

THE KIOWA PEYOTE MEETING

RECORDED
AND EDITED
BY
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(The following notes are rather diffuse because the material essential to their understanding is on the recordings. The use of the peyote cactus, *Lophophora Williamsii*, as a medicine and vision producing substance among a large number of North American Indians is so well known as to require no botanical or physiological comment here. My purpose has been to give a glimpse of the Peyote Meeting through the narrations and songs of Kiowa who were worshippers there, and this can only be gained through a close study of the records themselves. This booklet is ancillary to that purpose and no comparison with other accounts of the Kiowa rites are given. Persons interested should consult La Barres' book which has an essential account and bibliography.)

INTRODUCTION

In February 1964 Muriel Wright, that Grand Lady of the Oklahoma Historical Society, told me "If you want to see a real Western Town go to Anadarko." I decided to visit there for a day or so. It really turned out to be a Western Town; before I had been there half a day I was arrested and held a week for "investigation." Two guns had been stolen from the "Candy Kitchen" the evening I got there. I had also unknowingly got myself involved with some talkative but, according to the police, rather

unsavory characters in one of the local bars that night. Nine years have passed since then, but for various reasons the material I collected has not been made public until now. The notes that follow were mostly written in the winter of 1964-65. I have left them unchanged partly because they represent the ideas I had at the time I heard the songs, and partly because I have been unable to consult all of the material on Kiowa Peyotism. I have, however, added a few quotations from Winston's records regarding the nature of music, a comparison of the short introductory statements about the "Four Songs" made by various singers, some meager notes on intercalation of songs and, also, on some of Everett's favorite songs, plus a few comments on peyote graphic art.

I would like to make it clear that of the people I later worked with, none were met in the jail; the unfortunate victims of that place only provided the contacts. Also it would be only fair to say that while I was in Anadarko I was drinking heavily and it was only natural that some of the people I worked with also drank. Everett was a hard drinker, but not an alcoholic; Winston enjoyed what he called a "nip" now and then as did Ray and Blossom. George drank not at all. The short biographical notes I collected from the singers were mislaid when the police gave me a few days to get out of town. At this time it will suffice to say that all of the singers on these records were middle-aged persons of Kiowa background. George, and especially Henry, were older than the others, and Everett younger, but not by much. The personalities of the singers can be best learned from their recordings. They were all persons of happy, even, disposition who took their poverty and disappointments with grace. They were mostly of what might be called a short stocky build. George was taller as befitted his former occupation as a wrestler. Henry was thinner than the others. Ray is Everett's older brother and was married to Blossom.

MY TRIP TO ANADARKO

Except for the police, white people are unique in the Anadarko city jail. This is not because whites are rare in Anadarko, far from it, but because, like the rest of

that town, the Jail is supported by exploiting the owners of the land; and so, the police arrest few but Indians. Out of the thirty or so people that almost starved in that place during the week I was kept there, only three were white; and thus it was I met some Indians and a short visit to Anadarko expanded itself into four months.

Anadarko (Population about 5600) is on the Washita River sixty-six miles southwest of Oklahoma City. On the north side of the river live the Caddo, Delaware and Wichita; on the south side the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache. Kiowa is really the only language heard spoken there (other than, of course, English). Once in a while the Wichita or Comanche will speak in their respective tongues, but I have infrequently heard Caddo, and never Delaware, spoken except on request. The Anadarko Chamber of Commerce says that "Anadarko has always been an Indian town." As nearly as I could see, more than two-fifths of the population is "Indian," about a fifth "Negro" and the rest "white." I did what I could with each of these. Naturally, I did not set out to find the most wonderful singers or the most gifted narrators but to locate singers or narrators who were capable of projecting their individuality through recordings to other people. I was therefore very fortunate in locating George Saloe, Winston Catt, and the Cozads. All of these people were definitely music connoisseurs. As individuals they had all consciously collected songs that reflected their interests. Everett's former position as Peyote "Roadman" and his love of a good time are revealed in the large number of Peyote and "forty-nine" songs that he sang. George, as a professional singer, knows those marvelous traditional songs of the warrior companies and the social and religious ceremonies of the tribe. George, Winston, and Everett were all ascetics. A hundred years ago they would have been fasting in some wilderness. Everett for a while habitually slept in the front seat of a truck. George, painfully crippled, picked up shingles after the storm, Winston has made frugal living fundamental to his philosophy. I particularly hope that examples of the Kiowa approach to things will give an insight into how one people has dealt with the problem of rhythm in relation to thought, and that persons interested in the Ritual, but unable to attend a Meeting, will partake of the herb while listening to the records.

THE KIOWA

All of us like to think that our particular teachers are the smartest of all and best of all. Even so, the Kiowa are a remarkable people. They ranged within the historic period from Canada to central Mexico and from Arkansas to the borders of California (Mooney, 1898, p. 147). For the Kiowa, like most other North American Indians, had no nations; no government in the sense that we intruders understand those terms. Such rulership as existed was vested in the philosopher-priests of certain rites, and those rituals transcended boundaries between languages and of antagonisms, and thus it was that wanderers interlocked with wanderers. Supreme among these rovers were the Kiowa.

