•

[illegible]

National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

THE HURON SOUNDSCAPE, 1623-1649:
AN EXPLORATION OF CROSS-CULTURAL INTERACTION,
CONFLICT AND CHANGE, AS ARTICULATED WITHIN THE DOMAIN
OF RITUAL AND CEREMONY

.....

by

Robin Grabell, B.A. (Honours Music)

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in Canadian Studies

Carleton University

OTTAWA, Ontario

December 1, 1990

©1990, Robin Grabell

National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-68876-9

Canada

The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis

"The Huron Soundscape, 1623-1649:
An Exploration of Cross-Cultural Interaction,
Conflict and Change, as Articulated within the
Domain of Ritual and Ceremony"

submitted by Robin Grabell, Hons. B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

.....
Thesis Supervisor

.....
Director
Institute of Canadian Studies

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

January 1991

ABSTRACT:

This paper is an examination of the Huron soundscape of ritual and ceremony, 1623-1649. It will encompass both a documentation of sonic--notably musical--practices distinctive to a variety of personal and collective rituals among the Huron peoples of this historic period and an interpretive analysis of these practices. The analysis will draw upon the insights of symbolic anthropology and will be made from two historical perspectives. Firstly, chapters two, three and four will attempt to reconstruct the sound-system of Huron ritual and ceremony prior to ca. 1634, the era of directed European contact, and will relate this system to other cultural forms and practices of the Huron and to the general patterns of an evolved conceptual scheme. Secondly, the historical transformation of this sound-system within the context of cross-cultural interaction between the French and the Huron will be detailed and evaluated. Finally, these analyses will be used to re-examine previous interpretations of Huron cultural history.

CONTENTS

<u>CHAPTER ONE:</u>	INTRODUCTION	1
<u>CHAPTER TWO:</u>	THE INDIVIDUAL AND HURON SOCIETY: PERSONAL SONGS AND THE ARTICULATION OF SELF	17
<u>CHAPTER THREE:</u>	THE SINGING FEAST	35
<u>CHAPTER FOUR:</u>	CURING CEREMONIES AND MIDWINTER	58
<u>CHAPTER FIVE:</u>	THE SOUNDSCAPE AND CULTURAL CHANGE	89
<u>CHAPTER SIX:</u>	SUMMARY: RITUAL, CEREMONY AND HURON CULTURAL HISTORY	120
<u>APPENDIX 1:</u>	HURON-WYANDOT SONGS	138
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY:</u>		142

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

*"Structural anthropology was founded in a binary opposition, of the kind that would later become its trademark; a radical opposition to history....I will argue here, mainly by concrete demonstration, that all these scruples are not really necessary, that one can determine structures in history--and vice versa."*¹

(I) Structure, History and the Soundscape

Although the soundscape² of historic Huronia has documentation dating back to the seventeenth century, very little is known today about this soundscape. Ethnographic and ethnohistoric research into the broad spectrum of Amerindian cultures, however, has not neglected the Huron peoples.

1. Marshall Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1981), p. 3.

2. This term was originally developed by Canadian composer R. Murray Schafer and will be used here in its contemporary sense: that is, the soundscape refers to all of the sonic events of any particular locality of the world, however spatially or temporally circumscribed. Within this exploration, the soundscape, as a descriptive term, will be limited to refer only to the human production and perception of sound. It is therefore analogous to a western ethnomusicologist's definition of "music" as "humanly organized sound" (Blacking 1973, 21). Through this paper, I have adopted this special use of Schafer's term, not only because the Huron language does not seem to have had a word equivalent to the western term 'music,' but also because the western definition or concept of music does not or cannot encompass some of the sonic practices distinctive to Huron ritual and ceremony and which are detailed within chapters two through five. The soundscape, then, will incorporate references both to sonic practice and musical practice; the latter term retains the ethnomusicological definition of Blacking (1973). For a more detailed account of soundscape studies, see R. Murray Schafer, *The Tuning of the World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977).

Indeed, the anthropological research of ethnohistory, linguistics and archaeology has been greatly facilitated by a large body of historical journals, diaries, letters and other related material dating from the era of sustained European contact through to the destruction of Huronia (ca. 1649) and beyond. Ethnographers and ethnohistorians, in particular, have made extensive use of these resources; consequently, the extent of relevant subject matter, notably ethnographic and ethnohistoric inquiries as well as historical investigations of missionary life and the fur trade within Huronia, is both far ranging and, in comparison with many other Native cultures in North America, notably comprehensive.

The objectives of this paper are two-fold: firstly, as a complement to the ethnographic reconstructions of Huron culture published by Tooker (1964) and Trigger (1969, 1976), to document descriptions of the human soundscape of musical forms and other sonic practices specific to the domain of ritual and ceremony in the first half of the seventeenth century; corollary to this (and again, as a supplement to studies of historic Huron culture) to relate these forms and practices of ritual and ceremony to the general elements and patterns of the Huron cultural order and to other specific forms and practices distinctive to the production of the cultural life of the Huron confederacy within this historic period. Secondly, to draw upon this documentation and

cultural analysis of Huron ritual as a point of departure both for a historical exploration of the dynamics of cross-cultural interaction between the French and the Huron and for a re-examination of the structural transformations of Huron society in the seventeenth century and of the theoretical models and explanatory frameworks of the current body of interpretations of Huron cultural history.

(II) Huron Cultural History: Publications

In addition to a substantial corpus of primary sources (to be detailed presently), the relevant secondary sources relating to the historical forms of Huron culture encompass a broad range of scholarship representing several disciplines, the most prevalent being anthropology (ethnographic and ethnohistoric approaches) and history (economic and social analyses of New France and the fur trade). In addition to this general scholarship are more specialized studies detailing the archaeological records of Huronia and publications of collected traditional legends and of Huron mythology and belief systems. Among all of this scholarship, the ethnographic and ethnohistoric publications of Tooker (1964) and Trigger (1969; 1976a) present the most thorough reconstructions of Huron culture and, hence, merit special mention here.

- [1] Tooker, Elizabeth. **An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649.** Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1964.

The data which Tooker compiled for this ethnography was gleaned from seventeenth-century documents, notably the writings of Champlain (1615-16), Sagard (1623-24) and the annual **Relations** of the Jesuits in Huronia (1634-49). Although Tooker emphasizes the broad categories of subsistence, governmental and tribal relations and religion, this latter category includes brief descriptions of Huron dancing, singing, feasts and other ceremonies. Tooker's ethnographic approach is largely empirical; quotations from her principal sources serve as observational evidence and are usually cross-checked for comparison with evidence from other sources and disciplines. As a descriptive monograph, Tooker's catalogue of the values and belief systems as well as of the social and cultural forms and practices of the Huron peoples of the seventeenth century represents an important contribution to Amerindian ethnology. The documentations and analyses of this study will serve to complement this contribution.

