

PROCESSES IN HYMN ACQUISITION

BY

SIX NATIONS SINGERS

**THE PERSISTENCE OF VALUES:
PROCESSES IN HYMN ACQUISITION
BY
SIX NATIONS SINGERS**

**By
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Abstract

This thesis examines the processes by which hymn singing became an integral part of Six Nations social practice, and assesses under what conditions the terms transculturation, acculturation, and transformation apply.

Through an examination of the first documented musical contact between the Iroquois and the Jesuits in the 17th century, Chapter 2 addresses the question of when, under what conditions and for what reasons the Iroquois adopted European religious musical practices.

Through the musical experiences as documented in the official reports of a residential school, Chapter 3 discusses the changing attitude of Canadian officialdom towards Native people and the impact these changing attitudes may have had on the acquisition of hymns by Six Nations. It examines the way that Native people were perceived as indicative of the “Indian problem,” why government and residential school officials chose the policy of assimilation, how music was implicit in the assimilation policy, what effects this policy had on the way in which Native people were exposed to Western music, and whether these effects were lasting and total.

By looking more specifically at one hymn, “The Lord’s My Shepherd” and how its story reveals both its history and the processes of adaptation, Chapter 4 presents the history, performance aesthetics, performance practices and social meanings in a contemporary performance of this hymn. Embedded in its musical fabric are a number of genealogical threads: Scottish words sung to an English melody, acquired by the Iroquois,

translated into Mohawk and using a performance style bearing a non-Western aesthetic.

This thesis is illustrative of how one comes to appreciate the music of other cultures, and what responsibility a listener has towards coming to an informed understanding of another culture's music: through becoming aware of its values, history and social practices.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Transculturation

We live in an age that offers amazing possibilities of exposure to music from cultures around the world. With the click of a button or a turn of the dial, we can hear music from as far away as India or China, or as near as Native North American music. We can experience music from long ago or music that has just been created. Yet the question arises, how do we get to understand music from another time or another culture? How do we learn to appreciate the music of another culture? Can we just listen to it without knowing anything of its past, or do we have a responsibility to ourselves and to the original makers of that music to gain some understanding of its story? When I listen to music, because of its plasticity, it seems that I can just listen to it and something of meaning will communicate itself.

However, despite this immediate communication, the deeper I delve into a particular story, the more I become aware not just of the music itself, but of the people who created it and the struggles encapsulated in it. I become aware that music is not an autonomous object but is deeply connected to the social fabric within which it operates. I then begin asking other questions: what *were* the struggles of the people who generated this music? How does the music of widely divergent cultures cross those cultural lines? Where one party is dominant and forces its culture onto a society in a weaker political position, does the first culture have its way, or does the other culture find ways to express its own ideas? What the one side sees as happening may not be at all what happens. What

is the “truth”? How can we determine it?

In the process of becoming more familiar with the music of another culture, my husband Bob and I witnessed and audited a remarkable event. On February 5, 2005, along with a mostly First Nations audience, we attended *Kaha:wi*, a dance produced by Six Nations choreographer Santee Smith.¹ The dance:

reflects traditional values, beliefs and aesthetics on a physical, emotional and spiritual level. *Kaha:wi* is powerful due to the cultural weight it demonstrates by being profoundly connected to the richness, integrity and beauty of the Iroquoian people.²

The hour-long multi-layered production tells the parallel stories of the life cycle of one person, *Kaha:wi*³ and her family, as well as that of the Onkwehonwe people,⁴ from the time of creation to *Kaha:wi*'s maturity. The dance touches on major life themes, including the interconnectedness of *Kaha:wi*'s life and that of her family and community, the weaving of the physical and spiritual world, and the four stages of life that are part of the eternal cycle of existence: birth, youth, maturity, and death.

What especially caught my attention was the number “The Mourning,” which

¹Santee Smith, a member of the Mohawk nation, Turtle Clan, was educated at the National Ballet School. The dance draws on the dance languages of powwow and classical ballet. See Elizabeth Chitty, “*Kaha:wi* Dance Theatre - Dancing Across Boundaries,” Program Notes insert, Appendix A.

²Taken from the program notes. See Appendix A. *Kaha:wi* blends a number of different traditions – among them, classical ballet, and powwow – into a Pan-Native tradition. Six Nations' vibrant dance traditions are maintained in the Longhouse dances.

³*Kaha:wi* is the name of Santee Smith's grandmother and daughter.

⁴Onkwehonwe is the Mohawk word for Indigenous people, or the Real People. Depending on the context, I will use the following terms interchangeably, as they refer to the same group of people: the Iroquois, the Six Nations Confederacy, the Mohawk word Rotinonhsyonni, or the Onondaga word Haudenosaunee.

expressed the family's heart-felt grief over the loss of their grandmother. The dance itself was haunting in its expressions of sadness and loss, and, despite its strangeness to me, the background music intensified these feelings. The melody, clearly a hymn tune, was familiar, but I could not place it. The words were in Mohawk and incomprehensible to me. I learned later that it was the tune *Martyrdom*, and the English hymn was "The Lord's My Shepherd." The performance style seemed to my uninitiated ears amateurish and harsh. And yet, in spite of all my culturally informed reservations, I found the combination of dance and music intensely moving.

The experience was the beginning for me of a journey towards understanding the depth, complexity and integratedness of an Iroquois world view. What led me on that journey was the search for how hymning singing, and "The Lord's My Shepherd" specifically, came to be part of that world view, and bore the traces of its complicated history in the performance of *Kaha:wi*.

Overview

In examining how hymn singing came to be an integral part of Six Nations social practice, I begin in Chapter 2 by examining the first musical contact between the Iroquois and the Jesuits.⁵ My goal was to find out when, under what conditions and for what reasons the Iroquois adopted European religious musical practices. In understanding the process of adopting new cultural practice, I found James Axtell's concept of adaptation

⁵Although the Iroquois had extensive contact with the Dutch until the British defeated the Dutch in 1664, the Jesuit reports recorded in *The Jesuit Relations* provide an excellent source of documentation of the Jesuits' experiences and impressions of First Nations musical practices during the 17th century.

helpful.⁶ Much of the information for the early phase of contact comes from the Jesuit missionary reports recorded in *The Jesuit Relations*. This chapter demonstrates that cultural contact could have proceeded without either group interfering with the autonomy of the other.

Through the musical experiences as documented in the official reports of the Mohawk Institute, Chapter 3 discusses the changing attitude of Canadian officialdom towards Native people and the impact these changing attitudes may have had on the acquisition of hymns by Six Nations. I examine how and why government and school officials chose the methods that they did, what effects these methods had on the way in which Native people were exposed to Western music, and whether these effects were lasting and total. James Francis' *The Imaginary Indian* was particularly helpful in revealing pervasive and self-perpetuating attitudes of the Canadian non-Native people regarding the "Indian problem."

Chapter 4 looks more specifically at one hymn, "The Lord's My Shepherd" and the story that it tells. Embedded in its musical fabric are a number of genealogical threads. It bears the traces of a widely divergent past: Scottish words sung to an English melody, acquired somehow by the Iroquois, translated into Mohawk at some unknown time, and, at the time that I heard its performance, using a performance style bearing a non-Western aesthetic, sung in a Western context. Through the close examination of these threads, I

⁶James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: essays in the ethnohistory of colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 256-7.

address the questions of what meaning is contained within its performance, and what meaning it derives from its various ancestors. Beverley Diamond Cavanagh's essay "Christian Hymns in Eastern Woodlands Communities: Performance Contexts" was helpful in providing information about performance contexts and aesthetics.

Based on my examination of these three areas of cultural acquisition, I will then address the question of how one comes to appreciate the music of other cultures, and what responsibility a listener has towards coming to an informed understanding of another culture's music.

Foucault's critique of Western historical perspective : his concept of genealogy

What helped me understand the larger significance of the role of "Jat kah thoh ji ni shon gwa wi" within *Kaha:wi* was Michel Foucault's concept of genealogy.⁷ I also found this concept useful in examining how Western thought has portrayed the cultural contact between Europeans and Native people and how that contact proceeded. Foucault challenges many of the assumptions on which the West's concept of history is based. He gave me a basis for challenging my own Euro-centric concept of history, and encouraged me to recognize the validity of other perspectives. His critique opened the door for Native ways of looking at history. I learned that Native people have their own historical consciousness, a point I will expand on later in this chapter.

Foucault's essay "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History" explains and expands on

⁷Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, D.F. Bouchard, ed./transl. and S. Simon, transl. (Cornell University Press, 1997).

Nietzsche's conception of history. Briefly, Nietzsche criticizes the commonly held Western view that because we want to believe in logic, we assume that all events are somehow governed by logic, and as a result, we imagine that this need of ours guarantees the truthfulness of our position.⁸ In expanding Nietzsche's ideas, Foucault draws a contrast between the ways that genealogy and the West's conception of history view "values, morality, asceticism, and knowledge."⁹

The West has consistently looked at history from a god-like point-of-view, assuming that it is "the" way that history unfolds. A Western historical perspective is rather like looking through a telescope in reverse. Just as in such a perspective we are afforded an overall view and only the largest, most noteworthy objects stand out, the overall perspective of history sees events in terms of a Grand Narrative that moves in a linear, teleological fashion from a clear origin toward an inevitable goal. It creates heroes, consists mostly of high points, or significant events, and absolute, eternal truths. By contrast, a genealogical perspective is more like looking through a microscope. This perspective sees the details that make up the noteworthy events or "cyclopean monuments."¹⁰ It recognizes that events may have beginnings but not origins. Deciding at what point an event begins is arbitrary, for there is always something else that came before.

⁸Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, W. Kaufman, ed./transl. and R.J.Hollingdale, transl. (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 282-3.

⁹Foucault, 1997, p. 80.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 77.

It “permits the discovery of the myriad events through which – thanks to which, against which – they [identifying traits of a people or class] were formed.”¹¹ Present-day events are made up of a “profusion of entangled events.”¹² Especially significant, according to Foucault, is the German idea of *Entstehung*, or *emergence*, the moment of arising.

Emergence is not the inevitable outcome of a historical development, but a consequence of the “hazardous play of dominations,” “not specifically the energy of the strong or the reaction of the weak, but precisely this scene where they are displayed superimposed or face-to-face.”¹³

Let us look at some aspects of Foucault's conception in more detail, and connect his ideas to how the West has often regarded Indigenous people:

1. Origins vs. beginnings: The concept of origin implies a clear point at which something comes into existence, without any previous history. It is as if a creating force said, “Let there be...” and there it is. The concept of beginnings implies that something new may have a particular starting point, but other factors pre-existed that made that starting point possible. A Western historical perspective of Native culture would assume that nothing of importance happened on the North American continent before the arrival of Europeans. Genealogy encourages us to recognize that Native culture existed long before 1492, and that they too have a historical

¹¹Foucault, 1997, p. 81.

¹²Ibid., p. 89.

¹³Ibid., pp. 83-84.

perspective. Recognizing this fact dispels the notion that the story of everything that exists has a complete, encapsulated plot line. The writer chooses a particular place to begin, which could just as easily have been entirely different.

2. Grand Narrative, or a self-contained plot line vs. aporia: History is complete. Genealogy contains gaps, dead-ends, and surprising new directions. The 19th-century European view about Native people was that they were becoming extinct, and that this was an inevitable process representing the unstoppable progress of civilization sweeping over an inferior people.¹⁴ Genealogy makes us aware of the fact that Native people have survived, albeit scarred and wounded by their contact with the West. A Grand Narrative that sits firmly in the minds of non-Native Westerners is social evolution, the idea that societies evolve from less complex to more complex, with the corollary that the more complex a technology is, the better it is. Such a view allows us to be dismissive of “primitive” cultures, with the consequence that we fail to appreciate the depth of thought or the height of development of non-Western cultures.
3. Heroes vs. ordinary people. History chooses heroes. Genealogy recognizes that ordinary people are as much a part of the story as the people who for whatever reason have captured the public imagination. In order for Joseph Brant to become well known, there are a number of other people whose stories intersect with his,

¹⁴Daniel Francis in *The Imaginary Indian* examines the basis for this misconception in great detail. See Chapter 3 of this work. Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992.

and who made his actions possible. Recognizing this fact brings the “hero” back to ordinary dimensions. It recognizes the contribution of ordinary people to events. It makes the study of their stories relevant to the examination of any event or process.

4. High points, or significant events vs. everyday, ordinary events. Just as the news focuses on “newsworthy” events, history pays attention to wars and decisions by people in power. History has promoted the idea that the Iroquois were a warlike people, because of the wars between the Iroquois and the French and Algonkians, and has ignored the importance of the concept of peace in the development of the Six Nations Confederacy. History often becomes the story of the conqueror, the victor. Genealogy allows us to recognize the value of ordinary events, as they are part of what makes the “high points” possible. Even more significantly, we can see that for any event there are at least two stories to be told, and usually many more.
5. Absolute, eternal truths vs. relative values. The belief that world events are guided by some universal truth leads to an arrogant assumption that we are the truth holders, and it allows us to be blind to “the hazardous play of dominations” in which we are inevitably engaged. It is the driving force behind Edward Said’s critique of ‘orientalism,’ that attitude that divides the world into “them” and “us.” It justifies the belief that it does not matter that we are withholding traditional Native culture from children in residential schools, because we have the higher calling of bringing Christianity to “Savages.” Genealogy reminds us that our

version of the truth is only a version. We may believe our culture to be superior, but if we can see that others feel the same way about their culture, we may be able to step back and look more objectively at our own. We may learn to see what is valuable in other cultures. Genealogy also encourages the view that life is in constant flux. The way we view the world today is not the way our ancestors viewed the world. The problems that we face, though related to the past, are not the same as those of the past. We need to recognize that despite the great harm done to Native people, they are actively looking for solutions to the problems in which they are embroiled.

6. A single vs. a multitude of viewpoints. Because Western history is based on the premise that universal truths drive it or can be obtained from it, it promotes the illusion that there is only one valid historical perspective. But genealogy allows the recognition of many stories. Other viewpoints exist besides our own. Where we may believe that there is only one music, which is based on the principles of Western tonal music, genealogy encourages us to see that other musics exist which have validity for the culture that gave them birth.¹⁵ This viewpoint allows us at the very least to appreciate the social value of Native North American music.
7. The role of hind sight vs. change. It may be hind sight more than any other factor that creates the need to perceive history as a self-contained story of heroes. It is

¹⁵The field of Ethnomusicology examines both the different musical systems as well as the social roles that music plays within its host culture. See for example, Bruno Nettl, *The Western Impact on World Music : change, adaptation, and survival* (New York : Schirmer Books, 1985).

human nature to impose meaning on a series of events, and to believe that we are standing at the end of an inevitable process. But genealogy forces us to the awareness that any one person along the line of genealogy stood in the same place that we are in now, at the end of a line. We need to see that the line continues, and will continue on into the future. Just as family lines may meander into surprising directions, the stories of events, or the role that certain hymns will play in the journey of Six Nations culture, for example, demonstrate that change is inevitable, that we do not know where this story will wander, or whether it will end with a bang or a whimper.¹⁶

Briefly summarized, if we regard the emergence of anything as the end result of an inevitable, linear, teleological process, we miss much of value, and we do not tell its true story. Viewing history this way means that we accept today's outcome as somehow right, or we justify what we are doing in the name of whatever it is we believe in or claim to believe in, "because it was meant to be." It means we can ignore the evil that we do to others, because what we do is part of a grand narrative. By examining events or outcomes in terms of genealogy, we begin to see that Foucault's statement – "the world of speech and desires has known invasions, struggles, plundering, disguises, ploys,"¹⁷ – applies as much to our own world as it does to any other.

¹⁶With apologies to T. S. Eliot, "The Hollow Men," *Major British Writers, Vol. II* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1959), p. 840.

¹⁷Foucault, 1997, p.76.

Indigenous perspectives

In her book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Linda Tuhiwai Smith presents an Indigenous critique of the Western view of history.¹⁸ Since some of her points overlap Foucault's, I will present only those which are considerably different from his. Smith, for example, notes that the Western notion of history is based on the idea that history is a totalizing discourse which assumes that all known knowledge can be organized into a coherent unity. Since it is based on the concept of chronology, history can be constructed around the binary categories of history and prehistory. According to these binaries, no history existed among Aboriginal societies before contact with Europeans. As a corollary to this, the Western view of history actually supports colonization by devaluing the Native perspective:

The negation of indigenous views of history was a critical part of asserting colonial ideology, partly because such views were regarded as clearly 'primitive' and 'incorrect' and mostly because they challenged and resisted the mission of colonization.¹⁹

According to Smith, this view makes a number of assumptions, which must be challenged if the history of Indigenous people as told from their point of view is to have any authority.

In his book *For an Amerindian Autohistory* Georges Sioui begins his analysis of the role of disease in 17th century Iroquois society with an explanation of a First Nations

¹⁸Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London and New York: Zed Books Lt., 1999), pp.30-32.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 29.

conception of history. According to Sioui, such a conception is founded on the infinitely perfect order known as 'the Great Mystery:'

To the traditional Amerindian, life finds its meaning in the implicit and admiring recognition of the existence, role, and power of all the forms of life that compose the circle. Amerindians, by nature, strive to respect the sacred character of the relations that exist among all forms of life.²⁰

According to this concept, all life is a whole. Everything within it has some significant part in the circle, or, as Sioui puts it, "a great chain of relationships among beings."²¹ History then can be seen as a repeating series of cycles. Yet repetition does not imply stasis, because as we come back, there are changes within the cycle, and one cycle layers its meaning onto the previous one. Although change occurs, it is the continuity contained within the cycle and by the very nature of the cycle that is significant.

Deborah Doxtator examines the concept of the circularity of history more fully. It is "continual movement, not stasis." It is made up of a series of cycles marked by the seasons, the individual's life patterns, and the patterns of the community. As cycles repeat, there is gradual growth and layering: "History is an additive process building upon what has gone before in a kind of consciously constructed continuity."²²

²⁰Georges E. Sioui, *For an Amerindian Autohistory*, Sheila Fischman, transl. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), p.9.

²¹Sioui, p. 12.

²²Deborah Doxtator, "Inclusive and Exclusive Perceptions of Difference : Native and Euro-based Concepts of Time, History and Change," *Decentring the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in multidisciplinary perspective, 1500-1700*, Germaine Warkentin and Carolyn Podruchny, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), p. 40.

This “persistence of essential values”²³ reveals itself in the integrity of the Condolence Ceremony as well as in the smallest details of performance practice in the hymn “Jat kah thoh ji ni shon gwa wi.” It is what 19th and 20th century processes of assimilation attempted to disrupt but never completely succeeded at.

Positioning myself

Before continuing, I would like to present a number of reservations I encountered during the researching and writing. These reservations have led me to a clearer perception of my position. To begin with, the threads that I choose to unravel from the story – the interweaving of Christian and Iroquois musical practices, and the attempted influence of the Mohawk Institute, the residential school on the Six Nations Reserve, on the musical lives of First Nations people – will create a distortion of sorts. This story will be the story as I see it at this moment in time. Then, I share with Nietzsche a “profound aversion to reposing once and for all in any one total view of the world...[and a] fascination of the opposing point of view: refusal to be deprived of the stimulus of the enigmatic.”²⁴ This position has influenced me to continue to search for the Native perspectives on the issues I was examining. It has been an eye-opening experience.

In the reading of Native authors, several themes surfaced again and again. Each of these deserve a far more detailed treatment than I have space to give here.

Some are:

²³Sioui, p.22.

²⁴Nietzsche, p. 262.

1. Who should speak for Aboriginal people? The consensus among Native academic activists is that Indigenous people should write about their own culture, what Smith calls “the fundamental right ... to represent ourselves.”²⁵ These activists recognize that most writing on Native culture has been by non-Natives, who bring an outsider's perspective to the discussion and apply non-Native standards of judgement. The point of writers such as Smith is that the insider's viewpoint is essential in order to appreciate the true value of Indigenous cultures.
2. Since non-Native people do write about Native cultures, how should they proceed? A number of Native writers have given advice, some of which I include here. Native writer Joy Asham Fedorick has also struggled with the question of who should speak for Native people. She recognizes that though some people may not wish non-Natives to speak for Aboriginal people, the fact is they do. Her response is a checklist, which stresses respect and proper recognition of who owns what.²⁶

These ethical questions have guided my research and driven me to considerable soul searching. I have learned that it is essential to be able to identify how my position as a

²⁵Smith, p. 150. The reasons for considering the right of Indigenous people to speak for themselves are complex and have a long history. Briefly, they have to do with colonialism and cultural appropriation. Smith's book analyzes the effects of colonialism on Native epistemologies from a Native perspective. For an examination of the history and effects of cultural appropriation, see Michael F. Brown, *Who Owns Native Culture?* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

²⁶Joy Asham Fedorick, “Fencepost Sitting,” *Give Back: A First Nations Perspective on Cultural Practice* (North Vancouver: Gallerie Publications, 1992), p. 40.

white, European-born woman influences what I research, how I research it, and how I write about what I research. If my background had been Native, my starting point may have been what the world was like for my ancestors on Turtle Island²⁷ before contact, and the role that music played in that world. I have chosen to begin with the Jesuit reports on their encounters with the First Nations. I can imagine their feelings and experiences much more readily than I can those of the Iroquois when they first met the Jesuits. I can feel their apprehension in meeting these people, dressed in strange clothing and living in strange houses. I can sense their fervor in wanting them to convert to Christianity. I can hear the drum beats and singing, and though the music stirs me, I do not know what it means. It is much more difficult for me to picture the response of the Onkwehonwe to the newcomers to their land. What did they think of the Black Robes and their message of Christianity? Were they at all apprehensive about these new faces? Or did they see the new technology and culture the missionaries brought as offering opportunities to improve and enrich their lives? Did they sense that their world would change irrevocably? The Jesuits recorded some of the observations Native people made about European music, but again, we get only the occasional glimpse at their response to the new culture invading their land.

Wherever possible I have looked for ways to include First Nations perspectives. These include writings by contemporary authors, informal talks and interviews with

²⁷“Turtle Island” is the name by which some First Nations people refer to the North American continent.

people from Six Nations, as well as a wealth of information from Aboriginal sources on the internet. Although a considerable amount of Native scholarship exists, it is revealing that at first it was hard for me to find. I suspect the reason is not that Aboriginal people are not expressing opinions about these matters, but that these opinions are not readily available in mainstream non-Native society. Linda Tuhiwai Smith explains how academic writing can often take the form of academic imperialism:

Academic writing is a form of selecting, arranging and presenting knowledge. It privileges sets of texts, views about the history of an idea, what issues count as significant....²⁸

Although Smith is writing about the effects of academic writing on Indigenous writers, the point applies well to the texts and the points of view of the texts that students are exposed to in academic institutions. If the texts chosen for courses present only a non-Native perspective, how are students to discover that other ways of approaching knowledge and other historical perspectives exist?

Until recently, I was not aware of the depth and richness of Aboriginal wisdom, nor of the history and effects of colonialism, including government-sponsored assimilation programs such as residential schools. The gap in my education reflects how little attention was paid in my formal secondary education to the stories of the defeated. At the time I attended high school, history was usually the story of the victor or of those in power. It was presented as a series of facts, without Nietzsche's caution, "No, facts is precisely

²⁸Smith, p. 36.

what there is not, only interpretations.”²⁹ It is only gradually that I have become aware of the idea that we shape our reality to benefit ourselves. Nietzsche expresses this as follows: “the sense for the real is the means of acquiring the power to shape things according to our wish...we can comprehend only a world that we ourselves have made.”³⁰

As I consider the experiences at the residential school the Mohawk Institute, I will be presenting mostly my view of the reports found in *The Mush Hole*³¹. Although my view is sympathetic to the conditions and experiences of the “inmates,”³² as much as possible, I will let the reports first speak for themselves, before I comment on their significance. But what will be missing from this account is the point of view of the children themselves, with the exception of the reports of the interviews given to Elizabeth Graham, the compiler of the reports that make up *The Mush Hole*. Yet the reports are revealing enough.

I cannot tell how the inmates of the residential school system felt. Only they can do so. I cannot express what it means to have my culture taken away, because I have not

²⁹Nietzsche, p. 267.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 270.

³¹Elizabeth Graham, *The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools* (Waterloo: Hefle Publishing, 1997). *The Mush Hole* is a compilation of official reports by principals of two Ontario residential schools, the Mohawk Institute and Mount Elgin school. It includes a lengthy and informative analysis by anthropologist Elizabeth Graham, as well as her transcriptions of interviews given to her by former residents.

³²This term is used occasionally by the administration of the Mohawk Institute in their official reports. Whether the word possessed the current meaning of “prisoner” at the time the reports were filed, or simply meant “resident,” is not known.

experienced the emptiness, confusion, and the loss of the self-confidence that derives from being removed from the values taught in early childhood. But I can say that my point of view is one of great sympathy for a people who have suffered a great wrong, and are working with all their resilience, determination and humour to heal, by reaffirming the value of their traditions and by transforming the pain of the past into something new and life-sustaining.

Chapter 2: European Missionaries and the Iroquois: The Meeting of Two Musical Traditions

It would be easy to assume both that hymn singing is a fairly new activity among Native people and that the practice was imposed by white missionaries. But research has shown that both of these assumptions are false. Beverley Diamond-Cavanagh points out that “contemporary performance contexts...illustrate widespread adaptation of Christian music in Indigenous contexts.”³³ Hymn singing societies like the Mohawk Singers and printed sources in the Mohawk language indicate a history of some three hundred years.

