Peyotism, 1521–1891[1]

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IN 1954 I had occasion to review the literature on the early history of peyotism, i.e., the use of peyote. The deeper I delved into the subject, the more unsatisfactory did the state of our knowledge appear. Consequently, it seemed useful to make a critical re-examination of the sources, so that future research might proceed on a sounder basis.

IDENTIFICATION OF PEYOTE

In any study of peyotism it is important to recognize that the term "peyote" has referred to many plants, and that many terms have referred to peyote.

By "peyote" contemporary anthropologists mean the cactus *Lophophora williamsii* (Lemaire) Coulter (Coulter 1894:131–32; see Britton and Rose 1922, III:83–85; IV:286). They do not mean any of the following:

Mescal. 1. A genus of Amaryllidaceae, *Agave* spp.
2. A food prepared from *Agave*.
3. A fermented liquor made from the baked heads of *Agave*.
4. A post-Conquest brandy distilled from pulque, the fermented sap of *Agave*.

Mescal bean. A species of Leguminosae, *Sophora secundiflora*.

Ololiuqui. A species of Convolvulaceae, *Rivea corymbosa* (Schultes 1941).

Teonanacatl. A variety of Agaricaceae, *Paneolus companulatus* var. *sphinctrinus* (Schultes 1939, 1940).

From the time of its earliest appearance in Mexican sources, "peyote" was a general rather than a particular term. Investigators have found an increasingly large number of plants referred to as "peyote." In Table 1 a cumulative list of these meanings is given. At this stage of our knowledge we cannot say whether the meanings currently ascribed in Mexico to the term "peyote" go back to pre-Conquest times, or whether a recent widening of the meaning of the term has occurred.

I have not found in the United States any study of the meanings of the term "peyote." However, in connection with the identification of peyote north of the Rio Grande, it is significant that none of the Solanaceae are recorded anywhere as having been called "peyote" before the twentieth century; there is some question about *Datura meteloides* being called "peyote" in the twentieth century; and in any case, there is no evidence that *Datura stramonium* (jimson weed) has never been called "peyote."

The words "peyote" and "peyotl"[2] are the most common terms found in the sources. This means little historically.

There is no evidence for a term for *Lophophora williamsii*, or "peyote," in Proto-Uto-Aztecan; nor is there any evidence that any major linguistic division of Uto-Aztecan had a term for "peyote" at the proto-level. Among Uto-Aztecan tribes which had the peyote cult in aboriginal times there is evidence that a term resembling "hiku-" was used. This term shows evidence of borrowing between Uto-Aztecan groups rather than tracing to a genetic cognate. Thus there is no linguistic evidence for any great time depth for the use of "peyote" among the Uto-Aztecan peoples. [Kimball Romney, personal communication.]

TABLE 1

CUMULATIVE LIST OF PLANTS CALLED "PEYOTE" IN MEXICO

Plant Family	16th Century[1]	Added in 19th Century[2]	Added in 20th Century[3]
Cactaceae	"Peyotl Zacatecensis" *Lophophora williamsii*		*Ariocarpus fissuratus* *A. kotschoubeyanus* *A. retusus* *Astrophytum asterias* *A. capricorne* *A. myriostigma* *Aztekium ritterii* *Dolichothele longimamma* *Obregonia denegrii* *Pelecyphora aselliformis* *Solisia pectinata* *Strombocactus disciformis*[4]
Compositae	"Peyotl Xochimilcensis"[5] *Cacalia cordifolia* or *Senecio albo-lutescens*	*Senecio calophyllus* *S. cardiophyllus* *S. petasitis* *S. hartwegii*	*Senecio cervariaefolius* *S. grayanus* *S. tolucanus*[4]
Crassulaceae		*Cotyledon caespitosa*	*Cotyledon* spp.
Leguminosae			*Rhynchosia longeracemosa*
[Solanaceae]			[*Datura meteloides*][6]

[1] From: Hernandez 1577d, III:70–71.

[2] From: Herrera 1882:122; Peyotes 1900; Ramirez 1902:55.

[3] From: Ochoterena 1926; Martinez 1937:379–80; Schultes 1937b:77, 82.

[4] Incomplete listing.

[5] Called such perhaps because its use was limited to the highest grade of shamans, known as *xochimilca* (Mendieta 1596:224; Torquemada 1615, III:39a).

[6] Though Schultes gives this *Datura*, I cannot find it in his authority.

In addition, the following native terms are usually considered to refer to *Lophophora williamsii:*

Coahuilteco: pajé (Garcia 1760:15).
Opata: pejori (Aguirre 1762:92; 1764:547–48).
Tarahumara: hicoli (Steffel 1791:327); jícuri (Tellechea 1826:67); gicuri (Tellechea 1826:76).
Kiowa Apache: ho-as, ho-se (Hall 1886:130).
Comanche: wo-co-wist (Hall 1886:130); woqui (White 1888:98–99).

The scientific terminology is also complicated, because of the taxonomic problems presented by the plant. Thus there are the following nineteenth-century synonyms for *Lophophora williamsii:*

Anhalonium spp. (Lemaire 1839:1–3)
Echinocactus williamsii (Salm-Reifferscheid-Dyck 1845:385–86)
Mamillaria fissurata (Engelmann 1856:132)

Finally, peyote appears in English under the following names:

dry whisky (Havard 1885:38)
dumpling cactus (Watson 1889:125)
mescal (Myers 1889:191)
mescal bean (White 1888:98)
muscale button (Briggs 1887)
white mule (Lumholtz 1902, I:358)

All these lists raise a fundamental question. When some one of the relevant terms is used in the early literature, does it refer particularly to *Lophophora williamsii,* or generally to a large class of narcotic and medicinal plants? In most cases the sources are inadequate to provide a positive answer to this question.

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION OF PEYOTISM

Many problems arise in determining the tribal distribution of peyotism for the period from 1521 to 1891. First, is a plant named in a source to be identified as *Lophophora williamsii?* Second, is the absence of information on the use of peyote in the accounts of a tribe evidence of its nonuse by that tribe? Peyotism is not an obvious culture trait; knowledge of its existence depends upon fairly intimate acquaintance with the people; therefore lack of information on peyotism (particularly in travel accounts) is not evidence of the absence of the trait. Third, only a fraction of the documents, published and unpublished, has been examined for data on peyotism.

For all these reasons, nothing exhaustive or definitive can be said about the tribal distribution of peyotism at this time. The accompanying Table 2,[3] and the map,[4] merely summarize the documentary evidence known to me. It is also of interest to note that the term "peyote" appears in place names both in Mexico and the United States (Table 3).

Perhaps some readers will be surprised to see tribes north of the Rio Grande included at such early dates. However, there seem to be both theoretical and empirical justifications for these findings.

