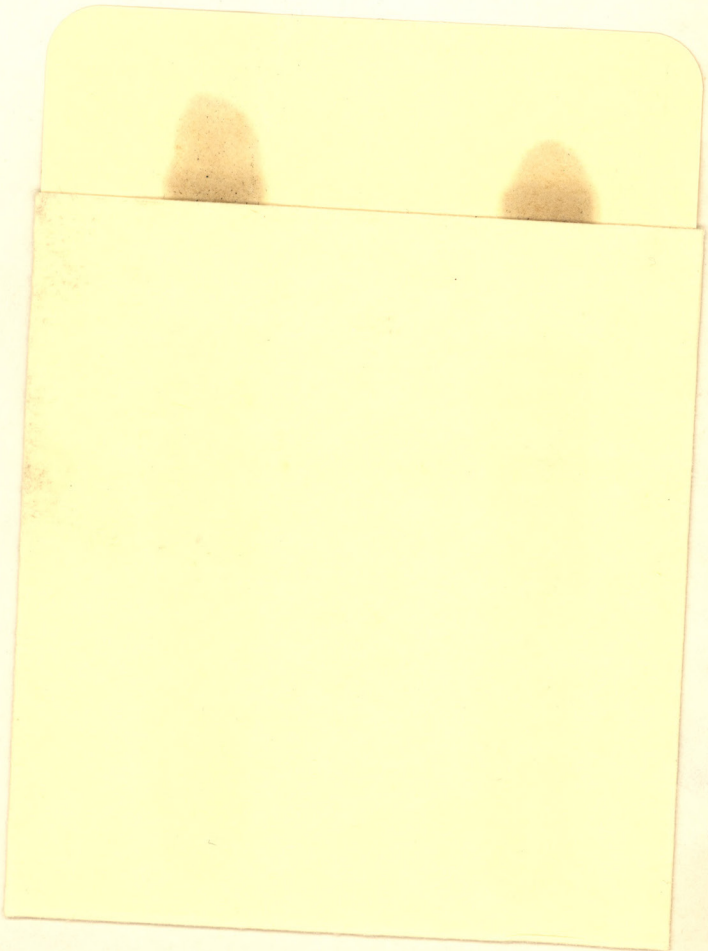
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Series in Anthropology
No. 6

NAVAHO AND UTE PEYOTISM: A CHRONOLOGICAL AND DISTRIBUTIONAL STUDY

BY

DAVID F. ABERLE

AND

OMER C. STEWART

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO PRESS
BOULDER, COLORADO, MARCH, 1957

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NAVAHO AND UTE PEYOTISM: A CHRONOLOGICAL AND DISTRIBUTIONAL STUDY

BY

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PREFACE

This study is the product of a collaboration which began when Aberle found that almost every line of evidence indicated that the peyote cult reached the Navaho through the Towaoc Utes. Discussions with Stewart resulted in a decision to make further historical investigations with Southern Ute informants regarding Navaho contacts. This work, carried out by Stewart, also brought to light new data on the history of the Southern Ute cult itself. The two histories appeared to be so intertwined that it seemed best to present them in one publication. When we started to plan this publication, we were driven to a review of Northern Ute peyote history, using Stewart's earlier work and a variety of published sources, and finally turned up some important evidence in the files of the Pine Ridge Agency. Clearly this called for a study of the history of peyotism in the various Dakota ("Sioux") groups, but at this point we called a halt to looking backward and decided to present what we had in hand.

Aberle's field work was carried out in the summers of 1949 to 1954. Visits of varying duration were made to Aneth, Cove, Crown Point, Dinnehotso, Greasewood in District 17, Hatches Store, Kayenta, Little Water, Lukachukai, Mexican Springs, parts of Monument Valley, Pinon and the Black Mountain area, Prewitt, Red Mesa, Red Rock in District 12, Shiprock, Sweetwater, and Teec Nos Pas. He also interviewed Navahos and Agency employees from a number of other areas. No field work was done in the extreme east of the Navaho country, nor in the northwest and southwest, although informants from some parts of these areas have been reached. Work was supported in 1949 and 1950 by the Window Rock Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (U. S. Department of the Interior), and subsequently by research grants from the National Institute of Mental Health of the National Institutes of Health, Public Health Service and by grants-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council, the Behavioral Sciences Program of the Ford Foundation, and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Residence at the Ford Foundation's Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences and access to its facilities in 1955–56 greatly aided completing the manuscript.

Stewart's work was begun in October, 1937, on the Uintah-Ouray Reservation, Utah, and was continued in January, 1938, on the Ute Mountain Reservation, Towaoc, Colorado. More information was gathered during his field work among the Northern Paiute in 1938 and among the Southern Ute in the summers of 1948, 1949, 1950, and 1953 on the Southern Ute Reservation, Ignacio, Colorado. The field work in 1937 and 1938 was made possible by a grant from the University of California Institute of Social Sciences. Research since 1948–50 has been supported by the University of Colorado Council on Research and Creative Work. The

latest field work was completed during the summer of 1953, with the assistance of funds from the grants of the National Institute of Mental Health and the Ford Foundation, mentioned above. We are grateful to all of these organizations for their support. It should be made clear that much of the historical data presented here was gathered in the course of pursuing other, and broader, interests in the peyote cult and in the contemporary life of the Ute and the Navaho.

We owe a large debt of gratitude for information, leads, assistance, or criticism to so many people that specific acknowledgment is impossible. Many are mentioned in our text, but a few will be singled out here for special thanks. Harvey C. Moore kindly made available all of his field materials, gathered in the process of work with Aberle on projects whose primary focus was not historical. He supplied interviews from Aneth, Crown Point, Teec Nos Pas, and Tohatchi; a series of interviews held with Navajo Agency employees from almost every district on the Reservation; and a variety of other materials. Tracking down the identity of Samuel Lone Bear, that elusive peyote missionary, was made possible by the suggestion of James H. Howard and Frank White Buffalo Man, and by the co-operation of Ben Reifel, who provided the clinching information. John Adair interviewed a former superintendent of the Navajo Agency. Fred Eggan drew to our attention an early peyote contact west of the Navaho. John A. Clausen provided guidance in questionnaire construction. Statistical assistance was provided by Leon G. Williams, John Caylor, and Judson Mills. The first map of the varying intensity of the peyote cult among the Navaho — in color, not reproduced here — was drawn by Aberle's brother-in-law, George L. Levin. Frank B. Livingstone carried out the systematic coverage of two missionary publications whose content is discussed in our work, and did library research on the migration of the White River Utes. Suzanne Schlenker assisted with library research. Nancie L. Solien and Calista Farrell provided skilled clerical assistance. We are indebted to William E. Taylor and Arthur J. Jelinek for the patience, co-operation and ingenuity they employed in preparing the maps. The appearance of J. S. Slotkin's *The Peyote Religion* (1956), just as this work was about to go to press, called to our attention some additional useful references. Lester De Koster kindly made available to us the facilities of the library of Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

We are most grateful for the valuable suggestions of Kathleen Gough Aberle, Ralph L. Beals, Leon Festinger, Charles F. Hockett, Alex Inkeles, Clyde Kluckhohn, Alfred L. Kroeber, Harvey C. Moore, Howard Raiffa, David M. Schneider, and James N. Spuhler, some of whom read drafts of the manuscript in its entirety or in part, and all of whom helped to clarify the presentation. None of them can be held responsible, however, for the authors' vagaries.

Aberle wishes to express particular thanks to the Window Rock Area Office and its headquarters and field staff for fine co-operation, assistance, information, and

valuable discussions — particularly to Walter O. Olson, Robert W. Young, and th late Allan G. Harper. Stewart was aided materially by the staff of the Consoli dated Ute Agency, Ignacio, for which he expresses his thanks.

That this study could not have been written without the extended assistanc of our Ute and Navaho informants is evident. Our profound thanks go to them fo their patience, hospitality, and understanding help. Ute sources are acknowledge in the text itself. In the case of the Navaho, this is unfortunately impossible Peyotism is illegal on the Navajo Reservation. Aberle therefore promised anony mity to his Navaho informants. He knows that there are a number of his Navah friends who would consider this anonymity neither necessary nor desirable. Bu it is impracticable to ask each of several hundred individuals whether or not h wants his name used. Consequently, almost all Navaho names in this work ar pseudonymous. In a few cases — as when we mention the name of the Chairma of the Navajo Tribal Council at a particular period — real names are used. A pseudonyms are indicated by a preceding asterisk, thus: *Joe Jones, or *Joe or *Jones; *Tom Smith and *Fred Smith, or *Tom and *Fred Smith. There i no alphabetical "key" to the naming system; names are assigned at random. W have endeavored to choose names which are not found on the Navajo Reservation although we may have made errors; at any rate, there is no intentional assignmen of the name of any Navaho, living or dead, as a pseudonym. We have been sys tematic in one respect: if two or more persons are given the same surname, it i because of a kinship linkage. Thus three brothers are given the name, * Rodman A husband and wife are given the name, * Carey. It might be objected that in th latter instance we are transgressing the Navaho matrilineal norm; in fact, however in their use of "official" names — for agency rolls and the like — many Navah women have taken their husband's names. If any name appears twice or more i the text, no matter how widely separated the instances may be, the name refer to the same individual: there are no duplications. We have preferred pseudonym to numbering or lettering systems because a number of individuals are referre to again and again. It seemed easier for the reader to hold in mind a pseudonyn than such a designation as G1211 or FHK. We hope that our Navaho informant will understand that our intentions in thus disguising their identities are of th best.

Spelling of Navaho place names varies from source to source. In the main w have used the spellings preferred by the Navajo Agency. And since that Agenc uses the spelling "Navajo", we have employed that spelling in referring to th Agency; anthropologists prefer "Navaho", and we have so referred to "th Navaho", "a Navaho", and the like. Where Navaho words are presented phonem cally, the recording system is that of Young and Morgan (1943).

This work is an historical and anthropological study. Our aim is not to praise c

condemn the peyote cult, its adherents, or its opponents, but simply to set forth a limited range of facts and interpretations of those facts. We trust that this approach will be appreciated by our many informants, whose own opinions about the peyote cult and the Native American Church vary widely.

DAVID F. ABERLE

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

OMER C. STEWART

BOULDER, COLORADO

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NAVAHO AND UTE PEYOTISM

I. INTRODUCTION

This work is a chapter in the history of the peyote cult. It deals with the transmission of the cult from the Dakota to the Northern Ute, from the Northern Ute to the Southern Ute, and from the Southern Ute to the Navaho. It describes the spreading of the cult over a large section of the Navaho country and the present distribution of the cult in the area. It supplements and alters the available historical accounts for the Southern Ute (Opler, 1940, 1942; Stewart, 1941, 1948), and is the first account of the Navaho cult's history to appear in print, although a short history is to be found in the mimeographed Proceedings of the Meeting of the Navajo Tribal Council . . . 1940 (cited hereafter as Navajo TC, 1940).

The best general treatments of the history of the peyote cult are to be found in LaBarre (1938) and Slotkin (1956). The cult itself has been repeatedly described, and variations in ritual behavior recorded (Cf. LaBarre, 1938, and Stewart, 1944 and 1948). Our characterization will be brief. The peyote cult is a pan-Indian, semi-Christian, nativistic movement centering about the performance of an all-night ritual in the course of which the peyote cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*) is consumed. The cactus contains a number of alkaloids which have complicated physiological and psychological effects ranging from wakefulness to the production of elaborate visions and hallucinations. The majority of peyote meetings are held to cure individuals of illness through the power of peyote and prayer. Cult members are loosely organized, the majority belonging to the Native American Church, which has a national organization, state organizations, and sometimes local organizations. The cult is pan-Indian in that it stresses the common bond among Indians rather than the local cultural differences which characterize various tribes. It is Christian in that Christian symbolism appears in ritual, and Christian supernatural beings are worshipped (God, Jesus, Mary, etc.). It is only semi-Christian, however, in that most of the ritual would not be recognized as familiar by members of any orthodox Christian sect in the United States and is clearly Indian in origin, and in that the attitude toward peyote as a supernatural power has no parallel in any orthodox Christian group. It is nativistic in the sense that cult leaders tend to contrast favorably the Indian way of reaching God with the white man's way, and the Indian's orientation with that of the white man, and to stress the Indian elements in the ritual as a cultural possession of members of the cult. In this sense the cult can be seen as attempting to preserve what are seen as distinctively Indian elements against the efforts of the dominant whites to make the Indians over into standard Americans.

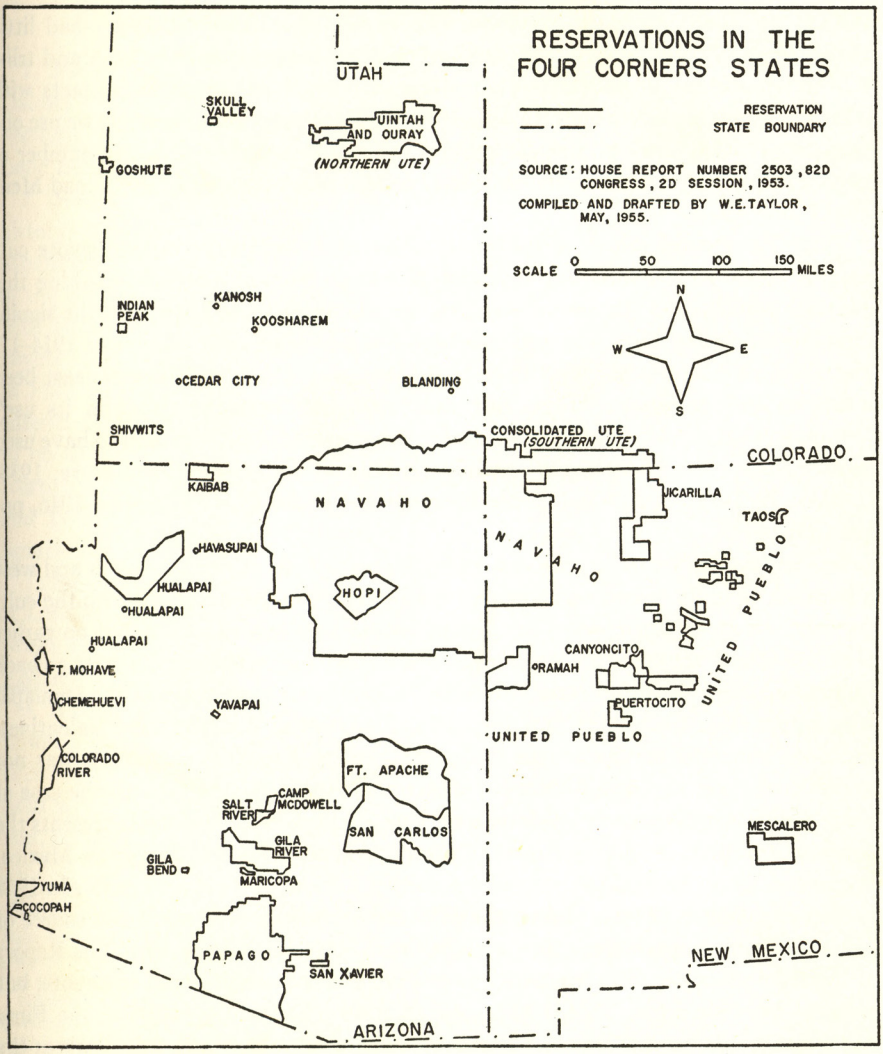
It must be pointed out, however, that the cult has multiple appeals to its

members. There are many members who would be quite incapable of stating a pan-Indian ideology, many for whom the Christian elements have little meaning, and many who do not perceive the nativistic elements. For some the cult is simply another curing device. For some the peyote experience as a religious experience is paramount. Our characterization of the cult as an organized movement, then, cannot be considered an apt description of the orientations of all individual members.

The scope of our study is limited: it is largely concerned with the chronology and the location of events in the process of transmission of the cult to the Ute and Navaho groups. The ambiguities in the chronological record are many. We have tried here to present in some detail the data on which we base our conclusions, and the conflicts in the data, so that other researchers may have the information to challenge our inferences or to carry out further investigations to correct them. We cannot say, in any strict sense, that in its present form this study is "problem-oriented" or that it tests any hypotheses. We would, however, claim that the location of these events in time and space is necessary for many problem approaches to the study of peyotism. If, for example, we expect that, other things being equal, groups early exposed to peyotism will have larger numbers of cult adherents than those exposed later, we need to know when the various groups were exposed. Or if we anticipate that groups nearer to a center of cult dissemination will have more cult members than groups farther away, we must map the areas where the cult is present, and must know the percentages of cult members in various areas. If we believe that the cult is likely to have a heightened appeal for members of deprived or disturbed groups, then we would like to know when the cult reached a group, and whether this occurred before or after some acute deprivation or disrupting event. Hence our chronological study provides, we believe, vital information for various sorts of theoretical attacks on the problem of the spread of the peyote cult.

We will, particularly in the conclusions to this work, deal briefly with some of these theoretical problems. But at present we are not attempting a systematic theoretical treatise; the chronological problems alone are difficult enough to remain our central focus. This means, also, that we set aside a great deal of fascinating material on the process of spread, on resistance to the cult, on the dramatic events which attended introduction of the cult in various groups, and the like. Stewart, however, has already dealt with much of this material for the Utes, and Aberle hopes to provide additional material on the Navahos in a subsequent publication.

LaBarre has pointed out that in the process of the diffusion of the peyote cult "tentative starts and multiple origins are the rule rather than the exception . . ." (LaBarre, 1938, p. 121). It would be a mistake to assume that one could ordinarily



Map 1

establish beyond doubt the date of first use of peyote in a tribe, or that one could be sure that there had never been any contact between two tribes in the process of cult dissemination. Instead, we should be gratified if we can push the history of peyote back one stage and discover use earlier than had been previously known, or if we can establish definite contacts where none were known before. Frequently, however, we can do more, and can claim that the first significant development of

the cult occurred during a particular period and that earlier contacts had little effect. Similarly, we may be able to show that contacts between tribe A and tribe B were important in developing peyotism in tribe A, whereas its contacts with tribe C were unimportant. When we speak of a significant development, we use one or both of the following criteria: contact led to the winning of a fair number of peyote cult members, or to the creation of peyote priests (Road Chiefs, Road Men) in the new group.

There are some features of the distribution and chronology of the peyote cult among tribes surrounding the Ute and Navaho which support us in taking this cautious position. In the case of the Ute, we will attempt to show that the significant beginnings for Northern and Southern Ute peyotism lie in the period 1914–17. Yet the Goshute, further west than these groups, are said to "have at least been aware of peyote since 1907 . . . but there was no organized ritual in its use" (Malouf, 1942, p. 94). The Bannock, north and west in Idaho, are said to have used peyote since 1906–11, perhaps receiving it from the Cheyenne (La Barre, 1938, p. 114). It was on the Wind River Reservation before 1900 (Stenberg, 1946, pp. 106 and 143).

In the Navaho case, too, we can find some use of peyote to the south and west a number of years before we have any evidence for Navaho contact with the cult. As we shall attempt to show, northern Navaho contacts can be dated no earlier than 1914, and are probably some years later than that; southern contacts go back no further than 1926 (two cases). Yet the Plains cult at least touched the Hualapai long before this. About 1900, a Kiowa Indian arrived at Truxton (now Valentine), Arizona, and sold peyote to one Hualapai family. Apparently the cult was not established there as a result of this contact (Iliff, 1954, pp. 54–63). In the case of other tribes it is difficult to know whether the use of peyote reported represents the modern Plains-type cult or the old "peyote complex" emanating from Mexico, out of which the modern peyote religion grew (cf. Slotkin, 1955 and 1956). In 1914 Daiker mentioned peyote among the Havasuapi, but did not state the source of use, nor whether there was a peyote cult there (Daiker, 1914, p. 65). The Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1895 refers to Papago use of peyote, but without mentioning a cult (p. 122), and in 1908 Hrdlicka stated that the Pima and Papago used peyote, but did not make it clear whether there was a cult at the time — nor make it clear that there was not (Hrdlicka, 1908). In the Pima and Papago cases, at least, we probably have a northern extension of the old Mexican "peyote complex", and not a wave of influence from the Plains (cf. Slotkin, 1955).

Under these circumstances, we can never be sure that there were not early contacts with the modern peyote cult among both Ute and Navaho which left no impression, nor, in the Navaho case, that there were not similar early contacts with the older, Mexican-derived "peyote complex".

A. Groups Considered

1. Northern Ute. Peyotism on the Northern Ute Reservation[1] had its origins in Dakota ("Sioux") contacts. The cult began among the Northern Ute sometime between 1908 and 1916, most probably in 1914. One Pine Ridge Dakota, Samuel Lone Bear, was almost the sole agent of transmission.

2. Southern Ute. Except for its uncertain beginnings, Southern Ute peyote history can best be presented by separate treatment of the cult among the Ute Mountain or Towaoc Utes and the Ignacio Utes.[2] Southern Utes from one or more of the bands which were brought together in this agency traveled into Oklahoma with Taos Indians at least as early as 1896. By 1900 one Ignacio Ute had taken on peyote from a Cheyenne. In 1910 Southern Utes were with Taos Indians on a visit to Plains groups when the Plains group held a peyote meeting. Whether Utes entered the meeting is not clear. These foreshadowings, however, do not appear to be as significant for the development of Ignacio peyotism as contacts with Northern Utes and with Lone Bear, which most probably occurred between 1914 and 1917. Subsequently, Cheyenne and other Plains influence became marked. Ignacio peyotism never developed the strength of Towaoc peyotism.

Towaoc peyote history "begins" with the visits of a Northern Ute and perhaps of Lone Bear between 1908 at the earliest and 1917 at the latest — probably between 1914 and 1916. It received further stimulation from Cheyenne and other Plains sources, and became and remains a flourishing movement.

3. Navaho. Navaho peyotism received its initial impetus from contact with Towaoc Ute peyotists and with Plains peyote missionaries visiting the Towaoc Utes. Although Towaoc contacts have remained important to the Navaho, relations with other groups have steadily grown. For the northern Navajo Reservation, these contacts are principally Cheyenne. For the southern, they are chiefly Oto.[3]

[1] For purposes of this study, we use "Northern Ute" as a shorthand expression for the Uintah, Uncompaghre, White River, and other Utes living on the Uintah-Ouray Agency proper. Stewart (1948) has designated this entire group as "Uintah". In view of some of the distinctions we shall have to make, we have here shifted our terminology from that of his earlier publication.

[2] Problems of nomenclature are particularly difficult here. The Consolidated Ute Reservation of southern Colorado is officially divided into Ute Mountain and Southern Ute, centering at Towaoc and Ignacio, respectively. We have applied the label "Southern Ute" to all Utes on the Consolidated Agency, for convenience, and speak of the Ute Mountain group as "Ute Mountain" or "Towaoc" Utes, referring to the remainder as "Ignacio" Utes. See Map 1. The Allen Canyon Utes, near Blanding, are not included in "Southern Ute" for present purposes, although they will receive specific mention at a few points.

[3] The Navajo Agency is divided into Land Management Units, usually called Districts. See Map 2. Most of our discussion deals with Districts 9, 11, 12, 14, 17, and 18. The Navahos of Mancos Creek are a small group actually resident on the Ute Mountain Reservation much of the time. One large sector of the Navaho country is not part of the Reservation: Districts 15, 16, and an area east of 13, sometimes referred to as "19" but not so designated on most Agency maps. Two sorts of divisions are made in this study. One division is "northern Navaho" and "southern Navaho". This distinction is made for convenience in this report; a different division would be necessary for other purposes. By "northern" we refer to Districts 9, 11, 12, and 13; by "southern" we mean Districts 14, 16, 17, and 18. We have less reason to refer to other areas, but Districts 1, 2, 3, and 8 will be called "northwest"; Districts 5 and 7,

Three phases may be distinguished. (1) Contact between a small number of Navahos living north of the San Juan and dwelling, in some cases, part or all of the year among the Utes. This may go back to the beginning of Towaoc peyotism, but is probably a few years later. (2) Creation of Navaho peyote priests in groups north of the San Juan; attendance by other Navahos at peyote meetings at Mancos Creek and elsewhere on the Ute Mountain Reservation. This falls between 1920 and 1936, with emphasis on the 1930–36 period. (3) Radiation of Navaho, Ute, and Oklahoma peyote priests throughout a good part of the Navaho country south of the San Juan. This occurred, for the most part, after 1936.

In these events a variety of Towaoc Ute-Navaho contacts are of importance. The Mancos Creek and Aneth Navaho live close to the Towaoc Reservation. Employment of Navaho by individual Utes goes back at least to 1910. Employment of Navaho workers with Utes on government projects on the Ute Mountain Reservation goes back to 1919, at the latest. Navaho use of Ute shamans, through visits to the Ute and visits from Ute Shamans, long preceded peyotism. Intermarriage between northern Navaho and Utes has gone on for some time. Utes have used Navaho chanters, and Navahos have visited Ute public ceremonies.

B. Sources

When there are few official documents, archives, newspaper reports, and the like, it becomes difficult to carry out exact chronological investigation. Hence, in the present case, where we must rely in so many instances on informants' memories, we can offer only approximate dates. Our sources are the following:

(1) Files, rolls, etc.
  (a) Ute and Navajo Agency census rolls
  (b) Ute CCC-ID pay rosters
  (c) Navajo Agency files
(2) Printed and mimeographed materials
  (a) Congressional hearings and sessions
  (b) Navajo Tribal Council meetings
  (c) Missionary periodicals
  (d) Anthropological publications
(3) Interviews
  (a) Towaoc and Ignacio Utes
  (b) Navahos from a number of communities

"southwest"; Districts 10 and 4, "central"; and District 15 and all eastern off-Reservation country will be called "eastern". The other division is "north of the San Juan" and "south of the San Juan". By "north of the San Juan" we mean Aneth, Montezuma Creek, Bluff, etc., Mancos Creek (actually on the Ute Mountain Reservation, but with Navaho residents), and Shiprock (which straddles the river). By "south of the San Juan" we refer for most purposes to the remainder of the "northern" and the entire "southern" division. Three groups of Navahos living on separate lands — Ramah, Puertocito, and Canyoncito — are not included in these various divisions, but will be specifically mentioned at certain points. See Maps 1 and 2.

(c) Indian Service personnel, missionaries, traders, and assorted other whites who were in the area during the period in which we are interested

(4) Personal communications

(a) Anthropologists

(b) Indian Service personnel and others.

Stewart dealt with all Ute interviews, rolls and rosters, a few Navaho interviews, some Indian Service personnel and traders. Aberle dealt with most Navaho interviews, all Navaho rolls and files, most printed and mimeographed materials, and most interviews with relevant whites. Moore carried out interviews in four Navaho communities and with a large number of Navajo Agency personnel.

We are sympathetic with Slotkin's distrust of informants' memories for details of history and his desire for items of record (Slotkin, 1955, p. 211). Nevertheless, with a considerable body of interview material for the Southern Ute and an enormous amount of similar materials for the Navaho, together with a paucity of other documentation, we feel obligated to order, present, evaluate, and interpret the materials we have collected. In certain cases, the convergence of several kinds of information is impressive, and we think that the effort has been worth while.

Nevertheless, there are conflicts in the data. In making our evaluations in such cases, we have been guided by a number of criteria. (1) We prefer native informants to white informants. With respect to peyote, the situation of the native ordinarily supplies him with superior information as compared with the white trader, missionary, or Indian Service employee, whose contacts are more limited in most cases. (2) We prefer statements that peyote meetings were held, or that the cult was present, and the like, to statements that the cult was absent, in a particular place at a particular time. It is extraordinarily difficult to know that the cult is completely absent, and testimony of this sort is often incorrect. (3) We prefer a man's own account of the date he entered the cult to the accounts of others. The event is clearly of greater significance to him than to others in most cases. (4) We prefer a written record, made when an event occurred or shortly after, to a later recollection. When we depart from these criteria, our reasons will be mentioned.

Most of our informants estimate that an event occurred "ten years ago", "fourteen years ago", etc. Such statements have been translated into calendar years. Thus, if a man told Aberle in 1950 that he joined the peyote cult "seven years ago", this is changed to "1943". In some extended quotations this translation has not been made, but points of reference are there provided. Particularly when we asked about the early history of the cult, we requested informants to refer their estimates to dateable incidents, like the building of a school in the community, the removal of an agency office, World War I. And whenever possible we selected events of significance in the individual's home community for him to use as points of reference.

One fairly constant feature emerges from examining a number of estimates of time: when Ute and Navaho informants date the same event, the Utes tend to give the earlier estimate — why, we do not know.

A final comment on our mode of presentation seems necessary. We have devoted the greater part of this study to the marshalling of one line of evidence after another bearing on the problems of the chronology and distribution of the peyote cult. The evidence is presented in considerable detail, so that others may check the validity of our interpretations. The interpretations themselves are set forth in summary sections throughout the work and in the concluding chapter. They afford sufficient information for the reader who is interested in knowing where we finished, but who does not care to know how we got there.

II. UTE PEYOTISM

A. The Northern Ute

1. Summary. The Northern Ute received the peyote cult from the Dakota ("Sioux"). Hence in estimating the chronology of the Northern Ute cult, it would be of great assistance to know the date of introduction of the cult in various Dakota groups. Unfortunately, information on this score is sparse. One group of Indians from the Northern Ute Reservation spent part of 1907 and 1908 on the Cheyenne River Reservation in South Dakota. It is possible, but not probable, that some Utes became acquainted with the peyote cult at this time. Presumably as a result of these Dakota contacts, the Utes were visited by a Dakota, Samuel Lone Bear (alias many other names), probably after 1908, and almost certainly by 1914. He is almost entirely responsible for the spread of the cult among the Northern Ute. By 1916, an estimated 50 per cent of the tribe was involved.

2. Data. a. The Dakota problem. As we will show in the next section, the Northern Ute had definitely acquired the peyote cult by 1916, from a Pine Ridge Dakota. It is of some interest, however, to speculate whether the Ute visitors to the Cheyenne River Reservation became acquainted with the peyote cult during their stay in 1907–08, and thus speeded the transmission of the cult to their home reservation when they returned, or whether this visit merely established relationships with the Dakota which later aided the cult's spread. One line of evidence which bears on this problem is the history of the cult among the Dakota groups of South Dakota: did they have the cult prior to the Ute visit, or did they acquire it later? The information on this score is rather indefinite, and specific information on the Cheyenne River Reservation and the adjoining Standing Rock Reservation is lacking. On the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming, the Arapahoes "received the worship" from the Arapahoes of Oklahoma (Stenberg, 1946, p. 106). The Shoshone at Wind River became peyotists by 1906, when the Ute spent the summer in Wyoming en route to the Sioux country.

An Oglala informant of Stewart's says that he began his own membership in the peyote church in July, 1902, at Calumet, Oklahoma, and that the Pine Ridge Dakota began their use of peyote in 1904 (personal communication dated 1949). Calumet is on the Cheyenne Arapaho Reservation. This is the only statement we have from a Dakota informant on chronology. Shonle says that the Dakota received peyote in 1909. Her map indicates that she considers that three South Dakota reservations were affected, with less than 25 per cent members of the cult on each reservation (Shonle, 1925, p. 55 and Map facing p. 58). The reservations are not labelled, but they appear to be the Yankton, Rosebud, and Pine Ridge Reservations (cf. Map No. 20, Investigation of Indian Affairs). Newberne and

Burke, presenting data regarding the cult's distribution in 1919, show peyote present on the same three reservations, but indicate none for Cheyenne River, or Standing Rock. They also report it for the Santee on the Fort Totten Reservation in North Dakota (Newberne and Burke, 1925, pp. 33–34). Shonle seems to have based part of her work on the information collected by Newberne and Burke. In this instance, as in many others, we cannot rely on a report that the cult was absent at a particular time; so we cannot eliminate the possibility that the cult had reached the Cheyenne River or Standing Rock group prior to 1919.

We can be sure that the Santee of Nebraska had received the cult by 1908 (Slotkin, 1956, p. 38), the Yankton by 1911 (Slotkin, 1956, p. 39), and the Pine Ridge group by 1912 (Wissler, 1912, p. 99). Unfortunately these dates do not make it possible to say whether the Cheyenne River group, or other nearby Dakota groups with which they were in contact, had the cult by 1907–08.

The chronological problem can be considered from the point of view of the groups from which the Dakota are thought to have derived the cult: if all of them, for example, received peyote after 1908, then a Dakota cult prior to 1907 becomes less likely. LaBarre tells us that the Winnebago, John Rave, visited South Dakota, preaching the peyote cult, in 1903 or 1904, but does not say what groups were reached (LaBarre, 1938, p. 121). The Winnebago cult itself he dates at 1893 to 1901 (LaBarre, 1938, p. 121), and Slotkin's work indicates that the cult was present among the Winnebago as early as 1898 (Slotkin, 1956, p. 36). Shonle also mentions the Winnebago as a source of the Dakota cult (Shonle, 1925, p. 56). If the Winnebago were instrumental in transmitting the cult to the Dakota, then it could have been carried from the Winnebago to one or another Dakota group after 1893, according to LaBarre's earliest possible date, or after 1898, according to Slotkin's sure date.

Shonle says that the Omaha took the cult to the Dakotas, in 1909, although, as we have just pointed out, she also mentions the Winnebago in this connection (Shonle, 1925, p. 56; cf. also p. 55). The Omaha are reported to have received the cult by 1906–07 (Gilmore, 1913, 1919), and surely had it by 1908 (Slotkin, 1956, p. 36). The Omaha Native American Church planned its fiftieth anniversary meeting for April 18, 1956 (Quarterly Bulletin of the Native American Church of North America, vol. 2, no. 2, April–June, 1956, p. 4). This fact perhaps favors the 1906 date. If the Omaha had the cult as early as 1906, it could have been transmitted after that to some Dakota groups, although this possibility allows little time for the cult to get on a firm footing before the Ute visit.

The fact that Stewart's Oglala informant attended a meeting on the Cheyenne Arapaho Reservation, at Calumet, Oklahoma, suggests still another highly plausible channel for cult dissemination. The Northern Cheyenne had made peace with the Dakota in the first half of the nineteenth century and participated with the

Dakota in the campaign against Custer in 1876–77 (Mooney, 1896, p. 1024–25). After a portion of the Northern Cheyenne broke away from the territory to which they had been assigned in Oklahoma, about 60 of them were sent to Pine Ridge in 1879 (Turner, 1950, p. 441). There were 120 there in 1892 (Mooney, 1896, p. 1025), and Newberne and Burke's report mentions Northern Cheyenne at Pine Ridge in 1919 (Newberne and Burke, 1925, p. 34). LaBarre suggests a date for Southern Cheyenne peyotism of 1885 and for Northern Cheyenne of before 1900 (LaBarre, 1938, p. 122). Slotkin reports documented peyotism for the Southern Cheyenne by 1890, and for the Northern Cheyenne of Montana by 1911 (Slotkin, 1956, pp. 36, 38). With Northern Cheyennes living at Pine Ridge, it would have been possible for the Pine Ridge Dakota to have come in contact with the cult through either the Northern Cheyenne of Montana or the Southern Cheyenne of Oklahoma through these Cheyenne residents, even earlier than through Winnebago or Omaha channels.

In sum, various Dakota groups could have been affected by the cult at any time from the 1880's or 1890's on, depending on whether the transmission occurred through Southern Cheyenne, Northern Cheyenne, Winnebago, or Omaha. (It is possible, of course, that other tribes were involved in taking the cult to various Dakota groups; in these four cases, at least, contact is highly plausible.) We can be sure that the Dakotas were affected by 1911–12; if Stewart's informant remembers correctly, Pine Ridge had the cult by 1904. The Dakota problem is worth considerable further study, but we must leave it here, with the unsatisfactory conclusion that the visiting Utes might, or might not, have heard of, or participated in, the peyote cult in 1907–08 on the Cheyenne River Reservation, or, for that matter, in 1906 on the Wind River Reservation.

b. Northern Ute chronology. Contacts between the Northern Ute and the Dakota appear to have made a path for the peyote cult to travel to the Northern Ute. Shonle speaks of "friendship of long standing" between the Ute and the Dakota (Shonle, 1925, p. 58). We have no information about early relationships between the two groups, but there was one dramatic incident which brought some of the Northern Utes into contact with some Dakota Indians, and which must have been crucial in the cult's transmission. In 1905 the Uintah and White River Utes received individual allotments from reservation land (Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs . . . 1905, pp. 145–471. These reports will be cited hereafter as RCIA). The allotments, as the Commissioner acknowledged, were made hastily, and the Utes were disturbed. The White River Utes did not accept the plan, and a number of them left the reservation in the summer of 1906, aiming, apparently, for somewhere in South Dakota — either the Black Hills, the Pine Ridge Reservation, or the Rosebud Reservation (RCIA, 1906, pp. 83–84). This group of travellers, said to number about 200, hoped to return to "an unrestricted communal

life"; that is, to a life which did not involve individual land allotments. Forty-five of the group were persuaded to return to their own reservation while the group was still in Wyoming; of the remainder, the most intransigent (about 100) planned to go to the Big Horn Mountains, while the rest aimed for the Pine Ridge Agency. The group was headed off from the Big Horn hideout, and the Utes were led to Fort Meade, South Dakota, and eventually, by summer of 1907, to the Cheyenne River Reservation (RCIA, 1907, pp. 125–131). Through various types of pressure the Utes were induced to return to the reservation in Utah by October, 1908. The group must have been miscounted or augmented at some point, since 360 individuals returned (RCIA, 1908, pp. 118–120).

From this event it can be inferred that there were previous friendly relations between the Dakota and the Northern Ute; otherwise, why the choice of Dakota reservations for the move? In the light of later events, we can conclude that the contacts which grew out of this visit were important in spreading the cult. For reasons already discussed, we cannot be sure whether any acquaintanceship with the peyote cult developed among the Utes during their Cheyenne River stay. It can be said, however, that only one informant of Stewart's mentions any contact with the cult prior to the arrival of Samuel Lone Bear from Pine Ridge. This was Ralph Kochampanaskin,[4] a Uintah Ute, who told Stewart, "The first peyote meeting I went to was in Pine Ridge, South Dakota, about 1913, a year before Sam Lone Bear took the peyote to Utah." (This case is an exception to the general tendency, which we will discuss below, for early Ute peyotists to stem from the White River and Uncompaghre Ute groups.) In brief, then, the trip of 1906–08 developed relationships that facilitated the cult's transfer; we have no evidence that exposure to the cult occurred during the visit, but we cannot completely exclude that possibility. Furthermore, some knowledge of the cult may have reached the Ute from the Shoshone and Arapahoe of Wyoming.

Samuel Lone Bear, a member of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, from the Pine Ridge Reservation, came to the Northern Ute, probably in 1914, possibly before, as a peyote missionary. (In this connection it should be recalled that the cult was present at Pine Ridge no later than 1912 (Wissler, 1912, p. 99), and, according to

[4] Although Ralph Kochampanaskin is not central to our story, he is involved in the cult's spread elsewhere, and it seems wise to bring together some of the available information on him. He states that by 1938, when he married a Washo girl and settled among the Washo, he had attended peyote meetings in "Rose Bud, South Dakota; Fort Washakie, Wyoming; Blackfoot, Montana; Ignacio, Colorado; Uintah (Ute) and Ibapah (Goshute), Utah; and Dolce, New Mexico" (Stewart, 1944, p. 69). He was an early, but not a successful figure in Washo peyote history. The fact that he is also known as Raymond Lone Bear, or simply Lone Bear, makes the task of disentangling his history from that of Samuel Lone Bear, the Dakota, very difficult. Thus Alden Hayes considers that Sam Lone Bear, a Dakota, introduced peyote to the Goshute (Hayes, 1940). Malouf states that the Lone Bear who came to the Goshute may not have been Samuel Lone Bear, but Ralph Kochampanaskin (Malouf, 1942, p. 93). Kochampanaskin himself says that he was among the Goshute. Whoever the original missionary to the Goshute may be, we can be confident that the "Lone Bear" who was responsible for spreading the cult among the Northern Ute was Samuel Lone Bear, a Dakota, and not Kochampanaskin. To avoid further confusion in this study we will always refer to Kochampanaskin by that name, reserving "Lone Bear" as a designation for Samuel Lone Bear, the Dakota.

Stewart's informant, as early as 1904.) By 1916 some observers estimated a cult membership of 50 per cent among the Northern Ute. Furthermore, Wee'tseets', who later brought the cult to Towaoc, was involved in cult activity by 1916.

