

TOWARD THE ORIGINS OF PEYOTE BEADWORK

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THE ORIGIN OF PEYOTE BEADWORK

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ABSTRACT

Peyote beadwork is a nuanced and elegant art form. Hundreds of thousands of people today use peyote beadwork, including the Native American Church, powwow people, gourd dancers and Native Americans wanting a marker of Native Identity. Mainstream society has relegated this art form to the status of craft. It is virtually unstudied in the academic world. This paper accepts that objects so decorated are art, that is, expressions that are a means of communication among humans, and both a sacred art as well as a means of establishing cultural identity. The lack of academic study has led to hypotheses about its origin that obscure rather than reveal how it began. This paper aims to describe when and by whom the beadwork began, as well as how it was first disseminated.

APPROVAL PAGE

The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, have examined a thesis titled “The Origin of Peyote Beadwork,” presented by Gerald Hubbell, candidate for the Master of Arts degree, and certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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GLOSSARY

Brick Stitch. See Diagram 1-c. A variety of peyote beadwork where the beads are oriented so that the longer dimension is parallel to the lowest edge of the beadwork, the holes in the beads are perpendicular to that edge, and the beads look like bricks set in a running bond. Stacked beadwork is a variation.

Flat Fan. A fan made of a bird's tail, containing five to twelve feathers, where the feathers are fixed in place as if still on the bird. For peyote work, the standard model has a round dowel long enough to accommodate the hand and an expanded triangular area to hold the feathers flat. It normally carries a rolled fringe at the distal end.

Head and tail fan. A fan made of the entire skin of the bird, minus the wings. Because the skin is tanned with the feathers in place, no beadwork is used. See Figure 13.

Gourd. See rattle.

Loose Fan. A fan made of flight or primary feathers, the quills encased in leather sockets which are attached to a dowel handle. It need not be beaded; however, today, an overwhelming majority of sockets, handle, or both are beaded.

Native American Church. An organization chartered in 1917. For legal reasons, most modern peyotists belong to it. *Peyotism*, the religion, refers to all people who use or have used peyote for religious purposes, including those who did so prior to 1917.

Peyote stitch proper. See Diagram 1-d. A variety of peyote beadwork in which the beads are oriented so that the longer dimension is perpendicular to the lowest edge of the beadwork, the holes in the beads are parallel to that edge, and the beads form a skewed grid. Gourd Stitch is

another term for the same stitch. Oklahoman and Northern Plains peyote stitch has a three or six bead repeat, whereas Navajo (Diné) work has a two-bead repeat.

Rattle. The peyote model has a rattle chamber pierced by a dowel (the beadwork goes on the dowel only). A suitable gourd is approximately fist sized, and in modern usage, reserved for NAC members. A canister can be purpose-made of German silver, or an aluminum salt or pepper shaker (most common), a baking powder can, a small tomato soup can, a section of cow horn, a tea ball, or any similar object. A rattle may be called a gourd whether or not the chamber is one.

Road man. A leader of a peyote ceremony. The term refers to the Peyote Road, a description of peyotism, the religion.

Staff. A wand carried by a Roadman. The top is normally beaded. It is often separable for packing, and if so, the joints are beaded. Big Moon (Osage) staffs may have pennants or furs hanging from the top at the Roadman's discretion. Some staffs are made of Osage Orange wood (Bois d'Arc). Some staffs are made to resemble a bow.

Tab Leggings. Any of several center seam men's legging patterns. The seam is centered on the front of the leg. The seam allowance in the thigh area is exaggerated to form tabs. In the case of the Comanche and Kiowa, the tabs are two to four inches wide, and extend below the knee in triangular pendants, its points can be peyote beaded.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The appreciation of the aesthetic value of technical perfection is not confined to civilized man. It is maintained in the forms of manufactured objects of all primitive people that are not contaminated by the pernicious effects of our civilization and its machine-made wares. In the household of the natives we do not find slovenly work...Patience and careful execution characterize most of their products. The direct questioning of natives and their criticism of their own work shows also their appreciation of technical perfection. (Boas 1928:19-20)

Franz Boas spoke in the idiom of his time, but his essential point remains true—art is not confined to the products of mainstream Western society. To borrow from Leo Tolstoy, it is “a means of union among men, joining them together in the same feelings, and indispensable for the life and progress toward well-being of individuals and of humanity.” The border between what is “art” and what is “craft” is a negotiation rather than a known or a knowable thing. The art of a group that is perceived as “other,” too frequently is mischaracterized as craft, and either relegated to an ethnological description of material culture, or not described at all. This paper takes the stance that human expression may properly be considered in the context of color, pattern, composition, movement or any of the other formal elements of standard art criticism. As a case in point, if a mosaic bound together by cement is “art,” then why not a mosaic bound together by thread (beadwork)? One such medium is peyote beadwork, an as-yet academically unstudied style of beadwork used by Native Americans and others. In order to begin an academic study, the baseline must be established. Accordingly, the problems to be considered are when and by whom it originated, and what the early vectors, or means of dissemination, might have been.

The paper considers evidence relating to who might be the most likely originators or gateway community, the latter term including any group of people through whom the art is transmitted, whether originators or not. This paper argues that independent invention is the most likely way peyote beadwork entered Native art. To define “gateway community,” the Comanche are a gateway community regarding peyotism, the religion, because although they may have received the religion via the Lipan Apache (it is possible they may have received a different form of peyotism by other means), most or all peyotists today are either Comanche, students of Comanches, or students of students of students of Comanches. If all we can assert is “gateway community,” it does not matter if the Comanche learned peyotism from the Apache or had a version of the religion long before they learned the Apache version—what matters is that most or all peyotists today trace the lineage of their religion to the Comanche (Stewart 1984:68).

Is this a study in transculturation, as defined by Fernando Ortiz Fernández (Millington 2007:267)? Ortiz, discussing Cuban culture, does speak of “destroyed cultures,” which resonates with the situation of the Comanche in 1875 (Ortiz 2002:255). However, this is not a cultural borrowing except insofar as the materials are manufactured. In Ortiz’ formulation, this is neoculturation, that is, a new departure by an indigenous culture. There is a non-Native hobby industry using the term, but because they do not use the designs, what they are doing is different from peyote work. That would be transculturation, even a neocolonial cultural appropriation. This paper is concerned with the Native application of the beadwork.

Peyote beadwork may be defined as a closed-netted beadwork that follows one or more of several styles of pattern or design and color use typical of Native Americans in the

Native American Church (NAC), powwows, gourd dances, or heyoska dances; or who use the beadwork as a marker of Native identity. Two principal stitches are used: brickwork and gourd or peyote stitch proper. The phrase “closed-net” means that the beads cover essentially all the area decorated—the underlying support object does not appear. In modern work, the beadwork almost always wraps around a three-dimensional object—a fan, a rattle, a staff, a feather (or a stethoscope, an earring, a hairpin, a non-exhaustive list), however early work might be a flat covering for an object. There are three principal centers of the work—Oklahoma, the Northern Plains and Dinétah, the territory of the Diné (Navajo).

The stitch may be understood by reference to edgebeading. While there are other netted beadwork traditions, some of which use similar techniques, this paper addresses when the art becomes Native American. Alternative hypotheses considered include (1) the Victorian bag theory, (2) Victorian embroidery not related to bags, (3) the Egyptian origin theory, (4) the Mexican origin theory and (5) independent invention by Native Americans.

In edgebeading, beads are used to decorate and reinforce an edge. The needle passes through the bead before being passed through the edge of the article. It then returns through the bead, passing in the opposite direction from the first pass. Another bead is added in each successive stitch. The addition of the beads adds decoration, but it serves to reinforce the edge. The beads must wear off before the edge itself is damaged by wear. It is unknown whether the original need for Native Americans was for decoration or for preserving the garment, but in either case, there was a need to cover the edge. In a variation, two beads are added in each stitch, the extra bead resting at a right angle to the edge. (See the attached diagrams in Figure 1.)

In edgebeading, the work attaches to the article being beaded, but a single thread stretched around an object can substitute for the edge, and in brickwork, it does. For brick stitch, after completing a row around the object, the beadworker “steps up” to the next row (an additional pass through one of the beads in the first row), and a new row is executed, using the loops of thread passing through the beads of the first row (Diagram) instead of the ground thread. Additional rows are added to cover the rest of the area to be beaded. The beads form a skewed grid resembling bricks laid in a running bond.

A different method is used for gourd stitch or peyote stitch proper. Beads are strung on the thread and spaced around the article to be beaded. The space between beads, in Oklahoman work, is equivalent to approximately two beads. In Diné (Navajo) work, one bead. The needle is passed through a bead in the first row, and then a new bead is added. The beadworker works his way around the article. In both Oklahoman and Diné work, the beads form a skewed grid, turned by 90 degrees from brickwork. However, in Oklahoman work, a third row is added between the second and first, (Diagram D in Figure 1) whereas in Diné work, the second row completes the round.

The technical difference results in a very different design sense. Oklahoman and Northern Plains compositions are described by two general types—an overall spiral or a series of rings composed of discrete, non-overlapping units. Diné (Navajo) work is more likely to treat the object as a mosaic that integrates the design in three dimensions. When rings of designs are present, the individual elements are more likely to overlap in Diné (Navajo) work, leading the eye around the piece. Oklahoman and Northern Plains work is more abstract, while Diné work sometimes incorporates birds and animal figures. Early

Oklahoman work might use a two-bead repeat rather than the three-bead repeat, but this would be rare after 1900.

It should be stressed that while there are variations on both brick and peyote stitch, the style is not defined solely by the stitch. Design and color are crucial to forming the style, just as we might describe painting as a class of art but consider Academic French painting and Abstract Expressionism to be very different styles.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY AND EVIDENCE

If cultural influences are considered causes, then the language and the framework of causation may be applied to chart the ancestry of cultural phenomena. Probability theories don't work for the effect—peyote beadwork is known to exist in the Native American world, therefore the probability of the effect is 100%. For the purposes of this paper, causation is used in the sense that an earlier cultural practice, even if from a different culture (the donor culture), can be said to be a cause if it influences a subsequent cultural practice in a receiving culture. There are preconditions to causation. They do not prove causation, but causation is impossible without them. David Hume taught that the cause must be prior to the effect and the cause and effect must be contiguous in space and time. (Hume 1739: Part III. Sect. XV). The first is correct and goes back to Aristotle, the second not quite true. In terms of cultural influences, both cultures need not present at the same time and place. However, if more than two lifetimes elapse between cause and effect, making face-to-face communication unlikely, we rephrase Hume to say the means of communication needs to be described. For example, if a document from the donor culture could be shown to have been received, or the recipient culture could be shown to have studied the donor, cultural transmission is possible. Nampeyo was a Hopi potter who revived ancient designs. She lived in the 1900s but revived designs from considerably more than two lifetimes earlier. She had access to and studied ancient pots. She hoped to hawk her wares to non-Native tourists. As a first step in demonstrating the possible influences, this paper establishes a timeline of when the beadwork is or is not being used. It also considers the possibility of mutual causation, or a feedback loop (Frankel 1986:362).

Culture-bearers rarely keep records demonstrating the start of a new medium and cannot know in advance which media will be important decades after origination. The process involves evaluating the strength of competing arguments after the preconditions have been met. The argument moves out of strict logic and considers strength-of-evidence issues. Generally, the argument is stronger if people are moved, not things; that is, if it can be shown that a culture-bearer moved from the donor culture to the recipient culture, that person would create more objects than can conveniently be carried; and the culture-bearer would be observed by students who could themselves create more objects in the new style (Herskovits 1972:201). Moreover, transported objects tend to be used in the context of the recipient culture, as for example, a round object with a hole in the center might be used as a bead in the recipient culture, but as a compact disk in the donor culture (or a god figure revered for its power to control lightning in the donor culture might be valued only for its rarity and patina in a museum display). Strictly speaking, it is not necessary to move a culture bearer—but as a practical matter, if there's a culture bearer in the recipient culture who is teaching the new style, transmission is much easier (Millington 2007:261). A short chain of causation is preferred, because each link must be proven—if any link fails, the entire chain fails—and the possibility of a failure exists for each new link. An argument is stronger if regular and direct communication between cultures is present—a single visit by a small number of people risks not having culture bearers present, and no transmission or imperfect transmission of style. Discovering intermediate steps is helpful. Showing a need in the recipient culture to receive, or the donor culture to give, would be helpful (e.g., Nampeyo, above). Demonstrating an absence of other influences would be helpful, but hard to do, as most of cultural exchanges happen in uncontrolled circumstances. Showing the

recipient culture adopting other techniques from a donor reinforces a cultural contact argument. Strictly speaking, it is not necessary to show the actual mechanism—causation can exist even if we do not understand it—but doing so would strengthen the argument.

Photographic Evidence

The Shindler Catalogue (Fleming 2003), describes an exhibit of 304 photos at the Smithsonian Institution, mounted in 1869. The subjects were men in 62 tribal delegations doing business in Washington DC. Ninety-one photos are in non-native dress, three are missing from the original exhibition. There is no peyote beadwork in any of the photos. The exhibition was unique, in that in 1869, Commissioner Ely Parker (Seneca and general, retired) of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) virtually banned any additional delegations as he found them demeaning to the delegations (people being used as curios). He preferred to conduct business with the tribes where negotiators traveled to the tribes, rather than the delegations coming to Washington. The Mesquakie (Sac and Fox), who appear in Native dress in the exhibition, all appear in tab leggings, with squared off tabs. As we will see, triangular tab leggings do permit peyote beadwork to be used, but the squared off tabs do not. The Mesquakie will be early adopters of peyote beadwork, and this is evidence that they were either not using it in 1869, or that it was not documented in photos. There are two Comanche objects in the exhibition—a photograph of a woman, and a drawing of a rattle. The woman wears no beadwork, but the rattle may be significant, as it has the form of rattles currently used in gourd dancing. The drawing does not have beadwork, but it is a clue that the gourd dance rattle, which does carry peyote beadwork, may be modeled on Comanche practice. The Comanche are also early adopters of peyote beadwork. There are also Lakota, Arapaho and Cheyenne delegations, carrying other kinds of beadwork. None of them with

peyote beadwork, despite being early adopters of it. The exhibition provides an important baseline, because no peyote beadwork is seen, including from early-adopter tribes. While it is difficult to prove a negative, it does appear that peyote beadwork was not worn by Native men prior to 1869.

William Soule was a photographer at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, from about 1870 to 1874. The Comanche reservation was based there beginning in 1873, with the last group arriving in 1875. The Soule photographs can be identified from their backgrounds (photographers of the time had backdrops against which the subjects were posed). None of them contain peyote beadwork (Belous and Weinstein 1969). John Hillers replaced Soule at Fort Sill, remaining until 1876. There is no peyote beadwork in any of the Hillers photos (Nelson 2001:39). Based on this evidence, I conclude that the Comanche and Kiowa were not wearing peyote beadwork prior to 1876. By historical chance, there was no immediate successor to the Fort Sill photographers after Hillers. There are no additional photographs of Comanche men until about 1889. After that, many photographers descended on the Comanche. In their photographs, triangular tab leggings are common for men, and the tabs have peyote beadwork. Likewise, many of the photos have the men holding fans and rattles (Noyes 1999, Prettyman 1957), which may also be decorated with the beadwork. This suggests that the Comanche and Kiowa adopted the beadwork during that decade.

