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NATIVE AMERICAN TRADITIONS:
THE DILEMMA OF ALCOHOL USE
AMONG THE FLATHEAD SALISH

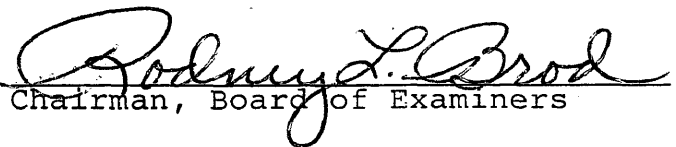
by

Michael Joseph Raymond

A thesis submitted to the faculty of the Interdisciplinary
Studies Committee in candidacy for the degree of
Master of Interdisciplinary Studies
UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA

1983

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Interdisciplinary
Studies

Native American Traditions: The Dilemma of Alcohol Use Among the
Flathead Salish

Director: Dr. Rodney L. Brod



This study examined some of the influences alcohol use has exerted upon certain traditions among the Flathead Salish. Tribal elders were interviewed about alcohol use and asked to complete a questionnaire devised to measure some aspects of tradition extant in their community. Both qualitative and quantitative data were obtained and analyzed to reveal some of the problems alcohol use has posed to tribal members who maintain a traditional identity. Traditional leadership within a community also was examined from the perspective of a recovering alcoholic who overcame his problems and developed into a spiritual leader of his tribe. Alcohol related illness or dependency is defined as a spiritual problem. The spiritual problem is examined according to theoretical considerations that become the basis for a nativistic understanding of alcohol dependence. These considerations include a definition of spiritual illness from a historical perspective, treatment implications, and some dynamics pertinent to the recovery process of an alcoholic. Traditional tribal methods and viewpoints toward alcohol use among tribal members are emphasized. Control of alcohol use and treatment of alcohol related illness is examined from historical and modern perspectives. The dilemma of alcohol use among the Flathead Salish is the negative effect it exerts upon tribal tradition. The comments and responses of tribal elders to questionnaire items reveals their assessment of little traditional community in that members value few activities of a traditional nature. The traditional community is part of a larger community that does not share its values. The problem of the traditional community investigated concerns its ability to sustain its membership in the midst of the alcohol use and examples of dependency existing in the larger community. A major cultural response of the community is the emergence of the recovering alcoholic who utilizes tradition and culture as a means for recovery. This becomes a prototype that sets an example for alcohol dependent tribal members and insures the survival of the traditional community. The spiritual "awakening" of alcohol dependent tribal members is an important adaptive technique to insure the perpetuation of tradition and culture in a native community.

PREFACE

The road west and north to the reservation from Missoula, Montana is picturesque as it winds through the mountains and valleys of the Flathead Salish homeland. The traveler passes through nature that bids welcome in her different seasons. The earth, the trees, the plants, the animal beings, and the waters reveal their different faces and appearances that is nature. It is an aesthetic and spiritual experience sensed by anyone who visits the reservation and is aware of its beauty.

The earth teaches lessons of survival and meaning to all creatures. She has instructed human beings since their origin. She has taught all who have touched her and all who have used her. She has taught the Flathead Salish in all of their history, a history whose memory in the minds of some tribal elders becomes a spoken remembrance of the lessons nature has taught.

The preservation and sharing of these lessons allows them to be known and kept within the tribe by some members of each generation. They are the basis for tradition. They become the collective wisdom of the tribe, a wisdom that is often expressed through story which has meaning in the enactment of tradition by tribal members.

The bearers of tradition responsible for its survival are the custodians of the sacred, a sacred which is defined as a relation of the self to the supernatural and its existence as a mysterious power by those who seek, use, and share this power with others. These bearers of tradition are the medicine people and spiritual leaders of the tribe. They express the power of wisdom from a spiritual understanding. It is an understanding that embraces unwritten tribal law and values as necessary conditions for people to have positive spiritual influence in their lives. This influence determines the ability of a person to have a happy and successful life in relation to others. It is a spiritual quality of life and happiness arising from a human relation to the sacred. It is a human relationship that is the consequence of an individual seeking or attracting the sacred to himself during the course of his life.

Perhaps the most important goal to a human spiritual being is the attainment of identity. One desires a sense of belonging to the sacred and sharing that sense with other people. One seeks to be able to express his deepest feelings and beliefs with other spiritual beings who are beings of nature and a spiritual world defined by human experience. Yet, the spiritual reality of life can be changed in an instant. Human being is a fragile condition that can be ended quickly in so many ways.

The Flathead Salish people do not seem to be fragile. Their history and culture are alive with examples of the bravery and wisdom of their ancestors. The tribe has a land base for its people. Its economic and political ability to exist seems to be stable. It appears to be a tribe that has survived the ravages of cultural conflict and industrialized society. It has cultural programs, a community college, and numbers of activities and structures that could be envied by less fortunate tribes.

The spiritual reality of the Flathead Salish people has changed as a result of their contact with non-native cultures. These changes reflect the different attitudes of the people concerning an understanding of themselves and their identity as a tribal group during the present time. They also underlie individual behavior patterns originating in non-native cultures that have been copied and exist in activities practiced among the modern Flathead Salish people. One activity that seems to be favored by some tribal members is the use of alcohol. Bearhead Swaney mentions this rather succinctly:

It's a thing to do. The stores aren't full, Doug Allard's museum is not full, the gym isn't full, but all the bars are busy and full of our people. They're dancing and whooping and hollering and having a good time. I think a lot of our people get caught up in that type of activity. Younger people seem to be impressed by the fights and dancing and laughing and jokes that happen in the bars. I think they are somewhat mesmerized by it.¹

¹Swaney, Bearhead, personal interview, St. Ignatius, Montana, 4 February 1980.

The use of alcohol that is strongly valued as an activity among modern Flathead Salish tribal members raises questions concerning the effect of such use upon their traditions represented by ancient tribal values and religion. Is alcohol use accepted by tribal members as a vital aspect of tradition that is practiced in the modern culture? Does it function as a substitute for human spiritual experiences with the sacred? How do traditional leaders and supporters who maintain tribal religious beliefs perceive alcohol use?

The intent of this writer is not to present a mass of facts and ideas to support prohibition of alcohol use. Nor is it an effort to bemoan the effects of alcohol use upon the stereotype of the noble savage. It is an attempt to consider the spiritual implications of alcohol use relative to a Native American culture and some of its traditions. It is an effort to describe human spiritual relationships affected by alcohol use. It is a search for answers to explain how alcohol use affects the traditional spiritual identity of some native people.

I am grateful for the guidance and help provided to me by Johnny Arlee and Dr. Rod Brod. They have given me a depth of personal experience and relationship from themselves that one is fortunate to receive from one's own family. I sincerely appreciate the help provided by some of the elders, traditional leaders and supporters.

among the Flathead Salish people whose kindness and patience inspired me to continue this work.

I also want to express my gratitude to Dr. Ellsworth LeBeau, Dr. Rodney Frey, Dr. James Walsh, Dr. Joseph Epes Brown, Dr. Carling Malouf, Dr. Charline Smith, Dr. Art Blue, and Dr. Jack Watson whose instruction or influence was invaluable in the formation and finish of this paper. Thank you one and all.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Scope and Purpose of Research

The primary end desired to be accomplished through the presentation of this paper is an increased understanding of alcohol use among tribal members as defined by traditional leaders and supporters of tradition among the Flathead Salish people. This requires an identification of the influence such behavior has exerted upon the maintenance of traditions within the tribe.

The focus upon the social behavior of alcohol use by tribal members necessitated consideration of some aspects of its historical development and relation to tribal tradition. This task suggested four goals that would help to clarify it. These goals are as follows:

1. Examination of the premise that use of alcohol has become a historical norm of Flathead Salish tradition
2. Definition of a relationship between the use of alcohol and the maintenance of tradition among the Flathead Salish
3. Development of a partial analysis to conceptualize alcohol dependency among the Flathead Salish people predicated upon spiritual concepts normative to the ancient culture

4. Consideration of alcohol use as relative to the existence or absence of traditional cultural elements within a tribe

Nine tribal members representative of traditional culture and leadership were requested to participate in the research. They were contacted in their homes or other locations and asked to participate in a personal interview with this writer. They also were requested to respond to a written questionnaire and indicate their evaluation of statements contained in it. All of the tribal members were defined as traditional leaders or supporters of tribal tradition in their community.

Two additional tribal members previously contacted by this writer were not included in the research project because they did not wish to complete the questionnaire or have the personal interview tape recorded. Only one quotation originating from Mr. Alex Lefthand was utilized in the body of this paper.

Both qualitative and quantitative data were obtained from the field research. These data were examined to determine the existence of patterns that would specify some of the relations between alcohol use and the maintenance of tradition. These patterns determined some of the scope of this paper. They are limited to a traditional viewpoint of the effects alcohol use have exerted upon tribal members who attempt to maintain a

traditional identity. The research does not include tribal members who do not maintain such an identity.

The dilemma alcohol use poses to traditional leaders and supporters of culture is interpreted through their thoughts and responses. It exists and is problematic because they state it is so. The degree to which alcohol use or abuse by tribal members functions as a modern social problem is not factually substantiated or validated by statistics in this study. There is no attempt to contrast the perceptions of respondents about historical origins of tribal alcohol use with written evidence and conjectures relative to the reasons for such use. They are the authorities whose comments and responses constitute a factual reality. They are the bearers of tradition whose wisdom contains the answers to their own dilemma.

Definition of Terms

There are a number of words used in this paper that require some definition by the writer to the reader. These words and the meaning ascribed to them are listed below.

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| Ancient | - Long past; dating from a remote period |
| Community | - A group of individuals whose relations are determined by their interests |
| Culture | - Civilization of a given race or nation at a given time |
| Flathead | - Eighteenth-century European term designating Salish language speaking people residing in western Montana |

Identity	- A unique personal nature
Indian	- Member of the so-called red race living in America before the Europeans came
Medicine	- A mysterious power
Profane	- With contempt or disregard for God or holy things
Sacred	- A holy dimension
Salish	- Refers to native people of North America who speak a certain type of language
Soul	- The spiritual part of a person that is his vital force
Spirit	- Supernatural being
Spiritual	- Consisting of spirit
Sumesh	- A mysterious power
Taboo	- Separated or set apart as sacred or profane
Tradition	- Belief handed down from generation to generation
Tribal	- Describing a group of people united by race and customs under the same leaders
Wake	- A watch or vigil by the body of a dead person before burial

Methods and Problems

Two basic mechanisms were used to facilitate research on the Flathead reservation. The first mechanism involved the use of personal interview and participant-observer techniques enacted with each individual contacted. The

second mechanism featured the administration of a questionnaire and subsequent identification of data obtained from each respondent.

Nine people were interviewed and completed the questionnaire. These people are listed below.

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Doug Allard | - St. Ignatius, Montana |
| 2. John Arlee | - Arlee, Montana |
| 3. Francis Auld ² | - Elmo, Montana |
| 4. Tony Charlo | - Elmo, Montana |
| 5. Charles D. McDonald | - St. Ignatius, Montana |
| 6. Eneas Pierre | - Arlee, Montana |
| 7. Patrick A. Pierre | - Polson, Montana |
| 8. Bearhead Swaney | - St. Ignatius, Montana |
| 9. Agnes Vanderburg | - Arlee, Montana |

The personal interviews were tape recorded and marked to indicate the time, date, and identity of the individual being interviewed. The interviews were conducted by this writer and Mr. John Arlee who was present as an interpreter. He also functioned as a second interviewer. The presence of two interviewers contributed to an atmosphere of comfortable communication since all of the people contacted knew and respected John. It also circumvented difficulties arising from use of native language or references within a

²Subject is of Kootenai descent, but was included in sample due to similarity of experience and his action to support traditional Salish community.

tribal context that would be incomprehensible to this writer. John is quite fluent in the Salish language and is tribally acknowledged as a leader and practitioner of native tradition.

The interviews were basically unstructured to allow for the fullest freedom of expression by each person. The only structure intrinsic to each interview was provided by four questions that were asked of each individual. These questions are listed below.

1. Does the use of alcohol contribute to the demise of Salish traditions
2. Is there any aspect of Salish tradition that would be a basis for tribal members to use alcohol
3. Are there any tribal medical techniques that have been used to treat individuals suffering from the effects of excessive alcohol use
4. Does the role of a traditional leader among the Flathead Salish require an individual to abstain from ingestion of alcohol

The interviews were analyzed according to the comments of each respondent to the questions. Other comments and discussion which ensued were considered as equal in importance. The patterns of content that emerged from evaluation of all the interviews became the basis for some of the subject definitions within this paper.

The questionnaire administered to each respondent was a modified version of a form originally developed by Dr. Arthur Blue under the auspices and direction of the Rosebud

Medicinemen's Association located on the Rosebud Sioux reservation in South Dakota. The forty-two statements in the form were modified by this writer and John Arlee to allow for tribally specific content to pertain to the Flathead Salish people. Six of the statements were repetitive which meant that thirty-six items formed the basis of consideration by this writer. The form used a Likert Scale to measure item choice. The numerical order of each statement was maintained. Each questionnaire was dated and signed by the respondent upon completion of the form. A copy of the questionnaire is contained in the Appendix of this paper entitled, "QUESTIONNAIRE: TRADITIONAL."

The data from the questionnaires were analyzed through the use of a computer to reveal the degree of evaluation consensus between respondents concerning the thirty-six statements. The thirty-six statements were used as a basis to define the presence or absence of tradition in the communities represented by the respondents. The statements were statistically ranked according to their median value. They were used as a probable indicator of the degree of importance each activity represented to the communities evaluated by the respondents.

The interviews represent culture and tradition as it is considered to be influenced by the social behavior or alcohol use. The questionnaire represents tradition as it currently exists in tribal communities. The determination

of alcohol use as an influence upon culture and tradition is subject to the validity of a premise. The premise specifies that collective spiritual belief and power are necessary requisites for the continuation of culture and tradition. The premise is tested by analysis of the questionnaire. The evaluation and ranking of response in the questionnaire should reveal a lower value ascribed to traditional activity requiring a spiritual belief and power for its enactment in the community. This would indicate that alcohol use has significantly affected the culture and traditions of the community.

The writer developed two sections of this paper in response to the perceived spiritual influence of the people contacted. The section specifying a nativistic spiritual theory was created in the absence of such theory being physically expressed by the respondents. Its creation was necessary to attempt to explain some aspects of Flathead SLaish spiritual identity.

The section labeled as a symbolic story uses symbol elements of the tribe to define a traditional role separated into two aspects by the social behavior of alcohol use. The story was not told to this writer by any of the people interviewed. It is an attempt to utilize traditional tribal symbols and role interpretation as a basis to explain a relation of alcohol use to tribal members who maintain a traditional identity.

There are some regrets experienced by this writer associated with the completion of research. These regrets arise from an awareness of the weak points or problems the research focus defines. These problems are enumerated below.

1. The sensitivity of some respondents concerning material of a personal nature made it necessary to disconnect the tape recorder and resort to memory
2. The lack of finances by this writer determined that only one visit could be made to each person contacted
3. The original questionnaire was developed for use with native college students in South Dakota and the revised form was given to traditional members of a different tribal group in Montana
4. The four questions submitted to the respondents were not in exact sequence or wording in the interviews
5. The small number of respondents used necessitates questions about the validity of their responses as a basis for definition of culture and tradition
6. The spiritual theory developed by this writer may not be applicable to the spiritual definition of reality that is maintained by traditional leaders and supporters of tradition
7. The objectivity of this writer is subject to native religious beliefs that preclude the use of alcohol as part of tribal tradition

CHAPTER II

TRADITIONAL VIEWPOINTS EMPHASIZING DEGREES OF NATIVE TRADITION PRESENT IN COMMUNITIES

Nine traditional leaders and supporters living in different locations on the Flathead reservation completed a form entitled, "QUESTIONNAIRE: TRADITIONAL." The questionnaire is enclosed with this paper entitled Appendix A. It contains forty statements separated into four scales. The four scales contain some statements that are repeated to give an indication of respondent variability and internal reliability of the items between each scale. Although the emphasis desired does not require the reliability or validity of the scales, the average intercorrelations for the three repeated items is .90. The primary concern is the definition of the degree to which traditional elements exist that is obtained from an examination of the responses to the statements.

Since three of the statements are repetitive, (statements 38, 39, and 40), they are not used for consideration in the following analysis. There is a total

of thirty-six statements.¹ The thirty-six statements are considered in conceptual order, within which items are ranked according to their support by the sample of traditional leaders.