In view of the importance of Samuel Lone Bear to our history, it is worth while setting forth a few facts about him. His name on Pine Ridge Agency rolls was Samuel Lone Bear; his allotment number is 2386. A full blood Sioux, he was born in 1879 and died on February 5, 1937, of a cerebral embolism (Ben Reifel, personal communication, based on Agency records). He was known variously as Samuel Lone Bear, Sam Lone Bear, Lone Bear, Sam Roan Bear, Roan Bear, Sam Loganberry, Loganberry, Peter Phelps, Pete Phelps, and Cactus Pete (Stewart, 1941 and 1948, passim; Opler, 1940 and 1942, passim; Peyote: Hearings, 1918, passim). Pine Ridge Agency correspondence makes it clear that this man was engaged in spreading the peyote cult among the Ute (Reifel, personal communication).

Stewart has referred to him mainly as "Roan Bear", but since we have located his census name, we shall refer to him consistently as Lone Bear except when quoting informants or published materials.

From Stewart's published comments of informants, we gain the impression that Lone Bear was interested in the financial gains possible for a peyote priest and in adventures with women. This impression is supported by Peyote: Hearings, 1918, and by Pine Ridge Agency correspondence. Thus, Mrs. Bonnin, an educated Dakota Indian, reports that "Cactus Pete" sold cheap crucifixes to the Utes at a dollar apiece. He told them to put the crosses away and not look at them; after a time they were to be examined. If they were tarnished (as they were, inevitably), this showed the need for a peyote cure. She also states that Ute testimony is available to show that Cactus Pete took a woman outside a peyote meeting and there had sex relations with her (Peyote: Hearings, 1918, p. 125–126). Stewart (1948) has recorded a number of episodes featured by Lone Bear's exploitation of his position for sexual purposes. It should be pointed out in this connection that there is no empirical basis for connecting Lone Bear's behavior with the effects of peyote, which is not known to be an aphrodisiac, nor with the idealogy of the peyote cult. It would seem to stem, rather, from the position of Lone Bear as a wanderer of high prestige in a strange group, and from his personal inclinations. Lone Bear also travelled among the Crow, Shoshone, and Arapaho (Voget, personal communication).

Turning now to the chronology of Lone Bear's efforts as a peyote missionary among the Northern Utes, we find a high degree of consensus that he first came in 1914. At Congressional hearings in 1918, S. M. Brosius, an agent of the Indian Rights Association, reported that he was at Fort Duchesne in 1916 and that Dr. Henry Lloyd, an Indian Service physician who had been in the area ten or twelve years, knew the peyote situation. A letter from Dr. Lloyd, dated December 2,

1916, was put in the record, stating that he had observed the use of peyote at Ft. Duchesne for two years and that the cult was introduced by a "Sioux" who was a thief and a suspected murderer. Brosius himself speaks of "organizers" from "the Sioux country" whose aim was to involve the wealthy Utes in peyotism (Peyote: Hearings, 1918, pp. 16–17). Also in the record is an extract from the 34th Annual Report of the Indian Rights Association, December 14, 1916, which says, "It is stated that nearly one-half of the Uintah and Ouray Indians, numbering 1,160 persons, have become devotees of the peyote habit" (Peyote: Hearings, 1918, p. 20). A letter of October 12, 1916, from Gertrude Bonnin, who had then been with the Northern Utes for around fourteen years, says that peyote has "spread with alarming rapidity within the last two years and now has close to fifty percent of the tribe" (Peyote: Hearings, 1918, p. 21). Mrs. Bonnin's own testimony states, "In the year 1916, Peter Phelps, the peyote agent, whom the Utes have named Cactus Pete, took up $500 from the peyote users, telling them that he would send them a license to sell peyote. In 1917, a year afterwards, the license was not forthcoming. Weechits, a Ute, who was one from whom $30 had been extracted by a promise to furnish a license, wrote to a so-called peyote chief, Tom Morgan, Chadron, Nebraska, demanding the return of his money" (Peyote: Hearings, 1918, p. 125). Weechits seems identical with Wee'tseets', mentioned by Towaoc informants as the first Northern Ute peyotist to visit them. Mrs. Bonnin also reports that "Peter Phelps" had a different enrollment name but could not go about on his own reservation because of his record of theft and other misdeeds which we have now discovered (Peyote: Hearings, 1918, p. 126). In her direct testimony, Mrs. Bonnin claims (in 1918) that peyote came to the Northern Utes within the last two years — a contradiction of her own letter, cited above (Peyote: Hearings, 1918, p. 124).

We have pointed out that the migration of part of the White River Utes to the Dakotas and their return probably developed contacts which facilitated the spread of peyote from the Dakotas, through Lone Bear, to the Utes. In this connection it is of interest to note that Stewart's informants on Lone Bear came almost entirely from that part of the Northern Ute Reservation occupied by White River and Uncompaghre Utes (Utes originally from Colorado), and not from the Uintah group, which did not make the trek to South Dakota and which lives in another portion of the reservation. According to Stewart's informants, Lone Bear stayed at Ouray, Utah, in the area of the Colorado Utes. Stewart's informants cannot be specifically identified as White River Utes at the present time: during his field work he identified individuals on the basis of older band names. Both White River and Uncompaghre were reservation names, but individuals from any Colorado Band could affiliate permanently or temporarily with either White River, Uncompaghre, or Southern Utes at Ignacio and Towaoc. It may also be noted that

development of peyotism at an early date among Northern Utes whose origins were in Colorado and whose connections with the Utes of Towaoc and Ignacio were consequently close, undoubtedly facilitated transmission of the cult from the Northern to the Southern Ute.

We may now return to the problem of chronology and cite a few additional estimates. Stewart's Northern Ute informants estimate Lone Bear's arrival about 1914. Gottfried Lang's estimate is 1915 (personal communication). Albert H. Kneale, writing in 1921 as Superintendent of the Uintah-Ouray Agency, says that Lone Bear was the sole agent of introduction, about 1914 (Ben Reifel, personal communication). Chester E. Faris, then of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, says he knew of peyote among the Northern Ute in 1917 (personal communication). Newberne and Burke, probably using the same sources of information who provided data in Peyote: Hearings, 1918, show 50 per cent of the Uintah-Ouray Reservation affected in 1919 (1925, p. 34).

Our broadest estimate of the range of possible dates for the introduction of the cult to the Northern Ute would be 1908 (return of the White River group) to 1916 (earliest date of record, provided by correspondence in Peyote: Hearings, 1918, and Slotkin, 1956, p. 39). Since letters of 1916, very close to the event, date the introduction as 1914, we are strongly inclined to accept 1914 as the date of Lone Bear's trip, realizing that Kochampanaskin had contacts, and others may have had, prior to that time. The fact that 50 per cent of the group is said to have been affected by 1916 makes the possibility that there were important earlier contacts, or that Lone Bear came earlier, or both. We will, however, in the remainder of this work, take 1914 as the critical date for the beginnings of Northern Ute peyotism as a significant movement.[5]

B. Ignacio

1. Summary. Some use of peyote at Ignacio predates the Northern Ute and Towaoc cults. One man used peyote through Arapaho contacts as early as 1900, by his estimate. It is possible that there were other contacts with Oklahoma

[5] The history given here conforms closely to LaBarre's brief statement: "A Sioux introduced peyote to the Uintah and Ouray Agency. The Ute around Fort Duchesne have used peyote 'on the sly' since before 1916; the cult was vigorous around Randlette, Utah, by the spring of 1916" (1938, p. 120). LaBarre's summary chart, however, differs from our account (1938, p. 122); hence some comments are necessary to avoid confusion. LaBarre shows "Uintah-Ouray" peyotism as stemming from Sioux, but provides no date. He makes a separate entry for "Northern Ute". But Northern Ute and Uintah-Ouray are, of course, identical. Furthermore, he derives his "Northern Ute" cult in part from Northern Cheyenne and in part from Southern Ute, and supplies a date of 1916 for the "Northern Ute". We consider the Northern Ute (Uintah-Ouray) cult originated from Dakota ("Sioux") contacts, not from Northern Cheyenne, and believe that this occurred in 1914, not 1916. LaBarre shows Southern Ute peyotism as one source of the "Northern Ute" cult, where we would hold that the influences passed from the Northern to the Southern Ute. He provides a date of 1910 for Southern Ute peyotism, based on Parsons (1936), and derives the cult from the Northern Cheyenne. We would agree that there were early Cheyenne contacts, but consider that the first major impetus for the Ignacio and Towaoc cults came from the Northern Ute and Dakota between 1914 and 1917, followed by important Cheyenne contacts by 1917. These points are treated at length in the present work, but problems of nomenclature make it desirable to show the differences between LaBarre's chart and our interpretation.

peyotists quite early. Visits of Ignacio Utes to the Northern Utes resulted in at least one meeting run at Ignacio by an Ignacio man, estimated at 1915–17. Lone Bear began to visit the Ignacio group, presumably coming from the Northern Ute. Between 1922 and 1928 a number of Oklahoma peyote missionaries visisted Ignacio, but these contacts greatly diminished after about 1930, and by 1943–44 there were few users. From 1922 to 1928 the superintendent apparently made efforts to stop the cult. The Ignacio cult seems to have played no role in the development of Navaho peyotism.

2. Data. a. Early Oklahoma contacts. In 1896 or before, "a party of Taos men went with a small company of Utes into what was then Indian Territory" (Parsons, 1936, p. 62, fn.). This contact and others of the sort might have brought the Ignacio Utes to the knowledge of, or use of, peyote. We do not know. Tony Buck says that he first got peyote from Henry Lincoln, an Arapaho, in 1900 (Ignacio field school files, 1948). Tony says that Lincoln "used to visit" him two or three times a year, but does not indicate when the visits started or ended. A Taos man says, ". . . in 1907 I proposed to take a Taos party of twelve to visit in Oklahoma." They met Cheyenne and Arapaho, but "saw nothing of peyote. . . Three years later, in summer, I went to Oklahoma again with some Southern Utes. It was their first trip into Oklahoma. . . . This time some Kaiowa wanted me to come into peyote meetings . . . . But I was afraid, *I was the only Taos Indian there*" (Parsons, 1936, p. 62, her italics). We cannot be sure from this whether Utes attended the peyote meeting, nor that they knew there was a peyote meeting, although that is possible.

It might be mentioned that S. F. Stacher, Superintendent of the Southern Ute Agency at Ignacio from 1906 to 1909, said that he did not hear about peyote at that time.

b. Northern Ute contacts; Lone Bear. Isaac Cloud of Ignacio says, "In 1915 or 1917 I ran a peyote meeting . . . I learned about it from a woman, Emma Buck, Buckskin Charley's wife, who had learned it in Utah. . . . After a while, Sam Roan Bear came and showed me how to run meeting. He was a Sioux, but had married in Utah, in Dragon, Utah. It was a few years after Emma Buck got me to run meeting that Roan Bear came. . . . Sam Roan Bear was put in jail for signing a government check. . . . He signed check in Nebraska, ran away for about three years, was in jail three years then came and ran meetings" among the Ignacio Utes. In 1921 the Uintah-Ouray agent said that Lone Bear had been jailed at an unspecified time for violation of the Colorado statute against use of peyote (Ben Reifel, personal communication). The 1917 Colorado law prohibiting the use or sale of peyote was sponsored by "the National Mothers' congress and the Parent-Teachers association . . . the W. C. T. U. . . . . The Ministerial Alliance of Denver" and more than a dozen women's organizations, according to the January 12, 1917,

Denver Post, which headlined: Denver Women Fighting to Stop Dope Leaf Trade. There are also hints in the 1921 correspondence of a possible effort to convict Lone Bear for a Mann Act violation in Nebraska. What came of this is not known. We also have Herbert Stacher's report that Lone Bear was in a jail in New Mexico sometime between 1917 and 1924, when Herbert was in school. Herbert visited Lone Bear in prison. Agency correspondence from Pine Ridge indicates that Lone Bear was charged with forgery in 1924 and temporarily jailed in South Dakota (Ben Reifel, personal communication). What disposition was made of the case is not indicated. These various episodes in jail make it difficult to identify which jail periods in Lone Bear's life Isaac Cloud is describing. We are probably safe in concluding that if Herbert Stacher met Lone Bear in Towaoc by 1917, his first visit to nearby Ignacio had also occurred by 1917.

Tony Buck, who, as we have said, first got peyote from an Arapaho in 1900 (est.), says that his (Tony's) father, Buckskin Charlie, opposed peyote at first, but a few years later, Tony's stepmother, Emma Buck, got peyote at Randlette, Utah; then later, Buckskin Charlie had peyote contacts at Dragon, Utah (both on the Northern Ute Reservation). He does not date these events. The outlines of this story fit well with Isaac Cloud's. Opler dates Lone Bear's visit to the Southern Ute as 1917 (Opler, 1940, pp. 467–470, 477).

Isaac Cloud thinks Lone Bear visited about three times. Mrs. Lee Jefferson believes that Buckskin Charlie was the first Ignacio Road chief, and that he learned the ritual through the visits of Cheyenne Indians. This account is contradicted by the words of Buckskin Charlie's son, Tony Buck. From there, says Mrs. Jefferson, peyote spread to Towaoc — an account which does not fit with data from Towaoc.

Lowie visited Ignacio in 1912. Although Tony Buck, who was one of Lowie's informants, told Stewart in 1953 that he had used peyote by 1900, Lowie does not recall hearing anything of the cult during his visit. From this we can conclude that it was not a prominent feature of the scene. Lowie visited Navajo Springs the same year, but could not find a satisfactory interpreter; so we cannot draw any inference from his failure to hear of the cult there (Lowie, 1924 and personal communication).

c. Later developments. The cult was not inactive during the period 1917–1931, although it may have been far from triumphant. Newberne and Burke indicate no peyotists for the Ignacio group in 1919 (1925, p. 34). From this we cannot here, or in other cases, safely conclude that the cult was absent, but we can say that it had attracted no attention. Isaac Cloud mentions the following Cheyenne peyote missionaries as having visited during the superintendency of McKean (1922–28): Sam Buffalo (Cheyenne), Brown Flacko, John P. Hart (Cheyenne), Claude Hill (Cheyenne), George Hill (Cheyenne), and Albert Hoffman. For some reason that

he could not or would not explain, these Oklahoma missionaries, says Cloud, virtually stopped their visits after 1930. Opler dates the Government attempt to stop the cult at 1920 (Opler, 1940, p. 468). Cloud mentions McKean's efforts at suppression, although he says McKean held only one meeting to discuss the subject. Mrs. Lee Jefferson says that the cult grew strong and remained vigorous at Ignacio until McKean made efforts to stop it. Then people quit, for fear of getting into trouble, until by 1943 ar 1944 there were practically no users. All in all, a period of active peyote missionary work seems to have taken place between 1922 and 1928, along with efforts at suppression by the government. Visitors became rather infrequent after 1930. In the period April, 1938–December, 1940, Herbert Stacher's contemporary diary of meetings shows eighteen visitors conducting meetings at Towaoc, but only one meeting by Sam Standing Water (Cheyenne) at Ignacio during the same period. Cloud has other reasons for the later decline: "When McSpadden allowed liquor in Ignacio the young people started drinking and stopped coming to peyote meetings." McSpadden was superintendent from 1940 to 1950.

Navaho contacts with Ignacio peyotists have been minimal during the entire period. One visit of a Navaho to an Ignacio peyote meeting is described by Isaac Cloud, who says the event occurred before World War I. Navaho informants mention almost no such contacts, and the few accounts are for very recent years, long after Navaho peyotism was well established. We may safely conclude that Ignacio played an absolutely minimal role in the development of the Navaho cult.

The peyote cult is not important in the Ignacio group; it includes only a minority, and this condition was apparent at least as far back as 1936–37, during Opler's visits (Opler, 1940).

All except a few lines to the Plains lead to the Northern Ute and Lone Bear as the source of Ignacio peyotism. Informants agree that the introduction occurred in or shortly before 1917. Taking into account the previous analysis of the Northern Ute chronology, the earliest probable date for the Ignacio contact with Northern Ute sources would be 1914, and all our estimates fit a date of 1915–17 for the cult's arrival from the Northern Ute. The earliest date of record is Opler's field trips of 1936 and 1937 (Opler, 1940).

C. Towaoc

1. Summary. The earliest known peyotism among the Towaoc Utes dates from sometime between late 1908 and 1917, and probably 1914 to 1917, introduced from the Northern Ute by Wee'tseets', a Northern Ute who had learned the Old Sioux Way from Lone Bear. Sometime before 1918, John P. Hart, a Cheyenne, introduced the "Moon Way" form of the ritual. (See Stewart, 1948, for a discussion of these two "ways".) By the early 1920's several Towaoc Utes were capable of

running peyote meetings. Throughout the 'twenties, and ever since, large numbers of Oklahoma peyotists visited Towaoc, and quite a few Towaoc Utes visited Oklahoma. A gradual growth of the cult from its beginnings to the present day is indicated; the cult now includes over 90 per cent of the Towaoc group. Towaoc Utes are crucial in the transmission of peyote to the Navaho.

2. Data. Three Towaoc informants, Jack House (age ca. 60), Nathan Wing (age ca. 70), and Walter Lopez (age ca. 60 — all estimates as of 1953) agree on a number of points regarding Wee'tseets'. All agree that he held meetings on the Ute Mountain Reservation, that he came to Navaho Springs, and that he stayed at the home of Jack House's father. Jack House is now the Chief of the Towaoc group. All consider Wee'tseets' a follower of Lone Bear's. These statements were made independently. Wee'tseets' is said to have come from Uintah Basin, Utah, but in view of the fact that Jack House considers him a kinsman and refers to him as "uncle", it seems a reasonably safe assumption that his origins were Colorado Ute, since there are ties of kinship between Colorado Utes now located on the Northern Ute Reservation and members of the Ignacio and Towaoc groups. Time estimates by House, Wing, and Lopez are close. Nathan Wing and Walter Lopez thought that Wee'tseets' came seven or eight years before the Ute Mountain Agency headquarters were removed from Navajo Springs to Towaoc (removal was in 1918), which gives a date of 1910 or 1911. Jack House says the Northern Ute peyotist came when Jack's wife, Dot Watson House, was a little girl. She was born in 1897. Herbert Stacher remembers peyote meetings held in the Old Sioux Way (the way of Wee'tseets' and Lone Bear) for six or seven years before he went to school in Santa Fe (1917) — again, 1910 or 1911. Stacher, however, believes that Lone Bear, rather than Wee'tseets', was the first man to hold cult meetings on the Ute Mountain Reservation, but Jack House, Walter Lopez, and Nathan Wing, all older than Stacher, stated independently that Lone Bear did not hold any meetings at Towaoc, although he visited the area and went on to hold meetings at Ignacio.

If we assume that Wee'tseets' and Lone Bear were unlikely to have been in contact prior to the stay of some Utes in South Dakota, and that their visits to Towaoc followed the return to Utah, we have an "earliest" point of possible contact, 1908. If we take a general estimate of 1914 as the beginning of Lone Bear's contact with the Northern Ute, then that year is the earliest possible for the Southern Ute development, and such a chronology allows no time for peyotism to take root in the Northern Ute Reservation. On the other hand, at least a few years must have elapsed between the introduction of peyotism to the Ute Mountain group and the Agency's move to Towaoc, since two of our informants are convinced that Wee'tseets' came seven or eight years before the removal, and one that Lone Bear came six or seven years before 1917. The period 1914–1916 seems the best time span for the introduction of the cult at Towaoc that can be selected

to fit the Northern Ute chronology and the informants' picture, but we must allow for the slight possibility that introduction occurred at any point between 1908 and 1917. As in the case of Ignacio, Newberne and Burke do not indicate any peyotists in the Towaoc group in 1919 (1925, p. 34).

Previously Stewart has dated the introduction of peyote at Towaoc at 1907 (1948, p. 6) and Opler at 1916 (by Lone Bear — Opler, 1940, p. 464), estimates which are close to the maximum range we can allow for these events.

The next crucial event in the development of the Ute Mountain cult was the arrival of John P. Hart (John Peehart), a Cheyenne, who introduced the "Moon Way" form of the ritual, before 1918. Thus Lopez, Stacher, and Wing agree that Hart held meetings before the removal of the agency office to Towaoc. Hart's contact was not a hit-and-run affair: he visited Walter Lopez almost every summer, staying at Lopez' camp at Moreno Springs, south of Sleeping Ute Mountain and 18 miles from Towaoc on the road to Aneth, Utah, a Navaho settlement. During all those years he held peyote meeetings. (Lopez, principal source, supported in general by Stacher, Wing, and Isaac Cloud).

The comments of certain Navaho Indians cast some light on Towaoc history. They are cited here in that connection, rather than for the information they provide on Navaho peyotism. *Dick Monroe of Aneth estimates the beginning of the Towaoc cult at 1911. (Most Navahos mentioned in this work have been given pseudonyms. All pseudonyms are preceded by asterisks. See Preface.) *Edgar Meredith of Teec Nos Pas claims to have used peyote among the Utes around 1918, but contradicts himself on this point. *Tom Freeman of Shiprock, who was then living at Mesa Verde and visiting his family in Shiprock — hence passing near Towaoc — says that in 1926 James Mills came to a Navaho singer for a "Blessing Night Way Chant and prayers" (Navaho name for chant not secured; see Wyman and Kluckhohn, 1940, pp. 184–85) to ensure success before going to the "Comanche country".[6] "I heard he came back with a wonderful medicine", says *Freeman — sarcastically, for he is opposed to peyotism. The statement implies that this 1926 visit was James Mills' first, but our data suggest that it was one of many. The informant has Navaho relatives who married Utes and who worked for Utes. *Robert Towle of Aneth estimates 1928 for the beginning of Walter Lopez' use of peyote. Walter's account contradicts this, as has been indicated. *Albert Carey of Shiprock, who runs sheep close to the Utes, estimates (1951) that James Mills and "Windy" (perhaps one of the Wings) used peyote 40 years ago. It came to Towaoc, he says, from White Rock (Northern Ute).

Three types of information tend to support an interpretation of a vigorous and growing cult from the 1920's to the present day: data on Oklahoma peyotist visi-

[6] The Navaho word most commonly translated "Comanche" means literally "many enemies" and is applied indifferently to all Oklahoma Indians by Navaho, who are not accustomed to distinguish them. Hence we can only assume a visit to Oklahoma.

ors, data on numbers of members, and data on numbers of Towaoc peyote priests. The first type of information is probably the most reliable.

Superintendent Elbert Floyd, of the Consolidated Ute Agency in 1953, who was n the area continuously from 1927 to 1942, says that he was aware of the fact that Oklahoma peyotists were more or less regular summer visitors throughout this period.

John P. Hart, we have said, visited Walter Lopez regularly from 1920 to 1952 (data as of summer, 1953; visits probably continue). Lopez also recalls Sam Standng Water's visits to Towaoc during the days of Superintendent McKean (1922–28). Herbert Stacher thought that Sam Standing Water first came in 1919 and John P. Hart in 1922, but he accepted correction from Walter Lopez regarding an earlier visit from Hart. Our data now jump to the period 1938–1944 and are based on Stacher's report book on peyote meetings for that period — a record which was kept fairly well up to date. John P. Hart is reported for meetings on November 18, 1938 at the CCC camp; November 19, 1938 at "Marno" Springs, Towaoc; and August 26, 1939 at Towaoc. A collection of $21.50 was made "for John P. Hart to come over to Towaoc", the entry being dated July 9, 1938. Since, however, it appears on a page between May and December, 1939, the probable date is 1939.

Stacher mentions several others (tribal identifications, where known, in these and other lists, are supplied by the authors): Alfred Wilson (Cheyenne), April 17, 1938; Sam Standing Water (Cheyenne), August, September, and October, 1938; September, 1939; Red Bird Scobby, August and September, 1938; Frank Roman Nose, September, 1939, and November, 1940; Albert Hoffman, August, 1938; Henry Elk River, August, 1938; Emil Miles (Kiowa), November, 1490.

Stewart met Emil Miles in September, 1953, at Towaoc and was told that Arthur Collier, a Kiowa peyotist, was also in the area. Of the entire group, Hart, Standing Water, Wilson, Roman Nose, Hoffman, and Collier are known to have had Navaho contacts in recent years.

These data support the interpretation that from the early 1920's to the present, Towaoc has been a fruitful field for Oklahoma peyotists, and that they visited regularly and in fair numbers. At Ignacio, however, these visits tapered off around 1930, although any visitor to Towaoc could conveniently have made a stopover at Ignacio as well.

The first Ute peyote priest in the Ute Mountain group was James Mills. Born in 1890, he was living in 1932, but died before the 1940 census (Ute census rolls). Walter Lopez dates his death as around 1933; *Tom Freeman, a Navaho some of whose relatives married Utes and who knows many Utes, thinks James died "a few years after 1926–27". He seems to have learned to run a meeting early in the history of the Towaoc cult. Stacher, House, Lopez, and Wing name him as the

first Towaoc priest. Wing and Stacher think that he ran Old Sioux Way meetings before John P. Hart's arrival. This he presumably learned from Wee'tseets'. Lopez, however, thinks that Mills began to run meetings only after a visit to Oklahoma with John P. Hart. House, Stacher, Lopez, and Wing agree that Mills made such trips, and the last three informants date the first of them about 1917.

The date for the first local peyote priest at Towaoc is open to the same ambiguities as the initial date for introduction of peyotism. Unfortunately, Mills' birthdate gives us little help. A Road Chief should have adult social status. James Mills was only 18 in 1908, our earliest possible date, but his first child, Harry, was born in 1907 (Ute census rolls); so he may have been considered adult. Aberle knows of one Navaho peyote priest who runs peyote meetings in his early twenties; so surely by 1914 at the latest James could have begun to function as a Road Chief; his terminal date is probably about 1933–35.

According to Herbert Stacher, three other Towaoc Utes (Andrew Price, Jack Spencer, and John Fields) traveled to Oklahoma shortly after Mills returned from his first trip. All of them eventually became peyote priests, whether at this date or somewhat later; all had received indoctrination and instruction from "the big peyote chiefs" in Oklahoma by the early 'twenties, whether or not they were then Road Men.

These data cast a different light on the history of Towaoc peyotism from that afforded by the earlier accounts of Stewart and Opler. Both agreed that the peyote cult was re-introduced into Towaoc about 1931 by John P. Hart (Opler, 1940; Stewart, 1941), and that the cult had flagged previously. Their interpretations of the reason for the early "failure" of the cult to take hold diverged sharply. Our present data indicate that there is no gap between about 1916 or 1917 and 1931 to account for. The early introduction of Old Sioux Way was followed prior to 1918 by the introduction of Moon Way by John P. Hart, the two events probably separated by only a year or two. The first Towaoc peyote priest was trained, either by Hart or by Lone Bear and then by Hart, during this early period, and annual visits by Hart began by the early 'twenties. Other data, still to be presented, indicate an active cult between 1916 or '17 and 1931. An alteration of our perspective on chronology has here removed a theoretical problem: we do not have a "lag" between exposure to peyote and cult development to account for, and the alternative explanations of lag are no longer a matter for debate.

Comments of whites regarding the period 1908 to the 1920's might be mentioned. Walter Hall, a white farmer of McElmo Canyon, who has long employed Ute and Navaho labor, estimates the beginnings of the Towaoc cult at 1922. John Ismay, another white resident in McElmo Canyon with many Ute and Navaho contacts, estimates the beginning at around 1925. On the other hand, a resident of Cortez who was in contact with the Utes in 1920–21 denies the use of peyote for that period, and a trader in contact with the Utes from 1921 to 1935 states that he

never heard of peyote during this period. Another trader, who worked at Towaoc 1925–40, estimates the first use of peyote at Towaoc as 1935. The opportunities for discussion and observation on the part of the whites are both variable and limited, and neither here nor elsewhere are we inclined to take very seriously denials of the cult's existence from these informants. We would, however, be inclined to assume that the cult must have been fairly evident for Hall and Ismay to learn of its existence.

Herbert Stacher, a peyote priest who has been in intimate contact with the Towaoc situation except for his years in school (1917–1920), was also a CCC-ID (Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division) foreman on the Ute Mountain Reservation. In 1953 he co-operated with Stewart by going over the 1925 Ute Mountain census list, the CCC rolls for September, 1933 and September, 1936, and the 1940 Ute Mountain census, and indicating for each list who he considered was a peyotist and who a peyote priest about those dates. He also checked the CCC rolls for August, 1936; October, 1936; and December, 1937, for peyote priests only. Ideally, these estimates should be checked against the personal history of the individuals named and those not named, a procedure which must be left for the future. As it is, the data are suggestive, though not conclusive. In each case (broadly speaking, for the 1925 period, the 1933–37 period, and the 1940 period), Stacher was asked to keep in mind particularly significant events in his own life and to estimate whether the individuals were members of the cult at that time. For 1925 he estimates that 66 persons (33 per cent) on the census list were peyotists at the time, and 132 were non-peyotists. For 1933 he found 24 adult Towaoc males listed, of whom 19 (or 79 per cent) were considered peyotists; 5 of these were peyote priests. By 1937, of 37 male adults on the CCC rolls, all were peyotists and 11 were priests. By 1940, of 225 adult Utes on the census rolls, 192 (85 per cent) were peyotists. Stacher is relatively consistent: he seldom names a man as a peyotist in one period and a non-peyotist at a later period (except, of course, in cases where the individual left the movement).

These data suggest the interpretation of a peyote cult vigorous in 1925, expanding ever since, and dominant in 1940 and today. They are consonant with the amount of visiting from Oklahoma.

Finally, there is the question of Ute peyote priests. We have seen that James Mills was probably trained in Oklahoma before 1918 and began to run meetings and that in the early 'twenties three more men went to Oklahoma. These three all became priests, whether then or later. Thus Stacher's report for January 12, 1939, says, "meeting running by old man John Fields. Long hair new way 1939. It was all right." Andrew Price and Jack Spencer are mentioned as priests by Stacher, the first in the course of going over the 1933 CCC payroll and the second on the 1936 CCC payroll.

On the September, 1933, payroll, Stacher found four peyote priests: Kamura

Beecher, Truman Hatch, Walter Lopez, and James May. Harry Wall, on that roll, was not a priest in 1933, according to Stacher, but is now.

On the September, 1936, payroll, the following were identified as priests: Andrew Price, Spear Bancroft, Kamura Beecher, Pete Bishop, George Eyetoo, Truman Hatch, Frank Laner, Alfred Lang, Harry Mills (James Mills' son), Jack Spencer, Herbert Stacher, and Paul Ute. After 1936, according to Stacher, the following became priests: Carl Ketchum, George Mills, Alden W. Naranjo (of Ignacio), and George Summa. Stacher also mentioned from the August, 1936, payroll Meyers Cantsee of Blanding, Utah. Stacher's records of meetings 1938–44 mention Spear Bancroff (by 1938), Arthur Dutch (by 1938), Job Lopez (by 1938), Edward McKeen (by 1938), and Edward M. Dutche (by 1940).

We do not, of course, know for certain of the existence of Ute priests other than James Mills prior to 1933; but given a total of 27 priests listed by 1953, we are inclined to think of a gradual growth, rather than a sudden spurt. The first date of record for Towaoc known to the authors is 1935 (Gifford, 1941. See pp. v, 1, 4, and 77).

D. Relationship of Northern and Southern Ute Chronology

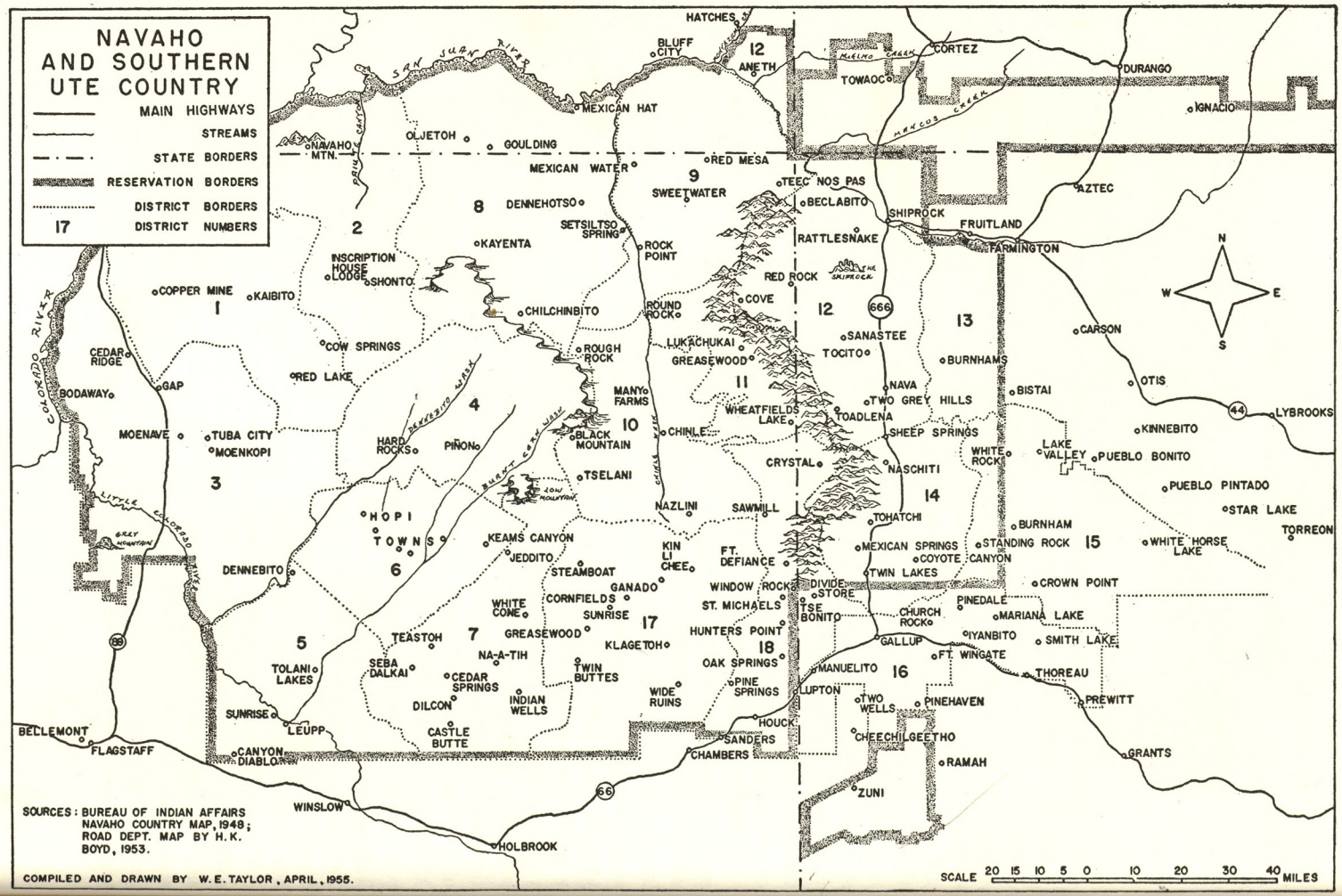
Except for some slight contacts with the Plains at Ignacio, the beginnings of Southern Ute peyotism can be traced to visits of Southern Utes to the Northern Ute country, which brought them in contact with Lone Bear or with Northern Ute peyotists or both; visits by Wee'tseets' to the Southern Utes (Wee'tseets' having been indoctrinated by Lone Bear); visits of Lone Bear himself. Mrs. Bonnin tends to see peyotism as reaching the Northern Utes in about 1914. Towaoc Utes seem to think that Wee'tseets' arrived several years before the Agency moved in 1918. Lone Bear, we know, visited the Northern Utes first, indoctrinated some of them — one well enough to come to Towaoc as a peyote priest — and visited the Southern Utes. He could, of course, have been visiting both groups almost simultaneously, although the Northern Utes were clearly the first contact. It is probable that all these things occurred between 1914 and 1917 (to give us at least a little space before the transfer of the Agency), but it is also possible that the dates for the Northern Ute will have to be pushed back slightly.

III. NAVAHO PEYOTISM

A. Summary

When we approach Navaho peyotism, we are overwhelmed with the quantity of the data, the limitations of information at crucial points, and the many contradictions between informants and between various types of information. Presentation of the Navaho materials is also complicated by the fact that the Navajo Reservation is a large area, divided into a considerable number of social units, and by the size of the Navaho population. This means that the cult was undergoing rapid growth in some areas at a time when it was unheard of in others, and that it was relatively stabilized in former growth areas when it was expanding in new territories. We shall endeavor first to cut through this tangle and then to present the data without concealing the difficulties. Our stress on chronology prevents our giving here some of the more colorful aspects of the history of the Navaho cult; these Aberle hopes to set forth at another time. Map 2 provides the location of various places mentioned in our chronicle.

The only significant sources of Navaho peyotism are Towaoc Utes, Oklahoma peyotists contacted directly through Towaoc Utes, and Oklahoma peyotists whose relationships to the Navaho grew more indirectly out of the first contacts through Towaoc Utes. An early period of use of peyote was highly localized, being found almost entirely in Mancos Creek and Aneth, two Navaho groups in close contact with the Utes. A second period consists largely of use of peyote by Navaho who were working on the CCC with Utes or who traveled to the Ute Reservation for various sorts of cures, sometimes seeking Ute sucking (shamanistic) cures and sometimes seeking peyote. These two developments run from (perhaps) 1914 at the earliest to around 1938. The third phase, which overlaps the second, is that of the cult's spread south of the San Juan, through Navaho peyote priests from Mancos Creek and Ute and Oklahoma peyote priests — who now visited the main part of the reservation instead of waiting for their clientele in and around Towaoc. This period begins around 1936. Finally, the Navaho scene has been featured by the creation of a large number of Navaho peyote priests and by constant visiting from Oklahoma, a phase which continues today. In 1951 Navaho peyotists numbered between 12,000 and 14,000 in a population of about 70,000 Navaho. The cult has memberships of as high as three fourths of the population of some northern communities like Aneth and Teec Nos Pas, but is known only by reputation in some communities in the northwestern reservation. It has spread against strong opposition. In addition to every sort of informal pressure, there is legislation, passed in 1940 by the Tribal Council, which forbids the sale, use, or possession of peyote. As in so many other tribes, the first apostles of peyote on the Navaho


NAVAHO AND SOUTHERN UTE COUNTRY
MAIN HIGHWAYS
STREAMS
STATE BORDERS
RESERVATION BORDERS
DISTRICT BORDERS
17 DISTRICT NUMBERS
SAN JUAN RIVER
HATCHES
BLUFF CITY
ANETH
MEXICAN HAT
NAVAHO MTN.
OLJETOH
GOULDING
MEXICAN WATER
RED MESA
SWEETWATER
TEEC NOS PAS
BECLABITO
DENNEHOTSO
SETSILTSO SPRING
KAYENTA
ROCK POINT
RATTLESNAKE
SHIPROCK
FRUITLAND
FARMINGTON
CORTEZ
TOWAOC
DURANGO
IGNACIO
AZTEC
INSCRIPTION HOUSE
LODGE
SHONTO
COPPER MINE
KAIBITO
CHILCHINBITO
ROUND ROCK
COVE
RED ROCK
SANASTEE
TOCITO
BURNHAMS
CARSON
OTIS
BISTAI
LYBROOKS
KINNEBITO
COLORADO RIVER
CEDAR RIDGE
BODAWAY
GAP
COW SPRINGS
ROUGH ROCK
LUKACHUKAI
GREASEWOOD
RED LAKE
MANY FARMS
WHEATFIELDS LAKE
TOADLENA
NAVA
TWO GREY HILLS
SHEEP SPRINGS
MOENAVE
TUBA CITY
MOENKOPI
HARD ROCKS
PIÑON
BLACK MOUNTAIN
CHINLE
CRYSTAL
NASCHITI
WHITE ROCKS
LAKE VALLEY
PUEBLO BONITO
PUEBLO PINTADO
STAR LAKE
TORREON
TSELANI
HOPI TOWNS
KEAMS CANYON
JEDDITO
NAZLINI
SAWMILL
TOHATCHI
BURNHAM
MEXICAN SPRINGS
STANDING ROCK
COYOTE CANYON
WHITE HORSE LAKE
DENNEHITO
STEAMBOAT
KIN LI CHEE
FT. DEFIANCE
TWIN LAKES
GANADO
WINDOW ROCK
DIVIDE STORE
CROWN POINT
WHITE CONE
CORNFIELDS
SUNRISE
ST. MICHAELS
TSE BONITO
PINEDALE
CHURCH ROCK
MARIANA LAKE
TEASTOH
GREASEWOOD
HUNTERS POINT
IYANBITO
SMITH LAKE
GALLUP
FT. WINGATE
NA-A-TIH
KLAGETOH
OAK SPRINGS
MANUELITO
THOREAU
TOLANI LAKES
SEBA DALKAI
CEDAR SPRINGS
TWIN BUTTES
PINE SPRINGS
LUPTON
PINEHAVEN
PREWITT
DILCON
INDIAN WELLS
WIDE RUINS
TWO WELLS
SUNRISE
LEUPP
CASTLE BUTTE
HOUCK
CHEECHILGEETHO
BELLEMONT
FLAGSTAFF
CANYON DIABLO
SANDERS
CHAMBERS
RAMAH
GRANTS
ZUNI
WINSLOW
HOLBROOK
SOURCES: BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS NAVAHO COUNTRY MAP, 1948; ROAD DEPT. MAP BY H.K. BOYD, 1953.
COMPILED AND DRAWN BY W.E. TAYLOR, APRIL, 1955.
SCALE 20 15 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 MILES

Reservation were individuals of colorful background and behavior, who got into scrapes which helped to make difficulties for the cult. With this by way of background, we will begin the tangled tale.