- [2] Trigger, Bruce. **The Huron: Farmers of the North.** New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.

Trigger's monograph of the historic Huron people attempts to move beyond the descriptive mode of Tooker's ethnography and "to view Huron culture as a working system" by concentrating on "the interrelationships among its parts" (Trigger 1969, ix). The interrelations which Trigger discovers among the ethnographic elements of Huron culture--its economy, its institutions of kinship and family life, government and law, its systems of belief and all other cultural forms and practices, including warfare, feasts, games and curing ceremonies--serve to articulate his theoretical aims of reconstructing historic Huron culture as a working system. Once again, the documentations and analyses of this investigation of the historic Huron soundscape can serve to complement and refocus this ethnographic reconstruction.

- [3] Trigger, Bruce. **The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660.** 2 Vols. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 1976.

Trigger's analysis of seventeenth-century Huron culture and its processes of change within the context of the fur trade and European-Amerindian alliances is the most comprehensive in the field of Huron ethnohistory. In this

extensive analysis, he draws upon the previous ethnographic monographs as a starting point for an examination of lived practices at Huronia in historical perspective. The preface to the 1987 reprinted edition outlines his general aims: "In my analyses of what happened to the Huron, I tried to correlate data concerning every aspect of Huron life in an effort to develop a detailed contextual understanding of what was happening" (1987, xxx). As ethnohistory, Trigger's analysis goes beyond the largely descriptive aims and objectives of ethnographic inquiry to the interpretive process of contextualizing Huron cultural forms and practices through the turbulent history of New France in the seventeenth century. The analysis is appropriately chronological and the narrative form emphasizes particular historical events, their impact upon the Native communities and their general relevance for understanding European-Amerindian cultural interaction. The analysis which Trigger provides is historically comprehensive and this investigation can only be regarded as supplementary to it. However, by examining a specific set of symbolic forms and practices (somewhat neglected in Trigger's history) distinctive to the production of Huron culture, the interrelation of these forms and practices with other elements of the Huron cultural order and the transformation of these ritual symbols through the historical frame of Huron-French interaction, this investigation can also refocus the existing

body of ethnographic and ethnohistoric literature and readdress some of its conclusions as well as some of the theoretical implications of these conclusions.

**(III) Huron Ritual and Ceremony as Structure and History:
An Interpretation**

(A) The Objectives of the Interpretation

The general objectives of this investigation have already been outlined: to document the ritual and ceremonial soundscape of seventeenth-century Huronia as a point of departure for a contextualized interpretation of a set of symbolic sonic practices. This interpretation will attempt to articulate two themes: firstly, the structural character of Huron ritual and ceremony by tracing interrelations between the component sonic symbols of various Huron rituals and both the conceptual structure--ideology, belief systems, mythology--and many other forms and practices distinctive to the Huron cultural order; and secondly, the historical character of Huron ritual and ceremony and all other forms and practices of Huron culture by examining these same sound-symbols within the historical frame of French-Huron interaction, 1634-49, during which time the Huron cultural order was fragmented. The illustrations of this first theme--

ritual and ceremony as structure--will lend support to the principal argument of this study which is that the social construction of sonic practices within Huron communities of the seventeenth century was but one network of symbols (or a sign system) which articulated the complex totality of the (historic) Huron cultural system.³ Corollary to this, the observations of the second and related theme--Huron ritual and ceremony as history--will substantiate the secondary arguments of this paper, all of them derivative from the principal hypothesis. These arguments attempt to illustrate the historical nature or constitution of Huron ritual, its constituent sonic forms and practices and, by extension, the structure of Huron society. More specifically, these secondary arguments are concerned with particular actualizations of sonic form within various Huron rites during the highly volatile era of symbolic life at Huronia--the era of cross-cultural interaction. The convergence of the Huron and French cultures or symbol-systems produced a variety of unique actualizations of sonic form and practice within the spheres of ritual and ceremony--distinctive, respectively, to both the Huron and French modes of production. Hence, the

3. The cultural system is to be understood as the evolved and evolving totality of symbolic life (production, execution, interpretation, reproduction and transformation of signs) within the confederacy. Following the paradigm of anthropologist, Marshall Sahlins, this totality of symbolic life constitutes the anthropological notion of "structure" or "the symbolic relations of cultural order" (1985, vii).

structure of the Huron ritual and ceremonial soundscape reveals its historical character in this process of being projected forward in a variety of novel forms. The elaboration of the second theme of this paper, then, will involve an interpretation of specific actualizations of sonic practice within the context of cross-cultural interaction.⁴ Once again, in most instances, this interpretation will serve to complement the observations of Trigger (1976a). As a case study in the cross-cultural interaction of sign systems, this investigation will permit a renewed focus upon the complex processes of cultural production, reproduction and transformation and an invigorated reappraisal of the theoretical frameworks according to which culture(s)--as a concatenation of structure(s) and history(ies)--are understood and interpreted.

(B) Methodology and Scope of the Interpretation

In chapters two through five of this investigation, the documentation of seventeenth-century Huron ritual will focus primarily upon musical forms and practices. Other sonic forms and practices distinctive to the human soundscape of ritual

4. This theme echoes the work of Marshall Sahlins whose writings on the peoples of the South Seas attempt to demonstrate how it is that "history is culturally ordered" and, simultaneously, that "cultural schemes are historically ordered" (1985, vii).

and ceremony--notably speech acts or, for instance, the sonic conventions specific to funeral feasts--will also be addressed in relation to these forms of musical utterance. This information on the soundscape of Huronia was gleaned from a reading of Gabriel Sagard's *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*⁵ (1623-4) and *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*⁶ (hereafter JR) from 1634 to 1650.

Soundscape studies of a past historical frame are problematic for the researcher in that the properties of the texts to be examined--the sounds themselves--are materially irrecoverable unless stored on some form of audio recording device. Consequently, in dealing with texts which antedate the invention of such technology, the soundscape historian must rely upon other sources such as descriptive commentaries, scores, iconographic sources or other materials. Although this investigation necessarily relies primarily upon the descriptive texts of Sagard and the Jesuits, occasional references will be made to an important collection of early twentieth-century audio recordings. This collection of recorded songs, as cultural memory (however socially and historically recontextualized), is the only sonic text that

5. G. M. Wrong, ed., *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1939).

6. R. G. Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 Vols. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1896-1901).

remains (outside of contemporary ritual and ceremony) of the evolved forms of the Huron soundscape. This collection of wax cylinder recordings is currently stored in the audio archives of the Ethnology Division of the National Museum of Civilization (Canada) and has been transferred to magnetic band cassettes. The original recordings were made by Marius Barbeau while conducting research on the Huron-Wyandot peoples ca. 1911-12. In 1911, Barbeau collected a substantial body of songs (78) from peoples associated with or residing at the Huron reserve near Lorette, Quebec. It was the generation of Barbeau's principal informant, Abbé Prosper Vincent (sixty-nine years of age at the time), that witnessed the decline of the spoken Huron tongue at the Lorette reserve. Although this collection of recordings is far removed, both in space and time, from the historical confines of the documentation and analysis, nevertheless, as a source of cultural memory, it will be referenced occasionally as supporting evidence or as a point of departure for a different level of analysis.⁷