How the Iroquois came to be familiar with hymn singing is best understood through a brief history as it relates to music, of early European contact with First Nations people, including Hurons and Iroquois, as well as of the English missions in the Mohawk Valley in Upper New York State and near Brantford.³⁴ Through this history, we can also see at work Foucault’s “hazardous play of dominations,” “not specifically the energy of the strong or the reaction of the weak, but precisely this scene where they are displayed superimposed or face-to-face.”³⁵ Rather than seeing the two parties in terms of strong and

³³Beverley Diamond-Cavanagh, “Christian Hymns in Eastern Woodlands Communities: Performance Contexts,” *Musical Repercussions of 1492: Encounters in Text and Performance* Carol E. Robertson, ed. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), p. 384.

³⁴I had hoped to find information about musical practices before the Haudenosaunee moved to the present-day Six Nations Reserve, by examining the parish records of the Mohawk Chapel, which are stored in the Huron diocese archives of the Anglican Church, housed in Huron College, London, Ontario. The archivist informed me that the records are sealed because of pending court cases. Additionally, little information was available about the musical life of the Iroquois before their move their present location near Brantford, Ontario. As a result, I do not know precisely how and when they first came in contact with the process of hymn singing, a topic for further investigation.

³⁵Nietzsche, pp.83-84.

weak, the image of approaching cultures is more like a dance of equals, where sometimes dancers are face-to-face, sometimes one dancer moves forward while another retreats, and sometimes they turn their backs to each other.

To fully appreciate the history of this dance of cultural acquisition, it is fruitful to examine the early contact between European society and the Iroquois. In those early meetings we may see the seeds of future events. What did each see in the other? What did each need from the other? How did the two cultures begin to be entwined?

If I were to present the story from the point of view of 19th-century Europeans, it could easily be “the Grand Narrative of the dominance and success of European civilization and Christianity over a primitive culture.” After all, it could be said that the apparently complete integration of Native culture into Euro-Canadian culture marks the success of attempts at acculturing and assimilating the “Savage.” I would tell how the Jesuits came to a benighted land and brought with them the great gift of the Christian faith. It is clear from the record that that is precisely the attitude of the early missionaries. It is an attitude that continues to a certain extent today, although it has undergone a number of transitions and transformations.

Broadly put, I see these stages of non-Native approach towards Native societies to be as described here. At first contact, during the 16th and 17th centuries, the French Crown wanted Catholic missionaries to convert Native people to Christianity and to acculturate them to French ways, in order to make them allies; but some of the missionaries felt that

Indigenous people should retain their own culture.³⁶ In the eastern part of the continent this phase lasted until roughly the end of the 18th century. The next phase is marked by the desire to teach Natives about the advantages of Western culture, with the overt aim of giving them the advantages of that culture. It was assumed that Natives would readily see these advantages and gradually adopt European culture. John Milloy considers both these phases as self-governing for Natives, because tribal councils still directed culture change through what they allowed to happen on reserves.³⁷ As the 19th century progressed, this teaching became more systematic. Then follows forced assimilation onto Native people. This phase became more overt toward the end of the 19th century and continued until the late 20th century. Milloy identifies this period as a process as beginning with a series of acts, including the Indian Act of 1876. Assimilation was intended to address the “Indian problem.” The final stage would complete assimilation. This stage is reached when, in the words of the principal of a Southern Ontario school close to the Six Nations Reserve, “You can’t tell the Native students from the White.”³⁸

Of course these stages mark the relationship between Native and European from

³⁶ Arthur J. Ray, *I Have Lived Here Since the World Began* (Toronto : Key Porter Books, 2005), p. 61.

³⁷ John S. Milloy, “The Early Indian Acts: Developmental Strategy and Constitutional Change,” *Sweet promises: a reader on Indian-white relations in Canada*, J.R. Miller, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp.145-152.

³⁸ This comment was made at an interview held in March, 2005 at an area high school. The principal, a non-Native was in my opinion indicating pride that the relations between Native and non-Native students were good, and that no problems had occurred that could be attributed to the different backgrounds of the students. However, it also revealed a lack of recognition of the realities of difference, as well as a lack of respect for cultural differences.

the Eurocentric point of view. Poka Laenui's essay "Processes of Decolonization"³⁹ is instructive in giving a Native perspective to the meeting of the two cultures. Laenui lists five stages, which I will summarize here. The first stage, denial and withdrawal consists of colonials looking on Indigenous people as possessing no culture or moral values. This is followed by destruction of the symbols of Indigenous culture. As traditional culture is replaced by that of the colonizers, denigration, belittlement and insult minimize traditional practices as superstition or devil worship. The fourth stage is marked by token rather than real respect for "folkloric" traditions. The final stage is characterized by transformation and exploitation. Here transformation refers to the metamorphosis of traditional culture into the dominant culture, by the use of Indigenous people and language to promote non-Native values. All these symptoms of colonization can be found in examples I use from *The Jesuit Relations*, and the missionary and residential school reports. They help to account for the ills of poverty, loss of land and loss of identity endured by First Nations people.

At the same time, we are now, at least in part, in a period of decolonization. First Nations communities are awakening to a re-emergence of their traditions and a reshaping of European-acquired values into a culture that is truly theirs. It is part of the process of decolonization that Laenui calls "rediscovery and recovery."⁴⁰ This rebirth is aptly stated

³⁹Poka Laenui, "Processes of Decolonization," *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, Marie Battiste, ed. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), pp. 150-160.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 152.

in the words of Native writers Harjo and Bird:

We will continue to Resist Acculturation

Assimilation

Extinction

in whatever forms

Including written ones

“‘Reinventing’ in the colonizer’s tongue and turning those images around to mirror an image of the colonized to the colonizers as a process of decolonization indicates that something is happening, something is emerging and coming into focus that will

politicise as well as transform.”⁴¹

Harjo and Bird’s concept of transformation is political rather than cultural, but one can hardly separate the one from the other. Cultural transformation is political in the sense that it reawakens people to the value of their traditions and offers new ways of expressing them, giving them a new source of strength based on pride and self-confidence. Jean Barman puts it this way: “Canada’s aboriginal peoples are not returning to a previous era: rather, they are reaffirming their identity by selecting aspects of the old ways and blending them with the new.”⁴² It should be clarified that in many places in Canada, and particularly at Six Nations, traditional practices continued to thrive. But now there is a more wholesale reawakening to the value of these practices. Additionally, a cultural renaissance is occurring because old forms are being infused with new meanings, and forms from non-

⁴¹Harjo & Bird, 1997, as quoted in Graveline, Fyre Jean. “Teaching Tradition Teaches Us.” *Canadian Journal of Native Education*. Vol 26, No.2, p. 33.

⁴²Jean Barman, Yvonne M. Hébert, and Don McCaskill, “The Challenge of Indian Education,” *Indian Education in Canada, Volume 2: The Challenge* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987), p. 5.

Native culture have become the vehicle for old meanings. This retention of old meanings reflects the persistence and continuity of thought characteristic of a First Nations view of history.

The Grand Narrative: First Contact and the Jesuit Missionaries

Although the Jesuits were not the first Europeans to establish contact with the Iroquois, because of the detailed descriptions on their experiences with First Nations people, the *Jesuit Relations* are an excellent source of information on Iroquois performance practices during the 17th century. It is clear that the Jesuits saw themselves part of the Grand Narrative of winning over the “Savage” to a better way of life. The pages of *The Jesuit Relations* are alive with tales of heroism, sacrifice, and admiration for those Natives who allowed themselves to be baptized and who continued in their practice of Christianity. This fascinating record of the correspondence of these early 17th- and 18th-century missionaries reveals not just their exploits among the Iroquois, Hurons and Algonquins, but also gives us insight into their views towards Native musical practices.

The mission to convert the Natives, sanctioned by God, and supported by royalty, drove their lives. In a summary of the Jesuit missions in Canada during 1611-13, Joseph Jouvency, a priest of the Society of Jesus, writes, “Henry IV, more solicitous for religion than for commerce, resolved in the year 1608, to introduce Christian rites into this part of the New World, and asked members of the Society to undertake this Apostolic

enterprise.”⁴³ Jouvency's attitude of the moral and cultural superiority of his position is clearly revealed as he describes what he finds after sporadic visits by earlier French sojourners:

Having entered at last the mouth of the St. Lawrence River on the 22nd day of May, on the holy day of Pentecost, they came upon some traces of the Christian religion, which had been superficially impressed by those whom we have mentioned as having journeyed from France into this region. For, since the speech of the people was unknown to them, and they had no certain and fixed residence in this savage land, there was no opportunity for educating those whom they chanced to baptize, and who, plunging again into their former habits, scarcely retained the Christian name, while defiling it with their native vices.⁴⁴

The land is “savage,” and Jouvency cannot possibly imagine that a moral code could exist among the Aborigines. Thus at the very beginning of contact, we see that approach towards Natives which Edward Said calls “orientalist” and Smith refers to as the “other.” Since the Oriental or “other” is irrational, aberrant, and backward, and the European is rational, developed and culturally advanced, it follows that it is the responsibility of Europeans to govern non-Europeans.⁴⁵ A comparable viewpoint permeates other missionaries' entries as well. A 1685 report comments baldly, “The less one lends to the Savages, the better.” François de Crépeuil, the veteran missionary to the

⁴³ Joseph Jouvency, “An account of the Canadian mission from the year 1611 until the year 1613,” *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in North America (1610-1791)*, Edna Kenton, editor (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1925), p.3. I do not know if Henry IV truly believed that conversion was desirable, or if this was Jouvency's view of Henry's position. Later monarchs were more interested in the economic gains of conversion.

⁴⁴Kenton, p. 4.

⁴⁵Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), pp. 38-40.

Montagnais, writes in April 7, 1686, “One must not be discouraged at the start, or condemn the customs of some poor Savages; they can be won in Time, and with patience.”⁴⁶

This same attitude of superiority colours the way in which some missionaries perceive Aboriginal music. In 1634, Father Paul Le Jeune writes of the Montagnais, “The Savages are great singers; they sing, as do most of the nations of the earth, for recreation and for devotion, which, with them, means superstition.”⁴⁷ For Le Jeune it is a foregone conclusion that Aboriginal religious practices are “superstition.” This view allows him to minimize the value of these practices and at the same time to ignore the depth of belief expressed here. It is easy to understand his response. Often, whenever we encounter anything new, we are usually so struck by the differences from ourselves that we fail to see the similarities.⁴⁸ Le Jeune saw only the huge gulf separating him from these “Savages.” What leaps out at the reader is the lack of understanding which Father Le Jeune demonstrates towards Native religion, labeling it with the pejorative “superstition.” His position prevents him from appreciating the full value of Native spirituality. He grudgingly comments on their devotion, but dismisses it as superstition.

Amazement at the difference from French practice pervades Le Jeune's description

⁴⁶Kenton, p. 257.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 58.

⁴⁸Both Said and Smith have written about this phenomenon. In Smith's words, “Reading and interpretation present problems when we do not see ourselves in the text,” p. 35. The same problems occur in written and visual representations, as Daniel Francis explores in *The Imaginary Indian*. See Chapter 3 of this work.

of the musical practices of the Aboriginals:

The tunes which they sing for pleasure are usually grave and heavy. It seems to me that occasionally they sing something gay, especially the girls, but for the most part, their songs are heavy, so to speak, sombre and unpleasant; they do not know what it is to combine chords to compose a sweet harmony. They use few words in singing; varying the tones, and not the words. I have often heard my Savage make a long song with these three words: *Kaie, nir khigatoutaouim*, “And thou wilt also do something for me.” They say that we imitate the warbling of birds in our tunes, which they do not disapprove, as they nearly all take pleasure both in singing and in hearing others sing; and although I told them that I did not understand anything about it, they often invited me to sing some song or prayer.⁴⁹

The differences he notes between European and Native aesthetics also prevent him from understanding the social and religious roles of the music. For, listening with his European-trained ears, what he hears is lack of harmony or variation in words or tone. To him, the fact that Aboriginals do not “combine chords to compose a sweet harmony” means that their music is somehow substandard. When confronted with the Native perspective of European music, he misses an excellent opportunity for learning about Native culture. He also fails to see the generosity of the Native view of European performance practice. Need I point out how ironic it is that Natives do not “disapprove,” but he finds their singing “unpleasant”?

The passage does not help us to understand what exactly the music meant to the singers, but we do get the picture that music was constantly present, that First Nations

⁴⁹ Kenton, p.58.

people enjoyed singing,⁵⁰ and that many of the songs expressed some aspects of worship. The words which Le Jeune reports, “and thou wilt also do something for me,” which I assume translate the Native words, indicate a reciprocal relationship between the person praying and a higher being, elsewhere named as the Creator.⁵¹ The fact that Le Jeune was invited to join in the singing shows the Natives’ willingness to share their music and to draw the newcomer in. Additionally, their response to European singing, as Le Jeune describes it, shows their openness to a new aesthetic.

In the same passage, Le Jeune relates a story which for him explains the importance First Nations people place on singing, and demonstrates the “superstitious” Native belief that singing has the power to work on the physical world and alter it to their benefit. What he fails to grasp is the underlying Native belief of the full integration of the physical and spiritual worlds:

⁵⁰In an interview given at Woodland Cultural Centre on March 30, 2006, George Beaver, retired elementary school teacher, and columnist on Six Nations issues for *The Brantford Expositor*, stated that the Mohawks had a long reputation as “the singing Indians.”

⁵¹Father Brébeuf explains that the Hurons refer to a supernatural being called “Oki.”: “I say this to show how easy it will be, with time and divine aid, to lead these Peoples to the knowledge of their Creator, since they already honor so especially a creature which is so perfect an image of him. And, furthermore, I may say it is really God whom they honor, though blindly, for they imagine in the Heavens an Oki, that is to say, a Demon or power which rules the seasons of the year, which holds in check the winds and the waves of the sea; which can render favorable the course of their voyages, and assist them in every time of need. They even fear his anger, and invoke him as a witness in order to render their faith inviolable, when they make some promise of importance, or agree to some bargain or treaty of peace with an enemy. Here are the terms they use, Hakhrihóté ekaronhiaté, tout Icwakhier ekentaté, “The Sky knows what we are doing to-day;” and they think that if, after this, they should violate their word or break their alliance, the Sky would certainly chastise them. More than that, they do not think it right to mock the Sky. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610–1791, Vol. X*, Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1848). Electronic version at http://puffin.creighton.edu/jesuit/relations/relations_10.html. Accessed February 13, 2006.

As for their superstitious songs, they use them for a thousand purposes, for which the Sorcerer and that old man, of whom I have spoken, have given me the reason. Two Savages, being once in great distress, seeing themselves within two finger lengths of death for want of food, were advised to sing: and when they had sung, they found something to eat: since that time all their religion consists mainly in singing, using the most barbarous words that come into their minds.⁵²

The story places great value on the role of singing, for through the act of singing, something was brought into being that did not exist before, the gift of life. It does not state who or what advised the starving men to sing for food. It may have been fear, or a way of summoning animals for food. In Native belief, unlike that of Christians, the physical and spiritual realm are not separate, as Western culture tends to think about them, but instead are fully interconnected. Through singing, new things may be brought into being. In the case of the starving men, it was food that helped them survive. Singing is a form of expressing devotion, a way to tap into spiritual power; a link to the Creator. Since a person sings “for a thousand purposes,” the passage implies the infusion of Native spirituality into everyday life.

Somewhat later, Le Jeune describes a “long superstitious rite which lasted more than four hours.” First noting down the actual words sung, he comments, “I asked what these words meant, but not one could interpret them to me, for it is true that not one of them understands what he is singing, except in the tunes they sing for recreation.”⁵³

It may simply be that the language barriers prohibited translation. It may be that the singers

⁵²Kenton, p.58-59.

⁵³Ibid., p. 59.

did not communicate the meanings of the words to him, because they did not wish to share with him their ceremonial significance. If his writing is any indication, perhaps he had not demonstrated adequate respect towards them or their rituals. If this is true, we may have the first documented case of resistance to an imposition of European values on Natives, reported, ironically, by the person who has displayed his racism. If, however, Le Jeune is correct in stating that the Natives did not know the meaning of the words, it seems strange that once again, Le Jeune cannot see a parallel between himself and First Nations people. He would himself have administered the worship service in Latin, a language not understood by the majority of his parishioners. If we compare the use of Latin within the Roman Catholic Church, before Vatican II in 1965 allowed the use of the vernacular in worship, we can conclude that the ancient words are holy. If the words are holy, then they should not be changed. The idea of the holiness of the spoken word exists within the Christian tradition as well. John 1:1 states, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God." Among its many meanings is the idea of God's creative acts through speaking the word, or, bringing into being by speaking.

This concept demonstrates the power of the spoken word in oral tradition.⁵⁴ Even for those people not initiated into the literal meaning of a memorized passage, the general meaning and context would be understood. It also implies that the words are ancient, part

⁵⁴Chief Jacob Thomas explains that the formal oral tradition is an "actual discipline about how communication is to take place.... 'I don't like to use my own thinking...I tell only what I know. When you pass it on, you don't try to use your own ideas.... The thing that I have heard is only what I always go by.'" To aid the reciter, several mnemonic devices are used, wampum strings and the condolence cane. José Barreiro, "Chief Jacob Thomas and the Condolence Cane," *Northeast Indian Quarterly*, Vol. VII, Number 4, Winter 1990, p. 79.

of a long-standing tradition. According to Norma Vascotto, Professor of Music at the University of Western Ontario:

Another aspect of this is that participants may literally not have known what was being said – in First Nations music, there were often secret words known only to spiritual leaders (shaman, etc.), kept secret to preserve the power both of the words and of the spiritual leaders. They were magic languages, and often survive now only as what we call vocables or untranslatable words.⁵⁵

A parallel can be drawn in the use of Latin or Greek as languages for religious expression. The meaning of the phrase *kyrie eleison* is not known by many people.

It is important to recognize that in his report, Le Jeune was observing Indigenous music as an outsider. Since it had nothing to teach him about those things that mattered to him – those principles of faith and conversion which are marked by baptism and devotion to God – he was not interested in the culture of First Nations people except as a curiosity. Had Le Jeune been able to see beyond his limited vision, he would have gained a far greater appreciation of Native culture and Native humanity. It is unfortunate that his limited vision prevented him from appreciating the significance of the ceremony to which he was a witness. It is fortunate, though, that he reported his experiences and prejudices so directly that it is possible for us to connect his descriptions with actual First Nations practices and beliefs.

Later entries into the *Relations* reveal that in this early stage of contact between the two cultures, other Jesuits showed considerable respect, and more understanding than

⁵⁵Norma Vascotto, from an e-mail discussion, April 26, 2006.

Father Le Jeune, for Iroquoian protocol. Father Simon Le Moine, for example, after a fire destroyed more than twenty “cabins” [Longhouses?], describes how he gave the people two presents to console them “in order to follow the custom of friends on such occasions.”⁵⁶ By this statement, I assume he means that he follows the protocol of meetings of the Iroquois. Fathers Joseph Chaumont and Claude Dablon, recounting events in 1655 and 1656, describe a meeting with the Iroquois at Onondaga village, where they observe a protocol of meeting, “After the Father had spoken for half an hour, the Chief began the song of response; and all commenced to sing; in wondrous harmony; in a manner somewhat resembling our plain-chant.” Then follows a listing of the various songs, outlining the formal stages of the meeting. These include a song of thanking the Father for a good speech, congratulating him on his journey and arrival, a song during the lighting of a fire of which he would take possession, expression of a desire for peace, and so on.⁵⁷ These stages indicate a well-established protocol.

During a later meeting, the two priests recount the following:

To show his joy over this glory, the Deputy [from the Iroquois village of Oiogoen] began a song, which was as pleasing as it was new. All present sang with him, but in a different and heavier tone, beating time on their mats; while the man himself danced in the midst of them all, performing strange antics – keeping his whole body in motion; making gestures with his hands, feet, head, eyes and mouth, – and all this so exactly in the time of both his own singing and that of the others, that the result was admirable. He sang these words: A, a, ha *Gaianderé*; that is translated into Latin, *Io, io, triumphe*. And then, *E, e, he Gaianderé, gaianderé: O o, ho,*

⁵⁶Kenton, p.255.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 267.

Gaianderé, gaianderé. He explained what he meant by his *Gaianderé*, which signifies, among the natives, “something very excellent.” He said that, what we call the Faith, would be called by them *Gaianderé*....⁵⁸

The writer marvels at the precisely performed chant. This exact timing suggests to me a highly stylized performance, as well as familiar practice and clearly understood performance conventions. The singing has great ceremonial significance. It is a vehicle for the expression of appropriate emotions. It also organizes the proceedings, with a new song for each new item on the agenda. In this particular meeting, the Deputy has begun with an expression that something good is about to take place. The meeting continues in chant, the second chant celebrating their speaking together, and heaven's bringing of a message. The third and fourth graciously welcome the visitors and their message, and the fifth and sixth speak of a great peace being made this day. A number of such meetings are summarized in the *Relations*, and each time a specific protocol, presented in chant, itemizes the meeting's agenda.

Father Chaumont records the protocol followed at a council meeting of Elders, where one elder greeted them formally, and made two presents:

One of these was 500 porcelain [wampum] beads, to wipe our eyes, wet with tears shed over the murders committed in our country that year; and, as grief causes loss of voice, having, he said, clearly perceived our weakness of utterance upon our arrival, he added a second present of 500 beads, to strengthen our lungs, to remove the phlegm from our throats, and to make our voices clear, free and strong.⁵⁹

⁵⁸Kenton, p.278.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 269.

As will be seen later, the phrases “beads, to wipe our eyes wet with tears...” and “grief causes loss of voice” have great significance.

The Condolence Ceremony

Although the missionaries reported the ritual with considerable respect, it seems to me that they were not fully aware of its significance. It was certainly not apparent to me, even after several readings of their reports. The words “wipe away tears,” as well as the gift of “porcelain beads” seemed to hold a significance that was not apparent in Chaumont and Dablon’s words. What contextualized these reports for me was reading José Barreiro’s 1989 interview with Snipe Clan Sub-Chief Jacob Thomas, an elder of the Cayuga Nation. Through it, I began to gain an appreciation of this ceremony’s role within the Iroquois cultural and spiritual tradition. Since the story of the Peacemaker plays a central role in our understanding of Iroquois Longhouse spirituality and the Iroquois confederacy – “a mythic drama pitting the forces of war and destruction against the discipline of the ‘Good Mind,’ with its code of ‘Peace, Power, and Righteousness’”⁶⁰ – , the whole of it as Chief Thomas presents it may be found in Appendix B.

What the missionaries were describing is the Ceremony of Condolence, a “central protocol in the Iroquois Longhouse tradition.”⁶¹ The Ceremony of Condolence, which is used to greet people who have traveled, to relieve them of any great sadness they may have encountered, also prescribes the tradition that will be followed whenever anyone dies,

⁶⁰Barreiro, p. 80.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 77.

whether a commoner or a leader. Barreiro explains the ancient ceremony's function as "a protocol of greeting, condoling, and most of all, renewing ties between two groups from among and within the member nations that make up the Confederacy."⁶² I drew the conclusion that the rituals described by Chaumont and by Thomas were the same, based on the similarity of wording in the missionary reports and the story about Ayonwatha (known more generally as Hiawatha) and the sympathy strings. Both mention the ceremonial wiping away of tears using "porcelain" or wampum beads, and both describe how this act of comforting would clear the eyes, ears and throats of the mourners. My conclusion was verified by Amos Key (Taehowehs), Faithkeeper of the Mohawk and Onondaga Nations, and Director of Languages at Woodland Cultural Centre, Brantford.⁶³

Chief Thomas indicates that the Condolence ceremony lasts for a long time. It is in three parts, totaling anywhere from four to seven hours, a time that recalls Father Le Jeune's "long superstitious rite which lasted more than four hours." The strings of wampum or "power" and the condolence cane keep a record and help the reciter remember by "picturing all the different things where they come in."⁶⁴ One such cane is on display at the Woodland Cultural Centre Museum.

Throughout *The Jesuit Relations*, strength and quality of voice are mentioned again and again. It is essential for speakers and singers to utter their words clearly and with

⁶²Barreiro, p. 80.

⁶³In an interview, March 13, 2006.

⁶⁴Barreiro, p. 83.

power, so that the words will have the desired effect on the listener. This may help to explain why the full-bodied singing style of Native chant is deliberately cultivated. If peace is to be obtained, for example, then the words of peace must be uttered in a way that they will be heard. If words are spoken with power, then they will be heard, not just by human listeners, but also by the Creator. It is for this reason that the Condolence ceremony needs to wipe away tears, so that the voices can ring out, even up to the ears of the Creator. This is not mentioned in the *Relations*, but was explained to me by Amos Key. Several examples from the *Relations* will illustrate the point of the importance of the voice.

Concerning a meeting in August, 1654, between three Nations from the Iroquois Confederacy and Father Simon Le Moine, Le Moine writes:

Another Captain, of the Nation of the Onneiocronnons [Oneida] arose. “Onnontio,” he said, addressing...our absent Governor, ... “Thy voice, Onnontio,” said he, “is wonderful, for it produces in my heart, at the same time, two wholly opposite emotions. Thou givest me courage to fight, and thou softenest my heart with thoughts of peace.”⁶⁵

There is a direct connection between the effect of the voice on the listener, and the quality of the voice of the speaker.

A previous citation noted that a gift of 500 “porcelain” beads would help make the voices of the French “clear, free and strong.” The Condolence Ceremony removes whatever restrains the voice from clarity. In a council meeting on November 7, 1655, the Iroquois said to the Father “That Agonchiendagueté – who is, as it were, the King of this country – and Onnontio [Huron-Iroquois appellation for governor] had voices of equal

⁶⁵Kenton, p. 253.

power and firmness, and that nothing could sever so suitable a tie, which held them in such close union.”⁶⁶ The physical power of the voice is equated with the power of authority and effect; in this case, the effect refers to the formation of an alliance.