B. Some Possible Sources of Navaho Peyotism

It has been said that the only significant source of initial transmission of peyotism to the Navaho is by or through the Towaoc Ute. That is, Navahos living in close contact with the Towaoc Ute began to use peyote with the Ute, and thus met Oklahoma visitors to the Ute. Relationships with these Oklahoma Indians led to visits by still other Oklahoma Indians of various tribes to the Navaho and visits by the Navaho to Oklahoma. These statements rest on a considerable body of data: in almost every case, a Navaho's first use of peyote can be traced either to a Towaoc Ute, or to a Navaho who learned of peyote from the Towaoc Ute, or to a Navaho who learned from a Navaho (etc. — the chains can be quite long), or to an Oklahoma peyotist, or to a Navaho who learned from an Oklahoma peyotist (etc. — again a long chain). Exceptions are extraordinarily rare. Nevertheless, we must consider the alternatives. Navahos are in contact with the Ignacio Ute, the Jicarilla Apache, the Pueblos (including Taos), and the Mescalero, and may have been in touch with Oklahoma Indians during World War I, when such Indians worked at Fort Wingate Ordnance Plant. They were in touch with Oklahoma Indians during the CCC period as well, and children have long gone to boarding schools in Oklahoma. Finally, some white and Navaho informants suggest "Paiute" contacts as a source for Navaho Mountain, Inscription House, the Black Mountain area, and Kayenta.

We shall deal with each of these possible sources, but we can say in advance that more than 99 per cent of all contact chains explored lead to Towaoc or to Oklahoma. Although it is possible that future research may reveal various contacts that we did not discover, it seems safe to say that only the Towaoc and Oklahoma contacts were significant for the development of an active Navaho peyote cult.

1. Eastern Pueblos. A teacher who worked in the eastern Navaho country from 1931 to 1936 claims that peyote was in use there during that period, that it came from the Eastern Pueblos, and that it reached Torreon by 1915 and Crownpoint by 1920. The story is not entirely clear, however, since she also says that it was used as a medicine and not necessarily as part of a cult. There are other confusions in the story; and there is a good deal of evidence on the other side. Taos is the only Rio Grande pueblo known to have a cult today, although Slotkin's work indicates use of peyote by Keresans (by 1631), Isleta (by 1720), and among Western Pueblos (by 1720) (Slotkin, 1955, p. 210). The Taos cult can be dated at least as far back as 1913 (Slotkin, 1956, p. 38). All Taos peyotist contacts discovered among the Navaho resulted from the development of the Navaho cult. These

contacts were found for individuals from Gallup, Shiprock, and other points, but not for individuals from District 15. With two exceptions, all contacts in District 15 (where there are few peyotists) can be traced to Prewitt, and from there to Tohatchi, or direct to Tohatchi. These contacts are relatively late, 1945 and following. Richard Van Valkenburgh talked to reliable Navaho informants from Torreon in 1953 and found no knowledge of cult members, past or present (personal communication).[7] One of the exceptions, a Little Water man, *Thomas Shute, who had used peyote since 1926 with the Mescalero, denied that Navahos in the Little Water-Crown Point area had used peyote until it was introduced from the west. The other exception was a relative of his who had also gone to Mescalero. If peyote did reach District 15 from Taos, it left no traces yet discovered.

By 1953 the Navaho had divided their peyote cult into three organizations, with charters in New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah. The charter for New Mexico showed a joint Taos-Navaho slate of officers, and Taos was organizationally important to the Navaho. Navahos visit Taos, and Taos peyotists visit the Navaho — not in District 15, but farther west. (By 1956, the Navahos were organizing a unified church. Slotkin, personal communication.)

2. Mescalero. As has been said, *Thomas Shute of Little Water, who was part Mescalero, says that he traveled annually to the Mescalero Reservation from 1926 to 1944, with one of his relatives. There they used peyote every year. He felt that the ritual was not his to use freely on his own, and he denies that he brought peyote or the ritual back to the Navaho country. His wife did not use peyote until 1948, after the cult had reached Little Water through Navaho channels. *Thomas then began to use peyote in Navaho meetings. He is certain that no one else except his relative was using peyote in the area during the many years of his annual trips. Here we have definite contact with, and use of, peyote through the Mescalero, but no resultant cult development.

3. Jicarilla. The Jicarilla cult itself deserves further investigation. Its chronology and strength are not known to us. On his field trip of 1897–1898, as reported by Powell, Mooney found that the Jicarilla "knew of peyote only through temporary association with the Mescalero a few years ago, when the two tribes were for a time on one reservation", a comment which suggests to us that the Jicarilla knew of, rather than used, peyote at the time of Mooney's visit (Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1900, p. xv). An effort to move the Jicarilla to the Mescalero Agency had been made in 1878, but only thirty-two individuals actually moved. In 1883, the Jicarilla were moved en masse

[7] Torreon is the farthest-east community of the general body of Navaho Indians. There are two relatively isolated eastern enclaves, Puertocito and Canyoncito. We have no information on Puertocito. In 1951 *Ted Orrin, a Canyoncito Navaho, told Aberle that he had learned the use of peyote in Phoenix while working at the carrot fields the preceding winter. So far as he knew, he was the first Canyoncito peyote user, and he had not yet returned to Canyoncito at the time of the interview. He claimed peyote was unknown at Puertocito. He said he learned of the cult from *Dan Pritchard of Shiprock, who denied this.

to the Mescalero Agency, returning three years later (Blount, 1919, pp. 32–33). On the basis of this information we can date early Jicarilla knowledge of peyote, but we cannot say with any certainty that they used peyote at the time of Mooney's visit, nor can we be sure whether the Mescalero had the modern cult or the older "peyote complex" in 1883–86, during the Jicarilla visit (see Slotkin, 1956, pp. 28–34, on the difficulties of dating the beginnings of the modern peyote cult, and of distinguishing it from the older "complex" in many early reports). At any event, by 1938 at latest Ralph Kochampanaskin had attended a cult meeting at Dulce, among the Jicarilla (Stewart, 1944, p. 69), but this fact scarcely gives us a basis for inferring the earliest date of the cult among the Jicarilla. James M. Stewart stated in 1956 that on field trips to the Navaho country in 1931–32 he heard from reliable sources of use of peyote "on the fringe of the Reservation", particularly in the Huerfano country (Carson on Map 2), and in two other areas discussed elsewhere (J. M. Stewart, personal communication), although he is inclined to attribute this to visits to the Ignacio Utes. Erwin Morgan, a Navaho (non-peyotist), states that peyote reached District 13 through the Jicarilla. He says that the so-called "witch woman" of Carson used peyote. His information comes from his father, J. C. Morgan, long-time Navaho missionary and opponent of peyote, now deceased. Mrs. J. C. Morgan supports this view. In 1942 J. C. Morgan wrote an item for the *Farmington Times Hustler* which is of interest in this connection. It says, in part, "There is a woman not many miles from Farmington who became famous over night because she learned ventriloquism. Indians say she throws her voice; she has been fooling the people and at the same time is dangerous. She charges some big fee for her medicine (peyote). All in all such a practice or belief is considered as Enizin or Anit'in."[8]

*Nellie Manning, a relative of the woman in question, says that the "witch woman" learned some techniques of divination from the Jicarilla in 1941. *Nellie denies that the woman uses peyote, as does *Dan Pritchard, an experienced Shiprock peyotist who knows her. Likewise Kenneth Washburn, trader at Carson, denies that this woman uses peyote, and further denies that there are cult members in the Carson area. An Indian Service employee at Crown Point attributes the introduction of peyote to that community to the "witch woman", but local Navahos see the cult as coming from the west (the Tohatchi area) or the south (Prewitt) or both.

The issue of Jicarilla influence remains less clear than is desirable. Field work has not been done in the areas closest to the Jicarilla Reservation, and the level of cult intensity reported for such areas is low. If such contacts have occurred,

[8] Clipping reproduced in Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 142. From the Farmington Times Hustler, September 18, 1942, p. 1, Kluckhohn's equivalents for Enizin and Anit'in are Sorcery and Witchery. Neither ventriloquism nor the use of peyote are included in traditional understandings of these terms (1944, pp. 15–19). Kluckhohn notes that Morgan is highly acculturated (1944, p. 142, fn.).

they have been mentioned by no peyotists elsewhere. In the case of the "witch woman", it is quite possible that non-peyotists are in error: that because she used an unfamiliar technique of divination she was also credited with peyote cult membership. In sum, early Jicarilla influence remains a possibility, but if it occurred its results seem to be negligible.

4. Ignacio Utes. An Ignacio Ute mentions one Navaho visitor to a peyote meeting prior to 1918. In 1950 a group of 'teen-age Navaho boys visited Ignacio to find out something about peyotism, as one of them told Aberle. No other contacts are mentioned. They may have occurred sporadically, but they are overwhelmed in importance by the enormous number of contacts with Towaoc Utes, reported by Utes and Navaho alike. Navaho high-school students attending the boarding school at Ignacio might have participated in peyote meetings with some Ute high-school students. Both the small number of such Navaho students and the infrequency of the peyote meetings at Ignacio make this potential source unimportant.

5. "Paiutes". The "Paiute" question can be examined first by asking who these "Paiutes" might be and what possibility there is of their transmitting peyotism to the Navaho, and second by asking whether or not the cult has flourished where these contacts are said to be important.

Our informants are vague about these "Paiutes". In some cases they might be referring to Southern Paiutes resident on the Navajo Reservation. If so, this group can be ruled out as an important source of Navaho peyotism. Stewart found no peyotists among the Southern Paiute in Utah and Arizona in December, 1937. He spent a week with the Southern Paiute and Navaho of the "Bodaway country", north of Tuba City and east of Gap (not identical with Bodaway shown on Map 2), and inquired about the peyote cult. Neither the Southern Paiute nor the Navaho of that area knew anything about the cult (Stewart, 1942, p. 317. See also p. 339 for location and identification of informants). So this group could scarcely have been important in the early spread of the cult.

Informants are more likely to have in mind the Allen Canyon Utes (often called Paiutes), who have been peyotists, according to Herbert Stacher, since the 1920's. This group has been closely associated with the Towaoc Utes in peyote rituals, and its members might have been peyote missionaries to the Navaho.

Turning now to the Navaho side, we find either that the cult itself is weak or absent where "Paiute" influence is suggested or that other sources are known to have been of major importance.

"Paiute" influence is said to have been important for Black Mountain, which lies partly in District 4 and partly in District 8. (Its escarpment is shown on Map 2. We refer to an area, not to the Black Mountain trading post.) Detailed field work there in 1950, which involved interviews with some of the earliest peyotists in the area, indicated clearly that all contacts led to other Navahos, or to Okla-

homa peyotists. The cult did not get under way until 1940, long after it had developed elsewhere on the Reservation. "Paiutes" are mentioned as sources for Kayenta, in District 8. Yet there are very few peyotists in the entire district; none could be found at Kayenta proper in 1952; and where the cult is found, in District 8, contacts can be traced to District 9, to Aneth, or to District 4. White informants mention "Paiute" influence at Navaho Mountain, and Navaho informants say that "Paiutes" have tried to introduce peyote at Navaho Mountain and Inscription House, but recently and without apparent success. Here almost certainly the reference is to Allen Canyon Utes. Finally, James M. Stewart, former Superintendent of the Navajo Agency (1942–49), stated in 1956 that during trips in 1931–32 he was reliably informed of use of peyote among Navahos living in the Allen Canyon country. This he attributes to contacts with the Ignacio Utes. It would be more reasonable, however, to consider this a result of contact with the Allen Canyon Utes. In this case it becomes merely a phase of the history of peyote north of the San Juan, where Navahos were unquestionably early affected.

With the exception of the Allen Canyon area itself, it is evident that neither the Southern Paiute nor the Allen Canyon Ute were significant in the early development of the cult, and that the cult is weak or absent in areas south of the San Juan where Allen Canyon Utes have recently made attempts to introduce the cult. In District 4 we can trace the source of the cult to Navahos from other areas and to Oklahoma peyotists.

6. *Various neighboring tribes.* Peyote may be used as an herbal medicine or for divination in groups where there is no cult; denial of peyote is therefore unwise. No cult, however, is known today for Laguna, Acoma, Western Apache, Zuni, Hopi, Papago, or the Lower Colorado tribes. No contacts deriving from any of these sources are reported by any of our informants.

7. *Suggested Oklahoma contacts.* There are no reports from Navaho informants which trace peyote to World War I and the Oklahoma Indians at Fort Wingate. As for contacts with Oklahoma Indians during CCC days, these undoubtedly occurred, but after a number of Navaho had begun to use peyote as a result of Towaoc Ute contacts, and after relationships with Oklahoma peyotists had been established through the Ute. We find no support, therefore, for the statements of white informants that either of these types of contacts initiated the present Navaho cult. Chester E. Faris, who was Superintendent of the Navajo Reservation from July 1, 1935, to April 15, 1936, says that he heard a little about peyote during this period. It did not create much stir, he says, but was discussed at chapter meetings. Asked if he remembered where, he mentioned specifically Leupp and Salina Springs. Rejecting Ute sources, he says he believes it came in through Oklahoma Indians' introducing it to the Navaho at Winslow. No Navaho reports corroborate this, but Aberle has not worked in the Leupp area. Alvin Warren, an

Indian schooled at Haskell, now in the employ of the Indian Service, says that it was common for children to experiment with peyote at Haskell in the 'twenties. Since Navahos were there at the time, they may well have become acquainted with it then. James M. Stewart also says that during his 1931–32 trips on the Reservation he received reliable reports of peyote in the Leupp country, which he considers probably resulted from visits to the Ignacio Utes (J. M. Stewart, personal communication). Today Leupp has no cult members, or almost none, although a meeting is also reported for 1940. (Navajo TC, 1940 — see below). Field work has not been carried out at Leupp. No peyotist has ever mentioned these early contacts in the Leupp area.

8. Assorted early contacts. There were Navahos who knew of peyote long before it was used by the Navaho in their home territories. *Tom Lapham of Lukachukai first heard of peyote from printed sources — apparently the Newberne-Burke report — long before it was known to most Navaho. In 1929 *Will Phelps of Aneth used peyote for the first and only time on a visit to Fort Duchesne. There were probably some Aneth peyote users at the time, but he did not know of them. In 1936 or 1937, *Phil Kittredge of Shiprock attended a peyote meeting in Oklahoma as a schoolboy. He knew of no peyote among the Navaho at that time. Finally, as we have said, *Thomas Shute of Little Water used peyote annually among the Mescalero from 1926 to 1944.

These data support the interpretation that the only important source of the Navaho peyote cult is through Towaoc Utes and Oklahoma Indians.

Two other rumors must be mentioned. *George Rowland, a singer of Greasewood (near Ganado) who became a peyotist in the 'forties, says that he heard peyote was being used by the Navaho "before World War I", but not in the Greasewood area. *Tom Burgess, of District 4, claims that in 1923–25 there was trouble over peyote in a series of communities whose Navaho names he supplied. Those that can be identified appear to be in the eastern part of the Navaho country. Efforts to corroborate this material have been unavailing. In both these instances, it is important to note that the Navaho word for peyote seems to be of recent currency, and that when an informant only recently in contact with peyote claims to remember discussions of it in the past, there is a distinct possibility that his recollections have to do with some other matter entirely.

C. Factors Facilitating Transmission from Towaoc to the Navaho

1. Geographic factor. Ute Mountain, the dominant feature and source of moisture for the Towaoc Ute, is in the extreme southwestern corner of Colorado. The reservation headquarters at Towaoc lie near the intersection of two roads: the paved highway from Shiprock to Cortez, and the unpaved road from the highway to the Aneth trading post and school, which are on the banks of the San Juan. Travel between Aneth and Shiprock almost always passes through the Ute Reser-

vation. Two Navaho communities are in close contact with the Towaoc Ute: Aneth (including Montezuma Creek) and Mancos Creek (termed a community, with some hesitation), which includes a small group of Navaho living north of Shiprock, between the San Juan and Mancos Creek.

2. *Herding economy.* Unlike the Ignacio Ute, the Towaoc Ute have vigorously and successfully resisted all attempts to make them into farmers. They remain sheep and cattle ranchers. During the crucial years of the transmission of peyote, they had a shrinking population (575 in 1900, 437 in 1925; since then it has risen to 480 in 1940 and 538 in 1951). There has been room for some Navahos to find employment as herders, stockmen, etc., among these Utes. And the Navaho were prepared for such jobs by their own culture since most Navaho communities depend on herding, or a mixture of herding and farming. Such employment has occurred. Walter Lopez says that Navaho herders have worked for him for over forty years. In September, 1953, he had a Navaho herder tending his flocks south of Ute Mountain. *Bill Rodman, of Mancos Creek, an early peyotist, born about 1898, herded sheep for the Utes as a boy, by his own account, and first took peyote at that time. He also says he attended school for four years among the Utes. (There were 122 Navaho in the Ute school in 1951 [Investigation of Indian Affairs, p. 634].) *Charlie Rodman, *Bill's brother, also of Mancos, speaks of a boyhood among the Utes. Herbert Stacher says that *Harvey Greenough, of Aneth, now a peyotist, herded sheep for Joe Hammond when he was a boy and continued for many years. *Tom Sumner, of Red Rock, worked for Harry Mills as a sheepherder about 1928 and presumably before. He was a grown man at the time. *Tom Freeman says his mother-in-law first used peyote while working for a Ute. Elbert Floyd, Superintendent of the Consolidated Ute Agency in 1953, who was working on the Ute Reservation in 1919, says that in 1935 *Albert Carey of Shiprock worked for Jack House, the Towaoc Ute Chief, as a stockman. *Albert says that he himself used peyote in 1930 for the first time, becoming a cult member in 1941.

3. *Employment.* In addition to work for individual Utes as herdsmen, there have been opportunities for government employment for Navahos on the Ute Mountain Reservation. This, too, is a function of the small and formerly declining local Ute population. In addition, both Navaho and Ute workmen were hired by neighboring white ranchers and farmers. Walter Hall has had such workmen since at least the early 'twenties. After the Ute Agency site at Navajo Springs was abandoned, during the construction of the Towaoc agency building in 1919, Elbert Floyd worked as foreman with a crew of 43 Navahos and 2 Utes. And the pattern was similar for the first years of the Indian CCC. Payrolls show two or three times as many Navahos as Utes on the Ute Reservation projects. In September, 1953, Superintendent Floyd observed that Utes have outnumbered Navahos only recently on Ute Reservation projects.

4. *Friendship, marriage, and bilingualism.* Herbert Stacher, during his boyhood

at Towaoc (before 1917), used to travel from his camp five to fifteen miles to a Navaho boy's hogan. There was a close friendship, and Herbert acquired a fair knowledge of Navaho at this time. A relative of *Tom Freeman's married a Ute, and there have been other such marriages. *Tom Sumner of Red Rock and *Bill Rodman say that when they were with the Utes, they could speak some Ute, and some of the Utes could speak some Navaho.

So far we see that (1) there are Navaho communities close to the Towaoc Ute, specifically Aneth and Mancos Creek; (2) Navahos from these communities, from Shiprock and from as far as Red Rock are known to have worked for Utes for many years; (3) many Navahos worked on Government jobs with Utes on the Ute Reservation from as early as 1919 to the present; (4) relationships of friendship arose, and intermarriage occurred; (5) bilingual Utes and Navahos are found.

5. Ute shamanism, Ute peyotism, and the Navaho. Navahos from as far as Lukachukai, Tohatchi, and Divide Store have come to the Ute Reservation for cures. The reason for this lies in Navaho attitudes toward witchcraft. Navaho anxiety about witchcraft is pervasive. And the Navaho have relatively little faith in the efficacy of Navaho chants to cure illness created by witchcraft. The chants are used mainly to cure breaches of ritual taboo; when a disease is long-lasting, or for various other reasons, a Navaho may decide he is bewitched. When this decision has been reached, he may look far afield for a curer: to the Hopi, Laguna, the Utes, or even the Rio Grande Pueblos. In all of these areas the familiar sucking cure is performed, and one type of Navaho witchcraft is 'adagąsh, dart-throwing, the projecting of foreign objects by magic into the suffer's body. Hence the efficacy of the sucking cure.

Before dealing further with Navaho behavior in this connection, let us ask, What is the relationship between shamanism and peyotism among the Ute? Or, more precisely, If a Navaho comes to the Utes for a cure, is this likely to involve him in peyotism?

The situation differs as between Ignacio and Towaoc. At Ignacio, Isaac Cloud said that the old shamans opposed peyotism when the cult started at Ignacio. This is confirmed by Page Wright, the only living Ignacio shaman. Although he knew a number of peyotists, he denied having used peyote. He opposed it, "because long ago the Comanche used peyote while fighting the Utes — Comanche medicine is bad medicine." Hence a Navaho who came to Ignacio for a cure at the hands of a shaman would not be encouraged to use peyote. Furthermore, there are signs that Navaho visits to Ignacio for cures came rather late. Page Wright says he has treated "lots of Navahos," but they "did not come for cures in the old days — started coming about 10 years ago." His last patient was treated in 1948; another request since that date was refused.

There was, apparently, one early case of a Navaho attending a peyote ritual at

Ignacio: a Shiprock man, who died of the flu during World War I, according to Isaac Cloud. But other early accounts from Navahos or Utes are lacking. There may have been some, but it is exceedingly unlikely that there were anything like as many as at Towaoc. So, at Ignacio the shamans did not see many Navahos until about 1942; they would not have been likely to refer them to peyote, since the shamans themselves opposed it; and Navaho visitors to Ignacio for the express purpose of using peyote appear to have been very rare indeed, although in 1950 a group of 'teen-age boys went to Ignacio to find out about peyote. One was from just west of Shiprock.

The situation is entirely different at Towaoc. Although the old shamans were not the first peyote priests, there is no evidence that they ever strongly opposed peyote. The living Ute shamans at Towaoc are peyotists. Older shamans, now dead (Joe Bishop, Jim Williams, Washington Dutchie), are reported to have attended peyote meetings and to have recommended peyote as an alternative and valuable curing method. In this fashion, Navaho visits to Towaoc shamans might lead to exposure to peyotism.

The cases of Walter Lopez and of Herbert Stacher may be used to illustrate the smooth working relationship between the two types of cures: peyote and sucking. Walter said he was a peyotist before he became a sucking shaman. Apparently identified with peyotism from its first appearance in the Towaoc group, he has been host and companion to the most persistent Cheyenne Indian peyote missionary, John P. Hart, since the 1920's. Walter's son, Jacob Lopez, is a peyote priest. Although Herbert Stacher says that Walter himself is a priest, Walter denies running meetings. Many Navaho visitors to Towaoc apparently received peyote first from Walter, but this does not necessarily mean that he ran a meeting: he may have given peyote to Navahos prior to or outside of a meeting. (Aberle's notes do not distinguish these two types of "giving" peyote.)

Ruby Cloud of Ignacio speaks of taking her father, Nathan Bird, to Walter for a sucking cure "twenty years ago" (i.e., 1933). Her father was on the CCC in Towaoc in 1936, and Ruby says he was working in Towaoc at the time. This would suggest a date of 1936 for this event. Walter himself says that he did not become a shaman until about 1940. In view of Ruby's testimony, this seems a little late. In any event, being a shaman does not reduce Walter's interest in peyote. In 1953 Walter ran a sucking cure for a Navaho during Stewart's visit to him. (The Navaho had traveled by truck from Dinnehotso, via Kayenta, through Mexican Hat, Bluff, Blanding, Monticello, Cortez, Towaoc, and on from Towaoc 25 miles on a dirt road to Walter's tent: a distance of 200 miles or more.) Walter interrupted his singing for the Navaho to tell Stewart that peyote is a fine medicine and peyotism is a good religion. Herbert Stacher recognized the Navaho as a non-peyotist.

Combinations of sucking and peyotism can occur in various ways; the two are

not seen as conflicting, but the rituals are not integrated or interdependent. Shamanistic sucking can be added to the peyote meeting, or slipped in during a lull in the regular peyote ritual. Or a sucking cure may be performed and followed, the same day or a day or two later, by a peyote meeting for the same patient. Walter himself will sometimes use only Ute singing and sucking, if the patient so desires. For a persistent case, Walter may suggest sucking out the illness during a peyote meeting. He says that Washington Dutchie, grandfather of Alfred Dutchie, a peyote priest, would conduct sucking ceremonies in peyote meetings before 1933 — and before Walter began this practice. Stacher notes that neither his father, Jim Williams, nor Joe Bishop, did their sucking in peyote meetings. Nathan Wing, an old Ute of about 80 who used to be a sucking doctor and who has been a peyotist for years, was transported 25 miles to the camp of Walter Lopez for a sucking treatment, even though a peyote meeting was announced for the next night at Nathan's son's home, nearby.

Walter may try a sucking cure in almost any peyote meeting run by a Ute. He has not done so in ceremonies conducted by Oklahoma or Navaho peyotists.

Herbert Stacher, the son of a shaman, says that he is now a sucking doctor as well as a peyote priest. His reputation as a sucking doctor is not yet established. Stewart met no one who knew of his talents in this respect. Indeed, in his role as interpreter Herbert allowed Stewart to ask Page Wright and others if they had heard that Herbert was now a "po'arat" (good doctor) as well as a peyote chief. None had.

Navaho use of the sucking cure antedates the period of extensive Ute use of peyotism. Herbert Stacher says (1953) that his father conducted sucking cures on the Navajo Reservation forty years ago. Walter Lopez says that such cures were held for Navahos on the Ute and Navajo Reservations, "in the old times, long before peyote came to the Ute." He recalls only one present peyotist, *Walter Abbott from Aneth, who came to him as a sucking patient before he became a peyotist: this man had been a long-time acquaintance, for Walter Lopez has been trading at Aneth since before 1937 (according to Ralph Tanner, the Aneth trader, who has been there since that date). *Tom Snowden, a Life-Way singer from Red Rock, born in about 1882, told Aberle in 1952, "Our ancestors said the sucking cure is Ute medicine, and the Navaho used to go to Ignacio and Towaoc for it." He says this used to occur when his sister was a girl, but his sister's age is not known.

In sum, at Towaoc a man may be both a shaman and a peyote priest, or one of these, or neither. The two sets of practices are not integrated, but live together harmoniously. A Navaho coming to Towaoc for either experience might be introduced to the other, and Aberle's records show that this has happened frequently. Navaho recourse to Ute shamans is a part of the general Navaho tendency to seek

outside doctoring help when witchcraft is suspected. And Navahos have used Ute shamans on the Ute and on the Navajo Reservations for longer than the existence of peyotism on either reservation. The question is, How important is this channel for spreading the peyote cult?

There are several approaches to the problem of the possible importance of contact between Navahos and Towaoc shamans in the communication of the peyote cult. One plausible hypothesis is that Ute shamans who were peyotists served as an important diffusion point by influencing Navaho patients to use peyote; these Navahos in turn might communicate peyote use to others, and so on. One way of evaluating the importance of Ute shamans would be to follow a series of contact chains backward in time from Navaho to Navaho, to find whether these sequences led in many cases to Navahos who first used peyote through contact with Ute shamans. Data for such a test are lacking. Another test of the same "chain" approach would be an analysis of a random sample of Navahos who have used peyote to see whether the earliest users had also had Ute sucking cures immediately prior to use. Findings of this sort would be suggestive, but the data for this test, too, are lacking. We do have limited data on the year when peyote was first used by Navaho informants, and as to whether the individuals also used the Ute sucking cure, but we do not know when the sucking cure was used. Even if we found that the earliest peyote users were also individuals who had tried Ute cures, we would not be sure of the significance of the finding. In point of fact, we have only five individuals who have used the Ute cure for whom we know the date of first use of peyote; their dates of first use cannot be differentiated from the dates for other peyote users who have not used Ute cures. These five cases, however, are too few to afford a good test of any relationship between early use of peyote and use of Ute cures.

Another approach to the question is to consider the problem at the individual level, disregarding the possibility that Navahos who have not had Ute sucking cures are influenced by Navahos who have used Ute shamans. Here the hypothesis is that individuals who have used Ute shamans are more likely to try peyote than individuals who have not. (We are handicapped because we do not have data on whether the Ute cure did, or did not, lead directly to the use of peyote, because of the nature of the questionnaire employed. Informants were asked what curing techniques they had used; they were also asked if they had ever used peyote and when they had first used it. They were not asked when they used Ute cures. The questionnaire was not aimed at the problem of the importance of the Ute sucking cure in spreading peyote, but at another problem, discussed immediately below.) A large number of Navahos, however, have used Pueblo sucking cures. Hence if any special reliance is to be placed on the Ute cure, we should find that use of the Ute cure is associated with use of peyote, but that use of other cures is not. The

TABLE 1. *Use of peyote and recourse to sucking cure*

	User				Non-user				Total
	Ute	Both	Other	None	Ute	Both	Other	None	
Aneth	3	3	3	13	1			1	24
Teec Nos Pas	1	2		5		1		12	21
Tohatchi			2	7				20	29
Mexican Springs	1		4	11			1	18	35
Crown Point								14	14
Total	5	5	9	36	1	1	1	65	123

data for testing this approach consist of information regarding use of sucking cures and use of peyote, with respect to random samples from Aneth and Mexican Springs, and selected samples from Teec Nos Pas, Tohatchi, and Crown Point. These data are presented in a master table (Table 1). It divides the group into those who have ever used peyote and those who have never used it ("User" and "Non-user") regardless of current membership in the cult; it subdivides each of these categories into those who have used only Ute sucking cures ("Ute"), those who have used Ute and other sucking cures ("Both"), those who have used only other sucking cures ("Other"), and those who have used no sucking cure ("None"). Further subdivisions are made by community. In one case from Crown Point we know that the individual has not used peyote, but we do not know if he ever used a sucking cure: the interviewer failed to ask the question. This case is omitted from the tabulation.

Before we analyze the table, one other approach to the question should be mentioned. A sucking cure, from whatever source, represents an effort by a Navaho to have an "object" removed from his body which he believes is causing him to be ill. Although there are a few things other than witchcraft, according to Navaho belief, which cause such foreign substances in the human body, the vast preponderance of sucking cures are to remove objects supposedly "shot" into the person by witchcraft. There are many other ways that a person can be bewitched, other than by the shooting of objects (Kluckhohn, 1944, passim). Hence we are reasonably safe in assuming that the vast majority of individuals who have had sucking cures have also had marked fears that they were bewitched. Unfortunately we cannot assume that those who have never had a sucking cure have never been afraid they had been bewitched. Nevertheless, it is not unreasonable to suppose that people who have had any sucking cure are people who have been much afraid of having been bewitched, and that, since peyote is also considered to cure witchcraft ills and prevent witchcraft from taking effect, people who have had sucking cures will be more likely to try peyote than people who have not.

This last hypothesis is supported by the data. Nineteen out of 22 individuals who have sucking cures have also tried peyote; only 36 out of 101 who have not had sucking cures have tried peyote. (Chi square test significant at the .05 level of significance. Use of Chi square can be criticized, since in only two communities do we have a random sample; nevertheless, it seemed advisable to attempt some rough test of the significance of these and other findings. The .05 level was selected for this and subsequent tests.) The relationships look very similar if we ask whether the Ute cure is particularly important. Of all who have had the Ute cure (whether or not they have had any other), 10 out of 12 have tried peyote; of all who have had no Ute cure, 45 out of 111 have tried peyote (significant). And if we ask about the effects of non-Ute cures, 9 out of 10 who have had a sucking cure but no Ute cure have tried peyote, and 46 out of 113 who have had Ute or no sucking cures have tried peyote (significant). All told, the data do support a relationship between the use of sucking cure and the use of peyote (the postulated connecting link being fear of witchcraft), but there is no basis for deciding that Ute and Pueblo cures are differentially associated with the use of peyote.

Another way of looking at the data might be tried. The Aneth group is contributing 10 of the 22 people who have tried any sucking cure, and 7 of the 12 who have tried the Ute cure. Yet in Aneth no special relationships between Ute cure and peyote use, or between sucking cure and peyote use can be seen. Nine out of 10 people who have used a sucking cure have also used peyote, but 13 out of 14 who have used no sucking cure have also used peyote. Six out of 7 who have used the Ute cure have used peyote, and 16 out of 17 of the remainder have used peyote. Our problem here is almost no variance: we have only two cases who have never used peyote. In another community, Crown Point, there is no variance: no one has used either peyote or the sucking cure. Since Aneth is contributing so many of our cases and has so little variance, and since Crown Point shows so little variance, we might test our association with the remaining communities. Here we find that 10 out of 12 who have used a sucking cure have also tried peyote, whereas 23 out of 73 who have used no sucking cure have used peyote (significant). For the Ute cure, 4 out of 5 who have tried the Ute cure have also tried peyote, but only 29 out of 80 who have not tried the Ute cure have tried peyote (significant). For non-Ute cure only, 6 out of 7 who have had Pueblo cures have tried peyote, but only 27 out of 78 of the remainder have used peyote (significant). Here again our data fit with a hypothesis which associates use of sucking cure and use of peyote, presumably because of fear of witchcraft, but do not permit us to place special emphasis on the importance of Ute contacts.

There are a variety of other sub-tables that can be compiled, but none permit us to accept — or to reject definitely — the possibility that contacts with Ute shamans have been especially effective in generating Navaho use of peyote.

It seems clear that use of Ute shamans does decrease with distance from the

Ute Reservation: in the two northern communities (Aneth and Teec Nos Pas), 9 out of 45 individuals have used Ute shamans, whereas in the three southern communities (Tohatchi, Mexican Springs, and Crown Point) only 1 out of 78 has used the Ute cure (significant).

We have here postulated a link between witchcraft fears and use of sucking cures, and between witchcraft fears and use of peyote. It should be said that there is a broader formulation, which we cannot test on the basis of available data, in which this link is not required. We might hypothesize that resort to *any* curing technique is the result of anxiety about illness (organic, psychosomatic, or psychoneurotic), and that there will be a tendency for people who have used other curing techniques also to use peyote. Since so many Navahos have, at one time or another, used the hospital, or Navaho ceremonial practitioners, we would want some measure of the frequency with which individuals have utilized various curing techniques. Data on this score are not available; so we cannot test the broader formula.

In sum, we are not inclined to believe that use of Ute shamans by Navahos from far away is the principal mechanism by which peyotism first found a footing among the northern Navaho. The close and continual contacts of the Mancos Creek and Aneth Navaho with the Utes seem to be the main channel for initial development of the cult among the Navaho. Once the cult became established, however, it seems likely that use of the Utes as curers may have increased by virtue of peyotists' recommendations. And it is certain that recently a number of Navaho first used peyote as a result either of seeking peyotist cures or shamanistic cures at the hands of the Utes.

6. Ute use of Navaho chants. Another type of contact between Utes and Navahos deserves mention. Ute Indians sometimes travel to the Navajo Reservation and have chants performed. Thus we have told how in the 'twenties James Mills came to a Navaho singer for a "Blessing Way Night Chant" to insure success in a trip to Oklahoma for peyote. Herbert Stacher had a Navaho chant in 1937. It was performed near the Towaoc Store by *Bob Grimes, then of Aneth, now living near Gallup. About ten Navahos and "lots of Utes" participated. The chant may have been Navaho Wind Way (transcription of Navaho term is unclear). Shortly thereafter, Red Rock Hight, a Ute peyotist, had a Navaho sing for his wife. Charley Knight, a peyote priest, had a chant for his wife in the spring of 1938, performed by *Bob Catton of Aneth, who, according to Stacher, was already a peyotist at that time. Walter Lopez paid *Ted Vance for a chant during World War II and had a Navaho singer to try to save his wife just before her death in 1947. Jack House, the Towaoc Ute Chief, a long-time peyotist, had a Navaho chant performed for himself in a Navaho home just north of Shiprock in about 1944. Since World War II Billy Gunn and Edward Dutchie (a peyote priest) had Navaho chants preformed

for themselves. In 1953, according to Mrs. Ruby Cloud, Tony Buck of Ignacio took his wife to the Navajo Reservation for a chant. They had also been cared for during the last couple of years in the home of Aldon Naranjo, the Ignacio Ute peyote priest. Probably peyote ceremonies were performed.

Thus Herbert Stacher, a peyote priest and leader of the Native American Church and a sucking shaman, has used a Navaho singer; Walter Lopez, the most active of the present Ute shamans and a peyotist, has also used a Navaho singer; a Navaho singer who is a peyotist has performed a Navaho chant for the wife of a Ute peyote priest.

The catholicity of these attitudes is mirrored by those of the Navaho. A conservative Navaho — even a Navaho singer — uses the chants but seldom denies a willingness to use the hospital; he may use "foreign" (Indian) doctors if the occasion arises. If not a peyotist, he will ordinarily deny a willingness to use peyote; rejection of peyote is characteristic of most singers, although some singers are peyotists or even peyote priests. Most peyotists are willing to use the Navaho chants, the hospital, or "foreign" doctors. A few reject the chants completely. A few Navaho strongly committed to Christianity and a few highly secular, highly acculturated Navaho reject anything but the hospital for curing.

In sum, the willingness of the Utes to utilize Navaho chants may have afforded one more channel of contact for the spread of peyotism. It is not likely that this is a channel of great significance. The catholicity of peyotism with respect to Christianity and to Native religion in most tribes at most times has certainly been an attitude that facilitated the spread of peyotism, since using peyote often did not imply (to the user) the necessity to give up any other religio-magical complex.

7. Navaho attendance at Ute public ceremonies. At least as long ago as 1923, Navahos visited the Towaoc Ute Sun Dance (Kluckhohn, personal communication).

D. Early Phases, Mainly North of the San Juan

As we have said, there was early use of peyote on the part of Navahos living in close and continuous contact with the Utes, at Aneth (including Aneth proper, Montezuma Creek, Hatches Store, and Bluff), and at Mancos Creek. Aneth Navahos often traveled through Towaoc en route to Cortez or to the rest of the Navajo Reservation. Mancos Creek Navahos lived immediately south of the Ute Mountain Reservation and sometimes on this reservation. Some Navahos immediately south of Aneth, at Red Mesa, and south of Mancos Creek at Shiprock were early involved. The Aneth group received peyote early and has a sizeable majority of peyotists today, but it did not play so important a role in the spread of the cult south of the San Juan as did the Mancos Creek group, which will be taken up first.

1. Mancos Creek. In the early history of Navaho peyotism nothing is so crucial

or so unclear as the behavior of five men from Mancos Creek. They were among the earliest Navaho peyotists; they were the first Navaho peyote priests; it was their forays — sometimes with Utes or with Oklahoma visitors — that first spread the peyote cult south of the San Juan. Yet their stories are sometimes internally contradictory, and sometimes inconsistent with each other. There are a number of possible reasons for this. Four of the five men have been interviewed, one of them several times, one twice, but relationships have not been as close, by a good deal, as with a number of other informants. Since peyotism has been declared illegal on the Navajo Reservation, and since these men regard themselves as responsible for its introduction, they are somewhat apprehensive in discussing their histories. They were not in close contact with each other during a good part of the important period for our purposes; hence their stories regarding each other are subject to error. There are episodes in the lives of several which they are not too eager to discuss, and this fact also interferes with rapport. Finally, the very question, "When did you first use peyote?" is open to a variety of interpretations — first eat peyote, first attend a ceremony, first feel the power of peyote, first begin regular attendance, first get a membership card — all are appropriate answers which the interviewer did not sufficiently discriminate. Given the importance of the question of their chronology and the ambiguities of the data, we will present the various data available, both from them and from others who knew them, and attempt to evaluate them.

Three of these men are brothers: *Al Rodman, who says he was born in 1884, *Bill Rodman, who gives 1898 and 1902 as his birthdate, and *Charlie Rodman, who estimates his as 1908 or 1911 at various times. *Dave Lyons and *Ed Lyons are father and son; *Dave gives his birthdate as 1896, but Ed was not interviewed. A sixth individual is sometimes mentioned, but sometimes denied by the other five.

Walter Lopez believes that *Al, *Bill, and *Charlie Rodman attended peyote meetings before 1918. This is plausible, since all three spent much of their younger life with the Utes. It implies, however, that *Charlie attended meetings at 6 or 8 years of age, and this seems unlikely, though possible.

