Social and cultural factors related to drinking patterns among the Blackfeet

Joyce Ann Stevens

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SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS RELATED TO DRINKING PATTERNS AMONG THE BLACKFEET

By

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B.S., University of Arizona, 1966

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to arrive at various hypotheses regarding the extent and form of social and cultural influences upon drinking behavior and, in particular, upon Blackfeet Indian drinking practices.

There is presently much interest in the study of drinking habits with particular reference to the causal or influential factors involved. The Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol is a publication which is entirely devoted to such inquiry. Also, some officials in the Bureau of Indian Affairs have expressed interest in the control and modification of various practices which they consider to be detrimental to Indian welfare. I selected a North American Indian group in preference to a "white" group in order to utilize the Indians' distinctive cultural background for comparative purposes. The Blackfeet were chosen primarily because more historical information was available regarding their early drinking practices than was available for any other American Indian group in Montana. I considered historical data necessary to an understanding of the continuity (or discontinuity) of drinking patterns and cultural values which might influence these patterns. A local group was chosen in order to minimize transportation expenses.

Comparatively speaking, the Blackfeet are a numerous people and are somewhat representative of the Plains culture area. The large population would be of use in a.

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subsequent statistical testing of the hypotheses provided in this paper. Results might be compared with those from other Plains groups and with those from societies having radically different cultural backgrounds.

The present study of Blackfeet drinking patterns may be viewed as a preliminary survey that could be followed by a more intensive and quantitative research project which, hopefully, would involve not only other Plains Indian groups but also groups representative of various culture areas and various stages of acculturation. The information gathered in this study should serve to provide direction for such an inquiry.

Several techniques were used to obtain the qualitative data presented in following sections. Direct observation, interviews, informal discussions, biographies, and drinking histories all contributed to the composite description found in the Drinking Patterns section.

The most detailed biographies were obtained from six men (ages 33, 38, 42, 47, 56, 61) and from three women (ages 14, 25, 40). Two of the men were relatives; the other informants were not related and were not well acquainted with one another. I believed that friends or relatives might have mutually dependent histories as well as similar values, thus I made an effort to obtain interviews with persons who were not related and who were only casual acquaintances. Since Browning is a very small town (popula-
tion approximately 2500) it is almost impossible to find persons who are not acquainted at all.

Eight of the nine individuals were unemployed and poor. Only one was employed but was by no means wealthy. One was a full-blood, and the others were mixed-bloods. Persons who are presently drinkers constituted the larger number of informants. Only two of the persons interviewed were presently abstainers. The informants also represented various age groups, both sexes, differing educational levels (although all spoke English fluently), and different religious sects (two fundamentalists and the others Catholics).

Any biases which may have been introduced by the sampling would probably be due to the fact that no non-English speaking person or male adolescent was represented. The behavior of male adolescents was observed, but it was difficult to obtain proper interview conditions. Observations coupled with the biographies of the younger men supplied this information.

I conducted interviews, first, in order to obtain a general idea of drinking habits and patterns. Subsequently, the information obtained from each person was compared with that from the next in order to discover discrepancies as well as areas of agreement and to give direction to further research. After one or two interviews with each of the first nine individuals, observations were made of street drinking groups. Following this, I conducted another series.
of interviews with approximately twenty other Blackfeet. Notes were taken to check the validity of the earlier informants. There was much repetition even after the first three interviews. Finally, I noted only new material and information of points which were being checked. No discrepancies were discovered in the collected data when all notes were carefully compared.

I observed living conditions inside three homes (and outside in all neighborhoods) in order to verify information gathered in the informal, extended conversations. I also contacted four white government officials all of whom apparently know very little about Blackfeet drinking habits and have a minimal amount of contact with the Indians except as business requires. I made an effort not to become associated with these officials in order not to damage the rapport already established with the Blackfeet, most of whom have little regard for such persons. Tribal officials were cooperative and gave some general information about the community but were unable to cooperate in a very personal way because of business or political considerations.

All informants gave information quite willingly, and several persons even contacted me to add some details which they had omitted on previous occasions. I found that direct questioning was very ineffective. Reply to a direct question, no matter how carefully placed, was usually monosyllabic and of very questionable validity. An apparently
non-directed general discussion was most rewarding. Conversation was led in a direction which would produce the required information. Most of my informants wished to express themselves "in context" as it were, and disliked disconnected statements such as direct questions elicit.

The Blackfeet readily accept non-local and non-administrative whites if these persons are polite, quiet, and unobtrusive. These latter qualities are extremely important when one tries to elicit personal information. Discussions were held with only one person at a time, for when others (even relatives) were present, informants were rather reluctant to talk.

A real interest was generated when informants were told that the information obtained was to be compiled into a paper for a degree at the University. Many persons, who are understandably skeptical of such institutions as the tribal council, United States government agencies, doctors, welfare workers and the like, have (at least at present) respect for educational institutions if not for teachers. Each informant seemed to make a great effort to cooperate and to tell what he knew.

There have been three major approaches to the study of drinking patterns and "pathologies." These are biological, psychological and social. This paper involves only the social (and cultural) approach to the study of drinking patterns and admits only brief mention of classical path-
ologies such as alcoholism. The biological approach deals with the question of human physical constitution as it may be related to varying degrees of individual tolerance for alcohol. This type of study is necessarily within the realm of the biological sciences and will, therefore, be completely omitted from the present discussion. The main psychological approach has taken the form of a so-called "anxiety theory of drunkenness" (Field 1962:49). Horton proposed that a primary factor determining the degree of drunkenness in a society is an index to the level of anxiety or fear among the individual members. Subsequent research has not substantiated this theory (Field 1962:50). It fails to account for the many effects of differing cultures and social organizations (Field 1962: 49). The definition of anxiety, anxiety levels, and fear-producing situations also presents a major difficulty. In addition, it is a gross oversimplification to imply that societies may be arranged in a polar system involving so-called "sober" societies and "drunken" societies. The theory is also inadequate according to Field (1962: 50) because it fails to explain why other modes of anxiety reduction are not used. He suggests that it is rather the social life which should be considered. More recent research has centered about the social situations involved in drinking forms and the relation of these forms to the cultures in which they are found. The nature of the social organization of a group is believed by some
to be a primary determinant (Pittman and Snyder 1962: 4) of drinking patterns.

Sangree (1962: 16), in his paper on beer drinking among the Tiriki, notes that there is a "web" of social attitudes and expectations around beer drinking which precludes these people from behaving in a socially disruptive manner. Drunkenness rarely occurs in this group. Heath (1962: 32) reports that although drunkenness is the rule at Bolivian Camba drinking parties, sexual activity and aggression are absent due to the elaborately patterned sequence of behavior that is the only context in which drinking occurs.

Madsen (1964: 355) has shown that complete intoxication and disorderly behavior is discouraged in Mexican-American society by the emphasis placed upon personal dignity (which is considered difficult to maintain in a drunken state) and the reflection of an individual's actions upon his entire household. Also, it is socially damaging to become intoxicated, for it demonstrates the fact that an individual is not "man enough to hold his liquor" (Madsen 1964: 358).

Madsen also mentions the heavier drinking of the Agringado (a person who is entering or seeking to enter Anglo-American society) who has become less effectively influenced by Mexican-American traditions.

Field (1962: 59) believes that there is a close relationship between drunkenness and personal choice, absence of institutionalized constraints, and isolation of the
nuclear family and the individual from corporate kin struc-
ture. Honigmann and Honigmann (1945: 577), as a result of their research in an Indian-white community in Canada, conclude that drinking and many of its effects are culturally regulated behavior, and that study should be directed toward the restraining or permissive conditions which are involved in this cultural regulation. They suggest that special note should be taken of the relationship of drinking to the facilitation of social interaction, sexual joking or activity, aggression, social acceptance or condemnation of drinking or drunkenness, the effect of drinking on work habits, and solitary drinking (Honigmann 1945: 599).

Lemert (1956: 315) believes that investigation of the controls institutionalized around drinking is "central to the understanding of differential inebriation in socio-cultural systems." He also adds that "...the analysis of the social control of drinking is a much needed supplement to the static descriptive anthropological pattern concept of drinking."

Hurt and Brown (1955: 222), in their article on the Yankton Dakota Sioux, state that if drinking patterns are indeed directly related to the socio-cultural patterns of any society, then it can be expected that they result from many determining traits rather than from any one universal causal factor.

The thesis is organized as follows. In the next section entitled "Historical Perspective," a compilation has been
made from all available sources about the original introduction of alcohol to the Blackfeet and of the recorded descriptions of their early drinking practices. Since alcohol in any form was unknown to them before white contact, it was considered necessary to trace the early conditions which, together with influences from the preexisting culture, formed the basis for later developments of drinking habits. Acculturation may have played a part in recent developments, but many of the earlier practices and beliefs are still apparent today.

The following sections present descriptive material obtained from field work. A brief ethnography is included in order to indicate something of the present reservation environment. A description of the Blackfeet in the ethnographic present would facilitate an understanding of the continuity of important social norms, roles, and values, but since an abundance of such material is readily available from other sources (e.g., Ewers (1958)), this was omitted.

Several biographies are included but have been abbreviated in order to protect the privacy of the informants. A recent incident in which personal information was obtained from a thesis and communicated to the embarrassment of several persons in Browning make this arrangement quite necessary if any anthropologist or sociologist wished to have the cooperation of these people in the future.
One can certainly not be as candid in statements as if one were dealing with an anonymous "Immigrantville, U.S.A."

A small number of police statistics were mentioned in order to give some idea of the scope of the behavior observed. In view of the relatively small sample involved, only certain factors could be suggested as probably influencing or determining drinking behavior. It would require a larger sample and a more rigorous approach to do more than this. Three lines of inquiry were pursued at the outset (studies of differing patterns between age groups of males, between sexes, and a study of the learning of drinking habits), but due to the nature of the information obtained, I found it best to combine these subtopics with the general descriptive account in order to give a more unified picture of drinking behavior and, subsequently, of important social controls.

The next section includes brief descriptions of drinking patterns in other cultures and a comparison of these with Blackfeet patterns. The final section suggests some specific and general hypotheses which may be suggested by the preceding material.
Aboriginally, no form of alcoholic beverage was known to the Blackfeet. They, therefore, had no prescribed behavior and no set of sanctions regarding beverage alcohol which might have affected its use after contact with whites. We have noted this, because some authors (e.g., Hurt and Brown 1955) believe that pre-contact use or non-use of alcohol with the accompanying social complex involved may have some effect upon later drinking forms.