They differed from most other plains tribes in that they possessed a social organization so diffuse that its outlines can be ascertained only by statistical methods. They had no moieties or clans--those things would have been inappropriate for a group that was constantly absorbing refugees and lovers from the farflung tribes that the Kiowa came in contact with. They also seem to have been the center of diffusion for the Peyote religion over a large area, and the Kiowa rites give a very good idea of what the ceremonies consist of, at least on the American plains.

PEYOTE IN ANADARKO

The amount of peyote used per capita in Anadarko is fairly staggering by ordinary standards. Hardly a day passed that someone didn't bring in a few laundry bags full; the whole plant, not just the top, was brought back. At one time I estimated that well over a ton a month was available. Not all of this ends up in nearby meetings, however. Quite a bit is sold or traded to other groups farther away from the Texas-Mexican border where the Anadarko tribes go for their supply. Also a surprisingly large number of plants end up in the hands of people who have no particular connection with the Peyote Meeting itself. They keep them around the house or on their persons to heal aches and pains, colds, etc. Everett, who preferred not to have gone to a Meeting for quite a while due to his drinking, showed me a dried plant he carried

with him to ease the pain in his leg. The cactus is also said to be a specific against alcohol. From my own experience I believe this to be true.

The peyote plants are viewed as aesthetic objects and particularly beautiful ones will be passed around to be commented on. Especially esteemed are fresh plants of a leaf green color, having a medium length root of even shape with a round top symmetrically tufted. The single pink or blue flower on the plant is also admired, and people particularly like to show a plant thus adorned. I was told several times that red and blue, the colors of the Native American Church, were derived from the shades of the flower in its various stages.

Mooney, Marriott, and Denman (the latter quoting Monroe Tsa Toke) give fairly long narratives, of supposed Kiowa origin, about a woman who had lost either her brother or her baby and discovers the herb in the ensuing search. A Wichita in Anadarko told me a form of this story in which the search for the baby led to plants that were seen at night. The cactus were shining like stars, distributed in the form of a man on the ground. Curiously, I was unable to collect this narrative or any other material on the origin of peyote from my singers other than short statements by Everett: "The Indian man met the Mexican on the border and brought this herb here." - "We worship here, we worship there, poor Indian Man had to find something to worship." (side I, band 5)

KIOWA MUSIC

It is difficult for us to comprehend systems different from those we have become conditioned to, and thus it is that any explanation of Kiowa musical systematics is almost impossible to put in European words. A brief attempt is necessary, however.

Each class of Kiowa songs possesses its own particular type of opening and closing phrases. In addition perhaps a third of the Kiowa songs have what are usually called "words," the rest are what the Kiowa call "plain" --they consist of syllables only. There is no doubt that these syllables have fairly definite sets of emotional connotations. They are symbols in the same way that a white line means "Feather" (and hence "sky" or "up"

or "joy") or a red line "ground" (and hence "earth" or "down" or "sadness") in the Kiowa beadwork. From a linguistic standpoint the vowel series of the "plain" songs conform to phonetic patterns more or less coincident with Plains Culture. There are extensions of the most common syllable series down the Mississippi and into the Algonquin North East. More specifically, they are coincident with the distribution of the Plains - vocabulary sign language of which the Kiowa were perhaps the greatest masters.

Nettl gives a dated but still valuable analysis of Plains music. According to that author the Peyote songs are relatively recent and have characteristics that distinguish them from other songs of the same areas. If, and when, George Saloe's main mass of Kiowa songs are issued these differences will be discussed. It is interesting to compare Nettl's statements regarding the music with some of those Winston gave in his description of the "Four Songs." Winston says: "It's not the music, not the Jehovah's staff; it's that thunder that's balled up (in the drum) and the history that goes with it; and the whip what you call a drumstick." - "The songs that you hear don't have no words in them; but still they're the Gods' sounds that are given to the Indians (and) that the white man don't understand." - "The wind that you hear out here, the sound of the reed and of the grass, the sounds of the birds that you hear out here, the sounds of your everyday living, the way that your Father in Heaven made, your Father in Heaven, you know, that!"

PEYOTE SONGS IN ANADARKO

When I awoke, after my first uncomfortable night on the floor of the "walk-around" in the jail, I saw by the increasing light on the wall at my feet that most ancient and thoughtful of designs, the circular and interlocked rainbows. Next to it there is an amazingly stylized drawing of a deer by a tree - a type of art which A.S. later explained "came from Siberia." Further to the left there is a scissor-tail bird above an upturned moon lettered "Peyote Altar." As I stared in amazement at this, my first friend D.W. came up and spontaneously gave a description of the Peyote Meeting which, despite the fact that I had read literature on the subject, and had

eaten the herb itself frequently, for the first time made clear to me the purpose and ritual of the Native American Church. He also sang a song or two in a very low voice

Peyote songs are likely the most popular kind of music among the Indians in Anadarko. Surprisingly, they are probably sung more frequently outside the meeting than in. People often divert themselves while driving, or sitting around, by singing them. I also have heard individuals walking alone humming them. Naturally, under these conditions there is no drum and sometimes not even a rattle. At home there is almost always a rattle handy and it is used. Sometimes a paper box is picked up and beaten like a drum, but this act is much more frequent with "49" songs than it is with Peyote songs. Individuals are also much more willing to sing other people's songs out of the Meeting than they are in the Meeting itself, where they try not to duplicate other singers' songs but to sing ones that "belong" to themselves.

