PSYCHOHYGIENIC AND THERAPEUTIC ASPECTS
OF THE SALISH GUARDIAN SPIRIT CEREMONIAL

by

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THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

September, 1972
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Sept. 25th 1972
ABSTRACT

This study is based on analysis of ethnographic literature; personal observation of contemporary spirit dance and healing ceremonies in the Fraser Valley of British Columbia; individual interviews with Coast Salish Indian leaders, ritualists, and other spirit ceremonial participants; and on five years of close contact with the Upper Stalo Indians as physician and regional mental health officer. In the Coast Salish area, the North American Indian guardian spirit complex combined the spirit quest of the Plateau tribes with secret society features of Northwest Coast culture. The suppression of the traditional ceremonial by church and government authorities in the decades following the White intrusion is briefly illustrated, and the history of the recent revival of spirit dancing in the Fraser Valley is reported. Ethnographic evidence is cited to demonstrate that the achievement of altered states of consciousness was an essential aspect of the traditional ceremonial: the spirit encounter took place in such a psychophysiological state, and the traditional spirit quest and spirit dance initiation involved conditions and techniques identical with, or analogous to, those commonly found in the production of altered states of consciousness elsewhere. The seasonal spirit illness of future spirit dancers in traditional Coast Salish culture was a stereotyped pathomorphic, but not pathologic, prelude to the public exhibition of spirit powers in the dance ceremonial. Today it is often fused with psychic and psychophysiological symptom formation in the context of cultural and social deprivation, a syndrome which the author describes under the heading of anomic depression. Diagnosis of this condition as spirit illness permits re-identification of an estranged Indian person with the aboriginal
culture via initiation into spirit dancing. The author presents contemporary spirit dance initiation as a healing process based on the therapeutic myth of death and rebirth of the neophyte who is made to regress to a state of infantile dependency in order to obtain his spirit power and to grow with it into a more rewarding and healthier existence. Personality depatterning and reorientation towards the ideal norms of Salish culture is achieved through shock treatments and various types of sensory deprivation and stimulation, followed by physical exercise and indoctrination. In contemporary Salish theory and practice, persons suffering from depression, anxiety, and somatic complaints unresponsive to Western methods of treatment, as well as persons with behaviour problems, are candidates for the initiation procedure which implies considerable expenses and some risks. The revived ceremonial provides the local native population with an annual winter treatment programme integrating several types of therapy which are identified and discussed. Preliminary data suggest that, as far as the Indian clientele is concerned, the therapeutic effectiveness of this indigenous Salish treatment compares favourably with Western medical approaches in conditions of ill health in which psychophysio­logic mechanisms are prominent, and with Western correctional management of behaviour disorders associated with alcohol or drug abuse. Analysis of the changes occurring in the traditional ceremonial since the revival of spirit dancing, shows that what in the past was a ritual with psychohygienic aspects is now an organized Indian effort at culture-congenial psychotherapy. In an attempt to define and localize modern Salish spirit dancing as a social phenomenon within proposed classificatory schemata, it is characterized as a redemptive movement aiming at total personality change, with nativistic tendencies towards a collective Indian renaissance.
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I
PREFACE

The purpose of this paper is to elicit and define the psycho-hygienic and therapeutic aspects of the Salish Guardian Spirit Ceremonial, and to evaluate the relative importance of these aspects in traditional and contemporary Coast Salish culture, both for the individual and the collective.

While comparative data on most Coast Salish groups will be included in this paper, the population under specific observation here is that of the following Indian bands located in the Upper Fraser Valley of British Columbia, Canada: Aitchelitz, Cheam, Chehalis, Kwaw-kwaw-a-pilt, Lakahahmen, Ohamil, Peters, Popkum, Scowlitz, Seabird Island, Skulkayn, Skwah, Skway, Soowahlie, Squiala, Sumas, Tzeachten, Yakweak-wioose; Halkomelem division of Salishan linguistic group, Northwest Coast culture area. This region encompasses reserves in the Greater Chilliwack-Agassiz-Harrison districts and will henceforth be referred to as Upper Stalo region (cf. Duff, 1952). Also involved in the winter ceremonials of the Upper Stalo region are some members of the Douglas band of Northern Harrison Lake (Lillooet Salishan speakers of the Plateau culture area). The total Indian population of the Upper Stalo region amounts to about 1,900.

The writer is grateful to his Indian friends, Chief Richard Malloway and Mr. Roy Point of Sardis, B.C., Mr. Joe Washington of Marietta, Washington, and Mr. Walker Stogan of Musqueam, B.C., who
invited him to attend at ceremonial occasions as a guest and witness. He has learnt to respect these Indian elders for their warm humanity and devotion to their people, and for the keen psychological insight they displayed. It is their hope that a better understanding of the ceremonial, by health professionals and social scientists, may lead to a full appreciation of its merits. To quote one of them:

"We have invited here a friend, a doctor, so that he can see what we are doing and how we help our young people. He can be our link to the outside world, he could speak about it on a medical convention one day. I want the doctor to know that people whom White doctors have given up are sitting among us right here....The doors of this smokehouse are always open for you. You have come here as friend of our people to witness what takes place here in this smokehouse, in order to understand the ways of sya'wan." (Joe Washington, speeches at ceremonials in Wellington, December 23, 1970, and Tzeachten, February 19, 1971.)

This work was done under the supervision of Professor Wilson Duff. The author will remain indebted to him, and also to Dr. David F. Aberle and Dr. Michael Kew of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of British Columbia, for their advice and encouragement.
II
NOTE ON RESEARCH METHODS USED

The data upon which this study is based were obtained:

(1) by analysis of the ethnographic literature on all Salishan-speaking populations;

(2) by personal observation of contemporary spirit dance and healing ceremonies in longhouses and community halls of the Stalo Indians during the winter seasons 1969/70 (major ceremonials attended: 8), 1970/71 (14), and 1971/72 (4). Ceremonials were attended upon formal invitation by Indian friends; leaders and ritualists and other participants. On several occasions, the writer was asked to assist as a "witness" in initiation ceremonies. During the ceremonial speechmaking, shorthand notes were made by the writer. The accuracy of verbal statements quoted can be guaranteed with regard to complete and correct key wording and rendering of stylistic flavour. The writer did not use tape recording equipment at the ceremonies as this (and the use of photographic and film cameras) is objected to by Indian participants who consider songs and dances to be the owner's personal property;

(3) in 48 privately conducted individual interviews with 21 Indian persons (leaders, ritualists, and other spirit ceremonial participants) from the whole Coast Salish area. The interviewed persons were aware of the writer's interest in the therapeutic aspects of spirit dancing, and most of them were sympathetic to his intention of making their information accessible to a professional audience.
They object, however, to it being used for gainful purposes in non-scientific publications. No useful purpose would be served by revealing the identity of an Indian person when presenting in this paper the information he or she contributed. In order to safeguard anonymity, references to personal characteristics will be kept at a minimum, and coded initials will be employed in the text;

(4) in five years of close contact of the writer with the native population of the Fraser Valley, in his capacity of physician and regional mental health officer. During this period, the writer attended 105 local Indian patients. The majority of these were referred for problems which will be discussed under the heading of \textit{anomic depression}. Clinical impressions and conclusions, as far as they will be presented in this paper, rest on this experience.
III
INTRODUCTORY NOTE ON THE TRADITIONAL
SALISH GUARDIAN SPIRIT COMPLEX

The "Guardian Spirit Complex" is an ancient phenomenon of considerable cultural, social and psychological significance for the great majority of indigenous American societies. Early European commentators considered the American Indian's guardian spirits to be daemons of infernal provenance. So did Bishop De Herrera in the 16th century and the Jesuit Fathers in the 17th century (Benedict 1923) and also Bishop Durieu of British Columbia in the late 1800's (Hill-Tout 1902); the latter identified them as familiar spirits. The young science of anthropology was making the guardian spirit a case of totemism, either as an integral part of collective totemism (Durkheim 1915) or, vice-versa, as a universal precursor of totemism, a link between fetish and totem (Hill-Tout 1901, 1904, 1905). More recently, clarifying reviews of the Guardian Spirit concept were presented for the whole of North America by Benedict (1923), for the Plateau area, including the Interior Salish, by Ray (1939) and for the Coast Salish by Barnett (1938, 1955) and Duff (1952). In comparative analysis of the Guardian Spirit Complex, these authors contrast Salish patterns with the peculiar forms this complex had developed among the Kwakiutl (cf. Spradley 1963).

1. Familiar spirit, or imp, a low-ranking daemon in the shape of an animal given by the Devil to a witch or wizard with whom he had contracted a pact, to serve as advisor, assistant and performer of malicious errands (Robbins 1959, p. 190).
Generalizing from their conclusions, we see the following picture emerging with regard to Guardian Spirit practices in the Plateau and Northwest Coast culture areas:

(1) Prototypical of the Guardian Spirit customs is the Plateau area with an individual, egalitarian, rather stressful adolescent quest to obtain a life-long supernatural helper, and acquire from him name, power, and song in a visionary experience.

(2) Contrasting with this is the situation in the Wakashan province of the Northwest Coast area with the Kwakiutl as prototype: highly formalized procedures, in which the Guardian Spirit as a mark of aristocratic rank is acquired on the basis of hierarchical principles in a dramatically staged group performance of spirit vision and possession in the context of secret-society initiation.

(3) The Coast Salish area, in an intermediate position both geographically and culturally, manifests the Guardian Spirit Complex of the Plateau "re-worked and re-interpreted under the influence of the social and physical environment of the Northwest Coast" (Duff 1952; p. 111), combining elements of the classic spirit quest with the secret-society feature of initiation to the winter ceremonials.

In Salish culture the most intimate relationship existed between shamanism and guardian spirit doctrine. Shamanism was, as Benedict (1923; p. 67) put it, "built around the vision-guardian-spirit

2. Among the Fraser River Salish, the winter dancing season was called by the Kwakiutl word Me'itla according to Boas (1894).
complex". The following schema can be constructed for the Salish-speaking peoples from ethnographic literature (Teit 1900; Hill-Tout 1905a; Gunther 1927; Haeberlin 1930; Ray 1932; Olson 1936; Barnett 1938 and 1955; Wike 1941; Duff 1952; Lane 1953; Jenness 1955; Elmendorf 1960; Robinson 1963; Kew 1970):

(1) Shamanistic powers and spirit-songs differed essentially from those of the layman. This distinction was carried to its logical extreme by the Upper Stalo of the Fraser Valley; their prospective shamans "underwent a long rigorous quest and obtained from a spirit in a dream or vision a specific power", while the same guardian spirit might appear to a lay person in a vision without quest, conferring no powers other than song and dance (Duff 1952; p. 97).

(2) The shaman's spirit quest, although taking a similar form, generally implied greater efforts, imposed more hardships, and was of a longer duration than that of the layman.

(3) The shaman's vision experience was of greater force and intensity than the layman's.

(4) Shamans' and laymen's guardian spirits were, as a rule, of the same type or even identical, conferring shamanic powers to one and non-shamanic powers to another seeker. Shamans usually obtained powers not from one or two, but from several spirits, and often from spirits who were considered to be especially potent or to have predilection for shamanic powers. A notable exception was presented by Puget Sound groups (Haeberlin 1930; Wike 1941; Elmendorf 1960) having two distinct classes of spirits for shaman and
layman; and by the Nanaimo of Vancouver Island (Robinson 1963) whose shamans-to-be claimed mythical monsters as tutelaries (Kwakiutl influence?) while lay seekers had to resort to animal spirits. Barnett (1955) lists some spirits who gave power almost exclusively to shamans among the Coast Salish of British Columbia, such as the double-headed snake, the thunder-bird, the fire, and the land-otter.

The winter spirit dance was the major ritual within the guardian spirit complex of Salish-speaking peoples of the Pacific Northwest Coast area. Spirit dancing was practiced by most Coast Salish groups that maintained effective inter-tribal ties through this ceremonial complex (Suttles 1963). It was also of great importance to the Flathead as "medicine-dance," and to the Okanagan (Teit 1930), but by 1954 it had become a remnant of a once highly developed artistic and religious spectacle (Lerman 1954). Spirit dancing was never a feature of ritual life among the other Interior Salish groups of British Columbia (Ray 1939); however, the Shuswap traditionally engaged in "mystery singing" during wintertime, when all men were possessed of some shamanic power (Teit 1905).

The Salish Indians recognized winter as the appropriate time for ceremonies concerning the guardian spirits, when "people draw upon their store of sunlight and their vitality is weakened" (Robinson 1963), to be strengthened again by the annual return of the spirit powers who arrive and depart with the cold season.
In Hill-Tout's (1902, 1904) time, the winter spirit ceremonials were known among the Halkomelem speakers of the Fraser Valley of British Columbia as su'lia or ulia dances, "dramatizations of dreams" as Hill-Tout (1904) interpreted this. Today, the native population of the Valley refers to them in English as "Indian Dances", or just as "pow-wows". Under missionary influence, spirit dancing had to yield to Christian customs throughout the Salish region. Bishop Durieu who imposed a theocratic social order on the Gulf of Georgia Salish in the 1860's and 1870's, proclaimed four commandments to his Indian flock, of which the first was to give up all traditional dancing, the second, to quit potlatching, the third, to cease consulting shamans, and the fourth, to abstain from drinking and gambling (Lemert 1955). Initially there was no prospect of co-existence -- except for the Puget Sound area where a seasonal pattern of religious loyalty developed with spirit singing in the winter and attendance at the syncretistic Shaker Church in summer (Wike 1941). Spirit dancing was formally outlawed in Washington Territory by decree of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1871, apparently in the context of fears about anti-White movements in the wake of the Ghost Dance (cf. Collins 1950). In British Columbia, the

3. Cf. Kluckhohn's general theory of myths and rituals: "The literature is replete with instances of persons' 'dreaming' that supernaturals summoned them, conducted them on travels or adventures, and finally admonished them thereafter to carry out certain rites ....To obtain ceremony through dream is, of course, itself a pattern, a proper traditional way of obtaining a ceremony or power" (1942, p. 51).
so-called Potlatch Law was often used as a legal sanction to suppress spirit dancing. This Section of the Indian Act, which served as an instrument of imposed acculturation in this province (cf. LaViolette 1961) remained on the Statutes of Canada until 1951.

The history of spirit dancing among the Lummi, a Coast Salish group in Northern Washington, illustrates the development of this ceremonial under acculturative pressures (Suttles 1954). Church and Indian Agency united forces to discourage this "pagan" ritual: paraphernalia and costumes were confiscated, their owners publicly chastised or sentenced to fines and forced labour if they proved to be recalcitrant dancers. Indoctrination at school was designed to make the young Indian generation consider the ceremonials as vestiges of a bygone age of barbarism. By 1914, the Indian Agent proudly declared the dances to be obsolete. When, however, he hit upon the idea of using them in a stage performance on "Treaty Day" for the purpose of arousing aversion, this had the paradoxical effect of rekindling a dying fire. It was now evident to the people that the U.S. Government had finally been forced by the spirit powers to free the dances. There was, however, no resurgence of spirit dancing until much later.

4. "Every Indian or other person who engages in or assists in celebrating the Indian festival known as the "Potlatch" or in the Indian dance known as the "Tamanawas" is guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be liable to imprisonment for a term of not more than six nor less than two months in any gaol or other place of confinement, and any Indian or other person who encourages, either directly or indirectly, an Indian or Indians to get up such a festival or dance, or to celebrate the same, or who shall assist in the celebration of same, is guilty of a like offense, and shall be liable to the same punishment" (section 3, Statutes of Canada, 1884; cit. LaViolette 1961, p. 43).
IV

THE REVIVAL OF SPIRIT DANCING IN THE
FRASER VALLEY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Among the Upper Stalo Salish of the Fraser Valley, Duff found only 14 active dancers in 1952. Ten years later, 26 new dancers were initiated during one winter in the entire Coast Salish region (Suttles 1963). Kew (1970) recorded eleven initiations at Musqueam Reserve near Vancouver in just three seasons, 1966 to 1969. Our data show that resurgence of spirit dancing on the Indian reserves of the Upper Stalo region started in 1967/68 with the initiation by Musqueam ritualists of the son of a prominent family, a young man of 20 years, who later was to assume a leading role in local initiatory procedures. In the mid-1960's, there were very few traditional dancers active in the Upper Stalo region, probably not more than four, of whom the most well known were Chief Richard Malloway of Sardis, and Chief Charles Douglas Senior of Rosedale. The legal persecution of active dancers under the Potlatch Law is still remembered among the older people, and so are presentations to the senior governments made by Chief Malloway and other Indian leaders on behalf of native traditions and of those practicing them. Throughout the period of suppression of spirit dancing by government and church authorities, the mutual assistance of the traditional dancers from different tribes who sang and drummed for each other, testifies to Salish solidarity. The few active dancers in the Upper Stalo region remained in close contact with their brethren of the Musqueam, Lummi (Northern Washington) and Cowichan (Vancouver Island) tribes, where
the ceremonial had survived as an organized group activity. The leading role of Lummi and Musqueam ritualists in the revival of spirit dancing in the Upper Stalo region is readily acknowledged by local Indian leaders:

"It started in the States again, and it came this way" (C.L.);

"As far as initiation goes, Musqueam has been like a mother to the Chilliwack people...we had to depend on the other tribes to help us, to teach us the Indian way of life again." (Y.I.)

Indian leaders are aware of the historical importance of the revival of spirit dancing in the Upper Stalo region, and pay tribute to the role of ritualists of neighbouring tribes who from the mid-1960's on were practicing in the southern Coast Salish area:

"This is a great thing what happened here on our reserve, history has been made here. We are so grateful to our brothers from the South, from Lummi and from Musqueam and to Ed Brown (senior ritualist) who came all the way from Nanaimo...we'll always remember that" (Address at first ceremony on Wellington Reserve, December 23, 1970).

At the opening ceremonies of the new longhouse Tzeachten Hall, Sardis, B.C., January 8th and 9th, 1971, we counted approximately 800 people who had come from virtually all Coast Salish regions, as active or passive participants in the dances. To honour the historical event, Sxwaixwe masks and costumes were publicly displayed in a spirit dance ceremonial for the first time in many decades. Four sxwaixwe dancers appeared dancing four times around the hall, their accelerating pace "tamed" by the rhythmic drumming of sixteen traditionally clad older
women. The awe-inspiring ceremony was announced by a senior ritualist:

"Everyone off the floor now -- sxwaixwe is coming out for the first time...let's the women hear, they're the ones that they're going to follow on their steps....It was in 1892 when this last took place, when they showed sxwaixwe here ....Those of Chilliwack, Tzeachten is your home here, that's our way of opening it, our own way that we use to open this house."

The increasing number of "new dancers" in the Upper Stalo region not only reflects the proselytizing endeavour of the older ritualists, but also a changing view of native tradition by the younger Indian generations. Under the headline "Long House to Play Role in Reviving Indian Religion", the local paper devoted a full page to the revival of Indian Spirit ceremonials in the area, from which we quote relevant passages:

"Mrs. Point and her husband Roy described the current revival of interest in Indian beliefs and religious ceremonies ....Beliefs and practices which were uniquely Indian, began to die out when white missionaries moved into the area, she said....Mrs. Point said that early Christian missionaries used various means to have native people drop their old beliefs....She noted that with the completion of the longhouse, Chilliwack area Indians will be able to start practicing winter ceremonial spirit dancing....Mrs. Point paid tribute to the role which Chief Malloway has played in 'keeping the fire burning' so that native traditions would not be lost ....She noted that many of the young native people who have dropped out of religious activities in the established churches are looking forward to the completion of the longhouse so that they can become involved in ceremonial dancing

1. Note the role of 4 and 4 x 4 as a quasi-magical number occurring in Salish ceremonial life. The sxwaixwe masks observed on this occasion were very similar to the Cowichan mask photographed 60 years ago by Curtis (1913, p. 114); but obviously of recent manufacture. For the cultural implications of the sxwaixwe myth see Duff (1952) and Codere (1948).
She noted that in attempting to restore the winter ceremonies, the people were relying somewhat on the rituals used by the more 'ferocious' Island initiators..." (The Chilli-wack Progress, July 8, 1970, p. 3B.)

These are the number of "new dancers" from reserves of the Upper Stalo region whom we were able to identify *ad personam*:

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<th>Initiated during <em>svə'wan</em> season:</th>
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<td>1967/68</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1968/69</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969/70</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970/71</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971/72</td>
<td>10</td>
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These figures are fairly complete; however, there may have been a few initiations which escaped our notice. Fifty would therefore be a rather accurate estimate of the total number of spirit dancers in the Upper Stalo region who have been initiated since the revival of the winter ceremonials, up to March, 1972. The drop in initiations during the 1971/72 season was not due to a lack of candidates, as we could verify, but rather to a deliberate effort on the part of the new initiators to limit the number of novices, in order to "initiate them decent, so that they can better stand that way of life" (father of young initiator). According to Musqueam and Lummi ritualists, the trend towards increasing participation in the winter ceremonials has also been present in other Coast Salish regions. At one "big dance" near Duncan, Vancouver Island, during the ceremonial season 1970/71, 45 "new dancers" in their traditional robes gathered from all over the Coast Salish area. Also indicative of the growing interest in reviving the winter ceremonials are the
longhouse construction projects which have been started by Coast Salish
groups in recent years both in British Columbia (e.g., Musqueam, North
Vancouver, Duncan, Tzeachten, Chehalis) and Washington State (e.g., La
Conner, Nooksack, Tulalip).