Since it was through the fur trade that the Blackfeet received beverage alcohol and from the records of which our only information on drinking in this early period is derived, this trade will be traced primarily with respect to alcohol dissemination and recorded drinking episodes.

Intoxicating beverages were welcomed by the Indian groups of eastern Canada and were, therefore, used by Europeans to encourage and stimulate Indian trade (in order to obtain furs which were then important to clothing fashions in Europe).

British reports indicate that in the early 1700's the French had already established the practice of giving away enough brandy "to make the Indians drunk" and only afterwards trading their other goods (apparently in order to gain an advantage in the bargaining). In 1757, the English complained about the Indian drunkenness as a...
result of brandy trade at a certain French Fort Bourbon (Rich 1958: 641). It was the British, however, who sub-
sequently introduced this same practice among the Black-
feet and neighboring tribes when competition between
their trading companies became sufficiently intense.

The Blackfeet were living on the Northern Plains
and were at the height of the Plains Culture horse and
warfare complex when first contacted by whites. They were
Algonkian speaking and had other vestiges, such as pottery
and basketry, of their earlier residence in the woodlands
to the east. With the horse and rifle and easy access to
a veritable ocean of buffalo, they had become the most
successful in raiding and wealthiest in horses of all the
Northern Plains groups. They were feared by their neigh-
bors and quite independent economically. Thus in 1754,
Anthony Henday from the Hudson's Bay Company made a decided-
ly unsuccessful attempt to introduce the fur trade among
them (Rich 1958: 632). They told him that they had all they
needed and saw no advantage in making the long, dangerous
trek to the east (to a port near Hudson Bay) in order to
trade (Rich 1958: 632). Neither did their normal prac-
tices include fur trapping, because buffalo robes had
served them quite well.

Twenty-one years later, Matthew Cocking of the
Hudson's Bay Company made another attempt to secure
Blackfeet trade but received the same reply given to
Henday in 1754. Faced with the refusal of many Indians to travel east, increasing competition from independent traders who brought their goods directly to the Indians, and the founding of the Northwest Company in 1784, the Hudson's Bay Company began to establish posts farther inland in order to compete more successfully with their rivals. These posts, however, were still outside Blackfeet territory and, therefore, another attempt was made to encourage them to travel eastward to some of the nearer posts. David Thompson, who found the Piegan at the present site of Calgary, Alberta in 1787, was as unsuccessful as his predecessors (Lewis 1942: 18). Finally, in 1794, the Hudson's Bay Company established Fort Augustus on the South Saskatchewan River near the present site of Edmonton, Alberta. Alcohol had now become available to the Blackfeet.

They acquired liquor in both Canada and the United States but at different periods. In Canada, the liquor traffic was heaviest between 1784 and 1821, when competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company was at its height (Lewis 1942: 30). Although little is known about specific drinking practices during this period, it is fairly certain that any early customs existing in this respect were established about this time. Because of the intense rivalry between the trading companies and in order not to remain at an economic
disadvantage, the Hudson's Bay Company abandoned its earlier policy of keeping liquor out of the hands of the Indians. By the time trading posts were established in Blackfeet country, The Hudson's Bay Company traded liquor as freely as any of the others (Lewis 1942: 21).

"Liquor soon supplanted other goods in desirability and became the most important single item in trade... but if the liquor trade were profitable, it was also dangerous. The Blackfeet were a numerous people, conscious of their power and especially violent when drunk (Lewis 1942: 21)." The traders, therefore, diluted the liquor given to the Blackfeet. This combination of eight parts water and one part "high wine" became known as "Blackfoot rum." Unfortunately, no suggestions are made as to the reasons for the violence in connection with Blackfeet drinking at that time. Among the little information available from this period is a brief description quoted from Harmon in a footnote in the Henry and Thompson journals (Coves 1897: 575): "To see a house full of drunken Indians [Blackfeet] consisting of men, women and children is a most unpleasant sight; for in that condition they often wrangle, pull each other by the hair and fight. At some times, ten or twelve of both sexes may be seen fighting each other promiscuously until at last they fall on the floor, one upon another, some spilling rum out of a small kettle or dish which they
hold in their hands, while others are throwing up what they have just drunk. To add to this uproar, a number of children, some on their mothers' shoulders and others running about and taking hold of their clothes, are constantly bawling, the elder ones through fear that their parents may be stabbed or that some misfortune may befall them in the fray."

Again, in the Henry and Thompson journals, there appears a discussion of "Slave" Indian drinking which has been hitherto overlooked in the literature although the previously cited passage is quoted in at least two other works on the Blackfeet. Henry and Thompson used the term "Slave" for the Blackfeet rather than for the Athabaskan group farther north. "The Blackfeet, Bloods, and Piegan may be considered under one grand appellation of Slave Indians" (Coves 1897: 523). Throughout the journals, the term "Slave" is employed whenever characteristics supposedly common to all three Blackfeet groups are under discussion. Thus, "Blackfeet" in the journals indicates only the Northern Blackfeet subdivision.

The "Slave" Indians would not purchase liquor, because they considered it to be a form of water. They expected to be given this "water" (which Blackfeet called "white man's water") as a matter of courtesy before a trading session was begun, whenever a meeting of any importance was held, or whenever they had extend-
ed some courtesy to a white man (such as lending him a wife for the night, as was frequently done). Before a trading session was begun, Henry and Thompson (of the Northwest Company) gave a pint of "Indian [Blackfeet] rum" to each "principal man." This was done in a somewhat formal manner, for the Blackfeet had to some extent incorporated the initial drink into the pipe-smoking ceremony of greeting: After the pipes had been passed from one to another, each principal man (these were the only men attending) was served the small amount of liquor. They always began with the "principal chief" ..."who is about as ceremonious in taking a drink as he is in smoking. He dips his finger into the liquor and lets a few drops fall to the ground; then a few drops are offered above; but he drinks the rest without further delay. Each chief has some particular ceremony to perform before tasting the first glass, but after that he gets drunk as fast as possible" (Coves 1897:729). Another round of smoking followed and, thereafter, another round of drinks. After this, all retired to their tents to drink the gallons distributed by the traders to each household head. "The drinking-match continues all day and until about midnight, when they fall asleep, and next morning finds them sober; for a drinking-match among the Slaves [Blackfeet] seldom lasts over night" (Coves 1897: 730).
The following is a description of the actions which accompanied drinking among the Piegan. "While drinking at our (the traders') houses, almost every man is provided with a rattle to keep chorus with his rude singing...The Piegans are noisy when drinking, but are not insolent. Singing and bellowing seems to be their pleasure, while the men and women all drink together" (Coves 1897:731). Apparently hangovers existed, for "...next morning after drinking they generally swarm into the house for medicine to relieve the effects of the liquor" (Coves 1897: 732). Liquor was also associated with dreams: If a Blackfoot man "dreams of having drunk liquor, he gets up, relates the circumstances, singing for a long time with his women and then, if not too far from the fort, comes in to have his dream accomplished" (Coves 1897: 732).

By 1800, however, the situation had evidently changed somewhat. A trader at Rocky Mountain house said of the Piegans that "spiritous liquor now seems to dominate them and has taken such hold on them that they are no longer the quiet people they were" (Ewers 1958: 35). This did not seem to change company policy in the least. Nine years later, at Fort Vermillion, "the traders gave out enough rum to permit the whole camp to enjoy a prolonged spree" (Ewers 1958: 31).

After the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay and Northwest companies in 1821, rivalry between the Canadian
companies ceased. However, American trading posts were now being established in Blackfeet country, bringing with them renewed competition and liquor trade on an even larger scale. One estimate put the amount of liquor used on the Plains annually in the early 1800's at 25,000 gallons consumed by not more than 120,000 Indians (Howard 1952: 260). In 1831, American traders at Fort Piegan gave the Blackfeet 200 gallons of "Blackfeet rum" which was completely consumed in a three day "binge" (Ewers 1958: 57). This "binge" is two days longer than that common among the Blackfeet before 1814 (Coves 1897: 730). This may be due to the fact that simply more liquor was available than on the earlier occasions. In that case, which is quite probable, there was a practice of drinking liquor until no more was available rather than setting any self-imposed limits upon consumption.

There were some attempts by a few British and Americans to halt the liquor trade with Indians, but little success was possible when each company involved sought to protect its own financial interests by means of this trade. In a reply of 1830 to William B. Astor's attempts at agreement on mutual suspension of liquor trade, the Hudson's Bay Company's reply was "...that in the event of the American traders' discontinuing the practice, those in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company should do the same." (Phillips 1961: 387). Neither
side would discontinue the use of alcohol before the other, so that little was accomplished by this attempt.

Although the United States Indian Intercourse Act of 1832 prohibited the transportation of liquor into Indian country, the effort that was made by the government to enforce this law was not exceptionally successful. American traders, as formerly, justified the use of liquor in the Indian trade as a necessity in their competition with the Hudson's Bay Company which, they charged, continued to use liquor (Ewers 1958: 70). Alexander Mackenzie sought modification of the law in 1833 on this basis. When his request was denied, Mackenzie imported a still and used Mandan-raised corn to brew whisky (Phillips 1961: 423). Liquor was indeed the primary lure of both the American and Canadian traders, and one which they did not intend to forfeit. There was some attempt at control by Blackfeet leaders, but it took a necessarily different form than the attempts by the whites. Lewis (1942: 42) indicates that in earlier trading, only the chiefs participated, giving them a monopoly on white trade goods which enhanced their authority and prestige. The Henry and Thompson journals give an instance of this prestige being used in the control of "drunken Blackfeet [who] had a quarrel at the Hudson's Bay House which nearly came to something serious ...Painted Feather [a "principal chief"] pacified the Indi-
an and exerted himself in making speeches to his countrymen advising them to be quiet and peaceable..." (Coves 1897: 545). In connection with another incident, "...the old men redoubled their exertions to keep the young ones in order" (Coves 1897: 546). When, however, the traders brought their wares directly to each man and did not deal exclusively with recognized leaders, "the young men did not have to depend upon their chiefs and elders for their liquor...one of the economic bases of the chiefs' authority disappeared" (Lewis 1942: 43). If the leaders had previously had any control over disruptive drinking behavior, they certainly did not after this development. Evidently the chiefs had not attempted to discourage the young men from drinking but, rather, had discouraged any violence which might ensue. Thus, some forms of social control which were firmly based within the aboriginal culture were brought to bear upon violence and disorganization but not upon drunkenness as such.