If the human soundscape is regarded as a circumscribed set of symbolic sonic practices, then the methodology for a contextual interpretation of the seventeenth-century soundscape of Huron ritual will be concerned with the

7. Because of the historical confines of this study and the epistemological weakness of this collection, neither a lexical nor descriptive analysis of the Barbeau recordings was made.

observable relations between these sonic practices (as a sign system) and the broad patterns of symbolic life of historic Huron communities. The analysis begins, therefore, with the sonic practices of various Huron rituals; as constitutive of a larger system of significations, these practices can reveal various interrelations between a fully-differentiated production of sonic form and the general conceptual scheme of Huron social organization. In the articulation of my primary argument, the interpretive process will be to trace these discoverable interrelations between the contextual enactment of sonic forms and practices distinctive to the ritual and ceremonial spheres of various Huron communities and both other cultural forms and practices and the general patterns of the Huron cultural order. Subsequently, in the articulation of my secondary arguments, the focus of the interpretations will shift to the turbulent era of Huron-French interaction from 1634 to 1649. The methodology to be used here will echo that of the primary argument, with slight modifications: firstly, the interpretations will be concerned with discoverable interrelations between the transformation of sonic forms and practices and the transformation of the Huron cultural order; and secondly, the analysis will draw upon French musical practices and speech acts in order to demonstrate the dynamics of Huron-French symbolic interaction and conflict within the domain of ritual and ceremony.

In the demonstrations of the primary argument, the interpretive process will involve the tasks of exploring, unravelling or otherwise disclosing the meaningful codes⁸ embedded within the sound-symbols of ritual and ceremony and of relating these meaning-structures to the general patterns of the Huron cultural order--or to what Sahlins refers to variously as the "received meanings of persons and things" or the meaningful order of "cultural categories" (1985, ix). In the illustrations of the secondary arguments, the interpretive procedure will involve the task of examining the transformation of these codes or meaning-structures within the crucible of Huron history, 1634-49.

(IV) The Structuration of Ritual,

Ceremony and the Soundscape:

Some Additional Remarks on Methodology and Organization

The documentation of the historic Huron musical practices (as generally constituted prior to the era of Huron social and cultural fragmentation) is largely within the domain of chapters two, three and four. I have grouped these practices

8. It should be pointed out that, in as much as the intersubjective or collective meaning-structures of a social group are created and appropriated in specific cultural and historical contexts, any attempt to recover the meanings of the past is necessarily made problematic by the cultural and historical location of the interpretation itself. With this in mind, the (admittedly partial) accomplishment of this task relied extensively upon the interpretations of both the primary and secondary sources.

according to their ritual or ceremonial contexts: chapter two will explore the contextual usages of personal songs; chapter three will detail the musical features specific to contextual uses of the singing feast; and chapter four will delineate the sonic practices distinctive to both the traditional curing rituals (and medicine societies) of the Huron and their midwinter ceremony. All three of these next chapters open with a selection of quotations from the primary sources. These will serve the double purpose of relating factual information about the musical practices to be examined and of eliminating the need to provide within the chapter extensive amounts of subsidiary but relevant ethnographic data--that is, facts about the contexts of musical practice. In most instances, the quotations will be referenced within the interpretive components of each chapter.

Chapter two, then, opens with quotations which detail various contextual uses of personal song. The main emphasis of the chapter is to relate these songs to the Huron conceptual ideal, set forth by Trigger (1969), of relative individual independence within the various social spheres of village life. The analysis will trace the ritual and ceremonial uses of personal song and related forms of sonic expression through various frames of the life cycle distinctive to Huron social organization. In chapter three, the seemingly contradictory ideal of social integration

(Trigger 1969) will be linked with the sonic forms specific to three contextual usages of the Huron singing feast. Here, however, the analysis will entail an examination of the various forms of sonic and social structuration⁹ within specific contextual uses of this integrative ceremony and will relate these forms to other patterns of the Huron cultural order. Chapter four will also be concerned with forms of structuration and the "meaningful order" of "persons and things" (Sahlins 1985, ix), but from two different perspectives. After beginning with a brief discussion of the Huron concepts of health and illness and of the significance which they placed, within their collective beliefs, upon dreams and the desires of the soul, I will go on to document the use of singing and other forms of sonic expression within the medicine societies, traditional curing ceremonies and the midwinter ceremony, *ononharoia*. Concurrent with this description will be an analysis of the structuration of these ceremonies--their sonic and aesthetic forms as well as their participatory components. Finally, this analysis will include an interpretation of the sonic and aesthetic forms of inversion and disjunction that were distinctive to certain segments of these ceremonies. This will entail a discussion

9. This term was first developed by sociologist, Anthony Giddens (1984); its use here refers to the specific patterns of social inclusion and exclusion within this ceremony.

of the relationship between these forms and the conventional patterns of aesthetic and social structuration within the everyday symbolic world of the Huron.

As previously mentioned, chapter five will address the phenomenon of Huron social and cultural fragmentation within the era of "coercive contact" (Trigger 1976a, 846) between the Jesuits and local Huron villages. Although the documentary evidence of this chapter is organized according to a two-part format--patterns of acculturation and patterns of resistance--individual citations or examples of the soundscape of ritual and ceremony will serve to articulate some of the nuances of my analysis.¹⁰

Finally, as part of the summary, these evaluations of Huron ritual and ceremony in historical perspective will be summarized and their contribution to Huron cultural studies will be detailed. Following this, specific themes and arguments from chapters two through five will be used to re-examine and critique some of the conclusions and theoretical paradigms of Trigger (1976a).

10. Once again, a reference to one of the analytical terms of Marshall Sahlins is helpful here. Each instance of the cross-cultural interpretation of sonic forms and practices may be regarded as a "structure of the conjuncture:" the "practical realization of the cultural categories in a specific historical context, as expressed in the interested action of the historic agents, including the macrosociology of their interaction" (1985, xiv).

CHAPTER TWO:

PERSONAL SONGS AND THE ARTICULATION OF SELF

...I do not believe that there is any people on earth freer than they, and less able to allow the subjection of their wills to any power whatever,--so much so that Fathers here have no control over their children, or Captains over their subjects, or the Laws of the country over any of them, except in so far as each is pleased to submit to them.