The identification of elements of tradition is specified by the respondents marking choices on a Likert Scale. Their choices range from majority, many, some, very few, and none as possible responses to the statements. The scale reveals their general identification of the number/frequency of participants who enact traditional behavior according to tribal tradition in their community. The items or statements contained in the questionnaire focus upon traditional role and activity as it exists according to eight categories. These categories specify traditional tribal concepts as they relate to elders, food, politics, leadership, family, language, religion, and community as a basis for definition of tradition.

The focus upon the role of elders is represented by the statements listed in table 1 on page 12 of this paper.

Statement number 5 indicates a strong variability of opinion among the respondents. Five of the responses show that respondents perceive some, very few, or none of

¹Due to problems of interpretation, the three items concerning the use of relational names (items 22, 37, and 41) were dropped from the analysis.

TABLE 1
ROLE OF ELDERS

Overall Rank	Item #	Item Content	Majority (5)	Many (4)	Some (3)	Very Few (2)	None (1)	Total	Median
6	5	Traditional leader visits community		4	3	1	1	9	3.33
9	12	Youth seek elders' advice	1	1	4	3		9	2.88
15	1	Elders manage conflict	1	1	3	3	1	9	2.67
24	15	Elders instruct spiritual leader		1	2	3	2	8	2.17
32	14	Elders instruct political leader			3	2	4	9	1.67
33	7	Elders talk with young people				5	4	9	1.60
34	17	Elders and pre-marital couple			2	1	6	9	1.25

the traditional leaders visit traditional community people frequently. Four of the responses indicate that many leaders visit their community. Slightly more than half of the traditional leaders tend not to visit their traditional community members.

Statement number 12 has seven of the respondents indicating that some, or very few of the youth seek advice from their elders. Two marked their opinion that many or a majority of the youth sought advice from their elders. The use of elders as sources of advice does not seem to occur too frequently among the youth according to the evaluation of the respondents.

Statement number 1 elicits a variability of opinion from the respondents. Seven of them indicate that some, very few, or none of the elders are utilized to manage family conflict. Two respond that elders are used as a conflict management tool by the majority or many members of their community. The greater percentage of response indicates little use of elders in their community.

Statement number 14 revealed another variability of opinion between the respondents. Five stated that none or very few of the elders instructed spiritual leaders in their community. One person failed to respond to the statement. Three stated that some or many provided such instruction. The responses indicate over half of the traditional leaders

and supporters believe elders are seldom utilized to instruct spiritual leaders in their community.

Statement number 14 had six of the respondents answering that none or very few of the political leaders in the tribe were given instruction by the elders. Three indicated that some of the elders provided such instruction. The majority of the opinion demonstrates that very little instruction of political leaders by elders occurs.

Statement number 7 indicates a fairly uniform opinion about elders talking with young people. Nine of the respondents marked that very few or none of the elders were used to explain the life and responsibilities of living according to tradition. This indicates that elders are seldom used to talk with young people who are planning a life together.

Statement number 17 indicates another fairly uniform opinion about elders functioning as pre-marital counselors. Six of the responses reveal none of the respondents believe that elders are utilized to counsel pre-marital couples. Three of the respondents marked that some or very few function in this role. This suggests the role of elders to counsel pre-marital couples is quite limited.

These seven statements demonstrate the evaluation by the respondents that elders are relatively isolated from their role in the areas mentioned. The elders, who

are sources of wisdom, seem to be largely ignored as sources of support and power to political leaders. spiritual leaders, young couples, youth, and families.

The emphasis upon traditional interpretations of food sharing is contained in six statements listed in table 2 on page 16 of this paper.

Statement number 3 reveals that eight of the nine respondents answered the majority, many, or some of the people shared food with relatives and others in the community. One respondent marked very few. This indicates a large percentage of respondents perceive food sharing as a strong value still maintained in their community.

Statement number 23 is answered by eight of the respondents that very few or some members of their community maintain gardens. One respondent marked that many families have them. The majority of the opinions expressed indicates that family gardens tend not to have a primary importance to the people in their community.

Statement number 8 shows seven of the respondents stating that very few or none of the family and community use the moon cycle as a basis for hunting, planting, or harvesting. Two answered some or the majority. This indicates a large number of community members do not follow nature cycles or abide by them in their decisions to hunt, plant, or harvest.

TABLE 2

TRADITIONAL FOOD GATHERING CONCEPTS

Overall Rank	Item #	Item Content	Majority (5)	Many (4)	Some (3)	Very Few (2)	None (1)	Total	Median
2	3	Communal sharing of food	2	4	2	1		9	3.88
17	23	Families have gardens		1	3	5		9	2.40
27	8	Moon determines food supply	1		1	5	2	9	2.00
29	28	People have pigs and chickens			2	4	3	9	1.88
35	25	Community has stock enterprise		1			7	8	1.21
36	24	Community has garden					9	9	1.00

Statement number 28 featured seven of the people who answered that very few or none of their community members possessed cattle, pigs, or chickens for use as a food supply. Two people answered that some members of their community maintained such a supply. The majority of the respondents perceive that maintenance of such a food supply is not important to the members of their community.

Statement number 25 had seven of the respondents mark none in response to it. One person marked many and one individual failed to answer. This indicates that a community stock enterprise does not exist in the majority of the communities represented by the respondents.

Statement number 24 had all of the respondents in agreement that none of the members of their community has a community garden. All of them marked none in response to the statement.

The viewpoints of the respondents demonstrate that some aspects of tradition exist in varying degrees in their community. The one activity that seems to be strongest from a traditional sense of food gathering is the communal sharing of food. All of the processes or activities that are traditional supports for food sharing seem to have very little value to most members of their communities.

The role and relationship of modern tribal political representatives to tradition is specified by the statements in table 3 on page 18 of this paper.

TABLE 3

TRADITION AND POLITICS

Overall Rank	Item #	Item Content	Majority (5)	Many (4)	Some (3)	Very Few (2)	None (1)	Total	Median
30	4	Politicians visit traditional people			2	3	4	9	1.67
31	6	Politicians foresee conflict			2	3	4	9	1.67

Statement number 4 is marked by seven of the respondents as very few or none of the tribal politicians who visit traditional people. Two marked that some politicians conducted such visits. The majority of the respondents perceive that traditional people are not visited frequently by Tribal Council leaders.

Statement number 6 has seven of the respondents indicating their perception that very few or none of the tribal leaders seemed to know of conflict or trouble occurring in its early stages. Two of the respondents marked their estimation that some of the tribal leaders could foresee conflict or trouble in its early stages. The majority of the respondents indicate they believe tribal politicians are quite limited in their ability to foresee conflict.

A large percentage of the respondents demonstrates their views of tribal politicians as being unable to foresee conflict and as not being in frequent contact with traditional leaders. Statement number 14 considered previously indicates little instruction of tribal political leaders by traditional leaders occurs when they are selected for office. Very little communication is perceived to occur between tribal political leaders and traditional leaders.

There are four statements which emphasize some aspects of role and attribute of the individual spiritual leader.

These statements are contained in table 4 on page 21 of this paper.

Statement number 29 has six of the respondents marking that in some or many cases the people choose the leader in the traditional community. Two marked that very few or none of the people choose the leader. One marked that in the majority of cases the people choose their leader in that particular community. The majority of the respondents perceive the traditional community leader in many cases is selected by the people.

Statement number 30 reveals a wide range of opinion about the leader representing the traditional community. Two perceived the leader did not represent the majority of the traditional community. One perceived very few of the majority were represented by the leader. Three of them expressed that the community was represented by some of the leaders. Three of the respondents marked that many among the majority were represented in the traditional community. Six of the respondents indicated that some or many of the traditional community majority are represented by the leader.

Statement number 11 has three of the respondents marking very few, three marking some, and two marking many. There is a wide range of opinion among the respondents about the

TABLE 4

TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP

Overall Rank	Item #	Item Content	Majority (5)	Many (4)	Some (3)	Very Few (2)	None (1)	Total	Median
4	29	People choose trad. leader	1	4	2	1	1	9	3.62
8	30	Leader represents trad. community		3	3	1	2	9	3.00
11	11	Moral values of the leader		2	3	3		8	2.83
18	18	Leader visits and informs community		1	3	4	1	9	2.38

requirement of moral values for the leader. Three of them perceive the traditional leader possessing these qualities in some degree. Two of them perceive many of the traditional leaders possessing these qualities. Three of them marked that very few of the traditional leaders possess these qualities. The majority of the respondents indicate that some traditional leaders possess moral qualities.

Statement number 18 is marked by the respondents with seven stating that visits are made by some or very few traditional leaders to inform the community to prepare for the coming seasons and important events. One expressed the opinion that no visits occurred. One indicated that many leaders make visits. The majority of the respondents perceive that visits of the traditional leaders for this purpose seldom occur, or occur infrequently.

The assessment of role and attribute of the traditional leader by the respondents reveals a contrasting degree of opinion. All of the respondents expressed a positive response relative to the moral attributes of some leaders. This contrasts sharply with their division of opinion about the number of people required to choose a leader and the responsibility of the leader to represent the traditional community. An examination of statement 15 considered in another category indicates the same divergence of opinion among the respondents. The traditional leader is

perceived to have some degrees of moral qualities and yet, the role of the leader seems to differ according to the perspective of the respondent.

There are three statements in the questionnaire that emphasize family relationship according to traditional definitions. They are contained in table 5 on page 24 of this paper.

Statement number 42 has six of the respondents marking that some married couples live near parents. Two indicate that many young married people live near their parents. One marked that none live near one of their parents. The majority of the respondents indicate their opinion that some or many young married people live near one of their parents.

Statement number 21 was marked by seven of the respondents that very few or none of the mothers in their community nurse their babies. Three of the respondents indicated that some mothers nurse their babies. The majority of the respondents indicate that very few of the mothers nurse their babies.

Statement number 2 has seven of the respondents marking very few or none of the children being exposed to this activity. One marked that some of the children were exposed to parental storytelling. One marked that many of the children had this experience. The majority of the

TABLE 5

TRADITION AND FAMILY

Overall Rank	Item #	Item Content	Majority (5)	Many (4)	Some (3)	Very Few (2)	None (1)	Total	Median
7	42	Couple lives near parents		2	6		1	9	3.08
23	21	Mothers nurse their babies			3	5	1	9	2.20
25	2	Parent storytelling		1	1	6	1	9	2.08

responses indicate that very few of the children are told old time stories or legends by their parents or grandparents.

The respondents indicate their opinion that storytelling and nursing babies are not highly valued activities in families. This is contrasted by their evaluation that some or many of the young married people live near one of their parents. This seems to demonstrate that families may maintain a physical intactness without much emphasis upon the traditional activities mentioned.

There are two statements in the questionnaire that emphasize tribal language. These statements are contained in table 6 on page 26 of this paper.

Statement number 33 has six of the respondents marking that very few or none of the people speak their tribal language. Two marked that some of the people speak it. One marked that many speak it. The majority of the respondents indicate that very few or none of the people speak their tribal language.

Statement number 34 is marked by eight of the respondents that very few or none of the children speak their tribal language. One marked that some of them speak their tribal language. The majority of the respondents indicate their opinion that very few or none of the children speak their tribal language.

TABLE 6

TRIBAL LANGUAGE

Overall Rank	Item #	Item Content	Majority (5)	Many (4)	Some (3)	Very Few (2)	None (1)	Total	Median
22	33	People speak tribal language		1	2	5	1	9	2.20
28	34	Children speak tribal language			1	6	2	9	1.92

There is agreement among respondents that the people in their community tend not to speak their tribal language and more agreement that children do not speak it. This indicates that traditional concepts and values would generally have to be transmitted between generations in English or else not transmitted.

There are four statements relating specifically to the spiritual aspects of tribal tradition. These statements are contained in table 7 on page 28 of this paper.

Statement number 31 has two of the respondents marking that very few people participate in tribal religious ceremonies. Three marked that some people participate in them. One indicated that many do, and three marked that the majority of the people participates in tribal religious ceremonies. There is a diversity of opinion among the respondents about the degree to which tribal members participate in tribal religious ceremonies in their community.

Statement number 32 was marked by four of the respondents to indicate that very few or none of the people in their community use a medicine person for healing purposes. Three marked that some of the people in their community used a medicine person. Two marked the majority of the people in their community utilized the services of a medicine person. Although diverse in their opinions, the

TABLE 7

TRIBAL RELIGION

Overall Rank	Item #	Item Content	Majority (5)	Many (4)	Some (3)	Very Few (2)	None (1)	Total	Median
5	31	People enact tribal religion	3	1	3	2		9	3.33
14	32	People use medicine person	2		3	3	1	9	2.67
16	9	Moon cycle determines ceremon.	1		3	1	2	7	2.67
20	10	Promises to medicine dance		2	1	5		8	2.30

majority of the respondents indicate that some, very few, or none of the people in their community use the medicine person for healing purposes.

Statement number 9 has two of the respondents failing to mark their response. Three of them indicated that very few or none of these cycles determine when certain ceremonies take place. Three marked that some of the ceremonies are determined by the moon cycle. One marked that the majority of the ceremonials are conducted according to moon cycles. Again, there is a wide diversity of response from the respondents to this statement.

Statement number 10 was marked by five of the respondents to indicate that very few members of their community made promises to participate in the Sun Dance or Medicine Dance. One marked that some members made these pledges. Two of the respondents indicated that many members of their community made such promises. One did not respond to the statement. The majority of the respondents indicate that very few members of their community make such promises to participate in tribal ceremonies.

The respondents are diverse in their opinions about the degree of involvement by people in their communities relative to spiritual ceremonies or practices. The moon cycle is perceived as important to some and not to others as a determination for ceremonial occurrence. The

participation of the people in the spiritual ceremonies seems to be defined as existing in some communities more than others. The pledges of people to participate in such ceremonies does not seem to be of much importance to the majority of the community members as defined by the respondents. The use of the medicine person in the community does not seem to be frequent among the people. The enactment of tribal religion seems to be found in some communities but practiced by a majority in a relatively small area of the reservation.

The final category of traditional definition includes eight statements that focus upon interpretations of community. They are contained in table 8 on page 31 of this paper.

Statement number 35 has eight of the respondents indicating that the majority or many of the people in their community attend social celebrations commonly called pow-wows. One stated that some people attended pow-wows. The larger percentage of the respondents believes that many or a majority of the people in their community attend pow-wows.

Statement number 20 was marked by six of the respondents to indicate that many or a majority of the members of the community feel good about the happiness of other members. Two marked that some members of their

TABLE 8
TRADITION AND COMMUNITY

Overall Rank	Item #	Item Content	Majority (5)	Many (4)	Some (3)	Very Few (2)	None (1)	Total	Median
1	35	People attend trad. celebrations	3	5	1			9	4.20
3	20	Sharing of personal happiness	2	4	2	1		9	3.80
10	19	Support for indiv. efforts		2	4	3		9	2.88
12	13	People work at community activity	1	2	2	4		9	2.75
13	36	Giveaway to honor others		2	3	3	1	9	2.67
19	26	People live on allotments		1	3	4	1	9	2.38
21	16	Physical shape of men and women		1	2	6		9	2.25
26	27	People have own horses			2	6	1	9	2.08

community were pleased by the happiness of others. The majority of respondents marked that many or a majority of the members of the community feel good about the happiness of other members.

Statement number 19 had three of the respondents marking that few individuals receive community support for their positive efforts to make good. Four of the respondents indicate that some of these individuals receive community support for their efforts. Two marked that many of the individuals in their community receive positive support for their efforts. The majority of the respondents indicate their opinion that very few or some individuals receive the support of the traditional community for their efforts to make good.

Statement number 13 had six of the respondents marking that some or very few of the people are busy working or involved in community activities. Two of the respondents indicate that many people are kept busy by work or community activities. One marked the majority of the people is working or active. The majority of the respondents marked that very few or some of the people are busy working or active in traditional community affairs.

Statement number 36 indicates that four of the respondents marked very few or none of the people in their community honored others with recognition gifts. Five marked that some or many of the people in the community used

the giveaway as a means to honor others. The bare majority of respondents indicate their opinion that some or many people in their community honor others with recognition presents.

Statement number 26 had five of the respondents marking that very few or none of the people in their community live on allotments. Three indicated that some of the people in their community live on them. One marked that many people live on their allotments in that community. The majority of the respondents marked that none, very few, or some of the people live on allotments.