By 1860, the Hudson's Bay Company (which had merged with the Northwest Company and was now without competition in Canada) had ceased almost entirely to use liquor in trade. However, "a steady stream of 'Injun whisky', unspeakably vile compared to the Hudson's Bay Company product, flowed north across the border (Howard 1952:259) in violation of both the Indian Intercourse Act of 1832 and the Judith Treaty of 1855. "Injun whisky" as dis-
tributed on the Northwestern frontier consisted of one part raw alcohol to three parts water and was flavored by tea, rank black chewing tobacco, Jamaica ginger and red peppers. Sometimes black molasses was also added. The Blackfeet in both Canada and the United States received this whisky from independent traders of extremely questionable reputation. The traders at Fort Benton were typical in that "they defied both United States and Canadian law and rarely balked at outright murder of Indians or each other" (Howard 1952: 259). Some traders were Civil War veterans or former members of outlaw gangs in Missouri and Kansas (Howard 1952: 263). General Sully, Superintendent of Indians for the Territory of Montana, said in 1864 that "there is a white element involved in the still rampant liquor trade] in this country which from its rowdy and lawless character cannot be excelled in any section" (Lewis 1942: 63).

When, in 1870, the Hudson's Bay Company ceded the territories of Alberta and Saskatchewan to Canada, the free trade which followed upset the earlier fixed values on goods. Now liquor, the cheapest commodity in exchange, became standard payment for everything of value which the Indians possessed. The following is a description of such a situation at a whisky fort in the Calgary area during this period. The Indians were admitted to the fort and treated to two rounds (one small portion each)
of drinks. When the second round was served, the Indians, "holding the searing liquid in their mouths...then dashed out of the gate and spat it into the eagerly opened moughts of their friends." (Howard 1952: 364). Sometimes this did not occur as when a round was served to everyone present. "Squaws could get in on the 'regale' if they chose, but they frequently were too busy hiding the weapons in anticipation of the inevitable bloody brawl" (Howard 1952: 364). It is apparent that although there were no social sanctions against women drinking, women's attempts to protect their male relatives from violence rarely allowed them any time to become involved in drinking. "After two or three gulps of fire liquid, the brave's fought for position in front of the gate which meanwhile had been closed and barred [a common practice when Indians were drinking near whisky forts]. They pushed robes, furs, and pemmican through the wicket; when these were gone, they traded their horses, their tipis, their own food and sometimes their wives or daughters for more liquor. Within a few hours, the traders had everything of value the Indians had owned; or else, as occasionally happened, they ran out of liquor. shrieking with drunken laughter or yowling with rage, the crazed warriors staggered to the walls" (Howard 1952: 265). They attempted to scale the walls with each other's help and, sometimes, began aimless shooting or launched
an attack of fire arrows. "If the squaws were still able to do so, they now dragged their raving men into the brush and got them to sleep; but many orgies were recorded when every man and woman and every child big enough to hold a cup was drunk" (Howard 1952: 265). The next morning, "hung over" and "sick", they paid their horses and other valuables and left.

Some whisky traders did not maintain forts but would set up a tent in a hidden coulee, dispense liquor until all of the Indians became drunk and then would abscond with every accessible thing of value. Whether locked outside a whisky fort or abandoned on the plains by bly-by-night peddlers, drinking Blackfeet were always avoided by the whites.

The results of these practices began to take a heavy toll of Blackfeet lives, but prejudice against the Indian was so extreme that in the Montana Territory it was impossible to get a conviction against a whisky trader in the local courts. In 1871, eighty-eight Blackfeet Indians "were murdered in drunken brawls amongst themselves..." (Lewis 1942: 66). "Drunken riots" were almost daily occurrences (MacBeth 1922: 60). In 1873, thirty-two Piegans including two prominent chiefs were killed under similar circumstances (Ewers 1958: 258). Forty-two "able-bodied Northern Blackfeet men" lost their lives in shootings, stabbings or by freezing to death.
following drunken rows in the winter of 1873-74 (Ewers 1958: 258). In 1874, fifteen to twenty men including five chiefs were killed near the Montana Blackfeet Indian Agency as a result of quarrels induced by "too liberal use of whisky" (Ewers 1958: 267). It was estimated that 25% of the Blackfeet tribe "died from the effects of liquor alone" between 1867 and 1873 (Ewers 1958: 259).

In Canada, Col. Robertson Ross reported nearly one hundred Blackfeet Indians murdered in drunken brawls and, in 1872, requested that the Canadian Mounted Police be sent to put down the liquor traffic. In 1874, Col. McLeod, for which Fort McLeod (site of Calgary) was named, began a fierce attack upon the American whisky traders who very shortly thereafter found themselves south of the Medicine line once again. The chiefs whose people had been freed from the traders' influence "gave unstinted praise to the [Canadian Mounted] police...The Indians said that they used to be robbed and ruined by the whisky-traders, that their horses, robes and women had been taken from them, that their young men were constantly engaged in drunken riots and many were killed, that their horses were stolen so that they had no means of traveling or hunting" (MacBeth 1922: 62). It is apparent that the chiefs had lost their informal control of the younger men and could not prevent them from behavior similar to that of the white trader when drunk. No other forms of
control emerged within the group, thus, making both an
outside force and complete removal of the whisky traders
necessary for the restoration of order. This was done
in Canada, but not in the United States.

In the United States ten years later, Schultz
(1962: 44) recorded other instances of drinking
among the Blackfeet. As was the earlier custom of the
traders, he offered the Indians who had come to trade
two round of drinks in connection with smoking and
conversation. In 1884, buffalo robes and other trade
items were exchanged for cash which, in turn, was ex-
changed for "tobacco, cartridges, and an order of whisky, but not always whisky. Many of the men of each tribe did
not drink at all...but enough of them did imbibe to make
the camps very lively of nights" (Schultz 1962: 44).
It is unfortunate that Schultz did not mention which men
did not drink and for what reasons. It is probable that
the leaders were among those who abstained for the young
men, "ignoring the commands of their chiefs...would...
trade their robes for...'fire water' and have a grand
spree" (Schultz 1962: 56). When out of whisky, one Calf
Shirt ordered Schultz to give him a keg or lese be mur-
dered and proceeded to shoot at him when refused. It
is certain that not all of the chiefs abstained, for a
certain Bear Chief was killed "in a drunken row" in
1879 at another trader's post (Schultz 1962: 33). There
is also mention of a young wife committing adultery after a drink or two with a male companion.

Schultz recorded one instance of a non-belligerent drinking spree which, judging from his other references, was somewhat unusual. "Strange it was, a thousand Indians [Blackfeet], men and women, drinking, chatting, singing, dancing around their evening fires and quarreling not at all" (Schultz 1962: 56). It is evident from these later historical sources that drinking was heavy but also still sporadic, since alcohol was available only through the white traders.

There is, unfortunately, little information available on the subject of Blackfeet drinking between the time of Schultz and that of Goldfrank's study in 1939. Her brief account of one incident in which drinking was involved should serve to indicate that some of the earlier patterns (such as fighting) were still apparent at that time. In 1939, Goldfrank (1945: 55) witnessed a fight between two half brothers both of whom had been drinking. When sober, they argued frequently, intense sibling rivalry being quite common. "The fight, abetted by drink, grew wild and noisy...finally physical restraint and exhaustion brought peace [at midnight]." At seven the next morning, the man's children were seen quietly cleaning up the broken glass from the night before and, at eight o'clock, the family left for a quiet picnic together. Goldfrank
notes that although the present (1939) conditions differ greatly from those of the late 1700's (agriculture and herding having replaced hunting and foodgathering), the "individualism and unpredictable tempers" which characterized these people over a century and a half ago are still apparent. Children are still exposed to conflict and violence similar to that recorded in Harmon's time (Goldfrank 1945: 55). Goldfrank was told by one thirteen year old girl that "girls minded their parents' quarrels more than boys" (Goldfrank 1945: 56). The author concluded that it might well be so, since "training and social sanctions make it easy for the boy to escape an uncongenial home situation" (Goldfrank 1945: 55). The male child learns to ride at an early age and to work on the range or in the field, his frequent absences causing little comment even if he remains away from home overnight. "Girls' work, on the other hand, ties them to the house" (Goldfrank 1945: 55). They are expected to tend their little brothers and sisters, to cook, sew and do beadwork. "Only a few have the hardihood to face the certain disapproval that descends upon them when they stay out overnight, even at a relative's. Bound to their homes by work and convention, they are more exposed than their young brothers to parental quarrels. They may see themselves not only as the little mothers of today, but as the cruelly beaten sives of tomorrow" (Goldfrank 1945: 55).
From the above considerations, certain general conclusions regarding early Blackfeet drinking patterns may be suggested. Due to transportation difficulties, it was probably not until 1794 when Fort Augustus was established that large numbers of Blackfeet had access to liquor or had occasion to observe the behavior of whites under the influence of alcohol. The Blackfeet were exposed to a very well-defined form of drinking behavior by both Canadians and Americans. Harmon writes that: "Of all the people in the world...the Canadians, when drunk, are the most disagreeable; for excessive drinking generally causes them to quarrel and fight among themselves. Indeed I had rather have fifty drunken Indians in the fort than five drunken Canadians" (Coves 1897: 575). Henry and Thompson noted that their "hunters and other men have been drinking rioting since yesterday; they made more d--n noise and trouble than a hundred Blackfeet" (Coves 1897: 574). Certainly, some Blackfeet drinking behavior must have been learned from the whites who had brought liquor with them but had not brought the traditional European social controls upon its use.

It is apparent that the Blackfeet sought the intoxicating properties of liquor. Indeed, the idea was to become intoxicated as rapidly as possible. Leaders also valued drunkenness and only attempted to control the violence and disorganization which frequently accompanied it.
Liquor was incorporated into the preexisting Blackfeet cultural forms, such as the dream and offering ceremonies, which could accommodate the new stimulant within old contexts (e.g., liquor was treated ritualistically as was tobacco). With increasing acculturation, these ceremonies disappeared. However, many habits which accompanied drinking, such as fighting and singing, persist until today.
There are several social levels on the reservation which may be distinguished roughly according to amount of Indian blood: whites, full bloods, and half bloods. The half-blood Indians are those having one-half or less Indian ancestry. These individuals are usually better educated and better off economically than the full-bloods. They also may occupy Tribal administrative positions and government jobs on the reservation. They tend to consider the full-blood as inferior and, in turn, are suspected of dishonesty and nepotism by the latter.