(Jérôme Lalement, JR 28, 49)

They believe that these Aaskouandy will make them lucky in the chase, in fishing, in trade, or at play; and they say that some have a general virtue for all those things....Now it is a quite common practice for those who have these Aaskouandy to give them a feast from time to time....At other times, they will invoke [their familiar spirit] in their songs, and will beg their friends also to join them, and to help them in those prayers.

(Paul Ragueneau, JR 33, 213)

The prisoner who has beheld and endured stake, knives and wounds with an unchanging countenance, who has not groaned, who with laughter and song has ridiculed his tormentors, is praised; for they think that to sing amid so many deaths is great and noble. So they themselves compose songs long beforehand, in order that they may repeat them if they should by chance be captured.

(Jean de Brébeuf, JR 1, 273)

But I am speaking here only of their private funerals.... Here when any one's health is despaired of, not only do they make no difficulty in telling him that his life is near its close, but they even prepare in his presence all that is needed for his burial;...Frequently they are prepared after their fashion for burial, before they have expired; they make their farewell feast to their friends, at which they sometimes sing without showing any dread of death, which they regard with very little concern, considering it only as the passage to a life differing very little from this.

(Jean de Brébeuf, JR 10, 267)

In his monograph of the Huron people (1969), Bruce Trigger has set forth a general model of seventeenth-century Huron society and of the role of individuals within their everyday life-world. This general model describes two seemingly oppositional principles or ideals which inflected Huron social processes and which were continually being reconciled in the interaction of day-to-day village life. Trigger postulates that, perhaps more than anything else, the Huron peoples valued conformity and an integrated social world (1969, 83). Considerable amounts of personal energy, for example, were expended in a variety of collective activities, both for men and women, to strengthen communal solidarity and to reinforce the evolved division of labour and established social roles. But this principle of conformity, evident in many of the integrative institutions of seventeenth-century Huron society, was carefully balanced with what Trigger describes as the ideal of individual independence (1969, 83). This ideal was continually reconstituted in various forms of personal praxis and similarly sedimented in particular social roles. Despite the strong emphasis, then, on conformity and integration, this ideal of independence and its realization in certain evolved forms of personal behaviour was collectively recognized and affirmed. As Trigger elaborates, although the Huron "valued conformity, so much so that a man or woman was judged very largely according to his or her ability to live up

to unchanging ideas of appropriate behaviour," overt forms of coercion were not employed; rather, the Huron acknowledged and affirmed the honour and dignity of every individual and encouraged personal initiative and an independent attitude (1969, 83).

This chapter will explore some of the parameters of personal existence within the early seventeenth-century life-world of the Huron. The ideal of relative personal independence as described by Trigger as well as the nature and forms of individual expression can be discerned through an interpretive examination of various customs, ceremonies and practices (including articulated beliefs about their nature and personal uses) specific to the individual in his or her life cycle. The individual is to be understood here as any empirical subject, differentiated only by gender. Special social roles (shamans, chiefs, clan mothers, etc.) are discussed in subsequent chapters. I will be concerned here with delineating some of the practices and institutions which facilitated individuality and personal expression, particularly those involving the use of song.

Both Tooker (1964) and Trigger (1969, 1976a) have examined the nature of childhood in seventeenth-century Huron society as well as issues of child rearing based upon cross-tribally recorded observations and conceptualizations

(translated mostly by the Jesuits) concerning the life and growth of the child. Even though it is apparent that the Jesuits remained relatively unaware of the vast differences between the Huron kinship system and their own, nevertheless, they were considerably aware of the different sets of rules, values and assumptions which mediated the child rearing practices of the Natives.¹ For the intents of this chapter, it is important to point out the non-moulding concept of child rearing that was observed by the Europeans and the attendant emphasis placed upon learning through example. For the French and particularly for the Jesuits, accustomed to the child rearing practices of seventeenth-century France whereby the child was formally instructed and moulded within a variety of educational institutions (including the home and church), this concept of learning primarily through example and imitation seemed unfamiliar and proved to be a continual problem for the Jesuits, especially with their attempts at catechetical instruction. For the Huron, the child was regarded as a miniature adult who held almost all of the rights and privileges of the parents and elders. For instance, children were very rarely chastised or punished by their parents or

1. More thorough discussions of these differences are available in Tooker (1964, 124) and Trigger (1976a, 186); the latter includes native reflections of and responses to child rearing practices witnessed in seventeenth-century France.

relatives and would often threaten to commit suicide if they were so treated (Tooker 1964, 56-57).

At the same time, however, since learning was achieved mostly by example, children readily imitated available social roles. By projecting themselves into the available typifications, almost all of which were demarcated by gender, children seem to have effected their own socialization. The ideal of relative personal independence within the social sphere thus extended to children and was reinforced in the value that was placed upon personal initiative and achievement within the communally sanctioned codes of praxis and everyday communicative interaction. Tooker relates how, for instance, along with the playing of various games, the "usual and daily practice of the boys was to shoot their bows and arrows" whereas the little girls, "as soon as they began to walk, had a small stick put into their hands to train and teach them early to pound corn" (1964, 124-125).

The Jesuit accounts within the historic period, however, make it entirely clear that young children did not participate actively (as singers or dancers) in adult ceremonial occasions, although they likely attended many of the social feasts. That is, although children were encouraged to imitate certain practices and customs of adult roles, many of the spheres of adult ritual were closed to them. In many Huron rituals, particularly those of the various medicine societies,

songs and dances² were often the restricted property of individuals and were enshrouded in secrecy. Moreover, the enactment of most collective rituals seems to have been inflected by a strong emphasis on convention and the proper execution of the component practices. With these stipulations, the participatory exclusion of children from these rituals does not contradict the aforementioned custom of adult role modelling.

Although there is a lack of evidence within the primary sources concerning the use of songs among children, it is possible to surmise that young adults sang personal songs which were either inherited or acquired through puberty rites³ (or both).

There are several references throughout the primary sources to the contextual uses of personal song. Although the early sources which detail the use of personal songs among the Huron (and the related Iroquoian speaking tribes) are often obscure, the general culture pattern seems to have been one where the individual came to own or possess a song for life. In specific cases to be detailed presently (notably the

2. Similarly, as an apparent contradiction of the previously mentioned practice of refraining from reprimanding children, the Jesuit Relation of 1639 states that children were "chided and reproved very roughly" if they were seen to be dancing any of the dances which were specific to adult rituals (JR 17, 163).

3. Once again, because of paucity of information on puberty rites within the historic period, this claim is conjectural.

various contextual uses of the *adönwe'*), the song was probably inherited. Once again, however, it is unclear as to whether girls and women possessed personal songs. References to the acquisition and use of these songs indicate either that only males possessed them or that both males and females could own songs but, because the Recollects and Jesuits rarely participated in the day-to-day activities of women and supplied relatively no record of them, we simply have no substantial evidence to support such a claim.⁴ For the most part, descriptions of the acquisition and use of personal songs refer to occasions and ceremonies involving young men or adult males.