Statement number 16 was marked by six of the respondents that very few of the men and women in their community are in excellent physical condition. Two responded that some of them were in excellent physical shape. One failed to respond. The majority of the respondents indicate that very few men and women are in excellent physical condition.

Statement number 27 reveals the belief of seven of the respondents that very few or none of the people in their community have their own horses. Two indicated that some people in their community have their own horses. The majority of the respondents indicate that very few of the people have their own horses.

The existence of traditional values and activities in the communities represented by the respondents is characterized by a focus upon social celebrations, sharing personal happiness of others, and individuals working at community activities. Other tangible aspects of traditional community seem to be less emphasized or else considered of less importance.

The separation of the thirty-six questionnaire items into eight categories was suggested by the statement content. The categories are not all inclusive of the ingredients existing in a tribal definition of tradition. They are attempts to specify areas where the enactment of behavior by community members seems to have a traditional value according to the assessment of the respondents.

An examination of all the questionnaire items summarized in rank order can reveal the degree of importance that community members ascribe to tradition. A statistical ranking of the statements according to their median value is contained in table 9 of Appendix B on page 124.

The measurement of degrees of tradition by the respondents focuses upon the activities and relationships of their community members. It is an appraisal of the existence of some elements of tradition in the communities represented by the respondents. This appraisal gives a partial picture of the traditional community as it exists

on the Flathead reservation. The picture suggests that relatively few elements of tradition exist among a small number of people in the tribe. The traditional community seems to include a small number of people who live in the midst of others who support very few of their values and traditions.

The degree of importance attached to tradition by community members as reported by traditional respondents emphasizes activities that do not require a knowledge of tribal language or religion within the four most important or significant traditional activities listed in table 9. That is, many are perceived as attending celebrations, sharing food, and personal happiness and involved in choosing traditional leaders; however, only "some" "very few" or "none" are typical (median) responses to all other 32 items. This gives further credence to the possibility that the traditional community is relatively small and isolated within the larger reservation community.

The tribal elders represent the traditional values and have historically functioned as repositories of wisdom. It would be assumed they should have an importance within the tribe if the traditional culture was strong. Tribal elders first assume importance when they are ranked number 9 which indicates that the frequency with which youth seek the advice of elders. The use of elders to manage conflict

is ranked number 15 in table 9. The use of elders to instruct the spiritual leader is ranked number 24. The use of elders to conduct pre-marital instruction is ranked number 34. This indicates that traditionals tend to report that tribal members seem to ascribe less importance to elders or they are being used by the community contrary to their historical functions.

The communal sharing of food is important, but the communal gathering of food and the existence of family and community food supplies is of lesser value. The valence of tribal political leaders within the traditional community is low. Traditional leadership is valued, but traditional aspects of language and religion seem to be scattered and of differing importance. Some traditional activities of family seem to be low in importance as are some general community activities that contribute to a community identity.

If the values of the traditional community exist in a limited degree, then does alcohol use exist to a greater degree? None of the statements in the questionnaire focused upon the subject of alcohol use. Yet all of the respondents stated such use was quite prevalent in their community and considered a major contributor to community instability and family disruption. They also stated that alcohol use was not accepted by members of the traditional community as a valid behavior to substantiate their identity.

Although alcohol use is not considered to be an aspect of traditional behavior by the respondents, it may function indirectly to provide support and membership to the traditional community. Those people who are victimized by excessive alcohol use or dependency might find relief and health in a community that shuns its use. This would give a partial explanation of how the traditional community can continue to exist despite its relative size, isolation, and lack of strength on the reservation. It would also help in the development of an understanding pertinent to the use of alcohol as it affects Flathead Salish tradition.

CHAPTER III

FLATHEAD SALISH TRADITIONS

AFFECTED BY ALCOHOL USE

Some Functions of Unwritten Tribal Law and Traditional Values

Unwritten tribal law arises from a supernatural influence in the life of the individual. This influence results in the definitions of people as to the nature of good and bad. The good is experienced as health and happiness in relations with people and the world. It is protection from physical, mental, or spiritual harm during war or peace. The bad is experienced as ill health or misfortune. It is disharmony and unhappiness in relations with people and the world. It is the person who is victimized by evil or harm. The individual experiences good and bad in all things and is required to learn from both as they influence thought and behavior.

This law functions as an explanation for reward or punishment. It is a reward or punishment that is the result of personal actions toward one another and the sacred. It is a logic of the sacred as divined by human beings who live in the midst of nature and are subject to her cycles and

effects. It is perceived as superstition by the ignorant when the reasons for human order and harmony with creation are forgotten.

Unwritten tribal law exists within some Flathead Salish traditions with ancient origins. It is an oral understanding with a spiritual foundation. The foundation consists of tribal recognition of the Creator and the sacred aspects of individual life. It has substance in the action of the individual, family, and community to uphold tribal behavior and tradition. It develops and becomes law according to its interpretation by spiritual leaders. It has authority through the actions of those leaders to enforce the law among tribal members.

It is a set of values based upon tribal belief and the collective wisdom of generations. This wisdom is contained in the formal types of stories that are related to children and adults. There are the Coyote stories traditionally told in the winter season. They contain moral values and examples of right and wrong behavior that apply to all living creatures. There are stories of Eagle and Raven that demonstrate concepts of fairness. Flathead Salish stories are a means for tribal members to pass on an understanding of unwritten tribal law to successive generations.

There are informal or personal stories related by tribal members of their own life experiences. These stories

are a way one can answer questions in a manner that is inoffensive and supportive of respect for all individuals to each other. They are a reference for information that can be used by persons seeking direction in their life. They are expected to be remembered by those who hear them.

Johnny Arlee is one of the traditional leaders among the Flathead Salish people. He mentions the old way of teaching.

The old way of teaching did not involve books or anything that a person could look back to a certain page to know something. Once you were told something, you were supposed to put it away in your memory. Sometimes you will only be told once. It might not make sense to you at the time, but there will be a time in your life when this will come in use. When that time comes, you will remember where you got this information.¹

One aspect of unwritten tribal law is its emphasis to maintain harmony of life between human beings and Creator. This requires acceptance of sacred power as an influence upon the thoughts and actions of people. A power that is sacred in the sense of its interpretation by human beings and its application by spiritual and family leaders among the people. This application of holy power is utilized according to a belief similar to the Golden Rule. This means a person is free to do good and experience good. He is also free to do bad and experience bad.

¹John Arlee, personal interview, Arlee, Montana, January 28, 1980.

The practical applications of spiritual power are given meaning in the way examples or role models are lived by the people. The spiritual leader is expected to maintain behavior that is a positive example to the tribe. He is supposed to live and act according to unwritten tribal law. This teaching of behavior through example is mentioned by Johnny Arlee.

You are setting an example. The people look up to you; the children look up to you. They are the ones that learn. They observe you doing this. Their attitude is, if it is all right for them, then it is all right for me. If that person does it, then why not me!²

Another aspect of unwritten tribal law is the emphasis upon respect for the sacred and of human beings toward each other. The law makes it necessary for respect and dignity to exist between people as a condition of their positive successful collective action. Spiritual power becomes destructive when there is antagonism and conflict between people.

Charles D. McDonald is an informal oral historian who lives in the town of St. Ignatius on the Flathead reservation. He recalls the importance of respect as a basic part of tradition.

The old Indians had a lot of respect. A lot of dignity to them. Any of them that still believed in their

²Ibid.

traditions and way of life and how they were raised had this quality.³

The use of alcohol was not a Flathead Salish behavior prior to contact with European traders and immigrants. Mr. McDonald mentions that after tribal members were introduced to alcohol use by non-natives the majority of the elders and spiritual leaders did not desire to use it.

They all got that feeling of not wanting to use alcohol. Of course, there were a few of them that drank, and most of the old ones resented that. There was no way we could do anything about it.⁴

There are some observations by Fahey⁵ and Forbis⁶ about the use of alcohol being part of the acculturation process the Flathead Salish experienced with European culture. Some cultural theories have been stated by Moss⁷ to explain why Indians use alcohol excessively. Nothing is mentioned about the specific influence of alcohol use upon the maintenance of Flathead Salish traditions.

³Charles D. McDonald, personal interview, St. Ignatius, Montana, 11 February 1980.

⁴Ibid.

⁵John Fahey, *The Flathead Indians*, The Civilization of the American Indian series, vol. 2 (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), p. 173.

⁶Richard G. Forbis, "Religious Acculturation of the Flathead Indians of Montana," (Master's thesis, Montana State University, 1950), p. 79.

⁷Fenton Moss, "Cultural Theories on the Causation of Indian Alcoholism," training article presented to Western Region Indian Alcoholism Training Center, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1970.

There is relatively little reference to the generational differences of alcohol use experienced by tribal members. The dominant European culture in America progressed through stages or focuses upon alcohol use represented by the earliest casks, prohibition era flasks, and ever present bottles used to hold the beverage. Tribal members experienced these changes in a vicarious sense because they they were prohibited by the U.S. government from possessing or drinking alcohol until quite recently in the modern era. Prohibition of alcohol use, however, did not prevent tribal members from using it. The consequences of tribal alcohol use in relation to Flathead Salish traditions are mentioned in the next section.

Three Examples of Tradition Affected by Tribal Alcohol Use

Johnny Arlee is heavily involved in the maintenance of tradition through his lifestyle and practice of Flathead Salish religion. He refers to the relationship between tribal alcohol use and tradition.

The alcohol has broken up all of our culture. You can see how this has affected our dances. At one time the older people who are our ancestors had done these dances and gone off to battle. They also brought back different dances from their journey or personal experience. These dances were left for their children to do. Every year they gathered at a certain time to reenact these dances that honored different battles and heroics that occurred in the past.

The Canvas Dance used to occur right after the War Dance. A long time ago the original way was for the

Canvas Dance to be started by one person. So he starts out with his Saddle Song that he has and he goes around from tipi to tipi singing in front of these people who are camped together. Maybe there is a warrior inside the tipi who decides to help this man because he is going over the hills. So he goes out and grabs hold of the buffalo robe or whatever is being used to pound on. There may be ten men who join from the encampment as they go around the tipis. By daylight they have gone. This singing from tipi to tipi is their farewell and they are soon on their way. There are other songs and dances that will be enacted when they return to bring them home.

There is another example of traditional dances we have that is called the Wake Up Song. It is done by another group of dancers after the Canvas Dancers have gone. It occurs early in the morning to wake up the people in the encampment. The War Dancers who participate in this dance have just one song. This song continues all the way around the encampment. If there are a hundred tipis, then the dancers sing and dance for all of them.

One dancer goes into the tipi and dances around inside and comes out. If the door is open or someone is standing at the tipi, then the dancer passes around it. He just goes in partially dressed in his dancing outfit with bells and dances around inside the lodge. He wakes the people in a respectful manner. He is telling them we are celebrating and the time for sleep has ended. It is time to move around in the daylight. So he goes in and dances for one round and then leaves.

Then there were the Dog Dancers. A Dog Dancer could ride right through the enemy with his powers because he really didn't need any weapons. He would just harry and humiliate the enemy by riding right through them and riding back. He would be in a trance and protected supernaturally. He did not have to go hunting or anything.

He would ride the camp during celebrations and go on begging. His horse was trained to stop and go without directions from the rider. He would be in a trance and singing as he went and stopped at each camp. He would sing his begging songs and each camp where he stopped the people would come out and tie bread on the horse's mane and tie bundles of food all over. They would tie them on his leggings and hair and anything they could

find to tie them on. The dancer is not supposed to refuse anything because he is in a trance. He just receives anything.

When the alcohol came in it really started breaking up the old traditional ways of Canvas Dancing. The real old timers that reenacted this Canvas Dance in memory of their ancestors who went out to battle would continue to sing from tipi to tipi. A younger guy comes in and starts staggering around because he is drunk. He grabs hold of the buffalo robe and starts singing. Maybe the fellow standing next to him thinks the drunk is ruining it. So the next year he makes up his mind that he will not go and have to experience the same thing. This is what happened. Pretty soon it's all drunks that are around there. The old people who carry on the ceremony stay at home and stop participating. The drunks took the meaning out of what the people were doing. Today when the people go to the Canvas Dance they think they have to be drunk to do it.

The same thing happened to the Wake Up Song. One of the dancers was drinking and doing the dance. The people were laying in the tipi and he did disrespectful things like pulling their covers off. So the next time the dancers came around this family was waiting for them. They heard of these other disrespectful things that had happened. My father was a dancer and he got flour thrown in his face because they thought he was drunk when he went into the tipi. The flour blinded him. There were also cases of people throwing water on different dancers. The respect for it was removed.

This alcohol affected the Dog Dancers. Some of these fellows are drinking at this one camp and thought they would play a trick on this Dog Dancer. He came up to the camp and they went and poured whiskey over him. He tried to move his head, but he couldn't refuse it. They poured some down him. Then they kept following along and just before he got to another camp he passed out. There is no respect after that. All of them that were drinking and crazy would do anything crazy for laughs. And it's really not a thing for laughing. We have a direction to go and a culture to live and drinking is not part of our traditional culture.⁸

⁸ Ibid.

The erosion of respect and dignity by people in their relations with tradition made unwritten tribal law less meaningful. The spiritual quality of the law could not be maintained in the absence of elders and leaders who refrained from participation in public ceremonies or celebrations. The action of some traditionally oriented tribal members to use alcohol also had an effect to weaken the law. The leadership through example type of role instruction could be used as a reason to explain why younger tribal members would use alcohol. Any example by an elder or leader would be sufficient justification for its use.

It seems apparent that some tribal members became separated from their tradition due, in some measure, to the use of alcohol by themselves or others. This separation undermined the observation and affirmation of unwritten tribal law represented by public types of ceremonies and celebrations. The values of respect and dignity associated with the law were eroded by the actions of people using alcohol.

Unwritten tribal law was not deemed desirable by non-native society who dominated and instituted secular and spiritual authority over Indian tribes. One consequence of this action was the removal of authority from native leaders to guide their people. Another consequence was the denial of unwritten tribal law as a basis for freedom and order

among the people. The capacity of native people to maintain a respect and dignity toward non-natives was undermined by the practices and influence of a developing American society. Dozier mentions this influence from the perspective of a traditional native leader.

A chief might be a wise statesman and a clever diplomat, but his efforts to negotiate advantages for his people were now made meaningless by the contempt of his listeners, who smiled at his quaint metaphors, deprecated his logic, and used the threat of force to silence his protests at injustices. If he sought with tolerance for the fact of cultural differences, to discuss religion with a white friend, he was likely to discover a scornful Christian impatient of his heathen superstitions. He learned that white men deemed his women to be fit only for pleasure, not for marriage, and that white women were prohibited to him, that his families were not good enough for whites to associate with. Furthermore, he learned that he was, in white men's eyes, dirty, ragged, ignorant, doomed to extinction, and damned to eternal hellfire.

This was the Indian's initial fall from a proud existence in an earlier time when he felt himself the equal of all men. From this pathetic revelation of his worthlessness the number of degrading experiences multiplied: confinement on reservations, attempts to make him an agriculturalist, prohibition of liquor, and subjection to countless indignities and humiliating experiences through the years.⁹

The disrespect of American society toward native people was an external pressure upon the Flathead Salish tribe. The disrespect of tribal members to one another was an internal pressure within the tribe. Both of these pressures exerted a negative influence upon traditional

⁹ Edward P. Dozier, "Problem Drinking among American Indians: The Role of Sociocultural Deprivation," *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol* 26 (1966): 72-87.

tribal values. The traditional values practiced by tribal members began to dissipate.

The tribe has experienced acculturation due to their contact with non-native society. Each generation proceeding from the first to contact European Americans to the present one has been changed in its ability to share the ancient tribal culture and its enactment of it as a tribal member. The difference between the generations would probably demonstrate a decline in both individual and traditional community identity.

The deterioration of respect and other traditional tribal values as a consequence of alcohol use prevented those affected by it from developing a strong cultural response to counter its negative effects. The use of alcohol functioned as a self-perpetuating force to acculturate tribal members while the other forces required their perpetuation through the interface and authority of non-native Americans. This includes the Catholic Church, American corporate enterprise, and various political structures of the U.S. government.

Agnes Vanderburg is a traditional leader and tribal elder who refers to the effects of traditional values being ignored in the family.