All of the songs in this set of records were sung under conditions that approximate the casual performances outlined above. They were made either in the home of the singer or in my hotel rooms at the Bryan. I had the opportunity of making recordings at an actual ceremony but decided against it; first, because I was anxious to record commentaries on the songs and, second, because I knew that several other persons were jeopardizing their chances of knowledge by making recordings at Meetings. At any rate, probably more can be learned, by the audience these records are intended for, from the descriptions that Winston and Everett gave, than could be gained from excerpts of an actual Meeting.

The main discrepancy these records suffer from is a lack of samples of drumming. The specialized peyote drum is of the greatest beauty, and the variety of tones that a good drummer can make, truly astounding. Its throb weaves among the notes of the tune and gives an impressiveness to the "Peyote Meeting" that once heard is never forgotten. But, due to my desire to get casual rather than ceremonial versions of the songs, I present no records with the drum. There are a number of rather inferior examples of drumming on other recordings, and it is hoped that in the future it will be possible to

record this instrument in its full beauty.

Although the drum is mentioned more times on the recordings than is the rattle, the latter is the peyote instrument par excellence. I was often told that while it was possible to get along without the drum, the rattle provided the "real" accompaniment to the melodies, in fact was inseparable from the Peyote songs. Like the peyote plant itself the form of the rattle is an object to be commented on artistically. It is made from a species of small necked gourd cut off a little more than halfway up the neck. Into this neck a wooden plug, loosely attached to a handle, is fitted. The plug can be adjusted to give the desired tone as the beads, which are inside, strike the gourd. I made quite a collection of gourds in Anadarko. They are sold in various stages of manufacture in both of the pawn shops there as well as being available from individuals and even found wild. A good shaped gourd is round "like the sky" and is of an even light brown color. One that I got in Miss Tingley's pawn shop was of, to me, a beautiful red color but was said by others to be of an ugly darkness. Another was of a fine shape, but a scarcely perceptible dark stain on one side made it undesirable. Everett said "I wonder why they did that." Other gourds though of fine color and shape were too thick or too thin to give the desired ringing sound when used. In use the rattle is revolved clockwise with various front to back motions to vary the speed of the tone. The possibilities of this instrument are heard to advantage on the recordings of Henry Teimausaddle (side 3, cut 7).

THE RECORDINGS

At the recording sessions the recorders selected the nature and order of their contribution with as little suggestion from myself as was practical. In editing, though most of the matter on the original tapes has been eliminated, the selections have been kept essentially in the order in which they were recorded. For example, Everett's session of April 6, 1964 consisted of the following items:

- | | |
|--------|----------------------------------|
| | 1 - Autobiographical statements |
| P. 5-3 | 2 - Peyote Songs of Nathan Diobi |
| | 3 - Forty-Nine Song |

- 4 - Forty-Nine Song, "Let's go a joy ride after dark"
- 5 - Round Dance (Kiowa)
- 6 - Second World War Song of forty-fifth division by Jimmy Anquaie
- P. 5-4 7 - Peyote Song of Ray Cozad
- 8 - Flag Song of War
"Mothers of Carnegie"
- 9 - Tuning the Gourd
- 10 - Old Peyote Song, "Thank You"
- 11 - Old Peyote Song, "No Words"
- 12 - Old Peyote Song
- 13 - My favorite Peyote song. I heard Jimmy Anquaie sing it ten or twenty years ago.
- 14 - Peyote Song. "I heard my oldest uncle that's living now, Henry Tenedoah, sing that ten or twenty years ago. The words mean 'Peyote'."
- P. 5-5 15 - Peyote Song on one of the Ten Gods. "Both my uncles have one of those Gods, Henry Tenedoah and Oliver Tenedoah."
- 16 - Forty-Nine Song
- 17 - Forty-Nine Song. Composed by Ernest Redbird.
- P. 1-1 18 - Opening Song of Peyote Meeting
- P. 1-2 19 - Midnight Water Song
- P. 1-3 20 - Quitting Song
- P. 1-4 21 - Description of Peyote Meeting
- 22 - Round Dance Song
- 23 - Forty Nine Song. "The Boys came back home. That's why we're enjoying ourselves; we're thankful they're here."
- 24 - Round Dance Song
- 25 - Navaho Round Dance.
Song I learned in nineteen-forty-eight.
- 26 - Round Dance Song
- 27 - Forty-Nine, "Western Front" ("Way back in Bootlegging days there was a rough part of Carnegie called Western Front")
- 28 - Description of when Forty-Nine Songs are sung.
- P. 5-6 29 - "My own Peyote Song. Almost like a church song"
- P. 5-7 30 - "Peyote Song of Otoe or Pawnee. I put

Kiowa words in it"
31 - Peyote Song

Items preceded by a "P" are in this album and the two digits following indicate the Side and Band number. Thus, though Everett's material has been separated, everything on any one record is in its strict original sequence. This procedure has seemed expedient in order to preserve some of the developmental concoctions dependent on enthusiasm rather than cogitation.