There is a general problem with photo evidence: photographers often dressed their subjects to look “more Indian” because the photos sold better if they did. Generally, the kinds of elements expected to be photographer-added are (1) easy to add (e.g., fans) or (2) iconic (e.g., headdresses) or (3) show up well in photos (broad stripes of beadwork along leggings). Triangular tab leggings carry peyote beadwork at the lower point of the tabs, but

fall into none of these categories. The photographer would have had to ask the man to change his pants which is not a quick add. Tab leggings were unfamiliar to East Coast audiences and therefore not iconic. The beadwork in question is roughly half the size of the person's thumb or invisible to East Coast customers. It is less likely that the leggings were photographer props than the fans. For the purposes of dating the origin of the beadwork, it does not matter if the person posing actually owned the leggings that he is wearing. The preponderance of the evidence shows that in the early 1890s many Comanche men wearing tab leggings were photographed by many different photographers. The presence of many photographers makes it less likely that all of them were adding the leggings. One photographer, or even a half dozen photographers, might own a pair of the leggings, but when dozens of photographers are photographing tab leggings, it increases the likelihood that the leggings were actually part of national dress. At least one boy, Sherman Poco, about age 10 in his 1890 photograph, also wears them. Since his leggings fit reasonably well, and he's half the size of an adult, the leggings were a different pair than those the adults were wearing (Noyes 1999:74). It is therefore likely that they were made for him and were not a photographer's prop. It may not matter if the fans were photographer prop. If the only question being addressed is when the fans were created, what matters is that they were present in 1889 or 1890. For the Schindler catalogue, this habit did not appear to be a problem. In the Catalogue, several men appear in identical beadwork, but in each case, beadwork is identical only within delegations, and conforms to norms for the tribe represented—that is, it looks like the men were borrowing from other people in their delegations for the formal studio portraits. Neither Schindler nor the photographers whose work he co-opted kept an inventory of props that were used in photos. Based on the

photographs, the triangular tab leggings appear to be national dress for Comanche and Kiowa men in the 1890s. It still is today.

Frank Rinehard was a photographer based in Omaha, Nebraska. Among his commissions, he photographed participants at the 1898 Indian Congress, a part of the Trans-Mississippi International Exhibition in Omaha. He includes a photo of Yellow Magpie, Arapaho, who carries a flat fan and gourd rattle, as well as a beaded medallion divided like an eight-pointed wheel (often a representation of a peyote button), a bunch of hawk feathers in his hair, and a plaid neck scarf, all signs associated with peyotism. The fan is painted, the rattle, peyote beaded. A photo of Six Toes, Kiowa, has a gourd rattle and tab leggings. The tabs are peyote beaded. A photo of Grant Richards, Tonkawa, has lane-stitched braid wraps. Hair braids were, and are, often wrapped with otter fur, and the top of that wrap can carry a piece of beadwork. The significance of this photo is that the beadwork was lane stitched, not peyote stitched. Pete Mitchell (Dust Maker), Ponca, carries a head-and-tail fan, not peyote beaded (Figure 13) . Head and tail fans incorporate the entire skin of the bird, minus the wings, complete with feathers, leaving no area for any kind of beadwork. They're a northern Oklahoma-southern Kansas fashion, and the photo is an example of a Ponca using one. An unidentified Kiowa man has leggings with the side flaps cut away in the manner of the leggings attributed to Ahpehtone (below). A group of eight Tonkawa, six men and two women, shows two carrying head-and-tail fans. Rinehard did not have articles used in multiple photographs, suggesting that he was not adding props.

Physical Evidence

A pair of tab leggings was exhibited at the Kiwanis museum in Anadarko, Oklahoma until about the early 1970s, when they were removed because of water damage. The

leggings are now lost. They were attributed to Ahpeahone (Apiatan, Wooden Lance), Kiowa, “when a young man.” Ahpeahone was one of the last traditional chiefs of the Kiowa, and one of the most famous of his time, making the attribution suspect. The leggings were heavily fringed, dyed (mostly yellow, but with a thin green edge), had a single lane of beading around most of the cut edges, a line of german silver spots inside the lane stitching, and tabs that were decorated with peyote beadwork. This is elaborate decoration for Kiowa tab leggings and would either have been worn by a high-status man, or by one who wanted to appear as one. Ahpeahone was in his twenties in the 1880s, and the Kiowa tribe was very small in that decade—there weren’t many high-status Kiowa young men at the time. The attribution is certainly possible.

The peyote beadwork was a simple “barber pole” spiral stripe (Cooley 1983:9-11). In addition to the tabs, the leggings have a side flap, which strongly argues that they may well be 1880s leggings and Kiowa or Comanche. The lowest 10% or so of the flap has been deliberately cut away, and the decoration applied afterwards. This distinctive notch also occurs in leggings drawn by Kiowa and Comanche artists deported to Fort Marion (Castillo San Marcos, St. Augustine, Florida) in 1875. All those drawings are of dark leggings, but this could be a transitional pair. The difficulty with this evidence is that the leggings are lost, and only black-and-white photographs remain. Although it is tempting to assess whether the Ahpeahone leggings are his or a contemporary’s, it seems clear that they are Kiowa, they contain peyote beadwork and they date from after 1876 (the date of the Ft. Marion prisoner drawings) and before photography resumes in 1889 with stereotypical tab leggings.

An additional pair of tab leggings for an adolescent Kiowa boy are in the St. Louis Art Museum, Catalog 92:2010 a and b. The tabs are edge beaded and the tassels wrapped. While continuing to support the idea that tab leggings were popular in the early 1890s (and today), it cautions us to Look closely at the design of the tassels to be sure that beads are peyote beadwork (Wrapped work produces precise horizontal stripes, but diagonal and vertical lines tend to meander. Brick work has true horizontals and diagonals, but the diagonals are at a flatter angle than peyote stitch proper, and the angles of the diagonals are at the same slope, whether ascending or descending. Peyote stitch proper has true verticals, and in Oklahoman work, an ascending diagonal is at a different angle than the descending one (see figures 9 and 10). In Diné work, the diagonals are again at the same slope, but it is steeper than in brickwork.)

The existence of tab leggings with peyote beaded tassels is an indication that the tribes who wore them used peyote beadwork in articles not exclusively related to the peyote ritual, and therefore had integrated that style of beadwork more closely with their culture. That suggests usage of the beadwork earlier than tribes that did not have peyote beadwork in non-ritual items. The tab leggings with these tassels are associated with the KCA (Kiowa, Comanche and Apache) reservation—other tribes did have tab leggings, e.g., the Mesquakie, however, their version does not include peyote beadwork. We turn to other non-ritual items.

A cradleboard, NMAI 5/7467 (Fig. 7), collected 1915 as Comanche, is dated to the turn of the 1800s-1900s by Vanessa Jennings (National Heritage Fellow, 1989, National Endowment for the Arts, an honor that includes recognition as a Living National Treasure by the US President and Congress). It's Kiowa (Orchard published the object as Comanche, and his drawing shows clearly a two-lead peyote stitch. In the 1978 exhibition, *Echoes of the*

Drum, it was published as Osage. However, the construction is two-pointed staves (the Osage used a flat board with no projecting points) and has no brow hoop (the Osage included a wooden hoop at the level of the brows to protect the child). The beadwork resembles other Kiowa work, but not peyote work. I agree with the Kiowa attribution. The project could not have been finished in less than a thousand hours (personal observation), which strongly argues that at least one person (Ms. Jennings identifies three) was capable of creating a masterwork in the style in the turn of the century. A cradleboard would never have been part of a peyote ritual—in the 1890s, women, except for patients requiring healing, were not admitted to peyote meetings. A sick woman would have preferred a lighter cradleboard if she was tending a baby (the beads are glass, and several square feet of beadwork is noticeably heavier than an undecorated cradleboard). An object of these dimensions would not have been prepared for a person suffering from an illness—it's far more likely that it was prepared as a special presentation to an expectant mother. If it was made entirely during a single pregnancy, that gives rise to a speculation—if a single maker executed the cradle in eight months (allowing the mother some time to discover the pregnancy), and only a thousand hours was required for the beadwork, the cradle-maker would have averaged four hours each day to complete the project. The beadwork is done in three pieces, one over the head and one on either side, a Kiowa trait. The two side pieces do not match exactly but show as much variation as if paper patterns had been created and the beadwork executed from them. If a committee of three beadworkers had collaborated to complete the project during the pregnancy, they would have been averaging 1 ½ hours per day. The cradleboard is a strong argument that the netted beadwork was a part of the art of the KCA reservation. Whether there was just one beadworker for it, or a committee, it is the

work of a master craftswoman, or craftswomen, and where there are master artisans, there is likely to be a community of people working in that medium.

Also, of interest is a pair of brickwork armbands, NMAI catalog 2/1129 (figure 5), collected in 1909, but tentatively dated 1870-1880. They are catalogued as Comanche, but the major design is a single line of linked hexagons, large enough to cover two thirds of the armbands' height, a Kiowa trait. It should be noted that many objects collected on the KCA reservation were catalogued as Comanche, because that was the largest group on the reservation, but are actually made by Kiowa. Whether they are either Comanche or Kiowa and date from about the time of the last bands arriving on the reservation, that would suggest a pre-peyote flat brickwork tradition, and reinforce a conclusion that the beadwork was part of the tribes' national dress. While acknowledging that most peyote beadwork is on round objects, Maroukis notes that it can be applied to flat objects (Maroukis 2010:161).

Consider also a belt in the Wyoming State Archives, catalog 62.31.58. The provenance is: "The collection came to the museum in 1962. The donor's father was the Post Trader at Camp Brown/Ft. Washakie from 1870 -1906. The donor, his son, was born in Camp Brown, served as a clerk from 1895 - 1897. In 1911 he took over as Post Trader in 1911 - 1929. In 1929 the store was closed." (Dominique Schultes, Registrar, Wyoming State Museum, pers. comm., 2012.) Ms. Schultes indicated that the item was part of the inventory of the closed store. It was exhibited as Kickapoo in the American Indian/American Flag exhibition, which I saw in Flint, MI, in 1974. Wyoming lists the piece as Crow because the piece is thought to have been acquired from the Crow in the middle 1890s. The Wyoming belt is more likely to be Kiowa than Kickapoo—we have at least one other large-scale Kiowa object, using similar designs, and the Kickapoo didn't have a tradition of wide

beaded belts. There is no other example of Crow netted beadwork from the 1890s, in any scale. We know the collection point, Fort Washakie—on the Wind River Reservation, 291 miles by (modern) road from Crow Agency (Wind River is Shoshone-Northern Arapaho, and, except for peyote ritual objects, neither has a netted beadwork tradition.). A trip of about 300 miles on horseback, over the routes that existed in the 1880s would have taken a week, not impossible, but it does suggest minimal Crow influence. Moreover, there were two very dominant styles that came from the Crow in this period—the parfleche style, based on designs painted on rawhide, an all-over geometric style having no background (falling out of favor by the 1890s); and a floral style. “Dominant” here means that a style was exported to other tribes, and became the major style for the time, both for the Crow and for the region—if the maker of the belt was influenced by the Crow, he or she would have done something that looked like Crow designs and used Crow techniques (applique, where strings of beads are sewn to a leather or canvas ground). This belt is neither—it resembles some of the geometric design elements of the cradle mentioned above. It does not resemble other Kickapoo work, either in scale or in design elements. I therefore propose a Kiowa origin, and it reinforces the existence of peyote beadwork on that reservation.

The Kickapoo don’t have peyote in the 1890, but can we place netted beadwork with them that early? There’s a moccasin with a strip of brickwork in the NMAI, catalog 22/2848, with a collection history asserting 1880-1910 (but collected in 1951). The moccasin has nested diamonds in the beadwork and otter tail designs in the ribbonwork. The Marquette University library has a photograph of Paapiisikita (Kickapoo) in traditional dress, dated to 1894, where the fan has what looks like a loose strip of beadwork with an eight-pointed prairie star design, and subsidiary designs, wrapped around the fan. While the

fan is not peyote beaded in the usual sense of a beadwork shaped to fit the fan, the loose strip could be either woven or netted. The problem with the Kickapoo is that they aren't using peyote designs in the beadwork.

For opposing evidence, we consider an Osage fan in the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, Catalog 78. It is asserted to have been used in the Waxobe religion, which died out in the early 1870s. The fan is beaded now, however, the beads do not date from 1870 (Gaylord Torrance, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, personal communication, 2017). Similar beads are found on articles after 1910. There is a general problem with dating by beads alone—peyote beadworkers use many colors on small items but buy beads by the hank. There are always leftover beads from any project, some of which may be incorporated into projects decades later. Moreover, using antique beads allows beadworkers to enhance their color selection, so hundred-year-old beads can be, and often are, incorporated into a modern project. However, when there is a continuous net, as in this fan, the youngest bead in it gives us the oldest possible date for the beadwork. If at least some of the beads were made after 1910, the network was created after that time. It's also advisable to consider any other evidence possible. Destructive testing of this object is not an option; however, we can look at its construction. The handle of this fan carries the usual fringe bound to the lower end, but it does not expand into a bulb to accommodate wrapping thread to secure the fringe. In modern work this is accomplished by recessing the end of the handle to hold the fringe and wrapping, bringing it up to the same diameter as the handle. The trait has been standard since the 1940s, and in earlier work, the shape of the bulb at the distal end was subject to fashion and is so diagnostic that it can be used to help date the object. While it is physically possible the fan could have been done much earlier, no bulb for the fringe wrapping would

not be typical of earlier work. The beadwork is certainly post-1910, and the construction of the piece as a whole suggests a later date. It may be discounted as beadwork from the 1870s.

There is a rattle that belonged to Tall Chief, a Quapaw roadman (Peyotist priest) who died in 1918. It remains in the possession of his family, who believe that he owned it when the Quapaw returned to their reservation in 1887 (Billy Proctor, a descendant, personal communication 2017). The rattle is done in peyote stitch, with a dark bluish-purple background and a single spiral in white and white-centered red beads (fig. 11). The design is similar to early Osage work (the Comanche and Kiowa had spirals at the same time, however they favored “barber-pole” spirals. “Barber pole” refers to multiple spirals in alternating colors, covering the entire area beaded, whereas this is just a single stripe with most of the rattle in background). The Quapaw had been living on the Osage reservation, implying either an Osage or a Quapaw origin for the beadwork. A photo of Tall Chief in 1892 in tribal attire shows quilled knee bands, beaded moccasins, a roach, bandoleers and a silk neck scarf (the last two often signs of a peyotist) but no peyote beadwork (fig.12). If not part of national attire, it’s less likely that the beadwork originated there. While the family tradition is unverifiable, he was a roadman in 1892. The question is whether the rattle is from the late 1880s. Victor Griffin, an early Quapaw Roadman, believed the Osage did not receive peyotism until 1898, but Stewart asserts they received it in 1888 (Stewart 1987:115), that is, after returning to Quapaw. The argument becomes a strength-of-evidence judgement. It is possible the rattle was made in 1888 or 1889. That implies that the Quapaw got the beadwork with peyotism and are not the originators.

CHAPTER 3

ORIGIN THEORIES

After considering the surviving physical and photo evidence, I conclude that peyote beadwork originated during the decade of the 1880s. In evaluating each of the alternative origin theories, it is necessary to consider whether the donor cultures' influences were present in Oklahoma prior to or during that decade. The alternative theories are all present in that part of popular culture, and when a theory is in popular culture, it's possible that the theory, as stated, is incorrect, it may have some germ of truth in it. This chapter explores the underlying evidence even when a theory is facially invalid.

The Victorian Bag Theory suffers because the bags are not Victorian. The bags described by this theory are small handbags, covered with seed beads (11/00 or smaller), sometimes seen in the 1910s, but most popular in the 1920s (figure 2). They are often sold in antique shops as Victorian, but that does not make them so. When a person has a financial interest in establishing the date of an object, caution is required in using that date. The theory asserts that the origin of peyote beadwork was that Native American girls were taught to make beaded handbags in the boarding schools. Facially, they fail the test of the cause preceding the effect by 30 years or so, but because the theory is common, we consider its details on the supposition that there might be truth in it that has become garbled.