The revival of spirit dancing has been accompanied by changes
in the ceremonial and in its organization, which will be mentioned la-
ter. These are viewed rather critically by some of the senior dancers
and ritualists; others again accept them philosophically:

"Everything changes, sya'wan changes too, and it will change
further in the future, but I know you'll keep the fires burn-
ing, and that's what counts" (Lummi ritualist at Tzeachten
Hall, January 8, 1971).

As a result of the scarcity of traditional dancers, the Upper
Stalo region depended entirely on the assistance of older ritualists
from the Coast with regard to the initiation procedures. This is still
the case in the Agassiz-Harrison area. In the Chilliwack district,
however, an elite of dynamic young ritualists emerged from the ranks
of those initiated in recent years, prominent among them the first new
dancer of the region who in the eyes of many natives has attained a
certain -- positive or negative -- charismatic quality. These young
ritualists devoted themselves to their ceremonial duties with great
zeal during this past season (1971/72), without more than the formality
of a distant supervision by older ritualists. While taking some pride
in the feeling that the "Chilliwack people now handle their initiations
themselves", even the most sympathetic elders watch this take-over with
some apprehension:
"The young initiators are just starting and they have a lot to learn...they never used to allow anybody to do that if he was younger than maybe thirty. These boys are breaking into new territory. They're full of energy to initiate new dancers, but judging their experience I never trust it completely --- something serious can happen during the initiation" (Y.I.).
V
THE ACHIEVEMENT OF ALTERED STATES OF CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE
SALISH GUARDIAN SPIRIT COMPLEX AS DOCUMENTED
IN ETHNOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

A. Note on the Physiology and Psychology of Altered States of Consciousness

To facilitate the interpretation of important phenomena occurring in Salish spirit quest and spirit dance initiation procedures, we present here a brief summary of the most relevant biological and psychological data on the genesis, character and function of altered states of consciousness. Ludwig (1968) has explored and described altered states of consciousness in the context of trance and possession. Altered states of consciousness are characterized by the following symptomatology:

(1) alterations in thinking, including predominance of archaic modes of thought, blurring of cause-effect distinction, and cognitive ambivalence;

(2) disturbed time sense;

(3) loss of conscious control and inhibition which may be relinquished in order to gain a greater, culturally defined power;

(4) change in emotional expression towards affective extremes ranging from ecstasy to profound fear;

(5) body-image changes; feelings of depersonalization, derealization, dissolution of boundaries between self and environment, often associated with dizziness, weakness, blurred vision and analgesia;

(6) perceptual distortions; hallucinations, illusions, visual imagery, hyper-acuteness of perceptions, synaesthetic experiences;

(7) change in meaning; attachment of increased or specific significance to subjective experience or external cues, leading to thrilling feelings of insight, and revelation of "truth" which then carries an unshakeable conviction;
(8) sense of the ineffable; the essence of the personal experience is felt to not be directly communicable, and this is often explained by varying degrees of amnesia;

(9) feelings of rejuvenation, of renewed hope or of rebirth;

(10) hypersuggestibility: a propensity to accept, or to respond uncritically to statements of an authority figure via identification, or to cultural and group expectations.

Ludwig's altered states of consciousness correspond to what Bleuler (1961) has defined as Bewusstseinsverschiebung (shifting of consciousness), a state of mind attributable to either cerebro-organic or, more frequently, to psychogenic processes. In Western culture, altered states of consciousness of a psychogenic type are mainly observed in (a) hypnosis, (b) religious revelation, (c) "hysterical" dissociation. The term trance state is in usage for all these phenomena, while possession state has been reserved for non-Western cultures and for cases not approved of by Christian authorities -- an arbitrary convention indicative of "eurocentric bias. The differences between these states are cultural, not psychological or neurophysiological. Schlesinger (1962) has accumulated evidence for a neuropsychological clarification of these hitherto vaguely defined experiences. His conclusions are briefly summarized here.

The term trance designates a "state of double consciousness, i.e., the constricted state of awareness of the personal self which co-exists with the dream-like state of consciousness of the para-personal self". The neuropsychological basis of any trance or possession state

is the dissociation of the self, which loses its experiential unity and is converted into a secondary "dual system of relational experience", namely, the personal self and the para-personal self. A mild degree of dissociation of the central experiential agency involves the dominant or conscious sphere of mentation only; a more profound dissociation the dominant and the subsidiary or unconscious sphere; and a maximal degree of dissociation would also effect cleavage of the mnemonic sphere, i.e. the memory functions.

There is no evidence of cerebro-organic changes as manifested in electroencephalography in either hypnotic or so-called hysterical trance states (Lindsley 1960; Kugler 1966; Hill 1963 cit.; Prince 1968). Some authors have found an inhibition of alpha-activity blocking under hypnosis (Loomis et al. 1936; Titega and Kluyskens 1962). EEG data of this kind which point to specific alterations of attention and consciousness were also obtained during Zen exercises in Japan (Kasamatsu and Shimazono 1957; Kasamatsu and Hirai 1966).

The capacity of attaining altered states of consciousness is a universal property of the human central nervous system, as evidenced by the ubiquitous occurrence of trance phenomena through time and space. However, the prevalence of these phenomena appears to be a function of socio-cultural variables. Under the impact of rationalistic-positivistic ideologies, the normal faculty of manifesting with psychogenic dissociation appears to have diminished among members of the Western urban middle-class who would nowadays not be expected to readily enter hysterical twilight reactions, daemoniac possessions, or religious frenzy, while
these states are by no means rare in more tradition-oriented pockets of Western culture (cf. Jilek and Jilek-Aall 1970).

Experimental studies of hypnotic trance have demonstrated beyond any doubt, (1) that the subject's motivation is essential for the induction of a hypnotic reaction; (2) that the hypnotist is of importance only as a culturally-approved sanctioning figure in whose influence the subject firmly believes, and as a focus for the projection of omnipotence fantasies; (3) that the hypnotic state serves the subject's wish-fulfillment and the achievement of consciously or unconsciously desired goals (Schilder 1953; Barber 1958; Van Der Walde 1965, 1968). Above all, hypnotic trance is a "product of situational and cultural demands" (Van Der Walde 1968). This is equally true of non-experimental trance states. Paraphrasing the eminent French Psychiatrist Henry Ey, we may say that in trance the subject makes use of his capacity to enter a dissociative state in order to enact most efficiently a goal-directed role which his culture in certain situations permits or demands him to do.

While the induction of psychogenic dissociation unquestionably depends on the subject's motivation, it may be facilitated by the employment of techniques which result in changes of brain function with demonstrable electroencephalographic indicators. Such "somato-psychological factors" (Ludwig 1968) producing altered states of consciousness are hypoxyventilation (inhaling air of low oxygen content) and hyperventi-

2. "Cette théâtralité de l'existence hysterique ou le nevrose joue son rôle comme un acteur" (Ey 1963, p. 405).
lotion (forced overbreathing) which both can be carried on until loss of consciousness ensues, and which are associated with stage-specific EEG changes (Davis et al. 1938); further, hypoglycemia (low blood sugar level) and dehydration due to fasting; sleep deprivation; exposure to extreme temperatures. The role of rhythmic sensory stimulation in the production of altered states of consciousness deserves our special attention. While photic driving, i.e. the effects of stroboscopic photostimulation on electrical brain activity, perception and consciousness, have been the main concern of neurophysiological research in this field ever since the pioneering work of Adrian and Matthews (1934), an analogous significance of acoustic stimulation has long been surmised by observers of rituals and ceremonies in which rhythmic sounds appeared to have a direct effect on the central nervous system. This was clearly expressed by Aldous Huxley (1961, p. 369):

"No man, however highly civilized, can listen for very long to African drumming, or Indian chanting, or Welsh hymn-singing, and retain intact his critical and self-conscious personality...if exposed long enough to the tom-toms and the singing, everyone of our philosophers would end by capering and howling with the savages."

The well-known British neuropsychiatrist Sargant noted in 1959:

"It should be more widely known that electrical recordings of the human brain show that it is particularly sensitive to rhythmic stimulation by percussion and bright light among other things and certain rates of rhythm can build up recordable abnormalities of brain function and explosive states of tension sufficient even to produce convulsive fits in predisposed subjects. Some people can be persuaded to dance in time with such rhythms until they collapse in exhaustion. Furthermore, it is easier to disorganize the normal function of the brain by attacking it simultaneously with several strong rhythms played in different tempos. This leads on to protective inhibition either rapidly in the weak inhibitory temperament or
after a prolonged period of excitement in the strong excitatory one. Rhythmic drumming is found in the ceremonies of many primitive religions all over the world. The accompanying excitement and dancing is also maintained until the same point of physical and emotional collapse has been reached."
(p. 92)

In their now classical treatise on rhythmic sensory stimulation, Walter and Grey Walter (1949) recorded the following physiological and psychological effects of such stimulation in their subjects:

1. Visual sensations with characters not present in the stimulus, that is: (a) Colour; (b) Pattern; (c) Movement.
2. Simple sensations in other than the visual mode: (a) Kinaesthetic (swaying, spinning, jumping, vertigo); (b) Cutaneous (tingling, pricking); (c) Auditory (rare); (d) Gustatory and olfactory (doubtful); (e) Visceral (probably connected with (a)).
3. General emotional and abstract experiences: (a) Fatigue; (b) Confusion; (c) Fear; (d) Disgust; (e) Anger; (f) Pleasure; (g) Disturbance of time sense.
4. Organised hallucinations of various types.
5. Clinical psychopathic states and epileptic seizures." (p.63)

Although these effects were achieved by photic stimulation with rhythmically flickering light, the researchers had reason to assume that the mechanisms dealing with signals from non-visual sensory receptors were basically similar, and that "rhythmic stimulation in any mode is likely to produce impulse volleys at harmonic frequencies somewhere in the central nervous system, associated with specific illusory sensations" (p. 83). With regard to acoustic stimulation, they concluded that:

"...rhythmic stimulation of the organ of hearing as a whole can be accomplished only by using a sound stimulus containing components of supra-liminal intensity over the whole gamut of audible frequencies - in effect a steep fronted sound such as that produced by an untuned percussion instrument or an explosion." (p. 82, italics mine).
This lead was not to be followed for some time. Instead of using rhythmic percussion, other researchers experimented with intermittent pure-tone sound stimulation, as, e.g., Gastaut et al. (1949) who elicited clinical responses in two patients suffering from photosensitive epilepsy, and Goldman (1952) who could show "acoustic driving" in the EEG of two normal subjects. More recently, Kugler (1966) was able to elicit spikes in the EEG of patients suffering from temporal lobe epilepsy when using loud noises at a repetition rate of 2 to 6 per second. It was not until Neher's (1960; 1962) investigations that the neurophysiological effects of rhythmic drumming were demonstrated in controlled experiments. The significance of Neher's findings for the anthropological and psychological study of ritual trance and possession states can hardly be over-estimated. Neher (1960) exposed clinically and electroencephalographically normal subjects to a low-frequency, high-amplitude stimulus obtained from a snare drum without snares -- an instrument quite similar to the Salish deer skin drums employed at winter ceremonials. *Auditory driving* responses were demonstrated in the EEG of all subjects at the fundamental of each stimulus frequency (3, 4, 6 and 8 beats per second), also at second harmonics and second subharmonics of some stimulus frequencies. Subjective responses were similar to those obtained with photic driving by Walter and Grey Walter (1949), and included "fear, astonishment, amusement, back pulsing, muscle tightening, stiffness in chest, tone in background, humming, rattling, visual and auditory imagery." Due to the presence of theta rhythms
(4 to 7 cycles per second) in the electrical activity of the temporal auditory region of the cerebral cortex, sound stimulation by drumming in this frequency range appears to be most effective and would, therefore, be expected to predominate in ceremonies associated with trance behaviour. As cited by Neher (1962) the response is heightened by accompanying rhythms reinforcing the main rhythm, and by concomitant rhythmic stimulation in other sensory modes, such as tactual and kinesthetic; susceptibility to rhythmic stimulation is increased by stress in general, hyperventilation, hypoglycemia and adrenaline secretion resulting from exertion and fatigue. At the same time, strong sensory stimulation inhibits the transmission of pain signals to the conscious areas of the brain. In the light of his findings, Neher (1962) reviewed some ethnographic reports on ceremonies involving rhythmic drumming from Siberia, Africa, Haiti and Indonesia. A comparison of these data appeared to suggest that "unusual behaviour observed in drum ceremonies is mainly the result of rhythmic drumming which affects the central nervous system." However, such a conclusion awaits final confirmation by electroencephalographic examination of subjects while participating in appropriate ceremonies. Prince (1968) discusses the possibility that auditory driving is a "commonly used portal of entry into the dissociative state". His practical suggestions for the study of possession states by telemetering the EEG of fully mobile "native" participants in ceremonies have not yet been taken up by field researchers.
Sargent (1959) explains the induction of states of religious enthusiasm and spirit possession, as well as the so-called brain-washing and related therapeutic techniques, in terms of Pavlovian theory as transmarginal inhibition. He marshals evidence from historical and contemporary reports on methods of religious and ideological conversion and indoctrination, and shows that the basic processes involved are analogous in all significant aspects, paralleling those Pavlov deduced from his experimental observations in dogs. Given the fact that human cerebral organization varies within very narrow limits, we should not be surprised to find the most heterogenous ideologies introduced successfully by very similar techniques, as Sargent asserts:

"Various types of belief can be implanted in many people, after brain function has been sufficiently disturbed by accidentally or deliberately induced fear, anger or excitement. Of the results caused by such disturbances, the most common one is temporarily impaired judgement and heightened suggestibility... If a complete sudden collapse can be produced by prolonging or intensifying emotional stress, the brain slate may be wiped clean temporarily of its more recently implanted patterns of behaviour, perhaps allowing others to be substituted for them more easily." (p. 128)

Ludwig (1968) presents a classification of factors in the production of altered states of consciousness under the following headings:

a) reduction of exteroceptive stimulation and/or motor activity: e.g. in sensory deprivation, prolonged social isolation, hypnagogic and hypnopompic states, revelatory states during incubation or temple sleep;

b) increase of exteroceptive stimulation and motor hyperactivity, emotional arousal leading to exertion and mental fatigue: e.g. in hyperalert or hyperkinetic trance secondary to tension-induction manoeuvres; trance in response to rhythmic music and drumming; trance in revivalistic meetings or spirit possession in tribal ceremonies; increased suggestibility and sense-deceptions resulting from prolonged fear;
c) focused and selective hyperalertness: e.g. in prolonged vigilance, intense mental absorption or attention to proprioceptive stimuli;

d) decreased alertness, relaxation of critical faculties: e.g. in meditation, day-dreaming and reverie, auto-hypnotic trances;

e) somatopsychological factors (vide supra).

From the foregoing we conclude that trance or possession are altered states of consciousness involving the universally human mechanism of mental dissociation without cerebro-organic lesions. Their induction is largely dependent on the subject's motivation and on the situational and socio-cultural context but may be facilitated by certain conditions and techniques, some of which effect temporary changes of brain function.

It may be appropriate here to raise the question of the functional relevance of altered states of consciousness for the individuum and for the collective. This question has recently been answered by Wittkower (1970) in a discussion of his observations on trance and possession states in non-Western societies:

"Trance and possession states have undoubtedly an adaptive function culturally as well as individually. Their individual psychological effects consist of drive release, ego support, problem solution, relief from superego pressures and atonement."

"There can be no doubt in anybody's mind that trance and possession states in the countries in which they play part of religious rituals have an important distress relieving, integrative, adaptive function. As far as mental illness is concerned, they may be of prophylactic value. An increase in mental illness may have to be expected when as a result of culture change they have ceased to exist."
B. Spirit Experience and Possession

Fundamental to the North American Guardian Spirit Complex is the vision experience as a means of obtaining and controlling supernatural power (Benedict 1923). Tribal conventionalization and formalization of the content of the vision and the events surrounding it cannot obscure the fact that this experience was distinguished from others by intense feelings of significance and "thrill", and that it constituted a specific psychic reaction which was socially recognized. The tutelaries were mostly acquired in a peri-pubertal spirit quest. They were usually seen and/or heard in a vision encounter and showed themselves to the power-seeker both in human and non-human form. After surveying the literature one will agree with Benedict (1923) that the Guardian Spirits were named entities recruited from a very wide range of the natural and supernatural universe, making it impossible to group them under any one type. In Benedict's view the North American Indian's vision experience was not synonymous with dreaming. Some authors quote informants as expressly referring to visions in a non-sleeping state, e.g. Hill-Tout (1905, p. 144) and Duff (1952, p. 99). Robinson (1963) states for the Nanaimo of Vancouver Island that it was necessary to fall unconscious in order to hallucinate the tutelary and that sleep dreams were considered inadequate. Other authors are less specific and use vision and dream interchangeably. Thus, according to Barnett (1955), among the Coast Salish of British Columbia the "mystic rapprochement in which the seeker was granted the aid of an animal spirit
always took place in a dream or trance". Teit (1900, 1905, 1930) speaks of "dreams" or of "dreams and visions" in connection with Guardian Spirit acquisition among the Thompson, Shuswap, and other Salishan tribes of the Plateau. He refers to the prototypical case of the Thompson when reporting that "the ceremonial rites continued until the lad dreamed of some animal or bird which became his protectors or Guardian Spirits for life" (Teit 1900, p. 320). The Coast Salish youth's vision quest had to go on until he eventually would "see something" (Barnett 1955). "Dreams and visions are the invariable source of the personal totem of the Salish" concludes Hill-Tout (1905, p. 143). In his writings Hill-Tout (1901, 1902, 1904, 1905a, 1905b, 1907) uses labels like personal totem, guardian, mystery being, essence, guide, tutelary, protector, power, charm, or fetish, for the Halkomelem term su'lia which he derives from the verb u'lia to dream (Hill-Tout 1901, 1902). This etymology of the Halkomelem term for Guardian Spirit is confirmed by Duff (1952) for the Upper Stalo -- su'lia, meaning "dream" but possibly also "vision" (a'lia "vision" or "prophet") denotes both the Guardian Spirit experience and the Guardian Spirit; and by Kew (1970) for the Musqueam -s'alva, literally one's vision or "what you see in your dream". Suttles (1955) gives the translation of the identical Katzie word as "vision". The analogous term in Twana language was s'álixw, "that which one encounters in a vision experience", from áli'xw, "to obtain power from a Guardian Spirit in a vision-encounter". The Twana made no sharp distinction between waking vision, trance, or semi-conscious hallucination. It was assumed that the seeker
would have to "lose consciousness" as if dying, in order to perceive the spirit in human form and be granted power and song, upon which he would recover from a "fainting spell" (Elmendorf 1960). The powers conferred by the Guardian Spirit on the seeker in his vision experience are signified and/or embodied in the spirit song which in Halkomelem languages was called *si'wal* (Duff 1952), *si'wan* (Suttles 1955) or *sy'wan* (Kew 1970).

Ray (1932) assumes that the majority of guardian spirit experiences among the Sanpoil and Nespelem were dream phenomena, although sleep was not permitted on the quest and the experience was spoken of as "like a dream". Later on in his review of cultural relations in the Plateau, Ray (1939) points out that this experience may take place in a "half-waking or half-sleeping state and yet be culturally classified as definitely dream, or definitely vision" -- according to intra-group convention, as it were. It appears to be quite plausible that the vision was elaborated in subsequent dreams, as Olson (1936) reports for the Quinault youths seeking spirit power. This has a parallel in Lane's (1953) findings in the Cowichan area of Vancouver Island where visions occurred in either a conscious or unconscious state followed by spirit appearance in dreams. Wike's (1943) accounts of the Swinomish of Puget Sound also refer to reappearance in sleep dream after initial perception of a spirit helper.

The dream-vision question remains unresolved, therefore, and may be unresolvable due to an inherent semantic ambivalence in the native concepts, an ambivalence which would seem to aptly express the
ambivalent nature of altered states of consciousness partaking of properties of the sleep-dream and of normal wakefulness.

The Indian informants' accounts reflect the intensity of the psychophysiologic reaction experienced by the youthful spirit seeker in his first encounter with the supernatural:

"...in the middle of the second night there came a roaring as of wind, things came through the air and the ground swayed and rocked. Then I heard the scream of an eagle. He came near and I saw him in the guise of a man. He went round and round the fire and then went away. I was very much afraid and wanted to run away. Then I heard the sea-monster nearby, and he, too, walked around me. I was afraid he was going to carry me off. Then there came a monster snake who made a noise like the land otter. Finally Turtle came and walked around me and went away. Each of them gave me power." (Quinault; Olson 1936, p. 144).

"Four winters I endured this penance. Then at last my mind and body became really clean. My eyes were opened, and I beheld the whole universe. I had been dancing and had fallen to the ground exhausted. As I lay there, I heard a medicine-man singing far, far away, and my mind travelled towards the voice....My mind returned to my body and I awoke, but now in my hands and wrists I felt power. I rose up and danced until I fell exhausted again and my mind left me once more. Now I travelled to a huge tree -- the father of all trees, invisible to mortal eyes." (Katzie; Jenness 1955, p. 67).

"The owl was so close. It was sitting down on a log. When I frightened it, it flew up on top of a tree. I don't know whether I fainted or not. When I got control I went home. That night I dreamed about it. It came up to me and talked to me." (Swinomish; Wike 1941, p. 15).