In the old way, if somebody got up and talked, everybody listened. If you try to say something now, the children don't listen. They are walking around and talking.¹⁰

The continuation of traditional values practiced by tribal members became subject to their ability to maintain their individual identity. One major obstacle to the maintenance and perpetuation of Flathead Salish tradition is the institution of alcohol use by tribal members as a factor of their traditional identity.

There is evidence to suggest that use of alcohol by those people who participate in Flathead Salish traditional activities is a reason for others to discontinue their participation. This removal of persons from the traditional tribal power structure weakens the ability of the people to continue the activities they value.

John Arlee mentions this occurs due to a group desire for sobriety.

We all work as a group. I always depend on the next guy to be clear headed because I can't carry the load all by myself. If he is not capable, then its like I'm taking two loads on or somebody else has to carry his load. I depend on other people that work around me. If they are not capable and I see it or smell alcohol on somebody, then it takes a lot out of me. My prayers or my thoughts aren't right.¹¹

The use of alcohol by tribal members affects traditions and the ability of the people to maintain them.

¹⁰Agnes Vanderburg, personal interview, Arlee, Montana, 4 February 1980.

¹¹John Arlee, personal interview, Arlee, Montana, 28 January 1980.

It also affects the spiritual vitality of the tribe which is represented by the traditions. The spiritual strength of the tribe becomes weakened. The flow of supernatural power that is necessary for survival is broken up into smaller currents experienced by individual families and finally lone persons as the collective action toward enactment of tradition and ceremony becomes weaker. The traditional faith of the people and their reliance upon the sacred for survival becomes a matter of concern to dwindling numbers of traditional spiritual leaders in their communities.

Dr. Ellsworth LeBeau is a Professor of Native American Studies at the University of Montana in Missoula, Montana. His response to a discussion about alcohol use among native people was, "We have become a culture of alcoholics."¹² This is a valid insight since there is a participation in traditional activities and Indian culture by native people who use alcohol excessively or who are labeled as being dependent upon alcohol. There is a study conducted by Lemert¹³ which examines the effect of alcohol use among three Salish tribes residing in the Pacific Northwest. There is also Indian culture and tradition that is practiced by those who do not use alcohol or who have previously used

¹²Ellsworth LeBeau, personal conversation, Missoula, Montana, April 1980.

¹³Edwin Lemert, *The Use of Alcohol in Three Salish Indian Tribes*, Center of Alcohol Studies, vol. 19 (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University, 1958), pp. 90-107.

it and foresworn its use due to their understanding and role as a traditional member or leader of a tribe. This is mentioned in statements by Johnny Arlee.¹⁴

The disagreement about alcohol use and its relevance to Flathead Salish traditions resulted in the formation of two groups within the tribe. Both shared a common desire for tradition and ceremonies to be maintained, but their attitude toward alcohol use was markedly different. They became two separate traditional communities, one that eschewed the use of alcohol and the other that tolerated or accepted the use of alcohol as part of its requirement for the continuation of Flathead Salish tradition.

The premise for the existence of two traditional communities initially separated by their attitude toward the use of alcohol is presented for two reasons. First, there must have been a continuation of Flathead Salish tradition by leaders and tribal members who did not use alcohol. Otherwise tradition would have been redefined to include alcohol use within its parameters. This means traditional people who did not use alcohol must have maintained a sense of relation and community to support their values and beliefs.

Secondly, the leaders and supporters of tradition were asked if the use of alcohol was defined as part of the

¹⁴Ibid.

Flathead Salish tradition or if tradition could be used as a rationale for the use of alcohol by tribal members. They all answered no. Yet, their comments about alcohol use and its impact upon tribal members indicated the existence of a large number of people who sanction the use of alcohol and regularly use it in their communities. These people would function as a community since they share a behavior and belief about alcohol use and possess a perception about tradition that does not forbid its use.

The two traditional communities can also be designated as spiritual communities. The reason for this label is suggested by the spiritual quality of ancient tribal tradition. The definition of these two communities as spiritual entities will make it easier to consider spiritual interpretations of alcohol use as it affects their members. The concept of spiritual community is also useful in the description of spiritual processes that affect relationships between tribal members and the sacred.

The meaning and consequences of alcohol use to these two spiritual communities could be determined by interviews with members of each community. This was not possible.

One alternative was to utilize the perceptions of an individual who had membership in both communities at different times, a person who had been raised according to traditional values and beliefs and had used alcohol, an

individual who ceased using alcohol to maintain an identity and behavior based upon tradition. The viewpoints of this person would provide the information necessary to contrast each group and the background to understand the influence of alcohol use upon the spiritual identity of members within each community.

Johnny Arlee is an individual whose life experiences reflect part of the dilemma of the Flathead Salish people. It is a spiritual dilemma involving the struggle of tribal members to develop an identity congruent with a spiritual reality. It is a spiritual reality represented by the supernatural presence of ancestors and oral tribal teaching. It is a struggle of the individual to attain a spiritual role and strength that affirms himself as a positive representative of the warrior tradition in Flathead Salish culture. It is a journey of the soul toward the sacred in the midst of the profane created by human beings. It starts with a search.

CHAPTER IV

THE BEARER OF TRADITION AS ALCOHOL DEPENDENT

A Case Example

Johnny Arlee lives in a small family home that is symbolically identified by the large letter A emblazoned in white on the hillside in back of the house. It is a comfortable home replete with many material evidences of Indian life and spiritual belief. There are objects of feather and animal fur which represent many aspects of life in nature artistically decorated to honor that presence in the home. There are ceremonial objects kept for certain purposes during traditional rituals. It is a family home filled with people and living symbols of Flathead Salish tradition. It is a home where Johnny recounts some of his earlier experiences in life.

My Indian name is Cho-et-leh which means, "makes sweat." My great grandmother and grandfather were the ones who raised me. My great grandmother passed away when I was fifteen and my great grandfather passed away when I was seventeen. I guess that put me on my own in the world.

My great grandfather taught me and he never laid a hand on me if I did something wrong. When he talked to me about some wrong I had done, it really hurt. He cut right into my heart. He never raised a voice or

anything, but it was always calm and cut right into me. It was worse than a spanking.

He taught me a lot of things and he was always explaining things to me. He would show me how to keep from getting hurt and tell me to avoid doing certain things because I would be harmed. I had the kind of attitude at that time as a young person that, "you can't tell me, I already know." I always thought that way deep down inside of myself.

He died on July fifth in nineteen hundred fifty-seven when I was seventeen years old. I always felt he left me saying, "Alright! You know everything, then lead your own life." From the age of seventeen until I was thirty, that's the track I was on.

I went into the Army and served two hitches. My first trip in the Army I came out as a private just like I went in. I was up and down in the ranks from private first class back down. I think that is the highest I ever made. I finally got out with an honorable discharge.

I came back to the reservation and was raising heck. I messed around here being kicked out from home to home. I had been kicked out of so many homes where I went to stay with different family members or friends. I'd always break that special invitation by my drinking. I wouldn't show up till late at night or be around to help. It was always drinking that was first. I used to go out and sit on the railroad tracks and be a tramp. Finally I went on skid row from town to town riding the freights.

I ended up in California with my brother. That didn't last very long. I was partying down there all the time until I got disgusted after two years of running around getting drunk. I signed up in the Army again, but then I was too far gone. It didn't last very long. I went wrong four or five times and I was in the stockade. The last time I was in the stockade for six months. I got an undesirable discharge.

The Army had to ship me back to the point where I enlisted which was Calfironia. I got a free train ticket and no money. I was told I would never get a government job, but the first place I did go to work was a government agency. Down there I got into dope and

alcohol and finally I ended up back here on the reservation.

Some people would say, "I'm just nobody. I'm nothing. I can't make it." That is the way I was. I was a nobody. All my relations and friends would wander off and hide when they would see me walking toward them. They would hide so I wouldn't bug them for a quarter or dollar or try to talk and slobber all over them. I was one of those kind of guys.

I talk for myself a lot because I know myself better than anybody else. I know the things I have seen and done. When I see other people doing these things I think it's exactly the same thing I was doing when I was drinking. The alcohol has a way. If you are an alcoholic, then you will go the alcoholic way. I guess it is the easier way out, but you lose a lot of tradition. If there are dances and you are depended on to participate, sometimes you don't make it. If you are a drum leader or dancer and you are not there, that means somebody else has an extra load to carry.

My grandfather told me a long time ago when I went to sweat in a sweatlodge that it's no place to play; it's a place to pray, and I should respect it. I guess I never really understood it until the time when I misused it. I was in my drinking stage. The sacred songs I knew were my grandfather's songs that I sang in the sweatlodge when I was younger.

I was invited to go to a sweat ceremony which was going to be held in a community type of sweatlodge. It was located across the river down here. I went down there and these guys were all drinking wine and smoking pot. I fell right in with the crowd acting like a big shot. They told me to go ahead and sing and handle the liners and everything else. I guess this was a time when I had an opportunity to show off. The big group outside of the sweatlodge was very thrilling to me, but deep down in my heart I knew I had done something wrong. I knew I was doing something wrong against my grandfather's words.

It was in my grandfather's time when he used to sing at the medicine dances. He used to tell of this power represented by a man from whom he got this one song. It was from the west, way up in the clouds. The figure

was that of a human being in the clouds and he was dressed in red. He had red leggings and red shirt. We used to talk about where he got his songs.

Right after the sweat ceremony I was going in my pickup truck toward the west. I was headed home toward the west. There was a sunset beginning and black clouds were coming out. They were black. I knew something was wrong. The black cloud came over me from the west. It gave me a funny chill.

When I got home I was scared and knew I had done something wrong. I had been goofing off. I got scared of my sweathouse and never did enter it again. This happened in March or April of that year. The dark cloud came and the clouds stayed dark until the fourth of July. There were a few days of sunshine around the fourth of July and then it was overcast again. I knew it had to be something I had done.

I didn't take a sweat again from that March until the following January. January is the time when the Medicine Dance is conducted around here. That was the first time I went to the Medicine Dance to hear a medicine man asking me things to relieve my fears and helping me with my desires for whatever I wanted.¹

Johnny Arlee is the bearer of tradition who violated unwritten tribal law. He went against the teachings of his great grandfather. He disrupted the flow of spiritual power between the sacred and the human world. He used the power of ceremony and tradition disrespectfully. He demeaned the dignity and belief within native tradition for acceptance as the leader of peers who violated spiritual taboos. He used spiritual power without preparing himself or being in a state of mind where it could positively influence himself,

¹John Arlee, personal interview, Arlee, Montana, 28 January 1980.

others, and his world. So, the sky darkened to make him aware of the spiritual chaos and confusion that was his lot.

Johnny remembers some of the experiences he encountered when he desired to cease using alcohol.

I was really sincere about wanting to quit drinking. I looked around and searched for someone to visit. I wanted to see a medicine man about my problem.

I ended up at this family's home located in the Camas Prairie area. It was in the month of January during the time of the Medicine Dance. I was told when I arrived that they were just taking a sweat, so I went over to the sweathouse. The man conducting the ceremony was a medicine man. He said, "Come on in, you are just in time. Join us." So I joined in with them.

Our people sweat the first day to prepare themselves for the Medicine Dance that occurs during the following four nights. I joined in the Dance during the first night. The ceremony is quite long so I won't bother to describe it. At one certain point in the ceremony, this medicine man approached me with a request. He said, "I want you to sing your songs." I told him the only songs I had were the ones my grandfather used to sing all the time. I said, "I don't have any songs. The only songs I have are my grandfather's songs and I just sing them." He told me to sing them. So I sang them. He told me something after the songs were finished. He said, "I had a dream last night and I'm glad you came here. I saw you in that dream. You will have your own house and be singing within three years time."

I went back to sweat during that time and everything was going on in my mind. I was really fixing things. I talked to myself and had proud thoughts about me. I was going to be a big medicine man. I was going to be a big stick game player. These were the silly and foolish things that were going on in my mind.

I helped during this medicine time as a worker or helper to this medicine man. I would put things in a certain place or else help put things away. I helped to support the others in the Medicine Dance. And it was during the Medicine Dance that the medicine man would talk to the people who were there.

The people would be told to put all your heart and thought into your prayer. He told us to put everything we had in our heart into what we desired through our prayers. To put all of ourselves into the smudge² or dance sticks or whatever it is that has sacred meaning as a result of our actions. To put our whole wishes in the song or special prayer that was being used to help all of us.

I was there to find something to help myself and it sounded like he was talking to me. When a person is really sincere and wants to be helped, then it comes out that way. It helped me to see, feel, and hear things so I could understand what I was being taught. They were the lessons my grandfather had taught me which I had ignored in my alcoholic way.

I went and prayed that way and it was like I was really able to see myself and my problems. I took a sweat again and I found something good in it. That is when I really cried. I cried and asked for direction. I wanted a way to change and be helpful to the people. At that time I didn't know what I was getting into or what to expect.

The medicine man who helped to conduct the Medicine Dance had a song that he used during the ceremonies. He talked during the song about the war in Viet Nam. He prayed that the war would end and all the young men would come home. He also prayed during the same song that the white man and the black man would not fight anymore. He foresaw the red man would also be fighting if the white and black man continued fighting each other. That song was quite something.

Three years passed from the time I goofed up the sweatlodge and went to the Medicine Dance in January. I had gone to see another medicine man for more help. The Viet Nam war had ended and the guys were coming home. The red man and the black man were fighting with the white man about their rights. I was working for the Community Action Program at the time.

Every day I was tested about my sincerity to cease drinking. Sometimes I would just about break down

²A smudge is a purification smoke obtained from certain plants ignited by the individual. It is used to purify the person using it prior to or during prayer and spiritual contact with the sacred.

and think the heck with it. But if I hung in there long enough, something good always came up to answer prayers.

I was working in the early part of spring putting in windows for a woman who lives across the highway. I accidentally cracked a window from corner to corner as I finished the job in late afternoon. I told her I would go to St. Ignatius in the morning and buy another window to put in place of the broken one.

That morning I went into St. Ignatius and the town was quiet and dead. I heard a real clear voice inside my pickup truck. It said, "On-a-staa died."

I just drove down the street toward the mortuary to see if there were any people around. There was nothing. There were no cars or people so I thought it was nothing. I went back to the store and came back to the lady's house to finish the job.

I was singing the song the medicine man had sung in the Medicine Dance when he was praying for the Viet Nam war to end. I had been working on the window for half an hour when another woman came up to the house and she was crying. She said, "On-a-staa died, about an hour ago."

It gave me chills all over my body when I heard what she said. I already knew the message. I didn't want to go and tell these people what I heard and experienced. They would have said I was a wino or alkie and probably had the D.T.s or snakes. So I kept quiet. I finished the window and went home.

I got home and my mother came down and told me about a medicine man who had died in a car wreck. He was on his way to Denver, Colorado to visit his mother in the hospital. It was the same man whose song I had been singing when I heard the voice. It was two deaths in one day that really affected me.

Something came over me that day. My whole heart flipped and just turned over. The thoughts that had bothered me before turned over and everything was good thoughts. I didn't think about scheming around, where I was going to get my next dollar, who I am going to steal or rob for money, how I am going to get my next bottle, or anything like that in my mind. Everything was beautiful. Everything I was thinking about made sense. The only thing that bothered me were the preparations that were being made for the wake of the lady from Ronan named

On-a-staa. That's all that bothered me during the day. I had all these good thoughts and everything was beautiful. The world was beautiful. I could see things that had been here all the time, but I had never seen them.

I went to St. Ignatius to see one of my relatives. I talked with her for two hours explaining things that were going on in my mind. I told her I wanted to get up and speak at the wake. I wanted to share the things I was experiencing with people. She listened and said after our little talk that "everything sounds good." She told me to go see the priest, so I went and talked to him. I unloaded on him for an hour and a half. When I was finished with the priest, he said, "Well, you helped me."

But that wasn't the idea. I didn't go to help him, I went to help myself. He told me that it would be good to talk at the wake. He thought other people would get up to talk if I were to talk in my native language. He also suggested I talk in English because there would be a lot of young people there who did not speak Salish. That is what happened.

I did get up and talk and I was shaky and nervous afterward. I wondered if I had done the right thing. I had been quiet for a long time and it was almost midnight when the old man, Basil Lefthand, woke me up. He made me laugh and the other people laughed to make me aware that everything was all right. A lot of that is mentioned in the little movie called, *Awakening*.³

The next day I told these people that my friend, the medicine man, was being taken to St. Ignatius. His wake would begin down there so I asked them to go to it. They had his body there as I walked in. Then I prayed and sang the hymns they usually sing at our wakes. I was singing to him. And it all came back to me what this medicine man had said to me three years before he died.