There were beaded bags in Revolutionary France (1789-1799) (Wilcox 1999:43, plate 22), because women's fashions suddenly had very thin and narrow skirts. Women still needed to carry toiletries, hence the reticule bag to which the theory refers, but by the end of the Empire (1815), women were wearing fuller skirts again, and strongly discouraged to use the reticule (The revolutionary skirts were handkerchief-thin, and shocking to the early

1800s society. The women went back to pockets worn in the petticoats) (Wilcox 1999:53-58). It's not quite true that they had no embroidered purses—embroidery was highly valued, as it indicated a woman who spent time at home—but high fashions were more for embroidered than netted purses. The functional carrying purse, embroidered, cloth or chain mail (there was a Gothic craze) resurfaced in the 1870s when the crinoline vanished—but there's little to indicate that women were netting beads. The heyday of the fully beaded handbag waited for the matching 1920s dresses, too late for our purposes. Moreover, the bags I have examined have been knitted, crocheted or woven, technologies not compatible with becoming peyote work, as neither the tools nor the path of the thread is compatible. The argument needs enough netted beadwork bags in the Midwest to make it likely that Natives would have at least seen them, and this I have not found (See also Wilcox 1999:51ff). The Victoria and Albert Museum, the largest collection of Victorian textiles in the world, confirms they have no Victorian beaded bags (personal communication 2015).

Rather than being taught fine bead work, girls in the boarding schools taught to make or repair clothing (Lomawaima 1994:84), and the inventories of the garments produced make it unlikely that they would have had time to produce beadwork as well. For example, at Chilocco, a school in northern Oklahoma, thousands of garments were produced. None of them would have been exceptional in the household of any Midwest farmer. The schools taught their students to be non-Indian (Lentis 2011:38). There were also on-reservation day schools, but Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools from 1898 to 1910, made it quite clear what sort of sewing instruction was expected: “Never permit sewing without a thimble... Drill in use of the thimble, length of the thread, threading needle, motion of arm in taking stitches, fastening thread; drill in the use of emery and holding scissors.” (Reel, 1901,

p. 452, Uniform Course of Study, in Lomawaima 1996). While it is possible to do peyote beadwork wearing a thimble, it's very uncomfortable, slows you down, and not necessary (personal observation). Requiring its use makes it clear that peyote beadwork was not being taught. The Uniform Course elsewhere made it clear what Native students were being equipped to do--basic housekeeping for the girls and farm manual labor for the boys (Smith 1996:131, discussing Riverside School on the KCA reservation, and 133, discussing Chilocco). Moreover, peyote beadwork in the 1880s was primarily done by men (Dean 2002:84; Greene, Weidman). Comanche society was highly gendered, that is, men did men's work and women did everything else. Comanche men resisted tending livestock when they first arrived on the reservation—the phrase “grandmothers to cattle” was used—because it wasn't men's work. Many or most of them had doubtless tended the horse herds when they were boys, but by their middle to late teens, they had graduated to the more adult professions of hunting and warfare. When men adopt a female craft, usually it takes generations, but this art form appears to have happened in the space of a decade.

There were very few Comanche school girls in the 1880s. Haskell Institute of Lawrence, Kansas, first opened its doors in 1884 to twenty-two Ponca and Ottawa children (Vučković, 2008). Carlisle, PA, did have some Comanche students in 1880 (Wittmer 1993:15), but did not teach Native arts until 1906, under the tenure of Francis Leupp, Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Angel de Cora, Winnebago, an art teacher from Smith College (Simonsen 2006:203–208, Wittmer 1993:78-80). Chilocco received 150 students from Anadarko in 1884 (Lomawaima 1994:10), including at least some Comanche girls, but had no graduates until 1894. It had lacemaking classes but not beadwork until 1935. Rainy

Mountain opened in 1893 but had no beadwork classes (Ellis 1996:56). In short, beadwork was not taught to schoolchildren in time for the origin of peyote beadwork.

Can we discover any Victorian crafts that could have given rise to peyote beadwork? A mail basket was discovered in Tacoma WA made of netted beads (Thompson 2008). Some of the beads are transparent, and the thread shows the item is netted (figure 3). Provenance for the item is a problem. We have only the basket, found in a trading post, and know that the beads themselves spiked in popularity after the turn of the century. They had extensive use by Native people in the plateau, as well as being a middle-to-lower class craft in non-Native culture (Thompson, pers. comm., 2015). Reconciling it to the statement that women weren't carrying netted bags can be done—the beads are much too large and fragile for such use, and the bag is not high-fashion. Using the basket as a precursor for peyote beadwork would need to address the thousands of miles of distance between its findspot and Oklahoma, and to show that the beadwork existed more than ten years prior to the peak of the beads' fashionability—together with the fact that the design is floral, not peyote, it is improbable but not impossible that it could have been a precursor. Frances Lambert, in her 1846 *Decorative Needlework* (Lambert 1846:235 ff) makes it clear that the German habit of adding masses of beads to embroidery is not in the English taste, as it adds too much weight to the work. She does note a netted bag enriched with beads but describes it as more curious than useful. She also gives patterns for crochet or lacis, with design elements replaced by beads (ibid, 295), but neither of those techniques can lead to peyote beadwork (neither thread path or tools are compatible).

I conclude that Comanche did not send girls to schools that taught peyote beadwork. Had they done so, Comanche men would have resisted learning it from girls. There were no

net-beaded handbags for anyone to copy in the 1880s. The bags from the 1910s and 1920s use thread paths and tools that cannot lead to peyote stitch. The handbag theory is therefore untenable, but the possibility of non-handbag Victorian beadwork must be considered. The netted beadwork Lambert describes uses a thread path that cannot lead to peyote stitch, and an “embattled” beadwork of the is a fashion of marginal popularity in the 1850s, but entirely out of fashion in the 1880s “Embattled” is used here in the sense of crenellated, an heraldic line of division, which could be a description of two-lead netted beadwork. The Tacoma mail basket would be an example of “embattled” beadwork, and while the date is uncertain, the likelihood is that the beads date a bit too late for the origin sometime in the 1880s. There’s no evidence that any of the relatively limited number of Euro-Americans present in Comanche territory in the 1880s practiced the craft. Each of the necessary links for non-handbag Victorian beadwork can therefore be questioned. Netted beadwork is not hugely popular in Victorian times; it’s either too early or too late; and there are no known culture bearers bringing it to the Comanche.

It has been asserted that the beadwork derives from Egyptian models. Both the classes of stitch, peyote stitch proper and brickwork are represented by similar stitches in Egyptian beadwork. The broad wesekh collars (Fig. 4.), so familiar as a feature of Egyptian art, were produced using brickwork among other techniques, including multiple stitches in the same collar (Bosse-Griffiths 1975:20-24, Dubin 1987:41). The fashion falls out of favor in Egypt with the Roman occupation—power was transferred from the Pharaonic and priestly classes to the Roman administration. It therefore became fashionable to be or to dress like a Roman citizen (Dubin 1987:55). Romano-Egyptian burials, post 47 BCE,

represented the dead in classical Roman rather than Egyptian style, including jewelry. Normally, this would be strands of beads or chains (Riggs 2000:140).

During the Amarna period (1353–1336 BCE, the reign of Akhenaten and his son Tutankhaten (later Tutankhamun), in the Eighteenth Dynasty), a stitch resembling peyote stitch proper was used to create flat and three-dimensional objects. To date, all such objects come from the Amarna period (Bos 2007:2-5) and in fact from Tutankhamun's tomb. One single exception is a small statuette of his grandmother, Tiye, now in a Berlin museum, which has a small fragment of beadwork on the headdress. Tutankhamun's tomb was excavated by Howard Carter in 1927, 35 years after peyote beadwork is known, but because the gold artifacts so dominated his writing, wax was poured over the beadwork objects. The Howard Carter wax remained in place until 1994, when Bos became the first scholar to examine them. Instead of failing by 35 years the rule that the cause must precede the effect, these objects fail the rule by more than a hundred years.

Did Thor Heyerdahl's Ra expeditions prove that Egyptians could have traveled to the New World, and the beadwork as well? The Ra expeditions proved it improbable. The first one sank 350 miles short of its destination. The second barely made it from Morocco to Barbados, ports thousands of miles from Egypt or Oklahoma. Heyerdahl knew that the New World existed and had a reason to make the voyage, whereas the Egyptians did not. They abhorred the idea of dying anywhere but Egypt. Being blown off course is not an explanation—if you are blown off course while sailing the Nile, you hit the riverbank, not Barbados. Egyptians did do limited coastal sailing—going out of sight of land was considered daring, and there is no record of any Egyptian passing the Strait of Gibraltar. The Ra expeditions had half a dozen sailors, and no passengers. The theory requires that at least

one of the sailors, in a tiny group on an unrecorded expedition, both a sailor and a beadworker, landed in the Caribbean, where his progeny remembered his beadworking and not his sailing skills.

An alternative explanation is that East Coast museums displayed Egyptian beaded items. One such object acquired in 1895 by the Metropolitan Museum of New York is described as:

Constructed of tubular faience beads strung together in a net pattern, this shroud was sewn onto the outer wrappings of Tabakenkhonsu's mummy. Additional beads in various colors have been worked into the garment at several points: a beaded broad collar has been added to the top, where the garment came over the mummy's neck; over her breast was a winged scarab to protect the heart; and on the abdomen are the four "canopic" genii who guarded the viscera.

The object fails the cause and effect sequence by five to fifteen years (it enters the museum in 1895, and peyote beadwork dates to 1880-1890). The words "Net pattern" are a modern addition, not in the published description of 1895. However, even if a beadworker in Oklahoma read archaeological notices in 1895, today's expanded description still does not give the essential clues to reproducing the beadwork, e.g., the scarab is in brick stitch, with doubled beads, and there are at least two kinds of net.

For the direct Egyptian theory to be possible, that is, the style during the Amarna period was directly communicated to Oklahoman beadworkers by Egyptian-descended beadworkers, 3000 years and thousands of miles of ocean travel must be explained. Because there's no face to face communication, the theory needs the technique to be reduced to writing, in a language understood in Oklahoma, the document taken there and read by Native beadworkers. There is no evidence that any such document ever existed, and it is improbable that the beadworkers were fluently reading English, let alone hieroglyphs. If it is argued that it was museum displays that communicated the beadwork, it would be necessary

to show that KCA beadworkers were shown that display, or that a sufficiently detailed description of it was given to them. There's no record of the first, and good reason to believe that the second is unlikely. If schools and missionaries were trying to train Indians to be servants and farmworkers in Euro-American society, they had good reason not to mention yet another pagan religion.

Another argument states that peyote beadwork is derived from Pottawatomí (and other tribes) side-weaving. This has the merit that elongated hexagons are found, then and now, in the weaving and in peyote beadwork. However, the extant examples we have from the 1880s are done on horsehair. It would be difficult for the beadwork to wrap around all parts of a fan, as horsehair produces a stiff weave. The technique inherently has diagonal top and bottom edges which would stick out oddly if wrapped around a fan—and it's a woven technique, whereas peyote work is netted. The Citizen Pottawatomí, near neighbors to the Comanche, didn't really have peyote, the religion, by 1890. Traveling a hundred miles or so was much more of an issue in the 1880s than today, making Comanche-Pottawatomí influence problematic. Could the Comanche have had a few examples of Pottawatomí-woven work? They had access at least one—there's a choker collected from Darlington, OK in the Sam Noble Museum (NAM-09-06-304, probable date 1883-1885). Darlington is actually in the Cheyenne reservation, but KCA people did visit them, much to the chagrin of their Indian agents. If this became a dominant design motif, we would then expect to see the Comanche doing side weaving, whereas what they do when they weave is the much easier standard rectangular weave on a loom. The Prairie Pottawatomí, in Kansas, could have been reached via railroad and wagon after the railroad reached Darlington, 20 years too late for

the origins of peyote beadwork. Moreover, hexagons exist very early in Comanche/Kiowa work. The pair of brick stitch armbands, collected 1909, done in 1870-1890

(Fig. 5) have linked hexagons as their principal design. Side weaving does have the merit that it produces elongated hexagons, and Saltillo serapes, in a general way, do recall some Osage designs, but these are morphology-only arguments. The underlying technologies, in terms of materials, tools and path of the thread, bear no relationship to the technology of peyote beadwork. While admitting that design influence is possible, a direct descent from either tradition would be difficult or impossible.

The Mexican origin theory depends on the presence of Mexican captives in Comanche society, the path of the thread, and a textile with beaded borders in the Dallas Museum of Art. The thread in the reticella lace that was imported from Italy to Spain and hence Mexico via the Catholic Church follows an identical path to brickwork. Spangles (beads) are known in reticella from at least the 1550s. Ropes of pearls in netted work are known in Spanish possessions in the new world. The textile in the DMA, approximately 24 ½ x 16 ¾ inches, shows drawn work in the cloth center, and borders at either end with brick stitch and edgebeading (figure 6). Designs are clearly not peyote—human figures and flowers—but the stitches are identical. The piece, dated 1820-1850, is from the Otomi, an indigenous group living in the Altiplano of Mexico, an area at the extreme edge of Comanche raids in the 1840s (Hämäläinen 2008:223).

The principal need the Comanche had for captives was tending the horse herds, and they used boys aged 8 to 15 (something more than 90% of the captives were so described). Boys of that age certainly do have a culture, but in Mexico, it does not and did not include fine needlework. Following the principle that moving culture is facilitated by moving people

who are culture bearers, and not things, the captives would have transmitted a different culture. If only the pattern is considered, Saltillo (a northern Mexican town) serapes were a trade good favored by Kiowa men aged in their twenties in the 1880s. A standard Saltillo serape might have a border, a field of lozenge shapes or zigzags, with a central diamond covering the neck opening and shoulders. If we assert that a spiral represented in two dimensions looks like a zigzag, and the border and central lozenge of the woven serape are in similar places and perform the same functions as the borders and medial band of Osage spiral designs, then it could be argued that there is a morphological similarity in pattern between some Osage spirals and some Saltillo serapes (see also figure 14). The theory suffers from two objections—morphology does not demonstrate causation, and while Hangoah, the foremost Kiowa ledger artist, does draw people in Saltillo serapes frequently, no similar evidence exists for the Osage, who lived more than a hundred miles from the Kiowa.

For the direct Mexican theory to be likely, the Comanche would have had to capture a culture-bearer. They did not have regular and direct contact with the Otomi. They raided, once, as far south as the Otomi area, but we do not yet have evidence that they captured a culture bearer while there, and the overwhelming majority of captives they did take from all sources during that decade were not adept at needlework. Moreover, if they did capture a culture bearer, she would have had to introduce the technique thirty or more years after capture (no secure evidence of the use of peyote beadwork through 1876), when it became suddenly popular among men who resisted teaching from women. An indirect Mexican theory might be mediated through the Kickapoo, but there's a thousand miles of desert between the Rio Grande and the Otomi. The Kickapoo were tolerated by the Mexicans

because they were not causing problems, living far from the centers of Mexican population. This suggests that intermarriage or commerce between the Kickapoo and the Otomi is improbable. While peyotists from both north and south of the Rio Grande did travel through Kickapoo territory hunting for the cactus, that's very different from saying that they were facilitating cultural exchange between groups that did not otherwise communicate with each other. Designs from Kickapoo beadwork did not get incorporated into peyote beadwork, although ribbon work designs in the shape of elongated hexagons did. However, hexagon shapes are also explainable by reference to the skewed grid that is peyote beadwork. The Kickapoo examples are from the colony south of the Rio Grande, and although there are kinship networks with Oklahoman Kickapoo, establishing the chain of transfers necessarily attenuates the probability that they were a possible influence.

