# THE PEYOTE CULT, THE "STOMP" DANCE, AND THE FORTY-NINE DANCE

## THE PEYOTE CULT

THE Peyote cult as it exists today can be considered in many ways as the most interesting religious organization among the North American Indians. The cult is predicated upon the use of peyote — a variety of cactus growing in Texas and northern Mexico. An important feature of the ceremony is the eating of the peyote "button," the small core at the centre of the plant.[1] The members of the society are referred to sometimes as Peyote-caters.

At a meeting of the fraternity, the members eat from four to two or three dozen of these buttons. The effect of the peyote is stimulating, perhaps more to the brain than the body, and in no way resembles alcoholic stimulation. The use of this cactus bulb by the priesthoods among the Indians of northern Mexico and the southwestern states is no doubt of considerable antiquity. It was a part of their ceremonial paraphernalia. In gathering ethnologic data from Indians of the Southwest, many fragments of information have been revealed to indicate the use of peyote by medicine-men as a stimulant.

As an organized cult, Peyote in the United States is of introduction later than the first contact with the white race. According to the best information obtainable, the White Mountain Apache of Arizona were the first to establish the Peyote ceremony.[2] The next tribe to acquire

1 Analysis as given by Dr. Frederick V. Coville, United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Plant Industry, Washington, D. C. Peyote: *Lophophora Williamsii,* of which *Anhalonium Williamsii* and *A. Lewinii* are synonyms, contains at least four alkaloids, anhalonine (C12H15NO3), anhalonidine (C12H15NO3), mescaline (C17H17NO3), and lophophorine (C13H17NO3), occurring in mescal buttons in the following percentages: anhalonine, 0.46; anhalonidine, 1.16; mescaline, 1.16; and lophophorine, 0.14. Some investigators report two other alkaloids, anhalamine and pellotine (C l3H19NO3).

2 It is not improbable that the cult had its inception among the Apache of Arizona through the frequent visits of war-parties to the mountainous country of Chihuahua, where the Tarahumare have practised it for a very long

it was the Jicarilla Apache of northern New Mexico. From them it was adopted by the Comanche.

From the Comanche the Peyote cult spread rapidly through many of the tribes of the Southwest, beginning about the year 1886. Now it is the most highly organized religious movement among tribes of that region, and it extends northward to the Indians of Idaho, Montana, and the Dakotas. Wherever the Peyote cult has been introduced, the majority of tribesmen are adherents of its teachings. It is claimed by Peyote leaders that in Oklahoma, aside from members of the Five Civilized Tribes, all Indians of stability are members, while those who have not come under its influence are of the dissolute class. Occasionally, however, one finds an individual whose Christian beliefs are so firmly established that he refuses to join the order.

The formula of the ritual, if it may be so termed, is a blending of Christianity and Indian ceremony which varies in minor details according to the religious bent of the particular leader. Among Peyote leaders may be found devout Catholics, Mormons, Mennonites, Baptists, and Methodists. In fact, among its members are representatives of every Christian denomination in the tribe in which the cult is practised; indeed the majority of its members are adherents also of some Christian church.

Among the Southern Cheyenne, one of the foremost exponents of the Peyote cult, and a full-blood, is an ordained minister. He has been a member of the cult for forty years, joining shortly after the organization took root among his people and while the membership was small. So far as can be learned, the cult is not antagonistic to Christianity. There may, however, at times be opposition to individual missionaries who are overzealous in their antagonism to it.

The Mormon church seemingly is not opposed, and the Catholic church makes little protest. All other Christian organizations, however, are unanimous in their opposition, notwithstanding the fact that the teachings of Peyotism are designed to promote moral living and sobriety, and its foremost tenet is to do good to one's fellow men.

Indian religion, that is, instinctive worship of the divine ones, or

time. The last historical raid into that region was by a band of Chiricahua under Nachi and Gerónimo, who surrendered in August, 1886.

the Infinite, does not of itself necessarily embody a moral code, and in this respect the Peyote formula differs from other Indian cults. No dancing or levity forms a part of the Peyote meeting; rather, it is a night of song, prayer, and meditation, preceded in most cases by a sweat-bath in order that the body may be freed from earthly contamination.

So far as can be learned, the formula of songs is the same wherever the Peyote order exists. Notwithstanding the fact that the Indians claim that the White Mountain Apache of Arizona were the first to establish the ceremony as it exists in the United States today, the ritual is obviously copied from Wichita ceremonial form. Most of the words of the songs and prayers are Comanche. The type of drum used is always the same — a small iron kettle partly filled with water and having a rawhide head. The beating of the drum is continuous throughout the rite, and its rhythmic vibration undoubtedly affects the emotions of the participants. A well-informed leader stated that the exhilaration of the worshippers is the combined effect of the drum-beat and the peyote. The order of the prayers is the same, but their wording varies according to the fluency and sect of the leader.

At all meetings a fine selected specimen of peyote is placed upon the crescent altar, and if the leader should be a Catholic, there rests across the peyote a crucifix. Prayers include the divine ones of the Indians, as well as God and the Son of God. The code of the cult demands upright living to an extent that should be satisfactory to any church, and it takes a positive stand against the use of intoxicants. In fact, the Peyote men claim that they have no desire for liquor, even though they may once have been drunkards.

An important feature of Peyotism is the healing of disease. Many remarkable cures are cited, but to what extent they may be credited to the medicinal properties of peyote is an open question. The cures are so many and so well authenticated that even the skeptic must accept the facts; and unless the plant possesses unique curative properties, Peyotism is far in advance of other mental-healing cults. To snatch countless people from the graves of consumptives is no mean achievement, even if it requires a combination of medicine and mental healing. The teaching of the cult is not to regard peyote as a medicine in the literal sense, but rather that through the use of this one of "God's plants" the believer may receive aid from divine sources.