*Bill Rodman's story may be taken up first, since he and most other informants believe that he used peyote before his brothers. *Bill went to school at Towaoc for four years, he says. He claims to have first used peyote while herding sheep for the Utes, as a little boy, in 1913 (age 11–15). On the basis of our best estimates for Ute chronology, this is a bit early. He was introduced to it by James Mills, who was certainly one of the first Towaoc peyotists. In another account, *Bill claims that James Lamb first took him to a peyote meeting, and that John P. Hart there gave him peyote. This suggests 1917 as the earliest possible date for the event. Other informants provide slightly different information. Jack House dates *Bill's first attendance shortly after 1918, close to Walter Lopez' estimate. *Al Rodman,

*Bill's brother, puts the event at 1918 or '19. *Dan Pritchard brackets a wide range of dates, and figures *Bill's first use of peyote as between 1913 and 1927 — a hesitancy with which we can sympathize. *Tom Freeman, not himself a peyotist, who used to see all of the five men en route between Mesa Verde and Shiprock, thinks that *Bill Rodman was using peyote by 1928 or 1930.

*Bill Rodman believes that he first learned to run a peyote meeting around 1930 from James Mills. *Al Rodman estimates *Bill's first running of peyote meetings at 1919 and about 1921, giving both dates in the course of one interview. *Charlie Rodman figures this event for prior to 1930. *Robert Towle says *Bill was using peyote by 1934. By 1937, it is quite certain he was running meetings at Lukachukai (see Chronological anchor points); by 1938 he was contributing to Herbert Stacher's funds for the Native American Church, and in January, 1938, court records show that he was arrested for possessing "dope" — peyote — although there was no statute on the Navajo Reservation forbidding this at the time.

Our best estimate for *Bill's first use of peyote is 1914–1919, with a preference for the latter half of this span. The year 1930 would seem a reasonable, but not a secure date for his learning to run a meeting.

*Charlies Rodman mentions at various times 1920–21, 1926, 1928, or sometime after 1931 for his first use of peyote. On one occasion he claims that he was taking peyote on to the Reservation south of the San Juan in 1931; on another, that he learned to run a meeting first from Gamura (Kamura) Soft Beecher in 1934–35. (Stacher thinks Beecher was a peyote priest by 1933.) He also speaks of running meetings south of the San Juan after 1936.

*Bill Rodman thinks *Charlie first used peyote in 1916; *Leonard McKenzie of Sawmill, who did not know Billy at that time, says 1919; Herbert Stacher says 1922, while *Al Rodman says *Charlie was running meetings in 1922 (when he would have been 11–14 years old, which is out of the question), and then immediately follows this with the statement that *Charlie started peyote in 1931 and began running meetings in 1933. *Tom Sumner of Red Rock, who used peyote quite early through Ute contacts, says that he saw *Charlie running a meeting around 1933. *Robert Towle of Aneth says *Charlie was using peyote by 1934.

As we go on into the 'thirties, the picture becomes more definite. *Tom Sumner says that *Charlie ran a meeting at Cove for a woman whose daughter was born at that time; according to his estimate of the daughter's age, this was in 1936. *Irwin Pearson of Cove attended the same meeting, and using his own age to estimate, he also dates the meeting 1936. In January of 1938, *Charlie, like *Bill, was convicted of possessing "dope"; in 1938 he was contributing to the Native American Church through Herbert Stacher.

For *Charlie, the probability is that first use of peyote falls between 1920 and 1931, and first running of a meeting around 1933.

*Al Rodman says that his use of peyote lagged considerably behind his brothers,

and that he started in 1931. Within two years he was running peyote meetings. Walter Lopez, of course, believes that *Al Rodman started to use peyote much earlier, but mentions that *Al Rodman and John P. Hart were running meetings in the Towaoc area around 1933–35.

Warren Pyle, at the time a trader at Towaoc, says that between 1932 and 1935 all three of the brothers were using peyote. He used to discuss it with them.

*Dave Lyons provides us with additional interesting chronological problems. He first used peyote with Gamura Soft Beecher — "the same Ute who taught *Bill Rodman" to run a meeting (*Bill says it was James Mills). This was in 1937, he says, but he also dates it by various events: when the Aneth school was in construction (1934–35), after the consolidated Navajo Agency was set up (after 1935), when the goat reduction was on (1934), when Six or McClellan was Superintendent of the Northern Navajo Agency (Six, 1929–31; McClellan was not a superintendent, and his dates are not known); when J. C. Morgan was Tribal Chairman (date not known — after 1936). A year after he first used peyote he learned to run a meeting from Gamura Soft Beecher, he says. *Mal Hancock, then of Shiprock, who eventually learned to run a meeting from *Dave Lyons, estimates *Dave's first use at 1933; *Edgar Meridith of Teec Nos Pas claims that *Dave urged him to use peyote in 1933, at which point *Dave was in Teec Nos Pas carrying the peyote message.

Herbert Stacher also agrees on 1933. *Mal Hancock says that he received his first peyote from *Dave Lyons in 1936. *Don Oglseby, then of Aneth, says that the first Aneth meetings run by Navaho priests began in 1936, and *Dave Lyons was the first priest. By 1938 *Dave Lyons was contributing to Herbert Stacher's Native American Church fund.

These accounts for *Dave Lyons are variable; if we date his entry by the events he uses as reference points rather than the time estimate he makes, we would think that between 1934 and 1935 he had used peyote and learned to run a meeting.

*Ed Lyons, *Dave's son, was not interviewed. As he once had a Ute wife, Ute contacts are clearly established. Herbert Stacher thinks *Ed started to use peyote by 1935.

*Grace Carey of Shiprock says that all five of these men were using peyote among the Ute in 1930. Her estimate deserves particular attention.[9]

Stewart's work on the CCC rolls shows that four of the five Mancos Creek men worked on the Ute CCC projects. A complete check on all entries for these men was not attempted. *Bill Rodman appears in lists from 1935 to 1941, *Charlie

[9] * Grace reports that she fell ill after the birth of a child, born October 16, 1929, and in spring after this birth went to a meeting on the Ute Reservation, continuing use of peyote from that date. A birth certificate has not been located; Navaho census rolls show this child age 9 months in October, 1930, which would make its birth date about February, 1930, some four months later than *Grace's recollection. Her English is excellent and she is very positive; the chances are good that her recollection of October 16 is correct and that the error is in the census record. Her visit can be pretty clearly allocated to spring of 1930.

Rodman from 1933 to 1938, *Dave Lyons from 1933 to 1935, and *Ed Lyons in 1935. Although no entries are found for *Al Rodman, he is widely known by another name, a fact which was not available to Stewart at the time the lists were checked, and it is possible that he appears on the CCC rolls under this name. We will discuss the significance of the CCC projects on the Ute Reservation for the spread of the Navaho cult below. Suffice it to say that work on these projects would have kept these men in contact with Ute peyotists and would have brought them into contact with Navahos from various communities. And the contacts would have taken place when these Navahos were being exposed to Ute peyotism.

As we will show, peyote began to make a stir north of the San Juan and in immediately adjoining areas by 1935. It seems probable that the Mancos Creek men played a part in this, and likely that at least some of them were able to run meetings by then. Our tentative reconstruction for the chronology of the Mancos Creek group may now be set forth. At least one man, *Bill Rodman, may have begun to use peyote virtually at the time of its introduction to the Towaoc group. *Charlie Rodman may have begun in the 'twenties. By the very early 'thirties *Bill, *Charlie, and *Al Rodman were using peyote, and *Dave and *Ed Lyons by 1935–36. By 1935 several were capable of running meetings.

We have spent so much time on the five missionaries because of their subsequent importance. We do not, however, wish to leave the implication that they, and they alone at Mancos Creek, used peyote. There is other testimony to the contrary. *Charlie Rodman says that his mother used peyote before he did, and before *Bill did, but *Bill says his mother followed him into the cult. Warren Pyle reports mixed Navaho-Ute peyote meetings in Towaoc in 1922, and a Mancos Creek Navaho, *Wilbur Lennox, who is opposed to peyote, received a few buttons in 1919–21 from a Ute. *Tom Freeman believes that his mother-in-law, who was then working for Allen Talk, a Ute, first took peyote in 1926 or '27. Allen married a Navaho girl some time prior to 1930, when they had a child (official records). *Tom says the girl also used peyote. We can assume use of peyote by Mancos Creek Navahos arising out of their contact with the Utes and going back nearly as far as the Towaoc cult's beginning. The crucial event for the remainder of the Reservation, however, was the training of Navaho peyote priests, probably mainly in the early 'thirties.

2. Aneth. Although Aneth Navahos were probably involved in the peyote cult earlier than those south of the San Juan, they do not seem to have played a major role in the early dissemination of the cult. Like Mancos Creek, Aneth is in close contact with the Utes. But Mancos Creek is on a main highway leading to Shiprock and from there south through the Reservation, and Aneth is considerably more isolated. A dirt road passes from Aneth to Towaoc to the highway and has been important in Aneth-Towaoc contacts. (By various difficult treks, one can

get from such outliers of Aneth as Montezuma Creek and Bluff to the highway without going through Towaoc, and sometimes this must be done.) By road Aneth is far from any other Navaho community, although Red Mesa and other parts of District 9 can be reached — and are — by fording the San Juan on horseback. After the cult began to spread south of the San Juan, several priests from Aneth traveled widely on the Reservation.

Herbert Stacher says that by the early 1920's, Navahos were attending meetings at Montezuma Creek with the Utes. One of these, which he attended, occurred in summer vacation in 1921, the year before he left school. *Bob Catton, a Navaho of the area, was there; Herbert Stacher says this man learned to run a peyote meeting in about 1924. This was "when we got moon". (Note that moon way was brought by John P. Hart, and that Herbert Stacher considered that this occurred in 1922 or so; whereas other, older men estimate an earlier arrival for Hart: 1916 or 1917. Nevertheless, Herbert provides a 1924 date here for *Bob Catton.) Warren Pyle remembers mixed Navaho-Ute meetings at Towaoc as far back as 1922, but does not say where the Navahos came from. Stacher also claims that *Harvey Greenough of Aneth and Montezuma Creek, now in his forties (1953), attended peyote meetings at Towaoc as a child when he herded sheep for Joe Hammond, a Towaoc Ute.

Stacher's recollections may prove to be correct in principle; further checking, however, is necessary. If Herbert Stacher is correct in thinking that *Bob Catton began to run peyote meetings in 1924, *Catton's activities would be of the greatest significance. In a random sample of Aneth peyotists, none claims contact with peyote prior to 1934, and the 1934 date may be a few years early. All known contacts for Aneth involve Utes, Oklahoma Indians, the men from Mancos Creek, or a variety of local peyote priests. *Bob Catton is never mentioned by Aneth informants as a priest, nor as a first contact. If, indeed, *Catton practiced for more than ten years without attracting a noticeable number of converts, this fact would be of importance in the interpretation of the spread of peyotism. It might enable us to say that in spite of the existence of a local priest, Navahos from Aneth and associated areas did not accept peyotism for some time. At present, however, the issue is in some doubt. In the Aneth-Hatches-Montezuma Creek-Bluff City area there are several individuals with names similar to *Catton's. One of these was identified as a peyotist during Moore's visit to Aneth in 1953. Nevertheless, *Dick Monroe, an Aneth peyotist widely acquainted in the area, informs us that he cannot discover that any of the people with names similar to, or identical with *Catton's was a peyotist or a peyote priest at an early date. Without a careful follow-up in the field, further clarification seems impossible. As for *Harvey Greenough, he himself dates his first use of peyote far later than does Stacher. Nevertheless, Stacher's recollections make it likely that there was some early use of

peyote in the general Aneth area. In this connection may be mentioned James M. Stewart's second-hand report of use of peyote by Allen Canyon Navahos, who can be considered a part of the general area under discussion, in 1931–32.

When we turn from Herbert Stacher's estimates to Navaho and certain white informants, we jump at least ten years. *Frank Newell, of Mexican Water, later an active anti-peyotist, was working at Ismay's store in the Montezuma Creek area 1926–29 and did not know of peyote there — but, as always, this fact is not conclusive. *Robert Towle, an early Aneth peyotist by his own reckoning, gives us several dates for his first use of peyote, all close together (two interviews with Aberle, separated by three years; one with Moore): 1934; 1937 or 38, "the year they built the school" — which was 1934–35; 1937 "after the school was built and after Window Rock was built" (the former '34–35, the latter by 1936). *Don Oglseby of Shiprock then at Aneth, dates *Towle at 1935. The association with the school pretty well fits 1934–35. *Harvey Greenough also varies, giving 1937 and 1939. A date of 1939 is also given by his mother-in-law. He is consistent in saying that *Charlie Rodman was involved in this, and mentions *Bill Rodman in one interview. He thinks the cult got started at Aneth around 1938 and at Montezuma around 1939. *Don Oglseby's estimate is shortly after 1935. *Fred Eggleston, today a peyote priest, says that he took his father from Aneth to get him to the hospital, and stopped at Towaoc, where a Ute (perhaps Pete Bishop) gave peyote to the sick man — this in 1935. He first noticed peyote in local use at Montezuma Creek in 1937. Both Herbert Stacher and Ralph Tanner, a trader at Aneth, think that *Walter Abbott of Aneth, later a peyote priest, began to use peyote in 1935.

We may note certain general estimates for Aneth. The "Proceedings of the Meeting of the Navajo Tribal Council", for June 3–6, 1940 (Navajo TC, 1940) afford the earliest record on the subject. They are based largely on the travels and interviews carried out by the Vice-Chairman of the Council at that time. "The peyote in the year of 1935 was merely used by the Navahos living on the north side of the river as another herb medicine. In 1936 the use of peyote was at its highest peak in the Aneth and Bluff City country . . . . Several Navaho leaders . . . spoke in favor of the peyote cult and said that in 1935 Navaho bootleggers dominated Aneth, Bluff City and Four Corners territory. The introduction of peyote did not help their business . . . . The peyote priest made open attacks on the bootleggers. . . . The war raged for nearly three years and finally bootlegging was eradicated from the north side of the river" (p. 18). We would have to reject the idea that peyote was, in 1935, merely a herb medicine to its users.[10] We cannot safely con-

[10] It should be mentioned, however, that in 1953 Moore found several individuals at Aneth who had been using peyote for a number of years, who had never attended a peyote meeting, and who had no plans to attend one, although they had no antagonism to cult meetings. This pattern of purely private use is unfamiliar to us among Indians of the United States where the cult is known, although it may well exist elsewhere. Certainly among the Navaho many individuals used peyote as a medicine before attending their first meeting. Some of our difficulties in dating may cen-

clude from this history that peyote was *not* used prior to 1935 at Aneth, but we can be sure that by 1936 it was highly visible in that community. For this there is other evidence. *Ben Eastman of Aneth and Red Mesa, later a prominent priest, first heard of peyote, he says, in 1935. Ralph Tanner, trader, believes peyote came to Aneth around 1936–37. John Ismay also estimates 1937. Ira Hatch, trader at Montezuma Creek, thinks peyote reached there about 1938.

Before drawing conclusions on this score, we might mention other evidence bearing on northern Navaho peyotism. S. F. Stacher, then Superintendent at Crown Point (not to be confused with Herbert Stacher), heard of peyote before he left the agency in June of 1935 (date from Underhill, n.d., p. 277). J. C. Morgan, of Farmington, who had many contacts in Shiprock and Teec Nos Pas, was his source of information; S. F. Stacher did not hear of it in the Crown Point area. Fr. Berard Haile traveled about Navajo Reservation in 1935 and heard of peyote in a number of places — which ones he could not specify. Art Moore, traveling for the Indian Service on construction jobs in 1934–35, heard of peyote in a number of places — unspecified. Pat Reed, then associated with the law-enforcement services on the Navajo Reservation, as a special agent (liquor control), heard of trouble in the north regarding peyote in 1935. He left the Reservation in 1937. The advantage of all this testimony is that it comes from people who can give us a terminal date for receiving their information: it can be anchored to leaving the Reservation, or to a dateable period of travel, and the like. This means that peyote was creating a stir in the north and perhaps elsewhere by 1935–37.

For Aneth we might add Herbert Stacher's estimate of a visit by Sam Standing Water to Aneth in 1938 and one by John P. Hart to *Walter Abbott's camp in the same year. *Towle, *Greenough, and several others mention that Cheyenne or Oklahoma Indians were involved in their earliest peyote contacts. At Aneth, as elsewhere, the establishing of the cult soon led to or was accompanied by Oklahoma visits.

3. Other early Navaho peyote use. Although we can be certain of the presence of the peyote cult south of the San Juan by 1936–37, there are reports of peyote use in several areas, ranging from 1917 to 1935. The validity of some is uncertain, but all deserve mention. Those of *George Rowland and *Tom Burgess have already been discussed.

Willard Stolworthy, then a trader at Red Mesa and Teec Nos Pas, says that in 1917–18 he heard of peyote in the Red Mesa area. It has been pointed out that Aneth and Red Mesa are in contact. Before 1918, according to Isaac Cloud of

ter about an ambiguity of this sort: Aberle tended to ask informants whether peyote was used in the area, and when. He did not know of the pattern of private use at the time. It is possible, especially in the case of white informants, that they are reporting known use of the cactus, but that they are not necessarily referring to the cult's existence. In the vast majority of cases the discussion was full enough to eliminate this potential source of confusion, and in all those cases the individual was referring to the cult as well as the plant. In a few instances, however, the confusion may have gone undetected.

Ignacio, *Charles Dillard, a Navaho, attended one Ignacio peyote meeting. Before 1925, says Frank Weaver, a white man of Cortez, then at Shiprock, *Albert and *Leo Hickey were using peyote. *Albert Carey himself says he first used peyote in 1930, when his wife, *Grace Carey, as we have mentioned, attended a peyote meeting at Towaoc. This date seems unusually certain. *Dave Carey says that he himself first used peyote in 1938. *Leo Hickey has not been interviewed; but reliable peyotist informants state he is antagonistic to peyote today.

There is a scattering of reports for the southern part of District 12 and part of District 14. The communities involved are fairly close together. George Bloomfield, then a trader at Toadlena, says that the Utes came to hold peyote meetings at Toadlena some time between 1926 and 1931. Herbert Stacher claims that *Bob Brigham came to Towaoc for a peyote meeting in 1929 and that in 1930 there was a peyote meeting in Tohatchi at *Bob Brigham's place, run by several Utes: Herbert Stacher, Harry Mills (James' son), and Gene Posey. *Bob Brigham, however, though he also says he went to Towaoc and then had a meeting at his house, dates this event in the late 'thirties. Claude Powell, trader at Twin Lakes, says that he heard of peyote at Coyote Canyon in 1931. Again it is possible that Herbert is confusing personnel, but three reports from roughly the same area for about the same period suggest one or more peyote meetings somewhere in this area for the late 'twenties or very early 'thirties.

Powell also says that he heard of peyote in the Monument Valley area in 1926–31, when he was living at Bluff. There were almost no peyotists in this area when Aberle traveled through there in 1952, and *Ben Eastman of Red Mesa claims to have run the first meetings known at Oljetoh and Gouldings in winter, 1951–52. Early reports for Carson and Leupp (1931–32) have already been discussed.

*Tom Sumner of Cove, born about 1895, herded sheep for Harry Mills on the Ute Mountain Reservation about 1928. He had been in contact with the Utes in prior years and says he helped build the Towaoc School. He spoke a little Ute at the time. During his work for Harry Mills, two Utes went to Oklahoma for peyote. On their return *Sumner was very ill with a throat infection and received peyote, which he says helped him. Thereafter he continued to use it. Not until long after, however, did he learn to run a peyote meeting and conduct meetings in the Cove area. Meantime *Charlie Rodman and others brought the cult to Cove.

*Tom Freeman says that peyote came on the main Reservation (south of the San Juan) in 1930 or before. Warren Pyle heard of trading for peyote between a Ute and a Navaho at Shiprock around 1931. He also claims *Albert Carey was running meetings and trading in peyote as early as 1932 in the Shiprock area — a statement which does not fit *Albert's story at all. *Edgar Meredith of Shiprock and Teec Nos Pas claims variously that he first used peyote among the Utes in 1918 and in 1932 or 1933.

*Tim Iverson claims that *Herb Snyder of Crystal introduced peyote in that area before the Mancos Creek missionaries arrived — about 1934. *Herb's wife's story does not fit this statement, but puts the event later. *Leonard McKenzie, now leader of the Arizona Native American Church, told the Advisory Committee of the Navajo Tribal Council in 1950 that he first used peyote in 1934 at Sawmill. This is several years earlier than dates in other accounts of his.

Kenneth Washburn, then a trader at Teec Nos Pas, claims the entry of peyote at Teec Nos Pas in 1933. He says this was when the Teec Nos Pas school was built (1934–35) and when the goats were sold (major pressure to sell goats began in 1934). His estimate is, of course, fifteen years later than Stolworthy's for neighboring Red Mesa.

Certain negative reports should be recorded. In 1931, when the Navajo and Hopi country was divided into six jurisdictions, with headquarters at Crown Point, Fort Defiance, Shiprock, Keams Canyon, Leupp, and Tuba City, the six superintendents presented general reports on conditions in their areas to a Senate committee. In discussing liquor control, three of the six superintendents specifically denied the use of narcotics on their reservations (Survey of Conditions, 1932, pp. 9137, 9748, 9629); one who had been at Shiprock only three and a half months, observed cautiously that there had been no cases, "so far as I have been able to learn", of "traffic in narcotics" (pp. 9723, 9748). The other two superintendents (Leupp and Keams Canyon) mentioned liquor control but did not specifically take up narcotics (pp. 8944 and 9315). The Indian Service was opposed to the use of peyote prior to the administration of John Collier, who began work as Commissioner in 1933; it is therefore likely that Indian Service employees would be eager to report the presence of peyote if it were making itself noticeable, and likely also that it would be regarded as a narcotic. It is unfortunate that the Superintendent of the Northern Navajo Agency had been in his position for so short a time, since we can place least reliance on that report, which comes from the area where peyotism would have first become evident. Yet it is likely that his employees, many of whom had been in service in the area for some time, would have discussed the matter with him when he prepared his report. It is evident from the report that he must have called on his staff extensively for its preparation.

It is, of course, always dangerous to rely on negative evidence. The treatment of the peyote question in later reports is therefore of some interest. In 1936, the report on Law and Order made to the Senate Committee covered the entire Navaho country. It fails to mention the narcotics question (Survey of Conditions, 1937, pp. 17996–18009). One might, on this basis, conclude that the cult still had "low visibility", which would fit our interpretation; one might, however, conclude that in Collier's administration a report on Law and Order would not raise the peyote question. Somewhat more weight may be attached to the idea that the cult was not

a significant matter when we note that J. C. Morgan, who was later to be a formidable opponent of the cult, failed to mention it in testimony or letters, although he later employed Collier's position on peyote as a basis for attacking the Commissioner, and was already attacking him on other grounds in 1936. One later prominent peyotist also appeared at the hearings and failed to mention the cult. In the 1948 hearings on the Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation Bill, peyote was not introduced as an issue by Indian Service personnel but was mentioned by three members of the Tribal Council (Rehabilitation, 1948, pp. 305, 312–314, 318) and discussed in a social worker's report (p. 148) and in a letter from J. C. Morgan (p. 307). It was also discussed, in response to congressional questioning, by the Navajo Superintendent (p. 313). On the other hand, Clarence G. Salsbury, medical missionary and opponent of peyote, failed to discuss the matter in his testimony.

During the 1949 hearings on the Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation Bill, the issue of peyote did not arise (Rehabilitation, 1949). The 1946 hearings on education mention peyote only once: a letter from the National American Indian Defense Association, Inc., contained two enclosures on the subject, one of which, at least, was introduced at the suggestion of J. C. Morgan (Navajo Indian Education, 1946, p. 29).

In sum, these various Government publications encourage the interpretation (a) that in 1931 peyote was not known to superintendents or staff on the Navajo Reservation; (b) that it received no attention in 1936, and was probably not a visible phenomenon to most Agency personnel; (c) that in hearings from 1946 on (a period when we know peyote was a matter of interest to Navajos and to administrators) there was a tendency for mention of peyote to appear, although not in every case where it might be expected. We can conclude, then, with some security, that in 1931 the peyote cult was not visible to Indian Service employees in the areas where it was later to spread most extensively.

W. W. Hill was on the Navajo Reservation doing field work most of the time from summer, 1933, to July 1, 1935. He traveled widely, but heard of no peyotism at the time (personal communication). His principal interpreter was a man who became an active anti-peyotist and whose family was involved in one of the early peyote meetings in the Lukachukai area (October, 1937). Gifford's trait list, collected in 1935, indicates no peyotism for "Eastern Navaho". His informant originally came from Tohatchi but left there in 1891. The interview was held at Shiprock, but the home location of informant and interpreter are not given (Gifford, 1941, pp. v, 1, 2, and 77).

The numerous reports of early use of peyote, in which time and personnel, rather than place, are open to question, still suggest strongly the probability that scattered use of peyote south of the San Juan occurred in the 'twenties and early 'thirties, but that the cult had achieved no prominence in those days.

4. Peyote and the CCC. The Indian Service CCC camps ran from 1933 to 1942. As we have said, this brought many Navahos to the Ute Reservation for employment. Oklahoma Indians were visiting Towaoc throughout this period. It is claimed that some were on the Government payroll, but this has not been substantiated. Herbert Stacher, a peyote priest then and now, was a foreman on the Ute Reservation during this period. The situation was ideal for the transmission of peyotism to Navahos who came from farther away than Mancos Creek and Aneth, and there is no doubt that some did. There were bi- and tri-lingual Navahos and Utes on the job; and, since foreign curing techniques have prestige for Navahos, if a Navaho fell ill he might well have used available resources first and only later have returned to his family for a Navaho curing ceremony.

Herbert Stacher asserts that a great many Navahos who came to the Ute CCC projects began their participation in peyote ceremonies and their use of peyote at that time. As a peyote priest he was in a good position to know this. In an effort to establish some idea of the number and importance of these Navaho contacts with Ute peyotism, Stewart presented Stacher with a sampling of CCC payroll lists, asking Stacher to say whether the individuals named on those lists were peyotists and whether they were peyotists at the time the lists were drawn. The possibility of error is considerable, both as regards persons and as regards dates — far greater than in the case of the small Ute population, whose members Stacher knows well. Nevertheless, the large number of identifications Stacher made suggests strongly that a number of Navahos first used peyote during the period 1933–36. On the question of the importance of the CCC period in the dissemination of the cult, Aberle has almost no information: the importance of this channel was first called to his attention by Stewart after the bulk of the field work presented here had been completed.

In attempting to evaluate Stacher's identifications we might ask, (a) is he consistent: does he repeatedly attach the peyotist or non-peyotist label to the same name when it appears in a fresh roster; (b) can we find out from any other source whether the individual was a peyotist or not? In addition, in trying to assess the significance of the CCC period, we would like to know how many individuals are reckoned as peyotists and whether the individuals in the CCC camps on the Ute Reservation came from nearby Navaho communities or from all over the Navaho country.

We have attempted to deal with some of these problems. The rosters used were those for August and September, 1933; September, 1934; September and November, 1935; and September, 1936. First, for each name on each roster a card was prepared which showed the name, the roster date, and whether or not Stacher considered the individual a peyotist. These cards were alphabetized. In every case but one where the same name appeared twice or more, the entries were combined

on one master card and duplicates were removed. (In one case Stacher asserts that there were two men of the same name.) This amounts *de facto* to making the assumption that the same name on the CCC rolls always applies to the same man. In the case of common names, this assumption may often be erroneous. In the case of unusual names it is undoubtedly warranted. This procedure provided us with a list of 239 names, of which 89 were listed by Stacher as peyotists at some time during or after the CCC period. Only 3 were listed as joining after the CCC period. If we accept the list as a representative sample of Navahos, and the identifications as correct, then 36 per cent of Navahos on Ute CCC projects (86/239) joined the cult during the CCC period — which seems a sizeable amount.

We may use the cases where a name appears twice or more to check on Stacher's consistency. There were 51 such cases. Fifteen of these were consistently rated as non-peyotists; 17 were consistently listed as peyotists; 15 Stacher identified sometimes as peyotists and sometimes as non-peyotists; 2 he treated inconsistently but showed doubt in classifying; in the case of one duplication of names he stated that there were two men of this name on the list, one a peyotist and one not. Deleting the two doubtful cases and the instances of two men with the same name, we have 47 cases, of which 32 were treated consistently by Stacher. In the 15 inconsistent cases, 5 were rated as non-peyotists on early lists and peyotists on later lists. It might be argued that he thought that these men became peyotists later in the CCC period, but he did not mention such an assumption. On the whole this is a moderately consistent performance.

Of the peyotists, 9 were identified as peyote priests, although in 2 of these cases he was not sure that they were priests. Stacher volunteered the names of 4 Navaho peyotists who did not appear on the rosters.

We may now turn to the question of validating Stacher's information. There are three ways of attempting this. The first is to check the names provided by Stacher against information previously collected by Aberle and Moore in various Navaho communities. The second is to check the names with particularly well-informed Navaho peyotists. The third is to take the names provided by Stacher, attempt to locate the individuals, and then attempt to find out, by interviewing them, whether or not they are peyotists, whether or not they were in the CCC-ID on the Ute Reservation, and whether or not they used peyote at that time. There are difficulties in all three procedures. As it happens, Aberle and Moore have information on only a minority of the individuals identified by Stacher. Furthermore, we must assume that if a name appears on the CCC roster and the same name appears among our interviews, it is the same man. If the name is unusual, this is a safe assumption. If it is common, it is not. There are other complications. Navahos may register for the CCC under one name, for the Navajo Agency under a second name, and be known in their home territory under a third name — or several names.

Hence competent and willing Navahos confronted with a list of names taken from CCC rosters may fail to identify individuals whom they know well — under other names — or may misidentify individuals who happen to be using a name like that on the CCC list. These peculiarities of Navaho naming procedures are familiar to many field workers.

In 18 cases which Stacher terms peyotists, we have made an identification, correct or not, using prior interview materials or checking with reliable informants. Of these, 11 are corroborated by at least one of these sources as peyotists today; 2 are considered former peyotists; 2 are said to be non-peyotists, but it is not known whether they were involved in cult activities; the affiilation of 3 is unknown to our informants. Thus Stacher's identifications are supported (given the ambiguities of identifying individuals with names) in 13 cases out of 18.

In the case of those whom Stacher listed as non-peyotists we have been less fortunate. Only 5 have been tentatively traced down. Two are considered non-peyotists by a reliable informant; 2 are said to have joined after the CCC period; 1 represents Stacher's failure to identify under one of his various names *Bill Rodman, a peyotist long before the CCC period and a man known to Stacher. Here Stacher's record is 4 out of 5.

Aberle attempted to trace down a number of individuals on the CCC roster, but was successful in finding only one man — and this case was ambiguous. The man was identified by Stacher as a peyotist. A man of the same name (but a common name) was discovered and stated that a Ute, name unknown, had given him peyote when he injured himself during the CCC period, around 1934. He did not attend a peyote meeting until around 1942–44. He has never attended a meeting of Herbert Stacher's. We cannot be sure whether Herbert was wrong, or whether Aberle found the wrong man, or whether Herbert heard of this man's using peyote at the time.

In sum, Stacher proves to be fairly consistent, and to be corroborated in the case of 13 out of 18 men identified as peyotists, and 4 out of 5 identified as non-peyotists. We are justified in making the following cautious conclusion: during the CCC period a considerable number of Navahos were exposed to peyotism, and a number became cult members or at least used peyote. When, during the 1933–36 period for which we have rosters, this occurred, we cannot be sure. It seems safe also to assume that on their return to their home communities, their experience with peyote would expedite the transmission of the cult by the men from Mancos Creek and other peyote missionaries.

The question then arises, where did these men come from? If they came from all over the Reservation, the implication for the spread of the cult is different than if they came from the northern Reservation, where we know peyote first got under way. Short of tracking down the individuals, our only recourse for answering this question is to try to connect the names on the CCC rosters with names on the

Navajo Agency census rolls. Since Navajo Agency census numbers provide us with information as to the location of the individual when he received his census number (but not necessarily about his present location), we can also draw some guarded inferences about the location of the individuals on the CCC rosters who became involved with the peyote cult.

The difficulties, however, are formidable. We may find that a particular name appears on the CCC roster and that there are seven individuals who hold the same name on the Agency census rolls. It is possible that the man on the CCC roster is one of these seven; it is also possible that the man on the CCC roster has an entirely different census name. Some progress in eliminating duplication can be made by checking birthdates. A man on the CCC in 1933–36 could not have been born, say, in 1932 — he would have been too young to work. Similarly a man who was 75 in 1933 was probably too old to be on a CCC project. This sort of elimination may enable us to focus on only one holder of a particular name. We can never be rid of the problem that Navahos are known to use several names in a lifetime, but disregarding this, paying due attention to birthdates, and through the good luck of having a fair number of unusual names, Aberle "identified" 120 names of the 239 presented to Stacher. Of these, census numbers being the key to location, 75 stem from the Shiprock area (including Fruitland, Red Rock, Cove, and Aneth). Thirty-five of this group are identified by Stacher as peyotists. District 9 accounts for 14, of whom 6 are identified as peyotists. The southern part of District 12 (Nava Sheep Springs, Toadlena, Sanastee) accounts for 18, of whom 5 are termed peyotists. The remaining 13 are scattered among 11 localities; 5 of them are identified as peyotists. If we assume that the identification of names on the CCC rosters with names on the Agency rolls is correct and that our 120 are a representative sample of the Navahos who worked on the Ute Reservation, then we would conclude first that the vast majority of Navahos working on Ute CCC projects were from the northern Reservation, which has already been identified as a seed-bed for cult development (nearly 75 per cent of all "identified" individuals come from the northern part of District 12 and from District 9), and second that among those identified as coming from the northern part of District 12 and District 9 there was a much higher percentage of peyotists than among those from elsewhere.

In sum, our analysis indicates that a number of Navahos were working on Ute CCC projects, in contact with Ute peyotists and peyote priests. Many of these men may have heard of peyote at the time; apparently a number tried it. Among the Navahos on the Ute Reservation were 4 of the 5 Mancos Creek missionaries, two of whom (*Bill and *Charlie Rodman) were already using peyote before the CCC period. *Dave Lyons seems to have begun during this period. The Navahos who became acquainted with or used peyote among the Utes at this time may have been a receptive audience for the Mancos Creek missionaries when they began their

travels south of the San Juan. Furthermore, the Mancos Creek men may have been encouraged to travel south of the San Juan because their work on the CCC projects made them aware of a potential audience. Also, of course, the contacts between Ute peyote priests (and especially Herbert Stacher) and Navahos during the CCC period would have facilitated later Ute activities among the Navaho.

The vast majority of Navahos on Ute projects appear to have come from District 9 and the northern part of District 12 — from areas, in other words, where other contacts with the Utes also facilitated cult transmission. Finally, however, to judge by the small number of Navahos interviewed by Aberle and Moore who claim acquaintanceship with peyote prior to 1936, the men who came into contact with the cult in the early days of the CCC must have done relatively little to spread it until after 1936, when the Mancos Creek missionaries became active.

Unfortunately the foregoing must remain, for the present, a reconstruction of the likely course of events. Aberle did not have an opportunity to do a thorough study of the importance of the CCC period after Stewart called it to his attention. Ideally, in order to estimate the importance of the CCC period we should not be forced to rely on one man's identifications, even though we are fortunate in having such a key informant as Stacher. Interviews with random samples of Navaho men in various parts of the Reservation would provide the definitive information required. Each individual interviewed should be asked whether he was on the CCC projects among the Utes, whether he heard of peyote at the time, whether he used peyote at the time, whether he joined the cult at the time, and what action, if any, he took on his return to his home community to disseminate the cult. The task of securing this limited information would be time-consuming and difficult. In its absence we must rely on the data presented here.

E. The Spread of the Navaho Peyote Cult South of the San Juan

Thus far we have dealt primarily with the history of the cult north of the San Juan prior to 1936: transmission from the Towaoc Utes, early supported by Oklahoma peyotists; development of Navaho priests at Mancos Creek; contacts of Navaho, mainly from the northern part of District 12 and from District 9, with Towaoc peyotists during the CCC period; visibility of the cult in 1935–37. We turn now to the spread of the cult from these beginnings and utilize one after another various types of data bearing on the problem of chronology. The broad outlines of the cult's spread must be sketched in, to make the subsequent treatment of different bodies of information intelligible.

1. Summary. The men from Mancos Creek began to hold meetings south of the San Juan with some frequency. Sometimes individually, sometimes in groups of varying composition, and sometimes accompanied by Ute and Oklahoma peyo-

tists, they traveled to a number of Navaho communities. These early meetings seem to have followed three paths west from the highway that runs from Shiprock to Gallup. Of these three radiations from this highway, one ran along the San Juan to Teec Nos Pas, Red Mesa, Sweetwater, Rock Point, and Mexican Water (*Dave Lyons was particularly active here); one involved Red Rock, Cove, and Lukachukai — across the mountains from Red Rock (all five men appeared in Lukachukai, as did Alfred Wilson, Cheyenne); one concerned Tohatchi, Naschiti, Mexican Springs, Crystal, Sawmill, Fort Defiance, Red Lake (north of Fort Defiance), and Divide Store. Most of the communities in each area had probably been visited by the end of 1937. Active cults developed in all areas except for Red Rock and Cove, where the movement seems to have languished until around 1940. Subsequently *Al Rodman married a Naschiti woman and settled there (he is now at Beclabito); *Charlie Rodman married at Crystal, and *Bill Rodman at Divide. *Ed Lyons may be living somewhere in District 14. Hence a secondary center of diffusion developed in the southern area.

A number of new Navaho peyote priests were created in Aneth, District 9, and the south. The Mancos Creek men continued to run meetings, but the new personnel spread the cult rapidly to areas which the Mancos Creek men had not visited. *Bill Conroy, living at Divide Store but with many kin in District 17, brought the cult to Greasewood below Ganado. District 10, and particularly Many Farms, was affected although the sources are not known here. Black Mountain (the northern part of District 4) was enveloped in a pincer movement: the cult was introduced by a former Shiprock peyotist, *Mal Hancock, now living at Many Farms and Rough Rock; he was shortly followed by another northerner, *Walter Abbott of Aneth; and almost immediately thereafter *Bill Conroy began to hold meetings in this area, as well as continuing meetings at Divide and Greasewood. This spread was completed by 1940.

New peyote priests were created in all these areas; some operated locally and some traveled, as did many of the previous personnel. Peyote spread, though less strongly, east and south into District 15 and parts of District 16 previously untouched; into Districts 7 and 5, and to a limited extent into District 3. This spread was completed by 1952. The northwest (Districts 8, 2, and 1) remains relatively or completely untouched (1953).

2. Chronological anchor points. The testimony of the Mancos Creek men, dealt with in the next section, makes it clear that they held a number of cult meetings in rapid succession in various parts of the Reservation. Since their own estimates of dates are so often variable or vague or lacking, it becomes important to establish some points of reference for this series of events. Fortunately we have several.

First, we can make a fair estimate for the beginning of this series of meetings, through the testimony of *Dan Pritchard, an early Shiprock convert. He states

that after he became interested in peyotism he provided transportation for the Mancos Creek men on a number of their early trips. They came to his place at Shiprock and settled with him for some time, and he drove them from place to place. We cannot be sure that these men held no meetings until after *Pritchard became involved — indeed it is probable that they held some — but we can be certain that when they could depend on him for transportation the pace of their activities stepped up. *Pritchard says that he did not use peyote when he went to Washington for a Congressional hearing. Since this visit in May of 1936 (Survey of Conditions, 1937) was a memorable one for him, it is likely that his recollection is correct, although he debated with himself a moment on the point. (See Appendix A.) The other events he uses to date his first use of peyote are consistent with this: after the goat reduction (1934) had been carried out, after the consolidated agency at Window Rock began (July 1, 1935), and perhaps after Fryer began as Superintendent (April 16, 1936). It is therefore a reasonable inference that sometime after May of 1936 the number of peyote meetings south of the San Juan increased because of *Pritchard's activities as a chauffeur for the Mancos Creek men.

Second, we know from a number of sources that cult ceremonies at Lukachukai were among the early meetings south of the San Juan. *Tom Lapham says that in spite of his protests several meetings were held for his daughter, who was then fatally ill with tuberculosis. Indeed some of the Mancos Creek men were at his home when she died, he reports. He says that these meetings took place in October, 1937 — a date which he supplies in four separate accounts of these events. His daughter died October 16, 1937 (Navajo census office). Although *Lapham believes that the meetings for his daughter were the first at Lukachukai, the Mancos Creek men and some Lukachukai informants claim that there were earlier meetings in that community, although not necessarily much earlier. We know that the meetings held at Lukachukai for *Lapham's daughter and for others were among the earliest held south of the San Juan. And we also know that the Lukachukai meetings created a great deal of disturbance (see below). It now becomes clear that probably after May of 1936 and certainly by October of 1937 there had been meetings at Lukachukai.