If we use Kirchhoff's terminology (Kirchhoff 1952), peyotism is found early in the Mesoamerican and Greater Southwest cultural superareas. Restricting

TABLE 2

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION OF PEYOTISM, 1521–1891

Tribe	Sources
Aztec[1]	Muñoz Camargo *c.* 1590:134; Cardenas 1591: 3v; M. de Leon 1611:112v; Ruiz de Alarcon 1629: 131, 135, 146, 195; Alva 1634:8v; Serna 1656: 300 *passim*
Zacateco	Hernandez 1577d, III:70; *Primeras misiones* 1598: 48
Queres	Perea 1631:no. 28
Tarasco	Perea 1632:181v–182r
Acaxee	Perez de Ribas[2] 1645, III:33
Lagunero	Perez de Ribas[2] 1645, III:248
Coahuilteco	A. de Leon 1649:42; Mota Padilla[3] 1742:382; Garcia 1760:15; Lorenzo de la Pena 1770:29r; Morfi 1777:194. Gatschet 1886:68, 74, 114.
Cazcan	Estrada y Flores 1659:21
Caddo[4]	Espinosa 1709:61; Hidalgo 1716:267; Velasco 1716:76
Hopi	New Mexico 1720
Isleta	New Mexico 1720
Taos	New Mexico 1720
Cora	Arias y Saavedra *c.* 1672:26; Ortega *et al.* 1754:18
Opata	Aguirre 1762:92–93, 1764:547–48; Alegre[2] *c.* 1767, II:219–20
Tamaulipeco	Santa Maria *c.* 1760:406–409; Mexico 1785:357, 360
Pima	Alegre[2] *c.* 1767, II:219–20
Jumano	*Estado post* 1769:65
Tarahumara	Steffel 1791:327, 363; Tellechea 1826:67, 76
Comanche	Hall 1886:130; White 1888:98–99; U. S. Census Office 1894:532
Kiowa	Hall 1886:130; White 1888:98; Mooney 1891; U. S. Census Office 1894:531, 532
Kiowa Apache	White 1888:98; U. S. Census Office 1894:532
Huichol	Corona 1888:lxvii–lxviii
Tonkawa	Wood 1890:194
Lipan Apache[5]	Coulter 1891:129; Havard 1896:38
Unspecified Tribes	
Mexico	Hernandez 1577b, sig. d 2r; Ponce 15—:11; Perea 1631:nos. 28, 30; Briggs 1887:276; Rusby 1888: 127
Central Western Mexico	Arregui 1621:51–52; Arlegui[3] 1737:144–45, 154–55
"Chichimeca" (i.e., Guachichil, Guamare, Pame, and Zacateco)	Hernandez 1577d, III:71; Sahagun 1585a, VIII: 178v; 1585c, III:118, 230

(*Table 2—Continued on p. 206*)

TABLE 2 (*Continued*)

Tribe	Sources
Southwest	Havard 1885:521; 1896:38; Briggs 1887:276; Bandelier 1890, I:88n.
Oklahoma	
Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency	Myers 1889:191
Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency	Ashley 1890:180

[1] For purposes of this paper I attribute all Nahuatl material to the Aztec. But this may be incorrect, since Nahuatl was used as an intertribal language (Cervantes de Salazar *c.* 1567:33; Mendieta 1596:522, 661, 687).

[2] These are generalized Jesuit compilations; evidently the primary sources are the Annual Letters (Dunne 1938), which are unavailable to me.

[3] These are generalized Franciscan compilations; I have not traced the primary sources.

[4] For purposes of this paper I attribute all "Texas" material to the Caddo. But the term may have a more general meaning in Velasco (see Bolton 1910).

[5] "By 1890 there probably were no tribes intact in the area west of the Pecos. The Lipans in northern Mexico were probably raiding into the Big Bend area, but no tribes were living in the area" (J. G. McAllister, personal communication).

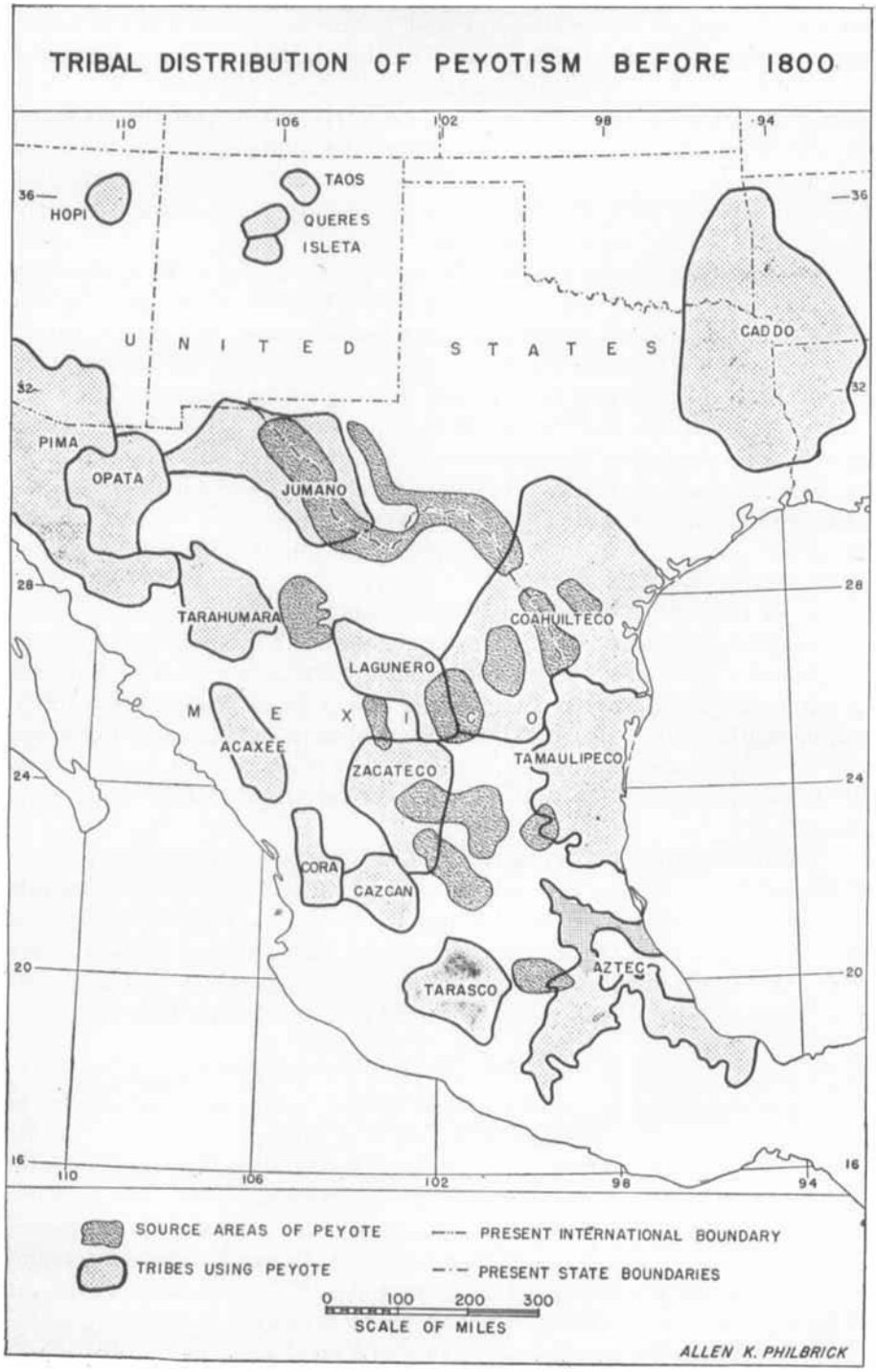
ourselves to the latter superarea, and going from west to east across northern Mexico, peyotism is recorded for these tribes adjacent to those of the United States: Pima, Opata, Jumano, Lagunero, and Coahuilteco. Evidence is lacking only for the Concho, on whom the material is scanty. (Nor have I been able to find early references for the Chiricahua, Mescalero, or Lipan Apache; pre-

TABLE 3

PEYOTE IN PLACE NAMES

Place Name[1]	Tribe Associated with Locality
Lomeria de Peyotes, Coahuila (Alessio Robles 1938: map op. 20). Here was founded in 1698 the Franciscan Mision del Dulce Nombre de Jesús de Peyotes (*ibid.*, pp. 210, 373–74, 537)	Coahuilteco
Peyote, San Luis Potosi (Amer. Geogr. Soc. 1945:108). Founded?	Guachichil
San Juan Peyotan, Jalisco (Amer. Geogr. Soc. 1945:140). Near here was founded in 1722 the Jesuit Mision del Santa Rita Peyotan (Alegre *c.* 1767, III:206–209, 215)	Cora
Peyula, Hidalgo (Amer. Geogr. Soc. 1945:108). Founded?	Otomi
Pyote, Ward County, Texas. Founded *c.* 1882.	Lipan Apache

[1] In addition, from what seems to be the garbled account of a Protestant missionary (Pierson 1915:201), I gather that there was a Franciscan church or mission of Santa Nina de Peyotes in or near Rosales (Sonora or Durango). It is probably also referred to in the following statement: " 'El Santo Niño de Peyote' of Santa Rosalia is apparently a local variation of El Santo Niño de Atoche" (La Barre 1938:162). I have not been able to find any primary sources on the subject.


TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION OF PEYOTISM BEFORE 1800
110
106
102
98
94
36
32
28
24
20
16
HOPI
TAOS
QUERES
ISLETA
U N I T E D S T A T E S
CADDO
PIMA
OPATA
JUMANO
TARAHUMARA
COAHUILTECO
LAGUNERO
M E X I C O
ACAXEE
ZACATECO
TAMAULIPECO
CORA
CAZCAN
TARASCO
AZTEC
SOURCE AREAS OF PEYOTE
TRIBES USING PEYOTE
PRESENT INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
PRESENT STATE BOUNDARIES
0 100 200 300
SCALE OF MILES
ALLEN K. PHILBRICK

sumably for the same reason.) Now, on the basis of the culture-area theory, we might expect that if peyotism is found in some parts of the Greater Southwest, it might well occur in others. Besides, there is known cultural continuity across the Rio Grande (Sociedad Mexicana de Anthropologia 1944). Therefore, a priori it seems probable that peyotism was a trait in that part of the Greater Southwest which is north of the Rio Grande. In addition, the uses of peyote described in the early northern sources conform to our own Southwest culture pattern (Parsons 1939, II:1094–97). Consequently on theoretical grounds there seems to be no basis for skepticism.

Empirically, one might argue that the "peyote" referred to in the early northern sources is not *Lophophora williamsii*. However, if we take into consideration that peyote is indigenous over a wide area north of the Rio Grande, that we have a number of documents referring to "peyote" which are completely independent of one another, and that there is no evidence that *Datura* was ever called "peyote" north of the Rio Grande, the identification of peyotism north of the river seems no more improbable than south of it.

Also, it should be realized that the use of peyote was not limited to the tribes of its native habitat. The plant was of sufficient social value to make it the object of travel or trade. For example, we are told that the Opata obtained their peyote "from the mountains of Taraumara" (Aguirre 1762:92).

So far I have been speaking of peyotism among the Indians.

In addition, by 1620 it had been adopted so widely by non-Indians as to be considered a problem to the Inquisition in New Spain. For after 1575 the Inquisition had no jurisdiction over Indians[5] (*Recopilacion* [Spain 1681:6.1.35]); yet in 1620 it passed a decree against the use of peyote (Inquisition 1620), and inquisitors subsequently took action in cases coming to their notice (Perea 1631: nos. 28, 30; 1632:181r-182r; Perez de Ribas 1645, III:33; Inquisition 1650).

Some aspects of peyotism also diffused into Western civilization. The plant itself was first studied by taxonomists and introduced to European cactus fanciers in 1839 (Lemaire 1839:1–3).[6] It appeared occasionally in Mexican medical works of the nineteenth century (Academia Farmaceutica 1846:45; Oliva 1854, II:392). Modern pharmacological and psychological research on peyote was begun by Briggs[7] (1887), and continued by Lewin (Lewin 1888).

USES OF PEYOTE

We are still beset by problems when we turn to the uses of peyote. In the first place, a high degree of familiarity with the customs of a people is needed before all their uses of peyote can be understood—and no observers before the end of the nineteenth century seem to have had such familiarity. In the second place, peyotism is usually believed to violate Western mores, so that prejudices against it tend to distort descriptions of its use. In many cases the accounts by Westerners of the uses and effects of peyote read like the accounts by pagan Romans of early Christian rites, and are about as reliable.

Nevertheless, the accompanying Table 4 is an attempt to classify the uses of peyote, when they are given in the sources. The most significant result

TABLE 4

USES OF PEYOTE, BY TRIBE, 1521–1891

I. Individual
  A. To reduce fatigue and hunger
    "Chichimeca" (Sahagun 1585c, III:230)
  B. Medicine
    1. Externally
      Zacateco (Hernandez 1577d, III:70)
      Aztec (Serna 1656:303)
      Opata (Aguirre 1762:92–93, 1764:547–48; Alegre *c.* 1767, II:219–20)
      Pima (Alegre *c.* 1767, II:219–20)
    2. Internally
      Acaxee (Perez de Ribas 1645; III:33)
      Lagunero (Perez de Ribas 1645, III:249)
      Cazcan (Estrada y Flores 1659:21)
      Mexico (Havard 1896:38)
        Central western Mexico (Arlegui 1737:144–45)
  C. To induce "visions" for purposes of supernatural revelation
      Aztec (Muñoz Camargo *c.* 1590:134; Cardenas 1591:3v; M. de Leon 1611: 112v; Ruiz de Alarcon 1629:131, 135, 146, 195; Serna 1656:385–86)
      Zacateco (*Primeras misiones* 1598:48; Arlegui 1737:154)
      Queres (Perea 1631:no. 28)
      Tarasco (Perea 1632:181v–182r)
      Lagunero (Perez de Ribas 1645, III:33)
      Cazcan (Estrada y Flores 1659:21)
      Tamaulipeco (Santa Maria *c.* 1760:408)
      Isleta (New Mexico 1720)
      Taos (New Mexico 1720)
      Coahuilteco (Mota Padilla 1742:382; Morfi 1777:194)
      Comanche (White 1888:98–99)
      Kiowa Apache (White 1888:98)
      Kiowa (White 1888:98)
      Unspecified tribes:
        Mexico (Perea 1631: nos. 28, 30)
          Central western Mexico (Arregui 1621:51–52)
          "Chichimeca" (Hernandez 1577d, III:70–71; Sahagun 1585c, III:230)
        Southwest (Briggs 1887:276)
  D. Amulet for protection against danger
    Central western Mexico (Arlegui 1737:155)
  E. Intoxicant
    Coahuilteco (Mota Padilla 1742:382)
    Lipan Apache (Coulter 1891:129; Havard 1896:38)
    "Chichimeca" (Sahagun 1585c, III:118)
    New Mexico (Havard 1885:521)
II. Collective
  Comanche (U. S. Census Office 1894:532)
  A. Used in tribal rites
    Coahuilteco (A. de Leon 1649:42. Gatschet 1886:68, 114)

(*Table 4—Continued on p. 210*)

TABLE 4 (*Continued*)

Caddo (Espinosa 1709:61; Hidalgo 1716:267; Velasco 1716:76)
Cora (Arias y Saavedra *c.* 1672:26; Ortega *et al.* 1754:18)
Tamaulipeco (Santa Maria *c.* 1760:406–409)
Jumano (*Estado post* 1769:65)
Huichol (Corona 1888:lxvii-lxviii)
"Chichimeca" (Sahagun 1585a, VIII:178v)

B. A cult
Kiowa (Mooney 1891)

of this analysis is that the individual uses (to reduce fatigue and hunger, as a medicine, to induce "visions" for purposes of supernatural revelation, as an amulet, and as an intoxicant), and the collective use in tribal rites, all seem equally old and part of a single trait complex. Only the collective cult seems recent.

