes that Christianity occurs in peyotism only when irrefutable manifestations appear. According to this standard, the Ute and Goshute cults would not contain Christian elements, for they did not employ the Bible. The Ute cult appears to me, however, almost identical with the earliest known Kiowa-Comanche cult, and I am strongly impressed with its Christian ideology and spirit. In English the Ute prayed to God, Jesus, Virgin Mary, and Peyote; in Ute to Shonavi (Wolf). Since aboriginal Ute religion contains virtually none of the concepts or ritual elements of the peyote cult, I assume it spread to them as a complex; and since virtually all features of the Ute cult are duplicated wherever the cult exists, I assume it to be the same complex everywhere in the United States.

Although Christianity is denied as an original part of peyotism by Radin, Petrullo, M. E. Opler, La Barre, and others, nearly all admit that Christianity is now an integral part of it.[53] The easy incorporation of such out and out Christian features as reading the Bible, using the crucifix, and giving a biblical interpretation to nearly every phase of the ceremony suggests that Kroeber, Curtis, and Mooney are correct in assuming that attenuated Christianity was part of the cult even before its discovery in the United States in 1890.

Our problem is complicated by the fact that the actual origin of peyotism in the United States is not known. The earliest examples we have were solidified into a definite complex very similar among widely separated tribes, such as the Lipan, Quapaw, Pawnee, Comanche, and Kiowa. If Opler's dates are correct, the cult was fixed by 1870 in almost the same form it is now known to the Ute.

Extremely intricate rituals seldom arise full-blown and spread to neighboring

[50] Curtis, 19: 211.

[51] *Ibid.*, 199.

[52] Radin, 1914, 10.

[53] Petrullo, 1940, 56–57, modifies somewhat his views of 1934 and expresses ideas similar to my own as follows: "[The Mexican peyote cult] spread to numerous [tribes] . . . becoming fused here and there with Christian doctrine . . . But essentially the [peyote] religion has remained Indian in thought content and in basic ritualistic form . . . by fusing the two together [the Indian] builds something original and perhaps richer . . . than either his own ancient system or the Christian."

tribes without some alteration. Ceremonies stabilized by tradition are more apt to remain unchanged by diffusion. Peyotism claims special attention because of its uniformity regardless of wide areal diffusion through a long time span. As my Element List shows, the Lipan and Ute are more similar than distinct. The Christian ideology and moral concepts appear to me too well integrated into the cult north of Mexico to be recent. Consequently, I searched for its possible antecedents in the area where contact with Mexican peyotism could have taken place.

Origin legends among the tribes of the United States shed little light on the beginning of peyotism. The Delaware attributed the origin to the Comanche; most other tribes in Oklahoma to an Apache tribe; but the Lipan Apache in turn attributed the origin to the Carrizo. A comparison of the ceremonies in Mexico and the United States suggest a definite relationship in contradiction of Shonle, Petrullo, and others, who consider the similarities slight.

Apart from the accounts of the Huichol, Tarahumari, and Tepehuan, I found some clues to the origin of peyotism among Apache in unpublished documents from Coahuila Province,[54] the region in which peyote grows in northern Mexico. Time prohibited an exhaustive search, but the following short statements in the Correspondence of Governor Don Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola give very suggestive, although not conclusive, data.

On March 31, 1770, Friar Luis de Lizarraras wrote, "I have also frequently seen the Apache Indians go to where the Julimenos are to attend their fairs or exchange, but the Apaches also go to those places called Villas of Xegedo and San Fernando and to the Missions Pellotes and Bizarron."

On April 14, 1770, from the Mission of El Dulce Nombre de Jesus de Peyotes Friar Antonio Lorenzo de la Pena wrote concerning the Julimenos: "All the rest of the day they waste in gambling, and most of the nights of the year they pass in dancing, drinking Pellotes (brew made of the peyote) and other drinks like patalillo which inebriate like the best wine. They make use of these drinks in their sorcery. A great disaster can occur because of their undisciplined mode of living and their association with the Mescaleros."

Another reference, dated 1787, concerning the Lipan Apache in south Texas, states that "the dance which was called mitote began with extraordinary ceremonies, loud shouts, and songs which had as their sole theme the destruction of their strong enemies the Comanche Indians." Although peyote was not mentioned in connection with this dance, the ceremony had besides the name several other features resembling the mitote ceremony among the Tamaulepas Indians at which peyote was used.[55] Ugarte called the Apache mitote a "mass" and

[54] Copies of Archivo General de Mexico, Provincias Internas, in University of California Bancroft Library. The references were located through the aid of Prof. H. E. Bolton.