"Comes the noise again just like a whirlwind, struck me on my back. I stopped and looked around. Funny, no wind or nothing. I walked again then. I seen lightning sparkle across the road. I just wondered, what was that? I looked up again, seen the stars. It couldn't be thunder. I went on the same and I was really hungry. Again it come, a little closer, whirled right across in front of me. It gave me chills through my body the second time it come. I kept a-walking. Finally the third time it come and got me, struck
me on the right side, shot right into me. I kind of staggered, dropped onto my knees, fell over. This man come to me then, (and said) 'I'm the spirit that your great-grandfather had'; a great tall old man with long hair like a woman." (Swinomish; Wike 1941, p. 18).

The spirit may be of immediate assistance, emotionally and materially, in situations of distress, as in the case of a deserted, deprived and depressed young Swinomish mother to whom the Deer Spirit restored hope and brought hunting luck:

"One day after I ate lunch I lay in bed, 'Well, what is life? If I should only die I wouldn't have to worry about my little ones. But poor little ones they need me.' Then that night I dreamed. I saw the little deer in my dream. I almost loved that little thing when I saw it. It said 'You are going to walk down this morning and carry a gun and you are going to meet me.'" (Spirit then supplied psychic support together with material provisions for the family, Wike 1941, p. 16).

After successful completion of the spirit quest the general pattern was to claim amnesia for, or at least to not reveal, details of the spirit encounter and of the powers obtained from the supernatural guardians until one was seized, perhaps years later, by the seasonal spirit sickness when the spirit song had to be "brought out" in either the spirit singing (Plateau) or the winter spirit dance ceremonials (Coast Salish).

The Twana present a prototypical example of the Southern Coast Salish guardian spirit complex (Elmendorf 1960). The guardian spirits, acquired in a vision quest, are later recalled and controlled during the winter dance season in a fixed sequence: the spirits return early in winter, manifesting themselves by the spirit illness (see below) which, when first afflicting a person several years after his spirit vision,
has to be diagnosed by a shaman. From then on, the spirit returns annually to its human owner and is ceremonially exhibited during each dancing season. Seasonal possession upon return of the much earlier acquired spirit at maturity was also the pattern among three Interior Salish groups of the Plateau (Okanagan, Sanpoil, and Kalispel) and required shamanistic intervention to establish a relationship beneficial to the owner (Ray 1939). However, spirit power might prove even too strong for a shaman to handle, as in the case of the officiating ritualist who collapsed in a possession state during an Okanagan Winter Dance (Lerman 1954). In the Upper Fraser Valley, the traditional ways of acquiring the spirit song (ši'wəł) -- the individual guardian spirit power received by most of the Upper Stalo Indians -- were (Duff 1952): (1) spirit song acquisition in a spontaneous seizure-like dream or vision experience; (2) acquisition in a fit induced by actions of older dancers; (3) song heard in an ordinary dream; (4) song heard emanating from natural objects. Spirit song acquisition of types (1) and (2) occurred only during the winter dancing time, while types (3) and (4) were not restricted to any season. The Musqueam in the Lower Fraser area (Kew 1970) also knew, and know, the alternative forms of spirit acquisition either through individual quest or through actions performed by other qualified spirit owners. The spiritual force (sya'wən) resides within the individual and is manifested in a "state of trance and seizure". The spirit-song, conferred in the first encounter with
the supernatural, has to be sung every year during the ceremonial season. Subsequent to its first manifestation, possession by *syaw'an* may be triggered by hearing sudden noises or the singing of others. The triggering effect of any kind of music during the winter dance period is familiar to the Swinomish of Puget Sound. Genuine trance states in traditional Swinomish spirit dancers are indicated by violent sobbing, fainting, acute fatigue, or mad frenzy potentially leading to accidents, symptoms resembling the clinical picture of hysteria (Wike 1941) especially with regard to the anaesthetic and analgesic phenomena. The possessed dancer's movements appear as "puppet-like" automaton movements even to a casual observer (Altman 1947). The immediacy of the possession experience is reflected in the accounts of the dancers:

"When you sing your breath starts shaking. After a while it goes into you. You try to sing, your jaws start to shake, then you sing it out, get over it. When I dance I don't act, just follow your power, just follow the way of your power."

"The spirit come right into me. Couldn't hold my breath, began to sing. When I dance the spirit is in me so strong. The song is going in my ear all the time. I'm not myself until it rises away from you, then it's clear....The spirit is so strong I can't stop." (Wike 1941, p. 13/14)

Among the Lummi Indians, all persons who acquired spirit songs from their tutelaries between puberty and middle age, became possessed and sang during the winter season (Suttles 1954). Of the Puyallup-Nisqually of Puget Sound, Smith (1940) reports that their newly possessed are in deep trance and appear like dead. Hill-Tout (1900, p. 488) observed that the Squamish spirit dancer is "practically in a hyp-
notic trance state...moved or prompted by self-suggestion or the mental suggestion of the waiting audience." However, experienced Salish spirit dancers learn to exercise some control over their spirits and to determine to a certain extent the time of possession (Wike 1941), which is, of course, not at all incompatible with an altered state of consciousness. Spirit power, especially in statu nascendi of the song, is held to be highly contagious (Barnett 1955; Kew 1970; Smith 1940; Stern 1934; Suttles 1963; Wike 1941).

Barnett (1955) has maintained that genuine possession was more common in the southern Coast Salish region, while in the North (Comox) it was either absent or pretended. That genuine possession states occurred among the Vancouver Island Salish, is confirmed by Lane's (1953) data on the Gowichan ("comatose" state of new dancers repossessed by their power, automatic singing and barking of the spirit dancers, etc.). Barnett's conclusion appears to be based on the fallacious assumption that the culturally conditioned expectation to enter into a trance state can only be complied with by conscious simulation:

"On the island, at least, performers of the winter ceremonials were supposed to be possessed by their spirits, and this...indicates the pretense and artificiality entering into many of the winter ceremonials." (Barnett 1955, p. 272).

Neuropsychological research has, however, long demonstrated the error of equating phenomena, brought about by collective suggestion, with "pretense and artificiality." An extreme but illustrative case in point is the phenomenon variously labelled voodoo death, thanatomania,
mort psychosomatique, or Vagus-Tod; namely, the lethal outcome of severe anxiety states, anticipated by the afflicted individual as well as by its group, and induced and reinforced by the collective suggestion of supernatural influences (cf. Ackerknecht 1943; Bilz 1966; Cannon 1942; Collomb 1965; Jilek-Aall 1964; Jilek and Jilek-Aall 1970; Lambo 1956; Mauss 1950).

C. Spirit Quest

We will now examine the Salish Indians' quest for guardian spirits as to the presence of conditions which play a major role in the production of altered states of consciousness.

Conditions of social isolation associated with prolonged nocturnal vigilance, expectant alertness, and monotony: The Thompson youth's practice extended over years which he spent periodically on lonely vigils in the mountains (Teit 1900), just as the Flathead had to keep vigil in desolate places (Teit 1930). Shuswap boys separated themselves for weeks of nocturnal seclusion in wild spots (Teit 1905). Vigils among the Lillooet might last up to one year (Ray 1939); the young seeker would go apart by himself into forest or mountains, trying to keep his mind abnormally active and expectant (Hill-Tout 1905a, 1905b). On the Plateau, visions tended to be hypnagogic or hypnopompic hallucinations, preceding actual sleep or following awakening (Ray 1939). Among the Coast Salish of B.C. it was the rule to go into the woods and stay alone in the wilderness (Barnett 1938). Comox seekers were expected to remain away until they were believed to be dead (Barnett 1955). Dozens of vigils in solitary places such as mountain tops
were held by Sanpoil boys (Ray 1932); while the young Quinault had to maintain vigilance for several days after long trips in the mountains, up creeks, or on the shore in search of a suitable place for his vision (Olson 1936). The Twana spirit seeker was sent out alone at night to remote locations (Elmendorf 1960) and the Swinomish had to walk by himself many miles through the forest (Wike 1941). Repetitive praying and singing propitiated the spirits (Teit 1900, 1930; Olson 1936). The seekers were advised to play solitary games all night such as going through the motions of playing lahah (e.g. Ray 1932).

Conditions of motor hyperactivity and mental excitation, associated with prolonged fear and emotional stress and followed by exhaustion and fatigue: Thompson Indians during their spirit training were often running all night until completely fatigued (Teit 1900). Shuswap novices leaped down mountain sides trying to keep up with rolling boulders (Teit 1905). The Lilkoet spirit seeker engaged in exhausting bodily exercises and tried to achieve a general exaltation of his senses, thereby inducing what Hill-Tout (1905a, 1905b) labelled "mystic dreams and visions in an enervated condition". The "highly sensitized mind" of a Coast Salish on spirit quest might, especially in a "weakened and feverish condition" react to any unusual occurrence in nature with semi-conscious imagery (Barnett 1955), in our terminology: an altered state of consciousness. Old Pierre of Katzie in the Lower Fraser Valley was worn out and weakened from his unrelenting quest at age ten; he fell to the ground exhausted and finally had his vision (Jenness 1955).
Swinomish tutelaries often appeared to people suffering from excessive fatigue or emotional shock, or to those in severe stress situations (Wike 1941). One young man of the Klallam obtained great power at the expense of enduring severe hardships; he lost blood, fainted, crawled home like a baby (Gunther 1927). We may well assume that nightly vigils in a spirit-haunted wilderness aroused intense fears in most youngsters. That such emotional agitation was intended by their mentors as conducive to spirit visions can be gathered from reports of Southern Coast Salish children being sent out on their quest in stormy weather and thunder-storms (Haeberlin 1930; Gunther 1927). They were also made to dive in presumably shark-infested waters, having to rely on sharp sticks of iron-wood for their defense (Haeberlin 1930).

Somatopsychological factors: Under the following headings are described techniques by which altered states of consciousness were achieved in the populations under consideration here. Such manoeuvres played an important catalytic or facilitating role in the learning of "spontaneous" dissociative states. Dissociation could later be entered into without resorting to the original somatopsychic induction methods. It may be mentioned here that hallucinogenic or narcotic drugs were not used in traditional Northwest Coast cultures.

(1) Sleep deprivation: This is implied in the extended vigils of most spirit quests, but is specifically mentioned by some authors (e.g. Barnett 1955, Olson 1936).
(2) Hypoglycemia due to abstention from food intake: fasting was required on all spirit quests. It was prolonged among the Interior Salish up to eight or ten days (Teit 1900, 1905, 1930; Hill-Tout 1905a, 1905b). The Coast Salish novice, too, was expected to fast or eat very little (Barnett 1936 and 1955). When "training" around ten or eleven years of age, Old Pierre of Katzie roamed the bush for three weeks without food intake, until aching with hunger. Nanaimo boys starved themselves to the extreme in order to induce hallucinations (Robinson 1963). In the Southern Coast Salish area fasting would be carried on for several days among the Quinault (Olson 1936); for a week by a Swinomish seeker living on alder leaves (Wike 1941); for two weeks by another Puget Sound candidate (Haeberlin 1930); as long as a Twana youth could stand it (Elmendorf 1960).

(3) Dehydration.

a) Dehydration due to abstention from fluid intake is specifically reported for the Thompson by Teit (1900), but was also part of the fasting regime in other Plateau groups.

b) Dehydration due to forced vomiting: Emetic, purgative and sudorific methods were employed on the quest besides bathing and cleansing in an all-out effort at purification designed to propitiate the spirits. Vomiting was induced either by mechanical means such as inserting sticks, willow or vine maple twigs, or feathers into the throat (Interior and Coast Salish groups; Teit 1900, 1905; Hill-Tout 1904, 1905a, 1905b; Jenness 1955) or by swallowing sea-water or herbal emetics (Canadian Coast Salish; Barnett 1938, 1955).
c) Dehydration due to purgation: the young Thompson and Shuswap youths used herbal laxatives such as decoctions of the soap-berry (sapindus saponaria) or berberry (berberis) bush to purge themselves (Teit 1900, 1905); devil's club (echinopanax horridus) was known to all Coast Salish as having laxative properties. (Jenness 1955)

d) Dehydration due to sweating: intensive sweating in sweat-lodges, often accompanied by monotonous singing and praying, was a very wide-spread ingredient of the spirit quest (e.g. Teit 1900; 1905; Hill-Tout 1904, 1905b; Duff 1952; Barnett 1955).

(4) Hypoxaemia due to hypoventilation in prolonged diving: an important procedure in Coast Salish spirit quest was diving, often to a state of exhaustion or unconsciousness in which a vision was received (Barnett 1938). Diving in whirlpools was practised by Twana novices (Elmendorf 1960) and the Sanpoil youth was admonished to stay under water as long as possible (Ray 1932). To obtain certain spirits a Snohomish boy had to dive into deep water carrying a heavy stone and would find himself lying on the beach when he regained consciousness (Haeberlin 1930). Nanaimo boys sometimes drowned when using the same method (Robinson 1963).

(5) Exposure to extreme temperatures: Bathing in ice-cold water was, and still is, an even more general feature of the Salish spirit quest than the exposure to the hot temperatures of the sweat-houses. At a very tender age, Old Pierre of Katzie bathed in icy pools all winter (Jenness 1955). A Quinault informant remembered how icicles formed in his hair during such purifying baths (Olson 1936).
(6) Self-inflicted pain stimuli: Self-tortures and scarifications, although not as prominent as on the plains, are recorded as belonging to the spirit quest of several Salish groups. There is a wide range from flagellation with nettles (Teit 1900) to cutting the finger-tips, piercing the legs, slashing the chest (Teit 1905), or lacing the body with knives (Hill-Tout 1904). The psychophysiological effect of self-inflicted pain is referred to by Barnett (1955) who writes of Coast Salish boys that they sometimes scarified their legs until feeling "light-footed and exhilarated".

D. Spirit Illness

We now have to consider references to a condition which is recorded for the entire spirit dance area, usually under the name of spirit- or power illness. This condition is in many respects analogous to Eliade's (1964) initiatory sickness associated with the "ecstatic initiation" of shamans. The phenomenology of initiatory sickness has been discussed elsewhere, using the example of ritualized inaugural procedures of healers in non-Western societies, and their Western equivalents; and the condition has been defined as a ritualized pathomorphic, i.e. illness-like, but not pathological state (Jilek 1971). The relevance of this definition for the seasonal spirit illness of the Salish Indians will be shown by ethnographic data. Spier (1930) already asserted that the illness accompanying the acquisition of power among the Klamath had a parallel in the Yurok shaman novice's "pain sickness", and Barnett (1955) compared the Yurok "doctor-making" dance with Salish winter dance
initiations. For most of the Coast Salish region, the advent of the winter season is heralded by the sickening of those who have acquired dancing power (Barnett 1955). They become anorectic, insomnic, distraught, weak and emaciated. According to Ray (1939) the incidence of "personal guardian spirit illness" among the Plateau groups of the Columbia River System indicates upriver influences from the Coast; in the Interior Salish region the condition is known only to the Wenatchi, Okanagan, and Sanpoil. The return of the personal tutelary at maturity is marked by "physical disturbance varying from a feeling of lonesomeness to a severe illness", and this affliction may recur seasonally as among the Wenatchi, or the Sanpoil whose "thinking about spirits" in winter resulted in a nostalgic despondency to be alleviated only by singing and dancing. When first appearing to a person, spirit sickness took on a more severe form with localized pains, and required the shaman's assistance: the spirit was removed, the new song was revealed to the patient through the mediating therapist, and the spirit then "blown" back to the novice, whereupon the latter gave an inaugural dance. Uninitiated participants occasionally became ill at dances and were diagnosed by the shaman as suffering from guardian spirit visitation (Ray 1932). In the southern Coast Salish province, the Twana (Elmendorf 1960) distinguished several guardian spirit-connected diseases, of which the "winter illness" was the spirit illness in the restricted sense of the term used here. The shaman's diagnosis was "you are being looked at by a vision-acquired spirit", or "being made sick by your power". For the cure of winter illness, several therapeutic measures were prescribed.
The patient had to sponsor a spirit dance with participation of invited guests; the therapist had to summon the guardian spirit who then possessed the patient, singing its song "from inside", and making him dance. The patient now demonstrated his spirit powers by singing, dancing, and ritual acts. Subsequent winter illnesses were diagnosed by the patient himself and required public exhibition of the spirit power by its owner in the dance ceremonial. In the Puget Sound area, Haeberlin (1930) found that a clear distinction was made between "physical illness" and the obligatory seasonal illness caused by the return of the *sklaletut* spirits at winter dance time in November. It was not necessary to consult a shaman as the patient was not considered to be "really ill"; he treated himself by singing his song and performing his dance. Among the Puyallup-Nisqually, disease due to the desire of a spirit power to demonstrate itself, was diagnosed by shamans but curable by the patient; the power could be that of the patient or that of a deceased relative. Weakness or ailment was the first sign of possession by "ceremonial power" which was to be displayed in the "power - or spirit-sing" (Smith 1940). Wike (1941) relates the case of an 18 year old Swinomish girl whose depressive mourning reaction with severe anxiety and conversion symptoms was not recognized by the U.S. Indian Health Service physician, but was diagnosed and "doctored" by her father, a shaman, as "power illness". The patient was cured by overcoming her acculturative resistance and finally manifesting her "warrior power" in spirit singing. She chose to become a "fine girl in the Old Indian Way", for which she was praised by the ancestors appearing in a dream. The alternative to becoming a spirit
singer, she knew, would have been death. Descriptive expressions such as "that sick man", "he is like crazy", or "I've been sick so many times with that tune", are used by the Swinomish when speaking of spirit illness (Wike 1941). As a rule, the older singers assist the novice without shamanic aid; they determine the nature of the spirit power by the new dancer's "sighs". Similarly, the Klallam of the Olympic Peninsula, when falling ill in winter through visits of their guardian spirits, do not call the shaman but invite their friends to help them sing and restore health by satisfying the spirits (Gunther 1927). "Power illness", relieved by publicly singing the songs received from potent spirits, was also identified by the Quinault (Olson 1936). In the 1950's, the Lummi Indians would still attribute chronic illness during winter time to possession by a spirit demanding the patient to sing its song as a new dancer; all owners of spirit songs were assumed to become possessed in winter and to suffer an illness treatable only by singing and dancing (Suttles 1954). We find analogous concepts of spirit illness in the Canadian sector of the Coast Salish province. In Curtis' (1913, p. 103) time, spirit illness among the Cowichan (Vancouver Island) always followed a previous vision experience:

"The recollection of a vision remains constantly in the mind, and after an indefinite length of time it becomes oppressive. The breath comes with great difficulty. It is then necessary for the parents of the sufferer to invite the people to their house for a dance, and if this were not done he would become really ill and would die."

Robinson (1963) enumerates symptoms of "power sickness" among the Nanaimo of Vancouver Island, caused by siawan -- possession: restlessness, fainting spells, uncontrollable crying, heavy breathing, sighing
and moaning. Lodging in the owner's chest, the power ascends to the throat in the beginning of the winter season, to "burst forth as sound, simultaneously taking possession of its owner and turning him into a manifestation of the power itself". The shaman's help is then sought to "bring out" the dance song through initiation procedures, or to "bury" the song temporarily in the patient's back until such time as initiation to spirit dancing might more conveniently be arranged. For some years the newly initiated dancer can expect difficulties in controlling his si'wan which may suddenly be aroused and again cause power illness if not quickly pacified by singing and dancing. The line of demarcation between conscious and unconscious motivation is quite thin, as evidenced by Robinson's (1963, p. 139) reference to the young girls who make an effort to obtain initiation prematurely. Seasonal lassitude, lack of appetite, chest pains, crying spells and "singing" during sleep are taken as symptoms of spirit illness by the neighbouring Cowichan Indians (Lane 1953). As with the Nanaimo, the shaman confirms the cause of the malaise and either prepares the afflicted for spirit dancing or "hides" the power in the patient's back, thereby only delaying spirit dance induction which eventually has to take place if the relapse into spirit sickness with its culturally expected lethal outcome is to be prevented. Sometimes a diagnostic error may occur and lead to the induction of a person without spirit power, suffering from some "ordinary sickness".

To the Musqueam near Vancouver, B.C. (Kew 1970), sya'wan power has the nature of a force in itself, very much like a contagious illness, curable only by "bringing out the sya'wan" in proper singing and dancing. "Getting
the *sya'wan* straight" by correct costume, song and dance, removes the symptoms of spirit illness which include feelings of weakness, unrest, spastic pains in thorax and back, even unconsciousness, and which may lead to death if manifestation of the power is not achieved. This is reported to have happened to an Upper Stalo woman who was in the city when surprised by her song; "she fought it off and they brought her home in a coffin" (Duff 1952, p. 107). Fainting as a cardinal symptom of seasonal spirit illness was mentioned by other Upper Stalo informants (Duff 1952). Power-sickness was given as the major reason for spirit dance initiation in Musqueam, and is seen as coming each fall down the Fraser River to Chilliwack, then turning southward to Lummi, from there to Musqueam and finally crossing over to Vancouver Island (Kew 1970). The power "seems to come from the East" as one of Duff's (1952) informants put it; it is perceived as spreading down the Fraser Valley to the Pacific Coast and to the Island like a seasonal epidemic. The Katzie of the Lower Fraser Valley (Jenness 1955) amalgamated the concept of spirit illness with that of "vitality-loss" manifested by depressive brooding, self-isolation, general debility; and attributed to the vitality leaving the patient's body and lingering at the guardian spirit's home. Shamanic dream analysis provided the diagnostic clues, and facial painting in accordance with the specific spirit dance pattern lured the vitality back. The patient, who immediately intoned the power-song given to him by the guardian spirit, was initiated as a dancer, whereupon the spirit restored his health. Old Pierre the famous Katzie medicine-man, was able to make the differential diagnosis between "real sickness" and *sia'wan* = sickness:
"Jack is not really ill. He has only lost his vitality. Some guardian spirit has it. He needs...an old dancer who has a powerful guardian spirit, to restore him to health."