I find it interesting to compare the list in Table 4 with the uses of peyote among the contemporary Menomini. Individually, the latter use peyote internally as a medicine, and take it in order to have "visions." Collectively, of course, it is cultic (Slotkin 1952).

HISTORY OF PEYOTISM

A. *Old Peyote Complex*

In considering the history of peyotism, the first question that arises is whether all the tribes known to use peyote by 1800, let us say, had done so before the Conquest (1521), or whether some of them adopted it through acculturation under post-Conquest influences. I know of no data by which to answer this question with any degree of reliability.

Using the Rio Grande as a line of demarcation, these considerations apply just as much to the northern tribes as to the southern. There are early records of peyotism in (*a*) the Southwest: Queres, 1631; Hopi, Isleta, and Taos, 1720; Pima, *c.* 1764; (*b*) Gulf: Coahuilteco, 1760; (*c*) and marginal Southern Plains: Caddo, 1709. Since peyote is indigenous over a wide area north of the Rio Grande, and there is cultural continuity across the river (Sociedad Mexicana de Antropologia 1944), there seems to be no reason why peyotism in the north should not be as old as in the south—or at least pre-Conquest.

From the time of the earliest records, peyotism in both the northern and southern tribes seems to have been part of one trait complex. Individually, peyote primarily was used as a medicine and to obtain "visions" for purposes of supernatural revelation. Collectively, it was an element in tribal dancing rites, the peyote evidently being used to induce a trance state during the dance.

B. *Peyote Cult*

In 1891 the Indians in Oklahoma were found to have something new—a "mescal rite" (Mooney 1891). This is the peyote cult, a trait complex consisting of a voluntary religious organization, whose rite is one of prayer and quiet

contemplation, centered on peyote both as a symbol of the spirits being worshiped and as a sacrament. It is quite different from the older form of collective peyotism, which, to repeat, consists of tribal participation in a dancing rite with peyote as a mere component. There are significant differences between the two both in form (Stewart 1948:19–30) and function (Petrullo 1940). Because of varying social conditions between the two countries, the tribal rite is now found in Mexico;[8] the peyote cult, in the United States.[9]

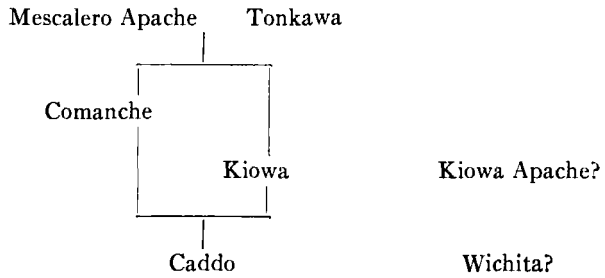
The next series of questions, accordingly, is: When did the peyote cult originate? In what tribe was it invented? What was the history of its diffusion?

I do not know any documents by which to answer these questions. Most students attempt to substitute tradition and the remote recall of informants, but my own experience leads me to reject them both as unreliable.[10,11] However, this need not lead us to a dead end: I do not see why our present ignorance cannot be remedied by future research.[12] Meanwhile, the following tentative answers may be given to the questions asked above.

Mooney's investigation (1896b:653, 1892a) establishes 1891 as the *terminus ante quem* of the peyote cult. How much earlier it was invented, is unknown.

I do not know of any contemporary record of Mooney's concerning the tribes having the peyote cult in 1891. Several decades later he stated, presumably from earlier notes, that these tribes had peyotism: Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Comanche, Kiowa Apache, Wichita, Caddo, and Tonkawa (Mooney 1915:70–71, 73–74; 1918:63). Unfortunately, he does not state whether all had the peyote cult, or whether some had only the old peyote complex. Now, the cult may have originated among these tribes, or may have come to them already developed; at present there seems to be no basis for deciding between the alternatives.

Mooney makes some statements about the diffusion of peyotism, though I do not know the evidence upon which they are founded. For whatever it may be worth, the following filiation through 1891 has been constructed from a few of his remarks (Mooney 1918:70; 1898:239; 1896b:904):



There are many limitations to this filiation. (*a*) It tells us little about the diffusion of the peyote cult, since Mooney fails to discriminate between the older complex and the newer cult. (*b*) Not only was there interaction between the Mescalero Apache, on the one hand, and the tribes in Oklahoma, on the other

TABLE 5

RESERVATIONS ON WHICH PEYOTISM IS REPORTED TO HAVE EXISTED BEFORE 1900. BY AGENCY, TRIBE, AND POPULATION, 1890

NEW MEXICO	
Mescalero Agency (established 1873)	
** Mescalero Apache and Lipan Apache	513
OKLAHOMA	
Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency (established 1869)	
* Cheyenne	2,272
* Arapaho	1,100
Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency (established 1867)	
* Kiowa	1,140
* Comanche	1,598
* [Kiowa] Apache	326
** Wichita	174
** Caddo	538
Towaconie [Wichita]	150
Keechie [Caddo]	66
Waco [Wichita]	34
Delaware	95
Osage Agency (established 1866)	
Osage	1,509
Kansas	198
Quapaw	71
Ponca, Pawnee, Otoe, and Oakland Agency (established 1876)	
Pawnee	804
Ponca	605
Otoe and Missouria	358
* Tonkawa and Lipan Apache	76

From: U. S. Census Office 1894:102; U. S. Comm. Ind. Aff. 1890:440–442, 456, 458.

Single asterisked tribes are those reported by reservation agents to have had peyotism by 1890 (U. S. Comm. Ind. Aff. 1886–90). Double-asterisked tribes are additional ones reported by Mooney to have had peyotism by 1891 (Mooney 1915:70–71, 73–74; 1918:63).

For a map of all reservations in 1890, see U. S. Comm. Ind. Aff. 1890, end map. For a detailed map of reservations in Oklahoma, see U. S. Census Office 1894, map op. 242. For a map of Oklahoma showing the complex historical changes in reservations and tribes, see Schmeckebier 1927, map op. 130.

(Mooney 1896b:805; 1898:246–47), but the latter also had Carrizo (i.e., Coahuilteco) prisoners from whom they might have learned about peyotism (Mooney 1898:400). (*c*) He does not take into account the sources quoted in the appendix.

Anyway, irrespective of where or when it originated, the peyote cults' present importance is probably due to diffusion from the tribes of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency after the failure of the Ghost Dance of 1889–91.[18]

APPENDIX: SOURCES ON PEYOTISM NORTH OF THE RIO GRANDE, 1631–1891

1

A

Ana Cadimo [a *mestiza*] . . . says and denounces concerning herself that it was about a year ago that the Indians [around Santa Fe; i.e., Tewa, Tano, or Queres] and a Mexican Indian woman called Francisca, the wife of Domingo Sombrerero, a Mexican Indian, were telling her that she [Ana] was bewitched, and that she should take peyote (*peiote*) and [that] with it she would see [by means of a vision] the person who had bewitched her and done her evil: and that, seeing him, she would recover immediately; and [that] she would also see the charm [used against her], and where it was. And [she declared] that the said Mexican Indian woman offered to give it [i.e., peyote] to her if she had had it; but since she did not have it, she told this declarant [Ana] to find an Indian who would give it to her. And so she sought an old Indian of San Marcos [Tano and Queres], of the Queres tribe, who took a bunch [of peyote] and gave it to this declarant with a little water. And [she declared] that it had no effect on her hearing or on her health, nor [did] the rest that they had said [occur]. And [she declared] that because she did not know that she thus became unqualified for communion, she had not confessed before.

