



Menomini Peyotism, a Study of Individual Variation in a Primary Group with a Homogeneous Culture

Author(s): J. S. Slotkin and David P. McAllester

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MENOMINI PEYOTISM

A STUDY OF INDIVIDUAL VARIATION IN A PRIMARY GROUP
WITH A HOMOGENEOUS CULTURE

J. S. SLOTKIN

Associate Professor of the Social Sciences, University of Chicago

With Transcriptions and Analysis of Menomini Peyote Music by

DAVID P. MCALLESTER

Associate Professor of Anthropology, Wesleyan University

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TO MY FRIENDS OF THE
NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH

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PREFACE

This monograph is one product of two seasons' field work among the Menomini Indians of Zoar, the conservative community on the Menomini Indian Reservation, Wisconsin.¹

During the first season I was asked by some members of the Native American Church to write an account of their religion for them. They had a twofold purpose in mind: to correct the erroneous impressions of non-members, and to instruct the younger members.

My first acquaintance with Peyotism was at a "prayer meeting" held to introduce me to the rite and to invoke the aid of God in my investigation. On this occasion I first ate Peyote, for the sake of participatory observation. The next time the rite was held I took no Peyote in order to concentrate on observing the details of the rite; this was the only time I attended the rite without using Peyote.

One of the cardinal maxims of the Native American Church is, "The only way to find out about Peyote is to take it, and learn from Peyote yourself." Thus each member acquires a body of knowledge based upon his own personal experience with Peyote. As a consequence, I felt that the only way to make an adequate study would be to interview as many members as possible with particular emphasis on the leaders of the group. This I did.

There are now three "generations" of "leaders," all of whom have been Peyotists for over thirty years. The oldest, and therefore the most respected, is Dewey Neconish (Wa-pahsa-kew: White Heron, born 1885). He and his wife Angeline (A-seni-w: Angel, 1889-1951) became our closest friends among the members of the Native American Church. Both of them spent innumerable hours patiently teaching me about Peyotism. The middle set of leaders consists of Howard Rain (Pe-wehsen: He [i.e., a bird] Settles Down from Flight, born 1896), Louis Thunder (Cekwes [Potawatomi]:

Thunderer, born ca. 1892), and Joseph Weso (A-senes: meaning unknown, born 1897). Howard and Louis gave me a good deal of their time. During the first season Joe was so preoccupied with personal problems that he could not undertake the extensive discussions required; in the second season he gave me whatever help I needed. The youngest of the leaders is Mitchell Weso (Meyawa-sekew: Sunbeams are Shining Straight, born 1907), who became a close friend. He represents a new generation, having had two years of secondary education at Haskell Institute. He has attended intertribal conferences of the Native American Church. Prior to becoming a leader, he was the most experienced "fire chief."

During the first season I tried to obtain a general picture of Peyotism, recording my interviews whenever possible. After returning from the field I wrote a draft of my findings and sent a copy to the leaders of the group for their criticisms. I began the second season by going over the draft with the leaders, correcting a few minor errors and filling in the gaps. I then concentrated on trying to obtain a deeper understanding of Peyotism, and both my wife and I participated fully in the rites. I have attended the rite about half a dozen times, eating Peyote except on the second occasion described above. In addition, I have discussed the subject with most of the Chippewa, Potawatomi, and Winnebago Half Moon leaders, for they have visited the Menomini rites at one time or another during my stay. During the second season I was considered to have attained a correct understanding of Peyotism, and was made a member and official of the Menomini branch of the Native American Church.

This research was carried out with funds granted by the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago.

My wife, Mrs. Elizabeth J. Slotkin, assisted me in the field work and criticized the manuscript. Mrs. Phyllis Hamilton transcribed the English parts of the recorded interviews, and typed the draft and completed manuscripts.

The music recordings will be deposited in the Archives of Folk and Primitive Music, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

J. S. S.

¹ My work on the Menomini has been as follows:
Reconnaissance of the reservation, September, 1949.
Study of the Menomini language with a Menomini residing in Chicago, January to April, 1950. In this work I was aided by C. P. Hockett, who was kind enough to send me some of L. Bloomfield's manuscript material on Menomini linguistics.
First season in Zoar: May-July, 1950.
Second season in Zoar: May-June, 1951.

MENOMINI PHONEMES

CONSONANTS

	Labial	Dental	Alveolo- palatal	Midpalatal	Glottal
Voiceless stops	p	t	c	k	ʔ
Voiceless fricatives			s		h
Voiced nasals	m	n			
Semivowels	w		y		

VOWELS

	Front		Back	
	Short	Long	Short	Long
High	i	iː	u	uː
Mid	e	eː	o	oː
Low	ɛ	ɛː	a	aː

English words and phrases within quotation marks are those customarily used by members of the Native American Church when speaking English.

MENOMINI PEYOTISM

A Study of Individual Variation in a Primary Group with a Homogeneous Culture

J. S. SLOTKIN

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I. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

As has been stated in the preface, the members of the Native American Church had their own reasons for asking me to make this study. However, it is to be expected that as I did the work involved, I related the findings to various problems which interest me as a social anthropologist. Here I shall simply mention a few.

In the first place, I used it to test the hypothesis of the psychic unity of mankind. I knew very little about Peyotism when I began this study, and had the common impression that it was a bizarre cult. Certainly it was stranger to me than anything I had studied previously. Consequently I was interested to find that the beliefs and practices of the Peyotists fit the basic religious patterns as established by the comparative method. Once the postulates of Peyotism were understood and assumed, I found it possible to comprehend the body of beliefs and practices, and to make inferences about them which were subsequently confirmed by the leaders. And I soon discovered that the Peyotists were people like any other, with the usual human strengths and weaknesses, who had simply developed their own particular variation on a general religious theme. I take this to be additional evidence that all peoples are, fundamentally, pretty much alike.

A second problem which interested me was the extent to which a simple society really has a homogeneous culture. The Menomini Peyotists form a primary group of about three dozen active members; I studied the extent to which they follow a common body of customs. Some definitions are in order at this point. We may discriminate between "usages," the actual performance

by individuals of behavior adopted from others; and "customs," a socially categorized class of such usages. The "norm" is a central tendency in the range of usages considered to constitute a custom; the "deviations" are the extreme variants of the range; and the "ideal" is a kind of behavior which is supposed to be performed, but rarely if ever is. Within a group there are "specialties," or customs involved in particular roles; "alternatives," which are different customs conceived to be equivalent; and "divergences," different customs covering similar situations, but considered to be mutually exclusive.

I investigated the kinds and extent of individual differences in the overt and covert responses of the members. I found that the participants themselves informally made all the distinctions just mentioned, when discussing the behavior of different individuals. Then too, there are variations in the behavior of the same individual in different situations. These conditions exist even when the study is restricted to "normal" people.¹ My conclusion is that any account which ignores the distinctions given above, and is limited simply to norms and ideals, gives a distorted picture of the culture of the simplest group. To speak of a "homogeneous" culture, therefore, is a relative matter at best, and ignores the variability found in all phenomena. I am sure that every field worker has become aware of such variability. But there are few published accounts which present adequate material on the subject; I have tried to do so here.

I also found that there is less variation in overt than in covert behavior. For example, the members conform pretty much to the norm in the external aspects of the rite, but there is a wide range of individual difference in the way these external aspects are perceived. To put it another way, it is easier to find norms for overt than covert customs. This makes me prefer a behavioristic interpretation of custom to any idealistic one which conceives of customs as consisting of "the common meanings of a group."

The last two findings led me to study the life histories and configuration of Peyotist usages, in a representative sample of members. I found that what the individual selects from a body of customs—in this case, Peyotism—and elaborates on, as well as the direction of such elaboration, depends upon his personality. This is to be expected from what is known of the effects of psychological set. Therefore the individual differences in

¹ The responses of a marked deviant will be found in the writer's *A case of paranoid schizophrenia among the Menomini Indians*. To be published.

usages depend upon the personalities, and thus upon the life histories, of the members. I was also impressed by the marked internal consistency in the responses of each individual to the various aspects of Peyotism, though I have not developed any technique for formulating the precise degree of such consistency. This too might be expected, for an organized personality is one whose behavior patterns are relatively harmonious. And each participant in the group has his own style of usages, as it were, which reflects his personality. Thus, on the crudest level, the responses of one member are profound, while those of another are superficial; one is imaginative, while another is matter of fact; and so on.

II. AN INTERPRETATION OF PEYOTISM

As an introduction to the subject of Peyotism, I will explain the essentials of the religion as I understand them. Also, at the request of the Peyotists themselves, my wife's¹ and my own reactions to the rite are included, by means of extracts from our field diaries.

It should be understood that our own experience is limited to Menomini Peyotism. However, I feel confident that my interpretation is valid for Peyotism as a whole, for the following reasons: (a) As mentioned in the preface, I have spoken to most of the Peyote leaders from the Midwest tribes, who afterwards told the Menomini leaders and me that I understood Peyotism to their satisfaction. (b) I found among the Menomini the same basic traits listed for other tribes by Omer C. Stewart in his comparative study of Peyotism.² (c) A summary of this chapter was incorporated in a statement which was concurred in by some of the foremost anthropological students of Peyotism in tribes scattered all over the United States.³

Like any other religion, Peyotism varies from one locality to another, but certain fundamental traits seem to be held generally. Essentially, the religion is Christianity adapted to traditional Indian beliefs and practices. I would say that the basic elements of Peyotism are as follows:

(a) A Great Spirit exists who created the universe and controls the destiny of everything in it, including man. The Great Spirit put some of his supernatural power (mana) into Peyote, which he gave to the Indians to help them in their present lowly circumstances.

Peyote is a small, carrot shaped, spineless cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*),⁴ which, in the United States,

grows in the Rio Grande Valley, especially in Texas. The tribes near its habitat go on Peyote gathering expeditions, and eat the whole fresh plant. For tribes farther away, the top of the plant is cut off and dried, producing the "Peyote button." These buttons are shipped to the distant tribes, who chew and swallow the dry button, or crumble and steep it in boiling water to make a "Peyote tea" which is then drunk.

Most people do not find Peyote pleasant to the taste; "It is hard to eat Peyote." Though it is usually considered unpalatable, sometimes it is reported to taste sweet to those who are spiritually and physically clean.

My wife wrote in her field diary:

The peyote bag was passed around with instructions to "take two"; later it was passed again with the instructions—"Take as many as you like." I began to work on mine and it was bitter from the first bite. I simply couldn't swallow the hard bits of peyote so I softened it as much as I could and managed to slip some of it down. . . . In this way I had eaten 4 buttons. . . . A number of the women took the peyote tea which was placed in front of the leader and which the waiter passed to those who had brought their cups. I was sorry I hadn't known this alternative to the hard bitter button was possible. The following day most of the women who mentioned it to me reported that they had eaten only 2 buttons, and the younger women usually had eaten only a small piece or at most 1 button.

After my own first experience, I noted:

I tried eating as much Peyote as I could. I took the usual 4 from the bag, the first round. They tasted like dried pieces of orange peel. As the second round began, I leaned over to the man next to me and asked him how long it was before it began to take effect. He said, "About a half an hour," so I passed by the second round in order to see what the effect would be of those I had already taken, before trying any more. The third round I took another four, but before I finished them all, one tasted so bitter that I felt that if I were to swallow it it would turn my stomach. I don't know if I happened to pick a particularly bitter one, or whether I had been satiated and any more was distasteful.

(b) By eating Peyote under the proper ritual conditions, a person can incorporate some of the Great Spirit's power, in the same way as the white Christian absorbs that power by means of the sacramental bread and wine.

The preconditions are physical and spiritual purification. Physical purification is achieved by bathing and dressing in clean clothes; spiritual, by putting aside all evil thoughts and adopting a humble and receptive attitude toward the Great Spirit.

The rite lasts all night, and is highly formalized. One man acts as high priest or "leader," and he has the help of three or four assistants. They pray for the worshippers at fixed intervals, while during the rite the other men and women pray to themselves in low voices. Early in the rite everyone usually takes four pieces of

description of the plant is given by A. Rouhier, *Le peyotl*, Paris, Doin, 1927. For a summary of the alkaloids isolated from Peyote, and their pharmacology, see T. A. Henry, *The plant alkaloids*, 154-162, 4th ed., London, Churchill, 1949.

¹ My wife participated in the Peyote rite once, at the request of her friend Mrs. Angeline Neconish, for whom a "doctoring meeting" was held Saturday-Sunday, June 9-10, 1951.

² O. C. Stewart, *Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism*, Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Amer. Archaeol. and Ethnol. 40 (3): appendix 2, 1944.

³ Statement on Peyote, *Science* 114: 582-583, 1951.

⁴ On its taxonomy, see N. L. Britton and J. N. Rose, *The Cactaceae*, Publ. Carnegie Inst. of Washington 248, III: 84-85; IV: 286, 1919-1923. W. T. Marshall & T. M. Bock, *Cactaceae*, 28, 137-138, Pasadena, Abbey Garden Press, 1941. The best

Peyote; later anyone may take as many more as he or she thinks proper. Most of the time during the rite is occupied in having each man, in rotation, sing four religious songs which correspond to the hymns sung in white churches.

Our general impression of the rite is recorded in the following extracts from my wife's and my own field diaries, respectively:

I couldn't help noticing the aesthetic feeling evident in all the proceedings, from the making of the fire to the way the waiter so gracefully and graciously went about seeing that all of his chores were done. Aesthetic expression [among the Menominis of Zoar] seems to be reserved for this sort of thing.

It is remarkable how all the other components cooperate in heightening the effect of the Peyote. The shape of the tipi, the perspective presented by the tipi ridgepoles, the acoustics of the tipi, the flickering fire which burns low and then becomes bright as more wood is added by the fire chief, the sparks flying upward and dying out as they reach the top of the tipi, the shadows cast by the people against the tipi wall, the odor of cedar from the cedar boughs and incense, the softness and quality of the singing, the character of the songs, the rhythm and timbre of the gourd and water drum, the position in which the people sit—all harmonize with the effects produced by the Peyote.

(c) The power absorbed from Peyote has spiritual effects. The traditional Indian practice of many tribes was to go off in isolation and fast until a vision—a supernatural revelation—was obtained. In Peyotism this is replaced by a collective all-night vigil in which, through prayer, contemplation, and eating Peyote, the Peyotist receives a revelation from the Great Spirit or one of his spirit representatives. For the Peyotist, this occurs because he has put himself in a receptive spiritual mood and has absorbed enough of the Great Spirit's power in Peyote to make him able to reach that Spirit. This revelation often takes the form of a mystical rapture, the unification of all one's immediate experience with the Great Spirit himself. At other times the Great Spirit or one of his spirit representatives reveals some religious or ethical dogma to the Peyotist; it "teaches" him "how to live right."

The most notorious aspect of Peyote is the "visions" produced by the plant. However, it is my impression that the more intelligent members of the religion tend to consider these, at best, as means of learning from Peyote; at worst, as distractions resulting from not concentrating on proper subjects, as well as from physical and spiritual impurity. A scientific interpretation might be that the chemicals in Peyote diminish extraneous internal and external sensations, thus permitting the individual to concentrate his attention on his ideas of God; at the same time affecting sight and hearing so that these ideas are easily projected into "visions."⁵

⁵ Many psychologists have studied the effects of Peyote upon non-Peyotist members of Western culture under laboratory conditions. But here I am concerned with its effects upon Peyotists under ritual conditions.

I must preface my remarks on my own experiences by stating that I never have been able to eat more than ten buttons. Most Menomini men use no more than I, but some eat thirty or forty buttons, and my reactions might have been different to some extent if I had consumed the latter amounts.

After having attended the rite for the first time, I wrote in my field diary:

It was about an hour before I began to notice any sensory effects. The drumming remained constant to me, but the singing wavered from high to low pitch in a way that no singer could ever do. Then the song seemed to come from all over the tipi, rather than just from the singer, and for a while seemed to come from the top of the tipi. If I closed my eyes, I had no idea of where the music was coming from—even when the singer was the man next to me. Then I began to hear faint murmurs, like people talking, from the lower edges of the tipi, without my being able to hear what was being said. There was also slight visual distortion; a person standing seemed to be looming up against the tipi background, and the ground within the tipi seemed to be tipped sharply upward. . . .

I found that the Peyote helped me to concentrate on the rite, with increased sensitivity and sensibility. I was not distracted by any extraneous sensations or ideas.

After a meeting I attended during the second season, I noted:

After midnight I began to notice the effects of the Peyote. . . . There were slight, visual effects: the fire was the most beautifully colored I've ever seen, and the shadows cast by the fire flickered in time to the drumming. Auditory effects: I could hear whispers at the other side of the tipi (sharpened acuity), and at first these whispers seemed to come from right behind me. In all, there was much distortion in auditory acuity and direction. Suddenly I realized, as I sat with my eyes closed, that the drumming seemed to be coming from inside of me. I paid some attention to this, and discovered that the distinction between my self and non-self disappeared when I closed my eyes. Puzzled, I explored a little further, and found that my sense of touch was fairly well gone. For instance, I couldn't feel my [eye]glasses on my face; I had to touch them with my hand in order to make sure they were on. I could notice no internal sensations. If I paid very close attention, I could observe a vague and faint feeling that suggested that without Peyote my back would be sore from sitting up in one position all night; the same was true of my crossed legs. Also, my mouth might be dry, but I couldn't be sure.

When I concentrated on anything, all my immediate experience fused with it harmoniously, with no distinction between internal and external aspects of experience. I found it very easy to become absorbed in any idea which I contemplated. . . . The Peyote permits one to have a sustained series of mystical experiences lasting for hours, rather than a brief one as is true under ordinary conditions.

My wife is temperamentally a stranger to mysticism, so she recorded:

The only effects were a distortion of the sound of the drum and a synchronizing of the flickering of the fire with the drum's rhythm.

From observing myself as well as others, I would say that Peyote is neither an intoxicant nor a narcotic. It does not seem to excite or stupify. At the first meeting

I took my pulse rate every hour or so throughout the night and noticed no marked changes. I never had any muscular incoordination while under the influence of Peyote, nor was there a hangover afterwards. Once I recorded the following:

I found it easy to become absorbed in any idea which I contemplated, so that consciously I would become unaware of what was taking place in the tipi. However, I usually was aware of my turn to perform some ritual act; if I did not notice, a slight touch from my neighbor to the right or left immediately brought me out of my absorption. I did not feel stupified, drunk, or notice any lack of muscular coordination. Simply that I would wander off into any train of thought that presented itself, and that my head usually fell to my chest if I relaxed in thought.

My notes on the second tipi meeting I attended, at which I took no Peyote myself, contain the following:

They are certainly neither stupified nor drunk. In most cases each individual is sufficiently aware of what is going on to be ready to sing or drum when his turn comes. A couple of times, at this meeting as well as the last, one or two men have not responded to their cues (as if they were deep in thought), but merely nudging them is enough to attract their attention, and they immediately act as expected. They never get out of rhythm or fumble their words, as a drunken or stupified man would do. No one has acted in an unseemly manner; in fact, they are all quiet, courteous, and considerate of one another. I have never been in any white man's house of worship where there is either as much religious feeling or decorum.

The habitual use of Peyote does not seem to produce any increased tolerance or dependence. I know many people who have been Peyotists for forty to fifty years. The amount of Peyote they use depends upon the solemnity of the occasion; in general they do not take any more Peyote now than they did years ago. Also, there is sometimes an interval of a month or more between rites, and they go without Peyote during this period without feeling any craving for it. Personally, even after a series of rites occurring on four successive weekends, I neither increased the amount of Peyote I consumed, nor felt any continued need for it.

(d) Peyote is also used medically. The traditional Indian belief is that disease is supernaturally caused. Therefore if a sick person is spiritually purified, incorporates some of the Great Spirit's power by eating Peyote, and the other Peyotists present at the rite pray fervently enough on the sick person's behalf, the latter will become well. However, members also may take Peyote at home by themselves when they are ill—usually in the form of Peyote tea. Peyote also has a physical effect in illness. After eating Peyote, a sick person usually vomits, and the sickness may be vomited up along with the Peyote, thus cleansing the body of the physical aspects of the illness. When the person has been thus cleansed, he should eat more Peyote in order to gain strengthening power.

The following are extracts from my field diary:

May 30, 1951. Since returning to the reservation I've had a gastro-intestinal upset. . . .

[At the Peyote meeting] I ate all I could swallow, and then waited for the results. Much to my disgust, I had almost no reaction—except a queasy stomach. I debated with myself for a long time whether I should go outside and throw it up, so I could be more comfortable, or keep it down so that I could observe its effects. At midnight [during the recess], when all I could observe were slight color effects when I closed my eyes, I decided that I'd taken an overdose and would obtain no effects. Also I was afraid that the Peyote might increase the severity of my g.i. upset. Evidently my stomach was ready, too, for a few seconds after I left the tipi I had a very brief but violent spasm, and vomited the whole business. I went to the car to take a drink of water [from a canteen], which then tasted deliciously cool and sweet.

After returning to the tipi, much to my amazement, about 1:30 or 2:00 a.m. I began to notice the [psychological] effects of the Peyote. I suppose I'd absorbed some of the alkaloids before vomiting, and in some way or other they finally began to take effect. . . .

June 1, 1951. I'd had a queasy stomach since arriving here, and after the discomfort produced by the Peyote, I thought that my gastro-intestinal tract would really be ruined. But at the time I noticed the psychological effects of the Peyote, my g. i. tract also ceased troubling me, and has been functioning properly ever since. I can now see why they say that if you're sick, you vomit up your sickness and then are all right. The only thing is that customarily the individual takes more Peyote after vomiting, but I refrained; I felt so miserable for a while that I forgot this whole story. In fact, it didn't occur to me until this morning at breakfast, so that I don't think the effect is psychogenic. Actually, as I mentioned, I expected to feel worse; it didn't occur to me that I'd feel better.

The Peyotists say that under the proper conditions Peyote produces a feeling of physical well being. This is confirmed by my own experience. While under its influence I felt neither tired, hungry, nor thirsty; these effects always lasted until the following afternoon. Thus, after the first meeting I attended, I wrote:

For about a half hour after the Peyote began to take effect, my head seemed somewhat heavy. When that passed, my mouth, then my gastric tract, and finally my whole body, felt very fresh—like the effect of peppermint flavored toothpaste, but extended to the rest of the body as well. I didn't feel either elated or depressed . . . my pulse rate didn't increase. I wasn't sleepy any time during the night, and I still am not. [This was written at 3:00 p.m. Sunday] For the preceeding two days I'd felt unwell (most likely allergic reactions to some of the plants now blooming), but since taking Peyote I feel all right.

I was able to sit in one position for hours on end, without food, and only a single sip of [ritual] water about midnight (which was unnecessary); and without any feeling of fatigue or hunger. This is remarkable in view of my hypoglycemia.

My wife wrote:

I went out for a few minutes after midnight. Soon after returning, I began to feel restless. I couldn't find a comfortable position along the crowded edge of the tipi [where the women sat]. Soon I decided that my restlessness was due to gas pains in my stomach, so I again left the tipi and this time tried to vomit . . . it didn't work. . . . Despite my heavy clothing I began to feel very cold. . . . The pain

in my gastro-intestinal tract persisted for most of the next day.

I was surprised that . . . I was no more wearied by this weekend than I had been on other occasions when I had . . . had the full night's sleep I usually counted on.

(e) The Peyotists are supposed to have a feeling of brotherly love for one another. This is expressed during the rite by means of elaborate forms of courtesy, respect, and honoring, as well as gift giving. Such brotherhood is also extended to Peyotists of other tribes. There is much intertribal visiting when a meeting is held; in fact, I never attended a rite when there were not present Peyotists from at least two other tribes. Thus, the following incident occurred at one meeting:

My drummer was M——, one of the Winnebago Peyote leaders. Before we left the meeting he presented me with a button of fresh Peyote that he had in his kit.

(f) The doctrine and rites of Peyotism can be learned only through taking Peyote oneself. Much emphasis is placed upon the necessity of direct revelation. What one learns from others is but second hand knowledge about the subject, rather than actual acquaintance with it; a matter of great importance because it is one's inner experiences which are believed to be fundamental. This is borne out by my own experience. Among the notes I wrote at the meeting at which I took no Peyote is the following:

I've never had such a sense of superficiality, if not futility, of the usual ethnographic accounts of the externals of a rite.

III. A HISTORY OF PEYOTISM

Peyote was probably used by the Indians of northern Mexico in pre-Columbian times. It is first mentioned in Western literature during the middle of the sixteenth century.¹ We have a good description of the type of

¹ "Concerning the *peyotl* of the *Zacateca*, or a soft and wooly root. There is a medium size root, bringing forth no branches nor leaves above ground, but with some sort of wool adhering to it; for this reason I could not make a proper drawing of it. They say it is harmful to men and to women. It seems to be of a sweet taste and of moderate heat. If ground and applied it is said to cure pains of the limbs; this wonderful thing is said about this root (provided one gives credence to a thing which is most popular among them), that by eating it they can foresee and predict anything; for instance, whether enemies are going to attack them the following day? whether they will continue to be in favorable circumstances? who has stolen household goods or something else? and other things of this sort, which the *Chichimeca* try to know by means of this kind of medication. When they want to find out whether the root is hidden in the ground, and where it is growing, or whether it will be harmful, they learn by eating another one. It grows in humid places, which partake of the nature of lime."—Francisco Hernandez (1514–1578), *Opera* (= *De historia plantarum Novae Hispaniae*), Bk. 15, Chap. 25 (3: 70–71), Madrid, Herreda, 1780.

"The *Chichimeca* . . . first discovered and used the root which they call *peyotl*, and those who ate it and drank it took it in place of wine."—Bernardino de Sahagun (1499?–1590), *His-*

Peyote rite existing among the Indians of Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century.²

Little is known about the early history of Peyote and Peyotism north of the Rio Grande. Peyote was certainly used by the Indians of Texas³ and the Southwest⁴ early in the eighteenth century; whether it is pre- or post-Columbian in this area is unknown. A half century later, we find that the Lipan and Mescalero Apache were familiar with it.⁵ About 1885 it probably diffused from the latter to the southern Plains Indians,⁶ after which a secondary diffusion center seems to have developed among the Comanche⁷ and Kiowa.⁸

toria general de las cosas de Nueva España, Bk. 10, Chap. 29, Sec. 2 (3: 118), Mexico, Robredo, 1938.

" . . . *peyotl* . . . is white, it grows in the northern part [of Mexico]. Those who eat it or drink it see visions, horrible or laughable; this intoxication lasts two or three days, and then it goes away. It is like a food to the *Chichimeca*, which supports them and gives them courage to fight, and to have neither fear nor thirst nor hunger, and they say that it keeps them from all harm."—*Ibid.*, Bk. 11, Chap. 7, Sec. 1 (3: 230).

See also Juan de Cardenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos de las Indias*, fol. 3 v., Mexico, Ocharte, 1591.

² The best account deals with the Tarahumara of Chihuahua. See C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* 1: 356–372, N. Y., Scribner, 1902.

³ "The Texans 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, *Resumen Arreglado*, Nov. 30, 1716, 76; MS, Archivo General, Mexico, *Provincias Internas* 181 (4): 60–90.

⁴ In a trial held at Taos in 1720 it developed that an Isleta who had lived among the Hopi, and resided in Taos, had brought Peyote with him from the Hopi. See J. S. Slotkin, Early eighteenth century documents on Peyotism north of the Rio Grande, *Amer. Anthropol.* 53: 420–427, 1951.

⁵ Some extracts from manuscripts of that period are quoted by O. C. Stewart, *Ute Peyotism* (*U. of Colorado Studies* [anthrop. ser.] 1), 34–35, Boulder, Univ. of Colorado Press, 1948.

⁶ "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 Comanche call it *wo-co-wist*. The Apaches *ho-as* or *ho-se*."—J. L. Hall, Report of Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency, Aug. 26, 1886, *Annual Rept. Comm. Indian Affairs*, 130, 1886. See also for the same tribes, *ibid.*, 98–99, 191, 1889.

Traditions regarding the adoption of Peyote by the Comanche and Kiowa are given by V. Petrucci, *The diabolic root*, 129–130, Phila., Univ. of Penna. Press, 1934; W. La Barre, *The Peyote Cult*, *Yale Univ. Publ. in Anthropol.* 19: 111–113, 1938.

⁷ On Peyotism among the Comanche, see E. A. Hoebel's element list contributed to O. C. Stewart, *Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism*, *Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Amer. Archaeol. and Ethnol.* 40 (3): 103–121, 1944; D. P. McAllester, *Peyote music*, *Viking Fund Publ. in Anthropol.* 13, 1949.

⁸ On Peyotism among the Kiowa, see: J. Mooney, Eating the mescal, *Augusta, Ga. Chronicle*, Jan. 24, 1892; *idem*, A Kiowa Mescal rattle, *Amer. Anthropol.* (o.s.) 5: 64–65, 1892; *idem*, Calendar history of the Kiowa Indians, *Annual Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.* 17 (1): 237–239, 1895–1896; *idem*, The Mescal plant

Since there are no extended descriptions of the Peyote rite before the end of the nineteenth century,⁹ it is hard to trace the development of Peyotism.¹⁰ At any rate, by 1890 the northern version was fully developed, for all the basic features of the rite are found in a detailed description from this period.¹¹

From the southern Plains the Peyote religion diffused to many Indian tribes in the United States; in the process it was more or less modified to conform to local conditions. It seems that the eastern limit of Peyotism was reached when it was adopted by the Potawatomi, and then by the Menomini in 1914. Western tribes are still adopting it.

Throughout the long history of Indian-white contact, white officials usually have tried to suppress the use of Peyote,¹² because it has been conceived to violate their own mores.¹³ But these attempts have always failed, which is cited by Peyotists as evidence for the power of Peyote.

IV. MENOMINI TRADITIONS ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF PEYOTISM

In the last chapter I gave what I could about the history of Peyotism. The Menomini also have a tradition about the origin of Peyotism. I give it here in versions recorded by the leaders.

and ceremony, *Therapeutic Gazette*, ser. 3, 12: 7-11, 1896; *idem*, The Kiowa Peyote rite, *Der Urquell* (n.s.) 1: 329-333, 1897; *idem*, Peyote, *Bull. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.* 30 (2): 237, 1907-1910; *idem*, Peyote [Notebook], *Bur. Amer. Ethnol.* MS 1930, n.d.; *idem*, *Misc. material regarding Peyote*, *Bur. Amer. Ethnol.* MSS 1887, 2537, n.d.; R. E. Schultes, *Peyote and plants used in the Peyote ceremony*, *Harvard Univ. Botanical Mus. Leaflets* 4 (8), 1937; W. La Barre, *The Peyote cult*, *Yale Univ. Publ. in Anthropol.* 19: 43-53, 1938; *idem*, element list contributed to Stewart, *loc. cit.* There is a photograph, "Musicians, Peyote Ceremony; Kiowa," *Bull. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.* 30 (1): 959, 1907-1910.

⁹ The only early accounts known to me which give even the briefest description of the rite are: [Cora] J. de Ortega, *Historia del Nayarit* [1754], ed. M. de Olaguibel, 22-23, Mexico, Abadiano, 1887; [Tamaulipeque] V. Santa Maria, *Relacion historica de la colonia del Nuevo Santander* [ca. 1760], *Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nacion* 15: 351-483, chap. 18, 1930.

¹⁰ Attempts at historical reconstruction have been made by R. Shonle Cavan, Peyote, the giver of visions, *Amer. Anthropol.* 27: 53-75, 1925; La Barre, *op. cit.*; Stewart, *op. cit.*

¹¹ J. Mooney, The Kiowa Peyote rite, *Der Urquell* (n.s.) 1: 329-333, 1897.

¹² However, Peyote has never been legally declared a narcotic, or its use prohibited, by the federal government. See *U. S. Statutes at Large* 42: 596, 1921-1923; 53: 382-387, 1939; 60: 38-40, 1946.

¹³ It is amazing to hear the fantastic stories about the effects of Peyote, and the nature of the ritual, which are told by the white and Catholic Indian officials on the Menomini Reservation. None of them have had the slightest first-hand experience with the plant or with the religion, yet some fancy themselves to be authorities and write official reports on the subject.

Dewey Neconish

Two children, one boy and one girl [were siblings]; they got left [behind]; them others, they went [away]. I don't know [why]; I suppose when they're small they got left behind. So them kids, they kept on going, in some way. I suppose it's night, so they stopped at one place there. Oh, they [were] hungry, and thirsty, tired—all in. So that boy, the one who's pretty near all in, he went and lay down there someplace. There was a nice place [there]. So he feel around [as he was lying there,] in some way; so he feel something [i.e., Peyote]. And he took it; [it was] kind of soft, nice, cool. And he begin to feel good. And he prayed good, and think good, and he feel [unintelligible]. "That's only two, ain't it?" [he thought to himself]; so he ate . . . four. So after he ate four, he begin thinking, "[I] feel good." Finally he hear somebody talking. "That's me"; well, that's Jesus¹ talking to him. So he [Jesus] told him, "Your folks [are] just a little ways [from] here. And take this here; go give it to them, to eat it. You'll live good." That's what he hear; [he heard] that. So in the morning, that girl is walking around there. So she hear something that's a little creek in there; she hear that water. So she went and got it. She comes in [bringing some] to her brother; "Drink that." That's something I don't know, what she used [for a cup]; maybe some kind of a leaf made like a cup. She come, bring it to her brother, to drink that water. That's about all I can tell you. Then . . . they did [as they were told]; they went that way, east, I guess. They [were] told [by] Jesus, "Go that way." And he [i.e., the boy] took that medicine [with him]. Sure enough, they found a lot of them, [of] his folks, they [were] glad to see that. So they start eating it. So they found out they had something nice, great; it's from Heaven, that medicine.

That's what I heard. His name was Nat Decorah [a Winnebago]; that's the one, he used to tell us about that.

Q: Do you know their tribe?

A: I don't know. It was out west.

[A number of times he mentioned a variant. Unfortunately I overlooked recording it.]

The son of a chief inherited the chieftainship at the death of his father. But the young man was upset because "he had no power." He left his tribesmen, and wandered alone. Finally, exhausted from hunger and thirst, he lay down to die, and found Peyote in his outstretched hands. He ate it, and soon after received a revelation about Peyotism from the Great Spirit. He then returned to his tribe, taught them Peyotism, and also assumed the chieftainship because now "he had power from Peyote."

[On one occasion he stated:] [Translation] This is how we were first shown pity by means of this medicine: That was when they killed each other, when our elders were doing away with each other. All the different kinds of tribes were killing. Some of our elders, among us Menomini, also killed those of different tribes. That was the way our elders used to be, long ago. When they found this medicine, they learned from it that all of us, from all the different tribes, should be like brothers and sisters. Well, what was he [the discoverer of Peyote] given? That [i.e., Peyote] was what he used. He spread it; he spread it everywhere. So that now they all shake hands, each with the other. They are also brothers and sisters of the white man. He found out about it, from the medicine; he taught it to those Indians who were then living. And so, at this age which we have now reached, I myself have found it. Well then, all of us are now brothers and sisters; we think

¹ When speaking in Menomini to me about this version, he always used *kes-maneto-w* (Great Spirit) instead of Jesus.

well of each other; we cooperate with each other; we have pity on each other. That is the way we have found out through it; the way He has taught us, our all-in-all father, Great Spirit. That, then, is the way everyone has learned, even until today.

This friend of ours [the ethnographer] is trying properly to find out exactly what this is, and from where it started. This, then, is all that I am able to do, for it is only a short time ago that I began using this medicine. However, over there ["out west"] they have used it so long that they have grown old using it; therefore, they have discovered all about it. They know that they are all one; no one is different from another; they are all brothers and sisters; that alone is what they now know. Great Spirit placed them on this earth which he made, that alone is what they now know. Give thanks to the Great Spirit. And here where we live, we too know this, at this age we have now reached. Thanks; thanks that we know this; that we know Great Spirit's son [i.e., Jesus], His heart, this medicine. He has taught all of it. That is all.² Thanks.

Howard Rain

There was a family; they had ten daughters and one boy. And this old man, he knows that he is going to die. This old man was a chief of a whole tribe, and he have his son to be a chief. He said, "I'm going to go, and you take my place. Take care of this [tribe]." And the boy began to think; he wasn't good enough to be a chief and look after his tribe. So he didn't know what to do; he's poor. So he went out hunting, one time. He went out hunting; he goes to that place for a while; he ain't supposed to get lost, but he got lost. He was lost about four days. He began to get dry and hungry, tired out; so he gave up. There was a nice place there—there was a tree there; nice shade, nice grass—and he looked at that place there; it would be a nice place for him to die. So he went, lay himself down on his back; he stretched out his arms like this [extending his arms horizontally], and lay like that. Pretty soon he felt something kind of damp [in] each hand. So he took them [damp things], looked at them. He got up; that stuff was kind of fresh, you know. "Well, as long as it's kind of juicy, I might just as well take it. I'm going to die anyway; maybe I could live a little longer," he thought. So he ate it—he had two of them in each hand. So he took them, and after he took them, then he passed away. Just as soon as he—I suppose his soul—came to, he see somebody coming on clouds. There's a cloud; something coming. That's a man coming this way, with a buckskin suit on; he got long hair. He come right straight for him; it's Jesus himself. So he told this boy, "Well, one time you was crying, and your prayers were answered that time. So I come here. I'm not supposed to come; I said I wasn't going to come before two thousand years," he said. "But I come for you, to come tell you why that's you [are] lost. You ain't lost. Oh, it's just a little ways, here. But we're going to bring you something, so you can take care of your people. That's what you're crying for; you don't know how—how you're going to take care of your people. So we're going to give you that power to do it. But we go up here first." So they went up a hill there. There's a tipi there, all ready. So Christ, before he went in it, offered a prayer. So they went in there. Then he showed him the [ritual] ways; the medicine, how to use it; he give him the songs, them songs we're using—but that's why, see, [that] we don't understand them words [of the songs], you know. So he teach him to go through the meeting, just the way I had it over there [when he led the tipi meeting].

² ene? (that is it), or some variant, is the traditional close of any formal narrative or statement.

So now, after they got through, "Now you can go back. Take this medicine along, over there. Keep your peoples. Whoever takes this medicine, he will do it in my name." So that's how it represents almost the first beginning.

Louis Thunder

[Translation] An Indian once lived. That is the one whose son lost his wife and all his children; he lost them. Well, then he told the Great Spirit that he had lost his children and his wife. That Spirit (awətok) had pity on him. Then He told him that He would give him this Peyote. Well, He must have given him that power (tata-hkesen). Well, then, he was told that this was what he should do: he should take it to his relatives where he came from. Then he took it to them the way he was taught by that Spirit. Great Spirit's son gave him this medicine.

At this time he was about to die. He went some place; he lay down there where an oak stood, some place on a hill. He went to lay down there; he was going to die. Then the Great Spirit and Jesus (ci-sas) had pity on him, there where he was lying. He was lying like this, there; he felt it, that medicine, when he was almost dead; above everything he was thirsty, there; above everything he was wishing for water. He touched it, that thing over there; he was feeling around, there; he felt that medicine. Then he ate it; and he lived because of it. He knew that he was living because of it, so he took it to his relatives, his brothers and sisters. Then he taught them everything that they should do. He brought it for his relatives, his brothers and sisters. Therefore that is how we now know about that medicine, that Peyote. That was when the Great Spirit gave it to him. That's all.

Mitchell Weso

I've heard several versions. The one that sticks in my mind best, the one that seems to stick to my memory awful close, is the story that an old leader used to tell us. His name was Nat Decorah; he was considered the chief of the Winnebagoes in Wisconsin. This man, he was given this same fireplace what we operate here, from others down below somewhere—from what they call *Terre Haute* [*sic*] and he brought it up from Nebraska, and they in turn got it from Oklahoma.

So the story that they used to tell us, he said, a long time ago, way back, he says, there was a tribe of people. And this chief—chief of the tribe there—he had lot of daughters, and only one boy. Well, naturally this boy was going to inherit chieftain[ship], here. But he never thought he was competent enough to be chief of a tribe, and it often worried him; and he also was the youngest of the family. So he brooded about that quite often. And one time he wandered somewhere away off in the hills—this must have been in a southern country, somewhere; southern states, somewhere—and he got lost. Also, it was kind of a desert country, someplace where there was no water. After wandering around for several days, you know, in the heat, then without water and stuff, he got all in. So, well, he looked for a spot—he know that he can't find his way out—so he looked for a spot where he could die in peace, die as comfortable as possible. So he found some sort of a tree—I suppose it was a cactus, or something—where it offered a little shade. So he sat there, and all at once he just kind of keeled over, I suppose, fainted or something. Just gave up. Lay down, and waiting for the last moment, when his breath was going to stop. And naturally, I suppose, he just stretched right out, throwed his hands out, and he was just waiting for his heart beat to stop, he says. Then he started to think over a lot of things—all the things what his dad used to tell him. At about that time, he felt something, kind of

moist, in his hand. The instinct to live, I suppose, was stronger than his own will, and he felt something that seemed to be kind of moist, and he grabs a hold of that, you know. He looks at it; he didn't know what it was, then, but he figured that's moisture in it, so he put that in his mouth, regardless of what it is. Well, he figured he's going to die anyway, so he took that. Then, it didn't taste too good, he says. But it was moist; so he filled up his mouth with that, and that didn't seem to take the place of water, or anything that he ever drank, you know. So he gave up, and was just ready to stop breathing—but some of that juice trickled down his throat. He kind of kept track of that, as it went down his throat, you know. Seemed to taste good to him, so he swallows it, and lets that go through his system a little bit, there, a moment or so. He seems to feel better, so he chews on the thing, swallows more juice. He's a little stronger, and pretty soon he keeps on chewing it; chews it up fine, and pretty soon he swallows the whole thing. And he looks around, and he sees some more of that, the same thing. So he eats some more. Soon he was able to sit up. After he ate several pieces of it, then he started to think. It was about that time—that's when he had a vision. He said a person appeared to him, almost transparent; but the same time, you could recognize a form. Seemed to be in a buckskin suit, with long hair, and he was kind of a radiant person. Seemed to recognize him, too, some. This person told him, he says, "Follow me." So he took him back in a cave—it looked like a cave to him, there. He went inside, some place, he says, and after he got in, he looks around. He says it resemble a tipi, inside. Everything was fixed up—fireplace and everything was fixed up. And the tools, what they use in there—the drum, and so forth. And then he had a sack of that medicine, here, was what he used. He said, "That's medicine for people that are lost." He told him to keep on using that, and he would find himself, and that he would be able to go back and save his people.

That's the complete story, as close as I can remember it.

V. A HISTORY OF PEYOTISM AMONG THE MENOMINI

In the following account I have tried to reconstruct the history of Peyotism among the Menomini. The more important sources on which it is based are given in Appendix I (Notes) on pages 637–641 and in the following text will be referred to by alphabetical superscripts.¹

The indigenous religion of the Menomini consisted of a number of rites, the most important of which was the *metewen* (Mystic Rite) or "Medicine Dance." About 1879 an additional cult, the *ni-mihetwan* (Dancing Rite),² was adopted. This gave rise to so much conflict between the members of the Indian cults and the dominant Catholics, that the former removed to an isolated part of the reservation, called Zoar.

Later Zoar, in turn, was split (for reasons, and at a time, unknown to me), and a few families under the leadership of Neka-nes (Little Leader), removed to a

farther section of the reservation, founding the Neco-nish Settlement. These families were dissatisfied with the contemporary practices of both the traditional rites and the Powwow.³

Evidently, as a result of this dissatisfaction, Neka-nes tentatively tried to develop a more satisfactory rite.⁴ And about 1912, Neka-nes' father, Kua-pmih, had a revelational dream in which the arrival of a new religion was announced.⁵

Early in 1914, Peyotism was brought to the reservation by Mitchell Nēkwatwēhkak,⁶ a Peyote missionary. He was probably a Potawatomi from Kansas.⁴ Related to the Neconish and Weso families, he lived with them for a few years.⁴

Neka-nes had six sons. Arranged from oldest to youngest, they were Silas, John, Dewey, Freeman, and the twins Theodore and Ernest. Silas was the deviant of the family, the kind who would try anything once. He was the first to experiment with Peyote, and was impressed with its effects. Later he went to a Peyote meeting among the Winnebago at Wittenberg, Wisconsin.⁶

Silas told his father and grandfather about his experience with Peyote. At first they were skeptical, particularly since they never took Silas seriously. But Kua-pmih decided that Peyotism might be the fulfillment of his revelation, and so he and Neka-nes tried Peyote themselves. The family was also impressed with the cure of Neka-nes' sick wife by means of Peyote.⁷

As a result of their experiences with Peyote, Kua-pmih and Neka-nes were converted. They then urged the other five sons and their friends (probably those belonging to their tentative religious group) to try it as well. They too dropped their tentative rite, and adopted Peyotism.⁸

The Menomini are familiar with two major denominations of Peyotism: the "Cross Fireplace" (*anamehē-wah'tek skotēw*: Christian-cross fire) or "Old Man's Meeting," and the "Half Moon" (*ke'so'?:Moon*) or "Boy's Meeting."⁵ In general, the Half Moon is more like traditional Indian rites, while the Cross Fireplace has adopted many more details from white Christian ritual. The missionary's version of Peyotism seems to

³ I have been given innumerable versions of this Potawatomi name. His English name was Mitchell Neck or B. W. Mitchell.

R. R. Ritzenthaler, while engaged in field work among the Potawatomi around Wabeno, Wisconsin, was good enough to obtain some information about this Peyote missionary for me. "His name is Mitchell Nēgwadwē (International Phonetics). . . . He was a Potawatomi from Stone Lake (just outside of Crandon [Wisconsin]), and he died about 3 years ago. Willie Jahwa, my informant, said he was the one who introduced Peyote to the Potawatomi and also to the Menomini—he thought around 1900."—Personal communication, July 20, 1951.

⁴ On Potawatomi Peyotism, see A. Skinner, *The Mascoutens or Prairie Potawatomi Indians*, *Bull. Public Museum of Milwaukee* 6: 15, 52, 232–246, 404, 1924–1927.

⁵ No one knows the implication of the terms "Old Man's Meeting" or "Boy's Meeting."

¹ The following abbreviations are used for the more important informants: DN, Dewey Neconish; EN, Ernest Neconish; TN, Theodore Neconish; MW, Mitchell Weso.

² The Menomini call it the "Powwow" in English. It is known as the "Algonquian Dream Dance" in anthropological literature.

have been a variant of the Cross Fireplace.⁶ The rites were always held in a house.^h

Very soon after the Menomini adopted Peyotism, Winnebago Peyotists heard about it and came to help them learn and perform the rites.⁷ The Winnebago at that time were all Cross Fireplace.ⁱ

Since both the Potawatomi missionary and the Winnebago belonged to the Cross Fireplace version of Peyotism, the Menomini originally adopted it as well.

In the early days the Peyotists had the enthusiasm of

⁶ The only detailed description of the rite as performed by the missionary, known to me, is the garbled third or fourth hand account given in Appendix III.

⁷ At the Peyote trial of May 1914, Winnebago witnesses appeared on behalf of the Peyote missionary and his Menomini converts. See W. E. Safford, An Aztec narcotic, *Jour. Heredity* 6: 306-307, 1915.

On Winnebago Peyotism, see P. Radin, A sketch of the Peyote Cult of the Winnebago: A study in borrowing, *Jour. Religious Psychol.* 7: 1-22, 1915-1916; *idem*, The Peyote Cult, *The Winnebago Tribe, Annual Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.* 37: chap. 16 (1923); *idem*, *Crashing thunder*, N. Y., Appleton, 1926; *idem*, The religious experiences of an American Indian, *Erano-Jahrbuch* 18: 249-290, 1950; F. Densmore, *Winnebago music*, Bur. Amer. Ethnol., MS no. 3261: 86-136b, 1940.



FIG. 1. Dewey Neconish.



FIG. 2. Howard Rain.

recent converts. So it is not surprising that the older members now bewail the degeneration from the practices of "the good old days."^{8, j}

In the beginning the Peyote missionary alone acted as leader. But after a few years John Neconish (now dead) became the first Menomini Peyote leader.^k Dewey Neconish was chosen next.^l As the group increased in size, both through growth in Menomini membership, and by holding meetings in conjunction with Chippewa Peyotists,^m other knowledgeable and commanding personalities were asked to lead: Jim Soman (now dead), Joe Weso, Howard Rain, and Louis Thunder, in that order.ⁿ

An important change took place about 1918. Nat Decorah, a Wisconsin Winnebago Peyote leader, visited the Winnebago of Nebraska and saw the Half Moon version of Peyotism. He became converted to it, because it seemed to be closer to the original form of Peyotism; i.e., more like traditional Indian practices, and less affected than the Cross Fire by white Christian influences.⁹ He brought back the Half Moon version,

⁸ For a description of the Peyotists in 1919, see Appendix IV.

⁹ This seems to be historically correct, for the Half Moon version is quite similar to the Kiowa rite of the early 1890's.



FIG. 3. Louis Thunder.

with its use of the tipi, to the Wisconsin Winnebago. Some Menomini attended the first Half Moon rite held by Decorah among the Winnebago at Wittenberg, and liked it. Later Decorah would often bring his tipi with him, and lead Half Moon among the Menomini. Finally Dewey Neconish became the first Menomini to lead Half Moon.⁹

Later a John Koshiway¹⁰ often visited the Menomini, and seems to have had an important influence in bringing many Christian elements into Menomini Peyotism.

Eventually all the Menomini leaders came to lead Half Moon, except John Neconish, who continued in the Cross Fireplace version most familiar to him. But no split developed among the Menomini Peyotists; whoever was asked to lead simply led the version he preferred. This persisted until John Neconish's death in 1929, after which all the remaining Menomini leaders led Half Moon. Now almost all the Menomini identify themselves with the Half Moon, except Theodore Neco-

See J. Mooney, *The Kiowa Peyote Rite*, *Der Urquell* (n.s.) 1: 329-333, 1897.

¹⁰ This is evidently Jonathan Koshiway, the Fox-Oto founder of the Native American Church. A discussion of this man will be found in La Barre, *The Peyote Cult*, Appendix 9.

nish. He left the reservation to reside in Schofield, and has continued to belong to the Cross Fireplace among the Winnebago. Occasionally he is asked to lead on the reservation; when he does so, he leads Cross Fireplace. His twin brother, Ernest Neconish, is torn between the two versions.^{11, p}

The newest leader is Mitchell Weso; he was first appointed to the position in 1951. As the Menomini delegate to the 1946 intertribal conference of the Native American Church, held at White Oak, Oklahoma, he saw the Peyote rite as performed by various Oklahoma tribes. He, like the rest of the Menomini, considers the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache to be the originators of Peyotism. Consequently, when he leads he tries to modify the Menomini rite to conform somewhat to the practices of the Oklahoma tribes.⁴

Now let us turn to the Peyote organization among the Menomini. For the first decade or so after the adoption of Peyotism, the Agency officials were hostile to it. In fact, soon after it was brought to the reservation by Nekwatwehkak, the authorities learned about the matter. The missionary, Neka:nes, and his son Silas were

¹¹ For the attitudes of these two brothers, see Chapter VIII, no. 8.



FIG. 4. Mitchell Weso.

arrested; the first named was considered the arch culprit and brought to trial. However, he was acquitted by the jury on religious grounds.¹²

Though not declared illegal, there was continued opposition to Peyotism. Therefore it is not surprising that, though only informally organized as "The Peyote Bunch," the group developed sectarian characteristics.¹³

About 1925 they heard rumors of the incorporation of the Native American Church.¹⁴ The Winnebago Half Moon denomination was incorporated in 1932¹⁴; the Winnebago Cross Fireplace, in 1939.¹⁵ The first two of these activities suggested the desirability of some type of formal organization to the Menomini Peyotists. They felt that as the older members died off, they needed a more formal organization to take care of their obligations. The matter came to a head with the death of a member in 1932, which led to the organization of "The Peyote Club."¹⁵

During the 1930's there were increasing rumors about an intertribal Native American Church. A need was felt for an organization which would protect them against the opponents of Peyotism. And so, in 1941, the group decided to consider themselves as a branch of the Native American Church.¹⁶

In 1950 there were about seventy-five people who nominally belong to the Native American Church (*maski-hkiw me-cak*: medicine eaters), out of a Menomini population of three thousand. Of these, perhaps thirty are active members. Not all of them are Menomini, however; a few are from other tribes, and have either married Menomini, or, if unmarried, work on the reservation. Most members live in Zoar, though some reside in the adjacent town of Neopit. The small membership, and their poverty, both contribute to make the organization simple. Two officers are elected by the men at an annual business meeting held in the spring.

MW: The only way we could accumulate money, is to have these membership cards. And we also had this collection, passing the cup [for donations] around after each meeting. And when we started out [as the Native American Church], for a couple of years we kept track of everything. But it was so hard for each member to understand that, that it was decided that the officers of our church club here, Native American Church, would be changed every two years, or every year, to suit the group, so that it would give a chance for all the people to have a chance to be a chairman or an officer in it, so that they can get the inner knowledge of the workings of this club we had, so they'd understand it better. And up to date I think it

¹² See Appendix II.

¹³ The original articles of incorporation of the "Native American Church" were filed with the Oklahoma State Department on October 10, 1918. They have since been amended a number of times.

¹⁴ The articles of incorporation of the "Native American Church of Wisconsin" were recorded by the Register of Deeds, Jackson County, Wisconsin, on January 2, 1932.

¹⁵ The articles of incorporation of the "Native American Church, Cross-Fire-Place, in the State of Wisconsin," were filed with the Wisconsin Department of State on January 6, 1939.

has made just about a complete round, as far as families is concerned. So I think that they all know what we try to do in the start.

The following portion of an interview with another member gives additional details:

A: The annual meeting . . . is a business meeting. That's when we elect new officers, you know. Custodian for our group. And they talk over what funds there is in the treasury, and how the money's going to be used, and so on.

Q: How is the money used?

A: Well, sending for this Peyote . . .

Q: What else is the money spent for?

A: For food for annual meeting. And we had replacements of dishes, broken dishes, and a kettle or two.

Q: Where are the dishes kept?

A: Dewey Neconish keeps it. . . . He's always home, and he's got room for it.

Q: What else do you spend the money on?

A: For charity purposes. For instance . . . one of the members got sick. They go over there, and try and put them on their feet. If a little groceries is going to do it, why, they do it.

Q: What proportion of the money is used for charity?

A: In some cases we used even half of what was in our treasury.

Q: Would you mind giving me a rough idea of how much is in the treasury?

A: On an average, I imagine it would be about a hundred dollars. There never was any too much money in there.

Q: How is the money collected?

A: It's just a free offering.

The property of the group consists of the tipi cover and a few kitchen utensils. In some tribes the group also owns the dishes and flatware used at the ceremonial meals. It is the ambition of the Menomini group to own these, but so far they have been too poor to buy them.

An annual business meeting was held right after the first tipi meeting I attended. Some of the events leading up to it, and a summary of the proceedings, are recorded in my field diary.

June 13, 1950. Yesterday Dewey Neconish asked me about incorporating the Menomini branch of the NAC.¹⁶ The Cross Fire branch among the Winnebago have incorporated in Wisconsin . . . and have been lording it over the Menomini Half Moon group because the latter have no legal status. So this morning I went to Antigo . . . and saw a lawyer about incorporation papers. I made all the arrangements, and he said he would have the draft articles and an explanatory covering letter sent to me in time for the annual business meeting next Saturday. The cost would be \$50.

The members of the NAC are proud of their businesslike way of handling reports and accounting for finances, and emphasize again and again that everything is done in a businesslike way.

When I returned for lunch, I told M—— what I had done. He told me that the old membership certificates, cards, etc., which he had shown me (used about ten or fifteen years ago) were all Mitchell's idea; so was incorporation, which he had been considering for some time.

¹⁶ In 1950 I did not know the legal history of the Native American Church, as given earlier in this chapter.

M—— wasn't much interested in incorporation, etc., one way or the other, "But he's my brother, so I back him up."

June 18, 1950. The [tipi] meeting lasted until 5:30 A.M. [Sunday], after which we were served [breakfast]. . . .

Then there was the annual business meeting, at which officials were elected for the coming year. P—— as "head," and S—— as "assistant head," were the only officials considered.

Then they took up the matter of incorporation, which I explained, at their request, and suggested various alternatives. I also suggested that they not decide until some future meetings, after they've had time to think about it. Some of the members were strongly split on the issue. Dewey [Neconish] is in favor of state organization. Mitchell [Weso] says that the national organization of the NAC has been incorporated in Washington, and all that is necessary is a local charter from them, thus saving \$50. Louis [Thunder] is opposed to either incorporation or a charter.

VI. THE DOGMA OF MENOMINI PEYOTISM

Peyotism has the fundamental traits found in all religions.¹ Its dogma, or religious theory, contains a belief in the existence of mana (supernatural power). This mana is embodied in a set of immaterial spirits which constitute the Peyotist pantheon. The mana is incarnated in the material Peyote.

In Chapter II it was stated that Peyotism is essentially Christianity adapted to traditional Indian beliefs and practices. The members proudly state that, though Christian, their religion is "real Indian," and not a mere taking over of "white man ways." Therefore, it is of interest to look at Peyotism in relation to white Christian and older Menomini customs.

On the whole, to the Menomini, Christianity means Catholicism. For the last three hundred years there have been Catholic missionaries among them. About 93 per cent of the Menomini on the reservation are now Catholic, which makes it the dominant religion. Therefore everyone is more or less familiar with Catholicism, and I cannot recall any non-Catholic house which does not display one or more Catholic religious pictures. However, this situation is complicated by the fact that some non-Catholic middle-aged men, during their boyhood, went to off-reservation schools influenced by Protestantism; for example, to the Lutheran Indian school at Wittenberg. In addition, during the last twenty-five years various Protestant missionaries have worked in Zoar, off and on. Though they have made no converts, they have had some definite influences on the ideas of the people. Of special importance is the fact that Protestant missionaries have given English translations of the Bible to literate Peyotists. They, in turn, communicate what they have read to the illiterate Peyotists.

The traditional Menomini beliefs and practices are, to some extent, described in ethnographic and other

sources. But these give only fragmentary data on the subjects relevant to an analysis of Peyotism. Therefore, my data on traditional beliefs and practices will be based on the information I gathered myself from the contemporary non-Christian group. Strictly speaking, this is anachronistic, for it does not take into consideration the changes which have occurred in the non-Christian religions during the last forty years. On the other hand, whenever possible I have checked with the more important earlier ethnographic accounts of conditions existing before the adoption of Peyotism, and found no significant changes in the relevant data given in these accounts. At present there are two important non-Christian cults. The most active is the *nimihetwan* (Dancing Rite), known in anthropological literature as the "Algonquian Dream Dance"; it is called the "Pow-wow" by English-speaking Menomini. This rite was adopted about 1879. Now less active, but traditionally of greatest importance, is the *metewen* (Mystic Rite), called the "Medicine Dance" in English. Other rites, such as the War Dance and Buffalo Dance, are occasionally performed.

After these preliminaries, let us turn to the details of Peyotist dogma. For the sake of continuity, a summary only is given in the text. Relevant statements by the leaders will be found in Appendix I (Notes) on pages 641-647, references to which are made in the following text by alphabetical superscripts. For those interested in the matter, I should like to call the reader's attention to the internal consistency in the responses of these men (see Chapter I). The fervent faith of kindly Dewey Neconish, the empiricism of diffident Howard Rain, and the self-conscious white influences on brusque Mitchell Weso, are always in evidence.²

A. MANA

The Menomini use three terms for mana, interchangeably: *tata:hkesen* or *tata:hkesewen* (that which has energy), *məskowesan* (that which has strength), and *ahpe:htesewen* (that which is valuable). The last of these words is less common, and is used only by the oldest people. English-speaking Menomini translate all three terms by "power." These equivalents for mana are used by all non-Catholic groups, but they are given a special interpretation by Peyotists.

Power is an immaterial and invisible supernatural force. It produces characteristic effects in things which are subjected to it, and can be transferred from one thing to another. People who do not have power are ineffective and weak; once they obtain such power, they become effective and strong. For the Peyotists, all power has its source in the Great Spirit. He gave some of his power to the other spirits. He also put some of it in Peyote, so that the latter can be eaten by the In-

¹ See J. S. Slotkin, *Social Anthropology*, chaps. 7-8, N. Y., Macmillan, 1950.

² The following abbreviations are used for the more important informants: DN, Dewey Neconish; HR, Howard Rain; LT, Louis Thunder; MW, Mitchell Weso.

dians in order to obtain the power they need in order to live well.^a

B. EMBODIMENTS

1. SPIRITS

Spirits (*awetokak*) are immaterial embodiments of power. The Peyotist pantheon consists of what may be called Christian and non-Christian spirits, and such a discrimination is a useful basis for classification.

I. *Christian spirits.*

A. The Trinity.

The Menomini Peyotists call themselves Christians. They consider themselves to be such because they have adopted the Trinity. For example, prayers are said in Menomini, and almost invariably terminate with, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen." This Trinitarian formula is repeated either in some Menomini version habitual to the speaker, or in English.

1. *Kesemaneto:w*³ (Great Spirit)—almost invariably translated "God"—or *ko'hne' naw* (Our Father). In general, God is considered to have the traditional characteristics of the Great Spirit; i.e., he is both creator spirit and supreme being. He is conceived anthropomorphically.^b

One significant difference between the Half Moon Peyotists, and the fundamentalist Catholic and Protestant clergy with whom they come in contact, is that the former use Peyote to communicate directly with the Great Spirit, while the latter accept the Bible as a direct revelation from God. This is illustrated by an incident recorded in my second season's field diary.

[A group of us were lounging about and chatting while waiting for dinner, after a tipi meeting.] S—— said, "The Bible's all right, but it don't fit in there." I then decided to check my interpretation of this last statement with Louis [Thunder] and Mitchell [Weso]. I asked them if I understood it correctly: You respected the Bible, but you couldn't be sure which part was written by God, and which part by man. Nor even if any part of it was really written by God; you would have to accept it on faith, and might be wrong. But when you took Peyote, God spoke to you directly, and you found out for yourself, by your own experience. Both men agreed entirely; said that was exactly how they felt about it. Mitchell told of a recent discussion he had had with M—— [a Protestant missionary]. The latter had quoted a passage from Paul's letters. Mitchell replied that Paul and the others were just people like himself; he didn't have to go by what they said. Only the quotations from Jesus were "the real stuff that I pay attention to."

2. *Kesemaneto:w oki'san* (Great Spirit's Son), translated as the "Son." Loan words for Jesus, *ci'sas* or *se'sos*,⁴ are also used. Jesus is considered as a kind

³ This is a loan word from Chippewa and Potawatomi. The indigenous term is *mec-awetok*. However, some of the oldest members sometimes refer to the Great Spirit as *awetok*, the indigenous generic term for any spirit. The loan word is also more common than the indigenous one in the Powwow.

⁴ The former of these is obviously borrowed from English; the latter may be borrowed from French.

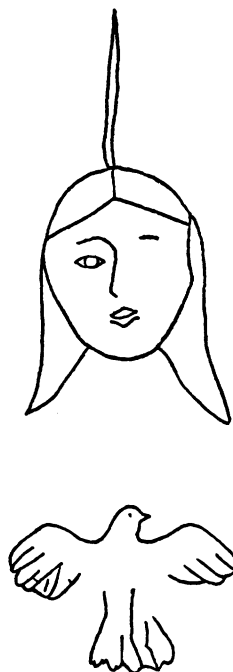


FIG. 5. Representation of the Trinity. The head represents the Great Spirit or Jesus (interpretations vary). The bird is the dove symbolizing the Holy Ghost. (From engravings on the leader's staff used by John Neconish. Traced from rubbings. Actual size.)

of culture hero who gave the white version of Christianity to the white man, and Peyotism to the Indian; in this regard he has been modified to conform to the traditional conception of *Me'napos*, the culture hero who founded the Medicine Dance. Jesus also has some of the features of traditional guardian spirits; he appears to Peyotists in visions, and reveals to them how they should behave in order to live properly. Some Christian concepts have been adopted. A few people accept Jesus' role as an intercessor spirit between God and man. Some speak of the second coming of Christ at the end of the world, but his subsequent role as judge of the blessed and damned is not mentioned. The fundamental orthodox Christian belief about Jesus is ignored: the fall of man through sin, and his redemption by the incarnation and crucifixion of Jesus.⁵

3. *wayiaskaset awetok*⁵ (the one who is a good spirit), in English called the "Holy Ghost." The Holy Ghost was adopted as part of the Trinitarian formula, and the Peyotists have the same difficulty as most white Christians in giving an adequate explanation of it. Actually it does not have any importance except as a phrase in the Trinitarian formula. Since the Peyotists do not know New Testament Greek, they are not aware that *pneuma*, translated into English as the Holy Ghost, is the early Christian term for *mana*, and thus equivalent to their own conception of power.⁴

⁵ This seems to be a traditional synonym for the Great Spirit, and is used as such in the Powwow.

B. Other Christian spirits.

1. *mace-?awetok* (Bad Spirit), or "devil." Traditionally there was a cosmic dualism between the good spirits of the four tiers of sky (*ke-sek*), and the evil spirits (*mace-?awetokak*) of the four tiers of underground (*ana-mahkyah*). Obviously this conception is easily fused with that of Christianity. But instead of personifying the evil temptations of the flesh, as in orthodox Christianity, the bad spirits of Peyotism are usually thought of as malicious beings, who, from the outside, injure people physically and spiritually. Nor is the devil the ever-present threat he is to the orthodox Christian.⁶

2. *A-seni-wak*, or "angels." Traditionally there were spirits of the four cardinal points, created by the Great Spirit in order to help man; they are important in the Powwow. These spirits seem to have been fused with the Christian angels, for many Peyotists believe that the angels live at the cardinal points. They have been given various roles: as guardian spirits, as intercessor spirits between the Great Spirit and man, and messenger spirits sent by the Great Spirit to appear in the visions of Peyotists.⁷

II. Non-Christian spirits.

All Peyotists believe in the existence of various traditional spirits. But only one non-Christian spirit is "officially" in the Peyotist pantheon, namely, the Waterbird.

A. *we-skeno-hseh nepe-w* (little bird of the water), called the "Waterbird" in English.⁸ This is not an indigenous Menomini spirit, but has been adopted along with the rest of Peyotism. Some Peyotists cannot assign any role to the Waterbird; it simply "belongs in there." Whatever functions are mentioned by Peyotists are a result of fusion with some traditional Menomini belief. Thus, some species of birds were supposed to be messenger spirits who carried prayers to the Great Spirit; this role is sometimes given to the Waterbird. But most commonly, the Waterbird is fused with the Thunderbirds, who bring the rain so important for life. All Peyotists, as well as other non-Catholics, believe in the existence of the Thunderbirds (*enemehkiwak*).⁹

2. PEYOTE

Peyote is the most important material embodiment of power. There are two names for it. *pi-yot*, "Peyote," is a loan word ultimately derived from the Nahuatl *peyotl*. The indigenous word is *maski-hkiw* (herb or medicine), which, though traditionally generic, is specifically applied to Peyote; it is usually translated "medicine"; and less commonly, "herb."

Vegetable medicines played an important traditional role among the Menomini. In the Medicine Dance

⁶ No Menomini has ever seen a Waterbird except in visions. It is believed to be a real bird, living "out west."

"Water-bird . . . for the Comanches is the water turkey or *anhinga* (*Anhinga anhinga*)."—D. P. McAllester, personal communication.

there is a specific medicine for every disease, and learning about this repertory of medicines is the prime object of membership in the *metewen*. From the Peyotist point of view, the advantages of Peyote are twofold: it is "a medicine for the soul," a kind of medicine which does not exist in the *metewen*; and it is a catholicon, a universal remedy which cures all diseases, thus replacing the numerous specific medicines of the Medicine Dance.

As we have seen, the Great Spirit made Peyote, and put some of his power into it. One man explained it this way:

It's up to the Lord. What he tells him [i.e., Peyote] to do, he'll go ahead and do that. It's a servant of God. Of course, he don't walk around [like the other spirits do].

Man obtains the power in Peyote by eating the plant. This power helps him spiritually and physically.

But even as a medicine, the beliefs concerning Peyote have been modified by white influences. This is shown in the following incident.

There was a meeting of the officials of the Peyote group, including myself. Mitchell Weso raised an interesting point. He said that before a doctoring meeting, the group should see that the sick person goes to a [white] doctor "for a checkup. Except in an emergency, of course. . . . Peyote is the last hope, after the white man's medicine fails. . . . Of course, if it's a broken leg, there's no sense to a doctoring meeting; everybody goes to the [white] doctor."

Predominant is the spiritual effect of Peyote. It is believed that most Indians are originally too weak and ignorant to learn about God, and that the power obtained from Peyote gives them the strength and knowledge necessary to know Him. An older Peyotist once said to me:

In the first creation God himself used to talk to the people and tell them what to do. Way after, Christ come among the white people, and Christ told the people what to do. And he gave power to his disciples; they had the right to preach, and they tell them [white people] what to do. Indians, they ain't got nothing from God. But you white people, you got everything; you got a book [the Bible], Christ tells you what to do, you got power. But the Indian got nothing. In a little while, towards the last, God give us Peyote; that's how we happen to find him [i.e., God].

In support of this position, literate Peyotists of the Midwest tribes quote the following passage from the Bible:

"Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations. For one believeth that he may eat all things: another, who is weak, eateth herbs. Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth: for God hath received him."¹⁰

This is interpreted to mean that the Indian, who "is weak in the faith" (i.e., does not know God), "eateth herbs" (i.e., Peyote) in order to become strong in faith,

¹⁰ Paul, *Epistle to the Romans*, 14: 1-3. This is the translation given in the Authorized Version, which is ambiguous, and does not clearly convey the Greek meaning.

and know God. "And let not him that eateth" (Peyote) "despise him that eateth not" (i.e., the non-Peyotist Christian); "and let not him which eateth not" (i.e., the non-Peyote Christian) "judge him that eateth" (Peyote): "for God hath received him" (i.e., the Peyotist).

After a tipi meeting, and chatting while waiting for dinner, a Winnebago visitor asked about the passage relating to Peyote in the Bible. M—— said that the Bible didn't mention Peyote specifically, but only herbs. Then he explained, "They take it to mean Peyote, because that herb has most power."

One should eat as much Peyote as possible, in order to learn as much as one can. For Peyote is an inexhaustible teacher; every time one eats Peyote, he learns something new.^h

It is stated that some Indians do not need to eat Peyote because they already have enough power to reach God. Also, that in the future all the Indians may become advanced enough so that they too may dispense with Peyote. But at present most Indians need Peyote for their enlightenment. As one man said to me:

If we did what the Lord wants us to do, we don't have to take no medicine. But we can't do that; we've got too many things wrong with us. That medicine is to enlighten your mind.ⁱ

C. ETHICS AND ESCHATOLOGY

Religions usually contain a code of ethics by which their members are to live, and enforce that code with supernatural sanctions. We find these features in Peyotism.

There is little information in the literature about the traditional Menomini mores. However, the Powwow ethical code probably reflects the old attitudes. In it, all members are believed to be close kin, and are supposed to treat each other accordingly. Social opposition, in the form of either competition or conflict, is prohibited. The members are exhorted to be steady workers, and not to spend their earnings "foolishly"—particularly on alcohol.

By and large, the Menomini Peyotists continue to use this presumably traditional ethic, but have reformulated it to conform to the Christian code. The Peyotists look upon themselves as "brothers and sisters," and the principle of "brotherly love," as expressed in the "Golden Rule," is taken as the fundamental guide for social life. In general, they have adopted more of the white man's capitalistic ethic than the Powwow people, and therefore speak of themselves as "more progressive" and "independent" than the latter. As for drinking, there is a maxim, "Peyote and alcohol don't mix."

The Peyote ethical code is called "The Peyote Road" (*maski-hkiw mi-hekan*: medicine road), and conforming to the ethic is "following the Peyote Road." This code is not learned by listening to "preaching," as in the Powwow; or from the Bible or sermons, as in white Christianity. The Menomini Half Moon Peyotist

learns the ethic from Peyote. After eating Peyote, he either receives an ethical revelation in a vision, or his own conscience, sensitized by Peyote, tells him what he should or should not do. Of course he previously had heard about the code from others, but its legitimacy is validated by his own first-hand experience when he sees the light.^j

Traditionally, the Menomini mores were reinforced by various supernatural sanctions applied both in this life and the next. Good spirits rewarded conformity, and bad spirits and witches punished violations, in this world. After death, the situation becomes confused, for there evidently were, and still are, a number of conflicting versions. They all agree on one point, namely, that man has a "soul" (*netə'cyak*: my soul after death). In the *metəwen* account, after death the soul of a member goes to a happy and bright place in the western sky. In another version, the soul travels to a place of judgment, after which the good live pleasantly forever in the western sky, while the bad lead a miserable existence in a swamp. But my impression is that punishment after death has never been emphasized.

The Peyote eschatology tends to follow the *metəwen*, but in terms of Christian phraseology. Little is said about supernatural sanctions applied in this world, nor is mention made of punishments in the next world. If a person has followed the Peyote Road, after death he goes to "Heaven" (*kesek*: sky), a place in the sky which is "eternally bright," and where the soul "lives well forever." Though a few of the more acculturated members sometimes make passing mention of "Hell" (*ana-mahkyah*: underground), I have never heard that bad people go there after death.^k

VII. THE PEYOTE RITUAL AMONG THE MENOMINI ¹

Every religion has a ritual, a body of supernaturalistic practices by which its dogma is applied. Ritual may take the form of supplication, magic, or both. By supplication is meant an appeal to personifications of mana (i.e., embodiments), requesting them to apply their mana to produce certain desired effects. Magic is the manipulation of things containing mana in order to make that mana produce the desired effects.

Traditionally, Menomini supernaturalism has included both supplication and magic. The same is true in Catholicism. But surprisingly enough there is little magic in the Menomini Peyotist ritual. That is, unless we interpret the eating of Peyote as such, and I hesitate to do so because of the strong supplicatory element which accompanies this practice.

¹ In the present chapter the following abbreviations are used to designate the chief informants interviewed: AN, Angeline Neconish (Mrs. Dewey Neconish); DN, Dewey Neconish; HR, Howard Rain; LT, Louis Thunder; TW, Thomas Wayka; MW, Mitchell Weso.

The Peyote rite as a whole, therefore, may be interpreted as a means of supplicating the Great Spirit to give the Peyotists and their families enough power to "live well" in this world, and to achieve heavenly bliss after death.

Rites have two aspects: overt ritual behavior and the symbolic meanings attributed to such behavior. It will be seen in the next section that the rites are performed on many different occasions, and these are associated with minor differences in the ceremony. But fundamentally—and this is explicitly stated by the leaders—the externals of the rite remain about the same. Owing to the fact that the way the rite is performed is "up to the leader," and because of their specialized interest in the matter, the leaders magnify the variations as they perform the rite.² But I have seen all the leaders lead, and my own impression is that the variations due to diverse circumstances in the rite performed on different occasions by the same leader, are as great as that found in the rite as led by different leaders. Also, my conversations with visiting Peyotists from other tribes, and a reading of the ethnographic literature, lead me to believe that there is less variability in the externals of the Menomini Peyote rite than in that of any other tribe.

For these reasons, it is convenient to discuss the ceremony in terms of a single performance. Therefore, the following account of the Menomini Peyote rite is primarily based upon the "tipi meeting" held Saturday–Sunday, July 8–9, 1950. As stated in the preface, this was the occasion on which I took no Peyote in order to concentrate on observing the details of the ceremony. I came prepared to note the events as they occurred, and sat behind the circle of men. In front of me was Mitchell Weso, ready to direct my attention to details which I might otherwise overlook. In the week following the rite I tried to have all the principals record their respective parts, but with incomplete success.

As in other religions, the Peyote rite is highly symbolic. This is appreciated by the leaders; Howard Rain once explained, "Everything represents." From the Peyotist point of view, a member "learns from Peyote" the meaning of the ritual details.

MW: After a person gets in there [i.e., attends the rite and eats Peyote], you know.

Therefore the best way to learn the symbolism of the rite is through revelational visions.

From a scientific point of view, the meanings of ritual

² MW: Dewey is one of the oldest leaders, but he used to lead a different form, one time, a long time ago. It's just not very long ago that he started to lead this way. . . . You see, there's a lot of things in there, where a man just injects that himself, in there. That if you was to print it in that form—that original way, what some of them is trying to follow that pattern, and some add to it, and some leave out a little bit—it would reflect on my tribe here, and they'd say that we are running it this way, and we're not. . . . Howard and Joe and Louis, they follow pretty close to the same pattern; although Howard is following more closer, more closer to the southern pattern.

details are culturally acquired, in the main. Once a person has adopted the Peyotist world view, his revealed interpretations of the rite are greatly influenced by that frame of reference. In addition, the largest part of his symbolic interpretations has been adopted from other members.

The lay members actually know very little about the symbolism involved in the rite. Most of them simply conform to the overt ritual behavior because they have learned to behave that way, but they cannot give any meaningful interpretation of this behavior. When we come to the leaders, we find a high degree of variability. None of the leaders can interpret all the details of the rite; and when they do have symbolic explanations of the same detail, their interpretations usually differ to some extent. In fact, it is in the sphere of overt ritual and its covert meanings that we find the most striking example of the differences in variability between covert and overt behavior, as mentioned in Chapter I.

In the light of this discussion, the less variable ritual behavior is given in the text. The more variable symbolic interpretations will be found in Appendix I (Notes) on pages 647–676, to which references in the following text are indicated by alphabetical superscripts.

A. PUTTING UP THE MEETING

The Peyote rite, called a "meeting" (*ma-waw ce-het-wan*: gathering of all), may be sponsored by a single member or the group as a whole. The sponsor is said to "put up the meeting."

Once a meeting is decided upon, the sponsor appoints someone to lead the meeting. He also informs as many members as he can of the time and place of the meeting, and asks them to tell the others. Peyotists from other tribes are either notified by mail, or are told by Menomini members when visiting Peyote meetings held by other tribes.

The sponsor pays for the meeting. In the case of an individual sponsor, he defrays the entire cost if he can afford it; otherwise the collection taken toward the end of the meeting is given to him "to help him out." When the group acts as sponsor, it is a "contribution meeting," each member donating in advance as much as he wishes; if the total thus gathered, plus the collection, does not cover the entire cost, the deficit usually falls upon the person at whose house the meeting is held.

The costs involved in a meeting are for the Peyote and food. The sponsor himself may order the Peyote, but usually he asks the leader to do so.³ He and his wife buy all, or most, of the food; sometimes others also contribute "groceries" (*me-cem*: food).

Diary, June 17, 1950: M—— told me that he had contributed \$2 toward the meeting, for this is to be a contribution meeting, not one given by a single individual. . . . As we were working [on erecting the tipi], F—— asked Louis [Thunder, at whose house the meeting was to be held] how much he had collected already, and he said \$13.

³ For details on how Peyote is obtained, see Appendix V.

The talk then turned to how much it costs to give a meeting; they agreed that the average meeting, depending upon the number of participants, costs \$35-50. Joe [Weso] said that a particularly elaborate one he had given cost him \$58.