The Jesuits readily adopt the Iroquois metaphorical style of speaking. Like the Iroquois, the missionaries refer to the voice metaphorically to represent hearing and communication. If a person speaks clearly and with strength, his words will be understood by the listener, and the words will be followed. Whether the Jesuits understood the connection of voice characteristic and the Condolence ceremony is uncertain, but their choice of language was certainly pleasing to their listeners. Father Chaumont, addressing Atondatochan, ambassador for the Oneida Nation, said “that he congratulated himself and thanked God at seeing that great man, whose voice had rung out so loud at Montreal that it was still to be heard there, so great was its strength...[This clause was] received with the customary applause, and the faces of all showed how much they enjoyed this speech.”⁶⁷

In the same meeting, Dablon writes,

Then the Father raised his voice, and told the Chief that his fine powers of speech would ever increase in volume; that, hitherto, they had resounded through all the confines of Lake Ontario, but, in future, they would speed across the greatest of all lakes, and be heard as thunder throughout France.”

It is easy to imagine the listeners chuckling at the hyperbole and nodding approvingly at the speaker's adoption of the Iroquoian image of the powerful voice.

⁶⁶Kenton, p. 269.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 266.

As time passes, *Relations* entries show Native involvement in worship services.

Father Claude Chauchetière, speaking of the Iroquois mission at Sault St. François Xavier near Montreal in 1682, gives a description of religious worship led by converted Natives:

The wife of the dogique – that is to say, of him who Leads the Singing and says The prayers – is among the number. She it is who, in her husband's absence, also causes The prayers to be said aloud, and Leads The Singing....⁶⁸

This passage demonstrates that Natives had learned Christian religious practice, and were skillful and knowledgeable enough to lead worship services. An added advantage from the Jesuit perspective would be that worshipers would find a personal connection between themselves and the person leading the service. The entry does not say what language the wife of the dogique used to conduct the service, but translations into Mohawk of the Catholic liturgy were made as early as the 18th century,⁶⁹ if not earlier.

In this early stage of contact between Natives and Europeans, although the Jesuits may not have understood the full significance to the Natives of the value of their beliefs and the roles that music played in the expression of those beliefs, many of them nevertheless did not feel it was necessary to force Natives to adopt European ways. They may have felt these practices were strange, exotic even, but as long as they accepted the "True Faith," Aboriginal people could continue their own way of life. It is possible then to see that the two ways of life could travel on their parallel paths, as depicted in the two-row

⁶⁸Kenton, p. 295.

⁶⁹A photocopy of a translation from Kanasatakeha exists at the Woodland Cultural Centre: *Tsiatak Nihonoumsentsiake: Le Livre des Sept Nations, ou Paroissien Iroquois*, (Tohtiake, Tehoristoranakon John Lovell, 1865).

wampum belt.⁷⁰ The two rows on this belt, recording a 1613 treaty between the Dutch and the Haudenosaunee (the Iroquois Confederacy),⁷¹ represents the two civilizations traveling side by side in the same direction but never touching. We can imagine that the two could influence each other, as indeed they did, but with equal respect shown on either side.

Unfortunately, this view of two parallel societies was not the common European view.

For one thing, the French were not party to this treaty. In the 18th century, the French Crown, for example, saw the purpose of Christianizing as facilitating the acculturation of Native people, with the aim of controlling them for economic gain.

Why did some of the Iroquois choose to convert to Christianity?

By the end of the 17th century, many Natives had willingly accepted Christianity. Some factors within Iroquois society, as well as hints within *The Jesuit Relations*, give clues as to why they may have been drawn to this new Faith.

Within Iroquois society the idea of the importance and attainability of peace had existed for a long time. Some time prior to the 15th century, the charismatic figure the

⁷⁰ “On the surface, the Kaswentha [two-row wampum belt] covered a trading relationship but on a deeper level it laid the foundation for interactions between the Dutch and the Haudenosaunee.....The two parallel purple lines depict the Dutch on one side and the Haudenosaunee on the other. The entire belt represents an ever-flowing river in which the vessels of the two nations travel side-by-side. The parallel aspect of the two lines represents the idea that the two will never cross paths but will remain connected (by the three white rows of wampum that separate them) through the principles of peace, friendship and mutual respect. In essence they agreed to live as peaceful neighbors under a relationship of friendship predicated under an agreement to not interfere in the internal business of the other. The contemporary oral record of the treaty also notes that individuals could choose which boat one would travel in with the understanding that one must be clear in one’s choice and avoid ‘having a foot in both.’ The premise of non-interference demonstrates the desire to be allies to each other rather than one side as subjects of the other. Susan Marie Hill, *The Clay we are made of: an examination of Haudenosaunee land tenure on the Grand River Territory*, (Peterborough: Trent University, 2005), p. 173.

⁷¹This treaty was assumed by the British in 1664 after their defeat of the Dutch.

Peacemaker and the Mohawk leader Ayanwahtha brought about peace among the Iroquois Nations through the development of the Iroquois Confederacy. Symbols of the covenant of peace are the Iroquois Confederacy Wampum Belt,⁷² known as the Ayanwahtha Belt, and the Tree of Peace. On the top of the metaphorical pine tree sits an eagle who watches the roots which extend to the north, south, east and west. If any evil threatens the Confederacy, the eagle will warn the Nations.⁷³

It is easy to imagine that once the Iroquois were exposed to the missionaries, they might see a parallel between the teachings and personalities of the Peacemaker and of Jesus, the Prince of Peace. The Holy Spirit taking the form of a dove may have reminded them of the watchful eagle on top of the Tree of Peace. Amos Key tells of Hiawatha having twelve friends who helped him spread the message of peace; these twelve friends bring to mind the twelve disciples of Jesus, who helped to spread the good news of the coming of the Prince of Peace..

From *The Jesuit Relations* we learn that Indigenous people were fascinated by Biblical stories. Father Claude Chauchetière describes the book he has made for them, as well as its reception:

I sketch upon paper The truths of The Gospel and The practises of virtue

⁷²The significance of the Iroquois Confederacy Wampum Belt is fully explained in the following article: Howard McLellan "Indian Magna Carta Writ In Wampum Belts: Six Nations Shows Treaty Granting Them Independent Sovereignty as Long as Sun Shines," reprinted from *The New York Times*, June 7, 1925. Available at http://www.ratical.org/many_worlds/6Nations/WampumBelts.html. Accessed Feb. 25, 2006.

⁷³Alma Greene, *Tales of the Mohawks* (J.M. Dent and sons, Canada, Limited, 1975). For the complete story, see pp. 7-12.

Invented by Monsieur de Nobletz.⁷⁴ Another Book Contains colored pictures of The Ceremonies of the mass applied to the passion of our lord; another Contains Pictures showing The torments of hell: another The Creation of the world. The savages Read these with pleasure and profit, and these Books are Their mute teachers.⁷⁵

When at one meeting Elders ask him to entertain them, he tells them about Paul's conversion, and continues with the Biblical version of the beginning of the world. The direct result is "such success that, at the close, one of the company began to pray in public to the maker of all things; while two others asked what they must do to become believers."⁷⁶ The writer implies that the listeners were responding as if, moved by Paul experience of conversion, they too wished to become believers. This may indeed be true, or it may have been curiosity on the listeners' part that led to the question.

Another possible reason that many Natives converted is that they saw connections between their practices and those of the Jesuits. We have already seen that the Rite of Condolence played a central part in the spirituality of the Iroquois. For them, the physical, social, political and spiritual world were fully integrated. Singing or chanting was significant in that it carried words clearly and audibly even to the ears of the Creator. Did they see the rites of the Roman Catholic Church performing a similar function in European culture? For that matter, the Jesuits did not fail to point out whatever similarities they saw

⁷⁴Dom Michel Nobletz (1577-1652), one of the foremost French missionaries of early 17th century, developed a method of teaching the gospel using painted charts called taolennou or tables of mission. <http://www.infobretagne.com/nobletz.htm>. Accessed February 25, 2006.

⁷⁵Kenton, p. 292-3.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 270-71.

and to employ the language and format of the Condolence protocol in their dealings with the Haudenosaunee. In a letter to the Society of Jesus dated June 6, 1656, an unnamed correspondent writes:

Our Fathers and our French knelt down, removed their hats, clasped their hands, and intoned aloud the *Veni Creator* at full length. This astonished and delighted the spectators, to whom we explained that we never dealt with any matter of importance without first asking the assistance of the Spirit who governs the whole world.⁷⁷

The chanting of the *Veni Creator*, as well as the reference to God as Creator, may have reminded the listeners of their own ceremonies.

But throughout the accounts we see the shadow of a darker story. There are many references to sick and dying children and older people. Father Le Moine indicates in his journal that he baptized little dying children and tended to a sick man reduced to a skeleton because of a poorly tended gunshot wound.⁷⁸ Father Chaumont secretly baptizes a “little dying infant.”⁷⁹ We know that diseases borne across the Atlantic devastated Native populations. Georges Sioui estimates that of the 18 million Amerindian inhabitants at time of contact, by 1900 only 250,000 to 300,000 remained⁸⁰. Susan Hill indicates a 75 % loss among the Mohawk Nation between 1630 and 1640.⁸¹ Hill states that disease had a major

⁷⁷Kenton, p. 287.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁸⁰Sioui, p.3.

⁸¹Hill, p. 175.

impact on the conversions to Christianity:

Missionaries appear to be most successful in conversions when working with people facing extreme situations....In other words, societies that are unstable (or recently destabilized) and economically poor are often more willing to accept a new way of looking at the world than those that are stable and prosperous.⁸²

Perhaps for some of the Natives the stories of Christianity carried weight because of the stories of a loving God at a time of such catastrophic population loss and personal grief. It is easy to see a direct connection with a God who offers comfort and hope, and the comfort and support given through the Condolence ceremony.

We can never know exactly what was in the hearts of Natives as they offered themselves for conversion. We can, however, speculate that it was a combination of a number of things: curiosity about something new; the parallels they may have seen between the Creator and the Christian God, the figures of the Peacemaker and of Jesus, and the use of ceremony to express devotion; the fact that adaptation to new ways of life was seen to be beneficial, if not necessary for survival; and related to that, the perception that the European way of life offered a number of advantages. Additionally, the Jesuits took full advantage of whatever connections they saw between European and Native spiritual practices and beliefs.

The role of adaptation

James Axtell's concept of adaptation may serve to explain further the process of cultural exchange. Speaking specifically of tools, he speculates that a society acquires

⁸²Hill, p. 175.

from another society whatever it will find useful within its own society. It will either adapt new objects to a familiar use, or import objects along with their concomitant functions, as long as these new functions will be useful within the host society.⁸³ European culture possessed many objects that were technologically superior to similar objects in Native culture. Metal tools, for example, were more durable and versatile than some of the wooden, bone, or stone tools which Native craftsmen possessed, and their greater efficiency allowed Native hunters to develop a higher standard of living. In the area of crafts, once they began trading for beads, Native women developed the decorative art of beading to a highly sophisticated level. Again, we see that the missionaries traded those very objects which they saw had value within Native society. Several of the Fathers mention giving beads, for a variety of purposes, such as a reward for deserving behaviour, for trading, or for such ceremonial purposes as thanksgiving.

Although Axtell is speaking of objects rather than social practice, his concept can be transferred to music used in worship. As we have seen, First Nations people may have adopted Christianity, and the interconnected practice of hymn singing, because they saw many points of similarity with their own spiritual practices. These parallels may have made the Christian message easy for them to relate to. What is at question is whether they ever fully adopted Christianity, an idea I will return to later when we examine the resurgence of Native culture practices in Chapter 4. It is a question the Jesuits do not address, possibly because they believed, or wanted to believe, that the conversion of the Indigenous people

⁸³James Axtell, p. 256-7.

to Christianity was both sincere and complete. Alternatively, they may have seen the political implications of emphasizing conversion stories. After all, their writings were official reports to their superiors in Quebec and France, whose support they needed in order to continue their work.

The Grand Narrative continues: English missionaries and The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

By the late 17th century, a sizable population of Christian Iroquois existed among five original Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. Some of these converts settled in the Bay of Quinte area, as well as at the mission at Caughnawaga. In the Mohawk Valley in Upper New York State, French influence among the Iroquois continued until 1708, when, after a period of instability and conflict between the French, Dutch and English, the British took over as missionaries, through the agency of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG)⁸⁴, later known as the New England Company (NEC), an independent body whose members consisted of Anglicans and Protestant dissenters. The 1649 Charter of the society stated its purpose to be:

...for the further propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst "the heathen natives in or near New England, and the parts adjacent in America, and for the better civilizing, educating, and instructing of the said heathen natives in learning and in the knowledge of the true and only God, and in the Protestant Religion already owned and publicly professed by divers of them, and for the better encouragement of such others as shall embrace the same, and of their posterities after them, to abide and continue in and hold

⁸⁴*Project Canterbury: Preface to The Book of Common Prayer According to the Use of the Church of England*. Translated into the Mohawk Language. Hamilton: Ruthven's Book and Job Office, 1842. Online. http://anglicanhistory.org.bcp/mohawk_preface.html. Accessed February 23, 2006.

fast the said profession."⁸⁵

Although the charter sets out the aims of the SPG as civilizing, Christianizing, educating, and, later, assimilation, historian William Thomas Morgan advances the argument that the English saw trade advantages for themselves in encouraging the missionizing of the Iroquois.⁸⁶ At the same time, the Iroquois may have sought to strengthen their ties with the English through accepting Christianity. In the 17th and early 18th centuries, the main body of the Mohawk Nation dwelled in the Mohawk Valley. From their group, a delegation of four sachems traveled to Queen Anne's Court in London, England in 1711, seeking solutions for the social problems which were beginning to develop among their people as a result of contact. As a consequence of this meeting, Queen Anne ordered a chapel to be established at Fort Hunter, some distance west of Albany on the Mohawk River, and for a priest to officiate. One of the sachems was Sa Ga Yeath Qua Pieth Tow of the Bear Clan, called King of Maguas, with the Christian name Peter Brant, grandfather of Joseph Brant, who will figure later in our story..

In 1712, the SPG established the first Chapel of the Mohawks at Fort Hunter, where their missionary work progressed more or less peacefully for the Mohawks until the American War of Independence. Once the SPG took over from the French, two translations into Mohawk of the Anglican Book of Prayer appeared in three separate

⁸⁵*Project Canterbury.*

⁸⁶William Thomas Morgan, "The Five Nations and Queen Anne," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol 13, No.2, Sept., 1926, pp. 169-189.

printings, while the Mohawks still lived in their homeland territory of the Mohawk Valley.⁸⁷

After Joseph Brant, Mohawk leader of the Six Nations, sided with the British during the American War of Independence, and after the success of the Americans, Brant applied to the British Crown for help in the form of land, in keeping with the 1664 promise by the British to protect their lands, and moved the bulk of his people to the Grand River, close to the present-day Six Nations reserve, near Brantford, Ontario. In 1780, partly in order to offset the perceived influence from Catholic missionaries, Colonel Daniel Claus, a representative from the Indian Department, corrected and revised *The Order for Morning and Evening Prayer* in Mohawk, by order of Sir Frederick Haldimand, then Governor of Quebec.⁸⁸

Once the people settled there in 1784, the New England Company helped to establish Saint Paul's, the Royal Chapel of the Mohawks, in 1785, at the request of the Mohawks. Then other Christian denominations made inroads into the area. In his August 27, 1795, letter to the SPG, the missionary Rev. Robert Addison mentions the arrival of a Presbyterian Minister among the "devout Indians," who was "much caressed by the common people."⁸⁹ By 1823, the Methodist were also firmly established there, as

⁸⁷Johnston, p.232, n. 3.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 232.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 238.

evidenced by the reports in *The Methodist Magazine* of November, 1823.⁹⁰ At the chapel services the Iroquois would have continued being exposed to European practices of liturgical singing. The Anglican service at this time did not practice hymn singing, but chant was used to intone parts of the service, including the psalms.

Patrick Campbell, a visitor to the Six Nations settlement at Brantford in 1792, mentions that during his visit with Joseph Brant:

the visitors went to church. The service was given out by an Indian in the absence of the minister, who was indisposed, and I never saw more decorum or attention paid in any church in all my life. The Indian squaws sung most charmingly, with a musical voice I think peculiar to themselves.⁹¹

A report by Rev. John Stuart to the SPG gives a snapshot of such a service: “The Mohawks settled at the Grand River...have an handsome Church in which Divine Service is regularly performed by one of the Mohawks, & Mr. Addison visits them four times a year.”⁹² Campbell’s and Stuart’s commentaries reveal that the practice established under the Jesuits of having Natives conduct worship services was continued at St. Paul’s Royal Chapel, because, as implied in Stuart’s report, there was no resident minister until the New England Company sent out the Rev. Robert Lugger in 1827.

Campbell does not comment on the language of worship. It may have been English, but considerable evidence exists that services were conducted in the language of the

⁹⁰Johnston, p. 246.

⁹¹Ibid, p. 60.

⁹²Ibid. p.,241.

worshippers.⁹³ As mentioned above, the Anglican Book of Prayer had been translated into Mohawk several times. By 1787, Joseph Brant and John Stuart resumed a translation of the Acts of the Apostles begun before the war.⁹⁴ Henry Aaron Hill, son-in-law to Joseph Brant, had completed his translation of the Anglican Prayer Book by the late 1820s, and a translation of the Book of Luke in 1828. As will be seen, he may in fact have translated a book of hymns as well. Richard E. Ruggle reports that by 1816 Hill conducted services at the Mohawk chapel.⁹⁵ The Rev. Alvin Torry's report published in the November 1823

Methodist Magazine states:

The only religious service performed among these Indians, I understand, is at the Mohawk Village, 50 miles from the mouth of the river. Here they have a Meeting-House, where Divine Service is performed occasionally, by a Minister of the Church of England, and where the church service is read in the Mohawk, by one of the natives every Sabbath day.⁹⁶

This report makes clear that Christian worship is firmly established among the Mohawks, and that the language of worship for the most part is Mohawk. In 1836, the Rev. Mr. Robert Nelles, chaplain of the Royal Chapel, and principal of the Mohawk Institute, "read the prayers with much fluency, in the Mohawk language."⁹⁷

⁹³George Beaver explains, "What they used to do, the Anglican minister...preached, and he would...put out a couple of ideas and would stop and then the translator, they called him an interpreter, he would say it in Mohawk, for those who couldn't understand what the minister was saying." In an interview at the Woodland Cultural Centre, March 30, 2006.

⁹⁴Johnston, p. 236.

⁹⁵Richard E. Ruggle, "Kenwendeshon," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=37073>. Accessed February 25, 2006.

⁹⁶Johnston, p. 246.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 262.

At this time missionaries would have encouraged worship services in the language of the Aboriginal people for practical reasons. There was no overwhelming need to assimilate Natives into European society, as few settlers lived here. Only later, when it was felt that the “Indian problem” needed to be addressed, the use of English became mandatory in the schools. Besides, at this time, the goal was to convert them to Christianity. What better vehicle than their own language?

Although the majority of Christianized Iroquois were Anglican, and thus had been exposed to the Anglican liturgy, some pockets of the Reserve would have sampled other forms of Christian worship in the Presbyterian and Methodist churches.⁹⁸ Hymn singing very likely entered the Six Nations reserve at this time through the worship practice of the Methodist church. This would reflect what was happening in worship services back in England, where, thanks to the influence of John Wesley, Nonconformism, and the Methodist Revival, church hymn singing in the early 19th century played its role in making music a regular part of life for the lower classes.⁹⁹ For the first time, we find direct evidence of hymn singing in a report by the Rev. William Case to the January 1824

Methodist Magazine :

On the 24th of September, in company with a religious friend, we passed into the wood and arrived at the Indian dwellings, about 9 o'clock in the

⁹⁸Johnston, p. 247. “The Rev. William Case (1780-1855), a native of Swansea, Massachusetts, served from 1810 to 1827 as presiding elder of the Methodist Church in Canada. In 1828 he became Superintendent of Indian missions and schools in Upper Canada.” Footnote to p. 247.

⁹⁹As William Vincent wrote, ‘The harmony arising from the voices of a well regulated Methodist Congregation is a delight that no one who has heard it can deny.’ See E.D. Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 289.

morning, a time at which they generally hold their morning devotions. We were received with cordial kindness, and the shell was blown as a call to assemble for religious service. Soon the people, parents and children, were seen in all directions repairing to the house of prayer. When they arrived they took their seats with great solemnity, observing a profound silence till the service commenced. – Having understood that they were in the habit of singing in the Mohawk, I requested them to sing in their usual manner, which they did melodiously. The following verse is taken from the hymn, and the translation into English is annexed.

“O sa va ner Tak qwoogh sni ye nough,
 Ne ya yonk high sweagh se,
 Ne o ni a yak hi sea ny
 Sa ya ner tea hegh sm'yeh.”

“Enlighten our dark souls, till they
 Thy sacred love embrace;
 Assist our minds, (by nature frail,)
 With thy celestial grace.”

...After the sermon, several addressed the assembly in the Mohawk, and the meeting was concluded by prayer, from one of the Indians in his native tongue....¹⁰⁰

This passage gives us a detailed picture of worship in the Methodist Church. The writer is clearly impressed by the respectful silence observed by the people. He also implies that in deference to him, they might have sung in English, but he exhorts them to sing “in their usual manner.” This suggests a longstanding custom of hymn singing in Mohawk.

In an 1832 letter to a friend back in England, the Rev. John Douse, who was sent to the Grand River mission by the British Wesleyan Methodist Conference, writes in detail about singing practices during worship:

The men & women sit apart, & sing delightfully. Their voices are very good. They keep proper time & sing three parts. They have hymns in the native tongue, & generally on the opposite page the English in the same

¹⁰⁰Johnston, p. 247.

metres so that we can sing in both languages, the same time & hymn.¹⁰¹

Singing hymns simultaneously in both languages may have occurred whenever there were English-speaking visitors to the church. The writer expresses considerable admiration for the performance practices of the congregation, commenting on their delightful voices, their ability to keep “proper time,” and their harmonization. One wonders how part singing was acquired.

In 1828, at the request of the Six Nations, the NEC built the residential school, the Mohawk Institute, for local Native children, with Lugger as its first principal. As was common in English parish schools, from the beginning, the principal of the school and the chaplain of the chapel were usually the same person. He could thus present continuity between what was taught at school and what students learned in chapel.

Exactly how and why hymn singing became part of worship at the Mohawk Chapel is unclear. We can infer that it happened, because the NEC published a number of hymn books translated into Mohawk. Perhaps the practice was instituted by the Mohawks because of their love of singing. Within the framework of propagating the gospel within the Protestant churches, hymn singing played a significant role. For many, it is easier to remember Biblical or inspirational texts, if they are embedded in music. Additionally, because of its evocative powers beyond the meaning of the texts, music has power to move people when words do not. Thus hymns were a useful part of the arsenal of weapons employed to continue to convert Natives to European society. From the Native

¹⁰¹Johnston, p. 260.

perspective, in the words of Amos Key, “We learned the hymns because we love to sing, and the Creator loves to hear our voices.”¹⁰² It is a story I will examine in more detail in Chapter 4, when we look more closely at the hymn “The Lord’s my Shepherd.”

Both the chapel and the school likely played a large part in furthering the singing of hymns. We know that hymn singing was a regular part of the school’s daily routine, as Rev. Abraham Nelles, principal of the Mohawk Institute from 1836 to 1872, reveals in his 1872 report to the NEC. Although music is not indicated as a subject of study in the school’s timetable, school closed with singing a hymn and with prayer.¹⁰³ Children attended the nearby Chapel on Sunday, along with other members of the local Native community. Deprived of their own culture’s songs, the children would have gained great pleasure from singing hymns during chapel time.

I do not know how the children learned the hymns, what instructional method was used to teach the children to sing the hymns, whether part singing was introduced, or whether they learned to sing in English or Mohawk. I would speculate that children learned the hymns’ melodies by rote, suggested by the comments of an 1894 visitor that all students singing hymns “knew the words without the use of hymn books.”¹⁰⁴ It is very likely that during the in-school worship time they sang in English, for two reasons. First of all, proficiency in English would have been a desired goal of the school in order to

¹⁰²March 13, 2006.

¹⁰³“Open with reading a chapter of the Bible and prayer, close...with singing a hymn and prayer.” Graham, p. 67.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 90.

facilitate acculturation. By the latter part of the 19th century, when many students came from a number of different tribes throughout Ontario, Mohawk would not have been familiar to a number of the children.

This short chronicle has revealed that the fact of hymn singing among the Mohawks has, by the end of the 19th century, a well-established history. We can see the origin of religious singing both within traditional Native culture and within the worship services brought by the missionaries of all Christian denominations. There is plenty of evidence to indicate that although many Iroquois became adherents, many did not, and traditional practices continued to flourish side by side with Christian practice. George Ryerson, who had visited Six Nations, wrote to Sir Peregrine Maitland, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, on June 9, 1826, that he had:

always found them very attentive & apparently willing to be instructed. They are for the most part [,] however [,] strangers to the practice, & ignorant of the Christian religion which they profess, but commendably attached to some of its forms.¹⁰⁵

Many people were devout Christians and so would sing the hymns in part because of the message contained in them. Others may have adopted hymn singing, not so much for the explicit religious message contained in the words, but because of the pleasure of singing, as well as of the general spiritual message, which could be connected to familiar beliefs.

Among the missionaries there were conflicting opinions about the success of missionizing. What was needed, they felt, was a more systematic approach. Perhaps this is

¹⁰⁵Johnston, p. 251. Rev. John West reports in a journal entry of a number of traditional feasts, including the corn planting ceremony at which a white dog is killed, p. 255.

where the idea came from to take the children from their families and immerse them totally in Euro-Canadian culture.