On all of the recordings of music, the songs are explained and ritual or biographical data given by the singer. The spoken sections are in many cases of very great interest and amount to about a third of the material. In editing I naturally have tried to present things that are nice to hear, and to that end a large enough collection (over 1200 songs) was made so that the few items selected from it for release could be not only well performed and typical but also aesthetically appealing. As originally conceived the material collected in Anadarko was to have been divided into four series. For various reasons this system has had to be abandoned and what, if any, of the other recordings are issued remains to be seen. However, I print here my original classification to give some idea of the richness of songs in Anadarko.

SERIES A - Religion in Anadarko

Section 1 - The Peyote Meeting

Section 2 - Church Songs of Anadarko

SERIES B - Love Songs of Anadarko

Section 1 - A History of Kiowa Love Songs

Section 2 - Mrs. Chesney's Ballad Boxes

SERIES C - The Kiowa Tribe

Section 1 - Educational Methods of the Ancient Kiowa

Section 2 - The Social Organization of Kiowa Music

SERIES D - Opinions of Anadarko

Section 1 - Opinions Regarding Intrinsic Values

Section 2 - Opinions Regarding Empirical Values

COMMENTS ON THE RECORDINGS

For convenience sake, I have divided the material into three records. First, the "Four Songs" (the Opening Song, Midnight Water Song, Morning Water Song, and Quitting Song) that govern the progress of the ceremony, second, "Intercalation of Songs," and third, "Some Favorite Songs." The universal "Four Songs" and the more personal "Favorite Songs" come together on the "Intercalation of Songs" so we are really dealing with only two classes of song; the "Four Songs" that mark the stages of a Meeting and the "personal" songs more or less "owned" by individuals. A classification that has only two divisions, one consisting of four units and the other of many thousand, is admittedly unsatisfactory. The personal songs could have been divided into smaller groups such as ones used predominantly for healing, blessing, thanks-giving, etc., but the essentially two part division will suffice for this set of records. The "Four Songs" are also very convenient for use in contrasting the vocal methods of different singers or, in the case of Winston, how one singer performed the same material on different occasions.

THE FOUR SONGS

A number of descriptions, or partial descriptions, of the ceremony and how the "Four Songs" are connected with it are given on the records. The most complete of these are the long versions by Everett and Winston on sides 1 and 2. Everett, except for slight digressions, treats the physical acts of the ceremony; Winston analyzes its metaphysical background. Shorter descriptions are also given by Ray and George on sides 3 and 4. Everett's, Ray's, and George's accounts duplicate a lot of the same components. Winston's is totally aberrant. he is much more interested in giving philosophical interpretations than he is with details of who does what and when at the Meeting. Only once, when he sings the Morning Water Song, does he mention the smoking and prayers for the family, all of which figure prominently in the other accounts.

In the following truncated transcripts I have arranged the most important statements of Ray and George according to which of the "Four Songs" control the parts of the

ceremony. These two short descriptions give the minimal outline of the Meeting according to two different people, and combined give a good idea of what are considered the most important acts. I have consolidated, in parentheses, a few relevant statements from Winston and Everett in order to show examples of their way of thinking. In these cases I have mostly employed only a few key words to indicate similarities with other accounts. Detailed descriptions can be heard on their records, sides 1 and 2.

Both Slotkin and La Barre, especially the latter, give circumstantial accounts of the Kiowa Peyote Meeting. It is interesting how closely Slotkin's description, based mainly on Mooney's research of the late 1890's, corresponds to Everett's. La Barre states a great number of details that are not mentioned on the recordings. Especially interesting notes are given of symbolic interpretations of the implements and rites. Mostly these symbolisms were not mentioned by my singers although similar, and exhaustive, correlations were given me by other tribes farther north, particularly the Arapaho.

It is noteworthy that both Winston and Everett devote a good deal of their material, and their most moving accounts, to the period between the Midnight Water Song and the Morning Water Song; the time when "You get the vis(ion)" according to Winston. Everett does not specifically mention the Quitting Song but merely says that the drum is stopped when the woman brings the breakfast in. His long account of the breakfast, which is not even mentioned in the other narratives, is in line with his preoccupation with food in descriptions of the "Forty-Nine" and "Round" dances and in the trickster stories that he gave. For some reason Ray recapitulates the entire ceremony in his description of the Quitting Song (side 4, cut 8). In the case of Winston I have added a second recording of each of the "Four Songs" in order to illustrate how he varied his performance from time to time. The first series was recorded in his home, the other in my hotel rooms. The second versions seem to be regularly faster in tempo than the first and are generally less complex in accents, glissandos, and ornamentation.