In the old days, as we have seen in Chapter V, meetings were held almost every weekend. At present they are regularly held on the following holidays: New Year, Easter, Mothers' Day, Memorial Day, Thanksgiving, and Christmas. As the occasion arises, there may be a "baptism meeting" to initiate a new member, a "prayer meeting" for purposes of special supplication, a "doctoring meeting" to cure a sick person, a "funeral meeting" at the death of a member, a "remembrance" or "anniversary meeting" on the anniversary of the death of a close relative, a "birthday meeting" to celebrate a member's birthday, and a "friendship meeting" to honor a visitor.

B. PRELIMINARIES

The meeting is held in, or adjacent to, the house of a member. If an individual puts up the meeting, it takes place at his house. If the group puts up the meeting, someone offers to have the meeting held at his place.

During the winter, the meeting is held inside the house and is called a "house meeting" (pihtikwe'kiameh: inside the house). In milder weather the rite is held in a Plains type tipi adjacent to the house; it is then called a "tipi meeting" (sa'nawe'hekan: tipi).

The present account deals with a tipi meeting. The preliminaries therefore consist of "putting up the tipi," "making the Moon," and "making the fireplace." The tipi is thought of as a house of God, equivalent to the white man's church. The Moon, and to most people the fireplace as well, are considered to be part of the altar.

I was too busy to be present at the first two preliminaries for the meeting under consideration. Consequently the following descriptions of the preliminaries are based upon my field diary for various meetings.

1. PUTTING UP THE TIPI

The tipi is erected the day the rite is to be held, either in the morning or afternoon; preferably the former. A level piece of ground, ten to twenty yards from the house, is selected for the tipi. The ideal is that the officials for the meeting should erect the tipi, and that the leader should pray before it is put up.

Diary: At about 9:00 A. M. this morning, Moon Weso and I went to Louis Thunder's place, to help put up the tipi there. Before we arrived Louis had already prayed for help in putting up the tipi.⁴ It was like a gathering of

⁴ No such prayer was offered at the July 8-9, 1950 meeting. But I was told the following:

DN: One fellow, John Koshiway, he talked to me a lots of times. "Hey! I want to tell you something," he said. "The way they do down there [in the west], them peoples, they respect that—this religion here, Native American Church—they respect that. When somebody wants to put up a meeting, the one who's leading—he's going to lead there, at that meeting, his woman—when they put the place that way, where they're



FIG. 6. The tipi.

the clan: Moon, Joe, John and Ellis Weso [brothers], and Louis [Thunder, their sister's husband]. Joe told me that it was the first time in 29 years that he had helped put up a tipi. Others joined us later.

Q: Before you put up the tipi . . . did you say a prayer?
LT: Yes.

Q: Will you please give it to me?

LT: [Translation] "Well, Great Spirit (kesemaneto-w), grant me this, that I will now erect our dwelling correctly. You gave this to us, Great Spirit, for us to use here, so that we may enter it to pray to you. Therefore, give us power (tatahkesen) so it will be good, so there will be light. And give us angels (asenwak) to watch over this, where we are to pray to you. That is all."

After the prayer, the ground is cleared and the tipi put up.

Diary (continued): A clearing was made about 20 yards northwest of the house. Three slender "tipi poles" (sa'nawe'hekan me'tekan),⁵ 24-25 feet long, were lashed together with commercial rope, a few feet from the top. Then we hoisted them up to a tripod position (north, east, and south) [A, B, C, in fig. 8], just resting on the ground—not in any holes. Then nine more poles were added, one at a time and clockwise [A 1, etc., in fig. 8], while John

going to put the tipi—the woman sets there, starts to say her prayers right there, asks Almighty to bless these Indians, asks for power. And when she got through saying the prayers, then they put up the tipi."

⁵ Between meetings the tipi poles are stored near the house of a member. They should be stacked upon small wooden platforms, and confined between stakes, "to keep them from warping." This was done the first season, but not the second. While we were putting up the tipi, one time, during the second season, Louis Thunder remarked that the poles "should be" stored off the ground. When I asked why, he replied, "T—— didn't keep them that way last winter; that's why they rotted."



FIG. 7. The tipi with caboose.

circled the structure with a long rope tied to the rope which kept the first three poles in place. As he kept going around, each pole became lashed to the others already fixed, and thus the frame was constructed, consisting of twelve poles in all.

Then a white cloth covering ⁶ was attached to a thirteenth

⁶ This was the first tipi covering owned by the Menomini.

HR: Before, the Winnebago used to bring their own tipi along, and put it up for us, once in a while.

This tipi was donated by Ernest Neconish. He told me, "I had the tipi made in 1937. I think about my little family; it [i.e., buying the tipi] is a way to pray to God. I get word right from here [i.e., from Peyote]; I feel that way, see. And again [at] outside [meetings] there's the Lord's spirit right there. Inside [a house] it's different; it's man made. Inside [the house] it's too hot in the summer time, when you have your doings. There's more air [in a tipi]; it's better that time. At that time we'd borrow a tent from [the Winnebago at] Wisconsin Rapids. And again, I didn't ask for nobody to donate—anything like that—I bought it myself. We hired somebody [an old Winnebago couple at Schofield] to make it for us, too; I paid them ten dollars to make it. The cloth [white sheeting] alone was about twenty dollars."

The two tipi covers now used by the Menomini are made of sheeting, awkwardly cut. This is an interesting example of the impractical results of diffusion, for the Oglala Sioux Tent Project makes its tipis of canvas, more efficiently cut. Sol Tax informs me that the Fox also use canvas tipis; these must have been seen by Menomini and Winnebago visitors to Fox tipi meetings.

or "tipi pole," by a cord on top; this pole was then lashed to the others and put in the west ["Tepee pole" in fig. 8]. Then the covering was simply unrolled, so that the edges forming the entrance were in the east, and the tipi was up.

Next, the covering was staked down with wooden stakes driven into the ground all around the bottom edge of the tipi.

There are small holes along the edges of the covering which form the entrance. Beginning at the top of the tipi, Louis pulled these edges together, and held them fast with sticks inserted through the holes; he left the bottom part open to form an east ⁷ entrance, or "door" (skuahtem).

Finally, two more poles were brought, and their tips inserted into the ventilator wings of the tipi. Thus 15 poles in all were used.

The tipi (sa'nawe-hekan) was then complete; it was 20 feet in diameter.⁸

When more people are expected than can be seated within the tipi, a supplementary structure, called a "caboose" (pihtawi:hkenekan: extra room), is erected at the entrance to the tipi.

After the tipi has been put up, the central area inside the tipi is cleared of all grass, and the earth carefully smoothed. The outer area, where the people are to sit, is strewn with cedar boughs.

⁷ In Peyotism, as in the Medicine Dance, everything is oriented from the east; in the Powwow, from the west.

Diary (continued): The grass already growing around the inside margin of the tipi was allowed to remain, while other freshly cut grass from outside the tipi was also strewn within, around the margin. Any grass either growing or accidentally dropped in the center of the tipi was carefully removed, as well as from a path constructed to extend a few feet outside the entrance. We then strewed "cedar boughs" (sehta-kak) over the grass within the tipi, with the stems pointing away from the center. (Louis donated a stack which he had gathered to sell.)

The sunshine diffusing through the thin white covering made the tipi seem light and airy. The green cedar boughs,

with their fresh smell, contrasted with the brown earth. It all made a lovely picture.

We were then through for the morning. Louis said he would make the Moon in the afternoon.^b

2. MAKING THE MOON

After the tipi has been completed, it is time to "make the Moon." The "Half Moon" or "Moon" (ke-so?) is a crescent shaped mound of sand or clay, whose concave side faces east. After the Moon is made, a line

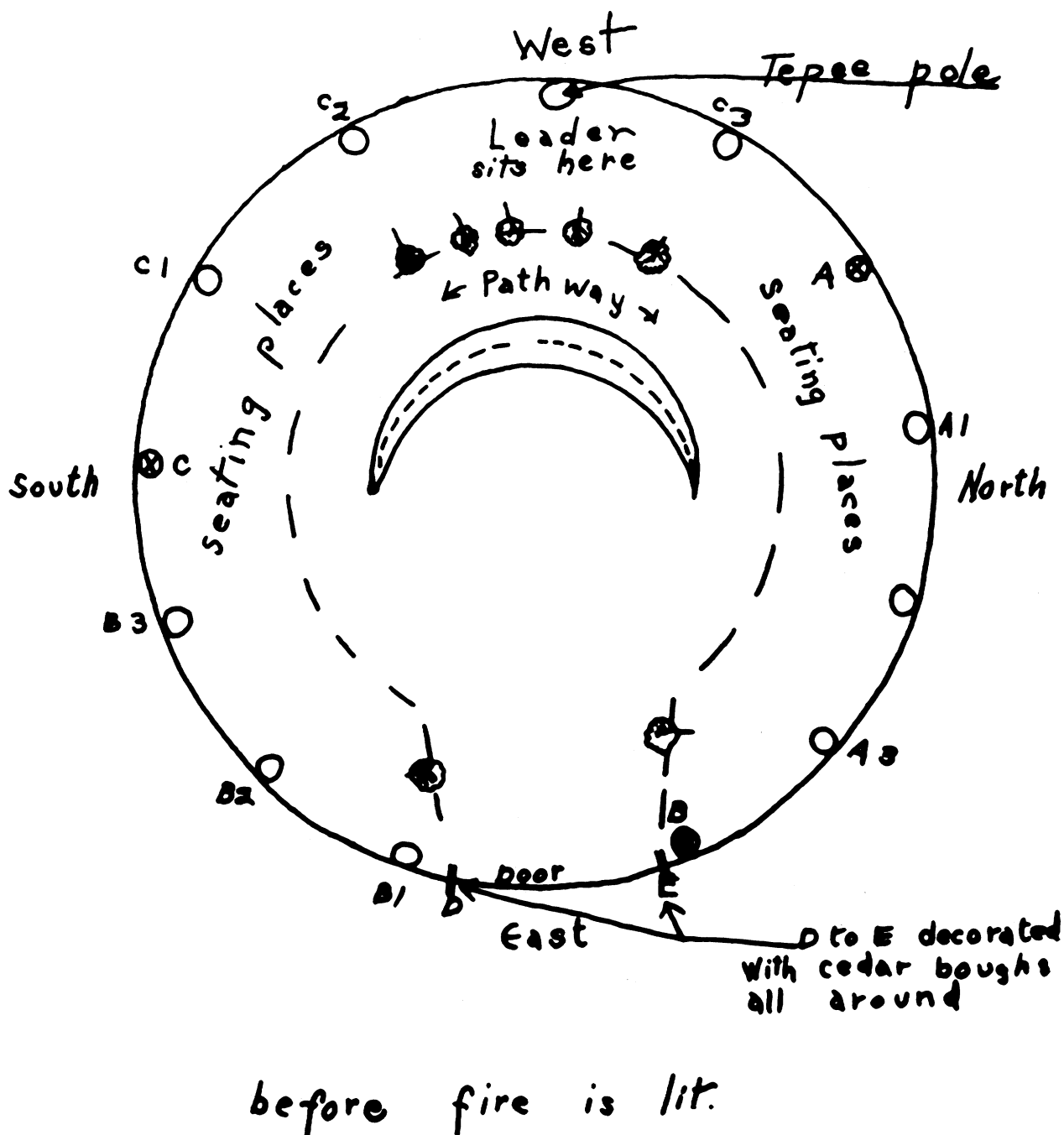


FIG. 8. Ground plan of the tipi. (Traced from a drawing by Mitchell Weso.)

is graven along the top, from tip to tip; this is the "Peyote Road" (maski:hkiw mi:hekan). Ideally, the Moon should be made by the fire chief.

Diary: Louis proceeded to plan the Moon. He placed a small stick in the ground at the center of the tipi. He then tied a length of clothesline to the stick, and another small pointed stick 35½ inches away. With this improvised compass he drew on the ground about one-third of a circle, west of center, with the length of cord as the radius; this represented the outer side of the Moon. Louis said to me, "It looks better when it's big. If it's too small, you can hardly see it." Then he drew, by hand, another line for the inside of the Moon; the resulting outline was of a Moon 9¾ inches wide at the center (the widest part), 2 inches wide at the rounded tips, and 70 inches long from tip to tip, in a straight line. He then swept the surrounding area clean, with a commercial broom.

Louis then asked F—— and me to get some "white sand" in a wheelbarrow. We were told here was some about fifty yards away, in a road cutting. I shovelled the sand into the wheelbarrow, which F—— then took into the tipi. He piled the sand on top of the markings, with a shovel. As he did so he remarked to me, "I seen somewhere—around Wittenberg [Winnebago], someplace—a Moon of cement. But it didn't look very good; sand looks better. It was his own [the maker's idea], I guess; it didn't last very long, though. This way is better." Then he patted the sand into rough shape with his hands.

About that time Louis returned, and took over the completion of the Moon. He pounded and smoothed it carefully with a flat piece of wood. First the cross section was that of an acute angle with the apex on top, thus: \wedge ; then he flattened the top, so that the angle was truncated, thus: Λ . The Moon at the previous meeting had rounded rather than straight sides, and when I asked him about it, Louis replied that either way was possible. Then he swept the excess sand into the center, removing it with the shovel. The resulting Moon was 11" wide and 6" high at the center, tapering to 3½" wide and 2½" high at the rounded tips.

He then put a sprig of cedar bough on the top of the Moon, at the center; this was for the Peyote Chief to lay on. At the center of the convex side of the Moon he made a small indentation with a piece of wood, where the whistle was to rest against the Moon. Then with a penknife he drew a line across the top of the Moon; this is the Peyote Road. The Moon was then complete.⁸

3. MAKING THE FIREPLACE

The fire chief "makes the fireplace" about a half hour before the meeting is to begin.⁸ The "firewood" (mehsəw), previously prepared, has been sawed into lengths about a yard long, and split into pieces about four inches thick. This firewood is piled up like railroad ties, about ten yards from the tipi entrance.

The fire chief takes some firewood into the tipi, with which to build his fire (skotəw) in the middle of the tipi, east of the Moon. Eight or ten pieces of firewood are arranged in a V-shape, with the vertex to the west and at the exact center of the tipi. Half of the pieces are used for each side of the V, and placed one upon the other, alternately. At the vertex, the sticks are crossed

a few inches from the end. This area in which the firewood is located is the "fireplace" (spə:tawə:yah). Ideally the fire should be started with flint and steel, but matches are used by the Menomini.

Diary: Thomas Wayka (the fire chief) and I entered the tipi to make the fireplace. He put some shavings in the center, and then broke a piece of firewood in half and placed the two pieces on top. After this he piled on 8 pieces of firewood (37"–40" long), the north piece first,⁹ then the south piece, to form a right angle on the ground. The vertex of the angle was 22" from the inner side of the Moon. Then he took a number of small pieces of wood, and put them at the inner portion of the angle, to help start the fire. After this he lit the fire with a match, saying to me as he did so, "I wish I had a flint [and steel]; I'd start it with flint. But I haven't got any." After the fire was well started, we left the tipi.⁴

After the fire is built, there are the Moon and fireplace in the center of the tipi, and the cedar boughs around the edge. Between them is an earthen area usually called the "walk" (kia ʔto:hneyah: place to go around). For, as in the Powwow and Medicine Dance, people are not supposed to walk across the sacred area, but clockwise around it.

C. OFFICERS

Everything in Peyotism tends to go by fours, which is as traditional among the Menomini as three is among white men. Four "officers" (meya:wəwak: leaders or directors) officiate at a tipi meeting: leader, drum chief, cedar chief, and fire chief. These not only officiate at the rite, but also symbolize the spirits to whom the ceremony is directed.⁹ This kind of symbolism is also found in the Medicine Dance and Powwow.

The following were the officers at the meeting of July 8–9, 1950:

Leader:	Dewey Neconish
Drum chief:	Moon Weso
Cedar chief:	Howard Rain
Fire chief:	Thomas Wayka

⁹ Mitchell Weso has a variant, as revealed in the following conversation.

MW: Before midnight we always start with the left [south] stick first. After midnight, with the north stick first.

Joe Weso: That's just to follow around, like the drum [i.e., clockwise].

MW: From the fireman's angle, it would be from his left to his right. . . . They used to tell me, that [when] you start off a fire, you use ten [pieces of firewood]. Somebody way back, he understood it that way; that represents ten commandments; that some day we're going to be judged according to the ten commandments. We'll have to go through that fire; there's nothing is going to escape that fire; there's no written record of anything that's going to go through that fire, some day. That's one of the places we have to pass through, before we reach eternity, eternal life. That's the story I was told.

Q: Then you use ten pieces of firewood, not eight?

MW: I generally start out with ten. It all depends on the weather, too. When it's hot weather, you can't use ten sticks; you'll make it too hot; so I just keep dwindling it down to six or four. If it's real cold, I use ten, maybe twelve. But to start with, I try to use ten; and then finishing up in the morning, with the last fire I make, I use ten.

⁸ According to Mitchell Weso, the rite begins when the fire is lit. But most people consider that it starts when the leader prays before entering the tipi.

None of the officers hold their positions permanently. Theoretically, anyone can be appointed to any office for a given meeting. And after that meeting is over, the officers revert to the roles of ordinary members.⁴

(a) The "leader" (meya:wew) appoints the other three officers, and supplies most of the paraphernalia used in the meeting. He determines how the rite is to be performed and directs it; "he is in charge of the meeting." Symbolically, he leads the worshippers along the Peyote Road to the good life both in this world and the next.¹⁰ The leader sits at the west side of the tipi, opposite the door and with his back to the tipi pole. He symbolizes the Great Spirit at the meeting.⁸

The sponsor of the meeting appoints the leader, and it is a great honor to be so chosen. Theoretically, anyone can be asked to lead who is thought to have sufficient knowledge of the rite's details, but in practice the choice is usually limited to a few men who, in fact, are spoken of as "the leaders." Among the Menomini, for many years these consisted of four people: Dewey Neconish, Howard Rain, Louis Thunder, and Joe Weso; but in 1951 Mitchell Weso was added to the list.¹¹

(b) The "drum chief" or "drummer" (tewehewew pemenacen: the drummer who cares for it [the drum]) cares for the drum, and drums for the leader when the latter sings. He sits to the right of the leader, and symbolizes Jesus.¹

(c) The "cedar chief" or "cedar man" (sehtakan pemenacen: the one who cares for the cedar) is usually the officer who puts cedar incense on the fire, and prays at "three o'clock." In general, he acts as the leader's assistant, and sits to the latter's left. He symbolizes the Holy Ghost.¹

(d) In a tipi meeting, the "fire chief" or "fireman" (skotew pemenah: the one who cares for the fire) sees to it that the firewood is collected before the meeting begins, and makes the fireplace. During the meeting he cares for the fire, cleans the altar at various times during the rite, and in general acts as a combination steward and sergeant-at-arms. He sits at the north side of the door. He symbolizes the angels.

In a house meeting, the "waiter" (skapewes: ritual attendant)¹¹ takes the place of the fire chief, with whatever duties of the latter are relevant.¹²

If a large number (over two dozen men, or so) attend the tipi meeting, the fire chief is so busy that he appoints an assistant to be his "waiter" (skapewes). This assistant usually sits at the fire chief's right.¹

D. TOOLS

Certain paraphernalia are used at the Peyote rite, which are called the "tools" (ayo:wenan). Every leader is supposed to have his own, which are used when he leads. In addition, most of the lay members have a

¹⁰ This is obvious from the name given to the leader by most other Midwest tribes, namely, "road chief."

¹¹ There is also a skapewes in the Medicine Dance and Powwow.

few tools of their own, which they may use after "midnight," as will be noticed in the discussion of the rite itself. Tools are not bought. They are either made by the user (in which case some of the raw material may be bought), or received as a gift. As Joe Weso said, "You can't buy these tools. They've got to be given to you to use."

The following paraphernalia are categorized as tools. The specific implements described are those used by Dewey Neconish when leading the meeting of July 8-9, 1950.¹²

(a) The "Peyote Chief" (oke:maw maski:hkiw: chief medicine) is a particularly large and symmetrical Peyote button. Up to a few years ago, a leader, or anyone who hoped to become a leader, selected and saved such a button from the Peyote he obtained to eat; Dewey Neconish's Peyote Chief is of this type. But now the Menomini acquire Peyote Chiefs which are specially made to serve as such.

The Peyote Chief is not eaten, but saved. At the beginning of a tipi meeting it is placed on a sprig of cedar placed on top of the Moon, where it acts as the Great Spirit's representative. All prayers are directed to it, and the singers are supposed to face it.¹³

(b) The "whistle" (kaketowehcekan) "always goes next to the Peyote Chief." Dewey Neconish does not have a whistle of his own; he borrowed the one belonging to Joe Weso, who said, "It comes from the wing bone of an American eagle." It is 7¼ inches long, and has no stops. The vent is cut to represent the entrance of an incised tipi, the only decoration on the whistle. The whistle is blown at certain points in the rite.¹⁴

(c) The "cloth" (wapeskikan: white cloth) is a piece of white cotton cloth, seventeen inches long and eighteen inches wide. On it is the figure of Jesus and the phrase "God is Love," embroidered by one of the woman members and presented to Dewey Neconish. The cloth is considered to be part of the altar, and many of the other tools are laid on it during the meeting.⁹

(d) The "Peyote bag" or "medicine bag" (maski:hkiwmenu:tih: medicine bag) is 10½ inches long and 9 inches wide. It is made of printed cotton, and has a draw string of commercial twine. The Peyote is kept in the bag during the meeting, and handed around to the members.⁹

(e) The "cedar incense" (sehta:k: cedar leaf) consists of cedar leaves gathered in the woods, dried, and then crumbled between the palms of the hand. It is used both as an offering to the spirits, and for ritual purification.¹³

¹² I must apologize for not giving photographs of the tools. I had a cheap snapshot camera which could only photograph objects at a minimum distance of five feet.

¹³ Various kinds of incense were traditionally used by the Menomini. But tobacco was (and still is, in the Medicine Dance and Powwow) the most important ritual offering. Also, the western tribes use tobacco in the Peyote rite; a fact which is known to the Menomini Peyote leaders. Therefore it seems

The incense is kept in a "cedar bag" (sehta-kmenutih). It is small (5½ inches long and 5 inches wide), made of buckskin, and tied at the mouth with a thong of the same material. The bag is decorated with a few small geometric designs in beadwork, executed by one of the woman members and presented to Dewey Neconish.⁹

(f) The "feathers" (me'konak) are a "fan" made from the tail feathers (wana'nyan) of a bird. Each feather is tied to the handle separately, at the quill, by means of a small piece of buckskin. The feathers are used as prayer feathers, charms (by a few members), and as a ritual fan to direct power toward some object or person. Except for the method of attaching them to the handle, these bundles of feathers are similar both in form and function to traditional Menomini ones.

The leader's fan is made from the twelve tail feathers of the southern bald eagle (kenew), "because he's the chief of the birds." The handle, 3½ inches long, is decorated with geometric designs in beadwork.

Only a leader's fan consists of eagle feathers. Almost all the other members—men, women, and children—have feathers of their own, which they use after "midnight." These are made from the tail feathers of some "peaceful bird" like the pheasant or pigeon. Often additional downy tufts are attached to the tips of the feathers; except in the case of eagle feathers, which remain unadorned.⁷

(g) The "sage" ¹⁴ consists of a bundle of sage sprigs. Dewey Neconish's is tied together with string; most of the other leaders have theirs held together by a piece of buckskin. It has been adopted recently, and not all the leaders own or use it. Before "midnight," the sage is held with the staff by the singer; after "midnight," the feathers are substituted for it.⁸

(h) The "staff" or "cane" (a'hpatah: cane; or me'tek: stick) is made from the branch of an elm. It is forty inches long, decorated with a bone knob on top, and with carved crosses, at intervals, along the body. It is held by the singer.⁶

(i) The "gourd" or "rattle" (sena'wenekan: rattle) is made from a brown variety of gourd. The pointed end is cut off, leaving a body three inches long. A straight wooden handle, eight inches long, is passed through the gourd, and projects 1½ inches above the top. The rattle is produced by twelve small beads inside the gourd (the number and kinds of objects put inside the gourd vary with the taste of the owner). The gourd itself is undecorated. But the handle is covered with beadwork in geometric design, and has a

surprising that not only has the use of tobacco not been included in the Menomini Peyote rite, but the more orthodox members bracket alcohol and tobacco together, and try to refrain from both. This seems to a Protestant influence (from John Koshiway?).

¹⁴ I was told that years ago there was a Menomini term for sage, but nobody could recall it. They now use the English term as a loan word, when speaking Menomini.

buckskin tassel; a tuft of red dyed horsehair is attached to the projecting tip. The singer accompanies himself with the gourd. Larger and undecorated gourd rattles were, and still are, used in various traditional Menomini rites.¹¹

(j) The "drum" (te'wehekan) is a water drum made of cast brass,¹⁵ 8¼ inches in diameter, and 5½ inches high, shaped like a three-legged kettle.

It contains some water, and four bits of charcoal taken from a former meeting's fire. The diaphragm is buckskin, which previously has been soaked in water for twenty-four hours. The buckskin is put over the mouth of the drum, and seven marbles ¹⁶ placed around the rim as bosses. Clothesline is used to attach the diaphragm to the drum; it is wound around a boss and passed under the drum to another boss, so that when completed there is a seven pointed star on the bottom of the drum. The drum is used to accompany the singing. A water drum made from a hollowed out log is used in the Medicine Dance.⁷

(k) The "drumstick" (te'wehekana'htek) is made of hickory, and 12¾ inches long. It is decorated with carved geometric designs.

This is a particularly long drumstick; most of them are about twelve inches long. Also, they are often made of tropical wood bought for the purpose (sometimes commercial drumsticks), and decorated with Waterbird carvings.

(l) Not considered a tool, but worth mentioning, is the "case" or "box" (kahko'hseh: small box) in which the tools are kept. At present this is usually made from a commercial tackle box or musical instrument case. It is a modern substitute for a traditional artifact.

MW: The instrument bag where they kept their sacred tools, as far back as I can remember—I used to see my old folks—it was made out of some calico goods . . . it had a string on top so it could draw together. . . . And then they used to make it out of cedar wood; they just made kind of a box . . . carved it by hand. And sometime they used a stiff rawhide leather, formed it into a box with a sort of a lid. . . . That's all I ever saw.

Q: What do you keep your tools in?

MW: A box, or whatever it is. Sometimes they have it wrapped up; form a little bag. They used to have it in the form of a bag, the first time [i.e., at first]. Till they started getting these instrument cases, you know; they're handier.

E. THE MEETING

The Peyote "meeting" (ma'waw ce'hetwan: gathering of all) is an all night ceremony ¹⁷; ideally it should last from sunset to sunrise. The members implicitly divide the rite into three parts. I have made this division explicit in my discussion; an analysis accepted by the members as reflecting their own view of the matter.

¹⁵ Other drums are made of cast iron. I was told that these drums are manufactured by Indians of other tribes who work in foundries. Old ones were made from iron kettles.

¹⁶ One member showed me round quartz pebbles which he uses instead of marbles, when he acts as drum chief.

¹⁷ The Medicine Dance is also an all night ceremony.

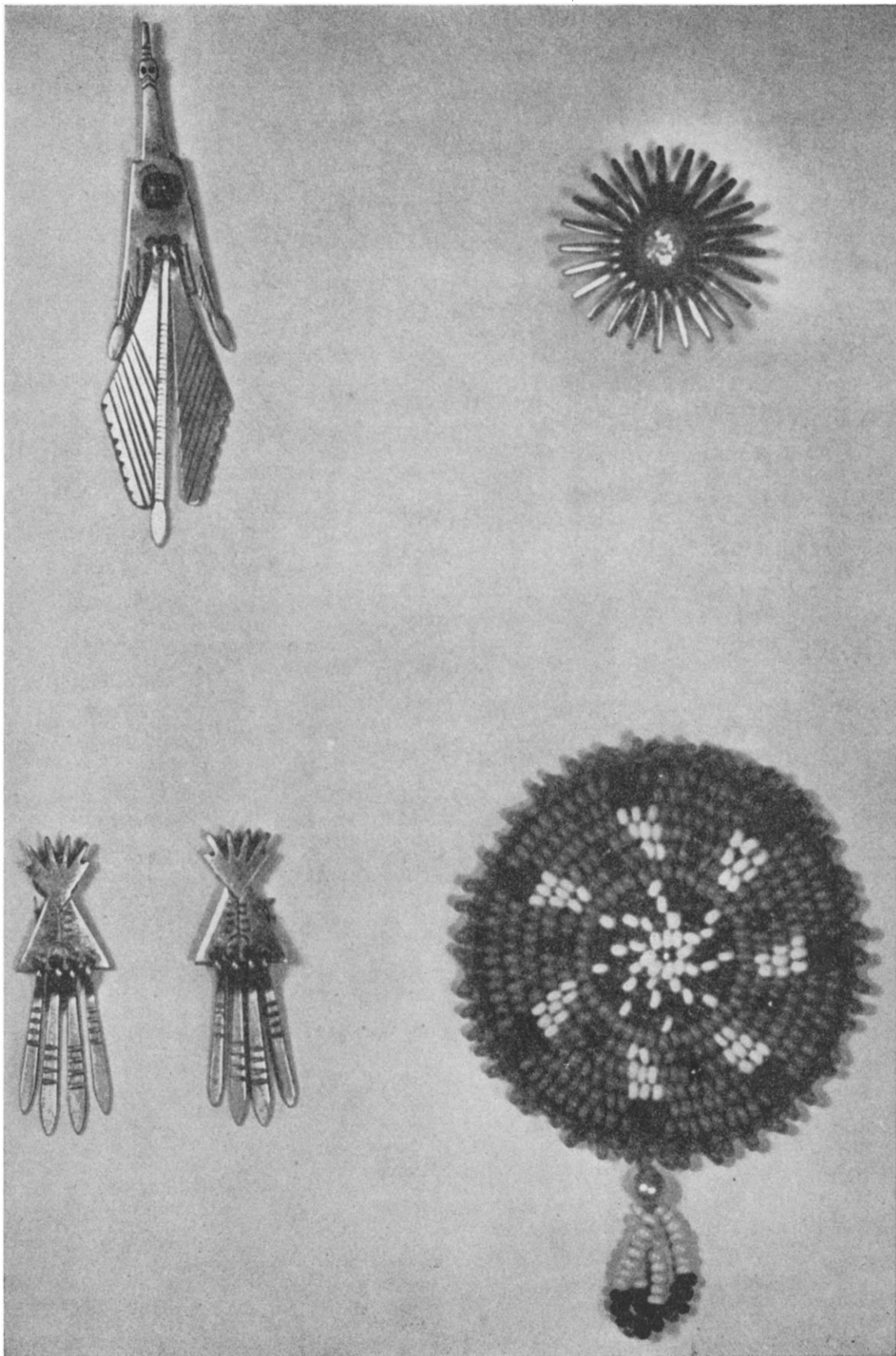


FIG. 9. Peyote jewelry used by the Menomini. *Upper left*: Silver Waterbird pin (unknown provenience). Worn by Dewey Neconish when leading a meeting. *Upper right*: Silver sunburst pin (unknown provenience). Worn by Mrs. Angeline Neconish when bringing in morning water as leader's wife. *Lower left*: Silver tipi earrings (made by a Winnebago from Wittenberg). Worn by women at meeting. *Lower right*: Beaded sunburst pin of new style (made by a Menomini). Worn by Mrs. Angeline Neconish in place of old fashioned silver pin. These were presented to the author and his wife. (Photographed by P. H. Lewis.)

1. "SUNSET" TO "MIDNIGHT"

This period is spoken of as "before midnight"; it is the time when the meeting "gets started."¹⁸

About sunset the people leisurely begin to assemble near the tipi. Members living nearby walk to the meeting; those from farther away, and visitors from other tribes,¹⁸ arrive by automobile. The men stand around in small groups, quietly chatting. Most of the women go to the Williams' (the sponsors) house to help Clara Williams prepare the morning food, and to chat.

The members come physically purified; they have bathed and put on clean white man's clothes. The men have shaved.¹⁹ When he arrived, Joe Weso remarked to a group of us, "I cleaned up outside; I shaved and had a bath. Now I'll clean up inside with medicine."

The people carry blankets to sit on, and for the women to wrap up in so as to protect themselves from the cold night air which blows in at the bottom of the tipi. Many of the men, and some of the women, wear "Peyote pins" and other Peyote jewelry of silver, usually representing the Waterbird or "sunburst."^{19, 20}

8:28 P. M. Thomas Wayka, the fire chief, enters the tipi and starts the fire (see B 3, "Making the Fire-place"). He then comes out again.²

8:40 P. M.²⁰ The people assemble before the door of the tipi, and facing it; the leader stands in front of the door, the others behind him. He prays in a low voice, so that I can't hear what he is saying.

Great emphasis is placed upon spontaneity in praying. Both Peyotists and Powwow people contrast the white man's formal "prayers written down in a book" with the "real Indian prayers" in which the person prays as the spirit moves him.

Q: Will you please repeat the prayer you used?

DN: [Translation] "Well, Great Spirit who is all (kesē-maneto-w ma-waw wena?), I am going to give you thanks now. And now I am telling you in advance that we have all come here to this house, which you gave us, and where we come to pray to be purified. Now we are going to enter, so that we may pray to you all night. These, my brothers and sisters, will pray to you. Please keep carefully in mind whatever they will ask of you. Also, my relatives here have come to visit us; that is why we are having this meet-

¹⁸ One member said, "That's what Peyote is for. All tribes get along good, hand to hand. We visit back and forth [among] the different tribes. Before we never used to see Winnebagoes around here; now they come over. Back and forth, we visit each other. Some time they come from Oklahoma, two or three of them, [to] visit here [and] have meeting with us."

There is also inter-tribal visiting at the Powwow seasonal rites.

¹⁹ These pins are not made by the Menomini, but are gifts from Peyote friends of other tribes.

In the spring of 1950 a visitor wore a beaded brooch with a sunburst design in Plains and Basin style, which was admired by the Menomini. In the spring of 1951 more Menomini wore beaded than silver brooches; evidently a new fashion had been started.

²⁰ As has been said, ideally the meeting should start at sunset, or 7:30 to 8:00 P. M. in the summer. Actually, it begins between 8:00 and 9:00 P. M.

ing; that is why we are all here. Also, we pray of you, lead us. They are going to pray to you for whatever is in their thought. So in advance we are telling you, here, that we are going to enter this house which you gave us to pray to you.

"Well, I am praying to you that it may be good, that it may be bright. And send us your angels (a-sēni-wak), that pity us here, to watch over us so that we do not see whatever comes to tempt us; have them chase it away. That is what I pray to you, Great Spirit who is all.

"I also ask that you would surely help us all; that is what I ask of you. That you would surely help our little children, and our brothers and sisters, and our elders, and our mothers; that is what I pray of you. Our grandchildren, too, all of them that are living; you know how many of them are related on both sides. Also our wives, as well as their relatives and elders. You can help us for them all; that is what I pray of you, Great Spirit who is all. All that I ask of you here is that you would help us all, the whole nation consisting of many different peoples.

"Now then, our all-in-all father, Great Spirit (mah-ma-waw ko-hnē'naw kesē-maneto-w), who sent to us your son. Well, he walked around here on earth; he came to us to teach us exactly how we should live; we are trying to follow him. That is what you told him to do here. We here can tell him that we are having a very hard life. Therefore, I pray of you, Jesus Christ [said in English], go to Him, and transmit to Him, our all-in-all father, Great Spirit, what it is that we would like to have here where we live, so that we can have that which is good, that which is full of brightness. From our all-in-all father, Great Spirit, you will surely obtain what we need, so that we can all stand there. Then we can follow that, and when each of us shall have lived out the days you [Great Spirit] have given us, each one of us can go to you. I wish that then you would surely grasp our hands as you do our souls. I wish that you would pity us, so that we can then be in that place where it is eternally good, where there is eternal life, where it is eternally bright, where it is eternally pleasant. Well, that is all. Perhaps we will see there all our ancestors who have lived from the beginning; we will surely see each other there. There we will live forever with our all-in-all father, Great Spirit. I pray to you that you will help us so that we may live there like that, Jesus Christ.

"Well, if I do not know how to say that for which I should ask you, then correct it all, complete it; that is what I pray of you. And you [souls] now in the sky, where you all live with Him; I am trying to do everything correctly the way you have told me; tell that to our all-in-all father, Great Spirit. What I am telling you about the way we want to have it here; that is what I pray of you, our all-in-all father, Great Spirit.

"Well, we thank you that we have continued to live here, up to now. Now help us so that we will live properly in the future, the way we should; that we will work for ourselves; that our days will be good, and that we will live well; and that our children may live well; that is what I pray for, Jesus Christ. And I pray you will give us good days here, every day in the future; that is what I am praying to you for. And now, that one who is our all-in-all father, Great Spirit, made this earth; He put us here where we are living. And you [Jesus] were given this earth to care for, that you should rule over this earth where He put us, where we live. Therefore we pray to you that it will be good while we live. And all this heavenly brightness that you were given to care for, that it will be good, so that we will live well, and so our children will exist well; that is what I pray of you, Jesus Christ.

"Now, therefore, as we are about to enter, we pray to you in advance. Right now the time has come, and we all

stop to speak to you in advance. Surely you will have pity on us; that is what we pray of you, Jesus Christ.

"Well, this is all that I am able to do. These brothers and sisters of mine have asked me to pray to you.

"Your name [i.e., in the name of] the Father (no-hne?), the Son (we-ki-?semih), the Holy Ghost (wayiaskaset awe-tok), amen (e-men)." ^{aa}

8:50 P. M. The people enter the tipi in the following order: leader, drum chief, cedar chief, the other members (men, women, and children indiscriminately), and fire chief last. ^{bb}

In all, eighteen men (besides myself) are attending the meeting as well as seven wives and their children. ²¹ These include the following visitors: a Fox man (the guest of honor), his wife, grown son, and small boy; one Potawatomi man; two Winnebago men, and the young son and daughter of one of them. The men wearing hats take them off as they enter; none of the women wear hats. ²² They all walk clockwise to their places. ^{23, cc}

The officers and guest of honor have fixed places; the other men sit wherever they please (fig. 10). All seat themselves on blankets which they have brought for the purpose. These are spread on the cedar boughs. The men sit in a circle nearest the fireplace, their women and children behind them. Everyone sits quietly, cross-legged, except some visitors from other tribes (Fox, Potawatomi, and Winnebago), who kneel. All put

²¹ This is considered to be a "small meeting."

²² The taking off of their hats by the men is a white adoption; hats are kept on at the Powwow. Among the Menomini, only Catholic women wear hats at any time.

²³ Clockwise movement is also found in the Medicine Dance and Powwow.

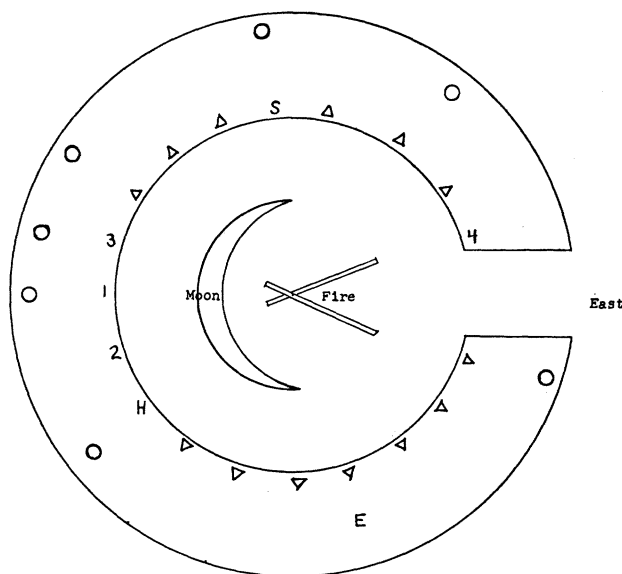


FIG. 10. Seating arrangement in tipi. 1. Leader. 2. Drum chief. 3. Cedar chief. 4. Fire chief. S. Sponsor. H. Guest of honor. E. Ethnographer. Δ Other men. \circ Wives and children.

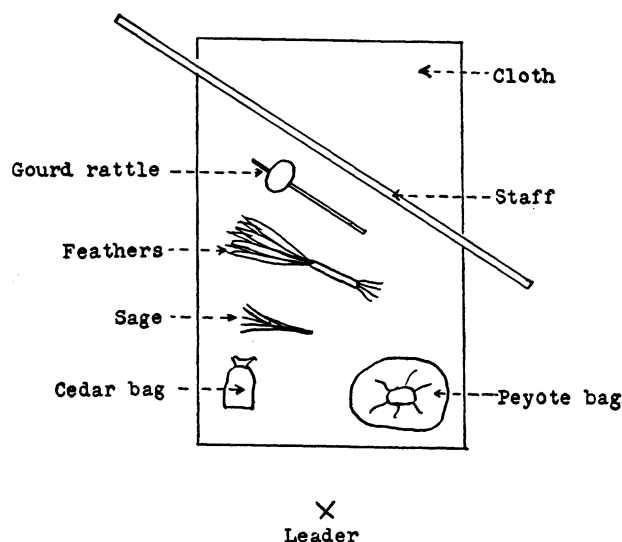


FIG. 11. Arrangement of tools on cloth. (This is Dewey Neconish's variant. For Mitchell Weso's variant see fig. 12.)

their hands on their laps, and sit with heads bowed; this is the customary posture throughout the rite. ^{dd}

8:52 P. M. The leader takes his tools out of the box he carried with him. First he lays the cloth on the ground before him, and then places upon it the staff, gourd, feathers, sage, bag of cedar incense, and bag of Peyote (fig. 11).

The "altar" ²⁴ now consists of the cloth and Moon; there is a difference of opinion about including the fireplace. ^{ee}

The water drum, with the drumstick laying on the drumhead, is placed before the drum chief.

Meanwhile the fire chief tends the fire with two "pokers" (konε-syahekanan: pokers; or ko-htahekanan: pushers), sticks about four feet long. Behind his seat is a commercial broom for sweeping the fireplace, so that it will be clean at all times. Throughout the rite he adds wood to the fire from the woodpile outside the tipi, and tends the fire, whenever necessary. ^{ff}

8:56 P. M. The leader stands and tells the purpose of the meeting. He says that Dave and Clara Williams have put up a friendship meeting for her classificatory "brother" J——, of the Fox, and had invited other relatives among the Winnebago and Potawatomi to be present. The Williams had chosen him to be leader, and he thanks them for the honor.

Q: Will you please give me your talk?

DN: [Translation]. "Well, my friends, who have come here for a while, this is what you have asked of me: to lead this in which we are going to pray. I do not quite think myself capable of taking charge of all this which we do. But here is why I never refuse anyone when they ask me. In the beginning Mitchell Ne-kwatweh brought it into the Menomini Reservation; he was the one who found us, and brought this prayer meeting to us; then we first began it

²⁴ I never heard a Menomini term for the altar.

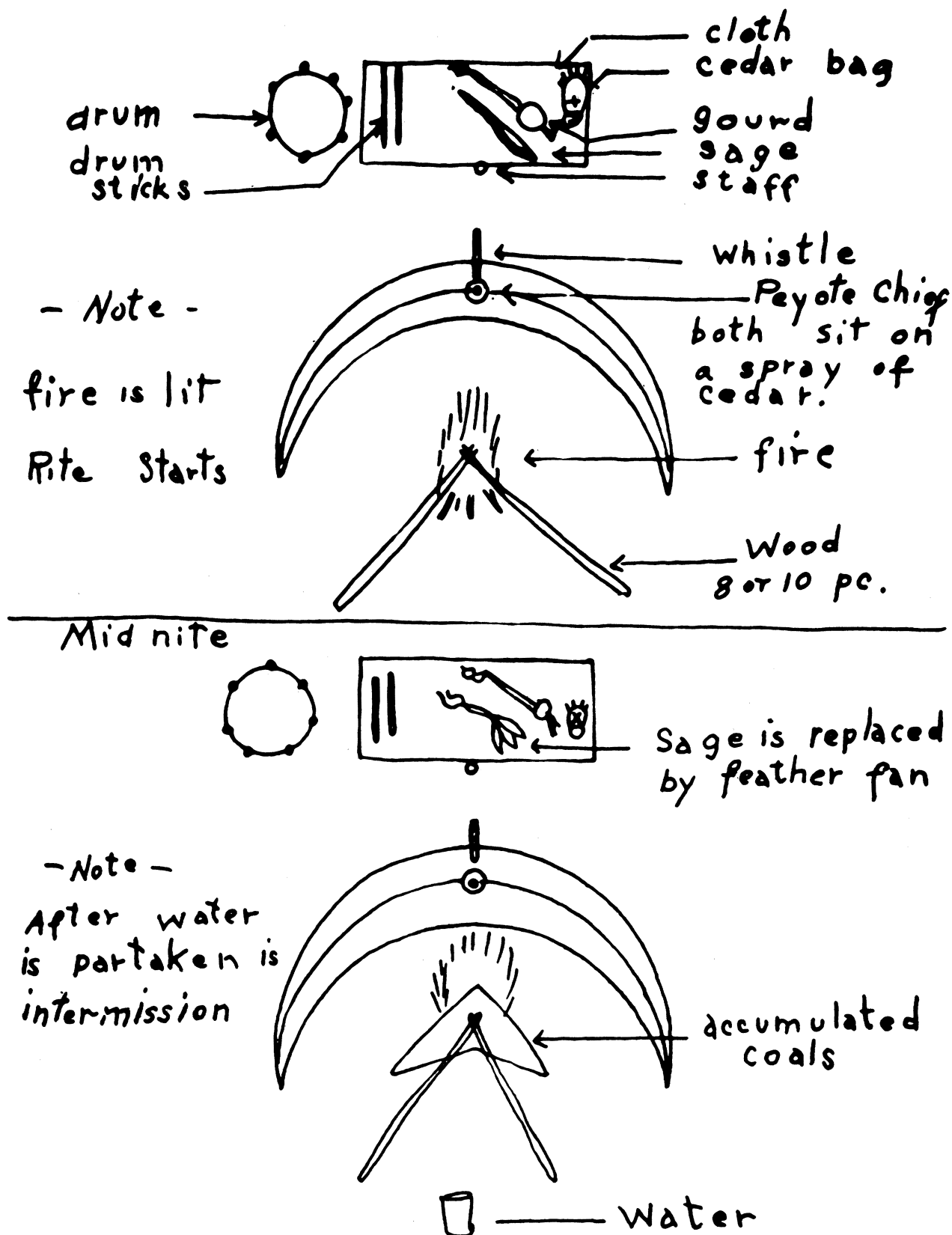


FIG. 12. Altar at start of rite and at midnight. (Traced from drawing by Mitchell Weso.)

here. That is why I do not refuse to lead this prayer meeting. Well then, that is precisely how this started, that we should pray because of you. Moon [Weso] will then tell [i.e., translate] everything [that I have said] correctly. When he has finished, then we will begin; then we will use this medicine; we will begin to pray. That is what I have to say to you, my friends.

"Well, the others, these relatives of ours who have come here, do not understand. So now I will ask Moon to translate all this; he knows English. That is what I have to say to you."²⁵

As the leader speaks, the Menomini listeners interject with "m-hm," white man fashion, instead of the usual Menomini interjections; but at the end of the talk they respond with the customary Menomini "naha-w."

9:00 P. M. Unlike the previous meeting, the drum chief now interprets the leader's speech into English, for the benefit of the visitors who do not understand Menomini.

DN: After I put them tools [out], then I call on the one who put up that meeting to explain. . . . The one that put up that meeting, that's the one that explains everything.

9:04 P. M. Dave Williams arises and explains the purpose of the meeting, in English. It is a friendship meeting for friends visiting them from other tribes. He also wants it to be a prayer meeting for their (i.e., the visitors') relatives. "Some are in the hospital; some are in jail, too. . . . At the same time, seems like there's going to be a war, so I ask you to pray for the boys."

9:07 P. M. Clara Williams rises and asks the leader to be excused for the rest of the night, since she has to prepare "the water and the food." Permission being granted, she leaves.

9:08 P. M. The leader turns to the cedar chief and asks him to begin. The cedar chief rises and puts incense on the fire.

Q: Then you turned to Howard [cedar chief] and asked him to begin?

DN: Yes.

Q: What did you say to him?

DN: [Translation] "Now let us start," I told him. So he got up and put that cedar in there.

Q: Does he say a prayer when he smokes the fire?

DN: He's supposed to, but he didn't do it this time. He say it in his heart, when he's doing that.

The cedar chief "smokes" (ne²⁶ ʔtenam: he smokes it)²⁶ the Peyote Chief, which he puts on top of a previously prepared sprig of cedar bough already on the center of the Moon. (Then he should have smoked the whistle and put it against the west central side of the Moon, also on a cedar sprig; but they had forgotten to procure the whistle. Fig. 12.) He again puts incense on the fire, and then smokes the bag of Peyote.²⁷

9:10 P. M. The leader prays with hands clasped in

²⁵ This recorded version is quite different from what he said at the meeting.

²⁶ Objects are smoked by being held over the smoke arising from the burning cedar incense. People are smoked by fanning the smoke in their direction.

white fashion, while all bow their heads.²⁷ The prayer, like all offered during the meeting, is in such a low voice that I cannot hear it. This prayer is supposed to "bless" (saw²⁸ nehtakosam) the bag of Peyote, and is also a request that the purpose of the meeting be fulfilled. During the prayer, the leader breaks down and weeps three different times.²⁸

Q: Will you please give me the prayer you gave?

DN: [Translation] "Well, Great Spirit, our all-in-all father, I thank you. I am again telling you that we have now assembled to pray to you to have pity on us. It is because of this one [Dave Williams] and his wife that this has been started, that we have all come here; it was their idea, so that we might pray to you all night. Well then, that is why I am asking you to have pity on us; because these relatives of ours have arrived here. Well then, you have heard what he [Dave Williams] has said about what he wants; I ask you to help them obtain all of it, just the way they want it. You well know who are related to them on both sides; I ask you to give them all they want; that is the way you will help them. Also, this friend of ours has come to visit us; and they [the visitors] too are thinking about you because they are going to pray. Therefore I ask you to help those that have come to visit us, so they will get along well, so they will live well. That is all I ask of you for all their children, and their relatives, and also that tribe. My brothers and sisters here, from various tribes, hear what I am telling you; they want it the way I am asking you.

"You put all of us here, our all-in-all father, Great Spirit; on this earth which you made so that we might live. You put it in your care so that you could rule over it, and rule over us too. Therefore I pray to you that it will be good, in order that our children can live well. And you put all of this bright sky upon yourself; therefore, I ask you that it will exist well, so that we, and all the others, and our children, may live well here. That is how I pray to you; that perhaps you will help us. I am really poor; I am unable; I cannot even do everything completely; therefore I do not quite know how to ask you. So complete it yourself, all-in-all Great Spirit.

"Jesus Christ, tell me what our all-in-all father, Great Spirit, wants of me.

"And as for this medicine here, that was found here where we live, these [rites] are according to the commandments of Great Spirit, our father, so that we should know what must be done. It is the commandment of our all-in-all father, Great Spirit.

"And again, He really sent you here, Jesus Christ, when you walked around here where we live, in order to teach us the way we should live. Now then, I thank you for teaching us about this medicine.

"Well then, I pray to this medicine, so that we will know how to act as we should according to the commandments of our all-in-all father, Great Spirit. This [Peyote] led the way for us which we should follow; it is a good way, one on which there is light. You [Peyote] are helping us so that we can learn that which we should follow. That is what I am praying for, Peyote. And that you will teach us how to behave when something is tempting us. Also, that when we are ill it [Peyote] will heal us properly, so we will stand up straight, and awaken well. That is what I ask of you; that you will help us.

"I thank Great Spirit, our father, for his commandments from which we have learned.

²⁷ Neither of these gestures is traditional.

²⁸ Such weeping is not part of the ritual. It often occurs, however, when the one praying is deeply moved.

"Well then, I pray that from that [Peyote] which we are about to use, we will live well; from that which we are about to eat, we will obtain for everyone—from all our different tribes—whatever we ask of you.

"Well, then, and may those who recognized your commandments, and try to follow them—Moon, and Howard, and Thomas Wayka—give them good power (*tatahkesen*) so that they will act properly and be able to follow your commandments as our brothers and sisters have asked us, so that we will lead the speaking [i.e., prayers] properly. Now, give them all power, so they will be able to do as I wish, so you will pity us; that is what I pray for.

"Again, our all-in-all father, Great Spirit, who has given us all these days; hold our hands, as you do our souls; lead us to where it is eternally good, to where there is eternal life, to where it is eternally bright, to where it is eternally pleasant, to where our all-in-all father, Great Spirit, lives eternally; so that our souls may live there forever. That is what I am praying for, Jesus Christ; that we may go there.

"Well then, have pity on all that are related to all of us. Whatever ancestors may have lived from the beginning, pity them, our all-in-all father. And all those angels who have pity; have pity on us all; that is what I pray of you. In that way you may help us, Jesus Christ.

"Well, and then consider the way we are here; the way we live here. I have been asked to lead the speaking [i.e., praying] here. You know exactly how poor I am, how weak I am; so I ask you to help me, and to strengthen me. And you know the way my wife, here, is; she is not too well. We cannot work for ourselves; therefore help us; give us power so we may be able properly to help our children to be good. And there are our daughters, and they have children; and our brothers and sisters have their children; help them. And there are still some of our elders; you know how old they are; I ask you to pity them, to let them exist well for a while yet, so that we may see our elders. They are becoming weaker; I give it to you to help them get along well, and to procure for them what they need, and where to live, so that it will be bright; that is what I pray of you.

"I ask you to help us all, as one, where we live; so that it will be bright there, so that we will exist well; that is what I pray of you, Jesus Christ.

"Your name, my Father, and the Son, the Holy Ghost, amen."^{hh}

9:25 P. M. The leader picks up the bag of Peyote, removes four buttons for himself, and then passes it to the drum chief. The latter takes four, and then hands it to the cedar chief. He takes four, and then passes it to the person on his left, and so on around clockwise until it comes back to the drum chief, who takes no more but simply hands the bag to the leader; he in turn places it on the cloth. Each man who has other members of his family with him, hands the bag to them so that they can take Peyote too. Thus everyone now has four buttons each.^{29, ii} As soon as each one has taken his Peyote and passed the bag on, he begins to eat it. Meanwhile the fire chief has swept the fireplace.

9:41 P. M. The leader gives his instructions—in English, for the sake of the visitors. "We're going to

²⁹ At the most solemn occasions, such as doctoring meetings, the leader may tell the people to take two buttons the first time. According to Mitchell Weso, "They done that so the singing could get started quicker, to get the mind off the pain."

start to sing—our prayer—until midnight. I'll ask Thomas [the fire chief] to bring the water and pray. Then recess. When we come inside [again], I want to talk—F———. We'll pass around the Peyote again, and then take as much medicine as you want to."^{jj}

9:44 P. M. The cedar chief arises and puts incense on the fire. The leader hands him the staff, gourd, and sage, which he smokes over the fire and then returns to the leader. Then the drum chief gives him the drum and drumstick, which he also smokes and then returns.

Meanwhile the leader has picked up the bag of Peyote again, takes as much as he wants, passes the bag to the drum chief who does the same, then to the cedar chief (who had returned to his place by then), and so around for the second time. From this point on, those who want it may ask the fire chief for "Peyote tea,"³⁰ which they use instead of the dry buttons. It is made by steeping crumbled buttons in boiling water. Peyote tea is usually drunk at a meeting by women and toothless old men.

The amount of Peyote consumed during the meeting depends upon the individual and the purpose of the rite. Ardent Peyotists eat more than apathetic ones, in order to "learn from Peyote" as much as possible. At the most solemn occasions, such as a doctoring meeting, everyone is supposed to take as much Peyote as he or she can, in order to obtain maximum power for effective prayers on behalf of the sick person.^{31, kk}

After the Peyote has been passed around the second time, the leader is ready to sing. "Peyote always goes ahead of the songs."^{ll}

9:46 P. M. The leader prays again, but I cannot hear a word. During the prayer the drum chief has his head bowed, and holds the drumstick raised before him.³²

Q: Will you please repeat the prayer you gave?

DN: [Translation] "Well, Great Spirit, who is our father, if, in these songs we use, I should not know quite how to recite [the words] some place, help me; have pity on me while I pray [through the songs] to you. And I also pray to you to give us good bright songs to use, so that we may be good and live well from them; that is what we pray to you for, Great Spirit, our father. Your name, my Father, and the Son, the Holy Ghost, amen."

I ask the Almighty to help me. You see, these songs, they're all in a different language, you see . . . I couldn't explain them songs, so maybe I missed some parts. So I asked Almighty to forgive me, if I didn't say full, them songs. That's what I ask Almighty, to help me. That way.

³⁰ There is no Menomini term for this; *maski'hkiwapoh*: medicine liquid, is the name for ordinary tea.

³¹ The following is an extract from my diary for the day after a doctoring meeting for Angeline Neconish:

"I went to visit Angeline, who is still in bed. She told me she had felt better after the meeting, and that she had been able to walk to the car which was to take her home—with help. I asked her what made her feel better. 'I felt their prayers.' Also, 'the Peyote tea [she drank] helped.'"

³² Moon Weso is the only drum chief whom I've seen do this.

9:47 P. M. The leader begins to sing softly the "Starting Song" (as *kew:pe?te:ya? neka:mon:* when we begin song).^{mm}

Starting Song

na:h he:h haywu:cina:yah
 na:h he:h haywu:cina:yah
 ya:y na:h haywu:cina:h
 he:h wu:nah he:h ne:h ne:h
 na:h he:h ne:h ne:h ha:y awu:cina:yah
 na:h he:h ne:h ah awu:cina?
 he:y ye:y o:h we:h
 na:h he:h haywu:cina:yah
 na:h aywu:cina:yah
 na:h he:h ne:h ne:h aywu:cina?
 he:h ye:y o:h we:h

While singing, the leader holds the staff and sage³³ in his left hand, his arm straight, the staff vertical before him and resting on the ground; in his right hand he holds the gourd, which he rattles in time to his song, arm bent, gourd at his side. His eyes are closed, and the singing is done in a low voice. The drum chief "drums for him." After the song is begun, the others who know it, and particularly the drummer, join in "to help out the singer." When through with the Starting Song, the leader proceeds to sing three other songs of his own choice, inspired "by Peyote."ⁿⁿ

When the leader finishes his four songs, it is the turn of the drum chief, then the cedar chief, and so on around in a clockwise direction. They all sing in a similar manner. Only the men sing solo; the women merely "help out"; i.e., join in with the men. Every man sings four solo songs, though the leader alone may sing the four main songs. Each one has his repertory of favorite songs. No song should be sung more than once during the meeting. However, a tyro may find it necessary to sing one already given, because he does not know a sufficiently large number to prevent repetition.

Almost all of the Peyote songs are in languages unknown to the Menomini, though a few men have composed one or two songs in Menomini, which they sing occasionally. However, this is not supposed to make any difference, because Peyote teaches a man the meaning of songs in foreign languages.³⁴ When I was learning to sing non-Menomini songs, one member encouraged me by saying, "You eat enough medicine, and when they sing, you [will] understand them in your own language."

The songs are considered to be "prayer songs," and are compared by the members to the hymns sung in white churches. The attitude is typified by the following piece of advice given me when learning them, "Before you begin [singing], you pray that the Almighty will help your drummer and you. Don't start right in rattling; stop and pray first."^{oo}

³³ At the previous meeting, when Howard Rain was leader, a staff alone was used.

³⁴ In addition, after a meeting visitors from other tribes are often asked to translate songs in their language.

The songs sung during the different parts of the meeting, vary in character. The songs sung before midnight are soft, dreamy, and contemplative.^{pp}

I have mentioned that the singer accompanies himself with the gourd rattle. Between songs, the singer flourishes his rattles; at the end of the fourth song, he uses it for a coda. There are individual variations in the manner of rattling; when I was learning, one man told me, "Everyone rattles the way Peyote teaches him. Like F——; he rattles in a funny way, but I suppose he got it his own way [from Peyote]." The following passage from my diary gives particulars noted while learning.

There are from a half dozen to three dozen beads or other small objects in the gourd, depending upon whether the owner likes it "soft" or "loud." The beads can be rattled or twirled.

In rattling, the tempo is commonly the same as the drum, though some people rattle more slowly; I find it easiest to rattle one beat to every two drum beats. A very few men rattle in the single beat rather than the double beat; the single beat is less usual in rattling than in drumming. Some people use the whole arm in rattling; most rattle from the wrist. There are also various ways of obtaining the double beat. It seems to me that most people do it the way I do: the short beat is achieved by striking the beads against the top side of the gourd on the upward motion, and the long beat by striking them against the bottom side on the downward motion. Nuances are gained by the amount of force with which the gourd is shaken. Planissimo involves a slight amount of force, so that most of the beads remain at the bottom of the gourd; thus only a few beads rattle, and lightly. Fortissimo is achieved by rattling all the beads with maximum force.

Twirling is by means of a rotary motion of the wrist; the beads then revolve against the sides of the gourd. Nuances depend upon the degree and rapidity of the wrist motion. A slight motion, done slowly, will twirl a single bead; a wide and rapid circle twirls all the beads with maximum noise.

The drummer accompanies the singer. He rests the drum on the ground, holding it with the left hand, the thumb pressed on the drumhead. The tone of the drum depends upon the tautness of the rope holding the diaphragm, the angle at which the water in the drum is tipped, the wetness of the buckskin, the air pressure within the drum, and the amount and point of pressure applied by the thumb—also, of course, on the force with which the drumstick hits the diaphragm, and the point at which it strikes. The aim is to produce a particularly reverberating tone. Between songs, the drummer shifts the position of the drum, shaking it so that the water moistens the buckskin; all this time he continues to drum, but more slowly, testing the tone until he finds one which is suitable, after which he begins the fast rhythm again. Occasionally a drummer finds the air pressure too low within the drum; he stops drumming before a song, lifts the drum to his mouth, and blows air into it at the edge of the diaphragm.

The tempo is very fast, and the rhythm either single (— — —) or double (— — —), depending upon one's

taste. The second rhythm is called the "Powwow beat" because of its similarity to the rhythm used in the Powwow. There are individual variations in tempo.

Dairy: S—— told me that E—— "drums right" for him; F—— is "too slow," and L—— "too fast." Though my drummer [a Winnebago visitor] at the last meeting was excellent, his tempo was different from mine, thus confusing me. Afterwards I was told, "Don't worry. Everyone looks around until he finds a drummer that suits him." There is no relation between tempo and excellence. S—— told me of a fellow at Crandon [Chippewa] "who rattles like this," (demonstrating a slow tempo of about 80 beats per minute) "but he's one of the best."

9:51 P. M. Next it is the drum chief's turn to sing. The leader hands the staff, sage, and rattle to him. In a low voice he asks one of his brothers to drum for him.³⁵ The brother rises and walks clockwise toward the place of the man to the drum chief's right, while that man arises and walks clockwise to the brother's place. When the brother is seated, the drum chief hands him the drum with the drumstick on it. At the end of the four songs, the two men return clockwise to their original places.

Theoretically, each man drums for the one at his left, so that first he sings, with the man on his right drumming for him, and then he in turn drums for the man on his left. But often the singer will "call from across," asking someone else to drum for him, in which case that man temporarily exchanges places with the one to the right of the singer,³⁶ the two people returning clockwise to their original places after the four songs are completed. Calling from across occurs when men "are used to each other,"³⁷ to honor a visiting friend, etc. Among the Menomini, the drummer chosen by the singer drums each time the latter sings during the meeting.³⁸

The etiquette connected with calling from across is explained in the following statement:

MW: You probably noticed, if some one from across the hall there comes and drums for me, I'm not going to pass the cane [to the next singer] until he gets [back] to his seat. That's how I'm respecting him.

Most of the people, when not singing, sit quietly in the customary position (at most, they occasionally whisper to one another); some pray, either silently or in a low voice, in their own language. Every now and then they eat some of the Peyote they have taken when the bag was passed around. Most of the people pull out the white fuzz before eating the Peyote; some chew the button, roll it into a ball between the palms of their

hands, and then swallow it themselves, or have the fire chief pass the ball to some friend to swallow. A few drink Peyote tea.

LT: When you got some [Peyote] in your hand—maybe four pieces—and you ask, pray [to] God; and that medicine, you ask that medicine—just when you're going to use it—what you want to know, what you want to cure.

Q: Oh, when you have four pieces of Peyote in your hand, you say a prayer?

LT: Yeah, you ask that one [i.e., Peyote Chief].

Q: What prayer do you say?

LT: [Translation] "Well, Great Spirit, and the Son, who gave us this medicine in order to teach us by means of this Peyote; teach me by means of this medicine. You, Peyote Chief, teach me to live by means of this medicine."

12:04 A. M. After making the round of the tipi, it is the drum chief's turn to sing again. As he does so—

12:10 A. M. The fire chief "cleans up" (pi-neceke-nam: he cleans it) the fireplace. First, he uses the broom. Then, with feathers, he fans away any particles of ash which still remain on the Moon and around the fireplace. With his pokers he forms the "coals" into a slightly elliptical mound between the moon and the fire (fig. 12).³⁹ Then he leaves the tipi.

12:11 A. M. The leader begins to sing the "Midnight Water Song" or "Midnight Song" (ni-pa-tepeh tepa-hekan neka-mon: night time song).⁴⁰

Midnight Water Song

na-h he'h
na-h he'h ne'h
na-h he'h
na-h he'h ne'h
na-h wi-yah no'h
he-yah na-y na'h
he-y ne-y na'h wi-yah no'h
ha-yah na-y na'h
he'h ne'h ne'h
na-h hi-yah no'h
hi-nah ya-y yo'h wi-h
hi-nah na'h
he'h ye-y o'h we'h
ani-h ni-h ta'h
ni-yah no'h
ha-yah na-y na'h
ne'h ne'h no'h
hi-yah no'h
ha-yah na-y na'h
ha-y ne'h ne'h
na-h hi-yah no'h
hi-yah ya-y yo'h wi-h
hi-nah na-y no'h
na-h no'h hi-yah no'h
ha-yah na-y na'h
ha-y ne'h na'h wi-yah yo'h
he-yah na-h na'h
ha-y ne'h yo'h
ya-h he-yah no'h
he-yah ya-y yo'h wi-h
he-yah ya-y
he'h ye-y o'h we'h

After the first phrase of the Midnight Water Song, the cedar chief blows four long and four short blasts

³⁵ At the previous meeting the leader drummed for the drum chief.

³⁶ Except when the cedar chief is to sing. Since the man to his right is the leader, the drummer exchanges places with the man on his left. If the man to drum happens to be sitting at the left of the singer, he remains in his place.

³⁷ Thus, Mitchell Weso became my usual drummer.

on the whistle, while the leader continues to sing.³⁸ When the latter is through with that song, he sings another three.⁴⁰

12:11½ A. M. Meanwhile, the fire chief brings in a "pail" (ahke'h: pail; or kəhko'hseh: small pail) of "water" (nepe-w), and puts it on the ground between the entrance and the fire.⁴¹

12:19 A. M. The cedar chief arises and puts incense on the fire. The fire chief then takes the pail of water to the other end of the tipi, between the leader and the Moon, where he smokes it. Then he returns the pail to its original position, stands in his own place, and prays.⁴²

TW: [Translation] "Well, Great Spirit, our Father, and the Son Jesus (se-sos), and you Holy Ghost who sits in the sky (ke-sek); again I thank you, since it is now my turn to pray on behalf of my brothers and sisters. Mister and Misses Dave Williams [said in English] called us all to assemble because of their relatives who have come here; they erected this house. You gave it to us in order that we might pray to you. Well then, this is what I pray of you; that you will simply have pity and fulfill what they wish; that is why they erected that house which you gave us.

"Well then, their relatives have come here; simply help them and their relatives on both sides. Help them so that they may return from where they came. Give them that sort of power (tata:hkesen) so that they may return; that is what I pray of you, Jesus (ci-sas).

"Well, then, in the same way think of all of us as we sit around here; each one of us, whoever they are; and my brothers and sisters. You know what they are; how they are needy here on earth where you have placed them; the way we live.

"Well, as for these other relatives of yours who have come here; I do not quite know all the names of each one. F—— [one of the Winnebago visitors] help him also; give him strength (me'skowesan), power (tata:hkesen) to live well here as he has been helping himself. Also help his wife, and children, and his relatives on both sides; simply help them; that is what I pray of you.

"And this one, Dewey, the leader, the one who speaks; help him; give him strength so that he will be able to lead as he has been asked to; he speaks to you himself; simply help him. You know him; also how weak he is, living on this earth. Also, help all his relatives on both sides, his children, his brothers; help them all; that is what I pray of you, Jesus (ci-sas). Also his wife; you know her, and the way she lives here; give her power to care for her home. Also have pity on their grandchildren, their daughters, her brothers; help them.

"And also this one, my friend Ke-so? (Moon [Weso]); help him too. You know him, and the way he lives here on earth, and the way he cares for his home; the way he intends working for his wife and children; all that he does to care for them properly. Give him that kind of power also. And to his brothers as well, who are related to him; help them all by giving them power; that is what I pray of you, Jesus (ci-sas). Also help his sister Ma neyan [Marian, Louis Thunder's wife]; that is what I pray of you, Jesus Christ [said in English].

"Well then, and this one, my friend Howard Rain [said in English], Pe-wehsen (Bird Settling Down); you know him, and the way he lives on earth; his wife, his father,

³⁸ Most leaders usually blow the whistle themselves before they begin singing the Midnight Water Song.

his mother, and his relatives on both sides; help them all; that is what I pray of you, Jesus Christ.

"Well then, and also me myself; you know me, the way I live on this earth. Be sure to help me perform correctly that which I have been asked to do, to care for this fire for them; that is what I pray of you. Order your angels to come here, to fan this house which you gave us, where we pray, so that I can achieve this which I have been asked to do, to care for this fire for them. And simply help me well, for a while, so that I can learn more in order to pray to you Jesus (ci-sas).

"Well then, those others who are my friends in prison, whatever the length of their sentence, however long they will be kept there, let them be cared for; that is what I pray of you, Jesus Christ; help them. Well then, some of them are in the hospital; some of them must feel sad; they want to feel well; therefore I ask you to take care of them on earth; give them power so that eventually they will be able to stand straight again; that is what I pray of you. And I pray to you for that kind of power for myself, Jesus.

"Well, and now regarding this water here, which you gave us; you prepared it properly for us. Help this, which is so good, to come into us and wash away whatever sickness we have, whatever loneliness we have, whatever failure we have, whatever weakness we have from any illness; that is what I pray of you, Jesus. Well then, regarding this water which you gave us; whatever we see growing here, let it be good; bless it so that we may use well whatever it is that grows; make it good for us; that is what I pray of you, Jesus Christ.

"Well then, everything that I have told you [plural] about; that is what I pray of you [plural]. That one, the Great Spirit the father, and the son Jesus, you Holy Ghost who sits in the sky, amen."³⁹

12:30 A. M. The fire chief brings the pail of water to the leader, and puts it down in front of him. The leader then dips his feathers into the water, shakes them over his head toward each of the four cardinal points, and then brings them down with a shaking motion. He dips a special silver cup into the pail, and drinks from it. He hands the pail and cup to the drum chief, who drinks and pours the last drop of water on the drumhead. Then the leader hands the pail and cup to the cedar chief, who drinks, and pours the last drop into his cupped hand. He then goes through the motions of washing his hands with the drop of water, and then puts his hand through his hair, on his chest, and knees. When through, the cedar chief passes the pail and cup to the man on his left, and so on around; when a man has other members of his family behind him, he gives them a cup of water; some of the others also go through the motions of washing, while others do not. Some of the men also rub the water on the case containing their own drumsticks.⁴³

12:43 A. M. The pail and cup have made the rounds and are back to the leader. The leader takes the cup and puts it on the cloth before him, while the fire chief picks up the pail of water and takes it outside the tipi.

³⁹ This and many of the other prayers recorded were abbreviated, even though I asked for the complete versions. At the meetings, every one of the long prayers I could hear contained references to each person present, and their relatives.

Q: What is done with the water left over?

DN: They take it in the house. They use it; sometime make tea; put more water in there and make more tea. You don't throw it away. There's blessing in there. You keep it good, and keep it nice.

Q: They do that with the morning water, too?

DN: Yes. Everybody drink that. . . . You don't want to throw it away. It got power in there, and blessing; so all have blessing.

12:44 A. M. The leader announces a "recess" (nawa:c apew: he is there for a while). Most people leave the tipi, in no particular order, but clockwise as usual. This includes some of the women who absent themselves until dawn in order to help prepare the food in the house. But some of the men and women remain seated.^{xx}

Q: Will you please repeat what you said?

DN: [Translation] "If someone wants to go outside for a while, they may do so for a little while. Then, after all of you return, I will ask F—— to talk, to narrate to us. When that is finished, we will again start to pray, to sing, and to use this medicine."

2. "MIDNIGHT" TO "THREE O'CLOCK"

This period is spoken of as "after midnight," and lasts until the "three o'clock stop." This part of the rite does not have an independent meaning. However, it is a period of greater emotional intensity, for the Peyote has had time to produce its effect; "the Peyote is working on us."

12:55 A. M. All the people have now returned to the tipi and resumed their places.

12:58 A. M. F—— arises and speaks on the significance of Peyotism. Before the Peyote religion came, the different Indian tribes warred with one another. Now, Peyote brings the members of the different tribes together, to worship together as friends.

His brief speech is then interpreted into English by the drum chief, for the benefit of the visitors.^{xy}

1:11 A. M. The leader picks up his staff, gourd, and feathers (instead of the sage used before midnight).^{zz}

1:12 A. M. The cedar chief arises and puts incense on the fire. He is handed the bag of Peyote by the leader, and smokes it; then the staff, gourd, and feathers. The drum chief gives him the drum and drumstick, which he also smokes. He then puts more incense on the fire.

1:13 A. M. The leader announces that anyone who wants to smoke his own tools may do so now. This is translated into English by the drum chief for the benefit of the visitors.

Q: What did you say?

DN: [Translation] "Well, if anyone wants to smoke his tools, he should smoke them now."

The others then take out their feathers, and gourds and drumsticks if they have any, and hold them towards the fire.^{aaa}

While the others are smoking their tools, the leader

passes around the bag of Peyote for the third time, each one helping himself to as much as he wishes. Some people bring their own Peyote, to use after midnight in case there isn't enough.^{bbb}

1:14 A. M. The leader gives direction for the period ending at three o'clock. The singing is to go on again until that time (i.e., there is to be a second round). If, during this period, anyone wants some more Peyote (besides what he has taken the third time), he should ask the fire chief for it.^{ccc}

This is translated into English for the benefit of the visitors, by the cedar chief.

Q: Will you please repeat what you said?

DN: [Translation] "Oh, now we will start to pray again. And this medicine will go around again, so that anyone may take as much as he wishes. Well, this stick [the staff] is coming here, and we will sing when it comes. And then I will ask Howard [cedar chief] to pray, so that he will speak for us about all that I have told you. Well then, in order to know how, let us start again. That is all."

1:18 A. M. The second round of songs is begun by the cedar chief, followed by the man on his left, and so on around.^{ddd}

After midnight the singer or drummer may use his own tools, if he wishes. For feathers, he need not ask permission; he simply adds his own to the leader's feathers he holds in his left hand. As to the gourd, the singer asks permission from the leader before using his own. "Otherwise he'll think you don't care for him; you don't even want to sing with his gourd." Once permission is granted, the singer adds the leader's gourd to the tools held in the left hand, and rattles with his own gourd in his right.^{eee}

There is greater intensity of emotion in the singing and drumming during the round after midnight. Also, more people murmur prayers during the singing.^{fff}

Occasionally the fire chief leaves the tipi, and returns with Peyote tea for someone.

Anyone who has to leave the tipi during the meeting (usually to go to the privy or to vomit) first asks permission from the leader, or, if he is busy, from the cedar chief or drum chief. Gestures are used, to minimize any disturbance. While the singing is going on, the person is supposed to leave, or return to, his place in the pause between singers, and with as little disturbance as possible.^{ggg}

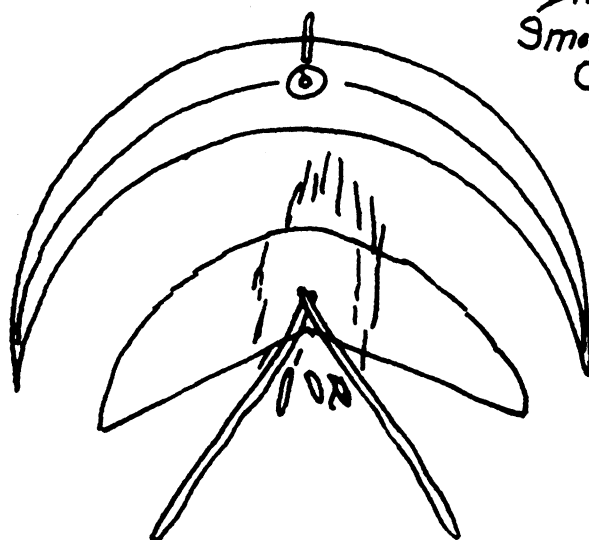
3:30 A. M. The fire chief begins building up the fire, and cleaning the fireplace with broom and feathers. With his pokers, he shapes the coals between the Moon and fire into a crescent whose convex side is parallel to the concave side of the Half Moon (fig. 13).^{hhh}

3:33 A. M. The round of songs has ended with those of the leader. He now tells the cedar chief to pray.

Q: Will you please repeat what you said here?

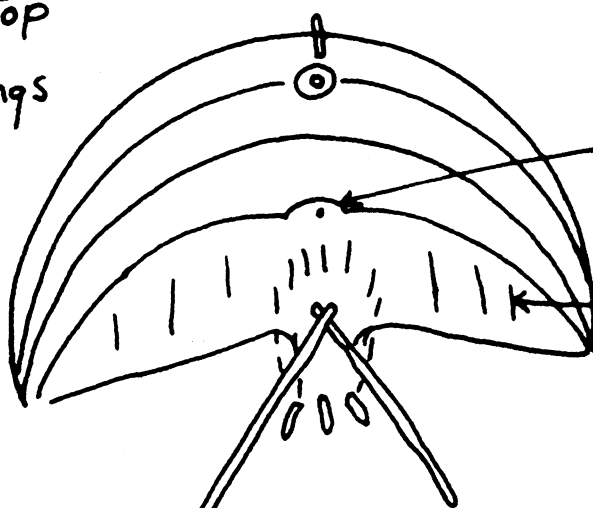
DN: [Translation] "At the beginning [of part two of the rite] I said I would ask him [the cedar chief] to pray later. It has now come. So he will begin praying, in order to speak for us. When he has finished, we will start

3 o'clock stop



Entire group
Smoked by Cedar
Chief with
Cedar incense
including tools

Morning Stop
Woman brings
Water



Indentation
To represent
head

Marks in
coals to
Represent
feathers



cross mark



Water



blanket
for woman who
brings in water

FIG. 13. Altar at three o'clock and in the morning. (Traced from drawing by Mitchell Weso.)

again; we will sing again. When it [the singing] comes back [to the leader], then we will be done."

LT: [If there are so many singers that the second round is not completed by approximately three o'clock] that fellow, he [who] was holding [the] outfits there [to sing next] grab[s] that [i.e., pauses until the three o'clock stop has been performed; then he] start[s] singing, go[es] on again.

