

Gosiute Peyotism

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At the present time there are two distinct peyote cults among the Gosiute, each of which claims to be the orthodox method.¹ One of these is known as the Tipi Way, and the other is known as the Sioux Way, or Western Slope Way. Both are basically of Plains origin but have undergone some modifications.

While it is not the purpose of this paper to reconstruct the diffusion of the peyote movement from the Plains to the Gosiute, it may be pointed out that this has not resulted from the efforts of any particular individual nor has it necessarily diffused from one group to its contiguous neighbors. Rather, the peyote cults, as they exist in the Great Basin today, have resulted from an interplay of many factors in which such items as various personalities, diffusion, and acculturation all figure prominently.

Opinions differ concerning the date of introduction of the first peyote cult to the Gosiute. La Barre places it at 1921,² while Hayes places it at 1925 when "A Sioux man, Sam Lone Bear, came west from the Dakotas teaching the peyote way. He stopped among the Utes at Whitcrocks in eastern Utah, organized a church there, then came on to Deep Creek. He taught the people how to use peyote according to the doctrines of the 'Western Slope Way.' When Lone Bear left to go to Nevada he told the people that after he had gone another movement would follow from the east."³

This latter movement, the Tipi Way, which is apparently an outgrowth of the Native American Church, did not follow until about 1934. Omer Stewart has shown that Lone Bear, or Roan Bear is one of several proselytes, motivated by economic gain, who have conducted meetings among the Gosiute, Ute, and several other Great Basin groups before the cults were firmly established.⁴ There is also a strong possibility that Sam Lone Bear, mentioned by Hayes as coming from the Dakotas, was in reality a Ute, Ralph Kochampanaskin, or Lone Bear, who had temporarily held meetings among the Washo in 1932. He had also told these people that [94] someone else would come later and establish another cult. Ralph Kochampanaskin had previously attended meetings on the Plains, including Sioux meetings in the Dakotas, and had later conducted his own meetings, with little success, among the Ute, Gosiute, and Nevada peoples.

The Gosiute have at least been aware of peyote since 1907 when Ralph V. Chamberlin was making an ethnobotanical study among them, but there was no organized ritual in its use.⁵ According to Hayes, "There were less than a dozen users before 1925."⁶ My own informants were very indefinite about these dates, but sometime between 1925 and 1928 the peyote movement gained momentum among the Gosiute and a cult of the Sioux Way was organized at Deep Creek. The ritual, paraphernalia, and organization were borrowed from the Utes with whom the Gosiute are in close contact. Thus, many persons from many

different groups have all contributed to the formation and structure of the Gosiute peyote cults. The Tipi Way was likewise borrowed from the Utes hut not before several "peyote missionaries" had made an impression.

Meetings are held by both groups about four or five times a month, depending on the season. During the fall, when nearly everyone is out picking pine nuts, only one or two meetings may be held. American holidays, illnesses, etc., are the chief occasions in which meetings are held. Efforts are made by the two cults to avoid having meetings on the same night, or within a few days apart. Meetings held on holidays may call for special variations in procedure, for example, on Memorial the Tipi Way people lay flowers along the altar. These flowers are usually made of crepe paper and are similar to those placed on the graves. Holiday, or week end meetings are usually held in a tipi, or tent while those held in cabins are ordinarily just family affairs. Sometimes, members and officials of the Tipi Way may travel to Skull Valley, a distance of about eighty or ninety miles to the east, to attend a meeting if one has already been scheduled by the Sioux group at Deep Creek.

Meetings of the Tipi Way at Deep Creek are held in an old army squad tent, although a tipi is much more desirable. Members of the Tipi Way in Skull Valley have a large twenty foot tipi which they have used since 1936. The Deep Creek Sioux Way also possesses a tipi.⁷ When a small attendance [95] is anticipated, particularly when a meeting is being held by a family for a sick person, the ceremonies may be held in a cabin. It is necessary that the entrance of the tipi, or tent face toward the rising sun, hence, I was told that most modern cabins built by the Indians have their doorways facing the east "because a man does not know when he may have to have a meeting in his home." However, even the cabins built in pre-peyote days have their doorways toward the east. Apparently, the custom is old but the meaning and significance of it has changed to conform to new ideology.