Notwithstanding this dogma, it is the opinion of the writer that

the Peyote-cult teachers depend more on the literal than the spiritual. The strength of this hybrid cult no doubt may be attributed to, the belief that it is something that comes from within, God-given to the Red Race. Its ritualistic form is the Indians' own, slightly colored by Christian contact. A Caucasian spectator at one of these meetings could well imagine himself to be listening to the incantations of primitive priests, unless by chance he should catch the words "Jesus Christ, the Son of God," from a chant.

The cult has not gained its present foothold without opposition from medicine-men and the priesthood of the tribes among which it thrives. In fact, in many of the pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico the opposition of the Indian priests has been strong enough to prevent it from becoming established except at Taos.

The symbol of the organization is the crescent, and the writer well remembers the early years of the order of the crescent on the White Mountain Apache reservation. Peyote at that time was not mentioned in connection with the society, and the fight against the crescent group was a bitter one. The old-time Apache medicine-men were a power among their people, and, jealous of their position, they united in a bitter fight against the new cult, which at that time was shrouded by the greatest possible secrecy. The medicine-man who led the new order claimed that he had received the songs in a vision. Among these people, as elsewhere, Peyotism has swept all before it, and it is doubtful if there is now a medicine-man among the Apache of Arizona who is not a member of the order.

The Peyote organization is the only one in which the most devout adherent of Christianity and the most conservative medicine-men work side by side. Opposition by the white race to the use of peyote has dragged through all the years of its existence. Worshippers have been arrested, indicted, and tried in state courts. Failing of conviction there, they have been taken before the Federal courts, again without conviction. In Oklahoma an attempt was made to enact a law to make the use of peyote a crime, but in that state the situation has been somewhat cleared by the securing of a charter for the cult, under which the organization is legally called the "Native American Church."

A partially effective blow to the use of peyote is a ruling against its interstate shipment; but this does not prevent an Indian of any state from driving to Texas and returning with a supply if he so desires. Op-

position has so stimulated the Peyote cult movement that its membership is steadily increasing. The limit of its diffusion is seemingly racial only.

To appreciate the hold that Peyotism now has on the Indian, one needs an intimate knowledge of his metamorphic religious state - a more comprehensive term would be his muddled religious state. It must be borne in mind that the greater number of the cult members are under the influence of Christian teachings, but with only a vague idea of what is in the minds of their teachers. Yet many of the Indians who are so far advanced that they are preachers in the respective church organizations of which they are members, still cling to the primitive beliefs of their fathers without a qualm.

At the beginning of Christian teaching the Indian seemingly thought the white man was trying to tell him of a new God, which rather upset him. Then his mind caught the thought that God is God, regardless of creed, language, or race. To quote one of them:

"When I listened to the white teacher, he told us of a new God; said there was but one God and that he was in his church and not anywhere else. Then my heart was sad. For a long time I thought about that white man's God. Then my heart told me that it was not a new God all in one church, but, as our fathers taught us, the Universal Spirit was everywhere, and that what the preacher was telling us of his God was only the all-present Spirit which we knew so well. When I tried to tell the preacher that my heart was glad, that I now understood his God was the same as ours, then my friend the missionary became angry and told me not to think of the Spirit Over All but to pray to God."

Thus was the Indian's reasoning met by arbitrary theological argument. To his confused, primitive mind, with his instinctive reaching out to the Infinite, Peyotism offers that which he has been groping for blindly — a definite form of worship which includes his inherent beliefs and the white man's teachings in so far as he can grasp them.

## PEYOTE RITUAL

As an illustration of the ritualistic form of the Peyote cult, the following is given. The informant was an Oto of fair education and a preacher in one of the churches on the Oto reservation. The ceremony was initiated on this reservation in 1891 by one of the headmen of the tribe

who learned the ritual from the Tonkawa. At the outset, the ceremony was held only four times a year; it is now conducted every week, usually on Saturday night. It is necessary to enter the sweat-lodge by noon, before the ceremony takes place. The customary form of sweat-lodge songs and prayers is followed, that is, the sweat-lodge ceremony is a distinctive one of preparatory purification and is always the same regardless of the rite which follows.

The Peyote lodge is approximately sixteen feet in diameter, with the opening facing the east. The altar is an earthen embankment, six inches high, in the form of a crescent, the horns being approximately four inches apart. At the apex of the crescent altar is placed a selected specimen of dried peyote. The leader's or teacher's position is at the rear of the lodge, where, when seated, he faces the east. Just before him is the altar bearing its Palladium, the sacred peyote.

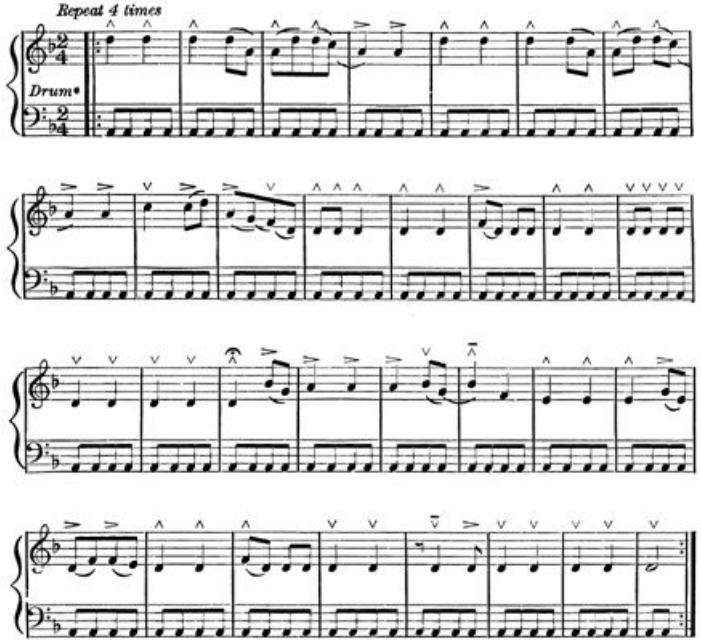
At the left of the leader is the position of the incense priest; at his right the position of the drummer. The firekeeper's station is at the right side of the entrance. Participants sit at the north and south sides of the lodge, and must continue in the ceremony during the entire night. None but reasons of the utmost importance would cause the leader to excuse them.