Third, two of the Mancos Creek men, *Bill and *Charlie Rodman, were arrested and "charged with the offense of possessing dope (peyote) on the Navajo Reservation" and sentenced to serve 60 days in jail, on January 25, 1938.[11] There was no law against peyote on the Reservation at the time. The arrests indicate that the peyote meetings run by the Mancos Creek men were creating considerable disturbance — otherwise arrests for an "offense" which was not in fact a legal offense at the time would not have occurred.

[11] Law and Order has provided information that a man from Crown Point, whose name is similar to that of *Ed Lyons, was charged with the offense of Disorderly Conduct on October 12, 1937. The census number and the location both make it unlikely that this is identical with *Ed Lyons, although the Chief of Law and Order believed that it was.

*Bill Rodman says that the arrests followed a number of meetings at Lukachukai, and meetings at Red Rock, Sweetwater, Hogback, and Naschiti. *Dave Lyons tells us that meetings at Lukachukai preceded his going to Shiprock (presumably to *Dan Pritchard's), and meetings at Sweetwater, where *Pritchard says he was driving for the Mancos Creek men. *Al Rodman believes all the meetings (Lukachukai and other) occurred in one year.

If we take the testimony of the Mancos Creek men, which will be presented in detail in the next section, together with these three anchor points, it strongly supports the inference that a large number of the early meetings south of the San Juan were run after May of 1936 and before January of 1938.

3. Interviews with the Mancos Creek priests. Various sources of information on the history of the Navaho cult south of the San Juan will now be presented. One major source, of course, is the testimony of the Mancos Creek men. *Bill Rodman says that after he had been running meetings at Towaoc and Mancos, he ran his first meeting in any other community at Lukachukai, for *Jim Paine's family. (*Jim Paine has not been reached.) There were a number of Lukachukai meetings. The second was for *Dan Estes' daughter. The next meeting at Lukachukai was at *Bill Chadburn's, and then *Sam Gleason came to Mancos Creek from Lukachukai. Still later there was one for *Tom Lapham's daughter. *Tom insists that it was the first peyote meeting in Lukachukai. October, 1937, we have pointed out, is a secure date for this. *Dan Estes and his son, *Morris Estes, concur in saying that the meeting for their family preceded that for *Tom Lapham's daughter. Still another meeting is specifically mentioned, and there may have been others. According to *Bill Rodman, on his first trip to Lukachukai, *Al, *Bill and *Charlie Rodman, and *Ed Lyons were present. They were taken to Lukachukai by *Sam Thatcher of that community, who had already attended a meeting at Mancos Creek and had become interested in peyote.

We can only say that there were meetings at Lukachukai by October of 1937 — how much before is not clear. It is probable that all of these meetings occurred in a short time. *Bill Rodman reports that "the word got round" and *Allen Clagg of Divide Store came up to Mancos or Towaoc for a meeting, as did many others. This later led to a meeting near Divide Store. The next meeting south of the San Juan that *Bill Rodman recalls, however, is one at *Tom Madison's place at Red Rock (*Tom denied to Aberle that he had ever used peyote). *Bill Rodman says, "*Tom Madison may still be alive, but he does not use peyote." There was a meeting also at *Frank Loomis' place at Red Rock. Then *Bill Rodman went on to a meeting at Sweetwater, near Emmanuel Mission. The interpreter, *Dan Pritchard, who provided transportation for many of these trips, says that four days later there was a meeting at *Hank Gaines' at Sweetwater. *Bill Rodman says that the next meeting was at Hogback (east of Shiprock), at the house of *Sam Walton.

At about this time, *Dan Pritchard says (interrupting his interpreting for *Bill Rodman), he took some of the Mancos men (unspecified) to four meetings in the Naschiti-Tohatchi area. From there he returned to Shiprock. The sequence of meetings from Sweetwater to Naschiti and return occupied about 10 days and followed the early Lukachukai meetings by about a year.

Then, says *Bill Rodman, *Charlie Rodman and he were jailed by the Tribal Police. This occurred in January of 1938 according to court records. Hence a very considerable number of "first" meetings must have been held between a time somewhat after May, 1936, and before January of 1938. We would be safe in assigning the early meetings south of the San Juan, then, to 1937 and perhaps the latter part of 1936. It must be said, however, that *Bill Rodman's dating system makes it somewhat earlier: he claims he went to Lukachukai while McCray was Superintendent (July 1, 1931, to June 30, 1935: Underhill, n.d., p. 277). He also says national prohibition was still in effect, which would put the first Lukachukai visits earlier still.

*Charlie Rodman reports (1950) that he and the other men from Mancos Creek went first to Red Rock, to *Frank Loomis' son's house, then to Lukachukai, to *Sam Thatcher's, then to Tohatchi or Naschiti, and then to *Allen Clagg's at Divide Store. After that he is not sure. He says (1951) that he went first to Cove (this would be the same area as Red Rock), where the woman for whom the meeting was held died (reported by other informants) because she was too sick to begin with, then to Divide to *Allen Clagg's, then to Lukachukai, and then to Tohatchi. In 1952, he says that *Allen Clagg took his wife to Towaoc to a meeting, and then he (*Charlie Rodman) went to Cove, Lukachukai, Tohatchi, Klagetoh (never mentioned in his or others' previous accounts), and Sawmill. (It was possible to use a notebook in recording *Charlie's account only in 1952; hence not all of the variance is necessarily his.)

*Al Rodman, the third of the brothers, says that the first meetings run at Mancos Creek for Navaho patients from south of the San Juan were held for individuals from Lukachukai and Fruitland. The first meetings of which he knows south of the San Juan were at Teec Nos Pas. *Dan Pritchard, interpreter, intervened to report three meetings in the general Sweetwater area, one at Hogback and five near Naschiti. *Al Rodman continues: then they went to Lukachukai, three times that same year; *Charlie and *Bill Rodman and *Ed Lyons then stayed on at Lukachukai, but *Al returned to Mancos, later going to Naschiti, where he married. He does not know about the Red Rock and Divide Store meetings.

*Dave Lyons reports meeting at Aneth, then to Lukachukai for a meeting for *Tom Lapham's daughter, and then says he returned to Shiprock and Aneth, living in those areas and running meetings at Sweetwater, Rock Point, and Mexican Water, where, he says, he was the first person to run meetings. He mentions arrests which grew out of some of the Lukachukai meetings.

Conflicts in the dating of these events by the five men from Mancos and by *Dan Pritchard exist, and some have been discussed earlier. Whatever the conflicts, it is extremely probable that the majority of first meetings south of the San Juan fell between mid 1936 and late 1937. Some, prior to *Pritchard's period of driving the group about, may have come earlier. The arrests of January, 1938, were almost undoubtedly a reflection of some of the tensions created by the spread of peyote. And the spread continued — so much so that by June of 1940, a scant two and one-half years later, the cult was found in a large number of communities, and a law was passed against it.

Conflicts as to place, however, are minor in these various versions. The exact sequence of visits is not entirely sure, but without doubt *Dave Lyons passed along the San Juan in District 9; and the other Navaho leaders, in various combinations, and sometimes with *Dave, visited Red Rock, Cove, Lukachukai, and the Naschiti-Sawmill-Tohatchi-Divide etc., focus.

As we examine the series reported by these men, there are agreements and disagreements. We will disregard *Bill Rodman's rather fragmentary account of 1949 (which is consistent with the 1952 account for places, but far less elaborated), and *Charlie Rodman's accounts of 1950 and 1951, which were recorded from memory by Aberle, in favor of *Charlie's 1952 account, on which some notes were taken. Every account mentions Lukachukai; *Charlie and *Bill Rodman mention Red Rock-Cove; *Dave Lyons does not, but apparently traveled a rather different circuit part of the time; *Al Rodman does not. *Al and *Bill Rodman and *Dave Lyons mention Sweetwater; *Al and *Bill Rodman mention Hogback. *Bill mentions Naschiti and Tohatchi; *Al, Naschiti; and *Charlie, Tohatchi. *Dave adds Rock Point and Mexican Water but considers that he was the first to go so far west. *Charlie alone mentions Klagetoh and Sawmill. Since the five men did not travel together the entire time, agreement here is impressive. Some part of it, of course, is supplied by comments of *Dan Pritchard's in interpreting for *Bill and *Al. *Allen Clagg's visit to Towaoc as occurring in the midst of these events is mentioned by *Bill twice. *Bill puts Lukachukai before Red Rock; *Charlie reverses this; *Al mentions Lukachukai last. There are many other differences in sequence, and we cannot be sure whether this is a matter of reference to different meetings, or different experiences, or whether it is a matter of actual discrepancy.

4. Tribal Council document of 1940. The next source to be considered is the report made to the Tribal Council in June of 1940 (Navajo TC, 1940). With the exception of the Law and Order records of arrests, mentioned above, it is the first document of record now known on Navaho peyotism.[12] It tells of events occurring only a few

[12] Opler visited the Southern Ute in 1936 and 1937. On one of these trips he was told that a Navaho had been cured at a recent cult meeting of the Towaoc Utes (1940, pp. 463–464). This is the earliest reference by a professional observer to Navaho attendance at peyote meetings, but does not establish cult membership. Stewart shows a picture of a Navaho hogan in which a meeting was held at Towaoc in January, 1938 (1948, figs. 4, 5, and 6). This, too, falls short of establishing Navaho cult membership at the time.

years before its publication and must be given considerable weight in an account of chronology. It fits with and further develops the story thus far presented. The author of the report speaks of transmission of the cult from the Utes and of the use of peyote as an herbal medicine in 1935 north of the San Juan. (It was, of course, already a cult in these areas at the time.) Then, he says, the cult moved south of the San Juan, giving no date for the event. One stream of the movement went west along the San Juan to Navajo Mountain (compare *Dave Lyons' testimony for meetings in District 9), although in 1940 "the most part of the western part of the Navajo Reservation use peyote only as an herb medicine" (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 18). (Aberle's visit to District 8 in 1951 and interviews with informants from District 2 in 1951 and 1952 indicate that the cult was weak or absent west of Dinnehotso in District 8 and apparently absent in Navajo Mountain and the remainder of District 2.) By 1937–38, says this report, the other stream had reached Shiprock and Red Rock, Teec Nos Pas, and Lukachukai. (Again close conformity with the Mancos Creek men's reports is found.) "From Lukachukai country the peyote cult moved southward into Crystal, New Mexico area. Then to Red Lake, to Sawmill, to Fort Defiance, to Tohatchi, to Naschiti, around Navajo Church Rock; also in Twin Lakes area, and to west of Lake Valley—quite a bit is found around Divide Store, Canyon Bonito and St. Michaels. It has just entered Greasewood country and Steamboat area and much of it is found in the Black Mountain or northern part of District 4" (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 18). (Canyon Bonito is probably Tseh Bonito, a trading post between Divide Store and St. Michaels.) A recent meeting at Leupp is mentioned (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 20).

The report here takes the development of the cult past the point of the Mancos Creek men's story and into the phase in which numerous other peyotists became involved. Its dating is close to ours.

The report also lists 11 "main" Navaho peyote priests (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 20). Aberle knows, or has reliable information on, 7 of these. Of the 7, 4 are peyote priests today, 1 is a peyotist, but there is no information as to whether he is a priest, 1 is a peyotist but not a priest, and 1 is no longer a peyotist, and was not a peyote priest by his own statement in 1940 (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 25). Of the remainder one says he "performed several meetings" in the Lukachukai area in 1936 but, though a firm believer in peyote, he has resolved to give it up completely because of the opposition to the cult (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 26). Interestingly, only one of the Mancos Creek men appears on the list. Two men from the Sawmill-Tohatchi area are listed as sending money orders to Oklahoma for peyote (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 20). Of the 11 men listed, 4 live in the southern area; 1 had probably moved there by the time of the hearings. Of these 5, 2 were priests by 1940. Hence the southern area can be regarded as having a cult nucleus and the core personnel for further diffusion by 1940.

Testimony by various Navahos printed in the report and remarks made in the discussion which followed provide additional information on chronology and distribution.

For Lukachukai, which we know to be very early, we have a letter, dated May 9, 1939, which was put into the report. "Four years ago", says the author, "we first heard of peyote in this country [not clear whether he means it arrived, or rumors about it were heard]. . . . Three men came from Shiprock and . . . afterwards we found out that they were peyote priests. . . . I kept myself away from it . . . . I became very curious, so one day I attended a peyote meeting at [*Mrs. Lapham's] place" (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 23). This implies a series of Lukachukai meetings, perhaps beginning as early as 1935 ("four years ago" in 1939), one at least at *Mrs. Lapham's. These meetings at *Mrs. Lapham's have been dated October, 1937. Unfortuntely we cannot be sure that the Lukachukai meetings began in 1935. In 1951 the author of the letter cited above was interviewed and estimated 1936 or 1937 for these events. "Several meetings were held after" the *Lapham meeting, the letter continued, ". . .[Four men, three of them from Shiprock] held another meeting. This was a year ago" (i.e., 1938), (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 23). Another man from Lukachukai, reporting at the meeting says, "Four years ago I performed several meetings in the vicinity of Lukachukai" (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 26). This would be 1936. He mentions the curing of *Chadburn's son by peyote, and *Bill Rodman tells us that there was an early peyote meeting at *Bill Chadburn's at Lukachukai. A third man from Lukachukai says, "I performed one ceremony during one summer in 1938. . . . I am not an initiated singer [road chief]" (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 25). This testimony, so close in time to the events it describes, indicates knowledge of peyote in Lukachukai by 1935 and meetings in 1936. This fits previous estimates and our anchor points.

For the south, we find that a man from Naschiti, in a statement made sometime between May 4, 1940 (a date mentioned in his statement) and June 3–6 (the date of the hearings) or at the hearings themselves, speaks of frequent peyote meetings in Naschiti during the previous two years (1938–40). He says that *Dan Pritchard brought Utes to Naschiti for peyote meetings (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 24). A man from Sawmill speaks of attending a peyote meeting a year previous (1939), at which Alfred Wilson (Cheyenne) was present. It is not entirely clear whether he means that this was the first meeting he attended (Navajo TC, 1940, pp. 29–30). This gives us estimates of 1938–39 for the south.

Certain comments indicate that peyote was weak or absent in a few areas. A councilman from District 8 says that he never heard of peyote until a month before the hearings, when he visited Farmington and heard of it from J. C. Morgan (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 11). A councilman from District 10 says that he feared it had reached the Chinle Valley "but understand it is just peeking at us from behind Black Mountain at this time" (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 28), which implies that it was

not noticeable in his area. He also says that he first heard of peyote as a problem in the Lukachukai area "some three years ago" (1937), at which point local leaders were trying to drive it out. This also fits previous testimony for Lukachukai. A councilman from District 3 says that in his home territory he seldom hears about peyote (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 30).

This early report fits closely with the chronology so far developed, and, it will be seen, with other types of data. By 1936, according to the report, peyote had reached Lukachukai, and by 1938 the remainder of the areas mentioned by the men from Mancos Creek. By 1940 it had spread beyond these first communities, moving west. The report mentions several "priests", some of whom were in fact road chiefs by 1940, who supplement the five Mancos Creek men in spreading peyote. Peyote was not visible to councilmen from Districts 3, 8, and 10.

After the report and discussion which followed it, the Council enacted a law forbidding sale, use, or possession of peyote "in the Navajo country", with penalties of up to 9 months in jail, or up to a $100.00 fine, or both (Sec. 161.87 NH of the Law and Order Code of the Navajo Reservation). We have only recent figures on arrests: 1952, 96; 1953, 89; 1954, 102; 1955, 99 (Robert W. Young, personal communication). This represents about one and one-half per cent of all arrests on the Reservation.

5. Indian Service employees' questionnaires and inteviews. Another body of data is found in questionnaires sent out to all field personnel by the Window Rock Area Office in spring of 1951 and later turned over to Aberle for analysis. Among the questions asked was, "When did peyote first come into the area on which you are reporting?" There was an unfortunate ambiguity in the answer column: an individual might indicate that peyote was present during his stay in the area, but might state that he did not know when it came in. By this a respondent might mean that peyote was known in the area by the time he arrived, but that he does not know when it came. He might, however, mean that the cult came to the area after he arrived, but that he is not sure when. In some cases respondents' subsequent interviews with Moore in summer of 1951 provided more definite information. In every doubtful case, the conservative estimate has been used: thus, if an individual reports that he was in an area in 1937–42, that peyote was in the area, but that he does not know the date of entry, 1942 is used for the latest estimate we can credit to this individual. In some instances a man makes it clear that peyote entered before he came; in that case, the first date of his appointment to the area is used. The first mention consistent with this conservative technique is listed below. Two respondents list entry dates at considerable variance with others. These are mentioned in parentheses. We have omitted a series of estimates for the extreme east, ranging from 1915 for Torreon to the early 'twenties for parts of District 15, by one respondent, for which no support has been found.

District	1. No date	District	10. 1937 (36)
	2. 1945 (40)		11. 1937 (36)
	3. 1940		12. 1936
	4. 1937		13. 1942
	5. 1940		14. 1939 (36)
	6. (Hopi)		15. 1947
	7. 1946		16. 1944 (36)
	8. 1942		17. 1939
	9. 1935		18. 1936

From other data, we have been led to conclude that peyotism spread first to Districts 12, 9, 11, 14, and 18. There were a few meetings at the border of, or in, District 13 near Shiprock. For these, Indian Service estimates — parentheses disregarded — run from 1935 to 1939, except for District 13 (1942), which is problematical, with 9, 12, and 18 the earliest. Next, we have said, it spread to 17, 10, and 4. These are dated 1937–40 by Agency personnel. (From other sources we are led to believe that the date for District 4 is too early.) For other districts, other sources than these questionnaires indicate little or no peyote in Districts 1, 2, 3, and most of 8, and exposure in 1940 or afterward for Districts 5, 7, 15, and 16. Agency personnel dates run 1940–46. All areas which other sources date as prior to 1940 are so dated by Indian Service personnel, and areas dated later by other sources are similarly dated by these personnel. Of course, the technique of dating is approximate here, and in any event peyote may be present in an area before it becomes visible to Indian Service employees. There is, then, a rough fit between these data and other sources.

6. Analysis of periodicals. Newspapers and periodicals are potential sources of information regarding the history of the peyote cult and can be utilized in at least two ways. First, they may be explored for accounts of events, early dates of record, and the like. Second, they may be used to see if the amount of attention they give to the peyote problem at various periods fits with the reconstruction of peyote history made from other sources. We have utilized such publications, but only to a limited degree, for both purposes. We have analyzed two periodicals produced by members of the Christian Reformed Church (locally known as "Dutch Reformed"): *The Christian Indian*, which is produced by missionaries to the Navaho, and the *Missionary Monthly*, which is world-wide in scope. Other mission publications and the local newspapers of Gallup, Farmington, and Cortez, however, have not been checked.

It can be assumed that Protestant missionaries to the Navaho will be fairly sensitive to the growth of the peyote cult, since there is a long history of opposition to peyotism among most Protestant groups. (The Catholic missions, although by no means favorable to peyotism, have not been inclined to take a strong public

stand on the issue.) Missionary awareness of peyotism, it is true, might be diminished by a probable disinclination of cult members to bring the matter up; but it is also true that opponents of peyotism will sometimes seek out the missions and inform them, in an effort to combat the cult's spread. Indeed the Navajo Tribal Council debate on peyote in 1940 (Navajo TC, 1940) was featured by an alignment of Navaho missionaries and Christian Navahos with traditionalist Navahos. At any rate, mission publications should be as likely as the popular press to comment on peyotism.

The Christian Indian was covered from its initial year of publication, 1922, to 1955 (summer); the *Missionary Monthly* was read from 1930 to 1955 (summer), except for 1952 and 1953, which were not available when the research was carried out. (The work was done by Frank B. Livingstone, under Aberle's direction.) The *Missionary Monthly* contains items in Dutch, which were not examined.

There were two results of this work. First, we did not discover any date of record earlier than those available from other sources. Second, we found a coverage of peyotism which does fit with our historical reconstruction. There are no mentions of Navaho peyotism in *The Christian Indian* until April of 1940, and none in the *Missionary Monthly* until June, 1942. There is almost no mention of peyotism in any tribe until 1940, but after that date items on Navaho peyotism and peyotism elsewhere appear in considerable numbers. Hence we may conclude that a marked increase in coverage of peyotism in these two publications follows the period which we have characterized as the beginning of rapid growth of peyotism among the Navaho (1936–1940) and that this additional line of evidence supports (although it certainly does not confirm) our reconstruction.[13] Let us now turn to the data.

Two early items have some interest because of their failure to mention peyote. In 1928, J. C. Morgan, a Navaho and a missionary (although not of the Christian Reformed Church) wrote an article for *The Christian Indian*, on the "Importance of Medical Work among the Navahoes" (vol. 7, no. 6, pp. 83–84). Morgan was later to become a major foe of the peyote cult. As a Navaho, with particularly wide contacts in the northern reservation, where peyote was later to spread so vigorously, he would have been in good position to know of the use of peyote and would unquestionably have condemned it. Yet in 1928 he condemned Navaho curing rituals without mentioning peyote. Similarly, in 1934 *The Christian Indian* published an entire issue devoted to Indian ceremonies and to attacking them, with specific references to Navaho curing ceremonies. But peyote is not mentioned (vol. 13, no. 2). These failures to mention peyote fit with our assumption that peyotism was not widely known or well established until after 1936.

Since the content of various items does not provide us with particularly valuable materials in most instances, we will summarize the sequence of articles dealing

[13] We are indebted to Alex Inkeles for suggesting this approach to the use of periodical materials.

TABLE 2. *References to peyote in two periodicals*

Month	Year	Subject	Source	Reference
May	1925	GP	CI	Vol. 4, no. 5, p. 78
Feb.	1937	GP	MM	Vol. 41, no. 477, p. 40
Apr.	1940	NP	CI	Vol. 20, no. 4, p. 3
May	1940	GP	CI	Vol. 20, no. 5, pp. 3–4
June–July	1940	GP	CI	Vol. 20, no. 6, pp. 3–4
Aug.	1940	GP	CI	Vol. 20, no. 7, pp. 3–4
Aug.	1940	NP	CI	Vol. 20, no. 7, pp. 6–7
Sep.	1940	GP(NP)	CI	Vol. 20, no. 8, pp. 3–5
Oct.	1940	GP	MM	Vol. 44, no. 519, pp. 339–340
Dec.	1940	GP	MM	Vol. 44, no. 521, p. 415
May	1942	GP	MM	Vol. 46, no. 538, pp. 158–159
June	1942	NP	MM	Vol. 46, no. 539, p. 199
June–July	1942	NP	CI	Vol. 22, no. 6, p. 4
Apr.	1944	NP	MM	Vol. 49, no. 560, p. 105
June	1944	GP	MM	Vol. 49, no. 562, p. 169
Jan.	1947	NP	CI	Vol. 27, no. 1, p. 6
Mar.	1947	NP	CI	Vol. 27, no. 3, p. 5
July–Aug.	1947	NP	MM	Vol. 52, no. 599, pp. 204–205
Dec.	1948	NP	CI	Vol. 28, no. 10, p. 2
Dec.	1949	GP	MM	Vol. 54, no. 625, p. 339
Oct.	1950	GP	CI	Vol. 30, no. 9, p. 8
Sept.	1951	GP	CI	Vol. 31, no. 8, p. 8
Nov.	1952	NP	CI	Vol. 32, no. 10, p. 6
May	1954	NP	CI	Vol. 34, no. 5, p. 2
Apr.	1954	NP	MM	Vol. 59, no. 673
Apr.	1955	GP	MM	Vol. 60, no. 684, p. 123

with peyotism in tabular form and then extract the helpful information provided. In Table 2 MM stands for *Missionary Monthly*, CI for *The Christian Indian*, GP for discussions of peyote in general which do not mention the Navaho, or for comments about tribes other than the Navaho, and NP for discussions which specifically comment on peyote among the Navaho, whatever else they may cover.

The table indicates that from 1922 in the case of *The Christian Indian*, and from 1930 in the case of the *Missionary Monthly*, through 1939, a total of two mentions of peyote were discovered, one in each periodical, with no mentions of Navaho peyotism. From 1940 to 1955 (summer), 24 items were discovered, of which 14 appeared in *The Christian Indian* and 10 in the *Missionary Monthly*. Of these, 12 dealt with the Navaho and 12 with the general situation or with other tribes. Of the 12 concerned with the Navaho, 8 appeared in *The Christian Indian*, which, of course, is the periodical exclusively concerned with the Navaho scene. One case is listed as GP (NP) and counted as GP. This case involves the last of four articles attacking peyotism in general, which appeared in *The Christian Indian*. At one point the author says, "If any reader of this article is now using peyote as a medi-

cine, he will need the strength which comes from God to stop its use." Considering the fact that *The Christian Indian* is solely concerned with the Navaho missions, we might well consider this article — and indeed the entire series — as oriented to the Navaho, and this comment as addressed specifically to Navahos.

Thus 1940 marks the beginning of a considerable increase in attention to peyotism in general, and to peyotism among the Navaho in particular, in both periodicals. The attack is opened in *The Christian Indian* in April, 1940, when the editor objects to the publication by the Bureau of Indian Affairs of an article favorable to peyotism. He says, "We have been informed that the practice [of use of peyote] has already been introduced on the Navaho Reservation." In August, 1940, *The Christian Indian* published a report on a conference of the National Fellowship of Indian Workers in which the action of the Tribal Council of May, 1940, in legislating against peyotism was supported.

Meantime, as we have mentioned, four articles attacking the cult (May, June-July, August, and September, 1940) by a medical missionary appeared in *The Christian Indian.*

Whether increased sensitivity to peyotism in *The Christian Indian* originated because of events on the Navajo Reservation, or because of objections to the position of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, we can say that preoccupation with peyotism follows, rather than precedes, the period when we assume peyotism began its active spread among the Navahos, and coincides closely with the point at which it became a public issue (the Tribal Council meeting of May, 1940). It is possible, of course, that missionary pressure precipitated the 1940 crisis: two leading Navaho anti-peyotists were themselves missionaries and a third was Christian. The *Missionary Monthly*, with its world-wide coverage, does not really enter the fray until 1942.

It might also be mentioned that the Teec Nos Pas area is responsible for no fewer than four articles (CI, Jan., 1947; CI Mar., 1947; CI, May, 1954; MM, April, 1944), with an additional article (CI, Dec., 1948) on nearby Sweetwater. In the *Missionary Monthly* of April, 1944, the missionary at Teec Nos Pas says he has heard that 75% of the Navahos "in our territory" are peyote cult members. The same figure is cited today by Navahos and whites in the area and is probably quite accurate. In *The Christian Indian* of Nov., 1952, a missionary from Phoenix who apparently attempts to cover the various farm-labor camps where Navahos are seasonally employed says, "It is almost seven years that we have preached the Gospel in all the Navajo garden camps. But sad to say the last few years, due in part to Peyote Priests who started Peyote worship, and then the terrible liquor problem has hindered our work considerably."

To summarize: analysis of two Christian Reformed Church mission periodicals fails to provide us with early dates for peyotism, shows an increased interest in

these periodicals both with respect to Navaho peyotism and with respect to peyotism in general which follows rather than precedes the period which we consider the beginning of rapid spread of Navaho peyotism, begins this increased interest at the same time that the issue became a public one in the Navajo Tribal Council Chamber, and indicates, as one would expect, antagonism to peyotism and a feeling that the cult is a threat to organized, orthodox Christian mission work. Teec Nos Pas appears as a focus of special concern, and membership figures for that area which fit with other sources are provided. It is possible that a thorough check of local newspapers would give us secure early dates for the introduction of the peyote cult, but it is equally possible that it would merely show the same increase of preoccupation following the cult's increase which we have found for these periodicals.

7. *Interviews with Navahos from several communities.* The final body of evidence to be considered in establishing the chronology of the Navaho peyote cult is the interviews with Navahos in a number of communities, collected by Aberle (Aneth, Teec Nos Pas, Sweetwater, Shiprock, Red Rock, Cove, Mexican Springs, Crown Point, Little Water, Greasewood below Ganado, Lukachukai, and Pinon) and Moore (Aneth, Teec Nos Pas, Tohatchi, and Crown Point). There are also interviews with informants from a variety of other communities, collected mainly by Aberle.

From these interviews we derive not only evidence about the chronology of the spread of the Navaho peyote cult but also a picture of the sources of the cult for each community (which vary from one community to another), and an idea of the principal outside contacts which nourish the cult in each community today. There are also data on the size of the Navaho cadre of peyote priests and on the percentage of adherents in each community.

One mode of examining the data which is useful for an initial overview is a tabulation which shows the dates when individuals from each of seven areas report their own first use of peyote. In making Table 3, we have disregarded individuals' reports on others, or on estimates of when the cult came in, and so on. Only the individual's report of his date of first use is tallied, and is tallied whether or not the individual is still a cult member. For two communities, Aneth and Mexican Springs, a probability sample was drawn and is presented here without reference to subjects not a part of the sample group. For both Aneth and Mexican Springs, certain cases drawn as substitutes when the originally drawn individuals were not available are eliminated; for Mexican Springs, however, a supplementary special probability sample of peyotists is included. Different numbers of individuals were interviewed in each of the seven areas; the numbers of individuals in the tables do not indicate absolute or relative number of cult members in the community. Terminal dates of work for the communities differ: Aneth; '53, Teec Nos Pas, '52;

TABLE 3. *First use of peyote in seven areas*

	Aneth*	Teec Nos Pas	Lukachukai	Red Rock-Cove	Mexican Springs†	Greasewood (Dist. 17)	Black Mountain area
'28				1			
'34	1						
'35	1						
'36	1	1	1	1			
'37	2		2		1		
'38	2		3		1		
'39	3	5	2	1	1	2	
'40		2	1	1	1	4	
'41	3	6	1	2	2	2	1
'42	3	2		3	1	2	9
'43	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
'44				6	1	2	7
'45		1		9		3	5
'46	2	2	2	4	1	4	1
'47		1				1	
'48	1			2		1	
'49		1					1
'50				2	1		
'51	1				1		
'52				1	1		
'53					1		

* Total users, 22; total current members, 18; date of one non-member not ascertained.
† Total users, 16; total current members, 9; date of two non-members not ascertained.

Lukachukai, '51; Red Rock-Cove, '52; Mexican Springs, '53; Greasewood, '49; Black Mountain, '50. Hence dates of latest entry are not meaningful. In addition, in a probability sample one encounters people who have only recently attended a first meeting; when choice of respondents is made by discussion with an interpreter, this is considerably less likely. Hence probability samples may show more recent contact than others. Finally, except for Mexican Springs and Aneth, the question, "When did you first use peyote?" was not asked of all informants who said they had tried peyote.

The table should not be relied on without the more extended comments on each community which follow. For example, for reasons to be explained, a few very early dates were eliminated from the Teec Nos Pas group: all were provided by one informant, who was enormously inconsistent. The 1928 date for Red Rock-Cove is for *Tom Sumner, who used peyote among the Utes long before anyone else in his community, so far as is known to him and to others in the community.

The list has been prepared in the expected order of exposure: Aneth first, Black Mountain last. Lukachukai and Red Rock-Cove, it was assumed, were almost simultaneous in initial exposure. The general arrangement of the data fits this

pattern and all information thus far reported. Aneth, with its close contact with Towaoc, comes first in exposure. Teec Nos Pas, Lukachukai, and Red Rock-Cove are tied in second place. But surprisingly, Teec Nos Pas shows no marked increment until 1939. This point is discussed below. Red Rock-Cove shows a similar gap, which fits with information that during an early meeting in the area a patient died and no further meetings were held for some years. Greasewood is reported in Navajo TC, 1940 as recently affected in 1940; almost all of its cases fall later than that date. In 1940 peyote was said to be common in Black Mountain, but here we find a somewhat later date. Regardless of absolute chronology, however, the general pattern is as follows: Aneth (north of the San Juan) first; Teec Nos Pas, Lukachukai, Red Rock-Cove, and Mexican Springs (where other sources say peyote was introduced early and almost simultaneously) come second; Greasewood is third; and Black Mountain, fourth.

What do these figures tell us about cult growth? We can only judge from the communities where we have random samples — Aneth and Mexican Springs. In all other communities there are biases which favor the selection of early users as interviewees. The interviewer was attempting to get information on the date of introduction of the cult and sought interviews with those individuals reported to have been among the earliest users. Furthermore, peyotists interpreters who were asked to introduce the field-worker to peyotists tended to choose individuals whose membership in the cult and knowledge of it were clear; this tended to eliminate people who had begun their use of peyote only recently.

In Aneth and Mexican Springs, the tables provide us with a picture of first use of peyote rather than a cumulative membership list: they include some individuals who used peyote only a few times and quit, some who used peyote for a longer period and quit, and some who use peyote medicinally but have never attended a peyote ceremony. Let us first examine the tables from the point of view of any trends to be observed in connection with first use of peyote, regardless of whether the users are peyote cult members at present.

Our first Aneth case is 1934, and the interviews were done in 1953. Thus the total span covered is 20 years. The median falls in 1940, six years after the first date shown, less than a third of the total time span. For Mexican Springs, where the first date is 1937 and interviewing was also done in 1953, the total span is 17 years, and the median falls between 1942 and 1943, 6–7 years from the first date, or slightly more than a third of the total span.

Let us now consider what happens if those who no longer use peyote, or who use it privately but not as cult members, are eliminated from the picture. For Aneth, this eliminates one case for 1941, one for 1942, and one for 1951. (In one such case we do not know the date of first use.) The median remains in 1940. For Mexican Springs, we have 7 cases of persons who used peyote but are no longer cult mem-

bers. Almost all are persons who went to one, two, or three meetings and then abandoned the cult: one case from 1939, one from 1941, one from 1943, one from 1950, and one from 1952. (There are two "tryers" whose first date of use is not known.) The median for the remaining 9 cases falls in 1942. Thus, both in Aneth and in Mexican Springs the median year of first use for all users in the sample is almost identical with the median year of first use for all current members.

If our samples are representative of the communities, and if the communities are representative of Navaho communities in general, these figures suggest that initial use of peyote and cult growth are likely to be rapid in a community in the years immediately following introduction of the cult, with some tendency to slow down with the passage of time. (These findings are supported by the fact that in Greasewood very few new adherents were gained between Aberle's first visit in 1949 and his second in 1954. On the other hand, the Black Mountain area has shown a rapid growth since 1950.)

When we consider that the cult traveled south of the San Juan into the northern and southern Reservation in 1936–1938, we might, on the basis of these tables, expect rapid growth immediately afterward. This conjecture fits with the fact that the cult was sufficiently prominent to prompt anti-peyote legislation by the Tribal Council in June, 1940.

After this overview, let us examine the available information, area by area, in more detail. This will provide an opportunity to discuss some of the chronological problems and to take up the question of the sources of the cult for each community, the current contacts between peyotists in each community and other communities and other tribes, number of priests in each community, and current membership.

a. Aneth. For Aneth, our table omits all of the early information provided by Herbert Stacher, which would push some contact in that area back to the 'twenties. If a random sample fails to provide any evidence of these early contacts, we cannot be sure that they did not exist, but we can safely conclude that a minimal number of individuals were affected. Some of the problems of dating are brought out by the fact that for Aneth we have several estimates made by certain individuals for their own first use of peyote. *Harvey Greenough, says Herbert Stacher, attended peyote meetings as a boy when herding sheep for the Utes. Yet *Harvey told Aberle in 1949 that he first used peyote in 1937; in 1953 he reported to Moore that this occurred in 1939; and in 1953 one of his wife's relatives, who supposedly attended *Harvey's first peyote meeting, also estimated the event for 1939.

*Robert Towle, according to Herbert Stacher, became a peyotist around 1933. *Towle told Moore in 1951 that this occurred in 1934 (and is thus responsible for the earliest date in the Aneth column in the previous chart); *Don Oglseby, then of Aneth, estimates 1935 for *Towle; in 1949 *Towle told Aberle he joined in 1937

or 1938, "the year they built the school" at Aneth (1934–35). In 1952 he told Aberle that he joined in 1937, after the school was built and after Window Rock was built. Perhaps, he says, McCray was Superintendent (1931–35). *Towle appears on our CCC lists for August and September, 1933.

*Dick Monroe told Moore in 1953 that he first saw peyote in 1939, when he went to, but did not attend, a ceremony among the Utes; he told Aberle in 1949 that he first used peyote in 1942; in 1953 he told Stewart that he got some peyote from a Cheyenne in 1939 but did not actually begin to attend meetings until 1942, an unprompted statement which harmonizes all previous information. Here we are faced with a simple difference in the handling of the question, "When did you first use peyote?" First use may mean first contact, first eating, first meeting, or first involvement. In the case of *Harvey Greenough and *Robert Towle, however, the discrepancies are impossible to reconcile. Since both informants are cooperative, interested, and acute, it seems highly probable that it is a real problem for them to estimate accurately. In long-range perspective, a discrepancy of three to five years is minor, but here we are attempting to reach conclusions in which an error of a year or two has serious consequences.

Another approach to be made to each community is that of an analysis of the nature of the extra-community contact that developed the cult and of the creation of an intracommunity priesthood. For Aneth, contacts with Ute and Oklahoma Indians, particularly Cheyenne, are frequent, as are those with the men from Mancos Creek — not an unexpected finding if we assume that Aneth probably received the cult before any body of Navaho priests was in existence except in Mancos Creek. Stacher reports Ute contacts in the early 'twenties and the creation of a Navaho peyote priest at Aneth as early as 1924. This Navaho is mentioned by no Aneth informant. Aneth informants mention Cheyenne and Ute contacts as early as 1934 (or 1937, depending on which of *Robert Towle's dates is used), and such contacts continue steadily through to the present. Herbert Stacher, by his own report, Sam Standing Water, Frank Roman Nose, John P. Hart (mentioned only Herbert Stacher) are specifically mentioned. Visits by the Mancos men are reported by 1935, and they are mentioned for meetings as late as 1939. One former Aneth denizen, *Don Oglesby, says *Dave Lyons was the first to come. We do not, unfortunately, have dates for the creation of most of the Navaho peyote priests at Aneth; *Ben Eastman of Red Mesa, who spends much of his time at Aneth, became a priest, learning from Sam Standing Water and Alfred Wilson in 1940, he estimates. Two Shiprock Navahos, *Dan Pritchard and *Ernie Finch, first introduced peyote to him around 1939. *Robert Knowles was practicing by 1942. As of today, a minimum of six peyote priests are known for the Aneth area. The cult was surely under way by 1935 (Navajo TC, 1940), but how much earlier we cannot be sure.

The Aneth movement, then, is seen as almost entirely stimulated by the men from Mancos Creek, Utes, and Cheyenne and other Oklahoma visitors. Shiprock contacts played a minor role. A group of local priests have been developed, of whom one says he was taught by a Cheyenne, one is said to have been taught by Frank Roman Nose (Cheyenne), one says he was taught by Sam Standing Water and Alfred Wilson (both Cheyenne), and one is said to have an "Alfred Wilson outfit" and presumably was taught by Alfred Wilson. No priest whose pedigree is known claims instruction from the Mancos Creek men, but they may well have been early instructors, less prestigious and hence not mentioned if there was later Plains instruction.

b. District 9. District 9 (we lump here materials from Red Mesa, Teec Nos Pas, and Sweetwater) has a rather similar history. There are some very early reports which seem doubtful. Stolworthy, a trader, reports peyote in Red Mesa in 1917–18, which is possible, in view of the Ute history, Ute-Aneth contact, and Aneth-Red Mesa connection. *Edgar Meridith claims to have taken peyote among the Utes in 1918, but also that he first used peyote in 1932 among the Utes — a sizeable discrepancy. He also reports that in 1933 *Dave Lyons was in Teec Nos Pas and urged him to use peyote and that he then went to Towaoc. Ken Washburn, then a trader in the area, claims that peyote came to Teec Nos Pas in 1933, adding that it was when the schools were built (1934–35) and when the goats were sold (mainly 1934). He associates joining the cult with Navaho despair over the stock reduction; so the time linkage with this event seems fairly strong. *Vic Ames speaks of a first contact with peyote in 1936 on the Ute Reservation, but his active involvement in the cult is far later — 1945. A Red Mesa trader, Roscoe McGee, says that in 1939 a small percentage of Navaho were using peyote, and the then District Supervisor for District 9 estimates the entry of peyote as 1939. As we shall see, *Dave Lyons was particularly active in the spread of peyote in District 9. He allows about a year between his first use of peyote and his first running of meetings; the first event he dates in 1936; hence the second event would be dated 1937. His chronological pegs are internally inconsistent, but suggest the years '34–35 as most probable for his first use and his learning to run a meeting. He says that after running meetings in the Aneth and Mancos Creek areas, he went to Lukachukai (meeting for *Tom Lapham's daughter, 1937), back to live at Shiprock and Aneth, and then traveled around Sweetwater, Rock Point, and Mexican Water running meetings. *Bill Rodman similarly pegs District 9 meetings as following a series at Lukachukai, Red Rock, Cove, and elsewhere, about a year after the first Lukachukai meetings (1936–1937). *Al Rodman estimates meetings in District 9 as beginning around 1937. *Mal Hancock (formerly of Shiprock) reports that he first got peyote from *Dave Lyons in 1936. We are faced here with the possibility that there may have been some very early meetings (Stolworthy), and that an active cult started anywhere between 1934–35 (Washburn) and

1937–38 (*Dave Lyons), with the cult quite visible by 1939 and our first sizeable group of local converts reporting 1939 for their entry.