An altar in the shape of a crescent moon, is made of wet sandy material to give it rigidity.⁸ It may also be mixed with some cement to give it permanence. The size varies from four to six feet in length and usually has a maximum height of five to six inches. A line is drawn along the curve from one tip to the other and "it represents the path of life." A small depressed area on the top of the crescent serves as a resting place for the chief peyote. It remains there during the entire meeting. Surrounding the altar and extending in parallel lines to the entranceway is a "willow rope." Participants sit outside of the area enclosed by this "rope." A pile of charcoal is placed to the east of the crescent moon altar. Live coals are added to this pile from time to time by the fire chief when directed to do so by the leader. The coals are furnished from a small fire built in the apex of four sticks piled in the usual V-shape, the arrangement being identical to that described by La Barre for the typical Plains rites.

If the meeting is held in a cabin, special precautions are necessary against the dangers of fire. In this case, an apron, made of the same material as the crescent moon, is extended in front of the altar. The hot coals are placed upon this apron. A kerosene lamp is used in lieu of a fire but the usual V-shape pile of sticks, unlighted, is placed to the east of it. A fire is made outside with four more sticks, also piled in a V-shape, and it is from here the fire chief obtains live coals. All furniture is removed from the cabin when it is used for a peyote meeting. A stick about two feet long and two inches thick is placed between the arms of the V-shape fire sticks and it is used for lighting cigarettes. Before the exercises commence the fire is lighted with a very brief ceremony.⁹ [96]

Meetings usually commence about nine p.m. Participants line up outside the tipi with the officials in the front of the line and the women in the rear. They are usually dressed in simple but neat clothing and provide themselves with a blanket to sit on and to wrap around their shoulders whenever it gets chilly. Participants seat themselves in the usual manner with the drummer to the leader's right, the cedar man to his left, and the fire chief facing the leader on the opposite side of the room. The fire chief is the only person that does not always circumscribe the altar when entering the room. When the leader directs him to replenish the coals on the charcoal pile, he may sometimes do so without necessarily passing clockwise around the altar.

After everyone is seated, the leader takes out his equipment and lays it on the ground between himself and the altar. He then removes a peyote disk that had been placed on the depression on the altar earlier in the evening and puts the chief peyote in its place. Thus, the meeting is officially in progress. A bedding of sage brush (*Artemisia tridentata*) is provided on the depression upon which the chief peyote rests.

The equipment furnished by the leader consists of a staff, a drum, two fans, a drumstick, a bird bone whistle, a peyote disk or chief peyote, and, if I may, a clock. The latter, however, was not essential but was useful.

The staff is about three feet long and had been made by the leader out of mountain mahogany (*Cercocarpus ledifolius* Nutt.) obtained from the nearby Deep Creek Mountains. At the beginning of the meeting a sage brush tuft is tied on its top. This tuft is removed in the morning after the exercises are completed and is placed against the altar on the side toward the leader. The rattle is made from a gourd about four inches in diameter. The end of the handle is tipped with undyed, white horsehair. The two or three inch projection opposite the handle is beaded. The drum is made from a one and one-half gallon, three legged, round bottom iron kettle. The drumhead is made of deerskin and is tied onto the kettle in the manner described by La Barre for the Plains cults in general.

Particular pride is taken in the care and possession of fans. Of the two provided by the leader one is used by him as a personal fan and the other is used by the singers with the staff. One of these fans, the Gosiute claimed, is the one originally presented to the Utes when the cult was first introduced to them. TW possesses a fan of eagle feathers that had been obtained in Texas. Still another fan in the possession of AJ has only seven feathers in [97] it.¹⁰ After midnight personal fans are unwrapped from silk handkerchiefs and are used by all participants to draw smoke from the incense toward themselves. They are also moved up and down in rhythm with the beating of the drum and the shaking of the rattle. Personal fans are not used by the singers.

A short prayer is given by the leader, who then produces a bag of Bull Durham tobacco and a bundle of paper. He passes the bag and paper bundle to the person to his left and commences to roll a cigarette. The bag is passed entirely around the room and all participants roll cigarettes. As the smoking progresses, the leader, and then each participant in clockwise order, prays for the cure of aches and pains, or any thing else that may be desired. Finally, the participants take a few puffs on their cigarettes, blow the smoke toward the altar, and put out the lighted end by spitting on it. The cigarettes are then gathered by the fire chief, who places them along the altar. At midnight the fire chief, among his other duties, replaces these cigarette butts at the altar tips at the end of "the

path of life."