3:34 A. M. The cedar chief stands up and prays; as usual, in such a low voice that I can't hear him. He breaks down and cries twice during his prayer. At the end, everyone says, "m-hm" instead of the traditional "naha-w."

DN: That's the time that cedar chief says the prayers—all he can. He prays for all relations, that they'll get along good.

Q: Is there a special prayer, or does the cedar chief make up his own prayer?

DN: All he can; all he can—that's what he's going to ask Almighty; all that's in his mind.

3. "THREE O'CLOCK" TO "SUNRISE"

This period is spoken of as "morning." The earlier part is of greatest emotional intensity, for the Peyote produces its maximum effect; in the later part the influence of the Peyote begins to wear off. Towards the end, there is a communion meal.

3:50 A. M. The leader gives his instructions for the period lasting to sunrise.

Q: What did you say?

DN: [Translation] "When the sun rises we will stop." . . . Then they start again, and then when they get here [to the leader's place] again, the sun is coming up, and he's got to stop.

Q: Why does the meeting end at sunrise?

DN: Well, they got to drink water, and they got to eat. Everything is coming at that time in the morning, everything.

3:51 A. M. The cedar chief arises and puts incense on the fire. He smokes the leader's feathers, and then, with the feathers, fans the smoke on the Peyote Chief, the whistle, and all those present.ⁱⁱⁱ

3:53 A. M. The leader starts the fourth round of Peyote, preliminary to the third round of songs.

This time many of the people don't take any Peyote, simply passing the bag of Peyote to the next person.^{jjj}

3:54 A. M. The third round of songs is again begun by the cedar chief.

The songs sung during this period are faster, brighter, and more cheerful than the earlier ones. Soon dawn breaks, and the blue sky can be seen through the top opening of the tipi. The birds begin to sing outside, making a gay accompaniment to the songs being sung. After finishing his four songs, the singer fans first the drummer, and then himself, with the feathers.^{kkk}

The prayers murmured by many people during this period are accompanied with weeping. For the members reflect upon their past behavior, condemn their

sins, beg God's forgiveness, resolve to reform, and ask God and Jesus to help them "travel the Peyote road."

5:40 A. M. The fire chief builds up the fire for the last time, and cleans the fireplace with broom and fan. He puts the final touches on the bird he has been gradually shaping the coals into, between the Half Moon and the fire (fig. 13). This bird is called a "dove" (omi-ni-w: dove or pigeon); varying with the individual it symbolizes the Holy Ghost, the Waterbird, the Thunderbirds, or a combination of them.^{lll}

5:45 A. M. While the drum chief is singing, the leader's wife leaves the tipi. The fire chief spreads cedar boughs on the ground between the fire and the tipi entrance. Then, with one of his two pokers, he draws a deep cross in the earth, between the boughs and the fire (fig. 13).^{mmm}

5:56 A. M. After the drum chief is through singing, and while the fire chief is still engaged in his preparations, the leader begins to sing the "Morning Water Song" (mi:p neka:mon nepe:w: early morning water song; or, mi:p neka:mon: early morning song).ⁿⁿⁿ

Morning Water Song

wi-nah hawi-nah hawi-yah
ya-y na-y na'h hawi-h ne'h
ya-y na-y na'h hawi-h ne'h
o-kahe-h o-kahe-h
ya-ha-ha-h ya-ha-ha-h
ha-y yo-wonah yo-wenah
ha-y ye-y yo'h we'h
ya-y na-h na'h hawi-h ye'h
ya-y na-y na'h hawi-h ne'h
o-kahe-h
ya-ha-ha-h ya-ha-ha-h
ha-y yo-wonah yo-wenah
ha-y ye-y yo'h we'h

After the leader has sung the first phrase of the Morning Water Song, the cedar chief rises and blows four long and four short blasts on the whistle, during which the leader continues his song. Then the leader sings three more songs of his own choice.

5:58 A. M. While the leader is singing his second song, his wife returns, carrying a pail of water. She puts the pail on the ground between the cross and the cedar boughs, and kneels on a blanket placed on the boughs by the fire chief. She holds feathers in her hand.^{ooo}

6:00 A. M. The cedar chief puts incense on the fire. He smokes the whistle and replaces it against the Half Moon. The leader, then the leader's wife, and then the rest of the people, extend the hands to the fire, and then to their chests.^{ppp}

6:02 A. M. The leader's wife prays inaudibly. She cries at various points in her prayer.

Q: Will you please repeat your prayer for me?

AN: [Translation] "Well, Great Spirit, thanks. Now again I tell you that we have all come here because Dave Williams and his wife have thought about you; their relatives here are visiting them. So we pray of you that they will be well, and to have pity on them so their relatives who

are here will travel well; they are going home; they came to visit us; simply help them, and give them whatever will make their children well.

"And also help them so that there will be brightness here. And you are the one who has angels that have pity, my father, Great Spirit. I ask you [angels] to come here and fan us, so that they [the people] here will be well, and live quietly. And obtain for Dave Williams and Clara what they and their children need to be well.

"Well, you know us and the way we live here; each of us does not live so well here. So I also ask you, here—I have been asked to pray to you, our father, Great Spirit—simply help us, have pity on us, according to whatever we have asked you for, all night here; so that we may live on, and also our children, and all our relatives, and our elders; I ask you to help them. Well, you know us, the way we live here. We do not know exactly what is tempting us here; therefore we depend on you alone, Great Spirit. You are the one who knows us here, the way we sit where we have been asked, and have all used that [medicine].

"And also Moon Weso; you know him too, and the way he is; his wife and their children; their grandchild too. Simply help them; make them stand erect where there is brightness, so that they will be well, so that they will live well in the future; obtain whatever will be good for them.

"And also Howard Rain, and his wife, and his relatives on both sides, and his wife's relatives too. I ask you simply to have pity on them, to have pity on their elders still living. That is why I depend upon you here, Great Spirit, for everything; you know correctly the way we live here.

"And also all of us; you know how we exist, and what it is that we want of you. We depend upon you, Jesus (ci-sas); simply help us. Well, you also know us; we do not live well. And I am not quite able to tell you everything that we want here, in order to live.

"And also there is still another one of my relatives, Thomas Wayka. They asked him to work all night for us. You know him, the way he lives. And there is his wife too; there are his brothers and his sister; and all his relatives; I ask you too to help them. You know the way they are; you know they are not well since their elders left them here [i.e., died]. Please, then, I am also asking you, Great Spirit, to please help them. And I wish you would give them power (tata-hkesen) to come to us; please talk to them.

"And some of our brothers and sisters are still in the hospital. And I ask you, Great Spirit, to please help them also; drive away whatever bothers them as they live here. And also, some of our children are in prison, and I ask you to help them also. Then too, perhaps some of our brothers and sisters [i.e., Peyotists in other places] are sitting this way and praying to you, asking whatever they want; please fulfill it for them. You are filled with pity; that is why we depend upon you only, Great Spirit, my father, Jesus, and the Holy Ghost.

"Well, then, you know everything perfectly; that is why we now ask you to please have pity on me, even though I do not think myself quite good enough to tell you what these brothers and sisters of mine want.

"Regarding this water which is here, I ask you to put your power in it; make it bright, and something which will cleanse us as we live. Therefore I ask you to please put your power in there for us; we are going to use it here. Let it wash away [all evil], so that we will think of something good, and that we will daily think of you, Great Spirit, our father. And our children are also going to use it here; I ask you to let it help them too, so that they will grow and live well. You have put such power in this water you gave us.

"And from what we have learned, you put everything here which lives on this earth; let everything that we see here grow well. And so I ask you, have pity on us.

"And also, you know me too, the way I am; that I am not living in good health. That is why I depend upon you alone each day, so that you will help me.

"And also, our elders have left us here; I ask you to have pity on them, wherever they are suffering. Hold their hands for us, please put their souls where there is eternal life, where there is eternal brightness; have pity on them for me.

"I do not know all that I should tell you; I am too unable.

"And if any of us here have committed some wrong, or spoken evil of anyone, please give us the power to put it aside; that is what I ask, my father, and Jesus, and the Holy Ghost.

"And also I ask you to let it be good. That's all I am able to do here about telling you about how poorly we live.

"Well, there is one, our sister M——, who is still in prison. And I ask you to help her; have pity on her for us. Let it be well with her also, in the prison where she is suffering; give her too, our sister, power in order to think well, that is what I ask of you, Great Spirit; please have pity on her for us.

"I really do not think myself quite able to tell you as I should about how poor these brothers and sisters of mine are. You know that is why we depend on you alone to give us your power. That is why I think about your name daily; and when we want something from you, I also think about your name. This is all I am able to do concerning that which my brothers and sisters here have asked me to help them do.

"And there is also this one, our brother F—— [a Winnebago visitor], and his relatives, his children here that have come to visit us; help them to return home again.

"And also this one, J—— [the Fox visitor], who came here. I ask you to let him return well from where he came, and to see his relatives well.

"Give that kind of power to these, my brothers and sisters here who have spoken to you all night; that is what I ask of you, my father, Jesus, and the Holy Ghost.

"That is all that I am able to say to you, concerning what they asked me to talk to you about. That is all that I am able to do, and this is what I ask myself, here. 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, amen.' [This last sentence said in English.]"

[Comments in English:] [I] say a prayer towards the Almighty; that's what I think in my own ideas, you know. Anyway, that's the way I feel. I feel sorry for myself when I pray. I like to pray for everyone, and it don't make no difference who it is; that's the way I feel when I say my prayers. I feel sorry for myself. I try to say it, and then again I'm not worthy of it; that's the way I think. Sometimes I can't even say something; it kind of chokes me.

6:13 A. M. After the leader's wife has finished her prayer, the leader picks up the silver cup from the cloth before him, and passes it around to his wife.⁴⁰ She dips it in the pail of water, pours a little in the center of the cross on the ground, and drinks the rest. Then she hands the pail and cup to the person on her left, and so around.^{40a}

At this point some women and children are escorted

⁴⁰ MW: That cup passing from the leader, that was supposed to be done before. That ain't a part of the ceremony in there. That's supposed to have been passed there before. Or even, she could have had it with her, and neglected to have it with her.

into the tipi by the fire chief, so that they may drink the water and eat the "Peyote breakfast." The women are usually those who had left the tipi at midnight in order to help prepare the food. The children are youngsters who have slept in the sponsor's house during the night, where they are cared for and dressed by the women present.^{rr}

As before, each person dips the cup into the pail of water, drinks, pours the last drop into his cupped hand, and goes through the motions of washing. When the pail and cup come to the drum chief, he again puts the last drop on the drumhead. The leader, as before, dips his feathers into the pail of water, holds them above his head and sprinkles the water in the direction of each of the four cardinal points, and then lowers the feathers with a shaking motion.

6:24 A. M. The pail of water and cup are now back to the leader's wife. She again places the pail on the ground between the cedar boughs and the cross, and walks around the fireplace while the fire chief picks up the blanket and cedar boughs. When she returns to the pail, she picks it up and leaves the tipi, while the fire chief spreads a cloth runner on the ground between the tipi entrance and the cross. He too then leaves the tipi.^{41, sss}

6:27 A. M. The leader's wife returns with a refilled pail of water, and places it on the runner, nearest the fire. The fire chief, from outside the tipi, then hands her three "dishes" (ona'kanan) previously prepared at the sponsor's house: corn (wa'pamen),⁴² fruit (se-wenan),⁴³ and meat (me'ceme'hsh), in that order; she places them on the runner one after the other, behind the pail of water (fig. 14). Each bowl contains a table-spoon. This is the "Peyote breakfast" (mi'p me'ceh-siya?: we eat in the early morning). It is a communion meal.^{ttt}

When all the dishes are properly arranged, the leader's wife goes back to her original place in the tipi.

6:29 A. M. The leader gives his instructions, using English for the benefit of the visitors. "I want to thank Dave Williams and his wife for putting me in this place here [i.e., selecting him as leader]. Moon [the drum chief] is to say the prayer. Then anyone who wants to say something can talk. Then I'll sing four songs. Then I want J—— [the guest of honor] to pray for the food."

⁴¹ MW: When the lady takes the water out, there's a pause in there before she brings that stuff back in. That time, some of them—I've seen it that way—I've seen some pause just long enough so everybody can rise up, and fix their seats over, and stretch—stretch their legs—stand up, and fix their blankets, wake up everybody, and sit down. [I haven't seen any men in the circle sleep during the meeting. But a few of the women, and most of the children, do sleep.]

Q: Is that ever done among the Menomini here?

MW: No. We done it once or twice, that way.

⁴² Commercially canned corn was used.

⁴³ Commercially canned white cherries were used.

6:30 A. M. The drum chief arises and goes to the cedar chief, who gives the former the bag of incense. The drum chief then puts incense on the fire.

6:31 A. M. The drum chief stands at his place and prays. Most of the prayer is inaudible, but from the snatches I do hear, he is praying for each one of those present, and their relatives. When he has finished his prayer, he again puts incense on the fire, returns the bag of incense to the cedar chief, picks up the leader's feathers, smokes them, and then fans everyone with the smoke.

6:43 A. M. The leader announces that the meeting is open to all; this is not translated.

Q: What did you say at this point?

DN: [Translation] "Well, if anyone wants to say something, it is now open to speak; also if anyone wishes to pray. Today is the kind of day on which we pray. When that is completed, we are through. After that we will talk. Then I want to ask J—— to speak [i.e., pray] for these dishes. When he is done, we will eat. That is what I have to say to you."

Clara Williams stands up and speaks in English, saying that she is glad to have her visitors, and thanks the members for their help in putting up a meeting. She says that she will serve [the post-ritual] breakfast later on, in the tipi.

One of the Winnebago visitors arises and speaks in English. Among other things he says, "We made our confession outside. We leave all our evils behind. We come in with a clear conscience. . . . We have no one to look to but God himself." He then presents J——, the guest of honor, with a handkerchief upon which is painted a tipi; he asks J—— to use it as a cloth if he ever leads a meeting.

Two Menomini then arise in succession, and in Menomini thank the Williams' for putting up the meeting.^{uuu}

7:05 A. M. The leader sings four songs, the last of which is the "Quitting Song" (po-ne'ta? neka'mon: we stop acting song).^{44, vvv}

Quitting Song

wi-h kayu-cini-h kayu-cina-yah
 awi-h kayu-cini-h kayu-cina-yah
 awi-h kayu-cini-h kayu-cina-yah
 awi-h kayu-cini-h kayu-cina?
 a-y e-y o'h we'h

7:09 A. M. The drum chief unties the drum. He puts the charcoal from the drum into the ashes of the

⁴⁴ At some meetings, another man who is a Peyote leader will spontaneously blow his own whistle during the Quitting Song. This is explained in the following incident:

While Louis [Thunder] was singing the Quitting Song, Howard [Rain] blew his own whistle. M—— [a Winnebago Peyote leader] had done the same at the previous meeting. After the meeting I asked Louis about it. He said, "When the singing is going nice, the singing is way up [in key], the whistle goes up with it."

Dewey Neconish has a possibly different interpretation:

DN: If somebody had that whistle, they could blow that too; [he's] glad, he helps; that's why he blows that too.

fire, and then pours the water from the drum along the top of the Half Moon.^{www}

7:15 A. M. The leader wraps his tools in the cloth on which they have lain. The fire chief takes them out of the tipi. Then the other men put their own tools back in their cases.^{xxx}

7:17 A. M. The fire chief returns and goes to his place.

7:18 A. M. The leader asks the guest of honor to "pray for the food." The dishes constituting the communion meal represent the major kinds of food considered important for life, and the prayer is an appeal to the Great Spirit to provide them in abundance.

J—— stands, and in English briefly thanks everyone for the honor. Holding a single eagle feather in his hands,⁴⁵ he then proceeds to pray in his own language (Fox), in a low voice, like the others. But I can hear snatches, and Fox is enough like Menomini so that I can catch the drift. He prays for the food; and then for each of those present, their children and relatives, and also for some of his own relatives and friends not at the meeting.^{yyv}

7:29 A. M. The Peyote breakfast begins. The fire chief hands the person to his left the pail of water and cup, the corn, fruit, and meat, in that order. Everyone takes a drink of water and one or more spoonful of the food in each bowl; when through, it is passed to the next person.^{zzz}

While the food is going around, the fire chief announces that a collection will be taken to help defray the expenses incurred by the Williams for the meeting, since Dave Williams had been unemployed the week before. A cup is passed around for the purpose, and \$3.89 collected.

7:54 A. M. The water and the food have gone around and are replaced on the runner, but in reverse order (fig. 14).^{aaaa}

Everyone stands up. The cedar chief puts incense on the fire. He picks up the Peyote Chief and the whistle, and smokes them. He then gives the two sprigs of cedar, upon which they have lain, to the guest of honor.^{bbbb}

7:55 A. M. The leader prays, inaudibly.^{cccc}

Q: Will you please repeat your prayer?

DN: [Translation] "Well, Great Spirit, our father, thanks. Now I ask of you here, let us live. Well then, I pray of you, inasmuch as these brothers and sisters of mine have done everything; for whatever they have asked of you, for whatever they have prayed of you, you will surely have proper pity on all of them; obtain for them whatever good we have asked for. So we thank you now. Well then, that all of us will be good, that all of us will live well; that our children will be good, that they will live well; that is what I ask. And since now, on this day, you have brought us here again, therefore we depend upon you for everything. I put it all completely in your hands, to lead us every day.

⁴⁵ Some of the Menomini have been given these single eagle feathers, but I have never seen them used at meetings.

"That is what I am able to pray of you. For these, my brothers and sisters, have asked me myself to pray to you. Well, 'in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, amen.' "[This last said in English.]

7:56½ A. M. The leader announces that the meeting is over.

Q: What did you say at the end?

DN: [Translation] "That is all; we have finished. Thanks, Great Spirit."

[To the people:] "Well, we will go out. That is all."

Exit everyone clockwise, in the order of seating, the fire chief first. They smoke themselves as they pass the north side of the fire, on their way out.^{daaa}

This has been an unusually late ending, because the leader has allowed long pauses between the various parts of the rite.⁴⁶

F. MEALS

The rite itself is finished when the people leave the tipi. But the meeting is far from over; the social part now begins. In fact, this is about the only social occasion enjoyed by the Menomini Peyotists, and is therefore looked forward to. The men break up into groups and chat about Peyote matters, particularly with visitors from other tribes. The women go to the sponsor's house to help prepare the meals, and to converse by themselves. The children play together.

8:00 A. M. After leaving the tipi, the people stand about and chat for a while. Then the women go to the Williams' house to finish preparing the food. Everyone washes up. The men then lounge about until breakfast is announced.^{eeee}

9:12 A. M. Breakfast is announced and the people return to the tipi. They enter in no particular order, but resume the places they had during the night.

9:25 A. M. The leader, in English, asks the guest of honor's oldest son to "pray for breakfast." Since he says that he doesn't know how, his father prays for him, in Fox. I can't hear his prayer.^{ffff}

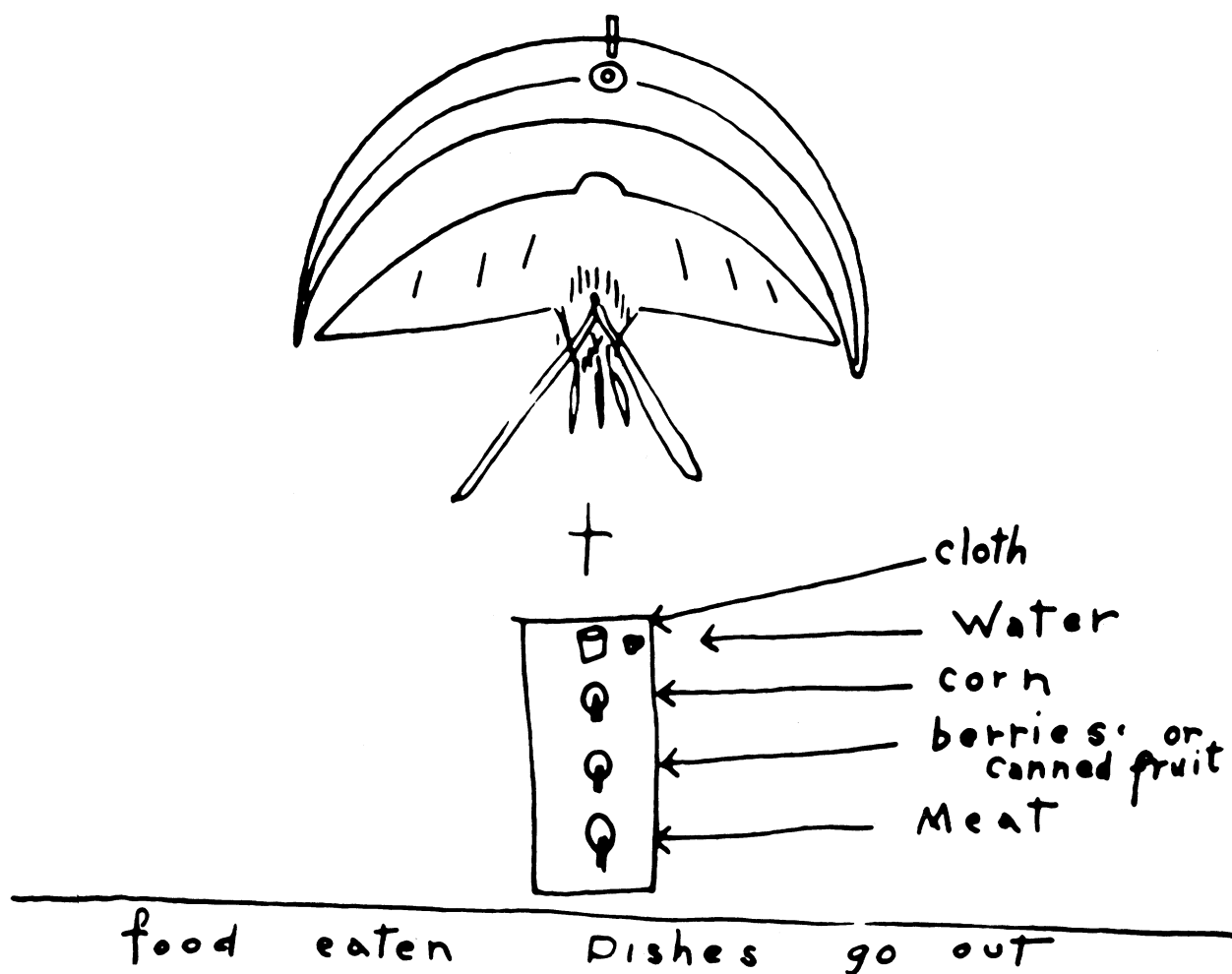
9:28 A. M. Breakfast is served by the fire chief and two assistants selected by him. It consists of ham salad sandwiches on white bread, sweet rolls, commercial cookies, cake, and coffee.^{gggg}

9:52 A. M. Breakfast is over, and the people leave the tipi. Most of the women go back to the house to prepare dinner. Meanwhile, the men lounge about and chat, both inside ⁴⁷ and outside the tipi. The following

⁴⁶ As has been said, ideally, the meeting should end at sunrise. Actually, it is over anywhere from 5:00–8:00 A. M.

⁴⁷ TW: By rights the fireman, he's got the whole say of that tipi there. If anybody wants to come in there and lay down—"I want to come in and lay down"—well, you give him that privilege. If anybody wants to smoke, well, it's outside where they're supposed to smoke, see. Or anything like that. If anybody wants to come in there and lay down, or sit around in there, talk nice, well, that's the place to come and do it. But to come in there and smoke, or something like that, they can do it outside. I noticed this fellow; he come in there, he smoked,

food is brought in



Note
places of dishes
is reversed

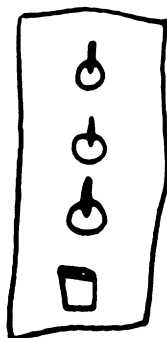


FIG. 14. Arrangement of food at Peyote breakfast. (Traced from drawing by Mitchell Weso.)

are a couple of characteristic incidents that occurred in the men's group during this period, at different meetings.

While we were lounging in the tipi, waiting for dinner, some of us were chatting and joking. While on the topic of hunting, D—— asked me, "What would you call an animal half bear and half deer?" Everyone laughed at this question. I thought for a moment, and answered, "aw^{eh}sh^{eh}-ap^{eh}shos" (bear-deer). The people around smiled, and said it was a pretty good answer to a crazy question. D—— countered with "aw^{eh}shos," and everyone burst into guffaws. F—— suggested "ap^{eh}sh^{eh}" and that too set them in stitches.

During the wait between breakfast and dinner, outside the tipi, I saw Mitchell [Weso] learning a Winnebago Peyote song from a member of that tribe who was present at the meeting; the latter translated it into English for him, and as the two were off to one side, began singing it together. Mitchell had liked it when the Winnebago sang it. A few minutes later I saw Louis Thunder teaching another Winnebago a song that the former had sung during the night; they were singing it together a few times, with Louis coaching. It was a fine example of diffusion taking place before my eyes.

As far as the women's activities are concerned, I have to rely upon my wife's diary, reporting a doctoring meeting for Angeline Neconish.

After the breakfast I hung around A—— and her friend. I asked whether there was anything we could do to help Mrs. [Louis] Thunder [at whose house the meeting was held]. She replied, "No, she has several girls." Then A—— said, "I guess I'll go over and tease my family." Later I went over where she was talking to several of her family—she was laying down the law to several of the men. I don't recall the subject now, but I recall feeling as if I were hearing a WCTU'er.

I looked in the kitchen and found Mrs. [Howard] Rain sitting alone. We chatted briefly, and then I said I thought I'd go to see Angeline. She came too, and we sat in the tipi for a while. Two of the women . . . had been sitting with Angeline since soon after the meeting. Angeline was holding court and getting all kinds of advice on her health both physical and spiritual from everyone including Louis Thunder [who had led the meeting].

I then went back to the house where Julia Thunder [Louis Thunder's daughter] was working on the dinner. Mitchell Weso's daughters were peeling the boiled potatoes for a salad. They let me dice dill pickles for it. The girls were asking each other about how many buttons of peyote each had taken—one apiece. They also talked about B——.

Mrs. Thunder spoke about how much she enjoyed feeding a crowd. "It was so much nicer than feeding her big family." One of the Weso girls said, "Yes, your family

but I didn't want to—because he was from a different tribe—I didn't want to tell him to put out that cigarette, or take it outside and smoke that. But he should know, because he's been using that [medicine] longer'n I have. He was supposed to know; that's what I thought to myself, "You used that longer'n I did, and you're supposed to know." And I noticed that he was the only one that smoked, smoked a cigarette. I didn't want to go tell him, and hurt his feelings, see, because he's from a different tribe. So I thought to myself, "Well, he was supposed to know that," see? So I didn't bother him; I just looked at him.

always is critical of what you serve them but guests are more polite." . . .

Two big iron pots of soup were boiling outside over open fires. One was venison and the other was vegetable with a beef stock. This one had spaghetti or noodles in it. Also several cans of tomato had been added. The meal consisted of the soup, potato salad, bread, canned peaches and coffee. Each person brought his own cups and plates. Extra paper plates and cups were supplied [for those who had brought none].

11:30 A. M. The fire chief and an assistant chosen by him take the ashes from the fireplace, "tear the Moon down" and spread the sand from which it was made over the fireplace area, and put cedar boughs on top.⁴⁸ They then bring the pots of food from the house, putting them on the cedar boughs spread over the fireplace.^{hhhh}

12:10 P. M. Dinner is announced, so all re-enter the tipi and sit in their original places. Clara Williams, in English, asks one of the Winnebago visitors to "pray for dinner," and he in turn asks his young daughter to pray. She does so, in Winnebago, which I don't understand.

AN: See, he was glad that we offered him to say the prayer, but he thought more of his little girl. "She never refuses when you ask her to do anything; so I'm going to hand it to my girl, so she can offer the prayer."

12:20 P. M. Dinner is served by the fire chief and assistants. Since I had to leave at 12:30 P. M., I do not know how long the meal lasted. After the dinner is over, the meeting is considered over too, and all go home.

Q: You know, I had to leave soon after dinner was served. At the other meeting, after we were through eating, everyone simply left, and that was all. Is there something special that's said or done after dinner is finished?

AN: No, there's nothing said. Ain't it?

DN: No.

AN: Oh, that man talked there.

DN: Yeah.

AN: He talked a long time.

Q: But that isn't necessary, is it?

DN: No.

AN: No.

Q: Who spoke?

AN: F—— [a Winnebago visitor]. . . . See, he was glad that we offered him to say the prayer, but he thought more of his little girl. . . . He says then, "That was very nice," he said, "that you people thought that much of us," he said. "Where we come from, they don't think nothing of us,⁴⁹ there," he said, "but here, we can come here and think we're someone," he said. "That sure is nice," he said. That's the words he told us after dinner was over. And he said, "When we go back home, we're going to take all this blessing, and all these prayers that have been said for us. We're going to take it back home to the rest of my family," he said, "and going to tell them about what a nice meeting we had all night with you folks here." And he said he hoped that we all live and see one another again, the next time we meet, he said.

⁴⁸ This is not done when dinner is eaten out of doors, a more common practice.

⁴⁹ Actually, he is a Peyote leader.

Q: And then the meeting was over?

AN: Then we still had supper. Some of us had stayed; there was still enough food left from dinner. So we just put that all on, and fed the ones that was here. Then we came home.

DN: After they're through, at dinner time, that is all. That's all. It's done. Then they start that tent—how you call it?

Q: The tipi is taken down?

DN: Yeah.

VIII. INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS

In this chapter is presented a representative sample of individual accounts of Peyotism.¹

In terms of the theoretical considerations presented in Chapter I, they are of interest in showing the range of individual differences in attitudes toward their religion by members of a primary group. Some are profound, while others are superficial. Some are devout and struggle to live up to the ideals of their religion; others are lackadaisical and easily backslide. Here will be found both norms and deviants.

For the non-Peyotist, the interpretive Chapter II has attempted to present the fundamentals of Peyotism from the point of view of a member of Western culture. Now the reader can learn what Peyotism means in the lives of the Menomini participants themselves, and in their own words.

A. LEADERS

We begin with the leaders, who are supposed to have the best understanding of Peyotism. The accounts given here are brief, because they contain only material which has not been given earlier.

Dewey Neconish

[Translation] Well, it was our brother Silas who was the first to use that. He asked to use it so that he would know what it was. After he learned that it was good, he told us, because our brother loved us. "Ah, this is good. Spirit (awetok) has given this to us." That is what he told us. "Take it; use it; it is good." That is what our brother told us. Well, so we did it, for our brother was not going to lie to us; he loved us. Well, since it was good, I myself also took it; I used it. . . .

[Continues in English] I was the last one [of the family, to] join in there. You know, some time I used to work over here in a place; I was the last one in there. They already used that, and gather, like that. I was kind of the last one there.

Q: How did you feel when you took Peyote the first time?

DN: It go all over my body. I can feel it; it's working, working. My mind, it's kind of thinking something; it's kind of clear. [Before] I didn't think much [about] what's right. Then, that's the way it happened to me. All I know is, it's God working; it's God [who] give [it] to the Indians. So I'm kind of glad; I'm glad that I took that Peyote. I feel good, that God is going to take care of me. That's the way I think. Nothing to worry [about], noth-

ing to [be] afraid [of], because it's Almighty. That's the whole thing; that's the one who takes care of us. That's the way I think, that time. I was glad I took that, the way I figure. And next morning, [I] go outside, and gee! seems to me it's clear; everything is clear. Feel good in that air; I feel good. And that's what happened to me, that time. I was glad.

When I used that Peyote [the first time], I know that's Almighty; that's his law. That's what I say, that time, I think. I see it. I join in there, someplace, safest way. I'm glad I went in there; I'm glad. I feel real good; I'm glad I join in there.

That's how I join in there. Ever since, I hear some place [of a meeting], I go in there. Just like something else I know [i.e., learn, each time]; all the time make new [discoveries]; all the time. Better, better; good. Real good. . . .

And one time I took sick. I was working over here, and I got hurt [in] my eye, that time. So [I] went to doctor. He gave me some medicine to put in my eye; I don't know how many times, see? I have to pay [for] that; pretty soon, my money [is] pretty short. There's someone keep telling me, "There's some better eye doctor over there. Maybe you go over there." Now, I went over to that little town over here . . . in Antigo; I went to that eye doctor, too. And Wisconsin Rapids, I went over there to that eye doctor. And this doctor over here, and government doctors. No; I keep on [getting] blind, and pretty soon, I can't see. I don't know what to do. So my folks used to make tea out of it, that Peyote tea; they put it there on the stove. And one time I was looking for something to drink, and my stepmother, she told me that's a Peyote tea. "Sure; that's all right"; so I took it, drink that. I give up them doctors, just don't know what to do. So after a while, I want to go over there and drink that tea. I take that tea. Of course, I can't see. Oh, [I] kept on using that tea; pretty soon it's all gone. Then, at bedtime, I went up there, upstairs—they used to have upstairs, my old folks' house—went up there, and laid down. Pretty soon, I can't sleep; and pretty soon, I think something. "Gee! I can't see; sick." Pretty soon, I know that's working on me, that Peyote is, and feel good. Gee! it's still; nothing to hear—of course, it's night—nothing to hear. I laid there all night, and think to myself, "I'm going to go blind." And one time I didn't hear nothing at all; [it's] just still. Pretty soon, I hear something pounding. "It's myself; it's my heart," I says; I can hear it pounding, hear it. Nothing else; I didn't hear nothing. Just lay there. Pretty soon, I hear something again. Gee! it sound good! "Well, that's a bird, a bird singing there; a bird." Kind of look around there, a little bit; "Yeah that's a bird." I got up in that bed—there's a window like this—and look around. "My gosh; I can see outside! I can see it! And I was blind!" Gee! I feel good; I'm glad I can see. My God! yeah! I look over there; "I can see!" That's what happened to me, that time. That Peyote helped me, [in] just that one night. . . .

I start [my explanation] from where it come from, from different Indians, different tribes. That's good many years they've been following that. I don't know how many generations; they say four; four generations they been using this American Church. Now, they come over here [to] the Menominis. And just young, this Menominis here, they're only using it back about thirty years, now; that's pretty young. From way back from where it originated is a long time ago; that's an old, old one; it ain't no new one, that's an old one. Some old men, grey headed, when they—some, that you tell them what they [i.e., Peyotists] do, they follow that religion, they use it right, there. So

¹These are transcribed from recordings made during the first season. In many cases the material has been rearranged topically.

they done that. Now, they come over here, [to] the Menomins. They [are] trying to do the same thing, trying to follow that, do right. That's why I [am] interested in that religion, American Church. Because I feel it, it's some help, from that church. . . .

You ain't the only one that come ask me about this, this American Church. There's some Indians come ask me. . . . [Translation] Oh, a Menomini here, he is called Weskeno'h (Bird), came to ask me about this, when he wanted to ask me about this medicine. "Tell me exactly what this is," he said. "'Maybe it is good,' some say to us. So I said, 'We will ask that one [Dewey]; perhaps that one will tell me.'" That is what that Menomini did; he is my [classificatory] father-in-law. This is what I told him. "Oh, those who know this kind of religion, love it; they take good care of it; they fulfill everything about it. That is what it teaches them." That is what I told this one, here. "I am going to try [to explain]. It is recent; we do not know how to do it properly; we do not comprehend it well. Therefore this is simply the way I see it, the way I understand it. I go wherever they have a meeting. Well then, one time I went there by myself to learn; I went by myself to be taught as much as I am able to acquire. I listened to them singing, praying. One time I heard someone speak about why those who intend to use the medicine, take it. 'So that they will live again,' he said. I was struck with astonishment. 'Who is it that is speaking?' [I said to myself.] I watched all of them; no, all of them were sitting quietly. I had already eaten that medicine; I had already used it. Then I was glad. 'Oh, that is it; I am going to live again!' That is what I thought. There then; that is what I learned by myself; that is what I was taught. That is why, when they have a meeting some place, I try to go there, so that I will live well. That is all I am able to tell you; that is what we all have known." That is what I told that one who came to ask me about these matters. . . . [Continues in English] So he [is] glad. "Ah-ha!" That's as far as he could ask me; he didn't ask me any more questions; he [was] satisfied with what I told him. "I'm glad I heard you say that. I'm glad you told me about that. I've heard a lot of different rumors about it before," he said, "but it's all different from what you're saying to me." . . .

He's got to know it, himself. Each one. Take it [Peyote] and use it. They find out themselves, each one. When somebody talk, and come tell him that, he just hear it; he don't know. Now, when he take it, he's got to know himself, it's good. . . .

Before I use this medicine, I never know much different tribe. Now this American Church come here, I know lots of them, different Indians. They come from way down Texas, and they come here to see us use that. They know that, they hear that we use it, the Menomini, that Peyote. They come here, and shake hands with us, friends with us.

Q: Do you like that?

A: I like that, yeah.

Q: Why do you like it?

A: Well, it seems to me, supposed to be all in one, good friends, all of them.

Q: All the Indians?

A: All the Indians, yeah. And the white folks. All of them. Good. That's the way I see it. It done that to me. They come see me from long ways. They glad I use that Peyote, and believe in American Church, join in there; they glad. That's the way I see it. . . .

The way I see it, I used to go this way: these other tribes, Winnebagoes, I hear that they're going to have that meeting. So sometime they wrote to me, "We're going to have meeting. You better come here." So we go over

there, and we got there . . . when the supper time [comes], they set the table, and tell us to eat. So we eat; they all eat; all from where they're going to have that meeting, and prayer. There's a big tent, tipi—they call it tipi—and there's some other extra part there, a big long tent there [the caboose]—they put it there, see, if there's a lot of them. So when this—everything's all ready, just over the sundown, they go in there. All set down, and they start using that. They got to talk, first, whose idea that meeting [is]—he's got to say it, got to tell it, why they put up that meeting. They pray that way. They do it right; they follow the rules. So these other folks there, what's going in there, they got to do all that; they got to do it that way. So they all treat one another good. That's the way I see it. My God, it's a good way, because they take care of me good; they put place for me, where they're going to sit. They put down the waiter; if [there's] anything you want, when they [are] putting on this doing, here, there's a waiter there; you can ask that one, if you want anything; if you want water, you can tell that [one]; anything that you wish, at that time. They help you all; they put everything there. That's the way I see it. . . .

They got it from the Bible, that Cross Fireplace. They're pretty near like white man's church. But this Half Moon fireplace is Indian, way back before white man comes in here. . . . It's more like Indian way, that Half Moon fireplace. And that other one there, Cross Fireplace, it's pretty near like white man. They preach, preach, talk—that Bible. That's the way. But this one here, it's himself, from his heart, that Half Moon fireplace. Use that Peyote; [it] is teaching from God. But [the Cross Fireplace] that's when they read . . . there's a man that's going to read over here, that God's word. But this Half Moon here, is going to find out from his own heart himself, from God, from that Peyote. That's about the best I can explain to you. . . .

I married three times, now. When I first married, I married Indian way, my old folks' way; I married that way. But the one I was married [to], that girl—I was twenty-four years old, that time, I guess—but she live only two years then, my woman. I had two child, too, boy and girl; they don't even just live for—one, pretty near all day; the other one, just a few minutes he lived [and then] passed away. That's what happened to me when I first got married. Now, I didn't marry for about seven years. Then I married again, and I married in church; that girl was a Catholic—that woman there, I was married [to]—so I have to marry in church. So this, the Indian way; I have to go this way, the white man way, for a while. And that one there, she lives just a little while, too—about ten years—and then she passed away. See? There you are. Now I begin thinking, thinking for myself, "What I'm doing here?" So I have to go back to them Indians; [I] look at [it] that way, looking that way. So one time I met this one [his present wife]; she was willing. So this one, she don't go in that white man way, that church; [she went] in the Indian way. So we're Indians, so we went to this [Native] American Church, Indian church. That's how I find out for myself. I was poor, poor. I'd rather help my own Indians, my tribe of Indians, so I go that way. . . .

One thing, I'm going to ask you. Like I was saying, that people have been using it for long time, in the American Church. Now, just short time ago, they [intertribal representatives of the Native American Church] went in Washington. They want to explain how they use that church, do what's right. Some of them got a big farm; he's got everything pretty near like white people, these Indians; [they] take care of themselves. Now they ask—that what they believe, that [is] their own church, Ameri-

can Church. And they asked if they could have what they call charter. So they got it. These Winnebagoes, they got that too. But these Winnebagoes over there, they got little bit different belief; they call it Cross Fireplace. The way they originated, this Peyote Church, they call it the Half Moon—they put a Half Moon fireplace. Now they got that, way back there in Oklahoma, some place—in a different state, and they got that charter [in Wisconsin]. Now, I'm going to ask you about this. The Menominis here, they ain't got no charter; I want to have that too, over here.

Louis Thunder

Q: How much medicine do you usually take in a meeting?

A: Oh, sometime I feel like it; feel good; I'll take about twenty, twenty-five, thirty; going all night. Sometime I take only four or eight; that's the time when I'm going to fall asleep.

Q: How does the medicine make you feel?

A: Feel good.

Q: In what way do you feel good?

A: Awake. Awake. It's just like this; I wake up like this; I can see anything what's going on in there; I see; I open my eyes.

Q: Is that why you take it?

A: No.

Q: Then why do you take it?

A: Well, I want to—I want to be in there to pray. That's why I take it. I want to be in there where—maybe I get something hurting there; that's why I take some more, so I could feel good. That way, I felt like praying. That's the way I take it.

Q: Couldn't you pray without Peyote?

A: Oh yes.

Q: Then why do you take the medicine?

A: Well, if there's something wrong with me. Maybe it hurts.

Q: Do you only take it when you're hurt?

A: Oh no.

Q: Then why do you take it at other times?

A: I want to save my soul. That's what they say, the old people. "Take this medicine. It's going to save your soul—sometime, not right away." I don't know.

Q: How does Peyote save your soul?

A: That's something I don't know, yet.

Q: Does it help you see or hear things?

A: Now! I'll tell you something! What you do this for? I'm going to ask you something, just me! What you do this for?

Q: What I went to the meeting for?

A: No! This way; why do you ask me all this?

Q: You see, if I say—

A: God put us here [on] this earth, and He give us some medicine. Now he's going, medicine's going, what they give us, you know. [Some] person, he's going to go around and show us [that we are] not supposed to use it that way. You get [for some of the leaders, the information on how to procure a] charter. Me, I don't believe [in a] charter. M——, he want that charter; me, I don't believe it that way. God give our religious medicine; we don't know no white man way in there. White man, if he want to stop it, now I don't do it. God seen us; God give us that medicine; that's the way I know. If he want a charter, some person, okay, he can go ahead; but me, I don't. I, somewhere, got some friends; I got some good Peyote fellows; that's what they told me, "Indian medicine. Take it." That's the way I am now. I ain't going to take no charter. Almighty God give us this here, this earth here, where we live; Indian belongs to this earth here; first

Indian, He put him in here, and He give us medicine to know Him. Somebody wanted water; God, He's going to get to work [to produce the flood]. See, what they see; way back that way, lots of people died—flooded, go drown, broken houses—that's the kind of work we got [from] our Father. Sometime my tears come, that way. I wish you all friends; that's the way I see. But this way—I don't want to take it that way; no charter for me; God put me here. That's why I ask you; what you do that for? You [white people] want everything! He give us here, this earth; now white man take away from us—just where we got this little place here, what we live on now, to take away from us. That's why I ask you, what you do that for? You going to take that? You going to take [it] away from us?

Q: Certainly not. What I'm trying to do—

A: Why didn't you do [i.e., help] that—why didn't you do that long ago? Long ago? . . . Even that charter; he's [i.e., the lawyer] going to charge us so much money [fifty dollars]; we ain't got no money; we ain't got no money.

Q: I didn't say, at the annual meeting, that you needed a charter, did I?

A: No.

Q: Some of the members asked me how they could get a charter. Do you remember I said you don't need it?

A: No, not me!

Q: Didn't I say that?

A: Yeah.

Q: I said, "Talk it over. You don't need a charter. You can do as you want to; I'm not going to tell anybody what to do. But if I can help in any way, I'm glad to help."

A: What they going to have that charter for? We got nothing.

Q: I didn't say you needed—

A: (Laughing bitterly) That's all we got—that tipi. If we had lots of money, put it in that outfit there—three or four thousand dollars in there; put it in there—now I could ask for a charter. How am I going to use this? That's the only way, I find out. But they're poor; that's just about that tent. See, like them [Catholic] churches, all around here; they're nice; oh! nice looking, nice windows, everything; it's got lots of money. Now, they have to use a charter in there, to take care of it. Us here, we're poor; that tent is all. These people here; see how poor we are! And they want white man law in there! Not me! Just me; I don't know about somebody else. I ain't going to take it! Somebody else, he wants to take them; Menominis, they want to get charter. I'm alone; I'll go this way, the way I tell you. If somebody ask me to lead, I'll go this way, the way I tell you. No charter in there; no white man way in there!

Q: Then to you this is the real Indian religion?

A: Sure. That's to me; that's the way I tell you. Everything is the Indian way.

Q: What makes you call this the Indian way?

A: That's enough now. I'm not going to tell you any more. Maybe next year, when you come back, if I live here, I'll tell you more. . . . Come to me again. It's this way. If you write it—that there what I tell you—you could come back again, and ask me; I'll tell you more. If you's right, if I wrong, you wrong, I find out; see?

Q: That's only fair.

A: I can't tell you any more . . . that's all I know to tell you.

Q: Well, suppose we forget the church now. You've spoken of the way the white man has treated the Indian; how do you feel about it?

A: I hate to say it.

Q: You won't hurt my feelings. The white man writes what he has to say about the Indians; don't you think some-

thing should be written about what the Indian has to say about the white man?

A: They call us "pagans"! You know what that means? "Pagans!" . . . That's what they call us, "pagan"! (Laughs bitterly.) That's all right for me. (Grimly.)

Q: There's a saying, "They can't kill you with a name."

A: No. They call us, "Them pagans." That's what them around here—this [Catholic] church over here; go in there; they always say that way—they call us "pagans." It's all right. I ain't mistaken; them is the ones. Every Sunday they go in that [*unintelligible*] house over there; there's a man in there, preach to them. After they come out, they're laughing, laughing. They go someplace, drunk; I see lots of cars wrecked all over here. That's them Catholic people; and they call us "pagans." It hurts, once in a while. But I ain't saying [anything]. When I go to this [Native American Church] outfit here, what they talk about? Pray for this reservation; pray for them. So it'll be all right, this reservation; so we can live on it. That way, I say. So my family, so they can live that way; live on it; live on it. That's the way I ask. Maybe them people, they never pray for us. That's the way these people are; I know. I don't know; that's all I'll tell you. I can't say any more. Oh, I know some more.

Q: I won't ask you any more questions.

A: I don't want nothing; we got what we want, already; see? The only way, we get some more medicine; keep on eating it; that's all we want. If they stop this medicine, then—I don't know. Well, I hope we're going to get it; that's [the] only thing. . . . Yeah, that's all right; that's all right. If they call us "pagan," I keep on going anyway; it doesn't bother us. It's them [that make a] mistake; not us. We're for them; even we pray for them.

Q: If you feel that way, how is it that some of your children have gone to the Catholic school? . . .

A: They take away from us my own kids, and put them in their own church. But we don't want it; for me, anyway. Maybe some of them, they go. "All right, go ahead." Just let him go that way. But when he come back, see, put him in [the meeting] there, again, when there's something wrong with him; give him that medicine. . . . Now, white peoples, right now—a few years ago, too. We take care of our boys good; raise them good; work hard. Now, when they [are] big enough, old enough, when they had that war, they call that boy, "Hey!" call that boy—your boy, my boy—call him in there. If he's good, a nice boy, everything is sound, [they] took that [boy], send him over there. Is that right? Maybe he get killed over there; now, we ain't got nothing out of it. We work hard to take care of him; now it's the end. Is going to have another war, right now, they said, some people; suppose we got some boys over there? M——'s boy's over there; he's a nice sound boy. I got young one; I suppose when he's old enough, they take him away from me, put him over there, and let him get killed there. Us here, we work hard to take care of him; see how they treat us, white people? That way, it kind of hurts. I had one boy, he went to the war, come back all right. We used to ask God, when we pray at the meeting, ask God to bring him back. J——, he had two boys; we pray, pray, pray, to come back. They did come back; only one we lost, [a] Peyote member. See how they treat us, them people? Take away from us our kids, that we worked hard to raise, make them live, take care of them. That's the way I know.

Mitchell Weso

If anybody wants to learn anything about this medicine, this Peyote way, go ahead and use it; it'll teach you all you want to know. That's the main point in there. . . .

When I first ate it, well, I was only five years old. I only ate it for curiosity. Then another time, when I ate too much of it, that also was for curiosity. I heard that it was good, and I wanted to see if it was good. I was just at the age when I was going to begin to decide what religion I was going to take up.

Q: How old were you then?

A: Oh, about sixteen or seventeen; somewhere in there. My mind was getting, what we can say, getting matured. Of course, in my younger days I followed my parents. They used it; they told me it was good. I got interested, and I gradually kept on using it. But nowadays, if I go to a meeting, I go because I'm a member, and I go to fulfill my part in that wheel I was talking about—in that spoke. If I do my share, the whole wheel is going to turn evenly, if I do my share. And third, it's to take care of my physical body; maybe I have some ailment of some kind. That's why I help myself all I can. . . .

Q: How does the Peyote help you religiously?

A: When I first used it, I didn't believe in God. Maybe I was an atheist. I believed in God; kind of secondary, kind of secondary; not deeply, not truly; I believed in it. I'd say it was all right, and stuff like that. I believed in a Being, I suppose. But when I really found out that there is a God; that He's the one that created that medicine, good medicine, see? So naturally I thank Him, pray to Him. That's my religious beginning.

Q: How did Peyote help you find out there is a God? . . .

A: After I revived—that medicine revived me—well, then I started to think back, who created this medicine? And then I see a vision too. . . . I recognized Him, gradually . . . Jesus Christ. . . . He just looked at me, in the eyes; and then I got ashamed of myself. I know that He pitied me; I felt that way, anyway. And then, about that time, then the old leader told that [origin] story. It seemed like I lived right through it; in order so that I understand it, I had to live through that story. Then, this leader was talking there. He said, "Just keep on using it. It will teach you how to lead your people, how to advise your people. And you'll learn all these ways, what I'm showing you." The leader said that, that time. Well, that's what I've been doing, been using it, and gradually I'm learning those things. Seem like he meant me, that person way back, years ago.

Field Diary, June 3, 1950. He spoke of his own values as a member of the Native American Church. Live so that you will be ready at the second coming of Christ, because he can come any time. Be clean, and keep a clean house, because Christ is cleanliness, and he won't come to a house which is dirty. Don't drink. Treat other folks right, because you never can tell whether one of them is Christ. Lift up your heart to the Heavenly Father, and ask His help in trouble. Because we are poor, and when we get sick, we are really in for it. Try to bring up the children right, and educate them, so that they can rise. The white man is a flood, and you can't hold a flood back with a little sandbag; you have to adjust yourself to the flood.

B. LAY MEMBERS

I was not able to obtain interviews with as many young people as I wanted. The traditional Menomini attitude is that only the oldest people know much about a subject, and parents were indignant at the idea of my questioning their children about the religion.

There are some obvious deviations (e.g., case 8), and one divergence (case 9b), in the adult accounts.

When the leaders read, or had read to them, such accounts, they commented that these people seemed "confused"; "I wonder why that person calls himself a member."

1. *A Little Girl*

Q: How old are you?
A: Six.
Q: Do you go to school yet?
A: No.
Q: How long have you been going to [Peyote] meetings? Do you remember?
A: No.
Q: (To grandmother.) How long have you been taking her to meetings?
Grandmother: Ever since we had her. She was six months old when we had her.
Q: You were at last week's meeting, weren't you?
A: Yes.
Q: Did you take any medicine?
A: No.
Grandmother: She offered to take some, herself. She don't remember.
Q: (To grandmother.) Does she usually take it?
Grandmother: Yes, she does take it.
Q: How does it taste?
A: It tastes good.
Q: What do you like about it?
A: It's nice.
Q: How do you feel when you take it?
A: I feel good.
Q: Do you ever close your eyes after taking it?
A: Yes.
Q: And what do you see with your eyes closed?
A: (Smiles bashfully.)
Q: Do you see things?
A: Yes.
Q: What did you see at the last meeting?
A: (Smiles bashfully.)
Q: (To grandmother.) Does she ever tell you?
Grandmother: No. She must know; she can't tell you.
Q: (To grandmother.) How many pieces of medicine does she usually take during the night?
Grandmother: She just takes a couple; sometimes four, sometimes five. Herself; she offers to take that herself. Then again, she won't take it for a long time. It's just now and then she'll do that.
Q: (To grandmother.) What happens after she takes it? Do you notice any change in her?
Grandmother: Yes. She sits quiet, anyway; listens. She joins in with the singing. She helps her grandpa sing, once in a while.
Q: What would you say? How do you feel when you sit quietly?
A: I feel good.
Q: Do you know a lot of songs?
A: Yes.
Q: How many do you know?
A: Ten.
Q: Will you sing me one?
A: (She is too bashful to sing solo, but she sings her favorite Peyote song with her grandfather.)
Q: Do you like these songs?
A: Yes.
Q: Do you like to go to the meetings?
A: Yes.
Q: Why?
A: I belong there.
Q: What part of the meeting do you like best?

A: Playing with the children in the daytime . . . after the meeting. . . .

Q: What goes on at the meeting?

A: People sing.

Q: What else do they do?

A: Sit up all night.

Q: Why do they go to the meeting?

A: They belong there, that's why.

2. *An Unmarried Woman in Her Early Twenties*

Q: What schools did you go to?
A: . . . I went to Haskell . . . and graduated. . . .
Q: What is your religion?
A: I was baptized in the Native American Church, when I was a baby. . . .
Q: How long have you been going to meetings?
A: Oh, about two years, I guess; something like that.
Q: What made you go?
A: Well, I figured since my parents belong to that church, and I was baptized there, well, I figured I had a reason to go, too. And everybody has to have a religion, and since it's my church, I belong to it.
Q: What are your beliefs about the church?
A: We believe, for one thing, that when you're sick, if you eat enough of that, it's bound to get you well some time.
Q: Anything else?
A: You hear a lot of things in the meeting that you wouldn't know otherwise.
Q: What sort of things have you heard?
A: Well, I don't know.
Q: How much medicine did you take at the last meeting?
A: I only took four.
Q: Is that the amount you usually take?
A: Well, sometimes I take more than that. This time I figured it was enough to keep me awake, I guess; otherwise, I'd be sleepy. It's interesting when they start singing, and sometimes you know their prayers like, and you can say them.
Q: How did you feel after you took the medicine?
A: Well, the way I feel, if you take less than four, well, it works on you pretty strong; but if you take more than four, it don't work on you so much.
Q: How does it work on you?
A: I don't know. You just get restless, if you don't take enough, and you go outside all the time. And this way, if you take enough, well, you can sit still and listen to them sing.
Q: Is that the only way it works on you?
A: No, it does more than that. . . . Well, if you feel good; you feel light; and if you—I mean, like if you're going to have a toothache, or something like that; sometimes I've had a toothache; well, during the night it's gone.
Q: Any other ways it works on you?
A: Well, it didn't work on me so much this last time. But I know, once before, that I—it come to me, that the tipi was a church; I could practically see them—you know the way it looks inside of a church; I can't describe it—them things, like, inside of a church; and sometimes they're kind of gold, like. . . . It's the woodwork inside. . . . And it's all white, inside.
Q: Do you often see things like that after you've taken the medicine?
A: No.
Q: Can you tell me anything else you've seen after taking the medicine?
A: Well, once I—I can't say too much, because I don't know anything, myself—one time I come across—see, all these singers, they were singing, and to me it come—there

was a picture, like; seems like there was a man sitting at a high desk—it was a desk, and there was a man sitting there—and there was all these men that were singing; seems like they were facing that way, and all their singing was prayers, and seemed like this man was listening.

Q: Who was this man?

A: I don't know; it seems like there was a light behind him.

Q: Whom did you think it was.

A: Well, to me, I guess, it was God.

Q: Do you ever sing at the meetings?

A: I don't know very many songs.

Q: You said you learn something each time you go to a meeting; what sort of things do you learn?

A: Well, I learned one thing—I guess everybody knows it—but I learned that all this drinking, and running around, and things like that—well, I learned that that wasn't any good.

Q: What sort of life are you supposed to lead?

A: The way I figure it, if you want to be good, and get some place after you're dead—well, it's a lonely life while you're living; but you get some place after you're dead, if you try and live the right way. And right now, I don't drink or smoke.

Q: Anything else that you've learned from meetings?

A: Well, I try to be kind to people. I help my parents as much as I can. . . .

Q: Anything else?

A: Well, I learned one thing. See, when you go to the meeting, there's always bound to be something evil around there; something that tries to get your attention while you're trying to pray, or something like that. Any ordinary person wouldn't know that, I suppose. That's the way I think.

Q: What sort of an evil thing is trying to get your attention?

A: You don't know; but there's something; you can't describe it. Like maybe there's something outside that's—maybe somebody is making noise outside, and if you listen to this person [an evil spirit] out there, well, you forget what's going on inside, and gradually that person out there will take all your attention, and pretty soon you go outside, and after you get out there, well, whoever that person is, if that person is stronger than Peyote, well, I guess he'll get you, like.

Q: Get you in what way?

A: Oh, maybe you do something foolish.

Q: What sort of foolish things can you do? . . .

A: I just don't want to say too much, because it might fall back on me, sometime. . . .

Q: Are there any other kinds of evil influences at a meeting?

A: Well, when you go in a meeting your mind is supposed to be clear. And you shouldn't have any evil thoughts against the next person, because sometime in the night, that will work on you. Maybe sometime it will make you stand on your head, or something like that.

Q: Have you ever seen anybody do such things?

A: No, but my father did. . . .

Q: What do you think about, after you've taken the medicine?

A: Well, everything seems beautiful to you, like, what you wouldn't notice before; everything seems nice.

Q: For example?

A: You just feel good about everything. . . .

Q: Do you consider yourself a Christian? . . .

A: Well, I don't think I'm any too good myself, but I try to be.

Q: Do you believe in Christ?

A: Well, I believe there is such a person. . . .

Q: How is your church different from other churches?

A: The only way I can say is, ours is more humble than other churches.

Q: How is it more humble?

A: Well, we don't have a meeting place, or a certain church to go to. It wasn't made that way.

Q: Do you think having such things is necessary?

A: The white men, they have to have certain buildings, or something, for their church.

Q: Is this supposed to be a church in the white man's way?

A: No.

Q: How is it different?

A: It's different because it was given to the Indians. And it's supposed to be in a tipi, and it wouldn't be the same if we had it in a building, or something.

Q: All right, then why do you say it's humble?

A: Well, you sacrifice yourself all night by sitting down, and you get tired. And in the other churches, well, you have seats, and things like that.

Q: Why sacrifice yourself? Why don't you join the white man's church and take it easy?

A: That would be too easy, then.

Q: What do you mean, it would be too easy?

A: We'd only go to church about an hour, or half an hour. And this way we go to church all night.

Q: Do you prefer that?

A: I don't.

Q: Then why do you do it?

A: Well, prayers you say for yourself or for your family, it comes from your own heart; and you don't have to read out of a book what someone else said. I suppose that would be just the same, but it seems better to say your own words.

Q: Do you pray during the meeting?

A: I do.

Q: Do you pray in English or in Menomini?

A: English. I can't speak Menomini.

Q: Would you mind giving me one of your prayers?

A: Well, I always pray to God to give us faith, and keep us from sickness, and give us health. And pray that He can forgive us for what we have done—all the things we have done during that day—like, well, maybe we said something funny to another person, and hurt their feelings. He protects us, and try and forgive other people for what they do to us every day. That's some of the things.

Q: Now, what are you living for; what do you want out of life?

A: I want to be a better person. Try and make something of myself, and to work for myself. That's what I think.

Q: In what way do you want to be a better person?

A: Oh, try and lead the good life. That's the way I see it.

Q: What's the good life?

A: Like I said before. Try and work for myself, and quit drinking, and things like that. . . . I want to work for myself, so I won't have to depend on my parents. That's the way I feel. . . .

Q: You said you wanted to get some place after you're dead; what place?

A: Well, the way I think is, do everything right, try and do everything right in life, and after you're dead, well, God will forgive you, if you've been trying anyhow.

Q: And if He forgives you, what then?

A: Well, you might go to Heaven, I guess.

Q: What is your idea of Heaven?

A: Well, just what the Bible says. I don't know.

Q: Do you read the Bible?

A: Not much.

Q: Well, what is your idea of Heaven?

A: Well, you don't have to worry about anything. . . . Everything is there that you always wanted, I guess.

Q: What are some of the things you've always wanted?

A: I never wanted anything.

Q: That isn't so; is it?

A: Well, there are a lot of things I want, and I wanted, but I never could get nothing, really. I'm satisfied the way I am.

Q: What sort of life would you like to lead?

A: I don't know, I never thought about it. . . . Well, I mean, I'm satisfied the way I'm living, but I'm not trying to reach any goal or anything, but just on the religion part, well, that's the part I was trying to improve.

Q: How are you trying to improve religiously?

A: I go to church, for one thing. . . . If you try to live the white man way, I think you get along better, this way. . . .

Q: If you're trying to live the white man's way, why don't you join the white man's church?

A: Well, our Native American Church . . . and white man's church, or white man's way, are different altogether.

Q: But I thought you said you were trying to live the white man's way?

A: In everyday life. When it comes to religion, that's different.

Q: How is it different? Why should you want to live the white man's way in everyday life, and the Indian way in religion?

A: Because, for one thing, I was baptized that way. And same thing if I belonged in a Catholic church; I'd go there, too. . . . They're different in every way.

Q: How are they different?

A: Well, we all pray to the same God, but—I don't know; I just can't answer them questions.

Q: Why not?

A: It's too deep for me. I never thought much about that. (Laughs.)

3. *A Man in His Thirties*

Q: You've told me you joined the church eight years ago; what made you decide to join?

A: I'm glad you asked me that. You know, I used to be a great Powwow man; I used to be, you know. . . . I used to go there; I used to be a good one there; I used to sing, do everything in there, whatever they wanted me to. I never used to be bashful about anything; go right in there and do it. Well, different things there, War Dance and all that; I used to go right in there, and go ahead and do it, you know; I used to think I was doing the right thing. All right.

And at that time my mother took sick—my father died before that—my mother was sick already, but we didn't know it. My father died, we buried him, and then just our mother was left. Well, she come down pretty sick, one time; almost died. Well, she was just nothing but skin and bones; she was due to cash in, I guess. Then these [Peyote] members, they heard about it, I guess; they come and asked her if she'd try this medicine, this Peyote. "Maybe that would help you," they told her. "Well," she said, "I'm going to die anyway; I might as well try that."

She tried everything. We even used to have to pay three and a half [dollars] for even a little bottle of white man medicine; she used to use that; we used to have to go and get it down at Gresham, to get that. Three and a half for a little bottle of medicine! That would help her; it would relieve her pain, all right; it wouldn't cure her. Whenever we went down to see the doctor, well, he'd give us a prescription for that. Well, we ain't no rich people,

you know, we ain't got money in our pockets; we can't pay three and a half for a little bottle of medicine, all the time, in order to keep her alive.

We even went to Indian doctor. Even give him goods and blankets and buckskin and shirts; and everything new, good; take them down to Indian doctor. Even put whiskey on top [of this pile of goods]—that's what they require, those Indian doctors; they got to have whiskey, two or three quarts of whiskey—even got that, put them on top of [the pile] there, tied it up with them. I took down, gave them to that Indian doctor—he died since—give that to him, and asked him, "Look into our mother's past, here, and see if you could help her out." He did, and so he told her, "There ain't nothing that's going to help you. The Powwow people, they ain't going to help you," he told her. "And this medicine that you're using now," he says, "that ain't going to help you either; that ain't going to cure you. There's only one thing that's going to help you," he says; but he didn't say what. "In time that's going to come," he says, "it's going [to]. They're going to come after you; they're going to take you over there to a certain place; they're going to help you." That's what he told her. "There's nothing else that I can tell you," he says. "If I was to try to tell you how to doctor yourself, you wouldn't take it, because that ain't going to help you. I don't want to lie to you," he says, "because you're my [classificatory] sister," he told her. They was talking Chippewa, and I can understand Chippewa pretty good, so I could understand them.

We brought her home, pretty sick. And that time, well, I got in jail, see; I spent a few days in jail. She got pretty sick, and I understand that's when they come ask if they could doctor her. So they took her to the tipi, and they were going to have a meeting over at W——'s, and they doctored her. And all night—all that next day, even—the people stayed right there with her, to see that she come through. Well, before, while she was sick, she couldn't hardly eat, couldn't eat nothing; nothing but skin and bones, about ready to die. And then they took and they doctored her. When she come out of it, well, she wanted to eat; she even got up herself, walking around. So after that was over, well, they put up another meeting again, and they went after her again, and they give her some more. And that was in 1940, 1940; that was ten years ago. So after the meeting was over, well, she get up. She used medicine, she get up and walk around—different places—getting fat again.

In the meantime I had got out; about two weeks after they first doctored her, well, I got out of jail. So I thought it was pretty good; that medicine must be pretty good. So I thought about that, what that Indian doctor told her. "So that must be the one that was supposed to help her; that's the one." And at that time, well, I was a Powwow member then, and I thought, "That must be good, if they can do that—put my mother on her feet—that must be good. All right," I thought to myself—I didn't ask nobody; I thought to myself—"well, I'm going to join that." So I did. I joined it, in that same winter of 1940. That's when I joined it; I got baptized, and everything, this way. I been there ever since.

Q: How did you feel, the first time you took the medicine?

A: First time I took it, well, I used quite a bit. I used about sixty, they say.

Q: Sixty?

A: About sixty. During the night, well, I was all right. I didn't have what they call fits, or anything like that. You know, some people, they get like that; when they first use it they don't know how to hold themselves; let themselves go; maybe roll all over the floor—something like that. But me, I sat still. It didn't scare me, or anything like

that—get a hold of me, or something like that—oh, pretty good. But in the morning—I sat still all night—in the morning I tried to stand up; I nearly fell over, because I was kind of weak and numb; I sat there; sat still all night.

Q: Didn't you get up for the midnight recess?

A: No, I didn't.

Q: Well, then, that had nothing to do with the medicine; that's from sitting in one position all night.

A: No, that was like that, sometimes. So it didn't bother me at all, when I first ate it; I come out of it all right.

Q: Did you learn anything from Peyote the first time you took it?

A: No, they don't learn right away. Not only from one or two meetings either. You got to go two, three, or four years. Even me, I've been going eight years, and still there's a lot of things I don't know yet. I consider myself just a young member yet; there's lots of things that I don't know. . . .

Peyote's done me good. . . . I've been sick off and on. But I never hardly told anybody, see; I just go ahead and use it myself; put me back up on my feet. . . .

Just recently it's been working this way, see, since my mother died—she died on Palm Sunday, see; morning of Palm Sunday. Before that, when I used to go to meeting, I used to feel pretty good, see, be interested in it—my mother was living, and brothers, and sisters, and relatives—I used to feel good, go in a meeting. And I was interested; take part in it, trying to help somebody along, singing, praying, talking—like that. I used to be interested in it. But since my mother died, now—Oh, before she died, when I used to go to the meetings, when somebody used to ask me to do the fire [i.e., act as fire chief] I used to do a good job, best way I know how; I just go ahead in there with the best I got. Be willing, lively; really do anything for anybody in there; because my mother was living; she was sitting there; I would partly do it to please her, and please everybody else, see? But since she died, then this is the second time I've been asked to fire, see? And by the same man; D—— is my uncle, see? He asked me to fire Mother's Day, and now again he asked me to fire again, so I went; I go ahead. But since my mother died, well, I didn't kind of care; just kind of lost interest, didn't care to do nothing in there. But some different ones used to encourage me, "Go on in there. It will do you good." So that way, it kind of affect my mind, the death of my mother, see? I use this medicine; during the course of the night, when I'm using it, well, I get kind of lonesome, and seem like I have nobody to turn to, see; I don't know just what to do, see? But, some way or another, I get a little encouragement. "Go ahead and do it. It's up to you. You can help yourself." That's the way I think, so I go right ahead. Kind of picking up now, a little. But I can feel it, see; when I use the medicine I can feel that, "Just go ahead!"—like that, see, that's the way it works. See, the medicine don't work on you the same way at every meeting; it might work different. The way it works on me, it won't work like that on you, see? It's really according to how you're going to think; it's according to how you talk; that's how it's going to work, see? If you're sick, and if you ask Almighty to fix up that medicine for you so it will try and help you—you think that way, you talk that way, you ask that way—it's going to help you, that way, because that thought is in your mind. That's the way it works on me, see? It might work some other way on another person, see?

Q: How do you feel when you're singing?

A: Well, I look at this this way. I'm a young man; only thirty-three years old. A young man is supposed to be

lively; just act your age. Like I said, I like to sing. It makes no difference what kind of Indian song, I can sing them, see? Any kind. But there is only one thing that I'm not very good at, and that's these [Peyote] songs here, because I'm a young member; I don't know very good, don't know those songs very good. But I try it, see? I use the medicine just as much as I can use; when I sing a few songs that I think I know, well, I try to use them, see; I sing the best way I know how.

Q: I thought you sang very well.

A: That's the way I say; I say, "Act your age; you're supposed to be lively. If somebody's sick over there, try and cheer him up through your singing. You're not trying to sing, just trying to show off, or anything like that. You're praising God. We got this church house here; if you're singing, you're praising God." That's the way I look at it, here. I'm not trying to show off, or anything like that. Because I heard a few remarks, two or three years back, that when I used to sing like that, "Oh, that fellow! He's not trying to be one of us; he's just trying to show off." That's what they told me, see; that's what I overheard. And that kind of brought me down a little bit, and I didn't go to meetings for pretty near a whole year. In fact, the whole year I didn't go, just because I heard those remarks. . . .

Q: What is the right way to live, in the Peyote way?

A: According to me, you got to cut out this drinking, and this running around, gambling, and—well, there's a lot of other things; any that ain't supposed to be right. You try to live a good life. . . .

According to my belief, there's two different fireplaces. There's a Half Moon and there's a Cross Fireplace. Well, I was baptized into this Half Moon Fireplace, see? And a lot of different ones, they try to induce me to go to the Cross Fireplace. "The Moon, that's the right one." "That Half Moon, that ain't the right one," they say. "All right," I tell them, "I was baptized in the Half Moon Fireplace—I don't know anything about the Cross Fireplace—that's where I'm going to stay. I was baptized in there; that's where I belong. That's where I'm going to stay," I tell them.

4. *A Man in His Forties*

My dad being one of the old Indians, he greatly wanted to worship somehow. It's right in Indian nature, that you should belong to something. . . . Maybe in his younger life, probably, he didn't have the worries like he did after he had a family; first thing you know, my dad had children, and we was in a growing age, you know, and it must be this that set him to thinking. And along about that time, rumors had been around the reservation that there's a new religion coming in. And it so happened that my [Potawatomi] mother was related to the man that brought the new religion here. And later on, as people talked it over, talk about it, they finally understood they call this religion Peyote. . . . It was around 1913; I must have been around five or six years old, then. . . .

My mother said she was related to this man who brought that religion here; she was related to him. . . . He was known as B. W. Mitchell. . . . He was a Potawatomi. He came from Kansas, but he worked his way up amongst the Winnebagoes, up this way. . . . This man—I'm supposing this part—thought about his relatives, here; namely, my mother; and they must have been closely related, because he used to talk quite a bit to my mother, and more like brother and sister. In that way, I imagine, that he was worried over my mother, and also the children—that would be us—and that way, he used to talk to my folks about this Peyote.

And my dad was leery; he's heard all sorts of rumours about it, and my dad, he didn't want to join that. . . . They said it was a very bad medicine, because it was the devil's medicine. They came right out and said that. . . . And then, everybody that eats Peyote, he turns into a frog. And then they have a tendency to dreamers; it knocks you over, and you'll dream, and you have all kinds of fantastic dreams, and during the dreams, why, you turn into some kind of serpent, or some form of animal . . . bear, and wolf, or snake-in-the-grass, and what-not, serpent. . . . Bad animals. Vicious kinds of animal. . . . And, we hear all sorts of stories like that, and we was warned not to take it by the people—just in general; it was just a general talk. . . .

Finally, somehow, my dad and others already joined this, and the Neconish folks too, you know. . . . My folks was living there in the Neconish settlement, and somehow my dad, he joined this religion. He wanted to see for himself; he'd heard so much about it, that it was a religion that was very different. . . . My dad was greatly interested in stories that was told about it. So. All right. He joined it. And he always managed to keep us children away from the *metewen* and *ni-mihetwan*; he kept us away from it; maybe he wanted to understand it a little more, because he's worried, because he's got a family. And the first thing you know, he was in this Peyote meeting . . . and he partook of this Peyote, and went into it heart and soul, and wanted to know all about it. It didn't take him long; first thing you know, he knew quite a bit about it, and the teachings that go with it.

Finally he made up his mind, "This is the religion for my children." So. And he inquired how you join this religion, and so on. Well, the people that brought this style of worship here, it didn't take them long to explain all the ways how you can join this kind of religion. And my dad thought that it was a good place for me. In fact, he put it to me that way; he said, "You go into this Peyote meeting, and you partake of this Peyote, and worship God all you can. I know that you're going to everlasting life." . . . He said like this here, "I'm a poor man. It's pretty hard for me to leave my property to you children. I couldn't commence to leave this boy with this much, and this boy so much, and a daughter with so much." Because he didn't have enough stuff to go around. And he worried about us. He didn't know how we was going to turn out, in later life. And he took it upon himself, this way. "I have nothing to give you. I can't do anything for you, because I'm a poor man. But I can do one thing for you, and that's put you in this Peyote meeting. Eat this Peyote, and worship Almighty God, and I know that you are on the right road to everlasting life," he said. "That's all I can do for you, and that's the most I can do for you. Anything else would be wrong for me to give you. Put you on the road that's going to everlasting life, and stay there, and you're going to be all right." See, he told me this when I was a little boy; I imagine around ten or twelve, somewhere around in that age. And now at the age I am, I'm forty-six years old, and I find my dad did put me on a good trail. If he thought the *metewen* or *ni-mihetwan*—if he thought that that was the right place for me, I'm sure my dad would have put me in there. But no; he put me in the Peyote religion, because he tested it himself, and he found that it was a true worship of Almighty God. And that's what he was after; he wasn't after no style; he wasn't after it just because it was just a hand-me-down sort of religion from way ancient times, that he should follow it and not know anything about where he's going. No; this here was a clear cut, a short cut to everlasting life. That's the way he used to put it. And he found that this was a good place to put his children.

And he did. And I was baptized in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. He baptized me that way. And the old man that performed the baptism, his name is N——. . . . He was a Winnebago. And my folks more or less looked up to this old man, because he was a much older man, and he was of this religion long before my folks ever thought about it. And he understand the ways, and all that, and even the preachings that go with it. . . . I was just a young kid. And things like that didn't mean too much of anything to me. But it meant a whole lot to my father; he was putting me in a place that he thought was going to do me good. All right. At that time—I don't know if that was a special meeting put up for baptism . . . —we came in; my folks, they prepared us for that meeting . . . and they made a place for us to stand, in front of the leader. And it happened that [at] this baptism meeting, at that time, in front of the leader, was a white sheet. And the sheet, there, had a picture of Christ on it. . . . He was holding a staff in his hand, and it seems to me like he had a little lamb in his arms—that it was printed on there; it was crocheted right on the white piece; an Indian done that. . . . We was brought in, and my brothers and sister. We was brought in front of the white sheet. And this man, N——, he was already standing up, and these other two—his helpers, a drum chief and a cedar chief—they stood up, and this man, N——, the leader, he prayed in Winnebago a long time, and he prayed for us children, and also prayed for my folks. And then he also prayed for the water, what's going to be used. He had a special glass for that . . . the shape of a wine glass; he used it just for that purpose. . . . And we was baptized by placing the water, and making the sign of the cross, on our foreheads. . . . And being just a young fellow, I didn't know much about it. And all that didn't seem comical, but it did seem strange to me. I never heard of baptism before.

When I went to school [at Haskell Institute], you know, I was YMCA, you know. All those things, like Sunday School, you know, I took interest in it. Somehow, I liked YMCA. I like that religious singing, and all that. I was very interested in that Bible work.

And when I came home, I told my folks, I told my brothers, you know, "Don't eat that Peyote! That's no good for you! Well, that praying, and that singing, that's all right; sing all you want; praise the Lord all you want. But don't eat that Peyote! That's no good! I wouldn't eat that!" . . . I was a member, sure. But, you see, I went to Haskell, and I learned this YMCA and that stuff. . . . When I came back home, I was smart, see, I went to school. And then I come back home; I want to guard my people. I told them, "Don't eat that Peyote! No good for you!" And my brother M—— looked at me; he said, "Some day you'll probably swallow back your words," he said. All right. Well, they would have meeting, but I wouldn't go; I wouldn't go in the Peyote meeting. But I knew what they were like. I even knew some of the songs, before I went to Haskell; I knew some of the old songs, that they used when I was baptized even. I eventually caught on to some of the old songs, and I could sing them any time, and somehow, I liked to hear that drum, you know; somehow, it appealed to me. Oh, I wanted to hear it!

And finally I went over to one meeting. They had a meeting there, at the Neconish Settlement. . . . I came down, and they were having a meeting, and I didn't want to stay up there alone, in that house, you know. "As long as they were having a meeting, I might just as well be there. There's something going on there. And, in the first place, I know what the meeting was, because I was in the meetings before I went to Haskell. But now I don't

use it. I never use that Peyote. I'm strictly against it. That's the way I was taught down there." And I came to that meeting, and rapped on the door, and the leader said, "Come in." I walked in, and very politely the leader says, "Offer that young man a chair. He's a visitor. He's been to school, and he's not used to sitting down like us Indians here. This young lad, he's been to school, he's been way up in school, and it would be a shame to put him down on the floor." The leader said that. I felt kind of honored, you know; and at the same time I know that that leader is a smart guy, you know; he's rubbing it in now, you know. Well, I took that chair, and I sat down there, you know. And I wasn't very comfortable, you know; sit there a couple hours, you know; and I looked to find a place on the floor, where I could sit; sit like the rest of them. Finally the leader spoke to the waiter, "See if you can't fix that young lad up a place to sit down so he can sit amongst us." The leader came up to me, "It's kind of hard to sit on the chair, isn't it?" I said, "Yes." "Well, maybe I would make a nice soft seat for you, so you could sit there." I said, "I think I would." And down I sit, then. And, well, somehow I was kind of sleepy, you know; I'm sleepy. Leader called the waiter and said, "Waiter, pass that young lad some of that Peyote. Maybe he'll eat it." The waiter got up, and came around with the dish. "You care for any Peyote?" "Sure, I'll eat some Peyote." "How many do you want?" I think in terms of white man; when they buy something, or when they want to sell something, it's always something like by the dozen—something like that, eggs, for instance, by the dozen. "Well, I think I'll start out with a dozen right away." The leader said, "You can have four." "What good is four going to do? Give me a dozen!" . . . I want to be a sport, you know. . . . "All right. Sure. I'll give you a dozen." And they give them to me. Well, I chew them, and eat them down, like nobody's business. And finally the dish comes around again, and the waiter came over and said, "Maybe you want to eat some more?" "Sure. I'll eat some more." "How many do you want?" "Give me a handful," I said; "You people don't even eat Peyote, around here. You come to a Peyote meeting, and I don't see none of you people eat any Peyote. I'm doing all the eating, here. Give me a handful!" I said. So they put a handful there. I started to eat it. Well, that's the way I done. Then, all night long, the leader kept his eye on me. I don't know for what reason; I suppose, I just came back from school, and maybe he thought I wouldn't be able to sit still long enough, you know, so that I could participate in their meeting here, maybe pray, or something like that. Maybe he had the feeling I was going to—when I got tired sitting down, that I'd go back home and go to bed, or something like that. So he kept his eye on me. I suppose if I wanted to get up, he's going to tell me, "Sit back down; stay here in the ceremony." That's the way I took it, so I stayed. . . .