(STARTING SONG)

GEORGE SALOE (Side 3 cut 1) "Well, this song I'm going to sing; it's a Peyote song when they're in the tipi, they smoke, eat the Peyote, and a that's the Starting Song I'm going to sing this time." RAY COZAD (Side 4 cut 1) "When you first starting that meeting, well you sing that song. Sing that song to get that meeting going. They go clockwise; to the right." (EVERETT: (rites before going in) tipi facing east. Prayer before going inside - "Watch me through the night, watch my prayers, watch my songs. Let nothing disturb me or scare me, let me see the sun come up. Go inside. Smoke. Pass peyote around. Drum goes round." WINSTON: "10, 15, 20, 30, 40 years I've heard---that song that made that spirit come in.")

(MIDNIGHT WATER SONG)

GEORGE SALOE (Side 3 cut 2) "Next song is a Midnight Song when the fire chief goes after water, brings it in the tipi and they pray for that water and they drink the water, that's a Midnight Song I'm singing now." RAY COZAD (Side 4 cut 3) "Now! I'm going to sing you that Midnight (Song). We pause a while. When they get through singing that fourth song, they going to take a smoke, we going to pray Almighty, we going to ask him whatever we want. So I'm going to sing now." (EVERETT: Fire Chief goes out and comes in with water. Smoke cigarette. Pray for water he brought in. Pray for my people and family. Everett correlates the directions, rising and setting of the sun, and seasons with his prayer at this point. (Side 1 cut 2) To the East: "Watch over me. Let me see the sun come up; let me and my people see the day." To the South: "Help me; let me see more summer days." To the West: "My Heavenly Father, let me see the sun go down; let me spend more days." To the North: "Let me see many winter days; put a white blanket over the ground; make my ground rich.") WINSTON: Come to the bullseye. "Get the vis(ion)." Prayer. "When you come down to the bullseye. Zai-yaw is this wind blowing from the East." "They face their tipis to the East 'cause they knew at that time that the biggest portions of the storms

and the winds came from the West, the North, and the South; but when they came from the East the white man calls them 'ill winds' but we call them 'Getting right down to the Bullseye, Zay-yaw'." "Things are going good, you have plenty to eat, your family sick gets well." (Second version) "This is---when they call for the water and when everybody's sound asleep.")

(MORNING WATER SONG)

GEORGE SALOE (Side 3 cut 3) "Next one, next song it'll be Morning Song when the woman brings the water in, takes it in the tipi and water them peoples in there, them Peyote mans, and they prays and the woman prays, and (it) be daylight, daybreak, sunup. That's when they bring the water in. The woman. That's Water Song for morning." RAY COZAD (Side 4 cut 5) "Now; this is the Morning Song. We're going to pause again. We've been praying all night long. Now it's daylight coming. We going to pray Almighty; the sun coming, the daylight coming, that we're happy this morning, we're happy this morning, that we're everybody in here happy and feel good, that we're going to pray for Almighty, that, take care of us and let us live long time; we pray for everybody in this world. So I'm singing this Morning Song." (EVERETT: Woman comes in. Brings water. Prayer for family by Water Woman. Smoke. Woman goes out. Start again. WINSTON: "Everybody drinks water in the morning---even the animals---That's when everybody in this world sees the dawn coming and they get up." (Second version) "That's when the woman brings in the water, makes a cigarette and prays for her family as well as her relatives, as well as the people that she likes."---"Even government officials.")

(QUITTING SONG)

GEORGE SALOE (Side 3 Cut 5) "Now this is the song that's the end of it. Quitting Song. They untie the drum and they pick up gourd, staff, sage, and they take it outside and it's all over. (Quitting Song) That's a Quitting Song. They always go out and it's all over; the Peyote in the tipi. That's all there is, that's all there is. No more 'til they have another Peyote Meeting, them

songs." RAY COZAD (Side 4 Cut 7) "Now Quitting Song: (Quitting Song). "When we first go in Meeting we sing them songs; that's the Start-off Song that I sang. Sing all them songs, and that drum go round. When it get back to the Chief, to the right (clockwise) and then when twelve o'clock come, well, the Roadman takes it and he sings Midnight Water Song that I sing. And then after we get through they go again 'til daylight when that Roadman get ready to call for water and sing that Morning Song. Well, he sing again, that Morning Song I just got through sung, singing. Alright; when they get through they take their smoke and pray. When they get through everything, alright, he sing four song, and then when he sing that Quitting Song, that's it. That's where they quit."