³ *Awakening* (The real People), centers on the spiritual rebirth of the American Indian as seen through a contemporary Flathead Indian, Johnny Arlee. Traces his life from a point of despair through several stages of spiritual awakening to his present role of spiritual leader for his tribe and several others, KSPSTV, 1976.

He said, "You will be singing and have your own house in three years time." This is what I thought. Since that time it has always been my line of work. I try to give the people a helping hand. I always think they can profit from the example of my life. Anybody can change themselves. Each of us has a different gift if we would only give it a chance. The gift came to me from a spiritual awakening.

I have been told by medicine men that if you ever go back on the trail where you came from, it takes you a long time to get back. It's just like going up a ladder. It takes you a long time to get up to where you were. All that time to crawl back up. You never go back completely.

I feel that anybody who has this problem will want to go see someone. I am always open to help, but I always tell them I am not a medicine person. I'm not a powerful person. I depend on who I pray to in the sweathouse. I bring them into the sweathouse and pray with them. I feel good when the person has faith in me. I know the thing works.

When a person seeks help, there are a lot of our elders and medicine men that he can visit. There is nothing to fear. All he has to do is ask them for help. These medicine people are here to be called upon for help, otherwise they would not be around. They would not have special gifts to help people unless they were meant to be used.

It is a good feeling to look back now and see that the thing I prayed for has come to pass. I know this power will help anybody. Anybody that is sincere. Anybody that has a real deep desire to quit drinking. I was in a bad track then, and it helped me to know it and quit. If it helped me, it will help anybody else.⁴

Johnny encounters a number of spiritual experiences when he expresses a sincere desire to cease drinking. He seeks out medicine people for their help and counsel. He becomes affected by dream prophecy that affirms the value of himself to the sacred. He experiences a spiritual awakening

⁴Ibid.

that transforms him in action and thought. He is renewed as a bearer of Flathead Salish tradition that specifies alcohol use as detrimental to its members. He becomes identified as a spiritual leader in his community.

The spiritual experiences Johnny encounters catapult him into a state of mind characterized by honesty toward himself and others combined with feelings of sorrow and contrition for the various things he had done which were defined as bad. He cries out to the Creator in his sadness and affliction as an alcoholic. He is placed in a position where he must capitulate to the sacred and admit the error of his ways.

The counsel and advice of medicine people is the learning that Johnny seeks to replace the survival skills he has learned as an alcoholic. He starts searching for a different direction in his life. This brings him back to a different perception of his great grandfather.

The first time I really started searching for direction was new for me. I didn't know what I was going to do with myself. That's when I really missed my great grandfather. I wished he were here. I wondered why I didn't listen to him. Now I look back and realize those words weren't lost. He gave them to me at that time and it didn't make sense to me. Now the words come back to me at the time when they are needed. It's not really lost. It's still there.⁵

⁵ John Arlee, personal interview, Arlee, Montana, 28 January 1980.

The dream prophecy given to Johnny by the medicine man is the test of proof that sacred power is operating on his behalf. The spiritual awakening is the dramatic culmination of a process that resembles a spiritual purification. It is a purification whereby Johnny is transformed into a positive spiritual person. This contrasts sharply to his previous role and behavior as a negative spiritual being. He comments on his interpretation of evil and relationship to alcoholism.

I have my beliefs about alcohol. It's an evil person that brought it in. The evil spirit. He is a being that is really out to get everybody. If he sees somebody doing good, he will try his best to break it up. He doesn't want anybody being good. He wants to break them down. I use myself as an example.

I was trying to quit drinking and would be driving down the road. I had stopped drinking for three or four months. All of a sudden I will be tempted. It's like a little voice saying, "Why don't you stop off here and have a drink."

Somebody may come to visit and ask you to go for a ride with them. They may stop at a bar and ask you to come in and have one. If you say no, then their reply is to ask you to have just one, because it won't hurt. You think to yourself that you can have one and you take it. That's all it needs. That's all the evil one has to do is get you to have one drink if you think it is wrong for you. He doesn't have to be with you all night and tempt you to have more drinks. He can go out and find somebody else. All he needs to do is drag you down once.⁶

The help Johnny sought was a spiritual power that would heal him of his alcohol induced illness. The result of his spiritual exercise and the forces set in motion by

⁶ Ibid.

the medicine people is the purification of evil from himself. Johnny is purified of evil inclinations associated with alcohol dependency. He is spiritually healed and experiences the power of the sacred to help him fulfill his positive spiritual potential.

Johnny receives amnesty for the detrimental actions he has initiated toward himself and others. The guilt is removed because the memory perceives a difference between Johnny as an alcoholic and Johnny as a sober individual. The spiritual origin of amnesty requires Johnny to maintain sobriety through adherence to spiritual principles contained in Flathead Salish tradition and law. He is required to develop spiritual gifts of perception, wisdom, and persuasion to benefit his spiritual community and himself.

Renewal of the positive spiritual vitality which is the foundation of Flathead Salish tradition affects Johnny and his spiritual community. He becomes a focal point for definition of tradition without alcohol use and the spiritual community gains leadership for ceremonies and activities that emphasize sacred relationships as a basis for survival. Sacred power becomes renewed in its application to the modern problems of identity and continuance of native tradition.

The historical spiritual community of the Flathead Salish that is represented by their ancestors seemed to

function according to a definition of health being the result of human relations with the sacred. The effect of alcohol use upon these relationships can be stated from a viewpoint of spiritual health. It is a perspective wherein alcohol use is interpreted as a spiritual illness, an illness whose contagion affects both spiritual communities existing on the reservation and determines the acts of its members.

CHAPTER V

ALCOHOL USE AS IT AFFECTS

FLATHEAD SALISH CULTURE

A Symbolic Story and Commentary

There is Eagle who is the sacred servant of the Creator. Eagle brings medicine and wisdom to the people. There is Coyote who is sacred, but serves no one. Coyote shows medicine and deception to the people. The Creator has removed the power of all other creatures to help the people. They must choose to follow either Eagle or Coyote. Who they seek and follow determines the medicine they will receive. Eagle brings a sacred pipe, a sacred song, and a sacred dance. Coyote brings a sacred bottle, a sacred wail, and a sacred stumble.

Coyote and Eagle were friends at one time in their lives. They were companions who would share their thoughts and feelings as they visited, hunted, or played. Eagle would ask Coyote to seek game that had hidden in thick brush and chase it into open areas. Coyote would ask Eagle to use his wonderful sight to locate the animals they would hunt. Life was good for them and they cooperated to make it happy.

One day, Coyote began to think that Eagle was taking advantage of him. Coyote should be the one to determine when they hunted and have more authority in their relationship. After all, Coyote reasoned, he had more intelligence than Eagle. But, when he brought up the subject, Eagle looked wisely at him for a moment and then flew off alone to think about what was said.

Coyote began to resent Eagle and covet his power. He used his medicine bottle to make himself feel better. He did not want to be alone so he called out to the people that he was a great warrior. He taught them his song and showed them his dance. He instructed them in the sacred mysteries of his medicine bottle. And the people laughed and cried and became crazy and were thankful to Coyote. He had brought them great power to be happy with each other.

Eagle listened and looked at Coyote as he instructed the people. Eagle had talked many times to the people and helped them to become strong. Now they turn away from him and begin to follow Coyote. Many of them cease to dream and think of him. He turns to the children and finds them taught by the example of their parents. He looks upon the parents and sees they follow the power of Coyote and share the medicine bottle in their midst. He turns to the chiefs and elders and sees few who are not embarrassed. He is saddened in his heart and flies away high above the people to his nest in the mountains.

Coyote sees Eagle leave and tells the people he has taken his power from him. He asks the people to give him their things of value in return for his medicine bottle and power. Many of the people bring what they have to Coyote and he becomes strong in his influence among them. The people become poor and forget the happiness they had with each other before Coyote came. Soon they start to sicken and die.

Coyote is saddened by the deaths of the people and blames it on Eagle because he has abandoned the people. He secretly wants to have Eagle be his friend again and thinks when Eagle sees his power among the people he will have respect for him. Then he and Eagle can take up their old ways together. But first, Coyote must prove his power.

Eagle hears the cries of the people and comes back to help them. He speaks, but few listen. Many complain that Eagle's way and words are too hard for them to understand or follow. They blame Eagle and each other for their problems and illness. The few who listen to Eagle become strong from his power.

Coyote tells the people that those who follow Eagle are trying to humiliate the others because they are jealous of the happiness Coyote has given to the people. Coyote makes the people believe that Eagle has no power to help them. He challenges Eagle to a contest to determine who will lead the people. The one who wins the contest will be

the most powerful and should be their leader. Eagle agrees to the contest.

Coyote suggests that he and Eagle race upon the ground to determine who is faster. They line up to race across an open meadow. Coyote starts the race quickly and leaves Eagle standing quietly at the starting point. Eagle continues standing and watches Coyote running furiously across the meadow to the finish line. He plucks a feather from his wing and touches it to the earth. Eagle throws the feather across the finish line ahead of Coyote just as he is about to win the race.

Coyote becomes angry at having lost the race and boasts of his power. He challenges Eagle to a better test of power between them. Each will use his power to make it rain. The winner will be the one who makes it rain faster than the other. Eagle agrees and flies away high in the skies. He circles four times and beckons the clouds. Soon the rain begins to fall. Coyote laughs and tells Eagle he can make it rain in a much easier way. He lifts his leg and urinates in the wind. The wind and rain blow the urine coming from Coyote back upon his belly and fur. This makes Coyote angrier and he sulks off in search of the people.

Eagle calls all of the people together and announces that Coyote has lost. Coyote complains that Eagle is unfair and he leaves with his medicine bottle. Some of the people follow him and repeat his complaints. Eagle heals those who

were sick and tells them to throw away the medicine bottles Coyote has given to them. Many of the people become angry because Coyote has changed their minds and made them think his teaching was how the people should live. But, they are afraid of Eagle because he has proved his power to overcome Coyote. They secretly keep their medicine bottle in memory of Coyote.

To this day, you can see many of the people get angry if someone tries to take away the medicine bottle Coyote gave them, even if Eagle does it.

This symbolic story is used to dramatize the conflict generated by alcohol use among tribal members. It states the problem such use poses to the tribal culture. The problem is clarified as a battle between the sacred and the profane. It is essentially a spiritual conflict enveloping members of opposing spiritual communities and causing them to reject each other. They are incompatible in their spiritual definition and relation to each other. The teaching of Eagle is not the same as Coyote.

The teaching of Coyote derives its power from the influence of alcohol upon the thought. The power of thought denies the power of the sacred to control it. Alcohol becomes the medicine necessary for survival. The sacred is perceived to exist as an extension of personal power meant to be manipulated by human beings according to whim or

desire for recognition by others. Harmony exists between people when there is acceptance and participation in drinking activities. The spiritual community consists of people who will accept and stimulate the individual to maintain alcohol use or dependency.

The teaching of Eagle derives its power from the influence of the sacred upon the thought. The power of thought accepts and desires sacred power to control it. Sumesh provides the gifts necessary for survival. The sacred exists as an extension of supernatural power requiring human understanding of its laws and sacred relationships to govern its use. Harmony exists between people when there is a dignity and respect for one another and all life. The spiritual community consists of people who accept and stimulate the individual to serve others and help them with their lives.

The spiritual community shapes the identity of its members. They resemble seekers whose beliefs embrace either spirit or bottle. Their relationship to each other is sustained by the sacred or the profane. Their role as a seeker requires them to be a representative of their community.

The role of the bottle seeker is the identity of the alcohol dependent tribal member. The alcohol use is the weapon the seeker uses to cope with culture. The shield is

the system of denial and rationalization that protects the seeker from any enemy. The quest for sacred power and the protection of spiritual guardians is the seeking of liquor and the spiritual deception of its effects and hallucinations. The tests of worth are the sufferings and unhappiness the seeker must endure to prove himself. The triumph of the seeker is physical survival and the ability to continue drinking alcohol. The defeat is sickness, death, or injuries that remove him from the influence of his spiritual community.

The bottle seekers use their identity to weaken themselves and justify their lives. This justification of self involves them in drinking practices that are considered part of their tradition as tribal members. It requires an individual to be in a euphoric state of mind with a capacity to devote his energies to celebrations and activities centered around the use of alcohol. They function as an axis-mundi or center point for the reception and dispersal of personal power. The consequences of this personal power are evidenced by spiritual sickness, intellectual deception, and physical deterioration. Their relationship to the sacred is upheld by the maintenance of disharmony in themselves.

The role of the spirit seeker is the identity of the tribal member who maintains his viewpoint of traditional

values without the use of alcohol. The culture is the instrument the seeker uses to cope with alcoholism. His shield is truth and wisdom that protects the seeker from any enemy. The quest for sacred power and the protection of spiritual guardians is the seeking of a relationship with the sacred that provides meaning to the dreams and visions which give direction to life. The seeker experiences tests to validate his self worth to the sacred. The triumph of the seeker is spiritual health and the ability to extend it to family and members of his spiritual community. The defeat is isolation and separation from his spiritual community.

The spirit seekers use their identity to strengthen themselves and shape their lives. This shaping involves them in ceremonies and enactment of tradition. It requires an individual to be in a spiritual state of mind with a capacity to devote his energies for the positive welfare of the family, tribe, and self. They function as an axis-mundi or center point for the reception and channeling of sacred power to others. The consequences of this sacred power are evidenced by their spiritual health, intellectual clarity, and physical strength. Their relationship to the sacred is upheld by the maintenance of harmony in themselves.

The presence of bottle seekers in traditional activities tends to disrupt the flow of sacred power to

participants in the ceremonies. This is due to the effect they exert upon sober individuals who are trying to maintain their spiritual posture as part of their traditional beliefs. The bottle seeker is resented by the spirit seeker. One response to this resentment is for the bottle seeker to cease drinking or use lesser amounts of alcohol in order to participate in ceremonies. This action further contributes to their spiritual separation and conflict with the spirit seeker.

Johnny Arlee mentions this from the perspective of insincerity characteristic of the bottle seeker.

It seems like your prayers wouldn't really be sincere if you drop all drinking just for this special ceremony and right after it is finished you start drinking again. The prayers would be sincere at one point, but they have to be carried through. You have to keep your mind clear and upon your prayers. If you are called upon to pray or lead a ceremony, then your mind has to be clear. You have to fast yourself from this alcohol. People will come around to help you and support you. In return, your spirit helps the people around you that support it.¹

The conflict between seekers of each spiritual community is actually a struggle between the spiritually sick and the spiritually healthy. The deeper implications of this struggle indicate it may involve an antagonism of souls. This antagonism could be the result of sick souls seeking a unanimous influence of disease upon healthy souls. The presence of healthy souls would function to make sick

¹John Arlee, personal interview, Arlee, Montana, 28 January 1980.

souls aware of their condition. The emphasis upon soul relative to the individual will be discussed in a later section of this paper.

The use of alcohol is a social behavior of comparatively recent origin that has become part of tribal tradition. It functions to shape identity and role among those who use it. The spiritual seeker of the past has become two types of symbolic seekers in the present time. These symbolic seekers seem to change their role and identity depending upon their use or non-use of alcohol.

The facts provided by Johnny Arlee's experience indicate the movement of members of each spiritual community to membership in both groups at different times in their lives. The concept of alcohol use as a spiritual illness would explain the movement as a process involving sickness and health. This points to the existence of cultural practices for helping bottle seekers who renounced membership in their community. It also poses a question. What were the traditional ways used to help tribal individuals who were adversely affected by alcohol use or dependency?

Tribal Methods Used to Control and Treat Alcohol Use or Illness

The use of alcohol became legally available to all Indians in 1953. As May states, in the American Indian Law Review,

In 1953, when federal Indian prohibition was repealed, an Indian could, for the first time in his lifetime, drink legally off the reservation. The law making this possible was Public Law 83-277, and it was passed and signed into law on August 15, 1953. This law also provided that all tribes were granted the power to repeal any and all prohibition statutes on their reservations. Worded another way, each tribe could legalize and regulate alcohol traffic of any kind within its reservation's boundaries from that time on.²

The use of alcohol was legalized on the Flathead reservation in 1960. Tribal members were free to buy or possess alcoholic beverages. Tribal license and sale of alcoholic beverages was permitted to include package or single drink sales on the reservation.