Indeed, nepotism is almost always mentioned in regard to economic opportunity. It may be a factor, since most Blackfeet are quite devoted to their relatives, paying them frequent visits and preferring them as drinking companions. It is also interesting to note that higher status individuals regard discrimination between the groups as primarily due to economic differences; whereas, lower status individuals see the same as being primarily racially based.

The whites living on the reservation do not usually interact socially with Blackfeet and, since they own and operate most of the businesses, are seen by the Indians as simply opportunists who take Indian money and care about little else. Both white separatism and proprietorship is resented. Some Blackfeet say that they would...
like to buy the white businesses but no loans are available with which to do so.

There is great emphasis placed upon social and economic status. The ability to acquire money is thoroughly respected but, usually, upon the acquisition of cash (if in substantial quantities) the individual may become suspected of dishonesty. This is probably related to high value placed upon generosity. If one were sufficiently generous, one would not be able to hold large sums of money for any length of time.

There is apparently little of the middle-class white's abhorrence of police arrest. Some older persons report that they are ashamed when arrested but, to the majority of the younger persons (especially adolescents), a trip to jail is a humorous and interesting experience.

Some persons over seventy years of age still retain some of the aboriginal religion; however, most younger persons are members of one of the several Christian sects (primarily Catholic) which have been established on the reservation. There appears to be no deep understanding of church doctrine, but rather only the formal practice ritual. The church exercises little control over its communicants' behavior since it is concerned primarily with the "hereafter" and is involved very little with present conditions. Many persons will be seen in church only when they desire something which they feel
they are unable to obtain by their own ingenuity. Each person organizes his personal life as he sees fit with little reference to either church doctrine or to reservation laws.

There is a very high rate of unemployment on the reservation and much time is spent in doing absolutely nothing. Many persons are willing to work whenever jobs become available, but the latter occurs very infrequently. Work is primarily seasonal. During the summer, men may be employed as firefighters or as ranch hands. The men prefer outdoor jobs and feel that indoor occupations are not really "man's work." During the winter, however, such labor is not needed so that even those who work in the summer find themselves hopelessly unemployed in winter.

Many families receive welfare payments from various government agencies only in winter, while others must depend upon this all year.

Malnutrition is present among large numbers of both children and adults. Starches, such as flour combined with canned milk, constitute the usual diet. Meat, fruit, and vegetables are obtained quite infrequently.

A husband and wife, grandparents and several children may live in a small house which is not large enough to accommodate that number of persons at either mealtime or bedtime. If all of the persons living in one household
were to be present at the same time there would be standing room only. Of course, not all of the homes are as described, but a great majority of them are.

The individualism which has been noted by earlier ethnographers (Goldfrank 1945) is still quite apparent among the Blackfeet. Although a young child's obedience to his elders is demanded, he is left a very wide range of personal choice and autonomy. Efforts at control, as in the past, usually take the form of lectures or speeches regarding a particular subject rather than the use of physical force or threats. Such speeches are given both to the child and young adult when his correction seems in order. Physical force is usually used only when parents or children, or both, are intoxicated.

Many grandparents raise their grandchildren as was done traditionally. This is due not only to the large number of broken homes in which the woman returns to live with her parents but also to the fact that this arrangement is simply preferred. It is an unusual home in which no grandparent may be found.

Children are highly valued by both mothers and fathers. Younger children tend to imitate their older sisters and brothers as well as their parents. Thus, older siblings as well as grandparents exert much influence in a child's enculturation. Although close relatives are quite devoted to one...
another, there is little discussion of personal problems within the home. Each person tends to keep his thoughts to himself, so that there is usually little communication of individual troubles even between husband and wife or parents and children. Companionship and understanding is often sought among drinking partners.
PRESENT BLACKFEET DRINKING PRACTICES

Before 1953, when the sale of liquor was still prohibited on the reservation, few entire families participated in drinking bouts. Groups of young men and women drove to nearby off-reservation towns to buy liquor from bootleggers. If they were under twenty-one, they usually needed a "runner" (an adult who would buy liquor for minors) because many bootleggers would not sell to teenagers. At that time, the alcohol purchased consisted primarily of beer, although whisky, vodka and rum were also consumed. Persons over twenty-one could either drink at the bootlegger's house or take it with them. Most Indians were afraid of becoming "too drunk" while they remained on the premises for fear of being "rolled" (their pockets picked). Bootleggers, in order to keep their illegal operations less apparent, also discouraged noise or fighting and would throw out anyone who became garrulous. Teen-agers took their liquor to parties at which they sang and danced to popular music. Thus, individual rather than family participation in drinking groups was the rule because of the restrictive circumstances under which alcohol could be obtained. Many persons, such as mothers at home with their children and very old or very young people simply did not have access to it except on very unusual and infrequent occasions.
Since 1953, liquor has been available in unlimited supply and sources of supply are numerous. There are twelve bars and several liquor stores as well as many supermarkets where alcohol may be obtained without ever leaving the reservation. Previously, one had to make a long, expensive trip to an off-reservation town for such supplies. The bootleg prices were also relatively high compared to those of the liquor store and supermarket today.

Whereas beer was the favorite during bootleg days, wine has supplanted it in popularity because of its lower price. Indeed, wine was used very infrequently before 1935. The wine presently used is approximately 20% alcohol and is bought in quart, half-gallon, and gallon quantities. Whisky and other stronger beverages are preferred when the money is available, but money is usually quite scarce. A few persons drink alcohol rub, face lotion or vanilla and other extracts when the more usual forms of alcohol are not available. Recently, the tribal council prohibited the sale of rubbing alcohol without a prescription. Whereas, wine is used primarily on the street and in the home; whisky and beer are usually drunk in a bar.

Nearly all drinking is done in groups. The specific idea is to become intoxicated. Indeed, "drinking" is completely equivalent to "getting drunk" in common speech. No other form of drinking is even thought of by most
persons. One drinks until one achieves the desired "mood" which varies from increased courage to joviality according to the individual involved, and one continues to drink until no more alcohol is available or until one loses consciousness. Only a very few, primarily well-to-do mixed bloods and whites, drink alone. Both abstainers and solitary drinkers incur suspicion and a good deal of criticism by the majority who are group drinkers.

Some informants indicated that they never drank with enemies, and that they would leave a group if such a person joined it or would avoid joining certain groups for the same reason. Others, however, stated that they would, on occasion, drink in the presence of an enemy if this were the only way in which alcohol might be obtained at that time, but this arrangement was not preferred. As will be apparent later, there are very good reasons for avoiding one's enemies while they are drinking. After becoming more and more intoxicated, however, one may drink with anyone "just to have company."

Drinking bouts are considered appropriate for all major occasions such as funerals, holidays, and the annual "Indian Days." However, for over twenty-five percent of the population, drinking bouts are a daily occurrence. One remains sober only as long as one is unable to buy more wine. The problem of keeping oneself supplied more or less continually with this
beverage has been solved by membership in somewhat fluid drinking groups consisting of relatives, neighbors, or friends. Since most neighbors are relatives and many friends are neighbors, it is difficult to place drinking partners in any one of the above specific categories. An individual's nearer relatives tend also to be nearer geographically.

There are about a half dozen street drinking groups operating in Browning at any one time. Both men and women participate in the groups, but the men are usually more evident on the street. Either sex may begin a drinking group by presenting a jug of wine to some friends who then pass it from one person to the next until it is emptied. This may take place in an alley, in a house, or in someone's car. They then may pool their money to buy another jug. Although sharing equally is the ideal, each person tries to get as much as possible when his turn comes in order to get his money's worth. He sees his contribution to the cost of the jug as a real investment.

There is always a "promoter" who directs the group which works as a "team." When the collective funds have been completely depleted in the above manner, the leader of the group may tell each of his companions, when he sees someone they know, to ask their friend for a loan. The "loan" consists of as little as a penny to as much
as fifty cents. Any friend when so confronted is expect-
ed to help, because he has received the same sort of
assistance in the past and may certainly expect it in
the future. Such a loan is really an investment in one's
future drinking bouts, for it insures that there will
always be someone who feels obligated to help. Thus, each
person gathers together small amounts of money which are
pooled to buy another jug for the group.

This process operates continually. Members are lost
as they pass out or become ill; new ones are gained as
others drift in, having recovered from their last bout.
Many persons rarely remain sober for more than two weeks.
If the group in which an individual is participating
is not too successful in gathering money, he may go
across town to join another more successful group. As
many as thirty persons may be seen standing scattered
up and down the streets of Browning watching for someone
to ask for a "loan". The fact that this is an active and
challenging endeavor should not be minimized. It provides
very direct and satisfying social rewards. The individual
has successfully participated in an accepting peer group
in which he is a valuable member and has obtained a
material object which is highly valued in his society.
This will be considered more extensively in the section
on social controls.

In the evening, when the supermarkets and liquor
store have closed, the bars with their higher prices are frequented. Again, a friend may be requested to contribute a quarter or fifty cents as an "entrance fee." The idea is to purchase liquor in the bar and drink it there as slowly as possible until a "live one" (a person who has a considerable amount of money with him and who will buy) comes in. Everyone present is more than willing to help him spend his money. The "live one" enjoys considerable popularity until all of his money is spent. Drinking slowly and waiting for the next "live one" is almost a game and considered quite entertaining. Often the "live one" is a tribal councilman.

Many young women use the above method to obtain liquor. Some will accompany any man who provides a bottle. It is tacitly assumed that she will, in turn, provide him with sexual outlet. Sometimes, however, she may leave if the opportunity presents itself before he can take advantage of her obligation. Both unmarried teen-age girls and older married women become involved in this latter activity and even outright prostitution as well as in the wine-drinking groups. Sometimes household goods such as furniture or appliances are sold by women in order to obtain enough money to buy more liquor.

A wife may drink either more or less than her husband; indeed, there appears to be no preferred pattern with respect to such comparative quantities and man and
wife who begin drinking together, however, often become separated from one another as the drinking progresses. This frequently leads to sexual involvements with other parties which, in turn, may lead to jealousy quarrels, violence and divorce. Men still exhibit the traditional extreme jealousy of their wives. Wife-beating is not at all uncommon. When domestic troubles occur, both parties usually find another individual with whom to cohabit. It is estimated that approximately half of the married couples on the reservation drink together publicly. Over forty percent of the marriages end in divorce. Drinking bouts and their consequences have been a major factor in most cases.