(EVERETT: The water woman has been out. The Quitting Song is sung and drum stopped when she brings the breakfast in. "Water. The head of it is always water. Bread: Our bread is made out of corn, as you know. Meat: ground meat. And fruit." Smoke cigarette. Prayer of thanks for breakfast. Pass food around. Untie drum. Put peyote, gourd and feathers away. Do whatever you want then. "We done had our meeting."

(WINSTON: "Everybody sleeps; but we poor Indians; we have to sit up." "Gets eery---and that spirit comes in." "Now! Where the symbols of the four corners of the world come to an end through careless man's stages; through the minds of careless people in this world." "We feel there is always an end to everything regardless of what you do in this world it will come to an end." "Even your death.")

INTERCALATION OF SONGS

Sides 3 and 4 are devoted to what is called by me "Intercalation of songs." Between the "Four Songs" that mark the stages of the rite, and that are sung by the leader of the Meeting, a number of songs are sung by other participants. These always are sung in sets of four. When the Opening Song, Midnight Water Song, Morning Water Song, and Quitting Song are sung there are three other songs with them, again to make four. There are several minor variations in the way the sets of three songs that go with the "Four Songs" mentioned above are sung. They may be traditional, like the "Four

Songs" themselves, or they may merely be favorite songs of the Leader. Each Leader seems to have his own conception of the way the ceremony is to be conducted and a simple division into "Kiowa Road" and "Peyote Road" sort of meetings sometimes given is far from true; there are all kinds of intermediaries and variations. It is probable that George's account comes closer to what has been referred to as the "Peyote Road" type than does Everett's for example. It is problematical where Ray's stands. I was unable to determine whether the three songs each he sings after the Opening Song, Midnight Water Song and Morning Water Song were bound to those songs by tradition or were only "Favorite Songs." The fact that he sings the Quitting Song without three others, however, seems to indicate that he followed a "Road" close to his brother Everett. George sings a "special" song to go with the Morning Water Song. "It ain't no Water Song, but it's a song that goes with those Morning Songs. (He translates the words "I'm watering the people in the tipi and all over; people.") He also says that three other songs are sung with the Midnight Water, Morning Water, and Quitting Songs and that the Quitting Song is last of its set of four. All of these sound like "Peyote Road" traits.

In the Meeting each person sings four songs (not the "Four Songs") as the drum makes it round and arrives at them. The recordings of Henry, and of Ray and Blossom on side 3 give what the singers considered appropriate sets of four ordinary songs. They are very artistically arrived at, contrasting tempos and ornamentation demonstrate what the singers considered to be an aesthetic series. Henry's four consecutive songs (Side 3, cut 7) are especially interesting, first, because of his unique mastery of the rattle and, second, because of his vocal tone. Everett and several other people remarked that Henry was noted for his high pitched, tensioned, singing voice. These two factors mark him as one of the great musicians of the American plains. Ray says the first three songs of his consecutive series (Side 3, cut 8) have no meaning. The last song derived from a vision he had in the Peyote Meeting before his grandson was born. It was of a stork carrying a baby. Blossom translates the words "I am the life; accept me, take me." On side 4 Ray sings the "Four Songs," the

Starting Song, Midnight Song, and Morning Song each with three other songs. It is curious that while George doesn't mention three other songs to go with the Starting Song, Ray does, but the latter leaves out three other songs to go with the Quitting Song.

It will also be noticed that Blossom only begins to sing with Ray after he starts the series of songs he connects with the Morning Water Song (Side 4 cut 5) - "When the woman brings the water in." Blossom's Biblically oriented comments at the end of side 4 are illuminating. The order of creation was Earth, Sky, Waters, Living Creatures, Living Creatures in the Waters. This took seven days. "When he made this earth he made the Peyote." She says to look in the Book of Romans where it says "Seek of this herb." The Peyote is a cure for all ills; "sick in the mind, arthritis, heart," but "you have to have faith in the Lord before you have your healing."

SOME FAVORITE SONGS

The record in this set called "Some Favorite Songs" really consists of only some favorite songs of Everett. Out of the thirteen cuts on the two sides eleven are his. Although Winston recorded quite a few "personal" peyote songs I am including only two, both of them, especially the second, outstanding examples of what he called his "silver-throated" style. When the "Frosty Morning" love songs are issued Winston's voice can be heard at its best. In the meantime his two versions of each of the "Four Songs" on side 2 plus the two "personal" songs (Side 5 cuts 1 and 2) will give a good idea of his technique. As far as Everett's recordings are concerned it must be remembered that they have been sifted twice; first when Everett made his selection and, second, when I reduced his hundred or so "personal" Peyote Songs to eleven cuts. It has seemed best, however, to include more of Everett's "personal" songs than of Winston's in order to show what sort of song one singer considered "favorite." I have tried to include the most typical of Everett's performances, but this is scarcely possible in such a limited number of cuts. When peyote songs were sung outside of the Meeting people often discussed who they "belonged to" and who they learned them from. These resemble the short

prayers spoken at the Meeting. This same sort of comment, in English, is given on most of Everett's records.