The degree of alcohol use among the Flathead Salish did not seem to be a disruptive influence upon tribal traditions until the second and third decades of the twentieth century. Charles McDonald mentions the period of 1920-1930 as important due to the amount of drinking that increased by tribal members.

The Prohibition time was when liquor started being used more. The Volstead Act made moonshine pretty common and there was moonshine all over the country. Some of it was good and some of it was bad. Some Indians mixed it up themselves and I think that's when our alcohol troubles started. It got worse.

When Prohibition was over these fellows around here said things would be awful. I told them there wouldn't be a damn bit of difference between now and before. I was right. I was the field agent when they opened up the Mission to alcohol. You couldn't see any more drunks on the street as before.

²Phillip May, "Alcohol Beverage Control: A Survey of Tribal Alcohol Statutes," *American Indian Law Review* vol. 5, no. 1, p. 217.

You would seldom see drunkenness in public before that time. Everything relied on the chiefs and whoever his [sic] associates were. The people relied on them. All the public events and things depended on them.

The chiefs condemned the use of alcohol as much as they could. They thought that people who used it wouldn't take care of their family. They would waste what they had for their assets. They would sell their horses for little or nothing. A lot of times they would beat their women. The chiefs tried to keep the people away from these things.³

Tony Charlo mentions other reasons for the condemnation of alcohol use among tribal members by the chiefs.

The chiefs said the alcohol was no good for the people. It made them crazy. When the people used it, they would go crazy. They would kill one another. They would go nuts. They would knife or shoot one another. They would beat one another with a stick. The people would have no control of themselves.⁴

The people relied on the chiefs to provide leadership and gave them authority to maintain control and uphold unwritten laws in the tribe. Agnes Vanderburg recalls how the leaders treated people who used alcohol and disrupted the community.

There were certain individuals who would get drunk and rowdy. They would be tied to a wagon wheel or pole. They would be made to stay there until they sobered up.

They were shamed in front of the people. The old ladies would come out of their tents and spill things on them. They would have to stay in the sun and dry up. It made

³Charles D. McDonald, personal interview, St. Ignatius, Montana, 11 February 1980.

⁴Tony Charlo, personal interview, Elmo, Montana, 18 February 1980.

them quit drinking. If they got mad and threatened to get somebody, then they had to stay there until they were calm.⁵

Tony Charlo remembers another method used by tribal leaders to control individuals using alcohol.

They would use a whip. A drunk would do something and the person would be whipped. They would be taken right there and tied up. The next day they would be taken to the leader who would tell them how many they would get. Then they would be whipped. Sometimes it would be thirty and other times it would be sixty. It hurt them and gave them something to remember later on.⁶

The family played an important part in limiting alcohol use or helping members afflicted by it. Both Vanderburg⁷ and Pierre⁸ referred to family instruction through example as important in shaping the attitudes of children and family members about the subject of alcohol use. Yet, there were examples of family members becoming sick or dependent as a result of their alcohol use. Francis Auld mentions how family members helped the sick person.

The family elders would talk to the person and advise them. The whole family would help out if the person got

⁵ Agnes Vanderbur, personal interview, Arlee, Montana, 4 February 1980.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Agnes Vanderburg, personal interview, Arlee, Montana, 4 February 1980.

⁸ Eneas Pierre, personal interview, Arlee, Montana, 11 February 1980.

real bad. The oldest member of the family would take a person into the sweatlodge and help them. The person could get it out in there.⁹

The traditional viewpoint concerning the use of alcohol by tribal members originated from admonitions by the chiefs against its use. The practical consequences of its use were observed to be detrimental to the welfare of the Flathead Salish tribe. The actions of the chiefs were to use their authority to limit its use by punishing those individuals who disrupted tribal activities as a result of their influence by it. The actions of families were to attempt to help their members who became sick or dependent upon its use. The actions of medicine men were characterized by their use of spiritual methods and verbal counseling to help the person who became sick or alcohol dependent and sought healing.

Doug Allard states, "Medicine men have told me they used their medicine to help people stop drinking."¹⁰ Eneas Pierre recalls that, "There were Indian doctors who helped people with a drinking problem. They would use their medicine to help them."¹¹ This use of medicine or Sumesh by native healers encompassed a spiritual regeneration

⁹ Francis Auld, personal interview, Elmo, Montana, 18 February 1980.

¹⁰ Doug Allard, personal interview, St. Ignatius, Montana, 4 February 1980.

¹¹ Eneas Pierre, personal interview, Arlee, Montana, 11 February 1980.

experienced by the participants. Tony Charlo mentions this process from the standpoint of his current spiritual practices.

We sweat and talk to the spirits. We beg for our lives and things we need. We ask for this. We get it during the sweat. We go in and talk to them. The main one is an old man who has been with us for a long time. It's great grandfather. That's what we call him.¹²

Sometimes the family would seek the services of a native healer to help their children who had become dependent upon the use of alcohol. Alex Lefthand refers to one such incident.

This Flathead girl was married to a Blackfeet boy from Browning and they got in terrible shape. They were drinking and fighting all the time. Finally the girl's parents went and talked to this old medicine man in St. Ignatius and asked him for help with their family. The old man told them he didn't have any cures, but they should bring the couple by to visit. He would use a smudge and prayers for them while they were there. The girl's family brought the couple there and this old fellow smudged and prayed for them in another room. They stopped drinking shortly after that.

About seven years after that, the husband learned from some of his relations about what happened. They both started drinking again. Then the old medicine man died. They kept on drinking for a while after his death and then stopped. I heard they are living up around Flathead Lake and don't drink anymore.¹³

The spiritual interpretation of alcohol use was used by some individuals who did not want to use it or become

¹²Tony Charlo, personal interview, Elmo, Montana, 18 February 1980.

¹³Alex Lefthand, personal interview, Hot Springs, Montana, 18 February 1980.

spiritual subjects to alcohol. Francis Auld recounts an incident where his grandmother used a spiritual understanding to protect herself against the influence of alcohol.

My grandmother thought of alcohol as a bad spirit. She treated it like it was a spirit. She talked to it like it was a person standing close to her. She said she didn't take alcohol and throw it aside angrily. She told the alcohol to go away from her.

She said she put it in a bag and tied it up. She put it aside and said it would be there all the time. She didn't get angry at it. She didn't get down on it. She put it aside without anger in an Indian way. That way it wouldn't come back on her. She didn't want it to hurt her or come back to her bad side.¹⁴

Francis also comments about his own spiritual interpretation of alcohol.

Some people try to quit and they get down on the alcohol. In an Indian way, that's angrily pushing it aside. The alcohol retaliates and goes back to the person. It comes back to the bad side and doubles its strength. This makes a person take a hard fall. The important thing is the way you let go of a bad spirit, so it doesn't come back on you. When I quit drinking, I used that as an example. I put it aside and don't bother it. That way it won't come back to your bad side and make you worse.¹⁵

One can observe that political power wielded by the chiefs, spiritual power utilized by individuals, families, and medicine people, combined with the traditional values practiced by tribal members were the roots nourishing and sustaining the Flathead Salish people. They can be

¹⁴Francis Auld, personal interview, Elmo, Montana, 18 February 1980.

¹⁵Ibid.

perceived as the reason for the relative lack of alcohol use by the Flathead Salish in the early period of the twentieth century. These roots became damaged and withered as a consequence of the removal of power from the traditional Flathead Salish leaders to manage their own existence.

The political authority of the chiefs was removed through the institution of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1932. This meant the political and spiritual leadership of the tribe represented by the chiefs became separated. Political leadership of the tribe became the province of elected officials who formed the tribal council. The power of the chiefs to maintain unwritten tribal law and tradition was removed. The people had spiritual leaders who had no power to control them.

The spiritual power and influence of the traditional community began to dissipate. It became subject to a type of tribal anarchy where families and individuals experienced the deterioration of traditional values and the disrespect of others became a matter of patience and tolerance for those affected. This had negative consequences for any transmission of a spiritual understanding of alcohol induced illness. Eneas Pierre recalls that individuals attempting to cease their drinking through their belief in native spiritual practices were subjected to negative peer pressures. He states, "It was always a friend or someone

who didn't respect the medicine and would get the person to drink again."¹⁶

The spiritual power of the medicine people to help others afflicted by alcohol induced illness was weakened. The effectiveness of the medicine people became a matter of chance. Alex Lefthand recalls why Indian medicine did not help some alcohol dependent people.

Sometimes it worked and sometimes it didn't work. Even when the medicine man helped somebody for so long, they would go and drink. Some of them would have accidents or other problems before the time was up. It's pretty dangerous using medicine ways to help people like that.¹⁷

The danger involved in the use of Indian medicine with alcohol dependent people was due to the use of spiritual power by native healers. The invocation of aid from spirits required adherence to unwritten tribal law and the maintenance of traditional values of both the healer and patient. The deliberate violation of law and values placed both the patient and the healer in a position of spiritual jeopardy.

If the healer and patient respect the influence of the sacred, then they live according to this respect. If they disrespect its influence and help, then they are subject to

¹⁶ Eneas Pierre, personal interview, Arlee, Montana, 11 February 1980.

¹⁷ Alex Lefthand, personal interview, Hot Springs, Montana, 18 February 1980.

evil and its consequences in their lives. Both healer and patient are affected by the sacred. The negative action of either person during their sacred relationship results in difficulties for both.

Traditional values could not be collectively maintained by individuals against the increasing number of tribal members who used alcohol or were dependent upon it. The increase in use made it difficult, if not impossible, for families to instruct their children according to these values. Too many people were drinking alcohol and unknowingly contributing to the formation of another tradition in the family. The family structure started to disintegrate and the meaning of traditional values became a matter of remembrance and understanding to fewer and fewer members of the tribe. Johnny Arlee refers to the ignorance of tradition that affected families which was supported by non-native social structures and institutions who shaped the behavior and thinking of tribal members to conform to non-native culture.

They took over everything, but there is no meaning to it. They don't understand what is going on. We are Indians, but we are made to live like non-Indians in their world.¹⁸

The Flathead Salish tribe did possess methods to deal with problems arising from the use of alcohol by tribal

¹⁸John Arlee, personal interview, Arlee, Montana, 28 January 1980.

members. Their capacity to maintain and enlarge these methods was diminished by the actions of non-native society to dismantle and reorganize the tribal structure. The use of alcohol seems to have increased in proportion to the weakening of the traditional spiritual community. Its use contributed to the development of a native spiritual identity associated with its existence, a spiritual identity in opposition to a traditional spiritual role and understanding developed by the tribal ancestors.

One consideration of native identity is the spiritual dynamic of the self. It is possible to examine this dynamic from a conceptual framework of illness that affects the identity. A native conception of alcohol induced illness can be used as a partial basis for explanation of some aspects of the spiritual dynamic of identity. It can also be used to develop a partial spiritual theory to explain some of the relationship between alcohol dependency and the spiritual identity of the individual.

The following comments emphasize spiritual interpretations and theoretical considerations of alcohol dependency as a spiritually derived illness.

Spiritual Conceptions Relative to a Partial Theory of Native Alcoholism

Health and healing are not of the mind alone. There is a sacred nature to all things that are sensed. The sacred power associated with things is Sumesh. It resides

in the water of the streams and rivers on the Flathead reservation. It is part of the plant beings who live their time and season among the people. It is known in the animal creatures of earth, sky, and water who share their lives and existence with the Flathead Salish.

Human existence among the Flathead Salish is a conflict between life and death. It is the task of the individual to survive and understand the particular way Sumesh gives them life, to have experiences and stories that explain the mystery of the sacred to themselves, to seek out teachers who can instruct one according to a path of wisdom, a path lighted by knowledge of Sumesh travelled by the person seeking wisdom.

Wisdom is the fruit of knowledge given meaning by the sacred. It is the influence of the sacred upon the functioning of the human mind. It is the action of human beings to live in harmony with each other and life around them. It is the consequence of testing knowledge to determine a decision that in retrospect seems wise. Wisdom is the understanding and use of Sumesh according to spiritual laws that support the existence of life. It is a personal kinship with the Creator and his creation as family members who act or allow action for life to be sustained.

There are many teachers of life. The plant beings reveal their life and relation to others. The animals share their knowledge and power with their relatives. The water teaches and heals in its forms and manner. The earth gives life to herself and renews others with lessons to explain her mystery. The Creator allows lessons of life to be shared by different beings according to their understanding. Knowledge comes from many directions and teachers and is not the sole possession of the human being.

A Sumesh experience is an individual incident that has significance because it is identified as having its origin from the supernatural dimension of reality. Its interpretation starts from a non-rational process that is spiritual thought. Spiritual thought is the operation of sacred power eliminating psychic disharmony and stimulating a state of mind that is conducive to interpretation of the sacred. Secular thought is the operation of the intellect according to a denial of the sacred. Both types of thought act to influence the human soul.

The soul has been described by Turney-High as being, ". . . The substance with which a man is lined."¹⁹ He mentions the Flathead Salish word to describe soul connotes

¹⁹ Harry Holdbert Turney-High, "The Flathead Indians of Montana," memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Menasha, Wisconsin, American Anthropological Association Press, 1937, p. 27.

a meaning of garment. A mention is made of the Flathead Salish soul by Hultkrantz who writes, " . . . there is some evidence from which one may guess at the probable existence of dualistic soul conceptions in earlier times."²⁰ A statement by Johnny Arlee seems to support a duality of self interpretation characterized by value assessments of good and bad. He says, "It's like a split personality where there is a good and a bad side of us. For myself, the two sides fight and finally the good side comes out."²¹

Human flesh exists in balance with the mind and soul. The soul covers and protects it with sacred power. The mind nourishes and sustains it with mental process. Sumesh is the energy used by the soul and mind to benefit the flesh. The soul is the initial contact point and receptacle for Sumesh.

One dimension of Flathead Salish spiritual illness involves the effect of Sumesh upon two aspects of the soul. The healthy soul is filled with sacred power that is positive. The unhealthy soul is filled with sacred power that is negative. The influence of Sumesh upon the soul is given meaning by the mind. Spiritual identity is the interpretation and activity of the mind to uphold its

²⁰Ake Hultkrantz, *Conceptions of the Soul among North American Indians*, Monograph Series, no. 1 (Stockholm, Sweden: Caslon Press, 1953), p. 68.

²¹Ibid.

concept of relation with the soul. A concept whose reality is determined by the relation of the soul to the sacred.

Another dimension of spiritual illness involves the action of the soul in response to a sacred reality encompassing creation. The Creator exists as Great Grandfather or a personal relative with power and wisdom that affects all natural and supernatural life. The creation contains spiritual beings who have a positive or negative effect upon the humans. The Creator maintains an authority of the spirits. The spirits function as good and bad members of the same family. The head of the family is Great Grandfather.

The spirits influence the soul and mind of the human being. The mind ascribes identity to them based upon interpretations provided by tribal ancestors. The soul reacts to their presence as relatives who share sacred power with it. The mind interprets the relation of the soul to the spirits as a spiritual possession which affects both soul and mind.

Spiritual possession is an exposure of the human being to the good and bad of the sacred. One can have good spirits or bad spirits influence the thoughts and behavior. One can have good spirits or bad spirits share a sacred power with the soul. One can be animated by the good or bad part of themselves.

The good and bad side of himself mentioned by Johnny Arlee is the positive and negative influence of Sumesh and spirits affecting his soul and given meaning by his mind. The meaning defines a tension between the good and bad of the self which is a mirror image of the conflict between the good and bad in the sacred. This mirror image is a determinant to explain personal shortcomings and the motivation for acceptance of self by other selves. This is the dilemma which confronts the human being who maintains a spiritual identity. It requires them to shape their mind and recognize their soul as congruent with a mirror image of the good aspects of the sacred. Failure to maintain such congruence results in an individual recognizing and accepting the mirror image of the bad aspects of the sacred. The person becomes influenced and victimized by evil, an evil which is recognized by native healers as spiritual illness.

Two dimensions of spiritual illness have been considered thus far, one occurring as the result of negative sacred power filling the soul and the other occurring as the result of bad spirits influencing the self. This indicates the existence of two specific qualities of sacred power. It has a latent quality which is its existence without form or identity and it has a manifest quality which is its existence as a form and identity to human beings. One

function of Flathead Salish traditional religious practice is to change the latent quality of sacred power into a manifest state. This is achieved through the practice of seeking a supernatural guardian or protector.