One of the most personal ceremonies particular to the beginnings of adulthood and one which might have been an occasion for the acquisition of a personal song was a kind of puberty rite, also referred to by later Iroquoian ethnographers as a vision quest (see Tooker 1964, 100). The most complete reference to such a rite and one which Tooker summarizes in her ethnography comes from the *Relation* of 1642 (JR 23, 155-159) and describes a young man's journey of seclusion into the woods where his guardian spirit appears

4. The primary sources are equally problematic in that the language used in descriptions of agency and participation is either (not atypically) gender biased (as in "he, his or him") or unclear (as in "they, their, them"). This problem applies also to the communal practices discussed in chapters three and four.

before him and forecasts the events of his life; there is no mention in this account, however, of the acquisition of a personal song. Tooker points out that the scarcity of data on puberty rites or vision quests for the young are so scant in all periods of Iroquoian ethnographic history that it is difficult to assess how prominent this practice was in general or among any particular tribe (1964, 100). Once again, the practice may have been widespread but simply not witnessed and therefore not recorded. Whatever be the case, it is clear that, as a cultural practice, the puberty rite reflects the general communal values of individuality, initiative and relative personal freedom, particularly with its emphasis upon self-discipline, personal reflection and revelation.

In the *Jesuit Relations*, this indigenous concept of the guardian spirit or *oki*⁵ is usually related to personal charms or *aaskouandy*. It is important to point out here that such good luck charms were variously associated with personal good health, successful hunting, fishing, trading, gambling and courting and that, as Tooker points out, the owner of a charm "had to be advised, in a dream, of a charm's proper use" (1964, 121). The personal feelings of individuality and uniqueness which likely accompanied private ownership of charms were often re-experienced in the regular practice of

5. The Huron term *oki* is often translated as "familiar spirit" (see Tooker 1964, 120-22).

giving personal feasts in the honour of one's charms in order to make them "more propitious" (JR 33, 213). This seems to have particularly been the practice among men with their hunting, fishing and trading charms.⁶ The citation quoted at the opening of this chapter from Ragueneau's *Relation* of 1648 describes this practice and also the custom of invoking the aid of a familiar spirit with song. By symbolically renewing the power invested within the charm through feasts and singing, the owner of the charm simultaneously renewed, through a kind of empowerment, his or her own feelings of individuality and re-conceptualized a set of relations between the self and his or her familiar spirit and the spirits of the natural world.

In addition to the use of personal charms by males who participated in hunting, fishing and trading, many adult men seem to have expressed their individuality and identity in the empowering use of personal songs and dances associated with the social role of the warrior. It is likely that the personal chant (or *adònwe'*) that every warrior sung on particular occasions was inherited. This custom was undoubtedly analogous to the general Iroquoian pattern of the historic period. As Tooker elaborates, "by Iroquoian custom, each man has a personal chant...which belongs either to his

6. See Tooker (1964, 121) for a summary of citations from the *Jesuit Relations*.

father or to his maternal line....It was the last song sung by an Iroquois warrior before his death and was the song sung by a warrior while boasting during war feasts" (1964, 39). Some of these songs may also have been performed with dances for the appropriate context of the singing feast⁷ and during ceremonies where shamans were employed to discern positions of the enemy, to suggest appropriate military strategies to the warriors or to provide other information. It is uncertain as to whether the personal songs sung, for instance, at the war feasts were equivalent to songs sung communally in the same context. Communal war songs may well have been distinct from these. The Barbeau collection of Huron songs,⁸ for example, includes a war song which was sung for the occasion of the discovery of the enemy [III-H-1{1a}];⁹ all of the warriors would likely have participated in this chant. Another reference to the use of personal singing in connection with this social role is to be found in the Relation of 1640 where it is implied that men, perhaps individually, often sang of

7. For an examination of this context, refer to the descriptions and analyses of chapter three.

8. M. Barbeau, unpublished field recordings of Huron-Wyandot songs, 1911-12. A list of the contents of the entire collection is provided in Appendix 1, pp. 138-141.

9. The figures in square parenthesis refer to this specific song from the Barbeau collection. For reasons of simplicity and easy reference, the numeration code used here is identical to that supplied by the Audio Archives (Ethnology Division) of the National Museum of Civilization (Canada).

dreams and war within the sweating tent (JR 19, 259). All of these contexts seem to indicate that the use of the personal songs among warriors was very much allied to the individual's pursuit of power--a kind of power which was then contextually associated with personal traits of courage, prowess, strength and bravery. The use of war songs and dances within the context of the singing feast and the essentially political nature of the interpretations which accompanied these uses is discussed further in chapter three.¹⁰

The articulation of the *adònwe'* in the context of a warrior's captivity and torture was similarly regarded as being related to bravery. References in the *Jesuit Relations* indicate that singing was regarded (probably cross-culturally among Iroquoian-speaking warriors) as an act of bravery for prisoners of war. As Tooker paraphrases from (JR 18, 31), "while being tortured," the prisoner "was invited to sing, and he sang in order not to be thought a coward" (1964, 34).

One final occasion for which the *adònwe'* or personal chant of the warrior was performed was that of the *athataion* or farewell feast. Apparently all adults, whenever possible, gave a farewell feast when they were certain about the

10. It should also be noted here that the achievements of warriors were a mark of social prestige; hence, the *adònwe'*, as a structure "in action" (Sahlins 1985, ix) and potential vehicle for social power, was characterized here by a competitive boastfulness--a quality which appropriately relates to the boasting performances of the war feasts mentioned by Tooker (1964:39).

approximate day of their passing away; once again, however, it is not clear as to whether women gave such feasts. Prisoners, it seems, were also granted a farewell feast prior to being tortured (JR 13, 55-57). At the regular *athataion*, friends would gather for a feast of which the dying man would partake a very liberal serving. Sometimes, he would then sing his war song. This final cultural practice in the life of the adult (male) reflects, once again, the value that the Huron placed upon the dignity of the individual and the very formal respect which governed interpersonal relations.

After death, the value of individual dignity was reaffirmed through several honourary rituals. Trigger summarizes the customary rites:

As soon as a man died, his body was flexed in a crouching position, wrapped tightly in his finest robe, and laid on the mat on which he had died. Among some of the Huron tribes, the friends and relatives of the deceased painted their faces black and also painted the face of the deceased and embellished him with ornaments and feathers....

As soon as he was informed of the death, a chief or his assistant went through the village announcing who had died and urging each family to prepare some food and distribute it among the friends and relatives of the deceased. When the food was prepared, the villagers converged on the longhouse of the dead man for a wakelike observance called the *agochin atiskein*, or "feast of souls." During this observance, the women and girls of the village wept in a highly stylized manner, making their voices tremble in one accord. Each woman inflamed her own grief by reciting the names of all her relatives who had died....During this time the men did not weep, but assumed a melancholy expression, their heads sunk on their knees....