Could peyote beadwork be independent invention that occurred on the KCA reservation? Netted beadwork has existed for millennia. Dubin illustrates a scarab made of netted beadwork from Egypt (Dubin 1987:42). Likewise, we see examples of other netted beadwork elsewhere in Africa, in ancient Peru, and in other modern Native American cultures (e.g., the netted collars of the Mojave in Southern California). Gerdany is a term for netted beadwork collars from the Ukraine, also pre-dating peyote beadwork. The mail basket suggests that densely netted beadwork was at least possible at the turn of the century, even if it was not used for high-fashion handbags. With so many different peoples doing netted beadwork, independent invention by the Comanche or Kiowa is at least a possible explanation, and the most probable. Certainly, there was a need for it—in a flat fan, simply wrapping beads around the handle works for the cylindrical part of the handle, but if you also want to bead the part that expands to hold the feathers, wrapped beadwork tends to fall

off. However, netted beadwork provides a uniform technique that will cover and remain on the entire handle. A moccasin in the Gilcrease museum (catalog 84 360) (figure 8) offers a path to the invention—as with many Comanche men’s moccasins of the time, it has a beaded rosette high on the instep, and the rosette is edgebeaded in the “one-up” or “zipper” style. However, there was a second pass, in which yellow beads were inserted between the turned-up blue beads. If one additional pass can be done, so also can another, and if so, we would have peyote stitch. Comanche peyote stitch is based on units of three, unlike, for example, the Tacoma mail pouch, or the Amarna examples (they use units of two). Had a third row been added to the Gilcrease moccasins, owing to the expansion of the rosette, the third row would have fitted into beadwork in units of three, rather than units of two. In the case of this pair of moccasins, Comanche is the most probable attribution. The Kiowa do make moccasins with a similar shape, but the leather is painted in different colors and the lanes of beadwork would have blocks of color, rather than single line stripes that follow the direction of the beadwork lanes.

Many different versions of the flat fan exist in Native American cultures, but the version that has become stereotypical in peyotism, the religion, gourd dance and powwow cultures resembles the Comanche/Kiowa version. The basic pattern is a dowel-shaped handle, which expands to a flat triangular structure thick enough to carry the feathers (e.g., Fig. 9). Prior to 1875, the dowel part would be wrap beaded, and the triangular area outlined in lane stitch in Comanche fashion (single lane, often white background, with one or two beads in a central or zigzag stripe) and the remainder of the triangular area painted. One such fan (NMAI 2/1617) has a painted morning star design surrounded by beadwork (fig.10), was collected in 1909, and is dated to ca. 1880. The similarity of form suggests that

modern flat fans are based on the Comanche model, and again that argues for a Comanche origin of the beadwork.

We consider also the means of diffusion of the beadwork. The hypothesis we are testing would be that if we know how the beadwork is disseminated, and the people who control that are at least a gateway community or possibly the originators of the beadwork. We'll consider peyotism, the religion as one means of diffusion and other social activities (religions and dances, here considered together because the border between religion and dance is not a sharp one. Some dances are done as prayer, some with a philosophy not amounting to prayer, and some with a primarily social intent).

The Peyote Road

“Peyote Road” is a more general term than “Native American Church”—the NAC is not incorporated until 1917, whereas the religion predates it. While the tenets of that religion are outside the scope of this paper, some understanding of the history of it may be helpful.

The peyote road comes to the United States via the Comanche, and so it is vital to understand what life was like for the Comanche in the 1870s. At the beginning of the century, they still numbered perhaps 20,000—down from their peak, but still a force to be reckoned with. The military effectiveness of the Comanche strongly suggests that while population may have decreased before the Civil War, the losses were not devastating. By the 1890 census, there were 1,598 on the Fort Sill reservation, and perhaps some elsewhere—no society can survive that kind of population loss without major upheaval. There simply are not enough people to fill all the roles, and moreover, when losses occur among the leaders, enormous amounts of information and culture bearers are lost as well. It goes further than that, however—in the 1870s, there were still men who remembered a time when they could

ride for weeks and still be on their home territory, when they owned all the land they could see, when the religion associated with the medicine bundles met their spiritual needs, and when they understood the way a man was identified.

That had changed, in large ways and small ones. It was no longer possible for the man to see himself as the primary protector in warfare and provider of meat for his family—the Army and the buffalo hunters had administered a military and an economic defeat that eliminated those roles. It was no longer possible for a man to propose marriage by driving a herd of horses, recent plunder from a raid, to his prospective father-in-law's home to prove his worth as a man—that was now horse stealing, a felony which might carry the death penalty. War honors were still honors but closed to young men. Polygamy, once a sign of social status, or even virility, was now disfavored by the missionaries. Even something so simple as hair style was under threat. The missionaries were trying to get men to cut their hair off. The hair plates we now see as an ornament hanging from the neck to the heels are so called because men originally wore them in their hair, on which, if they were not riding, they could walk. It made perfect sense in a horse culture, but no sense on foot. In addition to the physical diseases of cholera, smallpox, and measles, alcohol could kill as well, to the repeated laments of tribal elders and missionary observers alike.

In 1874, a hunt was organized from the reservation, but the hunters were barely able to find enough to sustain themselves—the great herds had been slaughtered, and they found only bones and sometimes rotted meat—nothing to take back to the people. An ecological disaster had been visited on the plains—30 million bison, weighing a ton apiece, had been removed (Isenberg 1992). Today game and herd animals replace them, but it takes time to replace a herd of that size. Nothing was working—not religion, not warfare, not hunting—

the standard male roles, religious, military, economic, even sexual, were being attacked. There was no identity. It was devastating. To compare to the Afro-Cuban experience, Ortiz's phrase resonates: 'arrancados de sus núcleos sociales originarios y con sus culturas destrozadas, oprimidas bajo el peso de las culturas aquí imperantes, como las cañas de azúcar son molidas entre las mazas de los trapiches' (Ortiz, 2002: 255) ('torn from their original social nuclei and with their cultures shattered, oppressed under the weight of the prevailing cultures here, like the sugarcane are crushed between the sledgehammers of the sugar mills'). Ortiz used the horrific slave and sugar industry as a turning point in Cuban history, and the beginning of the reservation period is no less a turning point for the Comanche. One informant called it "the Captivity."

Of course, reservation life also affected women. They suffered the same economic and food deprivation. They no longer processed hides on a daily basis, but they were forced to arduous daily searches for food in an economy that had to be re-invented. This paper concentrates on the men, because they were religious leaders, particularly in the peyote cult. Men had religions to choose from—all new, if you discounted the medicine bundles that no longer appeared to work. There were Christian missionaries—to the Comanche, this would have been a new religion in the 1870s. There was the Ghost Dance, which was performed repeatedly in early reservation times. Ohomo dancing (a cognate of Heyoska) and Gourd dancing carried their own ethical dictates. And there was Peyote.

The US Army, and the government in Washington generally, was not comfortable with the Ghost Dance (Young 1981:179-219 Ashworth 1986:35). They had long experience with Native revivals, going back to Handsome Lake (Seneca, died 1815) and Tecumseh (War of 1812). Any gathering not firmly under white supervision was suspect (Daily

2004:38 ff), particularly if outdoors and particularly if the reasons for it were not well understood. The Ghost Dance had many antecedents, but the Paiute version of 1889, as taught by Wovoka, swept much of the American West. The white perception of it was that it taught that whites would be swept away (Wovoka said differently—he taught peaceful co-existence) in a great wave of earth, and that Native peoples would then be able to return to traditional ways. That said, the Army was in no mood to tolerate any but the Christian religions, and preferably Protestant ones. Formal franchises for missions were given to various denominations, including the Catholics, with different tribes being allotted to different missions (Ashworth 1986:20).

It should also be noted that the Federal government was in no position financially to fight yet another series of Indian Wars. The national debt was paid off in 1835—as of January 1 of 1836, it was no more than \$36,000. The Mexican and Civil Wars saw it escalate to something in excess of \$2.7 billion by 1865. There was a need for a standing army to occupy the Southern states during Reconstruction, and a massively reduced tax base in the decade following the War. It is little surprise that the government would turn to privately financed missions holding out a hope of pacifying troublesome Indian tribes, particularly if they were willing to educate (re-educate) them to be farm hands or servants.

Tribes who moved into Oklahoma from east of the Mississippi, together with the Osage, generally had contact with missionaries prior to 1850. Christianity for them could be the religion of their parents or grandparents. Tribes where there was a substantial white bloodline (the Muskogean Tribes and the Osage, at least among the chiefly families) also had a substantial Christian presence. However, Christian influence had faded among the Caddo, as the priests were absent, and was not established on a regular basis among the

western until after the 1870s, making a huge difference in acceptance of non-Christian religions.

Peyote had a powerful appeal for the Comanche in 1875. Quanah Parker is credited with teaching peyotism to the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Oto, Pawnee, Delaware and Caddo (Hagan 1993:52-61, Stewart 1987:69-79) Stewart questions that last, asserting that any of the Texas-based tribes, including the Caddo, would have had ample opportunity to learn of it. (Stewart 1987:60). From the Caddo, John Wilson was the primary missionary to the Delaware, Osage, Quapaw, Wichita, Shawnee, Seneca and Modoc. The pattern of the early spread (pre-1900) is generally related to kinship and alliances—the Kiowa and Comanche, as noted above, are close allies. Grant Foreman refers to “The Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches were removed in the fall of 1879 from Fort Sill to the Wichita agency at Anadarko. There they were located with the Wichitas, Wacoes, Tawakonies, Kichais, Caddoes, Delawares, and Penetnethka's Band of Comanches, who were brought up from Texas. The consolidation of the nine tribes was facilitated, the agent reported, by the fact that they all spoke the Comanche language, the "court language" of the Plains Indians, and thus interpretation was simplified.” (Foreman 1941).

Peyotism did not always spread in a logical, geographical manner. The Delaware, for example, have two centers in Oklahoma—Bartlesville, on the border of Osage and Washington counties, and Anadarko. Osage County, OK, is roughly contiguous with the former Osage Reservation, but the Delaware were always considered to be on Cherokee land. While they certainly became aware of peyotism through the Anadarko connection, there were family ties, and therefore visits, which would have facilitated the spread of peyotism to the Bartlesville area. There is some question as to when, the Quapaw became

familiar with peyotism—a nun, Sister M. Lawrence, visited them in 1903. In the comments on her journal, the editor, Velma Neiderding, says that the Osage had peyote in 1898. The Quapaw chief Victor Griffin, a roadman, told her (in 1953) that the Quapaw had peyote ten years before the Osage. With the Quapaw, it may simply have been a common Catholic background between the tribe and John Wilson.

Apart from the accidents of kinship, we may also look at travel in Oklahoma in the 1870s and 1880s to see how the religion spread. The great roads were the cattle trails, and the Eastern variant of the Chisholm Trail closely parallels the spread of peyotism north of the Comanche/Kiowa reservation (The main Chisholm Trail parallels the 98th meridian and is a little too far west of the Ioway and Ponca reservations to be useful.). A railroad did go from Darlington to the north, but it is also too far west. Roads did connect to Fort Sill, in the center of the Comanche/Kiowa reservation, so most travel would have been via horse or wagon.

With peyote meetings involving only those who can fit inside a tipi, 30 at most, having a roadman visit from outside would have been an unusual, and significant event, but either the audience would be small, or the visit would be long—no dropping by for a weekend and then returning home. Without central supervision of roadmen, they reinforced their tradition of independence, and variety of practice and doctrine. Two major divisions or trends were the Big Moon and Little Moon traditions—the Big Moon pioneered by James Wilson, and now mostly practiced by the Osage, and the Little Moon traditions now practiced by most other roadmen.

Railroads did not directly connect eastern and western Oklahoma until 1900—before that, travel by rail from Oklahoma City to points east went through Fort Worth, TX, or

Kansas City. Coal and wheat were the primary freight and source of income for the railroads, and travel by railroad needed to accommodate them—that is, it was more fast than comfortable. The near-total absence of public accommodations reinforced the need to either have a host, or your own tent. That single line in 1900 did not make a network—Pawhuska in the center of Osage country did not get rail service until 1906 (Holden 1933). Most journeys by rail also involved at least a day’s journey by wagon on either end as well. Wagon travel remained the norm for quite some time--one informant tells me that he remembers a majority of traffic on the road in front of his family’s farm being horse drawn well into the 1930s. It’s not the case, however, that no cars were in Oklahoma in the twenties and thirties. Quapaw historian Edna Wilson recalled that the Quapaw travelled to the 1924 Haskell powwow in a caravan of cars (Young 1981:271). The account by Sister Lawrence visiting Quapaw in 1903 is a hair-raising story—it was just ten miles from the rail station, but two creeks had to be forded, one of which required an additional team of horses, and the editor described her account as having “exquisite detail,” (Niebarding 1953). Country roads were a good deal less than they could be, and the population the roadmen were reaching was very much a rural one.

One journey the railroads made easier was that to the peyote gardens, located from Oilton, TX (then called Torrecillas) south to the Rio Grande. Oilton is the northern end of the range of the peyote cactus, and it did have a rail station and through traffic from Oklahoma after 1885. The modern industry does have peyoteros (dealers in peyote) in Oilton, and it was certainly possible to import peyote, or to visit the gardens via rail, that is, without a month’s journey.

A single peyote ceremony does not make a tribe a peyotist stronghold. Exact dates for the introduction of peyote to a tribe are probably no longer possible, and in any case, would only be the beginning of the process. The Quapaw believe they had peyote well before the Osage, however, Tall Chief, a Quapaw roadman, was married to an Osage woman. Stewart relates a story of how, while the Quapaw were living with the Osage (they fled there as refugees from the Civil War), Wilson, who was visiting Tall Chief, met some Osages, conducted a ceremony for them, and made converts. The Quapaw are known to have returned to their reservation by 1888—they were in danger of losing the lands entirely—however, in the 1890 census, there were only 198 of them. With that few, it was much easier to say that most or many Quapaw were peyotists—the Osage, in 1907, officially numbered 2229. From the Quapaw, or possibly the Delaware, the Seneca who lived immediately to their south received the peyote in 1907 (there are two possible stories—one, that Victor Griffin, a Quapaw roadman with a Seneca wife, or a second, that the Anderson family, Delawares, brought it), however, it appears to have died out after 1920 among the Seneca.

We know the Ponca had peyote by 1906, because their agent complained of it that year. How, precisely, they obtained it is undetermined—they have had a popular powwow since 1880, and it is known that 200 Cheyenne visited that event. However, the Tonkawa, who moved next door to them in 1884, were from Texas who used peyote while there—they may be the actual teachers of the Ponca. Charles Whitehorn, the first Otoe roadman, in response to Shonle's survey, said that the Otoe got peyote from the Tonkawa in 1896. The Pawnee appear to have had a dual introduction—evidently, a couple of young men got a rudimentary version from the Quapaw (Big Moon) in or about 1890, but then their “real”

introduction from the Arapaho (Little Moon), a couple of years later. It should be noted that the Ponca, Otoe and Pawnee were all administered from the same agency.

Johnathan Koshiway is the third apostle in the spread of peyotism, significant in that he was responsible for its spread to more than one tribe (Kansas Sac & Fox, Otoe, and Kickapoo, as well as Winnebago, Menominee and especially Navajo (Diné). As a relatively young man, at most 24 years old, he brought it to his own home reservation in Kansas, after stints as a Russellite (Jehovah's Witness), Reorganized LDS, and shaman. He followed most closely the Whitehorn or Otoe rite.