Side 5 Band 3 really consists of two songs. There is some confusion in my notes at this point. My written data says that two songs of Nathan Diobi are sung, but on the recording Everett says it's one song "for boys in service - - - I appreciate what they're doing - - - I got my own free country." Side 5 Band 4 is dedicated to Everett's sister. "My brother's (Ray Cozad's) tune. He told me to sing it - - - I'll see my grandson, which is our niece's children." Side 5 Band 5 "White man got ten commandments - - - we got ten Gods - - - different families got them." My written notes say this song is for only one of the ten gods. "Both my uncles have one of those Gods, Henry Tenedoah and Oliver Tenedoah." On the recording he says the name Tenedoah "comes from my grandparents on my mother's side." It means "You're over there, you got my heart." The above three sides are typical of Everett's earliest performances, in that he connects them with members of his family. It was only later that he began singing songs of his own and even later, songs of other people. When Everett says that the name "Tenedoah" comes from his grandparents on his mother's side he gives us a little glimpse of Kiowa social structure. It is congruent with his statement (Side 5 cut 4) about the niece's children being called "Grandchild." Side 5 Band 6 is especially interesting in that it is the first peyote song Everett composed. When he was seven or eight years old "(white) doctors gave up on me - - - said I had tuberculosis of the intestines - - - my mother and dad been taking me to Peyote Meetings - - - I just practically grew up in there." He was lying in the back of the car when he started to sing. "They said go on, sing it - - - I just thought of those words you know, I didn't know how to make a tune but I just sang those words and all the time I had a tune." What he sang was derived from one of the Kiowa Christian hymns. A superb performance by George of this particular hymn will be issued later. The words are the same but the tempo of the hymn is slower and, of course, lacks the typical Peyote Song syllables at the beginning and end. It is also in a much less ornamented style. Everett paraphrases the words "Our father is the creator - - - the most supreme. - - -

I'm going to worship my God. - - - I feel good, I really feel good because God made me feel good." He adds the comment that "This so called cactus, if it hadn't been for that I don't know where I'd of been right now; been lying there (dead) with the rest of them I guess."

Side 5 Cut 7. Everett says "I put the words in myself - - - I think the tune belongs to the Oto or Pawnee but I put Kiowa words in it." How he learned this tune I don't know, but he probably heard it from a visitor or a Meeting. Also, quite a few families have tape machines and use them to record songs. These tapes often travel around surprising distances. A Wichita who lived among Kiowas played me some that his wife's Pawnee relatives had sent him and to whom he returned records of local songs.

Side 6 Cut 1 is the song of Louis Cozad, Everett's father. Side 6 Cut 2 gives two sets of words to the same tune. The first is translated "I love my peyote, I like to hear my songs. I like to sing and I like to sing Peyote Songs." The second goes "I love my peyote, I love the effects of it." Side 6 Cut 3 is included because it is one of Everett's most typical and best performances. I was unable to get any commentary on the song other than that it was liked by the singer. Side 6 Cut 4 is a Morning Song of Everett's uncle, Henry Tenedoah. "In the morning this bird woke him up when he went to crowing - - - just like I told you they got their eagles, they got their water-birds and scissortails and what have you, all kinds of pretty birds - - - (but) it's a rooster (in this song)." Side 6 Cut 5 is another song on the Ten Gods. It is unfortunate that no translation of this or the other song on the same subject (Side 5 Cut 5) is available. In the so far unissued narrative that Winston recorded about the woman who visited the sky they are the ten fragments of her child. Side 6 Cut 6 is not one of Everett's best performances, but has been included because of the interest of the words. The order of creation is given as Earth, Ground, Human Being, Sun, and Peyote. "He give me something to worship. He give me the Peyote to worship." In his description of the Peyote Meeting (Side 1) he gives the order as Ground, Sun, Moon, Earth, Man, Woman: "He seen the man was lonely. God gave man a companion," not mentioning the time when Peyote was created. Blossom gives a similar

but more extensive series (Side 4 Cut 9): Earth, Sky, Waters, Living Creatures, Living Creatures in the Waters, and says that "when he made this Earth he made the Peyote." This places Blossom's and Everett's statements regarding the time of the creation of Peyote at variance, the former saying it was placed by God coincident with the earth and the latter saying it was created last of all.

A NOTE ON PEYOTE ART

I am giving a few examples of Peyote art-work in order to show how the same rules of rhythm and thought govern both the music and the graphic arts. The art-designs, in fact, constitute a sort of Kiowa materialization of the songs in the same way that notes on a staff constitute the European transcription. All of the accoutrements of the Peyote rite are adorned with carving, painting, or beadwork. The rattle, fan, staff, drumstick, implement for tying the drum, and the box they are kept in, are all suitably decorated, as is the blanket of the worshipper. In addition, various special pieces of jewelry are worn by members outside of the meeting. The Peyote inspired paintings of Stephan Mopope and others, especially Monroe Tsa Toke (see Denman), are well known. Just as the "personal" songs divide themselves into ones that have complete "words" in them and ones that are "plain" and consist only of syllables, the art-work divides itself into two classes: realistic and abstract. The subject matter and composition of the paintings and silver work is very similar, and realistic. The beaded and carved designs are also quite like one another (especially when on cylindrical surfaces) but are basically geometrical and abstract.