The place of the sacred fire is within the crescent altar and near its apex. It is the duty of the firekeeper to keep the fire burning during the entire ceremony. The first act in the rite is the kindling of the altar fire. Following this, the firekeeper announces that all is ready. Then, led by the leader, all march around the lodge in clockwise movement. At the entrance, the leader offers a prayer in which he asks the favor of Wakó$^{n}$da, the supreme power, to look with favor upon those present and to bless the lodge. He then enters, marches to his position, again in a clockwise direction, while others file in to take their places.

Now the leader in prayerlike recital tells the story of peyote. "We are assembled in a sacred lodge for the worship of the Divine Ones; we know that Wakó$^{n}$da created all things, animal and plant. We know that He Himself created Peyote. Believing this, we know that He created it for our use, for our good. We know that we should not look upon Peyote as a medicine, nor worship it as an idol, but rather regard it as a symbol of Wakó$^{n}$da, our Creator. We know the ceremony was given to us by the Divine Ones. We know that our minds, our thoughts, should be upon spiritual things while worshipping in this lodge."

The leader then takes up the altar peyote, holds it toward the sky, and prays to Wakó$^{n}$da that the symbol be sanctified, the ceremony blessed. Following this, he passes four peyote buttons to each member present, who in turn rises, goes to the crescent which is lined with sage, takes up some of the sage and rubs it over his head, body, and limbs. The purpose of the sage is that of purification, since sage, or the color of it, symbolizes purity. While this act of purification is in progress, the incense priest burns cedar on the fire, the odor permeating the lodge. Cedar has the function of driving away evil spirits as well as of being

OPENING SONG — Yu$^{n}$-we-pa′-gra$^{n}$




*Drums are in exact pitch. All slurs are exaggerated.

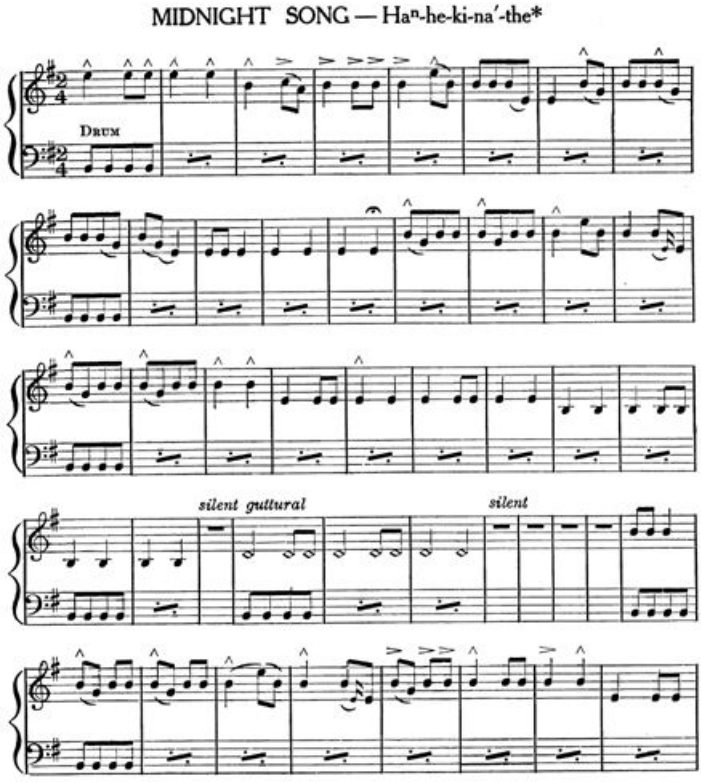
*Opening Song*

Ná-he-ye-ne-haí-yo-wí-chí-ná-we-no
Ná-he-ye-ne-haí-yo-wí-chí-ná-we-no
Ná-he-ne-hái-yo-wí-chí-ná-we-no
Á-he-ne-hái-yo-wí-chí-ná-we-na
Á-he-ne-hái-yo-wí-chí-na
Á-he-ne-hái-yo-wí-chí-na
Ná-he-ne-hái-yo-wí-chí-ná-we-na
Hé-ye-yo-wá
Á-he-ne-hái-yo-wí-chí-no
Á-he-ne-hái-yo-wí-chí-na
Hé-ye-yo-wá

symbolic of immortality, and is always burned before prayers are offered.

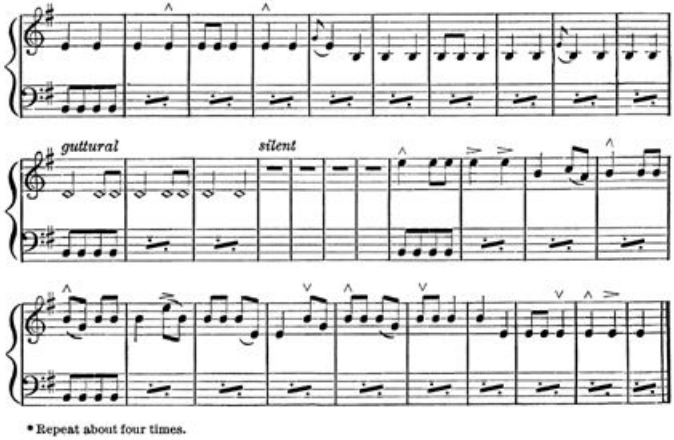
The members now chew tips of the cedar in order that its pleasant taste will counteract the bitterness of the peyote. Then, at the command of the leader, all eat their allotted portion. After this is finished, the leader once more addresses the members in words of admonition: "Remember the sacred nature of the meeting. Remember that we are worshipping Wakó$^{n}$da as instructed by him."