This declarant further says that it must have been about two or three years [ago] that a Tegua [Tewa] Indian woman from the pueblo of San Ildefonso, called Francisca Laphitaña, gave her other herbs (*otras ierbas*) to drink, dissolved in a gourd of water [for] two nights. But that first the Indian woman [who] gave it to her to drink, performed some ceremonies and conjurations, and related and gave her to understand by the gestures and grimaces that she made, that she saw some visions in the [medicated] water; and that to that which she saw in the water she was making music and talking. And then she gave it to this declarant to drink, saying that with that she would be cured.

And [she declared] that she [Ana] does not know any more, except that two years [ago] this same Mexican Indian woman [Francisca Sombrerero] was said openly in this town [Sante Fe] to have taken peyote in order to see who came from *tierra de pas* [Mexico], and that this is the truth [Perea 1631: nos. 28–30].

Comment: 1A-C are inquisition documents. According to the first paragraph, the Queres, and perhaps the Tewa and Tano, used peyote. The second paragraph, because it refers to "other herbs," is included to show that "peyote" was not used as a general term standing for all narcotic or medicinal plants. The third paragraph is included to show that the use of peyote was sufficiently well known to become a topic of general gossip. Finally, because people from Mexico are involved in the case, we may infer that the plant being called "peyote" in New Mexico is the same as that called "peyote" in Mexico.

B

Luis Pacheco, [Spanish] soldier and citizen of the city of Santa Fe . . . declared for the relief of his conscience, that on the 10th of December of the past year of 1631, being in the habitations of the irrigated lands, in the house of Juan Anton, the mulatto husband of Ana [Maria], a Mexican *ladina*, and there being present Jusepe [de la Cruz], a *ladino* Indian of the Queres tribe, interpreter or Indian interpreter of the priest Friar

Christobal de Quiros, superior of the pueblo of San Felipe [Queres], a servant of this declarant [Pacheco] having fallen and broken an arm, and that cooking a poultice (?) (*bilma*) to put on him, the said declarant said, "If we had here a little peyote (*peiote*), it would be very good for this." And that the said Juan Anton answered, "Peyote is not only good for this, but to find stolen things [as well]. That when I was in the mines of Mapimi [Durango] in New Spain [i.e., Mexico], there having been stolen from my servant and from an Indian—from her [i.e., the former] an underskirt and other clothing, and from the Indian some blankets—and going to look for it, and not finding it, I took six or seven heads or roots of peyote and, ground, I drank it. And afterwards I went into a private room and there appeared to me an old man and an old woman. And he asked me what was my difficulty, and I answered him that they had stolen that clothing. And he answered me, 'Don't worry; go to a certain place; you will find it there.' And I and the Indian from whom they had stolen the blankets went there, and we found an Indian who had the clothing, and we took it away from him" [Perea 1632: 181r].

Comment: Since Pacheco was a citizen of Santa Fe (founded 1609), he may very well have learned about peyote from the neighboring Indians.

C

In this town and convent of San Francisco of Sandia of New Mexico . . . being called before Friar Esteban de Perea, commissioner of the Holy Office [i.e., Inquisition] of these provinces, there appeared an Indian of the Queres tribe . . . the interpreter named Jusepe [de la Cruz], of the convent of San Phelipe, skilled (*ladino*) in the Spanish language. . . . He said that he remembered that in the month of December he went to look for some horses on the ranch of Juan Anton, mulatto husband of Ana [Maria], a Mexican Indian; on which he found that there was also Luis Pacheco, soldier, taking care of a servant of his who had broken a collar bone, with the black one's herb. Whereupon Juan Anton said that if he had peyote, it alone would be enough to cure him. And that not only was peyote good for that, but also for finding stolen things. Inasmuch as it had happened to him that off there in New Spain (he [Jusepe] does not remember where he said), having had stolen from him some blankets from his house, through the agency of a Tarasco Indian the said Juan Anton took peyote, and threw himself down to sleep right away. And in his dreams there appeared an old man who said to him, "What is the matter? Why are you sad?" And the said Juan Anton answered, "I am this way because someone stole some blankets from me." And the said old man answered him, "Get up. Go to such and such a place. And going into such and such a house there, you will find the Indian woman and the stolen blankets." And the said Juan Anton went, and found the blankets and the Indian woman as the said old man had told him [Perea 1632: 181v–182r].

2

Only in their general dances which they [i.e., the Caddo] hold, do they use a root called *peyote*, or some other herbs that affect their heads. But not all partake of them [Espinosa 1709: 61].

3

. . . in their [i.e., Caddo] dances they have the Indian braves or the Indian women who get drunk on *peyote* or *frixolillo* [mescal bean], which they make for the occasion,

and the people believe everything these persons tell them they have seen [Hidalgo 1716: 267].

4

The Texans [Caddo?] do not use pulque or other drinks, but there is one that is named after the *Peyote*, which they use in their dances, and this drink makes them see visions or fantasies [Velasco 1716: 76].

5

The next source is too long to quote here. It is the record of a trial held in Taos in 1720. During the proceedings it developed that an Isleta, who had lived among the Hopi after the Pueblo Revolt, and now resided in Taos, had brought peyote with him from the Hopi (New Mexico 1720).

Comment: This case was tried by the civil authorities. Was there a law against peyote, or were the defendants guilty of disturbing the peace? The only civil law against peyote known to me is the decree of 1785.

6

"Have you eaten peyote?" (Garcia 1760:15).

Comment: This question appears in a manual for confessors used among the Coahuilteco of Texas.

7

Major J. B. Pond, of New York, informs me that in Texas, during the Civil War, the so-called Texas Rangers, when taken prisoners and deprived of all other stimulating drinks, used mescal buttons, or "white mule," as they called them. They soaked the plants in water and became intoxicated with the liquid [Lumholtz 1902, I: 358].

Comment: Irrespective of from whom the peyote was obtained, this text shows that it was known in Texas at the time.

8

A

Anhalonium fissuratum, Eng. (Peyote). . . . Found on rocky highlands west of Devil's River, specially in Presidio County, extending thence into Mexico.

The fleshy part of the plant is used, and pieces are found in most Mexican houses. An infusion of it is said to be good in fevers. It is principally as an intoxicant that the Peyote has become noted, being often added to "tizwin" [a fermented liquor made from corn] or other mild fermented native drink to render it more inebriating. If chewed it produces a sort of delirious exhilaration which has won for it the designation of "dry whisky" [Havard 1885:521].

B

While stationed on the Rio Grande, west of the Pecos [1880–1884[14]], my attention was drawn to a plant, called Peyote, which appears to possess remarkable properties. It is *Anhalonium Engelmanni* . . . Mexicans cut it into slices which are kept dry for

medicinal purposes, being commonly used in fevers. It is principally as an intoxicant, however, that it has become noted along the Mexican border, being eaten raw or added to native tizwin [a fermented liquor made from corn] to make it stronger. It is said that Indians or Mexicans partaking of this adulturated tizwin become temporarily crazy and uncontrollable [Havard 1896: 38].

Comment: The Indians were probably Lipan Apache.