Chapter 3: The Mohawk Institute: From Acculturation to Assimilation

In this chapter, I would like to argue that music within the residential schools, far from being simply an innocent diversion, was fully implicated in the process of assimilation. The residential schools marked a new phase in the relationship between Natives and non-Natives. Until their opening, the attempts to draw Aboriginal people into non-Native culture had been relatively haphazard. The church had been content for the most part with the conversion of First Nations people, and day schools were set up to tend to the education of the young.¹⁰⁶ However, a certain amount of frustration was beginning to set in with the lack of success that missionizing was achieving. After his 1826 visit to the Grand River area, George Ryerson summed up what he considered to be the plight of the Iroquois and suggested a solution:

Nothing effectual can be done for them without the permanent residence among them, of a pious and zealous missionary.....by using the means mentioned above I confidently believe that this poor demoralized and degenerate remnant of a once noble race of people, will in a few years become an ornament to our Church, and every way worthy to be called "Christians"¹⁰⁷

Encapsulated in this excerpt to Sir Peregrine Maitland, Lieutenant Governor of Upper

¹⁰⁶ Anglican clergyman the Rev. John West describes such a school in a journal entry submitted to the NEC in 1826: "...we visited from the Mohawk village, the school at Davis's Hamlet, a distance of about five miles, where I saw George Johnson, a native teacher, who was the appointed schoolmaster of the New England Company. He was well qualified as a teacher, and taught in the school or mission house, that was built by the Methodist Episcopal Church Missionary Society...." Elsewhere in this report, West tabulates other schools he visited, including the Mohawk school, then under construction. Johnston, p. 253.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 252.

Canada, is the germ of the concept “the Indian Problem,” as well as the paternalism that would seek to solve that problem. The “Indian Problem” was the Euro-Canadian perception on the one hand that Aboriginal societies were dying out, their traditions had been lost forever, and individuals had given themselves over to dissolute ways of life, and on the other hand that Natives were a troublesome, fearsome lot, exemplifying all that was uncivilized, and threatening orderly, peaceful white society.¹⁰⁸

The opinions of George Ryerson were all too pervasive in the 19th century. As conquest of the North American continent drove the Indigenous people further west, or into pockets of land such as reserves, the Romantic notion of the noble savage broadened out to include the idea that the Native way of life, as well as the Natives themselves, were disappearing. This concept was supported to some extent by reality, in the sense that Native tribes had been decimated by disease, their traditional culture had collided with European culture, and the people themselves were being systematically driven out of their traditional hunting grounds by farming settlers and other Euro-American groups.¹⁰⁹ The Indian Act of 1876 gave control of land, finances, business dealings with outsiders, and

¹⁰⁸Milloy outlines the governmental acts which were intended to address the perceived “Indian problem.” His essay explains the thinking of missionaries who supported the residential schools and the removal of children from their families in order to be educated according to missionary and government standards, pp. 149-151. Smith also identifies the “Indigenous ‘problem,’” pp. 90-91.

¹⁰⁹The story of attitudes and how they influenced policy is far too broad for this paper. It has at any rate been examined in depth in a great deal of literature. A non-Native perspective is admirably presented in Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992. For a First Nations view, consider Thomas King, *The Truth About Stories* (Toronto: Anansi, 2003), and Vine Deloria, *God is Red: a Native View of Religion* (Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 1994) and *Custer Died For Your Sins* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1988).

internal governance to the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA), and by the late 19th century treaties between the government of Canada and many tribes established reservations, usually comprised of the poorest land available. Yet at the same time the belief that the Indian was being driven to extinction ignored the other reality – the real Indian, living in poverty, yet trying to adapt to the changing conditions of their lives.

The Imaginary Indian: Justification for Assimilation

In his book *The Imaginary Indian*, Daniel Francis shows how fully this attitude infused 19th century thinking, finding it exposed in the paintings and writings by non-Native artists and authors.¹¹⁰ According to Francis, artists “ignored evidence of Native adaptation to White civilization and highlighted traditional lifestyles. Often the result was an idealized image of the Indian based on what the artist imagined aboriginal life to have been before contact.”¹¹¹ Arthur Verner’s paintings, for example, seldom show the figures up close, but rather, positioned in “idyllic natural settings with no individuality.”¹¹² Euro-Canadian writings of the times revealed a similar attitude. William Francis Butler indicated that the western Indian represented “natural man, proud, independent, virtuous – and

¹¹⁰This topic is also fully explored in Deborah Doxtator’s *Fluffs and Feathers: An Exhibit on the Symbols of Indianness*, (Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, rev. 1992). The museum exhibit, for which this is a resource guide, presents posters and other visual representations of how Natives were and are often perceived in non-Native society. Some items of this exhibit are part of the museum’s permanent collection.

¹¹¹Francis, p. 24.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, p. 25.

doomed.”¹¹³

Francis quotes the Earl of Southesk,¹¹⁴ who, disappointed in the real Indians, believed that the only hope to “improve” the race was to teach the young “before evil and reckless habits become a part of their nature.”¹¹⁵ The influential missionary, Egerton Ryerson Young, saw little worth in Native culture. For him, “Indians were figures in a landscape, placed there by an all-knowing God to enhance the romanticism of the scenery.”¹¹⁶ Although by the 1920s the Native population was growing, non-Natives still thought that Natives were disappearing. The non-Native expectation was that Indigenous people could not adapt to the modern world. According to Francis, the general Canadian view in the 19th century held that the only hope for the survival of Aboriginals was “to assimilate, to become White, to cease to be Indians.”¹¹⁷

Native writers of the 19th century comment on the hardships facing Aboriginal peoples. In 1847, Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh, alias George Copway, an Ojibway living in Southern Ontario, describes land appropriation: “In the year 1818, 1,800,000 acres of [hunting grounds and woodlands] were surrendered to the British government. For how

¹¹³Francis, p. 47.

¹¹⁴“In 1859, James Carnegie, the ninth Earl of Southesk of Scotland came to Western Canada and embarked on a hunting trek from Fort Gary to the Rocky Mountains. His diary detailed events of the day...” <http://www.ancientechoes.ca/southesk.html>. Accessed March 7, 2006.

¹¹⁵Francis, p. 45.

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 51.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p.59.

much, do you ask? For \$2,690 per annum.”¹¹⁸ Copway, like contemporary non-Natives, believed that Natives were doomed and there was only one hope:

The Menomenees in Wisconsin, the Winebagoes and Potawatamies in Iowa, the warlike nations of the Sacs and Foxes, the Osages, Pawnees, Mandans, Kansas, Creeks, Omahas, Otoes, Delawares, Iowas, and a number of others elsewhere, must perish as did their brethren in the Eastern States, unless the white man send them the Gospel, and the blessings of education.¹¹⁸

Copway does not elaborate on what he considers to be the advantages of conversion and education, beyond that it will rescue the people from “the misery, wretchedness and degradation” of their pre-Christian state, but his comments are highly charged by his belief that the alternative is annihilation. He goes on to say:

They have driven us from our nation, our homes, and possessions; compelled us to seek a refuge in Missouri, among strangers, and wild beasts; and will, perhaps, soon compel us to scale the Rocky Mountains; and for aught I can tell, we may yet be driven to the Pacific Ocean, there to find our graves.”¹¹⁹

His remarks may very well be representative of the feelings of many Indigenous parents, many of whom willingly surrendered their children to the residential schools in order to save them from this fate.

The solution to the “Indian Problem” – of saving them from extinction, and of making civilized human beings out of them – was to be found in the timely intervention of

¹¹⁸George Copway, “The Life of Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh,” *An Anthology of Canadian Native Literature in English*, Daniel David Moses and Terry Goldie, eds. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 21.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 22.

the Church and State. In an 1821 letter to Lord Bathurst, at this time Secretary of State for War, Maitland writes:

A more steady and vigilant system is necessary to make [the Mohawks] truly Christians and gradually to diminish that inclination to a desultory and savage life which still prevails among them. In prosecuting such a plan little perhaps can be expected from the grown-up Indians; its success will therefore chiefly depend upon the influence which it may acquire over the young – and a paramount influence of this kind may be reasonably expected if conciliation and kindness be the leading principles of the system, as the Indians never restrain their children who may be easily attracted to the schools by proper management.¹²⁰

Maitland sees the problem as originating in the home: “the Indians never restrain their children.” The solution then is “proper management,” likely the kind of discipline found in English boarding schools. It was possible to find the type of “vigilant system” where the young could be indoctrinated with Euro-Canadian values within the residential school system. It was the intent, deliberate or otherwise, to replace all Native culture with European culture, in a kind of cultural genocide. The goal was the annihilation of Native culture by replacing it completely with all facets of Western culture. Ironically, at the same time that Westerners lamented the disappearance of Native peoples, there was a systematic plan to eliminate their culture. Certainly this attitude formed the foundation of governmental and residential school policies, and justified whatever actions were taken to assimilate the Natives.

The Mohawk Institute's musical life

Music too played its part in the “vigilant system.” A picture of the total musical life

¹²⁰Johnston, p. 289.

of the Mohawk Institute, particularly in the latter part of the 19th and the early 20th centuries, will allow us to grasp more fully how this exercise of “proper management” worked. It is during these years that systematic indoctrination in the principles of Euro-Canadian civilization took place, by withdrawing the students as much as was practicable from their home environment and steeping them almost totally in the musical culture of Western Europe. We will then see how this total environment taught lessons in the musical values of Western culture that went far beyond learning a style of music different from traditional Native music. As explained in more detail later, over time students’ contact with music became more intense as the aims of the school changed to match governmental policies of assimilation.

The exact role played by music in this goal of assimilation will become apparent when we apply Foucault’s concepts of docile bodies, discipline, and panopticism to the musical life of the Mohawk Institute. Let us begin by presenting an overall picture of this institution’s musical life. In this process hymns, too, played their part.

The early years of the school correspond with Milloy’s early phase of contact, when tribes were essentially self-governing.¹²¹ Attendance at the Institute was a matter of choice; in fact, reserve parents considered it to be an elite school which would give their children useful of vocational training. Adam Fergusson, a visitor to the Grand River area schools, indicates that at the school in Brantford, “instruction is given in handicraft trades, and many...[make] steady progress in acquiring knowledge, and in managing their

¹²¹See beginning of Chapter 2. Milloy, pp. 145-6.

farms....”¹²² By the late 19th century, in tandem with changes in the government’s approach to Indigenous peoples, total assimilation into non-Native society became the goal of education. The 1894 application for admission to the Mohawk Institute revealed that “this institution is established for the purposes of civilizing the Indians and advancing the Christian Religion among them, and imparting a good education, combined with all kinds of useful industrial training, to the youth of both sexes.”¹²³ The vision presented here is of Native boys and girls usefully employed in non-Native society in “industrial” vocations. In order to be of economic use, they must be “civilized.” The implication is that they must become as much like non-Natives as possible.

In the early existence of the school, music was not an item on the curriculum, but was a tool in passing on the Christian message. In Chapter 2 we saw that hymn singing was part of the 1872 daily schedule of the Mohawk Institute, as school closed with singing a hymn and with prayer.¹²⁴ The schedule gave no indication as to how the children learned the hymns, but it was likely by rote, the same way that most people in a congregation learn the tunes of hymns. The comment by an 1894 visitor, that all students singing hymns “knew the words without the use of hymn books,”¹²⁵ suggests learning through repetition. The record also does not reveal whether part singing was present or encouraged, but this

¹²²Johnston, pp. 259-60.

¹²³Graham, p. 89.

¹²⁴Ibid., p. 67.

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 90.

is unlikely, as it would necessitate assigning precious time for instruction. We can assume then that the purpose of hymn singing was mostly devotional, an opportunity to worship in an accessible form. Secondary benefits would be the reinforcement of the Christian message, as well as the practice of English in a different form from that of classroom lessons.

Beginning during Robert Ashton's principalship, from 1872 to 1911, the reports began to mention music in more detail. Ashton stated in his report to the NEC that he wished a separate music room to be constructed:

There are several alterations, repairs, and improvements required for the main building.... To divide the present visiting-room with folding-doors...to form a music-room, with entrance from the girls' school-room. At present the girls practise in the visiting-room, but this...is open to great objections, as the work is greatly interrupted, and too great facility is afforded for intercourse with visitors before they are announced.¹²⁶

The alterations Ashton proposes highlight the emphasis on the discipline of music. I will comment extensively on this passage later in the chapter.

The trend toward training the girls in music continued under later principals. Ann Boyce reported in 1921: "As all the services were held in the School-room, we have allowed three inexperienced girls to act as organists. They have done remarkably well."¹²⁷ Sydney Rogers' 1924 Quarterly Report stated that "five of our older girls have taken turns

¹²⁶Graham., p. 78.

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 127.

in playing the organ.”¹²⁸

At the same time that the girls were acquiring keyboard skills, boys were enrolled in Cadets, first mentioned in Robert Ashton's 1909 Annual Report.¹²⁹ They must also have formed a brass band some time before 1901. When exactly it came into being is not clear from the record, but Ashton's report in 1901– that “the band-master returned from South Africa in November last and re-organized a band of fifteen boys, who have made excellent progress”¹³⁰ – implies that the band had been in existence for some time.

A number of the girls took lessons “in advanced music” from a Mr. Thomas, of the Royal Conservatory of Music [of Toronto?],¹³¹ and achieved satisfactory or better results in conservatory examinations in 1920.¹³² These results are reported with considerable pride. A singing teacher was hired in 1930. The first mention of music as a source of entertainment is in Ashton's *NEC Six Years Summary Report*, issued in 1878. The students performed a selection of sacred and secular music for visitors, who were evidently pleased by their “proficiency.” Later in the same report, Ashton describes ways in which

¹²⁸Graham., p. 145.

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 105.

¹³⁰Graham, p. 97.

¹³¹Ibid., p. 119.

¹³²Ibid., p. 125. The record implies that the examinations were for keyboard, but without knowing exactly how Conservatory subjects were organized at this time, I cannot state this for a certainty. The subjects may have been theoretical rather than practical. The results are as follows:

| | |
|------------------|---|
| Eva Smith passed | Grade I - 94 Marks. First Class Honours |
| Minnie Smith “ | ” 91 |
| Elva Miller | II - 81 |
| Luella Moses | III - 65 |

the students kept busy during the long winter hours:

The pupils in the Institution have had fortnightly evening entertainment of readings, recitations, vocal and instrumental music, etc., the programme for each evening being provided by the boys and girls alternately. These entertainments are a source of great enjoyment to the pupils, and a very valuable help to the teachers, by conducing to improve the children's reading and articulation of English.¹³³

His description reveals the extent of the music program – vocal and instrumental – although it is not clear whether he means keyboard music only, or whether this includes other instruments as well.

During the principalship of Ann Boyce, 1918 to 1922, and Sydney Rogers, 1922 to 1929, music gained even more prominence in the recreational life of the students, a trend continued by later principals. Boyce reports that in 1919, weekly dances were held for the girls during picnics at the Mohawk Park close by.¹³⁴ In 1927, principal Rogers indicates that the children held a barn dance in the new barn, for which the radio was used as a source of music.¹³⁴

The students played an active role in concerts for a variety of different kinds of celebrations. These included numerous Christmas concerts,¹³⁵ a concert on Victoria Day, closing concerts,¹³⁵ a celebration for the presence of the IODE (the Imperial Order

¹³³Graham, p. 81.

¹³⁴Ibid., pp. 121 and 158 respectively.

¹³⁵Ibid., pp. 124 among others, and 147.

Daughters of the Empire,¹³⁶ and a “patriotic concert” for May 24 in 1926.¹³⁷ Students also took part in the funeral service for Mrs. Ashton in 1921, with the boys acting as a “Guard of Honour,” while “several of the older Girls sang in the Service very sweetly.”¹³⁷

The children attended concerts given outside the school community. Rogers indicated that in 1925, the students attended a band concert at the local armories, and “were encouraged by the kindly comments made as to their appearance and behaviour.”¹³⁷ Two years later, the Salvation Army “rendered a delightful concert”¹³⁸ at the school. Later that year, the students who stayed at the institute for the summer enjoyed July 1 festivities by attending a military parade in the morning, and a tattoo and fireworks display in the evening, and by listening to the dedication of the Carillon in the Peace Tower over the radio.¹³⁸ In December of that same year, the Trinity Church Choir presented a concert to the students.¹³⁸

The overall impression is of a rich, varied musical life similar to that of many white children of this particular time period. Although the gendered nature of musical activities may seem surprising to a person used to integrated classrooms, this was totally in keeping with other aspects of institute life. It was policy to keep the boys and girls as separate as the physical environment would allow. Given the general practice of the times in society at

¹³⁶Graham, p.146. The IODE, a Canadian women's volunteer charitable organization was founded in 1900 by Margaret Polson Murray. Its mission is to improve the quality of life for children, youth and those in need, through educational, social service and citizenship programs. <http://www.sarnia.com/groups/nr-IODE/IODE.html> Accessed May 18, 2006.

¹³⁷Graham, pp. 155, 152, and 128 respectively.

¹³⁸Ibid., p. 157 and 158 respectively.

large, this was not so strange. The same gendered approach to education also existed in non-Native society. My husband relates that when he attended Steele Street Public school in Port Colborne in the 1940s, boys and girls entered the school through separate doors. The stone inscriptions are still there over the doors, as a permanent record of that segregated age.

The picture that emerges from this brief description is surprisingly domestic, as if the intention was to replace the loss of family with a new one, with the Institute's staff acting as new parents. It would be easy to be lulled into a state of complacency by the very ordinariness of the Institute's musical life. This is precisely what happened to me as I read through the pages of *The Mush Hole*. But underneath I felt a current of unease, which became heightened as I asked myself the question, "But what about Native music?" There was not a single reference, not even a negative one, to traditional Native music.

The Mohawk Institute and the politics of music

Why should this be so? A number of First Nations people have told me that it was illegal to practice traditional Native music. The Indian Act did not specifically prohibit it, although the 1884 amendment to the Indian Act of 1876 outlawed the Potlatch and the Sundance,¹³⁹ and a further amendment in 1914 made the law more general:

Any Indian in the province of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, or the Territories who participates in any Indian dance outside the bounds of his own reserve, or who participates in any show, exhibition, performance, stampede or pageant in aboriginal costume without the

¹³⁹Sharon Helen Venne, ed. *Indian Acts and Amendments, 1868-1975, An Indexed Collection*. (Regina: University of Saskatchewan Native Law Centre) 1981, 93.

consent of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs or his authorized Agent,...shall on summary conviction be liable to a penalty not exceeding twenty-five dollars, or to imprisonment for one month or to both penalty and imprisonment.¹⁴⁰

While it may not be apparent from this excerpt that traditional music practice was prohibited, Native music is social in nature in the sense that it is integral to dance, shows exhibitions or other “performances.” To outlaw these is to outlaw the music that accompanies them.

It may be that the prohibition of traditional music was contained in a memorandum rather than embedded in law. A circular from Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of the DIA in 1921, instructs Indian agents to:

...use your utmost endeavours to dissuade the Indians from excessive indulgence in the practice of dancing. You should suppress any dances which cause waste of time, interfere with the occupations of the Indians, unsettle them for serious work, injure their health or encourage them in sloth and idleness...¹⁴¹

Scott does not indicate how the Indian agents were to “dissuade” and “suppress” the practice of dancing. One can easily imagine that agents may have created the belief that dancing and the accompanying drumming and chanting were completely illegal.

I began to see clearly how the acculturation process worked within the residential school: by separating the students from their own culture and immersing them in a radically different one. Students were almost totally isolated from their families and

¹⁴⁰Venne, 230.

¹⁴¹From a photocopy obtained from Amos Key.

plunged into a European environment so completely that no thought was given, by all parties, to what the children were leaving behind. From the school administration's position this was absolutely desirable, for the home environment was considered a bad influence. In the words of Samuel Rose, principal at Mt. Elgin Residential School from 1850-1857:

We do not get them before they have been educated in all that is evil; until immorality and irreligion have gained a complete ascendancy, and habits and practices the most demoralizing and enervating have been formed controlling every power or faculty of body and soul.¹⁴²

Like Maitland, Rose blames the children's upbringing for what he sees as their deficiencies, and the solution, he implies, is in "proper management," or strict discipline.

Although it would be beneficial to see what the students left behind, this is an area of research that is for me still incomplete. Part of the reason is that, outside of *The Jesuit Relations*, I have found few references within non-Native sources about musical practices for this time period, and no Native printed sources. The very lack of these references speaks volumes. It certainly does not mean that such music did not exist. Tom Hill, former director of the Woodland Cultural Centre Museum in Brantford, informed me that his mother used to sing songs for just about every occasion,¹⁴³ recalling Father Le Jeune's 1634 words, "as for their ... songs, they use them for a thousand purposes." A number of

¹⁴²Graham, p. 36.

¹⁴³In an informal interview, February 12, 2005, at the Woodland Cultural Centre.

sources suggest that songs were and are constantly coming into being.¹⁴⁴ But judging by the kinds of comments that were made by 19th century writers, the sense that I get is that Native music was considered exotic, barbaric, and fantastic, but ultimately beneath the notice of non-Native society.¹⁴⁵

Because of this lack of information, it is impossible to grasp the full extent of the loss that the students suffered from being deprived of all that was familiar to them. But through careful analysis, we can determine the overt and hidden messages which they absorbed. It can be assumed that the authorities of the Institute accepted that whatever values existed within Euro-Canadian society at the time would serve as a model for the acculturation of the Native children. Nowhere in the school records did I find anyone questioning these values.

One assumed value was the differentiated social roles of boys and girls. Since school was an excellent place for making students aware of these roles, the separation of the sexes was essential. A photograph on the back of Graham's book, *The Mush Hole*, shows the divided nature of the classroom, with boys and girls sitting neatly in segregated

¹⁴⁴In an interview given on March 13, 2006, Amos Key, Faith Keeper for the Onondaga and Seneca tribes, and Director of Languages at the Woodland Cultural Centre, informed me of a "singing festival that's happening in August in Tonawanda...that's where you show off your melodies and your keen ability, the way you create music."

¹⁴⁵The Rev. John Douse gives one such description. In a letter depicting a number of local Six Nations festivals, he writes: "The pagans have worship at a *long house*, or council house, as it is called, three or four times during the year. About Xmas, First fruits, & when all the harvest is brought home. At some of these feasts, as they are called, a dog is sacrificed. In the morning they make prayers & hear discourses; in the afternoon returns [sic] thanks & dance. Their dance is only a skipping & leaping about to the sound of a kind of drum about the size of the toy-drums in England & accompanied with a chorus & the Indian whoop & yell, not very agreeable or musical." Johnston, p. 261.

rows. In Iroquois life, community life was and still is closely communal. By contrast, the school kept the sexes apart during all non-curricular activities. A number of interviewees commented on the fact that they were forbidden to speak to their siblings of the opposite sex. The reason for separating the two had much to do with contemporary European attitudes towards sexuality and the differentiated social roles of males and females, but a side effect was the breaking apart of social ties, an effective weapon of control. It is no accident then that musical activities for girls and boys were not only rigidly segregated, but also decidedly different.

Teaching the girls to play keyboard instruments fell in line with contemporary European social practice. It reinforced the idea that social roles of girls and boys were radically different. More subtly, it supported the Western assumption of the binary nature of society. In his essay “The Piano, Misogyny, and the Kreutzer Sonata,” Richard Leppert begins his outline of the piano’s social function in the Victorian middle class European home as follows:

The social functions of music operated always in conjunction with music’s value as a sign. What seems changed in nineteenth-century practice, however, was the semiotics of music, which became radically unstable, especially when music was employed to establish and legitimate several crucial binaries on which the society largely framed itself: man/woman, public/private, good/evil, center/periphery, self/other...¹⁴⁶

Leppert goes on to explore the function of these pairs, several of which are relevant to our story, by examining their presence in contemporary art and writing. The first is the

¹⁴⁶Richard Leppert, “The Piano, Misogyny, and the Kreutzer Sonata,” *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (University of California Press, 1993), p.153.

public/private binary, which reveals itself in the placement of the piano within the home: “Set up in the principal room of the semipublic portions of the home where guests as well as family members would gather, the piano bridged the gap between the public world and the private.”¹⁴⁷ It is interesting to note that the girls’ practice room was situated, as noted earlier in this chapter, “in the visiting-room,” just inside the main entrance to the school, and opposite the principal’s office. In its position in the Mohawk Institute’s equivalent to the Victorian parlour, the school keyboard too “bridged the gap between the public world and the private.”¹⁴⁸ This was likely a matter of convenience, as it was the only room available for the placement of the pianos. It also afforded the benefit of surveillance by the staff, a point that will be discussed later. It may also have given visitors an idea of how the girls spent their leisure time in worthwhile domestic pursuits, since likely their practice music would be religious in nature. This point would certainly support the principles which the school had set out for itself, “the instruction of a number of the youth of both sexes in the arts, habits and customs of civilized life, who may hereafter act as instruments in the hands of the Company, for the complete civilization of Indians generally.”¹⁴⁹ As in the September 8, 1834, report to the NEC, where principal Lugger spelled out what he saw as the school’s function, the public function of the piano helped to further the goals of

¹⁴⁷Leppert, p. 155.

¹⁴⁸The idea of “parlour” brings to mind visits from clergy, and has connotations of propriety and correct behaviour. Because of these associations, it would be an appropriate place for piano practice for the young girls being immersed in non-Native values.

¹⁴⁹Graham, p. 45.

Christianizing and civilizing the students.