The leader, accompanied by the drummer, next chants the four sacred songs, meanwhile holding a staff and a wisp of sage in his left hand, and, in his right hand, a rattle with which he accompanies the chant.[3]




3 The Peyote rattle is a small gourd usually bearing upon its surface the crescent and other symbolic characters. The handle is decorated with beadwork.

The music of the Peyote songs is similar in all tribes in which the cult is practised. The words are vocables, differing slightly in their diffusion from the original among the Comanche, since they are taught by aural method only. Hence they are sung or pronounced as the singer has received them from his teacher, although song leaders invariably render them according to their own conception of how they should be sung. In this instance the words, or vocables, are taken from the Oto, while the music is from the Cheyenne; hence the seeming inconsistency.




* Repeat about four times.

*Midnight Song*

Ná-hi-ya-na h'yo-we-ne
Ná-hi-ya-no-hí-ya-na-h'yo-we-ne
Ná-hi-ya-na-hí-ya-na-h'yó-we-ne-hó
Ná-hi-ya-na-yó-we-hi-ya-ná

At the close of the Water song, the leader steps out of the lodge and blows his eagle-bone whistle to the east, the south, the west, and the north to ward off evil spirits. A water-bearer is appointed, or perhaps a chief's wife or daughter will act in this capacity. The water-jar is placed between the points of the crescent. The incense priest places cedar on the fire for the purification of the water-bearer, who extends his arms above the incense and draws the smoke to his body four times. Then he stretches his arms above the water, praying that Wakó$^{n}$da will bless the water and sanctify it for worship.

With the closing words of the prayer he sprinkles water upon the earth, "Our Mother." He then passes the vessel to the first man opposite the firekeeper, from whom it passes clockwise around the circle,

each participant drinking a large quantity.[4]

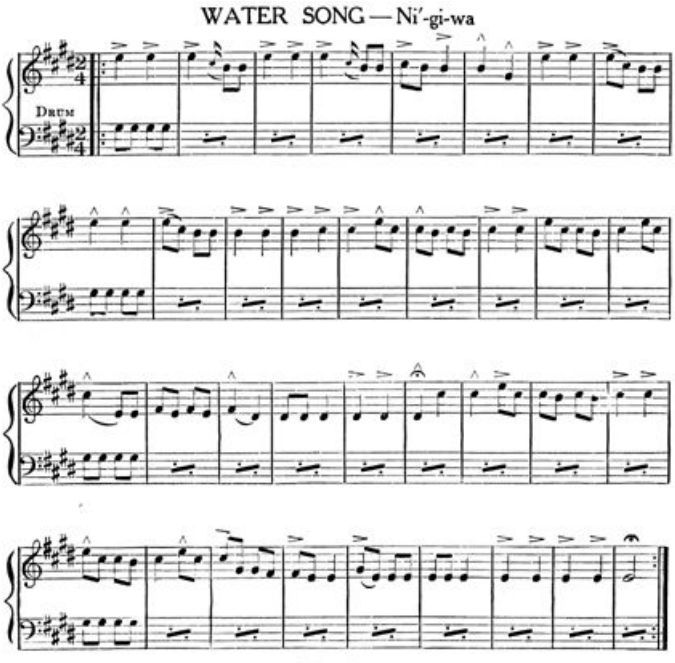
When all have finished drinking, the water-bearer walks around the altar, takes up the jar, and carries it outside. Now the leader passes around the circle, handing out the peyote. Each participant takes as many buttons as he desires. There is no limit at this time. The purification rite is repeated, followed by the song of the worshippers. At dawn the leader prays to the approaching day, the day soon to be born, including in his invocation the thought of the creation of day. At the close of this prayer he sings four songs. At the end of the first, he stops to blow his whistle to each of the four cardinal points. Again the water is brought in, with the same rites as before, followed by the three final songs of the series. The songs ended, the leader speaks, telling his followers of Wakó$^{n}$da creation of day, the coming of the sun; that through the spirit of water they have life. With the closing words he places the staff and rattle on the altar.

Once more the water-bearer brings water, and there is a repetition of that portion of the ceremony. The leader now announces that the night of worship is drawing to a close; that food is being prepared. Again the water ritual is repeated, and food is brought in. With its coming the leader thanks all for their participation in the ceremony, and announces that food comes to them through the beneficence of the spirits. Again the water rite, after which comes the singing of the four final songs, headed by the Quitting song. With each song the leader offers a short prayer with arms outstretched toward the sky, then takes the peyote from the altar and passes it around the circle from hand to hand. He then asks Wakó$^{n}$da to sanctify the food, after which the viands are passed around the lodge in the same manner as the water. When all have finished eating, a prayer of thanks is offered and incense burned. All purify themselves in the smoke, and file from the lodge.

The firekeeper, with help, takes down the lodge and gathers up the sage and cedar. The altar is destroyed, the firepit filled, and all traces of the ceremony removed.

The foregoing is a description of the Peyote ceremony as it is per-

4 It is apparent that the full stimulating effect of the peyote is aided by the drinking of water. The quantity drunk during this ceremony is so great that it could well be termed a water-drinking rite.