"When we came to where Gus was lying, my uncle said: 'You had better chant one of your medicine songs and summon your medicine-power.' I felt Gus' stomach, however, and replied: 'No, I shall not chant for my medicine spirit, but for my dance spirit.'"

Old Pierre confirmed that spirit illness was fatal if not diagnosed and managed appropriately: "In recent years...several Indians have died, or nearly died, because their songs became confused and could not issue." (Jenness 1955; pp. 41, 48, 43). Of great interest is the history of a superficially acculturated Katzie woman raised in a Catholic convent and married to a white American, mother of highly educated children. This lady suffered from what appears to have been a post-menopausal depression with somatization, unsuccessfully treated and presumably misdiagnosed by medical specialists, but revealed to the discerning mind of Old Pierre as caused by cultural estrangement. Health was restored with Old Pierre's assistance when the patient exhibited the Thunder Spirit already possessed by her (unacculturated) uncle (Jenness 1955; p. 59).

E. Spirit Dance Initiation

If guardian spirit possession is, as we have seen, conceived of as causing an illness curable only by spirit dancing, then Suttles (1963, p. 519) is right in stating that "the initiation of a new dancer is a form of shamanistic treatment." Robinson (1963) speaks of the initiates as of "patients", "treated" by old dancers some of whom are
shamans. The initiation of a new spirit dancer is also, as Kew (1970) has termed it, a "classic rite de passage which marks a change in life status." To many contemporary Salish Indians it is still equivalent to death and rebirth. The neophyte does in reality pass through an altered state of consciousness and in the process he often actually suffers a temporary loss of consciousness as we ourselves observed during initiation ceremonies at local winter dances in the Upper Stalo region. In this context it should be remembered that both John Slocum, the (Salish) founder of the Shaker cult, and Smohalla, the (Sahaptin) prophet of the "Ghost Dance" religion, were legitimized in their mission by death and resurrection, i.e., by losing and regaining consciousness -- the one in an accident, the other in combat (cf. Mooney 1896; Barnett 1957).

Loss of consciousness during spirit dance initiation rituals is frequently reported in the ethnographic literature on Salish cultures. The initiate was "by any means possible rendered unconscious", he was "beaten, smothered and choked until he was unconscious" and said to be "paralyzed, dead" (Barnett 1955, p. 278; 1938, p. 137). Some 60 years ago, Curtis (1913, p. 104) was told of the winter dance initiation procedure of the Cowichan on Vancouver Island:

"A number of men; usually five; who at some previous time have passed through what the young man is now to experience, dance backward in a line, and then forward toward the young man, each one blowing into his face as they approach him, and making motions at his face with sticks. After a while he becomes unconscious and rigid. The dance ceases, and the parents put

3. The kind of "little death", a collapse phenomenon seen by the neuro-psychiatrist Sargant (1967) during initiatory procedures in Africa, which reminded him of abreactive techniques in psychiatry.
the young man to bed, where he remains as long as three or four days, still unconscious."

Unconsciousness or fainting of spirit dance novices is also mentioned by Duff (1952), Hill-Tout (1900), Jenness (1955), Lane (1953), Robinson (1963), Stern (1934) and Wike (1941).

As before in the case of the guardian spirit-vision-quest, we now have to consider the forces at work in the production of altered states of consciousness during spirit dance initiations. Above all, we must not overlook one force, never mentioned but ever-present at the ceremonials, namely that of culturally conditioned collective suggestion. The meaning of culturally conditioned collective suggestion in the context of therapy is best characterized by quoting Leighton (1968, p. 1177):

"Every individual is prepared during the course of his life by a set of expectancies regarding illness and treatment which are part of his culture. These are inculcated long before his own condition as a patient comes about. They are heightened, however, as he approaches being a patient and increase the suggestive power of many of the experiences he undergoes."

Collective suggestion is built into any effective psychotherapy anywhere as an important prerequisite for the success of individual treatment procedures which are largely specific to culture area, historical period, and prevailing ideology: an agnostic rationalist is not likely to be cured when shipped to Lourdes, nor a Pavlovian when placed on a psychoanalyst's conch. By the same token, our local Salish Indians would not expect urban middle-class Whites to catch spirit illness and to be genuinely possessed even after repeated exposure to the spectacle
of spirit dancing. However, to the average young Indian person of the Upper Stalo region it is still reality that old dancers and Indian Doctors can make him dance and sing whether he wants it or not, for their paraphernalia hold dancer's power and if they hit him with the cane or rattle he will faint or "die" to be resurrected as a dancer, the ritual "workers" never fail to produce the intended effect (cf. Duff 1952; Jenness 1955). This omnipresent collective suggestion is the background against which the conditions operant in the production of altered states of consciousness in spirit dance initiates have to be seen.

The following categorization of ethnographic observations is based on neuropsychological findings (cf. Ludwig 1968) and includes conditions of increased exteroceptive stimulation and motor hyperactivity, alternating with those of reduced exteroceptive stimulation and motor hypoactivity, both associated with somato-psychological factors.

(1) **Psychic shock**: "grabbing" or "clubbing", the first act of initiation, consists of a surprise attack on the prospective new dancer. He is, at least in theory, not apprized of his fate, but at an unexpected moment seized by husky ritualist-aides with blackened faces who rush at him and lift him up helplessly, whereupon he expects to be "clubbed" with the power-filled cane or rattle of the officiating ritualist or Indian Doctor, possibly to be manhandled, or even thrown into ice-cold water (cf. Barnett 1938, 1955; Duff 1952; Kew 1970; Lane 1953; Stern 1934).

(2) **Seclusion and restricted mobility**: the initiation period proper lasts 4 to 5 days in the Canadian Coast Salish area (cf. Barnett
1938, 1955; Duff 1952; Jenness 1955; Kew 1970; Lane 1953; Robinson 1963), up to 8 days in some Puget Sound groups (Wike 1941). During much of this time the initiate is secluded in a compartment or cubicle, guarded by his attendants and kept inactive; except for bouts of physical exertion he has to lie still and avoid body movements (Barnett 1955; Lane 1953).

(3) **Forced hypermotility**: the initiate is sent on a "run" to disappear into the woods accompanied by attendant(s). He trots through the bush for hours until exhausted and "half-crazed" (Jenness 1955). This "run" may last for the whole day and include swimming and diving (Barnett 1955), it may be repeated on four consecutive mornings as among the Swinomish (Wike 1941); in modern times it may be substituted by a chase round the longhouse (Kew 1970). During the "run" the neophyte may obtain his new song (Duff 1952).

(4) **Visual-sensory deprivation**: the novice is blindfolded with a dark kerchief (Kew 1970), a protective device against the harmful glances of menstruating women (Lane 1953). In his cubicle he is also totally covered with blankets (Barnett 1955; Kew 1970).

(5) **Sleep deprivation**: the candidate sleeps very little for several days during the initiation period (Haeberlin 1930).

(6) **Kinetic stimulation**: the "grabbed" initiate is held horizontally at chest height by the helpers, often thrown up in the air, and

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4. Cf., C.G. Jung's comment on this archetype: "Das Verschwinden und Verstecken im Wald...deutet auf Tod und Wiedergeburt" ("Disappearing and hiding in the woods...points to death and rebirth", Jung 1952, p. 411).

(7) **Acoustic stimulation**: the initiating "workers" chant and pray loudly (Jenness 1955), make stereotyped sounds, sing their songs for hours (Kew 1970) or even days (Barnett 1955), continuously shaking their deer hoof rattles or beating their sticks (cf. Barnett 1955; Jenness 1955; Kew 1970; Wike 1941). The monotonous beating of cedar boards at Squamish dances sent the dancers into "hypnotic trances" (Hill-Tout 1900).

Rhythmic drumming is of paramount importance in Coast Salish winter ceremonials, and the loud beating of rapid rhythms on dozens of deer-hide drums, some quite close to the novice, is a characteristic feature of spirit dance initiations (cf. Barnett 1938, 1955; Duff 1952; Jenness 1955; Kew 1970; Wike 1941).

(8) **Algetic stimulation**: The novice is beaten (Barnett 1938, 1955), hit with the ceremonial deer hoof cane or rattle on stomach or head (Duff 1952); he is bitten on the exposed chest and abdomen (Kew 1970), or even poked there with hot staffs to force out his song (Lane 1953).

(9) **Temperature stimulation**: (a) Cold: New dancers are made to bathe in wintry rivers, pools, or in the sea every morning (cf. Jenness 1955; Kew 1970; Wike 1941). During the initiation ceremony they are unexpectedly showered with cold water and this hydrotherapeutic shock drives them into a frenzy (Jenness 1955) and brings out the anticipated involuntary cry (Kew 1970). (b) Heat: the novice has to lie
covered with blankets from head to feet, he is "roasted" and "overheated" (Barnett 1955, p. 278).

(10) **Asphyxiation:** the candidate is subjected to suffocating treatment; he may be held under water, or several old dancers may exhale their breath, i.e. their power, into his mouth (Barnett 1955); until he "blackens out" and then experiences a vision -- a "fool-proof" but expensive method to obtain spirit power among the Nanaimo (Robinson 1963, p. 123). However, the blowing of power unto the novice in spirit dance initiation is foremost an act of symbolic significance and does not, as a rule, involve the breathing of exhaled air.

(11) **Dehydration:** throughout the initiation period, i.e. for at least 4 to 5 days, neophytes are allowed to drink only a minimum (cf. Barnett 1955; Duff 1952; Jenness 1955; Kew 1970; Wike 1941). They have to suck water through bone tubes or hollow branches -- today also through glass or plastic tubes tied around their neck -- while at the same time perspiring heavily when dancing or running. A Sanpoil initiate was not permitted to take any fluid at all during the 4-night period of his inaugural dance (Ray 1932).

(12) **Hypoglycemia** due to fasting: total abstention from food intake for 4 to 5 days is customary in many Salish spirit dance initiations (cf. Barnett 1955; Haeberlin 1930; Jenness 1955; Kew 1970; Ray 1932; Wike 1941). The neophytes' subjection to this strict fasting is Hill-Tout's (1900) explanation for the ease with which they pass into "hypnotic" states. The regime of mortification is rendered more difficult to tolerate by manoeuvres and prescriptions which have a frustrating
effect on the initiate: bits of food, when finally placed in his mouth after repeated faints, have to be spit out (Jenness 1955; Kew 1970); water is handed to him in leaking containers and taken away again before he can quench his thirst (Duff 1952).
VI

CONTEMPORARY SPIRIT ILLNESS AND ANOMIC DEPRESSION

A. Note on Anomie and Relative Deprivation

The concept of anomie, introduced in 1897 by Durkheim in its original form, has found a classical interpretation by Talcott Parsons:

"Not merely contractual relations, but stable social relations in general, and even the personal equilibrium of the members of a social group are seen to be dependent on the existence of a normative structure in relation to conduct, generally accepted as having moral authority by the members of the community, and upon their effective subordination to these norms... When this controlling normative structure is upset and disorganized, individual conduct is equally disorganized and chaotic.... Anomie is precisely this state of disorganization where the hold of norms over individual conduct has broken down" (Parsons 1949, p. 377).

"The polar antithesis of full institutionalization is, however, anomie... the complete breakdown of normative order in both senses" (Parsons 1951, p. 39).

Durkheim's concept of anomie as absence of societal norms was widened by Merton (1938) to include a pre-stage: the lack of coordination of the means -- and -- goals phases of the social structure, finally leading to "cultural chaos or anomie". He viewed such a "dissociation between culturally defined aspirations and socially structured means" as generating both social and psychic pathology. It is hardly coincidental that analogous conclusions were drawn in the field of psychopathology by Horney (1937). Both the sociologist and the psychiatrist made their observations in North America where, as Merton (1938, p. 680) put it:
"...the channels of vertical mobility are closed or narrowed in a society which places a high premium on economic affluence and social ascent for all its members...The same body of success-symbols is held to be desirable for all. These goals are held to transcend class lines, not to be bounded by them, yet the actual social organization is such that there exist class differentials in the accessibility of these common success-symbols. Frustration and thwarted aspiration lead to the search for avenues of escape from a culturally induced intolerable situation; or unrelieved ambition may eventuate in illicit attempts to acquire the dominant values. The American stress on pecuniary success and ambitiousness for all thus invites exaggerated anxieties, hostilities, neuroses and antisocial behaviour."

It appears permissible to conclude on the basis of Merton's formulations, that individuals who realize that the goal of material success and affluence, widely advertised and emphasized as universally attainable in the society they live in, is actually beyond their reach by the means sanctioned in this very society, suffer from what Aberle (1966, pp. 322-329) has termed relative deprivation: "a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectation and actuality, or between legitimate expectation and anticipated actuality, or both." If the members of a culturally or racially defined minority group within the larger society, are encouraged to legitimately expect this to be a "Just Society" with equally good opportunities for everybody regardless of his racial or cultural properties, but in actuality perceive themselves as disadvantaged because of these properties, then this whole group will suffer from relative deprivation, which, as Aberle points out, is "measured by a comparison of the actual or expected condition of an individual or a group with his, or its, legitimate expectations."

Aberle stresses that relative deprivation is a "social and cultural
phenomenon". However, insofar as individuals react to this phenomenon, it has important psychological correlates just as Durkheim's absence of a normative structure and Merton's means-goals disjunction have.

In over 10 years of psychiatric epidemiological investigation in the Stirling County Study, the Leighton's (1963) and their multi-disciplinary team have found a significant association of psychiatric symptom formation with sociocultural disintegration. Of relevance to our discussion is that the research findings suggested to them a prominent role of the following mechanisms by which sociocultural disintegration fosters psychopathology:

a) "by interfering with the achievement of socially valued ends by legitimate means";

b) "by interfering with the individual's sense of membership in a moral order";

also, although less pronounced:

c) "by interfering with a person's orientation regarding his place in society"; and

d) "by interfering with a person's membership in a definite human group".

Among the indicators of sociocultural disorganization found to be of relevance to the established higher prevalence of psychiatric disorder in disintegrated communities, were secularization and cultural confusion, which both refer to Durkheim's concept of anomie: Cultural

1. For the indicator-definitions of sociocultural disintegration see Leighton et al. (1963), pp. 369-389.
confusion was defined as "weakening of norms derived from membership in a particular cultural group when the members of this group are brought into close contact with the contrasting norms of a different cultural group and are unable to integrate the two sets" (op. cit., p. 387). Here we should be reminded that "contacts between groups of radically different culture often involve deprivation for some or many members of one of these groups" (Aberle 1966, p. 326).

B. Anomic Depression as Important Background Phenomenon of Contemporary Spirit Illness

In this section we shall try to demonstrate how, in the population under discussion, experiences of cultural confusion and relative deprivation precipitate the psychic state we propose to call anomic depression. Anomic depression is a chronic dysphoric state characterized by feelings of existential frustration, discouragement, defeat, lowered self-esteem and sometimes moral disorientation. This state is often the basis of the specific psychic and psychophysiologic symptom-formation manifested by contemporary sufferers from spirit illness who turn to spirit dancing for genuinely therapeutic reasons.

The reader familiar with ethnographic literature will wonder why anomic depression should be given such a prominent place in a discussion of Coast Salish spirit illness. It would indeed be difficult to find in the older ethnographic reports anything like spirit illness with depressive symptoms in the context of cultural and social deprivation. To be sure, the signs of spirit illness were always expressive
of distress and suffering. Nevertheless, it was the essence of traditional spirit illness that such sufferings were actually a reward, anticipated by those who had previously sought spirit power individually; and the so-called illness was not more than the strictly seasonal, highly stereotyped pathomorphic prelude to the public exhibition of this power in the dance ceremonial. This is the impression conveyed to us by the earlier ethnographers. However, in more recent reports we occasionally read case descriptions which would fit into our category of anomic depression. There is, e.g. Wike's (1941, vide supra) story of the depressed girl who, through spirit singing, found back to the "Old Indian Way"; or the cure through spirit dancing of the melancholic lady who had become estranged from her Indian culture, related by Jenness (1955, vide supra). This is the type of case history which we often encountered in our own investigations in the Upper Stalo region and which caused us to consult the literature on the anomie -- question and to formulate our concept of anomic depression.

The following samples of Indian statements will illustrate the character of anomic depression:

"The non-Indian might have pain, but there generally seems to be a time when it lets up. But in our people, it's been a continuous pain, it's a continuous painful existence for the Indian...many of them say I don't belong anywhere, where am I going, what is my purpose? I'm existing, that's all. I suffered it myself, it's right in the stomach, it's plain confusion...It is painful to not feel worth and belonging, the Indian person grows up most of his life with nothing, but he sees the White men around him have so much that he would like to have. After a while the Indians quit wanting anything, they give up hope...to want is wrong, so they use alcohol, but it's depression..." (L.S.)
"The main reason for depression among Indians is loneliness, no more togetherness, and bitterness that they took away our land and our culture....The people should have a better life for what they have had to sacrifice in this country, this is one of the biggest reasons of why people are so bitter.... Most young people have no idea of their background and language, they go home to their little old shacks and half the time they're intoxicated, so they lose all their pride.... My sons have always complained to me that they are the underdogs, no matter where they go they feel they are discriminated, the only way they can be happy is in an Indian life (i.e., spirit dancing)....I guess they (new dancers) were depressed because they were bored by the sort of life they had." (Y.I.)

"If I had kept up with my Indian ways I could have accepted things better than I do now....I can't seem to accept myself....I myself as a child looked down on anything like the Indian way, it came from the teaching that was put into me...it really began when I was working out and the people looked down at me because I was an Indian...but I kept on being my quiet little self not showing anything almost as if I was saying please be nice to me....I have had so much hate in me, after a while I do not even know what the hate is about....It was against the Church to believe in the Indian and to do these things (spirit dancing)....I went to the priest yesterday, and felt good, but after a little while I was so sick again." (N.B.)

"I got integrated into white society, away from the reserve. I was put in a place that I really wanted, but in order to get it I had to leave my people. I can't go back to my people's place, they call me down, but I don't think I am better than they are....I think I want to be an Indian dancer because I am so lonely....I often dream I am getting clubbed I can't sleep and I sweat, I get up 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning and there is this pain in there, it makes me want to cry, I feel it right in my stomach. This thing comes on through the sorrow that you've built up inside you, it makes you want to holler. If I go to be an Indian dancer, they won't have to club me, it's šiwil' (supernatural power) as they call it in Indian." (D.O.)

"I was Indian before I went away from home to go to residential school, and there they punished me for talking Indian. When they beat that Indian spirit out of me, my whole body went to sleep, I got paralyzed, laid helpless. One of the doctors in the medical profession took me to an Indian doctor, and by gosh, the feelings came back to my legs....I"
hated that Indian language...when I came back my grandmother wanted to pick up where she left off, but I got mad and said I'm a White man now, don't bother me with that Indian...they'd knocked that Indian out of me and put the White man's way of life there, but it didn't do me any good....I was already singing when I was 17, it was all there, but then I said this: nobody is going to see me jumping up and down like an old monkey (i.e., spirit dancing) -- that's what I thought of my own people. But then I was sick for seven years, my face just dead color as you see a person laying in the coffin, no life in me 'cause I was not eating....I wanted to be a White man, was ashamed that I was Indian, I had that low down feeling in me. It took me 7 years to wake up to that I was Indian...all they had to do was to sing and drum for me as soon as I say I was well...if it wasn't that I woke up in time to the fact that I was Indian I'd be dead now, 'cause there is a time when it is too late." (Prominent ritualist)

Most of the case histories obtained on severe spirit illness reveal the following pattern, which may be called the psychodynamics of anomic depression: a) acculturation imposed through western education; b) attempt at White identification ("identification with the aggressor" in psychoanalytic terms), or vying for acceptance by Whites; c) subjective experience of rejection and discrimination -- awareness of relative deprivation in White society; d) cultural identity confusion; e) moral disorientation, often with acting-out behaviour; f) guilt about denial of Indian-ness -- depressive and psychophysiologic symptom formation -- inefficiency of Western remedies; g) diagnosis as spirit illness permitting reidentification with aboriginal culture via initiation into spirit dancing ("death and rebirth"); h) alternatively, if initiation prevented by outside factors, ongoing symptom formation, often with intrafamily conflict.
C. The Symptomatology of Contemporary Spirit Illness

The symptoms of spirit illness, as elicited from our informants, resemble those of neurotic depressions in Western cultures. They include anorexia, insomnia, apathy alternating with restlessness; dysphoric moods with crying spells and nostalgic despondency, somatisations such as pain in abdomen, chest or back, sometimes also conversion reactions (psychogenic paralyses and fainting spells). When occurring during the ceremonial season, any of these symptoms may be attributed to sya'wan possession. There are other signs which we found to be of diagnostic significance, and these will be discussed below.

In the foreground of the syndrome and generally emphasized is the melancholia aspect of spirit illness. The depressive reaction appears often to be triggered or aggravated by mourning, or by memories of deceased ancestors and other old-timers, or of the Indian past which in retrospect appears as a Golden Age. Nostalgic and melancholic ruminations of this type preoccupy the patient's mind more and more as spirit illness progresses. A few quotations from case histories suffice to demonstrate this:

"When we bring back the names of our old people we start to cry...." (Ritualist at post-initiation ceremonial)

"I started going into moods of crying...here am I now in this world and there on that side is people that have gone a long time ago and it is so sad, and I am in between, sometimes I am here and sometimes over there." (N.B.)