European efforts to suppress peyotism date at least as early as Europeans became aware of the cactus. Spanish (that is, while the area was a colony of Spain) catechisms asked, prior to baptism, if the candidate had eaten peyote, and at the same level, if they had eaten human flesh (Stewart 1987:20-24). Protestant missionaries were no more accepting—complaints were seen nearly as soon as any appreciable number of congregants existed in any tribe (in fact complaint letters often date the spread of peyote to the various tribes). E. E. White, agent at Anadarko, posted an order in June of 1888 prohibiting the use of mescal beans, which he (and others) confused with peyote. In 1890, an instruction to the agent at the Sac & Fox agency from the Bureau of Indian Affairs commissioner showed that this order had become policy, including the error of mistaking mescal for peyote (Stewart 1987:4, 129) (both mescal and the Comanche name for peyote were prohibited). The legal authority for doing so was a prohibition on selling intoxicating liquor to Native Americans—this was overturned by the courts. There were repeated attempts to pass a national law against peyote in the decades of the 1900s and 1910s—while defeated at the national level, some states enacted laws, some of which remain on the books.

Alcohol was and is a problem on the reservation, and elsewhere in America as well. Temperance, that is, abstinence, societies began to be formed in the 1820s, and by 1838, counted more than a million and a half members, in a nation of 17 million (with two and a half million slaves not eligible for membership, this meant that an eighth of the nation was enrolled). The 18th amendment to the Constitution was enacted in 1919, with several states having prior statewide bans, and repealed in 1933. Canada had a similar prohibition from 1918 to 1920 as a wartime measure, and provincial bans as early as 1901 to as late as 1948. Arguing peyote was an intoxicant, and therefore evil, was a far more powerful argument in that context than after the permissive 1960s, as was the counter-argument that peyote users did not use alcohol.

As early as 1906, Native Americans began to be persuaded that incorporation would protect their religion, and there were several attempts to do so. Johnathan Koshiway incorporated the First-Born Church of Christ in Oklahoma City in 1914. A more intertribal group, with the assistance of James Mooney, an ethnologist, was able to incorporate the Native American Church of Oklahoma in 1918. This state charter was amended in 1934 to reflect the increasing spread of peyotism outside Oklahoma, and the words “of Oklahoma” were dropped in 1944.

Other Means of Spreading Peyote Beadwork

Peyotism is the only intertribal movement that uses peyote beadwork. The Ghost Dance was an intertribal nativist revival movement originated by Wovoka, a Paiute. I do not believe the Ghost Dance to have significantly affected peyote beadwork for three reasons: it was only present in Oklahoma for a short time (1890-1917, but with a heyday that was slanted towards the beginning of that period), it was heavily suppressed by the BIA as well

as the Methodist and Baptist churches, and it used painted decoration, rather than beaded. However, it may have paved the way for other Native religions with a Christian emphasis (Stewart 1987, Ashworth 1995:38).

Waw-no-she, also called William Faw Faw, was a Missouri-Otoe prophet who opposed land allotment and encouraged his followers to return to Native traditions (Bailey & LaFlesche 1995:18). From 1891 to 1895, he taught a religious revitalization movement that used cedar trees, tobacco, gifts, and care for the poor as acts of piety. Vennum, following Wissler, discerned some elements of Drum Dancing in it, and considered it a failed attempt at disseminating the Drum Dance in Oklahoma (Vennum 1982:151). They did use extensive beadwork; however, it was applique, specifically, having a heavy outline of white beads filled by a single flat color. Symbols that were frequently used included stars, hearts, and cedar trees (Wooley & Waters 1988). Again, although it may have encouraged the atmosphere of religious revitalization in late 1800s Oklahoma, it does not appear to have significantly affected peyote beadwork, first because it did not last very long, secondly, because its design sense was for broad areas of color, and thirdly, because the stitch was entirely foreign to peyote stitch. The beadwork was typical of Missouri-Otoe work, which would also lead to the conclusion that the tribes received, rather than originated, the style.

Gourd dancing does use peyote beadwork—in fact, not only can a dancer use the very same rattle and fan as he would use in a peyote meeting, but other gourd dancers avoid using a church rattle (that is, one made with a gourd) as a matter of courtesy. It is a gentlemen's dance, not used in competition. (Most gourd dancers I know would refuse to compete, and many would be offended by simply holding the competition. (Lassiter 1998:98). It is customary to be invited to become a gourd dancer. There should be some

achievement that proves the worth of the dancer as a human being (graduation from college, for instance, or returning from active duty with the armed forces; however, I am repeatedly reminded that it is not a veteran's dance). It is not usual to see boys doing gourd dance and women are treated as (highly valued) auxiliary members of most gourd dance societies—that is, not full members (Lassiter 1998:89). Because gourd dancers are “worthy persons,” there's an expectation that they will continue to be valuable to society—that is, to be a gourd dancer is to accept the obligations of a gentleman. The attitude is at least one of extreme respect, and many men use it for actual prayer. It may also be used as an expression of tribal identity, by both spectators and dancers.

The earliest written record of gourd dancing is by Herman ten Kate in 1883, but Kiowa verbal history relates that it is a survival of the time when they were in the Black Hills in the early 1700s. The term “gourd dance” dates from after that—the gourds don't grow that well in the Black Hills and would imply farmers—either that the Kiowa were themselves farmers (they deny this, with vigor), or that they traded with farmers. A more likely explanation is that the rattles were originally rawhide (specifically, from the scrotum of a buffalo), and became gourds when in Oklahoma. Many dancers now follow the convention of allowing only NAC members to use the gourd, and non-members use rattles with chambers made of metal cans (a small tomato paste can, or a salt shaker, a baking soda can or the like, sometimes but not always repainted), a specially made german silver can, or (rarely) a section of cow horn.

The standard origin story for gourd dancing is that it was a vision gift of Red Wolf, which is remembered at the end of each song by a wolf howl done by each of the dancers. An alternative is that it was captured from the Cheyenne Bowstring Society by the Kiowa

and Comanche in a battle in 1834. It is a clearly pre-reservation dance. Among the Kiowa, the Jaifegau (Skunkberry) society are claimed as the predecessor of the current Kiowa Gourd Clan, commonly recognized as the great-grandfather of modern gourd dance societies. The Jaifegau were one of six societies among the Kiowa who had roles in policing the Sun Dance and organizing the hunts and warfare of the pre-reservation era. There are currently three more societies among the Comanche who gourd dance. Among the Comanche, the Tuepuknnuu (Little Horses, or more commonly, Little Ponies) are both a pre-reservation and a modern gourd dance society

The dance is normally done in street clothes with the regalia over it (if the dancer also plans to participate in powwow dancing at that event, he may wear the regalia over his dance clothes). Each society may determine its own regalia, but a fan and rattle, gourd dance blanket worn as a shawl or stole (normally half red and half blue), a waist sash and a bandoleer of mescal beans, are normal. Many societies use a vest either in place of the blanket, or in addition to it. The street clothes in question could be long-sleeve shirt and slacks, but some societies allow short sleeves or jeans. Some societies dance in hats, but many do not. Veterans, especially those recently returned, often dance in uniform.

There is a distinction between the pre-reservation and modern societies because of the extreme loss of life prior to entering the reservation—as noted above, with a 90% population loss, culture bearers are lost as well (see also Bailey & LaFlesche 1995:18). Moreover, there was an all-out assault on Native dancing in any form from the 1890s until 1934, and most of the old societies were either dormant or exterminated. As revived, they have different functions—for example, neither the Kiowa Gourd Clan or the Tuepuknnuu police the Sun Dance or tribal hunts or warfare because there are no Sun Dances, tribal hunts

or warfare. However, they do celebrate and support modern Native veterans and the services they supply are specific to the needs of those men and women—it's not exactly a re-enactment of pre-reservation ceremonies (many of the songs and traditions are pre-reservation) so much as a modern response to modern conditions, using both traditional and modern tools.

The original Jaifegau was very much an association of warriors, and without war honors, it was not possible to continue the traditions. To an extent, membership in the reservation police did provide status and some income—but not war honors. Moreover, the obligations of a gentleman that are so much a part of the gourd dance not seen in the arena aren't cheap—trying to maintain the traditions of generosity during the Great Depression was hugely difficult. World War I and especially World War II did provide war honors, and the economic situation was other than desperate, if not truly comfortable. Late 1956 and early 1957 saw the formal creation of the Kiowa Gourd Clan, with many of its members being Jaifegau descendants. The dance rapidly gained in popularity, spread at least partly by the prevalence of the powwow circuit. In fact, its spread is a matter of controversy—more than one group has adopted the dance only, not necessarily doing it well, and not troubling to add all that goes with it, in terms of the non-arena responsibilities.

Straight Dance is a gentleman's dance from Oklahoma. Any age male may do it; however, it is more popular with men over 25. Even in a general powwow, it is considered a more formal style than fancy dance, and the Heyoska is a very formal dance for Straight dancers only. In Oklahoma-style powwows, it is a competitive dance (There are regions where competitive powwows are the exception rather than the rule.). Belle dates the original Pawnee Iruska to the late 1700s (Belle 2004:15), and I am aware of no earlier

attribution. However, the modern Iruska is a revival—James Murie requested it from the Ponca in 1911 (Murie 1914:627), at a time when the ancient Iruska was not being danced. At the time, it had elements of the Osage form, but with Pawnee religious overtones (Duncan 1997:84-85). Lowie noted that the Pawnee were known for adding religious elements to activities which in other tribes were more secular (Lowie 1954:113). “Iruska” has several translations— “Fire inside all things,” “they dance in the fire” (Young 1981:126), kennings for “warrior.”

Fletcher & La Flesche found the Hethuska Society among the Omaha at a time when they were living near the Ponca (1870s or earlier), relying on both traditional stories and song evidence (lyrics of many Hethuska songs are in the Omaha language) (Fletcher & La Flesche 1911: 459 ff). The Ioway and Otoe, linguistically close to the Omaha, appear to have received the dance from them. Thunder was the official spirit of the society, and the Osage name for their version of the society, Inlonska, may translate as “men similar to thunder.” The ceremonial at the time consisted of a public parade behind their keepers of the pipes and a more private feast. Attire at the time was just the breechclout and grass representing scalps, together with whatever war honors the member might hold (Axtmann 2013:35). Senior leaders were expected to have acquired enough honors to be permitted “the crow belt,” a bustle representing a battlefield with crows scavenging the bodies. Skinner records it among the Ioway (Skinner 1915:695-696 and 784-786), equating it with the Helocka mentioned by Catlin (Catlin 1832:18-20)—if the same, that would imply it among the Ioway by 1830. He does mention the roach as a badge for the rank and file of the society (in 1915). He also mentions the hair plate dragger, but for a different society, the Exga’hre

(not afraid to die), together with the spear that would stake it to the ground when carrying out the vow.

Mooney also describes the dance as being common to the northern plains tribe, as well as the “elaborate pendant of feathers worn from the waist”—the crow belt—which Fletcher & La Flesche agree began to lose its significance over time (Mooney 1896:901, 921-22). In the context of the lack of new war honors in the 1880s and 1890s, that seems very possible.

In 1883 (Kracht, 1994:261) or 1884 (Meadows, 1999:103) the Cheyenne gave the cognate Ohomo dance to the Kiowa. In 1884, we also find the Osage agent complaining that the Ponca had returned to their “wasteful ways”—that is, dancing (Rush, 1974). In both cases, there was a surge in popularity in the dance. It was an outsider’s dance. That is, it was imported from outside the tribe, and not subject to the demands of the tribes’ prior traditions (Duncan 1997:83). There would be the ongoing need for war honors in the military societies, largely unobtainable between the end of tribal warfare in 1875 and World War I’s end in 1918—essentially, a full generation, possibly two, were unable to earn war honors in their twenties, that is, the normal time when young men go to war.

There were tribal-specific lapses of opportunity as well, for example, among the Osage, the Songs of the Waxobe (rite to initiate a priest) required collecting the skins of seven sacred animals that, crucially, included the skin of a buffalo bull (Bailey & LaFlesche 1995:89). The Comanche Sun Dance also needed the head of a buffalo bull, and after 1890, they were functionally unobtainable (Meadows 1999:103). A further practical consideration is the size of the ceremonial—the Sun Dance was an event that required the participation of the entire tribe, and often guests were present as well. It couldn’t be hidden. An Heyoska

dance could be conducted on a remote allotment, and it was possible to either hide it from a hostile BIA agent, or to disguise it as a “picnic.” If an agent wanted to turn a blind eye, he could. Alternatively, if it was a game of deception and counter-deception, he could actually lose. Both situations are likely to have occurred. While there were Courts of Indian Offenses after 1883 (Moore 2007:95), dancing was the least common of the cases before it (Hagan 1966:122), despite the hopes of Secretary of the Interior H. M. Teller, under whose directive the courts were constituted.

Another explanation is simply the attraction of the exotic. It’s not difficult to multiply examples—Ancient Rome embraced the cults of Mithras and Egypt; Momoyama Japan (ca. 1550-1600) imported the tea ceremony from China; Christianity, Islam and Buddhism were all exported well beyond their native territories; and among Native Americans, we see the spread of the Ghost Dance and the Peyote Road. All those traditions spoke to their adherents about a code for conduct, as well as providing ceremonies and a means for self-identification. Moreover, war honors were not required—anyone could dance.

The Heyoska and its cognates have been formally passed to several groups. The Kaw received it from the Ponca, minus the pipes, bundles, and tail sticks of the tail dancers in 1881, and passed that drum to the Osage at Pawhuska in 1884 (Skinner 1915:755-757, Duncan 1997:85). The Osage at Grayhorse received their dance from the Ponca, with tail sticks, and for a while, were distinguishable for that reason (The modern practice is for all societies to appoint tail dancers.). The Osage versions of the Inlonshka originally included the Waxobe bundles as well. However, pressure from peyotists caused the bundles to disappear from the ceremony about 1906 (Duncan, 1997:85, citing Swan 1990:296). This is

an example where peyotism, prior to the formation of the NAC, affects another of the means of spreading peyote, beadwork, the Ilonshka (Bailey & LaFlesche 1995:19).

Among the Ponca, the dance died out prior to 1930. In the 1950s, Sylvester Warrior, a WWII veteran, took an interest in traditional Ponca dance, and in particular, the Heyoska. After seeking permission from tribal elders, he was able to revive the Heyoska, and with splinter groups, it remains a part of Ponca culture today (Ellis 2003:153ff).

The crow belt or bustle, from its beginning as a war honor, may have contributed to four very different styles of dancing—Fancy Dance (sometimes called Feathers Dance, and, since about 1975, Southern Feathers and Northern Feathers), Modern Traditional, Chicken Dance, and Straight Dance. In the original form, the part of bustle near the belt was either crow skins, feathers and all, or simply feathers shingled into a pad. Two “spikes” (the longest wing feather) rose up from the pad along the wearer’s back, and a trailer or trailers of cloth covered with feathers descended to the wearer’s heels. Among the Crow, this model remains popular. However, among the Lakota, the pad of feathers had become a cone of feathers, some whole and others with the vanes partially stripped, but still hanging from the quills. Fluffs might decorate the outer edge of the cone. This style remains popular with Chicken Dance, sometimes missing the trailer. Chicken Dance appears to be a revival, whose popularity began to be noticeable in the middle 1990s. Fancy Dance was a development of the late 1910s and early 1920s. Lakota dancers of the 1920s often added a smaller neck bustle with no spikes or trailers. Heyoska dancing and its cognates had been attracting a wide audience, including young men, and they wanted a faster dance. They took the back and neck bustles, both enlarged and simplified them, and created a new, faster, flashier dance, adding arm and wrist bustles (sometimes knee and ankle as well)—anything

to attract the attention of the judges, as cash was often the prize for a successful dancer. Up north, the bustle underwent another transformation in the 1930s and 1940s—it became a single large cone of feathers, covering the dancer’s back from shoulder blades to knees, and the stripped feathers were mostly eliminated. The style became known as Traditional, and with some style changes, has evolved into what is now known as Modern Traditional. In Oklahoma, the circle of feathers was eventually discarded, leaving only the trailer, and the style became known as Straight Dance. Most Straight Dancers wear a dragger in its place. This is a strip of cloth, about six inches wide, edged in ribbon work and normally covered in otter fur. The fur may itself be decorated with rosettes, hanging feathers, and/or a strip of beadwork. The bottom end may have a section of peyote beadwork as well.