While parents are drinking, their children are often left alone, no prior arrangements having been made for their care. A child may wander the streets drinking if he is an adolescent, or if quite young, he may go to the house of a grandparent or other relative. If no relatives or friends can be found, children have been known to take up residence in an abandoned car and beg for food behind restaurants. In one such case, five of the six children involved were in constant trouble with the law and finally were sent to penal institutions.

Since the reservation was opened to liquor many family groups have become involved in drinking bouts at home. A father, mother, and all of their older children
may remain drunk (i.e., drink until they pass out, wake up and drink until they pass out again and so forth) for weeks. Recently, an aged couple were jailed for public drunkenness. Upon the death of a close relative, one family including all of the teenage children remained intoxicated for a full month. Wine was brought to them as an expression of sympathy by their more distant relatives.

Whenever large sums of money are received, such as from land leases or sales, a family together with many distant relatives may continue to drink until there is no money left. Then, they may join the street drinking groups described above. After firefighters have been paid, they often spend all of their money on alcohol before they arrive home.

The behavior of drinking Blackfeet ranges from increased friendliness and joking to aggressiveness and fighting. In either case, persons tend to become more conspicuous and outgoing, normally quiet individuals often becoming quite talkative. Indeed, several persons may be found talking at the same time. Boasting is a favorite drinking pastime for persons of all ages and both sexes. Having "pulled the wool over someone's eyes" or having obtained something for nothing by means of a trick are favorite topics. These are told in the form of amusing stories or anecdotes.
Another favorite topic is one's sexual exploits. A man may tell about the women he has known or a woman may brag about the amount of money and attention spent on her by another woman's husband. Frequently traditional Blackfeet songs are sung while drinking at a bar or at home. It is at these times that pride in one's native heritage is shown, for the alcohol is thought to give "courage" and said to free them temporarily from the shame they feel in being a defeated people.

Belligerence accompanies drinking on some occasions. Indeed, an interesting sort of threat which is commonly made is "Don't let me catch you when I'm drunk." It seems that most persons will "walk away from trouble" when they are sober but are quite ready to redress all wrongs and strike out at persons toward whom they bear a grudge whenever they are drunk. Many persons say that they got drunk because they were angry. They then became belligerent because they were drunk.

Sometimes there is fighting between groups of full bloods and groups of mixed bloods. The full bloods may say that the mixed bloods are "half white" which is by no means a compliment. In turn, the mixed bloods may call the full bloods "stupid Indians", and so forth. There is some prejudice between the two groups which usually becomes apparent only during drinking episodes. Each group has a good deal of pride in its biological heritage.
which, in common opinion, is directly related to the individual's personality attributes or defects. Fights, also, frequently develop from jealousy over someone else's possessions, such as a better car, or his social status.

Babies and young children may be given small amounts of alcohol on holidays by their parents or other adult relatives who are celebrating the occasion with a drinking bout. (Indeed, there is very little drinking on the reservation which does not lead to drunkenness).

Although most persons state that they began to drink larger quantities at the age of fifteen or sixteen, many sixth-grade children are presently known to participate with adult drinkers. This is often the case with abandoned children in this age group. An eleven year old boy was recently arrested for public drunkenness in Browning. His parents were, at the same time, seen drinking in different parts of town.

Many persons' first really heavy drinking occurs at parties attended by high school students. These are primarily weekend affairs since school attendance is compulsory during the week. The bout may last all weekend or may involve only one night. Drinking usually remains intermittent for many teen-agers until they drop out of or are graduated from high school. As will be seen in the biography section, there is then a tendency to con-
form to adult drinking patterns with each drinking bout lasting longer than the previous one.

One aspect of teenage drinking behavior which is not found among adult drinkers is the attention paid to the quantity consumed. A teenager may boast about the amount he is able to drink, for it is a matter of pride to be able to "hold" one's liquor. Indeed, it is quite embarrassing to become ill while drinking. Teenagers make fun of a nauseated comrade by saying that he "can't take it." Teenagers often pretend to be more intoxicated than they really are, in order to indicate that they are not only able to obtain large quantities of alcohol (which is another matter of pride) but are also able to consume large quantities. A young person in an apparently extreme state of intoxication may be able to behave as if he were quite sober upon the arrival of the police.

Teenagers, as well as a smaller number of adults, tend to become aggressive while drunk. Fighting is associated with younger persons rather than with drinkers thirty-five or older. It is also associated with young men rather than young women, although many women become involved in fights with one another. Sometimes, several may accost a man.

A few young men try to acquire a reputation for being a "tough guy." Others, while drunk, may initiate a fight with such a person in order to obtain the same distinction.
There are about six gangs of persons (whose ages range from nineteen to twenty-one) which are involved in fights with each other at rodeos and bars and who have been accused of beating old people. Older drinkers usually try to avoid such persons.

Hangover is infrequent among teenagers and young adults, but persons over thirty or thirty-five have usually begun to complain about such consequences. One older informant had begun to tremble all over after having been without liquor for twelve hours. Most of those who attend the local Alcoholics Anonymous meetings are over thirty and have begun to feel some physical effects from heavy drinking. Delirium tremens has afflicted a few individuals. Each person interviewed indicated that several of their relatives had died as a consequence of heavy drinking.

Over twenty-five percent of the population has become directly involved with the authorities due to heavy drinking, but only a very few of these are compulsive drinkers. Most persons join drinking groups for the social stimulation provided.

There are a relatively large number of criminal cases associated with "excessive use" of alcoholic beverages. Judge Sharpe, Chief Judge of the Blackfeet Tribal Court, reported that seventy-three percent of all criminal cases in the adult file were thus associated. About seventy
percent of the juvenile cases and about eighty percent of the domestic relations and child neglect cases were also associated with heavy drinking.\textsuperscript{24} Nearly all of the Blackfeet serving sentences in the state prison had committed crimes while intoxicated.\textsuperscript{25} From drinking families, about one hundred fifty children enter foster homes each year.

The above percentages are based upon an average of three thousand arrests per year including approximately 600 juvenile cases.\textsuperscript{26} It should be noted here that not all persons who qualify are actually arrested for public drunkenness. Some prominent citizens may be escorted home by the police but never, even over a period of many years, booked at the station as are other persons who are brought in under similar circumstances. All important persons in the community do not enjoy such privileges, for many have been arrested several times.

Fifty attempted suicides occurred on the reservation last year. Details on these are difficult to obtain, but it was suggested that most or all the cases involved the use of alcohol. Several informants reported their own suicidal tendencies following crimes against friends or relatives and other misfortunes they believed they caused while drinking heavily. Invariably, suicide is considered when one's own aggressive or unfortunate actions are involved. This may indicate some lack of cultural integration between drinking behavior and the
Although the reservation is extremely economically deprived, approximately $900,000 is spent for alcoholic beverages on the reservation each year. This is $150.00 per person or $500 to $600 per family. A 4% sales tax on alcohol has recently been proposed by Community Action Program workers in order to finance a rehabilitation center for persons wishing to alter their drinking habits.

Case 1.

Eric's mother did not drink but his father did. The father caused some domestic disturbances in the home as a result of his indulgence but ceased to drink when he became older. Eric first tried to drink when he was twelve years old but became ill. He tried this several times in the next few years but with similar results. Finally, when he was sixteen years old, he managed to drink without becoming ill and became intoxicated on various occasions, usually at weekend parties. His drinking companions were several years older than he was and called him a coward whenever he didn't want to become intoxicated.

He gradually began to drink more frequently until by the time he was twenty-one, it became an almost daily occurrence. Unable to obtain money for more alcohol, he and several friends committed a robbery. Various
offenses followed, always while he was intoxicated. In a sudden argument with one of his friends, he injured him seriously. After becoming sober, he felt extremely guilty and considered suicide. The friend did not press charges but rather excused the actions because Eric was "just drunk" and didn't really mean any harm to him.

He did not suffer from hangover until over forty. It was at this age that he began to feel adverse physical effects and has considered abstinence seriously.

Case 2.

Both of Eva's parents drank heavily when they were under thirty but, now, drink only on special occasions such as New Year's Day or St. Patrick's Day. They gave her small amounts of alcohol when she was a child but, nevertheless, told her that drinking was bad and emphasized the point until it "almost seemed sacred." She became extremely curious about liquor for it appeared to be the key to popularity and happiness. Eva's first drinking bout occurred upon her graduation from high school. Soon after, she was married and, since, has had three children. Her first husband was a heavy drinker and encouraged her to drink with him. On some occasions, she drank with him for six or eight hours, but would wait a period of months between times. After the third child was born, she began to drink more frequently.
Until this time, she had tried to discourage her husband from drinking but to no avail. He drank when he wished and took female companions of his choice but forbade his wife to drink without him.

Whereas, her earlier drinking had taken place in the home, as she began to drink more often, she soon entered bar and street drinking groups. In an effort to obtain liquor when she had no money, she would become the companion of any man who would keep her supplied with alcohol. She enjoyed a great deal of popularity for the first time in her life. Her husband became jealous and beat her on many occasions. Finally a divorce was arranged. She continued to drink heavily, fighting with other women while she was intoxicated. After several arrests for various offenses including child neglect, her children were placed in foster homes.

Her second marriage was similar to the first. The second husband was also a heavy drinker and quite jealous. He was arrested and imprisoned for offenses committed while he was intoxicated. She is now over forty and is considering a second divorce and remarriage to one of her present drinking companions. All three of her children have been arrested for public drunkenness on several occasions.
Case 3.

Both of Elsa's parents drink heavily. Her grandparents have told her not to drink, but her parents have offered her liquor frequently. If she and a group of friends decide that they want some wine in the middle of the night, either her mother or father will go out and buy some for them. Elsa attends high school and is found at drinking parties nearly every weekend.

She began to drink heavily when she was fifteen while with a group of other high school students who were driving from town to town on the reservation looking for something to do. She wishes to be popular with the boys her age and wants to be like the other girls.

Once when her father was away on a drinking bout, she returned home intoxicated with her sister and began to quarrel with her mother. A fight ensued in which she injured one of her relatives. She has been arrested and is now serving a sentence in a penal institution. She is looking forward to the time when she will be able to drink again.

Case 4.

Einar's mother and father both drank, his mother infrequently, his father frequently and heavily. They often became involved in jealousy quarrels. Both his parents and grandparents told him not to drink, explain-
Einar drank for the first time when he was eleven years old but became nauseated and ill. He did not attempt it again until he was sixteen, but with the same results. He found it very unpleasant but continued until he was able to become intoxicated about once a month.

