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to be directly responsible. Above all, the correspondences elucidate the patriotic Bowers' sense of urgency that the competition (mostly coming from the Frenchman Alphonse Pinart) would beat him to the best specimens and carry them off to "foreign" museums. In addition, the letters to Baird serve as an overview both of Bowers' progress and of the packing lists that accompany the loads of items shipped to Washington. It becomes all too clear from these missives that the disruption of Chumash graves, many of which were less than one century old, did not disturb Bowers or his contemporaries in the least. In addition, the inclusion of Chumash skeletal remains under the umbrella term *artifact* is especially troubling. In regard to human skulls Bowers writes, "I sent half a dozen from the Sisquoc River, and I have a dozen or so belonging to my private collection.... I think I can get you a hundred more. Presume I could have shipped you 500 had I known you desired them" (p. 215). While holding a nineteenth-century archaeologist to contemporary ethical standards is admittedly problematic, certainly much of the foundational belief system associated with such attitudes is unfortunately far from extinct.

Benson's presentation of the Bowers manuscripts, while well done and informative, could have served as a contribution to the larger discourse on Chumash issues—an opportunity for us to pause and consider the underlying assumptions made in the journals of the Reverend Stephen Bowers that remain in place today and the implications of those assumptions for the contemporary Chumash. However, what is missing in this book, save for a few platitudes, is a treatment both of the ethical considerations concerning the activities described in the work of Stephen Bowers and the unselfconsciousness of the contemporary anthropologist who looks upon this information as an end for which the methods of its apprehension were a justifiable means.

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**Peyote Religious Art: Symbols of Faith and Belief.** By Daniel C. Swan. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999. 116 pages. \$35.00 cloth.

Swan's work, *Peyote Religious Art*, is an adequate introduction to the novice scholar of peyote studies and a passable reference work to the Peyotist and scholar of Peyotism. Put another way, the breadth of the work is sufficient to justify its use as a summary of the topic. However, the work's depth—or lack of depth—will preclude it from being anything but a general outline of the topic.

The work is primarily an overview of the history, aesthetics, and theology of what is referred to broadly as *peyote art*. Swan is unquestionably a better historian than a aesthetician. Anyone who reads *Peyote Religious Art* will come away with both an appreciation for and an understanding of the fundamental moments, movements, and leaders in the history of the Peyote Religion. The reader will learn how the "Comanche and Kiowa were primary in proselytizing the religion" and how the dedication of two early leaders—Quanah

Parker (Comanche) and John Wilson (Caddo)—“distinguished [them as] missionaries of the religion” (pp. 4, 6). Swan’s survey of the history of the Peyote Religion—from its origin in pre-Hispanic Mexico to the 1994 amendment to the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, “that protects the members of the Native American Church in the religious use of peyote”—is satisfactory (p. 22). Akin to viewing an educational documentary or a journalistic television program, a reading of Swan’s work is an educational, albeit an elementary, experience. One learns, for example, the difference between Big Moon and Little Moon Peyotism, the natural range of the peyote plant (*Lophophora williamsii*), and of the *peyoteros*, or the Mexican American traders who harvest, process, and distribute peyote to members of the Native American Church (one of the more interesting sections of Swan’s book). For a more thorough study of the history of the Native American Church, see Omer Call Stewart’s *Peyote Religion: A History* (1987); for works that address Peyotism in specific cultural contexts, see David Aberle’s *The Peyote Religion among the Navaho* (1982), Edgar E. Siskin’s *Washo Shamans and Peyotists: Religious Conflict in an American Indian Tribe* (1983), and Paul B. Steinmetz’s *Pipe, Bible, and Peyote among the Oglala Lakota: A Study in Religious Identity* (1980).