An alternative dragger has no fur and is covered with metal disks called hair plates—an important clue in the derivation of the article. “Hair plates” refers to a Southern plains fashion of attaching a strip of leather to the hair, long enough to trail on the ground, and then decorating the length of it with circular plates (Feder 1965:55-62). The dragger is never attached to the hair in modern times—it is tied to the back of the neck. The otter fur gives rise to a frequent assumption that it is derived from the sash that represented many no-retreat vows—a warrior would pledge not to retreat in battle, and to emphasize the vow, wore a strip of fur or a lariat that could be staked to the ground (Ellis 2003:41) (if it was a bad idea, a friend could uproot the stake and escort him—literally, whip him--off the field). The modern article looks like a conflation of the two. However, it’s not really possible to wear it over a bustle (Meadows 1999:359).

The Ponca were a force in spreading the dance, to both Native and non-Native groups. “Receiving the dance” is not a free event. It is customary for the receiving group to

give away, lavishly, for the privilege of conducting the Heyoska. Some, but not all the gifts, go to the donor society and its officers. A substantial proportion of the gifts are presented to Society as a whole—that is, to people who need them (Lassiter 1998:96). For example, in the early 1960s, a hobbyist group associated with CIHA (California Indian Hobbyist Association) was given the Heyoska by the Ponca. Tyrone Stewart, one of its leaders, moved to Oklahoma in 1969, primarily to be closer to the source of his major interest (he was non-Native). The Heyoska was not then conducted by that group for nearly a decade. In 1979, it was revived, with the permission of the Ponca tribe, and Abe Conklin, then the Nuda Honga (literally, “War Leader,” in practice, the head of the society), together with several singers and members of the society who danced formally allowed the California Heyoska to celebrate the dance. I was present at the event. In addition to the formal gifts presented to the officers and to the society, the drum was banked in groceries that were given to local food pantries. Straight dancing is distinguished from Heyoska ceremonial in that, while all the dancers in a formal Heyoska are straight dancers, straight dancers are also found at powwows. An Heyoska is non-competitive, but straight dancers do compete at powwows, in large numbers, and elements of the regalia are designed to catch the judges’ eye (e.g., ribbon shirts, originally plain cotton, are now commonly nice brocades—nice, meaning real silk, with metallic gold or silver brocading—lamé, or sequin cloth—anything with glitter.)

Precisely when the modern powwow began may be a matter of definition. Quapaw’s powwow is one of the oldest—2017 counted as the 145th annual. The Winnebago Homecoming in Winnebago, Nebraska, claims a start date of 1866, although the officers were different, and the dancing done did not resemble dancing at a modern powwow. The Omaha of Horton, Kansas claim an 1804 start date for their Annual, but they weren’t in

Horton in 1804, and the program in 1804 was unlike a modern powwow program (Whispering Wind Vol. 27 #3, 1995 Leuthold 1998:188). In Oklahoma, the Ponca generally claim the title, with Quapaw second, the Ponca arriving in Oklahoma in 1877. Their agent was certainly complaining that they had returned to wasteful ways by 1884. By 1924, there was a major powwow at Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas—Haskell was one of the flagship boarding schools and drew students from across the United States. A powwow in Haskell would certainly be rapidly known across most of the Plains, Southwest, and Plateau areas. At least two powwows were held by Comanches with Quanah Parker presiding, in 1903 and 1908 (Hagan 1993:103).

Society dances were by far the most likely of antecedents to the modern powwow. The Iruska was a society dance, probably spreading during the American Civil War (Ellis 2003:51) and the early reservation Comanche, Kiowa and Apache were dominated by the Sun Dance (policed by the military societies until the societies themselves came to dominate the dancing with their own ceremonials. These were men's societies, so if we want to postulate men's and ladies' head dancers as typical of the modern powwow, we look to allowing women to dance as a beginning of the divergence of the secular, non-society powwow from the religious or society ceremonial—among the Ponca, this appears to have taken place in or about 1880 (Ellis 2003:48). Among the Kiowa, women did participate in pre-powwow society dances, but in limited, and generally non-dancing roles until the 1950s (Lassiter 1998:127). Dennis Zotigh, Kiowa, suggested that the repeated giving of various society dances between tribes was also a factor in separating the powwow from society dances (Zotigh 1991)—and that seem likely, as it would be easier for the original meaning of a dance to be lost or modified (see also Carocci 2004:86, Powers 1999:136-137).

Likewise, the Wild West shows also changed the dancing itself—the stage manager, Steele Mackaye, used to rehearse his dancers to better fit the spectacle of the show—that is, they weren't just dancing as they did when dancing for themselves (Murphy 2007:61-62, Ellis 2003:17, Young 1981:241).

Several factors may have accounted for the popularity of early powwows. Like their neighbors, Native Americans like to get together (Neeley 2007:227). Apart from the purely social benefits, there may be an historical reason—in a hunter gatherer economy, groups are both an asset and a liability. Having more hunters, short term, does increase the likelihood of success in the hunt, but over time, large groups can deplete the game available. It made excellent sense to have a seasonal gathering and dispersal strategy. Military competition among the various groups is a well-established fact of the horse societies, however, some means of restraining warfare is also a survival strategy. This took many forms—kinship groups, language groups, alliances—but some means of entertaining the “other” honorably was needed, and dance is a non-linguistic means of communicating that has become embedded in Native cultures. Some of the dancing would have been done for cash as entertainment at county fairs (Perdue 1993:71; Roy Bigcrane, Salish/Kootenai, in Leuthold 1998:167). Some of it would have been done at Wild West Shows (Ellis 2003:79). Many BIA agents certainly did try to suppress dancing, of any kind, prior to 1934 (Young 1981:219-239, Ashworth 1986:49, Maroukis 2010:107), but it simply wasn't possible to eliminate it. We also note that formal opposition to dance seems to have come from officials—the BIA and missionaries—but local populations of Euro-Americans were very happy to attend as audiences, and pay for that privilege, whether in local fairs near the reservations, or at Wild West shows back East. That speaks to a considerable ambivalence in

Euro-American society—officialdom might oppose Native dances, but it is by no means clear that public opinion did.

Powwow dancing does use peyote beadwork. Straight dancers carry fans and tail sticks and ornament many small tubular articles with peyote work. Women carry fans, normally beaded. Until the 1980s, fancy dancers also carried fans and whistles in competition (dance whips are more common today) and may still use fans during non-competitive intertribals (songs used for dancing, but not competing or honoring). Peyote beadwork is also used as a marker for “Indian-ness”—any object worn at the powwow, and used as a means of Native identity, is subject to being peyote beaded. That can be key chains, earrings, cigarette lighters, bolo ties, or any other object where a tube of beads can be fitted around it. A recent northern fashion is peyote beaded stethoscopes as presentation items to healthcare personnel. The stethoscopes are appreciated by the recipients—not only are they beautiful and represent days or weeks of work on the part of the presenter, but they are also good medicine. Native patients seeing the stethoscope immediately know that the wearer has been honored, usually by somebody Native, and is therefore validated. The patient is therefore more relaxed and more likely to follow the advice of the honoree (Green 2015:6,7) (figure 15).

As a means of transmission of peyote beadwork, we dismiss the Ghost Dance and Faw Faw’s religion, because neither used the beadwork, nor did they last long enough to be a significant cultural influence. Gourd dancing does use the beadwork, but it did not spread beyond the KCA reservation until the 1950s, and in fact, it was not used between 1917 and 1954 even on the KCA reservation. It is therefore an unlikely vector of diffusion. Other kinds of dancing, whether Heyoska and its cognates, or fancy dancing and its cognates, must

be considered. Fancy Dance does not become fashionable until after the Wild West shows, that is 1900 or so (Lassiter 1998:97, Meadows 1995:147). It is therefore too late to be a first vector, although the powwow cultures it represents undoubtedly did help spread the beadwork after 1900. Prior to 1900, Heyoska dancing, or any of the descendants of Omaha dancing, were done in national dress. As noted above, except for the Kiowa and Comanche, and to a limited extent (Moccasins) the Kickapoo, national dress before 1900 did not include peyote beadwork. We look to Oklahoma then for influences that were spreading prior to 1900, and which used peyote beadwork. That influence is, and is only, peyotism, the religion. It follows that it is the principal vector. That in turn argues for the KCA reservation being the gateway community for peyote beadwork as well as peyotism, and independent invention as the most likely source of the beadwork.

A positive aspect of transculturation is that it can establish identity in the modern world. For Native groups other than the Kiowa/Comanche, peyote beadwork does represent an example of transculturation, that is, incorporation of a Native element, not indigenous to that group, into the modern version of the group's culture. Just as the cognates of Omaha dancing have been incorporated into the social lives of many groups, so too can peyote beadwork be exhibited as a marker of identity on a daily basis. A sense of identity is important to scholastic success, particularly in secondary schools and college. It matters less that the means of establishing identity is actually indigenous to the group. What seems to matter more is that the means of identity is perceived as Native—but it can result in higher graduation rates (Huffman 2013:34-35).

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the photographic evidence, I conclude that the beadwork did not exist, or was not a part of national dress for any tribe, prior to the 1870s, but is a part of Kiowa and Comanche national dress after 1889. Being a part of national dress is a crucial difference—if it is part of the culture before the widespread acceptance of peyotism, the religion, and further, if peyotism was the principal vector of the spread of the beadwork, it follows that the pre-peyote tradition is the older one. If the beadwork is not pre-peyotism, but is still a part of national dress, it is still a strong indication that those tribes were far more likely to use it, and therefore either the originators or the gateway community for it. No tribe other than the Kiowa and Comanche uses it as national dress until after 1900, the exceptions being dressed as peyotists. When only the adherents to a new religion are using the beadwork, that's a strong indication that the beadwork came with the religion, that is, it wasn't indigenous to that culture at that time.

The alternative origin theories fail in the purest forms because either the forms being imitated did not exist in the 1880s (the beaded bags), were not available for use (out of fashion Victorian beading; Egyptian beading), were in existence, but were a thousand miles or more distant (Mexican Otomi beadwork, the Tacoma mail pouch), or were technologies that had different thread paths and tools (Pottawatomie side weaving; knitted, crocheted or woven beaded bags). Design influences are possible; however, peyote designs must fit into a skewed grid, and that grid alone could explain the designs. The spread of the beadwork is better explained by the spread of peyotism than by other social gatherings, but those gatherings did exist. Of these, gourd dancing is unlikely to have been a significant force in

dissemination, but it did form a venue for Comanche and Kiowa men to use the beadwork prior to 1900. Social powwow dancing, like fancy dance, derived from Omaha dancing (Heyoska, Ilonska, Iruska, Ohomo) dates after the introduction of peyote beadwork (Lassiter 1998:90), but Heyoska dancing and its cognates did spread between groups and did use the beadwork. It follows that the powwow is not a significant factor in the early spread of the beadwork, but the more formal Heyoska and its cognates could be. However, the fans, dance sticks and insignia that today are peyote beaded could easily have been, and often were beaded in other ways—wrap beaded or lane stitched. The fans that became typical of peyote beadwork were done on a Comanche model, and a pair of Comanche moccasins show an intermediate step in the creation of peyote beadwork. Prior to the introduction of English as the lingua franca as a result of educating children at boarding schools, Comanche was the lingua franca of the area, and its speakers would have enjoyed a head start in communicating with non-Comanche groups.

Accordingly, I conclude that the Comanche and Kiowa are at least a gateway community for the origin and spread of peyote beadwork, as well as peyotism. While acknowledging the possibility that someone else in southern or western Oklahoma actually invented the beadwork, independent invention on the KCA reservation is the only explanation that gives effect to the evidence and is the shortest chain of causation.

APPENDIX--HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Furthermore, the study of the present surroundings is insufficient: the history of the people, the influence of the regions through which it has passed on its migrations, and the people with whom it came into contact, must be considered. (Boas 1974:64)

If we accept that the beadwork began sometime in the 1880s, we need to consider who was in Oklahoma. There is a general division between the Muskogean (Muskogee (Creek), Chickasaw, Choctaw and Seminole, together with the Algonkian-speaking Cherokee) and other tribes—the Muskogean tribes form a language group, are from the Southeast, and share many cultural traits, not least of which is adopting peyotism after the 1920s (if at all). Their settlements were east of what is now Oklahoma City, and was subsequently recognized as Indian Territory, in contrast to the western tribes who were organized as Oklahoma Territory. Except for the Seminole, (a special case, as they shared a Union Agency prior to allotment with the Sac & Fox and Pottawatomie tribes, as well as traders who served all three reservations) they are not early adopters of either peyotism or the beadwork, but they deserve mention because their presence does affect early adopters of the beadwork, who we now consider.

The Comanche are linguistically part of the Shoshonean group and were a distinct people possibly as early as 1600. The center of Shoshoneans, as opposed the modern Shoshone tribe, would then have been what is now southern Wyoming and northern Utah. To be a Comanche in the middle to late 1600s was to be part of a dozen different bands that rarely attacked each other, (Fehrenbach 1974:40 Meadows 1999:303), generally lived south of the center of Shoshonean groups, and sent hunters even farther south. The distinctiveness of Comanches as a separate culture dates to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 in Taos. While the Shoshoneans did not participate in it, the Native Americans who did had little use for the

horses left by the Spanish settlers—a return to traditional life was the point of the revolt. While the Diné (Navajo) and Apache acquired many of these horses, a breeding population moved north and east into what became Comancheria, or the territory of the Comanche. An alternative explanation for feral horses in the Southwest might be strays from the various expeditions (Coronado, De Soto) or from Spanish settlements in the Rio Grande valley. That explanation is unlikely because there were not enough strays in one place to have created a breeding population. Spanish accounts prior to 1675 do not mention mounted Natives or feral horses, however, the 1681 Mendez-Lopez expedition into Texas does mention mounted Apache (Fehrenbach 1974:87). Even if they did create a breeding population, the Comanche were then hunters, not riders, and would simply have considered them another game animal. Using them for transportation would have required a lot of work required training for both horse and rider, which would become more likely if the Comanche saw horses being ridden.

The arrival of the horse is a tremendously important event in Comanche history (Ewers 1955:1-15, Fehrenbach 1974:84). To describe the pre-reservation Comanche without horses is to describe the Comanche as if they were not Comanche. The natural increase of the horse herd, even under most favorable assumptions, probably did not permit the Comanche to become a primarily horse-mounted tribe for at least 20 years after the revolt, but by 1710, they certainly were—in fact, became renowned as being among the best horse breeders and riders in the world (Foster 1992:38 cites La Harpe, writing in 1719). They had a wonderful territory for horses as well—largely grassland, with winters somewhat milder than those north of the Arkansas River (Hämäläinen 2008:241, and personal observation). In the early 1700s, there may have been about 5,000 Comanche, but with the quantum leap in

ability to return to camp carrying much more meat than on foot, population exploded to perhaps 20,000 people in 1840.