[55] La Barre, 1938, 36.

said it lasted four days, the length of the old Lipan peyote cult about which M. E. Opler learned.[56]

These brief references are extremely unsatisfactory as proof of the time when peyotism actually began among the Apache. They do, however, show without doubt that the Lipan and Mescalero knew about both peyote and Christianity in 1770—at least a century earlier than ethnographers record for the earliest date of peyotism in the United States.[57]

The peyote cult of the United States is too different from any known Mexican cult to believe it a direct transmission; there is sufficient evidence, however, for some relationship. And the religious life of the Mexican Indians as a whole reveals a great many features which might have been drawn upon to form the peyote cult after the separation of the tribes of the two areas.

To the Apache, Christianity and other ceremonial features were probably no more strange than the rituals involving peyote, and it is not impossible to visualize the Apache making one ritual complex from features selected from the totality of the Mexican and Spanish religious and ceremonial life they knew.

Unfortunately, I found no information which would serve as a guide to other native ceremonies of Coahuila. Nevertheless, the foregoing establishes a possible origin for Christian elements in the cult, elements which were enlarged by twentieth century leaders, such as John Wilson, *et al.* There is a slight possibility that the Lipan Apache Changing Woman, "the mother of the culture hero and one of the most important supernaturals to whom prayers and requests are addressed,"[58] might be a modified Virgin Mary. She talked from the top of the Lipan tipi as God is said to have talked from the top of the tipi to the Ute.

Without claiming to make an exhaustive analysis of Mexican ceremonialism, I shall enumerate a few elements which could have influenced the formation of peyotism north of the Rio Grande.

The mitote ceremony of Tamaulipas was an all-night ceremony around a fire during which food was consumed along with peyote.[59] The wooden drum with buckskin head might have suggested the kettle drum to the Apache. One old Lipan woman told M. E. Opler "they used a wooden bucket."[60] The mitote feast might be the prototype of the ubiquitous feast following the peyote meeting in the United States. The Tamaulipan cult was a sort of harvest and hunting festival to give thanks and seek future good fortune. The Ute held a special meeting to pray for a successful hunt just before the Indians went deer hunting. A special meeting after the hunt was for thanksgiving. The Apache and Tamauli-

[56] M. E. Opler, 1938, 276. Fasting was also present in the Lipan mitote of 1787 and the old peyote cult.

[57] La Barre, 1938, mentions a reference in Valasco, 1716, concerning tne use of peyote in Texas, and one in Cozio, 1720, concerning its use at Taos, but these are not in connection with rituals.

[58] M. E. Opler, 1938, 279.

[59] La Barre, 1938, 36.

[60] M. E. Opler, 1938, note on p. 277.

pan mitote emphasized destruction of enemies and success in war, a feature, according to La Barre, also present in the early Plains cult.

Going south, we find suggestive similarities among the Huichol, Tarahumari, and Tepehuan. Our reason for comparing such distant areas is the absence of data for closer tribes and the opinion of ethnographers that peyotism among these tribes came from the north and east since the peyote cactus does not grow in their territories. Indians of Mexico and the United States may have obtained their peyote culture from a common source.

La Barre recognizes affinities across the Rio Grande, but separates the Mescalero-Lipan, as a transitional type, from the Kiowa-Comanche, as the historical prototype of the Plains, for comparison with Mexican tribes. The Mescalero-Lipan do not appear to me as distinct from the Plains as they do to La Barre and M. E. Opler, and in the foregoing Element List they fit in as part of the Plains complex. I shall, consequently, compare various elements from Mexico with any from the United States. La Barre emphasizes the differences between peyotism south and north of the Rio Grande, but admits that "Common elements are numerous: the ceremonial trip for peyote . . . meeting held at night, the fetish peyote, the use of feathers and abundance of symbolism connected with birds; the ritual circuit, ceremonial fire and incensing, water ceremonies, the 'Peyote woman,' morning 'baptism' or 'curing' rites, 'talking' peyote, abstinence from salt, ritual breakfast, singing, tobacco ceremonials, public confession of sins, Morning Star symbolism, and (for northern Mexico) the crescent moon altar. . . . The use of parched corn in sugar-water, boneless, sweetened meat and fruit for the 'peyote breakfast' may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found."[61]

Besides the universals and the similarities between the Tamaulipan mitote and American peyotism, my Element List shows other features which to me seem similar. Furthermore, since Lumholtz wrote that peyote was used in the Tarahumari Yumari ceremony as well as in the distinctive cult of hikuli (peyote), I include features from the Yumari for comparison and in the List. In fact, as mentioned above, one might rightfully seek similarities in all north Mexican ceremonies. To the thirty elements in the List which the Tarahumari and others shared and those universals given by La Barre can be added the Tarahumari practice of placing a gourd resonator over crossed lines, symbolic of the world, which suggests the Winnebago crossed circle world symbol used to mark the site for their peyote tipi. The Tarahumari, as with the Mescalero, offered food and drink to the large peyote button ("chief peyote"). The ceremonial number four, almost universal in peyotism of the United States, is in the Tarahumari four circuits of the fire with the peyote infusion. Similar to the Kiowa-Comanche and Ute practice of touching the joints and other parts of the body with water