The evil spirit referred to by Johnny Arlee is an interpretation of negative spiritual authority existing in the sacred. Its presence requires the individual to seek spiritual protection. The lack of such protection results in the spiritual dissociation or confusion of the individual. This causes the mind and soul to become unbalanced in their relation and exist as unstable entities.

The positive influence of the sacred and the peace it gives to the individual is the goal of native healers. They are responsible to act as a channel for Sumesh to affect others through spiritual contact and ceremony. Their action is to use Sumesh in a manner to influence and animate others in a positive direction. They help to renew life and invigorate the spiritually ill so they are able to be effectively healed by the sacred. They function as servants of the sacred.

Spiritual illness can be expressed in the form of different symptoms by those afflicted. The alcohol dependent person exhibits a pattern of symptoms that indicates spiritual imbalance. It is possible to diagnose and treat these symptoms according to traditional tribal conceptions or supernaturally caused illness.

An examination of American Indian interpretations of supernatural disease causation reveals five major categories or causes of disease. Vogel states, "Among the supernatural causes of disease avowed by American Indians, Forrest Clements listed (1) sorcery, (2) taboo violation, (3) disease-object intrusion, (4) spirit intrusion, and (5) soul loss."²² In certain tribes and areas, some of these causes are more important than others."²³

Some of these causes existed as part of the religious belief structure of the Flathead Salish. There is little mention of taboo violation by tribal anthropologists, ethnographers, etc. The existence of ceremonies and healing practices of tribal shamans, however, make taboo violation an inevitable explanation of the negative consequences of aberrant behavior.

Turney-High mentions the activities of tribal shamans to remove disease-objects. "The two principal outward and visible acts of shamanistic curing were blowing and sucking noxious materials from the place affected."²⁴ This

²²Forrest Clements, *Primitive Concepts of Disease* 32 University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology (1932): pp. 186-190.

²³Virgil J. Vogel, *American Indian Medicine* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), p. 12.

²⁴Harry Holbert Turney-High, "The Flathead Indians of Montana," memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Menasha, Wisconsin, American Anthropological Association Press, 1937, p. 30.

indicates the existence of disease-object interpretations of sickness.

The belief in spirit intrusion as a causative factor of disease requires belief in spirits as part of the spiritual definition of the tribe. The comments of Charlo about the spirits in the sweatlodge indicates spirit beliefs. Turney-High mentions the Bluejay ceremony which also indicates the possibility of spirit intrusion beliefs existing among the Flathead Salish.

. . . The Sumesh lodge for the Bluejay is set up. . . . The old men decide that it is time to allow the shamans to "go wild" and suddenly dash out the various fires built down the length of the lodge, leaving all in complete darkness. At this the shamans are entirely possessed by the Bluejay, in fact become Bluejays and begin to talk backwards, in gibberish, and make Bluejay sounds.²⁵

This triad of supernatural disease causation can be interpreted with alcohol as its object or focus. The use of alcohol by a member of a traditional spiritual community constitutes the deliberate enactment of a taboo violation. The effect of the substance results in the formation of a disease-object that is strengthened according to the amount and rate at which the substance is taken. The formation of the disease-object weakens the mind, body, and soul of the

²⁵ Harry Holbert Turney-High, "The Flathead Indians of Montana," memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Menasha, Wisconsin, American Anthropological Association Press, 1937, p. 39.

individual so that negative spirit intrusion is possible. The person becomes possessed by bad spirits.

The old way of achieving spiritual identity occurred through individual efforts to acquire a supernatural helper and protector. One also observed the laws involving such relationships which were requirements for behavior toward the sacred. The violation of these laws could be construed as a taboo violation. The proscription by traditional spiritual leaders against the use of alcohol functioned as a taboo. The violation of this taboo would weaken the capacity of human beings to enact their relationship with the sacred. In some cases it may have resulted in the death of the individual who violated the taboo. Alcoholic illness resulting in accidental death or death due to alcohol induced sickness could be interpreted as death resulting from taboo violation.

The illness resulting from taboo violation is caused by the disrespect or abuse of spirits by human beings. Distilled drinking alcohol has been historically defined by tribes in the northern plains area as having a spiritual quality or medicine. George Bird Grinnell mentions a tribal spiritual interpretation of alcohol.

All these things we speak of as medicine the Indian calls mysterious, and when he calls them mysterious this only means that they are beyond his power to account for. . . . We say that the Indian calls whiskey

"medicine water." He really calls it mysterious water - that is, water which acts in a way that he cannot understand.²⁶

Statements by Arlee and Auld reveal an interpretation of alcohol that symbolizes a spirit, a spirit that is understood according to its effect upon the individual. The spiritual action of grandmother Auld demonstrates a designation of alcohol as a spirit that had to be treated respectfully. Otherwise, the spirit represented by alcohol could harm her.

The lack of cultural ways to appease such a bad spirit to remove the negative consequences of taboo violation resulted in the affliction of Flathead Salish tribal members. The use of alcohol was the use of a spirit through its symbolic representation. The loss of control and respect experienced by the user was the spiritual consequence of human disrespect toward the sacred. The bad spirit or medicine represented by the alcohol made people go crazy and lose control of themselves. This could be a reason for sober native people to avoid a confrontation with those who are influenced by alcohol. It would become a confrontation with a bad spirit whose power could influence them to become alcohol dependent.

The violation of taboo causes emotions of guilt and fear in the individual. The use of alcohol by members of a

²⁶George Bird Grinnell, *The Story of the Indian* (New York, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1935), pp. 180-181.

traditional spiritual community could result in such a degree of guilt and fear as to govern their actions to reject the traditional aspects of their culture, a guilt and fear which would affect the definition of the self, a self mentioned by Turney-High as being most important in reference to the appraisal of others. "The mirrored self is to the Flathead the most important self. Industry, bravery, and like virtues were rewarded with wealth and prestige. Their reverse gained only opprobrium."²⁷

The effects of the disease-object intrusion start from a magical introduction of the object into the body. The introduction is accomplished by the individual who is victimized by the power of his thought projection about alcohol. The spirit represented by alcohol picks up the thought projection and amplifies it back to the individual. The amplification of thought results in the self introduction of the object before it is physically present.

The physical representative of the spirit enters through the mouth and circulates through the body. The object is not animate until it enters the body. It becomes animate and diffuses itself throughout the person so that it cannot be extricated by the blowing and sucking methods of

²⁷ Harry Holbert Turney-High, "The Flathead Indians of Montana," memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Menasha, Wisconsin, American Anthropological Association Press, 1937, p. 44.

the shaman. It makes the individual desire its presence. He objects to its removal. He desires the company of others who have the same object within them. Its presence is used to explain and excuse the loss of control and crazy behavior oftentimes exhibited by the individual.

Spirit intrusion occurs when the thought of alcohol in the body attracts its master to the mind. It is an evil spirit that attempts to invade the mind. The spirit strengthens the bad side of the individual and attempts to envelop the soul. It seeks total possession and obedience of the individual to its power. It attempts to control the mind and fill the soul with negative sacred power.

Its action upon the individual mind shapes confusing thoughts. It attempts to convince the person to surrender to its power. It deceives the mind so it can be accepted as a positive power within it. The person affected by it develops a way of thinking to explain and justify his behavior and he denies the presence of the spirit in his mind to others. He seeks the company of other people who are possessed by the same spirit.

The task of the spiritual healer is three dimensional, but starts from a single purpose of helping the alcohol dependent to cease drinking. The first dimension of spiritual healing requires the action of the healer to help the alcohol dependent allay the effects of taboo violation.

This can be accomplished through gifts or personal sacrifice by the individual to the spiritual world. As Arlee states, "I think a person has to stay away from everything. That's a sacrifice. You go to a mountain to sacrifice if you are going to fast. You give up something. This is to show how sincere you are from deep inside yourself."²⁸

The second dimension necessitates the removal of the disease-object from the person and conflict with the spirit that possesses them. This results in a spiritual combat with the healer, patient, and good spirits on one side and the bad spirit on the other side. The healer must plead for intercession of good spirits to overcome the bad spirit and allow for a spiritual removal of the disease-object. This can be accomplished through the sweatlodge or spirit lodge activities where the spirits will be receptive and the person afflicted will be able to get the most help. It is also helpful for the individual to engage in tribal ceremonies where positive spiritual possession by spirits can be used as a basis to overcome the bad spirit affecting the alcohol dependent.

The third dimension requires the healer to stimulate and help the person to seek a spiritual protector whose power will enable the individual to overcome the influence

²⁸John Arlee, personal interview, Arlee, Montana, 28 January 1980.

of the bad spirit, an influence that can occur in the presence or the absence of the alcohol. The actions of the bad spirit upon the mind leaves a memory of it that must be balanced by the presence and influence of a good spirit to protect the person.

The spiritual definition and resolution of alcohol dependency affecting members of a traditional spiritual community rests upon two premises. First, the culture and traditions of the tribe contain the processes necessary for alcohol dependents to recover from their dependency. An identification and adherence to tribal tradition as defined by traditional spiritual leaders gives tribal members the strength and basis to survive without the use of alcohol.

Second, the use of tradition as a basis for the recovery of alcohol dependent individuals results in a pattern of spiritual experiences that could be interpreted as relative to shamanic illness. A pattern of experiences whereby the person suffers a period of sickness as a prerequisite for his spiritual leadership and function in a community. An examination of Johnny Arlee's experience will help enlarge this premise.

Native Alcohol Dependence as Shamanic Illness

Johnny Arlee became dependent upon alcohol for a period of thirteen years. This period of his life was characterized by his acceptance and use of alcohol despite

his upbringing according to Flathead Salish traditional values that prohibited its use. There are a number of psychological reasons that could be used to explain his dependency. These reasons range from poor self image and feelings of inferiority to the need to feel powerful as the basis for drinking.²⁹ It is also possible to use culturally specific types of explanations to understand alcohol dependent behavior among Indian people. These theories would include defiance to prohibition, lack of drinking norms, cultural disruption, governmental paternalism, drinking as celebration, perpetuation of drinking practices, curative, and native permissiveness as culture derived observations to explain causation of native alcoholism.³⁰

The emphasis upon causation of alcohol dependency among native people tends to ignore the role dependency can play in the formation of tribal spiritual leadership. There are many reasons for addiction to occur among native people. One cultural reaction to such addiction may be the development of role and process by tribal members who recover that is an example to those afflicted. The

²⁹Fenton Moss, "The Causation of Psychological Factors Underlying Alcoholism among Indians," training article presented to Western Region Indian Alcoholism Training Center, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1970.

³⁰Fenton Moss, "Cultural Theories on the Causation of Indian Alcoholism," training article presented to Western Region Indian Alcoholism Training Center, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1970.

recovering alcoholic who uses culture as a basis for recovery and sobriety demonstrates a pattern of experience that resembles the development of the shaman as a healer and spiritual leader. The causative factors of alcoholism would possess a different relational value if alcohol dependence functioned as a requisite for the development of native healers and bearers of tradition.

The studies of shamanism exemplified by the work of Eliade³¹ identifies its existence on all continents of the world. "Shaman" is an Asian term that has been utilized according to Vogel, ". . . by ethnologists" to describe, "the medicine man . . ." ³² The observations of Turney-High relative to the existence of tribal spiritual practices among the Flathead Salish identified such practitioners as shamans.³³ The paucity of information about Flathead Salish definitions of soul and its use by shamans could mean the word is used to describe individuals whose spiritual activities embraced many of the supernatural dimensions of the shaman, excluding soul specialization. For as Eliade

³¹ Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism - Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, Bollingen Series (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964).

³² Virgil J. Vogel, *American Indian Medicine* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), p. 19.

³³ Harry Holbert Turney-High, "The Flathead Indians of Montana," memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Menasha, Wisconsin, American Anthropological Association Press, 1937, p. 28.

states, "The Shaman is the great specialist in the human soul; he alone 'sees' it, for he knows its 'form' and its destiny."³⁴

The shamans who existed among the Flathead Salish described by Turney-High seem to have been normal individuals who had a great deal of respect from the community. He states, "The shaman or medicine-man was a highly respected personage. When he entered a lodge all persons would be quiet to hear if he would say something."³⁵ The requirement of normality and respect of the community seems to be fairly widespread as a universal condition for their role. Nadel comments about this aspect of social stability that is characteristic of shamans.

No shaman is, in everyday life, an "abnormal" individual, a neurotic, or a paranoiac; if he were, he would be classed as a lunatic, not respected as a priest. Nor finally can shamanism be correlated with incipient or latent abnormality; I recorded no case of a shaman whose professional hysteria deteriorated into serious mental disorders.³⁶

The development of the shaman proceeds from sickness-initiation experiences associated with the sacred. Eliade

³⁴Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism - Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, Bollingen Series (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 8.

³⁵Harry Holbert Turney-High, "The Flathead Indians of Montana," memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Menasha, Wisconsin, American Anthropological Association Press, 1937, p. 28.

³⁶A. P. Elkin, *Aboriginal Men of High Degree*, 2d ed. (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1977).

States this is a condition of the shamanic role.

More or less pathological sicknesses, dreams, and ecstasies are . . . so many means of reaching the condition of shaman. Sometimes these singular experiences signify no more than a "choice" from above and merely prepare the candidate for new revelations. But usually sicknesses, dreams, and ecstasies in themselves constitute an initiation; that is, they transform the profane, pre-"choice" individual into a technician of the sacred. Naturally, this ecstatic type of experience is always and everywhere followed by theoretical and practical instruction at the hands of the old masters; but that does not make it any the less determinative, for it is the ecstatic experience that radically changes the religious status of the "chosen" person.

We . . . see that all the ecstatic experiences that determine the future shaman's vocation involve the traditional scheme of an initiation ceremony; suffering, death, resurrection. Viewed from this angle, any "sickness-vocation" fills the role of an initiation; for the sufferings that it brings on correspond to initiatory tortures, the psychic isolation of "the elected" is the counterpart to the isolation and ritual solitude of initiation ceremonies, and the imminence of death felt by the sick man (pain, unconsciousness, etc.) recalls the symbolic death represented in almost all initiation ceremonies.³⁷

The sickness experienced by Johnny Arlee was his dependency upon alcohol. It formed the basis for his suffering and was the first stage of his initiation as a spiritual leader. He suffered the physical torments of addiction combined with the psychic isolation resulting from his separation from the traditional spiritual community. His illness was pathological and self induced. Yet, it was

³⁷ Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism - Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, Bollingen Series (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 33.

necessary for him to experience it to be able to fulfill his vocation and be considered as "chosen" to follow a divine calling.

Johnny is taught as a child and adolescent by his great grandfather according to the values and traditions of his people. The great grandfather is the first old master of the sacred to teach him. The second old master is the medicine man he contacts to help him with his illness and the taboo violation resulting from his alcoholic behavior. He contacts other elders and medicine people who teach him and make him aware of the imminence of spiritual death he experienced as a result of his sickness. His awareness of the imminence of death contributes to his motivation to use the sweatlodge and purify himself to regain his spiritual life. He breaks down and cries in the sweatlodge.

The dream divination given to him by the medicine man is the first evidence or hope of resurrection. It prompts Johnny to engage in spiritual exercises while he is in a spiritual limbo, a limbo enforced by the elders and spiritual leaders of the community who observe him for evidence of regression to his illness. His body and mind become stronger, but his positive spiritual identity develops slowly. The ecstasy represented by union of the self with the sacred awaits the spiritual crisis that is its requirement.

The crisis becomes focused as the result of the death of two people. Johnny hears the supernatural voice announcing the death of the lady from Ronan. It forces him to accept the power of the sacred as the controlling force in his life. He experiences ecstasy as his whole spiritual being is transformed and united with the sacred.

The death of the second person functions to help fulfill the prophecy concerning the emergence of Johnny as a leader. It is his medicine man friend who revealed the divination and whose death is a symbolic, and perhaps, spiritual element to signal its fulfillment. Johnny becomes aware of the fulfillment as he is singing sacred songs at the wake of his medicine man friend. His leadership at the wake signals his emergence as a spiritual leader.

The suffering, death, and resurrection of Johnny Arlee functions as an example or prototype. It establishes a pattern for people to follow as a means to recover from alcohol dependency. It is a spiritual cure emanating from an ecstatic mystical experience, a mystical experience requiring the initiation of the candidate by the sacred and his use of instruction in practical and theoretical concepts of healing to understand his recovery. As Eliade states, "For it they have cured themselves and are able to cure

others, it is among other things, because they know the mechanism, or rather the theory of illness."³⁸

Johnny understands the mechanism of illness and has the capacity to be a tribal healer. Yet, the responsibilities of leadership and obedience to the influence of the sacred require him to function in another capacity in his community. He must act to strengthen the traditional community so it will have the ability to deal with alcohol induced illness. Otherwise, the people who are affected and afflicted by alcohol use will have little reference point to a tradition that gives meaning to their own spiritual awakening.