And by using this Peyote, this long, I find that it has done me world of good. And I always vouch for it. It's going to do somebody else a world of good; if it does that for me, it's going to do that for somebody else. I've been a Peyote user for over thirty years.

Q: How does Peyote do you worlds of good?

A: Well, if it teaches me how I might save my soul, how I might serve my Lord, it's a world of good to me.

Q: You spoke of serving God; how do you do it?

A: By worshipping.

Q: Only by worshipping?

A: Mostly. And also doing the right—trying to do the right thing. I won't say I'm perfect, you know; I'm trying to do the right thing every day.

Q: What are right things to do, and what are wrong things?

A: Well, maybe go and disturb other people. Go and maybe spread false rumors about my neighbors. And so on. Maybe have no respect for my neighbors. But trying—my thoughts all the time is, "If I do this, I wonder if it's pleasing to God?" That's in front of me all the time; that's what I'm getting at, you know.

Q: How do you learn whether something is or is not pleasing to God?

A: I don't know. You just learn it by using this Peyote. It just comes to you, somewhere; you don't know where it comes from. I've been in this Peyote religion, and if you use it up to where I am, I know what it's going to do for you; I know you're going to have a good understanding of the Almighty God.

Q: How do you know that?

A: Because it's inside of me. It's in my heart. I know it.

Q: What do you mean by that?

A: Well, that would be kind of hard. Here's Jesus Christ standing here, and I must do everything to please this, because that's what I want to do. I got to do everything to please this Almighty God.

Q: What must you do to please him?

A: That's right inside of me, here. I must have love for all my fellow men. And I must leave alone anything that's harmful to my body, namely, tobacco, or if it's whiskey, intoxicating liquor; that's harmful to my body. I must leave it alone. And because my Saviour didn't do that. That's the man I'm looking at; I got to try and do the things, because He's my leader. And if I follow Him, He's surely going to take me to everlasting life. If my Saviour was a drunkard, if He took beer now and then, and He smoked two or three cigars, and so on like that; if that's the way I picture my Saviour, well then, I'll do the same thing. But mine wasn't that way. . . .

A man in my age, I must now make up my mind how I'm going to meet the Creator. I must be serious in my religion. I can't fool any more, because I'm at that age, now, when I realize that I got to serve Almighty God. And I'm trying to fulfill that as much as I can. And with the aid of Peyote, it has put me on the right road. It has caused me to put aside all intoxicating liquor; I have no desire for whiskey, or beer, or whatever strong drinks; anything in the intoxicating line, I have no desire for it. And I have no desire for tobacco. And if I keep on using this Peyote, I believe it this way: I'm going to be an upright man towards God. That's the teachings that it's given me. And I don't want to say it on Sunday; I practice it all week. I try to be friends with anybody, regardless of who it is; trying to be friends with them. These are actual facts of what it has done for me. And it'll do that for anybody, whoever wants to find that Peyote; put that in your system, and you're going to understand who Almighty God is.

I'm just a beginner, as far as that goes. That's one religion you never can know all about, you know. There's something more all the time.

Q: How do you learn about it?

A: You can have real personal experience, and at the same time, you profit by other people's experience. A [Winnebago] man here in Wittenberg, he was sick, and sent to a hospital, and he was given up at the hospital, with heart trouble; doctor couldn't do a thing with him. And he came back home. He told the authorities at the hospital, as long as they couldn't do anything for him, as long as he was a hopeless case, he just as soon go die at home, no use to die in the hospital. "I'd rather go die over there at my grandma's; my grandma will take care of me." So they let him go. And his people was really concerned about him. So they put up a meeting, prayer meeting, doctor meeting; they doctored him up. And the result was

that they cured him over night; next day he was just as healthy as he could be, and today he's alive yet. . . . That's the way it helps, you know. If I'm troubled with my heart here, and I know that it's done that much for that fellow, it's sure it's going to do the same thing for me. It helps me that much. I even have a feeling, already, that it's doing me good. Now, if I thought that way, "Now, here's a man has heart trouble. And Peyote didn't agree with him; Peyote finally killed him," well that way it sickens me—right away, too. I have a sick feeling there; I don't feel good; "That Peyote kill that man." But it stood him on his feet; he's alive today; it cured him of heart trouble. I don't have no heart trouble; I'm solid here. But it helped my friend there. That's the way it helps; that's the way it teaches.

Q: What does the Peyote do for you?

A: It makes me think. It makes me think about my family. It makes me think about my relatives. When my mother was living, it used to make me think about my mother, of course; I pray for her. And at the same time I pray, I trust in my prayers. And I speak to Almighty God, ask Him that He might make a way where I might make a living for myself, and make a way that my family might grow up and be nice young men and women. And I ask Almighty God that He might take my children and put them on this road that leads to everlasting life.

Q: Couldn't you think of such things without Peyote?

A: I suppose I could. . . . But Peyote puts that feeling in there. . . .

Q: What feeling? . . .

A: With me, I feel humble. I don't have no proud feeling; I feel humble, because I'm a sinner. And then my conscience, I rake over my conscience. "What did I do here, the past week? What did I do since the last meeting? I didn't live just according to the way I promised this God. I didn't do it." And I feel ashamed of myself; I feel cheap; and I ask for forgiveness again. "Give me another chance." That's the way it makes me feel.

Q: But, here too, couldn't you do this without Peyote?

A: Well, sure, you could. But there's a different feeling in there, that it's hard to describe. You have to feel it yourself.

Q: But how do you feel it?

A: Well, there's certain times, in a meeting, there's certain times, when you can feel a presence; just like there's somebody around. I don't know if you've ever had that feeling. We're all alone here tonight, now; do you feel the presence of anybody around? A while back I thought I felt the presence of children looking in here. But, there's a feeling comes in the meeting, and it's kind of a holy feeling, the presence of the Spirit of God, is in the midst of these people. You feel that presence, you know; it makes you want to pray deep in your heart. That's the feeling that I get. And I like that feeling. That's why I eat Peyote. I like it. I like to feel the Spirit of God around me. I can't feel it here in everyday life. And I fill myself up with Peyote, and I get that feeling, the Spirit of God is around me. That's what I want to feel. It makes me feel good.

Q: You say you fill yourself up with Peyote? . . .

A: On the average, I use between twenty-five and thirty [buttons]. And you will know that I'm just a little above the average. I'm a heavy user, of my group here. We have a lot of old members that don't use very much of it; three or four, maybe, or maybe six; maybe eight, even; if they went eight, well, they surprise me. But I happen to be one of the heavy users, because I'm interested. I want to see what is there to see, you know; what is there to feel here. If the presence of God is in this room, I want to feel it. I want to see, even; I'm anxious to see the Al-

mighty God. If Peyote can do it for me, I want to see it.

Q: Did you ever see God?

A: Well, not just plain, like here, man to man; no.

Q: Then how did you see God?

A: Well, there is—that's pretty hard to tell you. . . . When I go to meeting, and I come back, somehow it give me—seems like it refreshes me. I get full of pep, you know; not to the extent that I jump around, and all that; but I feel refreshed. Just like if I had taken a good rest, you know, and I feel good. Boy! I feel good! And I just like to monkey around; I just like to tinker around. And if I got something to do, if I got wood to split, I split that wood and make use of the way I feel. And while this is in my system, well, somehow, I don't like just the way my house looks. I wish I could do something about it, you know; I like to live in a clean place. . . . I like to be clean; it teaches me that way; I feel that way, and I don't like to dress dirty. I want to be clean; that's the way the Peyote feels, on me. . . .

[The goal of the Native American Church] is reaching the everlasting life. . . . The only thing I can quote you on that, is what I hear the old folks say. The old people hand down stories, you know. And they tell us that there is no more sorrow, no more tears, no more sickness. And they live up there in God. The way they say it, it's just like God has a city up here; he has a house, a mansion, up there. And one of these days, the Lord is going to shift things around on this earth; He's going to make over this earth here, this world; He's going to make it over. And that time He's going to open His door; He's going to accept those that has been listening to Him; He's going to bring them in His kingdom. That's as far as we know it.

The way they say it, the way we explain it, in all religions, they all lead in one direction; they all go into everlasting life; that's what they say. . . .

At the present time, I find, eating this Peyote, I find that there is a lot of stories from the Bible, the teachings, the general thought, from the teaching of the Bible. They compare with the same stories that the Native American Church taught. It has the same sort of a goal. That's the way I think; not only what I think, but that's the way I see it. . . .

Thumbing through the Bible, and trying to get ideas from the Bible, I ran across a chapter in the Bible—now, I don't know if I got the right chapter or not; I think it's the fifteenth chapter of Romans [actually 14: 1-3]—it sounds something like this here: "He that is weak in faith, shall eat herbs, and him that eat herbs, shall not despise him that eateth not, and him that eateth not, should not despise him that eateth, for he is taken of God." Well, there's a whole chapter in there; it describes the person that uses the Peyote. Now, in order for the Bible to—all preachers preach this way: "That the Bible has to be fulfilled; every word in the Scripture has to be fulfilled." Now, before the Bible itself could be fulfilled, there has to be a group of people that shall eat herbs. And I think that it's the Native American Church. It has to be that way because it's God's word, it's in the Bible. That's what the ministers say. "Everything that happens in this world is already recorded from the beginning to the end. Even how the world is going to be—how the world is going to pass away." . . .

It happened one time that I went to the museum at Oshkosh. And there was a Peyote attached on the wall, on one of those partitions there; there was Peyote tacked up on the wall. Gourd and feathers, and even had the Peyote up on the wall. And underneath the Peyote it says, "A narcotic." I collared that museum man right away. "Listen," I said, "how do you know that's a narcotic you got tacked up on the wall?" "Oh," he said, "one of the old

members told me it was a narcotic." "Who told you that?" He said, "C—— [a Winnebago]." I said, "Does he know English? Does he know what narcotic means?" "Well, he spoke English to me." "Well," I said, "I know this C——," I says; "He's a very nice man," I says, "He's a very intelligent man. But he didn't know what narcotic means. I imagine you went up to C—— and you asked him. 'This Peyote is a narcotic, isn't it?' And he, 'Yes.' All right. Then you put it up here on the wall, 'This is a narcotic.' You don't know what you're writing about; that's not a narcotic." "Well, how do you know?" "Because I used it," I said. "Do you know what a narcotic is?" "Sure," I said, "it's a habit forming drug. I'd like to see you form the habit of eating that Peyote; you never could. There's something a little more than just forming a habit in there," I says; "I might say too much to you," I says, "but I wish you'd come back and sit in our services and partake this Peyote. It's a sacrament. It's God's gift to the Indians," I said, "and you call it narcotic! Erase that off, and put something else on there! Put 'Peyote' on there, because that's what it is. It's a God's gift to the Indians, and nothing else." "Well," he said, "all right; I'll do that. I'll put that. I'll put 'Peyote' on there. I'll take that 'narcotic' off"; he says. "Now remember," I says, "some day I'm coming back in here, and I'm going to look at that. I'm very much interested in that, just the way you got it tacked upon the wall." I said, "Another thing, it's a sacred thing. I don't think you should be tacking up there on the wall. Anything that's God's gift shouldn't be tacked up on a wall," I says. "It's a sacrament," I said, "something sacred!" He didn't know what to say. And it so happened that there was a man there—he was from Milwaukee, some certain part of Milwaukee—he turned around to me and said, "Do you know what you're talking about?" I said, "Sure I know what I'm talking about." "Good!" he said, "then tell it to this man," he says. "I'm a Jew," he says. I said, "That's good," I says; "This man should read the Bible a little better," I said; "Certain part, there's a certain chapter in there, I think this man ought to read," I said. "What's that Bible?" he says; "What's the chapter?" So I told him; "When you get back, you read it, and see what it says about it, 'People that should eat herbs.'"

A narcotic . . . is a dope of some kind. It's a habit forming dope. That's what I got it sized up; that's what they mean when they say "narcotic." Now, this Peyote sure is not habit forming. He [a friend] said, "White folks always call Peyote narcotic," he says. "Just the other day, I almost had to fight with my kid to make him take it," he says. "My kid was sick, had a bad cold. And the hot Peyote tea does the trick; it just knocks the cold right out, right now," he said. "And I felt I had to fight my young one," he said. "Every time he's ailing," he said, "I got to fight him. Now, if that was habit forming," he said, "my kid would reach out his hand, and 'Here, give it to me!' I got to fight him," he said. Well, that answers the narcotic part. And I can see it right away; that's true; every bit. . . .

The Peyote religion is a Christian religion.

Q: How is it different from other Christian religions?

A: It's Indian.

Q: In what way is it Indian?

A: Well, because it's the herb. . . .

Q: Anything else?

A: The meeting is pure Indian.

Q: What makes you say that?

A: We speak to Almighty God in our native tongue. God has given me His name in my language, *kese maneto-w*; it means God, you know. He has given it to me. And I can pray to Almighty God right here in my own tongue,

because He has given it to me that way. And He teaches me that, in Peyote meetings. He doesn't teach me that in other religions you know. For instance, this Catholic church, it doesn't teach me that way. There those prayers are already printed by some smart man; all you got to do is repeat it, and learn it, memorize it. That ain't no prayer for me. If I'm going to talk to God, I must talk to Him right away from my heart; I must tell Him just what I think, and what's troubling me. And I think the Peyote does that for me.

Q: Anything else Indian about it?

A: We use songs that's in our tongue. We use Indian songs. And they're praises and they're prayer songs. Praying to Almighty God. And we have prayer songs; we pray, same as they do in Christian—in English churches. They have prayers, like "When the Roll is Called Up Yonder I'll be There," you know; they have a message right in that. So we have songs like that, in our native tongue.

Q: Anything else?

A: And we have, of course, the tools that's used in there; that's all Indian. We have a drum, gourd, feathers, and we have fire in there, and we have cedar in there, smoke. . . .

I have friends that know the whole story from the beginning, originally, how the Peyote, how it happened to come to this country, and the Indians worshipped that way, through the Peyote. But I'll give you just a little bit, something about it. It's always been like this here: Indians, more or less, are always more or less connected with herbs. . . . All right, we had herbs here for everything. . . . Well, there's medicines for everything. That's what the Indians had there . . . have medicine for all kinds of ailments; no matter what it was, they had medicine for it; all kinds of sickness, or what ailed them. And then, along about this time, the Indians, the old chiefs, and old medicine men, they thought they had everything that the world could offer in the line of medicines; they had it, they could cure anything, by preparing their medicines. All right. Along came that medicine here; we call it Peyote, an Indian herb; along came the Peyote. Now, this here medicine is for your soul—that's what they always say; the old people say that. Here came a medicine that was good for our soul. The Indians, they had medicine for everything else, but they never had this before. And where did this medicine come from? It just seemed to pop up from nowhere. And the people got to use it, and then, the first thing you know, they realize that it's medicine for the soul. And then they tried to introduce it to those people that's seeking new medicines, and they introduced it to those people, and they were kind of afraid of it. The Peyoters always say that way, "The Indian is funny. After God, Almighty God, gave the Indian a medicine, an herb that's going to save his soul, and go back to everlasting life. Then they reject it. They're afraid of it. They shy away from it. Only a few people partake of Peyote." That's what they always say.

Q: In what way is Peyote a medicine for the soul?

A: Well, there's nothing else that's good for it. But this medicine, that's good for it. You learn to save your soul; that's why it's good for it.

Q: How does this medicine teach you to save your soul?

A: It must come from above; nowhere else. By using this Peyote, you get to understand, you get a clear understanding. . . .

Now, here in Wisconsin, we have two groups of Peyoters. One is called the boys' meeting [Half Moon], and the other we used to call the Winnebago fireplace, old man's meeting [Cross Fire]. It's better known that way among us; as a Winnebago fireplace, and as a boys' meeting. And boys' meeting is a style that comes from down in Oklahoma, amongst the Kiowas and the Comanches; and those two,

well, the Kiowa tribe, they had a way of worshipping, they have a way of fixing their tipi and their fireplace, and we were told that that was the original, and it passed through all these tribes and worked its way up north. And the Winnebagoes, they worshipped that way, I guess, a couple of generations back. They worshipped in this here boys' meeting. But it so happened that there was political pressure on Peyote. White people didn't understand Peyote, and that way they told our superintendents, in different tribes, to try and stop the Peyote. And Indians—this happened; this took place in Nebraska. I know a [Winnebago] man that has that story down pat, and I would like to have you have it, to get the real first hand information on how the Bible got in the Native American Church. But roughly, right now, I would say that the white man was—they were sticking their nose in the meeting, and they done various things, in trying to corrupt the Peyote meeting. They've done everything to prove that it wasn't the right kind of religion for the Indians, you know. . . . They would take somebody that wasn't a real member of Peyote, and they'd catch him, maybe, when he was half drunk, you know, and so on. And not being a real true member, naturally, he hung around Peyote meetings, and go to those meetings drunk, partly drunk, you know. We have it happen right here in our own meetings, a lot of times; we have young fellows that come over in our meetings that's drunk, you know. And, all right. It happened down there, that time. And they caught this boy and said, "Hold on here. You're drunk, ain't it?" "Yes." "Where'd you come from?" "I just come from that Peyote meeting here." "Did that Peyote make you drunk?" "Yes." And so on. All right. And then they'd send the officers over there. "Go over there and arrest those people for having that Peyote meeting, over there. They're all drunk, over there." And then they take this fellow to court, and say, "You was drunk. You got drunk last night. What made you drunk? Does that Peyote make you drunk?" "Yes." Why, he doesn't know anything, in the first place; he wasn't a true member; he was just a drifter, somebody that was just seeking, looking for a good time. Peyote never got him drunk. All right. So it was getting so that the officers had no respect for it. They'd go over there any time, and just throw the door open, and walk right in, you know. And it's down on black and white that they've scattered the Indians in their meeting, and chased them out. "Get out!" You know, disperse them, you know; tell them, "Go on home! You know this stuff will make you drunk. You fellows are all drunk here." And they grabbed this Peyote, and I don't know what they'd do with it, but they chased the Indians out, you know, while in their worship. . . . Then they found that by putting the Bible in the Peyote meeting, when the officers come in—when they come in and raid this Peyote meeting—"Hold on there! There's a Bible sitting here. Ain't you got no respect for that Bible?" "Sure, we have." "This is a prayer meeting going on here. This ain't no drunken party. Can't you see the Bible here?" Well, then the officers had to back out, sure enough. They got to show respect for the Bible; that's the white man's religion. Well, then they went away; they left that meeting alone. That's how the Bible got in [the Cross Fireplace] there. I guess the old man's name was John Rave [a Winnebago] . . . that originally put that Bible in the meeting.

5. *A Husband and Wife in Their Forties*

Q: What do you think about the Native American Church?

Husband: Oh, I think it's all right. . . . That's the same as any other religion, I guess. It's a religion. . . .

Wife: That's a gift of God. . . . There are herbs; what we call Peyote.

Q: If it's a religion like any other religion, why did you join the Native American Church rather than some other church?

W: I should tell him my side of it, eh D—— [her husband]?

H: Yeah.

W: Well, one time I did hear about this; oh, I heard a lot about it. Finally, one day I took sick, real sick. I was in bed nearly a whole year. I was so sick that I couldn't even sit up; I just went down to a frame; I didn't even weigh a hundred pounds; I just lost weight. I remember someone told me that if you eat this herb, that you get well, and I wondered if it was true. So one day I asked one of the members if they had some of that on hand, or when their meeting was going to take place. So they told me. I was so weak I couldn't walk, and they came up and got me; took me down there. And they could have fed me about thirty pieces. Of course that sort of helped me out, but I wasn't strong enough; I was weak. So another member came around; he came to my house and he told me, he says, "Well," he says, "I feel sorry for you, that you're sick." And the people were P—— and his wife. I was in bed yet. And he told me, he says, "You could eat more than thirty. I think if you eat a good deal of this medicine, it'll cure you. That's what I know." That's what he said. So I said I didn't like to get anybody in trouble if something should happen; I didn't like to get them in trouble. He said I didn't have to worry nothing, that they'd take good care of me. At the same time, I knew I wasn't going to live. So I told him, "All right." So they took me out of the house, and carried me out, and then they took me to a place. When we got there, everything was ready; all the members were there; they had a meeting. And I told them I couldn't help myself to eat this medicine; someone would have to help me, in order I could take it. So they said, "There will be somebody there." Well, I finally swallowed what they all had ground, and towards morning—well, during that night, I sort of slept after I took that—and in the morning, I could see somebody. I know when I sat up, I felt something coming out; I wanted to heave; and the minute I saw the can [in which one vomits], and I did, all my sickness came out with the medicine. And as I sat there, I looked around. I knew just where I was, and I knew what was going on. Then I knew it was daylight; I turned around, and looked through the window back of me. I could see the sun coming up, real bright, over the hill. As I looked at the sun, I could see a man standing there—a real pretty picture—when this man came closer and closer, he had a smile. And I looked at him; I knew who he was. That was Christ. He spoke to me, said I was going to live. And just then somebody disturbed me, wanted my attention, so I turned away. I turned away, and I could see the food lined up as they brought it in, in front of the leader, with the water. I could reach in that road ahead of me, with all the food. When I sat up, and looked at this leader, I knew just about what he was going to tell me. When this leader got up, he came straight towards me. He asked how I felt. I told him I was all right. I sat perfectly still, and he shook hands with me, and he said, "That's good. That's what we want." So after the meeting was over, I wanted to go outside; have some fresh air. I forgot that they had carried me in the blanket. I sat up; I could see my rubbers in front of me, I put them on; I even put my coat on, my scarf; and I walked out without nobody holding on to my hands. I walked out, all alone; went outside, and I came back in. Them people just stared at me. Of course, I saw lots of friendly faces in there, all in smiles; they were so happy

to see me walking. I sat back down. I must have sort of looked pitiful, the night they brought me in this meeting. So the leader asked me if I had anything to say, that I should say it. So I told him I was thankful, very thankful, that they brought me in the meeting like that, and took care of me. And now that I was really standing up by myself, I told them I'll always be there with them in their meetings; that I would join them. That's what I said. So they were all glad. So that's why I joined the American Native Church. I still go to it yet. Since then I haven't been sick much. Of course, I have colds now and then.

Q: How many years ago did that happen?

W: Twenty years ago.

Q: What sickness did you have?

W: I had a quick consumption. And my brothers and sisters, they died of it. That's what I could tell you on this.

Q: How did you join, D——?

H: Well, one time—it was quite a while ago—my folks thought I had T. B. or something, and told me, "Join that. Use that medicine." And I used to smoke cigarettes, smoke too much, chew tobacco, and be gone pretty near all night, and next day I'd go to work. I'd smoke all the time. Well, one time I had to go to the hospital, so I thought, "All right." But still, yet, they thought I had T. B. So one day, there, they had a meeting. So I went in there. I use medicine; I use a lot of it; I didn't know anything about it, either. And next time, I thought I'd try it again. So from there, I just keep right on, keep right on using it. Last Saturday we went to Star Lake [Chippewa], to a meeting down there. The boys put up a meeting, you know, and then they—a young fellow give that whole meeting up to his dad, after they put it up. I had a good trip out of it; seen a lot of deer along the road. . . .

Q: How do you feel after you've taken Peyote?

H: Well, I know it works on me. That's about all I know.

Q: How does it work on you?

H: Oh, it works good.

Q: Can you describe it?

H: It makes me feel good. That's the only way I can describe it.

Q: Do you ever see or hear things, like your wife?

W: Not most of them; not most anybody.

Q: I don't understand.

W: It ain't everybody that can. But you do learn something good.

Q: What did you learn last time, D——?

H: Well, what I learn. It was in morning, you know. And this fellow got up, and he start talking; start talking about this and that. "I join the Native American Church, and beat out of it." He was talking like that. And during that time he was talking, it come in to me that—after it was all night he was praying for the souls—each one of us; people died way back—and this fellow, he gets up, you know; seem like he kind of disturb that. If he wants to talk, what he's going to do—what people is supposed to do, should do—he should talk about it after the meeting. When all the members, you know, they get in a group, and they talk about it, like that. That's what I learned there.

Q: What did you learn at the last meeting, C—— [the wife]?

W: Well what I could say is, people that put the meeting, up there, belongs to this years ago. And they went up in Star Lake, and lived there. And since then, I haven't seen these people much. Well, I was really glad to see them. Seems as though they'd been—they've been out of the ring, and they came back; they were back home, and they wanted to see everybody, right in their home. I was really glad they put up the meeting there; glad to see them.

Q: What do you think of the women sitting in the back, and not singing or drumming?

W: Well, that's the right way; proper way. . . .

H: Well, speaking about that medicine. You know, if a person wants to find out, they don't find out that way, you know; asking somebody. The only way you can find out is eat it yourself, and eat a lot of it. . . .

W: (To her husband.) Well, he likes to find out, what the next one knows. I would feel that way, too, if I—. (To ethnographer.) Like him [her husband] and I, see? We was different; he had a different story, so I had a different story. . . . Well, they usually have that there, too. They have somebody say something there, in the morning, or they tell you. Or else, it might be, even a visitor might get up and say something. Oh, it's very interesting, sometimes. Like them people there; we hadn't seen them in years. Now, that was real nice, to sit and worship together. And they gave us a real nice dinner, supper.

Q: There's a lot of visiting, isn't there?

W: We do that a great deal.

H: Yes.

Q: Why?

W: Well, you say—when you be in a meeting, you say, "brothers and sisters." That's just the way we feel; we feel like we're all in one. We may speak different languages, but we're all in one.

Q: And you like that?

W: Yes. For instance, I want to put up a meeting. Maybe I got some friends, and so forth, around here. Maybe I like to get a little of each, from each tribe, come over here. All sit there, and worship together. That's nice. That's the way I feel about it.

Q: What's nice about it?

W: Well, we gather there. Might be, some day, we're going to die, too. For instance, we didn't sit there and worship together in them [old] days. Well, we got a chance, while we're living here. We might die; maybe I didn't even call my relative over there, or my friend over there. Well, when I die, and I come to the judgment day, well, that's where I'd be sorry; I'd regret it. So while we're living, we all like to sit in a group. I've got a cousin that lives in Waterloo, Iowa—he's Sauk and Fox Indian; that's a different tribe altogether—and he wrote some time ago that he'd like to come around here and visit the Menomoni tribe, and be in this American Native Church. So I was kind of thinking about that today. I told D——, I says, "We'd better get the place ready, clean it up, so we can set up a tipi." That's what my plans were. I've been expecting him; he usually has his vacation next month, and I wanted to make everything look nice, and so we have enough of everything, too. [The friendship meeting described in Chapter VII was the result of these plans.]

Q: A little while ago you said that not everybody sees or hears things after taking Peyote; what do you mean?

W: Well, sometimes there's people there—well, they don't see anything. They could tell you that, too. And there's another kind, where somebody will see something real beautiful.

Q: D——, did you ever see or hear anything, like your wife has?

W: That was really true, now. . . . That's why I'm there. And there's people that will say things against the medicine, and "Oh! The people that use it, and the people that go there!" They'll say a lot of things.

Q: What sort of things do they say?

W: Oh, well, for instance, those people say, "Oh, them people over there go on a cheap drunk!"

Q: Were they ever at a meeting?

W: No, they never were.

Q: Well, D——, what about it?

H: Well, one time I was thinking, "I'd like to see, I'd like to see the Almighty." I was thinking about it. When they started the meeting, I was thinking about it, "I'd like to see the Almighty." So one place there, I come to the road—a road like that one, dirt road—I was on that road. I was going along; I don't know where I'm going, but I'm going somewheres. Well, one time I see something white; it's all white; it looks pretty; seems like it change colors. And right under there—the road goes under there; that's the road I'm taking—right under there, it seems like I could see something. Look like a cat; it looked pretty fierce. . . . It looked like a—well, like maybe a spider—he got those things there, you know, when he bite—something like that, you know. That road goes right under it. They look pretty fierce. And nobody can go under there, because that thing is right there, and you can't go round it. Then I see people, standing all around; they can't go under there. There is some already went under there; they're going. Seem like I come to, when I saw that, you know. But in the back here, it looks so pretty; pretty color. Well, I stopped too; where everybody stopped, so I stopped too; they all afraid, they all afraid; they even try to go around, but they can't make it. Well, it appeared to me, "That's the road I'm trying to go on; trying to get up there. If I can't make it, well, that thing there, he's going to get me, too." That's the way I found out, there.

Q: Did you go to the end of the road, or not?

H: That's as far as I went; I didn't go under there.

Q: What did you think this spider-like thing was?

H: I don't know; it's the Almighty.

Q: And the road?

H: That's the road you're following. . . .

Q: How do you feel when you sing or drum?

H: Good; feel good.

Q: In what way?

H: Feel good; feel like singing. You see visions; see all kinds of visions. Sometimes you see eagles, American eagles. One time I got a hold of staff, and those feathers; well, I didn't know much about it, there, but anyway, I tried singing. Seems like when I started to sing, it started to rain that time, too; it started to rain outside. Those feathers, seemed like they go up; I was flying through the woods.

W: Could I tell you something that I saw I thought was so beautiful, but yet it scared me? One time I took thirty-five pieces. And I wanted to do some work, and they say, that "If you want to do real nice beadwork, you eat this medicine, and you see patterns of how you want to start your work. You even see the colors," they say. So I did this; I took that much. That day I was going to start off. I had two objects I wanted to make; one was a pillow cover; and the other was beadwork [on the handle] for feathers. I wanted to do the beadwork first. That same day, I didn't have my choice, because D—— wanted to go to town, so he asked me along after I took this medicine. "Well," I thought, "I'd take a ride." I sort of wanted to forget my sewing. Instead, when we was going along the highway—well, we was going good—and I looked west, and he said it was going to rain. I saw the clouds coming, travelling fast, and when they got about near, I looked up, and looked at these clouds. It sort of formed a big bird, up there, and this sort of scared me; but at the same time, I know it was a cloud. And when I looked at it, I could just see it just plain. And then I remember, I was going to make that bird, so that was the one—in the morning, you see a bird there, in the fireplace [at meetings]. Instead of raining, the clouds disappeared. And it was sort of a pretty blue up in the sky, and the bird was in the center. I kept looking at this bird as it was travelling; I knew it was that pattern. I didn't even get started; I don't know

if I will ever make it. But that was real pretty, though.

Q: Do you get many ideas for your patterns, that way?

W: Yes, yes.

Q: Can you give me another example?

W: Well, there's things a person can see; what to make, and how to go about it. How to live. Even if you come among these people that use it, like, say, them visitors—you've mentioned some visitors, you know, visiting each other here and there—various places—well, these people, when they get together—supposing some people there, they eat this herb, and they get to the table—they know, they can understand each other, without even talking. If you was opposite me, and we was at the table, you would know—if you eat enough of this medicine—you would know what I would want, and what I was going to say. Well, that way, they don't hardly talk. And they have real nice manners. They understand each other. They really respect one another. Don't they, D——?

H: Yeah, I'd say the same thing, if I was to say something. Even in different places, you know, they have meetings, you know. They have meeting there; all different tribes.

W: Even other states.

H: Sometimes somebody gets up and talk. Well, when he talk his language, all these different tribes, they don't understand. Well, this fellow, he makes a motion—when he's talking, he makes motions—and that way you don't have to talk their language; you know what he's talking about. Just like you and I talking; you understand me; just like that.

W: Even at that, they don't use them signs so much, like they used to, years ago. They just eat this, and look at you; and maybe he's speaking his own language, and maybe he's listening to you, to your prayers; he could see that—what you say, who you are, what you are, what your intentions are, too.

Q: I've noticed that the Peyote seems to make some people vomit. At the last meeting, the first ones I ate were all right, but I finally came to one that was so bitter I couldn't swallow it. (D—— laughs.)

W: Well, some people are really sick. They're really sick in their body, and their sickness comes up. Maybe some are lonesome; maybe, for instance, maybe somebody is feeling bad—some sorrow in them. And when this medicine goes in there, and works in there, well, that's got to come out, that lonesome feeling, or the sickness.

Q: D—— was laughing when I said one suddenly tasted bitter. (Both laugh.)

W: I get that way, too.

Q: How do you explain it?

W: Well, the way I really know, when you eat this medicine, you take four pieces. Well, they taste bitter. Maybe you're going on number ten, tenth one; later on you figure on eating a little more. Well, maybe about the eleventh or twelfth one, it don't taste that bitter. They're easy to eat, then. But if you have been sick, or something, you're bound to heave.

H: The medicine is sweet, real sweet. You get it so, it's so strict, that it's pretty strong; you think it's bitter, but it's sweet. But that's how strong it is, that sweetness; and you think it's bitter. But it's just that way; it's every man for himself. Just like your sins, you know, it's for yourself; I can't carry your sins. The same way with that stuff. . . .

W: This Indian, people say he's dumb. He don't know nothing; that's what they say. And when this Indian—when this medicine was gifted to this Indian, he ate it. Then he could pray to the Almighty; and in [the meeting] there, he knows the Almighty; he knows the Almighty wants him to look after the rest of them, like; he's got to

love them. He knows that's what the Creator, that's what He wants us to do; to love one another, help one another.

Q: Is that what you would say the church stands for; love one another and help one another?

W: Yes.

Q: What else does it stand for?

H: It's to clean your souls.

W: Yes.

H: It's to clean your souls. Some day you'll pass away. Big day coming, when the Almighty, He takes us.

Q: Is it the medicine that cleans the soul?

H: Yes.

Q: How does it do that?

H: Makes you think of the Almighty; makes you realize what He is.

W: Realize how your life is, too; how you're living. Whether you're going to go drinking, or whether you're going to go here killing people, or something. There must be a stop to it sometime. That'll show you. . . . Everybody has got his own prayers to say. Like, maybe, somebody tell you to pray; well, you pray over there [at the meeting]; pray the way you want, in your own language. I pray in my own language. Compare those; they wouldn't be alike, would they?

Q: No.

W: Well, like you go in a church; for instance, a Catholic church. Might as well say, they got prayers there, written in a book already, what they say. But in this religion, they don't, see; everybody for himself, what he's going to say.

Q: What is there in the medicine that makes it work this way? That doctors you, and teaches you how to pray, and everything else?

H: Well, it's prayers. And it's a blessing that was gifted to these Indians. The power was already in there. And it's growing here in the United States, the state of Texas.

Q: Well, look at it this way: why couldn't you learn to pray, and all the rest, without the medicine?

H: Well, some people—

W: Well, this concerns with your body. For instance, you're sick. And that's why God, He gave it to the Indians. It will cure him, same time.

Q: What were you going to say, D——?

H: You take some people; they don't need that medicine. They go ahead and pray; they don't need it; they don't go to these tipis. Seem like they don't go anywheres; they feel all right; they don't need it.

Q: But?

H: One time—I was there, reading the Bible, you know—of course He come along. One group there, it was all bad people; and that other group there, was all good people. Well, those [good] people over there, they figured Christ was going to go over there. But instead of that, He went to these wicked people here. Christ, He wanted to save them; He wanted to help them. So He sent His medicine down here to help us. . . .

Q: How is your church different from the white man's church?

H: Well, the way I see, the white man's church, that's his own. And Indian's got his own. . . . It's a Native American Church, and it belongs to the natives; belongs to us Indians.

Q: What is there about your church which is Indian?

W: Well, it was given to them, in the first place. Supposing it was given to the white people. You would say, "Well, that was given to us," won't you? But that—anybody could use it, though, as far as that goes; not just one tribe. Look at him [her husband] and I; he's a different tribe [Ottawa]; I'm a different tribe. There's other tribes

in the United States that uses it. Even you take some Mexicans, colored people, white people; they all use it, regardless what nationality or color [they] might be. . . . I'd like to tell you something. I know, I think, it ain't anything nice to—you know—fool around with. You can't just say, "Let's see this. Let's look into this. See what's what."

Q: I agree. I don't think that would be right.

W: That wouldn't be nice, to use it that way. But just if you want to kind of find out for yourself, it's better [if] you take it quiet, and in a nice way. That way you get along. But this other way—I seen other people do that, see? . . .

Q: Did joining the church make any difference in the way you live?

W: Yes, it changed.

Q: In what way did it change?

W: Well, before I used the medicine, I used to smoke a lot, and go to places where there was a lot of fun. And, oh, I had—I used to like to argue with different ones. But ever since I used the medicine I didn't do these things.

Q: Do you mean to say you no longer go and have fun with people?

W: That's right. And sometimes I used to go and drink beer with them, too.

Q: Why don't you like to have fun any more?

W: Well, I don't like to have fun any more because I like to have my life show better, in presence of people.

Q: In what way have you changed your ways, D——?

H: Well, that changed me, too. I used to be that way, too. Like I say, sometimes I used to be gone pretty near all night. I'd be in a tavern somewhere, and along the road—

W: Probably kill somebody.

Q: What is there about the church that made you change your ways?

W: That's the teachings of the Peyote. It teaches you, when you eat it.

Q: How does it teach you?

W: Well, just eat it and—

Q: Find out.

W: (Laughs.) You'll find out.

Q: I know; that's how I found out for myself.

W: Probably you could even look back to your—how you used to live over there, in the past. Maybe you was a bad character, or something like that. You could see that, you know. And you say, "From now on I'm going to be better, a little better." Of course, we can't be perfect; nobody can be perfect here in the world. And at least stop your drinking. Spend your money right; have something good on the table to eat; maybe have something nice to wear; or—spend your money that way. When you look at it the other way, it's foolish to go spend your money wrong. That it teaches you, when you eat it, see? That's how I know. . . .

Q: What is the right way to live, as you've learned from Peyote?

H: It's up to me; the way I live, that's how my children are going to live. If I can't make it—well, they'll be just like me.

Q: What is the right way to live? . . .

H: Oh, take care of yourself; take care of your family; try to be that way every day. But myself, I fell off the track lots of times.

Q: In what way?

H: Oh, I go to taverns, drinking beer.

Q: So you think drinking is bad?

H: Oh yes, I think so. I spend too much money over the bar.

Q: What else is bad besides drinking?

H: The way I come to find out, you can do the wrong things by thinking the wrong way.

Q: For instance?

H: Oh, lots of thoughts.

Q: What kind of thoughts?

H: Oh, I don't know. I just had that in mind. And that's just what I think.

W: (To her husband.) Are you about through?

H: Yes.

W: Well, I'd say, for instance, there's people that work hard day after day. They earn so much money. Some of these people, well, as soon as they're paid, they turn around; they turn around and sort of get a temptation in them; they take this money, and they start for the tavern, and they'll blow all their earnings over the bar, and drink it. Some people have families, children. Supposing they could have got some benefit out of that money they earned.

Q: What else do you consider bad?

W: Well, I consider, probably some couples here, living here with children, too; and might be a woman or a man, that they're always leave the home, and go around here and there with—what could I say—they go courting around with somebody else.

Q: Why is that bad?

W: Well, that ruins the home.

Q: Anything else that's bad?

W: Well, people murder each other, on different occasions.

Q: Well, so far we've been talking about the bad side; let's be more cheerful and talk about the good. What are some good things to do?

W: A person might want to take his wife, and go look on a baseball game.

Q: Anything else?

W: Oh, go on a picnic. Go fishing.

Q: Go fishing alone, or with his wife?

W: Oh, with his wife, family.

H: I always come out here [Zoar] with my wife, and kids, and all. We circle around here and go back home.

Q: You like to do that?

H: Yeah, I like that. And I believe the children, they enjoy that.

Q: Do you visit?

H: Oh, just ride around. . . .

Q: What are your ideas about the Native American Church?

H: It's for the benefit of the souls. Some day we're going to have the judgment day.

W: Well, the Almighty was so merciful to the Indians, that He gave them this herb, so that that they will know Him, and pray to Him. . . . They had wars among each other, so He sent this herb down to them. Some people took it, and some people didn't want to take it; didn't want to have nothing to do with it. . . .

Q: You said that in the old days the tribes had wars with each other, and then Peyote came. What difference did the Peyote make?

W: Well, there's love in there. Today you don't see them fighting any more. When you go in a meeting . . . they love one another. . . .

Q: Well, I guess I've asked all the questions I could think of. What have I left out that you think's important?

H: I don't know.

W: I suppose you left out, where are we going when we're dead and gone?

Q: That's a good question; what would you say?

W: Well, if we live right, in the world, we can go to heaven.

Q: What's heaven like?

W: Well, everlasting life.

Q: How will we live if we get there?

W: Well, we'll be always in the light. We won't have no sorrow, wouldn't have to suffer, wouldn't have to go hungry.

Q: How would you answer this question, D——?

H: Well, it's hard to explain it. I don't know how to explain it. . . .

W: Even our parents, you know, and our grandfathers and grandmothers, they knew heaven. They used to teach, teach one generation after the other. They tell them about this place, "If you live right, you go there."

H: Yeah, that's about the way I'd explain it, myself.

W: And how did they know that?

Q: What would you say?

W: I wouldn't know what I'd say. But I know they knew it. You know some old people, and they tell you things; maybe they tell you. . . .

H: It seems like—speaking about this Native American Church—the white man—what he did years ago, years back, way back in the beginning—he was supposed to come here, in the first place, to help these Indians. But instead of that, he kind of turned around and beat him his country; seemed like he take everything away from him. Now, today, we see this Menomini reservation—still some Menomini here—well, in the first place, this is their country! Not only this reservation, but they own the whole of North America. Now today [they own] just this little piece of land here. And through this Native American Church, it seems like the foundation is coming out somewhere. Seem like you come here; seem like you [are] going to some kind of pull something out somewhere. Seem like you going to find that foundation, what belongs to the Indian. In other words, it seems like you're going to come here, and you're going to take that away from them, and take it away to the old country. Kind of looks that way, too.

Q: I hope not. After all, this study of your church wasn't my idea; I was asked to make it by some of your members.

H: You see? Oh, maybe I talk too much.

Q: No, I'm glad to know exactly how you feel. You're not hurting my feelings. I'm interested; go on.

H: These Indians, you know, they've been poor, all this time. The foundation of that, seems like it's kind of a big root, or something like that. There's all kinds of those little roots, all kinds. Like a tree, or something; a tree. And all kind of branches; there's all kinds of those little twigs in there. It's got all kinds of those laws in there, like that. But over here, down to the Indian, he ain't got that. But those little twigs, there's an end to them, here. Seem like you [are] getting that far; the white people, they [are] getting so, they kind of tangled up in there. And pretty soon they'll want to hide this Indian, want to hide that foundation. I wonder who they're hiding it from? . . .

W: I wish my uncle was living. He would tell you some very interesting facts about this Peyote; the stories that he used to tell me. And he was the one that brought Peyote in the Menomini reservation.

Q: What was his name?

W: Mitchell Ne-kwatweh.

Q: You say that the church is the Indian's foundation; what is he trying to build on this foundation?

H: I don't know.

W: Otherwise, you know, the charter that they spoke of [at the annual business meeting]. We really haven't got that here on the reservation. . . . I really think that would be a nice thing to have.

Q: Why?

W: Well, protect these people that's going to worship, you know. And there's other people, that don't use this

medicine, might come around and be drunk; might go in [the meeting] there and fight, disturb.

Q: Do they ever do that?

W: Oh yes, it happened quite a few times, over, there.

H: Sure, they pull . . . that license—

W: There's cars out there.

H: They pulled that license off, you know—

W: Wouldn't give it back to them. Drained gasoline. And they come in there, and they'd be drunk and staggering around all over. That's why I don't like those setups, that tipi there. . . .

Anyways, it ain't nice to talk about Peyote too much, either, is it?

H: No.

6. *A Woman in Her Fifties*

They [i.e., non-members] just say that it makes you drunk there, but there's no such thing. . . . They say it makes a person feel like they're intoxicated, like, there. But there's no such a thing as ever happened when I've been there, and I've been to good many of these meetings, myself, since I've been with him [i.e., her husband], since I've lived with this man here; I've lived with him twenty-two years now. And ever since I've been with him, I've been going with him to those places, but I never saw anything happen like that.

There's quite a few of us here, that go to the Native American Church, but it just seem like they [i.e., non-members] just despise us people here—those that use that, you know; call us different names, and things like that, you know. . . . They just say things; that we didn't do right, and that wasn't the right way, and things like that; you know. They have never been there to find out if it's true; they don't know a thing about it. See, if they had the experience we've had since we've been going to those places, they wouldn't say such things like that. That's the way I look at it. But the only best thing I can tell you, is for the person themselves to find out for themselves. That's how we started; we found out for ourselves.

You'll have to find out those things for yourself. That's why we use this medicine; to find things out. It works into your mind, and you find out for yourself. . . . It don't do us no good to try and tell you. And it ain't going to do us any good for you try and tell us anything. What you know, you know it yourself; what we know, we know it ourselves. That's what I always try and tell him [her husband], too. There's different ways that he knows things, and I've got my different way of knowing things. It's like that with all people; all people got different minds.

It [Peyote] got me out of bed a good many times; I know that. I was pretty sick one time, and I had a friend of mine in Marston (?), a lady friend, and she invited me over. They put up a meeting, a special meeting. I was sick that time; I didn't care to eat, and was running down, and I wrote to her and told her about it. She told me to come down, one certain Saturday. So I went over there. He [her husband] didn't go along with me that time; I took the car up there. And I went over there, and they doctored me with this medicine. When I came back, I was well. I was beginning to lose weight, and everything; I didn't care to eat, and I didn't have no appetite. But after I came back, I sure did pick up, after that.

One time my brother, G——, he lost a little boy, one time, with his first wife. He had a different wife before he married this one he's got now, and they had five children, and he had a little boy, there. The oldest boy he had, this boy was pretty sick. It happened that this little boy passed away. And I told him [her husband], I told him, [after] I come back here, "I went over there, and saw the little boy, and that little boy passed away," I said. "I

don't know what to do," I said. And they were on their way to the meeting; they were going to a meeting of the Native American Church in Wisconsin Rapids [Winnebago]. And I told him, I said, "What do you think would be best for me to do?" "Well," he said, "it's up to you, if you want to come along with us," he said, "or stay," he said. "Well," I said, "I'm asking you which would be the best." "All right, come along with us," he said, "and you'll find out for yourself. Take your worries away. Maybe you'll feel lighter after you go to a place like that," he told me. So I went along with him. And my little nephew was laid out over here; of course people kind of felt hurt about it, because I didn't stay. So during the night—it was just before midnight—as I was sitting there—I was sitting down, with my head down like that; there was something kind of bothered me, like—and I kind of looked up, like that, and there was a person standing right in front of me, all dressed in white, and He had His hands out, just like that, to me. And He says, "This what you're worrying about," He says. "This one is mine. So forget your worries." That's what this person told me. When I looked good again, it was the Almighty. And just when I looked up, like that, it went right up—it was in the tipi where we had this meeting—it went right up, and I lost that vision; it went. So just that quick, my mind changed. And when I got back, I was glad that I did go there.

Q: How did the person in the vision look?

A: It was dressed in white.

Q: White what?

A: White gown; a white gown. Just like you see in a cloud. He had hair, just the way that picture—I got a picture [of Jesus] in the dining room, there—but only it was dressed in white. And that's what kind of got my eye. I wasn't sleeping; I'm just awake, like I am now. And I told him [her husband] about it, in the morning. I said, "That's what happened to me." "Well," he says, "I'm glad that you found out for yourself," he says. "I'm glad that you came along and found out," he says. "The worries you had in your chest here," he says. It hurt me in my chest because we sure loved that little boy, and it hurt us when we lost him. Then when I found that out, that the Almighty had him, well, I felt glad. But I never said anything more about it. That's all. I wanted to find out for myself, and I found out. That's all I can tell you; that's the best I could explain to you. So that's why I never say "no" when he asks me to go to a prayer meeting, like that, you know. I'm always ready to go.

I got used to being in that one church. . . . You know, there's different ways of white people; they got different churches, and they don't go to all churches. They got all different kinds of churches too, you know.

There is no difference between them churches. It's just the same. I take all churches alike. That's the way I believe. They all preach to the Almighty; there's only one Almighty. And I respect that metewen [Medicine Dance] the same as I do the Native American Church. . . . I go to both; whenever I feel like going, I go to both, you know. The others, they're glad to have me go there; they're glad to have me go. When they have their gatherings, I go. But there's times that we both can't go on account of the [grand]children. The children are not—well, they don't behave themselves in [the tipi] there, and I don't like to have them disturb, when people are trying to pray there. Probably they'd be crying in there, or not comfortable, there, or something like that, you know; so sometimes I don't feel like going. The Native American Church, there, they got to be quiet in there, you know; you can't interfere. I don't want them to do those things there; I respect it like any other church. For instance, I take them into the Catholic Church; they got to sit still, and listen to the

priest. Well, that's the same thing in the Native American Church; so sometimes I don't go there on account of the children, because they're not big enough to behave themselves yet. And they'd be running in and out there, when the service is going on. And they don't allow anything like that in the Native American Church; they don't want the children to disturb; it gets on the people's nerves, when they're using this herb. That's why I wouldn't want to take my children there.

Q: What makes it an Indian church?

A: Because we have this tipi. We make our own tipi, and we sit right on the ground and worship the Almighty. That's the only way I see, for myself. We sit right on the ground; because we're Indians we sit on the ground. The Almighty gave us this earth here, Mother Earth, and we sit there, and pray to Him, and ask Him all that we want. We confess to Him, ourselves; we give our confession to Him, and ask Him to take pity on us poor Indians. We ain't even got no church; we have to make our own church, and sit there and ask Him to help us. That's the way I think; it will give you an idea, what we do. . . . That's how pitiful the Indian is; they even haven't got a church. That they have to make their church; then go in there and pray to God . . . with tears in their eyes.

7. *A Man in His Fifties*

Q: How old were you when you first joined the Native American Church? . . .

A: Oh, I was a boy.

Q: How did you come to go to the meeting?

A: See, I didn't know what to do. I was old enough to play outdoors too, quite a bit, and I just didn't know what to do. They said they're having ceremony of some kind, kind of Peyote meeting. So they asked me to come in, and see what I thought about it, and they see if I wanted to take some of that stuff. "Well," I told them, "I didn't know." Of course I tried a piece, you know, to see that stuff, how it worked; I did take several pieces. He says, "You make a prayer, and that's the way it's used." I took what they give me, and used it that way.

Q: Why did you join?

A: I was put into it.

Q: Why do you continue to go to meetings?

A: Oh, I don't know. It seems I ain't got another place. Oh, fun, that you could put in for overnight, some place; like that. Like you take some Saturday night; they have Peyote meeting. Well, you ain't got nothing to do . . . you want to hear something about it. That's just about the way it run[s]. Some Saturday night, Saturday afternoon, you ain't got nothing to do. Well, you feel like you want to visit some friends, you know, and talk with them a little while before the ceremony is on. And during the ceremony, why, you have different ones do the prayer for you, or for the people. That way we just take all hands, you know. They don't exactly go for one precept, the way white man's got it, you know.

Q: That means you enjoy going?

A: Yeah, yeah.

Q: Well, what else do you enjoy about it?

A: Oh, they have prayer, and they have singing.

Q: Why do you belong to the Native American Church, rather than some other church?

A: Oh, like this here. You know, we have certain feelings, like, you know. Supposing we all go to Catholic church. Why, this red race, you know, in the first place didn't have any church like that, before, the way they got it up now. The Catholic church, they got certain buildings; they go in. Other nations, you know, they have a little bit different ways, you know. Well, for the Indian—

I don't know; this came in, as it [is] run, you know. And so [in] this [we] kind of make a guess at it, you know; we don't exactly got the full way about it, you know, or anything. So we just go on the way it was brought in, and try it that way.

Q: Why do you like this way best?

A: I think that's the Indian way.

Q: What is there about it that makes it the Indian way?

A: Oh, you take these. You take—like the tools they got, you know; they have the tipi. And they have . . . certain clothes, they have Indian clothes [in some other tribes]. They don't wear no clothes like we got them now—well dressed clothes—they have just native, you know. The way they got it down there where they started, they dress like Indian, you know; they have to have some kind of blanket, and even wear some kind of a hair dress—dressing in regular Indian way, you know. So they work it that way; we go in just the way we go every day; if we have any decent clothes, we go in [them]. So that way. And they have certain tools that they made, that they're brought in just the way they were brought in—I don't know who made them, but we use them that way, so we use those things. They have singing, and they have drumming, and they have prayer.

Q: What's Indian about the tools?

A: Just by the looks of them tools. I suppose this item has been revealed so many times, you know, by different ones—different tribes and different nations; that is, different bloods—and this religion, it probably comes out all one way about it. But different nations, different bloods, you know, they have different opinion . . . they run it different. Well, like for Menomini—that's for myself; I have probably a different opinion. Of course, I don't promise that I have certain[ty]. Well, as for that religion, all I can say is, they have that picture of religion. I go in, and do the duties that they got it up, and that's all I care about it.

Q: What are the duties?

A: Well, the duties are—the people that's been in experience, that they are able to kind of bring in, to certain explanation. You see, this white man prayer, you know, is all put up in a certain way, you know. They already had it; kind of bind up somehow, you know, how they say it. They already bind it up, you know. They don't have to go to work and pick it up, any more, because it's already put away. . . . I pray in my own language. . . . But before praying, you know, we always kind of got the feeling that there's something wrong. I say a prayer, and I don't try and bring out any kind of an object to tell people about. I just go ahead and say my prayers, and don't pay any attention to nothing.

Q: Why do you use Peyote?

A: I don't know just how to explain it. But anyway, that's just the way it was brought, that way. They said to use it that way, so [I] try to use it that way. I don't know if it's doing fully good for the purpose we're using it for. So that's just the way we do it; we don't have any certain point for it.

Q: Doesn't it make you feel different?

A: Yeah.

Q: How does it make you feel different?

A: I think you just have a certain group of people—supposing you go in a different church, and you don't understand them people; you don't know nothing about what they're talking about. And I don't think you feel same way you do in this American Church. . . . Same time, you hear the prayers, and have some kind of a little medicine that stimulates your system. Probably you was kind of weak, or sickly, or something like that; you have a kind of run down feeling from your work during that day, or something like that. That [Peyote] always kind of [gives you] a

release; kind of rest up, for overnight. I think that's why you feel good.

Q: How do you feel when you take Peyote?

A: Well, I don't know. . . . I take it just what they told me; use it that way.

Q: Do you have thoughts when you take Peyote?

A: Oh, about taking this herb, I think that everybody else has gone through it, you know. I think I'm just about as good as that next person there. I don't think I have any kind of a threatening kind of a scared feeling, or anything like that—afraid to take the medicine. I go in, take the medicine; I eat it, and that's all.

8. Male Identical Twins in Their Fifties

a. Brother who lives on the reservation

Now, one thing for sure; I can't tell you nothing. You got to find out yourself. Now, if I want to go tell you what I know, that ain't going to do any good for you; you ain't going to get the benefit out of it; you ain't; no! That's for me. . . . If you're going to follow that medicine, what it means, that's going to mean for your own soul [to] be saved, if you stick to it, if you believe it full in your heart. . . . Because why? That medicine, I don't own it. . . . I always say that it really belongs to God. . . . Even might teach you better than I would, see? You better learn from your own [experience]. . . . My dad, when he got hold of it . . . he thought about his boys, all of us, you know. "Well, boys, take it; it's good." Finally we found it out for ourselves, too; this is the right way. . . . I must have been about fifteen, I guess . . . I didn't know what the ———² I'm eating. Didn't know. . . . Well, after a while, got onto it, what God means.

Q: How did it make you feel that first time; do you remember?

A: Not exactly. Well, I felt all right, felt all right; and made my mind pretty ——— low, too, at the same time, see? . . . It's God; it belongs to God. . . .

Q: How does Peyote belong to God?

A: Well, He [is] the one that plant it, I suppose.

Q: But if He planted all the plants, how is this plant different from any other plant?

A: Well, that's a deep part, you know; that's the deep part of it.

Q: Suppose you try to explain it to me.

A: Well . . . my own mind, it ain't said that to me yet. . . . This belongs to God; we say that.

Q: Then God teaches you through the Peyote?

A: Yes. That's it. If you believe that way, if you can believe that way, He's going to do it. There's no way to get away from it. . . . It once happened to me, one time . . . a man came to my place; he was sick. He come up to me, and asked me about the medicine. He says, "I'm dying out," he says; "don't you think that will help me?" "Well, you're the boss," I says; "if you want to believe it that way, Almighty God will do it," I says; "not me," I says; "I can't do it," I says, "but if you take it, it might help you." And I did; I took him around to the meeting, and I put up a meeting, and I furnished the medicine for him; I done all I could. Same way, somebody heard that. I heard that—I didn't see it [with] my own eyes—somebody else puts up meeting, and he couldn't stand it; he passed away. Well, he lived for quite a while, though; all summer, anyway. But he told me, one time we were going to Wisconsin Rapids [Winnebagoes]—there's some people [there] using that, too—he says to me, "E———,"

² Here, as in a few other places, he used expletives which were objected to by the leaders; "they don't belong in a religious book." At the latter's request, they have been removed.

he says, "I never believe the Bible, what it means," he says. He says, "I rather believe this [Native American] Church," he says; "I rather believe this," he says. "That's for sure; I know that," he says. . . .

We got some way tangled up in these two meetings. Two meetings. They call one "Half Moon," and one "Cross Fire," you see. . . . This Cross Fireplace, that's connected with the Bible, see; this Half Moon, they ain't.

Q: Which do you prefer?

A: I'm on the balance of these two ways, see; I'm balanced. . . . Reason why, I'm too much of the white man that way; you see [in the Half Moon], they eat there in the morning, they all eat [out of] one dish [with the same spoon]; that's something that don't agree with me. . . .

Q: What about the Cross Fireplace?

A: Well, I don't understand it, why they done that—put that Bible [in there], see? Of course, that's just the white man's way, that's all. . . .

You see, there's too much argument all the time here. Amongst them Winnebagoes, here, they was arguing all the time, see? They know there's a Half Moon; that's the right way, one way. I agree with them; one way I agree with them. . . . In the beginning it was that way, see? But afterwards, it come to be more educated, and they must have got into this Bible, see? That's the way I understand that. But we [Indians are] dumb, dumb. . . . So I thought to myself, "I'm an Indian; I'm dumb like that. I'd better watch out. I got to watch out." And I commence to turn around myself. "Say, better look in here; watch out a little bit." Just like you; I kind of listen to you sometimes; "What you mean?"; asking all the questions; and well, I agree with you, see, and I feel that way. Either way of those meetings, see? Might be such a thing; I be wrong if I go here, I may be wrong here. So I just don't know, myself; I'm just out of balance all over. I can't swear to it, "This [way] I go the right way; this is the way." See, that only one [group] that said this [Half Moon way]; but [the other way is] connected with this Bible here, so I look in the Bible, I'm out of balance right there, again. But still I eat that, though.

Q: Well, why don't you take Peyote and find out which is the right way, if Peyote teaches you? . . .

A: Why didn't I do it? Why didn't I do it? And I didn't do it, today yet. See, that's something I don't know why. . . . There is a Satan, you know. My old grandfather used to say, "You believe there is a Satan. He's back of your neck there; he's telling you to do wrong. You do that, you do that every minute," he says, "fast, fast." And I feel like that, see? Now, to tell the truth about that right there. Maybe I believe too much this [Half Moon] way, see? the right one, I don't want to believe, see? That's what I mean. . . .

I like to say my own prayers all the time; I feel good when I say them. . . . Just like my boy; one time he wrecked the car in Chicago, not very long ago, with his brother. Well, I commenced to think about it. I commence to say my prayers, say my prayers. My God, inside a couple days he was home; he was all right; he looks all right, I feel better. . . .

God don't want to give us nothing. You got all of it!

Q: You mean the white man?

A: Yes, yes. You got all of it! What have I got? Just a place for [unintelligible because he began to cry]. I mean it! Really I mean it! What have I got? Look at us! Really, I mean it!

Q: I know you do.

A: Just like I say that it's up to me, if I want to believe God, you see. I don't want nothing; it's up to me. . . . I like to believe it, God's way.

Q: What is God's way?

A: I wouldn't drink; that's for sure; that's one sure thing. I wouldn't do that, if I wanted to be that way.

Q: What else?

A: Believe God, see; that's for sure! And God will be that way, in my heart; full Christian, in my mind. And I got to follow that, see? And because why? God's going to know when I'm going to believe Him; He's going to know it. If I want to be a sober man, see, it's in my hand to do it, it's in my hand to do it. If I want to believe in God, I'll do it if I say I'm going to do it, and if I'm going to follow that medicine, what it means. A person wants to be Christian—I'll call it Christian way. Why, they want to be that way! Why don't they be that way? They wouldn't be that way—no! no! They wouldn't be that way; no. I tell you, it's really—Indian, he's really lost. To tell the truth about it, he's really lost. You can't make him understand anything; you can't; you [have] been trying to, ever since the world was made—ever since you [white men] come across. Do you think he believe your religion? There's a ——— very few. That's the truth about it. And still they're that way; [they use] this medicine, some of them—I'm one of them, anyway. That's something. By golly! I don't know how to explain that.

Q: What makes you say that the Indian is lost?

A: Why didn't he stay sober? Be a man! . . . Not be half drunk; that's wrong, right there. There's a lot [of people] against us for that—just on purpose for that. [Indian] man and woman's like that. Yes! Tell the truth about it; I'll say, the same time you don't like that, ain't it?

Q: What?

A: A person to be drunk and be foolish, see? Now, that means a whole lot; it means a whole lot to say that to you, ain't it? Now, you rather see a man perfect sober, and be a judgment, sober man; you like to talk to him; ain't it? We ought to be that way, amongst those that use medicine; we ought to be that way. But we ain't. But God, He never push you away; He never do that. And myself, I hadn't ought to drink whiskey or beer. I really oughtn't to do that. But I do; I can't get away from them other people, like to be with them. "Come on, have a drink, E——," I do; I take it. Really, I take it. I hadn't ought to; I really oughtn't to do that, if I want to be in God's way. Just like what I said a minute ago; if I want to be that way, I ought to leave that whiskey alone. Entirely; really entirely.

Q: You say you must be a good Christian; how is your church different from other Christian churches?

A: Well, I'll tell you. Right there, I have to go by that—Almighty God, let Him say something to me, [in] my own heart. . . . Let Him tell me something; let Him tell me. I got to follow Him. If He tells me something, I got to go His ways; got to do that, see? But the other way, white man's way, I'll say it this way: On the Bible [unintelligible]; I sit down at the table and say my prayers, and before I go to bed say my prayers—everything, all of that, and I can do that; I can be that way. Certainly I can dress up clean . . . be just right up-to-date [in] everything, because I can go to work, work like a man, and be sober; that's the white man's ways. But here, this medicine, it teach me something; I follow it; I have to believe that. What the Bible means, nobody knows. . . . Certainly I would [believe it], if I know, really, [that] God done that, wrote everything on it, of His own handwriting. But there's disciples who wrote it, because that's a real God's way too; that's true enough. But God did say all of that Himself? . . . I don't think [so]. That's the reason why I say you know, I don't care to read the Bible; but I look in God's word [the Bible] a little bit. . . . I commence to look at the Bible. Did He say that Himself?

No! I don't hardly think so; He didn't. . . . The Half Moon is Indian. That's the Indian words. I think so. Because why? Is nothing in [i.e., from] the Bible in meeting in there; they don't connect it in there, see; you don't see that in there. Because that medicine teach them long time ago. That's the way I took it. It [Peyote] really belongs to . . . one nationality; if he's an Indian, but he's different nationality [i.e., tribe] . . . it makes no difference . . . [he is] really entitled to own that. . . . It's one thing I do there; if I want to talk about God, I first get that medicine and eat it. And if I want to believe it, I believe it that way, see? . . . If I want to do that, see, I would confess, [for] my own peace of mind; I'll say it, "God, I'll be with you; I'll be dead with you." In my mind be that way, stay that way. If I want to do that, if I want to follow that medicine.

b. Brother who lives off the reservation

My brother, he told me last night—I was down [at] Phlox—he told me you're coming. I says, "That's good. White man come around here; I'm glad. I ain't scared of anything," I says. "That's good. Must be [the] Lord; maybe He's going to help us. Lord is a man," I says, "He's a man. He come; you can see Him. But God is way up. But this, right here, the word, true words, He's here; He's with us all the time; but we don't know it." That's what I told my brother. Yes, that's the way. . . . I want to tell you, one man. If it's Christ Himself, you know it for sure. They hire you to do this work, so the Lord, His people, you can make them understand. I knew it for sure. Just like Noah; he made a boat, according to history. All right. He go to work, make the boat. And the people, a lot of people [said], "Noah is crazy," they say; they wouldn't believe him. The Lord has spoken through that work. Why is it, the people, they don't understand right away? That's the same way, today. You got to know, how to be sure, how you do this work; you got to know it. If you don't, well, you misunderstand it.

I wish that this Menominis, what they're trying to do, worship God, and everything what they're doing; now, I wish they be right, I wish they be right, the way I worship, myself, God; the way I believe. But a lot of them, they don't. They don't understand me, myself; because they believe, all right, but they worship something [in a] different way, see?

I'm the only one [among the Menomini who belongs to the Cross Fireplace]. But these other fellows, they don't believe it. They believe Half Moon, around here. It's just me, all alone.

They got different groups; they got different ways they believe, see? But us, over there, it's different; we use a Bible, too. They put a dirt Half Moon, they call it. But these other ones, the same thing, same fireplace; but some of them, they put the cross like this; they represent the Christ when he was on the cross; that's the way they believed it. That's why them Indians, they have a little argument, just over that. "Oh, you don't want it right," they always say. . . . We represent the Christ on the cross . . . that's the reason, that's the trouble.

The Half Moon, it's all just a piece of dirt; it's all a piece of dirt. And this Cross Fireplace, I'm going to tell you, they put a Bible. But these Half Moon, they don't put no Bible, they don't, because, they say, "We [are] no white man," he says, "we Indian." No. Cross Fireplace, that's the one [of] my belief. Cross Fireplace, because the Bible, that's the head. Bible . . . that's the real foundation towards God.

People sit there. "I'm going to tell what Christ says." After he gets through, they open the Bible; then they tell

about Christ . . . they preach, so they understand, from way back.

I want to tell you some of this stuff what they use, [the] Half Moon. Well, midnight they drink water, midnight we drink water; and the morning, before quitting time, they have the cup [of water]. And then, before they finish there, [there are] three dishes: corn and the fruit and the meat. Well, there's one spoon [in each bowl of food] there; they only use one spoon, [in] each one of them. But I say myself—I'm all alone [here]—I don't believe it. Because some people have got some sickness even doctor himself, he can't cure; that's the reason why we eat medicine. You ain't supposed to do that, this Half Moon [custom]. In our Cross Fireplace, we don't put nothing in there like that; no water, no food. Wait till they get finished, [set the] table; then they get dishes, lay on this. That's the difference.

I used to say, "Even a doctor come here; expect to come around and see you fellows. Somebody sick; maybe children sick—younger generation come, they use that—give them more water, give them spoon. We don't know; maybe we catch our sickness there." . . .

They ain't got no charter, here on the reservation. But them [Winnebago Cross Fireplace] fellows, they got a charter; I signed my name over there.

The son of God was over there, across the ocean. And then the white people, they started from that generation on; believe [in] one God [the] Bible way, work all the way through. It shows, sure. But Indians, can you tell me where God, He give them something? Nothing! That's my idea, my mind. Now today, I know, that stuff make me wake up, so I can tell the rest of them, see? Let's try to be right, and children—I got some children—to grow up in a good way. Tell them; children grow up and lives, see, and we don't want that wrong; we do not want that. We want to be living right, what Christ says, what they teach here. That's what we want; we like to get rid of it, live right.

I'm going to tell you. Indians [are] awful poor; you know that yourself. It's pretty hard, it's pretty hard to understand. Some of the Indians, some of them, they don't believe God; they don't believe what these white people believe. But this stuff here, if you use it, you'll think, "I wish we get benefit from God." We pray. We know we're poor. But at the same time, I wish we save our souls when we die. That's all we want. The rest, we don't care; we can't get it. Even if the government, if we ask something—we have a council—we don't get it, because we don't [unintelligible] this right, this here; they're against us, the way I believe. That's why, if you believe one way—all of us, we cooperate one way—sure, God, he sees us, right plain, just like here, you see, just like a baseball. Christ, He sees us, He's no long ways [off]; no, [He's] here. If he get that right one, and pray to God, it's nothing to it; he can get it; even this government is nothing. He can get it, how he want[s] it. That's the way! That's the way I believe. But they don't do that, see?

We got to use this stuff, and worship God, and do what's right. . . . I work, I try to behave myself, and I try to help my people when they're awful short. I don't want to go over there, after I earn my money, and go out there, and have a drink, and they have nothing here. No; I wouldn't do that. That's the way; that's the right way. God [is] watching me all the time. If I'm going to do right, He's going to help me more. . . . If anybody ask me something, "All right," I would say, "I'll do it." . . . I watch myself, my step, where I'm going to go. If I don't hurt somebody's feelings—and maybe I'll go harm my good friend, if I go drink some place; that isn't right. . . . I don't smoke . . . this tobacco and cigarettes . . . don't use

me right. . . . I got sick, so I keep away from it. . . . Even this whiskey, this beer . . . it don't use me right. Because the only way I could feel good [is] only [with] that stuff, what we use. Don't drink, over there. I wish they quit. But they can't; it's very hard. Everybody like[s] a good time.

We have, now, our children. Younger generation grows up, and wish they have good homes. So the father, if he do right, them children, they follow their father. If he don't know what's right, well, this younger generation, they just do the same thing [as their father].

I believe God and I use it. I know it.

When I use this Peyote, I feel pretty good. It makes me think, and I can see light. Maybe that's Christ's picture, and I see it; even I see angels. And make me think. . . . But before I use it, I never knew nothing.

Q: What does it make you think about?

A: Well, just like we were bad people, ourself. God, He know why we [are] wrong; we don't believe Bible, we don't try to do what's right. This stuff, it makes us think.

Q: Think about what?

A: Think about God. What we see. Next day, we feel, like different. Feel like help ourself. And live that way. Pretty soon, we know.

Q: It makes you feel like helping yourself do what?

A: How we work, how we could eat, how we going to earn something, see? But before, we just the other way; we don't.

Q: What are you working for? What are you trying to get out of your life?

A: Well . . . I got children, grandchildren, over there. All right. One's about seven years old, now. And that's why. And my woman. I like to live right. Let them grow up nice, get together, and go to school—the boy. That's what I'm working for. And that's why I pray, too. I ask God to help us, help us out, to live right. . . .

New Year, they appointed me to lead at M——'s place. . . . So I did. That's the first time they appointed me. . . . All right. I started. "This was my belief," I said, "This stuff what we use. It's about time now; we're going to pray. We don't know what is going to happen. We must get ready, try [to] do the best we know how, to do right, live. And now you put me in to lead. I'm going [to] talk, I'm going [to] pray, I'm going [to] ask Almighty Christ, His name, it's in here—His name—in this Bible. That's the one I'm going to pray [to]. I can't go around and worship something [i.e., anything] it's right here in front of me." And this man . . . [a Protestant missionary] M——'s his name. He says he's going to come [to the meeting at] midnight; he's got the Bible. [It was] just about midnight, and that man come in a little while after that. He says, "Can I say something?" "Sure."—W—— says, "Let that fellow come in. He can tell us; he can tell better than I can," he says. "All right." He come over there, and opened his Bible. He prayed for us; he tell some of the story. "Which story," he says, "[tells us that it is] just like we were born again. We [are] born again, if anybody, he worship God. That's the way He is." So myself, when he got through [unintelligible], we started singing—we sing, you know; once in a while we stop, and we pray—just the nights, you know. In the morning, we quit.

Q: What about your own preaching? What did you preach that time when you led?

A: [Translation] Well, this is what I said when I spoke in the name of the Great Spirit (kesemaneto-w). Then this is what I said in His name. "All of you know what we eat this medicine for; what thoughts it teaches you when it is used. All of us are poor Indians. Spirit (awetok) knows what is wrong with us. Some of us are also inter-

nally ill; we do not know what is wrong internally; now this medicine, as it is called, will cure us. We do not know how far we will go before we die; perhaps Spirit will pity us. This is what I know: this is a true medicine, not a false one. That is why it always bring us truth, goodness, brightness, Spirit's thoughts; it will do us good, it will be good. Well, that is that. Well then, this Spirit really listens to us; if we listen to everything which we believe, all of us will get along well, live well. Anyone who loves Him will find it good here on earth. That is what Spirit does, so that we may love one another. Do not do anything which is wrong. Well, that is that. Well then, look at this. You [Great Spirit] will be looking into everything; I am simply going to tell You this. Well, You really have great wisdom. Arrange everything well, so that it may be used [by us]. This is what I myself believe; I do not say it differently somewhere else. We honor Your name where it appears on paper [i.e., in the Bible]. That is all that I myself know; that is as much as I am able to do. Now that I am becoming older, I myself am the one who says this. And I even pray for this white man [the missionary]; allow him to be pitied, Great Spirit. Take everyone who lives here on earth, the ones that were put here by Spirit, our father." . . .

[Resumes in English] This Church members over here, Catholic, that's different. They worship the same God that's in the New Testament. That's all right; I don't [have any feelings] against them people; they're all right; that's the right way; that's a God's law anywhere. But us, amongst Indians, we don't know nothing; we have to use something to learn that, see?

This Catholic—it's only to me—it's all right. I don't [fight] against it; these people here, a lot of them here, they don't. But in my church—just because I didn't understand nothing; I can't read in the Bible, the way they pray—but this here, it teach me faith, in my self, my mind; [it] even [teaches me about] Jesus Christ. Look what they say around here. Just because they got baptized [as Catholics], they go on; they go ahead and do what they like. Some people, they go ahead and do what they like. Some people, they don't go in that church, just because they ain't baptized. Preach, preach. They say they got to be saved; just believe in Christ. But sometimes they don't. They get killed, around here, but they ain't supposed to be, if they believe it; not monkey with this whiskey business. God, He give us sense to live—that's the time, right away; now. See? I'm going to tell you this, white man; I tell you. One fellow, he told me, "Why is it the Indian, he gets so wild when he drinks?" he said. I'm going to tell you. . . . Before you come, white men, Indian didn't have whiskey here; they live right, just eating wild meat. Now, well, you white men come; you make all kinds of whiskey, and you made a law; then you put them in jail. Sure, that's your belief. They get wild; can't help it; Indian, when he gets started, he can't quit this. Eh?

9. *A Man in His Sixties*

One of my friends, he come visit us, where we used to live. And his name is Mitchell Nēkwatwēh; he's dead now. I had a brother, his name was Silas [the first Menomini to try Peyote]; one time he took that medicine from Mitchell. Next day Silas said, "Say, we got something; I got something," he says; "you might as well eat that too," he says. "Oh, what is it?" I says. "Oh, medicine." "What kind of medicine?" we started asking him. "Yeah," he said, "it's good. Good medicine. Gee! that's something good." "Oh, all right now." Well, I don't know; a couple of weeks after, they had a meeting. That's the way we started. We didn't eat much though; we take

probably about two pieces—three or four pieces—at that time. That's when we started. . . .

Q: Had you belonged to any religion before that?

A: No.

Q: Why not?

A: Nobody tell us about the *metēwen* and *nīmihētwan*; we know nothing.

Q: What sort of beliefs did you have before Peyote came?

A: Nothing; we don't believe in nothing. Except eat, that's all. Didn't join no dance or nothing. We used to drink wine. Work, you know, earn a little money, and go out and drink, and come drunk home (laughs). No nothing; no preaching, nothing; no church or nothing; we didn't believe in none of them. . . .

Q: What happened after you began using this medicine?

A: Silas says, "The medicine is good," he said; "I commence thinking, 'What is good?' Teach me like that," he says, "about God." That's why we take it, see. He kept coaxing us, "Take it!" and so we take some of it, eat it. After we use it about three or four years, and then we begin to think we belong some place, belong [to] some kind of a church. And from then on, we go.

Q: Where did you go?

A: Oh, just where they have a meeting, and up there, and eat a couple pieces, a few pieces.

Q: What are your ideas about the Native American Church?

A: Well, somebody ate that medicine; they begin to think what is right. Well, they go say a few words, a few words to God; say a prayer.

Q: You say that before you took the medicine you drank, you didn't work much and were easy going; but after you joined the church you changed; is that right?

A: Yes.

Q: How did you change? How did you act after you joined the church?

A: Well, we quit drinking. We try to do what is right.

Q: What do you do when you want to do right?

A: Well, you go to work, and try to earn something to eat. When we eat Peyote, and feel good, we pick up, kind of; we're healthy, and think what is right, and say what is right. That's how they work.

Q: What do you say when you want to say something that's right?

A: Well, we don't start no trouble; just go ahead and do what is right, that's all.

Q: What are you living and working for? What do you want to get out of life?

A: Why, we like to have a little money. I like to have a little money, and I like to have something good to eat, I like to have something to wear; that's why I'm working. And sometime I go to work, and have a little money; I send for some Peyote. Buy Peyote and then eat that, because I know it's good; it's good medicine. You see, then you always have it; it comes in handy; you always have it handy. You put it aside, because I know it is good, something good for us, good. And when you're sick, and got a cold, you eat that. . . .

Q: What makes it good?

A: What makes it good? Well, I'll tell you. You know, before I used that, I never think about God, and never go to church. Now, after I use it, I commence to think about God; I say my prayers.

Q: In what way do you think about God?

A: I tell you. This medicine, it's—we got it from God, and God give it to the Indians. That spirit, holy—there's a power—and a person eat that, and it commence to work right in our heart, goes in our heart, the Lord's spirit, and then they commence to think about it. It's just like a

school; when you go to school, you begin to learn something. That's about the same thing in this medicine; you commence to learn.

Q: What do you learn?

A: You learn about God.

Q: What have you learned about God?

A: Well, to do what is right. Be good to everybody; friend with everybody. And do what is right, and help them—and do something to help them.

Q: Couldn't you learn to do that without Peyote?

A: Oh, some of them, why yeah; sure. I don't use that every day; just some time [for] one night; but then next day we don't use that, [but] we can do what is right.

Q: Then how does Peyote help?

A: Help? Everything.

Q: And when you take it, how do you feel?

A: The way we take it, oh, sometimes it's bitter. Don't feel like taking it; you won't feel like eating it, because it's bitter. But after you find out how does it work inside, well, we have to take it. . . . Oh, some of them they like that. Some of them don't mind taking that; they told me, they said, "It tastes good."

Q: Is this a Christian church?

A: Yes.

Q: How is it different from other Christian churches?

A: Well, I tell you. That wasn't me that asked for it; I didn't ask for it. God gives it to us, to join in Peyote society.