These objects with designs on them are usually congruent with the Peyote visions of the possessor, but are not necessarily made by him. An order may be placed with a well known craftsman to turn out certain objects, or the prospective buyer may look through the supply that the artisan has on hand to find designs similar to those he has seen at Meetings.

Figures 1 and 2 are examples of the sort of bead-work medallions on the upper back of the special red and blue blanket worn at Meetings. In both cases the stepped four part division is clearly visible. According to Winston,

the four cornered world is represented, with the Meeting at its center. The designs are worked in red and blue on a white background. Similar medallions, but often of a more star-like design, are placed under the "Chief Peyote" on the altar.

Figures 3 to 9 are rubbings of carvings on the upper portions of drumsticks for the Peyote drum. These sticks average about 13 inches in length and 1/3 inch in diameter and are made of various hard woods. When asked to explain the abstract designs Everett said, "I guess it's something they saw in a Meeting, or maybe they just thought it was pretty." Although most of the designs are geometric, a few have realistic representations on them. Figure 3 shows a "Caddo" type altar, Figure 6 a field of altars. Figures 8 and 9 were carved by Oscar Bullbear, well-known for his precision and accuracy. Of these, Figure 8 is of ebony and is especially beautiful, Figure 9 has a bird on it, the symbol that occurs so frequently in the rite. A rattle handle carved with the same design, and of the same wood, as Figure 4 is in the museum at "Indian City," Anadarko. Evidently both pieces belonged to the same set. The custom of having similar carving, or beadwork, on all of the implements of one set is common.

Figures 10 to 24 are patterns for jewelry from the design sheets of Murray Tompahote, one of the finest silver workers in Anadarko. Figure 10 is a tie-clip showing a rattle surmounted by a tipi and with a bird hanging from it. The tie-clips in Figures 11 and 12 are similar to one another in that they both show the altar with the tipi above and a bird below. Figure 11 has a rattle laid across the altar and Figure 12 two additional birds. Figure 13 is an earring having a rattle surmounting a tipi, with the moon shaped altar inside and with feathers hanging below. Figure 14 is another earring showing the tipi with altar and feathers, but with a bird inside the altar. Figures 15 and 16 are pins in the shape of birds. The first is what is usually called a "water bird" and the second a scissor-tail. Figure 17 is an earring with an unidentified design, but with a bird inside, and feathers below. Figure 18 is an eagle pin with a lower section (?) identical to Figure 13. Figure 19 is a rattle design which Murray said was suitable for a pin or earring. Figures 20 and 21 are fans. Figure 21 is

surmounted by a rattle. Figure 22 is similar to Figure 17 but is crowned by a tipi. Figure 23 was said to be an earring, but looks more like a pin. It probably is not connected directly with the Peyote rite. Figure 24 is a sketch of an earring Murray made to show a prospective Osage client. He made the drawing while the Osage described the design.

It will be noticed that certain motifs reoccur in Murray's drawings. Out of the limited sample of thirteen silver-work designs (leaving out figures 23 and 24) the bird is on eight, the tipi on seven, the rattle on six, feathers on five, and the altar on four pieces. These ratios correspond quite closely to the proportion of time that is devoted to the same themes on the records. (Feathers occur more frequently in the silver-work than on the recordings because the feathers of the former are very convenient and beautiful when loosely attached to earrings. All of the earrings illustrated have feathers in the lower register.) It can also be seen that the most common design elements of the silver-work are recombined in a similarly arbitrary way as are the most common syllables in the songs without words.

Out of technical convenience, the altars that form the cross-bars of the tie clips in Figures 11 and 12 are elongated rather than moon-like as on other pieces. I was told the altar is moon-shaped because Peyote "grows at the back of the moon in the sky." The best earth to make an altar of was said to be from the hills back of Anadarko where the ground was stained red when the Tonkawa were massacred.

BOOK LIST

The following book list gives only those items referred to directly in the text. They are of uneven quality, and it is essential that persons interested in filling gaps in the description of the ceremony as given on the recordings, or who are making comparative studies, refer to La Barre's bibliography for full references to Kiowa Peyotism.

DENMAN, LESLIE VAN NESS (editor)

The Peyote Ritual. Grabhorn Press. 1957.

LA BARRE, WESTON

The Peyote Cult. Schocken Books. 1969.

MARRIOTT, ALICE

The Ten Grandmothers. University of Oklahoma. 1945.

MOONEY, JAMES

The Kiowa Peyote Rite. Der Urquell (new series),
Vol. I, pp. 329-33. 1897.

MOONEY, JAMES

Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians. Annual Report
of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1895-96) vol. 17,
part I. 1898.

SLOTKIN, JAMES

The Peyote Religion. The Free Press. 1956.