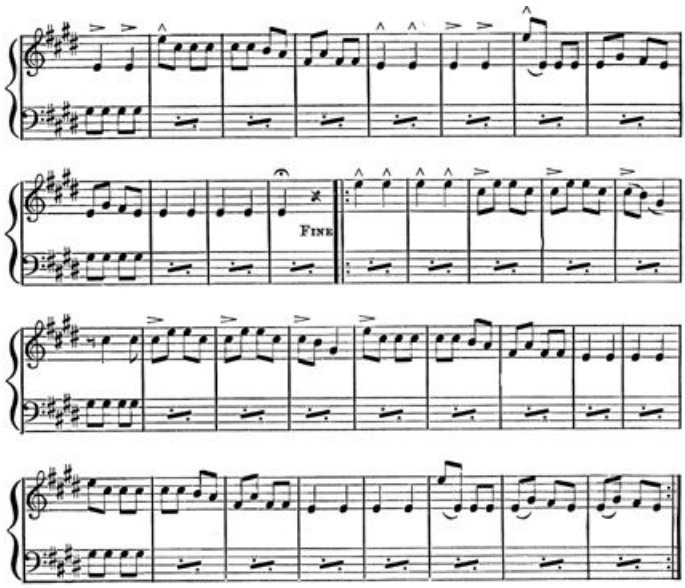

*Water Song*

Hé-ye-ye-na
Hé-ye-ye-na-há-we-ho
Yá-na-ha-we-no
Yá-na-ha-we-no
Wá-k'ho-wá-k'ho
Yá-na-h'we-no
Yá-na-h'we-no
Wá-k'ho-wá-k'ho
Á-a-a
Hé-ya-na
Hé-yo-wa

formed by the Oto and as related by an Oto who is a member of a Christian church. In fact, he described the ceremony as he teaches it, and indicated the concepts he has endeavored to convey to his followers. Evidence of Christian teaching is reflected throughout the rite.

The reference to idolatry is clearly Christian; in fact, it is in a measure a defense of the ceremony. Certain Christian opponents of the Peyote rite have termed the peyote an idol and the worship idolatry. The Catholic followers of the cult have cleverly vitiated the charge of idolatry by placing a crucifix on the altar with the peyote.

In the Oto account of the ceremony there is seemingly contradiction, in that the informant, after stating that the Oto learned the ceremony from the Tonkawa, asserted that they received it from the Divine




*Morning or Quitting Song*

Hé-yo-wi-na
Hé-yo-wi-na-ná-we-no
Hé-yo-wi-na
Há-ku-yu-chi
Há-ku-yu-chi-ná-we-no

Ones. The informant, however, explains the contradiction by stating that the original group to possess the rite received it in a revelation from the spirits, and that, following divine instruction, they passed it on to other tribes.

The avoidance of all ceremony is the practice with many of the tribes. It is probable that this omission originated through the need of secrecy during the more stormy years of the cult's existence; but owing to failure in obtaining convictions and the granting of the charter to the cult by the State of Oklahoma, this need has passed. The Osage adherents, instead of a temporary lodge, have well constructed buildings, circular in form, with concrete floors and altars, and the accompanying sweat-lodges are provided with similar floors. Such permanent buildings for the performance of the ceremony are invariably termed Peyote churches.

While descriptions of the Peyote ritual were secured from several tribes, space cannot be given to more than one. Differences are minor. Apparently there has been but slight change in the ritual since the in-

ception of the cult. The description of the ceremony as given by a missionary who witnessed it among the Comanche forty years ago would serve for the ceremony as it is practised today. His description of and comment on the rite were naturally antagonistic, as it was characterized as "devil worship," "idolatry," "drug-eating debauchery," and the like.

An interesting story bearing on the early distribution of the Peyote ceremony is given by the Comanche. A member of their tribe was lost in the mountains. He had been wandering about, and was absent from his people for a year or more. One night he heard a drum beating, a long way off. Its monotonous continuation puzzled him; he could not determine what it was, since it did not sound like dance music. He decided to proceed in the direction of the sound and to learn for himself.

After travelling some distance, he came to the bank of a creek where there was a camp of the Jicarilla Apache — called Woods Apache by the Comanche. He was undecided whether to enter the camp, so he remained for a while on the outskirts.

All the camp was silent and dark, except for one tipi which showed a light. It was from this tipi that the drum music came. The Comanche decided to leave his weapons by a tree and enter. It was possible that he would be killed, but rather than stay in the mountains and wander alone, he chose to take the chance for hospitality and information.

Creeping tip to the tipi, he lifted the door-flap and peeped in. There he saw an earthen altar with a priest behind it and people sitting in a circle. He slipped in and sat down. The priest motioned for him to roll tobacco in a leaf and smoke it, and when finished to throw the butt in the fire. Then the priest gave him some peyote and signed for him to eat. The Comanche by signs asked how to eat it, so the priest motioned for him to roll it in his hands and swallow it, and to ask for more when he wanted it.

The Comanche listened attentively to the songs and prayers. Toward morning water and food were brought in, and all feasted. The priest motioned the Comanche to come and sit by him. In the language of signs the priest indicated that he was about to bestow a gift of great value. He told the Comanche to open his mouth. The priest then breathed deeply and exhaled, when his breath took the form of a spotted butterfly which entered the mouth of the Comanche. The butterfly thus signified that he would soon find some spotted and roan

horses. The priest indicated that the Comanche was a good man, hence the gift, which was a peculiar medicine of his. He indicated that he was about to bestow another valuable gift, the peyote, which he gave in large quantity, showing that it would soon take the Comanche home.