Next, a bundle of sage brush tips is passed around the room and each person breaks off some pieces, rubs them in his hands, inhales the fragrance, and then chews them. While these are being chewed, the participants spit in their hands and rub their bodies starting from the head and working on down toward the feet.

When these preliminaries are over, the cedar man is directed to place some incense on the coals. The leader stands up and passes a bag of peyote through the smoke incense four times. This bag is then passed around the room clockwise and each person takes four buttons. The meeting cannot continue until everyone has finished eating his first button.

The leader, accompanied by the drummer, sings the opening song. In this song the participants are supposed to be able to hear Peyote talking to them, provided they listen carefully. When the song is completed, the leader will take the drum from the drummer and will accompany the cedar man who sings four songs of his own choice. The instruments are then passed around the room and the participants, except the women, sing and play in the usual manner, each singing a series of four songs. The end of a song or [98] chant is marked by a rapid and continuous shaking of the rattle by the singer and an increased tempo on the drum by the drummer."¹¹

At 11:30 p.m. arrangements are made for the midnight exercises, and while these preparations are being made the participants are free to talk and even laugh. This freedom is supposed to relieve some of the psychological and physiological strain incident to participation in a peyote meeting (I am rephrasing the informant's words here). At this time the fire chief changes the charcoal pile into a crescent moon just cast of the regular sand altar. The cedar man places fresh incense on the newly arranged charcoal pile and the midnight water song is rendered by the leader.

The fire chief goes outside and obtains a bucket of water. A blanket is spread on the floor and the fire chief kneels upon it with the bucket between his knees. A sauce pan, to be used as a dipper, is placed by the bucket. The fire chief, who is still kneeling by the bucket, makes a motion with his hands as if drawing some of the incense toward the bucket and ceremoniously blesses the water. The leader prepares a cigarette and it is handed, together with the fire stick, to the fire chief by the cedar man. The fire chief takes four puffs on the cigarette, blows the smoke toward the altar, and prays. The drummer, and then the cedar man follow suit and the butt is placed at the altar tip.

The fire chief tips the bucket away from him and pours a portion of the water on the ground "to keep mother earth from drying up." The bucket and the dipper is passed around the room, beginning with the person south of the doorway, and each of the participants takes a drink. All of them sprinkle a little water on themselves and then pat their arms, body, and legs, The bucket is returned to the fire chief, who takes the last drink, then he takes the bucket outside.

After the water ceremony the leader and the cedar man go outside and the leader blows his whistle in the four directions and offers prayers. When they return, incense is placed on the coals and everyone stands, unrolls his or her silk handkerchief in which personal fans are kept, and holds it toward the altar as if drawing the smoke toward their body, and then they pat themselves. They sit down on their blankets; the instruments are put into

circulation again; and the singing and praying continues as it did before midnight. Prayers and songs dominate all activities until about four a.m. Anyone can leave at the end of a series of four songs but someone must accompany him. If the instruments should be passed to a person who is praying, he is not disturbed until he has finished. The singing can then continue. [99]

A coffee can is provided for participants to vomit in when anyone requires its use. (When requested it is not necessarily passed clockwise.) It is one of the duties of the fire chief to aid those persons unable to care for themselves and to keep the place clean.

When the dawn breaks in the east, the cedar man, or someone else who may be outside, comes in and says: "The Sun is coming up." The leader then sings the morning song and after its completion preparations are made for the morning water exercises. This ceremony is similar to that performed at midnight except that a woman, instead of the fire chief, blesses the water. The bucket is not taken out until after the breakfast, however. After the water ceremony the women are sent outside to get the ceremonial breakfast. They return with three pans, one of which contains corned beef, another pears or some other fruit, and the other corn. These may usually be commercial canned goods and are arranged in the following order away from the altar: corn, fruit, and corned beef.¹²

After a blessing the pans are passed around clockwise and each person partakes of the food. A spoon is provided in each pan for eating, although individuals may use a private dish and spoon if they prefer. When the pans have completed the circuit of the room, they are placed behind the altar in a reverse order, that is, with the corned beef closest to the altar and the fruit and corn following respectively.