[61] La Barre, 1938, 56.

by means of the drum stick is the Tarahumari practice of using the musical rasp to place water to the joints and body generally. The Tarahumari likewise emphasize east as do the peyote users of the United States. Special mention should be made concerning Tarahumari use of tobacco. It is during the Yumari dance that "for the benefit of the moon, three cigarettes are offered under the cross. The shaman takes one of them, gives a puff, raising the cigarette at the same time upward toward the moon."[62] If we replace the real moon with an artificial one, we have an exact representation of what takes place in all peyote meetings in the United States. Another statement by Lumholtz demands consideration: "When an Indian offers another man tobacco and dry corn-leaf to roll his cigarette it is a sign that everything is well between them."[63] The corn-husk cigarette is extremely widespread in the Plains system and the Tarahumari symbolism is in accord with the concept of good fellowship universal in the United States. (Even the Mescalero, whom M. E. Opler presents as using the peyote meeting for nefarious shamanistic competition, had good fellowship as an ideal.) And finally, the Tarahumari shared with the Kiowa, Iowa, and Taos Indians a special morning song to the sun.

In addition to the eighteen elements in the List common to the Tepehuan and some tribes in the United States are the following: sprinkling of infusion of peyote as among the Winnebago; a special morning song to the sun as among the Kiowa, Iowa, Taos, and Tarahumari; the musical bow as reported by one Lipan Apache informant; devotees touched with water as with the Kiowa, Taos, and Ute; east significant, as universal in the United States; a fire-chief, as universal in the United States; the staff of authority retained by leader, not passed, as among the Mescalero and Omaha.

The Huichol ceremony was about the same as that of the Tarahumari, according to Lumholtz, but he mentioned also that "toasted corn" was included in the Huichol peyote feast, which might be related to the parched corn so common in peyote meetings north of Mexico. Also of interest is Lumholtz' figure and description of geometric design on the back of a shield: "In the first the six figures in the upper part represent hikuli [peyote], the largest of which is standing on an altar."[64] Since the altar is crescent-shaped, it could conceivably have been derived from the same source as the crescent upon which the Indians of the United States place their "chief peyote." One other similarity of possible historical significance is the special use of yellow paint in connection with Huichol and Arapaho peyotism.

La Barre is the first to search for the possible continuity between Mexican-United States peyotism. Wherever possible, however, he seems to favor the idea

[62] Lumholtz, 1902, 354.
[63] Lumholtz, 1902, 354.
[64] Lumholtz, 1900, 147.

that traits are developed from residual aboriginal cultures in the United States. This attitude depends largely for its validity upon La Barre's acceptance of M. E. Opler's analysis of the Mescalero cult. Not because of the external features of the Mescalero peyote cult, for they are very similar to those of the Plains, but because of "the ideological forms, meanings, and values which Mescalero peyote assumed," La Barre considered the Mescalero as transitional between Mexico and the Plains.[65] Since La Barre's reason for placing the Mescalero as transitional is M. E. Opler's belief that their peyotism ideologies "were those of a former pattern," La Barre might as well have placed the Winnebago as transitional, or the Delaware, or the Witchita. Radin states that peyotism brought to the Winnebago "only one new element—the peyote, with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices."[66] Petrullo, like Opler, admits his indebtedness to Radin in finding the ideologies of peyotism indigenous to the Delaware.

La Barre demonstrates that Radin is mistaken in thinking that Christian elements were first introduced by the Winnebago Hensley. The universality of most features attributed to the Winnebago by Radin casts doubt upon his other conclusions. Also, features which M. E. Opler points out as distinguishing elements of Mescalero peyotism pertain to the cult elsewhere. The use of peyote to read the thoughts of others, for example, is reported for the Winnebago and in Mexico, as well as for the Mescalero. The Mescalero share with the Washo-Northern Paiute and Taos the idea that peyote protects them from witchcraft.[67]

Another important point stressed by M. E. Opler as significant in placing the Mescalero as transitional is that there is "no hint of the influence of Christianity in the Mescalero use of peyote."[68] When, however, it is remembered that the Apache contacted both Christianity and peyotism while in the Missions of Coahuila, and also that Christian elements are completely integrated in the peyote cult elsewhere, it is difficult to believe that they were entirely absent from the Mescalero.