The size of the Comanche and Kiowa tribes matters in the story of peyote beadwork because it is directly relevant to their ability to raid into Mexico, to take captives and goods, and therefore to be subject to cultural influences. If it is to be asserted that Mexican needlework was a significant influence, then the possibility of that being true must be conditioned on them having contact with Mexican culture bearers familiar with the needlework. As Kavanaugh has forcefully observed (Kavanaugh 1998) any estimate prior to 1875 has a strong element of guesswork. 20,000 is an upper limit based on the carrying capacity for buffalo of the land—but the estimate assumes a stable population of buffalo, and by 1840, the herds were declining due to over hunting by both Natives and non-Natives (Smith 1995:156, Maroukis 2005:22, Grinnell 1892). 12,000 is a lower limit, but it depends on which year is being discussed (Meadows 2002:263). Captives accounted for a substantial part of the population—in 1830, Berlandier estimated 1,500 captives or first-generation descendants of captives, while Jane Richardson’s 1940 study of Comanche law cases found 12.5% of the litigants were of mixed blood (Brooks 1996:17). Moreover, the Comanche were relatively open to captives being made part of the tribe (Hämäläinen 2008:186).

In *Land Cessions*, Map 57 (Plate CLXIV), the Comanche gave up territories as far north as the Arkansas River in southern Kansas and Colorado, as far west as the Rio Pecos north to south in New Mexico, as far south as Carrizo, Texas, and with a eastern border that fell to the west of Austin, TX and Fort Worth (Hämäläinen 2008:179), meaning the Comanche had held a territory described by ten degrees of latitude and longitude. Whether we think that there were about 20,000 or 12,000 Comanche, very, very few people were

defending a huge territory against many enemies (Navajo (Diné) and Apache from the west, Ute and Shoshone from the northwest, Cheyenne, Arapaho and Pawnee from the north, Osage from the northeast, Caddo and Muskogean tribes from the east, and Tonkawa from the southeast, together with New Spanish, Mexican, Tejano or American non-Native opponents).

Sometime after 1790, the Comanche concluded a lasting peace with the Kiowa, which continues to the current day (Rhodes 1884:14, Brooks 2002:170, Wallace & Hoebel 1954:286). In 1821, the then-new nation of Mexico had a direct interest in protecting its northern ranches from the horse raiders from Texas, Native or not (De Lay 2007:89). Moreover, Texas was then regarded as a fruitful theater for expansion by Anglo-Americans. The collapse of cotton prices in 1819 led to a panic, particularly felt in the South and West, was just one of the factors encouraging emigration, as was a bank panic of 1837. The Indian Removal Act of 1830, and its enforcement in the decade following, moved the Muskogean tribes into Oklahoma, increasing pressure on tribes already in Oklahoma and Texas.

Trade was already becoming a factor in the economy of the Southern Plains. With annual fluctuations, the Comanche could draw on a horse herd of as many as 2 million (Wallace & Hoebel 1952:32-35, Hämäläinen 2008:240 Foster 1992:45. Fort Osage was established between 1808 and 1827, downstream of the present Kansas City (Hoig 2008:34-36). Now (that is, since the 1950s) partly rebuilt, it was a military and trading depot, trading primarily with the Otoe, Missouriia, Osage, Kansa and Pawnee (Olsen 2008:42). Access to American goods proved a military advantage (DeLay 2007:95), compounded by the traders' strategy of marrying into prominent Native families (Olsen 2008:30, 120, Hoig 2008:237), but it also meant debts for the tribes and a rapid scarcity of game. (Letter, Subagent

Nathaniel Pryor to Governor William Clark, Jan. 22, 1831, Kansas State Historical Papers).

By 1830, the burgeoning trade between the Comanche and New Mexicans of the upper Rio Grande were causing a substantial rift between that province and their nominal capital in Mexico City (Hämäläinen 2008:210). In 1834, the Comanche concluded a peace with their north-eastern neighbors, the Seneca, Osage, Cherokee and Delaware, allowing them much greater freedom in raiding south of the Rio Grande (DeLay 2007:95, Hoig 2008:141).

Texan independence in 1835 had the effect of creating a buffer state between the Mexicans and the Comanche—the Comanche had little difficulty crossing the river to raid, and an easy sale of the livestock thereby acquired, particularly mules and horses that were much in demand in Mississippi and Alabama, but the Mexicans were unable to send punitive expeditions through Texas.

The late 1830s saw a reduction in raids across the Rio Grande, due to pressure from the east by Texans, and from the north by Cheyenne and Arapaho. The northern threat was largely nullified by a peace-making in 1840, with the Comanche giving massive quantities of horses, and the Cheyenne giving trade goods (DeLay 2007:107). This released the Comanche for raids deep into Mexico, as far south as San Luis Potosi. That's significant on two counts: the city is only a hundred miles from Mexico City (the threat worked to the advantage of Texans, because Mexico was unable to make effective war against Texas) and, because that represents the southern end of the peyote cactus range, it means that Comanche were exposed to peyotism.

In 1844, Sam Houston, then President of Texas, concluded a peace with the Comanche as well. Although unable to agree on a formal border, the treaty of Tehuacana Creek established trade between the Texans and gave them undisturbed possession of a

coastal strip along the Gulf Coast about 150 miles wide (Hämäläinen 2008:217). Allied tribes—Caddo, Lipan, Kiowa and Wichita—were also included, as Houston wanted a general peace. The period 1840-1880 also saw increasing European (now American) goods and other influences, but the lifestyle remained a traditional, if horse-mounted, Comanche.

The Kiowa (Ka'igwu, or Principal People) (after 1750), one of the iconic horse culture nations, are linguistically Kiowa-Tanoan (Tanoan = Tiwa, Tewa and Towa, the languages of the pueblos of the Rio Grande in New Mexico). In the 1600s, the tribe was in the upper Missouri valley, migrating south by stages, leaving linguistic traces in the Dakotas, the Cheyenne (Tsêhéstáno), the Crow (Apsáalooke), and other tribes as they did so. By 1700, they were south of the Black Hills, and by 1750, in contact with the Comanche. The first documentary record is in 1727 (a Kiowa woman was buried at Isleta), and in 1800, in concert with the Pawnee and Apache, raided around Abiquiu (northern New Mexico), to the annoyance of the Comanche (Brooks 2002:170). Initial contacts were not friendly, but by 1806, a formal alliance in war and peace was established, and Kiowa politics became linked to the Comanche. The Kiowa were very different in organization from the Comanche, however—Comanche people were free to associate with any leader who proved effective (Fehrenbach 1974:44), whereas the Kiowa were much more tightly bound to their leaders (Meadows 1999:94), Brooks 2002:174). The Kiowa did have a Sun Dance and were known for their Ledger Drawings—originally actually drawn on hide but made famous on paper taken from ledger books. As an example of Native-to-Native military pressure, the battle or massacre of Cutthroat Mountain in Oklahoma, in 1834, was inflicted by Osage on Kiowa while Kiowa men were absent, punishing Utes.

Reservation life began for the Kiowa in 1867. Little Bluff, or Tohausan, was the principal chief of the Kiowa until his death in 1866 and had signed the treaties of Fort Atkinson (1852) (in Kansas, near Dodge City) and Little Arkansas River (1866). His designated successor, Guipago (Lone Wolf, or Rescued by Wolves) and Santata (White Bear) led the more warlike faction of the tribe, while Tene-angopte (known as Kicking Bird, more literally, Eagle Striking with its Talons) led the more accommodative faction—the Kiowa had a lively debate as to how best adapt to the increased American presence after the Civil War until the Palo Duro fight in 1874.

Lone Wolf remained the principal chief until the Jerome Agreement of 1892, regarding the allotment of the Kiowa/Comanche/ Apache reservation. Ahpeahitone, (Apiatan, Wooden Lance), 1860-1931, Lone Wolf's nephew, resisted the agreement. In the ensuing debate, Lone Wolf lost the chieftainship to Ahpeahitone (Leupp 1903:469). Leupp described him as having a less forceful personality than Quanah Parker of the Comanche but considered him the unquestioned chief (in 1903) nonetheless. Although he disagreed with Quanah Parker on the Jerome Agreement, in most matters, they were close allies (Hagan 1993:84-89). Ahpeahitone was also a nephew of Red Cloud, Oglala, a fact that stood him in good stead when he was sent with Quanah to investigate Wovoka, the Paiute prophet of the Ghost Dance (He returned and spoke forcefully against the Ghost Dance in council in 1891.) (Obituary, 1931.) Ahpeahitone was also a peyotist, a gourd dancer and singer, and for the last 15 years of his life, a Methodist.

In October of 1865, the Comanche and Kiowa land signed an agreement was for a reservation that included the western half of Oklahoma, and the Texas Panhandle (Land Cessions 1899:838). However, in the treaty of Medicine Lodge, 1867, this was replaced by a

new reservation of just 5,000 square miles (Land Cessions 1899:846), all of it in Oklahoma. The second battle of Adobe Walls, in 1874, was a disaster for the Comanche. Also in the category of disasters were the smallpox epidemics of 1817 (Brooks 2002:180) and 1848, and the cholera of 1849, which reduced tribal population to a few thousand. 1875 marked the final surrender of the last Comanche band, led by Quanah Parker. With statehood, Oklahoman reservations were dissolved in 1906. About half the present Comanche live near Lawton, OK, where the reservation was. Many Kiowa still live near Carnegie, OK.

The Caddo (Hasínai, “our own folk”) were part of the Mississippian group of cultures and lived in the middle reaches of the Red and Brazos rivers (eastern Oklahoma, western Mississippi, and northeastern Texas), with hunting territory to the north. They had three major confederacies, containing 16 principal tribes and roughly 11,000 people in the late 1600s (Smith 1995:8 and 1996:4). By 1834, they had been expelled from what was then United States’ territory into Texas, but Texas revolted against Mexico, became a nation and then a state. By 1852 Texan policy towards all Native Americans resulted in the Caddos’ flight to a reservation just north of the Comanche/Kiowa/Apache.

The Pottawatomí are an Algonkian-speaking people, first met by Euro-Americans in the Great Lakes area. They have three primary groups, the Citizen (Oklahoma, north of Oklahoma City), the Prairie (Kansas) and a group of smaller bands still in Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana and Canada. Peyotism is reported among the Citizen Pottawatomí in the first decade of the 1900s, but the primary Pottawatomí interest in peyotism is among the Prairie band. They are headquartered in Mayetta, KS, served by the same agency as the Sac and Fox of Kansas, the Kickapoo of Kansas, and the Ioway of Kansas.

The Kickapoo (Kiwigapaw, he stands or moves about) are also Algonkian, first recorded in southern Michigan. Under pressure from the Iroquois, they removed to Illinois, and from there to northern Kansas and Mexico. After complaints by Texans about raids from the Mexican Kickapoo, the army moved some of them into Oklahoma (St. Jean 2011:31). A fourth band is still in Texas today. The bands maintain contact with each other. The Mexican Kickapoo are non-peyotists, but had a netted beadwork, and must therefore be considered in the Mexican origin of brickwork. The Oklahoman and Kansas bands are of most interest to peyotists—the Oklahoman band having received peyote from Quanah Parker, probably before 1900, and the Kansas band from Johnathan Koshiway.

The Osage (Ni-u-kon-ska, "People of the Middle Waters") controlled much of present-day Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas, and Oklahoma when met by Europeans in the 1600s. St. Louis was a primary trading depot before the establishment of Fort Osage. Trade, but not occupation of the land, was the French business model, but the Louisiana Purchase in 1806 resulted in American settlement pressure. Moreover, in the 1820s and 1830s, the Chickasaw increasingly hunted across the Mississippi, in lands that the Osage defended (Rollins 1995:250). Treaties in 1818 and 1825 resulted in the Osage occupying a strip in southeast Kansas, removing from there to Neosho, Missouri, and again to a reservation in northeast Oklahoma, nearly contiguous with the present Osage County, northwest of Tulsa.

The Caddo and the Osage both lived between the same Spanish and French empires. Both controlled trading networks, trading the same goods with the same partners. Both appear to have gotten the horse at similar times (Rollins 1995:82, citing Tonti in 1684). The Osage were farther removed from the source of horses (Mexico), but nearer the source of guns (French traders anxious to limit the spread of English ambitions in America).

However, Osage raids caused Caddo contraction, rather than the reverse (Rollins 1995:124-143). Disease cannot be ruled out—although both tribes suffered greatly, the Osage appear to have suffered the epidemics later. The Comanche were expanding into north Texas and west Oklahoma, cutting off Caddo access to the buffalo, but not so much Osage access. The Caddo were much more reliant on the Spanish, who were either less willing to provide guns (it was contrary to official policy until the late 1700s), or who provided inferior goods. The Osage were able to maintain trade via the St Louis traders as well as unauthorized traders on the Arkansas River throughout the 1700s, unlike the Caddo, and therefore had better access to arms and ammunition. However, when the Jeffersonian/Jacksonian policies of removal of all Natives to west of the Mississippi came to fruition in the 1830s and 1840s, both tribes were swept aside.

The Ponca were first encountered by Euro-Americans on the Niobrara River, a tributary of the Missouri River on the northern border of Nebraska. In 1806, they were a tenth of the size of the neighboring Lakota nations and therefore at a substantial military disadvantage to both Native and Euro-Americans. They became Christian farmers by the American Civil War, signing treaties in 1858, 1859 and 1865 guaranteeing them the Niobrara valley. The Great Western Sioux Reservation was created in 1875, which included the Ponca territory by mistake (evidently, the U.S. commissioners negotiating with the Lakota were unaware that they were giving away Ponca lands.). Consonant with its policy of removing as many people as possible to Oklahoma, the U.S. government resolved the problem by ordering the Ponca to Oklahoma (Tibbles 1880:56, citing Commissioner Ezra Hayt). The journey was difficult, with many deaths along the way, or shortly after arrival. Standing Bear, a chief of the second rank, lost a son that winter and promised the dying boy

that he would be buried in the valley of the Niobrara. His journey back home resulted in an 1879 trial, and a decision that Native Americans were “persons” within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment, and therefore entitled to become citizens, but with the catch that they could not do so while receiving benefits as tribal members and wards of the Federal government (Mathes 2003:69, Starita 2009:160). The case resulted in northern and southern divisions of the tribe, the northern Ponca living without a reservation in Nebraska and the southern Ponca living in or around Ponca City in Northern Oklahoma.

The Ioway (Báxoje), former residents of the state named for them, ceded lands in Minnesota, Iowa and Missouri during the 1820s and 1830s. By 1837 they were sharing a reservation in Kansas with the Sac and Fox (former inhabitants of Wisconsin and Illinois). Reservations were created in Oklahoma for the Ioway and for the Sac and Fox. Roughly half of the modern tribes live in Kansas and half in Oklahoma.

The Cheyenne (Tsêhéstáno, or Sutaio or Tsitsistas) were first met by Europeans in the Black Hills of South Dakota, although the tribe was probably recognizable considerably earlier when living in the lower Ohio valley. They became one of the iconic horse cultures of the Plains, probably about a generation after the Comanche (ca. 1750). To be on the northern Plains meant interaction with other actors in the area, including the Lakota, the Arapaho, the Shoshone and the Pawnee. While a detailed history of that interaction is outside the scope of this paper, as a general trend, in the very early phases (1700s) it was characterized by military competition with other indigenous groups, sometimes for horses, or goods or captives, and sometimes simply to win war honors, on which the social standing of the warriors was based. To be clear, it was more than a game—people were killed—but the basis for war was markedly different than the European model. In the late 1800s, the

emphasis had shifted to repelling the Anglo-American invaders, sometimes with success (e.g., Little Big Horn, fought in concert with the Lakota as well as other allies), but ultimately ending in failure at Wounded Knee in 1889. The U.S. Army employed Native Americans during the wars, a fact that has bedeviled Native-to-Native relations. By 1889, essentially all Cheyenne were on the reservation.