Burial usually took place on the third day after death....The funeral began at day-break with a meal. This was provided to feed the guests who had arrived from elsewhere, to nourish the soul of the dead man, and as a further expression of the grief and consolation of the community. When all the kettles were emptied, those attending the funeral assembled inside the house of the dead man and mourning resumed. The

body was then covered with a beaver robe and four men carried it on a mat to the cemetery, the whole village following in silence....

When everyone had arrived in the cemetery, an official publicly announced the presents that had been given to dry the tears of the widow and the other relatives of the deceased. These presents were then distributed among the relatives and those who had taken charge of the funeral. Only an occasional wampum collar, a comb, a gourd full of oil, or a few loaves of bread were placed in the coffin with the deceased.

...When the interment was over, everyone departed quietly for home.

(1969, 105-06)

The sonic features of these rituals, together with their component symbolic gestures and expressions, are reflective of both the general beliefs¹¹ that the Huron held regarding their dead and the life of souls and the relationships and obligations that were maintained between and among the souls of the living and those of the dead. Trigger points out that, for the Huron, death "was conceived of as cutting a person off from effective personal contact with those he loved. The memory of the dead was cherished, but, possibly because the dead were believed to resent being severed from the community they had known, their souls tended to be feared" (1969, 102). The memory of the dead and the emotional distress associated with bereavement seem to have induced the ceremonial weeping of the women and girls and the melancholy expressions of the men. The primary sources do not provide a detailed

11. Both Tooker (1964, 128-134) and Trigger (1969, 102-106) have correlated these beliefs with the various funerary rituals of mourning and burial as well as with other ceremonies. I will only be addressing specific musical (or sonic) practices here.

description of these sonic expressions of grief from the women. Brébeuf's *Relation* of 1636 seems to indicate that this weeping with intermittent wails or lamentations may have been song-like in character:

After having performed these duties the whole Cabin begins to resound with cries, groans, and wails; the children cry Aistan, if it be their father; and the mother, Aien, Aien, "My son, my son." Any one who did not see them, quite bathed in their tears, would judge, to hear them, that these are only ceremonial tears; they make their voices tremble all with one accord, and in a lugubrious tone, until some person of authority makes them stop.

...I had forgotten to say that usually, during this whole ceremony, the mother or the wife will be at the foot of the grave calling to the deceased with singing, or more frequently complaining in a lugubrious voice.

(JR 10, 267-273)

This emotional song-like weeping which occurred immediately after a death and prior to burial seems to have been distinct from the "cry of souls" (JR 10, 289) which was associated with the Feast of the Dead¹² and performed both by men and women, depending on the context. Again, Brébeuf provides some helpful descriptions and indigenous conceptualizations of its significance:

Every eight or ten years the Hurons, which nation is widely extended, convey all their corpses from all the villages to a designated place and cast them into an immense pit. They call it the day of the Dead. When this has been decreed by resolution of the elders, they drag out the corpses

12. See Tooker (1964, 134-140) and Trigger (1969:106-112) for more information on this ceremony and for detailed descriptions of its component practices.

from their graves....The loose bones they place in sacks, the bodies not yet disintegrated they place in coffins, and bear them, in the manner of suppliants, to the appointed place, proceeding amid deep silence and with regular step, uttering sighs and mournful cries.

(JR 1, 265)

On setting out from the Village, the whole band cried out hae, hae, and repeated this cry of the souls by the way. This cry they say relieves them greatly; otherwise the burden, although of souls, would weigh very heavily on their backs, and cause them a backache all the rest of their lives.

(JR 10, 291)

A day or two before setting out for the feast, they carried all these souls into one of the largest Cabins of the Village...; the Captain entertained them, and made them a magnificent feast in the name of a deceased Captain, whose name he bore. I was at this feast of souls, and noticed at it four peculiar things. First, the presents which the relatives made for the feast....Secondly, the Captain sang the song of the deceased Captain, in accordance with the desire the latter had expressed, before his death, to have it sung on this occasion. Thirdly, all the guests had the liberty of sharing with one another whatever good things they had....

Fourthly, at the end of the feast, by way of compliment to him who had entertained them, they imitated the cry of souls, and went out of the Cabin crying hae, hae.

(JR 10, 287-289)

For the procession of the Feast of the Dead, it was the women who carried the souls upon their backs and repeated the cry of souls (Trigger 1969, 108-09). This practice may have been related to the Huron kinship system of matrilineal descent--a system of possibly eight clans or fictive kinship groupings who claimed "descent from a common female ancestor" (Trigger 1969, 54-55). As further evidence that this cry of souls was distinct from weeping after a death, it should be pointed out that different words or vocalizations accompanied

these expressions, notably *haee*, and *Aistan*, *Aien* or other kin terms. From Brébeuf's descriptions, it would seem that weeping after a death within the extended family, although a formalized lament, was marked by more intense grief than the very ritualized cry of souls which accompanied the Feast of the Dead.

The other contextual use of this lament for souls described by Brébeuf above refers to family feasts which were held during this same ten day event in honour of those souls who were to be given final interment. Brébeuf's description seems to indicate that everyone (men included) repeated the cry of souls as they were leaving these feasts, in honour of their deceased relatives. It is interesting to note from this description that, in this particular family, the master of the feast was a chief who honoured the memory of his predecessor (whose name he bore) by singing the deceased chief's personal chant. This custom reflects not only the aforementioned values of honour, dignity and respect which the Huron held for all members of their community, whether living or deceased, but also the emphasis that the Huron placed on the structural continuity of their political order (Trigger 1969, 70). This latter tendency will be addressed more thoroughly in chapter three.

Within this survey of personal ceremonies among the Huron, an attempt was made to examine some of the contextual uses of personal songs, particularly those which seem to have facilitated the communally recognized values of individuality, initiative and personal honour. The offered interpretations of how these values were affirmed in and through these practices and ceremonies necessarily included discussions of the contextual meanings which might have been communally recognized within them. Although the interrelatedness of these practices and values with other patterns of the Huron conceptual scheme was not possible to fully elaborate here, the notion of structural homology throughout the Huron cultural order will inform many of the forthcoming interpretations of chapters three and four.

It is important to point out that those customs and ceremonies which seem to have reaffirmed the Huron ideals of conformity and social integration were not evidenced by the Europeans to have been personally repressive or inhibitive of individual expression or participatory differentiation. For the following two chapters, I will delineate some of these communal ceremonies and their component sonic practices as documented in the early seventeenth century and will attempt

to relate these sound-symbols to other forms and practices of the Huron cultural system. The first of these ceremonies, the singing feast, is the subject matter of chapter three.