However, as mentioned earlier, the visiting room as a practice venue also was an inconvenience, as principal Robert Ashton points out, “but this...is open to great objections, as the work is greatly interrupted, and too great facility is afforded for intercourse with visitors before they are announced.”¹⁵⁰ Leppert clarifies the reason for Ashton's objections: “Bourgeois patriarchy, which defined women by principles governing domesticity, constructed two contradictory categories of woman: the privatized angel of the house, not subject to the pleased gaze, and her radical public opposite, the prostitute.”¹⁵¹ If the girls, through the seemingly innocuous task of practicing piano, were able to talk with visitors without proper introduction or supervision, then their behaviour might be construed as “unseemly.” Social conventions, such as proper introductions, were intended to protect women from such appearance.

Another objection that could be made about the more public placement of the piano was its connection with the female body. Leppert considers “the function of music in the lives of Victorians, especially its relation to desire, eroticism, and sexuality.”¹⁵² Again he notes a dichotomy at work. On the one hand, such paintings as Frederick Daniel Hardy's *Music at the Parsonage* display a “stiff piety,” and music making is portrayed as

¹⁵⁰Graham, p.78.

¹⁵¹Leppert, p.155.

¹⁵²Ibid., p. 155.

“a discipline imposed on the body, that is, as work.”¹⁵³ Through exerting discipline on the body, music acquires respectability. Thus the upright body posture and the fingers carefully poised over the keyboard would be an indication of appropriate control over the body. On the other hand, playing a musical instrument also presents the opportunity for a display of sensuality. Leppert observes in the painting *Girl Playing the Violin* by Paolo Bedini that “what renders this young woman explicitly sexual is her bodily movements, quite at odds with homely decorum.”¹⁵⁴ It would have been desirable to monitor the bodily movements of the students, to assure that they were models of Victorian rectitude.

It is also significant that it was the piano and the organ, rather than voice, or any other instrument for that matter, that was the focus of music instruction for girls. In the late 19th century the piano was an icon of Victorian domesticity. Being played indoors and situated as it was in the bastion of middle class female activities, the parlour, domestic music belonged mainly to women. Interestingly, within European society in the 19th century, the only instrument that women generally played publicly was the piano. Could this be because of the ambivalent nature of sexuality expressed through its playing? Perhaps significantly, these two instruments – the piano and the organ – also seem to be the ones most unlike traditional Native instruments, the voice, the flute and the drum.

Another dimension of music that Leppert examines is the role of the music lesson, which also displays double-sided purposes. Examining its portrayal in art, Leppert

¹⁵³Leppert, p. 156.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., p. 158.

writes:

The music lesson provided an opportunity for the seduction of a virgin who was nonetheless commonly presented as sexually curious. As a visual subject in the nineteenth century, the lesson became less comic, more voyeuristic. When it was portrayed as a chaperoned event, its strict “purity” was preserved. More common, however, were representations in which the music lesson was a pretext for depicting seething passion...[in various depictions of the music lesson] music’s place is contradictory: it is both the sign of domesticity – this *is* the family [or the institute’s] piano – and the sign of what domesticity displaces. The music lesson confirms what the Victorians at once valorized and regretted: sexuality in domesticity was licit but also repressed and repressive.¹⁵⁵

The music lesson thus supported the middle class white Victorian values of expressed and repressed sexuality.

Whether this aspect of eroticism was an issue for the female students of the Institute is open to question. It may be that the principal would choose female rather than male teachers, for one of several reasons. It could be that most available piano teachers in the Brantford area were female, as is the case nowadays. Or it may be that the officials of the school were trying to avoid awkward situations that might arise if instructors were male. On the other hand, Ann Boyce reported that in 1920, a Mr. Thomas taught “advanced music.” Can we detect a note of pride in the fact that a male teacher from the Conservatory is teaching the young girls? Is this a comment on his proficiency, and thus on the school’s progressiveness, in having acquired his services? At the same time, the girls taking advanced music would likely have been in their mid- to late-teens. Issues of sexual tension – of teenage crushes or other inappropriate behaviour – could thus exist.

¹⁵⁵Leppert, p. 163

Learning to play the piano reinforced those values of middle class Victorian domesticity and sexual control or denial. There is considerable irony in teaching the girls these values, since the school training was intended to prepare them for “useful” roles in society. It is hard to imagine that they were being prepared for the leisure of white middle class society. What needs to be stressed is that this image of the Native young woman, firmly ensconced in a well-to-do home, reigning over her family in grand Victorian style, was a Euro-Canadian image. Perhaps this image, seeming to address the “Indian problem,” reassured people that there was nothing to fear from the undisciplined “savages.”

An extension of the domestic role of women was their place in promoting the Christian message. It was likely the overt intention of the principals to teach girls to play the keyboard instruments so that they would play sacred music either in public or for their families.¹⁵⁶ As we have seen, the instruments available at the Mohawk Institute were both pianos and organs.¹⁵⁷ The connection between religious music and the organ would be

¹⁵⁶The Jesuit record suggests that women were more devout than men. If this characterization is accurate for the later time period of the residential schools, then it would explain the focus on women as the vehicle for Christian worship. At the same time, within non-Native society, women were strong carriers of the Christian message in “pagan” cultures. Although the Jesuit missionaries reported that men and women both converted freely, it was the women who showed the greatest devotion. Father Claude Chauchetière reports the influence on the Mohawks of the life of Catherine Tegakwita (Kateri), known as “the Lily of the Mohawks.” Kateri was beatified in 1980.

<http://womenshistory.about.com/gi/dynamic/offsite.htm?zi=1/XJ&sdn=womenshistory&zu=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.cin.org%2Fkat3.html>. Accessed February 18, 2006.

¹⁵⁷Most likely the organs were harmoniums rather than pipe organs. Robert Ashton notes the following improvement in an 1891 report: “Adding a third organ for the girls to practice upon.” Graham, p. 87.

reinforced when the students attended chapel, as a small organ was located there.¹⁵⁸

Female students were actively involved in the worship activities of the school. Ann Boyce reports in 1919 that “three girls can play the church services, and several can play for prayers.”¹⁵⁹ Having students participate in the process of acculturation is a powerful tool, as I will explain further later on.

Since the keyboard instruments supported the facility of hymn singing, as well as helping with the intoning of the liturgy, they continued to be a vehicle for easing the Christian message into Aboriginal thinking. I do not know whether this was done deliberately because the leaders understood the powerful role of women in Iroquois society,¹⁶⁰ or whether the principals were simply following a practice that was common in Western society. Was this an attempt to teach Iroquois women their proper place in the social fabric? Did they fear the power that Iroquois women held? Robert Ashton's 1874 Report to the NEC, in which he compares the behaviour of boys and girls, suggests that this may indeed have been the case:

I do not think it would be possible to select a school of boys whose conduct would be so uniformly good as that of the boys in this Institution.

The girls are not so well conducted; they are extremely self-willed and frequently quarrel amongst themselves. This arises from the fact that Indian girls are too soon treated as women, and allowed to do just as they

¹⁵⁸Rev. John Stuart writes to the SPG in 1788 that “a small organ was employed in the service” that he attended at the chapel. Johnston, p. 237.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., p. 121.

¹⁶⁰Mary Druke Becker, “Farmers and Hunters of the Eastern Woodlands: A Regional Overview,” *Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience*, R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson, eds, (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 226.

think fit, when at home.¹⁶¹

One can hear his tone of disapproval as he describes the “self-willed” women, so unlike the Victorian ideal of demure womanhood.

By 1891, “every girl in the upper school receive[d] daily instruction in instrumental music.”¹⁶² Paired with Ashton’s earlier comment, the implication is that music instruction is used as a kind of disciplining force. Besides the obvious delight in developing a musical skill, keyboard playing would have the added benefit of imposing discipline on the body as well as on the mind. Connected as it was to the idea of feminine Victorian rectitude, it would help teach the young Native women their proper – albeit ambiguous – place in society.

If feminine roles can be taught through music, then is the same true for males? If the image of ideal femininity is the middle class Victorian woman reigning proudly over her domestic domain, yet controlled within it – as Leppert portrays it – is a masculine parallel the soldier? The image that emerges is a handsome, tall and straight young man, with power rippling just below the surface of the uniform, marching in disciplined rows, ready to become part of a killing machine at a single word. Yet the soldier as part of a hierarchy of command is merely a cog in a machine. He is the personification of the civilization process at work – the savage heart under the tight control of a civilized exterior. If part of the “Indian problem” is the perception of Native people as wild and

¹⁶¹Graham, p. 76.

¹⁶²Ibid., p. 87.

untamed, what better way to tame them than by creating a cadet corps with its attending brass band?

In the brass band, an extension of the cadet corps, the boys would be taught that they could experience the freedom of the masculine domain of the out-of-doors, but under the tightly controlled discipline of the drills. Exuberant masculine energy would be transformed into music. The boys would still be able to make noise, but it would be focused and directed. They would be in groups, but separated from each other. They would learn that authority is highly structured, and that certain positions were beyond their reach. They would never be the band leader, or if by some aberration they attained that lofty position, someone else would be in charge of them. The unspoken message conveyed would be that Whites rule the world, and Natives take a subordinate position.

From the school administration's perspective, the Cadets and brass band would provide the opportunity for instilling the desired discipline. Exactly how this discipline took effect will be examined later. A July 2, 1920, article in the Brantford Expositor describes the benefits of the Cadet corps:

On Wednesday...Lt. Col. S. J. Huggins from Toronto arrived to conduct the annual inspection, and the enthusiasm and hard work of the boys produced results that more than satisfied the inspecting officer.

Cadet-Sergeant Major Longboat took command and showed great ability and coolness in drilling the company. The Colonel was so pleased with his work that he promoted him captain at the end of the parades.

During the past year suitable boys have been trained to act as instructors...they were promoted to the rank of sergeant...

The cadets are very proud of their corps and of the service the Indians rendered overseas...

Whilst talking with the boys [sic] Master of the Institute it was

asked “What is the good of it all?”...Look at those boys running over there. That clumsy fellow is a new boy who has had no training. There is one point in favor of the movement. Then again a boy learns to obey quickly and promptly. They also develop along the right lines physically.¹⁶³

The article tells us a number of things: the rewards that can be gained through the desired behaviour of obedience, the overt beneficial effects of the corps' discipline on the youngsters, and the pride generated by application of discipline.

The reports in *The Mush Hole* give a picture of how music helped to extend the teaching of social correctness. They also display contemporary attitudes toward the aesthetics of music. Several remarks by visitors reveal a value regarding performance aesthetics. Martin Benson, a DIA visitor to the institute in 1894, noted that:

a few additional hymns were sung, all the pupils taking part in the singing. The singing was sweet and clear, – all knew the words without the use of hymn books, and the service was joined in by all as if they enjoyed it.... none of the mumbling and muffled tones that one might well expect from Indian children.¹⁶⁴

We see here the Western aesthetics of sweetness and clarity. Benson's criticism of the way in which he expected Native children to sing likely reflects either commonly held beliefs or possibly experience with communication between Natives and non-Natives. He may never have actually heard the extroverted singing style of traditional Native chanting. Principal Snell's wry comment, that after the hiring of a music teacher there was “a noticeable

¹⁶³Graham, p. 123.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., p.90.

improvement in the musical parts of the services,”¹⁶⁵ may more accurately reflect the actuality of Aboriginal performance practice. If we can interpret his comment in this way, it suggests that the robust tones of traditional Native singing were not desirable. Instead, melodiousness, sweetness, and the ability to blend with your neighbour, or to make your voice merge with those of the group, would be considered markers that the acculturation process was indeed taking effect.

Another value taught was patriotism, with its thinly veiled celebration of the power and superiority of non-Native culture. It would be necessary to make Native people feel the full might of the Canadian government, and by extension, the British Empire, to offset the pride that the Iroquois had in their own history. Music served as a convenient vehicle for offering these values to the students. Celebrating July 1, or entertaining the IODE, for example, contains the message of the supremacy of the Dominion of Canada and the British Empire. Ann Boyce reports that in 1920, the students sang “patriotic songs” on Armistice Day.¹⁶⁶ In his 1923 Quarterly Report, Sydney Rogers writes that “Empire Day was suitably observed....One interesting feature of this ceremony was the manner in which every boy stiffened to attention as soon as the record commenced playing the National Anthem.”¹⁶⁶ This last comment is particularly telling, as it emphasizes the apparent success of the acculturation process. The implication is that the boys are loyal citizens now, thanks to their training at the Institute. Significantly, Rogers points out proudly that it is the boys

¹⁶⁵Graham, p. 167.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 125 and 140 respectively.

who demonstrate this behaviour. He may have had in mind the fact that Six Nations men served in the armed forces in WW I. Or he could be allaying the fears of officials, who may have in mind the “imaginary Indian:” boys growing up into warriors, who would pose a threat to the peace and power of the Empire.

It may be an example of an even deeper level of acculturation. In British society, it was the men in their uniforms who snapped to attention with salutes and clicking of heels whenever a superior entered a social gathering, the national anthem was played, or a toast raised to King or Country. The women were expected to simply be demure and offer their hands to be kissed. If the boys were already exhibiting such behaviour, the process of assimilation was obviously succeeding.

The total immersion in Western culture exposed students to Western musical values, such as tonality, complex musical forms, melodies, social uses of music, the separation of performer and audience, the separation of music from everyday life – music is something you do in and of itself, not while you are engaged in another task – and new performance practices. The unspoken message was that the children's original concepts about music would be replaced by more “desirable” principles.

Thus at a relatively superficial level, we can see that a number of Euro-Canadian social and cultural values were taught through the students' active involvement in music, both as participants and as listeners and responders. These values included the role of the sexes, the might of the British Empire, and the superiority of European aesthetic values.

At an even deeper level, the concept of power exercised in instilling these values

into the students infiltrated the very fabric of their everyday life. It became part of the background, hardly noticeable, because it was constantly present. Yet the form that it took could be expected to have considerable effects on the children, both in what it taught them about power and what it deprived them of. What this exercise accomplished was a level of civilizing that controlled them in ways they would never have been controlled before. Examining what means were used and why they were employed will help to reveal the double aspect of the assimilation face – both its perceived benefits and its devastating consequences.

The purpose behind the exercise of power in the Mohawk Institute went far beyond simply teaching values of Western culture. Foucault tells us that in the 18th century new ways of exercising power developed in continental Europe, as well as new ways of looking at the human body. By training, the body “obeys, responds, becomes more skillful, and increases its forces.”¹⁶⁷ By training the body, citizens could be made more useful economically. Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience). In short, it dissociates power from the body: disciplinary coercion establishes in the body the constricting link between an increased aptitude and an increased domination. According to Foucault, “The classical age discovered the body as object and target of power.” As a result, it developed “a whole set of regulations and by empirical and calculated methods relating to...the

¹⁶⁷Michel Foucault, “Docile Bodies,” *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York: Random House, Inc., 1995), p. 136.

school...for controlling or correcting the operations of the body.”¹⁶⁸

Foucault outlines three ways in which control began to be exercised over the body. For the first time, attention was paid to the scale of movement of the body. Every minuscule detail became significant: the way in which it moved, its gestures, the speed of each movement. The object of control became the “efficiency of movements, their internal organization.” Finally, the “modality” of control took the form of overseeing every movement of the body, and of expecting that the body would be constantly exercised “according to a codification that partitions as closely as possible time, space, movement.”

Musical training makes use of some of these methods of applying power. Piano lessons, for example, concern themselves with details of posture and positions of the hands in order to gain the most effective sound possible. Drum Corps training is even more all-encompassing in that it demands a whole group moving in concert, every movement precisely orchestrated.¹⁶⁹

One feature of creating docile bodies is the need to observe behaviour constantly. The ideal model for surveillance is 18th century social philosopher Jeremy Bentham's panopticon – the “model prison”¹⁷⁰ – which Foucault describes in detail in his book *Discipline and Punish*.¹⁷¹ The panopticon's construction allows total observance with

¹⁶⁸Foucault, 1995, p. 136.

¹⁶⁹Smith points out that such education benefits and supports the processes of imperialism, pp. 58-59.

¹⁷⁰<http://cepa.newschool.edu/het/profiles/bentham.htm> Accessed March 7, 2006.

¹⁷¹Foucault, 1995, pp. 195-228.

minimal effort, because the subjects are – or imagine themselves to be – constantly under surveillance. They are observed without seeing the observer. Since they do not know whether in fact they are being watched, they assume that surveillance is taking place. Thus it is the fact of surveillance that gives power, not the act. The source of power is the invisibility of its methods of operation.

Two other features of constant surveillance are significant. First, the subjects are willing participants in this process because they submit themselves to being observed. Then, the observers themselves are also constantly under surveillance. Although they have power, they also surrender themselves to an unseen power.

It may be objected that the children attending the Mohawk Institute were hardly in a position to choose whether they would subject themselves to discipline. But in the early history of the school parents did choose to send their children here. Later on, some parents sent their children feeling that of the choices available to them, the residential school was the best option. They may not have wished their children to assimilate to non-Native culture, but perhaps, like George Copway, they saw no future in the traditional Native way of life.

At the Mohawk Institute students and staff were constantly under surveillance. Through a firmly controlled system of discipline – timetables, regimentation, separation – every moment of the day was filled with regulated activity. Students were constantly observed. We have seen that the principal could look directly into the visitor's piano room. The boys in the drum corps would be constantly supervised by the instructor. The

students were always under the management of someone who was also being observed. Reports had to be filed with various agencies, and a constant flotilla of visitors from community groups or from the DIA or the NEC sailed through the Institute's doors.

If training the body had the result of a docile body that was useful to the economic state, and panopticism had the benefit of making students feel that they were constantly being watched, then discipline in general had the benefit of normalizing behaviour. Both as a goal and an outcome, normalized behaviour was desirable for developing habits that could be directed towards useful ends. In the essay "Discipline: The means of correct training,"¹⁷² Foucault outlines five ways in which discipline normalizes behaviour – by comparison, differentiation, homogenization, exclusion, and hierarchization. Because these five ways were present in the musical life of the school, I will demonstrate that music helped develop normalized behaviour.

Behaviour is normalized by comparison when individual behaviour is compared to that of the group. The use of marks, for example, as in conservatory achievement, identifies where the student fits in compared to a whole group. Rather than achieve for the pleasure of the act, the student learns to achieve in order to be better than the group, or, because his or her achievement is not as good as that of the group, the student may be driven to greater efforts. Thus the desire to do better than the group becomes the motivator. This also worked within the drum corps, as the Brantford Expositor article pointed out, where the "clumsy boy" was expected soon to be as agile as the others.

¹⁷²Michel Foucault, 1995, pp. 170-194.

Behaviour is normalized by differentiation in the same way. Comparison helps to point out differences, with the ultimate aim of making everyone wish to achieve the same. It may be that one student stands apart from the group because of excellent achievement. That student then becomes the model for the group to aspire to. Since it is impossible to reach the same level of achievement, the end result is that the student is far more aware of difference and the ranking of difference than before. Ranking also has the benefit of differentiation by achievement and conduct. Those who are different in either category stand out, and are marked. It is therefore easier to label those who are different, separate them from the group, and mete out suitable punishment or “discipline.” The discipline is not necessarily the same as punishment, because it could take the form of corrective training, that is by repeating the exercise to be learned when the goals are not achieved. Without ranking, the student might just simply say, “That’s me, and that’s you.” With ranking, the student begins to feel a sense of inferiority when a certain goal is not achieved, but also a sense of accomplishment when the goal is achieved. Thus clearly delineated goals are powerful motivators.

We see differentiation at work in the school, within the Cadet Corps and with the keyboard lessons. The “clumsy boy” sees how he is different and, wishing to be part of the group, strives hard to become like it. The girl who excels in piano or organ playing is rewarded by playing for chapel service.

Another benefit of differentiation is a feeling of being special. The boys in the Cadet Corps are separate from the rest of the students, simply because they belong

together to that one body. Being distinct from the others, and having special skills and privileges instills a sense of pride, another powerful motivator. Being removed from the home may have made students feel different from their family. It is a sad but only too common consequence of residential schooling that students became ashamed of their heritage and family .

Behaviour is normalized by homogenization when individuals in a group are made to look and to move in a similar way. This is most clearly seen in the Brass Band, where students would have been encouraged to work together, and to move together to make a unified whole. The students would already have been used to surrendering their individuality because within the school system they wore uniforms. Within the two groups of male and female, behaviour that was characteristic of their gender was expected. This was reinforced by the separation of the sexes in the classroom and in the separate musical activities for girls and boys.

Behaviour is normalized by exclusion. Exclusion here means keeping certain people out, with the consequence that those who are “in” feel special. Although I found little evidence of this, it is possible that exclusion was used as a means of discipline in allowing only those students the privilege of attending special events or events off school property who had behaved according to the standards of the school. Such events might have included attending concerts or dances. Although the record does not indicate that students would not be allowed to attend public events, it was in the school's interest to show the community how well-behaved the students were. It may very likely be the case that only

exemplary students would be permitted to go. Sydney Rogers writes in his June 30, 1925 Quarterly Report, “On May 21st our pupils were invited to a Band Concert at the local Armouries and were encouraged by the kindly comments made as to their appearance and behaviour.”¹⁷³ Thus excluding poorly behaved students would reinforce the good behaviour of the rest. The clumsy boy in the Brantford Expositor also illustrates the point. At the moment of the interview he is not behaving as a member of the group, and likely feels strange and excluded. His desire to be accepted will soon help him learn to “obey quickly and promptly,” like the others.

Behaviour is also normalized through hierarchization. This involves setting up a clear chain of command, which can be easily seen in the brass band, and learning hymns, not through modeling or learning by copying a competent person, but by instruction. Here the teacher is the expert who has special knowledge which is taught to the students. One person teaches many. This precludes any friendship or other close personal connection that could otherwise develop between the instructor and the pupils. Hierarchization also normalizes through promoting deserving students from the ranks to higher positions. The *Brantford Expositor* article has shown how promotion was used as a reward for “great ability and coolness in drilling the company.” Girls who achieved well would be rewarded by being granted the privilege of leading the service. Ann Boyce reports: “As all the services were held in the Schoolroom we have allowed inexperienced girls to act as

¹⁷³Graham, p. 152.

organists. They have done remarkably well.”¹⁷⁴ Performance is thus improved, and the rewarded students act as models for other students to follow.

Consequences of the exercise of power: the Western perspective

From the Western viewpoint, students would learn the Western values of discipline over time and over their bodies. They would learn to conform to Western values, where individuality was not prized, in fact was something to be feared, because it could lead to undermining the authority of the state. It would separate students by achievement and by conduct. Those who achieved better results would be rewarded with higher education, and with commendations from the principal or the NEC. They would learn the value of using time wisely. Consider that symbol of the Western concept of time, the metronome, rigidly controlling time with its steady beat, dividing and subdividing every second.¹⁷⁵

It may be thought that power rests entirely with the observer, or with the person administering the discipline, but in fact, the subject gains much as well. One reward of discipline is the control over one's own body. In piano playing, for example, the ability to control the movement of the fingers leads to competence, and has the pleasurable consequence of good music making. One can imagine the young girls practicing in the visitor's room, and using their proficiency to win the attention and approval of visitors. As for the boys, their ability to march in strict formation while playing brass instruments or

¹⁷⁴Graham., p. 127.

¹⁷⁵Smith examines the Western concept of time, how it supports Western notions of work, and how this concept differs from Indigenous concepts, pp. 54-55. In this sense, the metronome can be seen as a symbol of imperialism.

drums would win admiring glances. Both groups would feel a great sense of accomplishment that comes with developing complex skills. As Isaac Stern, the great violinist, said, “The greatest freedom comes from the greatest discipline.”

Consequences of the exercise of power: the students' perspective

As part of her research into conditions at the Mohawk Institute, anthropologist Elizabeth Graham interviewed survivors of this residential school. It is clear from the interviews that many student felt that they gained a great deal from their education at the Mohawk Institute. Edward S., who worked for Moog music and later became an industrial engineer, stated, “If I had to evaluate my residence at that school I would say it was a very positive thing, because I got to go to high school.”¹⁷⁶ Hilda Hill indicated, “I don't regret being there – because I learned to scrub, I learned to sew and learned to cook what little I did do. I learned a lot there.”¹⁷⁶ Marguerite Beaver said she went because she wanted to.¹⁷⁷ Several students spoke about acquiring competence and discipline, in the sense of gaining control over time and behaviour. Some even expressed regret that they had not learned more. Raymond Hill said, “I wish I had stayed and got an education.”¹⁷⁷

But the lesson taught is often not the lesson learned. For one thing, the students came to the Institute acculturated to Iroquois life values. These cultural values with which they came were not so easily erased. The Iroquois often practiced a kind of dual spirituality, so that Longhouse spirituality would live side by side with Christian worship.

¹⁷⁶Graham, pp.366, and 372 respectively.

¹⁷⁷Ibid., pp. 384 and 370 respectively.

The children's life views may have been shaped by traditional stories. One such example can be seen in the "trickster," the figure in much Indigenous literature that informs a way of looking at self and the self's relationship to the world.¹⁷⁸ It is this figure who supplied the sense of mischief present in the examples of resistance which I will explore later.