9

A

The Comanches and a few of the Kiowas secure the tops of a kind of cactus that comes from Mexico, which they eat, and it produces the same effect as opium, frequently putting them to sleep for twenty-four hours at a time. I shall forward to you some specimens, that the same may be analyzed, and as the habit of using it seems to be growing among them, and is evidently injurious, I would respectfully suggest that the same be made contraband. The Comanches call it wo-co-wist. The [Kiowa] Apaches ho-as or ho-se [Hall 1886: 130].

B

During the past two years many of the Comanches and [Kiowa] Apaches and a few of the Kiowas have become addicted to the use of a fruit which they procure from Mexico and which is said by them to be the fruit of a cactus that grows along the Pecos River and the Rio Grande and on the plains of Mexico and New Mexico. I am not sufficiently learned in botany to say what it is. Its common name here among the whites is mescal bean. In size it is about one-fourth of an inch thick and 1½ inches in diameter. When dry it is hard and about the color of bright tobacco, and it is not unlike tobacco in taste. The center of the upper side is covered with a coat of gray fuzz. Its effect on the Indians is believed by medical men to be somewhat like that of bangue. It not only makes physical wrecks of them in a short time, but it destroys their mental faculties as well. While under its influence they are in dreamland and see the most beautiful visions. One of the strange hallucinations which it produces is the belief that everything seen in these visions is real.

The Indians have even come to look upon this bean—Woqui, as the Comanches call it—as an oracle, endowed with the power of revelation. This belief was the primary cause of the shooting for which George Maddox, the Comanche, is now incarcerated in the Dallas jail, as hereinbefore alluded to. One morning he reported to the blacksmith at the Fort Hill issue station that he had the night before shot at his wife three times, but that it was all right, as he had missed her and they were going to continue to live together. When questioned as to the cause, he stated that the day before his wife confessed to him that she had been unfaithful to him. But as she was mad at him at the time he did not know whether to believe her or not. He determined to consult his Woqui to ascertain whether she had told him the truth or had only told the story to exasperate and worry him, and to get inspiration as to what course he should pursue towards her. That night he ate freely of his Woqui. It told him to shoot at his wife three times. If he hit her he would thereby know that she had told him the truth and deserved to die for her infidelity to him. If, upon the other hand, he missed her, she had merely told him a falsehood because she was mad at him and he must continue to live with and confide in her.

Thus it is seen that this hallucination is liable to assume a dangerous form. Indeed, many white people living in the vicinity of the Comanches and knowing the extent to which they were using these beans were becoming alarmed for their safety, when in June last I determined to take such steps as seemed practicable to suppress the vice. I issued an order, in writing, forbidding any Indian to use the beans or have any in his possession, and declaring that I would punish any violation of the order by withholding rations, annuity goods, and lease money. At first the Comanches declared that they would not obey the order. They said they would rather die than be deprived of their Woqui. I went down to Fort Sill and had a talk with them, the result of which was an agreement that I would permit them to eat their beans one night at each full moon for three or four months, and that they would not eat any at any other time. They also agreed that when their present supply of beans gave out they would quit entirely. . . .

I would respectfully recommend that there should be legislation to prohibit traffic in these beans with Indians in about the same manner that liquor traffic with them is prohibited [White 1888: 98–99].

C

I desire to call to your special attention to [*sic*] the report of my predecessor, Special Agent E. E. White, on woqui, or mescal. . . . The use of this fruit as a stimulant is alarmingly on the increase among the Indians [of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency], and unless some step is taken in the near future to prevent this traffic it will not only retard their progress for many years, but finally make slaves and kill them with the same certainty that the morphine, opium, or alcohol habit kills the white man. The traders on this reservation are not allowed to sell them this article, but they procure it from men across the North Fork of Red River, who are merchants and traders in Greer County, Tex. [Myers 1889: 191].

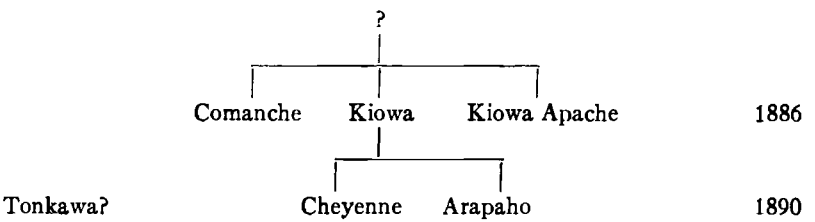
D

Some concern has been expressed that these Indians [of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency] might become addicted to the use of woqui or mescal as a stimulant. Very little has found its way here, and that was brought by the Kiowa Indians while on a visit. Every effort will be made to keep it out. I am informed it is exposed for sale by traders in Greer County, Texas [Ashley 1890: 180].

E

We find that this tribe [i.e., the Tonkawa] is addicted to the use of the mescal bean and we are doing our best to discourage and prevent its use among them [Wood 1890: 194].

Comment: These reservation agency sources give us the following filiation:



I am sure that the texts given here represent only a fraction of the material available in the National Archives and in the files of the various agencies.

F

Kiowas. . . . some danger is apprehended from the too common use of mescal [U. S. Census Office 1894: 531].[15]

G

. . . of late many of the Comanches and [Kiowa] Apaches and a few of the Kiowas have become addicted to the use of a fruit they procure from Mexico, called by the white people mescal. This must not be confused with the bean called by the [Comanche] Indians wo-qui, or wo-co-wist, a bean used by the Comanches in their religious services. When dry this bean, which is the fruit of a certain species of cactus, is hard and about the color of bright tobacco and not unlike it in taste. When eaten freely it produces a profound slumber, often lasting 24 hours, accompanied by visions said to be similar to those of the famous lotus. The dance and ceremonies of the Woqui lodges [tipi?] are not a debauch, but are solemn devotional services. The Indians should not be disturbed in these ceremonies [U. S. Census Office 1894: 532].[16]

Comment: This last source raises two difficulties. (*a*) What is the "mescal fruit" the writer distinguishes from the "mescal bean," i.e., peyote? (*b*) He speaks of "the dance and ceremonies." If this is taken to mean that a dance was included in the rite, we have here the old rite, and not the peyote cult. If it is taken to mean that a dance took place before the rite, we have a transitional form. All this is based upon the assumption that the description is correct. However, the whole text sounds as if it derived from hearsay. If so, some or all of the description may be incorrect.

10

I am wholly unfamiliar with the literature (if there be any) on this peculiar fruit. Learning *first* from my brother, who has spent several years among the different tribes of wild Indians, and subsequently from Mexicans, that both Indians and Mexicans eat (or chew and swallow the juice) this fruit for purposes of intoxication, I became interested in its physiological effects. The Indians use it that they may forget their troubles and see "beautiful visions"; such as "*buffalo and wild horses come up out of the earth*" (?).

In order to learn more of this curious fruit I sent and procured from Mexico some specimens. The "buttons" are, while green, about two inches in diameter by one-half in thickness, and are covered over with minute thistles, resembling very much several species of cactus. In fact that this is of the cactus family I feel confident. So far as I am aware, it is indigenous to Mexico only, and is very valuable, being sent from there to the various tribes of wild Indians throughout the Southwest and sold for a high price. It is regarded by the Indians as a *sacred* plant, and is eaten only by the "medicine men," the chiefs, and other notable worthies. I have never seen the Indians under its influence, but have learned from reliable sources the following: An Indian will eat from six to ten (?) of these "buttons," after properly arranging himself in his "tepee," as does the opium-smoker.