Finding a way to address Swan’s principal deficiency as an analytical writer, at least when he writes about art, especially “folk” or *lived* art, is a delicate procedure. Does Swan succeed in describing, evaluating, and—most importantly—contextualizing peyote religious art? Does he (1) explore the influence of the peyote artists’ experiences and aesthetic values upon the art they create; (2) explore the process of creating peyote religious art; or (3) explore the cultural traditions that serve as inspiration or personal resource to the peyote artists? In other words, does Swan provide context for all the beautiful texts displayed in the book? For the most part, Swan touches on the latter question but fails to entertain in any depth the former two. From ritual staffs, fans, drumsticks, and rattles to bandoleers, boxes, pouches, and jewelry to lighter sticks, water buckets, and spoons, one sees what is made, but not by whom, or when, or where, or how, or—save for the most superficial level of understanding—why they are made. Akin to narratives without narrators, the art—now solely texts, solely artifacts—lies dismembered like so many museum curiosities or archaeological treasures. The difference between text and context is analogous to the difference between a stuffed coyote on display at a natural art museum and a living coyote that is hunting, mating, and indeed living a life in its natural habitat. One might feel that this critique of Swan’s deficiency as an analytical writer is too harsh, but it is a long overdue critique that authors who write about art—especially folk art—refrain from approaching the subject atomistically as disembodied art and begin approaching the subject holistically as lived art. Those who operate the art detention centers, otherwise known as museums, must come to see art for what it is: *process* rather than *product*. Indeed, art is a subject of study, not an object of study. Art is creators creating their creations or what Michael Owens Jones has termed *material behavior*. For good sources on how lived art is best studied, see Keith Cunningham’s *Two Zuni Artists: A Tale of Art and Mystery*

(1998); Sojin Kim's *Chicano Graffiti and Murals: The Neighborhood Art of Peter Quezada* (1995); and Linda Pershing's *The Ribbon Around the Pentagon: Peace By Piecemakers* (1996).

If Swan's work were titled *Peyote Religious Art: A History*, the work could stand on its own data. But this is not the case. The title is *Peyote Religious Art: Symbols of Faith and Belief*. This subtitle demands more of the work and more of the author. It demands, for lack of a better word, theology. What is the faith that peyote religious art conveys? What is the belief (or beliefs) that come to be symbolized in the art? For those who know the answers to these questions, they no doubt seem obvious. But the answers to these questions are not obvious to the novice of peyote religious studies. Like most historically biased studies, Swan's work allows names, dates, maps, and beautiful full-color photographs to act as a substitute for ethnographic data. Indeed, fieldwork takes a backseat to the armchair, process takes a backseat to product, and context takes a backseat to text.

Concerning theology, the more one knows about Peyotism, the less ambiguous one will find Swan's work. Conversely, the less one knows about the religion, the more ambiguous Swan's work will seem. True, Peyotism is complex. As Swan himself states: "Interpreting the symbolism associated with the expressive culture of the Native American Church is a complex matter. The meanings attributed to any particular design element or motif are best described as multivocal. They elicit a diversity of interpretations that are often dependent on time, place, and personal experience" (p. 94). This is no doubt true; however, it is not a license to talk around meaning. Because meaning is dependent on time, place, and personal experience, Swan should give specific examples of this. Indeed, Swan should show the reader, not tell the reader, how complex the religion and religious symbols are. This would be more interesting and informative than a photograph. For works that address peyote theology, see James Sydney Slotkin's *The Peyote Religion: A Study in Indian-White Relations* (1956) and Ruth Underhill's *Peyote* (1948).

If one is looking for an overview of Peyotism, then Swan's work would suffice. If one is looking for what the title suggests, *Peyote Religious Art*, then one will be disappointed. Not only does it lack any substantial stylistic analysis save for pointing out a few motifs, but it also lacks the kind of contextual analysis that any contemporary study of lived art must include—the few quotes by and photographs of three peyote artists does not constitute contextual analysis. Last, concerning the claim of the subtitle, *Symbols of Faith and Belief*, unless one has some background in the peyote religion, academic or otherwise, Swan's work may be frustrating. There are myriad ways in which meanings are manifested, experienced, and lived. These should be studied. Peyote religious art cannot be fully understood without these dimensions and contexts. These manifestations and experiences are more relevant to an appreciation and understanding of the significance of peyote religious art than are the seventy-five-plus photographs that adorn Swan's book.

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