From the students' perspective, the application of strict modes of Westernized discipline would have presented them with certain choices. They would have to change their opinions towards their original value system. They could accept the new and reject the old, reject the new and retain the old, or become bi-cultural. Whatever choice they made must have brought with it a considerable sense of loss.¹⁷⁹ Students would not necessarily understand what was lost, or if they did understand it, they would hardly

¹⁷⁸ Although not an Iroquoian concept, many of the children came from other backgrounds and may have been influenced by the trickster stories. "Trickster alternately scandalizes, disgusts, amuses, disrupts, chastises, and humiliates (or is humiliated by) the animal-like proto-people of pre-history, yet he is also a creative force transforming their world, sometimes in bizarre and outrageous ways, with his instinctive energies and cunning. Eternally scavenging for food, he represents the most basic instincts, but in other narratives, he is also the father of the Indian people and a potent conductor of spiritual forces in the form of sacred dreams....Both a creator of order out of chaos and a destroyer of order which represses creative energies, an animal being and a spiritual force, Coyote is contradictory and ambiguous, as can be seen in Barre Toelken's description of the Navajo conception of Coyote: "There is no possible distinction between Ma'i, the animal we recognize as a coyote in the fields, and Ma'i, the personification of Coyote power in all coyotes, and Ma'i, the character (trickster, creator, and buffoon) in legends and tales, and Ma'i, the symbolic character of disorder in the myths. Ma'i is not a composite but a complex; a Navajo would see no reason to distinguish separate aspects" (quoted from "Ma'i Joldloshi: Legendary Styles and Navajo Myth" in *American Folk Legend*, 1971).

"Whatever else he may be, Trickster is also a SURVIVOR who uses his wits and instincts to adapt to the changing times. He still appears in many guises in modern Native American literature, sometimes as the trickster outwitting the whites or as the shaman-artist in Gerald Vizenor's post-modern hybrid world of native lore and contemporary technology." <http://members.cox.net/academia/coyote.html> Accessed March 9, 2006.

¹⁷⁹ All too often, students would learn to be ashamed of their family background, as is explored in the fiction of Beatrice Culleton Mosionier, *In Search of April Raintree* (Winnipeg: Portage and Main Press, 1999).

understand the full implications of loss of culture. That it influenced them in negative ways is borne out by a number of the interviews.

The interviews given by former residents of the school to Elizabeth Graham contain few references to music of any kind. This is likely due to the fact that questions were not formulated to draw specific responses, but were left open-ended. The questions did not specifically direct interviewees to consider the role of music in their lives. But the following questions, which Graham asked the participants, might have generated such a response, if the matter of music had been important to them: “Did you like it/hate it [residential schooling]? Did you get an education? Did you learn any skills that were useful to you afterwards or helped you get a job?”¹⁸⁰

Still, I had expected that the students would speak about traditional music in nostalgic terms, but I was not prepared for the absence of any reference to the music they would have participated in at home. The reasons for this lack may have been external to the school. A number of the students came from homes which were Christian, and not worshipping in the Longhouse tradition. At the Ohsweken Fair, where traditional music and dancing are nowadays a common feature, these would not have been present, considering the Indian Act prohibition.

Only one student, Marguerite Beaver, who attended from 1940 to 1948, mentions musical instruction: “I liked the teachers – there was a music teacher there, but she didn’t stay long – she was an Indian girl – was she? We used to look real forward to her coming

¹⁸⁰Graham, p. 4.

there.”¹⁸¹ Is it significant that the instructor was Native? What kind of music did she teach the children? What made the students look forward to her coming? We can only speculate.

Other references are more poignant. One student, Karen Hill, explained how her mother used to come and play the guitar, “and all the kids liked her.”¹⁸²

Resistance and the persistence of memories

Two students, Lorna and her sister, still remember singing *The Mush Hole*, a parody of the hymn *There is a happy land, far, far away*,¹⁸³ and the song that inspired the title of Graham's book. The text is as follows:

There is a boarding school far far away
Where we get mush 'n' milk three times a day
Oh how the huskies run
When they hear the dinner bell
Oh how the huskies run
Three times a day ¹⁸⁴

For the Queen's birthday, while waiting for the gift of Bread and Cheese,¹⁸⁵ the children

¹⁸¹Graham, p. 386.

¹⁸²Ibid., p. 406.

¹⁸³For the original text, see Appendix C. <http://www.cyberhymnal.org/htm/t/i/tishappy.htm>. Accessed March 9, 2006.

¹⁸⁴Graham, p. 382.

¹⁸⁵“Bread & Cheese Day is an annual event held at Six Nations Gaylord Powless Arena. History dictates that Six Nations Iroquois and Great Britain's Queen Victoria, were allies in the battles of 18th and 19th century to establish what is now known as Canada. In recognition of this service, Six Nations received a gift of blankets every year from Queen Victoria on her birthday. This was changed to Bread and Cheese....In 1924 when an elected Band Council was imposed on the traditional Six Nations Confederacy, the Band Council made the decision to renew the Bread and Cheese tradition as a symbol of co-operation with Ottawa. It has continued on since and now takes place in the Gaylord Powless Arena, where hundreds of pounds of cheese and equal amounts of bread are handed out to the community during the month of May on Victoria Day.” <http://www.icmi.ca/community.html> Accessed March 16, 2006.

would sing another song, the tune for which is unknown:

24th of May is the Queen's birthday
If you don't give us a holiday we'll all run away!!¹⁵³

From these songs we learn of the menu of mush, and the students' only way to express their opposition. We learn that students felt like starving "huskies," running to the sound of the dinner bell, not enjoying their food but nevertheless dependent on it. We learn that the school conditions were so difficult that running away was constantly in their mind.

Through both of these parodies the students found their own way of making light of the difficult situation and expressing resistance to the oppressiveness of their education. Like the trickster, they were survivors, using their wits to adapt to the restrictions of the residential schools. Especially in this sense, the irony in the fact that the name "Mush Hole" is still alive in the title of Graham's book when the name of the school is no longer used, is particularly sweet. Interestingly, the singing group the "Old Mush Singers" also derives its name from the parody.¹⁸⁶

Besides serving as a vehicle for the occasional outburst of resistance, hymns also presented a kind of painful nostalgia. Lorna's sister describes what the hymn *Onward Christian Soldiers* means to her. When a fellow student, referred to as J, ran away one time, the students were in chapel. In order not to reveal what J was up to, they had to pretend nothing was out of the ordinary. He hid in the nearby dump, where he was found several hours later, sick and feverish. She relates,

¹⁸⁶From an informal interview with Rick Monture, lecturer in McMaster University's Indigenous Studies Department, February, 2005.

And they told us to take a good long look at him. This is what would happen to us if we decided to run away. To this day, when I hear that hymn *Onward Christian Soldiers* I think of J, and I get all weepy inside when I think how cruel it was of them to make him sit there in front of us in chapel, and make us sing Christian songs.¹⁸⁷

This anecdote, more than any other I read in *The Mush Hole* made me painfully aware of the blindness of the officials to the negative effects of acculturation. The irony of the contrast between the gospel message and the way in which this message was imposed on Native students became heightened for me as I contemplated the inexorable march of the army of Christian soldiers riding rough-shod over whatever and whoever blocked its way to victory.

To summarize then, the experience at the residential schools seems to suggest that the social meaning of hymns would be a negative one, and we might expect that as soon as practicable, former residents would abandon the practice of hymn singing. To a certain extent, this is what has happened. But the fact that hymn singing is still practiced in particular contexts demonstrates a number of points. Many students came from devoutly Christian families, and for them the practice of hymn singing was a normal part of worship. Then, the residential school experience was not universal. At Six Nations, many people did not attend the Mohawk Institute, and were thus unaffected by its assimilation policies. As will be explored in the following chapter, hymn singing had a life independent of the residential schools, and flourished in hymn singing groups. For still others, the survival of hymn singing may indicate the close connection between the social context of

¹⁸⁷Graham, p. 381.

music and its emotional value, the power of music not just to transcend cultural boundaries, but also to transcend negative experiences of the past. For all, it may be simply that “We love to sing.”

Chapter 4: Kaha:wi: From Assimilation to Transformation

The previous two chapters have given an overview of some of the ways in which First Nations people came into contact with Western religious music. The Jesuits brought the liturgy and rituals of the Roman Catholic Church, but for the most part did not expect Western music to replace Aboriginal music. English missionaries through the NEC, and later the Canadian government through the Indian Act of 1871, were much more insistent on replacing Native culture with their own, especially through the system of the residential schools. It has been estimated that, although the residential school system was largely dismantled by the 1970s,¹⁸⁸ everyone on the Six Nations Reserve is related to someone who went there. At the very least, this fact illustrates the wide-spread influence of the residential school system. The potential was clearly there – combined with other government policies – to wipe out totally any traces of First Nations cultural heritage.

That the Canadian government and the schools succeeded only partially, if at all, may be due to a number of different factors. For one thing, culture is embedded within a person far more deeply than can be eliminated through schooling.¹⁸⁹ After all, though some

¹⁸⁸Some residential schools were in operation as late as 1986.

¹⁸⁹French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has examined this idea of cultural embeddedness in his essay “The Production of Belief: Contribution to an Economy of Symbolic Goods,” *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Columbia University Press, 1993). His conception of *habitus* helps to explain the persistence of early social conditioning - schemes of perception, thought and action - in the way a person views the world. These schemes persist even through radically changing social conditions.

Along with her critique of the impact of Western thought on Indigenous self-perception, Smith describes those forces which shape the way in which a concept of self develops, pp. 47-50.

children were sent as infants, many students had the first six years of their lives to absorb their home life experiences. Secondly, in many places, especially remoter communities, the influence of Western culture would not be as powerful as in those communities closer to urban centres. On the Six Nations Reserve, many parents refused to send their children to the Mohawk Institute, preferring instead to have them attend the on-reserve day schools. Here, the effects of attempted cultural genocide have not been as devastating as in other places in Canada.

Since the latter part of the 20th century, a movement among First Nations people to preserve and revive traditional culture has been flourishing. They no longer wish to be seen as victims of governmental and educational policies. At the same time, they feel that healing the wounds of the past can only take place by becoming fully aware of their rich traditions. First Nations people recognize that part of their strength has been their ability to adapt to new conditions and technologies, and to absorb aspects of other cultures into their own. Native women, for example, used glass beads brought by fur traders to decorate articles of clothing with designs of almost unimaginable richness. The art of beading still exists, and workshops are occasionally offered to the public through such organizations as the Woodland Cultural Centre in Brantford.

It is this blending of Native and European elements into a means of Native artistic expression that my husband and I experienced when we heard the performance of “The Lord’s My Shepherd” in *Kaha:wi* just over a year ago. When I first heard the hymn “The Lord’s my Shepherd” sung here, I assumed that hymn singing was both a fairly new

activity among Native people, and that the practice was imposed by white missionaries. Rick Monture, lecturer in McMaster University's Indigenous Studies Department,¹⁹⁰ first made me aware that hymns have been adopted into Six Nations social practice, indicating that the process of adaptation is part of their world view.

Beverley Diamond records three different contemporary views explaining how Christianity may have been accepted by First Nations people. The most commonly held view is that "Christianity was a tool for assimilation and, hence, that Christianity and Native religions were in direct opposition... Christianity is represented as 'saving' the Natives – often not just from damnation but also from extinction or starvation."¹⁹¹ As shown in Chapter 2, the SPG charter expressed a similar view. In Chapter 3, we saw that assimilation was the intent of Anglican and Methodist missionaries, as well as of the Canadian government. This was also my original view, and certainly, if my only source of understanding had been the records of the Mohawk Institute, it is easy to appreciate how I could come to that conclusion.

Other people have suggested that the conversions may not have been "real, sustaining changes."¹⁹² This view is supported by the letters from visitors to the Grand

¹⁹⁰This was part of an informal interview given in February, 2005.

¹⁹¹Beverley Diamond-Cavanagh, "Christian Hymns in Eastern Woodlands Communities: Performance Contexts," *Musical Repercussions of 1492: Encounters in Text and Performance* Carol E. Robertson, ed. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), p. 382.

¹⁹²Grant, as quoted in Diamond-Cavanagh, p. 282. In the letter describing his visit with Joseph Brant, Patrick Campbell writes, "With Captain Brant I had a conversation upon religion, introduced by him, indeed, and not by me...He spoke of the Virgin Mary, and her husband Joseph, and even of our Saviour, in a way that induced me to wave [sic] the subject. It however showed the difficulty of

River area during the early 1800s. George Ryerson, for example, wrote: “They are for the most part [,] however [,] strangers to the practice, & ignorant of the Christian religion which they profess, but commendably attached to some of its forms.”¹⁹³ Considering that attendance has dropped off considerably in a number of on-reserve churches at the same time that there is a strengthening interest in Longhouse spirituality, there may be some truth to this view.¹⁹⁴

The Native view according to Diamond is that “Indian and Euro-American paths [have been] parallel rather than divergent.”¹⁹⁵ If this view is to mean parallel in the sense of Kaswentha as Deborah Doxtator explains it, this view is the most inclusive of the three. According to Doxtator, Kaswentha, or the Two-row Wampum belt represents an agreement between the Iroquois and Dutch which ensured that neither side would interfere with the other's customs. “This did not mean that there wasn't a relationship between the two peoples. It did mean that the two would interact as equals.”¹⁹⁶ Such a view allows us to recognize that both cultures have influenced each other in the past, and continue to influence each other, without either being dominant. It leaves room for First Nations

converting these people from the early prejudice of education.” Johnston, p. 20. I take Campbell to mean that he dropped the subject about the Virgin Mary. He seems to imply that Brant's faith shows a lack of depth or possibly of understanding.

¹⁹³Johnston, p. 251. Rev. John West reports in a journal entry of a number of traditional feasts, including the corn planting ceremony at which a white dog is killed, p. 255.

¹⁹⁴George Beaver, March 30, 2006.

¹⁹⁵Diamond-Cavanagh, p. 382.

¹⁹⁶Doxtator, 2001, p. 47.

people's capacity for survival through adaptation. Of the three views, it is therefore the most complete.

Even though not all of the Six Nations people have been practicing Christians, some of Christianity's musical conventions have worked their way into social practice. Beverley Diamond-Cavanagh points out not only that "contemporary performance contexts...illustrate widespread adaptation of Christian music in Indigenous contexts," but also that "the evidence for the merging of Christian and traditional musical practice is...widespread."¹⁹⁷ This is evident in the performance of "The Lord's My Shepherd" as my husband and I experienced it in *Kaha:wi*. This performance expressed a unique contemporary Native vision of identity.

To see exactly how elements of the European and First Nations traditions blended together to create an expression of identity, we will examine the background of the elements that make up this hymn. These elements include the words, their translation, the melody, the harmonization, and the performance practices, as well as the reason for choosing the hymn as a vehicle for expressing grief.

"The Lord's My Shepherd": Words

The English words for "The Lord's My Shepherd" appeared for the first time in the Scottish Psalter of 1650, drawn up by the Westminster Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.¹⁹⁸ An earlier paraphrase of the 23rd Psalm had been printed in the 1564 Psalter

¹⁹⁷Diamond-Cavanagh, pp. 383-4.

¹⁹⁸*The Penguin Book of Hymns*, Ian Bradley, editor (London: Viking Press, 1989), pp. 413-415.

produced by John Knox, but the words were completely different.¹⁹⁹ The words as we know them were compiled by committee, with lines coming from a variety of sources.²⁰⁰ Zachary Boyd, vice-chancellor of St. Andrews University in the 17th century, wrote a metrical version of the 23rd psalm which began:

The Lord's my shepherd, I'll not want.
 He makes me by good will
 Ly in green pastures, he me leads
 Beside the waters still.²⁰⁰

Boyd's verse supplied the first line. The second line is from Francis Rous' version of the psalm in his 1643 psalter. Later lines are supplied either from a 1639 metrical version of the psalm or from the version of the 1564 Psalter revised by the Westminster Assembly in 1646 (See Appendix D).

For nearly 300 years the words as they appeared in the Scottish Psalter of 1650 were not sung much outside of the Presbyterian church. They do appear in the *Methodist Hymnal* in 1876 and the *Congregational Hymnal* in 1916.²⁰¹ In the Anglican hymn book they appear to the tune *Crimond* for the first time in 1965, well after its performance at Princess Elizabeth's and Prince Philip's wedding in 1947 popularized the hymn in English society.

¹⁹⁹The 1564 version of the words appears in facsimile form in *The Scottish Metrical Psalter of A.D. 1635, Reprinted in full from the original work*, Neil Livingston, ed. (Glasgow: Maclure and MacDonald, 1864), p. 29. The words were sung in measured fashion to the music of the third psalm. See Appendix D.

²⁰⁰*The Penguin Book of Hymns*, p. 413.

²⁰¹*Ibid.*, p. 414.

Melody and Harmonization:

Today, many versions of “The Lord’s My Shepherd” use the tune *Crimond*. This is the version in the current *Presbyterian Book of Praise*, the 1971 *Hymn Book of the Anglican and United Churches*, and the *Baptist Hymn Book*. But *Crimond*, attributed to Jessie Irvine (1836-87), who lived in Crimond, Scotland, was not composed until the late 19th century. The tune first appeared in the *Northern Psalter* in 1872 to the words “I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.”



Crimond, however, is not the tune used in the *Kaha:wi* production. *Hymns and Tunes - an Index* revealed the name of the melody sung in the dance as *Martyrdom*,²⁰² and indicated the composer as Hugh Wilson, who wrote the melody in 1800. Originally written in common time under the name of *Fenwick*, it was at some point transformed into its

²⁰²Katherine Smith Diehl, *Hymns and Tunes - an Index* (New York: The Scarecrow Press, 1966).

present lyrical triple metre.²⁰³ Whether Wilson is the harmonizer of the hymn as it appears in *The Book of Praise* of 1918(?)²⁰⁴ and in *The Methodist Hymnal* of 1935²⁰⁵ is rather difficult to determine, as no credit is given in either book. Both of these harmonizations are included in Appendix E.

Martyrdom



A noteworthy feature of this hymn is its almost exclusive pentatonic nature, with the exception of the semitone in measure 10 (see following transcription). Since the pentatonic scale with its lack of semitones is the one that comes closest to describing the tonal system of traditional Native music, its presence in this hymn may account for both

²⁰³ *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns*, ed. J.R. Watson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 117.

²⁰⁴ *The Book of Praise authorised by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press). No imprint date, but signature on flyleaf includes date “Xmas 1920.”

²⁰⁵ *The Methodist Hymnal. Official Hymnal, the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1935).

the hymn's acceptance and its endurance in the Six Nations community.²⁰⁶

Pennsylvanian Ralph Hudson, lay preacher and member of the Mt. Union Methodist Episcopal Church, arranged the tune *Martyrdom* in 1885. Because of his connection with the Methodist Church, it is likely his arrangement that we find in *The Methodist Hymnal*.

The question is, then, which version was the source from which Six Nations singers drew their harmonic inspiration as we hear it in the *Kaha:wi* production? A transcription of the recording does not offer a clue, since the harmonization is quite different from either hymn book version. Mostly in three parts, with the bottom line doubling the melody, it is only the D natural in measure 10 that suggests the Presbyterian version as the source. The Methodist version does not contain the flattening of the descending seventh scale degree.

In her discussion about hymn singing groups, Diamond gives some insight into the background of this style of harmonization:

The Six Nations Mohawk Singers, from near Brantford, Ontario, attracted our attention because their repertoire uses three-part harmony and voice-leading reminiscent of eighteenth century singing schools. Other musical aspects, slow tempo, and vocal quality reinforce the impression.²⁰⁷

If in fact, the origin of harmonization is the singing schools of 18th century New England,

²⁰⁶This idea emerged from a conversation with Norma Vascotto in April, 2006, at the Woodland Cultural Centre.

²⁰⁷Diamond-Cavanagh, p. 286.

The Lord's My Shepherd

The image displays a musical score for the hymn "The Lord's My Shepherd" in three parts. The score is written in treble and bass clefs with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and a 3/4 time signature. It consists of three systems of staves, each with a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef), and a bass line (bass clef). The first system covers measures 1-5, the second system covers measures 6-10, and the third system covers measures 11-15. The music features a mix of quarter, eighth, and half notes, with some measures containing rests or sustained notes.

how did that style come to the Grand River area? Although Joseph Brant spent two years at Eleazar Wheelock's school in Lebanon, Connecticut (1761-63), nothing in his later history suggests that he brought singing school methods with him. Yet John Douse's letter quoted in Chapter 3 indicates that the Methodist congregation was singing in three parts in 1832. This close proximity to the time of the existence of singing schools in New England suggests that this is indeed where the practice originated.

Musician Amos Key has suggested another possible explanation. According to Key, "I would just think that the minister would have brought in people from his own

circle who knew about choral singing...” It may very well be that ministers would bring in their own musical crew, who would take the time to teach the congregation part singing. Because the hymn books did not contain music, or “charts,” people would have learned the harmony from the musical director or from listening to others in the congregation.²⁰⁸

Translation

There is some tantalizing evidence to suggest that the earliest translations of some unidentified book of hymns were undertaken by Henry A. Hill. I have found four translations into Mohawk, two in McMaster's Rare Books Collections, one on-line, and one photocopy in the collection at the Woodland Cultural Centre (See Appendix F). The first two of these books, one published in 1835 and the other in 1839, bear no inscription naming the translator. The second book, entitled in English *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns in the Mohawk Language*, has a hand-written notation on both the fly leaf and the title page indicating that Henry A. Hill was the translator.

A later version, published by the NEC in 1871, is available on-line.²⁰⁹ It names the translator as Isaac Barefoot, a graduate from the Mohawk Institute, who returned as a teacher. That Barefoot himself claimed to be the translator is clear from the following letter, included in John Johnson's February 5, 1872, report to the NEC:

Our Indian Hymn-book has been at length completed...I undertook the translation of the book most cheerfully, if by that means I can in some

²⁰⁸From an interview conducted at the Woodland Cultural Centre, Brantford, Ontario, March 13, 2006.

²⁰⁹ <http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/mtq?doc=03512>. Accessed December 14, 2005.

measure, however small, testify my gratitude to the NEC for the incalculable benefits they have conferred upon me in educating me and making me what I am.²¹⁰

In a subsequent letter Barefoot writes on May 8, 1872 to the NEC treasurer, he expresses gratitude for their appreciation of his translation, and he assures the company that he will do all he can to “further any means calculated to elevate the Indians in their temporal, social, and religious state.”²¹¹ On the surface, it appears that Barefoot has made a significant contribution to advancement of worship among the Mohawk community.

A comparison of several entries from the 1835, 1839, and 1871 books reveals that they are almost identical. What are we to make of this? Either Henry A. Hill is not the translator, or some other explanation needs to be considered. Patrick Campbell mentions that Hill was educated at Cambridge university, and Johnston notes that he translated several books of the Bible into Mohawk.²¹² Francis Hall refers to him as Dr. Hill in his description of the Six Nations Confederacy in 1817.²¹³ His credentials appear above question. Isaac Barefoot too received considerable education. He was a graduate of the Mohawk Institute and came back to it as a teacher. He too appears to have had the ability to translate the hymns into Mohawk. Did he revise the work or add more to it? It has been difficult to make a hymn-by-hymn comparison, since their circulation is

²¹⁰Graham, p.61.

²¹¹Ibid., p. 65.

²¹²Johnston, p. 61.

²¹³Ibid., p. 285.

restricted. As a result, I cannot say with any certainty that the versions are identical. The issue warrants further study. Only then can I determine honestly whether Barefoot's claims to translating the work are sincere. Yet I must admit, I relish the idea that he may have somehow hoodwinked the officials of the NEC. In any event, I marvel at how Barefoot had mastered the language of diplomacy, as if he is "Reinventing' in the colonizer's tongue...as a process of decolonization."²¹⁴ The 1892 version of the hymn book does not give credit to Barefoot as translator.

"Jat kah thoh ji ni shon gwa wi" makes its first appearance as the very last entry in the 1892 hymn book. It has no English counterpart, almost as if it is added as an afterthought (see Appendix F, Entry 4). Since it appears for the first time in the Presbyterian *Book of Praise* in the late 1800s, its late entry into this book suggests that it had only recently become part of the singing life of the Mohawks. One aspect of the topic that bears further investigation is exactly how and why certain hymns were chosen for inclusion in the book. Did an English version exist which were translated directly without changing the choice and order of hymns? Or were hymns chosen based on their popularity within the congregation? For that matter, who authorized or encouraged the translations? Were they initiated by the church, the minister or the Mohawks themselves? Many questions remain.

A close perusal of the hymn in the 1892 book revealed to my surprise that only

²¹⁴Harjo & Bird, p. 33. For the full text of the poem from which this quote is taken, see Chapter 2.

the first line was the same as the *Kaha:wi* version.²¹⁵ How could this be? Was this a typesetting error, that is, did the typesetter combine two hymns by mistake? If that is true, then the *Kaha:wi* version should be the correct one. Later versions of the Mohawk hymn book do exist, but although I am aware of their existence, I have not seen these yet.

The translations themselves raise a number of interesting questions. I wondered how accurately the Mohawk words reflect the English text and sentiments. Since the Mohawk version of “The Lord’s my Shepherd” contains only three verses, while the English has five, I wondered what had been left out. I do not speak or read Mohawk, but I do know that Native North American languages differ significantly in their structure from English. It is therefore hard to imagine that this translation can be anything other than a paraphrase, probably written in such a way as to make the syllables fit into the metre of English hymnody.

Thomas McElwain’s essay on Seneca hymns²¹⁶ makes a further point about the translation into Iroquoian languages. McElwain has systematically analyzed the language of a number of Seneca Christian hymns, showing that in many cases the concepts conveyed in the language are Iroquois rather than Christian. He points out that those aspects that are foreign to Iroquois thinking are often omitted, or replaced with more

²¹⁵George Beaver suggested several explanations. Referring to the generic meaning of the words, he indicated that the words were used in other hymns. He also mentioned that new Mohawk hymns were created that had no English counterpart. March 30, 2006.