³⁸Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism - Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, Bollingen Series (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 31.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The dilemma of the Flathead Salish traditional community is both a historical and present conflict. The transition of the tribe from the ancient culture known and practiced by all to remnants of the ancient culture known and practiced by few has subjected it to chaotic and disruptive forces. Although the U.S. government, christian churches, and other types of non-native social structures exerted influence to conform and shape the tribe to non-native ideals and goals, alcohol use also functioned to achieve the same purpose.

The historical reaction of the U.S. government was to formally prohibit the sale or possession of alcohol to native people. The historical reaction of the traditional community was to develop sanctions prohibiting the use of alcohol by its members and enforcing punishment upon those who violated the unwritten tribal law. They also developed limited tribal types of medical treatment for those members who became sick or dependent upon the use of alcohol.

When the traditional community had its authority removed, its spiritual vitality and ability to nurture its

members was weakened. The tribe experienced a decline in traditional community members who did not use alcohol and an increase in tribal members who used it. They became two separate entities because of the different interpretation of alcohol use, one stating its opposition to alcohol use and the other supporting such use by its members. Each community existed in opposition to the other, but functioned to provide support and identity to members belonging to each group at different times in their lives. They became two worlds of tradition within the same tribe.

The movement of an individual between these two communities was examined according to the experience of Johnny Arlee. He was an example of the type of movement that occurs and representative of a cultural response to the problem of alcohol dependency among traditionally oriented people. This raises the possibility that he is a pattern within a large pattern as suggested by Malouf.

Eneas Granjo, about whom Johnny Arlee frequently speaks, was a spiritual man. Granjo himself, when he was younger, went through a somewhat similar experience to that of Johnny Arlee, drinking, etc. He mentioned this to me several times. In later years he was a very respected man among his people and among whites.¹

The common prevalence of drinking existing in communities rated by the traditional leaders and supporters indicates they consider it to be a social problem.

¹Carling Malouf, comments, University of Montana, March 1983.

Malouf supports this viewpoint with his own statement.

It appears that when the laws were repealed, drinking did increase and never did decline. It continued upward to even younger people.²

Each individual within the Flathead Salish tribe has his own story about his understanding of tradition and his interpretation of alcohol use by tribal members. It is regrettable the many stories could not be included here, since their totality comprises a more complete picture of Flathead Salish viewpoints.

A present aspect of the dilemma alcohol use provokes among traditionally oriented tribal members is its effect upon the identity of the individual. It functions both in a positive and negative sense. Its negative effect is to provide a basis for acculturation derived from its use by tribal members. The acculturation they experience via alcohol use limits their capacity to enact a spiritual identity based upon what remains of ancient tribal traditions.

The positive effect of alcohol use is that it acts as a vehicle to stimulate the survival of culture and traditions. It functions in the sense of an enemy that can be conquered, gaining honor from one's own people. One can take away the power of the enemy and increase one's own spirit power through victory over the alcohol dependency.

²Carling Malouf, comments, University of Montana, March 1983.

and recovery can be seen as a journey into enemy country and a victorious return requiring recognition and honor among the people.

The use of alcohol by members of a traditional community was considered from the viewpoint of spiritual illness. The relation of illness to identity and subsequent possibilities for healing to be initiated were theoretical in nature. Their justification arises from a traditional perspective that encompasses definitions of health endemic to the ancient tribal culture of the Flathead Salish.

The traditional community member who becomes alcohol dependent can also function as a potential healer. The processes that contribute to the development of shamans were correlated with some of the experiences encountered by Johnny Arlee. There is a possibility the trauma initiated by alcohol use among traditional community members results in the formation of a personality type that is most conducive to alleviating that problem. This would be the tribal shaman or spiritual leader.

The use of alcohol by members of a traditional community contributes to the demise of traditions and there is no basis in Flathead Salish tradition for traditional community members to use alcohol. This is the attitude of all the traditional leaders and supporters who were interviewed. They also indicated that a traditional leader

was expected to abstain from using alcohol as part of his role. The existence of these values would seem to guarantee limitations relative to the size and influence of the traditional community within the tribe. These limitations would make it easier to maintain a sense of tradition and intimate spiritual relationships between community members. This sense of relation might be difficult to maintain in the larger tribal community.

The use of alcohol among traditional community members symbolizes a spiritual conflict of the individual within the self and affects its quality of relation to the sacred. It is a dilemma that faces members of the traditional community and ultimately the entire tribe. The dilemma is an issue of sobriety for the sake of principle and belief as opposed to drinking for the sake of conformity and acceptance among peers. The fate of tradition and the spiritual identity of the Flathead Salish rests upon individual choice and resolution to the dilemma.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE: TRADITIONAL

These statements about tradition are considered essential or main features of a traditional understanding of life. Please rate your own community on these statements. You are to rate your community on the following statements as either present in the majority of members, present in many, present in some, present in very few, present in none.

For example, if you rated St. Ignatius and it said
Live in teepees or log houses:

X				
majority	many	some	very few	none

Very few is marked because very few live in such houses.

It is essential that you rate your community on every statement, since we are trying to discover how the statements go together. Do not worry if you do not know the statements well. Rate your community on each statement with either present in the majority of members, present in many, present in some, present in very few, present in none.

Thank you.

TRADITIONAL SCALE 1

<u>Item Number</u>	<u>Statement</u>	<u>Median</u>
1	If a conflict occurs, the persons and families involved are brought together and advised by an elder.	2.667
	<div> <div>1</div> <div>1</div> <div>1</div> <div>3</div> <div>1</div> </div> <div>majority many some very few none</div>	
2	Parents or grandmothers tell old time stories and legends to the children.	2.083
	<div> <div>1</div> <div>1</div> <div>6</div> <div>1</div> </div> <div>majority many some very few none</div>	
3	Very commonly, people share food with relatives and others in the community.	3.875
	<div> <div>2</div> <div>4</div> <div>2</div> <div>1</div> </div> <div>majority many some very few none</div>	
4	Tribal Council leaders visit traditional people frequently.	1.667
	<div> <div>2</div> <div>3</div> <div>4</div> </div> <div>majority many some very few none</div>	
5	Traditional spiritual leaders visit traditional community people frequently.	3.333
	<div> <div>4</div> <div>3</div> <div>1</div> <div>1</div> </div> <div>majority many some very few none</div>	
6	The elected or appointed tribal leaders know in the very early stages when conflict or trouble will occur.	1.667
	<div> <div>2</div> <div>3</div> <div>4</div> </div> <div>majority many some very few none</div>	

<u>Item Number</u>	<u>Statement</u>	<u>Median</u>
7	Elders and leaders sit down with young people before their marriage to talk to them about life and tribal tradition.	1.600
	<div> <div>5</div> <div>4</div> </div> <div> <div>majority</div> <div>many</div> <div>some</div> <div>very few</div> <div>none</div> </div>	
8	Family and community follow the cycles of the moon to plant, harvest, and hunt.	2.000
	<div> <div>1</div> <div>1</div> <div>5</div> <div>2</div> </div> <div> <div>majority</div> <div>many</div> <div>some</div> <div>very few</div> <div>none</div> </div>	
9	The moon's cycles determine when certain ceremonies take place. (Medicine Dance, etc.)	2.667
	<div> <div>1</div> <div>3</div> <div>1</div> <div>2</div> </div> <div> <div>majority</div> <div>many</div> <div>some</div> <div>very few</div> <div>none</div> </div>	
10	Many community members make promises to participate in the Medicine Dance.	2.300
	<div> <div>2</div> <div>1</div> <div>5</div> </div> <div> <div>majority</div> <div>many</div> <div>some</div> <div>very few</div> <div>none</div> </div>	
11	Although the leader is the strongest and the bravest, he is also humble. He never raises his voice.	2.833
	<div> <div>2</div> <div>3</div> <div>3</div> </div> <div> <div>majority</div> <div>many</div> <div>some</div> <div>very few</div> <div>none</div> </div>	
12	Young people seek out older persons for advice and counseling.	2.875
	<div> <div>1</div> <div>1</div> <div>4</div> <div>3</div> </div> <div> <div>majority</div> <div>many</div> <div>some</div> <div>very few</div> <div>none</div> </div>	
13	People are busy all the time working or in community activities -- little idleness.	2.750
	<div> <div>1</div> <div>2</div> <div>2</div> <div>4</div> </div> <div> <div>majority</div> <div>many</div> <div>some</div> <div>very few</div> <div>none</div> </div>	

<u>Item Number</u>	<u>Statement</u>	<u>Median</u>
14	After a political leader is chosen, the elders of the community sit down with that person and explain what the traditional life means.	1.667
	<div> <div>334</div> <div>majoritymany somesome very fewnone</div> </div>	
15	After a spiritual leader is chosen, the elders of the community sit down with that person and explain what the traditional life means.	2.167
	<div> <div>1232</div> <div>majoritymany somesome very fewnone</div> </div>	
16	Men and women both are in excellent physical condition.	2.250
	<div> <div>126</div> <div>majoritymany somesome very fewnone</div> </div>	
17	When a couple decides to get married, the elders and traditional leaders sit down with them and explain the life and responsibilities of living according to tradition.	1.250
	<div> <div>216</div> <div>majoritymany somesome very fewnone</div> </div>	
18	The traditional leader makes frequent visits to the members to remind them to prepare for the coming seasons and important events.	2.375
	<div> <div>1341</div> <div>majoritymany somesome very fewnone</div> </div>	
19	Support is given from the traditional community people when one of the members is trying to make good.	2.875
	<div> <div>243</div> <div>majoritymany somesome very fewnone</div> </div>	

<u>Item Number</u>	<u>Statement</u>	<u>Median</u>
20	When one traditional member is happy, the other members feel good for him or her.	3.875
	<div> <div>2</div> <div>4</div> <div>2</div> <div>1</div> </div> <hr/> <div> <div>majority</div> <div>many</div> <div>some</div> <div>very few</div> <div>none</div> </div>	
21	Mothers nurse their babies.	2.200
	<div> <div></div> <div></div> <div>3</div> <div>5</div> <div>1</div> </div> <hr/> <div> <div>majority</div> <div>many</div> <div>some</div> <div>very few</div> <div>none</div> </div>	

TRADITIONAL SCALE 2

<u>Item Number</u>	<u>Statement</u>	<u>Median</u>
22	Most adults in this community address each other with relational names, such as cousin, older brother, etc. In English.	2.667
	<div> <div>23</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>many</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>some</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>very few</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>none</div> <div>majority</div> </div>	
23	Individual people and families grow gardens to provide a food base.	2.400
	<div> <div>1</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>3</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>5</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>very few</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>none</div> <div>majority</div> </div>	
24	The community has its own garden.	1.000
	<div> <div>9</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>many</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>some</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>very few</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>none</div> <div>majority</div> </div>	
25	The community has a joint or cooperative cattle operation (or some other livestock operation).	1.214
	<div> <div>1</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>7</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>many</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>some</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>very few</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>none</div> <div>majority</div> </div>	
26	Members of the community live on their own allotted land.	2.375
	<div> <div>1</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>3</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>4</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>1</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>many</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>some</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>very few</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>none</div> <div>majority</div> </div>	
27	Most residents have horses to ride.	2.083
	<div> <div>2</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>6</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>1</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>many</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>some</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>very few</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>none</div> <div>majority</div> </div>	
28	Most residents have cattle or pigs or chickens to provide food for themselves.	1.875
	<div> <div>2</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>4</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>3</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>many</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>some</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>very few</div> <div>majority</div> </div> <div> <div>none</div> <div>majority</div> </div>	

TRADITIONAL SCALE 3

<u>Item Number</u>	<u>Statement</u>	<u>Median</u>
29	In the traditional community, the people have chosen the leader.	3.625
	<div> <div>1</div> <div>4</div> <div>2</div> <div>1</div> <div>1</div> </div> <div>majority many some very few none</div>	
30	The leader represents the majority of people in the traditional community.	3.000
	<div> <div>3</div> <div>3</div> <div>1</div> <div>2</div> </div> <div>majority many some very few none</div>	
31	People take part in tribal religious ceremonies.	3.333
	<div> <div>3</div> <div>1</div> <div>3</div> <div>2</div> </div> <div>majority many some very few none</div>	
32	People use the medicine person for healing purposes.	2.667
	<div> <div>2</div> <div>3</div> <div>3</div> <div>1</div> </div> <div>majority many some very few none</div>	
33	The people speak their tribal language.	2.200
	<div> <div>1</div> <div>2</div> <div>5</div> <div>1</div> </div> <div>majority many some very few none</div>	
34	The children speak their tribal language.	1.917
	<div> <div>1</div> <div>6</div> <div>2</div> </div> <div>majority many some very few none</div>	
35	People attend pow-wows.	4.200
	<div> <div>3</div> <div>5</div> <div>1</div> </div> <div>majority many some very few none</div>	

<u>Item Number</u>	<u>Statement</u>	<u>Median</u>
36	To honor a person, people in this community recognize them by giving gifts.	2.667
	<div> <div>2</div> <div>3</div> <div>3</div> <div>1</div> </div> <hr/> <div> <div>majority</div> <div>many</div> <div>some</div> <div>very few</div> <div>none</div> </div>	
37	Most adults in this community address each other with relational names, e.g., cousin, older brother, etc. In Indian.	2.000
	<div> <div>1</div> <div>1</div> <div>5</div> <div>2</div> </div> <hr/> <div> <div>majority</div> <div>many</div> <div>some</div> <div>very few</div> <div>none</div> </div>	

TRADITIONAL SCALE 4

<u>Item Number</u>	<u>Statement</u>	<u>Median</u>
38	The people speak their tribal language.	2.000
	<div> <div>1</div> <div>6</div> <div>1</div> </div> <div>majority many some very few none</div>	
39	The children speak their tribal language.	1.833
	<div> <div>6</div> <div>2</div> </div> <div>majority many some very few none</div>	
40	To honor a person, people in this community recognize them by giving gifts.	2.750
	<div> <div>1</div> <div>4</div> <div>1</div> <div>1</div> </div> <div>majority many some very few none</div>	
41	Most adults in this community address each other with relational names, e.g., cousin, older brother, etc. In Indian.	2.100
	<div> <div>1</div> <div>1</div> <div>5</div> <div>1</div> </div> <div>majority many some very few none</div>	
42	Young married people live near one of their parents.	3.083
	<div> <div>2</div> <div>6</div> <div>1</div> </div> <div>majority many some very few none</div>	

APPENDIX B

TABLE 9

Median Ranking of Questionnaire Items

Rank	Median	Item	Item Description
1	4.20	35	People attend trad. celebrations
2	3.88	3	Communal sharing of food
3	3.80	20	Sharing of personal happiness
4	3.62	29	People choose traditional leader
5	3.33	31	People enact tribal religion
6	3.33	5	Trad. leader visits community
7	3.08	42	Couple lives near parents
8	3.00	30	Leader represents trad. community
9	2.88	12	Youth seek elders advice
10	2.88	19	Support for individual efforts
11	2.83	11	Moral values of leader
12	2.75	13	People work at commun. activity
13	2.67	36	Giveaway to honor others
14	2.67	32	People use medicine person
15	2.67	1	Elders manage conflict
16	2.67	9	Moon cycle determines ceremonials
17	2.40	23	Families have gardens
18	2.38	18	Leader visits and informs community
19	2.38	26	People live on allotments
20	2.30	10	Promises to medicine dance
21	2.25	16	Physical shape of men and women
22	2.20	33	People speak tribal language
23	2.20	21	Mothers nurse their babies
24	2.17	15	Elders instruct spiritual leaders
25	2.08	2	Parent storytelling
26	2.08	27	People have own horses
27	2.00	8	Moon determines food supply
28	1.92	34	Children speak tribal language
29	1.88	28	People have pigs and chickens
30	1.67	4	Politicians visit trad. people
31	1.67	6	Politicians foresee conflict
32	1.67	14	Elders instruct political leader
33	1.60	7	Elders talk with young people
34	1.25	17	Elders and pre-marital couples
35	1.21	25	Community has stock enterprise
36	1.00	24	Community has garden

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CHAPTER VI

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