An incident during the wars had direct relevance to peyote beadwork was a raid in or about 1836 by the Cheyenne Bowstring Society. They encountered a group of Comanche. During the night before the battle at Wolf Creek, Oklahoma, the Cheyenne sang their Society songs, which the Comanche learned. The Cheyenne were all killed in the subsequent battle, but the Comanche adopted the songs, creating the Gourd dance. It's not the only origin story for the dance, but it is frequently repeated. The essential regalia of the dance include a beaded fan and rattle, with many dancers also choosing to decorate the sash and other items as well.

Following the Civil War, U.S. Army attention shifted to the Plains. At first, United States' policy was to put the Cheyenne on a reservation in their historical country, but in 1867, that policy shifted to favor a reservation, first in Kansas, and then Oklahoma. The northern reservation continues to exist today, however many Cheyenne were moved to Oklahoma, where they shared a reservation with the Arapaho, centered on Darlington and El Reno. The southern border of that reservation was shared in the east with the Caddo-Wichita reservation, and in the west, with the Comanche-Kiowa-Apache reservation.

The Arapaho (Hinono'eino) were a horse culture tribe, speaking an Algonkian language as did the Cheyenne. An alliance was concluded between the two tribes in 1811 that serves as a basis for continued tribal cooperation today. Many Arapaho live on the Wind

River reservation in Wyoming, but as many live on the former Arapaho-Cheyenne Oklahoma reservation. The two southern tribes are recognized as the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, with a unified tribal government in Concho, Oklahoma.

Prior to the reservation period, transportation in Oklahoma was the horse, horse drawn vehicles and travel on foot--the first railroad in Oklahoma was in 1872, and only affected the southeastern corner of Chickasaw territory. The normal way to finance railroads in the western states was to grant land along the right of way, usually in alternate sections or quarter-sections of land, sometimes extending miles away from the actual tracks. The railroad would then sell or lease the land, providing immediate cash flow, and over time, a steady stream of customers. In Oklahoma, the railroads were amply large enough to contest sovereignty with the tribes, so granting alternate sections of land meant a checkerboard of land ownership, some tribal, some not, and therefore a checkerboard of where tribal authority could be enforced. White settlers generally preferred to buy or lease from the railroads, producing a situation where whites and Native Americans were living side by side, but under different laws.

The Chickasaw were unique in limiting the railroads to 100-foot rights of way, barely enough to lay the tracks. Chickasaw law allowed any tribal member to enclose land for his own use, and as interpreted by the Chickasaw, this meant that land could be enclosed and used as rental property—in any amount. By one estimate, half of all white settlers before 1889 in Oklahoma were on Chickasaw land (Gibson 1971:285). Functionally, that would have meant that there were 150,000 or so non-tribal members being governed by 2000 non-white voters (Hale 1991:90), in an America where white, male, Anglo-Saxon Protestants

believed in their manifest destiny to rule wherever they happened to. It was not a stable situation.

In the Dawes Act of 1887 (General Allotment Act 24 Stat. 388, ch. 119, 25 USCA 331), the Congress decided that, since 160 acres was sufficient in Massachusetts for a head of a family, that would suffice across the continent. Moreover, by breaking up the reservations into lands held severally, rather than communally, the tribes would then assimilate into white society—that is, become less Indian, or at any rate, less troublesome (Daily 2004:84, Lomawaima 1994:3, 66). The Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole, Miami, Peoria, Osage, Sac and Fox tribes were exempted for the time being—effectively, Indian Territory was exempt, but Oklahoma Territory was to be allotted. Tribal members were to select lands from their tribal lands within four years, and families could select adjacent farms. Lands in excess of those per capita amounts would then be released for settlement by whites. However, as then-Senator Henry Teller of Colorado (later Secretary of the Interior) remarked in 1881 (Pommersheim 2009:128),

The real aim [of allotment] was to get at the Indian Lands and open them up to settlement. The provisions for the apparent benefit of the Indians are but the pretext to get at his lands and occupy them...If this were done in the name of greed, it would be bad enough; but to do it in the name of Humanity...is infinitely worse.

A point regarding assimilation—it was not viewed as an Indian-only issue. All groups in the United States were expected to become “American,” and if that meant non-Swedish, or non-German, or non-other-immigrant group, so be it (Daily 2004:20-21). There was a feeling that Native Americans had to become more like mainstream culture, like everyone else.

Seven land runs began in Oklahoma Territory in 1889, the last in 1895. With the influx of white settlers, population quickly rose to a level where statehood was possible. The

Muskogean tribes floated a plan for two separate states—Oklahoma and Sequoyah (essentially, the Indian Territory half of what is now Oklahoma), but the Congress did not consent. In June 1906, the Oklahoma Enabling Act was adopted, among other things, extinguishing tribal governments. Oklahoma became a state in 1907.

Oil was found in Oklahoma in 1859, by accident—they were drilling for salt. The Osage negotiated the first leases in 1896, and subsequently became known as one of the richest ethnic groups in America. Oil did not have quite the significance it does today, because the automobile was then the plaything of the exclusively rich. It's a parallel with the horse cultures—two or three horses does not make a nation a horse nation, just as two or three cars does not make a society an automotive culture—but when most people have access to the horse, or the car, the economy changes.

ILLUSTRATIONS

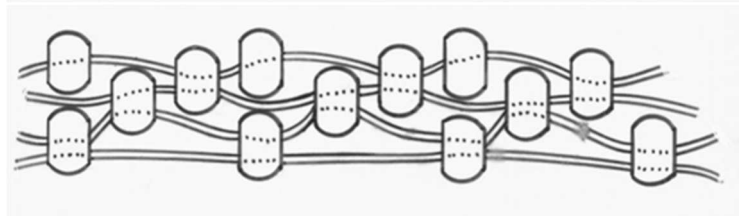
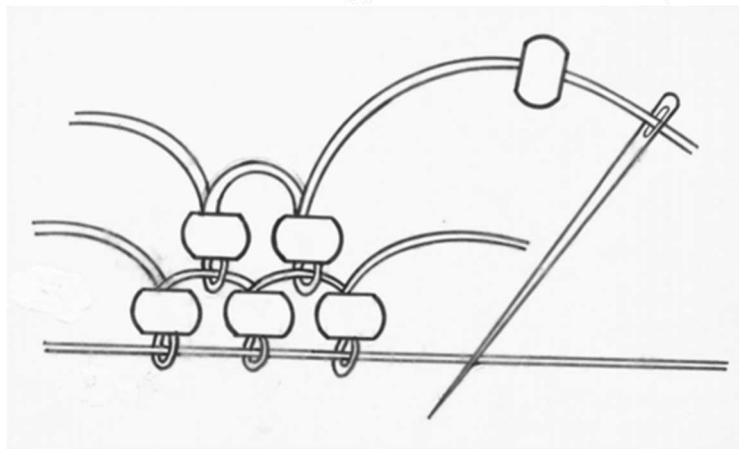
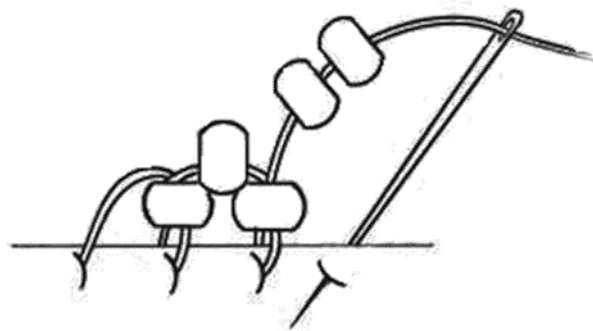
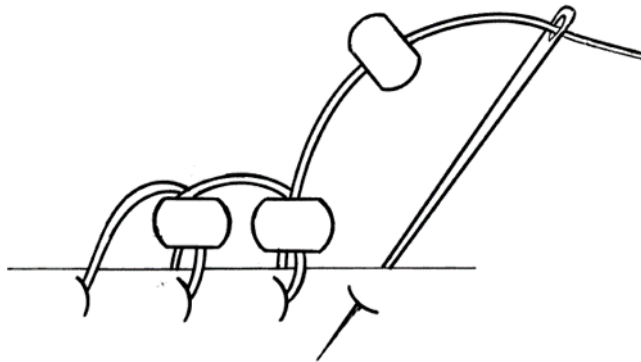


Figure 1. Diagrams of beadwork stitches. A, one bead edge beading. B, two bead edgebeading or zipper stitch. C, brick stitch. D, Peyote stitch proper.



Figure 2. Beaded bag, ca. 1920, showing knitted ground in upper right corner. Collection of and photographed by the author.



Figure 3. Mail pouch. Photograph by Scott Thompson, used by permission. The thread path can be seen in the translucent green and clear beads.



Figure 4. Egyptian wehket collar, including bands of brickwork and open netting. ca. 1850–1775 B.C. Metropolitan Museum of Art Catalog 08.200.30. Public Domain.



Figure 5. Armbands, Comanche. NMAI 2/1129. Possibly manufactured 1870-1890, collected 1909. Illustrates linked hexagons. Note: the hexagon also occurs in Kiowa art.



Figure 6. Servilleta. Otomi, Mexico. 24 1/2 × 16 1/2 in. Dallas Museum of Art.

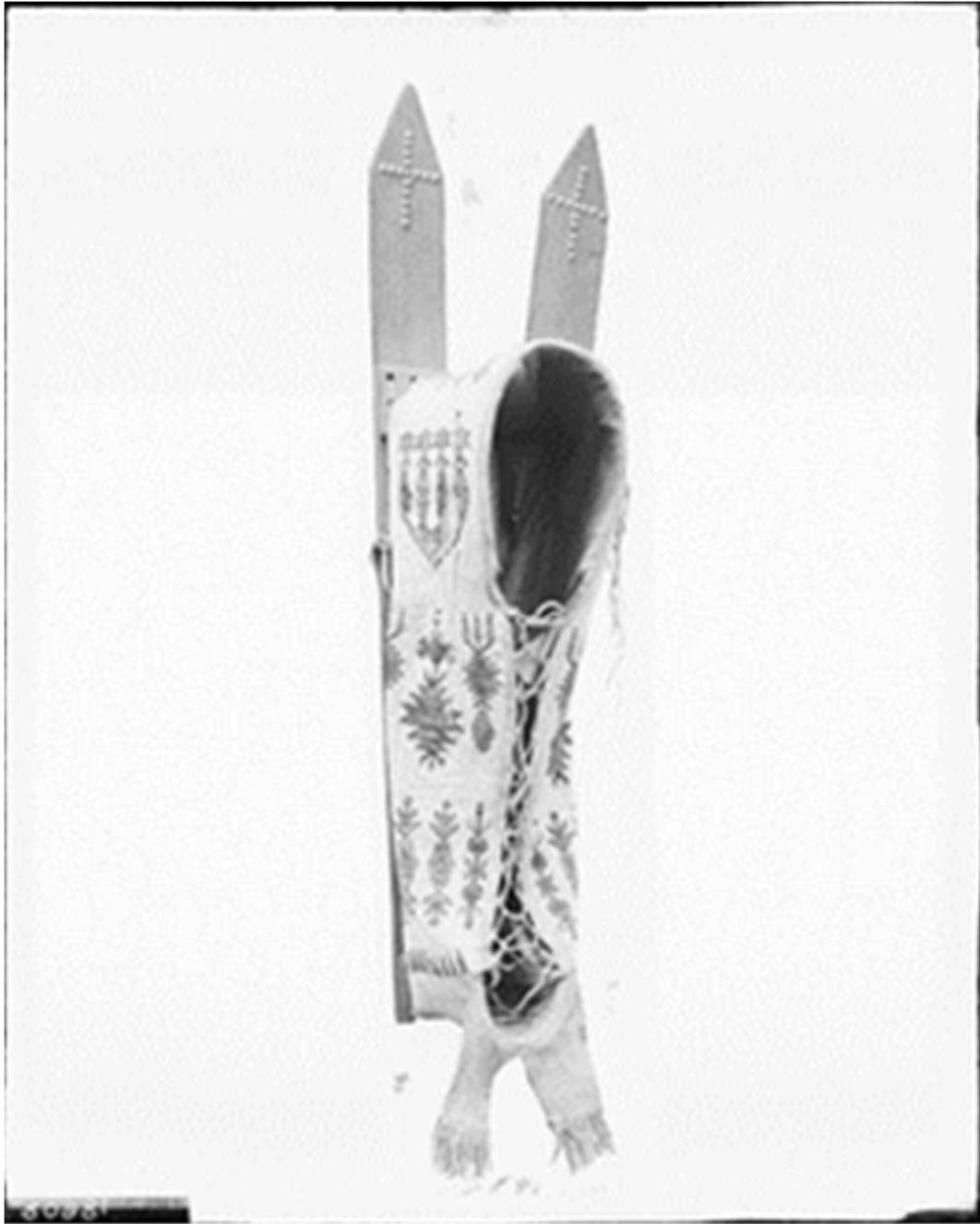


Figure 7. Cradleboard, Kiowa ca. 1890-1900. NMAI catalog 5/7467. Demonstrates the existence of master craftsmen or craftswomen among the Kiowa at the time. Tribal attribution following Vanessa Jennings.



Figure 8. Moccasins, Comanche. Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa. Catalog 84/360 a-b Ca. 1900.

Multiple passes in the edgebeading. Detail below.

In



Figure 9. Fan, Comanche. NMAI catalog 22/9197. Dated to ca.1890. Note the shape of the lower end of the handle. In contrast to figure 10, the fan is clearly peyote stitch proper—the “rake” or “comb” design in dark blue against the pink shows dissimilar diagonals and true verticals as do the sawtooth designs in the light blue areas.



Figure 10. Fan, Comanche, ca.1880. NMAI Catalog 2/1617. Pre-peyote beadwork Morning Star design in center of handle, with lanes of beadwork around it and wrapped beadwork on the dowel end. Note how the lines in the dowel area meander, typical of wrapped beadwork.



Figure 11. Tall Chief gourd rattle. Quapaw. Ca. 1885-1890. Collection the family. Used by permission.



Figure 12. Tall Chief. Photograph dated 1892. Collection the family. Used by permission.



Figure 13. Pete Mitchell, (Dust Maker). Ponca. 1898. Rinehart photo, in the public domain.

Note the head and tail fan and otter-tail ribbonwork leggings with bells. The flaps reversed to show the ribbonwork, a trait of modern Straight Dance or Heyoska regalia. He wears both beaded aprons and a trailer, also typical of modern straight dancer.



Figure 14. Loose fan. Cheyenne. Ca. 1890. NMAI14_1871. Very early characteristics that this fan displays include the particular shades of blue in the handle and feather sockets, the fine stripe spiral on the main part of the handle and the “barber pole” spirals on the bulb to accommodate the fringe wrappings. If a three-dimensional spiral wrapped around the handle is interpreted as a zigzag line when shown in two dimensions, then the zigzags on some of the feather sockets, interrupted by a medial band, prefigure the Osage spiral. The Cheyenne/Arapaho reservation shares a border with the Wichita/Caddo/Delaware reservation, and the Osage got peyotism from the Caddo. The Caddo are also known for vertical zigzags, as on the feather sockets. A Caddo attribution is therefore possible for this fan, which was collected from the Cheyenne.



Figure 15. Stethoscope. Jaki Pease (Crow), after 2010. An example of peyote beadwork being used as a marker of Native identity on objects not associated with peyotism, or powwow or Gourd Dance regalia. Other objects similarly used include key chains, cigarette lighters, earrings, walking canes, hairpins, bottles, and writing pens. Any small round object carried in daily use could be so beaded. On one occasion, I saw a table in Blenheim Palace, England, that was beaded. That would be unusual, because it is large, but the style can be displayed on nearly any object. Flat peyote beadwork, in peyote stitch, is normally not done by Natives, although there are examples of flat brick stitch.

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