CHAPTER THREE:

THE SINGING FEAST

In the meantime one of the largest lodges in the place is made ready, and when all have arrived those who are there only as spectators, such as the old men, old women, and children, sit down on the mats laid against the benches, and the others on top of the benches, the whole length of the lodge, and then two chiefs rise up, each with a tortoise-shell in his hand, and sing, standing in the midst of the dancers, a song which they accompany with the sound of their tortoise-shell. Then when they have finished all shout loudly, saying He é é é;...

While we were there and the time came for going on the war-path, a young man of our town, coveting honour, proposed to give the war feast himself on the day of the general assembly, and to defray the expenses of all his comrades. This was a great charge and outlay for him, and he was accordingly much praised and honoured.

The occupations of the savages are fishing, hunting, and war; going off to trade, making lodges and canoes, or contriving the proper tools for doing so. The rest of the time they pass in idleness, gambling, sleeping, singing, dancing, smoking, or going to feasts....Just as the men have their special occupation and understand wherein a man's duty consists, so also the women and girls keep their place and perform quietly their little tasks and functions of service....They have the care of the cooking and the household, of sowing and gathering corn, grinding flour, preparing hemp and t-ee-bark, and providing the necessary wood. And because there still remains plenty of time to waste, they employ it in gaming, going to dances and feasts, chatting and killing time, and doing just what they like with their leisure; this is no trifle, since their whole household arrangements amount to but little, in view furthermore of the fact that among our Hurons they are not admitted to many of the men's feasts nor to any of their councils....

Gabriel Sagard,
The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons, 1632.

In the annual Relation of 1636, Father Jean de Brébeuf characterizes the singing feast as "the most magnificent" (JR

10, 179) of those he has yet witnessed. More than likely, Brébeuf, like Sagard before him, was impressed by the sheer magnitude of this event. Both of them provide similar descriptive accounts of at least one of its contextual uses. The singing feast, or *atouronta ochien*, was probably performed throughout the year, although its particular forms and social uses varied according to certain (often seasonal) occasions. These specific occasions will be detailed separately after a brief description of the general conventions which accompanied the communally-integrative events of this kind.¹

According to the primary sources, the person in charge of the feast (always cited as a man) would send out messengers to invite as many people as he desired. The feasts were often very large; for instance, in the case of the ceremonies accompanying the investiture of chiefs at the confederacy council, representatives from as many as nine or ten villages from every tribe might be invited. Given Heidenreich's (1971, 100-102) estimation that village populations varied from 300 to 2400 people, the feasts which accompanied this ceremony

1. Although descriptions of the various uses of the singing feast are included in both Tooker's and Trigger's ethnographies, I will provide documentation of them here in order that some of the signifying components of this practice and its contexts are made available to the reader. For this documentation, I will be including features which seem to have been common to a variety of larger communal feasts, all of which were differentiated by the Huron according to social uses or ceremonial occasions. Many of these customs and conventions may or may not have attended smaller ceremonies (such as wedding feasts or funeral feasts).

must have been immense. The master² of the feast would usually send a bundle of sticks to the particular villages which were to partake in the ceremonies. The number of sticks in each bundle indicated the number of people that were to attend (JR 10, 181). Those that were invited came, for it was considered an insult to refuse the master of the feast except for a very valid reason (Tooker 1964, 73).

The master of the feast supervised the messengers, the assistants and the preparation of the meal and presided over the ceremonies. Food was always plentiful. Although the primary sources usually mention the use of one kettle, Brébeuf's account of one feast includes the use of as many as thirty or forty kettles whose contents included as many as twenty deer and four bears (JR 10, 179-181). The invited guests, each wearing his or her finest clothing and decorative ornaments, brought along their own dish and spoon to every feast. Upon their arrival, the master of the feast would welcome them and state the reasons why the feast was being given.

The singing feast often lasted for twenty-four hours and a meal was served twice: once in the morning and then again in the afternoon or evening. According to the Jesuit accounts, the participants sometimes began the ceremonial singing and

2. This term is borrowed from the primary sources. A better term might simply be "host".

dancing before eating and sometimes after, depending on the particular occasion and the desires of the guests (JR 10, 179-181). The ceremonies took place within the communal longhouse³ and no one was permitted to enter or leave the house once the ceremonies had begun as it was thought that this would bring misfortune to the people or prevent the desired effect of the feast. Seating within the longhouse followed various patterns. In the case of the larger communal feasts (such as in particular uses of the singing and thanksgiving feasts), the ceremonial space of the longhouse was divided between active performers and active spectators whereby the song-leaders and dancers would be encircled by a non-exclusive group of men and women, both old and young. In other ceremonies (for example, curing rites) and other uses of the singing feast (notably the war feasts), overt forms of exclusion were common.

Descriptions of participatory activity at the singing feast are generally scant. Nevertheless, some details specific to the various uses or occasions of this feast can be outlined for a contextual interpretation. As far as can be ascertained from the primary sources, this feast was given on three different occasions. The following interpretations of

3. The longhouse of the village chief was probably used. The primary sources indicate that it was a larger building than the typical village longhouses (JR 10, 181).

the sonic practices particular to these three occasions will focus upon participatory activity. Emphasis will be placed upon delineating the different kinds of participation evident in the three distinct occasions when this feast was given. As in chapter two, I will be particularly concerned with the use of song and its participatory dimensions. Here, however, the analysis will be concerned with demonstrating the manner in which participation both facilitated various forms of individual expression and helped to realize different levels of communal integration. At the same time, it will become apparent from these interpretations that, through the enactment of the three uses of the singing feast, particular social roles and hierarchies which formed a part of the complex totality of Huron village life in the early seventeenth century were re-explored and reconstituted.

One of the occasions of the singing feast was a ceremony given by a man who wished to display his goodwill and become renowned in village circles for his beneficence. It is likely that this man is the feast giver described in the *Jesuit Relation* of 1639. As Tooker notes (with broad reference to the giving of feasts of this kind), "a feast giver was an honoured man; one of the most respected men in the country was so, the Huron said, 'because he was a peaceable man, who did no harm to anyone and who greatly delighted in merrymaking and

in giving feasts'(JR 17, 153)" (1964, 72). This use of the feast seems to have been a village ceremony that was performed throughout the year at times when the men were not away on hunting or trading expeditions. The man who so wished to publicly distinguish himself took up the duties of being the master of the feast. Although information concerning the details of this ceremony is scarce, it is likely that its format differed very little from the established conventions.

The performance of this use of the singing feast seems to have been an occasion for the participants to aesthetically re-explore and reconstitute a received hierarchy of social roles. The feast was given by those who aspired to positions of social preeminence--positions such as any one of the many chieftainships or by those who distinguished themselves through social benevolence, successful hunting or achievement in war.