He left the Jicarillas and after travelling some days slept on the open prairie. When he awoke, he saw a band of spotted and roan horses. He caught one and drove the rest before him. During the night he had dreamed that he saw a form riding very fast until it came up to him, when it lay down beside him. He awoke, but nothing was there. He thought a while; then it occurred to him that it was his shadow which had been to his home camp and returned to him while he slept. He arose and caught his horses, and after a month's journey arrived in the Comanche camp. He told his people that he had learned something of great value, and taught them the Peyote ceremony.

## PEYOTE EXPERIENCES

A Cheyenne, forty-eight years of age, educated at Carlisle, worked in the hospital there. After leaving school he was employed in other Indian hospitals. Becoming a confirmed drunkard, according to his own statements, his chief object in life was to obtain whiskey; he would do anything for a drink. He so neglected his wife and children that others had to clothe and feed them, until his wife was finally compelled to leave him. He had no interest in his tribesmen; even should they be in distress, he was quite indifferent to their suffering. Once a man of fine physique, he became so emaciated that he weighed only one hundred and forty-five pounds. Once after a drinking debauch he was run over by a wagon and his chest crushed.

While still an invalid, friends persuaded him to join the Peyote organization. After becoming a member, he not only drank no intoxicants, but claims that the craving completely left him and that at no time does he desire to drink. Within a few years he has become one of the most substantial men of the tribe, living in a good home, with his children well cared for. He cultivates his own farm and proudly boasts that no member of his tribe can grow more wheat to the acre than he; and with greater pride asserts that if any member of his tribe is in trouble or distress, "I shall always do everything I can to help him, and that makes me happy."

A Ponca man of sixty years relates: "I was just like a skeleton; I had

tuberculosis; I was almost dead, and weighed but ninety-five pounds. I went to see some white doctors. They looked at me and said: 'You are the same as dead; you should go home and die. Do not spend money to talk with doctors; save your money to buy a coffin.'

"Then my friend said, 'You had better join the Peyote; perhaps that will make you well.' I became a member of the Peyote society and took peyote all the time. Soon I grew stronger. In three months I was almost a strong man. In a year I was like a young man and had nearly doubled my weight. Before I joined the Peyote I did not care how other people lived. They might be hungry, but that did not concern me. Now I always think about other people, and all the Indians know that if they are hungry they can come to me."

Many other experiences might be related, but these are typical. There are many who, having once been confirmed drunkards, now claim that since becoming members of the Peyote order they have lost all desire to drink.

## THE "STOMP" DANCE AND THE FORTY-NINE DANCE

To the student of the Indians it is of exceeding interest to note the diffusion that is in process at the present time. This is all the more striking in the face of the controversy among investigators concerning diffusion, spread of culture traits, environmental influence, independent development, *et cetera*. There are at least two instances of diffusion of major importance taking place among the Southwestern Indians today: one, the Peyote cult; the other, the "Stomp dance." A lesser instance is the Forty-nine dance.

The "Stomp" dance, it is claimed, originated among the Seminole; yet a study of the music of the dance would seem to indicate an African origin, as the rhythm and the minor wail appear to be quite foreign to Indian musical concept. Nevertheless, the words, or vocables, are Indian. It may consequently be inferred that, although the spread of this performance was through the Seminole and the Creeks, these groups received its music, if not the dance itself, from negro sources, but applied their own interpretation to it.

The Stomp dance prevails today chiefly among the Indians of northeastern Oklahoma, especially the Quapaw, and along the northern border among the Osage, Oto, and Ponca. Our principal informant, Henry Snake, a Ponca living with the Osage, has made it his mission to

introduce the dance among the various tribes. He it was who brought it from the Quapaw to the Osage, Oto, and Ponca; and the writer was present when he made it known to the Cheyenne. Later he proceeded on a mission to the Kansa and Iowa, that they too might be enthralled by the weird refrain.

Though extremely popular with the "younger set," the elders regard the Stomp dance with disfavor. Asked why they object, the answers are nearly always the same — "It is not ours; it is not of our tribe. We paid no horses or blankets for it; therefore it is not our right to use it." A few old men, chiefly members of the Peyote cult, give as a reason for their opposition that while the Stomp dance is unobjectionable, it leads up to the Forty-nine dance.

When the crier announces the Stomp dance, all participants, men and women, perhaps more than a hundred in number, form a long curved line about a central fire. Two leaders are required, one at the head of the line, the other about the middle to lead the responses.

Then all follow the leader at the head of the line, single-file, round and round the fire. This part is accompanied by a peculiar rhythmic chant, the leader in the middle of the line chanting and the followers repeating in unison after him. The song is accentuated by the stamping, or "stomping," of feet, whence the name of the dance. A crouched, swaying posture of the body and the stamping of the feet in time with the song are preliminary to the second movement.

The song now changes. The dancers face the fire and clasp hands, while the leader circles them around the fire several times. He guides them so that many concentric circles are formed, which ever grow smaller until finally the dancers are a milling mob. As skilfully the leader works his way out until the circles dissolve and the line of participants again becomes a single ring about the fire. This movement is repeated several times, or until the song ends. No drum is used. By this time the tempo of the music has become faster and the dancers break into a half run. Sweat pours down their faces and dust rises in clouds beneath their feet. Now the minor African wail is heard, a melody that stirs the emotions. The weird music, the steady stamp-stamp of feet, the swaying bodies, the brilliant moonlight, the flickering flames, the long shadows cast by the fire, all have such an hypnotic effect on the participants that they may dance for hours, although to them it seems but minutes. A Stomp dance, performed after other dances are ended,

may last until dawn.

The spread of the Forty-nine dance has been the reverse of that of the Stomp dance. Informants say that it came from the Southwest through the Apache, Kiowa, and Comanche, and that its trend has been northward and eastward. There is reason to believe that the performance had its origin in fertility ceremonies of the Pueblo Indians and that the Oklahoma form is a gross perversion of the original sacred rite. Although the account varies among different tribes, the name of the dance is derived from the fact that, after one such performance, forty-nine infants of doubtful parentage were born.