Q: How is it different from any other church?

A: There's no difference; they all [worship] the same God.

Q: Then why did you join the Native American Church instead of some other one?

A: Well, that's how we start it; we eat medicine. We eat medicine, and then we commence to go to church. When we start a meeting, well, that's our church. So we stay in there; we stay there.

Q: What is there about it that makes it an Indian church?

A: Just like Catholic church. They go in there, go pray to God. Well, it's same way like we have the meeting; well, that's our church; we pray to God. That's a church.

Q: But it's a different kind of church, isn't it?

A: Altogether; altogether different.

Q: In what way is it different?

A: It's because—you know, in the summer time we put up a tipi; we sit right on the ground, all around; and having a fire inside, right in the middle, you build a fire; sit all around. Sure, that's altogether different. It ain't like this [Catholic] church here.

Q: Are there any other differences?

A: Also—yes, that's a whole lot different. Because we eat medicine; but then, they don't eat medicine, they got a book. . . .

Q: Will you please repeat for me the prayer you usually say?

A: [Translation] "Well, Great Spirit, the time has now come; I am going to pray to you today, where I am standing. Well then, this is the way I pray to you, Great Spirit. Please let everything be abundant, so that we may exist well on this earth where we live. For allowing us to live up to the present, we thank you, Great Spirit up above. Well then, I pray of you to give strength (me_skwesan) to everyone of us. Hold the hands of each one of my children; give them strength; give them that which is good, in the future; and make them stand erect here on earth where we live. Make us stand erect here on this good road that has been made for us. Help me, I pray of you. And also give each one of my brothers and sisters strength; that is what I ask for today as I stand here. And all the

different Indian tribes which exist; hold the hands of as many of them as believe in this medicine, and hold the hands of their children and their relatives. So that the Indians may face towards where there is brightness; I pray of you that you will hear me. And also this white man, who lives here in this world where we live, where you put us here to live. I ask that you will hold the hands of all of us a while, Great Spirit, so that everything will be good here, and that we will live in the future over there [i.e., in the next world]. And also, we have now arrived at summer; for everything that is growing well and which we now see joyfully, thanks. There then, that is what I ask of you, Great Spirit. So that we may be well, as many of us as live here on earth; that is what I pray of you today. And surely help any one of us to arrive to where there is brightness; that is what I pray of you. The Father, and the Son, the Holy Ghost, amen."

[The second season:]

A: Last year you asked me more than once why I eat that [Peyote]; why I have to eat it. I think about that. Well, now, when I start eating that medicine, well, about after midnight it commence to work on me; the medicine works, tell[s] me something. And I found out, myself, I was a sinner, all full of sin. Then I commence to think why I [was] like that. And I ate some more, and I found out that Peyote was good, and teach me what is right. Before I didn't know nothing what was right. And that's why I eat that. You asked me more than once, and I tell you now. I find out myself, I was all wrong, altogether. From now on I try to behave myself. Well, every time we had [a] meeting, I'd feel like going in there; I try to get rid of my sins. That's all; that's why I use that medicine.

Q: I'd like to ask you now about your religious beliefs. . . .

A: In the first beginning of the world . . . there was nobody around; there was no world at that time; nothing; no nothing. And God arise and look around; and soon as he got up [there] was a light. But there was no world at that time. Then he commence to think, he's going to make the world. First he starts to walk towards the east; when he got down to the east just so far, he make an angel there, and the sun. He came back [to] where he start, go south, then put another angel in the south. And back again, he go west, he put one angel up there. Come back, go north, [puts an angel there]. Come back again.³ The world [and] everything [on it] is all ready—trees, everything, animals—at once. That's the nearest I can tell you.

Q: What is kes_emaneto-w [Great Spirit] like?

A: Well, when we eat that medicine, then we think about kes_emaneto-w. We commence to start pray[ing]. Well, that's how we find out, through this medicine, about kes_emaneto-w; we find him.

Q: What is he like?

A: Oh, we think that's something good; that's good. . . . I seen him; I seen him there when I first eat that medicine. . . . He look like white man; tall; well, he's got some kind of a white coat on, something like that, like a—I don't know what you call that.

Q: A gown or robe?

A: Yes, a robe; that's it, that's it. I seen that [one], standing there; that's why I like that, this medicine. . . . He had whiskers on. . . . He didn't say nothing to me. I just saw him.

Q: And what does kes_emaneto-w do?

A: He'd pray, pray for us [unintelligible]. He stand like this. (Puts his arms out.)

Q: To whom does he pray?

A: No one.

³ This story of the creation of the spirits of the cardinal points is traditional.

Q: What is he praying for?
 A: So [we will not forget] to remember him, pray for him; like he do[es us].
 Q: Where does he live?
 A: In Heaven.
 Q: What does he do there?
 A: I don't know; I never was up there. (Laughs.)
 Q: What can you tell me about *kesēmaneto-w oki²san* [Great Spirit's son, i.e., Jesus]?
 A: God, he had to make everything in the world; everything, [including] angels. He begin to think, he got to have somebody that look like him. Because all the animals, you know, they got young ones. And he was alone, and then he got to have a son. Just as quick as he think that, well, he got a son; only one, though. That's how it commenced to be Jesus.
 Q: What is he like?
 A: I seen him once [in a Peyote vision]. Looks like a man; powerful; he's taller than T—— here, [a tall Menomini]; have whiskers, long hair, brown hair.
 Q: Then he's a white man?
 A: Looks like a white man, yes. That's all I see.
 Q: What does he do?
 A: Right now he's busy; pray for us, you and I. He try to save people.
 Q: What about *wayiaskaset awētok* [the one who is a good spirit, i.e., the Holy Ghost]?
 A: I don't know . . . I couldn't tell you.
 T——: (Prompting him.) That is the Holy Ghost.
 A: Holy Ghost; yes, Holy Ghost.
 Q: How is the Holy Ghost different from God and Jesus?
 A: God and Son and the Holy Ghost; that's clear, light, bright, life forever.
 Q: But how is the Holy Ghost different from God?
 A: Holy Ghost, that's just a spirit.
 Q: And what does this spirit do?
 A: Well, he—light, clear; that's how we live. That's a spirit.
 Q: Is *wayiaskaset awētok* a man?
 A: A man, yes.
 Q: How does he look?
 A: I seen him once. Just like Jesus; well, he's *wayiaskaset awētok*.
 Q: Is Jesus the same as *wayiaskaset awētok*?
 A: Yes. That's what they name that [one], *wayiaskaset awētok*. . . . That's what they call it, us Indians.
 Q: Is *wayiaskaset awētok* the same as Jesus?
 A: Yes, that's him.
 Q: What is *tata-hkesen*?
 A: *Tata-hkesewen* is power; strong power.
 Q: How is it different from *mēskowesan*?
 A: That's the same thing, only they say it a little bit different.
 Q: How does this power work?
 A: I don't know how it work, what it look like. I don't know. . . . There's one I know [that has power], that's that Peyote. I know lots of people—preachers, ministers, priests, my old folks—tried to tell me to do what is right; all of them can't make me believe anything. But now, as soon as I use that Peyote, well, I commence to realize; I know I have to do what is right. That's that power; power done that. That's as near as I can explain that power.
 Q: Is *tata-hkesewen* only in Peyote?
 A: Well, God has more power than Peyote.
 Q: Has Jesus also *tata-hkesewen*?
 A: Yes.
 Q: Has *wayiaskaset awētok* also *tata-hkesewen*?
 A: Yes.
 Q: What can you tell me about the *a:seni-wak* [angels]?

A: That's all I know; God made them.
 Q: Did you ever see any [in a Peyote vision]?
 A: Yes. They look like a wind. When I see them, they just come towards me, that's all.
 Q: What do they do?
 A: I don't know.
 Q: What about *mace²-awētok* [evil spirit]?
 A: That I couldn't tell you; I never see him.
 Q: Is there such a spirit?
 A: Yes. I heard a [Protestant] missionary here. The last couple of years, he tells us every Wednesday. I went to that meeting and he told us all about him, everything. I don't want to put that in, because I don't use that [belief], you know; I didn't learn it from Peyote.
 Q: What is the *we-skēno-hseh nepe-w* [Waterbird]?
 A: I seen that *we-skēno-hseh nepe-w* at a meeting. Oh, it must have been towards morning. I looked this way [east], and I seen that *we-skēno-hseh*. Boy! he's bright! bright! Oh! nice! He looked nice, bright. I [was] glad to see it. [I] just see it, that's all.
 Q: How did it look?
 A: White, clear, clean.
 Q: Did it look like any bird you'd ever seen?
 A: No. I can't tell you just exactly what it looked like, but I seen that.
 Q: What does the *we-skēno-hseh nepe-w* do?
 A: Gee, that I don't know.
 Q: What is *ke-sek* [Heaven] like?
 A: I don't know.

10. *A Man in His Sixties*

(*A Chippewa who has lived among the Menomini for many years*)

All these things I think about, you know; but it's beyond my dimension [i.e., comprehension]; I'm just simply, because I went [through] third grade. I talked English language first [when] I went to school; talking only Indian [before, except for a few English] swear words, you know. And I didn't get along good, and understand what's what, and I come home. But I pick up considerable by myself, you know; pick up magazine here, read; come natural to me; I can read fairly fair. Yes. [He went to the Lutheran mission school at Wittenberg.] I was taught as a Lutheran. Well, my parents told me, they said, "That religion's wrong." That time I was a young man, and took my parents' advice.

Q: How did you first come to use Peyote?

A: That was a long time ago; it must have been all of thirty-five or forty years ago, not to be exact. My brother, he's [the] one— . . . he lived at Lac du Flambeau; he was first using it, my older brother—and he got me to go. Then he explained what for. He said, "I'd like to have that." You got to explain things, what for; you can't go in that just be a speculator, and get any results. God sees in our hearts, and you can't fool Him, you know; you might fool another man. And that's the way my brother thought; that's how I got in there.

Q: How did the medicine make you feel, the first time you took it?

A: Well, I had a hard time. It taste bitter, and I see a lot of things that's unusual, you know. But that don't come from that medicine; that's myself. . . . There was a good many years before I finally got on the right—you get the range, you might say, like the soldiers; and get the right rut, you know; the way I [am] supposed to live.

Q: What unusual things did you see?

A: Well, that's in my make-up, what we believe in. Before, as pagans, we have a lot of fables, you know, about

God and devil, and different kind of kindred spirits. Well, I seen all them, you know. I didn't actual see them; it's a vision, like, and that isn't actual so. It's so strong in me, that I couldn't help it.

Q: Then you must have belonged to some other groups before?

A: This Medicine Dance, and Powwow, and all that. I was supposed to be a doctor for my people, there. It was gift to me when small; I was supposed to heal other Indians, you know, with herbs, and other ways. And it worked kind of hard on me. When I got over that, it was expelled; now, just natural. When I talk unnatural, or somebody hears me, well, "That man there, he must be bughouse," they say, "talking about little things he don't know nothing about." But I do, you know . . . just a little I know, small way, you know. Like when you see automobile go on the dirt road and make lot of dust; well, one of them dust is me. According to Christians, God's splendid in heaven, created everything; one of them dusts is me. I feel that humble. He's the one who created me. But it's nice to be something. The idea I get, you know, in compassion, what power has God. That's my own idea; I mean, not preach, but they worship Christ.

This old ceremony, you know, pagan religion, that's where I come from in the beginning, way back. They call us "pagan." I don't know who invented that word, you know. I don't know much about it, in addition, that "pagan" there, what it means. . . .

Q: What does Peyote do for you, when you take it today?

A: There's nothing happens inside. You can feel it go all through, your body, that medicine; that is digested in your stomach. There's different ways of taking that. Some of them, they boil it, you know, and brew medicine out of it; that's really better. But different people likes it different ways. Some of them like it green, too; it comes green; that's better yet; tastes like cabbage. But this, when it's dry, for a beginner it's pretty hard to bear it; then it won't go in there. I know some people are that way; I was that way.

Q: It tasted something like dried orange peel to me; I didn't find it hard to take.

A: Well, that's nice. You didn't sin much in your life. These people that live bad lives, there's something strong in them, you know; their spirit, you know, repels that and wants to come out; it don't like that medicine, you know, in their bodies. Hard to explain that.

Q: You said you learn from Peyote; how do you learn?

A: Well, it depends on you. I never had that experience to see things. But my mind—I see like an artist or architect. You see all that you know, in your mind. I don't see that way, like to see the same as I look; but it comes in your mind, you actually see it, you know. It's like a man that's study them things; you could see plain. That's the way it occurs to me.

Q: Well, can you give me some examples of what you see that way?

A: That's hard to explain. Now, it seem like this radio, they got messages, millions of them, travel all over the world, like that little crystal, sound on there. Well, there's a central point, too, above somewheres; there's a beam, small, of a light that's brighter than anything in this world; it's got kind of small thread go[ing] to this person; that comes from God. I'm just trying to explain on there. Then you hear a voice; maybe it's in your own tongue. And they say God is creator of all languages in this world; whatever language you best use every day, why, He speaks to you that way. But you don't hear anybody walking alongside of you; you don't hear that; it's a message; you don't see anybody; it's a spirit.

Q: What sort of messages do you get from God?

A: Well, He tells you something nice.

Q: For instance, what has He told you?

A: Well, one time I was worried about my relatives in World War Two. And I got a message one day that the war was going to come to an end. A few days afterward, armistice was signed. I heard a voice. I'm not a prophet, you know; I just explain there, through the use of this Peyote, God is merciful to you. . . . That's the nearest I can explain that. . . .

Q: How does singing make you feel?

A: Well, I feel—well, to make an expression, like you feel at Christmas; good spirit; everybody good physically, and his mind and his spirit are all in good humor, pleasant. That's the way I feel.

Q: How do you choose the songs you're going to sing?

A: Well, I learn it from different ones. If you want a song of your own, you got to use a lot of this stuff, and it comes to you. They travel in the air; they come, come to you.

Q: Have new songs ever come to you?

A: No, no. I translate some songs, Winnebago, into my own tongue, though. It sound kind of odd, but I learn that through this Peyote and voice. Is the same thing, but I translate in my tongue from Winnebago.

Q: Do you understand Winnebago?

A: A little bit—I went to school over there—a few words. . . . To be right, you go to this man and ask him; he'll explain that to you in English, what for them words in his own tongue. There's all languages; they're all familiar, you know; they all sing the other tribes' songs. And you go to this man here, who sung that, and you ask him; he'll tell you just what them words are, from start to finish—that song there—he'll explain to you in English, what you understand, you know.

Q: How do you feel when you drum?

A: Well, that depends on—you got to ask [i.e., pray], too. You got to ask, then you drum good; if you don't, you're a bum drummer. . . . You got to ask how to drum good; you got to ask the Creator. And you got to say a prayer, and ask; and everything goes smooth and nice. . . .

Q: Why is it that some people vomit after they've taken Peyote?

A: There's reasons for that. This man might have been drinking beer; maybe he's got a weak stomach, can't digest that; got to come out. He might have been drinking whiskey; he might have been having a row with his wife; maybe he got in a fight somewheres; and his mind is not capable of using this medicine, and that's the reason it come out. But he can take some more, then; he's all right. Depends on what cause it. He might have been swearing lots, too; maybe he got hate in his heart. This Peyote don't want that; he wants you to be in harmony. That's the nearest I can get to that, from practical experience. That's what I have; I go out sometime [to vomit], and back in again, and I get all right.

Q: You take more then?

A: Yeah.

Q: How much more?

A: Whatever—he knows, you know; I mean this medicine knows how much you can take. A lot of time I took small amount. I use it long time, don't take much; because I've used it so long, I don't take so much as ordinary. It works on me. Maybe you take maybe forty or fifty—you know, them buds—I don't have to use that much, because I've used it too long. That's reason for that. Maybe you sick; maybe you got stomach flu or something—something cause it anyway—and when you do that on sickness, you might say it tends to go with that medicine. It's done, and you feel better, and you take some more; then you all right.

Q: You say the medicine knows how much you can take; how do you find out?

A: Well, through the hearing. I hear voice, see, talks about that small string from up in heaven through the use of this Peyote. Kind of message, like. He knows how much. . . .

Q: What is your idea of the Native American Church?

A: Well, it's on the same principle, identical, with the Bible teachings. That's the way I understand it. And I used to study Bible when I was small and went to school there [at the Lutheran] mission school at Wittenberg. I know considerable; they teach us ways—books, Bible, Protestant and Lutheran. That's the way I got it sized up; it's identical with the Bible teachings. There's a whole lot to explain in our ways. A person like myself, I was never converted to the Protestant or the old church—the Catholic church. That's my idea and my opinion; it's identical with the Bible teachings. And that's good [that] I learned them things. And my people, they didn't go to school; old timers, my father—no, my mother. I was up north [among the Chippewa, to which he belongs] in that time, when I went to school.

And in later years, my brother, he joined that [Peyote religion]. He was kind of a sick little fellow, and he went in a meeting. Then he asked for me; he asked God if I could be brought and join the group.

The Peyote culture, they called it that time; [that's] one of the names; they got a lot of names for it; Native Church of America; they have to give it a name. Happily, the proper name for it, for that, would be the Church of Christ; that would be a proper name for it. They give this name, and all that, Native Church of America; and when an idea gets closer to definition. It's old customs, you know, they got way back. That wasn't in existence; this is new; that was revealed to the Indians way down south—what I heard, you know.

I been down as far as Oklahoma, and I heard different view of it, how it originates. . . . I got nice friends up there—brothers, you know, in the way [of religious] brotherhood—then, [one of them] he explained. He says, "They used to fight among themselves, them Indians, awful; same as they're doing now, today; not only the Indians; the white man, too. Then there was one left, and he didn't know what to do." I suppose he served a purpose; you know, the Creator. He had plans for him; that's the story I heard from that [one] "And he got a vision from the Creator, [who] then talked to him—a man, just ordinary man, and talked to him. He says, 'You're the only one left.' He says, 'You got a lot of brothers and sisters all over.' And He explained all that, what to do in the ceremony there. He says, 'You go over [to] a certain place, a tribe up there; that's your brother,' He says, 'your sister.' Then that's how he got this here. Great Spirit tried to explain to him that people should be brothers and sisters, and He give him all the code they go through; different tribes got little different ways in their ceremonies." That's what I hear down there.

Then they sent out missionaries. Maybe they make friends somewhere, and they explain this. And some people like it; it kind of appeal to them; then they went and see for themself. But they ain't got many members [in] proportion to what they got churches.

You see, there's a different way of looking at that, too. Lot of this Indians' common ideas; you know, they believe that this Peyote is kind of image, you know, like the worship in the Bible times; they set up golden calf; they make it like that one. It ain't so; I don't believe that. It's just like Testament, you know, to lead you towards the Creator, you know. That Peyote—like Catholics, they use wine, you know, for sacrament purposes; that's same purpose is for this

Peyote. And it was given to the Indians too, because they poor; they don't know much, the Indians; they ain't got nothing; they're not educated. White man is a superior race; he's one step ahead all the time, the white race. Not to be prejudiced—I'm part white myself—but I know that to be a fact. And they're radical; man gets education, be a lawyer, or some kind of big—like you, profess—he can't get nowhere unless they're radical or prejudiced about other races. So, this Creator, He had plans for Indians; so He give them something. Now, this Peyote man, you can't fool him. A man that used Peyote long time, he can trace anything you might imagine; he'll trace it, you know, in a way, I can't make explanation; just like a detective, he going to find out somewhere why this, and why that; like that, you know. But that's medically, I'm explaining it to you; that's the way it is. Then they have prejudices, that [Peyote] make Indians crazy, that Peyote; and it ain't so. Of course, the white man got laws, you know, about that; and physicians, they got to have a certificate from the state and the government that gives the right [to practice]. But long before white man [came] here, we had our own medicine, you know; herbs and all such things. We lived just the same, and they compel us to live on his doctrines. But there's a lot of Indians; in my tribe there's doctors, lawyers too—in my tribe up in northwest, you know—that don't bar anybody. That's my idea, what I'm trying to explain. So God being good, He gave something good to the Indians. Then they [i.e., the white men] are going [to] stop that. Well, that church missionaries—all denominations—they complain. "Well," they say, "them Peyote fellows [are] no good; got things all balled up," he says; "there's a drug; makes them crazy." It ain't so; I use long time; I know better. Used in a right way, it's good for Indian, that Peyote. It wasn't given to the white man; it was given to the poor Indian, so he get some enlightenment from God in the way He wants [us] to live. You don't have to be millinery [millionaire] big shot, and some head fellow like them [unintelligible]; we's supposed to be equal in eyes of God, no matter how poor he is. That's where we come from in the beginning; He made us, the spirits in us belongs to Him; and when we die it goes back to Him, so He must know something.

God gave this to the poor Indian to enlighten him, better ways towards Him. . . . Physically, he's strong, able to work. And he don't worry; worries is wiped away, you might say, you know; he feel light, the burden is light. That way his mind don't bother him; he knows something that help him, the Creator. And that way, he knows; gives him courage; life [is] worth living. That's the way I think, I know it to be.

Q: You say it makes life worth living; what are you living for? Why do you work so hard?

A: Well, I didn't get this from Peyote, but God's commandment. When Eve took the apple off the tree, He said, "By the sweat of your brow you should earn your bread"; that's God's commandment. That's the reason a person that works, he lives up the book of life, God's book.

Q: What do you expect to get out of living up to God's book?

A: Well, if you accept it, in heaven you're going to get life eternal. If you real hundred per cent Christian, nothing's going bother you. You going try attain that aim; you got a point to go to. You'll be there forever, where never die; resurrection—that's your body; you leave your body here—and then you go, you're accepted by Christ; it's only through Christ we can get through there. That's what it is. There ain't much in this life; money; they're all corrupt in this world, today, too; all things going on. Big shots, you know—away up, Wall Street, billions of dollars—they don't look at it that way; they don't care

about man's soul; something else gets the right of way. . . . Now, wars today, and they break the commandment, this man here. "Thou shalt not take thy brother's life"; God command that; it's in His commandment. Now, they kill each other by the million in the last five thousand years; somebody must be wrong somewhere. Man! I don't know if it's white man or Indian. They done the same thing in this country, you know; found the Indian. Like them high class women in cities—I used to do guide work at Stone Lake—oh, they brag about it; money, nice clothes, civilization. Well, they want me to say something. I say, "I don't believe much in that civilization. Took one Indian three days to kill another Indian with a club. Here your white man, over there they're fighting and in five minutes they kill about fifty thousand with a machine gun. I don't know who's more savage, that Indian or that white man." (laughs) They walk away; they turned red (laughs). Ask me a lot of silly questions; I told them something. That's right, too! I don't know; they call the Indian "savages," you know; lot of them yellow journal writers, you know, novel writers, and [unintelligible], "Indian! oh! Indian is a savage!" I don't know about that white man there; he's killed fifty thousand men there with a machine gun. It's worse now; they got that atom bomb, H-bomb; they kill more now. I don't know who's the more savage, this white man or this Indian.

[He then mentions a nativistic movement which believes that the Messiah will come as an Indian.] His power [will] come [unintelligible] a new-born child, you know; He's going to be Christ, you know, amongst Indians. Those [are] fables that are going on, [in] Kansas [Potawatomi] and up toward Odanah [Chippewa]; but that ain't so. Christ, next time He comes; He's going to come as adult person, not as a child; He's going to come in the clouds. Judgment day. He's going to come.

It says in the Bible, you know—I believe the Bible, too, is identical [with] that [Peyote] religion—that "Those that lack wisdom ask God; He'll give freely," That's right; through this Peyote, that's the way it works with the Indian. It explains to them in their thoughts, mind, whatever it is. That's the way I know it. You have to go to meeting, or have hard times. At times, you know, I transgress law; I'm [a] sinner; I have a hard time; I'll get punished for that. I use that medicine. But after I get over it, gee! I feel good! Seems like a person going to take a bath; you know how refreshing it feels; and physically and spiritually I feel that way afterwards. And that [is] why I think it's penitent for my sins. It's good for me to go there, and pray with them fellows; ask for blessing. That's the way I think, my opinion. Myself, I'm no good, you know—what you call?—dyed-in-wool Christian.

Now come people claim to know the Lord—different denominations; Holy Jumpers, and this—some kind of religion they got over in Utah, in Salt Lake.

Q: Mormons?

A: Yeah. Well, I read their book, and I don't believe in that. Because I know; I had some actual experience. You can't go wrong if you ask what's right; but it's pretty hard to be perfect, you know. Then I read their books; a whole lot of books I read. But there's nothing on earth that can make me believe otherwise.

This Peyote, if you take it in good way, in good light; if you ask what's it's—God, He knows what's good for each one of us; He gives us according to our needs. Some people ask too much, you know; like Stalin there, he wants to dominate the world, you know. God wouldn't give him that power to do all that work. I know, that's in the Bible; you call them anti-Christ, you know . . . Hitler was one of them, and different countries up there, they have them. The Bible speaks about them, you know. . . .

Q: How is the Native American Church different from other churches?

A: Well, the difference is this Peyote, bought in poverty; they don't believe in making profits out of that; it's kind of charity institution, you might say, in a sense. And they're poor; they can't finance; they got a poor Indian, whoever appeals. It ain't many of us; there's just very few of us. Most of them belong to churches; maybe to old customs, you know, religion. But they isn't many out of each group. For instance, like here; there's about twenty-seven hundred Menominis—that's just making a guess—and here, there's, you might say, thirty-five or forty Peyote members. And their children are not members; some of them belong to church—Catholic church, or maybe Protestant; two or three in there. You know, I ain't got no word for that, to express that; we small in group, you know, we ain't got enough members.

Q: Well, what about among the Chippewas?

A: Same thing.

Q: How many Chippewa are members?

A: Well, like in Moon Lake there; there's only my brother D——; there's a fellow by the name of M——. Them fellows are the only ones that I know of, that's interested in that.

Q: What about at Lac du Flambeau?

A: Well, there's a bunch there; you might say about a dozen. What should be, each member should follow the parents' religion, or on the reverse side of their relatives they should take interest in that. Some way, they're not interested. There's too much, in this world, of other things to look at.

Q: What other ways are Indian about your church?

A: Well, they got the privilege to use their own tongue in their prayers and their talk. And it generally is that there ain't enough in one group of one tongue to make a success of [it]; so they got to have interpreters. One tribe—that's the first [i.e., sponsoring] tribe—then maybe four or five different tribes; and they talk different, and some words they can't understand, you know—different words—so they have interpreter, you know. I was down south, too; it's the same way; it's necessity to have interpreter in there, so not offend anybody, you know. Go in there for good purpose, and he explains what, thoroughly, you're supposed to [do]. They use their own tongue.

Q: What about the singing and drumming?

A: Well, they live a code here. When you get a whole outfit, everything goes in there; songs, songs for everything. There's songs for starting, quitting songs, water songs, funeral songs, they got songs for all them principals; each song, for that purpose.

Q: I didn't know there was a funeral song.

A: Oh, yeah. When you want to be buried as a Peyote member, they bury them; they have a funeral.

Q: Is there one special funeral song, or many?

A: Well, that depends on tribes. The way here; I've heard the Winnebagoes. But I didn't learn the song. If I hear it enough times, I would, you know. But if a person use this [medicine] and if he ask what he want, it'll come to him; he'll get the song, whatever he asks for; and he gets that. It's revealed to him; it's given to him, and he uses them things for that purpose. God reveals it to him. . . .

That's my idea of it; it's a good thing. Myself, I'm not what you call a dyed-in-wool Christian; I can't fly yet [i.e., he is not an angel]. But I believe in that. I've used it a long time; pretty close to forty years, more or less. . . . Whenever opportunity comes, I go where they have a meeting, you know—various tribes—and I like it. I go penitence, and I feel better, and oh! something new comes up, that you didn't know before.

Lately, I don't go so much; I'm kind of back sliding my-

self, you know; just like ordinary mortals, you know, back slide too; like church members, you know. I go, though; I know it's good for me. Yes!

Down south they have a meeting every Saturday; that's where you should be. Up here, we poor up north; we ain't got much cash; we can't have it very often, because it costs money, you know. Most of us, we work for our money, which is small, a few dollars, [*unintelligible*] a little. Occasionally we have to put up a meeting, you know; whoever get together, you know, discuss it, put up one on special days.

Q: On what occasions do you have meetings?

A: Well, there's a sick meeting if a person's sick. Then a funeral meeting. Then a birthday for somebody. Occasions like Christmas, Easter, Fourth of July, Decoration; they're big days, you know. For something that's done in the past; our ancestors, you know, lot of them died, you know, to get free from what they have now, such things as that. Some may be in remembrance of his—maybe a man that lived a long time with his wife [who has] died, and following year, in remembrance of her, he put up a meeting; such as that occasion. Other ways too; I can't tell you all what they put up for, the meetings. But there's a purpose; they don't just put it up, you know, just to be amuse themself.

Q: Then, of course, there are also friendship meetings?

A: Oh yes. Our good pals, somewheres; come [from] way down south; maybe from Canada. Old time friends; you feel so glad, you want to do something for them, and this is the best way, put up a meeting for them, and they come in there and use [the medicine] too, and that way it's good, too; friendship meeting. Some friend you ain't seen in a long time, old crony; some of them do it that way.

Q: Suppose a person who doesn't know anything about Peyote asked you about it; what would you say to him?

A: Well, my idea is—the doctors ask me, preachers, and all that; and maybe it's just a temptation for me to say something, criticize my belief. What I tell a man, if he actually believe what he's saying, I tell him, "Go in there and use it, what you can; and not first time—that's just little while, one night. After you get used, about four years, then you know something you could put in a book, or you experiment." If I was to tell him, it goes in one ear and goes out the other. . . . "There's only one way [to learn about] the things I told you. You go in there and go at it in good ways; make your heart clean; don't try to fool them poor Indians; and you go in there in good faith, and you sit down and pray for yourself in your own tongue, and be like they do, and you'll get somewhere; you'll get truth out of it. But this way, you ask me, I tell you; you won't believe me anyway. I know that. You got to go in there yourself."

I'll make short explanation. An old fellow—he died [since]—one time somebody wanted to give him some Peyote. He's an old man, a Menomini Indian; he got [to] like me [as] a friend; we talked together, and he asked me about Peyote. I said, "Who told you [about] that?" "Oh, Indians; maybe fellows." "Did they ever use that?" "No," he says, "but I did, one time," he says; "I went, took some, not very much," he says, "just to try it. Then this work hardship on me," he said; "I could see lot of snakes when I use it." "Yes," I told him, "I'll explain that to you. That wasn't that medicine; that's you, so much evil in you." He was a church member, too; Catholic here; I won't mention no names. "Number one: that's you; you go [around with] that serpent in your heart there; [there is] one in some men and women; that's what you saw; it wasn't that medicine there. You didn't ask to use that, and whatever first occurred in your mind, that's what comes to you, what you have in your own mind; that's yourself. Now, in a

sense, you know, disciple." "Well, I didn't know that," says this fellow; "I'd have been all right if I talked to you first." That's a man here; he was an old man, a good man, too. If he'd ask, you know, permission [from] somebody that used that—he got to ask for him, you know, and then you get results, and you get good way—but this way, whatever in his mind and system, that come out plain; he got scared, too (laughs). I tried to explain to him that way.

Q: You say every time you take Peyote you learn something new?

A: Yes.

Q: How much medicine did you take at the last meeting?

A: Well, I took considerable. I didn't keep count, because I got all my molars pulled out, and I'm kind of handicapped; I got to break it up and swallow it whole; then I got this waiter to go and grind it for me. I took considerable, you know, for what they had. I kind of weight the matter, too; you kind of know how much they got; sometimes it's scarce, and I don't want to be selfish and make a hog of myself. Some people in there needs it more than I do; I just go there, there's nothing wrong with me. If you're sick, or something like that, it's good for you; then that will go away, that will expel it; that medicine will do that. But I used considerable amount. . . . Oh, somewhere about twenty; fifteen or twenty, to be exact.

Q: All right; now, what did you learn from it?

A: Well, I learned to say a prayer in my own tongue.

Q: Last Saturday night?

A: Yes.

Q: You learned a new prayer?

A: Not a new prayer. But it learned me how to pray by myself. I heard somebody praying, and I got curious—the medicine work on me—gosh! It sound all right, this man was praying. Well, when I find out, that was myself; I heard my own prayer there. It was curious; somebody here was praying, you know; I could understand his [Chippewa] words and tongue; I come to find out, that's myself. Unusual things in there. I can't explain just how that kind of surprised me. It ain't many people that's real, you know, real devotion, real faithful, in there. Lot of them there, just curious; you might say about one third; they go to that just to hear good songs, and all that; just to be sociable, and all that. God doesn't want that; He wants you to know Him.

Q: What would you say you take Peyote for?

A: Well, I'll make an effort. Before, I tried all kinds of religions; attended the Catholic church and the Protestant church, different kinds of unnamed churches, all kinds. This, on top here, my mouth, my words; when I use this medicine here, I know it's a force, and my prayer is accepted; that much [from] Peyote I got; that's the reason I use Peyote. I tried before; that's just surface; it wasn't down in my heart at all. It [Peyote] went right to the core; I feel something in there. That's as far as I got with that.

Q: You say you feel something; what do you feel?

A: A spirit.

Q: Can you describe how it makes you feel?

A: Well, not exactly. Anyway, it's awful. . . . You feel good; you feel happy.

Q: When do you feel that way?

A: That's during that time, when that meeting was in progress.

Q: You said you have to take Peyote in a good way?

A: Yes.

Q: What do you mean by "a good way"?

A: Well, lots of them, they—same as a white man; lots of preachers, they make too much profit out of the church; in the name of Christ, they claim. That's what I mean.

But in our own—it's kind of difficult for me—for good purpose; so you don't abuse your power.

Q: What would be a good purpose?

A: Well, anybody sick you go up there and give him some medicine if he's a Peyote member. If he's not a member, well, if you help the family; he's in circumstances poor—most of them are; Indians are poor—you're going to help them; what they need in the line of food; maybe they need doctor; maybe medicine; whatever is in your means, you help him without anybody urging you; you go there yourself—you know the people—and do what you can. Maybe some Indians—in the winter time, you know, some people die; it's pretty hard to dig graves when the ground's frozen; you go there [to] shovel, you know. In that way I could help out a little bit, you know. That's what I mean.

Q: You also spoke of living right; what is the Peyote way of living right?

A: Well, that's kind of hard. A man of my learning, you know, and book learning and civilized ways, it's hard for me to explain. What man knows [about] right and wrong, his conscience tells him; God gives you that in the beginning. You know what's right and wrong, without looking at any books, or medicine either. But when you use medicine you get on a good trail. . . . The nearest I can give you is the Golden Rule.

Q: How should one act according to the Golden Rule?

A: Well, that's kind of hard to explain. Well, if a man is down sick—if he's got a garden patch, corn or potatoes—sick abed, can't get out; you go up there, and you hoe that corn and take care of it, and without no charges; just do it for—that's the way it is, I got [it] figured out. This man ain't got no money; he's poor. In that way you're paid for it; the Creator, he repays you—I don't know how many fold—as you live in this world. You get reward for that; not in corn, but in ways of life.

Q: What sort of ways?

A: Can't you feel good? And your mind is free, and you don't worry about anything; you're that way. This is a corrupt world, anyway; millions of people, you know, they got heavy burden. But that goes away when you do them things; God, He helps you; He lifts the burden off from your mind, makes it lighter. . . .

I took sick one time. Something went amiss in my mind; what they call insanity or something, you know. I had two views, good and evil, you know. People go serve two masters, and how it's between the two; I suppose that's what makes that. . . . I just analyzed that myself in my own mind, and I know. And this fellow says, "Well, better send him to [the mental hospital at] Oshkosh." Now, my brother, he believed pretty strong in Peyote; he says, "Let's give him a chance," he says, "then we'll try this." That's a long time ago, about twenty-five, thirty years ago, not to be exact. And they had a meeting, for me especially. My wife—at that time I had a wife; I lived in Stone Lake, with Potawatomis—and they had a meeting. Then there's a bunch from Wittenberg; Winnebago Indians come there—they used [it] long before us tribes up there used [it]; come from that direction, and going north. And, first night, I used lot of that. Then, one other was knocked out. That's in a sense, no such thing; no drug in there; they analyzed that—chemist in Milwaukee, you know, George Veline (?), he is a chemist—but there's some kind of elements in there, but they're not habit forming drug, like opium or them other kind, marihuana; Peyote hasn't got that. Then I went down, and just like dead, you know; suppose I was in a coma, you know. Well, the meeting went up, and I still laid on the floor—in the house, you know, upstairs. Then they got scared; they says, "Here's a man died on us," they say. You know, Indians are sim-

ple minded, and they actually thought this, you know; I was just in coma, you know. And first thing, I come to, and I sat up—oh, must have been about eleven o'clock—just like going in the dark. Didn't know how I went, but afterwards I find out, through the use of this medicine, what for. It made me over again. I was so corrupt, and weak, and all that, in my body and my soul; it kind of fixed me up, this medicine. White people, they call that "be baptized in the river; you're born again"; something, that's just a strong word, not a clear expression. Then I got up again; that much it done for me. And this stuff here, that was bothering me, is gone.

Q: What was your sickness about?

A: That's kind of hard to explain, you know. I know just what this other fellow's thinking about, you know. Insane man, he gets like that; he know what you think about.

Q: So you knew what others thought?

A: Yes.

Q: And did you think they were talking about you?

A: No, no. I know what they was thinking about, or what they was talking about. I know they were friends of mine, or else I wouldn't have been there.

Q: Were they saying or thinking bad things about you?

A: No, not exactly. Of course, I feel, you know, that they like me, you know. They said, "It'd be a good thing if you get sent to a sanitarium," the people was saying, "that at Oshkosh." Some that [*unintelligible*] Catholic, you know. They didn't say it right out, but I know it right away, they had that in mind.

Q: How did you behave that made them say that?

A: Well, I wouldn't talk. I just looked, wouldn't talk.

Q: Would you sit still?

A: Oh yes, sit still. I wasn't violent, you know, but my mind was affected.

Q: How was your mind affected?

A: Well, your seeing power. I was just sitting.

Q: Did you think while you were sitting still?

A: Yes.

Q: Did you think about what you would like to have happen?

A: Well, I didn't figure that far ahead. I figured that there's only two ways: I'm going to die, or I'm going to live. And I hope I live a better way, if I recover from that. That's what I had in mind, when I first used this medicine. I used lots of it; it was ground up. I said, "There is only two ways: if God be for this medicine here, if I die, it's all right; if I live, it's all right." That's what I had in mind.

I had a flu, one time; Peyote pulled me through. Yeah, I laid in bed eight days; I got flu, and the hospital was full here; they had two hundred waiting; I was working here. And I use that for myself—it's kind of hard when a man's lonely—powerful stuff; then I made it strong, you know. Well, it put me on my feet again, when I had the flu.

Now they talk that they're going to have charter. Now, I don't believe in that. In the Bible they say one time they tried a man—that's Christ. One lawyer got up; he says, "You do exactly what he said in there," he says. "One man is going, is going to pay for all of this," and he did—that's Christ himself. Now be for God, this Peyote; there's nothing [in] this world will stop that, no matter who. It come from God, this Peyote; He give to the Indian. White man's got everything; he's got this world now; got gold and everything that used to be ours. We ask for that, all of us. What kind of treatment are we getting now? You know, I'm not complaining, you know; [that is] my own idea. . . . Of course, as a whole, as a race; not as individual, I mean. Lots of white people, they try to do what's right, but they can't. They [have] obligations to their

association; they got to; got code they go by. Like the lawyers, you know; they get a case, they call each other pretty hard names in the court room, you know—a justice court—but anyway, they're brothers at heart; they get together and talk things over. Any other professional, they got codes, you know, they go by. Yes. Ever a man that's got good education, he's always smart—like you, or Truman; all of them, every man. But the Bible forbids that. Christ, He said that Himself, "Don't envy another man," He said, "you'll know then how they live, and how hard they live." Christ say that Himself. That's what I think.

11. *A Woman in Her Seventies*

(During this interview, her sister's son was present. She spoke in Menomini throughout; his comments were in English.)

Answer: [Translation] I do not exactly know when I started to eat that medicine. . . . [It seems to have been in 1915.] We first ate it there where Hawa-yake-sekak lived. Ne-katwe-w [the Peyote missionary] went there; then that Peyote tea was given us to drink. And then we went to your [i.e., the Neconish] home, and we had another meeting, and again I ate that; we all ate it together. Your uncle [i.e., her husband] also used to be there. So we started to eat that since then. . . .

Comments: Oh, [that was] right here in the Neconish Settlement. We had a meeting. Because my mother, it's her sister, when they heard it, [that] we had some kind of a meeting . . . [that] we eat medicine—when they heard it, why, they went down there and see that's what we was doing. After they see—found out what we was doing, she go ahead and join it.

Q: What did you belong to before that?

A: Well, I belonged to the ni-mihetwan and the mete-wen.

Q: Why did you drop those and take on this?

A: When I ate this medicine I learned not to do that. When I ate that medicine, that is when I knew the Spirit (awetok), that I should pray to Him. Before that I did not think of Him, that Spirit, I just tried to enjoy myself; that is the way I used to be. Well, I did try, too; I used to think of Him, but I didn't really believe in Him. Now look at this: when I began to eat that medicine, that was when I felt better about living.

And when I almost died, that is what helped me to live again. The first time when they fought [World War I] was when I should have died, when the people died every day [i.e., during the influenza epidemic]. I almost died then. And when I had a fever, they fed me that Peyote; then I lived again, actually.

C: . . . That's the strongest sickness we had, that time. Now, the Peyote cured them; ever since, [they had] a strong belief in that.

Q: What is it that you believe in about this medicine?

A: This is all that I know about it: well, when I ate that medicine, that is when I began to see everything; I no longer quarreled with anyone; I no longer was angry with anyone. That is it. And when I started to eat this medicine, I began to think of Spirit always, every day. I also prayed for my grandchildren and my sons, simply to help

them. That is the way that medicine affects me, when I eat it.

Q: Please tell me one of your prayers.

A: Well, this is what I do. I pray to Jesus (ci-sas) to help my grandchildren and my sons—anybody. That is the way I pray, when I pray to that Spirit to help them be well. And I also pray to Mary (ma-nih), so that my grandchildren will be well. That is what I say; yes.

And I did not know how to pray, long ago. Today I myself know how to pray to Spirit, here in my heart; what to say. It is that medicine working [in me]. A long time ago I did not know what to say, to pray to that Spirit. Now I know; every day, and when I go to bed to sleep, I pray to Him.

Q: What did the medicine teach you is the right way to live?

A: That is what I have done since I ate that medicine: That is when I began to help the people where I lived, though today I am the one who is being cared for [because of old age]. Yes; that is the way I was. That was the only thing I thought about: to work here where we lived. I kept a garden, and gathered maple sugar. I was never idle; I did not rest. I sewed, and made just about everything. I did beadwork, and made reed mats by myself. That is all I did. No, I never went anywhere, to any affairs. Yes, we had horses and chickens.

Q: Why did you work so hard? Not all the Menomini work that way.

A: I am glad you are asking me about these things. Well, we cared for ourselves; no one had to take care of us. We had to care for ourselves. When anything happened, such as an illness, I tried to cure myself by means of that medicine.

C: I know her; we used to go over, when we was kids, over to her place. She was always working.

Q: Why?

C: I don't know why. Had the old man [her husband], you know. Yeah. Well, there's some people, they say when they work, they work to death. Well, look at her; look how old she is; better than a hundred [years old]. They really worked hard; they just feel happy when they work, more strong; that's the way I think. . . .

Q: How does the medicine cure sickness?

A: When they eat that medicine, the sickness must come out, so they vomit. . . .

Q: When you got to a meeting, how much Peyote do you eat?

A: As many as I can eat.

Q: How many?

A: Ten. I have them ground, so I do not know exactly how many.

Q: How do you feel after you eat Peyote?

A: I feel very well inside. When I take a lot of it, all during the night, the next day I feel well; I walk around feeling happy and healthy.

Q: How does it make you feel well inside?

A: I feel well because I have clear thoughts.

Q: Do you ever see or hear anything after eating the medicine?

A: When I eat that, I see a light.

APPENDIX I

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

^a DN: My grandfather . . . used to believe in—they call it Medicine Dance.

Q: Metēwen?

DN: Metēwen; yes, that's the one.

Q: And did your father also belong to the metēwen?

DN: Yes.

Q: Did your father also belong to the ni-mihetwan?

DN: Yeah, he used to go in there, too. He used to take in like—something like a waiter [ska:pewes: ritual attendant].

Q: What did your folks have to say about the metēwen and ni-mihetwan?

DN: Well, one time he told us, this, my grandfather, "This metēwen," he said, "they don't do it right. And this younger generation. But before, the old peoples, the old, old members, they used to do it right. Now is kind of make fun of it, like; they're having fun; that's how they take it, this young generation, now. Before, they believe it good, and do it right." That's what he told us, one time, my grandfather.

Q: Were you there when he said it?

DN: Yes, I used to listen.

Q: Had you been in the metēwen?

DN: Before, yes. . . .

Q: Did you belong to the ni-mihetwan?

DN: No.

Q: Why didn't you like the metēwen?

DN: I didn't think, kind of, "This is no good"; I didn't feel that way. It's just [that] they don't use it right, this time, in this generation. Some places [in the rite], they forgot it; they didn't do it full. These old people, see, they do it right, they explain it good. Now, this time, they don't do that. That's why I kind of keep away. I respect that, that religion, the Indian religion. I didn't say, "That's no good"; no, no. I respect it. Because my old folks, from way back, they used to respect that, and do it right, to Almighty; that's why I respect that what they doing. And this time, this generation, they do it any old way.

Q: Was there anything else about it that you thought wasn't right?

DN: Well, sometimes a man come there, he's half shot [i.e., drunk]. They're dancing around there, and he jumps around like he's [making] fun of it. That's the way; I don't like to see that. Them old folks, they don't do that; they do it right. That's the way; that's why.

Sometimes they fight like that, the drunkards, see? I keep away from there; I don't want to join in there. That's why. . . .

This ni-mihetwan, seems to me they used to give away [gifts] to each one, back and forth, like that; the way I know, that's all they're after, now. But before, them old folks, they really believed it; they don't think about that—"He's going to give me back something." No, they don't think about that; they think about Almighty, to help from there; not this folks here, to give one another. That's the way; they kind of see it that way. Now, this generation here; that's why—that's why I kind of keep away from there; I don't want to join in there.

Same way that metēwen; the same way. That's the way I understand it. Them old folks though, they know all them definite kind of rules, and make medicine out of it. That's why they make that metēwen, and sing all them songs. That's the way they do, them old folks. Now, this time now, seems to me, who's going to be the best one, whose going to be the head one—that's the way they take

it now, this generation. Them old folks, way back, no, they don't do that; they all join in, do it right. There ought to be a lot of them, them old folks, because they do it right. But, this time, they're pretty near all gone, now; just a few of them. That's the way I understand it; that's why I kind of keep away from there. But I didn't say it's wrong; no. Just they don't do it right, that's all.

^b Q: What was your family's religion before Peyote came?

TN: We just lived. My father used to believe—they put flags; United States flag, and white flag—[on] outside poles. Then they put table [i.e., set a tablecloth] on the floor. Then they call the people, and they pray to God.

Q: What was the name of that religion?

TN: Well, it's a worship; worship God; that's all. But they don't name it. Worship God, that's what they used to do. My father, I seen with my own eyes, before this Peyote come. . . .

Q: Did they use a drum?

TN: No, no. Just nothing, that's all. Just talk, that's all.

^c EN: My grandfather spoke two years ahead [of the event]. He says—one time he got up—"There's something coming. There's a man going to come in here. He's got a drum there by the door, and he says we're going to take it." That's all we hear. We didn't never look into it, what . . . he meant. He got up, and he was an old man, see?

Q: Where did he get up?

EN: Out of his bed, when he got up in the morning.

Q: Oh, in the house?

EN: In the house yes. He knew it, what's coming, but he didn't know what it was. He says he don't know [what it is], he says, "But [it is] something," he says; "It's really something," he says. All right. We just heard him, that's all. We never—we let it run.

^d DN: That man whose name is Mitchell Nēkwatweh, that's the one who brought the Peyote first in the reservation. He used to stay [at the Weso¹ home] . . . But [a] lot of peoples [in Zoar], they hear [about] that Peyote; they don't want that, so pretty soon they found out that Mitchell, he got that medicine—he used that medicine—so they didn't like it. So he went over there [to] my dad's place. My dad's [Potawatomi] wife . . . my step-mother, that's [a] relation to Mitchell Nēkwatweh; that's why he went over there.

^e DN: Mitchell Nēkwatweh . . . didn't tell us right away [that] he's got that Peyote. But we had one brother there, named Silas.² He used to be with him [Nēkwatweh] lots, and talk with him, go some places [with him]. . . . He had [a] suitcase, that old man; one time he opened that suitcase, and he's got medicine in there, Peyote. And my brother, he saw that; he asked him, "What is that?" "Well," he told him, "that's a medicine; they call it Peyote." "What do you do with it?" "Well, they eat it." He asked him, "What for they eat it?" "Well, they eat [it] together. And you eat that, and pray to God; that's the way they use

¹ MW: This B. W. Mitchell, Nēkwatwehtak, was a Potawatomi. He was my [Potawatomi] mother's uncle; my [classificatory] grandfather, that's what I call him. He stayed with us a while.

² EN: I had a brother, see, named Silas. He was kind of foolish, you know; bad, you know. He'd take anything, you know; grab everything.

it, this Peyote." "Is it all right if I took it, eat it?" "Well, it's up to you, if you want to take it." "All right." My brother took that; he wants to find out how it taste; how it's going to feel. He told him, that Mitchell Nekwatweh, "Then you'll know something about God's way; how we [should] live. That's why we use this Peyote." So right away he took that, my brother Silas; he eat it. Sure enough, he found out what he [had] been doing there; doing all kinds of mischief; he's done wrong; he don't pay no attention to God; he don't even listen to his dad, what he told him. Now he find out he's supposed to listen to his dad, what he [is] preaching [to] him, his dad. So he took it, used it; he didn't sleep all night. The next morning he went over to his dad. "That Peyote, that's good," he told his dad. "You better take it. All of us [should] use that; that's something good." That's what he told his dad.³

EN: Well, he [Silas] kept that up [i.e., kept using it], and kept that up, and pretty soon he went to [a Peyote] meeting. Well, first thing you know, he want[ed] to find out what that is.

Q: Was this the first meeting any of you went to?

EN: Yes.

Q: Where was it held?

EN: In Wittenberg [Winnebago] here, somewhere.

Q: So he went to a Winnebago meeting; there was no meeting on the reservation, yet?

EN: Oh, no. . . . And [at the Winnebago meeting] he took some more.

¹ EN: [Silas returned from the Winnebago meeting.] And first thing you know, he told his dad and his grandfather. Well, when he got on to that old man, "Well," he says, "I told you first, it's going to come, and I said, we're going to take it. And now we've got it."

DN: My step-mother, she was kind of bother[ed] all the time [by] this heart trouble. So she used that [Peyote] for medicine. . . . Sure enough, she got well from that. That's how we all took that medicine.

² TN: But now, after you [Peyote] come, it's different. That one [i.e., the tentative religion], that don't mean nothing; but this here . . . this medicine, is better yet. We worship, we're better yet; we feel better yet.

Q: Did your grandfather ever take this medicine?

DN: Yes. He found out it was good.

Q: What did he say about it?

DN: [Translation.] Well, this is what my grandfather said, "We have used this medicine. Now that I am old, I finally know how we are going to live. I really have cared for you; I taught you how you should live. Now, here I am, an old man; I used to think, 'I wonder how they will manage?' Well, now that I know this which has come here to us—this medicine which has come to you, this medicine which I have used—I know that we really have been shown pity by our All-in-All Father (mah-ma-waw ko-hne'naw); it is His commandment (a-tenahko-nekan). Then I knew what you are going to depend upon; what will make you think. Now I am bent with age, and I am going to be leaving you soon. But now I am glad; I will gladly leave. For here is that which you will depend upon, by which you will live well. So now you will follow that. Thanks. Well, watch yourselves; be careful to do right. This is what I have to tell you, 'I wish that all my grandchildren

³ TN: He [Silas] took it [i.e., Peyote], see. So he went downstairs [the next morning]; he told his dad about it. "Say, I've got a hold of something. It is about someones. There's something in them Thunders [i.e., Thunderbirds], too," he says.

would try to do it correctly; I wish that they would listen.' That is what I think."

Q: What did your father say about the medicine, after he took it?

DN: [Translation.] Well, this is what my father said, "Well, my children, be careful, so that we may do everything correctly as we live according to our All-in-All Father. Now I am preaching to you, including the elders and children. Be careful; do right, so that you will follow this correctly. This Indian here, who brings it, brought it for us; he is Nekwatweh, our [classificatory] sister's son. Well, be careful, then, to do right; follow it correctly. Though I am now old, I will take myself over here [i.e., to Peyotism], from here I was [re]born."

[Turning to the Peyote missionary:] "Now I will follow you. You are the one who knows how; sing these songs that have come to us; you have caught [i.e., learned] them already. Old man that I am, I am not able to try to catch them.

[Turning to his sons:] "Well, then, be careful; watch out for yourselves so as to follow it correctly. My father has spoken to us [and told us what he thought about it]. So do well. Have pity on each other; help each other; it will be easy to do whatever is necessary, there. Help each other; raise your children correctly; help them so that they will act rightly, so they will grow up well. Look here; when you were small, oh, I enjoyed it when I raised you. And now you are old enough to be able to take care of yourselves. And rightly take pity on your wives. Take correct care of your house; if necessary, build one."

That's what my father told us at that time. So all of us try to do that which my father used to tell us.

EN: Well, my dad, when he got hold of it, what he [previously] did believe [in were the] Medicine Dance and other dances. He come first right there [i.e., he was among the first to adopt Peyotism], and he never going to believe it that way [i.e., the older rites] again. . . . He come first right there, and "I never will again [go to the older rites] as long as I live," he says. "I'll go this way," he says. "I believe it that way," he says.

DN: And the next one [to use Peyote] was my oldest brother, whose name was John. John Neconish, he was the next one that was eating it [among] us boys. Pretty soon they [were] all using that, getting together. [We] sit like them Peyoters; that Mitchell, he told us how to sit. He had a drum, a cloth, and gourd, and feathers. So he show[ed] us how we [were] going to sit. . . . When we [were] going to start eating that Peyote, he pray first; then we start using that Peyote. . . . And John, he took quite a bit. So he stand up, ask God to help [us in] everything; his children, and his family, his old folks; oh, he pray good [for] all his people. That's the way he pray[ed]. "When you die, God take your soul where it's best"; that's what he ask[ed] Him. We was surprised how he [was] talking then, John. Pretty soon we find out, sure enough, [that] we got to pray that way. That's how we started. Pretty soon, we done that every Saturday [night]. Pretty soon, we find out we're just a few of us there. And one time that Mitchell told me, "Get up and talk," he told me. I just don't know what I'm going to say; I got up anyway, stand up there, begin to come to thinking. I told this way, "We're just a few of us here. Maybe we ask God [that] there [should] be some more [to] be here . . . [There are a] lot of boys there; maybe them boys, they come join in with us, and there will be more." That's what I told them. "Maybe [we should] pray, ask God to come in here with us. That's about all I can tell you." That's what I told my brothers, and that Mitchell, [and] my old folks. So I

sat down, and that's all. Sure enough, pretty soon they keep coming in; coming in, different ones; pretty soon we have [a] full house. In two or three years, gee, there is a lot of us. So I know God answer[ed] our prayer.

^b MW: The way he [the Potawatomi missionary] led, I don't know if it was Cross Fireplace. It wasn't; it was similar to this Winnebago Fireplace. Or maybe he called it Potawatomi Fireplace; that is, just the way they know how, regardless of . . . another tribe. Just the way he know how. The songs the same way; he didn't use no Starting Song, or anything like that. Just went ahead, started to sing, eat medicine.

¹ Q: How soon after you began, did the Winnebagoes come?

DN: After they knew we use that herb, then they begin to come here; kind of help us, and come sing them songs. That's how we got acquainted with them songs.

Q: Were they using the Cross Fireplace too?

DN: Yes.

¹ TN: There's people here used to be pretty good, when the one religion come in. It seems to me they don't care [now], because it's kind of twisted in a different way. But this other way, when we first used, everything's nice, because that's the God's way, true way, the Holy Spirit's way. See?

Q: Once you told me that in the old days, when it first began, everybody who belonged believed in God; but they don't now?

EN: Yes.

Q: How is it different now from what it was before?

EN: We used to be sober; we used to be sober. No smoke; no chewing tobacco. . . . We didn't use no tobacco, no whiskey, no arguments. We didn't go [to] no [ritual] dance or nothing, no place. Sometimes we used to say our prayers when we eat [daily meals] too. We all used to do that. We was perfect, all right. That's for sure; we know that. Now lately, just the other way. I don't know; it ain't like it used to be.

Q: Why is there this change?

EN: The peoples change.

Q: Why?

EN: That don't follow it the way they got it right at the beginning, see? . . . It [Peyote] was a little bit cheaper, in them days, too, see? Today it's kind of a little high, you know, on account of they're against it, see? You can't ship it right away, see? Kind of against [it], the government, see? Against it! . . . Let them do it. Almighty God, what He's got in His mind, nobody can stop Him. You can't go that way. The government can't stop Him. That isn't the first time [people have been] against God. It's been that way ever since the world was made. All ways, against God. Everybody's been like that. And it's still that way, here. And my mind come to realize about it. You can't stop it. Nobody can stop it. Because it's God; it belong to God. He done it. He do it, and He do it every day, today, here.

MW: When I was a little boy, they had meeting every Saturday. They took it kind of religious service; every Saturday night we had a service. But well, you know, just like anybody else, times got hard, and it was hard to put up meetings. And then the medicine was hard to get; there was a lot of restrictions and stuff, put against it, and all the missionaries fought it, so that it was harder to get; so meetings got farther and farther between.

^k DN: That Nēkwatwēh, he told us like this, "Say!" he said, "I ain't going to be here all the time; maybe I'm

going to go someplace. You have to start for yourself. You see me, how I run this meeting." So we started, that way.

Q: Why was John the first one picked to lead?

DN: Well, he used to eat lots of that Peyote; you know, he understand [Peyotism] pretty good. One time he took quite a bit, [i.e.,] when he first started [to lead]. And he began thinking, "I don't know what we [are] going to do." And the medicine worked on him. He wanted his dad to go over there and kind of help him a little bit; and [i.e., but] dad, he ain't got no power. And we had the old man, grandpa; he was pretty old; he knew something too, that old man. So he wanted to go over there and ask him to help; looking at him [he thought to himself], "No, he ain't got no power; no. I don't know what we're going to do." Pretty soon he think, "Oh, yeah! I know! That's God; that's the one that's got the power." I told him, "He made everything in this world, this life here what we got. That's the one; He made it that way." So he stand up, raise his hand and he began to talk [i.e., pray], asking everything, so it'll be all well—his family, all of us; he ask Him everything. At the time he [was] done, he sat down, just like this. [He began to] sing good. That's when he started first. And he said a prayer; after a while, he was leading.

Q: Did John know how to read? Could he read the Bible?

DN: Oh, few words he used to read; a few. You know, he was in school. . . . He could write his name.

¹ DN: One time, John, he went away up north, picking blueberries. So we didn't have no meeting for quite a while. So then we had a cousin. . . . So one time he went and bought some Peyote. "Hey! How about we had a meeting? Eat Peyote; say a prayer." "Yeah; all right." He ask the old man [Neka-nes]; "Yeah." "Now, who's going to lead that?" But the old man, he never used to try to sing; oh, he say a prayer. Well, he begin to talk [to me], "Maybe you can lead?" "Yeah; all right. I'll try it." [At the meeting], sit there, eat Peyote; say [a] prayer first, and then we eat Peyote. That's the first time. I know I was poor; I ain't nothing; I was worth nothing. That place there [of leader], what I'm trying to do, that's something great; something. And me, I sit over there when I was just [a] young fellow; I didn't have no [i.e., was not] married that time, too. Hey! I don't know what to do. That's something, you know, what I'm doing there; that's God's law. Boy! I'm scared! Well, I'm going to ask him [Neka-nes] to help me. No, he wouldn't help me. The old man tell me, "You better say prayer," he told me, looking at me; he kind of smile; he know it, [that] I know something, what we was doing there. I [stood up and] began to ask God to help us. I thank; I thank Him, so we know what we are. We are poor, so I ask Him to give us the power to be all right. Oh, I ask Him everything; you know what we say; I can't explain there. So after I get through, I sit down. I was just like this (making a gesture of strength); [I felt] good. We could sit to morning, now. [Morning came,] so we close the meeting; sing four songs, all stand up, pray; then we're done. That's how I started.

^m MW: At that time we were closely associated with that Ojibwa bunch [around Crandon], you know. We had meetings together all the time; we was just almost like one bunch.

ⁿ MW: Different Winnebagoes [i.e., Peyote leaders], they didn't appoint him [i.e., any Menomini to lead]; they just gave him that [leader's] staff, see. Then they said,

"I lead this way. If you want to lead that way too, well, you can go ahead. It's up to you."

Q: To whom did they say that?

MW: Whoever they gave it to. . . . And then we started off Louis. After, in later years, we put up a meeting, and we told Louis to lead. He'd been to several meetings already, and knew something about it. At the same time, he's [the] oldest one in our group at that time; in the present group that were there.

°Q: Did you lead Cross Fire at first?

DN: Yes. That time. But that's the only one we knew [at] that time. We didn't know nothing about what they were doing in the first place, in the beginning, there. . . .

One time Nat Decorah, that [was his] name, they want him up to Nebraska. So he went over there, and they told him about that [Half Moon] way; [which was like Peyotism at the] beginning [when] that Peyote starts. So that's the time when they told him that: "Now, if you like it, if you understand it, you can take it over to Wisconsin; go run it this way." So when he started, we all went over there [to see the Half Moon] with that tipi; so he run it that way. That's the time. We like it, the way they do it over there; it was nice.

Q: Why did you like it better?

DN: Well, it's more [of an] Indian way. The other one is called Cross Fireplace; just like a church, a white man way. He got the Bible in there,⁴ but we don't understand the Bible; some of us, we can't read it. Just put it there; I don't know what it means. But the Peyote, when we eat it, we begin to know something. That's why we like it that way. . . .

Pretty soon them other fellows, them Half Moon, they come; they show [us] how to fix that fireplace. . . . So we try to run it that way. . . .

One time Mitchell [Weso] was sick. . . . Then they put me to run that meeting. But we had it in a house, though; we didn't have no tipi that time. He told me, "Just the way you know. It's up to you, how you're going to run it," he told me. So I begin to think about that. Thinking, "Well, the Half Moon members; gee! there's a lot of them; lots of them. Them Cross Fireplace, not very much; just a few of them down here. If I run that Cross Fireplace, them others [are among] these [who] belongs [to] that Half Moon; there'll be just one [i.e., himself] there; it wouldn't be correct, just one. So I have to go that way, with them others who believe it that way, that Half Moon. So I try to run it that way. Then Joe [Weso] asked me, "Now, in the morning when we quit, [at] quitting time, now, who're you going to ask to bring water for you?" "Well," I told him, "Angeline [his wife] is." "Yes." So I went to ask her. I told her, "You have to bring water in the morning." She asks me, "What I'm going to say?" "Well, you have to make up your mind. Talk to Almighty; pray just the way you know how." So she started that way. She bring the water; after a while, pretty soon she started to talk [i.e., pray], doing pretty good (laughs). That time, then we started that way. . . . I was the first one, I guess. That was the first time.

Q: Which did you like to lead better, Half Moon or Cross Fireplace?

DN: I like that Half Moon.

Q: Why?

DN: Well, these boys, they all liked that.

Q: Why?

⁴ More than laying the Bible on the altar is involved. The Cross Fireplace has adopted the use of the sermon, modified ritual eating and drinking practices to conform to white ideas about sanitation, etc.

DN: That's the Peyote way.

Q: Isn't Cross Fireplace also a Peyote way?

DN: Cross Fireplace is pretty near like white man way. See, they put the Bible in there.

Q: But they eat Peyote too, don't they?

DN: Yes, they eat Peyote.

Q: And what about the Bible?

DN: It's all right; it's all the same. But you got to know how to read it. But me, I can't read that; I never been to school. So I have to take the Peyote (laughs).

^p MW: After a while, some of these others [among the leaders] start to lead this Half Moon. And maybe next Saturday somebody start to lead this Half Moon. And maybe next Saturday somebody led the Cross Fire. You see, we just went together like this, until the time when John Neconish just simply played out, and couldn't lead no more, and got sick. Finally he died; well [there was] no one to follow his way. . . . Well, Theodore leads that [way] now and then, when he used to live around here. Even two years ago, New Years, I asked him to lead for us; just special for him to lead that meeting, see. It ain't that we don't believe that way, it ain't that; we just don't use that way, that's all.

^q MW: Somebody asked me if I would lead. Well, I said I would. [It was the] Easter meeting [of 1951]. Otherwise, myself, I wasn't prepared to go ahead yet. I never figured I was capable of doing a thing like that, you know.

[During 1950 he once remarked:] One reason I answered most of your questions, was in case you put it in the printed form, and then another tribe get a hold of it, and look at it. And the way I explain it, it conforms a little to the regular pattern every tribe is using.

Q: But every tribe uses it differently, I gather; they have many differences.

MW: Oh yes, the finishing, finishing, and some little things. Some of the things is different. But the general procedure is always about the same—except for different fireplaces altogether. . . . There's a lot of things, that I saw, and what I say—we don't apply them yet, here, see? That's why I might tell you something, and they don't do around here. . . . The way we run our meetings here, some of the Oklahoma leaders would probably sniff their noses at us. They'd say, "Well, that's a new style—it's so far away from the original way."

Q: How do you explain the fact that it's so different here?

MW: Well, it just that we didn't learn it all, yet. We're learning. That's a great step from twenty years ago, when we first started. That's the way I look at it. It sure was a sorry mess when we first started. And now we're getting so, we're not afraid to invite some different tribes to come and have a meeting with us, see?

^r MW: Before we ever thought of organizing. . . . Well, we always depended on the leader, see. He's more like a head of the community. Well, that's the way we felt, anyway, in years back—a long time ago. And whenever there was sickness or anything, we always looked up to him, you know, for advice or something like that.

^s MW: The first time I started hearing rumors about this Native American Church. . . . [was] around 1925; somewhere in there. They started talking about charter, you see; charter, Native American Church; the old folks started talking. They even collected money. . . .

When the older people started to die off, and then there was just the younger generation starting to get grewed up, like; we didn't have no more old folks to look forward to,

ask them questions that way. And at the same time we always felt that there was some sort of a need for some kind of a—well, I would call it, get together in a bunch, incorporate, form something. And the reason that it kind of got us started, mostly, was the time when one boy was lost, and at that same time we didn't know that he was froze to death. [This happened in 1932.] Although he was not no prominent member, a steady member—he just drifted here and there—but nevertheless we kind of felt a little bit responsible. But we didn't have no group, or anything, to go ahead and sponsor a search, or anything like that there; we was just on our own. And so we kept kind of undecided way. So finally we knew that we wasn't organized. We didn't know which way to turn, so we thought if we was organized some way, that we would go ahead and do something about it.

So a bunch of us talked it over; there was five of us [himself, his brothers Joe, John, and Moon, and his stepfather, George Boyd]. Somehow, I let them do all the talking. I asked them first, how you could go about organizing in such a way, someday. They all had some suggestion, but it didn't seem workable. And at the same time, knowing that we were kind of working from this Peyote, we wanted to get inspiration from it. That was my suggestion: that we would appeal to the Almighty to help us in some way, that we could get organized some way, that we could help one another some way. So, as I glanced up, mentioning the Almighty, I see a plan, it seems like; and the plan was real plain. And right away I started talking about that plan. They all agreed to it. So this was the plan, then: We agreed that we [would] get ten people to donate each a dollar; and at that time they was selling Peyote to us for five dollars for one thousand. But after we collected this ten dollars, we sent the money and we got two thousand Peyotes back. It was also agreed that we would sell this Peyote amongst one another for a cent a piece; that gave us a profit of five dollars on a thousand. So we done that; we sold a thousand; we got the ten dollars; then we turn around and return the ten dollars, a dollar a piece that these ten people gave us. We returned that [money], and we still had a thousand Peyotes left that no one had really a claim to. So that we started to call "The Peyote Club." And we sold that [other Peyote]; we had ten dollars, and then we sent for some more. Gradually the money started to accumulate, and we used it for various purposes: for sick people, and anything that we would term charity work. Of course, in those days, when we started, we didn't have the setup that we have now at the Agency. There was no relief; that was something unheard of, that time; and when a person was up against it, when he was sick, he was just up against it, that's all. . . . So that was our main object of organizing that club.

^t MW: And gradually, we started to hear rumors coming from down below, other Peyote tribes, about this Native American Church, that they were trying to organize. That the white man was forever fighting it [i.e., Peyotism], was trying to abolish it, and do everything. And so that they could gain recognition as a religious outfit that would have constitutional backing to go ahead and worship this Almighty, just the way we know how. That was the rumors we heard. Well, we also knew about [the content of] those rumors, too. We had similar experiences around here. But it was a good idea. As long as these people, that's what they're actually doing; worshipping God, and doing things of God, having pity for one another, and doing charitable things; we could readily see that it could be called a church. That's our Indian church, and give it a white man name; call it "Native American Church." So right around in 1940, in '41, I had a special meeting. We

adopted the name, that the Peyote Club would be from then on known as the "Native American Church." And then we start to make these membership cards in order to accumulate more funds, so that we could do more charitable work amongst one another. So that went on for several years. . . . They readily saw our need for it [the organization], because the distance from here to the Peyote gardens where the medicine grows was so that we had to organize and accumulate money to cover all that expense. So that's the only way we could accumulate money, is to have these membership cards. . . . That's what I say is the Native American Church of the Menominee Reservation. That's how we got started.⁵

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

^a Q: What's the difference between me'skowesan and tata:hkesen?

DN: That's the same; me'skowesan, that means "strong"; tata:hkesen means power, he can lift it.

Q: But that's because he's strong?

DN: Yes, he's strong.

Q: Then how are the two words different?

DN: Well, that me'skowesan is something like it's there; it's there. This one, tata:hkesen, that's himself [who] is strong. That's the way I understand that. . . .

Q: And how is that different from me'skowesan?

DN: Well, they got it from the same place. That's what they [are] working for: me'skowesan. From Almighty; they got it from there, [the] me'skowesan; He put it down there in that Peyote.

HR: Seems like to me they mean the same thing; tata:hkesewen, well, that means power; me'skowesan, that seems like when a person is more healthy like.

Q: What about ahpe:htesewen?

HR: It means "age," doesn't it?¹

Q: You never heard it used any other way? Like tata:hkesen? There are a few older people who use it that way, too.

HR: Some words I don't know myself. Maybe older peoples, they know more about words.

Q: Well, suppose you try to tell me something about me'skowesan and tata:hkesen?

HR: Well, anything that you're kind of short [of]; well, you've got to have power [in order to obtain it]. And you got to ask [the Great Spirit] for it.

Q: What is this power like?

HR: Well . . . just like if I was weak, you know; I got to have somebody to come and help me. Well, that means I [then] got that much power to do what I want to do.

Q: That's tata:hkesen; what about me'skowesan?

HR: Well, that's the same thing. Because I'm weak; and if I'm weak, well, I got to use that [Peyote], because there's me'skowesan in there, in that medicine.

⁵ The *Record Book* used by the group has the following inscription on its flyleaf, written by Mrs. Alice Weso, Mitchell's wife:

"To whom it may concern,

"This book was purchased for the purpose of keeping a written record of the progress of the Native American Church, Menominee Branch, such as baptisms, deaths, business, and charity work.

"At a meeting, on Feb 1st 1941, held by the peyote bunch at John Rain's residence, it was agreed by all those present, that from now on, the ceremony formally [i.e., formerly] called the peyote meetings, on the Reservation, shall be known as the Native American Church, Menominee Branch."

¹ ahpe:tesew: he is socially valuable, powerful, old, costly.

Q: How does this *m̥skowesan* look?

HR: Nobody doesn't see that (laughs).

Q: What does it do?

HR: Well, it works. In case if I take that medicine; well, it worked on me; well, I got that much more strength, you know.

Q: Is there anything else that has *m̥skowesan* in it, or *tata:hkesen*, besides Peyote?

HR: Well, the Almighty is the only . . . that's got [it, i.e., who is the original source of *mana*].

Q: What about power?

MW: Oh, the power of the Almighty. That's understood; even the Bible tells us, you know, that God is our strength. . . . You know the atomic bomb? Our God's got more power than that. . . . That's what it says, in the Bible, that He's able to crush mountains.

Q: And how would you describe this power?

MW: Well, the way a Christian understands it, originally, before God created this earth, he had a plan. So naturally the plan is heavier than our ways; that way it's got power. Does that make sense? . . .

Q: As I understand you, you said there is the idea that God had when he created the world, the kind of thoughts he had about it; plus what it took to execute that idea which is His power. Is that right?

MW: Yes, that's right.

^bQ: Is *kes̥maneto-w* the same as *m̥c-aw̥tok*?

DN: Yes.

Q: What is *kes̥maneto-w* like?

DN: That's bright, light. Real bright light; that's *kes̥maneto-w*.

Q: Does He look like a man?

DN: My grandfather told me, when He first started [creation] then He blow [on] it, and [that's] how we live; we live altogether, now. After [that] He made woman. That's the way he told me, my grandfather.

Q: Then does He look like a man?

DN: Yes, He looks like a man. . . . He [is] like us; that's our father.

Q: What is your idea of God?

HR: Well, He's the God who made everything: the world, and the life; that's how we come to live here. That's as far as I know about it.

Q: And where does He live?

HR: Well, according to all the people, how they know, He lives in Heaven.

Q: How does He live?

HR: Well, that's too deep for me, to answer how He lives.

Q: What's the Menomini's name for God that you use in your church?

HR: *Kes̥maneto-w*.

Q: Not *m̥c-aw̥tok*?

HR: Well, that's the same thing.

Q: But at the meeting I never heard *m̥c-aw̥tok*?

HR: No; *kes̥maneto-w* we use [for] God, see?

Q: And who uses *m̥c-aw̥tok*?

HR: Those other peoples.

Q: Those in the *ni-mihetwan* and *met̥wen*?

HR: Yes.

Q: Is God a white man or an Indian?

HR: Well, He's a man.

Q: What kind of a man, a white man or an Indian?

HR: Well, I suppose He's a white man. I don't know just how He is. He's the one that makes everything, tribes, different tribes; they all belong to Him.

Q: How does He look?

HR: I never see Him; nobody ever see Him.

Q: But you must have some idea?

HR: I couldn't say. I never see Him. I don't tell lie; if I see Him, I know.

Q: What is your idea of God?

MW: Well, if you was to close your eyes, and sort of try to start thinking back, yourself; try to think back to your dad, your grandfather, and keep on going like that for generations and generations, and think back, way back to the first one, the original one, first one. That's God; way on the top, first.

Q: How do you picture God?

MW: Well, of course in the Bible way; it says He makes people in His image. Well, I figure that He is shaped like a man; Indian. That's the way we believe.

Q: Suppose you close your eyes and picture Him in your mind; how does He look? How is He dressed?

MW: Well, I never picture Him in that way. I just could picture Him as a head. All I could see is a photograph, you know; about that much, you know (gesturing down to his chest).

Q: Just a bust?

MW: Yes. Naturally, like me; and my dad, the way he looked. So keeping along those lines, way back, well, He looks something like that, way back, see.

^cIs Jesus different from the Almighty?

DN: Well, he's God's son; *kes̥maneto-w oki-ʔsan*.

Q: Do they act differently?

DN: Well, the Almighty, He send His son over here, to come talk to us personally, like we're doing [now]; to come, to talk to them, how they [should] live, how they [should] take care of themselves. Even he tell them to pray to God. That's the way I understand that, God's son. So that's why, today, I'm trying to do it.

Q: What is your idea of Jesus?

HR: Well, Jesus, we see that every day in the pictures. That's how we come to know how he looks. And the same way with the angels.

Q: Then you go by the white man's pictures?

HR: Yes, we go by the pictures. Of course, the white man, he prove [to] himself, everything—how it looks, there, so he picture that. So that's just the way we see it, too.

Q: Is Jesus a white man or an Indian?

HR: Well, I suppose he's a white man.

Q: What is Jesus like?

MW: Well, there's a picture of him. Look at a picture, and see him.

Q: Is he a white man?

MW: Oh no, he's an Indian.

Q: But the pictures are of a white man?

MW: Oh, sure; there's light complexioned Indians, too.

Q: And what is the difference between what God does and what Jesus does, as you see it?

MW: Well, we'd have to go into the Old Testament.

^dQ: What's the difference between *kes̥maneto-w* and *wayiaskaset aw̥tok*?

DN: That's the same one. He's bright, that *wayiaskaset aw̥tok*; [a] bright light. *kes̥maneto-w*, that's the same one. It's all in one. It's no difference, no place; it's all in one. Only in them names [is there a difference].

Q: Is *kes̥maneto-w oki-ʔsan* also all in one?

DN: Yes.

Q: But you were able to tell me the difference between *kes̥maneto-w* and *kes̥maneto-w oki-ʔsan*. Now I'm wondering about the difference between *kes̥maneto-w* and *wayiaskaset aw̥tok*.

DN: Well, I listen to them, when somebody is praying;

they name them. When they have meetings someplace, if you go in there, you listen to him, that leader, what he's going to say; he's going to name them. . . . That's about all I can explain to you.

Q: What is your idea of the Holy Ghost?

HR: Well, it's the dove, I suppose.

Q: What does it do?

HR: He watch everything, look after everything what's going on.

Q: The dove does?

HR: Yes.

Q: Is the Holy Ghost always a dove?

HR: I don't know that part. They say that when Christ was baptized, you see, the dove was right above there. They say that's the Holy Ghost, there. But I don't know if it always be that way; that part I don't know.

Q: All right. You say God decided everything, and makes everything?

HR: Yes.

Q: And Jesus does what God tells him to do for man; that's the difference between God and Jesus?

HR: Yes.

Q: And what does the Holy Ghost do that's different from God and Jesus? How is the Holy Ghost different from the other two?

HR: Well, that part I don't know.

Q: Is it that you never thought about it?

HR: That's as far as I know.

Q: Is this spirit of God in the Peyote the same as the Holy Ghost, or different?

HR: Well, as far as I know, myself, God, He blow [on] that Peyote, and give it to His son, and [Jesus] brought it here. Only, after we know what this Peyote's teaching us, we come to find out there's three names in there: God and the Son and Holy Ghost, that we should worship.

Q: How is the Holy Ghost different from the Father and the Son?

MW: Well, the way I believe, they say that things of God are spiritual. Just like your soul; it couldn't be flesh. That's what the Bible tells us. Our flesh is different from our soul; our soul is spiritual; so the Holy Ghost must be spiritual, something that we don't see. If a person could feel, could feel it, and recognize it's presence. . . .

Q: Is God, then, a body?

MW: The Bible don't say that.

Q: But you said the Holy Ghost was spiritual?

MW: Sure.

Q: Then how is it different from God?

MW: It's the spirit of God. The Trinity; three in one.