The sources of the movement are unambiguous: Ute and Oklahoma contacts, and particularly the efforts of *Dave Lyons are predominant in our accounts. No fewer than eight first contacts with peyote through *Dave Lyons are reported, ranging from 1933 (?) to 1947. Walter Lopez (not in fact a priest) and Herbert Stacher, both Utes, and John P. Hart, Cheyenne, are outsiders particularly mentioned. *Dan Pritchard and *Ernie Finch are mentioned by *Ben Eastman for his first contact; *Albert Carey of Shiprock ran the first meeting for one Teec Nos Pas woman. There is one mention of *Bill Rodman. The names of other men from Mancos are not found. Of local priests, *Ben Eastman is by all odds the most prominent, but others are mentioned as early as 1941, and at present a minimum of five local priests can be named (one recently deceased). *Ben Eastman trained one of these; John P. Hart, another; *Edgar Meridith trained a third; and *Nat Kearney, local, trained a fourth. Teec Nos Pas is striking for the relatively infrequent mention of Ute and Oklahoma peyotists, for the fact that only one of the Mancos Creek men is mentioned with any frequency, and for the fact that with a very large percentage of peyotists (perhaps 75 per cent) so few outside peyote priests are mentioned.

c. Shiprock. For Shiprock there are not enough individual sources to present in the table. One white man tells us of peyote there in 1925, which is possible; *Albert and Grace Carey of Shiprock, attended a Ute meeting in 1930. An Aneth man, *Don Oglseby, says that by 1935 one Shiprock man was using peyote. *Dan Pritchard first went to a peyote meeting at Mancos Creek after his visit to Washington in mid-1936, he says. By 1937, Judge Will Evans estimates, peyote was prevalent at Shiprock. The contact here first involved both Utes and Cheyennes and the Mancos Creek men. Herbert Stacher, Jacob Lopez (both Ute), and Albert Hoffman are mentioned. *Dan Pritchard says that the five Mancos Creek men quartered themselves with him and traveled out from Shiprock during the early days of the spread of the cult south of the San Juan. It is unfortunate that Shiprock, which is such a key place for the spread of the cult, has not been studied more closely. Today, a minimum of five local priests can be counted. Utes visit the area, as do Cheyenne, and three Aneth priests are known to run meetings there. Shiprock, along with Red Rock, is a center for ritual innovation, and particularly for a special and enthusiastic group who practice "V-Way", a movement discussed in connection with Red Rock and Cove. There has been almost no spread to Fruitland, the next community to the east, for reasons not known to the investigators. Shiprock is said to have about 50 per cent peyotists in the community. Leighton and Kluckhohn found the cult present in Shiprock in 1942 (Leighton and Kluckhohn, 1947 pp. 117, 125).

d. Red Rock and Cove. Red Rock and Cove are easily accessible from Shiprock —

far more so than the communities of District 9. It is, therefore, not surprising that it was an early site for peyote meetings. For whatever reason, it is also a community with a long history of Ute contacts. Thus, a singer aged seventy reports that "our ancestors said the sucking cure is Ute medicine, and the Navahos used to go to Ignacio and Towaoc for it. It was happening when my sister was s small girl." *Tom Sumner first used peyote among the Ute, from Harry Mills, as early as 1928, but seems to have made no effort to bring it to Red Rock and Cove. In 1936, according to two independent sources, *Bill and *Charlie Rodman (though *Charlie is chiefly remembered) ran a meeting for a patient who subsequently died. One informant says his wife got peyote tea from a local man in 1939, but the first report of a peyote meeting after 1936 is for 1940, after which the cult seems to have been well under way. An astonishing number of first contacts with peyote at Red Rock and Cove continues to occur through visits to the Utes, even in the presence of a large number of local converts and local priests. In addition, local personnel mention a very considerable number of Navaho priests from other communities whose meetings they have attended. Specific mention of Oklahoma priests is rare, although they have visited the community. Between Red Rock and Shiprock lies "Little Shiprock", which has many contacts with both places, but which can be considered more of an outlier of Red Rock than of Shiprock. There and at Red Rock, presumably in 1945, "V-Way" was originated. Two men claim simultaneous innovation. "V-Way", held without a sand-moon altar, uses ash shaped into a "V" as the center of the ceremony. The original symbolism was that of victory in World War II, but the "V" is now sometimes spoken of as Christ's victory over death. Members stress confession of sin from the beginning of conscious recollection, the vision, daily use of peyote in prayer, and tend toward more ecstatic religious manifestations than the general body of peyotists. Other peyotists look askance at the innovation and sometimes say that is like their own practice sessions, but Oklahoma peyotists called in to pass on its orthodoxy have said that since all eat peyote and all worship the same God, the form of the ritual is not critical. "V-Way" enthusiasts are found at Shiprock. Very small meetings, which include only members of a single family and the road chief are sometimes held. Here and at Sanastee, slightly further south, other innovations which suggest syncretism with Navaho divination and curing ceremonies are also found: Water Way, Star Way, and the like, are mentioned, but neither they nor V-way has been observed. Why this area should be the center for so many innovations is not known.

Seven local priests are known, of whom one, the first in the area, has stopped practicing, and three use "V-Way". Various members of the community mention no fewer than twenty-seven Navaho priests whose meetings they have attended. Known areas of origin for these priests include Aneth, Setsiltso Springs, Rough

Rock, Crystal, Divide Store, Sanastee, Red Mesa, Teec Nos Pas, Tohatchi, Many Farms, and Shiprock. Non-Navaho priests named are Sam Standing Water, Jacob Lopez, Herbert Stacher, and Gus Hays, a Cheyenne who lived for a time at Tohatchi. Fifty per cent of the area is estimated as peyotist.

e. Lukachukai. Both in chronological terms and in terms of the fate of the peyote cult among the Navaho, Lukachukai is a critical point. Apparently one of the very first sites visited south of the San Juan by the Mancos Creek men, it was also the locus of some events which disturbed the public relations of the cult. A source not identified in Aberle's notes estimates that Alfred Wilson, the Cheyenne, may have come to Lukachukai (with Navahos) as early as 1933; Ute visits in 1934 are reported by a non-member. *Frank Newell, also a non-member, estimates the arrival of peyote in Lukachukai at 1934–35. One Lukachukai man reports (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 23) that they first heard of peyote in 1935; another reports a Lukachukai meeting in 1936 (Navajo, TC, 1940, p. 26), and a relative of his, not a peyotist, also estimates the same event as 1936. The situation is not entirely clear, for *Bill Rodman says that *Sam Thatcher brought him first to Lukachukai, but *Thatcher dates his cult membership as 1940! It is highly probable either that *Thatcher's date is incorrect or that he did not bring *Bill Rodman to Lukachukai, for the evidence that meetings were being held by 1937 is very good. Meetings for *Tom Lapham's daughter occurred in October, 1937. Other meetings, reported by others as coming before this (those for *Dan Estes' daughter at Towaoc and at Lukachukai) are estimated by those involved at 1938–39, which seems too late. The Tribal Council reports "many meetings" by 1937–38 (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 18), and is a nearly contemporary source. The best estimate is that first meetings were held at Lukachukai perhaps by 1935, surely by 1937.

Sources here are heavily weighted toward Mancos Creek men, accompanied in many cases by Utes and Cheyenne. Alfred Wilson was unquestionably in the area, certainly by 1937 (the *Lapham meetings). At one time or another, every one of the Mancos Creek men visited the area. Lukachukai has very few, if any, resident peyote priests today: two men who ran meetings in the mid-'thirties have quit; one lives permanently far from Lukachukai; and one worked, at last report, at Morenci, Arizona, where he had been for some years. In view of an estimated membership of around 40 per cent, this is a curious situation. In addition to the five men from Mancos Creek, who do not visit the area now, eight outside priests are mentioned, of whom two are known to be from Many Farms, two from Red Rock-Cove, and one from Shiprock.

Troubles arose at Lukachukai in the early days of the cult's appearance there which are of some significance for the history of the cult among the Navaho. It is alleged that one of the men from Mancos Creek took a girl from Lukachukai as his wife without discussing the matter with her family and later abandoned her

(testimony of the girl's father, Navajo TC, 1940). Another man from Mancos Creek is said by local residents to have taken away another man's wife and to have left her later on. According to one of Aberle's informants sexual relations between the two were initiated shortly after a peyote meeting; the story quickly and erroneously spread that sexual contact had occurred in the meeting. A local man's wife is said to have made a trip away from the area without him, to attend a peyote meeting (testimony of the woman's husband, Navajo TC, 1940). Such a trip connotes adultery to Navahos, and the husband so interpreted it. There is no empirical basis for suggesting that these events were a result of the use of peyote, or a response to the ideology of the cult. The prestige of the far-travelling Mancos Creek men and their personal orientations were undoubtedly important factors, while their status as outsiders also resulted in intense reactions from non-peyotist members of the Lukachukai community. Nevertheless, for those who knew of, or heard about, these matters, the inference was quickly made that peyotism and sexual misbehavior were interrelated.

In at least two cases, it is said that the Mancos Creek men mentioned witchcraft as the cause of a patient's illness, and specified the witch responsible — behavior which could only create grave disturbances in the community. (See Navajo TC, 1940, p. 26, for an account of a man who is said to have found out through peyote who was bewitching him.)

Reports of the alleged sexual misbehavior of the men from Mancos Creek play an important role in the Tribal Council Hearings of 1940. Concern about witchcraft accusations by the peyotists does not appear prominently in that document, but several particularly reliable Navaho informants assert that such accusations gave the cult a bad name in its early days. It is highly probable that in any event the cult would have received a bad report in the Tribal Council: negative rumors and opinions about the cult — that it causes death, insanity, illness, sexual immorality, birth of deformed children, and moral degeneration — have accompanied or preceded entry of the cult in all areas of the United States where observations have been made, although supporting evidence for the truth of the rumors has been lacking (see, for example, Stewart, 1944). Certainly such rumors and opinions were available to Tribal Council leaders and were presented in the 1940 hearings. When reports of the events at Lukachukai were added to the rumors, the Council was deeply disturbed. The combination was important in the passing of anti-peyote legislation at the Council meeting and in the negative reputation of the cult among non-member Navahos today. Hence it has seemed important to set forth these various reports from Lukachukai.

f. Mexican Springs. In Mexican Springs we have a community which belongs in the southern diffusion center. Tohatchi, Naschiti, Sawmill, Fort Defiance, Divide Store are more central to that story, but at present data from those areas

are more fragmentary. *Mrs. Herb Snyder, one of the first peyotists in Mexican Springs, went to Lukachukai for her first meeting, where she found Alfred Wilson. This was one of the *Lapham meetings, and she dates it as 1937, which fits with the known data. Early sources of the cult are the Mancos Creek men, the only one of whom to be mentioned is *Charlie Rodman, who married at Crystal and lives near Mexican Springs. Alfred Wilson was with him in 1937; Oklahoma visitors are reported from 1938 to 1952. Visits to the Utes are mentioned. There are no priests living in the community, but two Navaho priests live in adjoining communities. One Cheyenne, Gus Hays, married a Tohatchi woman in 1942 and stayed until sometime between 1950 and 1953, when she died. A Kiowa is now married to a Mexican Springs woman; whether or not he is a priest, he is helping to spread the cult. A Sanastee priest has been used. The percentage of peyotists is small, perhaps 10–20 per cent.

g. Tohatchi, Sawmill, Divide Store. Data for Tohatchi, Sawmill, and Divide Store are here lumped together, since there is little information on any of them. Herbert Stacher would have it that *Bob Brigham of Tohatchi came to Towaoc in 1929, and that Herbert and other Utes held a meeting at *Brigham's place at Tohatchi in 1930. Powell, a trader, reports peyote present at Coyote Canyon, not very far away, in 1931. And George Bloomfield says that sometime between 1926 and 1931 a peyote meeting was held at Toadlena. As we have said, it seems probable that one or more meetings did occur in this general southern area in the late 'twenties or early 'thirties. That it was at *Bob Brigham's seems less likely. He himself twice reports his first use of peyote in 1938, concurring with Herbert Stacher's recollection that *Bob came first to Towaoc, and then meetings were held at Tohatchi. Almost concurrent with this were meetings for some of the *Hosford family at Sawmill. Although several people associate these meetings with the illness of *George Hosford and assert that they occurred shortly before his death, *George died in 1943, long after peyote had been established at Sawmill (thus, one man at Sawmill was a member by 1940 at latest, as we know from the Tribal Council hearings). *Len Hosford dates these early meetings at 1938, but adds that it was just before peyote became an issue at the Tribal Council — which was 1940. *Leonard McKenzie himself ranges from 1933 to 1937 in various estimates, and possibly 1939, although the Navajo TC, 1940, is ambiguous on this point; he makes it clear that he attended a peyote meeting with Alfred Wilson in 1939, but he does not make it clear that this was his first meeting. *Bill Conroy, in the same hearings, gives a date of 1938 for himself; to Aberle, in 1949, he estimated 1937–38, which is close. He was definitely a priest by 1940 (Navajo TC, 1940). Brannen, of the Indian Service, estimates peyote at Coalmine (next to Divide Store) by 1936, and at Fort Defiance by 1938. *Dan Pritchard transported the men from Mancos Creek to Naschiti and Tohatchi for some of these early

meetings around 1937 (reckoning based on the anchor points mentioned earlier). The best guess is 1936–38, with a preference for 1937–38, harmonizing with Lukachukai and Mexican Springs.

*Charlie Rodman married a woman at Crystal, and *Bill Rodman, a girl at Divide Store, whose father he taught to be a peyote priest. In this way, this southern area became a second center of dissemination. For a time *Al Rodman was married to a woman at Naschiti. *Dave Lyons does not seem to have come much to this area, if at all, but three of the five Mancos Creek men were responsible for the introduction of peyote and the development of the seconary center. Alfred Wilson was there early. Oto peyotists are much in evidence today. John James, a Yuchi, came from Oklahoma to run meetings near Sawmill for several years until his death in 1951. Although the number of actual members in this area is relatively small, there is a large number of priests, several of whom travel widely: seven can be certainly ascribed to this area, and there may be others.

h. Greasewood (below Ganado). With Greasewood, we leave the Mancos Creek men behind to find a peyote movement entirely established by *Bill Conroy, a priest from the Divide area who grew up at Sunrise, just east of Greasewood. The earliest date for joining given by any local person is 1939; it is improbable that there were members prior to 1938. All informants queried report that their first contact with peyote was through one of *Bill Conroy's meetings. Otos, and specifically Truman Daly and Jack Koshiway, are frequent visitors. No visiting Navaho priest other than *Conroy is mentioned by the local people, and at the time of Aberle's last trip (1954) there was none who had been developed locally. In 1949, about one family in three was peyotist; there has been little change since.

i. District 4. The northern Navajo Reservation (Aneth, Shiprock, Teec Nos Pas and District 9, Red Rock, Cove, Lukachukai) was influenced by the men from Mancos Creek and by non-Navahos. This was also true of the southern focus described earlier. Greasewood's cult developed from *Bill Conroy's efforts. With District 4 we find a cult springing from northern contacts, but nourished by southern contacts. In spite of the Tribal Council hearing's statement that peyote was flourishing in Black Mountain by 1940, it must have been a very recent introduction, since our earliest reports from users are from 1941, in spite of deliberate efforts to find early members. The first disseminator was *Mal Hancock, formerly of Shiprock, who learned the cult from *Dave Lyons. He later moved to Rough Rock and Many Farms, and from there visited District 4. He says that at first he did not know the full ritual but went ahead anyhow; much later, in 1945, he learned a full ritual from *Walter Abbott of Aneth, whose source was Cheyenne. In no fewer than 17 cases, *Hancock is mentioned as the source of first contact with peyote. In addition, however, there have been many other visitors: one from

Aneth; one from Red Mesa; some from Many Farms; *Bill Conroy from Divide; one from Setsiltso Springs; Gus Hays, Cheyenne, married at Tohatchi; Arthur Collier, Kiowa; Truman Daly and Jack Koshiway, Oto. After 1945, at least four priests were created locally: Jack Koshiway and Truman Daly trained one each; Gus Hays, one; and Tom Wilson, one. The cult, small in 1950, has grown by leaps and bounds since then in the area.

j. Miscellaneous. For the remainder of the Navaho country, chronological data are scanty. For Setsiltso Springs and Dinnehotso information is thin. Cult members are few. *Dave Lyons came to Setsiltso Springs in 1939, and converts mention first contacts then and through 1945. In 1940, a Tribal Councilman from District 8, knew of no peyote in his area (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 11). One priest, *Ted Stannard, is known; he first used peyote around 1941, and was running meetings in 1943. *Ben Eastman, *Walter Abbott, and Gus Hays have visited the area. Why peyote stops at Dinnehotso and is not found in Kayenta is not clear. Black Mountain lies in part in District 8; there and at Chilchinbitoh meetings are held. (We refer here to the Black Mountain area, not to the trading post known as Black Mountain.) In 1951–52 (during that winter) *Ben Eastman states that he held two peyote meetings at Oljetoh and Gouldings. He believes these are the first meetings held in the area.

Many Farms and Chinle have not been visited. Data are slim. *Edward Ritchie, formerly of Many Farms, but with relatives at Montezuma Creek, first used peyote in 1940, in the north (whether at Mancos Creek or at Montezuma is not clear from notes). *Ed Lyons has visited Many Farms, as far back as 1942, one informant estimates. A government agent, Gilbert Deming, says that peyote came to Many Farms through the activities of an Oklahoma Indian who had a government job there in 1943. There are at least three peyote priests there and probably more. Sources of this movement are not clear.

Navahos have held peyote meetings with the Allen Canyon Utes, says Ira Hatch, trader at Montezuma Creek. A "Paiute" (presumably Allen Canyon Ute) who uses peyote is known to the Navaho Mountain group, but the Tribal Councilman there believes there are no cult members. A "half-Navaho half-Paiute" tried in 1940 to introduce peyote at Inscription House; the Councilman there believes the effort failed. No field visits have been made to these areas.

Peyote meetings are known to have occurred at Leupp by 1940, run by *Bill Conroy (Navajo TC, 1940, p. 20). J. M. Stewart dates use in the area back to 1931–32, as we have mentioned. Chester E. Faris also mentiones use of peyote in the Leupp area in 1935–36, deriving it from Oklahoma contacts, as has been said. If there was early use in this area, the impact must have been insignificant. In recent years there have been meetings at Grey Mountain, near Tuba City. Districts 1, 2, 3, and 5 have not been visited for field work.

Turning briefly to the eastern part of the Navaho country, to the off-reservation areas, we find the data slight. *Thomas Shute, it has been said, visited the Mescalero and used peyote from 1926 to 1944. There were no local results of this contact. Kluckhohn states that his 1936 field notes do not mention peyote in the Chaco, but that his 1937 notes indicate some knowledge of the existence of peyote but do not mention any allegation of use by any individuals in the Chaco area (personal communication). Buddy Tanner, trader, says that he and a Chaco Canyon Navaho visited a Ute meeting in 1937. Cult membership in the Chaco is slight or absent today (1951). Indeed, for District 15 we must turn to various Navahos' estimates of the date of the cult's entry, rather than to dates given by respondents for their own first use. *Edwin Barrett, peyotist of Prewitt, estimates entry there at 1941, via Tohatchi. There is general agreement that peyote reached Little Water and Crown Point from Prewitt, although direct contact from Tohatchi to Standing Rock is not out of the question. We have discussed the problem of influence from Jicarilla via Carson. Some informants tend to date the arrival of the cult for Crown Point and Little Water a little later, estimates varying from 1943 to 1946. A peyote priest from Divide Store married into the area recently but left after only a year or two. The death of several older members of the cult, which had few members in any case, seems to have slowed growth for a time, but recent information (1956) indicates a slight increase.

A large part of District 16 has been touched by the peyote cult: a series of communities immediately east and west of Gallup are clearly involved. Dates, memberships, and sources of the cult are unknown. Kluckhohn's field notes for 1936 do not mention peyote among the Ramah Navaho; his 1937 notes show vague knowledge of the cult but do not indicate any members in the area. Leighton and Kluckhohn do not mention the cult at Ramah in 1942 (Leighton and Kluckhohn, 1947, pp. 117, 129–139) and none was known to them at that time (Kluckhohn, personal communication). Aberle's information as of 1951 also fails to indicate a cult present at Ramah.

k. Work areas and resettlement areas. Where Navahos work as family units in beet, bean, and carrot fields or other agricultural camps, peyote meetings may be held, though it is a minority in all camps of which we have any knowledge that attends such meetings. Meetings are known to have occurred at carrot fields near Phoenix and at work camps near Richfield, Utah. Since the composition of these camps varies from year to year, the frequency of peyote meetings and the average attendance presumably will vary.

Peyotists are known to work at Bellemont Ordnance Plant near Flagstaff. The management of the plant has expressed some concern about the effects of peyote on day-to-day performance, and some workers who were found to possess peyote have been dismissed. This fact has not resulted in elimination of peyotists from

the Navaho group working at Bellemont, for meetings have been held in this area. The management does not consider peyotism a cause of absenteeism among workers. One non-peyotist informant states that peyote meetings near Bellemont occurred as early as 1943. A peyote meeting near Williams, Arizona, in February, 1956, drew workers from Bellemont and from the Santa Fe Railroad (Arizona Republic, February 20, 1956). It resulted in the first arrests of peyotists under Arizona law known to the authors. Other arrests of Navahos have been by Tribal police, under Tribal law.

There is a Navaho resettlement project near Parker, Arizona, on Mohave lands. The Mohave Tribal Council became agitated over the use of peyote by some of the resettled Navahos, and some peyote cult members were expelled in 1951. There may well be peyotists there at present; some peyotists known to Aberle were still working land in the area after 1951. Whether meetings are held is not known.

l. Summary. The community materials can be summarized in Table 4; nevertheless, this is a rough summary, and reference to the previous discussion is necessary for full understanding of the chart.

For Aneth, the possible early use of peyote by some individuals is noted in the parenthetical date (1920's). For Shiprock, one known instance of exposure in 1930 is similarly indicated, but the bulk of exposure is noted by 1935 and following. Question marks on the dates for Aneth, District 9, and Shiprock reflect the possibility of sporadic early use more widespread than our present data indicate. The column "main sources" refers to the original derivation of the cult. The column "main contacts" refers to sources outside the community from which priests visit the community today. In the case of Red Rock-Cove the entry "many others" reflects the extraordinary number of peyote priests known to members of this area. Under "Tohatchi &c." we deal with Tohatchi, Naschiti, Crystal, Sawmill, Fort Defiance, and Divide; the entry "local" indicates that these communities use many priests from the various communities in this focus. The same entry could be made for District 9. In connection with "minimum number of priests", we wish only to indicate peyote priests known to be residents of the area at present. The Aneth-District 9 groups have one priest in common, who lives directly across from Aneth at Red Mesa and participates to a considerable degree in the life of the Aneth community. There are no other duplications. Other peyote priests are known, not members of these communities. The total known list would be at least 50 at present. No percentage figure is given for District 4, where an exceedingly rapid growth has occurred in cult membership since Aberle's 1950 visit. A number of communities and areas on which information is scanty are omitted from the chart, although they are included in the general discussion above.

Several trends are notable in Table 4. As we go from north to south (Aneth to

TABLE 4. *Peyotism in nine areas*

Area	Date of entry	Main sources	Main contacts	Min. no. priests	Approx. % members
Aneth	(1920's?) 1935?	Mancos Creek Ute Cheyenne	Shiprock District 9 Ute Cheyenne	6	75
District 9	1935?	Mancos Creek Ute Cheyenne	Aneth Shiprock Red Rock-Cove	5	75
Shiprock	(1930) 1936?	Mancos Creek Ute Cheyenne	Aneth District 9 Red Rock-Cove Ute Cheyenne	5	50
Red Rock-Cove	1936	Mancos Creek Ute Cheyenne	Shiprock District 9 Sanastee Many other Navaho Ute Cheyenne	7	50
Lukachukai	1935–7	Mancos Creek Ute Cheyenne	Red Rock-Cove District 9 Shiprock Many Farms	0	40
Mexican Springs	1937	Mancos Creek Ute Cheyenne	Tohatchi Crystal Sawmill	0	15
Tohatchi &c.	1937–8	Mancos Creek Ute Cheyenne	Local Oto Yuchi Cheyenne Kiowa	7	20
Greasewood (District 17)	1938	Divide Store	Divide Store Oto	0	33
Black Mt. Area	1940	Rough Rock-Many Farms Divide	Divide Rough Rock-Many Farms Aneth Oto Cheyenne Kiowa	4	Rapid increase 1950–54

Tohatchi) our dates become later; as we go from Tohatchi west, they are later still. From Aneth to Tohatchi, cult sources are identical. With Greasewood we reach a point where a new source for diffusion is developed. Main present contacts nowhere include Mancos Creek, since its peyote priests are now resident elsewhere.

It is no longer a point for diffusion. Main contacts today shift as we go down the list, each community depending more on adjoining communities than on others. Non-tribal contacts remain Ute and Cheyenne from Aneth to Red Rock-Cove. With Lukachukai, in which peyote activity is somewhat reduced today, we find no mention of non-tribal contacts; there are some, but they are rare. Mexican Springs is in a similar situation. With Tohatchi and communities farther west, Oto contacts begin to appear and are more significant today than Ute (very rare today as visitors in these areas) or Cheyenne. We have a rough ordering of the numbers of members, the most being found in the north; as we swing west, however, we find that Greasewood and probably the Black Mountain area have relatively large percentages in spite of later exposure to the cult.

F. The Pattern of Spread of the Navaho Cult

Now that the history of the cult in various parts of the Navaho country has been set forth, we may examine the general pattern of distribution of the cult. Information on this point is presented in Map 3 and in Table 9 in Appendix B; the basis for the map and the table is explained below. Broadly speaking, the present distribution, as represented in Map 3 and in the table, is that of a high proportion of adherents in most of the northern Reservation, a lower proportion in the south, central, and eastern Reservation, and few or no adherents in the northwest and southwest. A similar pattern can be observed at an earlier time (see table in Appendix B). A list of the districts included in each broad areal division has been presented earlier in this study. Our present question is, Can some of the variation in proportions of adherents from area to area be accounted for on the basis of the differential availability of the cult in these areas?

Before we attempt to answer this question, there are a few issues which require clarification. Relative availability is a matter of the degree to which individuals are exposed to the cult through contact with cult members and priests. Such contacts may vary in intensity, duration, and frequency. They may occur, furthermore, under various circumstances: between kinsmen, friends, acquaintances, enemies; the peyotist may or may not be an influential figure for the non-peyotist, and so on. Thus availability is not an all-or-none matter. A group of potential adherents may have no contact with cult members, or be in contact with only a few, or with many; the contacts themselves may be intermittent or frequent, brief or extensive, casual or intense; they may be with priests or ordinary cult members; they may be with friends or acquaintances, and so on. Hence we can speak of the cult as relatively available to a group and need not limit ourselves to simple presence or absence of the cult. Availability may be considered from the point of view of an individual, a group, a community, or a tribe. Our focus here will be chiefly on availability from the point of view of a community. To understand

exactly the degree of availability of a cult for a community, we should know the nature of its relationships with other communities. Thus it is conceivable that a community might be in close contact with another community in which there are many cult adherents. Nevertheless, the individuals of the first community may have social relationships only with the few non-peyotists in the second community. Under these circumstances there may be a low level of availability for the first community. Lacking such knowledge, we shall make the assumption that there is likely to be more exposure to the cult in communities which surround a community with many adherents than in communities surrounding a community with few adherents.

If we knew that availability was the only factor that affected cult membership, the answer to our initial question would be obvious. And if we knew the precise degree of availability for each community and the level of the cult in each community, we could also answer the question with precision.

The availability of the cult, however, cannot be assumed to be the only thing which influences cult adherence. A large number of other factors is presumably of considerable importance. For example, efforts at enforcement of the law against peyote may be more rigorous in one community than in another, and might conceivably inhibit, or even accelerate, the spread of the cult among people exposed to it. Conditions which make people eager to join the cult may be more pronounced in one community than in another. What these conditions may be is a matter for considerable theoretical speculation. Aberle hopes to present data bearing on this point in a later publication. Prior work on nativistic movements might suggest that various sorts of differences between communities might make for differential rates of cult acceptance: differences in levels of acculturation, antagonism to whites, economic pressure, or, since peyote is a curing religion, health — the list is suggestive, not exhaustive.

In general, then, it seems reasonable to assume that the level of intensity (proportion of adherents to non-adherents) that the cult achieves in various communities will be the resultant both of the availability of the cult and of the various factors which promote or inhibit cult acceptance. Under some conditions, we can expect to find no cult at all. Thus, if the cult is nowhere available, the utmost potential interest in it will have no effect. If the cult is completely available but there is no interest in it whatsoever, we can expect no cult members. Under other conditions, we can treat one or another factor as a constant. If we knew that the cult was uniformly available to all Navaho communities, we could eliminate availability from consideration and focus only on appeal. If we knew that the appeal of the cult was uniform and present and that policing was uniform but not completely effective, then we could focus on the effects of availability alone.

If, on the other hand, we do not know precisely the degree of availability of

the cult for all communities (though we do know that the cult is available in many areas), or the degree of appeal of the cult for all communities (though we do know that it has appeal for some Navahos), the situation becomes problematical—and that is the state of our knowledge in the Navaho case. Under these circumstances it is permissible to ask whether a part of the variability in cult intensity can be accounted for by differential availability. If we can show that variations in cult intensity are random with respect to availability, we can perhaps afford to neglect the availability factor in an analysis of the differential intensity of the cult. (We say "perhaps" because there is still the possibility that a combination of the availability factor with other factors will account for variations in cult intensity even if analysis of one factor at a time has inconclusive results.) On the other hand, if we can show that cult intensity does vary with availability, then we must allow for this factor when we attempt to account for variations in intensity on other bases. But even if there proves to be a relationship between availability and cult intensity, this by no means outlaws the possibility that there are important relationships between cult intensity and other factors. Only if we can show that a knowledge of the availability factor permits us to predict the level of adherence for all communities does it become possible to treat all other factors promoting adherence as insignificant or as constants. Here we will attempt only to show that the availability factor is of some importance in the contemporary Navaho situation. Success in this venture does not eliminate other factors from consideration. Our concentration on the question of availability seems appropriate in a study devoted to chronological and distributional problems.

1. Data and procedures. In order to discuss the effects of availability on cult distribution, we must have information on the relative proportion of peyotists in various communities. Data on this score were gathered by means of a questionnaire prepared by Aberle with the assistance of John Clausen and circulated to field employees of the Navajo Agency (District supervisors, stockmen, agricultural extension workers, teachers, principals, and a few other categories of personnel). The questionnaire was distributed by the Window Rock Area Office in 1951, and the replies were given to Aberle for analysis.

Sixty-four employees received questionnaires. All but one replied. Eight said they did not have enough information to fill in the forms. Three turned in unusable schedules. Hence there were 52 usable schedules, some containing information only on one community, some on many.

Each employee was asked in what areas in the Navaho country he had worked, and when; what percentage of people in every Land Management Unit (District) where he had worked had joined the peyote cult when he worked there; and what proportion of each community in each District was peyotist when he worked there. Communities were rated on a six-point scale: "Almost all" peyotists, "considerably

more than half", "about half", "considerably less than half", "almost none", or "none". The rater might, if he wished, refuse to rate and indicate that he did not know the answers to any of these questions.

The preparation of summary data sheets from these questionnaires posed a number of problems which arose in part from the nature of the data, and in part from plans to combine the information derived from the questionnaires with other materials for research purposes. For example, in the summer of 1951 Harvey C. Moore interviewed a number of Agency personnel and secured ratings on various Navaho communities with respect to such factors as the degree to which the community was acculturated, the level of antagonism to the Government livestock-reduction program, and the like. For maximum utility we required information for two or more time periods on a series of communities with respect to the peyote variable and these other variables. This procedure eventually made it necessary to divide information by time-periods and in some instances to group together information on two or more communities.

The raters for any given area had worked there at various times. Thus, for example, we might receive ratings on Ft. Defiance from six men, one of whom had been in the area from 1936 to 1940, one from 1937 to 1946, one from 1942 to 1945, one from 1947 to 1951, and so on. These overlapping ratings had to be assigned to distinct time-periods. An arbitrary decision was made to combine all the ratings made by individuals who had left a given community by the end of 1945 and to combine all the ratings made by individuals who worked in the community in 1946 or after (up to 1951, when the data were collected). The first group of ratings was considered as reflecting the "early" time-period (roughly 1936 to 1945, since few raters were in the area prior to 1936); the second was assigned to the "late" time-period (1946 to 1951). This split provided us with the maximum number of communities on which we had ratings for both time-periods. A larger number of time-periods or the use of a different date for dichotomizing the materials would have drastically reduced the number of communities on which we had "early" information, since there was not a sufficient number of raters who were Agency employees in 1951 who had also been working in the area in, say, 1936–40. Although by these means we did secure information on the level of cult adherence for the two time-periods for the maximum possible number of communities, it must be said that the "early" ratings are overweighted by raters who were present about 1941–45, with a relative scarcity (but not an absolute lack) of raters who were present in about 1936–40. The "late" ratings cover a much shorter span.

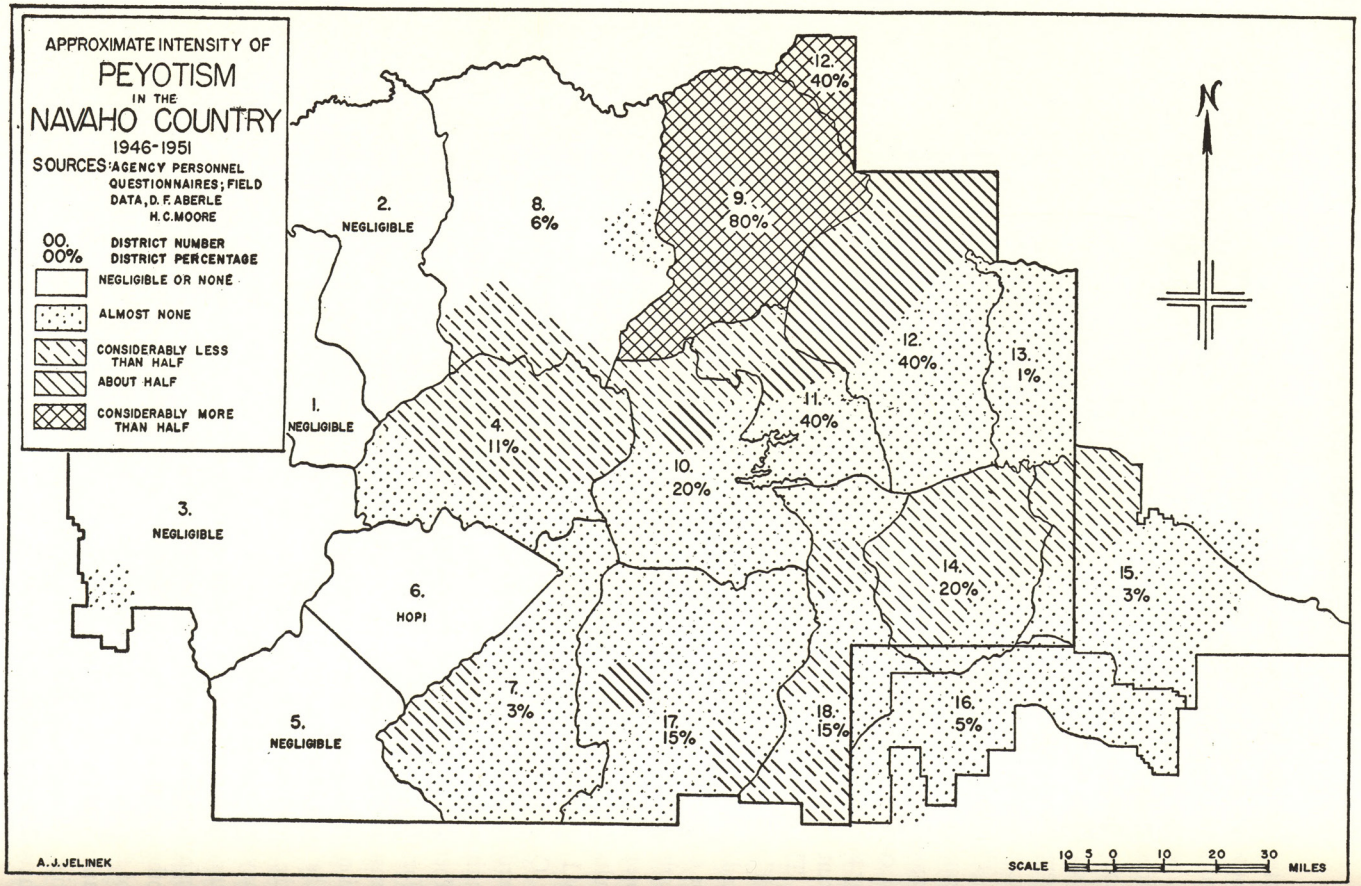
We were also forced, at times, to combine ratings for two or more adjoining communities. Sometimes one man would provide a rating for one community, where another would list two or more communities in the same general area. Moore's interviews provided clear evidence on the different ways in which some

raters divided a given area, while at the same time indicating a high degree of consensus in most instances. In these and in other cases difficult to describe without going far into the details of the analysis of the materials collected by Moore, it became necessary to combine data for several communities. The results provided ratings for a cluster of communities on several variables for two time-periods; if no such groupings were carried out, we had only incomplete data on individual communities. It should be said that in the cases where these combinations were carried out, there was little difference in the separate ratings given by a rater to the communities thus combined.

The decisions made in assigning ratings to time-periods and in grouping communities have certain disadvantages. They do, however, provide a maximum amount of comparative material for two time-periods for the maximum number of communities and community clusters. The procedures were dictated in part by the needs of a research design, the description of which is not immediately relevant for present purposes.

The ratings were converted from a verbal to a numerical scale. Thus, "almost all" was given a score of 5; "about half", a score of 3; "almost none", a score of 1; and "none", a score of 0. We now had numerical ratings for various communities or community clusters divided into two time-periods. The median ratings for the early and for the late time-period were selected for the final data sheet, which is presented in the table in Appendix B. Selection of median ratings sometimes results in scores of .5, 1.5, and so on, as when there are two scores, one of 2 and one of 1 (median 1.5).

Communities in Districts 1, 2, 3, 5, and most of 8 have not been treated in accordance with these procedures. For District 1 and District 8, there are no early ratings on peyote. For Districts 3 and 5, ratings have been omitted from the table. There are internal inconsistencies in the data which make them virtually useless. For Districts 2 and 8, there are serious disagreements among raters about the existence of the cult in some communities, and raters disagree with other information from these areas to a degree not found elsewhere. It is safe to say that, with the exception of Grey Mountain in District 3 and Dinnehotso, Chilchinbito, and the Black Mountain area of District 8, there were no, or almost no, peyotists in any of these areas as late as 1951. This statement is based on field work in District 8, discussion with well-informed Navaho peyotists, and discussion with well-informed Navahos from these areas and with Navahos prominent in the cult from other areas. Leighton and Kluckhohn did not find any evidence of the existence of the cult at Navaho Mountain in 1942, in spite of inquiries about it (Leighton and Kluckhohn, 1947 pp. 117, 139–145, and Kluckhohn, personal communication). Ratings for Districts 1, 2, 3, and 8 (except for Dinnehotso and Chilchinbito) *have been omitted from Table 9.*


APPROXIMATE INTENSITY OF
PEYOTISM
IN THE
NAVAHO COUNTRY
1946-1951
SOURCES: AGENCY PERSONNEL QUESTIONNAIRES; FIELD DATA, D. F. ABERLE H. C. MOORE
00. DISTRICT NUMBER
00% DISTRICT PERCENTAGE
NEGLIGIBLE OR NONE
ALMOST NONE
CONSIDERABLY LESS THAN HALF
ABOUT HALF
CONSIDERABLY MORE THAN HALF
1. NEGLIGIBLE
2. NEGLIGIBLE
3. NEGLIGIBLE
4. 11%
5. NEGLIGIBLE
6. HOPI
7. 3%
8. 6%
9. 80%
10. 20%
11. 40%
12. 40%
12. 40%
13. 1%
14. 20%
15. 3%
16. 5%
17. 15%
18. 15%
N
A. J. JELINEK
SCALE 10 5 0 10 20 30 MILES

Map 3

The ratings for the late time-period are represented in Map 3, with certain emendations. The numerical scale has been collapsed so as to reduce the number of types of cross-hatching employed. In translating numerical values for mapping purposes, the following intervals were used: "almost none", .5 to 1.5; "considerably less than half", 2–2.5; "about half", 3–3.5; "considerably more than half" and "almost all" were combined, 4–4.5.