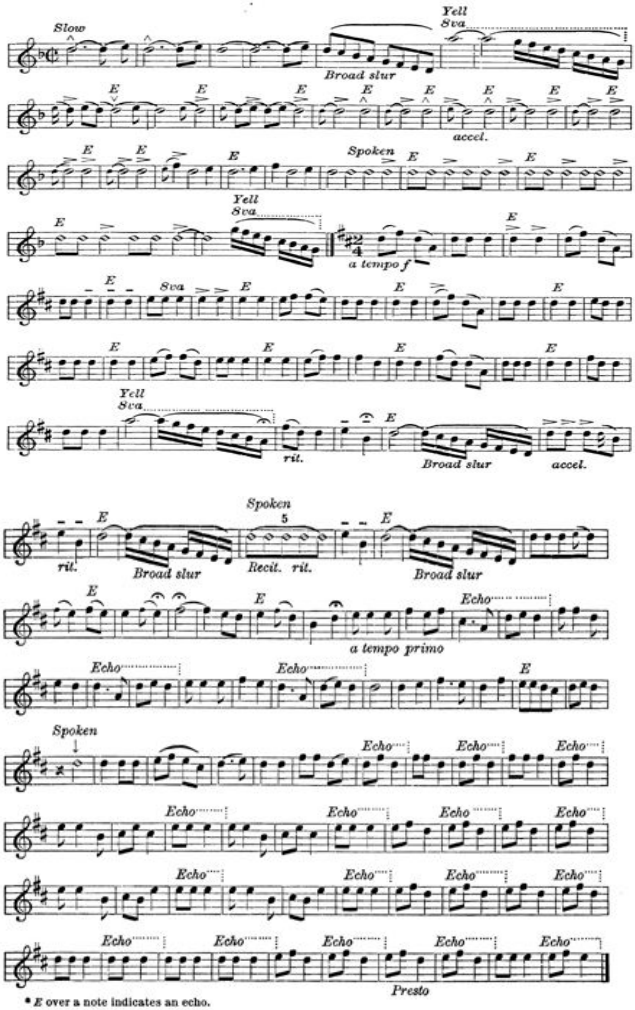
Among some of the Indians the performance is given openly, while with others it is held secretly at a distance from camp. In all cases, however, the dance is conducted late at night, after all other dances are finished. Unless one should be familiar with the dance, it might be performed under the very eyes of white observers who would be none the wiser.

In form the Forty-nine is what the Oklahoma Indians term a "social" dance; that is, drums and songs accompany it as in most dances, although the beat is slower; both men and women participate, the steps being those of a typical Indian woman dance. While dancing, the men select agreeable and willing partners with whom they go later to some secluded spot. When the dance is held secretly, the women usually cover their heads with blankets that they may be known only to their partners. Among the tribes which have been accustomed to the Forty-nine, there is little secrecy; but among those with which it is still more or less of a novelty, the performance is well hidden.

From any point of view such a dance may be regarded only as demoralizing, especially to a people still on the road to civilization. Many distressing incidents have resulted from the Forty-nine — murders and suicides, in addition to illegitimacy. The Indian elders, especially the members of the Peyote cult, are opposing the dance so vigorously that among some of the tribes it has nearly died out.

The Stomp dance and the Forty-nine, originating in widely different localities, have met, especially in northern Oklahoma. Often the former precedes the latter, for which reason, say the elders, the Stomp dance leads naturally into the Forty-nine.

## FIRST STOMP DANCE SONG*



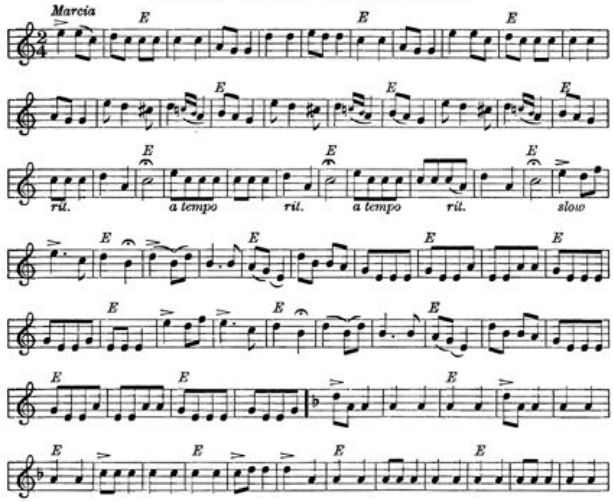

* *E* over a note indicates an echo.

*Vocables of the First Stomp Dance Song*[1]

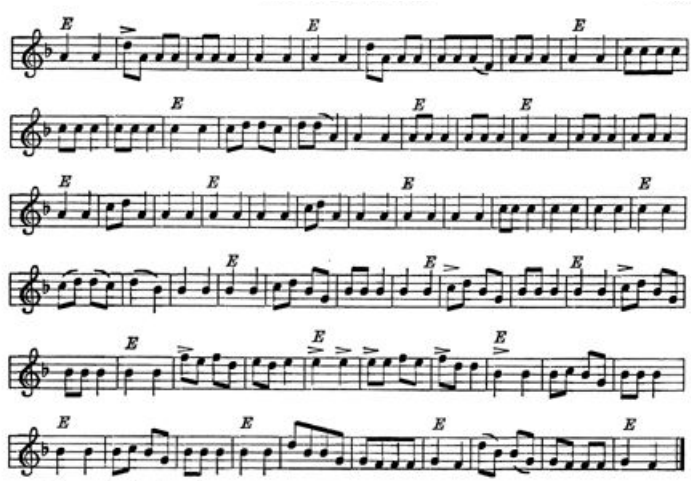
| *Leader* | *Response or Echo* |
|---|---|
| Hí-o | Hí-o |
| Hí-o | Hí-o |
| A-há | A-há |
| A-há | A-há |
| Hí-o | Hí-o |
| Hí-o | Hí-o |
| E-hé | E-hé |
| E-hé | E-hé |
| É-hi-o | É-hi-o |
| É-hi-o | É-hi-o |
| Ó-hi-ya | Ó-hi-ya |
| Ó-hi-ya | Ó-hi-ya |
| Ó-hi-ya | Ó-hi-ya |
| Ó-hi-ya-a-hí-ya | Ó-hi-ya-a-hí-ya |
| Ó-hi-ya-a-hí-ya | Ó-hi-ya-a-hí-ya |
| Ó-hi-ya-a-hí-yo | Hí-yo |