M. E. Opler's statement that the "peyote eater was warned to fix his thinking on something pleasant or holy"[69] is reminiscent of a "moral" precept. When he writes, "The feuds and reprisals which grew out of the peyote rite shocked and alienated even many of its former adherents,"[70] one gets the impression that possibly these activities were not an inherent part of peyotism, but might have been extraneous to it, flourishing as a parasite within peyotism, and finally causing in a short time the obsolescence of the cult.

[65] From geographical position, the Lipan-Mescalero would be expected to be transitional. Their peyote cult as described by M. E. Opler, however, appears to me developed far beyond any transitional stage.

[66] Radin, 1914, 9.

[67] Stewart, 1944, 81.

[68] M. E. Opler, 1936, 144.

[69] *Ibid.*, 162.

[70] *Ibid.*, 166.

The possibility of such an unorthodox use of the peyote cult for activities not intrinsic to it was suggested to me by recent circumstances within Ute peyotism at Towaoc. Some of the literate young men from the reservation who visited a carnival at a nearby town were impressed with a side-showman's tricks by means of a crystal ball. Later, two of the boys obtained crystals and books of instruction from an eastern novelty company. I was told that these two "peyote boys" had "witched" several other peyote users during the few months they had their crystals. An Indian and his fifteen-year-old daughter, who had been ill with headaches and sore ears for months, accused the "crystal witchers." When I visited the peyote meeting, my sponsors asked me to tell the people that "cannibal (*sic!*) tricks and magic glass balls don't mix with God's true Indian religion." These illicit activities within the cult were threatening to cause it to break up and had already provoked a schism. Later I learned that several people had left the cult and were working against it because the peyote leaders still allowed the "witching" boys to go to meetings. The boys' lives were threatened, so that one gave his crystal and book to the government agent; the other was expected to hand his over soon.

Had these conditions continued, they might easily have caused the dissolution of the peyote cult there, which among the Ute has always had to withstand strong opposition from other Indians and from nearly all local, national governmental and church agencies. I believe similar circumstances have existed wherever peyotism has been established. Any internal dissension, therefore, might weaken the cult to the extent that external forces would cause its discontinuance. That such was so among the Mescalero is suggested by M. E. Opler's statement that "the antagonism became so open and bloody that they invited interference on the part of agency officials."[71] Among the Washo-Northern Paiute unorthodox ideas regarding "witching" were introduced by a few members and appeared in 1938 to be a disruptive innovation threatening to weaken a group which had been strong for two years.[72]

If the unorthodox practices carried on through the Ute peyote cult at Towaoc had succeeded in bringing about its extinction, one would almost expect that twenty or thirty years hence its best-remembered features would be those which were most prominent at its end. M. E. Opler sets 1910 as the date when extraordinary conditions caused the decline of Mescalero peyotism. I think, however, we are justified in doubting that those extraordinary conditions were the ones which allowed for its acceptance and activity during at least forty years, and possibly for one hundred and forty years.

[71] M. E. Opler, 1936, 166. When Opler continues with the statement that "since the shamanistic principle prevailed, it was possible . . . to root out the rite by directing attacks upon the few men who controlled it," and implies that this could only happen because of the uniqueness of Mescalero peyotism, he fails to realize that apparently everywhere the cult is controlled by a few strong leaders who really determine its fate.

[72] Stewart, 1944, 81.

It is impossible to disprove entirely the contentions of Radin, Petrullo, M. E. Opler, and others that the ideology and practices in peyotism of the tribes they studied are unique to those individual tribes and are derived entirely from pre-existing features peculiar to them. There are, nevertheless, sufficient grounds to doubt that such is true. The similarities evident in all peyote cults in the United States,[73] in spite of the incomplete descriptions and varied emphases and analyses of the several ethnographers, strongly suggest that we are dealing with a single complex. The uniformity of the cult suggests that it was firmly set in a traditional pattern long before its discovery by ethnographers. This uniformity has been maintained to a remarkable degree in spite of wide geographical distribution during half a century.

There is, of course, no way to prove the suppositions that peyotism in the United States is derived from Mexican ceremonies and that Christian elements are an integral and original feature of it. But both suppositions appear probable when it is known that several myths attribute the origin of peyotism to an Apache while in Mexico, and that Apaches contacted both Christianity and peyotism during the last five decades of the 18th century while they lived near Spanish missions in Mexico and Texas. The hundred years between this contact and its earliest study by American ethnographers would allow ample time for the transformation of diverse culture elements into the fixed and intricate culture complex of peyotism first observed by Mooney and now present among tribes from Canada to Mexico, from eastern California to the Mississippi.

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[73] Stewart, 1944, found very close agreement in ritual and attitudes of Ute, Washo-Northern Paiute and other tribes in the United States. The Ute differed from others in less than one-fifth of 265 elements.