Q: If it's the spirit, what's left for God?

MW: [He is] still God. . . . We'll assume that God is a spiritual body. And so is Jesus Christ. And so is the Holy Ghost. We assume that they are a spiritual body. When they created man, it says they blew the breath of life into it, which created the soul. That is also the spiritual part of our being; right? So God must be spiritual; something you can't see. When Christ came on this earth, he took the form of a body; to have a body, a mortal. Is that right?

Q: But you still haven't answered my question.

MW: They're all spiritual, I said.

Q: Then how is the Holy Ghost different from God, if they're all the same?

MW: It ain't. You see, this Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is like a corporation. You understand that. You don't have to be all one person to form a corporation; there can be three or four different ones. They don't have

to be spirit; you can be humans to form a corporation. Well, the Trinity is a corporation; three in one.

*DN: One time I had an uncle, my mother's brother; he told us something about that mace-[?]aw^εtok. He was in Heaven, too, that mace-[?]aw^εtok. So God, He give him power. . . . He gave him power. . . . He gave him me^εskowesan, that God. He had the power, too [then], that mace-[?]aw^εtok.

They had a bunch of angels, too [in Heaven]; they're praying all the time. Pretty soon that big angel [mace-[?]aw^εtok], he's got power; pretty soon he thinks he can do better than that God, he's thinking. And he told them other angels, "If you help me, we'll kill that God; then I'll be God. So we'll all have more [of] a good time." That's what he told them angels. So some of them, they believe him. But . . . one of them, he listen; he went over there, and he told God what he's going to do, that mace-[?]aw^εtok. So He ask one of them angels, "You better take them out." So He did [that to] some of them angels; He's got the power. He throw them down here. They're going to do wrong up there. He don't want them over there; He wants everything nice over there; nothing wrong, everything clear, no[thing] wrong up there. That's why He threw them down here. And now that's where they come from, that mace-[?]aw^εtokak [bad spirits]. That's what he told me, my uncle.

Q: Where do the mace-[?]aw^εtokak live?

DN: When he throw them from Heaven, chase them down, they begin to make everything [evil] right here. That's the same time when they come down here, [that they originated] everything [evil]; that's why we do everything [evil] here now. . . . When we go drinking whiskey, that's the one; he made that. Everything wrong; fighting; that's what he made, that one there. . . .

Q: Where do the mace-[?]aw^εtokak live?

DN: Somewhere way down, way down.

Q: What can you tell me about mace-[?]aw^εtok?

HR: We just hear about that; but I don't know how true it is.

Q: What did you hear about it?

HR: Everybody says, "There's a devil somewheres." But we never see them. I don't know what he looks like. All the things that we talk, well, we don't know; I never seen him (laughs).

Q: How seriously do you take it?

HR: Well—(hesitantly).

Q: What about mace-[?]aw^εtok?

MW: That's the wolf in sheep's clothing. The Indian always say, "The Indian's kind of dark outside, but inside he's clean, you see; white. But the devil is different; he's white outside, but inside is black, evil."

Q: What does he do?

MW: He's fighting with God. He wants to gain more recruits, I would say, than God. That's the Bible explanation.

*Q: Can you tell me something about the a-seni-wak?

DN: God made them. That's about all I know.

Q: What do they do?

DN: There's one fellow there, his name is T—— [a Winnebago]. After [a] meeting, [we] just come out from tipi; we was standing there, a bunch of us. He come over there, and he begin to tell [something to] Nat Decorah . . . in Winnebago; he can't talk English, that T——, so he told that Nat [about it in Winnebago]. But Nat, he talk good English; after they got through talking, he came told us that T——, he find out from this Peyote how they do up in Heaven. "Them angels, they all go by some-

thing; and they got the rules; at certain hours they go pray, pray to God. They got to go by that all the time." That's what he told us, that man. "The same thing what we're doing over here. When we eat this Peyote, we got to have some rules to do that, to go by. We can't do anything what we feel like." He said, "We got to go by something, got to have rules. That's what they're doing up in Heaven." That's what he told us, that man. "I found out through this Peyote," he said. See, he [had] never been to school; ain't nobody told him; he just find out from that Peyote.

Q: Do the a-seni-wak help people?

DN: Yes.

Q: How do they help them?

DN: Well, you see, like this summer; once in a while it rain[s]; everything [is] going to grow so we live. That's what he told us, that man. "I found out through this Peyote," he said. See, he [had] never been to school; ain't nobody told him; he just find out from that Peyote.

Q: They pray to kesεmaneto-w?

DN: Yes.

Q: But I thought the enεmεhkiwak [Thunderbirds] bring the rain.

DN: Yes, that's what they're praying for now. So the enεmεhkiwak, they'll go, [keep] going all the time, so everything [will] grow nice.

Q: And how do the a-seni-wak look?

DN: Well, they're light, light; bright and light.

Q: Does God live by himself in Heaven, or with others?

HR: Well, I suppose that a lot of others live there. There's angels in there.

Q: And who are the angels?

HR: I don't know. Everybody around here says the same thing, "Up there, there's a lot of them."

Q: Is it when people die that they become angels?

HR: I suppose.

Q: Are there angels that were never people?

HR: Well, it's just like Saint Peter, see? He lived in the world here; now he's up there. That I know.

Q: How do the angels look?

HR: Angels got wings.

Q: Anything else?

HR: Well, it's a person.

Q: How is an angel dressed?

HR: They're dressed differently from the way we dress.

Q: How do the angels dress?

HR: They dress white [in] everything.

Q: Do the angels wear clothes like we're wearing, but white; or some other kind of clothes?

HR: I don't know . . . we go by the [white man's] pictures.

Q: What are your ideas of the a-seni-wak?

MW: I never gave it a thought, how they originated. . . . When I first went to school, I saw pictures of the angels, you see. So that always stuck with me, like any picture that you could see. Angels . . . must be spiritual beings, created by God.

Q: And what do they do?

MW: I'd have to go into great detail. . . . We'd say: the government, the United States government; what does he do? Well, I'd have to start right from the president on down, and his cabinet, representatives, senators, and so forth; they must all have a job. And also, the Bible says, we've been given guardian angels. I suppose each person is given an angel to help a little bit, guide him along; so forth. He could even ask for that kind of a guidance; which a lot of people do. Whenever a person couldn't do something, that's beyond his power in a spiritual way, they

could call on the angels to help. I hear the old folks do that, you see.

* Q: What is this Waterbird? Did you ever see it?

DN: No. I saw only feathers; they look good.

Q: Does the Waterbird live around here?

DN: No, it's out west some place.

Q: What does the Waterbird look like?

DN: Looks like that peacock, but it's all different shades. I seen its tail, that's all; that's all I seen. I don't know how big [it is], but the tail—my! it looked good. And they [the tail feathers] are marked like that [making signs representing barred feathers].^{1a} It reminds me—that time when he's doing the meeting, that man who's got those feathers in there, so I ask him for a look at that—reminds me, it's just like steps, steps to Heaven. It reminds me that way, that this tail looks that way.

Q: What does the Waterbird mean?

DN: I'll tell you. One time my brother F———he watch pretty close, watch pretty close, everything—when I sing that Water Song [when acting as leader], he saw that bird. "Gee! it looked good!" he said. "All the prayers what they say all night, what they say, that's the one who took them to Almighty—that Waterbird." That's what he found out that time. That's about the nearest I can explain that.

Q: Is the Waterbird the Holy Ghost?

DN: Yes. They're all in one. Everything is all in one.

Q: The Waterbird?

DN: Yes.

Q: Is Jesus too?

DN: Yes. And God. All in one.

Q: The Waterbird?

DN: Yes. That's the way I understand the Waterbird myself. . . . It's his close friend—that bird. . . .

Q: How is the Waterbird man's close friend?

DN: Like when you sleep, when daylight comes, all at once you hear a bird is singing, a kind of noise there. That time you feel good. You look around and see. You're happy, happy to hear that bird. If you don't hear that bird, then you're kind of lonesome like; you miss something. When you hear that bird—my God! you got something; you hear something. That's the closest I can explain the way the Indians are.

Q: Does the Waterbird help man?

DN: Water, that's why we're living. And the bird, he always hang around in the water. So he respects that bird, the Waterbird. That's the best I can explain that. The Waterbird, it looks good; if you saw him you'll feel good; it looks real good.

Q: Did you ever see the Waterbird?

LT: No.

Q: Will you tell me something about the Waterbird?

LT: Well, the way I know, what they say—some fellows, the old fellows—everything would be dry if there wasn't no Waterbird; there would be dry, this world. When they come, them Waterbirds—that's what they say—Thunders—that's what they say; I don't know nothing about it. That what I hear, stories. That's just Thunders coming, every little while; make noise, and the water come down, and wet this [earth]. That's why they call him Waterbird.

Q: Then the Waterbird is enεmεhkiw?

LT: Yeah, that's what they say.

Q: Are they the same thing?

LT: Yeah, that's the one. That's what they say.

Q: Oh, nobody else has told me that.

LT: Yes, enεmεhkiw. That's my name [Thunder].

Q: Do others say that, too?

^{1a} The tail feathers of the water turkey are barred.

LT: Yes, that's enemehkiw. Once in a while they come around. Then they drop some water, wet this earth here, water what we live. That's what they say.

Q: What about the Waterbird?

MW: We don't have that bird around here. . . . It must be a bird that established way down [south], and that roves around down south. You don't see it here, the one they refer to, see?

Q: What is the meaning of the Waterbird?

MW: Well, they use that; they use that for the feathers, originally, when they're making their fans. And then, as far as [the Waterbird on] the pins are concerned, you see—there I'm out of it; I don't make them; I don't own any. It's never been explained to me. You know even a drum stick, it's [often] got those [Waterbird] patterns there.

Q: Well, what does the Waterbird mean?

MW: It don't mean nothing to me.

[The second season he said:] The old Indian stories, they always say Thunderbird. He's the one that's the Waterbird; he's the one that carried the water; he's the one that brings the water. That is the Waterbird.

Q: Then the Waterbird is the same as enemehkiw?

MW: Yes. The one that's the head of the Thunderbirds, he's the Waterbird.

Q: Which one is that?

MW: Osa-wanemehkiw [Yellow Thunderbird], they call it. Yellowish Thunder. He's the Waterbird. He's the one that controls the water. That's the old Indian story, you see. That's what I heard. I never seen him, either; but we see him in summer. Of course, white's man's got different explanation; he says that's just a friction of the air, or something like that; electric impulse in the air that creates thunder and stuff. Well, he doesn't know it all, either. . . . There are four layers [of sky] what we can see. Above there is another, where the head of the Thunderbirds lives.

¹ One man said, "Some people say, 'If you want to be a real Peyote, you have to go [i.e., eat] one hundred [Peyote] buttons.' But we don't use it strong, around here; here we just take a little taste of it, us fellows." He told me that the most he's ever taken is 60, once when he was sick.

DN: Some of them, they say that the great teacher Peyote [is] teaching forever. They never find it, where it end [its teachings]; it's forever [teaching something new], the Peyote. That's the way they find out, them Peyoters, [the] old Peyoters. Even [at the] next meeting I go, I'll find something [new]; next one, I'll find something [new again]. [It will] keep on going like that; you'll never get to [the] end. There's no end to it; it is forever [teaching something new].

¹ Q: What is the Peyote for?

DN: The first one that found out about that medicine, he took . . . and ate it. Then he heard from Heaven. That's God; He spoke to him. . . . For my own self, that's a teacher—just like a teacher. You see, when I ate Peyote, I began to think, think something; it teaches me something; it teach me to say the prayers, it teach me all I'm going to sing, it teach me how I'm going to treat the people. That's the way I understand that. And the same time, the only thing it's after to teach me, is after my soul. Cleaning up, cleaning up, so I can meet the Almighty, the way He is. That's the way I want it myself. . . .

The way I understand it, you see, we got a lot of old people. They never been in school, they even can't talk English; they can't understand if you tell them something. . . . But this Peyote, when it goes in his body, in his heart,

he begin to realize; he talk to Almighty. Some of them, even, they stand up, raise their hand, and ask Him what they want. . . . Even to cry. He feel sorry for himself. He find out that this [is] his Father, that's who; they know Him; they ask Him what they want. [Such as for a man's] children, he pray for them, to be that way. That's about how I can explain it. . . .

Q: How can Peyote do this?

DN: Well, the way I find out for myself, I'm poor, poor; so that's why it come to me, that Peyote; so I can be strong.

Q: But how can Peyote do this?

DN: God put that in.

Q: What did He do to it?

DN: He put His own power—God's power—in there.

Q: But how?

DN: Well, that's His spirit. That did it.

Q: That did what?

DN: The way I find out for myself, God can do anything. What you think inside your heart—He knows it. He has power; that's the way I understand it.

[On another occasion he said:] When you start eating that Peyote, eating that, pretty soon you got that tata-hkesen [power] in there (pointing to chest), from God. You ask for it to go in there, that tata-hkesen; way in your heart. Pretty soon you know it, that tata-hkesen [has entered].

Q: How do you know you have it?

DN: It's from God, [from] that Peyote, [that] you got it.

Q: How do you feel when you have it?

DN: Well, you feel happy, and feel strong. They're thinking good, and they think [about] something nice. They feel [that they should have] something to do; what they [are] supposed to be [doing if they are] living good. Some of them, they start to work; they make something. Maybe somebody go[es] in the garden, and make it grow, that garden, so they get something to use. That's how.

Q: What does the Peyote mean to you?

HR: Well, that Peyote means—before I eat this Peyote, it's nobody [who] could make me understand, "In the name of God and the Son and the Holy Ghost." Nobody could make me understand it; they tried it. The [missionary] ministers here, they try to preach to me; I just laugh at them. I always think of them, "You white man, you can't tell me. I've got my own [religion]." That's what I always think. But when this Peyote come to me—when I took it—then I come to realize; I understand what them people's trying to tell me, before. Now, today, they use me for leader; before I never could do that; I never could talk to the peoples, see? They encouraged me; I never done that before, before I used this medicine, that Peyote. That's what teach me.

Q: What does the Peyote mean to you?

HR: Well, it's just like Christ said, He's going to come at a certain time. But God, He gave this Peyote to Christ. That's the power. God, He make this Peyote, and He blow [on] it, and put His power in there. And He give it to His son, to give to that boy there. So that's just the way it is. It's just like Christ is right here with us, see? That's that medicine; it's Himself. If He comes not personally like this, maybe we wouldn't believe Him again; maybe we'll nail Him to the cross, see? It's like that, see? But this way, God gave him this medicine. He put the power in there; He blow that medicine. [That's] the way the peoples, they explain it, see? And then, He gave it to him here, that boy. Then it spread out all over [among the different tribes], and it comes this far.

Q: Then does the Peyote have power because it has the breath of God, or because it represents Jesus?

HR: Well, I explain it this way. The Peyote is a doctor, is a doctor. Now, he doctor me so that I could understand. When I was sick somewhere, when I take him, I tell him to go and take that sickness—I got to talk to him—well, he'll do it. Because I got to believe it; I got to believe that, the way He teach me. I got to [do] everything [He taught], some places. Of course, I can't be perfect; no one can be perfect; but I do it just the way He tells me, see? I love everybody. That's the Peyote; it's a doctor, himself.

Q: You said that God blew on the Peyote, and that's what gave it its power. Does that mean that the Peyote, in one way, is God?

HR: It's the spirit.

Q: Is it the spirit of God, the spirit of Jesus, or the spirit of the Holy Ghost?

HR: God, He's the one that puts His power in there, and gave it to His Son, and [Jesus] brought it over here.

Q: So, as I understand you, Peyote has some of the spirit of God in it?

HR: Yes.

Q: And then Jesus took the Peyote from God and gave it to man?

HR: Yes, that's right.

Q: Now, is this spirit of God in the Peyote the same as the Holy Ghost, or different?

HR: Well, as far as I know myself, God, He blow that Peyote, and give it to His son, and [Jesus] brought it here. Only, after we know what this Peyote's teaching us, we come to find out there's three names in there: God and the Son and Holy Ghost, that we should worship.

[Another occasion:]

Q: What is Peyote used for?

HR: The peoples . . . don't know anything about how to believe, and how [i.e., what] to go by, you know. So God, He got wise to it. Those Indians, they always like medicine. So He make this medicine for them Indians there, so they could use it this way. That's the way I understand it.

Q: What do you take the Peyote for?

LT: Well, that's what they say; the one [who] saw it [first, was told], "If you take the medicine, you're going to clear for your soul. God send that medicine for you poor peoples; you is lost." Now, after we take medicine, we know somebody belongs this body, this world—what we got—now we got to pray for it. That's all I know about that. . . . After I take this medicine, so far, I know how to ask what I need.

MW: The way the Peyote people are using it, they gain strength by using that Peyote. There's some element in the Peyote. After you've used it, swallowed it, pretty soon, I suppose, a chemical reaction in your stomach—something like a drug, I suppose; along that line—goes into your system. Then it starts to excite your mind, so that you got different thoughts, you know. That's the way I would express it.

¹Q: According to your church, what is the right way to live?

DN: Well, you got to be good to everybody. Treat them good. That's the way they understand.

Q: How are you supposed to treat them good?

DN: Love them, full.

Q: And how do you show that?

DN: Well, you're good to them.

Q: For example?

DN: If somebody come knock at the door, tell him, "Come in." And when they come in, ask them what they

want—anything they want. "Oh, I just come to visit." And you're going to say to that person, "Well, there's a chair; sit down." If it's all ready, to eat and drink, "Oh, it's dinner time. Come on and eat." See, that's good; [you are being] good to him. When that person who's coming in there, he's full, he's glad. That's the way I understand that. Treat [them] good, everybody. That's the way they teach. Even my old grandfather used to tell us that way.² Now again, this religion come here, the same way. That's the way I understand that. Treat somebody good, so we can get along that way; long ways.

Q: Is there anything else you have to do, beside being good to other people?

DN: Yes. If you know something, you can tell them, this way; you can try to do this way. That's my own relations, that I can tell that way; them others, I ain't got much chance with them other ones. My own children, my relations—like my brothers, see, got lots of nieces, lots of grandchild—I can tell them that way.

Q: What do you tell them?

DN: "Well, you got to behave. Behave yourself. When you're old enough, maybe you want to get married. Don't you marry to one [who's] been married before; you [marry] a single one. So you can mate. And when you have a child, you tell him, the same way, to follow that rule." That's the way I tell them. I got two daughters here; I told them that way. "Now, whatever you do, if you want to get married, marry to a single one; not [if] they've been married before. No. That's what they tell me, my old folks. Now, I tell you this way." I told them that way.

Q: Why did you tell them that way?

DN: "When you get married, get ready and build a house. And if you have children, take care of them good, and they live good, live good that way." That's what I told my children.

Q: What else did you tell them?

DN: "Well, you got to work. Earn something, [so] your clothes [will be] good. Not to be spending, if you make money, on something—not to spend it foolish. Make good use of it, what you earn." That's what I told them.

Q: How can they make good use of their money?

DN: Well, you got to wear [something] good, something new. That's good, to have something new. New clothes. When you build a house, not a second handed house someplace; you ought to build new house, so it last a long time; make foundation good, so they last long time. That's the way I understand that. Make good use of it.

Q: Why do you want a house that will last a long time?

DN: Well, so they can—generations and generations—they can use it. That's the way I understand it.

[His wife supplemented his account, as follows:]

Angeline Neconish: It [Peyote] helps them . . . to learn to live right, learn to love one another, and try to help one another; things like that. You learn those things.

Q: How does one live right?

AN: Not to get into any trouble of any kind.

Q: What sort of trouble?

AN: Like to go around breaking up homes, or try to get into a fight, or anything like that. That's the only way I find out. And then, to stay to home, here.

Q: How does this church help better than other churches in helping people live right?

AN: Well, that's what we found out for ourselves; we just found that out for ourselves. Try to do right all the

² Inviting visitors to eat was a traditional expression of courtesy. It is still a Powwow ideal.

time. That's the Almighty, the Almighty is the one that wants us to do right.

Q: Do you use the Bible here?

AN: No.

Q: Then how do you learn what the Almighty wants?

AN: Through this herb. . . . We're supposed to help one another. That's the way we take it, in this religion here. . . . We call each other brother and sister.

*DN: When you pass away here, then Almighty, He take[s] your soul. He put[s] it away in the best place. That's the one main thing they're after. That's why they want to do what's right. That's about the best I can explain it to you.

Q: What is this best place?

DN: It's the holiest place.

Q: Where is it?

DN: They say it's in Heaven.

Q: And what happens to you when you get there?

DN: That's where you're going to live forever. That's what they find out.

Q: How did they find that out?

DN: From the Peyote, he teach that way.

Q: Does Peyote take you to Heaven?

DN: Because they ask Almighty, so they can get there. They find out, that way.

Q: Was anybody ever there, who came back and told about it?

DN: I tell you. One time—that's a story from these [Peyote] folks here. He want it to get well, his child, so they give him that medicine [Peyote], but he [the child] was too far [gone]. Almighty, He want him over there. So, he took enough [of the medicine], as much as he could stand, that sick people [i.e., person]. I don't know how old—he's a young one anyway. [Then he died.] So they find out. It's the best place, up there; and over here, there is a kind of [*unintelligible*] over here. So he [the dead child] told his mother [in a vision], "It's better that way. It's all ready, prepared, a place for me, where is the best place. There's nothing to worry, over there. You're going to come there. You don't have to worry about me; you're going to come there." That's what he told his mother. So, that mother is satisfied; she's glad. . . . There's a lot of them, like that. That's why they respect that church. They like it.

Q: Where is Heaven?

HR: Well; it's up.

Q: How far up?

HR: Well, above the sun, I suppose.

Q: Above the stars, too?

HR: I suppose. I don't know about that; I never been there (laughs).

[The following extract is from an interview with one of the more acculturated lay members:]

A: Us Peyoters, we say that [the members of] all religions . . . go up to everlasting life; we didn't say none of those go to Hell; we don't say that. . . .

Q: You mentioned Hell before. Is that part of your religion, too; that there's a Heaven and a Hell?

A: Well, no; they don't teach it [i.e., Hell] so much, that way.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

^a Q: Why do you use a tipi?

DN: Well, the one that used that, [the] first one that used that Peyote, he saw that. He hear somebody, and that's the Almighty; [he] saw that tipi, and go in there. Everything's from there; that's why they're doing that.

Q: Why do you use a tipi?

HR: They always use tipi, because that's the way Christ teach the boy that was lost.

Q: Why do you use the tipi instead of one of the Menomini bark houses?

LT: That's something I don't know.

Q: Does the door of the tipi face in a certain direction?

LT: Sure . . . east. . . . You can see, that way, the sun coming up, that way.

Q: Why are twelve poles [plus the tipi pole] used?

DN: Well, the time Christ walked around, across the ocean, the time he came down on earth and began to preach, he got what they call twelve disciples. That's what it represents, them poles.

Q: How many poles do you use in putting up a tipi?

LT: We use twelve. Sometimes we use thirteen.

Q: Why do you use twelve, usually; what do the twelve mean?

LT: Well, it means twelve disciples.

Q: And when you use thirteen, what do they mean.

LT: That's the tipi pole. . . . Sometimes we use twelve; eleven, and then put that one [i.e., the twelfth, as tipi pole], see?

Q: What do the tipi poles mean?

MW: Well, as far as I know, there's nothing been handed down, because out west they use maybe twenty poles. Of course, over there the wind is stronger, sometime. But as the meetings was going on, passing through different tribes, different states, and people understand things, somebody must have recognized something at one time. And he see twelve poles in there; and the extra one behind, thirteen. We generally—I use thirteen. That way, it comes out even, too. With the doorway—there's six on each side, and one on the back.

Q: What do you mean, "one on the back"?

MW: Behind the leader. That's the main pole, where the tent is tied on, you see. And then there'd be six on each side; it comes out even with the doorway. And then, this person—whoever it was figured out that, whoever investigated this Peyote way—had a pattern to follow. That way, when the Bible tells us that Christ was on this earth, he had twelve disciples; and he was the main one—he made the thirteenth. That's what they say.

^b Q: What do the cedar boughs mean?

DN: Well, myself, I told S—— this, when we had the meeting at his place there. I asked him, "You know any place that's close to the cedar, cedar boughs?" "Yeah," he said, "it's over here." "Well, let's go get it." So we went over there, and got just a little, not much; so you could put it around. I told S——, "The way I know this cedar, one old woman told me this here—that's why I know this myself—The time Jesus come down there, across the ocean, one time he told the peoples he's going to go over there, to that next place. So they all know, them other peoples, Jesus is going to come there; he's going to walk in there. So them rich people, they put everything out, the best they got; rugs, the best they got; and flowers, the best they got. But the poor men, they ain't got none; so that poor man, he ain't got nothing what to do, he ain't got something to put in there. So it comes to his mind, and he went and picked them cedar boughs, and put it there, so he's got something to show, too; Jesus is going to come through, there." The one that told me, she said, 'Jesus, he came through there where that cedar bough is. Where the rich are, he don't go there; where the poor are, he goes in there, walks right there.' That's why, my own

self, that's why I put that cedar right there; so that Jesus might come in there." That's what I told S——this spring.

Q: Well, why cedar? Why not some other kind of tree?

DN: Oh, yeah, any kind; there are some others. Like this way, now; them Winnebagoes, they take sage; they put it around there.

Q: But why do you use cedar? Why not maple or oak or something like that?

DN: They ain't got no leaves, them other kind. We take other kinds, they got some green, like.

Q: But don't maple and oak have leaves?

DN: Well, that's a leaf, that sage: that's a leaf on there. But them other kinds of leaves, well—anyway, it looks better than them things.

Q: Why do you use cedar?

HR: Well, it's about the best there is, in this country. Cedar, it never dies out. It always is green forever, all the time.

Q: But isn't the same thing true of pine?

HR: Well, this cedar is used everywhere. Even in [white man's] church, they use it. How they use it, that's the same thing. They use it here, too. Cedar can [be] use[d] all the time.

Q: By whom?

HR: Indians. White men use it, too.

Q: Do they?

HR: I know they use them in church.

Q: What do the cedar boughs mean?

LT: Oh, it doesn't mean anything. Oh, it just looks good, that's all.

Q: But why cedar; why not something else?

LT: Well, sometimes you use . . . sage.

Q: They don't use sage here, do they?

LT: No, ain't got any.

Q: But why cedar instead of maple or oak or something like that?

LT: I know; because it smells good.

Q: Just because it smells good?

LT: Yeah. But if they use some balsam and hemlock, there's pitch on there; maybe you stick on it, too. But this cedar is good; good and never yellow; never spoil like, in the winter time; always green, all the time. Cedar, it's nice; that's why we use it. That's the way I know.

MW: That putting that cedar boughs there, you're making a big business of it. That's just our own [custom]. In other places where they make fresh, they don't have that background there; it's grass, so they could put their blanket there. We put that there so they don't dirty their blanket. Ourselves, we done that ourselves, you see.

Q: Then that's all it means?

MW: Yes.

*Q: What does the Half Moon mean?

DN: That's the [Peyote] way. The Indians, they found out that's a road. The Moon points there. That's the road; they start from there [the north tip of the crescent] to live, and when get up to there [the south tip of the crescent] they're old men. That's the way we represent that. Some of them, they mark right here on that Moon, on top there, they mark like that; that's a road.

Q: You're now speaking of the line on top of the Moon?

DN: That's an Indian way, Indian religion. That's the Peyote way. That's the way I understand it.

Q: Well, why don't they just make a line on the ground; why do they have to put it on top of the Moon? What does the Moon mean?

DN: Well, that's the earth. We're on the top here, of the earth. That's the way I understand it; it's the earth. They have to, on top there, make a road. That's the way I understand it.

Q: What does the Half Moon mean? . . .

HR: Well, in a way, the Half Moon, the Moon, it's the light of the night.¹ Maybe that represent[s] that moon; the moon appear[s]; it gives us light and night. I guess that's represent[ed] in that, too. That I know.

Q: But why a Half Moon instead of a whole moon? Why not make it round rather than crescent shaped?

HR: Yeah. That's the part that I don't know.

Q: What does the line on top of the Moon mean?

HR: Well, they explain it to me, that part, a little bit; not much. They just tell me that [it is a] trail; that's where we're going to go.

Q: What does the Moon mean?

LT: That's something, I don't know much about it.

Q: Well, how do you understand it?

LT: Well, that's a story. When we going, all of us, we going, there's a hill over there, some place. There's a hill; we going up; we got to go way up there. If we make it—go up there—and then, up there, there's nice light. That's what it means, that. You got to go to that wood first, see; that's a [unintelligible]; you got to go through there first, before you get up there—go up the hill. That's what I know, just myself.

Q: Then why not make a hill instead of a Moon?

LT: Well, that's what I know. You can't go around, nowhere. (laughs) I suppose, if I go this way, I got to come through there, see?

Q: What about the line on top of the Half Moon?

LT: You seen that line, eh? That's me; I fixed it [at the meeting]. Sometimes you won't see it in there.

Q: Oh, they don't have it all the time?

LT: No. Some people, like me [do]; I fix that line. . . .

Q: What about the line on top of the Half Moon?

LT: That's just a—walking there, that's all. Just a road in there.

Q: What kind of a road?

LT: Just a—people walk. Every day you got to go around that way, good. Good road, see? That's why . . .

Q: Why is it such a thin line?

LT: That's a main road. You want to go right, you got to go in there. No turn; straight road; narrow one. That's why I'm in that. Just myself [i.e., that is his own opinion].

Q: What does the Half Moon mean?

MW: Well, it means—it's an old story, one of the old stories. There was a big round hill, like that, see? And these women folks, they escape an enemy tribe and went up on the hill. There was only two approaches to that hill, so all night long they watched this approach and this other approach, going one way and coming back the other way; all night long they were that way. Getting morning, when they sized it up, they had a trail beaten there in that shape, you see.

Q: Does the Half Moon mean anything special, then?

MW: Oh yes; they inserted that in there.

Q: And what about the line on top?

MW: They all say that's the Peyote Road.

Q: What does the Peyote Road mean?

MW: Well, a man wants to lead a Christian life; that's the straight and narrow. One will either fall in the fire,

¹ ke-so? is generic, meaning either the sun or the moon. The specific terms are epe-t-ke-so? (day orb) and tep-e-h-ke-so? (night orb).

or in the darkness, if he stray away from that straight and narrow. That's easy to understand. . . .

Q: What is the Peyote Road?

MW: It's a road that God, that Jesus Christ, came down and made, when he lived here. And then, when his days was done here, and he left, that's the road we're going to follow him [on].

^aQ: What does the fire mean?

DN: Fire; that's something good, too. If we don't have that in winter time, we'd freeze and die. That's why God gave us that; to use it, to live on it. That's why they put it like that.

Q: Why are the sticks put on the fire the way they are?

DN: One old man told me, "That's just like a fence, a fence.² When you mean it, believe Almighty, say prayer all the time, believe that religion—got to believe it—if you believe it, that's that fence right there; and if you believe it, you got to go on the other side [away from the fire]. On the other side is the best place; there's nothing to worry about"—the way I understand that, that's Heaven—"nothing to worry about; you live for ever. If you believe good, you got to go on the other side. If you don't believe, you're on this side [toward the fire], and you don't know if you're going to make it to Heaven."

Q: What does the fire mean?

HR: Well, fire is—that's the hardest part for me to explain. . . . That's the light. Well, in the tipi, if there was no fire in there, there would be no light; they use fire for the light.

Q: Does it also mean something else?

HR: Yes. Well, that's the life; fire's life. If it wasn't for fire, we wouldn't be living today.

Q: Does it mean anything else, too?

HR: Of course. There's old timers, they know more about it than I do. . . . That's why I'm kind of stuck, see? I can't explain.

Q: Why are the pieces of firewood piled up the way they are?

HR: That's just steps, you know. Every step that you make. . . .

Q: What sort of steps?

HR: Well, that's just the way you go around to the meeting, I think. It's the first step—that's where you go in.

Q: Then the different things done in the meeting are the steps?

HR: Yes.

Q: How many steps are there, altogether?

HR: Well, that's according to whatever you do inside; how you're going to start. Just like when you first go in [the tipi] there [which is the first step]. Well, somebody—the leader—gets up; that's the next step again; he asks whoever is going to talk [to] explain what that meeting is for. After he explains, well, the leader, he prays . . . that's the next step.

Q: Are there a certain number of steps, altogether?

HR: No.

Q: Just that you have each step right?

HR: Yes.

Q: What does the fire mean?

LT: Well, that meaning, just myself, [as] I know [it]. When you all sit there, when you see that fire going, [it] means that's God. Pointing to God, that fire; that's the way I find out. You got to try to go that way. For me, just me, I know. See that fire? When they make fire, never go this way [pointing away from the Moon], ain't

it? Never point this way; always go this way [pointing toward the Moon]—straight.

Q: What does the fire mean?

MW: Fire is light and warmth.

^eDN: The leader, and drum chief, and cedar chief, and fireman; they're four. Everything is four.

Q: Why is everything four?

DN: In the prayers they're God, Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen.³

Q: Amen?

DN: Yes; "sure." That the way I understand that "amen"; [it is] "true." . . .

Q: Why does the drum chief sit at the right hand side of the leader?

DN: For my own self, the way I found out—you see, there's a lot of preachers, and so I listen to them—ministers. And God's Son, they put him on His right side.

Q: And the drummer, then?

DN: Yeah, that's that drummer; that's what he's supposed to represent.

Q: Then whom does the leader represent, God?

DN: Supposed to be God, yeah. And the drummer, His son.

Q: And the cedar chief?

DN: And the cedar chief—the way I find out myself, that's the Holy Ghost.

Q: The leader? . . .

LT: That's supposed to—that seem[s] like God. . . .

Q: And the drummer?

LT: That's—I can't say much, that way. There's God; I suppose that's His son.

Q: In other words, the drum chief represents Jesus?

LT: Yes.

Q: And the cedar chief?

LT: What you call it—wayiaskeset awetok.

Q: The Holy Ghost?

LT: Yes. . . .

Q: And the fire chief?

LT: That's the angel.

^fMW: When the meeting is over . . . they're through. Next meeting, they could appoint somebody else to lead; he could have his own bunch. . . . When that ceremony is over, you see, well, then they're through, too. Next time is another time.

^gQ: Why do you have a leader?

DN: He's supposed to do what God says, the leader. That's why.

HR: Everything represents [i.e., is symbolic]. See, the leader is like—it's just like it's God's place, right there. And His son is on the right hand side, and the Holy Ghost is on this [left] side.

Q: What is the leader for?

LT: I suppose it's—that's some kind of a high job. Takes like God's place.

Q: What's the job of the leader?

MW: Well, naturally, he's got to conduct the ceremony.

^hQ: How is the leader chosen?

DN: It's how he behaves himself, how he respects that religion, you know. Some others, you know, it seems to me, they don't pay no attention to it. That's why the one who's going to put up the meeting, he has to see them first.

³ Peyote prayers customarily end with the formula, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen."

² It does look something like a split rail fence.

The one that behaves and kind of knows what he's doing, that's the one they always take to lead.

Q: Who chooses the leader?

LT: I suppose the one that put up the meeting.

Q: And what sort of man does he choose?

LT: There's just a few of us, now, that know how to run the meeting; just a few. Maybe they took somebody just like you, just started. If I call you to lead, you don't know which way to go, see; don't know how to start it, see? Some of them, they've been to meeting lots of times; they know how to start it, see? That's why they call one man, see—three or four of us that lead.

Q: How is the leader chosen?

MW: Just chosen individually.

Q: But what sort of a man is usually chosen to be leader?

MW: Oh, my statement won't cover everybody's, you see. I'd want someone that's kind of half way upright, see? But it ain't always that way. Some pick a man just for friendship, or honor; something like that. And they have some respect for the person, that they want him to lead. Or, in case where they doctor, well, the man that practices doctoring through the Peyote, well, they pick him.

Q: How do you learn to become a leader?

HR: Well, when I come to lead it, they ask me to go ahead, see? . . . Well, I never lead before; I don't know nothing about this leading. They just, like, pestering me, see? What I know about this? Then I have to use that medicine, to find out myself. So I did; I just go ahead; I leave [it] to the medicine; let the medicine tell me how to move. . . . So I started. And I even ask one of those old timers—he come from [*unintelligible*—and I put him right here [as cedar chief], to tell me what to do. No, [I found out, after all, that] I don't have to ask him; I have to find out from the Peyote. And so, I tell the same thing to you; if you want to really find out what it is, you have to take this medicine, find out for yourself; that way you know it better than [my] telling you. Yes. That's how I come to lead.

Q: So you don't take lessons; you go to meetings, and see what happens, and then you take Peyote, and that teaches you to lead?

HR: Yes. . . . He didn't have to tell me, after I took the medicine. I find out for myself, and I just go ahead. After we got through, he kind of smiled at me. "Boy!" he says, "I don't have to tell you anything!"

¹ DN: The one that's going to take care of the drum sits [at the] right hand side. Then the leader starts to sing, and he starts upon the drum. That's the way.

Q: What is the job of the drum chief?

LT: To take care of the drum. Fix the drum, take care of all that drum, in all ways.

Q: Who is the Son?

HR: The drummer.

Q: Why does the drummer mean the Son of God?

HR: Well, he's taking a place.

Q: How does his drumming mean he's taking the place of the Son of God? . . .

HR: Well, God his son [i.e., God's son] gave the whole power; he's the one who guide[s] through the drummer. He [the drummer] is guiding [the singing] through the leader [by acting as drummer when the leader sings]. . . . Then he helps, helps the leader, see; like Christ is helping the Father, see? That's the same thing.

Q: Does the drumming have power in it?

HR: Oh yes.

Q: Will you explain that?

HR: Well, the sound of the drum, that keeps a person feel[ing] more lively; something like that. While you say, while you pray, prayers is strong, all [of] them. This drum, it helps anything going, saying. They use it to start [i.e., there is an introductory passage on the drum before every song].

Q: What's the job of the drum chief?

MW: Takes care of the drum, and drums for the leader. . . . He has to see that there's enough water in it, and sees that it's pumped up enough; anybody ain't supposed to just pump it up all the time, see; he's supposed to do that himself.

Q: But I've seen others pump it up, too.

MW: Well, that's what he's there for.

² Q: What is the job of the cedar chief?

LT: Well, when it's time to pray, he has to put the cedar [incense] in there [i.e., on the fire].

Q: What's the job of the cedar chief?

MW: Takes care of the incense. . . .

Q: What else does he do?

MW: Anything what the leader tells him.

Q: How does the cedar chief represent the Holy Ghost?

HR: Well, the cedar chief, he's the same thing with the drummer. He helps the leader to his prayers, himself. He prays on [i.e., in] his mind; he don't talk right out, but he prays on his mind.

³ Q: What does the fire chief represent?

HR: Fire chief, he's [the] man that looks after everything, same as leader. He keeps the fire going, so the peoples, they got along good, inside [the tipi], and have a light. God, He give us this power, this fire, to use it in that way, in everything life, and all that. And the fire chief, maybe he take a place to that. That's the way he represents that.

Q: What is the job of the fire chief?

LT: Why, keep going that fire, so we have light in there. We told him, "Take care of it there. Suppose it be dark there, sun go down, [we] can't see."

Q: What does the fire chief represent?

LT: That's the angel.

TW: By rights the fireman, he's got the whole say of that tipi there. . . .

Q: What would you say the job of fire chief is, as you see it?

TW: Well, one time I fired, at the same spot. And during the course of the night, well, I should say—well, some drunks come there, see? So I went—they wanted to come in there, see? But I told them, "No, it ain't no place for you. The best place for you is either at home, or where you come from. Go back to that tavern where you been drinking. They don't play—they don't want you here. There's nobody in there that's drunk. They're worshipping there."

I says, "You'd better not go in there." Well, they got kind of funny, so I went in and told the leader. I can't recall at the moment who was leading, but anyway, he says, "Go out there and tell them to go home, and if they don't want to go home," he says, "we don't want to have to tell them again. You know who to go tell,"⁴ he says. So I went out there. So I told those people, "You boys better go," I says. "They don't want you here; you're disturbing." Well, they got kind of smart, and kind of sassy like. "Well," I told them, "I know you fellows; I went to school

⁴ The reservation's Indian police are called in such situations.

with you. You guys had better go home." I says, "You're disturbing here, and I don't want to have to come out and tell you again." You know, they don't tell you a second time, here; although I was telling them the second time, see? "Go on and be good about it. Go on home. I don't want to see you fellows get in trouble." Well, one fellow happened to be half way sober anyway. "All right," he says, "all right; we'll go." "You better take the rest of them," I says. "That don't look nice like that," I says. "I like to drink myself," I says, "I don't go to a place like this in the condition that youse are in." "All right," they said. This one fellow that was half way sober, he says, "All right, I'll go." He took and rounded up his bunch, and put them in the car, and he went. He was pretty good about it, because I went to school with him; I knew him, see?

So, right there, when the fireman is there, my belief is, he sits at the door. Nobody can just barge in there any old time, you know. If he does come in, he got to stand there, let the fireman—like a newcomer, like, a late comer or something like that. If I look up at him, if I know he's a member, or he uses it [Peyote], or like that, and he's a late comer, well, I know just about where to put him, see?

He's a doorman, too. Well, you might as well say—put it this way: he's a sergeant-at-arms, I should say; that's as close as I can come to it. Foreman. Outside of keeping that fire going in there; well, he has the whole say of that tipi there. The fire and the outside, see? That's the way I look at it. . . .

Q: What else does the fire chief do?

TW: Well, at the start, it's up to him to make his own Moon there, and fix up the fireplace, where he's going to have his fireplace. Just brush everything up there, and where the people going to sit . . . if the ground is bare, well, he puts hay there, or cedar, or whatever they is; try to have it comfortable in there. He even helps put up the tipi, there, see? Everything.

¹HR: This fire chief always have a partner, see? . . . He always ask somebody to help him.

Q: Who is the waiter?

HR: Well, that's the fire chief, his partner, see? Fire chief, he always pick out who's going to help him, see? This way, we didn't have much crowd there; we didn't have any waiter, see?

Q: So it's only when you have a large crowd that you have a waiter?

HR: Yes. See, the fireman, he can't do both, if there's too many people in there. He got to keep this fire going; and waiter, he looks after that medicine, see? When that medicine is suppose to go across, why, he gets up and gives it.

Q: When does the fire chief pick the waiter?

HR: Before the meeting.

Q: And does the waiter sit in any special place?

HR: Most of them, they sit together, see?

Q: To the right or left of the fire chief?

HR: Sometimes they put him to the left [i.e., at the south side of the door], sometimes they put him to the right [of the fire chief]. . . . That waiter, he sits wherever he wants to, see? Sometimes he sit right across from [i.e., at the south side of the door], see?

^mQ: How did you pick your Peyote Chief?

DN: Same place where we got that Peyote.

AN: Just pick him out of the bunch which you get. One that you think you're going to use all the time.

Q: How do you decide which one to pick?

AN: They're all the same; there's no difference in them.

DN: Only, it kind of looks like a flower, like that.

That's the Peyote Chief. Them other ones, they ain't much of them; that why they pick out that one, you see.

Q: What does the Peyote Chief mean?

DN: Well, that's the one he used, the one who found first that Peyote. That's the time they begin waking up, to talk to Almighty; that one talked, the one first to use that Peyote. That's why he put it there; that's his chief.

Q: Why did he put it there?

DN: Well, that's a power; it's a power. God put power in there. If you're sick, you got to use that, to use it, and commence to live again. That's a power, that's why. You respect that, respect it. You sing loud. That's why he put it there. "I'm going to talk to Almighty"; that's why he put it there.

Q: How do you pick your Peyote Chief?

HR: Some people, when they sent for Peyote a long time ago, they used to do that [i.e., pick one from the lot]. But now, I got mine, there's a man that fix them things, you know; they fix them [specially] just so they be used that way; they make one [to be used as Peyote Chief]. But before . . . when they send for that medicine, well, they just pick up one of those; they look just like [a] chief, you know; they just use them [as Peyote Chief]. Like Dewey's there; that's the way he got his; just pick out one of them [from a shipment of Peyote].

Q: You say it looks like a chief; what do you mean?

HR: Well . . . they don't look like the rest of them, see. The rest of them, they kind of—those little [white] spots in there—I believe I can show you that. (He goes to his case, and takes out his Peyote Chief.) See, I sent for this one myself. See how it looks? They [ordinary Peyote buttons] ain't none of them so round, see; they [are] all kind of rough. But sometimes you find one, [a] good one, a nice and round one; and these spots right here, they're kind of lined up like this.

Q: In other words, it has to be large, regular, and symmetrical, and the white spots have to radiate from the center like a spiral?

HR: Yes. Them's the one they pick up out of that [shipment] what they send for. But this here, like mine what I got [is made specially]; I got this from one of my friends [a Winnebago Peyote leader].

Q: And I notice you keep it in a little [commercially made] cedar box [bought in a store].

HR: Yes.

Q: And you wrap it carefully in a fancy silk handkerchief.

HR: Yes. And I got a cedar [sprig] in there [i.e., at the bottom of the box, on which the wrapped Peyote Chief rests]. See, this one [i.e., the Peyote Chief] is made [especially] for that [purpose].

Q: So this one is specially made?

HR: Yes, this is specially made; that's what we use it for. You know, when they made this, they say [a] lot of prayers while they're making it, you know; and all the prayers, it's in there. And then they bring it up here, and give it to these Menominis here, [to] use them over here. And when we use them, well, we put our prayers in that for them people who brought it. It's just like collecting our prayers in there.

Q: And you always keep it on that sprig of cedar?

HR: Yes. Every time when they have meetings, they always have cedar at the bottom of it [before the Peyote Chief is placed on the Half Moon]. They always take a piece out of that [sprig, when the meeting ends] and put it in [beneath the Peyote Chief, when it is put away].

Q: What does the Peyote Chief mean?

HR: Well, that's the chief; oke-ma-w (chief), what they call it. He watch everything, anything; everything what you say, well, it goes in there.

Q: Is there any connection between oke-ma-w maski-hkiw (Peyote Chief) and kesēmaneto-w (Great Spirit)?

HR: Well, God is over there, see; the Peyote is here. God made this Peyote, and that's His power. Well, He's here with us [in the form of the Peyote Chief] at the same time. That's the way.

Q: What do you put on the middle of the Moon?

LT: That's the chief of Peyote. . . .

Q: What is that for? . . .

LT: Well, that's all I know: It's chief, what you call it—oke-ma-w maski-hkiw. When you want to ask [God for something], you go in there [i.e., to the meeting] first; you go right through there. Mashi-hkiw, it's going to show you where to go when you ask him.

Q: Are you supposed to look at the Peyote Chief, or speak to it, or what?

LT: Yeah, that's a chief. When you got some [Peyote] in your hand—maybe four pieces—and you ask, pray [to] God; and that medicine, you ask that medicine—just when you're going to use it—what you want to know, what you want to cure.

Q: How is the Peyote Chief chosen?

MW: Some are handed down. Some are picked out, you know, for their nice shape. And out here, I hear of some that actually made a visit to the Peyote gardens [in Texas], you know; they find one like that, and they reserve it for that purpose.

^a Q: Is that your whistle?

DN: He just borrowed that whistle; that belongs to Joe Weso.

AN: He hasn't got any of his own, yet. He don't know how to make it.

Q: What does the whistle mean?

DN: When they use that Peyote, when they begin to take it, and to think about Almighty, they hear that [Water]bird. That represents that.

Q: What is the whistle made of?

DN: From the Waterbird.

Q: What is the whistle made of?

HR: It's made from eagle's bone.

Q: What is the whistle for?

HR: One time there was going to be the end of the world. There was angels on each post [i.e., cardinal point]: east and south, west and north. And these angels, they got bugles; they had it ready; they're ready to blow them. And if they do blow them, well, this world's going to be nothing [i.e., be completely destroyed]; be nothing but dust. So when they was just ready to blow them, they hear a voice, somewhere. Somebody said, "Wait!" Well, he says, "I got some more people over there. I want to go save them." That's what he said, the voice that they heard; I don't know who it was. When they come to find out, well, that's us [Indians]. These peoples, we've never been like this before [i.e., learned about God by means of Peyote]. That's represented in that whistle, you know; we use it that way.

Q: What is the whistle made of?

LT: That's, you know, some—he call for water.

Q: It's made from the Waterbird?

LT: Yes. Something like that.

^o Q: There's the cloth on which the tools are laid; what is that for?

HR: Well, you know, it seems like in church they always have something; a dresser [scarf], or something, on the altar. That's what [it's for].

Q: Have you ever been in a church?

HR: I used to go; yes. But I never belonged in there. But I used just to go in there.

Q: What's the cloth for?

LT: Oh, just to take care of them tools, and put them in it. . . . Just to take care of them tools so they won't get dirty; the feathers, there.

Q: What is the cloth for?

MW: Oh, he [the leader] puts his tools on it.

Q: Does it always have a picture of Jesus?

MW: No. Could be any kind of a cloth. Whatever the individual deems necessary for his own particular use, or been given to him, or anything.

^p Q: What does the bag of Peyote mean?

DN: Well, that's the only way they can keep it, right there in the bag. You respect that; you try the best to do some way; they put that medicine in; they respect it. Nothing else goes in there then; just nothing but Peyote in there.

Q: I noticed that the Peyote bag you used [at the previous meeting] was made of two American flags.

HR: Oh, we done that when the war was breaking out. When my [classificatory] brother, my cousin, he went across. And I thought about him. So I made that bag myself, see; [it was] just [that] I respect [him] that much, I think about that much of my brother. So I make that bag myself, on account of him, just to think about him in those days, to [have him] get along good, out there.

Q: From what I've heard, in the old days the Peyote was passed around on a tray. Why do you use a bag now?

HR: Well, they just done that way, see? Otherwise, they just—the way they used to go around, pass it themselves, see; but that's lots of work for the waiter. So this way, we put it in a sack; just pass it around.

^q Q: Whose is the buckskin bag of cedar?

DN: Mine.

Q: The cedar chief doesn't use his own?

DN: No.

Q: He uses the leader's?

DN: Yes.

Q: What does the cedar incense mean?

DN: Well, the nearest I can explain incense, that cedar, that's a great thing; the Almighty, it's great: that's why we live; it's great. That's the reason why he [the founder of the religion] put that thing in there, so that there's smoke to call [upon the Almighty]. That's why he respects that; you know, that Almighty, that's a great thing, to help us live. That's why he put that cedar in to smoke; He smells it going up. That's about the nearest I can explain it to you.

Q: What does the smoke going up mean?

DN: Well, so your mind goes up there to the Almighty, the mind. There are all kinds of ways they want to do, so you get there to Almighty.

Q: How do you make incense?

HR: Just dry that cedar. . . . The leaves, here, is what we use; the green part. . . . Dry it, and put it in a sack so you can use it some place.

Q: Do you dry it in any special way?

HR: Well, we just hang the branches; let it dry up. Then, after it gets dry, we just make it fine (rubbing his hands together).

Q: In your hands?

HR: Yes.

Q: Where do you hang it up to dry?

HR: In the house; any place.

Q: Do you say a special prayer over it, to make it sacred?

HR: Yes. . . . We just use the prayer, how we're going to use that cedar.

Q: Will you give me that prayer?

HR: [Translation] "Well, Great Spirit (*kesēmaneto-w*), this cedar leaf is that which I will use for a while over here. I am telling you this, Great Spirit, so that you can put power (*mēskowesan*) in it, so that when we assemble to pray there, it will be used to smoke, in order to help us. This is what I ask of you, Great Spirit. I am telling you in advance what I am going to use these cedar leaves for; I am telling in advance, Great Spirit. That is all. Amen (*e-men*)."

That smoke comes up; well, it's going—it's just the way everything goes. The song, it's going, with all that power, like that cedar smoke; going, going up.

Q: What does the cedar smoke mean?

HR: Well, it's what I said. It's power, that smoke, it's power. It goes with the prayers; the cedar, it takes the prayers, just like that, because the smoke is going.

[Another time:]

Q: What does smoking with the cedar mean?

HR: Well, that's a smoke that you smell, and that spreads out, that smoke. When it goes in your system, you feel good.

Q: But what about smoking the tools?

HR: Yes, everything's got to be done that way.

Q: Why?

HR: That mean's it's got to be—well, it's just like what I said, you know. When you smoke all these things, you know, you got to use that cedar in that way. And that cedar is got something to do with everything, too. When you burn it, well, when you smoke anything, well, it's kind of something to that. It feels better. Even when you smell that smoke, you feel good; it helps.

Q: You can't use any tools until they're smoked?

HR: Yes [i.e., that is correct].

Q: Why is cedar incense used?

LT: Well, just smell good.

Q: When your smoke goes up, does that mean anything?

LT: It's going up to God, when your prayers is going that way.

Q: What does the cedar incense mean?

MW: That's old Indian, we always have that; that's been handed down.

Q: What does putting cedar incense in the fire mean?

MW: That's respect; respect the Peyote. That's all I can say. Everything that we do in there, from there on—that's the way I find out—is all in respect to Peyote. There might be other stories about that—they even, some day, talk about from way back in the biblical times—but it sums it up into respecting that Peyote.

[Another time:]

Q: What is the meaning of smoking?

MW: A person could pray any time. But the time when you really mean it, you want to make it really official, this time you really mean it, then you add that [cedar incense]. It's sort of a reverence, like, "This time, that's for sure; I really mean it." That's how we're using that.

* Q: How many feathers are there in the fan?

DN: Twelve. The whole tail.

Q: What do the twelve feathers mean?

AN: Twelve disciples.

DN: Not many birds come in these tails, twelve [i.e., not many birds have twelve tail feathers]; only some of them.

Q: What do the feathers mean?

DN: That's from that [Water]bird; it represents that bird.

Q: But they use all kinds of feathers?

DN: Yeah, all kinds. Just anything you can get a hold of in feathers, so they look good.

Q: And what do the feathers mean?

DN: Well, when you talk to Almighty, maybe sometimes He gives us the blessing. So if somebody don't feel good, maybe sick, you got to have them. You fan him a little bit, so they have fresh air; they get it; they feel good right there. That represents them.

Q: You mean it's only a fan; nothing else?

DN: Yeah. The first Indian in this life, all the time he had that. And a bird, some kind of bird, them old Indians used to put over here—all kinds. Then, the same way, in this Peyote, when He give it to them, Almighty, they got them feathers already, so they use them—they take care of them good.

Q: If the feathers are only used for a fan, why not use any kind of a fan? Or do the feathers mean something else, too?

DN: Yeah. That's like a close friend, like. That's the way I understand it from them Indians. Just like it's his close friend—that Bird. That's why they always have them.

Q: So it's a fan, but it also represents the Waterbird?

DN: Yeah.

Q: What are the feathers for?

HR: Well, that comes together; the whole works, the whole [set of] tools. The staff and the feathers. You know, the arrow, he always have feathers on.⁵ That's just the way that is; that's just like [an] arrow, when you're holding [the] feathers with a staff, you know.

Q: And do the feathers by themselves mean anything?

HR: Well, in that part, I'm not [i.e., I don't] quite know about it.

Q: What do the feathers mean?

LT: Well, it's the eagle's. You see, just like they got—that Waterbird, it's got feathers; all that.

Q: What do the feathers mean?

LT: Why, that's just—you use them when you get warm, and you use them when fevered.

Q: Do they only mean a fan, or something else too?

LT: Oh, yeah, they mean that Waterbird.

Q: Anything else?

LT: That's all I know.

MW: Feathers is to fan with.

Q: Is that all they're used for; to fan with?

MW: No, no; they use them a lot of different ways. Particular feathers, some of them use them when they're doctoring; some as friendship—a cluster, or a bouquet.

Q: How many feathers are there in the fan? any special number?

MW: The leader's feathers, the eagle feathers that the leader uses, is supposed to be either seven⁶ or twelve. I don't know why, why they should use seven; some have twelve. It seems to come out that way natural on a bird, in one way; lots of birds, it comes out even that way.

Q: How many feathers are there in your fan?

MW: The one I made got twelve in, because I took it just as it come off of the bird [in this case, a "dove"]

⁵ John Neconish's old staff is in the form of a conventionalized arrow, and some Winnebago leaders have similar staffs. However, none of this type are now used by the Menomini.

⁶ Seven eagle feathers are used by the leader in the Cross Fireplace.

itself. The one that was given me, there's one missing on it; I think there's eleven.

^sQ: Did they use sage at the other [i.e., previous] meeting?

DN: I don't think so.

Q: What does the sage mean?

DN: That's something real good.

AN: They even put that around the tipi [instead of cedar boughs, among other tribes]. See, we haven't got the sage here; they put that around the edge of the tipi, around like that, the way they [the Menomini] put that cedar [boughs] on there. That's supposed to go around there. And we got this sage from a party up at Wisconsin Dells [Winnebago], one time. There was a meeting there, and they thought so much of him, being over there and with them people; so they picked up that sage around there, and then they tied that up, and had him bring it home. And they said, "Whenever you lead a meeting, you take this with your cane and pass it around."

Q: What does the sage itself mean?

DN: Well, it's my own experience, I try to explain it to you. And one time, I guess it was flooded, this world. And one man, he made a boat. He told the peoples, then, to help. Nobody listened to him, what he told them; they don't believe him. Anyway, he started. Some of them, they went over there and helped him. When they finished that boat—I don't know how many years it took him to fix that boat—and after they fixed it, that boat—done it, all done—then began coming in all kinds of animals, one pair [of] all kinds, you know; even the birds; all went in there. And when they all went in there, God told them to close that door, and not to let anybody go in there after that, the ones that don't believe him. If somebody let him in there, He said He's going to break that boat. So he locked it up. After he locked it up, that boat and that door, waters come down. Everything was flooded, but that boat was on top [of the water]. I don't know how many days. And one time, the water stop, I think; all gone. That water there, I don't know, it go some place. One time he—they must have had some kind of a window to look out at—see [that the] water was just like glass, clear, and didn't move; just see sky and sun; it was nice. And some way, when that bird there, some place—it must be that window—he got out, gone. I don't know how long he's gone; then he come back, and he had some kind of a green, green leaf, see? Gee! them what's in there, they're all glad; he went, got it some place where it must be land, some place. They're glad he brought that. And finally he went—he know that boat is going some place. Pretty soon he seen that, nice and green like this here, now; he seen that, going that way. And some time he got there; then they all got off. That's why we're living today, in this land here.

Q: What plant did the bird bring?

DN: That's what that means. The bird, he brought it up. That's my own experience; nobody told me. I just figured it out; maybe that's the one.

Q: Then the plant the bird brought was sage?

DN: Yes.

Q: What is the sage for?

HR: The sage, it just come lately, and they don't explain it to us, why they use it for. They come over here; they just hand it to us, and that's all.

Q: Who brought it?

HR: Winnebagoes.

Q: You say lately; how lately?

HR: Well, it's just about seven, six years ago, since I see it around here.

Q: What is the sage for?

MW: It just belongs in there.

^tQ: What does the staff mean?

DN: The way I understand it, myself, that's something good, too. My grandfather used to tell me, "When you age in mind, you're going to take a stick and you're going to use that to walk. You want to have that, you can't go alone without it. You have got to have that." That represents that, that staff. You've got to hang on it, use it to go to Almighty. That's the nearest I can explain that staff.

HR: The cane you got something to lean on, like Christ did, see, Christ had a cane. That represent that.

Q: What does the staff mean?

LT: Well, this is something else kind of hard for me to say. You know, because walking, we have the cane. I suppose that's why we use it that way, to go.

Q: What does the staff mean?

MW: As far as I seen it, it come with the ceremony.

Q: Why does the singer hold the staff before him? Does it mean anything?

MW: No. It's the natural place to hold it, in front of you. The same, when you're singing; naturally, whether you're praising God or worshipping God, you're praying in that direction towards the Peyote Chief.

Q: Then you're supposed to hold the staff towards the Peyote Chief?

MW: Yes.

^uQ: What does the gourd mean?

DN: You've got to have something, if you want to sing; you've got to have something. They say [i.e., rattle it] like that [tempo] in the song, and then they start to sing.

Q: But you have the drum; why a rattle too?

DN: Well, they got to go together, them things, and say that song. And when they sing, it goes with it; they sound good. The same way them music—all kinds of music—if you know how, the same time you sing here, they sound good too. That's the way the Indians do. They've got that, too; songs to talk to Almighty. He give it to them, the Indians, to do that. That's the way I understand it.

Q: What is the gourd for?

HR: Well, that's just to keep time with the singing.

Q: What does the gourd mean?

LT: That's what they call them. All that sound, the way I know it, it would sound funny if he sits there and he sings [only], you know. Somebody beats the drum. And all that sound in that gourd, and the drum, and the stick, all go together.

^vQ: Why use a water drum instead of the ordinary kind?

DN: Well, he saw that, the one who first found that religion. He saw that, so they have it.

Q: Why are seven marbles used?

DN: Well, that's the way it's tied good, [with] seven.

Q: What does the star mean?

DN: It just comes out that way. The way it's tied up, that drum; keep going this way, and then when he finishes, there's a star there.

Q: What does the star mean?

DN: Well, they didn't know. They just started to tie that drum that way; keep on going [with] that rope around and around and around; and when they got finished, they look at that; there's a star there.

Q: Why is a water drum used? Why not some other kind of drum?

HR: Well, the drum, it's with the water; it always goes with the water; it always goes with the water. [Water is used] with everything, you know.

Q: When the drum is tied, there's a star on the bottom; what does that star mean?

HR: That part I don't know. I just happened to see it myself, one day, when I first seen the drum was tied up. You know, after they got through tying, then they show me that star on the bottom. But about the meanings of it [he was never told].

Q: What does the drum mean?

LT: Well, I suppose they use it to make a noise, make a sound.

Q: But why a water drum rather than any other kind?

LT: I suppose they don't sound just right when you use medicine. If you use one of them high [pitched] ones I suppose they wouldn't sound [right].⁷

MW: We'll talk about this modern drum, what we call this kettle drum, white man made kettles. Well, sometime way back, they understood by using those seven marbles, and by drawing it [i.e., the rope] evenly all around, in order to draw the [drumhead] hide evenly, they had to crisscross [the rope] in such a way that it formed a star underneath. And then somebody recognized that star, and looked [at it]. They figured that the person who gave this medicine to the Indians, he had a purpose for everything; then there was going to be a teaching, some sign or something [in that star]. So he found out [what it meant]. That Indian, you know, from way back, he never lived in the house; he lived the outdoor life; never had no watches or anything like that. Especially at night, he went by the stars, especially the Morning Star.⁸ Sometime, any time of the night when they saw the Morning Star, they could gauge the distance; and when it got so far, they know that the sun would somewhere be out shortly. So this person that understood it that way, he found out then that this drum, and the star in there, represented something like that Morning Star. That was a sign that the sun is sure going to come; that's for sure; because whenever you see the Morning Star, that's for sure, the sun is going to come, no mistake. So that's why they put all their faith in this ways [i.e., the star on the drum is a certain herald of the future life promised by Peyotism].

* DN: You're supposed to start early, early, just when the sun's getting down, so they can get a lot of it [Peyote]. But sometimes they start late. Somebody's always waiting; when he comes around, then they start.

Q: Why does the meeting begin at sunset?

DN: Well, this sun goes down and later they're supposed to go in there and sit around. It's quite a few of them that have got to go in there; they say they've got to sing, every one of them; you know what they do, and all that. Oh yeah, if they're more in there, they last only two rounds [of songs], and the sun's coming up—the sun's coming up and they stop.

Q: Why are you supposed to start the meeting at sunset?

HR: Why? That's the way it comes.

Q: Does it mean anything?

HR: Well, I think it means [that] Christ, I guess, he came in [the] daytime one time, and this time he's going to come in the night time. So we're waiting for him [to

⁷ The water drum has a low pitch.

⁸ Traditionally, all the stars are spirits, and the Morning Star is chief of the star spirits.

come] any time. When we're having our meetings in the night time, well, if he happens to come, well, we'll be awake already.

Q: Why does the meeting last from sunset to sunrise?

LT: That's pretty hard to tell; for me, anyway; I'm just kind of young at that. . . . That's what they said, the old peyoters—but I don't know myself—that's what they say, "Start it early. In the summer [it] is [a] short night. When they eat medicine early; and work, work, work, work, work; till twelve o'clock you're working; and in the morning, after twelve, is working; and then you know something." That's why.

Q: Well, why don't you start in the morning, and go through the whole day; why must it be at night?

LT: I don't know.

Q: Why does the meeting begin at sunset?

MW: Well, time is so short. After they use this medicine for quite a while, they realize that time is so short. A person that's really interested in making use of this medicine, they want to make use of all the time they can. That's as close as I can understand.

Q: Why does the meeting last from sunset to sunrise?

MW: Oh, well, they told us one time—I don't know if it's in a joking manner, I forgot just where I heard that—but they say that Judgment Day might come in the night. So these people, all setting up, so it ain't going to sneak up on them. (Laughs) That might be just a joke, too; I don't know. That part I don't remember.

TW: By rights, the meeting should have been started just at sundown, see? That should have been. The leader should have been in there already, or called the people together, that he's going to go in. . . . But, as I say, us here, we're just kind of beginners, like, I should say; we don't know how, yet. So a member usually comes in late. Well, the leader, he's got to wait for the people. All the members that usually go here, he's got to wait for them, in order to fill up that tipi, see? So he's got to wait. When he thinks they're all there, well, then he goes in.

* Q: I notice that the people all wash and put on clean clothes before they go to the meeting.

HR: Well, that's just a habit, you know, people wearing clean clothes.

Q: Why do people wash and put on clean clothes?

MW: That's the same way as outside [the reservation]. People, white people, shave and dress up, when they go to church. . . . Naturally, when a person feels kind of a little reverent in himself, you know, along those lines, he kind of freshens up. A person can rest better anyway, naturally.

* Q: What do the pins mean?

DN: Well, one fellow told me, "There are different Indians, different tribes, and then they make them pins. When you see that there man, 'That's my friend'; that's what they mean. Those other tribes, they each got them a little bit different too; well, you know what kind of tribe they are." That's the way he told me, one time.

Q: Are you supposed to wear them all the time?

DN: No, just when they have that prayer meeting, like, to talk to Almighty. That's the time when they use it; "That's my friend."

Q: How about the pins?

HR: I don't know how those come. I just seen them, myself. I don't know where it comes from; I don't know where it start.

Q: Do you know what it means?

HR: No, I don't know what it means.

Q: What do the pins mean?

LT: Oh, it's just a sign. You see, you got Waterbird, and all that. Just to wear it.

Q: What for?

LT: Just to show you belong in that Peyote; and nobody else, he can wear them. If he never eat Peyote, he never see them. You see, when you [are a] Peyote [member], you wear them.

Q: You only wear them at meetings?

LT: Yeah.

Q: Do you wear them at other times?

LT: No, not me; maybe somebody else might.

Q: What do the pins mean?

MW: Originally, they resembled—it's like totems; just like the totem, but it ain't a totem. Certain families, certain men, certain leader—well, I don't know what you would call it—those that make them, or create them, they claim that they got a gift for making them. Somebody, you see, somebody; not just everyone. This guy that gets the gift, you know, he starts making them for his friends, some way; friends, so that they could remember him; then he remembers them. And naturally when you make something, and put all your interest in it, and good meaning into it—when you pass it on, you don't forget that. And any time, in the course of the night, when you're in any meeting, you remember them, see? And they even make earrings and stuff—rings—for women folks; men folks wear pins and so forth. Sunbursts is what they used to make. Then, they represented the chief feathers—supposed to be feathers, originally—but, after a while, this is made in points like a sunburst. And that's how they passed them on, from friend to friend.

^zQ: How soon before the people come into the tipi do you light the fire?

TW: Well, by rights, the meeting should have been started just at sundown, see? . . . And that fire should have been going then. . . . When he [the leader] thinks they're all there, well, then he goes in. And it's up to the fireman to get that fire going. By right, I should have had that fire going at seven, or before, just when the sun is going down.

Q: What time did you start it?

TW: I started it a little after eight.

Q: And do you say your prayer before or after lighting the fire?

TW: No, at that time I didn't, because the leader didn't say that I should, see?

Q: Then you said no prayer?

TW: No.

Q: Do you know there's supposed to be a prayer?

TW: There's supposed to be a prayer. But the leader didn't say that I should. He's the one that's running the meeting, see; he should know what he's going to do.

Q: Oh, that means you have to wait for him to tell you?

TW: Yeah, I got to do according to what he wants, see?

Q: I didn't know that.

TW: I just can't go ahead and do it; if I try to tell him what to do—no. I'm helping him, see?

Q: Before the meeting starts, the fire chief starts the fire, doesn't he?

MW: Yes; just before they start.

Q: And he says a prayer before starting the fire?

MW: Yes; he's supposed to say a prayer.

Q: Will you please give me the prayer you usually say at that time?

MW: [Translation] "Well, Great Spirit (*kesēmaneto-w*) our father, and Jesus (*ci-sas*) the son, and the Holy Ghost

(*wayiaskaset awētok*), and you medicine (*maski-hkiw*); now our brother has asked me to pray to you in advance. After I pray to you, I will start a fire. You know me, Great Spirit, and you, Jesus. Therefore I am now asking you quietly to have pity on us. You know what I ask of you; that you will also join with us, all night, in order to have pity on us. That is what I always ask of you. And indeed make us so that you will let us live here so well that we will thank you for everything. That is what I ask of you; that as many as enter there for a while will be so good. We enter in order to pray. That is what I am asking you, in advance, Great Spirit, my father."

^{aa}Q: Why does the leader pray before going into the tipi?

DN: Well, they ask God to take care of all them people, what they're going in there for, to help them, give them the power so they'll all live good, and children; that's the way they ask.

Q: Why do you pray before going into the tipi?

HR: Well, that's the way Christ did. Before he went in that tipi, he prayed first. He ask God if He's going to go in there.

Q: What does the prayer mean?

HR: That means so that I can go in there and be [*unintelligible*].

Q: What does the prayer before entering the tipi mean?

MW: The way I hear, they all go in, they leave all their prejudices outside, their indifference; go in as brother and sister, and worship God together. That's been kind of handed down from below [*i.e.*, southern tribes], that understanding.

^{bb}Q: Why does the leader go in first?

DN: Well, he's the one that's going to say the prayers first.

HR: The leader goes first. The drummer. Cedar chief. And then the rest. Then the fire chief; he watch everybody as they go in; then he goes in last.

Q: Why does the leader go in first?

LT: That seem like God. God is take His place; that's why he go first.

Q: Why does the leader enter first?

MW: Well . . . naturally, they follow the leader. He's the one that's going to lead the service; they follow him. I suppose that's the beginning of that respect I'm always talking about; respecting the leader; he's carrying all his tools, and the Peyote Chief, in there. That's why they all go in that way. . . .

You know, that going in—I went to the [intertribal] conference [of the Native American Church] down in Oklahoma, and then another meeting down here at Tama [Sac and Fox]. When the leader says his prayer, as they're about to enter, then they go around the tipi, outside the tipi, before they go in. Also, at midnight, when they come out, when they're going to go back in, they go around the tipi again, and then they go in, see? Of course, we don't do that here yet.

^{cc}Q: Why is it that the men take off their hats when they go into the tipi?

HR: Well, that's the way it should be. . . . We have that much respect in our prayer meetings; that's why we don't wear those hats.

Q: At other Indian ceremonies I've attended here, the men keep their hats on; why do your men take off their hats when they go into the tipi?

MW: It's a sort of respect, I suppose. It's always been done. When we first saw people—those that knew how—when we first saw them, that's what they taught us. So we done that, too.

Q: Inside the tipi they always go around this way (demonstrating with a clockwise motion); why?

DN: Well, the sun here goes this way, everything goes this way. That's why they do that way. . . . That Moon there, that's the road there. You got to follow that road; that means all the way through this life here; you got to follow that. That's why we walk around this fireplace.

Q: Why do they all go around this way?

LT: Well, I think I know, a little bit. You know, that sun is going this way. It's supposed to be everything going this way.

Q: Why does everyone and everything move clockwise?

MW: Well, I can't figure that out. There must be some good explanation for that. I know it's good, handy thing; I know that.

^{ad}HR: In the Peyote meeting . . . everybody [has] to be quiet and kind of behave, you know; watch out what they say. It's very important, in the Peyote way.

Q: Why do the men sit in front, while the women and children sit in back?

DN: One time he told me, one old man, "The first time Almighty only gave it to the women folks; only they understand that. But the women, they can't get along to do all that work, so they gave it to their brothers to handle that job, the church." So that's why man has to do that work in that church. The women sit right there [in the circle with the men], them Indians down there [in the west], the ones that first started, they sat only in one round; nobody sits back there; his woman sits right here next to him. But over here, some of them women want to go in there, but some of them don't; so there's just nothing but men folks.

Q: Do any women ever sit in front here?

DN: Not yet. All sit back there; with the men in front who sing.

Q: Why do the men sit in front and the women sit in back?

HR: Well, it starts from this Wisconsin [Winnebago], you know; these peoples that come visit us before we know this Peyote [well]; that's the way they brought this meeting for us. But, when I come to find out [what the western tribes do], women, she supposed to sit right on the road too. But in that way they don't have much room in the tipis; this way they have more room, when the women sit back, you know, and all the singers sit in the front.

Q: Why is it only men take part, while the women sit in the back?

LT: Well, I suppose lots of them singers got to go sit in the front. But some [western] people, like that way [i.e., have a different way], they said you don't do that. Just one row. Women, if they want to go in there, they sit right there together [with the men] . . . all them ladies, just one line sits tight [i.e., close to each other]. . . .

Q: Then why do the women sit in the back, here?

LT: Well, that's—anyway, you just put them back here, so them singers all line up. I suppose if we're big enough—see, them tipi's small. See, last meeting, just us [men], we just [have a] full [circle]. If all the ladies go in there, there won't be no room. After they all go in them once, all fill up; somebody else come in late, he can't go in [the circle].

Q: Why do only men sit in front?

MW: That's another thing we adopted up here, you see. Down there, when I attended the [intertribal] conference meeting—that was supposed to be the national delegates; it was supposed to be the top notch meeting, when, naturally, all the delegates from each tribe got together, and they was going to run one meeting the way it's supposed to go—they told us, "There's no back seat. The only back seat there is outside. Now, you sit in front."

Another thing . . . from my own experience . . . is that center, that circle there—we're all facing it—it's almost like a wheel, and each one of us is the spoke, see; so some of them sit in the back there, I suppose there'd be a double spoke, there.

Q: Why do the people sit the way they do?

MW: Well, it's the natural way to sit, in the first place. But when I went to a conference meeting, we had to sit on our knees; we was crowded, we was packed, rubbed one next to the other. But here, when we got more room, well, it's more comfortable to sit that way. And naturally, when a person wants to meditate a little bit, well, he does kind of close his eyes a little bit, and bow his head.

Q: Are all the people ever told where to sit?

TW: Well, I always believe this way. Like if they're going to have a doctor meeting; like some one is real sick, that's going to use medicine [i.e., Peyote]. Well, it's up to the fire chief to set the men members according to how they sing. Like there's some singers here that's—they're kind of—well, they're supposed to be young, but they don't act it, see? They just sound like they was some little birds, or something; little chickens, you know. They can't come out with their singing; they hold it down, you know. Well, them guys, maybe they go sit themselves right close to the drummer, or on the tail end, and on the south side. All right. Then again, maybe then a good singer will put himself over here, see?

Q: On the north side?

TW: On the north side, where it starts, so he don't have to do much singing, see? And this fellow is sick, and maybe pretty near dying, or something like that. That's where the singing's supposed to come in; the good singing, the best. In fact, they're supposed to all sing good if they use the medicine; that's my belief. That's the way I look at it, see? And it's up to the fire chief to set those people, see, those boys, according to how they sing.

Q: Where do you seat the good singers?

TW: Right on the south side, towards the end.

Q: And the bad singers?

TW: Well, I wouldn't call them bad.

Q: The poor singers?

TW: The poor singers, you sit them on the north side, where they start singing; like that. See, the singing is going around all the time, see; one, two, three rounds.

Q: But everyone sings the same number of times; why have all the good singers towards the end?

TW: Well, towards the end; well, when the sick person takes the medicine, maybe he uses a lot, see? Maybe that's working on him towards the end, towards morning, see, towards the end. It's working on him pretty hard. Well, maybe he gets restless or something like that, and maybe a poor singer will be singing, see? Maybe they don't sound good to him; maybe he'll get restless. All right. When there's a good singer there, that's really giving out, you know, a good drummer, just giving the best they got, well, maybe the sick person will kind of quiet down; maybe he'll enjoy the singing that much more, see, and give that medicine a chance. Maybe he won't think about his sickness; he'll give that medicine a chance to work, you know.

He be listening to the singing, like that. That's the way I believe.

^{ee} Dewey [Neconish] states that the Moon and cloth are part of the altar, but isn't sure about the fireplace. He says that "everyone respects that fire," but hesitates to say whether or not it is part of the altar.

Q: What part is the altar?

HR: Wa-paskikan [cloth].

Q: The cloth is the altar?

HR: Yes.

Q: The Moon and fire are not part of the altar?

HR: Yes, that's the whole works in there; the Moon. Only this wa-paskikan, you got to have it here [i.e., near the leader] see; so nobody won't step on it. Otherwise it's all one [i.e., the cloth and the Moon].

Q: What is all one? The altar consists of what?

HR: That cloth [near the leader] and that Moon over there; they just have this space [between] where they go through here [i.e., where the people can walk].

Q: Is the fire part of the altar?

HR: No; it's just the Moon there.

Q: Then the altar is only the cloth and Moon?

HR: Yes.

Q: What part do you consider the altar to be?

MW: All that, inside there.

Q: The Half Moon, the fire, and what else?

MW: Not only that. Up from the leader, from his presence there; all that.

Q: Then everything inside the tipi is the altar?

MW: Yes. In front of everybody; that's what I call the altar.

Q: Oh, the part that's the earth?

MW: Yes.

Q: And everything on it?

MW: Yes. The leader's tools; he's got his tools in front of him; I'd say that's part of it, see?

^{ff} Q: Why do you clean up the fireplace all the time?

TW: Well, it's the belief, in that Native American Church; that fire, it's got to be kept clean, no matter if sparks fly, like during the evening, over there. If sparks are flying around, well, I got to get up and go over there, and put them back [into the fire].

Q: What does that mean?

TW: Well, according to my belief, I look at it this way. I used to go to church, see? I used to go to the Presbyterian, Methodist church; just go in there, and visit them, on their services during some Sundays. I even used to go to Catholic church. Well, I used to notice the floors are kept clean, everything dusted, all that. Well, that's their church house; they should be kept clean. Well, I turned around, then; I joined that [Native American Church]. Well, when I started making fire, I used to think, think about that. So when I started making fire, I think to myself, "Well, I should keep this place clean, too." Whenever people pass through there, and whenever they get settled, well, I just pick up the broom and brush up. At certain times, well, I have to do a little bit more. Whenever the leader wants to stop, well, I'm supposed to know, and I should fix that fire. Now, you must notice how I moved about, over there, at that time.

MW: In our bunch here, I was the first one to tend a fire. At that time, no one did come show us how, or nothing; we just had to go ahead and learn. That's why I insisted on that; if anybody want to learn anything about this medicine, this Peyote way, go ahead and use it; it'll teach you all you want to know. That's the main point

there. So I done that. The first night we went out, I was an awful poor specimen there, to start with. But I used plenty of it, and pretty soon it gradually, gradually, just worked out, and toward morning, there, I had a fairly working knowledge.