In some instances, Aberle's field work provides data which correct ratings of field personnel or information on communities not rated by field personnel. These data have been used on the map, but not in the table. It can be said that in most cases field work corroborated, rather than conflicted with, employees' median ratings. In a few instances communities for which we have no data in the late time-period have been given peyote values corresponding to those of neighboring communities. The boundaries of communities are not known precisely, and have been arbitrarily drawn here. Differences between Table 9 and Map 3 are explained in Appendix B.

Map 3 shows not only relative intensities of the cult in various communities but also district percentages. These percentages are based on the medians of Agency personnel estimates for the late time period. They do not apply to individual communities. Thus, District 12, with 40%, is divided into areas of "considerably more than half", "about half", "considerably less than half", and "almost no" cult adherents. Although half the area of the District is said to have almost no peyotists, the concentration of peyotists in Shiprock and other heavily populated areas more than counterbalances the proportionately few peyotists in the more thinly populated southern part of the District. Hence an estimate of 40% peyotists for the District is reasonable, in spite of wide variation by community. It should be noted that since District 12 falls into two parts, the figure "40%" has been entered in both parts. This figure does not refer to each area, but to the two taken together.

No entry has been made on the map for District 6. No cult is known for the Hopi, who constitute the vast majority of the population of that District. It is quite possible that some Navahos in the District are cult members, since the District adjoins Districts 4 and 7, which contain a fair number of cult members, and 5, which contains a few.

Data on some communities in District 16 are presented in Table 9 in Appendix B, but information on the area is not adequate. The cult seems reasonably widespread in the area, and so we have shown it as present throughout the District. We have designated the District as a whole "almost none", although quite possibly there is some variability in the District.

Since, in the remainder of the discussion, it will be necessary to refer frequently to the materials in the Table 9 and to Map 3, they have been explained quite

fully here. Part of the discussion concerns particular communities; these can be located on Map 2, with few exceptions.

It is evident from the preceding discussion that neither the ratings nor the map can be assumed to be free of error. They cannot substitute for an adequate survey of the Reservation. On the other hand, to judge from the relatively high correspondence between ratings by Agency employees and the results of field work, where we have both types of data, Table 9 and Map 3 represent a reasonable approximation of the cult distribution for the early and the late time-period. In any event, they represent the best information now available.

2. Contact patterns and the spread of the cult. In our discussion of the transmission of the cult from one tribe to another, we have shown in each case that rather well-developed intertribal contacts preceded and presumably facilitated the spread of the cult. Here we wish to see whether we can reasonably infer that the contact pattern among Navaho communities accounts to some degree for the distribution of the cult. If we knew the pattern of contacts prior to the spread of the cult, we would not have to proceed by inference. As it is, we must. And the process of inference is open to objections. One important one is the fact that, although contact undoubtedly spreads the cult, the spread of the cult may result in close contacts where few or none existed before.

There are a number of approaches to the availability problem. One body of information clearly relevant to the question consists of our knowledge of the cult's history, of the topography of the Navaho country and its road system, and of the nature of various communities, some of which are major centers with important facilities attracting visits from many neighboring areas, and some of which are minor centers. Another body of information consists of materials from Moore's 1951 interviews with Indian Service personnel. In the course of discussing a community in the Navaho country thoroughly familiar to him, each employee was asked, ". . . when people visit (from the community you are discussing) to other places, where are they most likely to go — that is, what places is this group linked to closest?" In this way we secured information on the contact patterns radiating from 27 communities, from 30 employees. Information was secured on at least one community in each district except 2, 6 (Hopi), and 10. In some cases we received information on the same community from two or more individuals, and in a few cases information on more than one community from the same individual.

One point to be made initially is that the cult seems still to be spreading to new communities. Were this not the case, however, we would not be forced to assume uniform availability. Even if the cult is available everywhere, it may not be everywhere equally available. One community may still be the center of influence for another. Two communities may both be served predominantly by local priesthoods; yet a greater number of priests in one, or the fact that priests have been

present longer in one community, may be an important factor in cult growth within the community. The data previously presented on the history of the cult in various communities do not suggest uniform availability.

Let us begin by inspecting Map 3 and Table 9, to see whether the distributions represented there make sense in terms of the assumption that the pattern of cult distribution is in part a resultant of differential availability. It has been pointed out that the original center of cult dissemination was northern, from the Utes and from Mancos Creek and Shiprock. Later, however, a second major center arose in the Tohatchi-Fort Defiance-Sawmill-Divide Store, etc., area. Map 3 has a rough resemblance to a pattern of distribution from two centers, one northern and one southern, but with certain anomalies and irregularities. The Aneth area and all of District 9, where peyote came early, have proportionately the greatest number of adherents. The northern part of District 12, except for Beclabito, is about half peyotist, and Beclabito falls only a little below this level. A belt of "about half" continues into Districts 11 and 10, although in the northern part of both Districts the rate falls off somewhat, to "considerably less than half". This latter zone continues into the greater part of District 4, extending into District 8 in the Black Mountain area and at Chilchinbitoh. The cult then falls off in District 13, and the southern parts of Districts 12, 11, 10, and 4. It rises in intensity in the northern part of District 15, most of 14, and two belts in 18, but drops to "almost none" for the greater part of District 15, all of 16, and most of 17 and 7. Parts of District 5 are probably "almost none" and parts "none", but there is also a small number of peyotists at Grey Mountain in District 3. Greasewood in District 17 rises to "about half", through the work of *Bill Conroy, who lives at Divide Store but proselytizes in this area, and there is a rise in intensity in the western part of District 7. The grading off from north to central and the rise in part of the southern Reservation fit with the concept of two centers of spread, the older of which is in the north.

Data for the early time-period have not been mapped. The general pattern as shown by Table 9 in Appendix B, however, is the same, with lower intensities in most communities and a smaller range for the cult. District 9, the northern part of 12, and part of 11 range from 2–3 in intensity. The southern part of District 12, and Districts 13, 14, 17, and 18 range from 0 to 1.5, with a few intensities of 2. District 4 shows the same range, but District 10 has almost no cult adherents. District 16 ranges from 0 to 2; District 15 stands at 0. In spite of scattered reports of higher intensities in the south than might be expected (e.g., District 16), the early pattern is more regular than the late, with less suggestion of a secondary center. Reports from the southwest and northwest are not represented in the table, but where they are available they suggest the absence of the cult, or very low intensities.

In view of what we know about the history of the cult, the pattern of general

attenuation in the south and of absence in the west makes sense in terms of the effects of contacts over time. Communities in closest contact with the original center of dissemination have most adherents, weakening as we go out from that area, in both time-periods. We do not have adequate historical data on Districts 10, 16, and the northwest and southwest, but in terms of the information on other areas, it seems reasonable to infer that the varying cult intensities make partial sense in terms of different degrees of exposure to the cult. And some irregularities in the present pattern can be accounted for on the basis of a more recent secondary center of distribution in the south.

It is possible to make a statistical approach to the problem we have thus far handled by inspection of the map and table. Although it is true that in the period 1936–37 meetings were held in a number of communities in an area extending from Shiprock to Divide Store, and hence that some exposure to the cult occurred in many places in a short time, it is probable that regular contacts between communities may be more important than these brief encounters in affecting cult intensity. Hence, to the degree that differential availability is a factor affecting cult intensity, a community's position in a chain of contacts through which the cult is being disseminated should be related to the intensity of the cult in that community. Thus, other things being equal, a group of Navaho communities in close contact with Towaoc should have more adherents than a second group in more remote contact with Towaoc. To the degree that the second group may be in close contact with the first group and in remote contact with Towaoc, there should be more adherents in the second group than in a third group, which is in close contact with the second, weaker contact with the first, and still weaker with Towaoc, and so on. The regularity of these relationships, however, may be disturbed not only by the appeal factor but by such things as relative size of two communities in contact. To test whether relative availability is a factor in the Navaho situation, or whether, on the contrary, availability can be treated as a constant, we should know the nature of the contact chains, or better the contact network among Navaho communities.

In the absence of such detailed information, it becomes necessary to use some index of contact in order to make a statistical test. Our index of a community's position in a contact chain will be distance from the original center of distribution. Clearly such an index is open to objections. If two communities are separated by thirty miles of paved road, they may be in closer contact than two communities separated by ten miles of dirt road. Two communities which are separated by only a few miles may also be separated by a river or a mountain and have less contact than two communities farther apart on a plain. As between two communities equidistant from a third, one may have social ties with the third which make for constant contact, and the other may not. Nevertheless, we will proceed, in

this instance, on the assumption that distance is a rough measure of contact. The assumption is somewhat more warranted in the Navaho case than in certain other situations, since all travel is by road or by horseback, without such additional elements as railroads, and since almost all communication is face-to-face, rather than by telephone, and so on.

In order to make our statistical test, it was necessary to fix on a center or centers of dissemination and to calculate the effective distance from that center to various Navaho communities. We have utilized only one center, Towaoc, since a choice of multiple centers would have created a difficult problem in analysis. Shiprock or Mancos Creek might have been chosen as the center, but Towaoc, slightly removed from both, afforded as good a point from which to measure as any. On the assumption that a community's position in a chain of contacts emanating from the north affects the proportion of adherents in that community, and that distance from Towaoc is a measure of position in that contact chain, mileage from Towaoc was calculated, by means of the Navajo Agency mileage map, to estimate the "shortest practicable used route", rather than the route over the best roads. In other words, if we know that communication does occur between areas separated by mountain ranges and rivers, we use direct routes rather than more roundabout ways preferred by whites. Since it is known that people travel directly from Aneth across the San Juan to District 9 and on from there, we measured the route from Towaoc to some communities via Aneth direct rather than via Shiprock and the more adequate road systems. If we knew more about prevalent paths of Navaho travel, our approach would be improved. As time passes, more paved roads are built and more Navahos travel by car. A later effort to check on the effects of availability on cult distribution would have to use different measures of effective distance.

In the statistics that follow (Tables 5, 6), we have confined ourselves to the com-

TABLE 5. *Proportion of peyotists in 55 communities versus mileage from Towaoc, early time period (before 1946)*

Peyote score:	<1	1	>1	
Mileage from Towaoc:				
Less than 90 miles	1	2	11	$\chi^2 = 16.29$
90 or more miles	16	17	8	$p < .001$

TABLE 6. *Proportion of peyotists in 63 communities versus mileage from Towaoc, late time period (1946–51)*

Peyote score:	<2	2+	
Mileage from Towaoc:			
Less than 90 miles	6	11	$\chi^2 = 1.85$
90 or more miles	25	21	$p < .20$

munities listed in Table 9 in Appendix B. This means, in effect, that we have only tested the relationship between the intensity of the cult in a community and its distance from the original center of dissemination. We have omitted from consideration cases apparently outside the present area of cult distribution.

A scattergram, which is not included, was plotted for the early and the late periods, with mileage as one axis and peyote intensity as the other. Examination of the scattergram for the early period indicated that after 90 miles there is little variance in peyote scores, which are low. Chi-square was used to determine the significance of the relationship between cult intensity and shortest practicable mileage. Because of the distribution of peyote scores for the early period, a three-way split of peyote scores was required.

If we select the .05 level of significance, there is a significant positive relationship between nearness to Towaoc and the intensity of the peyote cult for the early time-period.

For the late period a different cutting point for peyote scores was employed because of a different distribution of the scores. There is a general rise in peyote scores for the later period.

With the .05 level of significance as the criterion, there is no significant relationship between distance from Towaoc and cult intensity for the late time-period, although the trend is the same as in Table 5.

In the light of what has been said of the history of the cult, we might expect that in the early years of the cult contacts radiating from the northern center of dissemination would be a significant factor, so that we might expect a relationship between nearness to Towaoc and cult intensity. On the other hand, later years have seen the development of a number of secondary centers of distribution, especially in a group of communities near Window Rock. Hence we might expect the relationship between proportion of adherents and nearness to Towaoc to weaken in the later time-period. A test which used multiple centers of distribution might show a relationship between mileage from the various centers and cult intensity. Still later, a point of saturation might be reached in the Navaho case such that distance from centers of dissemination would become irrelevant, and an explanation in terms of differential appeal, in which availability was treated as a constant, might become possible.

To sum up, the assumption that cult intensity is in part a function of availability was tested on the basis of a rough equation between nearness to the original center of dissemination and position in a contact chain. The assumption was supported for the early time-period. For the late time-period there is only a trend, which is not statistically significant. This change itself makes sense in terms of differential availability, since we know that an important secondary center of dissemination was developed in the south.

At this point the reader may well object that distance from the original center of dissemination is a poor measure of a community's position in a chain of contacts. This objection, however, strengthens, rather than weakens, the value of the statistical findings. If random error is introduced by the failure to consider the effect of paved roads, mountains, and the like, the chance of finding a statistically significant relationship is lessened. Hence, if one is found, we can place some reliance on it. The general point that the existence of random error does not discredit statistical findings should be kept in mind in considering materials presented below (see Driver, 1956, p. 21).

Another line of attack on the availability factor may be attempted: the effects of early, versus late, exposure to the cult. If differential availability affects cult intensity in the current Navaho situation, then length of exposure to the cult should be associated with greater cult intensity. The longer the exposure, the greater chance for potential adherents to come in contact with the cult.

Ideally, we should know the date of exposure for each area. In the absence of complete information, we will divide districts into two groups: those which have been previously described as among the first affected by the cult, and those which have been considered to be affected somewhat later. In dealing with districts we are, of course, treating as a unit the communities within a district, which are actually somewhat heterogeneous with respect to peyote scores. The Districts affected early are 9 (with 80% peyotists), 11 (40%), 12 (40%), 14 (20%), and 18 15%). Those affected later include 4 (11%), 7 (3%), part of 8 (6% for the entire District), 10 (20%), 15 (3%), 16 (5%), and 17 (15%). A number of Districts are omitted from the table: 13, the chronological placement of which is uncertain; 5, where the data are contradictory or fragmentary; and 1, 2, and 3, which are unaffected or almost unaffected. Thus our calculations deal with districts which can be chronologically placed with some certainty, and deal with relative intensity, and not presence or absence.

In constructing a 2 x 2 table for these data, we have dichotomized the 12 Districts utilized as early and late. They may also be dichotomized as having a large or small percentage of members. The latter split may be made either between districts with more than 15 per cent and districts with 15 per cent or less, or between districts with 15 per cent or more, and those with less than 15 per cent. Either split provides us with a significant difference in percentage of peyotists between early and late districts (significant at the .05 level, with Fisher's Exact Test). Thus a second statistical test done on the assumption that differential availability accounts in part for the present pattern of cult distribution proves significant.

Examination of Map 3 shows certain minor irregularities, which we will not attempt to discuss, but also some major anomalies. These may be approached in

the light of information on probable and known intercommunity contacts, in order to check further on the question of the effects of availability. Shiprock is close to Fruitland, yet about half the people of Shiprock are peyotists, and there are almost no cult members in Fruitland. Heavy concentration of membership in District 9 drops to nothing in District 8, except for Dinnehotso, Chilchinbito, and Black Mountain. Considerable membership in District 4 adjoins no membership for Districts 1, 2, and 3, except for Grey Mountain. Let us examine these anomalies in the light of the geography of the Reservation and any information to be derived from the interview materials to see whether these abrupt shifts in the level of cult intensity can plausibly be explained on the basis of differential availability.

Fruitland is connected with Shiprock by a paved road (although it is necessary to cross the San Juan and travel a short distance by unpaved road to reach the Navaho community at Fruitland). There are ties of kinship and friendship between the two communities (Tom T. Sasaki, personal communication). On the other hand, Farmington may well attract more travel from Fruitland than does Shiprock. Indeed one Agency employee states that Fruitland Navahos travel to Farmington, and go only occasionally to Shiprock — for example, to the Shiprock Fair, an annual celebration held in the fall. And many Fruitland families are connected by kinship more intimately to various parts of District 13, where the peyote cult has few members, than to Shiprock. Conceivably a proper knowledge of Navaho travel patterns and kinship connections in this area would enable us to settle the question. At present we can only say that there is some evidence that Shiprock and Fruitland have a fair number of contacts, and some that visiting is more likely to occur from Fruitland to communities and towns south and east of there.

The problem of District 8 is also difficult to answer. It is unfortunate that a road map of the Navaho country could not be included in the present study; instead a verbal description must suffice. The eastern border of the District is the Chinle wash, traversed by few roads, one of which runs from Shiprock through District 9 to Mexican Water, from there to Dinnehotso over unusually rocky and difficult roads, and on to Kayenta and Tuba City. A second pair of roads lead from Rock Point to Chilchinbitoh and on to Kayenta, or to the road from Chinle north, and thence to the Kayenta-Dinnehotso road. There is a communication barrier to road travel, but less, of course, to travel by horseback. The northern part of the area is difficult of access from District 9. South of Kayenta is the Black Mountain escarpment. The cliff is too high for direct roads or horseback travel, although roundabout routes are feasible. Much of District 8, in other words, does show some geographical isolation from Districts 9 and 4. Travel to District 10 is easier, but the distances are considerable.

Let us examine the contact reports for District 9. Teec Nos Pas is said to be in

contact with Kayenta; Kayenta is reported to have contacts with Black Mountain, to a limited degree with Chilchinbitoh (where the cult is found), with the communities north and west, and with Tuba City. Kayenta is also said to be oriented more west than east in terms of visiting. For Dinnehotso, on the other hand, we are told that peyotists in the community have kin farther east (in country with many cult adherents), and Aberle's field work there tends to support this observation. Nevertheless, it has been observed that District 8 and District 9, as well as District 8 and District 4, have tended to work together during periods of agitation over the stock reduction question. Thus we have information, both on geography and on contacts, which suggests that a good part of District 8 is somewhat cut off from the east and south. But there are some contacts, and only study can establish why the cult has not spread along these lines.

The hiatus between District 4 and Districts 1, 2, and 3 is not so difficult to understand. The western part of District 4 is rough country, and there are no roads leading to Districts 1 and 2. A road does lead from Pinon through the Hopi country to Tuba City, but it is a considerable distance. Aberle's field work suggests far more travel to the south and east than in this direction. District 5 borders District 3, but since the cult is scantily represented in District 5 its absence in most of District 3 is not surprising. The small cult movement in Grey Mountain is said to have arisen through contacts with Canyon Diablo, in District 5.

The southern part of District 12 shows a rather marked decrease in intensity as compared with the north. It is therefore of interest that one Agency informant for Toadlena remarks that, though there is contact between Toadlena and Shiprock, Toadlena people have kinship connections with non-peyotists in Shiprock.

Before leaving our examination of the map, it should be mentioned that there is communication over the eastern mountain range: between Red Rock-Cove and Lukachukai, and between Naschiti, Tohatchi, and Mexican Springs on the one hand and Crystal, Sawmill, and Fort Defiance on the other. Roads over the mountains are passable in summer, and kinship and friendship ties unite these communities. The relative uniformity of the cult in these areas need not surprise us.

Examination of the anomalous situations suggests that geographical barriers and the orientations of communities in their travel patterns might account for sudden drops in cult intensity. The case is far from secure, however, and intensive study would be required to establish the truth or falsity of these guesses.

None of the barriers mentioned are insuperable, and unless resistance to the spread of the cult is high, we can expect transmission of the cult to the northwestern and far western reservation in the future.

The effect of availability on the cult's spread can be further evaluated by a close analysis of the contact data collected by Moore from Agency employees. Some caution is indicated in approaching this information. First, there is no truly

systematic and exhaustive coverage of the Navaho country, although most districts are represented by at least one community. Second, except when the respondents mention it, there is no information on the relative importance of various contacts. Third, there seem to be fewer employees with experience in the western part of the Navaho country; so information from that area is more limited. Fourth, the informational basis for making the judgments probably varies considerably from one employee to the next.

One approach to the data is to ask, What are the centers of communication? In the vast majority of cases, a community is mentioned as a contact point only once. But in a few cases several respondents mention a particular community as one in contact with the community on which they are reporting. Thus, for example, respondents from several communities may each state that the community about which they have information has contact with, say, Shiprock. We may assume that communities chosen repeatedly in this fashion are communication centers.

We will treat as a communication center any community chosen three or more times in this body of data. This procedure yields the following list: on the Reservation, Shiprock (7 choices), Ft. Defiance (4), Sawmill (4), Tohatchi (3), and Tuba City (3); off-Reservation towns, Gallup (9), Flagstaff (4), and Farmington (3). There were a total of 105 mentions, of which 75 were mentions of communities in the Navaho country, 4 were of areas in the Navaho country (e.g., Pinon people are said to visit "District 8"), 1 of a mine (not properly speaking a community) in the Navaho country, 22 of towns adjoining the Reservation, and 3 of other tribes. Thus our communication centers are responsible for 37 mentions, or more than a third of all mentions. A total of 51 Navaho communities were mentioned at least once; 4 areas were mentioned at least once; one mine was mentioned once; 8 communities neighboring the Reservation were mentioned at least once; 2 Rio Grande pueblos (Zia and Jemez) and Towaoc were mentioned once. Our communications centers on the Reservation are less than 10 per cent of the communities mentioned; off-Reservation town centers are three eighths of towns mentioned.

The communities and towns chosen three or more times, though by no means the only ones which would be suggested by some one familiar with the Navaho country, are reasonable as communication centers. Shiprock stands at the intersection of two highways, receives the flow of Navaho travel going north and east from a major part of the Reservation, and is a community with a relatively dense population, a hospital, high school, District headquarters (former seat of the Northern Navajo Agency), missions, three restaurants or lunch counters, a hotel, and a motel. It is mentioned as a contact for communities in Districts 9, 12, 13 (northern) and 14 (southern).

Ft. Defiance is a District headquarters and has a hospital, a lunch counter, missions, and schools. Sawmill is the site of the Tribal sawmill, drawing employees from the surrounding territory, and has a lunch counter. Tohatchi is a District headquarters, had a hospital from 1927 to 1946 (Young, 1955, p. 90), has a school and a lunch counter. Contacts are mentioned with at least one of these centers for communities in Districts 9, 11, 14, 16, and 18. The selection of three centers in a small area in the south suggests the importance of this general area as a communications focus.

Tuba City is a District headquarters, former headquarters of the Western Navajo Agency, a hospital site, and has a school. Other facilities are not known to the authors. Its remoteness from Navajo Agency headquarters at Window Rock makes it more important as a center than the usual District headquarters. Contacts are mentioned for Districts 1, 3, 5, and 8.

Gallup is mentioned as a contact point for communities in Districts 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18; Farmington for communities in Districts 13 and 14; Flagstaff for communities in Districts 3, 5, 7, and 8.

Although it would be incorrect to assume that our data provide us either with a complete list of important contact points or with a complete list of inter-community contacts, and hazardous to assume that our list of contacts is a random sample of all contacts, it provides a picture which seems to have some validity. The centers selected would be considered centers by most observers; the flow of contacts seems reasonable.

We might ask, What is the relationship between peyotism and this contact pattern? If we know that the peyote cult was introduced in our communications centers, it is reasonable to assume that it thereby became available to a large number of communities in contact with those centers; conversely, if peyote was not introduced into a communications center, it would not spread to the communities served by that center. Peyote reached Shiprock early, and the northern Reservation has a number of communities with many adherents. The cult reached the southern centers shortly afterward, and a little later a cadre of priests developed there, and, although peyote is not so prominent in the south, it is found almost everywhere. Peyote has not yet reached Tuba City, and the area served by Tuba is almost devoid of peyotists. Furthermore, Gallup serves as a center for part of the north, the south and the east. Farmington serves the north and part of the south. Flagstaff serves the northwest and southwest. Hence the flow of communication in the north and south tends to unite cult members and to bring them in contact with non-members; in the west, the pattern of travel draws individuals away from areas where the cult is present.

There is another approach to the contact data gathered by Moore. If availability is an inconsequential factor in cult distribution, and factors which make

for the cult's appeal are the only important ones, then there should be a random relationship between intercommunity contacts and cult intensity. That is, a community which lacks the cult might be expected to have an equal number of contacts with communities which have a high level of cult intensity or a low level, or which lack adherents. A community with a high level of intensity would show a similar randomness, and so on. Moore's contact data may be employed to test for the randomness of this relationship. But in using the reports he secured we must make two assumptions: first, that if an employee reports contact between two communities, this indicates a significant amount of contact; second, that the contacts reported are a representative sample of all contacts of significance between communities. Neither of these assumptions can be proved. There are other difficulties, as well. Reports of contacts are made for various time-periods, but must be treated as if they were constant for all time-periods. Otherwise we have too few cases to work with. Finally, even if we can show a relationship between the contact pattern reported by employees and level of cult adherence, we cannot be sure whether contacts affect the level of cult membership, or membership affects contacts, or both. Field experience indicates that peyotists have extraordinarily wide circles of acquaintanceship on the Navajo Reservation. These often arise out of peyote meetings; hence we know that the existence of the cult in a community influences its contacts with other communities. Nevertheless, it seems probable that the pattern of contacts reported by employees is not determined by peyote alone, but by geographical proximity, roads, and kinship and that it serves as a transmission belt rather than arises solely or mainly out of contacts created by the cult's spread.

Using the median values for peyote in various Navaho communities for our two time-periods, we may construct tables to test the relationship between reported contacts and level of peyotism. In constructing Tables 7 and 8, we have removed duplications. Thus Tohatchi is reported as a contact for Naschiti, and Naschiti for Tohatchi. Only one of these reports has been used. Elimination of duplications does not affect the significance of the results. A few reports have been omitted when the report is of contact between a community and a large area, if there is great variability within the area. Thus a report of contact between Pinon and District 8 is of no utility since we do not know whether it refers to contact with Chilchinbito, where we find a fair number of cult members, or to Oljetoh, where at the time the survey was made there presumably were no members. We have also omitted cases where the level of peyote is uncertain, but we have included a number of reports for Districts 1, 2, 3, and for some parts of 8. We have explained earlier our basis for assuming the absence of the cult in all but a few communities in these Districts.

The nature of the following two tables may be best explained by an example.

TABLE 7. *Relationship between reported contact and cult intensity, for 46 contacts, early time period (before 1946)*

	To communities with no cult members	To communities with .5–1.5 adherence	To communities with 2–3 adherence	
Contacts from communities with no cult members...	10	4	0	
Contacts from communities with .5–1.5 adherence...	3	8	2	$\chi^2 = 28.85$ $p < .01$
Contacts from communities with 2–3 adherence.....	1	6	12	

If Tohatchi, with a late time-period cult level of 2, is said to be in contact with Fort Defiance, with a late level of 1.5, then we would have an entry for the late time-period in the third row of the table (contacts from communities with 2–4.5 adherence) and in the second column (to communities with .5–1.5 adherence). If Tohatchi has contacts reported with other communities, these will be placed in the same row, and in the columns appropriate to those communities.

The relationships summarized in the two following tables were tested with the Mood maximum-likelihood ratio for bivariate contingency tables, with the .05 level of significance as the criterion (Mood, 1950, p. 276).

From these tables we can say that if a community has a high level of cult intensity, it is likely to be reported as having contact predominantly with other communities with a high level of intensity; if it has a low level, its reported contacts will be with communities with low levels; if it has no cult members, its contacts will be predominantly with other communities with no members. Even if we are incorrect in assuming no membership for some communities, we could at most infer only a low level of membership. This would collapse our data into 2 x 2 tables and divide communities into those with little or no cult intensity and those with considerable intensity. A significant relationship between contact and intensity is still found.

Although these tables may in part reflect the impact of peyotism on intercommunity contacts among the Navaho, a map of the contacts (not reproduced here) indicates a considerable geographical clustering of contacts. We are probably safe in assuming that in part, at least, we are measuring the impact of contacts on cult intensity; definitive proof of this proposition, however, would require a far more detailed study of the contact pattern and a technique of controlling the effects of cult growth on intercommunity contacts.

3. Summary. We began with the general observation that the pattern of distribution of the peyote cult in the Navaho country for both the early and the late time-period is that of a strong cult in the north, a pervasive cult with fewer adherents in the south and central areas, and a cult movement weak or absent in

TABLE 8. *Relationship between reported contact and cult intensity, for 66 contacts, late time period (1946–51)*

	To communities with no cult members	To communities with .5–1.5 adherence	To communities with 2–4.5 adherence	
Contacts from communities with no cult members...	9	0	3	
Contacts from communities with .5–1.5 adherence...	2	12	10	$\chi^2 = 32.49$ $p < .01$
Contacts from communities with 2–4.5 adherence....	1	9	20	

the west. There are many variations within each area and many striking anomalies in this distribution. Since full, precise data on cult availability are lacking, we have asked whether this over-all pattern of cult distribution can reasonably be explained in part on the assumption of differential availability. Our knowledge of the movement of the cult, from north to south and then west, suggests an association of availability and intensity. If we use mileage from Towaoc as an index to the position of communities in a contact chain, we find a statistically significant association between nearness to Towaoc and cult intensity for the early time-period, but not for the late (omitting from both tests areas in which the cult is presumably absent today). The first finding fits the assumption that availability affects cult intensity in the Navaho case; the lack of significance for the second test is provisionally explained on the basis of a secondary southern center of dissemination. If availability is of some importance for cult intensity, we would also expect an association between earlier exposure and greater numbers of adherents. This relationship was tested by means of district, rather than community, data, and proved significant.

Examination of the geography and road system of the Navaho country, and of data on contacts suggested that apparent anomalies in the distribution pattern might in part be the result of lack of contact between certain communities with little cult membership and other communities with many adherents, even though the communities with few adherents are geographically rather close to the others. The issue remains in doubt in the absence of more detailed contact information. Interview data were analyzed to discover reported centers of communication. It is reasonable to assume that cult introduction in a communication center would result in exposure of individuals to the cult in the area served by that center, and that the absence of the cult from such a center would reduce exposure of surrounding communities. Shiprock is a center for the north; the cult was introduced there early and the surrounding area shows a high level of cult intensity. Slightly later the cult was introduced into a southern focus, represented by Tohatchi, Sawmill, and Ft. Defiance, and the cult is found in the south. Tuba City is the

western center; the cult is absent there, and the northwest and southwest are virtually unaffected. The flow of travel to towns surrounding the Reservation, too, is such as to separate the west from other areas and hence to militate against flow of the cult into the west. Finally, if availability is not a significant factor, there should be no special association between the level of the cult in a given community and the level of the cult in other communities with which it is reported to be in contact. In fact, however, a strong association is found. Although it is possible that intercommunity contacts are themselves influenced by the existence of the cult, it seems probable from a mapping of contacts that differential availability is influencing cult levels in the communities for which we have contact data.

Although these findings are not conclusive, they support the proposition that the present and the past pattern of cult distribution in the Navaho country can be accounted for in part in terms of the relative availability of the cult to various communities. This statement in no way denies the importance of other factors, but indicates that any present analysis of the level of adherence achieved in a Navaho community must take into account the availability factor. An explanation solely in terms of factors which may make the cult attractive to Navahos is not adequate. If, however, the country becomes saturated with peyotist proselytizing, it may become possible to treat availability as a constant and to deal only with appeal factors.

G. Livestock Reduction and the Navaho Peyote Cult

Nativistic cults in general and the peyote cult in particular are frequently interpreted as responses to deprivation. (See, for example, Nash, 1937, and Barber, 1941a and 1941b, for statements of this approach. Firth, 1955, has dealt with cargo cults in a manner which is superficially somewhat different but actually quite similar.) Students of the Navaho have tended to see the livestock-reduction program as a major deprivation experience for the Navaho tribe, an interpretation with which Aberle would decidedly agree. It therefore becomes a matter of some interest to ask whether the chronological data shed any light on the question of a relationship between acceptance of the peyote cult by the Navaho and the livestock-reduction program. If we found that the cult was widespread and eagerly accepted prior to stock reduction, we would not wish to assume that acceptance of the cult resulted from the deprivation experience. If we found that the cult spread rapidly shortly after stock reduction, we might consider the possibility of a connection. If we found that the cult had been widely available prior to stock reduction, but had gained few members until after reduction, and had then grown rapidly, we would be more inclined to relate the two events.

The history of stock reduction itself raises some problems in attempting to decide when the Navahos first began to experience deprivation in connection with

reduction. Thus, the Bureau of Indian Affairs discussed range control with the Navajo Tribal Council as early as 1928 (Survey of Conditions, p. 17986). The Zeh report, which was based on work done in 1931 and which was certainly available by 1933, recommended stock reduction (*loc. cit.*), and its contents may well have been known to the Navaho before 1933. In 1929 the Wall Street crash occurred, followed in 1930 and subsequent years by a general drop in employment opportunities which affected Navahos, and by a drop in prices, including livestock prices. Hence the Navaho suffered a double reduction of income during the depression. In November of 1933, stock reduction was proposed to the Tribal Council, and between winter of 1933–34 and fall of 1935 there were three major sales of Navaho livestock, voluntary from the Government's point of view, but enforced according to Navaho interpretation (Survey of Conditions, 17986–17989 and *passim*). The record of Congressional hearings regarding desirable borders for the Navajo Reservation amply reveals the intense disturbance with which the Navaho responded to these measures (Survey of Conditions, *passim*). Truly effective reduction began in 1937, but disturbance over reduction clearly began at least as early as the sales of 1933–35, may have begun with the depression, and may possibly have started earlier, when Navahos first began to realize that there was pressure from the Government against indefinite expansion of herds.

Surely by 1933–35 some Navahos had experienced a reduction of their herds which disrupted their economic life, and many more had realized that the gaining of livelihood and prestige by the raising, use, and sale of livestock was seriously threatened. The rapid spread of the peyote cult south of the San Juan occurred, so far as we can determine, after mid-1936. Hence initial acceptance of the cult occurred after the first pangs of stock reduction. The cult continued to spread rather rapidly during the period 1937–40, when active stock reduction was taking place. (See Spicer, 1952, for an account of the stock-reduction program which, although it contains some errors relative to chronology and actual procedures, provides a fairly clear picture of the program and its effects. Young, 1955, pp. 116–120, provides figures on the livestock census from 1930 to 1954.) During the war years reduction was not pursued actively, but holdings were not allowed to increase radically; the same is true today. The cult, of course, continues to grow. In sum, the cult began to spread south of the San Juan after the beginning of stock reduction and continued to expand as stock reduction continued.

If we ask about the availability of the cult prior to reduction, however, the answer is less clear. There are scattered, but by no means well-established, contacts reported for dates prior to stock reduction from Aneth, Shiprock, Red Mesa, Red Rock, communities between Toadlena and Tohatchi, Huerfano (Carson), Little Water, Leupp, and a few other places. Of these we can be reasonably sure of *Grace Carey of Shiprock, 1930; *Tom Sumner of Red Rock, 1928; and *Thomas

Shute of Little Water, 1926. The first two stem from the Towaoc Utes, the last from the Mescalero. If all the reports are substantially correct, they would suggest that exposure to the cult of individuals in a number of areas resulted in a minimum growth of the cult prior to stock reduction. There are, however, many records of sporadic contact with the cult in a number of tribes which occurred prior to the cult's becoming popular in those tribes. But these "failures" of the cult to take hold have not been shown to be systematically related to "unreadiness" for the cult (see, for example, Stewart, 1944, pp. 70–71).

To sum up, the cult began a rapid spread south of the San Juan after stock reduction began, but we cannot be sure of its level of availability before stock reduction. Under these circumstances we may be entitled to look for a connection between the deprivation caused by stock reduction and the acceptance of the peyote cult, but the case is far from proved. If we could show that individuals particularly affected by stock reduction were especially susceptible to the cult, or that areas particularly affected had high proportions of cult adherents, the case would be materially strengthened. These problems are not strictly germane to our chronological study and will be reserved for a future publication.

IV. CONCLUSION

A. Summary

The travels of some White River Utes to the Dakotas and back to the Northern Ute Reservation between summer of 1906 and October of 1908 preceded and presumably facilitated the transmission of the peyote cult from the Dakotas to the Northern Ute. Although sporadic use of peyote by Northern Utes prior to 1914 may have occurred (and one informant reports such use), the critical event in the spread of the cult to the Northern Ute appears to have been the arrival of Samuel Lone Bear, originally from Pine Ridge, South Dakota, who almost certainly came to the Northern Ute Reservation in 1914. He seems to have centered his activities in Ouray and to have proselytized among Utes originally from Colorado (Uncompaghre and White River). In other words, Lone Bear's missionary work occurred in a group which included those White River dissidents who had established Dakota contacts. The earliest documented date is 1916 (Peyote: Hearings, 1918). The initial spread of the cult was rapid. Among the known converts by 1916 was "Weechits", presumably the Wee'tseets' who was the first Northern Ute to take the cult to Towaoc.

There are some reports of early contacts of Southern Utes with Oklahoma peyotists — whether Utes from Towaoc or from Ignacio or both, we cannot be sure. One Ignacio informant reports that his use of peyote dates back to about 1900, through Arapaho contacts. Ignacio seems to have been visited by Lone Bear, presumably some time between 1914, when he first went to the Northern Ute, and 1917, when Herbert Stacher went to school. John P. Hart probably came to Ignacio by 1917, and a number of other Oklahoma visitors followed. The Ignacio cult, however, seems to have gone into a static or declining period as early as 1930. Ignacio peyotism played no important part in the development of the Navaho cult. The earliest documented date is 1936–37 (Opler, 1940).

The Towaoc cult dates from the arrival of Wee'tseets', which must have occurred some time between 1914 and 1917. Lone Bear paid visits to the area but apparently did not run meetings. John P. Hart's visit about 1917 was another important incident. It seems to have been followed by continued visits by many other Oklahoma peyotists, predominantly Cheyenne, as well as by Hart's continued activities. The Towaoc cult has continued to grow ever since the first introduction, with about 85% of the group now peyotist. There are many Towaoc peyote priests today. The earliest documented date is 1935 (Gifford, 1941).

We have pointed out that Lone Bear was active among the White River and Uncompaghre groups on the Northern Ute Reservation. Precisely those groups were connected by ties of kinship and friendship with the Southern Ute groups,

through earlier residence in Colorado. Although Wee'tseets' himself came from Uintah Basin, Utah, the fact that he was regarded as a kinsman by one of the Towaoc Utes makes it probable that his own antecedents were Colorado Ute. Wee'tseets' own background is not critical, however, since there was, in any case, a history of connections between the White River and Uncompaghre Ute on the one hand, and the Southern Ute on the other. Again, contacts preceded and probably aided in cult transmission.

Transmission of the cult from the Towaoc Ute to the Navaho was without doubt facilitated by well-established relationships between northern Navaho groups and Towaoc Utes. Some Navahos north of the San Juan may have used peyote before 1920, indeed almost from the time of introduction of the cult at Towaoc. There was certainly some use by 1930, and more thereafter. There are scattered contacts south of the San Juan reported for the 'twenties, including one with the Mescalero Apache. A cadre of Navaho peyote priests was developed in the Mancos Creek area, probably in the early 'thirties, and perhaps in the 'twenties. The CCC projects on the Southern Ute Reservation introduced a number of Navahos to the cult between 1933 and 1938. The vast majority of these individuals probably came from Districts 9 and 12. Work on the CCC presumably acquainted such Navahos not only with peyote, but also with Ute peyote priests and Navaho peyote priests from Mancos Creek, who were working on the CCC among the Utes. This may well have assisted in the movement of the Mancos Creek priests and Ute priests south of the San Juan. There are scattered reports of peyote use south of the San Juan prior to 1935, but most cases are uncertain. The cult was definitely a visible phenomenon to a few white observers who left off traveling around the Reservation or left the Reservation between 1935 and 1937. Beginning in mid-1936 and particularly in 1937 there was a marked increase in meetings south of the San Juan. Ceremonies were held in a number of Navaho communities in a belt on and slightly west of Highway 666, between Shiprock and Gallup. Additional priests were quickly recruited; a secondary center of diffusion in the south developed by 1940, and the spread continued. The Navajo Tribal Council took action against the cult's spread in 1940 and continues to oppose it today. The earliest documented date is January, 1938 (Law and Order files, Navajo Agency, recording the arrests of *Bill and *Charlie Rodman).[14] The rapid spread of the cult followed the profound disturbances at-

[14] We use January, 1938, as the earliest documented date for Navaho use of peyote, and Navajo Law and Order files as the source. It should be said, however, that Kluckhohn's files of field notes, although they do not mention peyote for 1936, do mention knowledge of peyote, vague at Ramah and more concrete at Chaco Canyon, in 1937. The notes do not, however, suggest that there were members of the cult in either area in 1937. In addition, in his "Navaho Witchcraft" Kluckhohn has stated, "Within the last five years peyote suddenly became very popular in restricted areas of the Navaho country" (1944, p. 52). Elsewhere he makes it clear that in all except specified passages he writes as of autumn, 1941 (1944, p. 5). Kluckhohn and Leighton elsewhere make it clear that the "restricted areas" are the northern Reservation and that they consider the cult to be derived from the Utes (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946,

tendant on early livestock-sales programs (1933–35) and accompanied later stock-reduction programs (1937 and following). The cult continues to move into new communities and to gain new converts today. In 1951 it included some 12–14 per cent of a tribe which then numbered at least 70,000 individuals.