Einar attended weekend high school drinking parties but did not become involved in fights. He avoided disagreements of any kind and preferred to drink in the company of his brothers and sisters. He spent most of his money on "payday drinking bouts" but did manage to set aside enough money to live on.

While in the military service he remained intoxicated every weekend and spent half or more of each furlough intoxicated with the rest of his family. Whenever he has a job, he takes a few days off after each payday for a drinking bout. In the last year he has begun to remain on drinking bouts for longer periods of time and has been arrested seven or eight times on various misdemeanor charges. He has considered abstaining, but finds that he misses too much of his former social life to do so. He likes to drink with people who tell stories, sing, and discuss the war.
Case 5.

Emil is forty-five and started to drink when he was fifteen. His mother did not drink and his father, who was a heavy drinker, remained away from home while he was intoxicated. His mother and grandmother told him drinking was bad and became upset whenever they discovered that he had been drinking. His father remained neutral on the subject. He found it exciting and enjoyable to obtain liquor when it was illegal.

Emil usually drinks with a group of relatives and frequently uses the occasion to obtain women who will drink with him. He is seldom sober for more than two weeks at a time, although he ceased to drink entirely for one year because of a physical disability. He complains of hangover and injuries received while intoxicated. He also suffers from loss of memory. Emil plans to continue drinking and encourages one of his relatives, who has considered stopping, to continue. He doesn't know why he prefers the situation thus, but still continues to urge others to drink.

Case 6.

Erhardt came from a broken home, the divorce being arranged as a result of his mother's excessive drinking. His father drank infrequently and admonished the children that drinking would "lead to poverty." Erhardt remained
with his mother who later remarried. The stepfather was a heavy drinker and was continually involved in arguments with Erhardt.

He started drinking when he was seventeen in the company of an older friend with the expressed purpose of becoming intoxicated. He became nauseated and dizzy but tried it again two months later in order to be like his older friends.

At first, he drank only once a month. As he became older, however, he remained intoxicated every day. He left home and joined a group of about ten other young men in their early twenties who occupied themselves by trying to outdo other similar groups in their ability to do mischief. They fought each other and caused general public disturbance. Two of his former companions are presently serving prison sentences for murder. He decided to cease drinking and to disassociate himself from the group. He reported no difficulty in withdrawing from alcohol entirely. He joined a fundamentalist church and married a woman who does not drink and has remained sober for the past eleven years.
SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES

As one informant succinctly described the social and cultural situation, "It's hard to stay sober in Browning." A great deal of social pressure is brought to bear upon the individual who wishes to remain sober for any great length of time. The pressure is often applied in the form of teasing and joking, but the person who is the object of this knows that his apparently jesting tormentors really mean it. Friends and relatives may say to a person who has decided to abstain that he thinks he is "too good" for them. Nearly all of such criticism is an expression of this "too good for us" theme. The strong emphasis upon social status may serve to explain such comments. Not to drink with a group is a public indication that one wishes not to be associated with its members which, in turn, is an indication that these individuals are of inferior station, since traditionally one avoided association with one's social inferiors (Goldfrank 1945). Most persons do not wish to place themselves in such a position and, hence, are forced to drink with their friends whether alcohol has personally disagreeable effects or not. Indeed, in order to participate in nearly any social group on the reservation or to celebrate any significant occasion, one must become intoxicated.

There is an extreme emphasis upon being "popular." The present Blackfeet definition of "popular" appears to be not only acceptance by one's peers but also includes being
actively sought after. Although this emphasis is acute during the adolescent period, it is also quite apparent among adults. The average person is very sensitive to the opinions which others hold of him. Now, as in the past, he seeks to influence favorably these opinions by what should not be called bragging but rather a sort of listing of one's own good points whenever the occasion arises. A listing of one's enemies' bad qualities may accompany this. The emphasis upon popularity apparently underlies much of the active participation in street drinking groups. If one is a "good rustler" (i.e., is able to obtain money or alcohol easily) one becomes popular among other drinkers. Thus, one seeks to become adept in order to achieve both acceptance and popularity.

Another cultural value which contributes to the drinking situation is that of generosity. As was noted earlier, persons who obtain money and keep it for any length of time are suspected of dishonesty. On the reservation, there are few ways of spending large sums of money on large numbers of persons except by buying alcohol. When a person obtains a considerable amount of money from a lease or from firefighting, he is expected to be generous and, indeed, to express his generosity through large purchases of alcoholic beverages for his relatives and friends. The greater part, if not all, of any windfall is thus spent in the acquisition of a reputation for generosity.
In view of the earlier description of alcohol as a gift of sympathy in the case of the death of a relative, it is apparent that liquor occupies a very important place in the society as a means of indicating not only friendship and acceptance, but also condolence and understanding. Without alcohol, the average person would be at a loss as to how such feelings might be demonstrated publicly.

Intoxication provides a socially approved occasion for the overt expression of hostility. The previously mentioned "don't-let-me-catch-you-when-I'm-drunk" attitude is not universal among the Blackfeet, but it does exist among many. These persons harbor their antagonisms and sometimes even look forward to the occasion of their expression. Fighting and other aggressive behavior is practically unknown among sober Blackfeet; whereas, the same behavior during intoxication is verbally condemned but, at the same time, accepted as a "natural" consequence for some persons.

An individual's antisocial actions are condemned even if these actions have been committed under intoxication, but antisocial actions which have not been committed under intoxication are much more violently and universally condemned. Thus, there does exist a culturally provided means and occasion for aggression.

Historically, most physical violence was directed toward an out-group which consisted of an enemy such as the
white, Cree, or Sioux. Now, with the present reservation situation, hostility toward these and other groups may be expressed only verbally. Physical violence usually occurs between relatives or friends who have been drinking together and have suddenly fallen into a quarrel. "Suddenly" is quite an appropriate term since in most such cases aggression is instantaneous...A person who will "walk away from trouble" when sober may strike out violently because of an apparently innocuous remark when intoxicated. The social situation is conducive to such actions since this is the only context in which hostility towards relatives or friends may be openly expressed.

Persons who have engaged in antisocial activities while intoxicated are, indeed, criticized for their behavior by other persons in the community, but members of the person's family and also close friends are considerably less severe in their criticism. The latter may amount to a private family scolding but little more. Thus, there is a minimal inhibiting influence, at least by the most important group which consists primarily of near relatives. Relatives of an individual who has become the object of general community criticism will not join in the derogation, but neither will they openly defend the person. Their public role is one of non-committal silence.

The individual is made to feel responsible for acts committed while intoxicated. Several persons who had
committed violence upon some friend or relative considered or actually attempted suicide when they became sober. This practice does not occur when the injured party is an enemy of the aggressor. Since drinking partners are usually friends or relatives, violence often falls upon these persons. The result is socially disruptive and ideologically inexcusable. The ensuing suicidal tendencies on the part of the offender mark a point of non-integration between general social patterns and those of drinking.

Historically as well as presently both men and women and even children, on occasion, become intoxicated. There is no indication that women, as a whole, are expected to drink smaller quantities or less frequently. Many women drink at home rather than in bars, probably upon the request of their husbands who would rather supply them at home in order to prevent another man from obtaining their favors elsewhere. Men are reported to encourage their non-drinking wives to drink. This is probably due to the heightened social interaction expected and also to the absence of any belief in alcohol as an exclusively male prerogative.

Many women, indeed, drink heavily and, sometimes, continuously (i.e., are not sober over eight or ten days in a period of several years) but receive little social criticism unless their children become grossly neglected. Children may be placed in foster homes by the authorities.
if they are cared for by no one. This causes a good
deal of distress to the parents involved, whenever they are
sober, but yet seems to have little effect upon their usual
drinking habits.

Drinking bouts also provide for sexual outlets,
whether this amounts to a one-evening affair or the acquisi-
tion of a spouse. It would be difficult for a young
woman to obtain male friends if she were to avoid drinking
groups entirely. There are no other means provided by which
young persons may entertain one another.

It is preferred that tribal officials do not become
intoxicated because of their dealings with outside groups.
This preference, however, does not seem to radically affect
their success in elections. There is some indication that
this was a more serious matter prior to 1953 when an individ-
ual's intoxication might be made a campaign issue and
cause a good deal of gossip. Again, the present availabil-
ity of alcohol appears to be related to less stringent pub-
lic demands upon their representatives. However, if per-
sons who are prominent in the local Alcoholics Anonymous
are seen in a bar, there is likely to be a considerable
amount of gossip. The community is already, within a per-
iod of seven or eight months, beginning to build a set of
expectations around this newly organized group. 29

The present drinking situation is quite different and
yet quite similar in many ways to earlier drinking patterns.
The quantities imbibed are certainly larger than ever before, but this can be traced directly to the availability of the beverage. "One cannot get too much of a good thing" would express most adequately the Blackfeet drinkers' attitude toward the quantities imbibed. Historically, the Blackfeet consumed alcohol until no more was available. They simply do the same thing at present; it is only the liquor supply which has stabilized.

Men still find sedentary work of any kind, whether farming or office work, very unacceptable. They prefer "man's work" such as ranching, firefighting, or road work; occupations which allow them to remain out of doors and which are more akin to traditional male endeavors. Since this type of work is seasonal, outdoor activities center around drinking much of the time. Thus, the traditional male role contributes, to some extent, to the drinking patterns observed.

Drinking and fighting for the enjoyment of fighting may also be related to the earlier role of Blackfeet warrior. The drinking and fighting pattern is much more apparent among adolescents who admittedly are trying to "prove" themselves to their peers as well as to adults. Indeed, an individual's first heavy drinking episodes might be considered a kind of rite of passage from childhood into adulthood.

Calling attention to the quantities imbibed indicates
that consuming large amounts of alcohol is considered to be an achievement. The ability to obtain liquor is also much respected. Drinking is among the very few activities on the reservation in which young persons may participate which provides for the traditional competition of individuals for self-aggrandizement.

Boasting as well as humorous accounts of one's clever deeds invariably accompanies drinking. Sexual exploits and tricks which have allowed the trickster to obtain "something for nothing" are most common.

The fact that there is a "promoter" in a street drinking group and that the group works as a team may be related to traditional structure of raiding groups. This cannot be demonstrated precisely because the information which is necessary to substantiate such a claim is no longer available.