Q: How would you describe the way you try to keep the fire for the whole night, as you learned it from Peyote?

MW: Well, the first part of the night, it naturally goes with the medicine, the way it works. That medicine don't really work right away, before midnight; so the blaze, well, I just try to keep it comfortable in there; well, light and comfort; the fire up so it's comfortable. And then towards morning, when everything gets going good, when the singing gets going good, and everything; then I like to keep it up, because I believe, myself, that that blaze, you know, it's a spiritual thing. When I say my first prayer in there [as fire chief, before lighting the fire], that's the closest resemblance I can have to visualize the Holy Spirit. Just like it did in biblical times. And oftentimes when I look at the blaze, I could see little crosses in there, somewhere; it reminds me of the Holy Spirit; it's with us. Well, that's what I ask, at the beginning of every time I make a fire; that the Holy Spirit be with us, and teach us himself his ways, according to our individual problems. So that's the way I handle it.

Q: Why is the fire chief always cleaning off the fireplace?

DN: Well, they believe that, believe; that's why he's cleaning all the time. If you keep on doing that, it helps him; it's doing good for that church and Almighty; you got to get blessings from that. You keep doing that all the time, all the way through the life time. That's the way I understand that sweeping business.

Q: What does the sweeping mean?

DN: Like the leader, when he's going to start singing; that fire chief, he has got to make a fire right there. After he makes fire, then he starts to sweep, sweep; then the leader starts to sing. You respect that; you respect it. It's from God; He give it to the Indian to do that. They respect that, so they get an answer. That's why he's trying his best there; he cleans everything. Same way at midnight; build fire first; after he makes fire, he sweeps—just before you're going to blow the whistle [at the time of the Midnight Water Song], I believe—he's got to do that. Same way in the morning; he knows it's daylight now; the leader motions him to do that; he starts right away; he is all done, and they blow the whistle in the [Morning Water] Song. They follow rules, that's the meaning of it. That's the way I see them.

Q: Why does the fire chief clean the fireplace?

LT: Well, so it'll be clean.

Q: Why?

LT: Well, it's something good. Something good, that it be all clean. And sweep all what we got in there; and they sweep it out, clean it out, wait around there, and put it in the fire, burn it. That's what I find out; I don't know much about it; me, anyway. Maybe some fellows know about it. But me, I don't know.

^{gg} Q: Why is the Peyote Chief put on the Moon?

DN: They say that's a road. When they go on that road, they find someplace that Peyote, when he's going, see. That's why they put that there. . . . Everything belongs to Peyote, what they done there.

Q: When did the cedar chief smoke the whistle and put it against the Moon?

DN: Oh yeah. They're supposed to put it right there now. . . . But he [the cedar chief] told me, "I forgot my whistle; I didn't bring it. But I think Joe [Weso], he's

got one [with him]. After they start to sing, I'll go ask him, towards midnight," he said. "I'll go ask him, and I'll put it there." "All right," I told him. So when they're [i.e., the singing] coming over there [to] that fire chief, so he went over there, asked for that whistle, and he come put it there.

Q: So if Howard had brought his whistle, he would have smoked the Peyote Chief, and put it on the Moon; then smoked the whistle, and put it against the Moon?

DN: Yeah.

Q: But since he forgot it, he waited until later; is that right?

DN: Yes.

Q: I can understand why the Peyote Chief is put on top of the Moon, but why is the whistle put against the Moon rather than on the wapeskikan [cloth] with the other tools?

HR: In the house meeting, they just put it on the cloth, that Peyote [Chief]; and that whistle's got to be next to that [Peyote Chief]. That's why they do that on the Moon [when the Peyote Chief is placed on the Moon during a tipi meeting], see.

Q: Why is the whistle put against the Moon next to the Peyote Chief? . . .

LT: It belongs all together, see? When you want to use it, it's right there.

Q: But why next to the Peyote Chief?

LT: Well, we say, all medicine, if you take that, you have to use it. That's the way I know.

MW: When they're ready to start, then the leader gets his tools out, and gets them ready, to lay them out. He [the cedar chief] smokes the Peyote [Chief] before they put it on that altar; also the whistle or the flute, whatever they want to call it. And then, in the same way, his tools, what they're going to use throughout the night. Most leaders, they ask the cedar chief to smoke the tools, and he hands them [back] to the leader; and then the drummer hands his drum and stick to the cedar man, and he smokes it. So anything extra on that, would be on his part, individual. But the established ceremony, as far as I know, that was the procedure. And the cedar, and the leader smoked his own tools—got up and smoked his own tools—and then the drummer got up and smoked his own, too. They've done that, too [in other tribes he's visited].

^{hh} Q: What does this prayer mean?

HR: Well, the prayer means, that man that's putting up [the] meeting, he gets the blessing from that prayer, see?

[Another time:]

HR: He ask the Almighty that this Peyote—same time he ask for this medicine, how it will work on the people, he also ask, "The things that we don't know, the Peyote, we ask him to kind of teach us more about it, learn more about it."

ⁱⁱ Q: Why does everyone take only four pieces of medicine the first time?

DN: The first one that found out about that medicine, he took only four.

Q: Why four?

DN: Everything's four. When they start to eat Peyote, four; then they start four times songs; and then they whistle, four [long blasts and four short].

Q: Why is everything in fours?

DN: Four. It's from God, that four.

HR: They first took the four pieces of Peyote. That's the way Christ brought it; that's the way He teach it.

Q: How much Peyote is each one supposed to take, the first time?

LT: Four, sometime. Sometime they take two. Want to go faster; want to get done right away.

Q: Oh, sometimes they take two?

LT: Yeah. But us, we never [do that]. Some I see—some Winnebagoes—they took two. So we can eat it fast. Then we eat it all, and then they go singing.

Q: But among the Menomini?

LT: We take four. [However, when he led a doctoring meeting he had us take two, at first.]

Q: Each person takes four buttons the first time?

MW: Well, there's no set rules. It started out, long time ago, started using four. And then some meetings use two. It's just to give an equal start, I suppose.

Q: But don't they always use four here?

MW: Yeah, I suppose. Sometimes three; I went to one meeting where they told us, three.

Q: Here?

MW: Sure. When it's scarce, you know; when it's scarce.

^{jj} DN: They pass the medicine around. When they're all through, then they start. The leader, here, he talks again, and he says he's going to stop at midnight; they're going to drink water. And then he says he's going to appoint somebody, the one that's going to talk.

Q: But why at midnight?

DN: Well, they say, they find out that God is going to come at midnight. That's why all's waiting for Him, and say the prayers. That's the way the meeting is; then they stop at midnight and they say the prayers.

HR: [When he acts as leader.] Then I tell them when we're going to stop. First, the singing has to go way around, till it comes [back] here [to the leader]. I know it's going . . . to take somewhere around midnight. That's the main part; that's where they stop—midnight. Of course, we don't use according to time, you know, like a watch, or anything, you know. We just go by the singing.

Q: I can understand how that could work when there are only about two dozen singers. But suppose you have a lot of men there—say about fifty—then it would take all night, maybe, before the singing went around.

HR: Yeah, but they have to stop somewheres [about midnight].

Q: Why do you stop at midnight?

HR: Well, midnight, that's the time they drink water. That I know.

Q: Why at midnight?

HR: Well, maybe at midnight, we don't know if Christ, he'll be coming, that time. That's why they always stay awake that far. We're waiting for him; this peoples are waiting for him, because they know he's going to come. . . .

Q: But why midnight?

HR: That's the only way I figure it. That's my idea. Christ is going to come any time. Maybe he's going to come tomorrow, or daytime; something like that. Maybe he's going to come between night time. So the peoples, they expect him almost any time. That's why they stay up all night, and they stop places, and they pray for him.

[Another time:]

Q: Why do you stop at midnight?

HR: Well, that's the way Christ, he teach the man that [he] teach [about] this Peyote. That's the time he [the man] saw him [Jesus].

Q: Why do they stop at midnight?

LT: Why, I say, that's the time Christ is born. That's what they say.

Q: The time when Christ was born?

LT: Yes.

Q: Why does the first part end about midnight?

MW: That's about time when medicine is about ready to work, see? Just starts about that time. Most any meeting is that way, no matter where you go. Just about that time when it's going to begin to get interesting, so a person goes out; take an intermission, rest a while, stretch around.

^{kk}Q: Why is the Peyote handed around a second time?

DN: Oh, you got to eat as much as you can.

Q: Why?

DN: So you'll have a lot of power in you.

HR: It's up to them, after they take [the] first four [Peyote buttons]. From there, they take just what they want. . . . After that, if you're interested in it—the way it worked on you, that medicine—why, you take some more, learn some more. It's that way. . . . It's up to the people who want it. The more you take this medicine, the more you feel better. That's why. [The Peyote] always goes around. It's like if you took four before; if it wasn't enough, well, now you can always take some more, so you can get enough more power. That medicine, the more you take it, you have that much more power, see? Like your mind is going towards God, and you think up here; you can always find things, how you're going to ask Him. It's like that.

MW: Many . . . eat just so much of it; just enough to pull through, get by.

Q: How much should they eat?

MW: Use it so you'll learn something. It'll show up on you.

Q: How much will do that?

MW: How much? Well, a person should eat about twenty. And more.

Q: How many do you eat at a meeting?

MW: Oh, right around that neighborhood; sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the purpose of the meeting. For a birthday meeting, well, I got no reason to really stuff myself, raise a big whoopee, you know, "Happy birthday!" well, or something like that. But in case of a doctor meeting or sickness or something like that, or a funeral, well, there I really load myself so I can really get in a person, relieve them like that; I do whatever I can. In short language, we try to use more Peyote to fortify ourselves on our attack of the ailment on hand.

TW: Some people, some of the members in there, when the medicine is going around, well, they take a certain amount, whatever they think they can use. Well, after a while, well, they figure, well, it would be too hard for them to chew; like two of the girls, they ask me if I could go and fix their medicine for them into tea. So I says, "All right." I took their medicine; I took it into the house, got some hot water, put it on the stove, put that medicine in, and let it come to a boil. After I got it done, I brought it to them—put it into a cup, cooled it off a little bit for them—I brought it in, and handed it to them. That's what I was doing there. It wasn't water or anything; it was [Peyote] tea.

Q: Did you bring any people water?

TW: No. I never bring water in there, unless they really want it. The only time that I bring water is at midnight.

Q: You also made some tea for S——[an older man]?

TW: Yes, I made the tea for them girls, and for him. That's the only time that I brought those cups in.

AN: Clara [Williams] was the one [i.e., another] who was drinking it [Peyote tea].

Q: In the house?

AN: Yes. Because she was busy working in there, see, and so she didn't have time to chew her own medicine in there and work at the same time. So she made tea for herself, in there.

^{ll}HR: Just before I started to sing [when leading], I passed it [the bag of Peyote] again. Ahead; it always goes ahead. The medicine always go first.

LT: The Peyote go first. . . . Go Peyote first, and singing right behind.

^{mm}HR: There are four main songs. That Starting Song, and the Midnight and the Morning, and Quitting Song. . . .

Q: What does the Starting Song mean?

HR: That's just to open the singing, see? . . . The Starting Song, we don't know [the meaning of] the words. It's different tribe, where it come from, see? And it keep coming this way, and afterwards we got this; then we catch them songs from them peoples, and we use it, too. Otherwise, we don't know [the meaning of] the words.

Q: In what language are the four main songs?

DN: Comanche.⁹

Q: Do you know what the Starting Song means?

DN: No; we don't know them words.

Q: He'h yey o'h we'h; do you know what that means?

DN: No; it must [mean something] though. (Thinks a while). That means, "It's sure"; that's what they mean. It means, "Sure." [That is, it is an Indian equivalent to "amen."]

ⁿⁿQ: What about the other three songs the leader sings? Are they special songs?

DN: Just what come to him.

Q: There's only one Starting Song?

HR: Only one. From there, it's open to use any song. . . . They sing whatever they know. Whatever song they know; it's up to them, see?

Q: What about the other three songs?

LT: Any kind of songs. Anyone he wants.

⁹ I was often told that the four "main" (fixed) songs were "Comanche"; the following is the version actually sung by the Comanche:

Comanche Opening Song

he ne ne na he ne ne
no he ne-ha yo wi ci na ya
a na yo wi ci na-he ne
a-he ne
a yo wi ci na he ne ne nai
yi na he ne-a yo wi si na ya
a-na yo wi ci na ya
a-he ne
na he ne yo wa

—McAllester, *Peyote Music*, songs, No. 2. I have given a variant form of the last line which is most similar to the Menomini version. All four of the fixed songs sung by the Comanche are "songs whose texts could not be translated by Comanche informants. These are either Apache songs or songs with vocable texts. Dr. Harry Hoiijer had inspected the texts of the songs stated by the Comanche to be Apache in origin and writes that without equivalent texts in Apache prose it is impossible here to recognize Apache words." —*Ibid.*, p. 29.

Q: Why does each one sing just four songs?

DN: Oh, when they get started [i.e., first began] eating that Peyote, they took only four, and they got to sing four songs too, and all that.

Q: What do the songs mean?

DN: Oh, they mean something good. Like saying a prayer. We ask Almighty to help us. And some songs, they thank, you know. Almighty is glad, that all them songs is different. They [i.e., the songs] come in new all the time; every year, new ones.

Q: Then the songs are prayers?

DN: Yes. All of them; all of them. Prayers.

Q: Then why don't you just say your prayers? Why do you have to sing them, too?

DN: Well, like this [Catholic] priest here [on the reservation]; he sings too. All of them, they sing; and different churches, they sing too, after they say their prayers. They sing; the same way with the Indians; they got their own song.

Q: Now, I noticed at the meeting they had for me that none of the songs were in Menomini, except one—one that you sang.

DN: Yes.

Q: Now, why don't the people sing in Menomini?

DN: Well, it just started now, among these Menominis, not very long ago. They don't have them meetings all the time; once in a while they do in summer time, and the same way in winter time. Out this way (pointing west), the Indians, they have meetings all the time. But they're all of them in different tribes, a lot of them. That's why them songs keep coming out here. That's the only thing I can point out.

Q: But why sing songs you can't understand?

DN: It's different languages. You can't understand each other in different languages. Just a few of them can understand them.

Q: If you don't know the languages, how do you know what the song means?

DN: Well, we just use medicine. It's from God, to keep the mind that way. [That is, after one has taken Peyote, God teaches him the meaning of the song.] That's the way I understand it, myself.

Q: But sometimes you make up songs yourself, don't you?

DN: Yes, yes. One time I begin to think, "Everybody in different tribes got their own songs." And then I began thinking to myself, "I got to say something to Almighty too, to help me." I started that song which is my own song, to ask something to help. That's how I got that song. Once in a while I use it, not all the time; sometimes in the morning I use it.

Q: Why does only one man sing at a time? Why don't they all sing together?

DN: They're supposed to be that [i.e., the latter] way. When one just starts to sing, they're all supposed to sing—all of them help. The women too, are supposed to sing, all of them; but they don't do that.

Q: Why not?

DN: No, some of them don't quite understand them songs. They don't know how; that's why they're afraid; they don't want to get mixed up [i.e., make a mistake] in that. That's why they don't sing. But if they all know that one song, they all help. Some of them songs have a lot of meanings. The words in there, some of them are easy ones, just two [words], "Well, they're easy, just saying over and over [the same few words]; well, now, I can sing that, too. That other one, with all them words, I'm afraid of them; I don't want to sing that; I get mixed up on that." You know, it means something, them songs, to Almighty.

Q: Why does each man sing alone? In the ni-mihetwan [Powwow] for instance, they all sing together; why is the Native American Church different?

DN: You mean just them two; one only sings and one is drumming?

Q: Yes.

DN: Well, there's a lot of them, so they have two; one there leading the song, and this drummer here has got to pound that drum, and sing [too] to help. And them [visiting Indians from] other tribes, if they know that song they got to help him. Like us Menominis, here; sometimes we pretty near use them [same] songs all the time; we all know them now. That's the only one way God hears, and so when the leader [solo singer] starts to sing, we all help him to sing. That's the way to do, I understand. When they come to new songs here, just certain ones know the new songs; they have to help out. Them others, they don't know them; they want to join in, but they don't know that song, and don't know how [to sing it]; they might make a mistake there; some place. That's why there's kind of just a few of them singing there. They're supposed to be all singing, to help. But in his prayer, all of them, in his own mind he helps all of them.

[Another time:]

Q: Each time you sing, do you sing the same four [songs] together? . . . For example, when you begin, you sing the Starting Song; and then do you usually sing the same three other songs?

DN: No; different ones. Just when you start, and want to sing, it's got to come into you. Got to remember that song, see; you got to wait for it; pretty soon it's in you [i.e., it comes to you]. That song, you start it, and you quit; and another one, another one come in again; but that's [a] different one, see; different words in that. That's the way it works.

Q: That means you don't sing the same songs every time you have a meeting?

DN: No, no; that's all different.

Q: It depends on how you feel, how the Peyote teaches you, what songs you sing at a particular time?

DN: Yes. . . .

Q: How do you learn them?

DN: Oh, different ones come there, and sing them songs. And we listen, and soon we got them songs. When we catch them songs, we use them here. Some of them, they practice [unintelligible] without Peyote. . . .

Q: And how do you catch them? Just by listening once?

DN: Yes. Some of them know how. When they hear that song, at the same time they ask a prayer so they know that song, can catch that song.

Q: Have you ever made up any songs of your own?

DN: Yes. . . .

[The following is a translation of the Menomini words in the song:] "Great Spirit, have pity on all of us."

Q: Do you have any others?

DN: That's a little different words, but the same tune. . . . [Translation:] "Great Spirit, help all of us. Great Spirit, take us to where there is light forever." [Comment:] That's about the same.

[One day I was recording the four fixed songs as sung by Dewey Neconish, and he had great difficulty in beginning them.]

DN: You know, it's pretty hard to start without no Peyote. . . . You got to have Peyote [unintelligible] on account of them songs; they go with that. . . .

[At another song, after some time, he announced:] I can't start it.

Q: Is it that you don't remember it?

DN: I know it, all right, but I can't start it. . . . In this religion the leader's got to pray first, ask Almighty to help the one what's going to use that Peyote. Everything what they ask, is [then] going to work easy. Now, without no Peyote, that's pretty hard; you can't, you can't say [i.e., sing] it now. When they put me to lead, I start [a] prayer and eat Peyote. [Then] when you start them songs, they come right in there; all I got to do is say them words. (Finally he begins the song, and sings it through.)

Q: Why did you have so much trouble? After all, you've been a leader for about thirty years, and know these songs.

DN: Well, you see, I just tell you a little while ago. You got to eat that Peyote first; then it begin[s] to work, and work in your mind; it's [i.e., the mind is] clear. Now, without no Peyote, gee! if you want to sing them songs, that's pretty hard; sometimes you can't think about them.

Q: What are the songs for?

HR: Well, that's a prayer. They're all prayer songs, every one of them.

Q: What do the songs mean?

HR: Well, the songs, they got words in there. We have our own [i.e., Menomini] words, some places. We didn't use these [at the previous meeting]; only Dewey Neconish, he used one.

Q: Yes, I noticed that Dewey was the only one to sing a Menomini song. None of the others were in Menomini.

HR: No. And those songs, they got words. Singing is praying, see; your singing is praying, [at the] same time. The words is how you're asking God. I got one [Menomini song] myself, but I didn't use it over here; I got a song for my own.

Q: How do you get your songs?

HR: Just come to us, in our minds. Just like one of my sister's little kids died, and I felt bad. Then I asked, I prayed, "I wonder if God would help us?" So after I prayed, and something came in my mind; the song means that I should ask God to take us. So that [is] just the way that song is; the words is that way.¹⁰ . . . People say when they use this Peyote—a lot of it, you know—they said they can hear the song. "You can hear it," and they catch it right there, what they hear. A lot of them got songs that way, in their own language, see? Myself, I didn't use much medicine; I just felt bad, like, and I got that song that way.

Q: Are they Menomini words?

HR: Yes.

Q: Do you make up the music too, or just the words?

HR: Well, the words, and that tune is there, too.

Q: You make up the tune, too?

HR: Yes.

Q: And what about the songs whose words you don't understand?

HR: Well, that's a different tribe, you know. . . . We catch the song [from] any tribe that sings the song. It

¹⁰ [Besides the four main songs, there is only one other fixed song, this Funeral Song of Howard Rain's which he uses at funeral meetings.]

Q: How did you learn that Funeral Song?

HR: I just learned it by being in a funeral, see. . . . I didn't hear somebody else. I just learned that in there; right in the meeting. Just by singing, that song came to my mind, and I just used that. And since that time I use it every time when I'm at a funeral meeting somewhere.

[The following is a translation of the Menomini words in his Funeral Song:]

"Great Spirit, take all of us.

We want to go where there is light forever."

doesn't matter what the tribe is, we just catch the song the way he sings it. Otherwise we don't understand the words, see?

Q: Is it praying, when you sing words you don't understand?

HR: Well, whoever made the song, whoever catch that song, it's all the same; whoever uses the song. . . . We pray the way he prays, because he prays that way. It's all the same.

Q: What is the drumming for?

HR: Well, that means, when you sing, you got to have something to keep your time singing. The same time, the drum, the gourd, the cane, they're going to help you along to sing.

Q: How do they help?

HR: It's that music. . . .

Q: Why don't the women sing?

HR: Well, they sing [in accompaniment with the men], but they sit in the back.

Q: Why don't they sing by themselves the way the men do?

HR: No!

Q: Why not?

HR: Well, I don't know.

Q: What does the singing and drumming mean?

LT: That's words in the songs. Prayers, like. That's the words in there; you ask what you need.

Q: Do you know the language in which the songs are?

LT: I don't know. Them Water Songs, all them, we don't know. I know they belong in that meeting. Somebody else use it that way. Must be some older fellows, use it a long time, must be they know what they mean.

Q: Why does each sing four songs?

MW: Just Indian custom, from way back.

Q: What do you sing and drum for?

MW: The songs got lot of meanings. There's some that praising, praising God; some is prayers, asking. So, whatever songs a person has got the urge to sing, well, he uses it.

Q: This may be a silly question, but how do you know the difference between them, when you don't know the meaning of the words? They're not in Menomini.

MW: It is a silly question. Before we use some song, there is a lot of process in catching a song. Maybe you'll know it after a while. It seems that you've heard different ones say that we see something. Well, if you listen to a song long enough, pretty soon you'll get into the thing, and then your mind will get adjusted to the curves and manipulation of that song. Pretty soon you got the meaning. Every utterance must have some meaning, in any language; if you utter it long enough, you'll get that meaning. But this way, we use medicine to help us.

^{PP} DN: When the first round, seems like you're empty. You ain't got . . . enough medicine in you.

Q: What kinds of songs do you sing before midnight?

DN: Well, some of them, they pick out the fast ones, so the meeting [will] go nice. That's the way they know it. Some of them songs are kind of slow [in their] words . . . some of them say [i.e., have] long words in there; some of them, they say it fast [i.e., have short words in them.] Some of them [singers], they pick out them fast songs. After midnight, they keep going, keep going; pretty soon they're going fast. But you got to use Peyote; that's the only way you're going to make it. If you don't eat much Peyote, it's hard, heavy. Eat Peyote; everything is alive, [there is] life in there. That's the way; that's the way it works. I find [that] out for myself; I know when I [do] not eat much Peyote, gee! everything is hard; [I feel] tired, too.

I eat a little more, eat some more; gee! I like to listen; I like to help [by singing along with the solo singer]; feel real good. That's what happened to me lots of times.

Q: I've noticed that the songs differ in character—

MW: They are.

Q: In the three rounds.

MW: Yeah. . . . Why, sure, there's lot of differences in there. There's a Peyote meeting. That's understood to start with; a Peyote meeting. And when you first follow that, you don't begin to feel the influence of it. You know that, yourself. . . . Well, when the medicine starts to work—then I suppose we go into the psychology of it, see?—I suppose it excites the mind, or something. And then everything starts up. But way down deep in my mind, secretly, I think it's—and I have no confirmation, I never heard it from anybody, from any leader—but in my own mind, it seems to me: The first round, you're your natural self. And as the medicine begin to work, then the purpose of the meeting seems to—what would you say—accelerate your songs, some way. And then, when the medicine is really got a good hold, possibly on the last round, and that's when [it shows] how you stand with Peyote; how you stand with God.

Q: Here's what I've written: "The songs before midnight are soft, dreamy, and contemplative."

MW: Yes, that's right.

⁹⁹ MW: A lot of times they can change drummers, too, at that time [i.e., at each new round of songs]. You can ask a different party to drum for you.

Q: My impression was that, at the meetings here I've been to, once you picked your drummer you used him every round.

MW: That ain't no standard rule.

Q: No? But that's what I noticed here.

MW: Well, we're so used to one another, that we just do that, you know. Of course, in my case there, well, if there's a visitor, just to make them feel more at home, that's why.¹¹

¹⁰⁰ Q: Do you have a special way of fixing the fire before midnight?

TW: Yes.

Q: How do you fix it, then?

TW: Well, you get a little bunch of ashes, there, see? Well, you just pull those sticks [of firewood] back; you always have a blaze going, all the time. Well, you've got a little pile of ashes. Just fix those up; just kind of round. Not too much; you don't bring them out too much; just so they're round, a little bit on the edge. Then you pile your wood. But you're still on the north side, there, at the start, see? You put a piece of wood there, on the north side, and on the top, like that, see? You always got a blaze going under here. And that's what I done, too. I fanned from the north side, there, see, fanned everything out, like that. Then I went back on the south side, fanned everything from there, see? That's what I done there. Then, after I got through with that, well, when the singing come to the leader, that's when he sang his Water Song.

¹¹ However, at the meetings I attended, he used the same drummer throughout the night, in spite of the fact that there were visitors present each time. Also, the following incident once occurred:

A visitor called S—— from across, in the first round. When it was that visitor's turn to sing in the second round, S—— started to get up in order to go to the drummer's place, but the visitor called to someone else to drum for him this round. S—— sat down, caught my eye, and smiled sheepishly.

Q: You said you build up the fire before midnight, in a round way; what are you trying to make there?

TW: Well, that just starting your [three o'clock ash] Moon, see?

Q: What feathers do you use when cleaning the fireplace before midnight, and three o'clock morning?

TW: I had a set. I used to have my mother's feathers; I used to use those. But since she died, well, I give those to my niece, see, and now I haven't got anything, see? So, I just turn around and borrowed some from one of the boys, and I used those.

Q: Whose did you use?

TW: I use Dave Williams', before midnight. After midnight, then I used Louis Thunder's.

Q: Why did you use one before midnight, and another after?

TW: Well, they consider, when one person uses another one's fan, well, "He's a good friend of mine; I'll use—I'll borrow his; I'll use his." Anything that's used in the tipi meeting, like that, they consider it, well, like it would be sort of an honor to them, see? Like you're my friend; well, I'd like to use them. That's the way, see? It's sort of a symbol, I should say, see? That's why I done that, for them boys, anyway. I asked them in a nice way, if I could use them; they give them to me. And [I used them to clean] that Moon there, and the fire.

¹⁰¹ Q: What does the Midnight Song mean?

DN: You have to drink at that time then, at midnight. That's the Peyote way.

HR: That Midnight Song, that's just a song. That's why they stop; that Midnight Song, when they use that song, well, it means they're going to stop, and somebody [is to] bring the water in, somebody's going to pray.

MW: There's four of them [Water Songs], what they're supposed to use; but we don't use but about two of them. And they have a meaning. Them is just simple words in Comanche, you see; that says that they want to stop a while, and another one wants water.

¹⁰² DN: I'm supposed to blow that whistle, but I ain't quite much know how yet. But Howard [the cedar chief], he know how to blow that whistle, so he blow that whistle himself. The leader's supposed to.

Q: When? Before or after the Midnight Water Song?

DN: Before. When the cane come here [to the leader], and then he blow the whistle, and then he start singing the Midnight Song. That's how.

Q: What does the whistling mean?

DN: That's a prayer, too.

Q: What sort of prayer?

DN: A prayer to go up to Almighty. That's the way I understand it.

Q: But you say prayers, and sing songs that are prayers; why have the whistle, too?

DN: Well, the way I found out myself, I studied everything. Look, this here Catholic priest here, on Sunday morning, when the people are coming in [the Catholic church on the reservation], they go over by that door and pull that rope, and bells up there ring. Everything is doing something. Now, when they sing, they pound that drum, the Indians; but in church up there is a big—what you call that?

Q: Organ?

DN: Yeah, and they pound on that; one plays the song; they always do something for the Almighty. Same way the Indian; he got to do something, pound something—a bowl or something—too, to ask Almighty. That's the way I understand it myself.

Q: Does the whistle also mean something special?

DN: Yeah, that's it.

Q: All right, then, what does it mean?

DN: One time they told me—they came over here to my place—that man, his name is K—— [a Winnebago] "That's a bird, the one that gave that whistle; that's a bird, a Waterbird." And when, in the morning, the leader sings the Quitting Song, he's got to blow that whistle first; then he sings that Quitting Song. Then, after this Quitting Song, then three more songs. If somebody had that whistle, they could blow that too; [he's] glad, he helps; that's why he blows that too.

Q: Oh, then the whistle is made from the bone of the Waterbird?

DN: Yes.

HR: When I [as leader] sing that song, he blow the whistle.

Q: The cedar chief blew the whistle [at the previous meeting], didn't he?

HR: I got to do it myself, but I just let him do it, see?

Q: Oh, the leader is supposed to blow the whistle?

HR: Yes.

Q: Before or after the song?

HR: Before the song.

Q: Then why did you have the cedar chief blow it?

HR: I do that, sometimes. Sometimes I could blow that myself. But sometimes it helps, that way [i.e., when the cedar chief blows it]. When the song starts, that whistle goes with the song; it gives it more power, in singing.

Q: I don't recall that he blew it at the time you began to sing.

HR: He's supposed to, but he don't know how, see?

Q: Then you wanted him to begin blowing the same time you began singing.

HR: He blew it, just before I start to sing. He blow it once already; then I started, then he kept on blowing it.

Q: What does the whistling mean?

HR: The whistle, well, the whistle, it represents one time—. Angels, they're on each post [i.e., cardinal point]: east and south and west and north. A long time [ago], they was going to blow their bugles. And some one says, "Wait!"; they hear a voice, and it said, "Wait!" I don't know who it was. It says, "I got some people over there. I want to go over there, teach them, tell them, 'Get ready!'" And that means us, us Indians; we don't know nothing about it, over there, what it's going to take place. So that time they didn't blow their bugles. Otherwise, if they blow it, this earth would be nothing. That's how it represents that. [At the previous meeting] I was supposed to do that after midnight, blow that [in] each direction, see? That's how it represents that. [Cf. note n.]

Q: Why didn't you blow in each direction?

HR: Well, I was thinking—it's this way, you know. It's up to the leader, if he wants to do it; if he doesn't want to, well—. But it's like this. I know some of these boys there, they're tired; they want to go outside, see? It takes a lot of time [to whistle that way]. But if you want to do that, if you want to blow that whistle, I can't let anybody go outside until I'm finished. But I know these people; they're getting tired, and want to go out for a while, and come back in. That's why I didn't, see? [I never saw this done.]

Q: What does blowing the whistle mean?

LT: That's something that's hard to tell. . . . Well, that's all it is, a call for water. That's all I know.

MW: He [the leader] is supposed to blow the whistle first, before he sings.

Q: I know; that's what Dewey said.

MW: Yeah.

Q: What does blowing the whistle mean?

MW: I've heard so many versions of it. I don't know why the cedar man blows it; maybe because the leader don't know how to blow it.

Q: Yes, that's what Dewey told me.

MW: You see, if you print it that way—that the cedar chief blows the whistle—well, that ain't going to jibe with the way the other tribes do it.

Q: I know.

MW: And a lot of us, here, they blow their own whistle.

Q: Yes, I noticed that at the other meeting.

MW: And then, ordinarily, they blow it outside; [at] the four points of the compass.

Q: Here? I haven't seen that.

MW: Ordinarily. We used to do it, off and on. But some time they don't do it. They blow it inside, before they sing the Midnight Song.

Q: Now, what does the whistling itself mean?

MW: That's calling everybody to attention; that's the way I take it. Sometimes somebody is outside, or someone went outside, or something like that. Or bring everybody's mind back to what's going on.

^{uu} Q: When do you bring in the water; after the leader is through with the Midnight Water Song, during it, or during the next songs?

TW: Oh, any time before he quits singing, see? . . . It all depends on how handy the water is, see? At that time, well I had my pail ready. Before he quit singing his [Midnight Water] Song, well, I had my pail in there, see?

Q: And when you brought it in, he was still singing the Water Song?

TW: Yeah. . . . And he sang the other three. Well, my pail was there, already.

^{vv} Q: Why did the fire chief bring the pail to your place, to smoke it?

AN: He had those ashes fixed there; that's where the incense was burned. That's why he brought it there.

DN: Well, the leader is supposed to start everything from there.

Q: Is that why he brought it to you?

DN: Yes.

Q: Why did you go to the other end of the tipi, in front of the leader, and smoke the pail?

TW: Well, that's the way I learnt. I always start from the north side, when you're firing.

Q: But that's the west side. . . .

TW: Well, I took that pail. And that Moon is like that, and that [Peyote] Chief is sitting there. So I took that pail, I held it over that [Peyote] Chief there, and the fire is right there, so I held it over that Chief here, and I brought it this way, and I lifted it up in the air. And the cedar man had already thrown his cedar in the fire, so it's smoking. So in that way, I held the pail over the [Peyote] Chief, and brought it over here to the fire, and I held it up, and that way, it smoked.

Q: Oh, you went to the other end of the tipi because the incense was smoking there?

TW: Yeah, and I brought it back again, and set it down in front.

MW: I never seen it before, that way. That's the first time I ever saw it that way.

Q: How do you do it?

MW: I bring the water in; set in there.

Q: You don't smoke the pail?

MW: No, I'm part of that, working on the altar, see? They smoke it over there for me; well, we're all taking care of the altar there. Sometimes I use my feathers and kind of make a motion that way—that the smoke goes farther that way—but, you know, if I wanted to smoke that water out, I'd go up there where that smoke is coming up, and get some of that incense in my feathers, and to smoke that water; I wouldn't make a pretense of it, see? But I never seen it that way.

Q: And what do you smoke the water for?

MW: Oh, that's just reverence.

ww Q: What is the water for?

DN: So we have strength. We ask Almighty to put power in there, so we have strength in order to make it to the morning. Everything's got to be from Almighty, to be healthy.

Q: And then what happens?

DN: All feel good. And even some of them, before they come to that water, they wish for that water, to get it. But they have to wait until that time, midnight; then they take it.

Q: Does the water mean anything special?

DN: It means that they ask God Almighty to put power in that. They all think something is holy in that water. The Almighty put something in there; they ask that.

Q: And when they drink the water?

DN: After they drink the water, oh, they're good and strong.

Q: Why did you dip your feathers in the water, and the rest of it?

DN: Well, that water, it's holy. And that prayer, and that water, it's holy. So to have that water all the time; or sometime the [Thunder]birds come here, and thundering, and bring that water; fall down, and so we live. That's why, during my own experience, I done that.

Q: Are these birds you're speaking of, the Thunderbirds?

DN: Yes, enemehkiw [Thunderbird].

Q: And what does bringing the wet fan down mean?

DN: Well, that's the water.

Q: That's the rain coming down?

DN: Yes.

Q: What about the cup?

AN: It belongs to my baby [grandchild], my little boy. We bought that when he was small, see, and we never let him use that. We use it for that purpose. It's got his initials on there. His name is Dewey, after him. And I told this little boy, I says, "I'm going to keep this for your grandfather; he leads meetings," I said, "he'll use that." And he never touched that cup.

Q: Did they use this cup at the other meeting?

AN: No.

Q: There was a silver cup.

AN: They got their own cup. This is my own.

Q: So, as I understand it, each leader has his own silver cup?

DN: Yes.

Q: Why must it be silver?

DN: It's supposed to last long, that silver. Them other kind, they don't last very long. That's the only thing I know.

Q: I noticed a lot of the people put the last drop of water in their hands, and then wash themselves; what does that mean?

DN: That water, those pray, that water is holy. They mention the Almighty, to put power in there, so they respect that water. And he respects the holy water; that's why he done that, wash himself, like. Thank; he thank Almighty he get that holy water.

Q: And why does the drum chief put his last drop on the drum?

DN: Yes. That drum may be holy; that's why he put that water on there.

Q: And the men who rub the water on their drumsticks?

DN: Same reason.

Q: What does drinking the water mean?

HR: You know this boy [to whom Peyote was revealed]; this boy was lost, and Christ came up to him. Before he came up to him, this boy was thirsty. That's the main thing; he was looking for water. He was way out on a mountain, and he couldn't find no water. So finally he find a place, a nice green place; nice grass, green grass. So he thought to himself, "Well, here's where I'm going to leave my body; I die right here." So he laid right there. He stretch his arms [out] like that. He finally felt something [in his hands] kind of damp, you know. So then he took his hands [i.e., stretched them out] this way again. Here he found this medicine. That was green; there was juice in there. "Well," he thought to himself, "as long as I'm going to die, I might as well use this." And he eat that medicine; there was water in that; juice in there. That [is] represented [by] that water. [Cf. Chapter IV]

Q: And what about the morning water?

HR: That's the same thing.

Q: What does drinking the water mean?

LT: I suppose, when you drink the water, you feel good. That's the way I know. I suppose it means something, for old timers. We just young. I know, I know that much. . . . He ask for it, the one who bring the water, he ask for it, everything, to be good, that water; to be drink out of, everybody, so they can feel good. He ask God to feel good. Some place is get hurt, your mind not right; so water go in there, you be just clear. That's what they ask for.

Q: Does the leader always shake the feathers?

MW: Yes.

Q: What does it mean?

MW: Some of them say it's an old Indian custom; Indian, you know, from way back. I used to hear old folks talk about that, you know, that when God created this earth, he put four angels at four points of the—you know. Well, some day they're going—some day something's going to happen—so the Bible, the Book of Revelations tells us; that's going to be the end of the world. Well, that's respect for them also. Ordinarily, when they make their first fire-place, they take their clean piece of ground somewhere. This leader, before he ever makes any effort to put up this tipi at all, he also remembers what it's for.

Q: How does he remember that?

MW: Well, that's—remember them, remember them; ask His best power so that they participate a little bit in helping to reverence this meeting. He believes that they were put there as servants of God, direct servants of God; he asks them for a little help, too.

Q: What is the water for?

MW: We drink water to refresh. And a lot of times it helps, it helps. Those that use it, use this medicine, long enough, they know how to use that water other than just refreshing themselves. For instance, you got a bad stomach, don't feel just right; you drink a lot of that water, it stirs up in there; pretty soon you go out and clean out [i.e., vomit]. It ain't no understood policy. How could you say, briefly? It's just drinking water, refreshing water; anybody drinks water. But as a person delved in this Peyote long enough, he knows how to use that water for his individual purpose.

Q: If someone wants water, they ask the fire chief for it, and he goes out and brings it to them; is that right?

MW: That's what we do here. The way they used to do it, you ask the leader if you want to drink water [and he would direct the fire chief to bring some]. When medicine starts working, you know, there's something in it, something to it; everybody don't do just as they please. And then, there again, water becomes something, becomes something; it becomes an instrument, something. You don't just handle it around here all the way from then on till morning. Of course, here, you have to excuse them; some, they don't use this medicine; use just enough to keep awake, you know; they don't go into it.

Q: You say the water becomes an instrument; in what sense?

MW: Well, that is something; it is really something other than for just drinking purposes, see? It has a meaning to it other than just drinking purposes.

Q: What other meaning does it have?

MW: Well, we'll say like this: This Peyote is also like a game, a kind of game. Those that can hang tough to the finish, that's a good reflection on their daily life and character, see? That's a kind of game.

Q: Why do the people put the last drop of water in their cupped hands?

MW: I don't; not at midnight.

Q: Almost everyone else does.

MW: I know it. I generally do that in the morning; in the morning, before that breakfast food comes. That's to wash the medicine off your hands. That's why they done that originally, way back; they put a little bit on their hands, and wipe it on their hair; that wipes it off, cleans their hands. Then you're going to eat.

Q: What about the chest and knees?

MW: That's the woman's prayer [for the morning water]; all her best prayer is put in there. That's in the morning, see?

Q: Then they're really making a mistake when they do that at midnight?

MW: No, that's all right. There's nothing harmful about it.

Q: Why does the drum chief put the last water on the drum?

MW: So that everything gets water, even the tools. Maybe you noticed that; they put some on the tools. When they ask blessing for that water, they want it to cover everything. A person got aches or pains; well, he does that, you see.

xx Q: Do you always have a recess?

HR: Sometimes. Sometimes we don't.

Q: What does that depend upon?

HR: Well, it's—some other leaders don't do that, the way I do that.

Q: Then it's up to the leader?

HR: Yes.

Q: Why do you have a recess, and other leaders not?

HR: Well, it's like this. These others, when they don't have recess, then they have to go outside; and when they don't have no recess, then they go ahead and sing; and these other ones, they have to go out, and they go outside and disturb the singing. But me, I have more respect for those singers. I got to listen; everybody [has to] listen; you got to listen to me, I got to listen to you. It's that way, see? That's why I have a recess, and let everybody go out. Come back, and then they all sit still again.

[Another time:]

HR: After midnight, after they drink water, well, they ain't supposed to have recess, by right, in the tipi meeting. They should stay right [in] there. And then the leader,

he goes outside and blows his whistle, east, south, west, north. That's one thing I know.¹²

MW: This Peyote is also like a game, a kind of game. These that can hang tough to the finish, that's a good reflection on their daily life and character, see? That's a kind of game. You notice some, they don't got out at midnight, even; even that means something. If a person can stand it without going outside, that's a reflection on his life and character, a good reflection; it's going to help him. It'll show up on the last round.

Q: In what way does it show up?

MW: The medicine. How much you respect the medicine, he's going to respect you. If he makes the birds sing—some people make birds sing, you can hear birds sing, you can hear bells ring, real bells, you can see them too, you can see them ring. Birds, you can see them, singing. What the spirit helps you [do].

yy Q: What happens after the recess is over?

LT: Well, the leader said before recess, "When you all come back, I ask one fellow to talk." That's what he said, see? Now, he start talking, after all come back; if there's one missed, that waiter [i.e., fire chief] got to go after him; got to be all in.

Q: And what is that man supposed to talk about?

LT: Talk about what he know. About the Peyote way, what you're supposed to do, and all that.

Q: I don't recall anyone talking at the other meeting; who talked?

LT: Let's see. We didn't have any talk. No. I noticed; we didn't have it. You're supposed to have somebody talk when we come back. He [the leader] just go ahead [at the previous meeting].

zz Q: Why is sage used before midnight, and the feathers after midnight?

DN: Well, that's towards morning now. It's after midnight; it commence to wake up them birds. That's what I understand it, myself. And use them feathers there. . . . That's when there begins to come daylight, after midnight. That's why they use them. Because, when daylight commences, and he's got them [feathers], that bird, he's going to sing right there, in the morning.

Q: Why is sage used before midnight, and the feathers after midnight?

HR: I don't know much about it. It's just the way they brought this; [so] it's just the way we try to do.

Q: At the last meeting they used sage before midnight; but didn't they use feathers the other time?

MW: They don't generally do [that, i.e., use feathers].

Q: What do they generally use?

MW: They use sage.

Q: And the feathers after midnight?

MW: Yes. I don't know why, but it's always been understood, and handed down that way.

Q: Why are feathers used after midnight?

MW: Well, that's a special reverence on these tools, you see. That's one of the customs that's been handed down, that reached us this way, this far. There would be possible a lot of explanations; each leader would give his own explanation, I suppose.

¹² The only meeting I attended at which there was no recess was a doctoring meeting. The leader explained at the beginning of this meeting that because they wanted the patient to have the benefit of as many prayers as possible there would be no general recess, but that members could go out individually after midnight for a few minutes if they wished. As was stated before, I often heard that the leader should blow the whistle at the cardinal points, but I never saw it done.

^{aaa} MW: About the cedar, smoking tools at midnight, right after midnight. Ordinarily, ever since we use this medicine, they always told us that the leader uses his tools up till midnight, and then, after that, well, they give us a chance to use our own tools. But before we use them, we want to smoke them. That's why we smoke them there. . . . Did you notice how I smoked the tools last time [when he was fire chief]?

Q: What should I have noticed?

MW: That was one of the most important parts, that part there, smoking the tools.

Q: Will you explain to me what it means?

MW: Well, the tools that we're going to use at midnight; when the medicine starts to work, we always say it's almost like a person; somebody walks in, see? We consider it that way. Peyote, the spirit of Peyote, the spirit of God, comes in amongst us. We feel that there's another party in amongst us, and while He's in session here, you see, He's going to use these tools here; we want to put all the reverence we can in them, so we smoke them good, see? And then I generally start from across the aisle from me there [i.e., south of the entrance]; I pick them up, all of them, pick them all up, in there, and then the cedar man puts cedar [incense] on [the fire], and I smoke them over there, each one. Then I start back there where I started, and pass them back, because the way I take them in my hand, you see, I can pass them back out that way again.

Q: I had noticed you pick them up and keep them in your hand one on top of the other, in order.

MW: Yes. Everything. Lot of them are strict on that. I know the Oto, they even let them sit there a while here; they spread—they got a cloth, whatever it is—a veil there; spread it a while there, before he smokes them, you see. But this time, of course, Thomas is just a beginner, you see; he doesn't know.

^{bbb} Q: Why is the medicine passed around again?

DN: Well, if you don't use that medicine, you're going to get tired, and some of them can hardly sing. When you take that Peyote then, you're strong and you feel like saying the prayers, and you feel like singing. That's why you keep on taking that medicine.

^{ccc} DN: It's all done by rules. After midnight they start again, and the leader tells what he's going to do from there on again, and they're to stop at three o'clock again.

Q: Why is three o'clock important?

DN: That's when daylight is coming. In summer time it's daylight now at three o'clock; you're glad, so you say the prayer to Almighty and thank him for that. Everything is all good.

Q: Why do they stop again at three o'clock?

LT: That's the time [Jesus] is come back to life again.

Q: Is there anything else that happens at three o'clock?

LT: I don't know nothing about it.

Q: When does the sun come up?

LT: Well, it's all different, summer and winter.

Q: Three o'clock has nothing to do with the sunrise?

LT: No, no.

Q: At the [previous] meeting, as I remember, we had medicine three times?

HR: Yes. . . . I didn't pass it around that [i.e., a fourth] time, because the medicine already work pretty good.

Q: Then it's up to you to decide?

HR: Yes. . . . If anybody wants it, well, he comes asks for it, see?

Q: How do you decide whether the medicine is working pretty good already?

HR: I could just feel that, here; with the peoples, how they feel, see? When the medicine start working, you can see it right away; you can notice it. When they sing, they sing pretty good; that's the time medicine is working good. They feel good; they [are] interested; they enjoy the meeting.

Q: I would expect the Peyote to go around four times, instead of three.

HR: It could be, all right. But as I said, well, I kind of know everything was going pretty good. But if they kind of slack up, you know, then I give them another round, again.

^{ddd} Q: Why does the cedar chief begin the singing this time, and not the leader?

DN: Well, the way I understand it myself, you see, when I lead, I got to start them four songs. . . . At midnight, see, I have to sing four songs again. I have eight songs already. Now, this cedar chief he's got only four at that time. Now, he's got to sing eight songs too . . . he's got to sing [this time].

^{eee} Q: The singer uses his own feathers if he wants to, but has to ask your permission if he wants to use his own gourd?

DN: Yes.

Q: Why?

DN: Some of them do that, I guess, out west, them old timers. But around here they don't do much of that. They've got to use that all what the leader's got there; they got to all use that. I seen that one time down below here; he want to use his own gourd; the leader, he didn't let him; he got to use that, the same one what we used here, he told him. So he put his gourd back. So we use that all night in one, the one that owns that, the leader. You know, some of them leaders are pretty strict; some of them don't let anybody please himself.

Q: You said down south; what tribe?

DN: Winnebago.

Q: Why does the singer use the leader's tools before midnight, and his own, too, after midnight?

LT: Yes. Why, that's your own outfit; you use it yourself; fan and everything. . . . Let him use it first, before twelve, what the leader's got, what he's got; use them, all right. After twelve, you use your own—anything: your feathers, your drumstick, your gourd—if you want to use yours, well, ask him, "I want to use my gourd when I sing." He said, "All right, use it." I suppose you feel good [when you] use your own. That's the way I know.

Q: I noticed that in the second round the singer may use his own feathers.

MW: He can.

Q: But if he wants to use his own gourd, he has to ask permission from the leader.

MW: No, not necessarily, not necessarily. You got to use them feathers what comes with the staff. And then naturally you ain't going to lay your feathers down if you think enough of it, so you hold them right up there with them [feathers of the leader].

^{fff} DN: When you [sing the] second time, you got something to help you. You feel good. And you feel like singing, you feel like praying. Everything hits [?] you; you willing to do it, after it's in you, that medicine. And make you well; nothing wrong with you, you feel like doing. That's how it works. And you feel like singing, and you feel like drumming, too. That's the way it works, that Peyote.

Q: Are the songs different before and after midnight?

LT: Yeah, all different. That's the medicine work. First started, till twelve o'clock, any song we can use. And after twelve, is coming some fast songs, after twelve. Some fast songs; you can notice when you eat medicine. When it's after twelve, you can feel it's coming. When you eat medicine, you can feel it, feel it, feel it's kind of moving, something, when you eat medicine. If you don't eat it, you know nothing. . . . That's good music, after you eat medicine. . . . After twelve, after drink water, everything's set again. After everybody come in—and go in again—just sit still. . . . That's the time your prayers, too, come. What you want, you ask for it, right there. Like it's open, everything.

Q: Why do people sometimes go outside?

AN: I suppose they don't want to disturb anybody, and they go outside. Sometimes it has an effect on other people inside, when they vomit, you know. That's why they go outside there. Other places, it's pretty strict. You're not supposed to walk past a person while they're using this medicine; while they're chewing it and praying, you're not supposed to walk by them.

Q: I think I noticed that when they come back into the tipi, they wait until the singer has finished his songs?

DN: Yes, yes.

AN: They don't want to disturb the singer. They walk in there; they're praying—those prayers, those songs—they don't want to disturb that. . . . They respect it, you know, they respect this person that's praying.

Q: One thing that has impressed me is the courtesy and respect the people have for one another. The way they always ask permission before leaving, and then don't come back just any old time.

MW: He tries to wait till they finish singing. Otherwise there's a disturbance. Just like if you was talking here and then somebody just walks out there. They can't help it; your mind is more delicate when the medicine's working on you; the least little movement is a disturbance, a distraction. Same way with singing or drumming or praying. Any odd movement going on is a distraction.

Q: But I've seen them leave while the singing is going on.

MW: Well, if they're a little slow, yeah. But they shouldn't; they shouldn't, when the singing is actually going to start. And when they ask that leader, or one of them—if the leader happens to be busy with his prayer, well, they ask the drummer or cedar man, you see.

Q: Then they're supposed to leave between singing?

MW: Yes. And if this fellow that's going to sing, if he acknowledges that respect, well, he should wait till this man gets over there [to the entrance]. That's another thing, you see. Then, before I pass that [i.e., the singer's and drummer's tools], see, there should be only one person in that—inside that, where they're working there, inside that, around that fire there—at one time. When there's any movement to be going on, the fire chief's got to go take his place till everything is clear. But a lot of us don't understand these things.

Q: Why do people go out?

MW: Toilet; that's the most general case. Some get sick, real sick, want to vomit. . . . Others, again, they drink too much beer during the week, you know, and that goes in there, gets in their system; well, they have to go out.

Q: Most people don't seem to get nauseous, nor did it taste bad to me. Yet I'd heard so much about that.

MW: No; that's just only a certain bunch of them. If you go to several meetings, you'll know them. Then, if you size up their daily life, you'll know why. I've been

here all this while. I know how it is; I know them. I know just how they tick.

Q: What sort of people become nauseous from Peyote?

MW: I couldn't answer; I don't know how it tastes to them. But when a person had been drinking during the past week, and then he goes to a meeting and tries to fill up on the medicine, the medicine wants to clean him out, wants to clean him out, so that—. And it has a draw, it draws; that's another thing about Peyote; it sure draws. Like we put a—well, sometimes they put it [Peyote] in here (pointing to his shirt pocket); if you have your cigarettes or tobacco close by there, then after a while it'll taste like that. Or if you put something in nearby there, just a little while, it seems to draw that taste in there; you can taste that. That's why a lot of them have their own special medicine bags; then they put a couple of roots in there, Indian perfumes or something like that—a little piece of sage or something—to flavor that. That kills that kind of a taste, like. It has got a taste all by itself; it doesn't taste like candy or nothing like that.

Q: I didn't think it tasted bad.

MW: No, no! It's got a peculiar taste all by itself, I say. Some, they don't like that. Well, there's another point there. The way the old folks used to say, a person living a bad life has got a snake in him; that's what they say, snake in him. And that's the one that disagrees with that medicine; oh! it don't want you to swallow it. That's what they say; I don't know how true it is.

h h h TW: It comes to that again, where the leader wants to stop. We stop at midnight, that's when I brought the water in. Well, he started again, started the singing, and he said, "When the singing comes to me again, well, we stop." At that time, according to the clock, it's supposed to be three, but when that cane come to him, well, they usually stop again, see? They all say it's three o'clock. All right. So I got up before the cane got to him, about two singers from him. Well, I got up, and I started to fix up the fire again. And there's a certain way that you got to fix those coals, again, see?

Q: How do you fix them?

TW: I try, the best way I know how. I try to bring it out in a moon shape, see, about Half Moon shape. Just bring those coals out like that, a little bit, and fix it up. Just about pretty near the shape of that one we had in sand, only it was half, see? Well, when I got those ashes fixed up, so I come back. Instead of putting that wood on the north side, well, I came and put them on the south side. Four sticks, starting from the south, and I build four on each side. After I had the fire going good, well, by that time that singing was supposed to get over to the leader, see? So I just took my time. After I had the fire going good, I swept up in between, there. Well, by that time, the singing was over to the leader. I borrowed Louis Thunder's feathers there, and I still started from the south side again, to fan that Moon there, and that mark [i.e., line] you see; they say that's a road, see. So I started back from the Peyote Chief there, and I come right down and fanned that one side, and I went back, and I fanned the other side. The same time I was fanning that road, I fanned everything right into the fire. That's the belief.

Q: What does that mean?

TW: Well, that's just to say that you're taking everything off the road, anything that's in the way; well, you take it off. Take it off, and throw it in the fire, see. So I went back there, and I done the same on the north side. I either fanned it out, or I threw it in the fire, see. When I got done, well, I fanned myself a couple of times, too, and I gave the feathers back to whoever I borrowed them from.

Q: What does the fanning mean?

TW: Well, that's just saying that you believe that—fanning yourself—like your impurities, and all that; you're fanning them away from you, because you just got through making that fire, and it's a belief that it's supposed to be holy, see? Nobody can just go in there, and handle that fire any old way, you know. You got to fix it in just a certain way, at certain times. And at that time, well, the leader was getting through singing; well, that time there, he designated that the cedar chief was supposed to pray, at that time. So the fire was waiting for them; it was up to them. I went back, and took my seat again.

ⁱⁱⁱ Q: What does the fanning with the smoke mean?

AN: A blessing. That's supposed to be a blessing from all the prayers the people have said, and they fan all of them so that they get the benefit of that blessing. That's the way I understand, in my own experience. I don't know how he [DN] would say it.

Q: How would you say it, Dewey?

DN: Just the same.

Q: What does smoking all the tools and all the people mean?

HR: Well, that means, when they smoke everything, they smoke everybody, that smoke from that cedar, it goes right in you, in your system, all over; it makes you feel more stronger; you feel better; you feel good.

Q: Why is this done only at three o'clock?

HR: That's the way they brought this.

Q: When the cedar chief smoked everyone you nudged me and told me it was very important.

MW: Yeah.

Q: Why is it important?

MW: Smoke everybody; the only time. Except in the morning, again, when there's the [communion] breakfast food.

Q: And why is this so important?

MW: Well, it's reverence again, I would say.

[Another time:]

MW: That three o'clock stop, they smoke all the people. You see them, how they do that; burn incense, and then smoke all the people. We always feel that that's the time when the spirit is really near to us; all our prayers that we are asking, that we may be benefited by it. Same way when you smoke tools; this is official; everyone can get this blessing from that prayer. That's why they do that at three o'clock.

Q: What spirit is it that is particularly near at that time?

MW: Holy Spirit; it's the Holy Spirit.

Q: And why at three o'clock?

MW: That's when the medicine seems to really take a good hold. And, well, you felt that yourself; singing is easier, drumming is easier, everything is easier. And we got all our prayers has been answered, it seems like. Everything gets easier; [Holy] Spirit comes near us. That's the way I feel.

ⁱⁱⁱ Q: Many of the people didn't take Peyote this time.

DN: Why, they thought they had enough.

AN: Maybe some of them had their own medicine, too, that they used in that, now.

Q: Are they allowed to use their own?

AN: They can, if they want to. If some of them bring their own medicine; you know, each person, they have their own medicine.

Q: They bring it with them?

AN: I know I do, when I go out and visit somewheres; sometimes I have my own. I always carry an extra—you know.

Q: I thought you can only use—

AN: No, you can do as you please; after midnight you can do as you please.

DN: Yeah.

Q: I thought you can only use your own after all that in the tipi is used up.

AN: Well, they used that up, see? They saw that there wasn't much in there. But Howard happened to bring some of his own, and he put some more in there then, see? They had already started to use their own, I suppose; that's why they didn't take any out of there.

Q: But suppose there was enough in the bag; then they wouldn't use their own?

AN: No. (To DN) Did you think the medicine was all gone, or something?

DN: Must be.

^{kkk} DN: The last round is always—seems like—lively. The medicine helps. You can sing fast, too, and sing loud. The last round, the medicine help and cure you. If anybody is sick, that's the time he's going to get up, and get help from medicine. That's the way it works.

LT: Different songs is morning songs.

Q: How are they different?

LT: Well, they sound different.

Q: In what way do they sound different?

LT: When you listen, in the morning, it's like you can see coming daylight, see? . . . I know some songs, before twelve o'clock I never use them, for me, anyway. I use them, I kind of know them, [as] morning songs. When I use them, [it's] just coming daylight. I use them [in the] morning.

Q: I wrote, "The morning songs are faster, brighter, and more cheerful."

MW: That's right. That's when the medicine's got a real hold of you, then, you know.

Q: And another thing I noticed is that about this time the birds begin to sing.

MW: Yes. I've been in some meetings where they came and sat on those [tipi] poles. That really made some racket up there. (Laughs.) . . . On the last round . . . some people make birds sing; you can hear birds sing. . . . Birds, you can see them singing. What the spirit helps you [do].

Q: What does fanning your drummer mean?

HR: "Thanks."

ⁱⁱⁱ TW: All during all the course of the night—well, some people come in sick, or something like that; they don't feel just right. But now, towards quitting time, well, everybody use medicine in there, and they should be sitting up; feel good, feel happy, and all that. That's the way I try to make that fire; just keep it blazing; that's the way I believe. And if there's anybody that's laying down sleeping, well, it's up to me to go over there and wake them up. "Sit up here! This ain't no place to sleep, here! If you want to sleep, go home and sleep! This ain't no place; we're trying to pray here! This is a church house, here! Sit up with the rest of the people!" That's my belief, see. Unless some person is real sick, that they can't sit up; then I don't bother him. That's my belief.

Q: In the morning you again clean the fireplace, and fix it up in a special way?

TW: Yeah. That is, at the quitting time. When he sings his Morning [Water] Song, well, I fix that fire again in a different way.

Q: Will you describe it?

TW: [After three o'clock the ashes are gradually formed into the shape of a bird.] So before he sang his Morning

[Water] Song, well I started to fix those wings out, a little more, see? The best way I know how; I'm not much of an artist, but I brought those out, anyway. The idea was there, see? I brought those wings out a little bit, and fixed up my fire. I was still on the south side, see, and I put my first wood there, like that, again, and brought those wood out a little bit more, too; had the blaze going all the time. When I got through, well, that singing was pretty near up to him, up to the leader. I got done here; then I hurried up a little bit, did a good job, done everything; I fanned everything there. . . .

Q: What kind of a bird do you try to make?

TW: Well, they say it's supposed to be—well, my idea would be a dove, see? Well, it could be a Thunderbird, or or something like that, you know; some kind of Waterbird, there. My idea would be a dove, see? Different ones say it's some kind of a Waterbird, some say it's a Thunderbird, and some say it's a dove.

Q: How do you represent the different parts of the bird?

TW: Well, when I bring those wings out, they say that's their wings; that's just the way they're—well, some [Catholic] holy pictures, you can just picture how those doves are coming down, just how they're holding their wings.

Q: Spread out?

TW: And the tail is kind of spread out, too. You can make it looking either way, see? I'm not trying to copy from a picture, but just my own mind; just try to fix that the best way I know how. So I bring those wings out, see. And I make a little indentation there—one, two, three—that's just for their wings, for their feathers there, on each side. Then I make a hole in the ashes there. That should represent the head, see; if I was to make a regular head out of those ashes, it would take me pretty near all day to make that. Them ashes would be too porous, see? So instead of that, I just make a hole there, where represents the head. And their wings, and their tail, there. And right where their feet is supposed to be, well, I take a little short chunk that's burning, and I take that, and I put it there, and that's where they're hanging on, see? So, while that's burning, well, I'm still on the south side, yet. So I put a stick [of firewood] there, first on the south side, and so on, and spread out the wood a little bit more, and it's burning all the time.

Q: What does the bird mean to you?

TW: Well, it's sort of a pure, pure symbol. That's the way I take it, see. I should say that a sign, a pure sign, pure.

Q: A sign of what?

TW: From Heaven. That's the way I look at it, see.

Q: What kind of a bird does the fire chief make from the ashes?

DN: The way I understand it, myself, that's that Holy Ghost, the one they represent.

Q: What kind of a bird is it?

DN: That's a—Indians, they call it the omi-ni-w (dove or pigeon).

Q: The omi-ni-w represents the Holy Ghost?

DN: Yeah.

LT: He puts twelve sticks in there.

Q: On the fire?

LT: Yeah. See, it means something.

Q: What does it mean?

LT: That's twelve disciples. That's what he puts them for, the fireman. And them coals, they put it this way. You see it in that meeting; it looks like a bird. Looks like a bird, and means that Waterbird. I don't know; they call it Waterbird.

Q: As the night wears on, and the ashes collect, you handle them in a special way [when fire chief]?

MW: Yes; just keep poking the fire up, just keep poking it up; build it up a little bit ahead, all the time. I try to keep the main fire, the sticks, in the same place; but try to keep pushing the coals up.

Q: And toward morning?

MW: Have them way up, way up near the Moon.

Q: What do you do with these coals?

MW: I make the pattern of a bird.

Q: Do you build up the bird all night?

MW: Yes. When I first used medicine, when I was real small, one time, in the course of one of the meetings there, I see a little picture. It comes to my mind's eye, you know, and it's shaped like a heart, and right on top of the heart was a stick; well, there it looked like four, it might have been more, sits right on top of these coals; and that heart there seems to kind of move, seems to be alive. I guess the fire, the coals mixed with the ashes a little bit there, it kind of move, and then those coals on top. But after I went to school, and stuff, and drifted around, I forgot this here.

But then when I [first] saw that little picture there, I sure wanted it. I wanted to make a copy of it, and make a pin so I could wear it. I got something good. Just about that [first] time, when I desired that, you know, it seemed to kind of—just like something push it towards me: "Here!" Well, I didn't know what to do; I was kind of surprised.

And then I forgot all about it, again. Till the time when I started making the fire for regular meetings. Then, one time, it come to me, in my thought, what I had one time, way back. So I made a heart; I made a heart. This bird, what we make in the morning, is got a heart too, you see. It starts from there, when I make the first coal, and then build that heart in such a way—wiggle it around gradually, gradually, gradually, gradually—till I have formed a bird in the morning, and then the meeting's over.

Q: So first you make a heart out of the ashes?

MW: I do, myself; I don't know about the rest.

Q: I'm just talking about you, now.

MW: Yes, yes. Not every meeting, either; depends on what kind of meeting it is, too. Take a birthday meeting; it ain't really necessary. I see different leaders, old timers; they don't always make a bird. It depends on the meeting.

Q: What kind of a bird is made in the ashes?

MW: In my mind, I always think about the dove.

Q: What does the dove mean to you?

MW: Seems to me to symbolize the Holy Spirit.

mmmm TW: When he sang his Morning [Water] Song, well, so Angeline come out, see. And when she come out, well, I had her water all ready in the house, see. I had went after it before; I had her water all ready. I was all ready for everything, there. So when she went out, well, I knew she was going to come right back in, so I started fixing that place where she was going to sit, and I went in and got here—I usually have my own blanket, and I spread that there. Then I drew that cross in front, in front of her, there, where she sets her pail. And she sat down there, and by that time the leader was through singing. That was my job, there.

Q: What does the cross mean?

DN: It belongs to the church, that cross. When you baptize; like that. And then you put water in it; that's a blessing. That's what they mean, cross.

Q: Why does the fire chief make the cross on the ground?

HR: I just kind of see that they're doing that. I don't know; I didn't hear [anything] about it; but I see them do it. I never do it myself, but I always see them do that, you know. The fireman, he [is] supposed to know why he's doing that, but I never do that kind of work; I just lead, that's all. . . . I just seen that—I don't know what year it was. Since they brought this tipi around here, that's the time I [first] seen that.

Q: Oh, before that they didn't make the cross?

HR: They didn't have it.

LT: He makes a cross right there, where he [is] going to put the water, right here; he puts a cross here. I don't know what that mean[s].

Q: What does the cross mean?

MW: At the beginning of the meeting, before we ever enter, when [fire chief] I make my fire, I start out with a prayer. And I say, "Amen" right there, see? That's my last fire. That's just myself; no one ever told me, no one ever explained. I've seen them do it. . . . I say my prayer, and do my work all through the night, and when I finish, that's my last fire, and then I make that cross there.

Q: Oh, that cross is your "Amen"?

MW: Yes. . . . I never [was] told [by] anybody to do that; I have done it myself.

Q: So the cross simply represents your "Amen." Does it means anything else as well?

MW: Well, secondarily maybe. You know, I'm telling you my own experience. . . . I see some leaders, old time leaders, one of the oldest leaders brought it up from Nebraska, originally brought it to Wisconsin here . . . we see them, how they run it, and that's one of the things they done, made a cross there, and he made a special business of it. He said, "In the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, amen." He made that cross. That's just like a Catholic making the sign of the cross.

ⁿⁿⁿ Q: What does the Morning Water Song mean?

DN: It's from the Waterbird.

^{ooo} DN: The leader's wife is supposed to bring the water. If he's got a sister, she can bring it, too; and if he's got a mother, she can bring it, too. He's got to appoint who's going to bring that water.

Q: Why is it that the leader's wife brings the water, and not just any woman?

HR: Well, the leader, he's got to take care of the whole works. [His wife] that's [part of] his family; he's got to have his family take care of the whole works.

Q: Why does a woman relative of the leader get the water?

LT: See, everybody's got a mother. That's what they call it, Mary, see? That's mother. I suppose that's why they call her mother, everybody. She pray for us, Christ's mother. That's all I know.

Q: Why does the fire chief bring the water before midnight, and the leader's wife in the morning?

LT: I don't know; that's something I don't know.

MW: The woman . . . represents our mother. . . . At the second song the woman is supposed to enter.

Q: She's supposed to come in after the leader's through with the Water Song?

MW: The last half of the second song is when they generally enter.

Q: Does the morning water mean anything?

DN: Yes; it means all good things.

Q: What sort of good things?

DN: That's why everything grows. That's why we're living today. Everything's got living from that water, and I thank Almighty. We know, we know that, and we thank Him. And we ask for more, that we have that water all the time so that we live. Everything comes from it. That's how I understand it, myself. They say that, when they say the prayers.

Q: What is the morning water for?

DN: Well, in case anybody wants to be baptized, they get it from that water. They put it at the side there, in front of the leader. When they are to drink that water, that food comes in there, and then they start to baptize the one they want to baptize.

Q: Didn't you carry feathers with you [when bringing the morning water]?

AN: Yes.

Q: Whose feathers were they?

AN: They were given to us by that man that was here visiting us last summer; J—— [the guest of honor]. So I just took those, on my own accord, to show him that I value those because they gave them to us. That's why I took them along with me.

Q: At the last meeting, when Howard was leader, his wife didn't have feathers, did she?

AN: No, I don't think she's got any. . . . I just did that to show my appreciation toward those people, see? How much we think of those, because they gave those to us.

^{ppp} Q: What does putting the hand out, and then to the chest, mean?

DN: That means "sure," you're going to say the prayer; you mean it in your own heart. That's how I understand it.

AN: You take the prayer from the woman that's going to say the prayer, and get benefit from it.

Q: What does putting your hands to the fire and then to your chest mean?

MW: Well, the woman does that first, you see; she does that, see.

Q: But I noticed the leader do it first, and then his wife.

MW: Well, he does those things; I don't know. But the woman does that; the man, he don't do that. The woman does that four times. Well, naturally, she represents our mother, you know, and she wants life in the breasts of all mothers, and blessing, see, and so forth. There're other explanations, but this is my own, and just a real brief of it, too, you know. And then we want to share that same blessing; we do the same. Wherever we got aches or pains, you know, we do the same thing; stretch. We believe that.

^{qqq} Q: What does pouring the water on the cross mean?

AN: The way I think about it, it was a blessing. What I said [in the prayer], and then I poured it onto the cross; it was a blessing to this Mother Earth.

Q: What does putting the water on the cross mean?

DN: That's the blessing. It's holy, that's why, it's holy. And your souls is made holy. When you pass away, soul goes toward the Almighty, Jesus Christ. That's what it means.

Q: Why does the woman pour a little water on the cross?

HR: I don't know.

Q: What does the cross mean?

TW: Well, that's for the woman. When she brings in her water, see. During the course of her prayer, once she gets through, well, she just can't take that water and drink

it herself, right away. Well, she was praying to Jesus Christ at that time, see. But when she gets through, she takes a little bit of that water in that cup, she pours it on there, see? Why they do that, I don't know. Because I said, I was just a new member; I'm just trying to do the way I know how. That part there [i.e., making the cross], well, that's my job, part of my work to do that. But why the woman pour water on there, I wouldn't know, see.

MW: She's supposed to drink first before she puts it down there. She's supposed to drink it first.

Q: Well, she poured some water on the cross before she drank.

MW: I know it. That's why I say she's supposed to drink it, first, and then put it down.

Q: Oh, you mean the last drop?

MW: Yeah. . . . There's talk that this breakfast food in the morning is something that's been handed down from other generations.

There seems to be a slight injection, in some of these prayers, of the old Indian custom of—what do we call it?—ghost feast. That's another custom I don't know much about, only just a little. When you put on the ghost feast, you know, they put a little bit of that in the fire; that's for the departed ones; they're going to eat, too. Well, we know that spirits don't eat material things, you know. We know that. But some of them, regardless, they've been associated with the Indian customs way back, they can't help but inject that in with their prayer a little bit. So that this water, what this woman brings in, is for them departed spirits; they're going to drink a little bit of this water, and she puts it there. I couldn't verify that in no way; but that's why they've been doing that.

The only explanation I got—I asked different ones about that—the only explanation I got, is that way back, down south, they said, where they get their fresh water, they go dip the fresh water from the spring, and sometimes a leaf or a twig or something might fall in there, before they drink it. So they just scratch it [i.e., the earth] a little bit, like that [and scoop off the debris, which is poured into it]. Some tribes, they don't even use no cup, you know; they drink from the pail. I seen that, you know; seen some use a pail. So they just take a pail and scoop that little thing up. Well, pretty soon that got to be something, see? Some people associate that with something, so gradually that got to be a kind of established point.

*** Q: Then Thomas [the fire chief] brought in a lot of the children who hadn't been there before.

AN: We woke them up because they were sleeping. We wanted them to drink that water because it [the prayer] was said by me, you know; we wanted to all get that blessing from that water. I prayed for those children, so that they'd grow up strong and healthy from that water.

Q: Do you bring them in only because you want them to drink the water?

AN: That they can eat, too.

MW: That part, from the time the leader sings his Morning Song, and the woman prays and drinks water, those that are present there, drink. Then she goes out, takes the water out. Then from there, in between, then they try to herd all the kids in.

Q: But they came in before. And I thought they're supposed to drink that water, too.

MW: No; they could, but they don't. We generally herd them in between there.

Q: Then it's not important for them to drink that water?

MW: Well, sure, if they're up; if they're awake.

*** Q: Why does she walk around the fireplace?

MW: That's reverence, again. She's entering and she's going to go back out.

Q: What's the cloth runner for?

MW: Now, that's another thing that we just inserted ourself. Louis [Thunder] had that made there; one of the ladies made that. We just do that ourself. I never seen it any other place. Well, till just lately, last few years, I seen it one other place; I seen it.

Q: Where?

MW: Oh, out among the Winnebagoes. They probably saw us doing that; I don't know.

*** Q: Why does the leader's wife go out for water the second time?

DN: Well, that food is with it, so you got to have water when they eat.

Q: What do the foods mean?

DN: Well, they bring the water; that's why we're living, that's why everything grows. Now, we got to eat something. Well, the Indians, they have the corn; that's why they put that corn in there, so they'll be strong and live; that's what it means. Then they ask Almighty to put power in that bowl, so all'll live good; so that they have it all the time, as long as they live. That's the way we ask. Then the food, the same way; you got to have something to use to eat, so you live good; so you got to have the food. And then you got to have some meat. Same way. Well, that's supposed to be a deer, but they use beef; if they ain't got the deer, you can use beef, too. Out west, when they ain't got the deer, then they use buffalo meat. That's the way I understand that. And they ask a blessing to have that all the time, so the same way they ask them all to grow all the time. You see, them animals, the way they ask Almighty for everything, to get along good.

Q: What about the fruit?

DN: Yeah, the meat is last. . . . Water, and corn, and fruit, and meat.

Q: Must they always be in that order?

DN: Yes.

Q: What does the fruit mean?

DN: Oh well, He give it to us to use, Almighty, the fruit, so that we can be strong. You got to have that; if you don't have that, I don't know [how we would manage].

Q: Well, why not corn? Corn is food. How is this fruit different from corn?

DN: Well, sometimes I don't have no corn, but sometimes I got fruit; well, I use that.

Q: What kinds of fruit are used? We've had cherries; what else can be used?

DN: Most anything.

Q: Can you use apples?

DN: I never saw them use apples.

Q: What do they use?

DN: Just—what you call them—raisins. They use raisins, and cherries; and one time we got to use grapes; sometimes it's pretty hard to get a hold of something, and that's why they use them.

Q: Strawberries?

DN: Yeah, they use them.

Q: Raspberries and blackberries?

DN: Yes. Like when we went to the meeting up to Starr Lake [Chippewa] last Saturday; they used strawberries. They're good.

Q: What kind of fruits are used, then? Things that grow wild? Or things that man grows?

DN: Berries, wild berries. Anything they get a hold of, they can use that. Like in the winter time, some of these folks don't put in jars [i.e., can at home]; so they have to go to the store and buy canned stuff.

Q: Is the Peyote breakfast a special kind of breakfast?

AN: Yeah, that goes with the meeting. See, the old people, they had corn, and they had fruit, and they had wild game, deer meat; there's supposed to be deer meat, but we got that round steak. . . . I fixed it. I browned it in an oven. See, I let it simmer in the oven, and I let all that water, the juice of that meat, dry up in there. Then I ground it in the food grinder. . . . This was round steak, dried round steak. It was such a short notice, you know. I was going to fix it a little bit different than the way I had it fixed, but the way I had it was all right. I usually grind these walnuts in there, and I put a little bit maple sugar in there with it. It tastes real good like that, too.

Q: Does the leader's wife always prepare the food?

AN: Yeah, you have to do it. Sometimes, generally the person that puts up the meeting can furnish everything, and then we give it up to the leader; we don't have to bother about the breakfast, you know. But this time Clara [Williams] was kind of short—in cash, you know—so she told us to furnish the breakfast, and we did. And that's how I fixed that meat.

Q: What do the water and dishes mean? First, the water?

HR: Well, water always kind of lead[s], you know. When you eat, you got to have some water; anything like tea. That's what they use the water for, with the food.

Q: The corn?

HR: Years way back, the Indians used to have sweet corn, gardens. That's representing that. That's the [staff of] life, when you eat that.

Q: The fruit?

HR: The fruit, same thing. The fruit, anything that's good for your body, you can use it.

Q: The meat?

HR: And the meat, the same thing again. Anything that you can see, out in the woods; if you could use it, well, it's yours; you can have it. That's why they have it.

Q: And why are the dishes put in a special order? . . .

HR: Well, that's just the way they come. This is a garden, and this is the fruit, and this is the wild game.

Q: Why is it a woman who brings the water and dishes in the morning?

HR: Well, the woman takes care of everything; the food, you know, they cook for you, and everything. That's just like when you stay at home; well, your wife's got to cook for you in the morning, have everything ready for you.

Q: But she doesn't bring in the water at midnight.

HR: Well, that's [a] different part in there. Sometimes the man goes after the water, brings it for his wife.

Q: What is brought in?

LT: Water; corn; and the sweet, any kind of berries; then the meat.

Q: What does the water mean?

LT: Well, I suppose, we use it every day. Every day, and all your life, use that water. That's why they got it there.

Q: Why does the corn come second?

LT: Well, now, everybody plant corn. I suppose, they ask for it in the spring time, so it can grow good, and then live on.

Q: And why the sweets next?

LT: Same way. Sweet, God plant, plant here, this world. So we ask for it, in the spring time, so it will grow, so we can get something out of them berries, so we can live on. That way.

Q: What sweets can be used?

LT: Any kind, that hang up. Anything. Berries; [as] long as there's berries.

Q: What about pears?

LT: Anything.

Q: Apples?

LT: Oh, anything.

Q: Did you ever see pears or apples used?

LT: No. All I see used was cherries, and grapes, and raisins. All of them. . . .

Q: That's all the Menomini use?

LT: Yeah, just us. But some people use other kinds, just as long as they is berries, see? That's the way I know.

Q: What kind of meat do you use?

LT: Well, us around here, we always use deer meat. That's what God give us, here.

Q: We didn't have deer meat at the last two meetings, did we?

LT: No. Sometime we can't get it; we get some beef, some—what you call it—hamburger. They just grind it, and dry it; and fix it that way.

uuu DN: Anybody want to say something . . . he's got to say it. If they want to say the prayers too, they can say the prayers. If they want to tell something, they can say it right there. . . . That's the time they want somebody to say something. Maybe he's going to put up a meeting; they can say it right there; they want everybody to know, so they come, everybody at that time. That's why it's open right there to say something.

HR: There might be somebody in there that never has been baptized; they might have one in there. That's why they always bring that out. If it happened to be one in there, well, he's got a chance, right there.

Q: I've been told many times that at this time a man can get up and confess if he wants to, but I've never seen it.

HR: No, they never do it. . . .