2. E.g., "The Indian used to be a different kind of a person, he lived in a Garden of Eden here...." (Y.I.)
"I lost my first child, that's the first time I sang...most of the songs are sorrow...Some Catholic women said that sya'wan, that's the devil's -- but when there is a death in their family and they're crying, invariably they start to sing...." (L.S.)

"Sadness and sorrow is the very beginning of sya'wan-illness." (E.S.)

"You get nervous, you can no longer laugh, it's said, it's a sad thing....You are always afraid of something." (C.L.)

"When my aunt died I was feeling so bad that I did not go to her funeral up the lake...my mother used to tell me 'when somebody of our people dies you got to be there and try to help', now I blame myself...that's when it started real bad." (D.O.)

"I come here tonight with a troubled mind....Sleep is something I have departed from in the last weeks. I expect I will need more help than I ever wanted all my life...today my life is going to ruin me, I am going through hell. Why did this happen to me? Death is not far away....I know two people, the most happy people I know. Pow-wow, that is the life these two people lead...." (Prospective dancer two months before initiation, addressing A.A. meeting)

Symptoms peculiar to spirit illness as manifested today, i.e. symptoms of culture-specific and pathognomic significance, are:

a) singing and "hollering" in sleep:

"I was heard to be singing in my sleep all the time...like these people (hospitalized Indian patients) they were hollering, as soon as they laid down to go to sleep they'd start singing." (E.S.)

"She started singing in her sleep when she was 16, her father used to have to wake her up because she'd holler and cry -- she dreamt about her song." (G.N.)

"When I first came to the hospital, I felt like singing but I could not...I sang the song quietly to myself that helped me to get rid of the pain, a pressure in the chest...they say I sang in sleep." (R.L.)
b) hallucinatory or illusional perceptions of a psychogenic (non-schizophrenic) type and of culture-specific content; such as visions of guardian spirits, deceased dancers, ceremonial paraphernalia and acts; hearing of spirit songs:

"What's known as Sasquatch, I'd seen him around all the time, he was talking English to me....I wouldn't tell anybody, they'd think I am losing my mind." (E.S.)

"When I was out hunting and I saw the deer it seemed to change, it seemed to watch me and it was like winter dance spirit....I got scared....I hear that song when I listen to the wind and to the waterfall. Once I went right underneath the waterfall and I cried, I wanted to be relieved by dancing." (D.O.)

"I started hearing this Indian song in jail, so I sang it too. It was a very, sad song, I cried... I could hear them in the hospital, too, all old songs and they were all so sad ....the pipes from the laundry, they were making a noise, all day and all night on, songs going through my head because of it. I feel so bad when I hear the song, but when I sing it I feel better...sometimes I see food coming towards my mouth, it is so real that I open my mouth to bite (i.e., as if fed during initiation) it means something the Indian way, a bad sign of serious illness." (N.B.)

c) Another quite typical finding is that of dyspnea with sighing respiration. This has also been described in some severe depressions of Europeans and White Americans (cf. Burns 1971; Ayd 1961). Its frequent occurrence in contemporary spirit illness underlines the depression-like character of this condition. A culture-specific explanation for this symptom is the supernaturally caused lack of air around the patient afflicted by spirit illness:

"Mostly there's no air. I'd catch myself gasping, trying to absorb more air, I would light a match and it would go out for lack of oxygen...there just wasn't any air." (Prominent ritualist)
This type of dyspnea is quite dramatic and often arouses the concern of those who observe it. One young Indian defendant and prospective spirit dancer started to "sigh" during a court procedure (Chilliwack 1971) and asked to be remanded on account of sickness -- his request was granted. In one of the patients with spirit illness, admitted to Chilliwack General Hospital, respiratory distress was so prominent that cardiac disease and congestive failure had been suspected, but was ruled out.

Today, the diagnosis of spirit illness is largely made per exclusionem: if physician and laboratory fail to elicit an underlying organic disorder, but also if medical attention affords no relief, the above-mentioned syndrome will be classified as "Indian sickness" or "sy'wən sickness". In other words, differential diagnosis between "ordinary illness" and spirit sickness is mainly based on negative physical findings, as is the "diagnosis" of psychiatric disorder by poor clinicians in Western medicine. This is recognized as a deficiency in diagnostic acumen by the ritualists themselves:

"The old-timers used to know when a person has got Indian sickness but us guys, we go by the medical doctor unless we hear them holler -- then we know he's got it. The only other way we know nowadays is when a medical doctor can't find nothing wrong with him." (L.O.)

Perhaps the most terse of modern definitions of spirit illness was given us by R.E.:

"What White doctors cannot cure and don't recognize, just give you b.s. talk or some aspirin for, that is very often spirit sickness. Only Indians get it, only Indian Doctors recognize it, but often the people themselves already know it."
True spirit sickness calls for initiation into spirit dancing. However, if there are valid reasons for postponing this necessary step, the Indian Doctor or ritualist can "work" on the afflicted to "set the power back", albeit not for a long time and not repeatedly (E.S., L.S.). Spirit illness may also be alleviated temporarily by leaving one's song in trust with an older family member (D.O.). But any attempt to take away the power in order to prevent the afflicted from spirit dancing, is made at the peril of the patient's life as the following story of an instant initiation tells:

"Dad brought her into the big smokehouse to Doctor Mac, he was a real strong Indian Doctor in Chehalis. Dad offered to pay $200.00 to take that Indian Power away from her, he didn't want her to become a dancer. Doctor Mac sat her down, put a blanket over her head, then took the blanket away and took her power out -- and she dropped, she just died right there, lay there stiff, really dead. Doctor Mac told my Dad 'That's the way she'll be all the time if you take that power out'. Dad said 'put it back there!' so Doctor Mac got a feather, stuck it in her hair and she just started to holler and sing; she rose and started to dance, and they put the uniform on her and the hat."3 (D.O.)

Spirit illness can be contracted through close contact with a powerful spirit dancer. This was to play a major role in the revival of spirit dancing in the Upper Stalo region: the first new dancer

3. The traditional garb of Coast Salish Spirit dancers is today only worn by newly initiated novices in the Upper Stalo region. It is still essentially the type of uniform depicted on Curtis' (1913, p. 74) photograph although the headdress is more often made of wool now than of human hair. An innovation are the colorful ribbons with the initiate's rebirth dates, e.g. "T. of Chehalis taken at LaConner Feb. 5, 1970". The authentic Spirit dance "uniform" is not displayed on non-ceremonial occasions, except for rare public performances such as that of Indian Dancers at the yearly Cultus Lake Festival which takes place every June when syø'wam has left.
to be initiated here is said to have fallen ill while assisting Chief Malloway. The young man's parents were taken by surprise, and later elaborated on these events in an interview with Mr. Lloyd Mackay of the local newspaper:

"Mr. Point indicated that two of their sons have already been initiated preparatory to being spirit dancers. He and his wife related the unusual experience involving the initiation of son Jeff. Jeff had been suffering acute depressions and would sometimes go into convulsions, said Mrs. Point. In addition he would sometimes break into a strange song. Doctors could find nothing wrong and they consulted with Chief Richard Malloway who suggested that the young man was trying to relate to his spirit. The Points took Jeff to Musqueam reserve near Vancouver where there is a longhouse. He entered the initiation procedure and when it was complete 'he was completely there'" (The Chilliwack Progress, July 8, 1970, p. 3B).

In general, spirit power is considered to be potentially contagious. Spirit sickness has been caught by laymen who volunteered to assist the workers in lifting up the novice during the initiation procedure (L.O.), or who "inadvertently" touched a dancer's "stick", headdress or other paraphernalia charged with spirit power.

Sensitive persons have shown symptoms of syawon possession when just attending a "pow-wow" (R.L.) where "all sorts of power is floating around" (R.U.), or even when only listening to old Indian songs at a social gathering in winter time (D.O.). We saw one Indian patient with acute anxiety and strange body sensations triggered by sitting on a new dancer's blanket at a ceremonial (N.L.). There is

4. tluxil or "tom-tom stick", ceremonial staff with supernatural properties, 'may call its owner home in an emergency (C.L.). Usually a carved staff decorated with individual designs, on top a human or animal head and deer hoof pendants.
also the belief that spirit illness may be actively transferred by
dancers who point their finger and "shoot spiritually" at vulner­
able spectators:

"They've done that to my son, he was watching the dances,
and he felt it right in the side, somebody pointed at
him...now he goes into tantrums like if you should become
a singer." (R.T.)

We conclude this chapter by making the following points
to clarify the concept of anomic depression:

1) The label anomic depression is introduced here not to suggest
the existence of a new clinical entity, but to denote a psychic,
psycho-physiologic and behavioural syndrome encountered in the
population under discussion; a syndrome which essentially cor­
responds to spirit illness as presenting today in the Upper
Stalo area.

2) The term depression is used to denote a cluster of symptoms
similar to that labelled neurotic or reactive depression in
the language of modern Western psychiatry. Our data on symptom
formation and behaviour prior to spirit dance initiation (vide
infra, pp. 89–94) suggest that candidates with predominantly
depressive-psychophysiologic and with predominantly aggressive­
antisocial manifestations are approximately equally represented.

5. No clear distinction can be made between reactive and neurotic
depression; cf. Bleuler 1960, p. 461, who uses the pertinent
term "psychoreactive disturbances" to distinguish conditions
of a reactive and neurotic type from cerebro-organic, somato­
psychic, and "endogenous" disorders.
However, in either of these two groups we find cases with both depressive and aggressive reactions, albeit with one of these two responses in the foreground of the picture. In establishing indications for spirit dance therapy, senior ritualists tend to consider both depressive and aggressive behaviour to be in the same category (vide infra, p. 86). In the context of anomic depression, these modes of behaviour may be conceived of as intrapunitive and extrapunitive reactions.

3) The term anomic denotes that the psychodynamics involved reflect the prominent influence of those social and cultural processes which were sketched in the note preceding this chapter. The syndrome of anomic depression is seen as a specific pattern of individual reactions to systemic and inter-systemic events.

4) Clinical experience and research data convey the impression that in the Upper Stalo population the symptom formation denoted by the term anomic depression, is closely related to the individual's subjective experience of what was defined above as anomie, relative deprivation, and cultural confusion. Sample quotations (pp. 58-63) illustrate how these socio-cultural phenomena are experienced by Coast Salish Indians.

5) Credit for having discovered the relevance of these socio-cultural phenomena to the syndrome of anomic depression among Coast Salish Indians is not due to this author, but to the Salish ritualists of our day who recognize the need for a culture-congenial therapy -- the revived spirit dance ceremonial -- to combat the
pathogenic effects of cultural confusion, anomie, and relative deprivation among their people.
VII
THE THERAPEUTIC PROCESS OF CONTEMPORARY
SPIRIT DANCE INITIATION

A. Death and Rebirth -- The Therapeutic Myth

The death-and-rebirth myth is the central theme of the collective suggestions surrounding the Spirit dance initiation. In the view of contemporary Salish ritualists, the gift of obtaining power, and of healing through power, was universal to all Indians in the distant past as part of their "Indian ways", but has been lost by most of them today as a result of their emulation of the White man, who, by definition, lacks this "Indian power". The genuine shamanic healing power was a divine compensation for the technological assets of White civilization:

"The Indian was so strong in the old days, just about every old man and every old woman was an Indian Doctor in them days, they were a powerful people. God did not overlook the Indians because he gave them a few words and he blessed their hands whereby they can overcome sickness with words and if not, they can take it away. This was the power the Indian had." (E.S.)

In times still remembered by the oldtimers, shamanic power was concentrated in the Indian Doctors whose feats are still recounted to the young initiates as part of sya'wan lore. The senior ritualists prefer to be called "Indian leaders" or "elders" and make no claim to the title of Indian Doctor (E.S., L.O., C.L.). They are "looked upon by other Indians as leaders that are doing treatments" (Y.I.). If questioned, they will state that "true Indian Doctors" are no longer
active in the Coast Salish area, with the possible exception of Mr. Isidor Tom of Lummi. However, among the local Indian population, ritualists are widely referred to as Indian Doctors, or are at least assumed to possess "doctoring power" to an extent that it would be presumptuous to compete with them, e.g., at the _lahal_ game:

"They have a powerful mind, it's no use playing when them Indian Doctors are there...they just look at you and read what side you got it on right now and that's it...that's not just guessing, this is knowing, you see, you can't fool them." (L.T.)

In contemporary _syə'wan_ theory, as taught by the ritualists, it is _syə'wan_ which acts through the initiator on the initiate, and it is _syə'wan_, not the initiator, which cures the novice, burying his ailments and conflicts together with his old personality and at the same time giving him rebirth into a new life:

"We came to help put him into _syə'wan_, to take his life, make a better life for himself. So you see my dear ones that's what this can do to a man or woman when you are sick with this _syə'wan_, the help you can get, it can stand you right up and make you walk again. This _syə'wan_ it does work, it does save lives where the doctors and hospitals have given up...you come into _syə'wan_ and your life is saved!" (Senior ritualist at initiation ceremony)

The initiator here is a healer by the power of _syə'wan_ — just as in Christian tradition the physician is a healer only by the power of God. As such an instrument of _syə'wan_ the initiating ritu-

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1. The traditional Christian theory of the physician's healing power has found a classical expression in the words of the great Paracelsus (1537, p. 172): "On got wird nichts...darumb so muss der arzt seine principia in selben auch nemen und on in ist er nichts als ein pseudomedicus und ein errant eins fliegenden geists" (Nothing will be achieved without God...therefore the physician must take the essential elements of his art from God, and without Him he is nothing but a fake doctor and the errant of a flighty mind).
alist is empowered to "club to death" the initiate's faulty and diseased old self, to let him awaken with a new potential for total change, and to guide him on the path of Indian tradition through the teachings of his elders. The "new born" initiate is not only called "baby" and "helpless", he is also treated as such: bathed, later fed and dressed, constantly attended and guarded by "babysitters". Regression to a state of complete infantile dependency is at first imposed on the initiate who in the quasi-uterine shelter of the dark longhouse cubicle, hatches his power, prepared to grow with it into a more rewarding and healthier existence. Henceforth, he will count his spiritual age from the day his initiation started. The general belief in death and rebirth through sya'wan is reinforced by comments like these:

"I'll tell you what happened to one of my daughters. We clubbed her last winter, she for a fact died, there was no movement in her body, not even a breath, she was stiff as a board. When the spirit came in, it had to change her body, her life, everything changed...some people were calling for a doctor from the town, just lack of knowledge of taking care of one that finally travels to the land of sya'wan... she came back, when she opened up she sang her song." (E.S.)

"They (initiators) kill you as an evil person, they revive you to a new human being, that's why when they club you, you just go and pass out, but you come back...there is not to be evil thinking after they're through with you, all you think is I'm starting life all over again." (L.T.)

"It does change your life, just like a rebirth, you feel completely changed, your mind changes, your ways change... I was only one month old just now." (Initiate, "grabbed", one month previously.)

"You call a new dancer a baby because he is starting out his life again, they also call him a baby because he is helpless. As a rule we bath the baby....You have a funny
feeling (as initiate), that's the way they treated you like a newborn. The way they explain this is that you die and wake up to a new life." (L.O.)

"Our young brother stood up to spread his feathers, when he came into syəwən he received a new life, these are our young brother's first steps in his new life." (Ritualist at initiation ceremonial)

B. Personality Depatterning and Reorientation

The techniques employed today in Spirit dance initiations in the Upper Stalo region are patterned after traditional models provided by the littoral Salish tribes whose ritualists were instrumental in reviving Spirit dancing in the region. In the whole process of initiation, three major therapeutic approaches can be discerned: 1) depatterning through shock treatments; followed by 2) physical training with 3) indoctrination.

The candidate is kept in the longhouse, secluded in a dark cubicle or "smokehouse tent" for a period of usually 10 days, which in a few privileged cases may be reduced to 4 days but which may also be prolonged for several weeks, or even for the whole season. The length of this seclusion, which after 4 days of passive endurance is interrupted by frequent strenuous exercises, varies with candidates and ritualists. It seems to depend mainly on the novice's motivation and his -- unconscious or conscious -- cooperation in "finding his song and dance" which is the professed purpose of the initiation process. The principal therapeutic functions of this process -- personality depatterning and reorientation -- are not unknown to the ritualists. In the words of a senior participant:
"It is an Indian treatment, it is a kind of brainwashing, four to ten days of torture. Through this torture they soften up, their brain gets soft. During that time you're the weakest and your brain is back to nil, anything you're taught during those 10 days is going to stick with you, you'll never forget it. There is always someone with you during that time, always telling you to change your life. This is when you're taught all rules of your culture...the harder the torture the stronger you get." (Y.I.)

Personality depatterning starts with an initial shock treatment known as the "clubbing", "grabbing" or "doctoring up" of the candidate, aiming at rapid induction of an altered state of consciousness, often via temporary loss of consciousness. In the cases we witnessed this was the result of a repeated and prolonged treatment which included (a) sudden bodily seizure of the allegedly unexpecting candidate; (b) immobilization of his limbs by physical restraint; (c) blindfolding; (d) hitting, biting and tickling of exposed body parts (abdomen, sides, foot soles) while the candidate was at the same time subjected to (e) kinetic stimulation -- uplifted and lowered, hurriedly carried around the longhouse; whirled about and swayed -- and to (f) intensive acoustic stimulation -- loud drumming and rattling in rapid rhythms, singing and howling close to his ears. This treatment is administered by two teams of eight "workers" taking turns "working" on the candidate under the supervision of the senior ritualist who signals orders by shaking his ceremonial staff. This "grabbing" procedure is repeated at least four times, each time the workers complete four circles around the longhouse hall with their candidate, whose moaning cries become progressively weaker until he appears lifeless, pale and rigid when finally bedded in the cubicle.
When the black-painted ceremonial workers seize him, the candidate is touched or "marked" (E.S.) with a wooden hammer or a ceremonial staff wielded by the ritualist or his assistant. Although this is not more than a gentle gesture, merely imitating the "clubbing to death" of a victim, some candidates react as if they had actually been killed; they immediately fall into motionless rigidity and are lifted up stiff as a board. They usually sing and dance as soon as they wake up from "death". It appears that these candidates had previously shown signs of very severe spirit illness, and that they derive a certain prestige from their instant initiation.

Ritualists and novices comment on these procedures in the following terms:

"You'd put a person down and as soon as you touch him little bit he'd start quivering and die, for hours sometimes; and not only that, he'll start singing right away, that thing was just laying there, ready to come out..." (E.S.)

"You lift him (candidate) up and hold him up, and you blow all over on him the power, its in your breath. They lose consciousness, sometimes they are only mumbling the moment they come to. Sometimes you get a person that got a strong will, doesn't give up like, you bath them in hot water, then pour cold water over them....The power part is always there but there are different ways of doing it. On Kuper Island, they spill cold water on you and you pass out. You do it to surprise him (candidate), he becomes stiff like a board." (L.O.)

"I did not have to be forced to become a dancer, they did not have to chew my sides or to lift me up, he (senior ritualist) just touched me with the deerhoof staff and I fell unconscious for about 20 minutes they say. When I woke up I sang and danced right away." (E.M.)

"I did not know that I was going to be a dancer...my mother had asked me to go down to the hall and watch, I thought they'd get somebody else...then they came after me, it was such a shock to me. Before they grabbed me I fainted, I
just got so scared that I fainted, when I came to I was blindfolded and they had me up in the air." (R.L.)

"They (R.L. and N.A.) were clubbed by my cousin, the bear dancer. No trouble clubbing R.L., but lots of trouble with N.A., he fought, they dragged him right from his house to the hall. While they worked on N.A. in the tent, they grabbed R.L., then she hollered once and she passed right out, stiffened right up. They worked on N.A., four times they had to go round the hall with him before he was out." (D.O.)

During his seclusion in the longhouse, the initiate is subjected to physical and psychological treatments for which the terms "torture" and "brainwashing", used by some participants, appear to be quite appropriate, as long as we keep in mind that the purpose is a therapeutic one:

"It's a sort of a torture, in order to remember things. I guess it's a life all at once, that is: the tough part of life. We all get our aches and pains through life, so the new dancers get it all on one heap here." (L.T.)

Through the four days of the depatterning phase, the initiate is blindfolded, he has to lie still, is forbidden to talk or to move even in sleep or when sweating under his heavy covers on the fringes of which sit the "babysitters" or "watchmen". He is starved and his fluid intake is restricted; at the same time he is "teased" and "tested" with tasty salmon bits held close to his mouth. Every day he is again exposed to the initial shock of the "grabbing" procedure; he is lifted up and moved around in a chase, he is "tortured" -- bitten, hit, tickled and pinched -- in order to make him "die" again. The novice's re-entry into the desired altered state of consciousness is

2. According to information by E.S.; L.O.; C.L.; D.O.; Y.I.; E.M. and L.T.
facilitated by the ceremonial workers' frequent "singing and drumming to him", not only during the repeated "grabbing" ordeal, but also in front of the immobilized initiate's cubicle, so that the singing might "hit" him. These manoeuvres aim at bringing forth the novice's song. They are supplemented by more subtle methods such as placing two eager candidates together with one recalcitrant fellow or by instilling anxiety and guilt feelings:

"When they had me down they could not get me started. Then one old uncle of mine, he came into my tent and started calling me names, trying to make me feel real bad; he said I looked like a rotten log lying there....What got me was my granny, I could hear them talking how she gave a shawl and some money for me (for the initiation). As soon as I heard that I felt like crying, the old lady, about 112 years, thinking of me like that. Things like that they work on a person, will make you feel sad and the song will come." (L.O.)