Gatherings which make possible such traditional patterns are always organized around a drinking group. Thus, several traditional activities are provided through the drinking patterns. Indeed, very few lingering aspects of Plains culture could be maintained in the absence of the present pattern of alcohol consumption. This may serve to explain the preference for Indian songs during drinking bouts which are among the few means of expressing group identity. The annual Indian Days is a time of extremely heavy drinking which should be related to the intensifica-
tion of cultural role traditions rather than to the more superficial "conviviality."

Both parents and grandparents, when they are sober, tell their children not to drink and that drinking is "dangerous" or "harmful." Habitually, however, no further explanations are given. A good deal of curiosity was reported by the informants all of whom had experienced such admonitions. Drinking was considered "dangerous" (no doubt due to outside cultural influences) but was, from direct observation, an obvious impetus to social interaction and a necessity to group membership. It had, indeed, become for the child and adolescent a magic and powerful potion which could be used to good advantage. It is traditional in Plains Indian society, and is continually repeated in many of the stories told to children, that the sacred is also dangerous, so that the parents' warnings that alcohol was dangerous only reinforced its value. Thus, what might superficially appear to be a constraint upon the use of alcohol was actually an effective impetus. The use of wine in the ritual magic of the church also serves to reinforce its unique position.

The social disruption which occurs as a result of drinking affects an individual's immediate family and, sometimes, his close friends. Larger consequences which radically affect the entire group, however, are quite infrequent. The greater part of the Blackfeet tribe is sup-
ported by welfare payments and by land leases which require no constant effort to maintain. If the majority of the able-bodied men in the group were to remain intoxicated continuously for years, children would be born, supported, and educated just as before. This is, in fact, what is actually occurring in some sections of Browning today.

Churches generally have little influence upon Blackfeet drinking behavior. However, exceptions are found among fundamentalist denominations, since very circumspect behavior is required of devout communicants. Some fundamentalists have radically altered their behavior patterns as a result of their religious convictions and their association with a differently oriented group. There are, however, only few such persons on the reservation. Peyote, as used in the Native American Church, which has limited alcohol consumption on some reservations is completely absent among the Blackfeet.

There are purely physical factors which may arise as a result of heavy drinking. There are several instances of persons who have ceased to drink entirely, as a result of a severe admonition by a physician. Such persons do not incur the disfavor of their peers for such action, because it is accepted as a valid reason for abstinence and is not considered to be a sign of rejection or superiority. Indeed, older persons may cease to drink for their own physical health. The responsibility of grand-
children as well as a decreasing need to "prove" oneself may favor the more moderate drinking habits or abstinence of the elderly. The transition from young to aged adult with the altered role expectations is certainly a matter for further study.

There are really very few excuses an individual is allowed to make as acceptable grounds for either temporary or permanent abstinence. Persons who decide to enter the program at Warm Springs are subjected to much ridicule. They are teased by implications that they are insane or that they are going to or have been to a "nut house." Such individuals are certainly unusual, and, in view of the strong social pressures to the contrary, one would have to be somewhat "maladjusted" in order to consider the program in the first place. Often, however, persons only to there in order to avoid a longer jail sentence.

Even in the face of such attempts, all of the persons who committed themselves to Warm Springs last year have reentered their old drinking groups and have adopted their previous habits. Thus, there are few social or economic forces which inhibit heavy drinking; whereas, there are many factors which encourage it.
In the literature, there are several descriptions of the drinking patterns in other societies which contain enough information to allow several significant comparisons to be made. It is thought by many persons not acquainted with this subject that American Indian Mexican-American drinking habits are mere carbon copies of the drinking habits of economically deprived whites. It is true that there are many similarities, but there are also many important differences. Each ethnic group has arranged its habits with respect to earlier as well as to transitional culture. Many aboriginal cultural values and social role concepts still influence present actions. This may be seen quite clearly in a comparison of Mohave drinking patterns with those of the Blackfeet.

Devereux (1948: 207) states that the Mohave Indians of the Gila River area had no intoxicating beverages in aboriginal times and that their introduction to alcohol occurred no later than the end of the seventeenth century. This absence of native alcohol was also found among the Blackfeet. Thus, neither group had constructed a complex of customs around the use or control of such a beverage. Alcohol apparently did not play an important role in Mohave life until it was used for their economic and sexual exploitation by white Americans in railroad and mining camps during the late nineteenth century.
Such practices continued, as it did among the Blackfeet who were exposed to unscrupulous fur traders, until law and order was established and the supply and price of liquor was stabilized. Nevertheless, Mohave drinking practices are quite different from those of the Blackfeet.

Devereux remarks that drinking remains a "marginal phenomenon" in Mohave life and that the usual pattern is the one-night "spree" rather than the continuous heavy use of alcohol by even a small fraction of the population (Devereux 1948: 208). This, as shown in previous sections, is rather different from the present Blackfeet practice of daily and continuous inebriation on the part of perhaps a quarter of the population.

Although both Mohave and Blackfeet drinking patterns are closely integrated with compulsory generosity, Mohave Indians try to prevent an individual inclined to drink heavily from obtaining alcohol. They may even avoid producing a bottle in the presence of such a person, because they pity him for his tendency toward excess. The Blackfeet never decide a friend or relative is drinking "excessively" and never try to prevent a person from obtaining more alcohol unless the individual has fallen victim of delirium tremens or other acute physical ailment, in which case he may be promptly deposited at the nearest Public Health Service hospital. Devereux also notes that habitual "drink-cadgers" are practically
unknown (Devereux: 1948: 210). Again, this is one of the main occupations of many men and women on the Blackfeet Reservation. Mohave drinking does not usually culminate in either severe intoxication or anti-social behavior such as fighting.

Mohaves attending a dance or other gathering will drink a certain amount during the evening and then either go home or "pass out" (fall asleep). Intoxicated Mohaves behave much as they do when sober. This contrasts with the usual change in behavior patterns (whether aggressive or jovial) among intoxicated Blackfeet. Mohave are never offended when non-drinkers refuse a drink. To them, drinking is simply something which some persons do and which others do not (Devereux 1948: 210). This may be contrasted to the severe indignation produced when Blackfeet offers are refused.

Mohaves consider heavy or continuous drinking to be highly improper and pity those very few persons who cannot drink a limited amount and stop. Blackfeet, on the other hand, strive to drink as much as possible and try to become as drunk as possible. Mohaves condemn drunkenness more severely than the infrequent disorderly acts committed in a state of intoxication; whereas, the Blackfeet tend to condemn the anti-social acts (although inebriation is considered a mitigating factor if friends or relatives are responsible) but encourage drunkenness.
The differences in the social controls exerted upon drinking in these two societies are both large and significant. In both cases, distinctive patterns have been established as a result of the internal controls. Typical Southwest and Plains customs and values are apparent, but cannot be isolated and compared due to the psychological orientation of the analysis in the Devereux article and to the lack of more specific details regarding Mohave drinking. However, the comparisons may serve, at least, as proof that drinking Indians are not necessarily "drunken Indians" and may not be considered to be all alike and may not be theoretically grouped with white alcoholic indigents and summarily dismissed.

Since the Mohave have very dissimilar drinking patterns from those of the Blackfeet, it is suggested that if the traditional cultures as reflected in the present social organizations of the groups are among the primary causes for the observed dissimilarities, then another group with a similar cultural background to that of the Blackfeet would exhibit fewer differences in drinking pattern than a Southwest group such as the Mohave would.

In the Hurt and Brown article (1955) on drinking patterns of the Yankton Dakota Sioux, a Plains group somewhat similar in cultural background to the Blackfeet, many striking similarities were noted. Intoxi-
eating beverages were entirely unknown before white contact. Alcohol was introduced to the Dakota Sioux by French and English fur traders, but liquor traffic did not become intense until after the American period which began in this area around the beginning of the nineteenth century.

There is a good deal of heavy drinking among the Yankton Sioux which results, as with the Blackfeet, in a large number of arrests for drunkenness, misdemeanors, and felonies. Boasting about sexual conquests and fights accompanies drinking conversation. Increased aggressiveness and fighting is not infrequent. Men call attention to the large quantities which they have supposedly drunk, and young men behave as if they are more intoxicated than they really are. All of these forms were found among the Blackfeet.

Among the Yankton Sioux, drunkenness is accepted as an excuse for anti-social behavior (Hurt and Brown 1955). Among the Blackfeet, this was true only if one's friends had committed the infraction; enemies are considered to have deliberately and maliciously caused injury whether intoxicated or not. Drinking, however, is considered to have more of a male prerogative among the Sioux than among the Blackfeet. Women, if they drink at all, consume smaller quantities and behave quietly. Among the Blackfeet, women drink as large quantities as do men.
Women also become involved in boasting and fighting. Unlike the Sioux, Blackfeet men do not generally dis­approve of women drinking. The difference may be due to the traditionally more severe demands placed upon women's behavior by the Sioux.

The above comparison has demonstrated that the two groups with a similar cultural background have quite similar drinking patterns which, in turn, are quite different from the other group having a radically different cultural tradition. It is not implied by this that similar drinking patterns must necessarily be molded by similar cultures. Indeed, similarities may arise in various ways. The essential point here is that lingering cultural forms, at least as they affect present social organization and values, do exert a substantial influence upon drinking habits.

Hurt and Brown cite the absence of any aboriginal patterns regarding the use of alcohol as one of the primary reasons for present Sioux practices. The case of the radically different and more moderate drinking habits of the Mohave Indians, who also had formed no aboriginal controls on the use of alcohol, seems to be an effective counterexample to the above assertion. Drinking patterns seem to evolve out of an interplay of many cultural factors and not merely from the original presence or absence of one certain item such as indigenous alcohol.
Novel materials, whether alcoholic beverages or other, will be adopted and molded in the light of any group's cultural traditions. It is true that alcohol diffused physically, but the manner of its use did not diffuse but became rather dependent upon conditions existing in each aboriginal group.

The Salish Indians on the coast of British Columbia, who had no contact with alcoholic beverages before the whites came, gave whisky a prominent role in the potlatch system (Lemert 1964: 91). Whisky potlatches were held until "the priests came" (Lemert 1964: 91). Lemert, in his paper on alcohol in three Salish Indian tribes (1964), reports that surreptitious drinking continued in the form of the drinking party which involved the singing of drinking songs and the recitation of myths and stories. It became a way of renewing and preserving traditions of the past. Salish drinking occurs exclusively in groups, with known cases of isolated drinking.

