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Peyote Religion, A History. By Omer C. Stewart.

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of one of the most significant of Native American cultures. As such, it is most welcome indeed.

Robert S. Grumet Mid-Atlantic Region, National Park Service

**Peyote Religion, A History**. By Omer C. Stewart. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987. xvii, 454 pp. \$29.95 Cloth.

Omer Stewart's *Peyote Religion* is the latest, fullest, and best history of that widespread, long-lived, active, pan-Indian movement, which uses the peyote cactus as its sacrament and source of healing for body and spirit. The book is the product of fifty years of research that began in 1937 and that focused with great consistency on a series of major questions about the religion. Some of these Stewart answered in the 1940s, but the ampler data here provide further support. He has shown continuities between Mexican and U.S. peyote ceremonies, although no Mexican ritual is a clear prototype for the northern forms. He has also demonstrated that Christian elements entered the religion early and in Mexico, whence they were inferably carried north. They are not recent accretions occurring only in certain tribes, as some have argued. He has inferred convincingly that the Carrizo were the first link between Mexican tribes and those of the U.S. and believes that they originated the peyote ceremony as found among U.S. tribes. He has demonstrated that the Lipan Apache were the major bridge between the Carrizo and the tribes of Oklahoma. Indeed he knows which Lipan Apaches were the principal missionaries. He is inclined to credit the Lipan with influence on the form of peyote music. The earliest ritual form in the U.S. was Tipi Way of Half Moon Way, the most widespread ritual pattern today and in the past. The only other major form is the Cross Fireplace or Big Moon variant, which can be dated to 1880 and credited to John (Moonhead) Wilson, a man of mixed ancestry with a strong Caddo self-identification.

Stewart uses his trait list of 308 items, enlarged from earlier publications, to apply to the rituals of 29 tribes or groups of tribes. It shows the similarities between the Mexican and the Oklahoma rituals, the extraordinary stability of the two forms of ritual as they spread, and the relatively small differences between these forms. In my view, the trait lists also afford an opportunity for subsequent scholars to amplify the data with information for other tribes and to treat the lists quantitatively.<sup>1</sup>

In this work Stewart makes optimal use of old data and presents an enormous amount of new information, most of it drawn from his own field work, to deal with many other issues. Diffusion from tribe to tribe is not so much inferred as demonstrated, often with information about dates, places, the individual transmitters and recipients, and the factors promoting diffusion (e.g., knowledge of English as a *lingua franca* for spreading the religion, and proximity, whether that of adjacent tribes or that of students at the same intertribal school). Stewart supplies fascinating biographical information about peyote missionaries. He discusses the organizational history of the Native American Church and its branches and offshoots in great and useful detail. He documents the recent spread of the religion to Plateau tribes and the Canadian Plains tribes.

Many Anglos—government agents, doctos, neighbors—and indeed some Indians considered peyote harmful to health and morality. They attempted to label it addictive. Hence peyotists have had prolonged legal struggles against state and federal efforts to prevent sale, distribution, and use of peyote, essential for the religion. Stewart chronicles the largely successful outcome of the worshippers' efforts and the contribution that anthropologists have made as expert witnesses supporting Native American Church members in trials and hearings. He is foremost among these witnesses, just as he is undoubtedly the anthropologist who has attended the most peyote meetings and visited the most tribes.

The legal struggle has usually increased the membership, rather than discouraged people from joining, until there are now perhaps 200,000 members. They can be found from the west coast to Wisconsin, and from Arizona and New Mexico to the prairie provinces of Canada. Stewart's sober concluding chapter deals, among other things, with the decreasing supply of peyote in Texas, resulting from fencing that limits access, new uses of land that destroy the crop, and increased demand because of the growth in membership. For this he draws on the research of

the late George Morgan, a geographer, who did the first study of the peyoteros, Hispanic-Americans in Texas towns who gather, dry, and sell peyote to Native Americans. Peyote is already in short supply. Stewart believes that unless it becomes legal to import peyote from Mexico or to cultivate it in the U.S., the future of the sacramental peyote itself is in doubt, even though the religion is now legal almost everywhere.

Stewart's conviction that the peyote religion has provided spiritual strength to thousands of Native Americans appears throughout this book, as does his view that there is a virtue in Native American religious tolerance, which permitted many peyotists to be practicing members and sometimes preachers in conventional Christian churches, as well as users of and sometimes leaders of traditional local rituals. Acknowledging some factional disputes among peyotists, he nevertheless contrasts their acceptance of multiple religious practices favorably with Christian exclusivism.

This fascinating, encyclopedic history is written not only for anthropologists and people interested in religious movements, but for the peyotists themselves. We should all be grateful for Stewart's devoted research and for this book, which will long endure.

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#### NOTES

1. Making the list fully usable, however, will require the correction of some printing errors. Authoritative correction will require Stewart's hand, but some headway can be made. On 355, the second line of the list should be moved up to the top, leaving a one-line gap before the next line of symbols. A set of errors from traits 265 to 269 are harder to deal with. Apparently trait 265 should stand, except that the asterisk for Gosiute should be supplemented by a +. Trait 265a should have only one symbol in the entire line, a + for Gosiute. The material now listed for trait 265a on 355 (there are no entries for that trait on 354, and there should be none) should be moved down one line, becoming the ratings for trait 266 for tribes from Sauk and Fox through Colville. Probably the material listed for trait 266 on 355 should be moved to trait 267, and the material for trait 267 on that page should be struck. At any rate, ratings on 355 for *one* of the three traits, 267, 268, and 269, must be struck, since there is one line too many on that page. Trait 270 stands correct as it is. Stewart's work contains few errors. These are of a kind easily made, but they are important.