In a short time—two to four hours—he becomes totally unconscious, in which con-

dition he remains for two or three days. After returning to consciousness he will relate to the natives many remarkable adventures in the "spirit world," and the return to the prairies of innumerable herds of buffalo and wild horses. The state of the pulse or rate of respiration was not ascertained, but I am informed they have all the appearances of opium poisoning. The "charm" over, the tribe cluster around to drink in the superstitious recitals of these savage leaders. Such hallucinations are to these superstitious Indians undoubted realities, and form a part of their religious creed [Briggs 1887: 276].

Comment: This hearsay account is an exasperating mixture of fact and fancy, but I do not know how to separate the two. Though Briggs speaks of Southwestern Indians, the mention of prairies, buffalo, horse, and tipi suggest that they were Oklahoma tribes. (At the time of his research Briggs resided in Fort Worth, Texas.)

11

Peyote. . . . This herb has a very bad reputation in the southwest among Indians and Spaniards [Bandelier 1890: I 88n.].

Comment: Presumably it was used by some Indians of the Southwest; otherwise it is not very probable that they would have known about it.

12

Mamillaria fissurata Eng. . . . On rocky highlands from the San Pedro and Pecos westward, especially in Presidio County. . . . Known as "peyote," and somewhat noted as an intoxicant, being sometimes called "dry whisky" from the fact that when chewed it produces more or less inebriation [Coulter 1891: 129].

Comment: If we may assume that the peyote was used by Indians of the region, they were probably Lipan Apache.

13

The modern scientific study of peyotism began with Mooney's investigation of the "mescal rite" (1891). His descriptions are too long to give here. All that need be mentioned is that his first account of the peyote cult appeared in 1892a; the most complete, in 1897.

ADDENDUM I

"The food of these Indians [Yokuts ?] is chiefly the 'payote' made from the acorns into a kind of gruel" (J. W. Audubon, Western Journal: 1849–1850, ed. F. H. Hodder [Cleveland: Clark, 1906], p. 213; see also pp. 186, 208).

Comment: This is included to prevent confusion among future investigations, and not because it has reference to the subject.

" . . . 'payote' (probably with silent *e*) *is* acorn mush and *not* peyote. . . . the word may be Chulamni Yokuts" (R. F. Heizer and A. L. Kroeber, personal communication).

ADDENDUM II

The following references have been found since the article was set in type.

1

The Rosales or Santa Rosalia mentioned in Table 3 is probably located in southeastern Chihuahua. See Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 19, pt. 1 (1897–98), xvi.

2

"I noted that only on the occasion of a *mitote*, or general dance, do they [i.e., the Indians in the Province of Texas] drink *peyote* and [the juice of] other herbs which cause a disturbance of the senses, producing visions and apparitions" (Antonio de San Buenaventura Olivares, *Carta* [*ca.* 1709], p. 397; *in* J. A. Pichardo, Treatise on the limits of Louisiana and Texas, ed. and tr. C. W. Hackett and others [Austin: U. of Texas Press, 1931–46], II, 395–98).

Comment: The above belongs to the series of sources 2–4.

3

The "dance" mentioned in source 9G may very well be accurate. Dancing has been found among the following tribes:

Arapaho: A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho, p. 403; *in* Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, 18 (1902–1907), 1–229, 279–454.

Kiowa: J. I. Gamble, Changing patterns in Kiowa Indian dances, pp. 100–1; *in* International Congress of Americanists 29 (1949), Selected Papers, ed. S. Tax (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951–52), II, 94–104.

Kiowa Apache: D. F. Aberle, personal communication.

Allen P. Dale, an Omaha, and president of the Native American Church of the United States, has told me that he has seen dancing occasionally during the Peyote rite among the Comanche and Kiowa.

4

" . . . the [Mescalero] Indians, painted in most fantastic style, were gathering around a tepee down near the creek. Before the tepee a few paces, was a large cedar branch standing stuck in the ground. The Apaches, keeping time to the tom-tom beating within, circled around the tepee three times, then bowing toward the rising sun stooped and entered.

"The tom-tom, the rattle gourd, and the discordant song began in earnest, and the Indians were indulging in a Mescal revelry. . . . all night long the tump, tump, tump of the tom-tom, and the noise of the rattle gourd and the singing continued, and when the sun came up and their revelry was ended, they lay down in a stupor and slept" (J. J. Methvin, Andele [Louisville: Pentecostal Herald Press, 1899], p. 37. [ICN]).

Comment: This account was given by the captive Andres Martinez, and refers to *ca.* 1867.

5

"We [i.e., Chiricahua] . . . prepared for a great festival; but first we must undergo seven days' hunger. Seven Indians were selected. The strongest and most robust were

chosen. These danced continuously for seven days and nights without partaking of any food except a moist root prepared especially for this ordinance. These medicine men . . . cut great gashes in their legs and no blood would flow. Then they would eat small apples that grew on cactus found only in the Mountains of old Mexico and of great commercial value among the Indians.

"They made a cacti preparation from these apples called 'Hooshe.' We all ate nothing but Hooshe for four days, and we felt so light and happy that we loved everybody and wanted to fly away, but the medicine men charged us enormous prices for Hooshe and they owned all the property when we got over one of these dances" (J. H. Jones, A condensed history of the Apache and Comanche Indian Tribes [San Antonio: Johnson, 1899], p. 95; (DLC) reprinted with a few additions *in* H. Lehmann, Nine years among the Indians, ed. J. M. Hunter [Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1927] [ICN]).

Comment: This account was given by the captive Herman Lehmann, and refers to *ca.* 1875.

"The word hooshe might well be a rough rendering of Chiricahua xos, often heard xus, which means, primarily, thorn, cactus, and was secondarily used for peyote" (H. Hoijer, personal communication).

Another Apache authority doubts that the source refers to a peyote rite.

"I am pretty sure that the particular cactus referred to in this instance is not peyote. . . . 'Cactus apples' usually refers to the fruits of the opuntia or prickly pear cactus. . . .

"I must say that nothing in this description sounds very Apache in pattern or activity. Fasting before a ceremony, having seven dancers dancing for seven days, mutilating the body, etc., are all atypical as far as the Apache ritual pattern goes. Even if Apaches were somehow involved, I am sure that none of this was inspired by Apaches" (M. E. Opler, personal communication).

I would question Opler's identification of "hooshe" with opuntia, because peyote, and not opuntia, to my knowledge, has the effects described in the document. A similar rite, with substitutes for peyote, has been reported for the Caddo. See:

F. Casañas de Jesus Maria, Relacion [1691], p. 245. *In:* Source material on the history and ethnology of the Caddo Indians, by J. R. Swanton, pp. 241–63. Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology 132. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1942.

I. F. Espisona, Chronica apostolica (Mexico: Hogal, 1746), p. 429.

I have called the tribe Chiricahua because Lehmann is so classified by Murdock. In conversation Opler told me he doubted the attribution.

NOTES

[1] My investigation was carried on entirely in Chicago. This would have been impossible without the help of the Misses Katharine M. Hall, Helen M. Smith and Winifred Ver Nooy of the University of Chicago Library.

Norman A. McQuown kindly came to my rescue whenever I began to flounder among the early Spanish texts.

The study was financed by the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago.

[3] Some attempts have been made to offer an etymology of the Nahuatl *peyotl*, but B. L. Whorf's criticisms of these are still valid (La Barre 1938:16 n.). In its first recorded use the word is not applied to the plant at all; it is defined as "A cocoon of silk, or of a worm" (Molina 1555, II:80v; cf. I:24v). If this is its primary meaning, and later the word was metaphorically extended to the plant, then etymology is useless for our purposes.

[5] Archeological evidence is excluded. For such data see Toro 1928:102–10.