The village chief may be invited to a drinking party but he is expected to drink little or not at all and to warn the people of the dangers of alcohol. The objective of drinking is to become intoxicated as quickly as possible. Drunken behavior is "...almost the reverse of...sober behavior" (Lemert 1964: 93). Whereas these persons are usually circumspect and restrained, they often become loud and boisterous when intoxicated.
Young men frequently become aggressive and fight. All of the criminal acts of which Lemert was aware had been committed in a state of intoxication. As with the Blackfeet, the ability to obtain and consume alcoholic beverages is a mark of prestige for the individual. Being able to acquire commercial "hard liquor" symbolizes economic success which is quite important among these people. A man's success is validated through his offering of good liquor to his guests. Often, a host will drink only water during a party in order to supply his guests with sufficient alcohol. There is verbal disapproval of drinking but no substantial social rejection or penalties of any kind to support this disapproval.

Young, unmarried women rarely drink. A few older women do.

Again, there are several similarities to Blackfeet patterns as well as some differences. However, certain typical Northwest Coast traits are unmistakable.

The above considerations should serve to illustrate the viability of many cultural traditions and values even in the face of strong acculturative forces. It should not be incorrect to attribute some uniquely Blackfeet drinking patterns to earlier social organization as well as to present conditions. The near absence of the "alcoholic" in these and many other non-Anglo groups might indicate that "alcoholism" is a rather limited concept which is applicable in only a very few societies.
The purpose of this thesis was to arrive at various hypotheses concerning the extent and form of social and cultural influences upon drinking patterns and, in particular, upon Blackfeet drinking behavior. Now to be discussed are indications of the extent which cultural influences have had upon Blackfeet drinking patterns.

Certain parallels may be observed between the old and new Blackfeet cultures which may serve to explain the underlying reasons for existence of the present social determinants that have been suggested in this study. Boasting and self-aggrandizement were integral parts of traditional culture and remain integral parts of the drinking bout today. This is the only setting in which such behavior is acceptable. Furthermore, it appears to be due to the absence of white influence within the drinking group. Instead, the present habit of verbally listing one's own achievements may be related to the traditional counting of coup.

Benevolence was also an important pre-white value, and it remains important today. There is enjoyment in telling drinking stories based upon a trick, "pulling the wool over someone's eyes", or "getting something for nothing." It even may be related to the previous existence of a trickster hero in oral literature who, as in many parts of North America, was continually in-
volved in just such amusing activity. Singing, a well-known rite of intensification, was associated with Blackfeet drinking bouts in historical accounts and is still so associated today, at least in the eyes of youths. Dreams regarding liquor previously involved a ritual form and, presently, are taken seriously by some persons but not (in the partial absence of aboriginal religion) accompanied by any of the former rituals.

Early accounts relate that liquor, soon after its introduction, became more desirable than any other trade goods. This demand remains today. Historical material also suggests that the Blackfeet drank until there was no more alcohol left. This practice, too, continues; under present conditions there is a steady supply available. There were and are no known social sanctions that tend to limit alcohol consumption which are not related to white influences. A Blackfeet does not reach a point at which he or his friends believe that he has had "too much" (unless he has begun to exhibit indications of delirium tremens--and this is usually sometime after a pause in drinking for a period of hours). Indeed, the Blackfeet definition of "drinking" is (and probably always has been) "drunking"; that is, drinking to intoxication whenever possible.

The use of alcohol has never been exclusively a male prerogative among the Blackfeet. There are occa-
sions when men, women and children become intoxicated. Such events were recorded in the early nineteenth century, and they have been observed in recent times.

Fighting and other violence was and is associated with drinking bouts, especially among the young men. Men and women, however, may fight with one another. This has been indicated in the Henry and Thompson journals as well as by recent informants. From historical accounts, it is apparent that tribal leaders approved of drunkenness, but not of the violence which might accompany it. This is similar to the present attitude of persons fifty years of age or older who do not approve of violence associated with drunkenness. This discussion should indicate that many of the present Blackfeet drinking patterns are not new but that they were established very early after the initial introduction to alcohol, probably within twenty years of that time. The idea of the "drinking spree" may, indeed, have been acquired from traders, but most of the other manifestations appear to be results of some interaction of the new beverage with aboriginal culture.

It should also be noted that jealousy quarrels and violence resulting therefrom have been a part of Blackfeet life for many years. The practice of married couples finding new mates when disagreements arise is also not new. Illegitimacy of children, in the sense of
the white society, is not considered unusual or particularly reprehensible except by a minority of persons who are active members of Christian religious organizations. That many grandparents are called upon to raise their grandchildren is traditional. Such "social problems" as these may be facilitated by the drinking form but are certainly not caused by it. Again, such practices may be considered disruptive only in terms of certain white values. The sole detrimental effect recognized by the average drinker is that of disease which results from heavy drinking over a period of years. This is generally considered by most persons to be cause for abstinence. However, since symptoms do not usually appear until one is near middle age, adolescents and young adults rarely feel any constraint in this regard. Various forms of welfare reduce the consequences of unemployment and child neglect. Thus, as indicated in the section on social and cultural influences, the remainder of social pressure and cultural traditions militate positively toward the heavy drinking pattern observed. From the above considerations, I have been able to derive the following hypotheses.

Certain specific hypotheses regarding the social influences through which the cultural ideas with respect to drinking are implemented may be stated as follows. Of course, some of these are shared with many drinking
peoples while others are unique to the Blackfeet. The first two items refer to influences upon the individual, and the third item refers to the function of alcohol in the group as a whole.

1. Initially, young persons begin to drink
   (a) out of curiosity about a dangerous and powerful quantity (due to parental admonitions and use of wine in church)
   (b) in emulation of their elder siblings' behavior
   (c) as a means of passage from childhood to adulthood
   (d) in order to participate in and to be popular with the peer group and in order to avoid condemnation (in the form of teasing and joking) by their peers
   (e) from the belief that one can more easily obtain access to persons of the opposite sex. (Homo- sexuality is rare.)

2. Blackfeet continue to drink
   (a) for many of the same reasons for which they first began to drink
   (b) in order to express generosity (which is compulsary)
   (c) as an expression of bereavement or sympathy
   (d) as an acceptable opportunity (for some persons only) to express hostilities
(e) in order to become known as a good fighter
    (some persons only)
(f) (men) to maintain an active and challenging
    existence
(g) (women) to obtain male companionship and the
    prestige resulting therefrom.

3. Drinking serves to
   (a) occupy persons who have little else to do
   (b) enhance cultural identity
   (c) provide a more traditionally oriented male role
   (d) provide a means of maintaining Indian identity
       through singing, story telling, etc.
   (e) maintain traditional values and role concepts
   (f) reduce inhibitions.

   This study has also suggested some more general
hypotheses which are listed below. These, hopefully,
would be applicable in any society with any given cul-
tural heritage.

1. Values inherited from a previous cultural milieu
   exert much influence upon the formation of present
   social controls on drinking behavior.

2. The drinking patterns of a group cannot be signifi-
cantly altered by non-repressive outside agents,
because the patterns have been established in accord-
ance with common cultural values and enforced by strong social pressures from within the group.

3. Social controls, which may take different forms according to the society involved, actually structure the drinking patterns of any group.

4. The social controls on drinking are based upon the premises and values found in a particular culture and serve to implement prescribed behavior.

5. In the case of culture contact, the significance of alcohol in one group and the pattern of its use is not diffused but rather becomes integrated in terms of pre-existing habits and values.

6. Aboriginal use or non-use of alcohol is not a primary determinant of the total drinking pattern of a group.

With specific reference to Blackfeet patterns, we may conclude that there are very few social incentives as well as cultural factors which would tend to inhibit drinking in the large quantities observed. Indeed, many influences in the life of an individual positively suggest the continual and "excessive" use of alcohol. In addition, alcohol performs a number of important functions for the Blackfeet group as a whole.

With reference to the more general hypotheses, extensive and systematic cross-cultural comparisons would be necessary to establish their validity. Since
no such study is presently available, no significant conclusions may be stated in this regard.
NOTES

1 A society may be defined as an organized aggregate of persons following a given way of life.

2 Culture may be considered to be all that which is socially transmitted in a society.

3 The term Blackfoot has been used by anthropologists for many years, but the name Blackfeet was adopted officially by the tribal council in 1930 and is in general use by the Indians on the reservation.

4 Patterns may be defined as regularly recurring behaviors and attitudes.

5 A culture area may be defined as a geographical region which is inhabited by groups having similar socio-economic systems and material cultures.

6 There are several definitions of alcoholism. It has been defined in terms of the consequences of drinking (the social, economic, physical effects), drinking behavior (characterizations of the frequency, time of day, presence of companions, amount ingested), and response to alcohol (physiological and psychological reactions). (Pittman and Snyder 1962: 307). For the purpose of this paper, we may define alcoholism as the compulsive use of alcohol in the face of strongly inhibiting social pressure.

7 Intoxication (or drunkeness) involves loss or impairment of normal functioning (e.g., the ability to think clearly and act quickly) due to ingestion of alcoholic beverage.

8 Norms may be defined as socially required or preferred behavior.

9 A role is the behavior expected from an individual occupying a given social status.

10 Value refers to the varying degrees of importance placed by a society upon different aspects of its material and non-material culture.

11 Sanctions may be defined as a society's reaction to behavior; either approval (positive sanction) or disapproval (negative sanctions).

12 The Piegan is one of the three independent subdivisions of the Blackfeet tribe. The other two are named Blood and Northern Blackfeet.
A "principal man" was a head of household or elder (as opposed to a young, unmarried man).

A "regale" was a round of drinks (probably one pint or less) which was served by traders to everyone present (Howard 1952: 264).

Schultz stated that an order of whisky amounted to a gallon keg in 1884 (Schultz 1962: 45).

In 1953, the Blackfeet Reservation was opened to liquor traffic.

A drinking bout, as used in this paper, is prolonged ingestion of alcohol, usually continuing until no more is available.

The statistics used in this paper were obtained from the March, 1969, Report of the Blackfeet Alcohol Commission and Rehabilitation Enterprise.

Sobriety may be defined as the absence of intoxication (See 7 above.) and involves the normal, unimpaired mental and physical functioning of an individual.

This information was obtained from the March, 1969, Report of the Blackfeet Alcohol Commission and Rehabilitation Enterprise.

A local chapter of Alcoholics Anonymous was established at Browning in September, 1968, under Community Action Program auspices.
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