²¹⁶Thomas McElwain, “‘The Rainbow Will Carry Me’: The Language of Seneca Iroquois Christianity as Reflected in Hymns,” *Religion in Native North America*, Christopher Vecsey, Ed. (Moscow, Idaho: University of Idaho Press, 1990).

familiar concepts. For example, in examining the hymn “Before Jehovah’s Awful Throne,” he asks:

How does the Seneca mind react to awe before anyone’s throne? The answer is that non-Iroquoian feelings and expressions are largely omitted. There is no name of Jehovah, no awful throne....²¹⁷

Since these concepts did not exist for the Iroquois, it would be a challenging task for the translator to find matching concepts. It raises the question of whether the essence of a faith is found only in its images. Perhaps this is what Patrick Campbell meant when he suggested that Joseph Brant’s faith was not sincere. In examining the text of “The Lord’s My Shepherd,” I became more aware of the cultural base of the imagery. I wondered what the translator would do with such non-Iroquoian concepts as shepherds and sheep, soul, rod and staff, and anointing oil. Each of these images reflects a history of understanding which has little meaning for First Nations people.

Amos Key has also offered insight into this question. Although he is Mohawk, he speaks Cayuga rather than Mohawk. He explained:

Sometimes, because they couldn’t translate them, being Christian hymns, they’ve substituted themes that are from our traditional side, like “earth” and “Mother Earth.” They wouldn’t just say “earth,” they would say “Mother Earth,” ...the traditional context.²¹⁸

His answer suggests not only that the paraphrase would find terms to which people could relate, but also that it was important to capture the essence of Iroquois belief in the words.

²¹⁷McElwain, p. 87.

²¹⁸March 13, 2006.

If this is true, it certainly supports the idea that Native perceptions of Christianity were their own. Key pointed out that in Mohawk, there is no equivalent for the expression “My soul He doth restore again,” for the translator would know that it was a “really foreign term.” How do you translate “soul” into Mohawk?

We may speculate why some parts of the translated hymn books have English counterparts, while others do not. Conceivably, worship would be led by a person from the Church of England, who may not have known Mohawk, although we know that the Reverend Robert Nelles could read fluently in the language. The phonetic presentation in the hymn book or book of prayer would make it possible for him to sing or speak the words, but he may not necessarily have known the specific contents. The English translations would be a guide to the meaning of that particular hymn, and may also have aided in the learning of English. We have also learned in Chapter 2, that in the Methodist church the practice was to sing hymns in both languages simultaneously, as the Reverend John Douse reported. Since the 1892 hymn book does not contain an English version of the hymn “Jat ka thoh ji ni shon gwa wi,” [presumably “The Lord’s My Shepherd”] perhaps the practice of parallel singing no longer existed.

To find answers to my many questions, I consulted Mr. David Kanatawakhon-Maracle, lecturer in Mohawk language at the University of Western Ontario. He confirmed that the Mohawk text has little correspondence to the English text. In fact, he stated categorically that the Mohawk words were not “The Lord’s My Shepherd,” although the translation he provided was so generic that it could apply to a

number of hymns. George Beaver also spoke about the general nature of the paraphrase. In a column he wrote for *The Brantford Expositor*,²¹⁹ he chose that particular hymn because the words, “are used in several other hymns, the ones that fit the words instead of translating the whole hymn.” By this I took him to mean that the meanings of the words of “Jat ka thoh ji ni shon gwa wi” fit other hymns as well, and different tunes would be sung using the same words.

Below is the hymn in several versions. The bold version is the text as David Maracle supplied it using the contemporary spelling system. The plain version underneath is the version from the liner notes from the Kaha:wi CD. It uses a phonetic system which matches the historic spelling almost exactly. Comparing this version with the one supplied by Maracle helps us to see how rendering the sound of Mohawk is a fluid matter. The italicized text is Maracle's literal, word-for-word translation. The backward slashes indicate the Mohawk words. In the original paraphrase, the text was rendered syllabically, possibly for ease of pronunciation by non-Mohawk speakers. The paraphraser assured that no word would carry over the line, and attempted to make each individual line make some sort of sense, although, according to Maracle, he did not always succeed.

From the Mohawk Hymnary, 1892?

Tyat kaht ho / tsi / nihs hon kwa wih
 Jat kah thoh ji ni shon gwa wi,
Look / at what / he has given us

**The Lord's my Shepherd, from the
 1650 Scottish Psalter**

The Lord's my Shepherd, I'll not want.
 he makes me down to lie

²¹⁹Beaver described the column to me in the interview on March 30, 2006. We scheduled a meeting to which he was going to bring this column. Several family emergencies forced me to cancel our meeting.

Ne / n'yon kwe' ti yoh se

Ne n yon gwe ti yo se,
The ones who / the good people

Ne / ya ka wer yah si yoh se

Ne ya ga we ryah si yo se,
The / they have good hearts beautiful

Ska' ni kon rat / i ken

Ska ni gon rat I genh.

One mind / it is

Te yon ta te no ronh kwah se

Te yon da de no ronh kwa se,
They love each other

Ker ihs tos / sha ko wih

Ke ris tus sha go wi,
Christ / he has given them

Tsi / tyoh na wa tet / ne / yohs kats

Ji tyoh na wa deht ne yoh skats,
*At / the fountain (spring) / which / it is
beautiful*

Wa tonn hets he ri yo

Wa don hets he ri yo
It makes life good

Ka ya ne ren / ka ron hya ke

There is righteousness / in heaven

Ne / san e ra honts ha

Which is / you wing

Ens ha ti tenhs ten' / eh / nonka

*They will come to a standstill / there /
toward*

Ne tsi / tkon ti tye' se

The / where / they fly about there

Ne ne / yon a ton ha he re

Ne ne yo na don ha he re,
The ones who / they are glad

O nen / eh / ye ya koh

O nen eh ye ya go,
Now / there / they have appeared there

O nen / yak o non ta hra'onh

in pastures green; he leadeth me
the quiet waters by.

My soul he doth restore again;
and me to walk doth make
within the paths of righteousness,
even for his own Name's sake.

Yea, though I walk in death's dark vale,
yet will I fear no ill;
for thou art with me; and thy rod
and staff my comfort still.

My table thou hast furnished
in presence of my foes;
my head thou dost with oil anoint,
and my cup overflows.

Goodness and mercy all my life
shall surely follow me;
and in God's house forevermore
my dwelling place shall be.

O nen ya go non dah ra on,
Now / they have reached the top of the hill
Tsi non we / ne / Ni yoh
 Ji non we ne ni yoh.
To (at) / it is located / the / God (good)

If we can go on the premise that the paraphrase does represent the text “The Lord’s my Shepherd,” we can see that none of the imagery of the original remains. There is no reference to shepherd, pastures, still waters, overflowing cups, or anointing oil. Instead, what emerges is the idea that the good people, those who love others and live in harmony with them will live with God under his protecting wing and in peace (come to a standstill), possibly at the end of their lives. The unfamiliar images have been translated into ones that have cultural meaning for the singers, and reflect the emphasis on social relationships that is part of the Iroquoian world view. To point out one such difference, the English words present a relationship between a single person and God based on God’s protection and mercy. The Mohawk version expresses thankfulness towards “him,” but also explores the relationship between members of the community. They have “good hearts,” and as a result, there is social harmony (“one mind it is”).

Why should there be this dramatic reworking of the English text? It may be that the paraphraser was not particularly skilled in finding adequate images to translate into the Mohawk experience. Possibly, the symbolism of Christianity was not familiar to him. McElwain notes that a number of translators of varying skills rendered English hymns into Seneca. Kanatawakhon-Maracle supplied another answer, which at the same time provided clues to the way that singing is regarded in Six Nations communities. For First

Nations people, “the tune is important.” Because most Mohawk hymns are in common metre, or 8686,²²⁰ the words of different hymns can be easily interchanged. The syllabic Mohawk translation for “Amazing Grace,” for example, fits just as well. How a person feels, or the power of a specific memory guides the choice of a particular hymn for singing. Since the melody is more important than the words, the chants – or melodies – and not the words, are chosen to fit the occasion. People get together and sing for the love of singing. Maracle’s explanation brought to mind Amos Key’s words “We love to sing, and the Creator loves to hear our voices.” George Beaver tells the following story:

When we got here [in Brantford] in 1784, there were lots of people singing Mohawk hymns. Even some of the Longhouse people would come out too when they were having special meetings especially when it was warm. They would park their buggies. They wouldn’t come into the church, but they would sit and listen to the musical sound and their friends would open the windows so that they could hear.... They liked the four parts. They don’t sing that way in the Longhouse.²²¹

Beaver’s story emphasizes the love of singing by a group of people who do not share the beliefs expressed in the words. It is the melody and harmonization that draws them in.

The practice of singing hymns for the sheer pleasure of it is substantially different from Western practice, which bases its choice of hymns on the liturgical year. Easter hymns can only be sung at Easter time, and how a hymn makes us feel is incidental to its spiritual message. That is not to say that hymns don’t carry an emotional weight, but for

²²⁰This metrical designation indicates the number of syllables per line, helpful in locating other tunes or words that fit that particular metrical pattern.

²²¹March 30, 2006.

non-Natives, then, the text of hymns is often primary. For Native singers, the melody takes precedence.

Kanatawakhon-Maracle explained that because melody is primary, Iroquois songs have many vocables, and Six Nations people derive great pleasure from singing songs in a language which they may not understand. He pointed out that some of the *Kaha:wi* singers were Cayuga, and were singing the words by rote, a point confirmed by Amos Key.

Performance practices and performance context

George Beaver describes general features of Mohawk hymn performance which were retained in the *Kaha:wi* production:

What fascinated me about Mohawk hymns was the way it was usually done a capella, and instead of having an organ or something in the background or even a drum...it was all voices.

He indicated that this was a practice at Six Nations, and wondered whether different practices existed in other places. We are planning to pursue this question at later interviews.

What had struck me about the performance of the hymn in *Kaha:wi* was its extroverted, unselfconscious style. It was different from the sweetly blended, four-part harmony striven for by European choirs. Since the rest of the music accompanying the dance displayed a more European aesthetic, it was clear to me that the style used for the hymn was deliberately chosen. No attempt had been made to blend the voices into a unified sound. Instead, individual voices could be detected. Individual musical

personalities could express their individual sentiments, although agreed performance practices showed how carefully the group worked together.

One soprano voice in particular emerged as leader, singing the first note, after which the other singers would enter a split second later. Explaining the reason, Amos Key connected the technique to traditional performance practice:

You know, I think why that is, because we have no charts...so all of that is placed on the lead singer, to get you into that pitch, the rhythm...Really he sets the rhythm, he sets the pitch, of how high it's gonna be, and then everybody falls into....Most traditional songs, no matter who or what...powwow music... You'll hear a lead singer sing first...²²²

The way that voices enter the song seems to spring from traditional practice, and is different from non-Native practice, where a leader will most often use a visual cue such as a hand gesture to bring in the group. The Mohawk practice suggests an abbreviated call and response technique.

Consistent throughout all parts was the use of passing tones as ornamentation. The effect at first reminded me of that gravest of all vocalist sins, scooping,²²³ but since each of the members of the group used the technique at exactly the same time, it was an obviously deliberate effect, reminiscent of popular music singing style.

Beverley Diamond-Cavanagh points out that within the Mohawk Singers, the group whom she observed on the Six Nations Reserve:

Performers have distinctive roles within the group. The hymns are sung by

²²²March 30, 2006.

²²³“Scooping” is the gliding from one note to another in an displeasing way.

men in three-part harmony, with the tenor carrying the tune in the middle voice. The harmony, with its numerous open fifths and octaves and angular voice-leading, is improvised in support.²²⁴

The group Diamond observed were all men, whereas both men and women sing in the Kaha:wi group. Despite these differences, the similarities are striking. Like the Mohawk Singers, the *Kaha:wi* group uses angular voice leading and a vocal style reminiscent of the singing schools of the 18th century. The unselfconscious and extroverted resonance also brings to mind traditional Native singing. Certainly it represents a very different aesthetic from the European *bel canto* style, with its projection of sound through the facial mask.

According to one participant interviewed by Diamond, language has a direct effect on singing style. Speaking of the contrast of singing in a Native language rather than in English, he states:

When you sing English, the notes will float, even in Latin. But when you're singing in Indian, you have to use your voice....It's very hard, English, it's more light. The notes will float. It's not hard on your voice like when you sing in Indian.²²⁵

The implication is that singing "in Indian" demands a more full-bodied sound. Amos Key explains it as the recognition that "the Creator loves to hear our voices." I wonder how concepts of the body influence this performance aesthetic, whether there exists the view of the total involvement of the body in performance, but that is a topic for future investigation.

²²⁴Diamond-Cavanagh, p. 286.

²²⁵Ibid., p. 288.

Artistic Decisions

What special meaning did the singing of the hymn bring to the production of *Kaha:wi* in the number “The Mourning”? Why was the hymn, and not the traditional Condolence Ceremony, chosen as a vehicle for expressing grief? George Beaver gives an insight into these questions. Hymn singing, he writes, is “a rapidly vanishing part of the Mohawk Indian culture which stretches back over two centuries to the days before the migration from the Mohawk Valley in New York State.”²²⁶ He continues, “When I was growing up, at least one Mohawk hymn was sung at every church service. As time went on, fewer and fewer people were able to join in. Soon Mohawk hymns were heard only on special occasions. Now they are heard only at a few funerals.”

In an interview, Beaver described in more detail how hymns were sung at a funeral:

I remember when my little brother died, I was about 12, when he was about 3 or 4, and he had been sick for a while, about three or four months, but we still didn't expect him to die. It was winter, I think it was 1946. It snowed a real lot, and the roads were blocked for about a week. We had to take him from our house, we weren't far from the church, about a quarter of a mile, but we had to carry his casket, and ... I was one of the bigger boys, but there were just boys. But for two nights before, but probably when it got dark, after supper, about 7 o'clock, 8 o'clock, [the neighbours would come and] would start to sing. I would go to bed at midnight, because I wasn't used to staying up. I would wake up in the middle of the night and I could hear them singing and they'd sang all night, and they would start... Well, at midnight they would have something to eat, corn soup, or a scone, or something, and they had a little bowl of hard candy, so if their throat started getting raw, they could get one of those. Those were for the singers, and us kids weren't supposed to take them (chuckles)....

²²⁶George Beaver, “Mohawk Hymns: A Vanishing Tradition,” *The Brantford Expositor*, April 12, 1987.

But it was nice, we had probably 20, 30 singers, men and women, and the men especially carried the bass parts. The tenor was nice though. Those who couldn't sing parts just sang the melody along.²²⁷

His poignant description demonstrates the comfort and support that must have come to his family at their time of grief. A further explanation of the present-day role of hymn singing within Six Nations culture is found in the program notes of the Smithsonian Folkways recording *Beautiful Beyond*. This recording contains samples of worship songs sung in Native tongues. It includes the hymn "Twill be Glory By and By" by the Martin sisters, who come from the Six Nations Reserve.²²⁸ The program notes indicate that their parents taught them to respect both Christianity and the Mohawk Longhouse tradition. Speaking of the time when they sang hymns at their mother's funeral, Karen [Martin] Williams says, "We sing when we can't talk. It lifts us up and helps us heal. Our songs can be prayers."²²⁹ At least one of the singers in this group also took part in the *Kaha:wi* performance.

It appears then that within the Mohawk tradition, hymn singing at the time of funerals brings the community together at a time of grief, and is a source of comfort and healing. It is precisely this function that the hymn replicates in the *Kaha:wi* performance.

²²⁷March 30, 2006. Beaver's description can be compared to Annemarie Shimony's detailed account of the Six Nations funeral wake. *Conservatism among the Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), pp.236-241.

²²⁸*Beautiful Beyond: Christian Songs in Native Languages* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 2004) SFWCD 40480. Shelda Johnson, one of the Martin sisters, also sings "The Lord is my Shepherd" in *Kaha:wi*.

²²⁹*Ibid.*, program notes.

The death of the grandmother is a great loss to the family and to the community. Her wisdom and caring will be greatly missed. The context of the hymn's melody, which in the past helped the community live through its grief, would be familiar to the mostly Iroquois audience, and would have a powerful emotional meaning. As Karen Williams said, "[Singing hymns at funerals] lifts us up and helps us heal."²³⁰ Speaking of "The Lord's My Shepherd" particularly, Amos Key explained, "It really hits at the heart, it pulls your heartstrings."²³¹

But given the significance of the Condolence Ceremony, both as a traditional ritual and as a vehicle for expressing profound grief at the death of an important person, I wondered why it was not used to accompany the dance presenting the grandmother's death. The answer can be inferred in part from the explanation Key gave of his particular role in creating the music in *Kaha:wi*:

A. All [Santee Smith, choreographer] gave me was a list...a sketch of what she wanted the song to say, how she wanted to use it at the beginning...from the dark stage from black and then voice starts...The creative part was for me to create lyric and a melody that would reflect that. I just created this piece from music...that I've heard, that I use with myself in high ceremony so that I could use it in the public domain. You know, it just has those kinds of elements that are not in the Longhouse. It's like a bit of it mirrors it. So it's not music that was old, whatever that means, but it's still contemporary, because it's created just now....

There's another piece in there and [another composer?] a piece borrowed from the structure of name-giving songs as it has the same structure, but it's not the same, because some of these are old old pieces of

²³⁰*Beautiful Beyond*, program notes.

²³¹March 13, 2006.

music so you know you can identify right away, yeah, that's a family song or that's ...that guy's song...But it isn't one that I would use in ceremony.

N. So you're keeping the ceremony music...

A. Separate...

N. Sacred...

A. Yeah, sacred...I think we're very cognizant of that,...and there's no rules about it, it's just that I guess we just have reverence about it...Some of that sound that I was trying to make is a real colourful – is there a classification called dirge?

N. Um, yes.

A. Almost like that, that quality for this Condolence...Ceremony, where they sing in these really low low low...it's like right here in the heart, so I tried to borrow a little bit of that, but not that melancholy situation, but I tried to borrow the power of that....We don't own those songs, those songs are given to us by the Creator, so we have no right....²³²

From this conversation, two main reasons emerge that explain why the Condolence Ceremony would not have been an appropriate choice. First, parts of it, the structure and the low, long, powerful tones, were used in the overture of the dance, connected to the emergence of life. Having a different format for “The Mourning” is partly an artistic decision. More importantly, as Key explains, in contemporary compositional and performance practice, ceremonial music is kept separate from music that is offered to the public. This high ceremony music, which is directly given to the community by the Creator, should be kept sacred, but “man-made” music is suitable for public performance. The challenge for Key was to create music in such a way as to suggest high ceremony to

²³²March 13, 2006.

an informed listener without directly quoting it. It was interesting that no such sanction existed in *Kaha:wi* for the Christian hymn, suggesting that it does not belong to the category of gift from the Creator.

Key further explained that there was no direct prohibition forbidding him to use high ceremony music in a non-worship context, but the matter of shame worked as prohibition:

You know, I suppose I could have sang a song right from the ceremonies, but I wouldn't be able to hold my head up after that. I mean, I know enough...I would have heard, "He shouldn't have done that"... "Who the hell does he think he is..."²³³

Thus Key's compositional practice shows a deep respect for the relationship between humans and the Creator, and a keen awareness of the difference between ceremony and public performance.

The performance of "Jat ka thoh ji ni shon gwa wi" from *Kaha:wi*'s scene "The Mourning" has revealed itself to be a hybrid creature. Although the melody, the harmony and possibly the inspiration for the text had their origins in the British Isles, much of the hymn's performance is purely First Nations. This includes the performance aesthetics and practice, and the cultural values embedded in the creation and performance context of the hymn. In fact, it seems to me now that the greater part of its parentage is Native. Yet the two ancestors have blended together so well that the descendant has become a new creation, bearing traces of its past, but transformed into a new cultural expression.

²³³March 30, 2006.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The farther I traveled on the journey of discovering the processes of musical transculturation, the more complicated the journey seemed to become. What seemed at first simple – just finding the origin of the various aspects of the hymn – became more and more entangled as my journey progressed. I could not simply state how and when a particular practice began, but learned instead that any point I chose to begin my story implied a whole genealogy of stories.

This is particularly true of the question I asked myself, “What practices that existed among the Iroquois made European religious music meaningful and understandable to them?” In search for an answer, I learned something about the formal protocols that have existed for a long time in Iroquois society, and how in order to understand those protocols I had to also understand where they fit in within Haudenosaunee history, social structure and overall world view. I could not look at a piece without considering the whole. This stage of contact between the Iroquois and Europeans is best described using the term transculturation, because it progressed for the most part without coercion or interference. The Iroquois were free to practice their own music and to learn music from across the Atlantic.

Keeping in mind that many Six Nations people were not directly affected by the Mohawk Institute, my examination of musical life within the residential school allowed me to see some ways that Euro-centric systems attempted to disrupt this world view. I gained an appreciation for how easy it is to denigrate the value of another culture, assume the

rightness of one's own viewpoint, and use it as a basis for forcing that world view on others through policies of acculturation or assimilation.

My look at the hymn “Jat ka thoh ji ni shon gwa wi” showed how Iroquois values persisted, despite the passage of time, attempts at acculturation, and the overlay of European musical form. In fact, the term transformation is appropriate, because in melding Iroquoian values with European forms, the hymn has become a new expression of cultural identity.

These examinations gave me the basis for answering the question, “How do we get to understand music from another time and culture?” We cannot do so fairly without an intimate acquaintance with the people who construct that music, and the values which they hold. In order to do so, it is essential to try to understand the particular perspective of the culture that is different from our own. This enables us to examine our prejudices and assumptions, and to learn to value what others hold as worthwhile. It allows us to see that truth is a fluid rather than absolute thing. Only by stepping outside of our own world view can we begin to comprehend, not just another world view, but the meaning of our own.

In examining my own perspective towards cultural exchange, I was helped not just by Foucault's critique of Western concepts of history, but also by the writings of Doxtator, Milloy, Sioui and Smith. By applying their ideas to the history of musical contact between the Iroquois and Europeans I have come to a deeper appreciation of the performance of “Jat ka thoh ji ni shon gwa wi” as performed in *Kaha:wi*.

Tracing the genealogy of the hymn “The Lord’s My Shepherd” has allowed me to see the characteristics of its ancestry. What became even clearer to me as my research continued was how much it owes to its Aboriginal parentage. It may have been the wish of European missionaries and governments that Native people assimilate into European society. If we use the hymn’s performance in *Kaha:wi* as a marker of the process of assimilation, it may appear as if their goal were accomplished, at least in part. After all, the English hymn form and melody was used to accompany a dance that had elements of ballet. The audience watching sat in a European theatre in a Euro-Canadian university.

But the traces of its history are tightly embedded in it. The contents of its lyrics reveal Iroquois values of caring for others. The performance practices reveal other values, individuality in community, the recognition of Creator-given music that is distinct from human-created, and, ultimately, respect and thanks for what the Creator has given.

Through the telling of its story, we have seen how it is impossible to impose a Grand Narrative on even the smallest of history’s details. The story did not follow the pattern that was anticipated in the 19th century. Instead, as we have seen, its entangled events are marked with “invasions, struggles, plundering, disguises, ploys.”²³⁴ These have allowed the weaving of new fabric from old materials. But the creation process continues, for humans, using whatever tools are at their disposal, will continue to search for meaning, self-expression, and survival.

The story has no end.

²³⁴Foucault, p.76.

Appendix A

Choreographer's Statement

As an Onkwehonwe person I believe that song and dance were gifts given to us by the Creator, to celebrate our lives on Mother Earth. It is what we do, it is what we know, since first we heard our mother's heartbeat and her muffled voice, and moved along with the sway of her hips. Song and dance together are the ultimate expressions of who we are, it identifies and defines us, it links us to each other and to the Creator. It has been my ongoing goal to create contemporary work that is reflective of indigenous aesthetics and perspective and to create an awareness and appreciation of contemporary indigenous expression in the arts.

Kaha:wi Cast:

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Life Force/Spirit: | Santee Smith |
| The People/Community: | Tatiana Ramos, Alejandros Meraz, Marvin Vergara, Alejandra Valiente, Anthony C. Collins, Santee Smith |
| Four Directions: | Tatiana Ramos, Santee Smith, Alejandra Valiente |
| Lovers: | Tatiana Ramos, Alejandro Merz |
| Grandmother: | Rulan Tangen |
| Mother: | Tatiana Ramos |
| Kaha:wi/Child | Santee Smith |
| Grandmother Spirit: | Rulan Tangen |
| Ancestor Spirit: | Anthony C. Collins |
| Midwives: | Santee Smith, Alejandra Valiente |
| Guest Artists: | Raoul Trujillo: Ancestor Spirit April Doxtator: Community member, Fourth Direction, Midwife |

Kaha:wi Scenes:

Scene 1: Life Force Life and Spirit manifest into physical form. A thanksgiving prayer is given to all the living beings in the natural world. The breath of Life awakens the Earth World and the Onkwehonwe (The Real People).

Scene 2: In the Beginning The Onkwehonwe (The Real People) world begins to take shape as humans emerge from the Earth. The Creator, people, land and women are honoured as sacred beings.

Scene 3: Four Sisters Respect is given to the four directions represented by the dancing women. Unified they are symbolic of the continuous and harmonious circle.

Scene 4: We Gather A community celebrates their existence and wholeness through communal dance.

Scene 5: Konnorónhkwa In isolation a young woman begins a visceral dance calling her lover. He responds to her call and the two unite in balanced harmony and sensual love. Together they dance in unity representing a balanced harmony between the masculine and feminine forces of the universe. After the passionate moment of conception the couple repose in a peaceful slumber.

Scene 6: Prayer The young woman is awakened by a nightmare. She cries out for guidance and help from Sonkwaiatison (the Creator), foreshadowing the impending death of her mother. The man awakes to quickly calm his love and they depart from a storm.

Scene 7: Life Force The dying Grandmother begins her journey to the Spirit World. She is saddened to leave her family behind. However, she is appeased and accepting of fulfilling the highest of ceremonies which is Death.