The cult has many adherents in some areas and few in others. Some of this variability can reasonably be accounted for in terms of the relative availability of the cult to various communities. This statement is supported by analysis of cult history, the geography of the Navaho country, the communication pattern on the Reservation, and various statistical tests.

Further research, by the authors or by others, may modify this picture, which we have drawn rather starkly in this final section, without the many qualifications presented earlier in the work. Earlier developments may be discovered, or relationships between groups may be found where we know of none. Other modifications may be necessary. But future work should be materially aided by our summary of what is now known about the chronology of the peyote cult among Northern and Southern Utes and Navahos, and about the present distribution of the cult in the Navaho country.

B. General Implications

Study of the peyote cult has a perennial appeal for anthropologists. In part, its fascination seems to lie in the fact that cult ceremonies center about the use of the peyote cactus, which produces such unusual psychological responses in some users. But interest in the cult also arises from the fact that research results have broader implications for diffusion theory, for the study of religion, for theories about nativistic movements, and the like. We have not aimed here at stating or testing highly general propositions, but our findings have some implications both for the study of the peyote cult and for wider problem areas.

Students of the peyote cult have been interested, among other things, in the reasons why the cult has been taken on by one tribe and not by another, why it has gained many adherents in some tribes (or groups within tribes) and not in others, and why some individuals have joined the cult, but not others. It is only fair to say that not very much headway has been made in dealing with these problems (see Stewart, 1944; Spindler, 1955, shows some progress). Our data do not provide any information on individual differences, but they have some relevance for intergroup and intertribal comparisons.

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p. 157). Since "within the last five years" is not absolutely specific, and since Kluckhohn's notes for 1936 and 1937 mention only a knowledge of the existence of peyote, the Law and Order files remain the earliest documented source which unambiguously shows possession of peyote by Navahos. Kluckhohn also remarks (as of 1941) that "conflict with the native religion and the vigorous opposition of the Indian Service have sharply curtailed" the use of peyote, a comment which undoubtedly reflects the active antagonism toward the cult which crystallized in the 1940 Tribal Council action against peyote (Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 52).

It seems reasonable to suppose that the proportions of members to non-members in different groups are affected, among other things, by the degree to which the cult is available to these groups, and by the degree to which the cult has appeal for individuals in the groups. Other factors may well be important, but let us for the moment concentrate on these two and ask what information our study supplies with regard to the effects of these factors.

First, we find that there was a network of contacts between the Dakotas and one group of Northern Ute, between those Northern Ute and the Southern Ute, and between the Towaoc Ute and the Navaho, before cult transmission occurred. We also find a pattern of distribution within the Navaho tribe which can be partially explained by the assumption of differential availability. The general implication of these findings is that one tool for the understanding of the pattern of cult distribution among tribes is the mapping of the nature and degree of contact between different tribes. Efforts to establish regularities between the distance from an original distribution center and the presence, absence, or intensity of the cult may or may not succeed. They rest fundamentally on the assumption of an association between amount of communication and mileage. It would therefore seem as useful to study intertribal contact patterns as to measure miles, in accounting for the cult's distribution. Although we have used mileage in our own analysis, it has been used only as a rough measure of degree of contact rather than as a factor in and of itself, or as identical with degree of contact. As between tribes, the presence or absence of railroads and highways, the nature of relationships between tribes, and the like, may well disrupt the regular pattern of concentric rings which would be expectable if availability were significant and mileage were a good measure of availability. Even where no such regular pattern is found, however, a study of contact patterns between tribes might still reveal a close association between the distribution pattern and the contact pattern.

It is highly unlikely that contact can account for all of the observed variance; indeed we can conceive of a situation in which the cult is uniformly available, but in which different proportions of adherents are found. Nevertheless, a thorough analysis of the availability factor would seem to be requisite in any discussion of cult distribution, even if that analysis results in the decision that differential degrees of availability do not account for the distribution. Histories of the peyote cult, however, have by and large focussed on who brought the cult to any given tribe, or from what tribe it came, and when. Studies of pre-existing ties between the groups in question are uncommon.

Second, in spite of the importance of contact patterns for intertribal and intratribal cult distribution, the variance in adherents as between the tribal groups we have studied cannot be accounted for on that basis. At Towaoc the vast majority of the Ute group are cult members; at Ignacio only a minority remain.

Stewart (1941, 1948) and Opler (1940, 1942) disagree as to the basis of this difference, but agree that it exists. Our data do not resolve these differences, although they do remove a special problem from theoretical consideration: there is no "gap" between an early and a late introduction of peyote at Towaoc to account for. The "first" introduction from the Northern Utes was followed almost immediately by the second introduction by John P. Hart. Contact conditions do not account for differences between Towaoc and Ignacio, however. Nor do they account for the existence of a growing cult among the Navaho and a static or declining cult at Ignacio. A careful testing of alternative hypotheses accounting for the differential appeal of the cult to different groups appears to be the next step in accounting for these differences.

In analyzing cult distribution, therefore, it seems necessary to utilize both differential availability and differential appeal. If we use only the appeal factor, we may be attempting to explain differential cult intensities which are largely a matter of degree of exposure to the cult; if we use only availability we may be attempting to explain differences which make sense largely in terms of appeal. Early in the process of transmission availability may be the principal factor; later, appeal may become prepotent. An examination of both elements must be attempted for the most satisfactory results, and a careful evaluation of the distribution of the cult in the United States in these terms is still in the future.

Finally, we regard the present study as an archive for use in future studies. Our data on cult intensity in two time-periods among the Navaho provide information on differential cult growth. These data can now be used for studies of factors promoting cult growth, and also afford the possibility of comparison with data collected later. Suitably combined with measures of such diverse factors as have been assumed to be important for cult growth — cultural breakdown, acculturation, economic deprivation, and the like — they provide useful information for theoretically oriented studies of the peyote cult.

To return to our beginning, we have provided a chronology of one chapter of the history of the peyote cult. We have attempted to show the relevance of our data to some theoretical problems. We believe that the location of the events we have described in time and space will be of assistance to those who wish to attack the perennial problem of the differential distribution of the peyote cult. Answers to this problem, in turn, have value for the study of the diffusion process, of religious phenomena in general, and of the nativistic movements in particular.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEWS

Perhaps the most important — though not, as they stand, the best — materials for understanding the beginnings of the Navaho cult are the interviews with the Mancos Creek men and with one or two other early figures in the cult's history. We present here extracts from two interviews with *Bill Rodman, one with *Al Rodman, and one with *Dave Lyons, three of the five Mancos Creek men. Aberle did not record *Charlie Rodman's interviews (1950, 1951, 1952) in full at the time; only in the case of the 1952 interview was *Charlie co-operative, and only then were any notes made on the spot. It does not seem profitable to reproduce journal extracts regarding interviews with *Charlie, the greater part of which have already been utilized in this study. In addition, we provide the account of *Dan Pritchard, who drove the Mancos Creek men to various communities south of the San Juan as soon as, or almost as soon as, they began to travel about the Reservation, and the account of *Albert and *Grace Carey, who were in a position to observe the spread of the Ute cult and some of the first meetings held for Navahos. In all cases, interviews have been cut; chronological materials have been presented, but long sections on beliefs about peyote, ideology, and the like have been omitted as not strictly relevant to the present endeavor.

A. *Bill Rodman

1. 1949 interview. No interpreter. Informant's English poor.

Q: When did you first use peyote?

*B. R.: I used it 37 years ago. I am 47 years old. My boy is 21. It was across the state line, at Mancos Creek. I knew little about it then — I played at it — and I knew about God. I was sick for a long time, I used other things — wine, whiskey and beer, and I didn't like it [peyote] at that time. I got sick; the wine burned my stomach. I was working in Colorado. I used it four times, and then I was OK. I no longer use liquor — I just hold to the Native American Church and pray. I know about God.

I am the first Navaho man to use it. Then my brother, *Charlie Rodman, who also drank, got hold of the Native American Church. He quit whiskey and was OK. He used it in the Army, I guess. . . . It was at Towaoc that I first used it; I was in school at Towaoc four years, and when school was over I went to herd sheep with the Utes, and I drank. Boys did not use peyote, just men, and they said peyote is OK, but liquor is no good. And he [presumably James Lamb, see below] said it helped. And then I got sick. I went in and got OK. Then I did not use liquor or cards, and I used peyote. The Ute was James Lamb who took me in. I was six years with the Utes and learned it from the Utes. The Utes ran meetings at Shiprock and Teec Nos Pas. John P. Hart gave me peyote the first time. [Apparently James Lamb persuaded him to attend, and the meeting was run by John P. Hart.] In 1929, at age 27, I learned to run meetings myself. John P. Hart taught me how. The *Clagg family [at Divide Store, where *Bill now lives, having married *Allen Clagg's daughter] have used peyote for 11 years [1938].

Q: [Not recorded, but involved an effort to check chronology]?

*B. R.: I started running meetings 11 years ago. I ran meetings when I was 21, 26 years ago. I brought it to Mancos Creek in 1926, and ran meetings at Mancos Creek before my boy was born.

Q: Where did you go then?

*B. R.: Lukachukai was next. And *Allen Clagg brought his daughter up to my place [at Mancos

Creek] after that. She had tried hospitals and Navaho medicine. Then she got OK from that medicine [peyote]. Then I married her. My first wife would not use peyote. She said it was no good. Then she died in a hospital. I have two children over there [at Mancos Creek]. Then I married *Allen Clagg's daughter. He gave her to me. We have four daughters. That was seven years ago.
Q: When did peyote first come on the Reservation?
*B. R.: About 12 years ago [1937].
Q: [Not recorded, renewed effort to straighten out chronology]?
*B. R.: I started the first time in 1937. On November 15 I started to get sick. My son told me to go in. I cleaned up, and went in, and ate lots of medicines, about 50, and then I was all right.
Q: When did you first start with peyote then?
*B. R.: Thirty-seven years ago [1917], before first world war. [At this point *Bill and I agreed to go to Gallup to find an interpreter. We missed connections there.]
Comment: *Bill's English is poor, and there was room for the greatest possible misunderstanding on dates. He may possibly have been trying to tell me of various states of involvement with the cult. It is even conceivable that the story about 1937 refers to the son and not to *Bill. — D. F. A.

*2. 1952 interview. *Dan Pritchard, interpreter.*

Q: [Not recorded; its intent was: How, when, and where did you first start using peyote?]
*B. R.: I started thirty-nine years ago with peyote [1913] at Towaoc, from a Ute, Little Ute [James Mills]. He is gone [dead] now.
Q: How old are you?
*B. R.: I am 54. [*B. R. would then have started age 15.]
Q: Then you must have been pretty young when you started?
*B. R.: Yes, I was just a boy.
Q: Tell me more about it.
*B. R.: I was herding sheep for the Utes. I had heard about it before I used it. But I drank. Then I began to use it.
Q: Did many Utes use it then?
*B. R.: Only a few Utes used it then.
Q: How long had they been using it?
*B. R.: I don't know.
Q: I heard they didn't use it until after the time you mention.
*B. R.: Maybe whoever told you that made a mistake.
Q: Was that before or after World War I?
*B. R.: It was before World War I. I didn't run meetings then.
Q: When did you first run meetings?
*B. R.: About 22 years ago [1930].
Q: Was that before or after they had a meeting for *Grace Carey? [Probable date, 1930.]
*B. R.: The meeting for *Grace was later, several years after.
Q: Who was President of the U. S. when you began to run meetings?
*B. R.: It was before Roosevelt [inaugurated 1933].
Q: Who taught you to run a meeting?
*B. R.: I learned from Little Ute [James Mills].
Q: Who were your first patients?
*B. R.: The first meetings were for Utes.
Q: Where did your first patients among the Navaho come from?
*B. R.: They came from Continental Divide [almost surely Divide Store near Window Rock, but I neglected to check — D. F. A.]. There was a family from Fruitland, *Archie Landon's

relatives, and this family here [*Bill was visiting a Shiprock family, name not recorded] and so on. There was a lady at Sweetwater, very early. *Len Hosford, *Bob Brigham, *Allen Clagg, *Tom Hosford, *Dan Estes of Lukachukai came to Shiprock much later.

Q: Did any other Navahos use peyote when you started?

*B. R.: None. My mother started two years later. [*Charlie Rodman, his younger brother, believes their mother started before either of them.] A few at Mancos Creek started later. *Tim Waggonner [not contacted] was the only one who started early. The rest quit; they thought it was dangerous.

Q: When did *Charlie start?

*B. R.: He started three years after I did — that is, he ate it then. He drank at that time. *Al [*Bill's oldest brother] started eight years later. He was afraid of it. *Dave Lyons was afraid, but he started to use it. He learned how to run a meeting separately [from me].

Q: What about *Ed Lyons?

*B. R.: I don't know about him [when he started].

Q: How are *Dave and *Ed Lyons related to you?

*B. R.: *Dave married my sister.

Q: Where did you first run a meeting after those you held at Towaoc and at Mancos Creek?

*B. R.: The first meeting I ran was at Lukachukai, for *Jim Paine's family. I don't know when.

Q: Before or after stock reduction?

*B. R.: Before. [Question in this form is useless.]

Q: Before or after the consolidated agency was set up?

*B. R.: Before. [July 1, 1935.]

Q: Before or after the school was built at Aneth?

*B. R.: Before [before 1934–35]. It was nine years ago [1943, badly inconsistent].

Q: When was the meeting for *Tom Lapham's daughter?

*B. R.: Later.

Q: Who was the second meeting for?

*B. R.: *Dan Estes.

Q: What about the meeting for *Don Mumford?

*B. R.: That was later.

Q: How many meetings did you run before World War II?

*B. R.: I don't know.

Q: Who went with you to Lukachukai?

*B. R.: *Charlie and *Al Rodman, *Ed Lyons, and myself. *Sam Thatcher [claims he joined in 1940] took us over. He was beginning at that time. It was *Sam Thatcher who brought us over. He knew of peyote, and use it then [at Lukachukai] — he had come to Mancos Creek before that.

Q: Where did you go next?

*B. R.: To *Bill Chadburn at Lukachukai. Then *Sam Gleason came over for a meeting from Lukachukai. Then the word went round and *Allen Clagg came up to me for a meeting [at Mancos Creek or Towaoc].

Q: Who else?

*B. R.: I don't remember them all. Then I don't remember, but then we went to *Tom Madison's at Red Rock [*Madison denied to D. F. A. ever using peyote]. That was before the meeting for *Frank Loomis' family. *Tom Madison may still be alive, but he doesn't use peyote.

Q: Then where?

*B. R.: Then to Sweetwater, near Emmanuel Mission — to *Frank Delton who is dead now, at his house.

*D. P.: [Interpreter adds own comments.] [Four days later at Sweetwater there was a meeting for *Hank Gaines, who is still using it.]
*B. R.: Then we went to Hogback [near Shiprock] at *Sam Walton's, *Jim Walton's brother.
*D. P.: [Then I went to Naschiti, for *Donald Stearns' sister. She doesn't use it now. And to *Tom Tilden's house at Naschiti and *Andrew Melton's son at Tohatchi Flat.]
*B. R.: He probably doesn't use it. The old man was killed in an automobile accident while he was drunk. Then to *Stan Thornway's place, in the same area. He quit. Then back here to Shiprock. The meetings were a few days apart, 10 days.
Q: How do you mean?
*B. R.: From the meeting at Sweetwater to the meetings at Naschiti and Tohatchi and back again, about 10 days. It was about a year after Lukachukai. [Unfortunately it is not clear whether he means the first meetings at Lukachukai.] Then I was jailed in New Mexico, *Charlie Rodman and I, by the Tribal Police [January, 1938]. This was before there was a tribal law. Also Harry Wall [Ute] was jailed before that. I was running meetings then. They told us not to use it, because it was dangerous. I was put on probation. So I went to Towaoc, and went to a meeting, and ate medicine. *Bill Conroy came to me then.
Q: When did you get married to your present wife at Divide Store?
*B. R.: About 8 years ago.
Q: Was the marriage registered? [Effort to get fixed date.]
*B. R.: No.
Q: When you went to Lukachukai, was that during prohibition or after?
*B. R.: It was during prohibition. [Prior to 1933, but it is a question how significant this is as a date for * B. R. Indian prohibition preceded and followed national.]
Q: How long before the law against peyote [1940]?
*B. R.: I don't know.
Q: Who was chairman of the Tribal Council?
*B. R.: Chee Dodge was still chairman of the Tribal Council at the time. Not the last time he was chairman, but the time before that. [No information on sequence of Tribal Chairmen—D.F.A.]
Q: Who was the agent at Shiprock?
*B. R.: At that time Mr. Six was the Agent, I think. [Pause.] McCray was the agent then. [July 1, 1931 to June 30, 1935.]
Q: Who was agent at Shiprock when you learned to run a meeting?
*B. R.: Was it Shelton? [Shelton was agent as far back as 1903 (Dyk, 1947, p. 130, note 18). Underhill does not provide his dates.] Or Eastep. [No date available; before 1927, when Underhill's list for Northern Navaho begins.]
Q: Who was the Ute Agent?
*B. R.: I don't know the agent. There was a subagent there — it was when the agency was at Navajo Springs and not at Towaoc [moved 1918]. No — it was after they established the Towaoc School that I ran a meeting.
Q: Did you learn several different moons?
*B. R.: I learned that one way [James Mills] and kept it.
Q: Were you sick when you first tried it?
*B. R.: No. I was drinking and gambling and had no goods, and so I kept on that way, and the old Ute said, as long as you gamble and drink you will have nothing, but if you eat it, the Lord Almighty will help you; so I thought I would try. And at that time I believed in nothing, not in God or Jesus or Supreme Being, nor in the Navaho ways. That kind of man. Nor did the missionaries have any effect on me. So I didn't stay in school.
Q: How did you and Little Ute talk?
*B. R.: I spoke a little Ute at the time, and he spoke Navaho. We talked both.

*D. P.: There is a broken language for communication.
Q: How much schooling did you have?
*B. R.: Three years.

. . . . . .

Q: Any military service?
*B. R.: No. I was drafted but I was over-age.

. . . . . .

Q: Did you plan to take peyote to the Navaho people?
*B. R.: When I first went in I thought only of myself. The fourth time I thought of my people. I wondered what to do, and as time passed the Ute said, "If you learn to run a meeting, you must help your people." So after I learned how, my intention was to help them. So I got that in my heart. Or anyone who needs help.
Q: Why did it take so long before you ran meetings for Navahos?
*B. R.: It takes time to learn, and decide — as with you when you studied [to D. F. A.]. I had to study and learn it right, until I was told I knew how. That's why it took me so long.

. . . . . .

Q: What was the trouble at Lukachukai?
*B. R.: The trouble at Lukachukai — there were bad words against us — bad talk against us, and so lots pulled out of peyote.
Q: I heard it was more than bad talk against you — some people who brought peyote there did things that disturbed the local people.
*B. R.: That may have been after I left.
Comments: The choice of events for improving estimates of time does not appear particularly happy. Since *Bill was living so much of the time among the Utes, questions about Shiprock agents and about events in Window Rock seem inappropriate. Questions about national events are not likely to be evocative except for highly acculturated Navahos. Even so, on questions relative to Ute chronology we find *Bill uncertain momentarily as to whether he learned to run a meeting before the Ute Mountain agency removed to Towaoc, or after, even though he says earlier that he did not run meetings until after World War I. He dates his first meetings at 1930, and says they were several years before *Grace Carey visited the Utes for a peyote meeting, but this event can be dated with some certainty as 1930. After providing events to date the Lukachukai meetings, he estimates them at 9 years prior to the interview, considerably later than any event he uses to estimate the event. The 1943 date is unquestionably too late.

We are left with the source of *Bill's peyotism and the conditions under which he learned it (James Lamb, John P. Hart, James Mills, during a period of close contact with the Utes) and the sequence of events (people came to him at Mancos Creek and Towaoc; then he went south of the San Juan and visited Lukachukai, Red Rock, Tohatchi, Naschiti, Sweetwater; then he was arrested). We do not know how long the Lukachukai series took — on the basis of his testimony — but we do know that *Dan Pritchard transported him for most of this period, that this almost certainly started after May of 1936, and that *Bill was arrested in January of 1938.

B. *Al Rodman

*1. 1951 interview. *Dan Pritchard, interpreter.*

Q: (Prior to interview) *Dan, when did you start using peyote?
*D. P.: It's been fourteen years [1937].
Q: How did you come to use peyote first?
*A. R.: Before I came to use it I was a great drunkard. Some of my friends were driving, and the car turned over and I broke my arm. I went to Farmington Hospital, where they threatened to

amputate my arm, and I was advised to run away, and I did, wearing an iron cast. Meanwhile *Bill and *Charlie Rodman came to Farmington to get me and brought me to the Utes, near Mesa Verde. [He then used peyote.] And up to this day I think of it; it's good for me and for other people and I have confidence in it. *Bill Rodman, my brother, was the first to learn it from the Utes. He learned it from Little Ute [James Mills].

Q: When was that?

*A. R.: *Bill started, and he learned to run a meeting 32 years ago [1919].

Q: And you?

*A. R.: I started to run meetings 20 years ago [1931].

Q: About these five men, what was the order?

*A. R.: *Bill was the first. *Ed Lyons learned from *Bill [*Bill denies this]. *Dave Lyons was third. *Charlie Rodman was fourth. I was last. These five went out like a mission for the Native American Church, and that's how it spread out. . . .

Q: Where were you living when you started?

*A. R.: At Mancos Creek.

Q: What relationship are *Bill and *Charlie Rodman to you?

*A. R.: Younger brothers.

Q: And *Dave Lyons?

*A. R.: *Dave was my brother-in-law, and *Ed [Dave's son] my nephew. *Dave married my sister, but they are now separated.

Q: Any others?

*A. R.: Just the five of us.

Q: When did *Bill first start?

*A. R.: He used it 32 years ago [1919], among the Utes, and a year and a half later [1921?], I hear he started to run meetings among the Utes [conflicts slightly with above].

Q: And *Charlie?

*A. R.: *Charlie started to run meetings 29 years ago [1922 — he would have been very young] from *Bill. [Notes not clear; this may have been the date for first use. It is immediately followed by:] He learned to run a meeting 18 years ago [1933], two years after he first ate it [1931 — highly inconsistent]. He learned to run a meeting from *Bill [denied by *Charlie]. *Ed Lyons started to run meetings before *Charlie did. *Ed's father [Dave Lyons] started later; the two had separated and he had gone down the river [southwest along the San Juan]. *Bill was living across the state line and people came to him over there. They [*Bill and brothers] did not travel [about on the Reservation].

Q: When was this?

*A. R.: These things occurred right after World War I [!].

Q: Did the Navahos know about peyote then?

*A.R.: They didn't, and *Bill ran meetings for the Utes.

Q: Perhaps Navahos asked the Utes to run peyote meetings for them when *Bill learned?

*A. R.: No one asked for Ute meetings among the Mancos Creek people. The Navahos did not use it — neither at Mancos Creek nor at Aneth.

Q: Why did you learn last?

*A. R.: I hated peyote because I was interested in wine. When they [*Bill and *Charlie] were learning songs I had liquor. I put the bottle between them and said, "Drink this and learn — this isn't an old song. . ."

Q: When did they first start to come from the Reservation for peyote meetings?

*A. R.: About 18 years ago [1933], they started from the Reservation to have *Bill run meetings for them.

Q: From where?

*A. R.: From Lukachukai and Fruitland. *Tom Lapham's daughter came; *Sam Thatcher was the first, and then that patient.
Q: Where was the first meeting on the Reservation?
*A. R.: As near as I recall, the first meeting on the Reservation was at Teec Nos Pas, at *Edgar Sleighman's place, some of his relatives.
Q: When?
*A. R.: Fourteen years ago in the spring [1937].
[*A. R. and *D. P. discuss and agree.]
*D. P.: Then there was a meeting for my sister at Sweetwater in the mountains near Emmanuel Mission (two meetings). Then below Sweetwater Store at *Hank Gaines. And then at Hogback [slightly east of Shiprock] at *Tim Callender's place, and then Naschiti — all in a few days. There were five meetings beyond Naschiti — a crippled man who was witched — and then I went back to the Utes.
*A. R.: Then to Lukachukai, the same year, for *Bill Chadburn, and we went there three times. After that they went to stay at Lukachukai, but I returned to Mancos Creek. All the same year. I went to Naschiti, and got married, and stayed there, and my wife was stolen from me there after World War II [he is now married to *D. P.'s sister and living at Beclabito].
Q: What about Red Rock, Divide and Red Lake?
*A. R.: I don't know about those.
Q: Why did you go on the Reservation?
*A. R.: We decided to go over because we were asked to by people who had used it. We didn't decide to go, but we were asked. "Missionaries" is the wrong expression — we did not volunteer — we were asked. . . .

C. *Dave Lyons

*1. 1952 interview. *Dan Pritchard, interpreter.*

Q: How did you happen to start using peyote? And about when?
*D. L.: Seventeen years ago [1936] I had swollen joints and rheumatism, and I had sings, but they didn't do any good. Sixteen years ago [1937] the Utes said, "The Navaho ways are doing you no good. The Utes are using the peyote ceremony. Why not go in — it would help you." And I had a notion to try to get help, and I went. It was a Ute Medicine Man using peyote, the same one who taught *Bill Rodman — he ran the meeting. . . . And then from there I got started running meetings. There were complaints, and a Cheyenne came and I told him, and he said, "Do you want a charter?" and I said, "Yes, give it to me." I was sentenced to 100 days in jail, but $85 was paid by other people, and I served 15 days and got out. . . . .*Bill and *Charlie Rodman and I started the earliest, running the meetings. . . .
Q: Where were you living at that time?
*D. L.: When I started I was living in the Aneth area.
Q: Did you have many Ute friends at the time?
*D. L.: Yes, I had many Ute friends then.
Q: How did you talk to them?
*D. L.: Some Utes speak good Navaho and I speak a little Ute. My folks lived across from Red Wash, and I lived with the Utes a lot. My wife was from Aneth and I stayed there for a time, on the north side of the San Juan, a little west of here, 8–9 miles from here. [Interview held about 10 miles from Shiprock.]
Q: Who ran the first meeting you went to?
*D. L.: Gamola [Gamura South Beecher] ran that meeting.
[*Bill Rodman's teacher was James Mills, not Gamura, and he does not mention Gamura.]

Q: When did you first begin to run meetings?
*D. L.: About a year after I first ate peyote [1938]. Gamola taught me.
Q: Who ran meetings first, you or *Bill?
*D. L.: I heard *Bill ran meetings before I did. We heard that *Charlie and *Al Rodman were not running meetings when first they went on the Reservation, but later we heard that they were. I guess they learned after me.
Q: Who was the patient in the first meeting you ran?
*D. L.: I ran a meeting for *Phil Burleigh, who was a member of the Tribal Council, from Aneth, at Aneth, and the daughter recovered.
*D. P.: I should have said for *Burleigh's daughter, not for *Burleigh.
*D. L.: That was *Tom Burleigh's father.
Q: And the next meeting?
*D. L.: From there I do not remember all the meetings I ran.
Q: Well, where did you go first to run a meeting after you left Aneth and Mancos Creek?
*D. L.: I went from there to Lukachukai.
Q: What happened there?
*D. L.: *Ed Lyons [his son] ran a meeting for *Tom Lapham's daughter.
Q: And then?
*D. L.: Then we went to Shiprock and Aneth and settled there, and ran meetings at Sweetwaters, Rock Point, and through there. I think I was the first one [peyote priest] to go there northwest of Sweetwater, to Sweetwater and Mexican Water.

. . . . . .

Q: How about your son?
*D. L.: *Ed Lyons learned from the Utes, and he learned before me.
Q: Did you learn before, or during, or after they built the school at Aneth?
*D. L.: It was being built when I started — it was in the early part of constructing the school [school built 1934–35].
Q: Was that before, or during, or after the goat reduction?
*D. L.: The goat reduction was going on [1934 was the biggest goat reduction], but the sheep reduction had not started [1937 ff.].
Q: Who was the agent at Shiprock?
*D. L.: Six [1929–31] or McClellan [not a superintendent; dates at Shiprock not known].
Q: Was that before or after they set up the consolidated Navajo Agency?
*D. L.: After [established 1935].
Q: Who was Tribal Chairman?
*D. L.: Jake Morgan [dates not known, but after 1936].
Comments: The construction of the Aneth school and the goat and sheep reduction are probably the best anchor points for this man. There are, however, contradictions among his dates and between his estimates and his dates. Based on the anchor points, 1934–35 is the best estimate for the period in which he began to use peyote, and hence 1935–37 for the time at which he began to run meetings. He mentions that the trouble the group got into at Lukachukai led to the jailing of some of them (in January, 1938, as we have mentioned). He estimates his age at 56, which would mean that he was born in 1896, but looks older than that. He seemed eager to supply information.

D. *Dan Pritchard

1. 1949 interview. No interpreter.

Q: How did you first come to use peyote?
*D. P.: I joined because my sister was sick, don't know when, 12–13 years ago [1936–37] bef. [?]

Lukachukai. My sister used the medicine man and the hospital, and I took her to the [New Mexico-Colorado] state line, where *Bill Rodman was living, and I asked for a meeting for my sister and I left her, because I didn't believe [in peyote], and she stayed two more days, and *Bill and *Charlie Rodman wanted me, and she was able [by then] to eat and sit up, not before. Another meeting was held that night, and we went the first time [*D. P. and presumably his wife]. I felt bad, I had been unable to sleep. I brought my sister back; she felt better. It had to be repeated four times to have effect — that's the Navaho belief. Now she is still living, and is OK now. She is only 30 — I am 61. And that's how I knew [that peyote was a good thing]. *Bill and *Charlie Rodman made their home here and performed ceremonies as they were called for, because I had a car. . . .*Ben Eastman will testify I am the one who gave him peyote, although he was against it [at that time].

Q: Who were the first Navahos to use peyote?

*D. P.: *Bill and *Charlie Rodman. *Bill was the first, and *Charlie, his brother. *Bill, the older, was the first. He has used it 22–36 years. . . . *Bill lived at Towaoc for a long time. A Ute learned peyote from Oklahoma, and he [*Bill] learned first [of the Navaho]. *Dave Lyons was the third of the three original Navahos. They lived among the Utes for a long time and learned over there. All of them learned from one Ute who got it from a Cheyenne.

2. 1952 interview. No interpreter.

Q: When did you first use peyote?

*D. P.: I started perhaps 14 years ago [1938].

Q: When was that in relation to stock reduction?

*D. P.: The goat reduction was over, the sheep reduction had not yet started [after 1934].

Q: Had the consolidated agency started yet?

*D. P.: Yes. [Started July 1, 1935.]

Q: Who was the Tribal Chairman?

*D. P.: Tom Dodge. (Dates unknown to me, D. F. A.].

Q: Who was agent at Shiprock?

*D. P.: I don't know if it was Six [January 1, 1929 to January 31, 1931] or McCray [July 1, 1931 to June 30, 1935]. Fryer was general superintendent maybe [April 16, 1936 to May 31, 1942], I went to Washington in 1935 or 1936 [appeared at Congressional hearings May 15, 1936, in Washington]. Tom Dodge may have been Tribal Chairman or a sub-agent. Maybe I used peyote when I went to Washington. No, [emphatically] I did not use peyote at that time. *Ben Eastman started to run meetings a year later.

Comment: Notes unclear at one point. Text can be read as "before" Lukachukai or "below" Lukachukai. "Before" makes most sense.—D. F. A.

E. *Grace and *Albert Carey

*1. 1951 interview. *Fred Goodman, interpreter for *Albert; no one for *Grace.*

Q: When did you first use peyote?

*A. C.: I heard of peyote meetings in the beginning at White Rock [Northern Ute] several years ago, and then it went to the [Southern] Ute Reservation. When it came there I did not know it was about. I often went to meetings and inquired what they were doing — and I didn't know much. I was a drinker and a gambler at the time and had no way of knowing whether it was a religion or an ordinary thing. In 1929 my wife had a baby, and she got sick and was hospitalized, and was not improved. We tried sings and they didn't help. We went to the Pueblos for sucking cures — Laguna, Santo Domingo, and Hopi. None did any good. We had nothing to turn to. Why not go to the Utes and have a meeting? She was sick through the winter and spring. So that's how it

happened. I decided to hold a meeting for her on the Ute Reservation; it was done. I got peyote from Ignacio. The Utes bought them, and they all went to the meeting. I ate peyote. At midnight after the water, my wife wanted to go out. She came in on crutches and went out without them. And after the meeting, she used crutches no more. She was well in one night. After the hospital and the chants, it was a miracle cure in one night. I went back to drinking after that; my wife had the medicine and she took it often. Ten years ago [1941] . . . [he took up peyote seriously]. . . .

Q: When your wife started to use it, what Navahos were using it?

*G. C.: *Al, *Bill, and *Charlie Rodman, *Dave and *Ed Lyons were using it then. They were running meetings at Lukachukai, later.

Q: Did people from here use it then?

*A. C.: A few went up, but almost all were Navahos from the area where these five lived.

Q: When was that child born — when your wife got sick?

*G. C.: October 16, 1929, at Shiprock Hospital. [Other relevant points: again says that meetings at Lukachukai and elsewhere preceded meetings at Shiprock. These meetings also preceded his 1941 meeting. He was living at Shiprock when his wife fell ill; his sheep range is at Mancos Creek. Although he got peyote from Ignacio, his own personal ties are with Towaoc Utes.]

APPENDIX B

PEYOTE CULT MEMBERSHIP IN THIRTEEN DISTRICTS

Statements regarding cult intensity in various communities are based in the main on Table 9, although additional information has been used in some cases. Calculations in Chapter III, Section F, are based on this table, with some supplemental cases, as indicated in the text.

Although a table based on a survey of Navajo Agency employees cannot substitute for one based on detailed surveys of Navahos in every Navaho community, the task of enumerating peyotists in every community in the Navaho country would be a staggering one even if the count were based on a sample from each community rather than on a complete census. For the most part the ratings which appear in this list approximate closely the results of community studies, in the cases where such studies have been done. It seems likely that the table presents a reasonable approximation of the proportions of adherents in the communities listed, but there is undoubtedly some degree of error. Even in cases where error is known, however, the ratings have been allowed to stand. These and other ratings will be utilized in future work, and there seems no limit to the ingenuity that could be used in "correcting" data so that it would more closely fit with theory. The exception to this statement is in the treatment of data from Districts 1, 2, 3, 5, and part of 8, as discussed in Chapter III, Section F.

The table shows a decline in cult membership, though a small one, between the early and the late periods, for Fruitland (District 13), and Window Rock-Coalmine (District 18). It is exceedingly doubtful, however, that decline in membership has yet occurred in any community, and it is certain that there are cult members in the Coalmine area of District 18. These declines are undoubtedly errors. It is, however, reassuring to note that no other reversals are to be found, a fact which gives us some confidence in the quality of the data.

The "Pine Springs" shown for the early time period in District 17 is presumably a reference to the area in that District adjoining the Pine Springs found in District 18.

It will be recalled that the scale for the tables is as follows: "almost all cult members", 5; "considerably more than half", 4; "about half", 3; "considerably less than half", 2; "almost none", 1; "none", 0. The result of using median ratings is values of .5, 1.5, and so on. On the map, these values have been scaled as follows: "almost all" and "considerably more than half", 4–4.5; "about half", 3–3.5; "considerably less than half", 2–2.5; "almost none", .5 to 1.5. "None or negligible" includes 0 and doubtful reports where we have reason to assume no adherents or only a handful.

Where data are lacking for communities in the late time period, we have extrapolated from adjoining communites in making up Map 3. This has been done for Forest Lake and Sagebrush (District 4), Standing Rock (District 15), much of District 16, Klagetoh (District 17), and Red Lake (District 18).

We have, in some instances, altered Map 3 to reflect information in addition to that provided in the tables. It therefore provides a more accurate picture of Aberle's conception of the present distribution of the cult than does the table. Our reluctance to alter the table itself has been discussed. On the basis of field work in the area, Dinnehotso (District 8) and Lukachukai (District 11) have been given different values in the map from those in the tables. Since data on District 16 are scanty, we have elected to show the entire area at a level of "almost none", and to omit the variations provided by our raters. As we have indicated, we have provided values of "none or negligible" for Districts 1, 2, most of 3, 5, and most of 8, disregarding some informants. In District 5 we are certain that there are some cult members; in the others, there may well be none, except for communities discussed in Chapter III, Section F.

TABLE 9. *Peyote cult membership in thirteen districts*

District	Community	Early (before 1946)	Late (1946–1951)	Mileage from Towaoc
4	Big Mountain	1	2	158
	Black Mountain area and Kitseely	1	2.5	155
	Burnt Corn	1.5	—	160
	Dinnebito	2	—	167
	Forest Lake	1.5	—	124
	Hard Rocks, Oraibi Valley	1	1	158
	Low Mountain	—	1	160
	Pinon	1	2	144
	Sagebrush	2	—	155
7	Dilcon, Castle Butte, Cedar Springs	—	1	233
	Indian Wells, Na-ha-tee Canyon	—	1	219
	Teastoh, Seba Dalkai, Finger Point	—	2	240
	White Cone, Jeddito, Low Star Mountain	—	1	221
8	Chilchinbito	0.5	2	129
	Dinnehotso	1	2	91
9	Mexican Water	2	4	74
	Red Mesa	3	4	51
	Rock Point	2	4	79
	Sweetwater	3	4	58
	Teec Nos Pas	2.5	4	51
10	Black Mountain Trading Post, Salina	0	1	157
	Chinle, Canyon de Chelly, Canyon del Muerto	0.5	1	132
	Many Farms, Frazier, Valley Post	0	3	122
	Nazlini	0.5	1	165
	Rough Rock	0	2	109
11	Greasewood, Tsalee, Wheatfields	0.5	1	89
	Lukachukai	2	2	84
	Round Rock	0.5	2	101
12	Aneth, Montezuma Creek, Hatches Store, Mancos Creek	3	4.5	33
	Beclabito	2	2	55
	Nava, Newcomb, Two Grey Hills, Toadlena	—	1	74
	Red Rock, Cove	2	3	67
	Sanastee, Tocito	1	1	64
	Sheep Springs	—	1	78
	Shiprock	2	3	33
13	Burnhams	—	1	77
	Fruitland	2	1.5	56
14	Coyote Canyon	1	1	121
	Mexican Springs	1	2	111
	Naschiti	1	2	84
	Tohatchi	—	2	102
	Twin Lakes, Tohlikai	1	2	112

TABLE 9. *Continued*

District	Community	Early (before 1946)	Late (1946–1951)	Mileage from Towaoc
15	Crown Point	0	0.5	151
	Lake Valley	—	2	165
	Pueblo Pintado	—	1	189
	Standing Rock	0	—	139
	Tsaya	—	2	188
	White Rock	—	2	182
	White Horse Lake	—	1	176
16	Baca, Prewitt	—	2	170
	Church Rock	—	1.5	136
	Iyanbito	—	1	147
	Manuelito	2	—	143
	Mariana Lake	0	—	152
	Pinedale	—	1	148
	Rocky Point	2	—	139
	Thoreau	—	1	152
	Two Wells	2	—	146
17	Cornfields, Sunrise	1	1.5	178
	Ganado	1	1.5	167
	Greasewood	1.5	3	195
	Kinlichee (Red House)	0.5	1	164
	Klagetoh	1	1.5	184
	Pine Springs	1	—	172
	Steamboat	1	1	189
	Wide Ruins	1	2	191
18	Crystal	1	1	97
	Ft. Defiance	1	1.5	146
	Oak Springs, Pine Springs	0.5	1	170
	Red Lake	0	—	130
	Saunders, Houck, Lupton	0.5	2	159
	Sawmill	1	2	139
	St. Michaels, Hunters Point	0.5	2	145
	Window Rock, Coalmine	0.5	0	140

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