The drum head is removed by the drummer after the breakfast and then he removes fourteen pieces of charcoal that had been placed inside. The meaning of these is not yet known to these people; all they profess to know is that it is a necessary part of the procedure. The charcoal pieces are placed along the charcoal moon. The drummer then holds the kettle up, drinks some of the water, and sprinkles a few drops on himself. The rest of the water is poured on the altar on the side toward the leader.

The crescent moon of coals is banked up against the sand moon by the fire chief, the food and water bucket is taken outside by the women, the chief peyote is removed by the leader and placed in his shirt pocket and the meeting is officially over. Candy may also be passed around at the conclusion of the ceremonies.

A feast is given in the morning and visitors, in addition to the participants in the meeting, come as guests. While it is being prepared by the women, the men lounge around singing songs, or chatting with each other until the dinner is served.

The Sioux Way conducts a very similar meeting but there are many detailed differences. The Sioux Way, as far as I know, does not require a [100] breakfast, the use of candy, or tobacco, and the basic songs are different. According to Omer Stewart, Sioux Way meetings are conducted without levity, and sometimes a velvet crescent altar may be used.¹³

The large majority of the Gosiute population are, at present, members of the peyote cults, the membership itself not being restricted to any particular generation.¹⁴ Persons from

fourteen to sixty-five years of age are actively engaged in peyote worship. Even babies may be given peyote tea.¹⁵ Furthermore, the peyote believers do not restrict themselves to membership in any particular Way and will often participate in one or the other's meetings. When asked why he did this, one informant replied, "Same herb." Even the officials of the two cults will sometimes attend the other's meetings. The fact that the leader of the Sioux Way of peyotism among the Gosiute was recently elected head of the first tribal council in Gosiute history attests to the strength of the cults in the social life of these people and the favor they sustain.

To the Gosiute the chief function of peyote is the curing of sick and for supernatural guidance in political and economic activities. It is also noteworthy that a dependence is being made on peyote for education. One informant, for example, said he was sorry he had gone to school as Peyote would have told him everything necessary to know.

Peyote is supposed to give many other benefits to believers. For example, one man was temporarily given the power to prophesy. He once predicted that the next day two "Ute boys" would come from Whiterocks. "Sure enough, the next day two Ute boys did come from Whiterocks." The informants voluntarily insisted that this roan had not had any previous communication with the Utes.

"During a meeting a person's mind can leave his body and can travel anywhere. You may be sitting in one corner, pretty soon you may be sitting in another corner watching yourself sitting in the other. Peyote is not made by man, it just come up, like a tree. He speaks and understands all languages and is smarter than any man, hence, it does not matter what language is used to speak to him. If you want anything just ask Peyote and if you are sincere you will get it. It is necessary to work with Peyote to get best results. In peyote there is everything, good and bad. There is fire, water, humans, earth, plants, and even, the soul. During a meeting it is up [**101**] to the devout to seek out the good and leave the bad in the room in which the meeting is held. This room is not only a church, it is also our hospital."

Very often the peyote movement is conceived of as a slight variation of aboriginal shamanism in which Christian elements are considered mere apologetic tendencies, or as an actual combination of aboriginal shamanism and Christianity in which the elements of each can be pigeon-holed and studied. The peyote cults are also considered as primarily a means by which the Indian produces visions,¹⁶ or is used as a means of curing sickness.¹⁷ Actually, peyotism should be considered as a movement in itself in which many factors, including curing, visionary, apologetic tendencies, etc., are all functionally interrelated and have all contributed to its widespread acceptance or rejection.

There are a few obvious Christian elements that appear in the Gosiute Tipi Way of peyotism. First, the prayers, although directed to Peyote, end with some words in which God, Mary, Jesus Christ, and finally Amen are included. The place of Mary in the mind of the cult is a problem. The words "Jesus Christ the Savior" appear in one Gosiute song. Second, the Bible is used to argue in favor of the existence of the cult, although it has no part in the ritual. One quotation, for example, is from the New Testament: (Romans 14, verses 2 and 3):

2. For one believeth that he may eat all things: another who is weak eateth herbs.

3. Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him judge him that eateth: for God hath received him.

A reasonable amount of caution should be taken in considering this use of the Bible as merely apologetic.