| *Leader* | *Response or Echo* |
|---|---|
| Ó-hi-ya-a-hí-yo | Hí-yo |
| Ó-hi-ya-a-hái-yo | Hái-yo |
| Ó-hi-ya-a-hái-yo | Hái-yo |
| Ó-hi-ya-a-hái-yo | Hái-yo |
| Ó-hi-ya-a-hái-yo | Hái-yo |
| Ó-hi-ya-a-hái-yo | Hái-yo |
| Ó-hi-ya-a-hái-yo | Hái-yo |
| Ó-hi-ya-a-hái-yo | Hái-yo |
| Ó-hi-ya-a-hái-yo | Hái-yo |
| Yó-hi-o-wa-hé-ya | E-yo-wá-hi-ya |
| Yó-hi-o-wa-hé-ya | E-yo-wá-hi-ya |
| Hú-we-hi-hú-le | Hú-we-hi-hún-ge |
| Hú-we-me-hú-le | Hú-we-me-hún-ge |
| He-ye-hó-we | He-ye-hó-we |
| He-ye-hó-we | Hí-a |
| Há-le-o | Há-le-o |
| Há-le-o | Há-le-o |
| Há-li-wa-ha-lí-o | Há-le-o |
| Há-li-wa-ha-lí-o | Há-le-o |
| Yó-hi-a | Yó-hi-a |
| Yó-hi-a | Yó-hi-a |
| Yó-hi-o | Yó-hi-o |
| É-hi-a | É-hi-a |

SECOND STOMP DANCE SONG*




1 The vocables are in two sections — those chanted by the leader and those given in response by the dancers, the latter marked as "echo" in the musical score. Various lines may be repeated at will, or shifted about in any order, according to the momentary whim of the chant leader. The Stomp Dance songs are repeated over and over until the leader brings the dance to a close. Two versions of the songs are presented.



* *E* over notes signifies echo.

*Vocables to the Second Stomp Dance Song*

| *Leader* | *Response or Echo* |
|---|---|
| Ga-wa-nó-hi-a | Ga-wa-nó-hi-a |
| Ga-wa-nó-hi-a | Ga-wa-nó-hi-a |
| Ga-wa-nó-hi-a | Ga-wa-nó-hi-a |
| Yo-wa-lé-he | Yá-ya-we |
| Yo-wa-lé-he | Yá-ya-we |
| Yo-wa-lé-he | Yá-ya-we |
| Á-hi-ya-wa-hé-ya | E-yo-wá-hi-ya |
| Á-hi-ya-wa-hé-ya | E-yo-wá-hi-ya |
| Á-hi-ya-wa-hé-ya | E-yo-wá-hi-ya |
| Yo-ha-lí-ya | Yo-hí-ni-yo |
| We-yo-ha-ní-ya | Wé-ha |
| We-yo-ha-ní-yo | Wé-ha |
| Yo-ha-ní-yo | Wé-ha |
| Yo-ha-ní-yo | Wé-ha |
| Yo-ha-ní-yo | Yo-ha-ní-yo |
| Yo-ha-ní-yo | Yo-ha-ní-yo |
| Yo-ha-ní-yo | Yo-ha-ní-yo |
| Yo-ha-ní-yo | Yo-ha-ní-yo |
| Yo-ha-ní-yo | Yo-ha-ní-yo |
| Yo-ha-ní-yo | Yo-ha-ní-yo |
| Há-ni-yo-hái-ya | Hái-yo |
| Há-ni-yo-hái-ya | Hái-yo |
| Há-ni-yo-hái-ya | Hái-yo |
| Há-ni-yo-hái-ya | Hái-yo |
| Yó-he-yo | Hí-yo |
| Yó-he-yo | Hí-yo |

| *Leader* | *Response or Echo* |
|---|---|
| Ó-hi-yo-hi-yo-hái-ya | Hái-ya |
| Ó-hi-yo-hi-yo-hái-ya | Hái-ya |
| Ó-hi-yo-hi-yo-hái-ya | Hái-ya |
| Ó-hi-ya-hái-ya | Hái-ya |
| Ó-hi-ya-hái-ya | Hái-ya |
| Ó-hi-ya-hái-ya | Hái-ya |
| Hi-o-wi-yá-ha | Yá-ha |
| Hi-o-wi-yá-ha | Yá-ha |
| Hi-o-wi-yá-ha | Yá-ha |
| Yá-hi-ya-na-hí-na-yo | Hí-no |
| Yá-hi-ya-na-hí-na-yo | Hí-no |
| Ya-hi-ya-na-hi-na-yo | Hí-no |
| Hái-yo-wa-ni-há-ni | Há-ni |
| Hái-yo-wa-ni-há-ni | Há-ni |
| Hái-yo-wa-ni-há-ni | Há-ni |