I am not certain of all my tribal attributions. But I thought it would be useful to attempt such attributions whenever feasible. Tribal designations are normalized according to Murdock 1941.

In earlier discussions (e.g., Slotkin 1951:421) a question was raised whether the term *mitote*, used for a Comanche and Apache rite, specifically referred to a peyote rite, or was generic. Further reading of early documents convinces me that mitote refers to rites in general. See also Santamaria 1942, s.v. "mitote."

[4] The locations given on the map have been compiled from the following sources: distribution of peyote plant—Rouhier 1927:11; tribes of northwest Mexico—Sauer 1934, map op. 1; tribes of northeast Mexico—Jimenez Moreno 1944, end map; "Chichemeca" tribes—Powell 1952:34; Aztec—Mendizabal and Jimenez Moreno 193–; others—Kroeber 1939, map 1a; Murdock 1941, end map.

[6] The people of New Spain, both popularly (Cervantes de Salazar *c.* 1567:32; Mendieta 1596:506) and legally (*Recopilacion* [Spain 1681:6.3.22; 6.9.14; 6.12.1, 16]), were categorized ethnically, the most important categories being Spaniards, Indians, Negroes, *mestizos* (Indian-Spanish crosses), and *mulatos* (Negro-Spanish and perhaps Negro-Indian crosses). Of these, all but "uncivilized" Indians (i.e., persons reared more or less in the aboriginal culture, whether Christian or not) seem to have been under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. I say this because *ladinos* (i.e., persons of Indian descent reared in Spanish culture and Spanish-speaking) were dealt with by inquisitors (Perea 1632:181v–182r).

These details are given to help understand the first set of documents in the appendix.

[6] For the history of its introduction, see Lemaire 1869.

[7] That Briggs was the pioneer is based upon the following evidence: (*a*) The files of Parke, Davis & Co. on the subject of peyote begin with a clipping of his 1887 article. (*b*) Lewin (1888) stated that the peyote he received from Parke, Davis & Co. was obtained from Mexico. Briggs's brother lived there, and it was from him that Briggs received his own supply. (*c*) Lewin used the unusual form "muscale button," as did Briggs.

Mrs. Anna B. Nickels is usually credited with having brought peyote to the attention of Parke, Davis & Co. I reject this for the following reasons: (*a*) W. P. Cusick of that company informs me that "we are unable to locate any records . . . connected with Mrs. Nickels" (personal communication). (*b*) Mrs. Nickels lived in Laredo, Texas. (*c*) She used the common form "mescal button" (Coulter 1894:131).

[8] The best descriptions of the Mexican form deal with the Tarahumara (Lumholtz 1902; Bennett and Zingg 1935), the Huichol (Seler 1901; Lumholtz 1902; Zingg 1938), and the Tepehuan (Mason 1912; 1918:107–9).

[9] The first description of the peyote cult in the United States deals with the Kiowa (Mooney 1892a *et seq.*). The cult is a remarkably stable trait complex throughout the country (Stewart 1944:103–21, 1948:19–30).

[10] First let me refer the reader to the psychological experiments of Philippe (1903) and Bartlett (1932). Since it is Apache evidence that is usually used, it becomes particularly appropriate to refer to the experiment of Cremony (1868:269–71) as well.

Among the Menomini, where I was able to obtain documentary evidence concerning the time and circumstances of adoption both for the dream dance and peyotism, I found that tradition and the memories of informants were seriously distorted.

[11] For students who disagree with my skepticism regarding such sources, perhaps the most important are the works of Opler 1936 *et seq.*

[12] I suspect one could find relevant material in the unpublished documents of the National Archives, Bureau of American Ethnology, and of reservation agencies.

[13] For a summary of social conditions at the time, see U. S. Census Office 1894.

[14] These dates were obtained from W. E. Bergin, Adjutant General, personal communication.

[15] My search for the names of the writers and dates of these census reports has been unsuccessful.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Since many of these books are difficult to obtain, the location is given of the copies used. All are at the University of Chicago Library, unless otherwise specified. In the latter case the location is symbolized according to U.S. Library of Congress 1953. For manuscripts the location is given as part of the reference.

Sources on Peyotism through 1891

Sixteenth Century

Cardenas, Juan de

1591 Problemas y secretos maravillosos de las Indias. Mexico, Ocharte. Facsimile: Coleccion de incunables Americanos 9. Madrid: Cultura Hispanica, 1945.

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NOTES TO BIBLIOGRAPHY

[1] These two works seem to contain nothing on peyote, but are listed in order to give all versions.

[2] A more precise dating of this work has defeated my efforts.

[3] For this attribution, see Uriarte 1904:II 156–57.

[4] The dating is based on internal evidence found on pp. 106, 116, 191.

[5] The distinction between the draft and final versions is tentative, and based on the following considerations: (*a*) The first version's title suggests its draft status. (*b*) Its earlier date. (*c*) Stylistically it is less polished than the later version. (*d*) It has a series of gaps, such as would be found in a working draft. However, the treatment of these gaps in the "final version" is unclear from the printed copy; one would have to check with the original MS. in the Archivo General de la Nacion, *Historia* 393, No. 3.

[6] I did not collate the first and second editions because both copies of the first edition in the Library of Congress are defective at this point.

Letters to the Editor

PEYOTISM, 1521–1891: SUPPLEMENT

Sir:

I finally have located the primary source regarding "Santa Nina de Peyotes" which worried me so in my recent article in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST (57 [1955]:206, 220). The passage is as follows:

> The town Rosales [now Villa Union, Coahuila] is the home of a little sacred wooden image, "Santa Niña de Peyotes," a saint of miraculous powers. Santa Niña appeared upon earth in the midst of the Lomerios de Peyotes in ancient Spanish times, but at this time I can find very little connection between the adoration of this image and the peyote business. I am enclosing you a photograph of this image [not located]. Rosales is the rendesvous of a great annual fiesta which begins December 24 and lasts for ten days. At this fiesta great miracles of healing are performed by Santa Niña.

The passage appears in a letter of W. E. Johnson to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 4, 1909. The manuscript is in Washington, National Archives, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, File no. 2989–1908–126, pt. lc. An abstract of the letter will be found in the *Indian School Journal* (12 [1912]:239–42).

Johnson is not a reliable reporter on such matters. Perhaps this note will induce someone to do a little ethnography on the subject in Villa Union.

I would also like to take this opportunity to provide a list of errata for the original article:

p. 202, last line: for "never" read "ever"
p. 211, par. 6, line 4: for "Mooney 1918" read "Mooney 1915"
p. 221, line 3 from bottom: for "Espisona" read "Espinosa"
p. 228, in reference to Mooney 1915: read "Washington, Government Printing Office, 1918"

J. S. SLOTKIN, *University of Chicago*

ETHNOGRAPHIC MAPS

Sir:

In his review of *Indian Tribes of North America* by myself and others, this journal (57:145–46), Verne Ray seems to misunderstand the chief purpose for which the map was made. When we said that the map is "primarily a cartographic tool," we meant that it was designed so that material plotted on the 11″×17″ outline forms could be reduced to about $4\frac{1}{2}$″×7″ to go within the text on a standard-sized page such as that of this journal. This has been done in several instances, e.g., by Stith Thompson (*Studia Septentrionalia* 4 [1953], end), Bruno Nettl (*Journal of American Folklore* 67 [1954]: 44), and myself (*Anthropos* 48 [1953]:580, 585). At this writing, William Massey and I have in press a volume which contains about 150 maps of page size or less. Maps reduced to such magnitude are necessarily schematic. Separate maps for