Probably, the missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, that have labored among the Indians of Utah and contiguous States have made considerable impression on the Indian cultures. However, even the peyote cults seem to be closer in harmony with older beliefs and traditions. Such items as meeting at night, use of bird bone whistles, use of herbs for curing, doorway facing the east, and numbers four and twelve would certainly be clearer to a mind conditioned in Gosiute culture than would most Christian concepts. On the other hand, the Gosiute have accepted practices that may be aboriginal to some Indians but not to the Gosiute. These are the use of the tipi, water drums, fans (although eagle feathers were used by aboriginal shamans), gourd rattle, and possibly the clockwise ceremonial movement, the taking of a bath preceding participation in a religious meeting, and the [102] possible use of a flint and steel set. Still other elements may be entirely foreign if not contrary to any previous Gosiute beliefs and practices. In aboriginal times the shaman, when curing a sick person, allowed his soul to go out and bring back the soul of his patient before it wandered too far away. At the present time not only the leader has this power but the souls of various individuals may wander about during a peyote meeting, regardless of their official standing in the church. Furthermore, the leader does not receive any special rewards or powers from the supernatural for his activities in conducting meetings. Shamanism had suffered a breakdown and Christianity was misunderstood. Peyotism, which combines the conception of Christianity with previous beliefs, plus many new concepts, which have not yet become stabilized within the culture concerned, offers itself as a movement which meets the cultural or psychological needs of various individuals. Even those rejecting the cult will, in one way or the other, be affected by its introduction.

As yet there have been no indigenous religious leaders with sufficient prestige to incorporate any major changes in Gosiute peyote concepts and rites, although there have been several prominent outsiders connected with its inception. Except for the addition of a few minor elements, and a failure to include some others, the Gosiute have borrowed the cults already "made to order." That is, the adjustments necessary to make the cults appealing to the Gosiute have been made elsewhere. This does not mean, however, that changes may not be made later.

While it is true that the cults themselves were borrowed from the Utes, contacts are not entirely restricted to these people. Various members frequently attend meetings at Fort Hall, Idaho, in Nevada, and other places. Omer Stewart has informed me that he attended a peyote meeting on the Ute reservation in which at least two Gosiute were present. Nevada Shoshone, including Ruby Valley peoples, and Northern Paiute frequently attend Gosiute meetings at Ibapah and Ben Lancaster himself has brought some of his followers to attend Gosiute ceremonies. Some Gosiutes attend Lancaster's Nevada meetings but others are refused admittance for fear they may spoil his own lucrative business by revealing that some of his extraordinary practices, such as collecting donations, are not orthodox. The Nevada cults have not made any impression, as far as I am aware, on the Gosiute.

Apparently, Oklahoma is a sort of Mecca for it is the desire of many cultists to some day visit the area. It is in Oklahoma that the cult is supposed to have originated. "In Oklahoma they know peyote and they know how to use it."¹⁸ The Gosiute, incidentally, are also

aware of the wealth the Oklahoma Indians have accumulated from oil holdings. [103]

One member of the Tipi Way, DM, was the first to go to Oklahoma on a pilgrimage. Because of this feat, and because of his many other accomplishments and contributions in the cult, he was presented at a special meeting with a large canvas tipi, made by the women, when he moved to Skull Valley from Deep Creek in 1936. Thus, the cult spread to Skull Valley. Both the Utes and the Oklahoma Indians enjoy high prestige among the Gosiute. In addition to these the Sioux Way also have additional respect for the Dakota, or Sioux Indians. For example, FS, one of the leaders of the Sioux Way at Deep Creek claimed that only the Sioux Indians were capable of interpreting the many pictographs in the mountains around Deep Creek. Advanced means of communication, automobiles, mail systems, radio, telegraph, etc., introduced by the white man, has made it possible for tribes over large distances to become very well acquainted. But it also makes the process of diffusion much more complex for the ethnographer to study.