Q: Did they ever do that here?

HR: No. Well, some peoples, they do. But later they got to finding out you don't have to do that. While you're in a meeting, you [are] right there to tell Almighty what you want, the way you want it: [you can ask Him to] forgive you what you've done. They kind of work right along better [without open confession].¹³ There's something kind of new all the time. It isn't always the same way [as it was years] back, you know; it's getting different all the time. It's like [i.e., the same with] these [Peyote] ways, you know; it's kind of a little different, you see, in there.

Q: But E—— told me last summer that he confessed a couple of times at the meetings; that must have been three to five years ago.

HR: Yes. Well, some peoples, they really know, when there's something wrong with them; they really know; they got to really go through with that confession. Them's the ones, they always kind of look for it. But there's hardly anybody like that.

Q: Has anybody confessed in the last two years?

HR: No.

MW: That's the place where it's open for a person to talk on three subjects. One is baptism; if somebody wants to be baptized, he'll get baptized. Another one is to pray. And another one is to make confession or testimonial. That's what they use to tell us; that was the original way. They tried to keep it that way, away back. But, gradually, they kind of—some didn't know just what [to do]; other

¹³ One man said, "I don't believe in open confession in the Peyote meeting. You confess already when you eat Peyote; that's a confession. You eat Peyote; you find out that God knows everything what you done."

times, again, somebody gets up about that period of time and talks about an entirely different thing, you know.

Q: I've noticed there's a lot of this giving things to one another at meetings.

AN: Well, you've noticed how this F—— [the Winnebago] gave that cloth to that man [J——] there. That's just the way it goes. They give things to one another, like that. Like those people come from a long ways to come and be in a meeting with us there, and pray all night with us. And he was so glad to see them, and it was the best he had, and he gave it to his brother. We call each other brother and sister, like he said. You hear him, just what he said there. That's how come we get things like that.

^{vvv} DN: The leader sings a special song, the Quitting Song. Then, after he's through, they untie everything and put it away.

Q: Do those words mean anything?

DN: Yes, but that's Comanche words, I guess. See, I don't understand Comanche. But one time . . . a Comanche boy was around here, so they ask him what they mean, them songs. He tell us what that means; they [are] going to quit now, close the meeting; that's what they mean.

^{www} Q: What does putting the charcoal from the drum on the ashes, and the water on the Moon, mean?

DN: Well, that fire, that's how we live. And the water, so we have that water all the time. You see, that Moon, that's the road, that's the earth. That's why we put that water on there, so we have that water all the time, so we live, all our life. That's what they mean.

Q: And the charcoal?

DN: Well, they got it from there, and that's why they put it back there.

HR: That drum, they always have coals in there. That goes with the Moon and the fire in there; that's why they put the coals in there.

Q: Now, I've noticed two different ways of doing that. Sometimes they put the charcoal on the ashes and pour the water on the Moon; sometimes they pour the water, with the charcoal in it, on the Moon.

HR: Well, they can do it any way. They all belong in there, see.

Q: Why?

HR: That's the way they show it to us, but they didn't explain it; they never explained to us why.

Q: Why is the charcoal from the drum put in the ashes?

MW: They just return it there; that's where they're supposed to get it in the first place.

Q: And the water poured over the Half Moon?

MW: Well, you see, when the medicine's working on you—the old Indian belief that the spirit was working on you, and the spirit is in you, the spirit of the thing is in you—well, anything handled that night naturally is holy, even that water. Some of them put it out there by the doorway, on each side of the doorway; some of them put it right there on that Moon, you see.

Q: I've only seen them put it on the Moon; do they ever put it on each side of the doorway, here?

MW: Sometimes. It depends on different drummers.

^{xxx} Q: You wrapped up all your tools in the cloth, and the fire chief took them out of the tipi; what does that mean?

DN: Want to put them away, so we're going to eat here.

Q: Why not put them in your case, the way the others do?

DN: We all said the prayers—like the Almighty took all the prayers what they say—and He took it, that's why.

I understand, they're going to put it away, someplace. That's the way I understand it, myself; nobody told me that.

Q: Why are the leader's tools taken out of the tipi, while the other members keep theirs by them?

HR: Well, the leader's tools, they all have been used all night, you know. Then when they put them together, well, they put them away. And these others, they can take care of their own, see.

Q: But why are his taken out of the tipi?

HR: Well, that's just like when you get through here; well, you have to go out and get fresh air. That's the same thing with them tools, you know.

Q: Why are the leader's tools taken out of the tipi? Why doesn't he put them in his case the way the others do?

MW: Well, it's a custom we picked up just a little ways from here. But down [in the southwest] where I seen them—and a lot of them do it—they put their tools away different. They untie the drum, and that time they pass all the tools out [i.e., around]; everything goes. The staff goes out, goes to each individual; man, woman, all of them, everybody. While you've got hold of that, you got a chance to talk; when you're through talking, it goes to the next one; anybody got anything to say, it goes around. That's to eliminate that wait while the drummer is untying that [drum]. And not only that, but there's some reverence in that, too; there's a cause for it. Feathers, gourd [go around], and by that time the drum is gotten untied. Everything [belonging to the drum, including] hide, marbles, drumsticks, everything goes around. Even some send their Chief, Peyote Chief, send it around. When they get all back, they put everything away, except the Peyote Chief; a lot of them just leave it on [the Moon] there, save it for that last prayer. . . .

Right there they were a little slow and neglectful, I think. Howard and Joe and Louis, they do it a little different, you see. That whistle goes with the tools, wrapped up with the tools, you see. And that Peyote Chief, that's a special business by itself, picking that up. That don't go out in a rush, when it's a rush moment. That's a special business by itself, ordinarily. They smoke it good, put it away. Put everything away, then they all get up. Some have a short prayer.

^{yyy} Q: I noticed that when J—— prayed he held a single eagle feather in his hand. And that the two Winnebago men also used single eagle feathers when they prayed in the morning.

AN: We got one too; we got one of those.

Q: I've never seen the Menomini use them.

AN: He [DN] uses that, sometimes, in the morning; ain't it?

DN: Yes.

Q: What does it mean? How is it different from the fan?

AN: That's just a custom, you know. Different kinds of feathers, you want to use; it's just up to you, whatever you want to use, you know, at the meeting.

Q: But usually the Menomini don't use it?

AN: No. This one certain feather that belongs to me, that was given to me, this one I've got. We went to a meeting at La Crosse [Winnebago] one time, and this party I sat next to had a little boy. His little baby—must have been about a year old, one or two years old, that little boy that was sick that time—he was sick, and I helped this lady with this baby; I helped her with that baby; she gave that baby some medicine [Peyote]. And in the morning, her husband felt so glad that I helped his wife, so he give me that feather, and that's why I got that feather. He said, "You use that in the morning," he told him [DN]. "Some-

times, when you lead meetings, somewhere," he said, "you can use this feather," he told him. But we don't use it very often, because we value that.

DN: Only once in a while.

AN: Once in a great while we take it out and use it, you know. Not all the time. And this little boy had passed away, later on. That's why we don't use it; we just leave it. And once in a great while, when we see those people, we use it in a meeting.

Q: Was this a Winnebago family?

AN: Yes.

zzz Q: What does eating the Peyote breakfast mean?

DN: Well, you'll be helped, if you eat it.

AN: You get strength from it.

DN: Yeah.

AN: And prayers that the people have said, and things like that.

Q: Suppose some of the food is left over; what is done with it?

DN: Oh, some kids may be sleeping; [later] they eat that. They think these are good; they never throw it away; they finish it.

aaaa MW: The food starts at the south side of the door. The water goes first. . . . That [water and food] goes around, and as it comes back, the water changes its place and faces the door; and then the corn next, and then the berries, and then the meat; and so forth. Because it's on its way out. That's the way I've always seen it, and we do that, too.

bbbb Q: What does giving the sprigs of cedar to J—— mean?

DN: You take it this way. See, that Peyote Chief, we think [it's] good, something holy, holy; that's why he put that on [the sprig] there, put it on top; we don't want to put it on the ground. It's something; we think a lot of it, the Peyote Chief; that's why [we] put it on top there, [upon] that cedar. Then the one who was the last one to pray for that food there, that's why we give [those sprigs to] that one there. Just like people get something more and more in everyday life; that what they mean, that's why we give it to them. We're so glad to see him here, come to see us, help us to pray, help us in everything, and sing and everything; sit there all night, help us to pray. That's why we think a lot of him, that's why we give that, the best one we got. That's what they mean, then.

Q: And what does he do with these two pieces?

AN: He takes them back home to his people. He uses it. Maybe you put it in a fire there, and he gets the blessing from all the prayers the people have said from that meeting he went to.

Q: You say he puts it in the fire. Do you mean he doesn't keep it the way it is, but makes incense out of it?

DN: Yes.

AN: Yes. After it's all dry, you know, then he grinds it up into incense, and burns it at a meeting.

Q: Do you always give these pieces of cedar to the one who prays for the Peyote breakfast?

AN: Well, you give it to different ones you think a lot of, you know. That's the way I see it outside; they do that too. Among the Winnebagoes, they do that; they give it to the best one they like. They give it to a little child, too, sometimes. That's been handed down, you know.

Q: Who decides to whom the pieces are to be given?

AN: Well, the leader is supposed to tell who to give it to, you know.

Q: [to DN] Did you say anything about it?

DN: Yeah, I told him, told Howard [the cedar chief], to give it to J——.

cccc HR: [At the previous meeting when he was leader] I say everybody to get up, and say [together] our Lord's Prayer [in English], that time.

Q: Do they always say the Lord's Prayer?

HR: Just once in a while. But sometimes the leader picks out somebody [in particular] to say a prayer before they go out; sometimes the leader, he do it himself.

LT: Somebody says a short prayer. . . . They ask for somebody. Maybe he [the leader] say, "We all pray, the way you know how." Sometimes they say that. Everybody, the way he know, ask for what he wants; all of them talk the same time. Sometime he say that. Sometime he appoint one to start praying.

dddd Q: Why do the people go out differently from the way they come in?

DN: When you go out, then the fire chief, he sits right by the door there, that's the one to watch the door at that time, and then they go out.

AN: He opens the door for the people to walk out. And you noticed, most of them kind of smoke themselves with that.

Q: That's right. What does that mean?

DN: When they walk out there, well, they smoke, they feel good, and go outside, and all over. That's why they respect that fireplace, and it's an "amen."

AN: That's the respect you give to that, you know.

Q: Why don't the people leave the way they came in?

MW: When the main ceremony is over, then we go out equal. Another thing is, it don't interfere with nothing.

eeee DN: They wait for breakfast; they always have breakfast.

Q: Do they always have dinner, too?

DN: Yeah, dinner too.

Q: What do the meals after the meeting mean?

AN: That's to show your appreciation to all your company that came for the meeting. You want to do what's right to them; feed them so that they'll feel happy.

Q: What happens when they leave the tipi?

LT: Well, they're done. You visit all you want.

ffff Q: How did you decide whom to ask to pray for the breakfast?

AN: He left it up to the folks that put up the meeting. He told them, "All right, you pick out the one who you want to say the prayer for this breakfast." He asked Clara [Williams] who he should ask, and they asked this J——'s boy to say grace for the breakfast.

DN: The way I take it, seem like I was the head one all night. Now, I got up, I walk out; now they can—the ones that put up the meeting—it's just like they're boss, now.

AN: He handed it back to them.

DN: Yeah. Just the way they want to do, they can do it, now. If they want to appoint me to say it again—that food time—I'm willing. That's the way I take it. I give them a chance—them other folks—to say the prayers. But I done my best, all night; that's why I hand it to them, the ones that put up the meeting. That's the way I take it.

Q: Before they eat, somebody says a prayer.

LT: Sometimes, sometimes. Last meeting, I said that the one that prayed them [communion] dishes, he done for [post-meeting] breakfast [too], see? That's what I said, last time.

Q: Why do the men always serve, and not the women?

AN: Well, the women cook the breakfast and fix it, so they just leave it up to the men folks. If they [i.e., other men besides the fire chief] want to help, it's up to them, so they can help. You noticed what that F—— [one of the Winnebago visitors] has said there. He said that he's willing to help, that little boy [his son]; so he got up and helped pass the food around. See, that's the way they do it too, up there [among the Winnebago]. You can help out. After all, we're supposed to help one another. That's the way we take it, in this religion here. We all help, we all take a hand in it; that's what he said there, he told us that morning. So that little boy got up, and helped these boys.

Q: Do the women work all night?

AN: Yes, they work all night. Fix the sandwiches, and made the cakes, and in the morning they prepared the coffee. And then they fixed them dishes up again in the morning, and packed them up so they'll be handy for them to pass around. Other times we set up table, you know, but this way it's much convenient for us. We all go in there, and sit down, and eat. It makes less work. . . . Then you got lots of time to visit and talk with different ones that you visit with, you know; like your relatives, and all that, you know. That's why we do these things. She [Clara Williams] wanted to set a table, you know. And I suggested—I said, "Why not we take it right in the tipi," I says, "and set them all down," I says, "and just pass the dishes around, and they can take whichever they want to eat," I said. "Maybe some don't feel like eating certain stuff; well, they can just help themselves," I told her. I said, "And that'll be just that much less work for us to wash the dishes and set the table [for breakfast], and wash the dishes and set the table [again for dinner]," I says. "Maybe somebody wants to go home, or maybe somebody wants to stay; we'll just leave it like that," I told her. And she said it was all right.

Q: Before dinner you and S—— took the ashes away from the fireplace and tore down the Moon; why?

TW: The [women] cooks, they called me. So I went in [the house] there, and they said, "Well, we're ready to eat dinner now. You should go in [the tipi] there, and fix that up inside. Take those ashes out, and tear that Moon down," they said. "We're going to take that, what we cooked here, we're going to take it inside, and then we're going to pass it around cafeteria style," they said, "so the people can eat," they said. So all right, that's what they want. "All right." So I went out there, and I had S—— help me, see. He went and got the pails, and I went and got the shovel, and took my ashes out, still glowing yet. I took those out, all that hot sand out, took it outside. He went and put it there; he didn't just throw it any old way; he put them some place, you know. So after he come back well, he started from the other end, and I started from that end, and we just spread that sand [from the Moon] all over there. After we got through there, then we spread a little cedar around there. The sand was hot yet; we wanted to let it cool off. But them women, they was in a hurry, the cooks, because they wanted to feed the people. Someone had to leave right away, and like that. So they didn't want everybody to go away without eating, so we had to hurry up; we just threw that cedar [boughs] on there, and brought the food in right away. That's why I done that, see? It isn't because we didn't want it there, didn't have time to tear it down; no. We was supposed to bring that food in; that was the idea.

Q: Why did Thomas and S—— put the cedar boughs on the fireplace?

DN: It's hot in there. Make fire in there, and it's hot. That's why.

AN: We just put that on there, so that it wouldn't kind of get the dishes dirty, or something like that, you know. That's why; we just put those cedar boughs on there.

Q: Then it doesn't mean anything special?

DN: No.

AN: It serves as a table cloth, like, you know.

APPENDIX II

THE PEYOTE TRIAL OF 1914

As soon as the superintendent of the Menomini Reservation heard that Peyote had been brought in, he saw to it that the Peyote missionary and his Menomini followers were all arrested. The case is interesting because it permits us to compare the recollections of Menomini who have had certain experiences during their own lifetime, with contemporary documents. It is thus a contribution to the study of the historical validity of Menomini oral tradition. To anticipate my conclusions, such traditions seem historically unreliable.

In the first place, whenever I asked the oldest members for the date when they first adopted Peyote, almost invariably I was told twenty or thirty years ago, i.e., 1920–1930. Yet the trial records demonstrate that Peyote was probably introduced early in 1914, a date which surprised even those who had become members at that time. This example, in conjunction with others, leads me to conclude that their time perspective is historically unreliable. In the second place, I also interviewed many old members about the events which took place at the trial. Except for the eyewitness account of Thomas Neconish, who is quoted in this appendix, the stories were almost unrecognizably distorted to conform to the psychological laws of recall. That this is so may be of interest to the student of social psychology, but in my opinion it shows that such second and third hand accounts are historically unreliable.

This is not the place to give all the evidence for my conclusions. Here I shall simply give some of the most reliable data about the trial.

Theodore Neconish: The Indians, they don't like that stuff [i.e., Peyote]. Well, these Indians, they squeal; they squeal over there [at the Agency]. There's an agent over there, name of Nicholson, the agent here that time; and, well, they had a policeman. The policeman, he went after that man [N^ēkwatwē^hhak], and my father; he went after [them]. Then they took them to Milwaukee, and they have the court one time, that certain day. They took this agent, this witness;¹ they took him, and the Indians, down to Milwaukee; there's a trial over there.

Warrant to Apprehend

Before me, Marion Wescott, a United States Commissioner for the Eastern District of Wisconsin Division, personally appeared this day [April 2, 1914] A. S. Nicholson [superintendent of the reservation], who being first duly sworn, deposes and says that on various days for three

¹ According to the court records, this was Peter La Motte, a Menomini.

weeks, commencing on or about March 15 to March 30, 1914, at western part [i.e., Neconish Settlement] of the Menominee Indian Reservation in said District, Mitchell Nah-quah-tah-tuck alias Mitchell Neck, in violation of Section 2139 as amended by Act of Congress Jan. 30, 1897 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, did unlawfully introduce on the Menominee Indian Reservation and give to certain Indians, peyote in violation of Act of Congress January 30, 1897, thereby causing intoxication of namely Silas, George [i.e., Neka-nes], John, Theodore and Mrs. George Neconish. . . .

Deponent further states that he has reason to believe and does believe that Silas Neconish, George Neconish, Mrs. George Neconish, John Neconish, Theodore Neconish, Mitchell Waukaw & others are material witnesses to the subject matter of the complaint.²

The trial held in May 1914 developed the following facts:

On March 15, 1914, the accused brought a supply of the drug in a dress suit case to the house of an Indian family named Neconish, situated a short distance north of the village of Phlox, Wisconsin near the western boundary of the Menominee Reservation, at which place there was a meeting of a religious nature. The drug had been received by parcel post from Aguilares, Texas. The participants first made a line about the house to keep out the evil spirits, and then invoked God, begging him to make all of them good and to keep them from evil. The peyote was next distributed, and when it was eaten caused the partakers to see the evil things they had done and showed them the good things they ought to do.

The ceremony began about 9 o'clock in the evening. One witness testified that shortly after having eaten four buttons he could see pictures of various kinds when his eyes were shut. First he saw God, with a bleeding wound in his side. This vision vanished when he opened his eyes, but reappeared when he closed them again. Then he saw the devil with horns and tail, of the color of a negro. Then he saw bad things which he had done before, bottles of whiskey which he had drunk, a watermelon which he had stolen, and so many other things that it would take all day to tell of them. Then he saw a cross with all kinds of colors about it, white, red, green and blue. He was not made helpless. He stated that he could have walked had he wished to do so, but that he preferred to sit still and look at the pictures.

Another witness testified that he ate the peyote so that his soul might go up to God. The witnesses who testified at this trial declared that the peyote helped them to lead better lives and to forsake alcoholic drinks. The defendant was acquitted on the ground that the meeting was one of a religious nature.³

Theodore Neconish: They ask him [Silas Neconish] in the court, "Well, how did you—did you kind of get drunk? Are you kind of sleepy when you use that?" They said to

² U. S. District Court, Eastern District of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, *United States vs. Mitchell Neck, alias Nah-quah-tah-tuck*, Crim. F., No. 280.

³ W. E. Safford, An Aztec narcotic, *Jour. Heredity* 6: 306, 1915. Safford's account is "from ms. report of the United States versus Nah-quah-tah-tuck, alias Mitchell Neck, in the archives of the Bureau of Chemistry. 1914." No such report could be found in the records of the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the National Archives (all in Washington), the United States District Court in Milwaukee, or the Menominee Indian Agency on the reservation.

him over there, in the court. "Well," my brother told them, "no; we're sober. But before we use it, we used to get drunk all the time." He says, "All the time we drink. But this here, after we use it, we kind of sober. Well, we get teaching from it, in my head, in God. We believe; our mind work different. We were sober, we was all right. Everything was all right, that night."

Well, these people didn't believe it . . . because they don't know; they never see what they look [like]; they don't know what that Peyote is, see? . . .

We told these Winnebagoes over there, too—they use it over there before we did; they have it over there too—they took two [Winnebago men] over there [to the trial]. One, the leader—that's my brother-in-law, an old man, he died not long ago, about three or four years ago he dies; he was seventy years old, that man—Tom Prescott, his name—my brother-in-law; he ain't no Menomini, but he's different tribe. . . . Well, they ask him . . . to talk about this medicine. . . . Before he will say something, he stand up, he put his hand like that, and he pray. After he got through praying, then he starts to tell. "Before we use this medicine, I used to go around having a good time; just use my own way, having a good time. They don't worship anything," he says. . . . "After I use this one, I'm always pretty nice. I was pretty good; behave. I stand up straight like a man, then," he says, that time.

And my father, they ask him, too. But he can't talk English so good; my brother, he interpret. He tell, "I was the same way; we was the same way, the way he say; it was pretty bad. Ain't nothing worship. They worship something else. Used to put tobacco; maybe they see a rock; well, they put tobacco [on it] and pray to God, the spirit; they say there's a spirit in there, but there's nothing. That's nothing; you're supposed to pray to God, the creator who makes everything; that's the one. That's what they teach us."

"Now, you're the next, Agent [i.e., Nicholson]." They ask him, "Can you prove [your accusations against] this medicine? It's right there; that Peyote's right there"—where the court was, in Milwaukee—"Can you prove it? We want to hear you," the lawyers [for the defense said]. This fellow commenced telling, and these [hostile Menomini] Indians, what they said. They don't [really] know; they lie, see? But these fellows [testifying in behalf of Peyote], they [i.e., the jury] believe right away, see? But over there in the court, that's the time they [i.e., the agent and hostile Indians] can't answer. They asked the agent, "How many years do you use that Peyote? How many years?" He says, "I didn't use it." "How can you prove it?"

There you are. They let them go. One man, they put him in jail fifty days, but way after, when the trial come for my dad, they went over there. Then it was over.

APPENDIX III

"NOTES CONCERNING THE PAYOTE CEREMONY, 1917"

As far as I know, there is no reliable early description of the Menomini Peyote rite, either in its earlier Cross Fireplace, or later Half Moon, phases. Therefore it is difficult to make an adequate study of the historical changes in Menomini Peyotism.

Thanks to the cooperation of R. E. Ritzenthaler, curator of anthropology at the Milwaukee Public Museum, who first showed me the document, this appendix

reproduces what purports to be an account of the Menomini Cross Fireplace rite as performed 1914–1917. I give it because it is the only such description known to me; the reader should be warned that it is an unsympathetic, garbled, third or fourth hand account.

The document was written by an anthropologist, but the Peyotists say that no anthropologist or white man had ever been present throughout the rite, before me. The account states that the information was obtained from a white superintendent of the reservation, who never saw the rite and was hostile to it. (It was he who had the Peyote missionary and his earliest adherents arrested.) According to the Peyotists, this superintendent based his ideas on the descriptions given him by a couple of Indian “drifters” who had attended the rite a few times, and rumor.

*Notes concerning the Payote ceremony as practiced by the Menominee Indians in Wisconsin*⁴

(Notes obtained from conversation with A. S. Nicholson, Superintendent, Menominee Indian Reservation)

June—1917

(Note: Mr. Nicholson has had occasion, in enforcing the law in respect to the Payote ceremony, to investigate this ceremony very carefully from the practical standpoint, and gave this information to the curator on July [June] 8th, 1917.)

The entire ceremony is apparently based on a human sacrifice and ghost or sun dance feature of ancient Plains Indian culture. It has, however, been masked around with certain christian symbols and christian elements, so that the Indians hide behind the plea that this is a strictly religious ceremony and that they are therefore entitled to continue it. The ceremony is conducted about as follows: There is a chief priest and an assistant; there is a large altar cloth spread at a given point in the room which is the principal station of the priest, the altar cloth bearing christian symbols. From this point the priest goes about with his special insignia and implements, chanting songs and delivering speeches, and reading from a special, small prayer book, written in Potawatomi, in this particular instance. He has also an ordinary Bible, which he uses at times, but which is apparently kept for the sole purpose of proving that this ceremony is strictly a religious rite. The whole christian element of the ceremony is on the strictly catholic order, and comprises various symbols such as are ordinarily used in a Catholic church, the use of holy water, and so on.

The chief priest proceeds about as follows: He first goes about the inside of the house and sprinkles holy water everywhere; then he goes out and around the building and does the same. He then comes back to the house and makes a speech in Potawatomi.

(Note: The fact that the chief priest conducts his entire service in Potawatomi is due to his being a Potawatomi, and is probably also done in order to lend greater weight to the ceremony—as such a ceremony conducted in one's own language would not be so impressive.)

While he is making this speech he carries in his left hand a gourd rattle, in his right hand a peculiar, long lance inscribed with a biblical inscription and bearing certain biblical devices. With the latter he goes about making violent sallies and stabbing in various directions, in fact in all of

the cardinal directions, including up and down except north. Toward the north he never makes a pass. He then takes the Payote buttons from a bag which is carried by his assistant and distributes these about among the participants in the ceremony. He also goes about giving drinks of the “mescal,” which is a decoction of the Payote button. This ceremony is continued and repeated time after time. The active participants in the ceremony usually seat themselves in a circle toward the center of the room, while the more or less passive participants are seated back against the wall. In the course of three or four hours a person will take as many as thirty or forty of the Payote buttons, which are chewed and swallowed and which produce a distinctly exhilarating, intoxicating effect. It is said that if a person takes up to as many as two hundred of them they will produce death.

By the time he has taken thirty or forty he begins to be nearing the first stages of the exhilarating effect. This consists of giddiness and the appearance of many bright colors in the field of vision.

The priest goes about pointing his wand, and even touching the participants who, through auto-suggestion and through the hypnotic suggestion of the priest, is able to see whatever the priest wills. He usually sees, according to the informant, the following in the order herewith given:

1. The devil, that is Christ, for in this ceremony the devil takes the place of Christ and Christ takes the place of the devil. In other words the whole ceremony seems to be built, as it is now practiced, about an absolute reversal of the christian idea.

2. Bright colors of various kinds.

3. A bear.

4. A deer.

5. Departed spirits, and so on.

The order may be reversed, or changed according to the whim of the priest, but through his suggestion he is able to make the participants see almost anything he wishes.

The one in this case is said to have come directly from the Kiowa tribe and to be a very old one, and to have been used in connection with the human sacrifices of the Kiowa.

The chief priest in this particular instance was Mitchell Namatukwatuk. The entire outfit was taken from this chief priest when his ceremony was raided by the officials and when he was placed under arrest and later tried for this practice.⁵ Very frequently in using this wand, one (*sic*) the chief priest holds it over a fire to render it more efficacious before jabbing in these various directions. The raid above mentioned was in the summer of 1914, and while the chief priest was not convicted because of the fact that it was impossible to prove through witnesses that this ceremony and the use of Payote was absolutely intoxicating, the practice has been almost stamped out among the Menominee.

After the ceremony the effect of the drug is distinctly bad, producing violent nausea and a distinct stupor.

S A B[ARRETT]

June 13, 1917.

APPENDIX IV

THE 1919 REPORT ON MENOMINI PEYOTISM

In 1919 the Office of Indian Affairs circulated a questionnaire on Peyote to all the Indian agencies in the country. The replies were used as the basis for the

⁵ I have not been able to locate this outfit. It was never returned to the Peyotists. (J.S.S.)

⁴ MS, Milwaukee Public Museum, Dept. of Anthropology.

summary report by R. E. L. Newberne, *Peyote*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1922.

Though not completely reliable, the answers from the Menomini Agency to the questionnaire give a valuable description of the Menomini Peyotists in 1919. Therefore the entire correspondence is given here.⁶

1. The Questionnaire

Department of the Interior
Office of Indian Affairs
Washington, March 28, 1919

Circular No. 1522
Peyote

To superintendents, inspecting officials, physicians, and others interested:

The office desires to obtain reliable and authoritative information to date as to the growth and the present status of the use of peyote by Indians and the effects from such use.

Superintendents in charge of reservations are instructed to submit reports from their physicians, field matrons and farmers on the subject in addition to their report. The missionaries should also be requested to submit a report through you answering questions herein presented. Please submit your report by May 1, 1919, if possible, covering the following phases of the subject:

1. Give the name of agency and Indians covered by your report.
2. What opportunity have you had to observe the use and effects of peyote, or mescal, where peyote is so called?
3. Do these Indians use peyote? If so, what percentage of them use it?
4. Do the Indians eat the button; or drink the liquid after steeping; or how is it prepared for use?
5. What is the moral, mental, and physical effect produced by the use of peyote? Does it cause intoxication?
6. Are the Indians who use peyote any more or any less industrious, thrifty, advanced, or civilized than those who do not use it?
7. Upon what do you base your answers to questions 5 and 6?
8. Is the peyote button used in connection with any religious services? If so, how, and under what rules as to fixed times, quantity, membership, and other conditions?
9. Is its use in religious service a long established custom of the tribe or a recent innovation? Give data, if practicable.
10. If the practice is recent, by whom was it introduced?
11. In the case of those who profess to use peyote as a sacrament at religious services, do they use it also at other times?
12. Is it used by Indians at meetings other than those of a religious character? If so, give information relative thereto.
13. At religious services or other meetings is peyote given to all who attend regardless of whether they are adults or children?
14. How long do the peyote services or meetings last, and what are their effect on those who attend? State facts clearly.
15. From your information and observation do you believe the plea that peyote is used as a religious sacrament is genuine, or that it is advanced as a cloak to prevent legislative enactment against the use of the drug? Upon what do you base your answer?

16. Is peyote used or administered as a medicine? If so, by whom, in what cases, and how is it administered?

17. Give specific instances of cases within your knowledge where the use or administration of peyote has been harmful or degrading.

18. Through what agency is the peyote button distributed among the Indians of the jurisdiction upon which you are reporting?

19. Where does the supply come from? If shipped in, how, to whom, and from whom?

20. Has the question whether it is in fact an intoxicant been presented to and decided by the courts or has it been passed upon by other authority?

21. Give any other information you may be able to furnish in connection with its use.

2. The Reply

Department of the Interior
United States Indian Service
Keshena Indian School
Keshena, Wisconsin

Ed-L &O

Circular No. 1522
Peyote

April 24, 1919

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Circular No. 1522, noted above, and to state in reply thereto that the use of peyote is not extensive on this reservation. None of the so-called Christians use it and they compose a considerable majority of the tribe. A few of the so-called pagan Indians living close neighbors with the bands of Pottawotami and Winnebago Indians indulge in its use to a limited extent. However, no considerable supply of the drug has found its way this far north. Such use that has been made of peyote is in the form of a button.

The claim is made of course, here as elsewhere, that the use of this drug is in connection with religious observances, but the claim is not well founded as the ceremonies are apparently confined entirely to the use of peyote and without the drug, there would not be any.

Wine or some substitute is considered necessary for sacramental purposes in some of the churches of civilization, but if there were no wine, certainly the church would not cease to exist. The peyote eaters, however, I believe, would have no "religious" services whatever and their organization would perish had they not this stupifying drug to form the center of attraction.

The use is so limited on this reservation as to be of very little, if any, menace. I have instructed all the agency employees, traveling among the Indians in the northwest part of the reservation, where the so-called pagans live, to keep on the lookout and report any infractions of the rules against it.

The users are of the less industrious and less progressive of the Menominees, although the persons charged with the responsibility of introduction here, the Neconishes, are really a fairly industrious family, though thoroughly Indian and rather adverse to taking on the way of civilization.

I am submitting a copy of a report written by Mr. F. S. Slonicker, Agency Farmer.

Very respectfully,
Edgar A. Allen
Superintendent

⁶ MS, National Archives, Washington.

Department of the Interior
United States Indian Service
Keshena Indian School
Keshena, Wisconsin

April 22, 1919

Superintendent Allen:

In compliance with requests of the Washington Indian Office, circular letter No. 1522, relative to the use of peyote and its effects, I submit the following memoranda regarding same, gotten mainly by talks with and questioning the following Menominees, who likely have as authoritative knowledge as any on this part of the reservation [i.e., outside of Zoar]: Ernest Oshkosh, Agency Farmer; John Moses, Forest Guard; and Adolph Amour and Mose Mosehart, residents.

The data I submit corresponds to the paragraphs as numbered in the circular. Personally I know nothing of peyote.

Number 1. Keshena Agency—Menominee Indians.

Number 2. Have lived among the Indians using it and have observed effects.

Number 3. Yes. About 3% of them.⁷ Pagans, all of whom live in the vicinity of Zoar Settlement.

Number 4. They eat the button; drink the tea; and also powder the button, then make into a paste, then a ball and swallow the ball.

Number 5. No apparent effect on morals noted. Some of the children seem stupid and dull and are physically weak. Intoxicates.

Number 6. Ones in Zoar Settlement using peyote are more industrious and advanced than these who do not use it in Zoar. The two classes of pagans seem to be the Medicine Lodge dancers and the peyote eaters forming a religious body.

Number 7. They do better farming, more of it and make effort at self-support and get along harmoniously with Government employees, complying with rules and regulations.

Number 8. Is used in connection with religious services. Have four principal meetings a year as follows: Fourth of July; in the fall; Christmas and New Years and lesser meetings when visitors come or when occasion seems to demand it. They eat the button and drink the tea. Camp together and stay at least three days at principal meetings, other occasions on Saturday night and the following Sunday. Members consist of Menominees and visiting Winnebagoes and Pottawotamies. Visitors take enough to be in a sort of stupor. Claim to have vivid visions of their sinful acts. Must become members by joining through prayers and initiatory ceremonies.

Number 9. Is not a long established custom and then only occurs in small areas of the Reservation. Settled by Indians who moved away from the Agency to avoid sending their children to school. Was introduced in about year 1911.

Number 10. Was introduced through relatives of the wives of the Neconishes.

Number 11. Use peyote at all times when obtainable, as well as at their religious services.

Number 12. Ones using peyote and joining this religious sect quit the pagan dance. The use of peyote and prayers are supposed to cure incurable disease (so called).

⁷ In a summary compiled from various reports, the following figures are given for 1919:

Total population: 1,758

Number affected by peyote: 53

Per cent of population: 3.0

—R. E. L. Newberne, *Peyote*, 33, Washington, Govt. Print. Off., 1922.

These meetings occur on every Saturday night and continue all night and the next day.

Number 13. All are allowed to help themselves from large dish placed in middle of table regardless of age, when supply is plentiful. Otherwise a dish is passed.

Number 14. General meetings last three days. Have appearance of having been boozing, sleepy, drowsy, blood-shot and watery eyes, but rather than being quarrelsome, they are jovial and good natured. For week or more after meeting all talk is about peyote and the meeting.

Number 15. Religion is only cloak for fear of being prosecuted in opinion of Ernest Oshkosh, because after meeting all interest seems to be turned to the good time and about peyote. Often when out of peyote members go back to the pagan dance and medicine lodge and then when another supply comes, these same persons go strong again to the peyote religion.

Number 16. Used as a medicine by members helping themselves from general supply during night of prayer.

Number 17. I personally know of no specific instance where harm has been done.

Number 18. Is brought to the Zoar section of the reservation by visiting Winnebagoes and Pottawotamies and has been shipped in to Charles Dutchman and George Neconish at Mattoon, Wisconsin, by trunk full from Nebraska. Mose Mosehart says it also came by parcel post to same parties from Texas.

Number 19. Comes from Nebraska and Texas. Do not know from whom. Visiting relatives also bring it.

Number 20. One case has been taken to the court at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, but do not know as to the decision.

Number 21. The Indians who moved to Zoar Settlement to avoid supervision and Government schools later seemed to have divided into two classes, 1st the Medicine Dancers and 2nd; the peyote bean eaters. The more industrious, the better reasoners, the better farmers and the most progressive have joined the peyote band and rivalry has sprung up between the two as to who can do the best and the advantage is always on the side of the peyote eaters.

The Neconishes represented to Mose Mosehart that he could be cured of disease by joining their religious society and eating peyote. Part of his experiences may be had from the following data: Joined in year 1915; stayed about a month; had meetings every Saturday night which lasted over Sunday; 1st night ate 25 buttons; ate paste balls and drank tea at will; all helped themselves as often as they wished; prayer going on all night; felt no intoxication; did not get dizzy; not sleepy; did not have any effect except to make sick at stomach and nausea; well members ate and prayed all night long and part of the following Sunday with no noticeable effects and on following Monday morning went to work as usual on their logging contracts. Some claimed to have visions of their sins; more had none; after months trial got no better from disease so quit. Had no bad after effects; no desire to eat more; not shaky and nervous; joined Catholic church and remains good member.

Respectfully submitted,

Frank S. Sloniker

Agency Farmer.

APPENDIX V

HOW PEYOTE IS OBTAINED BY THE MENOMINI

The Menomini know that "down south" the Peyotists obtain their own supplies of fresh Peyote from the "Peyote gardens." But in Wisconsin they must needs be content to receive the dried Peyote buttons. Once

or twice a few fortunate Menomini have had a chance to eat a fresh Peyote presented to them, and they like to speak of the experience during the post-meeting discussions.

In the past, Peyote was obtained in various ways: brought by men delegated to do so, by express, etc. At present it is obtained from the official supplier by parcel post, C.O.D. It is paid for by the sponsor of the meeting. Whatever is left over after the meeting is used by the sponsor personally; for doctoring himself and his family, brought to other meetings for his own use when the supply for the meeting is exhausted, etc.

The following is a copy of the supplier's business card:

Mr. & Mrs. C—— C——
Box ——
M——, Texas

Supply agents for Peyote used as a sacrament by the Native American Church of the United States, with headquarters in Austin, Texas.

According to Angeline Neconish and Howard Rain, there are three grades of Peyote, the cost depending upon the grade. They gave me these figures in 1950:

1st grade (sun dried)	\$20 per thousand
2nd grade (sun dried)	\$15 per thousand
3rd grade (oven dried)	\$10 per thousand

The Menomini pride themselves on always ordering the first grade.

I overlooked obtaining a copy of the letter by which Peyote is ordered by the Menomini.

The following letter from the supplier was received by Louis Thunder, who ordered the Peyote for the first meeting I attended. It was read at the meeting:

M——, Texas.
6-8-50

Dear Sir:

I get your letter in which you ask me for \$10.00 worth of medicine. Which I mailed yesterday 8 of June. I gladly sended by C.O.D. Parcel Post. I sure thank you very much and I remain yours truly Friend. please drop me a card or few lines to know when you get it. please. yours truly, ready to serve you any time you need your medicine.

Mr. C—— C——

I have been having hard time having my boy, sick he was operated from apendix, and after his operation, he gets sick of pleursey so I sure appreciate your help. it looks today he is much better pray for him to get well. God Bless you too. Answer as soon as you get your Parcel Post. Please.

APPENDIX VI

MENOMINI PEYOTE MUSIC

DAVID P. McALLESTER

There are several points of considerable interest in the musical material collected among the Menomini by Dr. Slotkin in connection with his study of the Peyote cult.

1) It is clear from the recordings that a particular song, even in the case of the special Starting, Midnight Water, Dawn Water and Quitting songs, may be sung in different versions by different Peyote leaders, and also in different versions on different occasions by the same Peyote leader.

2) The Menomini material constitutes further evidence for a "Peyote style." It shares with nearly all Peyote music certain distinctive characteristics in musical form, and, it should be added, characteristic attitudes are shared as well. Within this general style the two types of song used by the Menomini suggest that there are distinct "music areas" within Peyote music.

3) From statements by Peyotists and from the available evidence it has seemed probable that the four special songs in Peyote are essentially the same wherever the cult is practiced and that many of the regular songs also have a wide intertribal currency. Dr. Slotkin's material affords valuable detailed positive documentation to this point. A further interesting point is that one Menomini has developed a fifth special song of his own, a Funeral Song.

4) Important material has been added to our knowledge about the attitudes of Peyotists towards the music of the Native American Church.

5) Along with other American Indian music today, Peyote music is one of the clearest guides we have to an emerging self-consciousness of American Indians as a race and as bearers of a common "Indian" culture.

1. VARIATIONS IN PEYOTE MUSIC

It is not surprising that variant renderings are characteristic of most music in the oral tradition. This is certainly true of Peyote music and may be all the more so because of the relative scarcity of meaningful texts in these songs.

It is customary at a Peyote meeting for the male members to take turns, around the circle sunwise, in singing Peyote songs. Each man sings a group of four songs but these groups do not appear to have any necessary organic unity such as is found in Pima song series and Navaho chant practice.¹ One Comanche leader is known to have thought of certain songs as belonging together in his groups of four² but there is no indication of this as a general practice in Peyote and it does not occur among the Menomini. The four songs are sung just as they occur to the singer and the only restriction is that no song already rendered should be repeated by another member at the same meeting. In actual practice a novice or other singer with a limited repertory does repeat songs that have already been heard that night.

¹ Herzog, G., A comparison of Pueblo and Pima music styles, *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore* 49: 320, 332-336, 1936. McAllester, D. P., *Navajo creation chants* (album of records and pamphlet, Peabody Mus. Harvard Univ., 1951; p. 36 in the pamphlet).

² McAllester, D. P., Peyote music, *Viking Fund Publ. in Anth.* 13: 31-33, 1949.

In addition to a very large repertory of regular Peyote songs, there are four special songs, always the same ones, sung by the leader at specified points in the course of the ceremony. In each case, except for the Quitting Song, the special song is the first of four. The leader may sing any songs he chooses to complete the group. The Quitting Song is the last in a group of four.

In the present collection, the Starting, Midnight Water, Dawn Water, and Quitting songs were recorded by three leaders, Dewey Neconish, Louis Thunder, and Howard Rain. I shall discuss the variations on each song in turn.

THE STARTING SONG

One device for simplifying the comparison of musical variations is to outline the phrase patterns of the songs. The phrasing of the different renditions of the Starting Song are given below:³

- | | | |
|----------|--------|--|
| 1. (I-2) | Dewey | A A B CC+ |
| 2. (I-6) | Louis | A A'B CC+ A ₄ a ₅ C+ |
| (I-8) | Dewey | A A B CC+ A ₄ a ₅ C+ |
| (I-9) | Dewey | A A B CC+ A ₄ a ₅ C+ |
| 3. (V-1) | Dewey | A A'B XY A ₄ a ₅ C+ |
| | | A A'B XY A ₄ a ₅ C+ |
| (III-1) | Howard | A A B XY A ₄ a ₅ C- |
| | | A'A'B XY A ₄ a ₅ XY |

Some explanations for the abbreviated version given first by Dewey Neconish (I-2) appears in his statement:

JS: Now do you ever sing the same song in different ways? Do you sing it longer sometimes, and shorter other times?

DN: Yes.

JS: Do you do that?

DN: Yes.

JS: Why?

DN: It's better that way, short, short it as much as you can. If you make it long, that's just like you—other places there you saying over and over and over. That's too much;

³ See: Notes on the Songs (p. 687) for explanation of phrase symbols. Field numbers of songs are in parentheses; preceding Arabic number, if any, refers to Transcription (pp. 688-700).

it make it heavy. Somebody gets tired back here, if you make it, much as you can, short say fast—that's everybody feel good, that's the way I find it out for myself.

JS: I see. Are there some parts of a song you can leave out if you want to make it shorter?

DN: Why, you can say it only once.

JS: Instead of four times?

DN: Yes.

JS: You can't leave any part out?

DN: No, no.

When Louis Thunder sang this song, however, he included additional melodic material (I-6). The first extended C phrase (C+) ends with the traditional concluding formula in Peyote music, the words *heyowicina he ne yowve* sung for the most part on the tonic or base note of the scale. But C+ turns out to be a false or penultimate ending. The song goes on with a new development, phrase A transposed downwards and the latter part of A transposed downwards still further, and then really ends with a repetition of C+. After the false ending, the song consists essentially of a contracted and transposed variation on the theme already established. When Dewey Neconish was asked to sing the Starting Song again he sang this extended version twice (I-8, I-9) in a form almost identical to Louis Thunder's version. On Dewey's fourth rendition (V-1) when he was making the record specifically for examination by an "expert" he again sang the extended version except that now he reached the false ending by a new means, labeled "X" and "Y" here. The contracted and transposed variation then follows and the song ends on a return to the C+ phrase. In this recording he sings the whole song through twice in a closer approximation to the usual ceremonial requirement of four complete repetitions, in spite of his remarks about preferring shorter renditions.

Each time Dewey sang this song, it was substantially different from his other renditions but nevertheless it is unquestionably the "same" song in every rendition. Howard Rain's version (III-1) is similar to the V-1 rendition the first time through, but on the repeat he uses the XY of his false ending for the real ending as well.

THE MIDNIGHT WATER SONG

- | | | | |
|------------|--------|-------------------------|--|
| (I-7) | Louis | AA BCDE × BC+DE | B ₅₈ C ₈ D ₈ E ₈ |
| | | × BC+DE | C ₈ D ₈ E' ₈ |
| 4. (I-12) | Dewey | AA'BCDE × BCDE— | B ₅₈ C' ₈ D ₈ E' ₈ |
| (V-2) | Dewey | AA'BCDE × BCDE— | B ₅₈ C' ₈ D ₈ D' ₈ |
| | | × BCDE— | B ₅₈ C' ₈ D ₈ D' ₈ |
| 5. (III-2) | Howard | ABCD A ₄ BCd | A ₃ B ₈ C ₈ D ₈ |
| | | A ₄ BCd | A ₃ B ₈ C ₈ D ₈ |

All four versions of the Midnight Water Song are essentially the same. In each case a theme is stated, repeated somewhat shortened and varied, and then repeated again transposed downwards an octave. I-12 and III-2 are given in the transcriptions.

THE MORNING WATER SONG

- | | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|-----|-----|----|----|----|
| 6. (I-3) | Dewey | AA+ | BB | cc | dd | E |
| | | | BB | c | dd | E |
| (V-3) | Dewey | AA+ | BB | c | dd | E |
| | | | BB | c | dd | E |
| | | AA+ | BB | c | dd | E |
| 7. (I-10) | Louis | AA+ | AA+ | BB | c | dd |
| | | | | BB | c | dd |
| (III-3) | Howard | AA+ | AA+ | BB | c | dd |
| | | | | BB | c | dd |

The four renditions of the Morning Water Song are also very close to each other. I-3 and I-10 are given in the transcriptions. In the versions sung by Louis Thunder and Howard Rain the first phrase is somewhat more ambitious and is sung twice. As in the Starting Song, the basic form is a partial repeat of the simpler sort. Dewey's fuller V-3 version was sung for the "expert," and may represent his conception of what the song should be like as against the way he prefers to sing it.

THE QUITTING SONG

- | | | | | |
|------------|--------|------|-----|---|
| 8. (I-1) | Dewey | AA' | B | C |
| 9. (V-4) | Dewey | AAA' | BB' | C |
| | | A' | B' | C |
| 10. (I-11) | Louis | AAA' | BB' | C |
| | | A' | BB' | C |
| (III-4) | Howard | AAA' | BB' | C |
| | | A' | BB' | C |

Again, in the case of the Quitting Song, Dewey Neconish's first rendition (I-1) is a simplified statement and we find later that the full song is a partial repeat form. Louis Thunder sings the fuller version as does Howard Rain. When Dewey knew the record was to be sent to me he sang the longer version (V-4) but this time with a striking difference in the tonality. In his first rendition (I-1) the upper part of the octave framework of this song is uncertain, but in the V-4 rendition he reached the third *above* the octave and sang the song through with little reference to the tonic, a most unusual thing for Indian music on the whole and especially unusual for Peyote music. It should be noted that he had great difficulty starting this song and complained

that it could not be done properly without peyote. He may also have been upset because of the death of his wife the week before.

2. PEYOTE STYLE

The Menomini material provides further evidence for a distinct "Peyote style" in the music of the Native American Church. This style, as it has been described so far, is a complex of seven main features. The songs are:

1. sung with a relatively "mild" vocal technique,
2. they are fast,
3. the accompaniment is in eighth-note units running even with the voice and adding to the impression of speed,
4. they are uniquely consistent in the use of only eighth and quarter-note values in the vocal melody,
5. they have the usual Plains phrase patterns but in addition show a significant incidence of paired patterns, restricted compass and unusually long and flat codas,
6. the finals show a cumulative use of the tonic for phrase endings.
7. at the end of the typical peyote song, as diagnostic as the Christian "amen," comes the phrase "he ne ne yo wa."⁴

The Menomini music conforms to this style. The "relatively 'mild' vocal technique" is in marked contrast to the vigorous, emphatic "type A" singing heard in Menomini "Forty-nine" songs, Men's Dance songs, and the Dream Dance ("Powwow") singing. This may have been in Dewey Neconish's mind in his reference to "whooping" in the following conversation:

JS: He'd like to know what you think the difference is between Peyote music and other Menomini music. For example, of course you know Peyote music, you also know Powwow music. How do you see the difference between these two?

DN: Well, seems to me, myself, Peyote is—Peyote songs, like it's holy . . . well Powwow, dancing and whooping, and the same time laughing . . . see the difference?

LOCAL STYLES IN PEYOTE MUSIC

Three groups of four songs each from the repertoires of the "regular" Peyote songs of Dewey Neconish, Freeman Neconish and Paul Wynos are included in the transcriptions. Within the general Peyote style these songs fall into two categories which may be identified readily with the Comanche and the Fox melodies already published.⁶ The former may be characterized briefly here as being short, narrow in compass, and containing few phrases, while the latter are longer and more discursive melodically, containing many different phrases which are repeated in variations and transpositions extending over a wide compass. For the reader's convenience the

⁴ McAllester, *Peyote music*, 82.

⁵ Herzog, G., *Musical styles in North America*, *Proc. 23rd Internatl. Cong. Americanists*, 456, Sept. 1928.

⁶ McAllester, *loc. cit.*, songs Nos. 1-30, 50-57.

phrase patterning of the twelve regular songs under discussion is given below. The presence of these two distinct "styles within a style" suggests that there may well exist "musical areas" within Peyote music.

Freeman Neconish

11. (V-1) a b c d e d f d a' b c d' f d' (Comanche; but phrase "a" suggests a Gospel hymn.)
a' b c d' f d a' b c d f
12. (V-2) ab ac d c+
ab ac d c+ (Comanche.)
ab ac d c+
13. (V-3) A B C D C'D' A₅B₆C₆D₈ (Fox.)
A B C D'C'D' A₅B₆C₆D₈
14. (V-4) abcd (Comanche; interesting switch from major to minor.)
abcd

Dewey Neconish

15. (VI-1) a b c d e d e' f g (Comanche.)
x c d' e' d e' f g
16. (VI-2) abcdef ghi def (Fox.)
abcdef ghi def
17. (VI-3) abcdde (Comanche.)
ccdde
18. (VI-4) abcd c' d c''d_{1,5}c''₄e (Fox.)
d+ c''d c''d_{1,5}c''₄e
abcd c' d c''d_{1,5}c''₄e

Paul Wynos

19. (IV-6) a a' b c d (Comanche; also Gospel hymn: see text.)
b' c d'
a a' b c d'
b' c d'
20. (IV-7) a b c d c' b' c' e f g c₈d_{8,6} (Fox.)
c' b' c' e f g c₈d_{8,6}
a' b c d c' b' c' e f g c₈d₈-
c' b'' c' e f g c₈d_{8,6}
21. (IV-8) a b c d e f g h xxxx ij fgh (Fox; informant says so.)
a' b' c d e f g h xxxx ij fgh
22. (IV-9) A B C D E F G H E (Fox.)
A B' C E D F G H E

A "PART" SONG

Part singing is practically unknown in American Indian music even today after generations of white contact.⁷ A "harmonized" song appears in the present collection, however. Marylin Wynos, six years old,

knows ten Peyote songs and recorded one of these in a duet with her grandfather, Paul Wynos (23). She began singing in parallel fifths with her grandfather and held to this interval throughout the song except for an occasional rise to an interval of a sixth for a few notes. It seems likely that this part singing was entirely accidental. It may have been a misjudgment due to shyness or confusion or both. But it is interesting that

⁷ Roberts, Helen H., *Musical areas in aboriginal North America*, *Yale Univ. Publ. in Anthropol.* 12: 8, 1936.

once she began, she sang the song through three times, holding true almost all of the way to parallel fifths. This is a "Comanche" style song.

3. THE SPECIAL SONGS IN PEYOTE

Though the published evidence is slight as yet, it is highly probable that at least some of the four special songs in Peyote are essentially the same wherever the cult is practiced in the United States. Because of the active borrowing of "regular" songs as well, some of these also doubtless have a wide intertribal currency. The Menomini say that much of their music comes from the Comanches (pp. 660, 674) and that the special Peyote phrases in the special songs are in the Comanche language. The Comanches in turn say that these songs come from the Apache and are in the Apache language (see p. 660).

The Starting, Morning Water, and Quitting songs in the present collection show a close resemblance to these same songs recorded among the Comanches by Dr. George Herzog and myself in the summer of 1940. These two tribes do not seem to use the same Midnight Water Song, however. At a Navaho Peyote meeting which I attended near Window Rock, Arizona in Dec. 1950 the same three special songs were close to the Comanche and Menomini versions and my impression is that the Midnight Water Song was similar to the Menomini version, though I had not heard it at that time.

Other versions of the special songs appear in *Peyote Music*, some so labeled by their collectors and some not. Nos. 58, 59, 60 and 62 (Cheyenne) are the four special songs, according to Frances Densmore,⁸ and show a clear relationship to the Menomini versions. Natalie Curtis also collected the Starting and Quitting Songs among the Cheyenne (Nos. 63 and 65). The first is very close to the "classic" Starting Song but the second shows no resemblance to Miss Densmore's version for the Cheyenne or any of the others in print so far.

Song No. 71 (Kiowa, sung by a Fox Indian) is undoubtedly a version of the usual Quitting Song, though Martha's Huot's informants did not tell her so and No. 41 (Dakota) shows some resemblance in text and melody to the usual Starting Song, though Willard Rhodes was not so informed.

E. S. Curtis published the four special songs as sung by an Oto who learned the Starting Song from a Tonkawa and the Midnight Song from a Cheyenne. The Starting Song is close to the usual one, the Midnight Song is like the Menomini version and the other two are clearly related to the "classic" forms of the Dawn and the Quitting Songs.⁹ And, finally, a version of the Starting Song has been published on a commercial pho-

nograph record. It is labeled "Peyote Drinking Song, Navaho Indiana (*sic*)" and is sung in a "Native Indian Dialect by Chief Os-ke-non-ton, Canadian Red Indian." Though apparently altered to suit the singer's conception of the White Man's taste and fitted up with a bravura ending on a high note, this song is undoubtedly based on the usual Starting Song.¹⁰

A FUNERAL SONG

Among the Menomini, one man, Howard Rain, has a fifth special song, a Funeral Song (III-5). He stated that he was the only person to have such a song and that the song just came to him (see p. 662). It seems probable that this is a favorite melody among the Menomini to which Howard Rain simply added words of his own for the special occasion. When Dewey Neconish was asked whether he knew any Peyote songs with Menomini words he sang the same song with two different sets of meaningful texts but without saying that the song was connected with funerals in any way (VII-1 and 2).

This song (24) is the same melody as No. 51 (Fox) in *Peyote Music*. It is distinctly in the "Fox style." It will be interesting to see whether it gains further currency as a Funeral Song or remains a special song only for Howard Rain.

4. ATTITUDES CONCERNING PEYOTE MUSIC

Certain attitudes of the Menomini towards Peyote music are implicit in what has been said already. Thus one could note a lack of rigid formality in the variations permitted even in the fixed special songs, an interest in music from other tribes, and so on. In Dr. Slotkin's material there are valuable data on other attitudes regarding this music which I consider important enough to single out for special attention here.

IMPORTANCE OF THE MUSIC TO THE PROPER PERFORMANCE OF THE RITE

In the early days of Menomini Peyote the leaders did not know the special songs; after they began to hold meetings the Winnebagoes came and taught them (p. 639). Mitchell Weso is still of the opinion today that the "Oklahoma leaders" would be scornful of the ignorance of the Menomini Peyotists concerning ceremonial minutiae. He makes an effort to conform to a Kiowa-Comanche-Apache model when he leads a Peyote meeting (p. 640). A prayer may even be said asking for forgiveness if "I don't sing them full, those songs" (p. 594). "It's interesting when they start singing" (p. 610). One man in his thirties said that he could sing all kinds of Indian music well, but not Peyote songs. He felt gravely censured because people thought

⁸ Densmore, Frances, Cheyenne and Arapaho music, *South-west Museum Papers* 10: 87-91, May 1936.

⁹ Curtis, E. S., *The North American Indian* 19: 203-209, Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1907-1930.

¹⁰ His Master's Voice B 2083 (no date on record; found in Archives of Primitive Music, Columbia University, by Dr. Herzog in 1936).

he had been trying to show off when he sang these (p. 613).

A SPECIAL AURA OF SACREDNESS ABOUT PEYOTE MUSIC

Anyone who has observed Peyote singing cannot fail to be impressed by the rapt piety of the singers. The feeling is general that you should be old enough to know what you are doing (see note above and p. 657). These songs come from Jesus (p. 573) and are direct communication with the supernatural (p. 654). "That's the way God hears" (p. 661). Howard Rain in describing the symbolism of the drum chief said that the drumming guides and helps the singing and adds intensity to the feelings of everyone present. It seems clear that the songs are regarded as prayer, as an approach to God, rather than in an esthetic sense. Note the difficulty Dr. Slotkin has in trying to elicit an esthetic rather than a religious judgment from Dewey Neconish in the discussion of the difference between Peyote music and other Menomini music:

(after the conversation cited on page 683)

JS: Yes, that's one kind of difference, but what difference is there in the music?

DN: Oh, in the music, yes. Powwow, it's right in here, it's songs right in here. Peyote, way up there.

JS: What do you mean, way up there?

DN: Songs, up there.

JS: Do you mean you sing high?

DN: High, yes. You can hear it, you eat Peyote, it's singing up there and this Powwow music is right here—you don't hear it up there, it's right down here; that's the difference. But the same thought—they're praying.

JS: Now, for example, your rhythm is faster. Yours is (he illustrates) and theirs is (he illustrates). You see that's one sort of difference. And when you sing (these are just things that I've noticed)—another difference is that when you sing in the Peyote meeting it's soft and you more or less sing to yourself, while in the Powwow everybody sings as loud as he can. Now, I think it's that sort of thing that McAllester is interested in. What do you see is the difference in the kind of music: this music as music? I'm not talking now about which is good or which is bad, but just what is the difference in the kind of music?

DN: One time, up to Flambeau, there's one old fellow—that's the fellow he brings in reservation that Peyote . . . (and he goes on to tell a detailed story about an injured man who is helped by a Peyote meeting and praises the music as better than any other music he had ever heard before, White or Menomini. The issue is still holy power, not esthetics.)

THE IMPORTANCE OF PEYOTE ITSELF IN THE MUSIC

In the Native American Church the dynamic significance of the peyote plant itself can hardly be overestimated. Dr. Slotkin's informants said "The only way to find out about Peyote is to take it, and learn from Peyote yourself" (p. 565). I was allowed to attend the Navaho meeting mentioned above only on the understanding that I really wanted to find out about Peyote by "eating the medicine." The influence of peyote is

stressed in connection with the music. It is important to sing well and by eating the sacred plant anyone can obtain the power to do this (p. 657). Peyote teaches you how to sing and furthermore its power reveals the hidden meaning in the texts. The fact that most Peyote song texts consist of vocables or words in an unknown Indian language does not matter if you eat peyote. "You eat enough medicine and when they sing you (will) understand them in your own language" (p. 595, see also pp. 661-662).

THE SONGS CHANGE IN CHARACTER DURING THE NIGHT

In the Menomini meetings there are usually three rounds of singing, one before midnight, one from midnight to three A.M. and a morning round from three A.M. to dawn. Dr. Slotkin's impression was that the singing was different in each round:

1. soft, dreamy and contemplative (p. 595)
2. greater intensity and emotion (with more praying) (p. 598)
3. faster, brighter and more cheerful (p. 600)

The association in the minds of the Menomini seems to be that in the first round the medicine has not yet taken effect. You are still your "natural self" (p. 663). In the second round the effect is at its height. And in the third round the effect is wearing off. Dawn and the end of the meeting are approaching. The Comanches say that this gives one a feeling of awakening and even relief.¹¹

5. PAN-TRIBALISM IN PEYOTE MUSIC AND OTHER INDIAN MUSIC

The meeting is pure Indian. . . . We speak to Almighty God in our native tongue. . . . We use songs that's in our tongue. We use Indian songs. . . . And we have, of course, the tools that's used in there; that's all Indian. We have a drum, gourd, feathers, and we have fire in there, and we have cedar in there, smoke. . . . (p. 617).

Along with other intertribal religions such as the Ghost Dance,¹² the Peyote cult is an expression of an emerging self-consciousness of the American Indians as one people who share racial characteristics and, more importantly, attitudes that are "Indian." The recognition of the white man as the ultimate adversary and the policy of the United States of bringing Indians from different tribes together in schools specifically for Indians must have been one of the influences creating a kind of cultural unity among peoples formerly extremely diverse.

American Indian music today is one of the clearest indices of this pan-tribalism. Love songs find their way from the Winnebago to the Zuni. Indian shows

¹¹ McAllester, *Peyote music*, 23.

¹² Mooney, James, *The Ghost Dance religion*, *Bur. Amer. Ethnol.* 14th Ann. Rept., pt. 2, 1892-1893.

bring together some of the most musically articulate representatives of the various tribes. Some of these marry into other tribes and an eager exchange of songs goes on at the Indian shows themselves. In my own experience in song-fests with Hopi, Comanche, Navaho, Zuni, and Acoma Indians the liveliest interest is usually shown in songs from other Indian tribes, even by ex-service men who have been in France and Germany. An extension of this preference was manifested by a Zuni boy of twenty-three who was recording songs for me in November, 1950. He had learned two Korean songs (one was "Auld Lang Syne" in Korean) while he was in the U. S. Army there, because the Koreans "are just like us."

This pan-tribalism is vividly expressed in Peyote meetings which are felt to be distinctly Indian and which stress intertribal visiting¹³ and the exchange of songs and ceremonial lore.

While many other aspects of American Indian life have changed radically or disappeared altogether in the process of acculturation, Indian music has remained Indian with the vigor and self confidence of an art that is very much alive. Its function may be changing somewhat. There is evidence in the older religions that esthetic motives may be replacing purely religious motives, in the Augustinian sense, in the mind of the singer.¹⁴ But in its form the music remains the same. If an "Indian" ethos is emerging from the acculturation process in America today there can be no doubt that Indian music will be a vital and even a principal part of it.

NOTES ON THE SONGS

The numbers in parentheses are the song numbers on Dr. Slotkin's reels of magnetic tape. For comparative purposes the songs were transposed to the key of C; the original keys are noted here. In the phrase lettering, numbers after the letters indicate a repeat of the phrase a fourth, fifth, etc., lower.

1. (I-2) Originally in G. No accompaniment.
2. (I-6) Originally in B-flat. Drum accompaniment; drum gains on the singer towards end of first C+ phrase and beginning of phrase D.
3. (V-I) Originally in B. Rattle accompaniment: six double beats before song begins.
4. (I-12) Originally in B-flat. No accompaniment.
5. (III-2) Originally in C-sharp. Drum accompaniment first audible at end of C: syncopated beat running slightly ahead of beat in melody and very faint except during rests, and low notes. Ends with a sharp beat on the last note.
6. (I-3) Originally in B-flat. No accompaniment.
7. (I-10) Originally in B-flat. Drum accompaniment.
8. (I-1) Originally in G. No accompaniment.
9. (V-4) Originally in G-sharp. Rattle accompaniment audible for nineteen double beats before song begins; breaks for an eighth rest four beats before the end and then ends on last note.
10. (I-11) Originally in A. Drum accompaniment not the usual double beat but in quarter note beats followed by quarter rests and quite uneven; ends on last note.
11. (IV-1) Originally in A. No accompaniment.
12. (IV-2) Originally in A. No accompaniment.
13. (IV-3) Originally in A in the "great octave." No accompaniment. In the repeat the end of the song is lost in the recording.
14. (IV-4) Originally in A. No accompaniment. Note the changes from major to minor modality.
15. (VI-1) Originally in E-flat. Rattle accompaniment begins eight double beats before melody starts; continuous through these four songs.
16. (VI-2) Originally in D. Rattle accompaniment continued from last song as indicated above. In the second "e" phrases in the repeat (indicated under 6 in the variations) the rattle has a sharp beat on the first eighth note and then a break for a full beat. It then continues as noted above.
17. (VI-3) Originally in G. Rattle accompaniment as noted above.
18. (VI-4) Originally in D-flat. Rattle accompaniment ends on last note.
19. (IV-6) Originally in C-sharp. Drum and rattle introduction of thirty double beats before melody starts; introduction starts considerably faster than the MM 138 noted here. Drum ends two double beats after melody but rattle continues through the next two songs.
20. (IV-7) Originally in B. Drum joins rattle for an introduction of twenty double beats. In the last rendition of phrase "d₈" both drum and rattle have an eighth rest on the second eighth note in the phrase. Drum runs two and one half double beats beyond the melody; rattle continues.
21. (IV-8) Originally pitch ranges from D to C-sharp. Song is very faint and intonation uncertain. Drum joins rattle for an introduction of forty-eight double beats; both run ahead of melody on final phrase, and run for three and one half double beats after song ends.
22. (IV-9) Originally in D. Drum and rattle have introduction of eighty-seven double beats, run over three and one half double beats after song ends. Note minor mode in the repeat (see variations).
23. (IV-5) Originally in C-sharp. No accompaniment.
24. (III-5) In original key. No accompaniment.

Text: *kitse manito ta hinia ma unimi*
Great Spirit take us all of us

¹³ LaBarre, Weston, The Peyote cult, *Yale Univ. Publ. in Anthropol.* 19: 60-61, 1938.

¹⁴ McAllester, D. P., Enemy Way music, 134-142, MS.

1. STARTING SONG Dewey Neconish

$\text{♩} = 132$

A 

na he - ha yu wu ci na ya na he - ha yu wu ci na ya yai na




ha yu wu ci na - heyo wana he - ye na - he - hayu wuci na yo

C+ 


na he ne hayu wuci na he ye o wa

2. STARTING SONG Louis Thunder

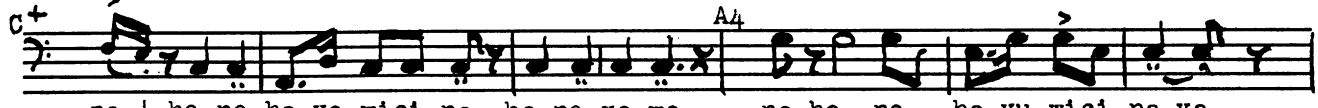
$\text{♩} = 136$

A 


yo he ye ye - ha ya wi ci na ya ya he ye ye - ha ya wi ci na ya

B 

ya na' ha ya wi ci na- heyo wana he ne na- he ne hayo wici na ya

C+ 


na- he ne ha yo wici na he ne yo we na he ne- ha ya wici na ya

A4 

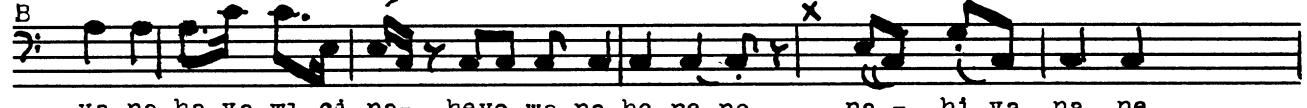
na - ha ya wici na ya na- he ne ha yo wici na he ne yo we

3. STARTING SONG Dewey Neconish


$\text{♩} = 138$

A 

yo he ye ye - ha ya wi ci na ya ya he ye ye - ha ya wi ci na ya

B 

ya na ha ya wi ci na- heyo wa na he ne ne na - hi ya na ne

Y 

yo wici na he ne yo wa na - he ne ne - he yo wi ci na ya



 na - ha yu wici na ya na - ' he ne ha yo wici na he ne yo wa
 ya he ye ye - ha yu wi ci na ya ya he ye ye - ha yu wi ci na ya
 ya na ha ya wi ci na - heyo wa na he ne na - hi ya na ne
 yo wici na he ne yo wa na - he ne ne - heyo wi ci na ya
 na - ha yu wici na ya a - he yo na ne ha yo wici na he ne yo wa

4. MIDNIGHT WATER SONG Dewey Neconish



 no he ye ye no he ne no he ye ye no he ne na heya no heya nai
 no he ne - na heya no heya nai na he ne - no na heya no hena heya yo-
 he heya na he ye yo wa he - ne ne na heya no heya nai na heya ne -
 na heya no heya nai na he ne - na na heya no heya ye ya yo
 he neya na-i no no na hiya no heya nai no - he ne no hi ya no
 hiya nai no he ne (no) na heya no heya niya no - we heya na he ne yo wa

5. MIDNIGHT WATER SONG Howard Rain

♩ = 130

no hiya no hiya na-i no - he ne - na hiya no heya nai no he ne no

'a hiya no - heya nia no- he hiya na he ne yo we we ne ne na hiya no -

hiya na-i na - he ne - na hiya no heya nawi no he ne - ho he heya no

heya ne na no he heya na-i no hana hiya no wiya na-i na - he

ne - ya hiya no haya nawi na he ne - yo a hiya no haya hiya no -

we heya na he ne yo wa -

Variations:

wa ne ne heya nawi no- hiya na-i

we hiya no he ne yo wa

6. MORNING WATER SONG Dewey Neconish

♩ = 132

ha wi - na ha wi - na ha wi na yai nai naha we ne - yai nai naha we ne -

waka he - waka he - yaha ha - yaha ha heyo wana yowi na he ye yo wa

* omit in repeat.

7. MORNING WATER SONG Louis Thunder

$\text{♩} = 138$

yowe ne e e na yowe ye ye ye na nowe ye yeye ye - yowe yeye yeye na

yowe yeye ye ye na nowe yeye ye na nai nai yawa ne ne nai nai yawa nene

waka he - yaha ha - yaha ha - hayo wana yowe na he ne yo wa

nai nai yawa ne ne nai nai yawa ne ne waka he - yaha ha -

yaha ha - heyo wana yowe na he ne yo we

8. QUITTING SONG Dewey Neconish

$\text{♩} = 144$

wi - kayu cini kayu- ci na - ya a-wi - kayu cini kayu ci na - ya a-wi -

kayu cini kayu ci na ya - a-wi - kayu cini kayu cina e e o wa -

9. QUITTING SONG Dewey Neconish

$\text{♩} = 140$

heyo wa ne kayu cini kayu ci na- ya- heyo wa ne kayu cina kayu ci na- ya-

heyo wa ne kayu cini kayu ci na- ya- heyo wa ne kayu cina kayu ci na ya

heyo wa ne kayu cini- kayu ci na ya heyo wane kayu cini kayucine- heneyowa

A' 
heyo wa ne kayu cini kayu ci na- ya- heyo wa ne- kayu cini kayu ci na ya


heyo wa ne kayu cini kayu ci na he ne yo we

10. QUITTING SONG Louis Thunder


heyo wa ne kayo cini kayu ci na ya - heyo wa ne kayo cini kayu ci na - ya

A' 
heyo wa ne kayo cini kayu ci na - ya heyo wa ne- kayu cini kayu ci na ya

B' 
heyo wa ne - Kayu cina kayu ci na ya heyo wa ne kayu cini kayucina heyuyuwe

A' 
heyo wa ne kayo cini kayu ci na -ya heyo wa ne- kayu cini kayu ci na ya

B' 
heyo wa ne - kayu cina kayu ci naya heyuwa ne- kayucini kayucina he ye yo we

GROUP OF FOUR REGULAR SONGS

Freeman Neconish

$\text{♩} = 138$

11. (No. 1)

A enoi yo ho 'e nowi yana ho B ho nowi yana ho - C 'ehe ne yana ho D 'enowiyana ho

E yana howi yana ho D ya nowi yane ho F na heya na hene yowe D' ya nowi yana ho

A' 1) B 2) enoi yo ho ya nowi yana ho ya nowi yana ho - 'ehe ne yanaho yanowi yana ho

F 3) D' na heya na he ne yo we ya nowi yana ho (repeat twice; song ends with phrase "F.")

Variations: 1) 2) 3)

ho ho -na he ne yo wa

12. (No. 2)

$\text{♩} = 138$

a 1) b a 2) waki to - wahi to - he yana heyo wana heyo wana he ne ne wahi to wahi to

c d c+ he yana heyo wana he ne ne wahi no wahi no heyo wana heyo wana

he ne yo we (repeat twice)

Variations: 1) 2) 3)

he yana wahi no wahi no he ne yo we

13. (No. 3)

$\text{♩} = 140$

A hewi cini hiya na hai na B nowi cini hi-a na'- hai na C nowi cini hiya na

2) D 3) hai na-wi cini hiya na he ne yo we 4) C' nowi cini hiya na hai na D nowi cini

A₅ B₆ hiya na hai na hewi cini hiya na hai na yowi cini hiya no hai na

C₆ D₈ 5) yowi cini hi-a no hai na yowi cini hiya no he ne no wa

Variations:

1) 2) 3) 4) 5)

no- na yowi we (lost on record)

14. (No. 4)

$\text{♩} = 144$

A B C D cisus ai yo no- ha wehi hiya na weya ne cisus hawi nowi no wena heyana

A B C he ne yo we cisus ai yo no- ha wehi hiya na weya ne cisus hawi nowi no

D wena heya na he ne yo wa

GROUP OF FOUR REGULAR SONGS

Dewey Neconish

♩ = 140

15. (No. 1)

hayo wici na hayo wici na hayo wici na hayo wici na hayo wici na

hayo wici na hayo wici na hayo wici na he ne yo wa hayo wici na

hayo wici na hayo wici na hayo wici na hayo wici na hayo wici na

hayo wici na he ne yo wa

16. (No. 2)

♩ = 152

we na ha we na yo we na ha we na- yo we na ha we na- yo we na ha we no-

we na - ha we hiya na he ne yo wa weya hino taho we taho we ya

heya nai yo- we na- hawe nai yo we na ha we yo- we na ha we

hiya nai he ne yo wa

Variations:

na- yo we na na- heya weno ta we haiya weno wena yo wa

17. (No. 3)

♩ = 138

a b c d

se ho wina he ne se- ho wina he ne sai- ho wina he ne sai ho wina he ne

d e c

sai ho wina he ne se ho wina he ye yo wa sai ho wina he ne

c d d e

sai ho wina he ne sai ho wina hene sai ho wina hene se ho wina he ye yo wa

18. (No. 4)

♩ = 140

a b c d

heyu wa ne ha we hiya nai ne yo he yuwa ne - ko we hiya nai yowi no

c' d c" d₁ 5

heyu wa ne- ko we hiya nai yowi no heyu wa ne - ko we hiya nai yowi no

c" 4 e fine d⁺

heyu wa ne- ko we hiya na he ye yo wa heyo na hiya na yowi no

c" d c" d₁ 5

heyu wa ne- ko we hiya nai yowi no heyu wa ne- ko we hiya nia yowi no

c" 4 e D.C.al fine.

heyu wa ne- ko we hiya na he ye yo wa

GROUP OF FOUR REGULAR SONGS.

Paul Wynos

19. (No. 1)

$\text{♩} = 138$ 1)

a a' b

Now I know Jesus well, Savior Now I know Jesus well, Savior, Now I know

c d 2)

Jesus well, Savior, Now I know Jesus well, Savior heya na he ye yo wai

b' c d 3)

Now I know Jesus well, Savior Now I know Jesus well, Savior heyana he ye yo wai

Variations: 1) 2) 3)

know heya wai

20. (No. 2)

$\text{♩} = 138$

a 1) b b' c d 2)

yana wana hainai yana wana haina yana wana hainai yana wana hia nohe neyowa

c' b' c' e

yana wana hainai yana wana hai-nai yana wana hainai yana wana he-ne

f g c_g d_g 6 3)

yana wana he-ne yana wana he-ne yana wana he ne yana wana hia no heneyowa

c' b' c' e

yana wana hainai yana wana hai-nai yana wana hainai yana wana he- ne

f g c_g d_g 5) 6

yana wana he-ne yana wana he-ne yana wana he ne yana wana hia no heneyowa

Variations:

1) 2) 3) 4) 5)

yanawana ha-nai yanawana yanawana hainai yanawana hiano heneyowa

21. (No. 3)

$\text{♩} = 144$

a 
 heya no- no haina nai- na hai no we haya he na he - na we ma na

e 
 we- na we- na we' a na he na he na haya na he na he ye yo wa


recit... 
 Jesus shaya nena ko neyo neya bi keche mani - to wi ni yaha weya weya


f 
 we a na he na he na haya na he na he ye yo wa

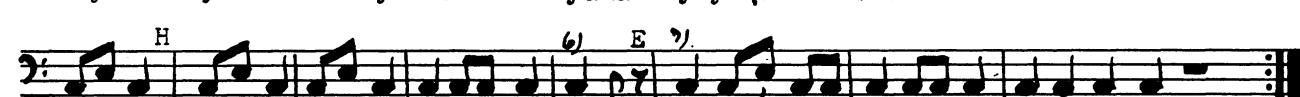
Var: a' 
 heya no heya na nai no nai no haya haina wemana na yeyehe hini

22. (No. 4)


$\text{♩} = 144$


A 
 ai hiyano weyanai neyo ainaha we hiyana neyo hiyanahawe hiyana neyo wiyanaahawe


E 
 hiyana heyo nahahiya naho wehiyana heyeyowa nohaweno nohaweno nohanahawe

H 
 hiyana weheno weyana hehiyanai neyo he hiyanaho wehiyana he ye yo wa

Variations:

A' 
 ana' ahana weyanaine-yo ananahawe-neyananeyo weyanahawe-hiyanahaweyo naha

2) 
 hiya nohaweno noha no ne-yo naha heya naho hehiyana heyeyowa

3) 4) 5) 6) 7) 
 accel. al fine

23. A "PART" SONG Paul Wynos and Marylin Wynos

♩ : 132

yo ke- yo ke- na wana hiya na- na wana hiya ne- na wana hiya na-

hiya na- he ne na- na wana hiya na- hiya na- hiya na- na wana hiya na

he ye yo wai yo ke- yo ke- na wana hiya ne- na wana hiya ne

na wana hiya na- hiya na- he ne na- na wana hiya na- hiya na hiya na-

na wana hiya na he ye yo we (repeated twice more)

24. FUNERAL SONG Howard Rain

♩ = 128

(ki)sa mani to ta-hini ya ha-muni mi hiya na he ne 'itsa mani-to

ta-hini ya ha-muni mi hiya na hene yowa tsa mani to ha-muni mi

hiya na he ne 'i tsa-manito ta-hini ya ha-muni mi hiya na he ne

'itsa manito ta-hini ya ha-muni mi hiya na he ne 'itsa manito

ta-hini ya ha-muni mi hiya na he ne yo we a-ke ka-sina kwa te

si-yu ha-muni mi hiya na he ne 'itsa manito ta-hini ya ha-muni mi

hiya na he ne 'itsa manito ta-hini ya ha-muni mi hiya na hene

'itsa manito ta-hini ya ha-muni mi hiya na he ne yo wa

poco accel.