Scene 8: Feasting An ancestor welcomes the Grandmother's spirit into the spirit world. She is free of her physical body as she moves through the dimensions from the earthly world to the spirit world.

Scene 9: The Mourning The family grieves wholeheartedly for their loss of the Grandmother. The scene occurs in three distinct sections.

Scene 10: Celebration of Life and Death Members of the community appear offering their emotional support to the grieving family. There is a celebration of life and death. The family is integrated back into society.

Scene 11: Moon Dance Four midwives and the expectant mother prepare for the birth of a baby. Grandmother Moon is honoured for her role in the birthing process.

Scene 12: Ionkhinisten:ha (Our Mother) A birth takes place and the arrival of a baby girl and the precious moments surrounding her birth are highlighted. The mother and child dance in unison and the bond is complete.

Scene 13: Owi:ya:ah (Baby) The community celebrates the birth with a naming ceremony. The name Kaha:wi is passed on to the young daughter.

Scene 14: Yo ha hee yoh (It's a Good Road) The celebration continues as the young daughter is integrated into her maternal society and is symbolic of the continuous feminine presence in the natural world.

Scene 15: Young Woman's Dance The young Kaha:wi explores her world in the full bloom of her youth. She begins her earthly journey with all the fervour of her youth with the support from her family and ancestors.

Scene 16: Now Our Minds are One The young Kaha:wi explores her world in the full bloom of her youth. She begins her earthly journey with all the fervour of her youth with the support from her family and ancestors.

Kaha:wi Dance Theatre – Dancing Across Boundaries

Elizabeth Chitty

There's an expression I like that culture is like the water a fish swims in – the fish doesn't know it's there until it finds itself on dry land. I like this because it describes both how fundamental culture is to our experience and how it is possible that so many people believe culture to be insignificant. (I am using the term "culture", in the broad sense of a collection of distinctive traits characterizing a social group, which include modes of life, value systems, traditions and beliefs as well as the arts).

However, I also think that this expression best describes the situation of those who are part of a dominant culture. Only then do we have the "luxury" of being blind to culture. If our culture is threatened by the dominant culture, then I think we become aware of culture with the urgency that the fish experiences. We understand that our culture is the water we swim in, the air breathe and the earth we stand upon – that it nourishes our very life's blood.

In Canada, for the past twenty years or so, a great flowering of aboriginal art has taken place in many media by artists who draw upon the roots of their cultures. For many, it is a time of fulfillment of the prophecy of Louis Riel, who said, "My people will sleep for one hundred years. When they awake it will be the artists that give them back their spirit." There is both a resurgence of traditional arts and an emergence of contemporary artistic practices grounded in tradition. Many artists educated in art colleges and schools where they learned Euro-American vocabularies and techniques questioned why the traditional media of their cultures were labelled "folk art" while Euro-American media were "art". Visual artists questioned why their work was displayed in anthropological museums while their non-native peers exhibited work in art galleries.

Tonight's performance by Kaha:wi Dance Theatre is an example of this flowering in the field of concert dance. Choreographer Santee Smith is a member of the Mohawk Nation, Turtle Clan, and was educated at the National Ballet School. The classical ballet taught there is very different to the dances we may have seen at the pow wows close to us here in Niagara. In the work you will see this evening, the choreographer draws on both these dance languages. (Actually, her choreographic source is Iroquoian traditional social dance rather than the dances performed at pow wows, which have in common with theatrical dance, that they are languages of spectacle.) In the dance tonight, we can see the extended body lines and lifted torsos of ballet and contemporary dance as well as the rounded upper body, relaxed knees and flat feet of Iroquoian dances.

However, it is perhaps less the movement vocabulary that makes tonight's performance distinctly Iroquoian than it is the cultural values. You can read the Choreographer's

Statement in the program for the choreographer's own words on that. The Mohawk Nation is one of the six nations in the Iroquoian Confederacy. Clans are the fundamental building block of this nation. Santee Smith belongs to the Turtle Clan and the turtle is the symbol of the entire earth. We walk upon the turtle's back. In the dances we will see tonight, we will see dance used to honour Mother Earth.

I have heard it said that in Haudenosunee (Iroquoian) culture, every person is either a singer or a dancer. This is a very different worldview than the one Santee Smith would have lived as a student at the National Ballet School where the rigours of professional dance mean that years of highly specialized training are required before one earns the name of "dancer".

Classical ballet has its roots in European royal courts and the social organization of high and low classes. Modern dance has its roots in the modernist and democratic idea of the individual, even the renegade. Traditional dances of any culture, be they from North America, West Africa or England, were tied to collective experience. Very often they marked the passing of the cycle of seasons, and the place of the earth in the people's lives. The dances always meant something very specific and shared by everyone.

The meaning of traditional movement often seems buried in the past and unavailable to the contemporary audience member. In the past few dance seasons here at Centre for the Arts, we have had the privilege of witnessing artist from Indian, African and now Mohawk backgrounds work with traditional dance vocabularies in the context of contemporary concert dance. We've seen different results.

In the dance world, some believe dance vocabularies should all be enjoyed but remain separate to retain their distinctiveness. Others take a melting pot, "it's all dance" approach. Other artists have brought great intelligence and care to their developing understanding of their traditional dance language and its graft with Euro-American theatrical dance forms – in the process using their art to address key global issues of our post-modern age.

The stage is a very different place than the gathering places of traditional social dance. Theatrical dance displays artists' expressions about living rather than being itself life lived. Tonight the dancers will be on a carefully lit stage and we will sit in a darkened theatre watching them, rather than being together in a circle taking turns dancing and watching. There are many challenges to successfully bridging the gap between dance languages than have different functions in society.

In the best dance, the meaning of any dance movement is usually like an onion – it's [sic] sweetness found only as we peel away layers upon layers. It is found in the meeting of our

mind and visceral experience with the intent of the choreographer and the vast impact of the interpretation of the dancer.

I invite you tonight as you enjoy the dancing to consider your expectations of a night at the theatre and how they may reflect the values by which you live your life. What are the values where you work or play? In your family? How are the values in the dance tonight different or the same? These are the questions that art can bring to us and we can say *nia:weh* (thank-you) to Kaha:wi Dance Theatre for giving us the gift of sensual experience and thoughtful reflection.

Elizabeth Chitty (www.elizabethchitty.ca) is an interdisciplinary artist whose most recent performance premiered at Tangente danse contemporaine in Montréal in September 2004. She teaches creative Process at The School of the Toronto dance Theatre and is the Executive Director of the St. Catharines and Area Arts Council.

Appendix B

The Peacemaker, the Ritual of Condolence, and the Iroquois Confederacy

Many versions of this story exist, but, as required by the oral tradition, all essential elements are found in each of these versions. This version, told by Snipe Clan Sub-Chief Jacob Thomas, an elder of the Cayuga Nation, was recorded in July, 1989, and reported in José Barreiro's article "Chief Jacob Thomas and the Condolence Cane," *Northeast Indian Quarterly*, Vol. VII, Number 4, Winter 1990. Quotation marks indicate Chief Thomas's actual words.

Born to the Huron on the north shore of Lake Ontario, the Peacemaker had spiritual powers. "As a young boy, people were surprised by all the things he had to say. He told them he was on a mission, and he was sent by the Creator to tell good things. The first thing he said was, 'There is warfare going on, and that is not the way the Creator wanted it for people to be on earth – to be against one another. He gave you people love and also peace on earth, that you should live on earth happy. That's what he sends you down here on earth for.' People were surprised to hear these things." As a young man, according to Chief Thomas, the Peacemaker had twelve young friends, who he taught about his message of peace. Among other things, the Peacemaker taught them the Thanksgiving Address, the Natural World oration that opens and closes all Iroquois meetings.

The story tells that upon reaching manhood, the Peacemaker embarked on his campaign of peace, going first to the Mohawks, easternmost and fiercest of the Iroquois tribes....

On the way to the Mohawk country, the Peacemaker came upon the house of a lone cannibal, where he climbed to the roof and watched through the smoke hole as the cannibal butchered and began to cook a human corpse. Seeing the Peacemaker's face reflected in the pot of meat, the cannibal was confronted with his act....

"I'm a cannibal. I eat people,' he said. 'Maybe it's not right.' So he went down the hill carrying the pot and dumped it. The Peacemaker met him as he returned up the hill. 'Where did you come from?' he asked the Peacemaker. The Peacemaker said, 'I come from the west and I am going to the east. I am going to do away with all this. One thing is warfare. The next is witchcraft and cannibalism. That is my purpose. I carry peace, power, and righteousness. You have repented what you have done. Tomorrow is a new day. Forget what has happened in the past. Now people will live in peace and travel about in this world without problems. Peace, love will replace war.'

"When he arrived at a Mohawk village, the Peacemaker was challenged to a feat of power by a disbelieving Great Warrior Chief. The Peacemaker had to climb a high tree next to a large falls. The tree was then cut to fall into the gorge. But when the Peacemaker appeared unscathed the next morning, the Mohawks agreed to follow the Great Law."

...One title that has stayed with the Mohawks is Ayonwatha, whose first holder... “came from the west.” This man, an Onondaga, embarked also on a peacemaking mission and antagonized the most evil wizard, Thadadaho. Through witchcraft, the wizard caused the death of several of Ayonwatha's daughters. When his last remaining and youngest daughter, who was pregnant, was trampled to death by warriors playing lacrosse, Ayonwatha was totally disconsolate. He went to the woods grieving and wishing for someone to console him. Attempting to cross a lake...Ayonwatha “saw a lot of ducks floating. Suddenly, the ducks flew up and took the water with them.” As he walked across, Ayonwatha “saw the wampums laying on the bottom of the lake, so he carried them up and he put them in his pouch, and he said, ‘Someday when we are going to come together, we may need them for making the Great Law.’ When he got to a place where he could make a little shelter for himself, he started to string them himself. He strung what we call, ‘sympathy strings,’ and he was talking to himself. Many nights, he sat by the fire smoking his pipe, and he talked to himself. He said, “This is what I would do: I would wipe away the tears from the person, and I would also clear their hearing and clear their throats, and take all the darkness away from them. This is what I would do to comfort them....’

“One night the Peacemaker appeared. He also carried strings of wampum. ‘I overheard you talking. I have come to sympathize with you. So we will work together. I will now work with you and I will sympathize with you using these strings of wampum. I will lift all the burden of grief from your mind, and make this day bright.’”

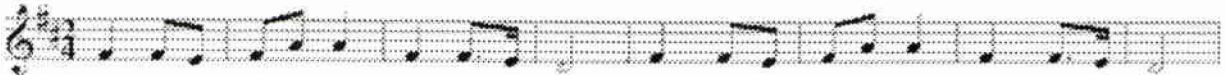
Appendix C

There is a Happy Land

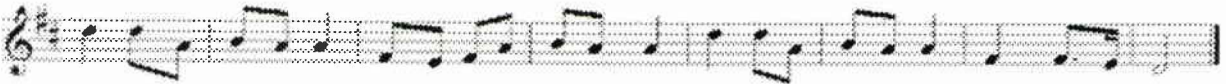
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<http://sniff.numachi.com/~rickheit/dtrad/pages/tiHPPYLAND;ttHPPYLAND.html>,

Accessed August 23, 2005.



There is a hap-py land, far, far a - way. Where saints in glo-ry stand, bright, bright as day.



Oh how they sweet-ly sing, "Wor-thy is our Sav-ior King", Loud let his prais-es ring, praise, praise for aye.

There is a Happy Land
(Andrew Young)

There is a happy land, far far away;
Where saints in glory stand, bright, bright as day.
Oh, how they sweetly sing, "Worthy is our Savior King"
Loud let his praises ring, praise, praise for aye.

Bright in that happy land, beams every eye.
Kept by a Father's hand, Love cannot die.
Oh, then to glory run, Be a crown and kingdom won,
And bright above the sun, reign, reign for aye.

Come to that happy land. Come, come away.
Why will you doubting stand? Why still delay?
Oh, we shall happy be when from sin and sorrow free,
Lord, we shall dwell with thee, Blest, blest for aye.

Appendix D

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|--|--|--|
| <p>PSAL. XXIII.</p> <p><i>¶ Because the Propbet had proved the great mercies of GOD at diverse tymes, and in sundrie manners, hee gathereth a certaine assurance, fully perswading himselfe, that GOD will continue the verie same goodnesse towards him for ever.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Sing this as the 3. Psalm.</i></p> | | |
| <p><i>Psalme xxiii.</i></p> <p>THe Lord is my sheepeheard, I shall not want.</p> <p>2 Hee maketh me to rest in green pasture, and leadeth me by the still waters.</p> <p>3 He restoreth my Soul, and leadeth me in the pathes of righteousnesse for his Names sake.</p> | <p>The LORD is only my support, and hee that doth me feede: How can I then lacke anie thing whereof I stand in need ?</p> <p>2 Hee doth me fold in coates most safe, the tender grasse fast by: And after driv'th me to the streames which run most pleasantly.</p> <p>3 And when I feele my self neare lost then doth hee mee home take: Conducting mee in his right pathes, even for his own Names sake.</p> | <p>4 And though I were even at deaths doore, yet would I feare none ill: For by thy rod, and sheepeheardes crooke I am comforted still.</p> <p>5 Thou hast my table richly deckt in despite of my fo: Thou hast mine head with balme refresht, my cup doth over-flow.</p> <p>6 And finally, while breath doth last, thy grace shall mee defend: And in the house of God will I my life for ever spend.</p> <p>4 Yea; though I should walke thorow the valley of the shadow of death, I will feare no evill: for thou art with mee: thy rod and thy staffe they comfort me. 5 Thou doest prepare a table before mee, in the sight of mine enemies: thou dost a- noint mine head with oyle, and my cup runneth over. 6 Doublelesse kindnesse and mercie shall follow mee all the dayes of my life, and I shall remaine a long season in the house of the LORD.</p> |

PSALME III.

¶ David being persecuted, and driven out of his kingdome by his own son Absalon, was greatly tormented in mind, for his sin against God, and therefore calleth upon God, and vaxeth bold through his promises, against the great terrours of his enemies yea, and against death itselfe; which he saw present before his eyes. Finally, hee reioyceth for the good successe and victory that God gave him, and all the Church, over his enemies.

Treble. Psalme 3.

Psalme 3.

LOrd, how are mine adversaries in-creased? How many rise against mee?

Contra.

Tenor. ¹ O LORD, how are my foes in-creast? which vexee mee more and more:

Bassus.

² Many say to my Soule, There is none helpe for him in God. Selah.

² They kill mine heart when as they say, God can him not re-store.

³ But thou LORD, art a buckler for mee: my glorie, and the lifter up of mine head.

³ But thou, O LORD, art my de-fence, when I am hard be-stead:

My wor-ship and mine hon-our both, and thou holdst up mine head.

Appendix E

From *The Book of Praise*, the Presbyterian Hymnal

PSALM XXIII

19 MARTYRDOM. C. M. $\text{♩} = 84$. HUGH WILSON, 1766-1824.

A-men.

From *The Methodist Hymnal*

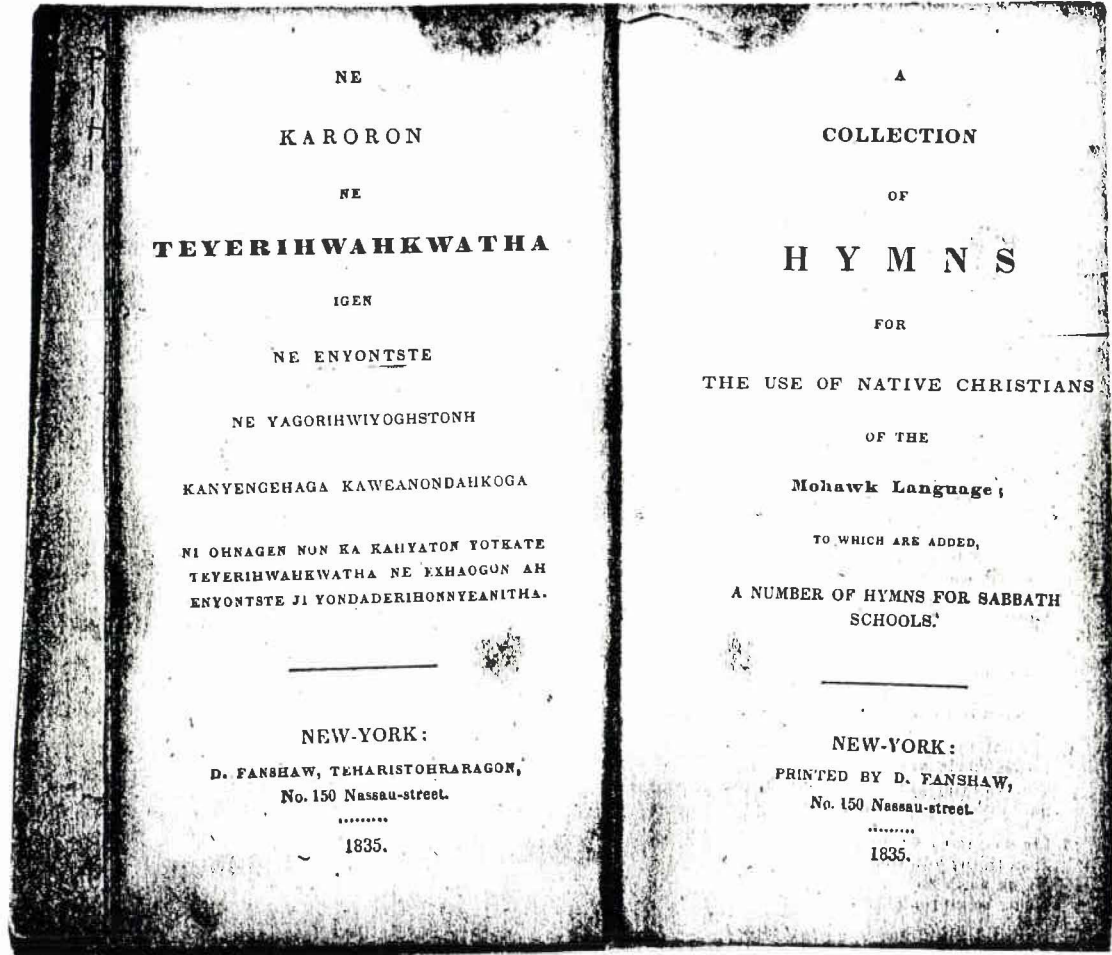
70 MARTYRDOM (AVON). C. M.

PSALM XXIII
SCOTTISH PSALTER, 1650 HUGH WILSON, 1764-1824

1. The Lord's my Shep-herd, I'll not want; He makes me down to lie
 2. My soul He doth re-store a-gain; And me to walk doth make
 3. Yea, though I walk in death's dark vale, Yet will I fear no ill;
 4. My ta-ble Thou hast fur-nish-ed In pres-ence of my foes;
 5. Good-ness and mer-cy all my life Shall sure-ly fol-low me;

In pas-tures green; He lead-eth me The qui-et wa-ters by.
 With-in the paths of right-eous-ness, Ev'n for His own name's sake.
 For Thou art with me, and Thy rod And staff me com-fort still.
 My head Thou dost with oil a-noint, And my cup o-ver-flows,
 And in God's house for ev-er-more My dwell-ing-place shall be. A-MEN.

Appendix F



NE
 KARORON
 NE
TEYERIHWAHKWATHA
 IGEN
 NE ENYONTSTE

NE YAGORIHWIYOGHSTONH
 KANYENCEHAGA KAWEANONDAHKOGA
 NI OHNAGEN NON KA KAHYATON TOTKATE
 TEYERIHWAHKWATHA NE EXHAOGON AH
 ENYONTSTE JI YONDADERIHONNYEANITHA.

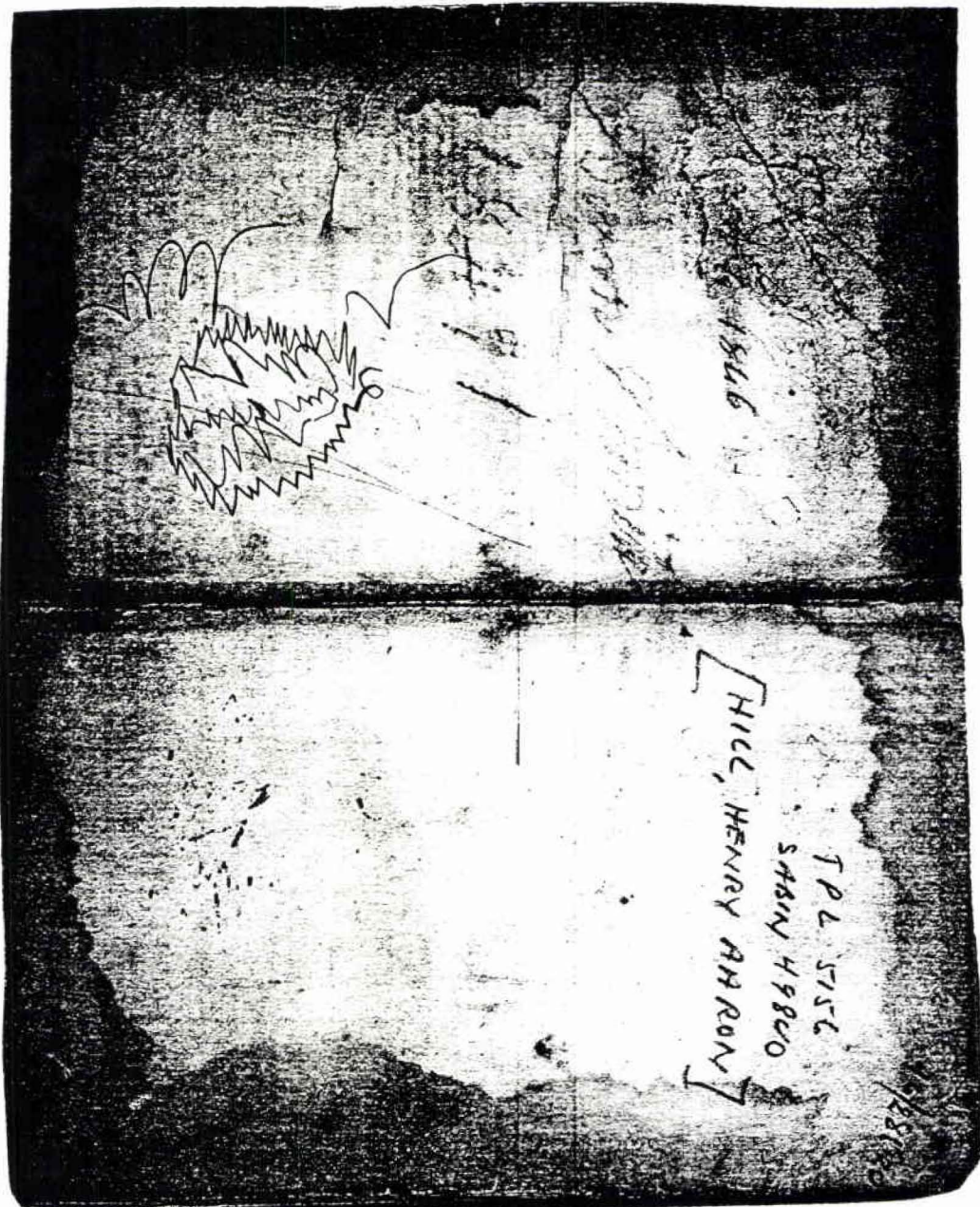
NEW-YORK:
 D. FANSHAW, TEHARISTOHRARAGON,
 No. 150 Nassau-street.

 1835.

A
 COLLECTION
 OF
H Y M N S
 FOR
 THE USE OF NATIVE CHRISTIANS
 OF THE
Mohawk Language;
 TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
 A NUMBER OF HYMNS FOR SABBATH
 SCHOOLS.

NEW-YORK:
 PRINTED BY D. FANSHAW,
 No. 150 Nassau-street.

 1835.



NE

KARORON

NE

TEYERIHWAHKWATHA

KANYENGEHAGA KAWEANONDAHON

YAYAK NI ONONHWEJAGEH RAONAWENK.

KOEMHKOWAHNE TKENTYOHKAWYEN

OGHRONWAKON:

PRINTED AT RUTHVEN'S BOOK & JOB OFFICE, &c.
KING STREET.

1830

A

COLLECTION

PSALMS AND HYMNS,

IN THE

MOHAWK LANGUAGE,

FOR THE USE OF THE SIX NATION INDIANS.

[Trans by W. A. HAMILTON]

BY THE NEW-ENGLAND CORPORATION.

HAMILTON

PRINTED AT RUTHVEN'S BOOK & JOB OFFICE, &c.
KING STREET.

1839

A COLLECTION
OF
PSALMS AND HYMNS
IN THE
MOHAWK LANGUAGE,
FOR THE
USE OF THE SIX NATION INDIANS.
TRANSLATED BY ISAAC BAREFOOT.

PUBLISHED BY
THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY.

TORONTO:
PRINTED BY THE CHURCH PRINTING AND
PUBLISHING COMPANY.

1871.

NE
KARORON

NE
TEYERIHWAHKWATHA

IGEN
NE ENYONTSTE NE YAGORIHWIYOGHSTONH

KANYENGEHAGA KAWEANONDABKOGA

OTTAWA
GOVERNMENT PRINTING BUREAU
PRINTED FOR THE SIX NATION INDIANS
1892

AN
COLLECTION OF HYMNS

FOR
THE USE OF NATIVE CHRISTIANS

WHO SPEAK
THE MOHAWK LANGUAGE

OTTAWA
GOVERNMENT PRINTING BUREAU
PRINTED FOR THE SIX NATION INDIANS
1892

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