Attitudes toward the cults vary among different Indians and whites living in the vicinity of the Gosiute reservations. At the present time, apparently, the majority of Indians are peyote participants. A few fight its spread. Others in the culture simply consider peyote as a dope, although, they themselves often attend meetings presumably for the affects of the intoxication. Still others ignore the movement entirely. Many Indians, however, see a definite value in its use. There were no statements given by informants that said participation would lead to insanity, a belief which is current among many opposers of peyotism in Nevada.¹⁹

To the whites, particularly those in the Indian Service and immediately concerned with the Gosiute, peyote seems a detriment to the Indians because it leaves them incapable of working for two or three days after a meeting. A few see some value in its use in that peyote members are prohibited from drinking alcohols. The Indians also recognize this value and the few members that drink enjoy little prestige. TJ, for example, has attended meetings at Fort Hall, Idaho, and other places, yet he is not a popular member of the cult. All his personality deficiencies cannot, of course, be attributed to his drinking but it serves as a useful argument by his acquaintances. "The Indians at Ely, Nevada" I was told, "do not have a peyote cult, hence, they are heavy drinkers." Perhaps the greatest value of peyote and the cult involved around it is that it gives the Gosiute society a certain amount of coherence which tends to unify the group for the accomplishment of various objectives. Tribal unity, in what was aboriginally an atomistic society, is something the Gosiute have never yet enjoyed.

Notes

1) The Gosiute are a Shoshone speaking people who live in western Utah on two reservations. In 1936 there were 151 persons registered with the Indian Service at Deep Creek and 39 on the Skull Valley reserve.

2) Weston La Barre, *The Peyote Cult* (Yale Publications in Anthropology, 1938), p. 122.

3) Alden Hayes, *Peyote Cult on the Gosiute Reservation at Deep Creek, Utah* (New Mexico Anthropologist, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1940).

4) Omer C. Stewart, *Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism: A Study in Acculturation* (Ph.D.

Thesis, University of California Library, December, 1939). I wish to express my thanks to Omer C. Stewart, who very kindly made available to me the results of his study of the peyote movement throughout the Intermontane area in general.

5) Ralph V. Chamberlain, *The Ethno-botany of the Gosiute Indians* (Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, 1911). Information included here is from a verbal statement made in 1940.

6) Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

7) Hayes makes a statement concerning the use of tipis among the present day Gosiute: "It is interesting to note that a people, who in aboriginal times never used a tipi, and seldom, if ever, saw one, should feel that the ceremony is not complete without it." Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 35. The Tipi Way at Deep Creek do not feel they can afford to purchase the canvas to make a tipi and are using the tent they can obtain the material. The present tent was swapped by a white man for a sack of pine nuts.

8) One person who had recently returned from a meeting among the Utes at Myton, Utah, had observed an altar made of red sand and seemed enthusiastic about this new innovation in altar making.

9) Possibly a flint and steel set may be used for lighting the fire but I was not permitted to observe this stage of the ceremony. If a flint and steel set is used it offers an interesting contrast to both the aboriginal method of making fire, which employed a drill set, and the introduced European method of using matches. Another way of getting a light for the fire is to obtain coals from one already burning in the cooking shelter, or stove in an adjoining Cabin.

10) A twelve feather fan, made in the manner described by La Barre is used here. The twelve feathers are sometimes interpreted as representing the twelve months of the year. They were obtained from a bird having twelve feathers in its tail, according to my informant. Mr. Elmer R. Smith, of the University of Utah, has obtained a myth from the Gosiute attributing the origin of the twelve months of the year to a quarrel between coyote and eagle; the latter wanted twelve months in the year, one for each feather in his tail, while the former wanted a month for each hair in his coat. Eagle flew away and because coyote could not catch him there have since been twelve months in the year.

11) When asked why women did not sing in the meetings, the Gosiute invariably replied that they did so formerly but have discontinued the practice.

12) Stewart, *op. cit.*, states that the Gosiute sometimes use rice instead of corn. Canned sweet corn is all that I have ever seen used.

13) Stewart, *op. cit.*

14) It is difficult to determine which cult is strongest of the two at Deep Creek, or their respective memberships, as they are never static. That there is a competitive element existing between the two cults is also probable.

15) In the early stages of a meeting a pan of peyote tea may be passed to the

participants. Tea is also served to those too ill to eat. In one meeting the participants came into the cabin as they arrived, took a drink of tea, and went outside again for the line up.

16) Ruth Shonle, Peyote-Giver of Visions (American Anthropologist, Vol. 27, 1925).

17) R. E. Schultes, The Appeal of Peyote (*Lophophora williamsii*) as a Medicine (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, 1938).

18) Hayes, op. cit., p. 35 (from a quotation of Hayes' informant).

19) Stewart, op. cit.