While lying in his "tent", the initiate perceives his song, dance movements and face-painting in an oneroid state between sleep-dream and wakefulness. It is of utmost importance that both the new dancer and the "workers" know his song and dance correctly, for faulty singing and drumming will be fraught with dangers for the novice. Incorrect face-painting, too, will estrange the guardian spirits:

"My son got the Wolf Song when he was initiated this season. He heard the wolves howling all night when he was initiated, all the others (in the longhouse) heard them, too. Then he dreamt that his face painting was not right, so he changed it to the right way, and the wolves stopped howling." (Y.I.)

3. Cf. Sargant (1959, p. 130); "Brain-washers use a technique of conversion which does not depend only on the heightening of group suggestibility, but also on the fomenting in an individual of anxiety, of a sense of real or imaginary guilt...strong and prolonged enough to bring about the desired collapse."
The strict regime of "sacrifices" and "torture" is continued until the initiate "gets his song straight" — usually within four days — to be duly invested then with the traditional "uniform, hat and stick" in sign of his "rebirth in syə'wən". The guardian spirit itself — today referred to by the young dancers as the Indian or the Power-Animal -- appears in a "dream" to the novice in the longhouse cubicle, or in a visionary experience under conditions of physical exertion in the context of the training which follows the initiate's investiture.

The phase of physical training is associated with intense indoctrination, and is supposed to "make the newborn baby strong". It lasts at least for one week and consists of (a) daily "runs" around the longhouse hall or outside; often barefoot in snow "to cope with the cold like the oldtimers did"; (b) daily swimming; the new dancers have to jump into the ice-cold waters of Soowahlie Creek, Chilliwack Lake, or Chehalis River and then to rub their bodies with cedar boughs; (c) frequent rounds of dancing in the longhouse, to the fast rhythms of many drums which drive the novice to exhaustion.

The following account by an Indian girl not only conveys a genuine picture of the initiation procedures practiced in the Upper Stalo region today, but also of the immediate subjective experiences of a young initiate:

"They use the old dancers to work on you because they've got the power, and they bite on your side to put their power inside you. You feel a lot of pain when they work on you; when they bite you, you have to scream and holler, and pretty soon your song comes. I felt the pain in my stomach where they bit me, they tighten it and then they pull on it, and then your
song comes out stronger. Then they slap you really hard on the stomach....I passed out about three times while they worked on me, they kept doing that to me every morning and every night for 4 days, on the fourth day they just lifted me up and blew on me all over. It's just after they work on you the song comes to you, you hear it and you sing it, it was the second day that I heard mine, and it came on the third night. It was the third day that I saw how my face was to be painted, it was in my sleep, in a dream, I saw the way I was supposed to dance; I saw myself and I heard my song. Then they put the hat and uniform on you and then take your stick, when you start to sing the stick just moves to the beat of your song and that's how they get to drum for you. You have to sing your song because it comes to you, you can hear it and you voice it, but it's something else, not you, that makes you voice it. For four days they don't feed you, nothing, we were in our tents, you can hear them eating outside, it bothers you. After the fourth day they give you the salmon and you have to just spit it back out; even if you wanted to, you couldn't eat it, it would make you sick. I felt like throwing up, only I did not have anything in my stomach. You have to go swimming every morning, usually go up Chilliwack Lake. The first couple of times it's real cold but you've your power and you get strong, the water doesn't bother you, your power protects you. Sometimes after we came from swimming they run us in the hall, or we went for a run or go for a long walk, and sometimes you see something there. Your babysitter, that one that watches, you all the time, don't see anything, just yourself. We call it your Indian, everybody's is different, it's your Power-Animal, but you could see anything, like one's got the Lizard, partly animal, partly human; another's got the Ocean Animal, a black fish." (R.L.)

Released from their incubation, the initiates feel their newly acquired power when the song bursts forth from them and the leaping steps of their first dance carry them through the longhouse, spurred on by the rhythms of deerhide drums and the chanting and clapping of the crowd. One new dancer likened this blissful experience to that of a chemically induced altered state of consciousness:

"I was jumping three feet high and I had such a thrill, a terrific feeling as if you were floating, as if you were in the air, you feel really high. I've only had such a feeling once before in my life when I was on heroin mainlining, but then I went through hell afterwards, it was terrible -- but
with *syə'wən* you get this feeling without the terrible aftermath." (E.M.)

In view of Neher's (1960) findings on the neurophysiological effects of rhythmic drumming (*vide supra*, pp. 23/24), this type of sensory stimulation, so very prominent in Salish spirit dancing, has to be considered as a major factor operating in the induction of altered states of consciousness during spirit dance initiation. As the reader may recall, Neher (1960) demonstrated *auditory driving* in the EEG of all subjects exposed to one percussion instrument of a type very similar to the Salish deer skin drum. He also elicited various subjective responses, some of them corresponding to those reported in altered states of consciousness. As a stimulus frequency in the theta range of the EEG (4 to 7 cycles per second) is expected to be most effective in the production of trance states, Neher assumed drumming rhythms close to such frequencies to be preponderant in ceremonies associated with trance behaviour. It need not be emphasized that rhythmic acoustic stimulation in this ceremonials is far more intensive than in Neher's experiments: not one, but many drums are employed. Indeed, the effects of rhythmic drumming may contribute to the "contagiousness" of a spirit power which often seizes uninitiated persons present at ceremonials.

Let us now turn to the didactic aspects of spirit dance initiation. Modern spirit dancers refer to the initiation as a salutary learning experience: "It teaches you physical, emotional, and mental well-being" (L.S.). While much of this learning is effected through non-verbal conditioning processes, theoretical indoctrination also plays
an important role. It includes (a) the direct teaching of the rules and sanctions of sya'wan, and (b) the indirect reinforcement of collective suggestion by recounting of sya'wan -- lore, presenting examples of the works of spirit, or "spiritual" power. Furthermore, it also includes (c) what may be called culture propaganda; we shall deal with this interesting aspect of sya'wan teaching later. Theoretical indoctrination takes place in the smokehouse cubicle as a personally focused persuasion, and coram populo when ceremonial speakers publicly address the new dancers assembled in the longhouse. The main agents of formal indoctrination are the ritualists. In our experience, the senior ritualists display considerable skill in suggestive psychotherapy and in overcoming the client's resistance. It was no exaggeration when one of these therapists asserted:

"Being with people I can size them up and tell 'em words that's needed....If there's going to be the slightest doubt it's no use working (on candidates), so you got to make them aware of what will or should take place, because it's bad enough to work on a sick person, let alone the doubt -- in other words, you got to have one mind in anything you do in order to succeed. By this teaching, we'd fix a person to sing; club him, pack him around, sit him down and he'll sing; we'll take care of him step by step, so people will look up to it and they'll think well, there must be something in the Indian."

When teaching the new dancers, the ritualists speak with ancestral spiritual authority, they "have to reflect the word of our old people" (E.S.). Among the sya'wan rules taught are traditional prescriptions and proscriptions regarding avoidance of menstruating women; ways of talking, eating and drinking, which are today subject to various rationalizations (e.g., avoid the intake of hot or ice-cold
liquids in order to protect your teeth; avoid looking at the sun in
order to protect your eyes). More relevant to behavioural reorienta-
tion is the instilling in the initiate of a sense of personal respon-
sibility towards his elders and his people:

"We tell the young people the other tribes will look at us,
they'll say those people don't know how to bring up their
new dancers. We don't want the other tribes talking about
us and that's why the rules are strict...they are supposed
to be binding for one year anyway." (L.O.)

"Resting on the shoulders of this man (initiate) is the rep-
utation of all you people, all the tribe of Chilliwack, all
the people that went before him. This is why you are in-
structed to take care of this in syə'wən. Once you open your
mouth to syə'wən you are not to have a mean bone in your body,
you are not to use these hands to hurt any of your people,
you are not to use this voice to hurt any other dancer's
feelings!" (Senior ritualist addressing new dancer)

"As a dancer, you feel responsible to all the people, you feel
guilty if you don't keep the rules; you harm the whole group
that you belong to." (Y.I.)

The new dancer is, above all, obliged to "respect syə'wən" by
not revealing anything about it to outsiders; he has to do honour to
his elders by behaving "decently", and to faithfully observe the cere-
monial by attending as many dances as he can. Of utmost therapeutic
importance is the prohibition of alcohol intake (and also of smoking and
illicit drugs). The alcohol taboo is supposed to be valid for all
active dancers during syə'wən season; but is strictly enforced only for
the initiates while they are in uniform, i.e. throughout the season of
their initiation, although they are expected to stay away from liquor
at least for one year. It appears noteworthy that prohibition of al-
cohol did not originate from considerations of health and welfare, but
from the need to outlaw disruptive behaviour:
"It was a rule in them days that you are not supposed to make a fool of yourself or make fun of anybody...We did not allow any drunken people, so they made it a rule that when you are drunk you are not supposed to come in. You got so used to it, so you never drink anyway." (Traditional dancer)

Whereas abuse of alcohol by all participants during syə'wən season is strongly discouraged and frowned upon, off-season abstention is not emphasized. Nevertheless, the achievement even of seasonal abstention through spirit dancing would be of considerable public health significance for the Indian population of British Columbia.

Besides these general syə'wən rules there are individual rules of conduct for each new dancer, taking into account the particular problems by which his initiation was motivated. The theme of total personality change, intrinsic to the therapeutic myth of death and rebirth, is repeated in the ritualists' public admonitions of individual novices.

Observance of general and individual syə'wən rules is enforced by (a) social and (b) supernatural sanctions. During the initiation period, the "babysitters" or "watchmen" have to supervise the novice's behaviour, but also to protect him:

"The watchman has to watch him all the time, wherever he goes, see that he don't smoke or drink or break the rules. Not only that, the new dancer might get frightened and get startled and he'll run...that's why the watchman is there." (L.O.)

Equally, or probably more effective in keeping the new dancer in line, is the group pressure exerted on him. A novice who reneges by

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4. For the contributing role of alcohol in the alarmingly high accidental death rates among British Columbia Indians see Schmitt et al. (1966).
leaving the ceremonial and breaking the *syə'wan* rules is not only inviting supernatural retaliation and all kinds of social troubles — into which he invariably gets as expected — but also rejection by his group:

"That girl ran away after she was initiated, so now she's gone from bad to worse, she got into all kinds of trouble recently, she has three charges and now she got into a car accident. She becomes almost the black sheep in the family, the other dancers shun her if she don't stick to the rules... but still if she does return it's their rule that they've got to accept her again and try to help her." (Y.I.)

A highly efficient group sanction is a shaming procedure, the threat of which usually suffices to ensure better compliance with rules. If a young dancer continues to misbehave, his sponsors warn him they are going to invite people to a potlatch, where prominent leaders will elaborate on his wrongdoings and "preach" to him, which is felt to be a public shame.

To violate the rules means to insult *syə'wan*, and this brings all kinds of harm upon the culprit, and also upon those close to him. Ritualists and old dancers testify to *syə'wan*'s retaliatory power by reporting stories of its vengeance. *Syə'wan* may "go away" from deviant dancers and "leave people like that the biggest tramps there is". *Syə'wan* is said to have punished defectors by causing their children to die; to have inflicted illness or other bodily harm on those who infringed upon its rules; or to have prevented songs to issue from the guilty ones while at the same time giving them a painful urge to sing. At ceremonial occasions, the new dancers are admonished to be genuine and sincere in their belief in, and practice of, *syə'wan*, and to fear its revenge:

5. Information obtained from E.S.; L.O.; Y.I.; R.L.; D.O.
"I know what syə'wən means to me. I must live the life my ancestors want me to, I don't make a show out of syə'wən. That's the way my grandfather taught me before he went, he told me 'Son, I don't want you to make mockery out of syə'wən, don't you ever make fun out of syə'wən because it can cut off your life right now, it can get along without you just as well as it can get along with you'. So therefore that's what I hope, that you believe in the things you will tell to your grandchildren." (Indian Doctor's address, Tzeachten)

The initiation process ends with the disrobing ceremony. The new dancer is supposed to stay in uniform until the end of the season during which he was "grabbed". However, exceptions are made today for vocational reasons, not without the ritualist's public announcement of the initiate's pledge to observe the rules of syə'wən and to "keep on singing until the season is over". At the disrobing ceremony, witnesses are called up to "help this young man here to strip his uniform, take off his belt and his cane"; for their symbolic assistance witnesses receive kerchiefs as "souvenirs". The ritualist and workers who gave the "newborn baby" his first bath, take the bathing utensils as their share. The ceremony is concluded with speeches by ritualists and witnesses who address the initiate by his Indian name.

The therapeutic implication of this ceremony is that it documents the candidate's successful cure from spirit illness through a duly performed intiation treatment. Together with his uniform, the initiate sheds the last vestiges of his old personality as the snake sloughs off its old skin. The new dancer is presented to the public as yet another testifier to the healing and regenerating power of syə'wən. In the words of the ritualists:
"S. (Indian name) is the one standing here, as you know he was a very sick man, he was unable to move...and now you see the difference; the change that has taken him into his sya'wan life has made a new man out of him....S. wants to thank each and everyone for coming together at his party to take off his uniform, that's the reason why you are asked to witness what we have done, to witness that he stripped his uniform; so nobody can say anything. Next year you'll hear of S. again!"*

"If you did not complete this season and take off this uniform, you'd feel dizzy, like you're going to fall; there is some that I know that did not finish like this, they have this sickness and they will carry it for the rest of their lives. Now that you have come this far, when your uniform is taken off everyone of the bad habits you had, if you listened is going to go, you are going to come out a brand new man...so prove to your people that there is something in sya'wan because this sya'wan proved it to you now! From now on to the end of your life take care of this gift that was given to you!" (Senior ritualists at ceremonial, Wellington Reserve)

C. Indications for Initiation and Selection of Candidates

Senior ritualists working in the region recognize the following types of legitimate candidacy for spirit dance initiation:

1) Volunteering, with or without spirit illness.

2) "Sickness", i.e. clearly defined spirit illness.

3) Behaviour harmful to self and/or others.

Various forms of psycho- and socio-pathology are considered in this latter category:

"It's when you don't regard your life...you mistreat yourself and those around you, and probably you're going to be a candidate for suicide. People will see this and will say it would be safer if you come in sya'wan and change your life."

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When questioned for examples of candidates belonging in this category, informants referred to cases of (a) manifest and chronic depressive symptomatology; (b) antisocial acting-out behaviour with alcohol and drug abuse; (c) adjustment problems of adolescence; (d) maltreatment of spouse — in that order of decreasing frequency.

(4) Mockery of the ceremonial or provocation of participants. There are numerous instances of unconscious self-selection by quasi-defiant persons who engage in the very acts they know will make them liable to social and supernatural punishment by imposed initiation. These candidates are mostly young men displaying aggressive attitudes. With all their bragging of alleged immunity to sya'wan power, their ambivalently expressed motivation is, of course, apparent to the ritualists: "That's one way of saying 'I want to become a dancer, too''; "the more you fight it, the better dancer you'll be". Indeed, cases of this description which we observed (one fellow dared the ritualists to "grab" him; another mocked the ritual and announced he would defend himself with a hatchet, yet another threatened to shoot whoever would try to discipline him through initiation) turned out to become most active participants in the ceremonial and ardent believers in sya'wan power. Besides assuming a strong unconscious motivation in these cases we have to take into account that their defiant posturing exposes them to an especially severe initiation treatment. One of the most recalcitrant candidates, now quite vocal in praising the merits of spirit dancing, had to be "dragged" to the longhouse and was subjected to more intensified high frequency drumming than the other initiates.
Young women sometimes reveal their ambivalent motivation by demonstrative curiosity about sye'wan while they profess their disinclination to become dancers. This also is generally interpreted as camouflaged volunteering:

"They more or less would like to see how it works, they are very interested in it and yet say they don't want it. Once the Indian Doctor realizes that, he says well she wants it and we might just as well give it to her." (L.T.)

(5) Being the spouse or the prospective spouse of a dancer or initiate. This is looked upon as a valid reason for initiation in order to bolster marital harmony, especially if other indications are also present. In the case of young couples or fiancés, joint induction may be deemed advisable from a realistic point of view:

"It is usually best to take young people together that are starting to invite; we figure if we take him we'll take her, too, so there wouldn't be any hard feelings between him and her. If we didn't take her she might start running around because (during initiation) he is not allowed to go anywhere" (Senior ritualist).

Whatever the reasons for someone to be considered a candidate for spirit dancing, unless he is sponsored his initiation is unlikely to ever take place. In the Upper Stalo region today, a candidate is supposed to have individual and personal sponsor(s). Anonymous sponsoring through collections ("putting down the drum in the smokehouse") is apparently permissible in special cases, but not practiced here. Senior ritualists feel that "somebody has to stand behind a person as an anchor"; and "even if you volunteer you have to have somebody there to take care of you". When exploring the grounds on which some volunteers are rejected, the basic objection in these cases turns out to be that there was no "good solid sponsor" behind them. The sponsor, usually
a parent, senior relative or close friend of the family, assumes paedagogic as well as financial responsibilities: he must be capable and willing to back up the initiators, encouraging or, if necessary, enforcing the candidate's cooperation in the treatment procedures of initiation. The outcome of the initiation process depends to a considerable degree on the sponsor's attitude; his lack of firmness may encourage the candidate to "drop out", as in the case of two girls during the 1971/72 season. The sponsor may, therefore, be looked upon as the guarantor of therapeutic success, and the importance attributed to him by the ritualists bespeaks their realistic judgement.

The following summary of pre-initiation behaviour and symptom formation is based on twenty-four "modern" spirit dancers on whom relevant data could be obtained from reliable sources. This sample encompasses between 50% and 80% of those initiated since the revival of spirit dancing in the Upper Stalo region. No reliable data indicating the presence of psychic or behavioural pre-initiation problems could be obtained on further ten of the thirty-four identified "modern" dancers (total number of active spirit dancers in the Upper Stalo region is estimated at between 40 to 50).

Predominant symptom formation before spirit dance initiation:

In 11 candidates:
Depression, anxiety,
psychogenic somatization
often associated with
alcohol and/or drug abuse.

In 13 candidates:
Behaviour problems with
aggressive or antisocial
tendencies, usually associated
with alcohol and/or drug abuse.
D. Costs and Risks

In many cultures, including those of the Western world, treatment expenses are of considerable therapeutic relevance especially in disorders of psychogenic nature. Frequently, the investment in a patient's cure can be said to be directly related to its success, if the investment is the patient's own or that of persons meaningful to him. A consideration of the costs of *syə'wən* is therefore also part of an exploration of its therapeutic aspects.

The total expenditure for the initiation of one candidate is said to be between $1,000 and $2,000 for the whole season, or about $20 for each gathering. This sum includes expenses for feeding many guests many times; gifts and payments to "workers" and "babysitters", "souvenirs" for the "witnesses", etc.

Traditionally, this was paid in kind and by giving away woven goods or Hudson's Bay Co. blankets. Handicrafts of the donor's own make are still highly appreciated as gifts or souvenirs but have become rare. In the Upper Stalo region, obligations towards those who assisted in the initiation ceremonials are expected to be met until the end of the next winter season. Compensation for the -- actual or symbolic -- services rendered to the initiates of the previous season is part of the annual winter dance ceremonial, an elaborate ritual of public display and giving-away of stacks of blankets and other items. This part of the winter ceremonial is more than just reminiscent of the traditional Northwest Coast *potlatch*, it is also often referred to as such by the participants.
For many Indian families in the Valley these expenses mean considerable financial hardships, and may, therefore, discourage some from "giving away" their sons and daughters. Quite a few, however, would argue, "Do you think our religion and our higher power isn't worth $2,000? It's worth more than that." (L.T.). For those initiates who hold jobs throughout the year, the material sacrifice is substantial. However, they are a small minority because the predominantly seasonal type of employment in the area puts the greater part of Indian manpower out of work in winter time, an economic factor which certainly facilitated the revival of spirit dancing in the Upper Stalo region. Non-financial risks are also associated with spirit dance initiations. In the case of young mothers, the children's welfare has to be considered, and ritualists will be reluctant to accept such candidates unless adequate provision for child care has been made.

In spite of the very stressful procedures the novices are subjected to, no serious accident has occurred during initiation procedures in the Upper Stalo region. So far, four new dancers had to be admitted to medical-surgical wards of Chilliwack General Hospital in the course of their initiation, for the following reasons:

January 1971; woman age 18; on admission acute abdominal pain; diagnosis -- cholecystitis.

December 1971; woman age 19; on admission chilly, shivery, coughing, abdominal tenderness; diagnosis -- bronchitis; exposure and psychological stress reaction.

December 1971; woman age 19; on admission cold, tired, hungry, sore knee; scratchmarks on abdomen; diagnosis -- soft tissue injury of right knee joint; skin lesions, possible human bites; exhaustion.
February 1972; man age 20; on admission pain, sweating, edematous swelling and numbness of both feet and ankles; diagnosis — frostbite.

None of the above patients dropped out of the initiation program. A skwani'la healing ceremony was performed for the girl who had to have cholecystectomy, the patient's "uniform" taking her place in this ritual while she was in hospital. The participants were convinced that this would help and the patient herself told us she felt great relief. At any rate, her recovery was speedy. In parenthesis it may be mentioned that one male initiate died in circulatory collapse at LaConner, Washington, during the ceremonial season 1970/71; he is reported to have suffered from a chronic cardiac condition unbeknownst to the ritualists.
VIII
ANNUAL WINTER THERAPY

Although the number of active spirit dancers is still relatively small in the Upper Stalo region, the winter ceremonials already now involve the majority of the native population in some way or other: the relatives or friends of dancers, or other invited guests. Not only for those who have become active dancers through initiation and continue to dance at the gatherings of each subsequent season, but also for their relatives and for many other Indian families, the winter time now brings every year an immersion in group activities, which in scope and duration is unparalleled in non-Indian society. As some participation is expected from the audience, too, the ceremonial holds more than entertainment value even for the casual spectator.

In the Upper Fraser Valley, winter unemployment is prevalent not only among the Indian population. The association of such imposed idleness with marital and intrafamily conflicts, alcohol and drug abuse, increasing demands for medical attention and hospitalization due to psychogenic symptom formation, is obvious to all social agencies and health professionals in the area. In this situation, the holding of spirit dances throughout the winter season represents a most valuable annual therapeutic enterprise for the benefit of the local Indian population. This enterprise integrates the following therapeutic techniques:

(A) Occupational and activity therapy;
(B) Group psychotherapy;
(C) Cathartic abreaction;
(D) Psychodrama;
(E) Direct ego-support;
(F) Physical exercise.
Before discussing our own observations on these techniques in Upper Stalo spirit dancing, let us again refer to pertinent ethnographic reports.

There are many references in the ethnographic literature which unmistakably report native views of spirit dancing as a means of annual restoration or preservation of physical and emotional well-being. It is certainly significant that the Salish winter spirit ceremonials are often associated with specific shamanistic curing performances such as the sbEtEtda'q of the Puget Sound tribes (Haeberlin 1918); the skWani'lac procedures we have seen in local dances (vide infra) and which were previously observed at Musqueam by Kew (1970); or the healing rite recorded by Lerman (1954) in the Okanagan. More generally, however, it is part of Salish ideology that spirit dancing and singing in itself have curative and prophylactic effects on the participants. The Flathead Indians viewed their winter medicine dance as preventing sickness and destroying "bad medicine" (Teit 1930); Shuswap mystery singing was done to discover illness, bewitchment and evil, and to boost the self-confidence of the young (Teit 1905). Musqueam dancers gather in sympathy for sorrowing or bereaved persons to "help them sing"; spirit dance initiation is felt to be beneficial to health (Kew 1970). Spirit songs may come unsought to Lummi Indians in grief, and spirit singing after a tragedy is known to give a feeling of well-being (Suttles 1954).

Several observers have underlined the psychotherapeutic role of spirit dancing. Thus, Kew (1970) notes the unanimous group support for the participant who often manifests a violent expression of anguish
and despair; Stern (1934) remarks on the women dancers' display of, and thereby relief from, marital distress; Wike (1941) relates how gestures of activities characteristic of physical well-being, associated with particular spirits, are utilized in the dances of the Swinomish. It is foremost the emotionally and materially deprived who become singers among the Swinomish: "You use that song to straighten the mind like a prayer to live, like doctoring your mind" (Wike 1941, p. 41). There can indeed be no doubt about the psychotherapeutic value of the Warrior Dance if enacted by a discouraged and depressed young girl, nor about the ego-strengthening effect of the proud Warrior Song:

"I am great
I am great
It's true that I am great." (Wike, 1941, p. 78)

The induction of alcoholics into the winter dance ceremonial is understood in terms of cure rather than punishment by the Cowichan (Lane 1953). The Puyallup-Nisqually feel the spirit power's satisfaction through dance ceremonies is necessary for individual and collective well-being (Smith 1940). We realize, therefore, why Suttles (1963, p. 519) views spirit dancing as "attempts by individuals and kin groups to maintain psychic integrity and social status", and why Robinson (1963, p. 126) sees it as a "kind of therapy devised to prevent as well as cure general malaise or mitigate excessive grief or anxiety".

(A) The occupational- and activity-therapeutic function of spirit dancing in the vocational off-season of the Upper Stalo region is evident from what was outlined earlier. Excerpts from a probation officer's case report illustrate the importance of full-time occupation with the ceremonial, in the rehabilitation of young Indian offenders:
"When looking at Subject's schooling and work record, one is left with the impression that subject is lazy and lacking goals or direction....Subject has become actively involved in the Indian dancing rituals. This has taken up most of his time since December and he is absent from home for most of the weekends."

One year later:

"Subject's behaviour considerably improved, no further offences, no evidence of alcohol or drug use."

(B) The principles of group therapy (Frank and Powdermaker 1959) are operant in the spirit dance ceremonial: it provides the participant with support, protection, acceptance, and stimulation. Perhaps the most relevant group-therapeutic aspect of the winter dance ceremonial is that the participant is turned from egocentric preoccupations to collective concerns and the pursuit of collective goals: "The special relevance of dependency of man on society in this context is to direct man's individual strivings toward partly collective goals" (Aberle 1972).

Group solidarity is stressed in speeches held during ceremonial gatherings. Non-dancing participants contribute to the success of the ceremonial as much as the active dancers. Not only are non-dancers involved in organizing the dances and making the uniforms, in longhouse maintenance, tending the fires, and catering the meals, etc., many of them drum and sing for hours, accompanying one dancer after another on his counterclockwise dancing tour around the longhouse hall; others shield the tranced dancers from the fire or help them back to their seats. Those in the audience clap hands or beat sticks in time with the dancer's chant. They all share in the responsibility of satisfying syə'wən, lest

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1. Personal communication; comments on this paper, May 14, 1972.
it might be angered by faulty rhythms or some other irregularity and then bring harm upon the dancer and his people:

"There is a way in which you can mistreat the spirit, and some don't know enough to take care of the spirit, enough for him to stay and really help somebody; not only that, as a help for the whole group, the whole tribe." (Senior ritualist)

In the case of an unforeseen event -- such as once when a dancer's ceremonial staff was dropped -- the affected person's kin group and friends immediately take action, undoing the occurrence by appropriate ritual action and announcing their obligation for assistance and testimony through the ritualist. Participation in the ceremonial, by dancers and non-dancers alike, is often motivated by the strong group support they experience:

"My sons feel like belonging to a great club now, they have friends everywhere in the Salish area, they all consider themselves brothers and sisters. When they enter a longhouse they know they belong to all these people. That gives them security, a sense of belonging." (Y.I.)

Indeed, there is no loneliness in syā'wən; the mutual interest of the participants in each other is renewed every year. As the ritualist assures at the end of the season:

"Remember, next year syā'wən will be looking for you, for everyone here someone will be looking for!" (Tzeachten, 1971)

The use of a group-psychotherapeutic approach can also be clearly seen in the skʷə-niləx procedure, a shamanistic curing rite which has become part of the annual spirit dance ceremonial in the Upper Stalo region, performed only on special occasions by the same Lummi "Indian Doctor". The audience is called upon by the Indian Doctor
to render active assistance through mental concentration on the patient in order to "help him". During the healing manipulations, the patient is surrounded by relatives and friends, who support him affectionately and accompany him home. In the rituals we observed (Rosedale, March 1970 and Tzeachten, January 1971), the violent force of the power-charged paraphernalia was demonstrated to the public before they were used as therapeutic tools: two pairs of husky assistants, each pair holding on to one instrument with all their might, were unable to tame its wildness. As drums beat fast rhythms and women sacrificed food by throwing it into the fire, the two instruments seemed to swiftly drag their bearers through the hall. Pulling together with irresistible magnetic attraction, the powerful tools could only be severed again and handled by the Indian Doctor himself. Soon the instruments moved toward the persons singled out for treatment, gently stroking the heads and bodies of the clients. At one time, the focus of therapeutic effort was a recalcitrant initiate with serious behaviour problems; on another occasion it was a patient of ours. This latter case deserves special mention, having had the attention of various physicians, and eight hospital admissions from 1967 to 1970 with severe neurotic and psychosomatic symptom formation, including three suicidal attempts in depressive reactions. Shortly after the healing rite, the patient, who had been anorectic and insomnic, stated:

"I don't remember much, it was like a nightmare, I was not really conscious but I felt something like power. I don't know how I came home, fell asleep right away. I woke up in the morning and felt stronger. The first thing was I was

2. Two loop-shaped wooden instruments bandaged with scarlet cloth.
hungry. I really felt the power, a great big load taken off my shoulders."

The patient became a regular participant in the winter ceremonials and has been able to function without rehospitalization since 1970, inspite of severe outside stress.

(C) Cathartic abreaction is defined by Bleuler (1960, p. 144) as an affective abreaction "aiming at the liberation from emotional tension by the affectively charged act of remembering and re-living the situation in which the tension was generated". Such an abreaction will be a therapeutic experience for the patient if bystanders show total acceptance and benevolent empathy. This situation obtains at the winter spirit ceremonial: the learning experience of initiation enables the dancer to reenter an altered state of consciousness without initiatory preparation; and in this state he re-lives the coming of his song which then breaks forth from him in a tremendous affective and motor discharge, in front of an interested and helpful audience. Throughout the ceremonial season, these affective discharges take place at every spirit dance gathering. Hundreds of spectators watch a young mother tremble, sob and moan, then hand her baby to a neighbour and leap up into a wild dance with a final arc de cercle before she is carefully guided back to her seat, still sobbing but soon cheerful and reaching for her child; or a stout man, jumping high and light-footed in his dance, blaring out his song open-mouthed and throwing his arms vehemently as if pushing everyone aside. Although syə'wən is supposed to make its established round as announced by the ritualist, possessing one dancer after another, the drummers will come to a young dancer's
assistance who, as yet unable to control the power, is shaking vio-
lently, rattling the deer-hoof staff and blurting out the song; or is
howling and writhing on the bench, to be pacified only by an extra-
curricular dance out of turn. The tension-releasing effect of "sing-
ing out one's song" is akin to that of crying:

"In syə'wən you are supposed to cry...it helps me, I sing
and I cry, and I feel better afterwards." (L.S.)

"The old-timers used to express their feelings in tunes and
movements. All the dancers still do this...if you go to a
funeral, the old dancers, they cry and it changes to song,
same song as in the dances." (L.O.)

By expressing his affects in a recognized and ritualized form
to a sympathetic audience, the dancer learns to accept his emotions
and at the same time, to control them. A senior ritualist put it this
way:

"The spirit is there, the thing is to accept it by voicing
it to somebody; it's going to be well received by the people
that's going to hear it, and it's going to be taken care of."

(D) Psychodrama. Dramatic acting-out is a most conspicuous
feature of the spirit dancers' performance in the ceremonial. Self-
expressive dramatization of affects through the personification of sup-
ernatural beings who are culturally at hand for ritual possessions,
so to speak, has been utilized for psychotherapeutic purposes in many
cultures. As a paradigm of such ceremonial therapy, Haitian Voodoo
is the favourite subject of ethnopsychiatric investigation. Yap (1960)
provides us with a useful formulation of the function of dramatic acting-

3. For a discussion of the psychotherapeutic role of Voodoo see Jilek
(1971).
out in the trans-cultural "possession syndrome", which he studied in the context of Hong Kong Chinese culture. He notes the powerful psychological effect on the audience of the mythological dramatis personae entering the stage of the Chinese popular opera through the so-called "Ghost Door", and relates a tradition of actors being possessed by the spirits they impersonate. At the annual winter ceremonial, each spirit dancer repeats his first sya'wan possession, at every dance he again becomes possessed, i.e. he re-enters a trance-like state in order to feel and display the personal spirit power originally acquired in the altered state of consciousness induced by initiation procedures. Some dancers are experienced virtuosi in achieving such a state; they work themselves up with loud hyperventilation and vehement commotion, to pass into song and dance when dozens of deer-hide drums strike in. The dancer's spirit finds its dramatized expression in dance steps, tempo, movements, miens and gestures: in the sneaking pace, then flying leaps of the ferociously yelling "warrior", or in the swaying trot of the plump, sadly weeping "bear mother"; in the rubber-like

4. "The 'acting out' more or less directly of fantasies must be regarded as an intermediate step towards reasoned, discriminative and consciously purposeful action aimed at solving the conflict that has given rise to the fantasies in the first place. This then is the meaning of the process of dramatization which is so evident in possession. It is an expression of adaptive, problem-solving behaviour ranging from the acting out of a 'wish-fulfilment', through an experimental, probing type of conduct with varying degrees of abreactive satisfaction, to the direct manipulation of other persons involved in the subject's personal problems. It may be expected that patients will exhibit clouding of consciousness of different degrees...." (Yap 1960, p. 130).
reptilian writhing of the "double headed serpent" as well as in the des­
perate wailing and gesticulation of the "mother seeking her child";
just as in the "lizard" who sheds tears over his devoured offspring
or in the mighty "whale" who grabs smaller fish.

The choreographic drama of the spirit dance is therapeutic psycho­
drama, by virtue of its combination with a cathartic abreaction in an
appropriate group setting. It is certainly not coincidental that the
founder of modern psychodramatic therapy himself drew parallels between
shamanistic transactions of North American Indians and psychodramatic
sessions (Moreno 1959). His definition of psychodramatic action as a
therapeutic, controlled acting-out taking place under the guidance of
therapists in a safe treatment setting (Moreno 1955) is applicable to
the winter spirit ceremonial. We recognize in the spirit dance parti­
cipants the dramatis personae of Moreno's clinical psychodrama: pro­
tagons (the dancers), auxiliary.egos (babysitters or assistants),
director (ritualist) and group (audience). Mumford's (1951) dictum,
"psychodrama is the essence of the dream", will remind us of the sya'wen
teaching that spirit song, face painting, and dance movements are re­
velied to the novice in a dream. Psychic purification or catharsis was
first perceived as a function of drama by Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) in
his "Poetics", where drama is characterized as the imitation of an action
which by arousing sympathy and fear effects a purification, i.e. cath­
arsis, of the spectators' affects. Modern spontaneous psychodrama, on
the other hand, intends to achieve cathartic abreaction in the actors:

5. Cf. Vorlander's (1932) interpretation of the Greek text of the com­
plete edition of Aristotle's works by the Berlin Academy of Science.
"It (psychodrama) produces a healing effect -- not in the spectator...but in the producer -- actors who produce the drama and, at the same time, liberate themselves from it." (Moreno 1923)

We do not consider it presumptuous to conclude from our observation of Coast Salish spirit dancing that it combines Aristotle's and Moreno's criteria by providing for affective catharsis, both in spectators and actors.

(E) Ego-support accrues out of the group-therapeutic and cathartic-psychodramatic facets of spirit dancing. **Direct ego-support** results from the positive attention the ritualist leaders and the people focus on the active dancers throughout the winter ceremonial:

"Many people are going to see your face tonight. You might say the people do not know me, but everybody will know you tonight. We, the Lummi people, the LaConner people, the Musqueam people, the Chilliwack people, will all know you! Before you came into syə'wən, you were sitting behind, no one knew who you was. Your people put you out in front, and they stand behind you, all the people now know your names...."

"We are very proud of you, top-1-A you'll be, you standing before us! I thank you, each and everyone of you." (Lummi Indian Doctor)

The young Salish Indian will find public recognition by "coming into syə'wən and dancing in front of the people". He cannot hope for direct material gain -- unless his personal spirit power is so inclined -- but he can hope for prestige among his peers who may say of him: "He's got a lot of friends, he's rich that way, in that organization he's valued high" (Y.I.). Even the most insignificant dancer will command respect when possessed by his spirit; he may conduct an orchestra of drummers, and when he (and his spirit) passes by in the dance, the audience will raise from their seats, clap hands and hum..."
in the rhythm of his tune. Of each new dancer, the ritualist can justly proclaim:

"Now everybody knows him, before nobody knew him."

Traditional concepts of the benefits of guardian spirit power (vide Duff 1952, pp. 97ff) are still held by modern spirit dance participants in the Upper Stalo region in principle: spirit powers afford the owner protection, good luck, and success in whatever life situation and task he wants to rely on them. They are generally credited with promoting his spiritual and physical well-being, sometimes (C.L.) also his material wealth. As can be gathered from the ritualists' warnings at ceremonials, spirit powers are understood to be easily offended by any neglect or infringement of the sya'wān rules. They react by withdrawal or by supernatural retaliation against the culprit and often also against his group. The collectivity, therefore, has a legitimate interest in preventing behaviour conflicting with sya'wān rules which all imply a personal responsibility towards one's group. Our data (vide supra, pp. 80-85) suggest that guardian spirit power is seen as benefitting the responsible and harming the irresponsible owner, and as potentially affecting the collective in like manner. It follows, therefore, that anti-social uses of guardian spirit power (uses directed against the interests of the collective) are excluded in sya'wān theory.

(F) The physical exercise and training the active spirit dancers go through from fall to spring every year is unparalleled by any amateur sport among the rest of the population. The degree of physical fitness and athletic proficiency achieved by some of the older
dancers, such as Chief Malloway (age 65 years), would embarrass most middle-aged men. We have seen improvement of arthritic conditions -- prevalent among the often poorly housed Indian people -- through spirit dancing. The psychohygienic effect of physical fitness has been well known since the days of the Romans ("mens sana in corpore sano") and the depression-generating role of physical impairment is generally recognized.

IX

THERAPEUTIC EFFECTIVENESS

Approximately three-quarters of all active spirit dancers in the Upper Stalo region have been initiated since 1970; it would therefore be premature to draw definite conclusions regarding the therapeutic effectiveness of modern spirit dancing. The new dancers are said to "get stronger each year" according to sya'wan theory, and indeed the seasonally reinforced conditioning process should in time result in the firm establishment of the expected response patterns and internalization of the "syaw'an rules". It is obvious, therefore, that our data on therapeutic results provide only tentative clues. Follow-up reports were obtained on the post-initiation condition of the twenty-four "modern" spirit dancers on whom objective data regarding preinitiation behaviour and symptom formation were available. The following picture emerged:

(1) Of 11 "modern" spirit dancers in whom depression, anxiety, somatization, often associated with alcohol and/or drug abuse, were manifest before initiation:
-- 3 have been free from symptom formation since the time of their initiation (initiation one or more years ago);
-- 2 show improvement (initiation one or more years ago);
-- 5 show improvement (initiation less than one year ago);
-- 1 shows no change (initiation more than one year ago).

(2) Of 13 "modern" spirit dancers in whom behaviour problems with aggressive or antisocial tendencies, usually associated with alcohol and/or drug abuse, were manifest before initiation:
-- 7 have been behaviourally rehabilitated since the time of their initiation (initiation one or more years ago);
-- 3 show improvement (initiation one or more years ago);
-- 1 shows improvement (initiation less than one year ago);
-- 1 shows no change (initiation more than one year ago);
-- 1 deteriorated (initiation more than one year ago, terminated participation).
Among the fully rehabilitated cases are two who were considered as serious correctional problems by law-enforcement agencies, one of them with a long record of confinements because of multi-delinquency and narcotic addiction.

One young patient who previously had not recovered when hospitalized for severe psychoneurotic-depressive symptoms, has been functioning without medical attention ever since initiation two years ago. We have already mentioned the case of a post-menopausal depression with numerous hospitalizations, improving after healing rites were performed on her during a winter dance ceremony.

The balance of evidence, anecdotal and preliminary as it may be by epidemiological standards, suggests that the indigenous therapeutic procedures of the spirit dance ceremonial are superior to Western methods, as far as Indian clientele is concerned, in the management of two symptom complexes:

1) conditions of ill health in which psychoneurotic and psychophysiological mechanisms are prominent. These are the patients who figure in sya'wan lore as miraculous cures after having been "in and out of hospitals, given up by the doctors";

2) antisocial and aggressive behaviour usually associated with alcohol or drug abuse, and emotionally or physically destructive to self and kin.

Different as these two syndromes may appear, psychotherapeutic contacts with Indian patients of either type has made us realize that anomie depression is often underlying both the intrapunitive and the aggressive responses which may alternate in some cases.
Indian ritualists, while acknowledging Western medicine to be effective in "ordinary", i.e. not spirit-connected diseases, consider native people with the above syndromes -- albeit under labels different from those applied here -- as candidates for spirit dance initiation. Clinical experience, too, would suggest that in these cases "Indian treatment" compares favourably with Western therapeutic or correctional approaches.

When looking at the "Indian alcohol problem", the extent of which may be taken as epidemiologic indicator of the prevalence of anomic depression in the native population of North America, it must be admitted that orthodox Western medical and psychiatric treatment attempts have been rather ineffective and are as a rule limited to palliative crisis intervention. The influence of spirit dance therapy on periodic excessive drinking -- which, rather than clinical addiction to alcohol, is still the predominant pattern of alcohol abuse among Upper Stalo Indians -- should therefore be of considerable interest to health and social scientists alike.

It may be mentioned first that many prominent participants in the ceremonial freely admit to heavy indulging in the past. This by no means detracts from their reputation in Indian communities, or from the reputation of spirit dancers as a group in which the most prestigious.

1. The extent of this problem in North America is discussed in a report of the Indian Health Service Task Force on Alcoholism (1969) which concludes that "alcoholism is one of the most serious health problems facing the Indian people today". Regarding the reflection of this problem in British Columbia vital statistics, see Schmitt et al. (1966).
native families are represented. On the contrary, it credits the spirit of svə'wən with greater power than that inherent in the spirits of the White man's alcohol. The rehabilitation of some hard drinkers may in popular opinion be attributed to the healing power of the ritualists:

"I know the Lummi outfit, they had men down there with real serious alcohol problems and they came out of it through dancing. I don't know what does it, whether the Indian Doctors give them something to hold it (alcohol) off them.... There's supposed to be power in their (Indian Doctors') minds, a lot of power." (L.T.)

The following general statements can be made concerning alcohol intake and spirit dance participation:

1) The leading ritualists and some prominent participants are total abstainers.

2) All but a few of the active "modern" spirit dancers in the Upper Stalo region abstain throughout ceremonial seasons.

3) All of the new dancers who completed their initiation in the Upper Stalo region have kept sobriety during the season of their initiation.

4) Inebriated persons are not permitted to attend ceremonials, even if they are not active dancers. This has a general discouraging effect on Indian drinking in the Upper Stalo region during winter time, as (a) intake of small amounts of liquor holds little attraction; (b) the major ceremonial occasions conflict with bigger drinking parties, both being customarily scheduled on weekends.

2. Salish Indians had no alcoholic beverages in pre-contact times.
3. Based on own direct observation and information obtained from C.L., L.O., L.S., Y.I.; confirmed by senior Indian A.A. members.
5) To several participants, the culture propaganda associated with the modern winter ceremonial (*vide infra*), suggests an active involvement in off-season native enterprises, such as Indian festivals, canoe races and other Indian sports which require them to stay sober during training periods in summer months.

6) However, the rank and file of participants, including the majority of the spirit dancers, continue to consume liquor *outside* the ceremonial season. Most "modern" dancers apparently feel free to do so after their first year in sya'wan is over; although they are generally credited with having reduced their intake as compared to pre-initiation times. The few spirit dancers who are also staunch members of Indian Alcoholics Anonymous groups remain abstinent. Some senior participants, therefore, recommend adherence to Alcoholics Anonymous during summer in addition to active participation in the winter ceremonial, for those with serious alcohol problems.

The fact that the winter spirit ceremonial for at least five months every year provides most active dancers with sobriety and reduces the risk of alcohol abuse in many other participants, ranks it with the major therapies of alcoholism. It can be said that, with the exception of Alcoholics Anonymous, nothing of equal therapeutic effectiveness has ever been undertaken to combat the Indian alcohol problem in the Coast Salish area.
FROM PSYCHOHYGIENIC RITUAL TO RITUAL PSYCHOTHERAPY

At this point it will be appropriate to draw some generalizing conclusions from ethnographic data and our own observations in an effort to delineate the main psychosocial functions of the Salish guardian spirit ceremonial, both in the past and in our time. In traditional Coast Salish culture, the spirit quest had a prominent place in the ceremonial complex and was the main path toward acquisition of power and full participation in the ritual.

As for the importance of the spirit quest for personality development, we can rely on the assessment of an authority like Driver who asserts that:

"In the process of acquiring the many markers of maturity, no experience was as important as the acquisition of a spirit-helper in a vision quest...without it, a man would fail in all important undertakings, such as hunting, warfare, and curing the sick."

"The function of the vision in education was to instill confidence in a young person so that he would attempt things considered impossible before such a religious experience. With a spirit helper at his beck and call, an insecure adolescent would become more self-sufficient and would take more initiative in such necessary activities as war and the chase." (Driver 1969, pp. 391-392)

The quest for, and the acquisition of, spirit helpers had to be completed in adolescence or young adulthood. It is at this stage that the young individual has to achieve a sense of sexual and socio-cultural identity from which feelings of emotional security and social belonging can be derived. When returning from his successful spirit
quest at the age of 14 years, Old Pierre felt sure that he was going to be a real man, a true Katzie Indian, and a great medicine-man. As Erikson (1950) has formulated, and as many a life history shows, the danger of this developmental stage lies in role confusion with its psychopathological and sociopathological sequelae. Confusion about their social and cultural role, and the "inability to settle on an occupational identity" (Erikson 1950) are major disturbing factors in the personality development of young people in modern Western societies.

"In their search for a new sense of continuity and sameness, adolescents...are every ready to install lasting idols and ideals as guardians of a final identity." (Erikson 1950, p. 261; italics mine.) This was precisely the tutelary spirit's role in Salish culture; namely, to act as guardian of the young Indian's final identity and thus to ward off the frustration and depression which accompanies role confusion. The altered state of consciousness of the vision experience was striven after only as means to attain a spirit helper; it was not an end in itself.

The Indian youth's quest for a guardian spirit, therefore, was a quest for his identity and meaning in life.

As we have seen, the traditional Salish spirit quest involved conditions and techniques suitable for the induction of altered states of consciousness, and the spirit encounter typically took place in such a state. Spirit dance initiation, with techniques analogous to those of the vision-quest, later recreated this altered state of consciousness,

1. "Meaning" in the sense used by Frankl (1963) as "logos" or "meaning of human existence".
repeating the previous learning experience of the adolescent spirit quest. This experience thereafter facilitated the new dancer's re-entering into ritual trances so that he could display his spirit power or powers, which were always seen as enhancing the dancer's welfare and preventing or alleviating physical, emotional, and social distress.

In more recent ethnographic reports, we see the spirit quest receding in importance behind the initiation. In Upper Stalo culture (vide Duff 1952, pp. 97; 102ff) guardian spirit power was never conceived of as innate in the individual, nor was it held to be inheritable. It had to be acquired through spirit quest, or was bestowed by the guardian spirit upon the individual in an altered state of consciousness, without previous quest. "Dancer's power" could also be instilled through actions of old dancers (Duff, op. cit., p. 105), but according to information we obtained from the most prominent senior dancer in the region, such procedures were very rarely resorted to in the era of traditional spirit dancing. Today, the spirit dance initiation is the main delivery system of spirit power to candidates, while in the past it was understood as a test or confirmation of power previously obtained elsewhere from supernaturals through individual efforts or as a "gift". This change in the ceremonial is frequently commented upon by senior participants, e.g.:

"In the older days you got your song from the woods, in the forest; the power seemed to come natural to them, without anybody working on them....Then they tested it if you really got it, you had to prove it (in the initiation); if you could do it, they accepted you." (C.L.)

"Now instead of the young man going out and looking for his spirit in the woods, we can no longer do that because the places they went are no longer free -- so now we only have the initiation." (L.S.)
Some formal alterations of the traditional ceremonial, such as the predominant use of English ("this foreign language") in lieu of Salish tongues in ritual speech making, or the disappearance of texts from the spirit dance songs, appear of lesser importance than this fading away of a separate spirit quest. However, it must not be overlooked that guardian spirit acquisition has become a most essential feature of the initiation process itself.

Another significant change is that spirit illness, in the old culture a strictly seasonal, stereotyped pathomorphie goal-directed state inevitably leading to spirit singing and dancing, is now in many cases the traditional label for the depressive syndrome associated with experiences of relative deprivation and identity confusion which we have called anomic depression. This condition has a tendency towards chronicity, and is in many cases not restricted to a brief seasonal course. It is essentially a depressive reaction with sufficient patho-plastic cultural coloring of its symptoms to permit identification as spirit illness and provide an indication for treatment by spirit dance initiation. Our data bear out that this depression-anxiety syndrome is recognized by the ritualists and by those concerned about the patient, as an indication for syaw'wan therapy. Moreover, clinical experience suggests that Indian patients who outwardly show disruptive behaviour associated with alcohol or drug abuse, are often basically depressed. We can, therefore, assume that anomic depression in its various manifestations is today a major factor in bringing young Indians into syaw'wan.
provided by traditional culture (obligatory cure of all spirit illness), initiation was in the past not conceived of primarily as a healing procedure, rather as a necessary test of the personally acquired spirit powers the candidates wanted to display in their dances. Senior participants agree that "torturing to bring out the song" was not necessary and was not a general practice in bygone days. It seems plausible that procedures in the service of personality depatterning have to be made more efficient now in order to pave the way for the reorientation of emotionally and socially maladjusted candidates towards the ideal norms of Indian culture as conceptualized by the leaders. The task of initiation is no longer only to provide entrance into a ceremonial, via the cure of a ritualized pathomorphic state, through rebirth as a new human being, but to overcome sickness and faulty behaviour contracted by exposure to an alien culture, through rebirth as a true Indian. This is the ritualists' message at the namesgiving ceremony -- today part of the initiation process -- in which the revival of ancestral names is solemnly proclaimed and witnessed:

"You have a new life as an Indian now!" (Rosedale, Dec. 12, 1970)

"He remembered his grandmother's Indian name, he wants his granddaughter to carry this Indian name. All of you that were called as witnesses tonight: this young lady will be known as S., this was the grandmother of this friend of ours. This name will come back to life and it's going to be carried by this young girl...."

"When it comes to sva'wa'n like this, the parents start to think back. The father of this boy is going to bring back the name of his great-great-grandfather: O. His name is coming back to be known and carried by this young man...this name has become alive once more, this name is something that you will be proud of because it comes from our ancestors!" (Tzeachten, February 19, 1971)
"Last weekend Tzeachten was invited to LaConner and there was this young man receiving his Indian name. His father wanted this Indian name remembered in Chilliwack, so tonight this boy is here fulfilling the wish of his ancestors. Those who are called as witnesses, we ask you to remember the name in the language of our people!" (Tzeachten, February 27, 1971)

Through spirit dance initiation the young native, estranged from his traditional culture as he may be, not only acquires his Indian Power; in the namesgiving ceremony an ancestral name comes to life again and with it the insignia of an Indian identity are bestowed on the new dancer -- he has been reborn as an Indian and has made the crucial step in his quest for identity and meaning in life.

In the past, the length of sya'wan season was rigidly fixed according to region, and dancing out of season was highly exceptional -- it was also unnecessary, as everybody's urge to dance ended with the ceremonial season. If we assume modern spirit dancing to fill genuine therapeutic needs in genuinely pathological conditions, then we should find the duration of what we described as annual winter therapy adjusted to individual needs. This is exactly what now happens in the Upper Stalo region: some dancers continue to practice long after the official end of the season, or resume "singing" in early fall, assisted by friends who drum for them privately.

With the near extinction of other forms of native healing, the winter spirit ceremonial has become the only major non-Western therapy at the disposal of the Coast Salish Indians. Its therapeutic scope has been widened by integrating an old shamanic curing rite (sk'ani'la'x); 2.

2. According to senior dancers who frowned upon such irregularity.
by more extensive use of depatterning and reconditioning procedures in the initiation process; and also by a new focus on those Indian patients for whom Western medicine has little to offer.

In conclusion: What in the past was a ritual with psychohygienic aspects is now an organized Indian effort at culture-congenial psychotherapy.
XI

MODERN SPIRIT DANCING AS A THERAPEUTIC SOCIAL MOVEMENT

In an attempt to define and localize modern Salish spirit dancing as a social phenomenon, general analyses of cultural and religious movements were reviewed. In this task the student is assisted by the work of Aberle (1966; pp. 315-333) who not only provides the relevant references, but also a comprehensive classification of social movements. Aberle defines a social movement as "an organized effort by a group of human beings to effect change in the face of resistance by other human beings", and classifies such movements according to the dimensions of locus and amount of change they aim at, as

1) **transformative**: total change in supra-individual systems (in the context of therapy: cure of collectives);

2) **reformative**: partial change in supra-individual systems (improvement of collectives);

3) **redemptive**: total change in individuals (cure of individuals);

4) **alterative**: partial change in individuals (improvement of individuals).

These are, of course, analytical categories, and componential elements of one type of movement may be found in others. What Aberle stresses as more important, however, is that "any given movement may change in type over time". We might, therefore, see a redemptive movement reaching beyond its original aim of effecting a cure of the indivi-

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1. All references to therapy added by present author.
dual and work towards curing the socio-cultural system. In fact, as Aberle points out, "virtually all redemptive movements, like the transformative movements, reject at least some features of the current society". Basically, however, the "defining characteristic" of redemptive movements "is the search for a new inner state" and their common doctrine is that "changes in behaviour can result only from a new state of grace". Constant features of redemptive movements are organized efforts (1) to overcome the individual's resistant or apathetic attitude vis-a-vis the desirable change; (2) to increase the in-group contacts and/or decrease the out-group contacts of participants.

The reader who has followed our description of the resurgence, growth, and current practice of the winter ceremonial in the Upper Stalo region, will recognize the applicability of Aberle's characterization of redemptive movements to contemporary Salish spirit dancing: An organized effort by ritualists, active dancers and other believers in sy-a-wan, to effect a total personality change, a "rebirth" in individuals whose apathy or resistance to this change has to be overcome by the depatterning and reorientation procedures of the initiation process; further, an attempt at sheltering the candidates from out-group influences, and at safeguarding their loyalty and future participation through appropriate indoctrination and organizational arrangements, buttressed by social and supernatural sanctions.

We have earlier referred to Aberle's concept of relative deprivation in the context of contemporary spirit illness. Through our contacts with local Indians we have obtained the impression that the majority
of native Canadians in the Upper Stalo region feel they suffer relative deprivation in the areas of possessions, status, behaviour, and worth; in evaluating their situation, they use the dominant White Canadian society as their "reference field". However, when gauging Indian consciousness of relative deprivation we found this most pronounced in the statements of the active propagandists of the spirit dance movement. This is in line with Aberle's assumption that relative deprivation is "the seed-bed for social movements". While realizing that modern Salish spirit dancing does not qualify as a transformative movement, we may draw attention to the presence in the modern spirit dance movement of important tendencies no longer aiming merely at the "rebirth" of individual Indians, but at a collective Indian renaissance. These tendencies are associated with ideological concepts implying radical changes in the goal-orientation of native groups and in the relationship between native and dominant society. Such "renaissant" trends were not active in the traditional ceremonial, but are gaining momentum since it has been revived in the Upper Stalo region. Partisans of the modern spirit dance movement refer to "membership in syə'ən", and to the creation of a "bigger social family for all Salish tribes" through syə'ən; they believe that the "revival of Indian customs and traditions" is the answer to many Indian problems, and they feel an obligation to "work together to revive the Old Indian ways" and to "teach the young Indian that the Indian Way does have a meaning" (L.S.; C.S.; Y.I.; E.S.). There can indeed be no doubt about the significance of the spirit dance movement.

for the development of a national consciousness in the "Salish Nation" — a term often heard now at ceremonial gatherings in the Fraser Valley. Conscious efforts are made by Indian leaders to revive the Salish heritage and to uphold to the young native generation the exemplary ideal of Indianness, a Pan-Indian rallying sign akin to the Pan-African négri­tude of Cesaire and Senghor. In their espousal of Indianness, spokesmen at spirit dance ceremonials follow the example of outstanding Indian figures like George Clutesi or Chief Dan George, who confront Indian and White audiences with an idealized image of aboriginal culture, jux­topositional to the obvious defects of Western civilization, in this way creating what Schwimmer (1970) has termed an opposition ideology. This ideology contrasts the "spiritual" and altruistic orientation of Indian culture with the "egoistic materialism" prevailing in Western civilization.

Not long after the revival of spirit dancing in the region, a reporter of the local newspaper was told by active supporters of the ceremonial:

"Ingrained into the nature of an Indian person is the idea that living is for giving. We always took only what was needed. We preserved food for winter together. Everyone was his brother's keeper...an Indian house is never too small to take in another person, or even another family...the wealthy man was the man who could give most. In white society, the wealthy man is the one who can keep the most for himself. This is where our cultures conflict." (The Chilliwack Pro­gress, July 8, 1970, p. 3B)

3. Cf., e.g.: Dr. Clutesi's convocation address at the University of Victoria, May 1971; and Chief Dan George's address at a recent dinner meeting (The Indian Voice, March 1972, p. 13).
As the knowledge of Salishan languages is on the wane among the younger Indian generations, adherence to a "spiritual life" according to the "Old Indian Ways" has become the hallmark of Indianness.

In the Upper Stalo region, to display an active interest in the winter ceremonial today means to profess one's Indian identity, and also one's belief in the rebirth of Indian culture and in the future of the Salish nation. What may be called culture propaganda has a definite place in the modern spirit ceremonial. Thus is the ritualists' message to the people:

"The Salish nation has a lot to be proud of; let us be proud of our Indian ways!" (Rosedale, Dec. 12, 1970)

"This is our way, the Indian way. This is the way of our ancestors. Only by being proud of it can we stay Indian. We Indians are not looking for material goods, we look for a free life. We don't seek material things, we seek spiritual power!" (Seabird Island, Jan. 12, 1970)

"Our Indian culture is not dead, it is alive today, our ancestors feel happy about what they see. When I was young, when the old people died the fires burnt down and the old smokehouses fell down, so keep the fires burning again! Everything changes, sya'wan changes, too, but I know you'll keep the fires burning....There is every reason you should be proud of your Indian culture. As long as the sun rises in the East and sets in the West, and as long as the streams go to the ocean these fires will burn." (Tzeachten, Jan. 8, 1971)

"Your great-great-grandparents have started the fires to burn in these smokehouses in bygone days. You carry the heritage of your ancestors. These Indian names, the names of a great people, these names were known throughout the land and they will be known again! Nowadays we are all related in one way or another, this is why the words come out, because our Indian people all belong together. Those in sya'wan here turn around to teach the young that's coming behind; without that our Indian ways would all be forgotten....Help one another at all times so that the Indian ways will grow!" (Tzeachten, Feb. 19, 1971)
The promoters of the spirit dance movement stress its appeal to all Indians living in the area. While only a selected group -- "those who need it" -- are expected to become active dancers, the leaders' culture propaganda aims at a broad Indian participation by mass attendance and involvement of many native people in tasks connected with the ceremonial. On the other hand, some of the younger spirit dancers militate for the elimination of whatever they perceive as "White" influence and interference. The most radical among them are against any sort of cooperation even with sympathetic "White" therapeutic and social agencies; they discourage Indian clientage of such agencies and demand the exclusion of all White guests from the ceremonial. Here the voice of a young radical:

"No White man can help an Indian, no White man really wants to help an Indian. The Indians who don't know what's there for them (in spirit dancing) are stupid, because that's the only thing that can help them, if they come back to their own culture. No White man can help an Indian, only Indians can do that. I had to find that out, only Indians can help an Indian, White people only get them into trouble." (N.A.)

All these strivings, which go beyond the goals usually set in a therapeutic enterprise, reveal a keynote of nativism, i.e., an attitude of systematic favouring of the cultural in-group as opposed to the cultural out-group (cf. Ames 1957). Specific characteristics

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4. A few Whites are invited by their Indian friends to attend as guests. There are also a couple of Caucasian spirit dancers from Washington State who are related to Indians and live in Indian communities (reverse acculturation). Recent anti-White sentiment among young radicals tends to differentiate on a racial rather than on a cultural or ideological basis.
of social movements with nativistic orientation can be identified in the development of spirit dancing in the Upper Stalo region:

1) characteristics of a **revivalistic-nativistic movement**, (Linton 1943), namely a "conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive...selected aspects of its culture", in a "situation of inequality between the societies in contact";

2) characteristics of a **revitalization movement** (Wallace 1956), namely a "deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture", in type both **nativistic** ("elimination of alien persons, customs, values") and **revivalistic** ("institution of customs, values, and even aspects of nature which are thought to have been in the mazeway of previous generations but are not now present");

3) characteristics of a **resistive nativistic movement** (Ames 1957) with "resistance to the beliefs, values, and practices of the dominant society".

These pertinent characterizations can be included in a classificatory schema of the spirit dance movement, a schema which combines the typologies of Aberle (op. cit., p. 316) and Clemhout (1964, p. 14), and which is intended to provide clues for predicting potential future developments. In considering future developments one may be reminded that the living-space of the Salishan speaking peoples has in the 19th century been the arena of an important religious movement, the Prophet
Dance; from which originated the (transformative) Ghost Dance, a series of often militantly anti-White movements of "sacro-nativistic" type sweeping through native North America. It is as yet unclear whether a secularized analogy will be provided in our time by transformative revitalization movements of "politico-nativistic" type, inspired by the so-called "Red Power" ideology, which appeals to some of the younger spirit dancers.

The Coast Salish area has in the past also seen the rise of Shakerism, a redemptive movement of the "sacro-syncretic" type in which shamanic practices, guardian-spirit beliefs, catholic liturgy and protestant ethic blended to form a religious cult, eventually established as a church. Developments in such a direction would require a deliberate amalgamation of contemporary *syə'wən* doctrines with trends in modern Western Zeitgeist which already exercise a significant yet concealed influence on Indian thought, into a sacro-syncretic belief system, or into an ethico-syncretic ideology. In the post-imperialist era, ideological currents in contemporary Western societies suggest the abandonment of eurocentric, positivistic and "materialistic" world-views, concomitant with an upgrading, even idealization, of the Western image of

5. Cf. Spier's (1935) research on the Prophet Dance and the origin of the Ghost Dance; also Suttles (1957); both authors have specific references to the Prophet Dance in the Upper Stalo region, but do not examine the relationship between Prophet Dance and spirit dancing.

6. Cf. Du Bois (1939) for the Ghost Dance of the 1870s; for the later movements around 1890 see the classical treatise by Mooney (1896). Guariglia (1959, pp. 149-171; 190-193) provides a comprehensive review with geographical maps.

7. Cf. Gunther (1949), Collins (1950), and above all, Barnett (1957).
non-Western cultures. These currents are reflected in a changing Indian-White relationship and may eventually effect the merging of the Indian "opposition ideology" with that of the younger White generation.
Modern Spirit Dance Movement

Redemptive movement
(Aim: cure of the individual)

Modern Western Zeitgeist

Syncretism

Sacro-syncretic Ethico-syncretic

Renaissant trends
(Aim: collective Indian renaissance)

Culture revitalisation

Nativism:
resistive and revivalistic

Sacro-nativistic Politico-nativistic
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