The participatory nature of the singing feast, however, seems to have checked the centrifugal forces of stratification which chieftainship entailed. Trigger has argued along with the Jesuits that, within Huron society, this role (especially civil chieftainship) was much more a burden of responsibilities than a locus of personal privilege and power and that most of the material wealth that chiefs accrued was redistributed back into the community on a regular basis (1969, 69-71). Descriptions within the Jesuit Relations of

the participatory features of this use of the singing feast reflect some of these social processes and hierarchies within Huron village organization. The chief or man who wished to become renowned was the master of the feast. During the ceremonies he usually neglected to eat from the kettle and spent most of his time singing or conversing and smoking with his guests. These symbolic gestures and the benevolent act of bearing the cost of the feast indicate the egalitarian emphasis of Huron social processes within the received cultural order.

Although there is very little information concerning the participatory activities of song and dance, this use of the singing feast seems to have emphasized communal participation: that is, even though only a select number of men and women performed a traditional set of dances to the accompaniment of songs which were usually led by two chiefs (each of which also carried a tortoise-shell rattle⁴), everyone was expected to participate, even as a spectator. Once again, participatory roles within the ceremony offer a reflection of the received cultural categories and hierarchies of gender, lineage and chieftainship. At the same time, however, the ceremony was clearly an occasion at which many social tensions were

4. The primary sources describe the components of such rattles but neglect to mention their size or variations thereof. Further comments as to the possible symbolic function of these rattles will be provided in chapter four.

collectively worked out and resolved through various kinds of participation. Even the master of the feast, as Sagard points out, usually joined in to chant the refrains to the songs which accompanied the amusement dances (1632, 113).

The collection of wax cylinder recordings made by Marius Barbeau in 1911 at the Huron village of Lorette (near Quebec City, P.Q.) provides some indication of the scope and variety of songs and dances that attended these kinds of ceremonies. In addition, since Barbeau's informants supplied brief descriptive titles to their songs, the collection also provides some cursory indications (far removed in time and place) of the scope of individual, group and community participation in a variety of collective ceremonial practices. By far the most representative among the seventy-eight songs in the collection are a group of songs that accompanied what Barbeau translates as "amusement dances" and "amusement dances around a kettle." It is probably songs of this genre that accompanied dancing and other modes of participation at this use of the singing feast. It is also possible that amusement dances of this sort were particular to other uses of the singing feast or to entirely different ceremonies such as the thanksgiving feasts. Unfortunately, the social and ceremonial lineages of most of the songs from the collection (particularly their use in the seventeenth century) are irrecoverable. The descriptive headings which Barbeau

provided with the recordings, however, can allow us to make general inferences about the ceremonial uses of a few songs as well as inferences about the various forms of participation in seventeenth-century enactments of these amusement dances. Although these inferences are largely speculative, they might support some of the information that I have attempted to document from the primary sources in this chapter.

Since the primary sources of Champlain, Sagard and the Jesuits make it clear that at least two of the three different occasions for the enactment of the singing feast often incorporated invitations to kin, friends and individuals both from one's own village and from other villages, it is worth noting that Barbeau's principal informant, Rev. Prosper Vincent, performed a song (to accompany an amusement dance) which he classified more precisely as a song for meeting together (*chant de la rencontre* [III-H-3{6}]). The comparatively large number of undifferentiated "amusement dances" and "amusement dances around a kettle" are likely the sonic remnants of traditional sets of songs to accompany dances which formed a part of the larger integrative ceremonies--such as the contextual use of the singing feast delineated here. Although the collection includes seven songs for women's dances (two of which are cited to be possibly foreign to Huron tradition), it is my speculation that these were not specific to the two uses of the singing feast

discussed here. In other ceremonies, such forms of gender differentiation were typical.⁵

Also noteworthy is the absence of songs for children's dances. This absence seems to confirm the observations of the Jesuits regarding the participation of children at collective ceremonies and feasts--observations documented in chapter two. It should also be pointed out that this portion of the collection, the amusement dances, includes a group of five songs specifically designated as accompaniment to amusement dances for old men. The primary sources make no mention of this kind of participatory differentiation (age and male sex) within the contextual use of the singing feast detailed previously. Although it is possible that this genre is of more recent origin or perhaps a recontextualized practice that was originally performed in the historic period, it is also possible that these amusement dances for old men formed a part of the complex of songs and dances of another contextual use of the singing feast to be detailed at the close of this chapter--a feast for male warriors prior to departing for and upon returning from war campaigns. This contextual use of the singing feast--as a war feast--was also often allied to an important ceremony which involved the investiture of chiefs.

5. See chapter four.

This ceremony seems also to have included the enactment of a singing feast and, hence, will be examined here.

The meaning-structures of the Huron cultural order were also consolidated in this second contextual usage of the singing feast: the ceremony for the acquisition of a new name or for the resuscitation of a formerly-esteemed man or a deceased chief. The latter ceremony most often coincided with the election of new chiefs and council members and was likely performed in the spring at the time of the confederacy council. Because of its importance within the cultural system of clan segments, villages and tribes of the seventeenth-century Huron confederacy, the resuscitation ceremony will be detailed here.

Although Huron chieftainship was available only to men, chiefs were elected almost entirely through matrilineal succession.⁶ As Tooker points out, it seems clear that, like the Iroquois confederacy, chieftainship was organized around the matrilineal clans (or more accurately, lineages within the clans) which cut across tribal divisions; and, although chieftainship often accompanied a privileged social status, no

6. I am referring here specifically to the civil chiefs who sat on village, tribal and confederacy councils. The election of war chiefs and their status within formal government is, as Trigger points out, "not well understood;" he surmises that this position was also hereditary within certain lineages and that, similar to the civil chieftainship, it was "quite possibly a position held for life" (1969, 71).

one chief "by virtue of election was of higher rank than the other elected chiefs" (1964, 43-44). The tribal chiefs (also bound by matrilineal succession) earned their rank by virtue of preeminence, eloquence, free expenditure, courage and wise conduct and were responsible for any problems, decisions and important affairs which concerned their village, their nation or the entire confederacy (JR 10, 231-233). Ceremonies for the acquisition of a new name occurred regularly within the social networks of kinship and the extended family. Although every individual was given a personal name at birth, a new name could be acquired upon the death of a member of one's clan. Every clan, as Tooker asserts, had its own stock of names which it could draw upon and, if possible, "no name was ever lost" (1964, 44).

The resuscitation of a chief or of a formerly-esteemed man was an elaborate ritual that always concluded with a celebration which involved a singing feast. Once again, the man who was to acquire the name of honour and its responsibilities would give a large feast. If it was a tribal chief that was to be installed, several entire villages might be invited. After the resuscitation ceremony, the guests would participate in the feasting, singing and dancing. The newly-installed chief would then recruit a group of young men to go on a war expedition with him "in order to perform some daring exploit that would make it evident that he had

inherited not only the name but also the virtues and courage of the deceased" (Tooker 1964, 45). The raising up or resuscitation of the federal or tribal chiefs was also a highly ritualized event. The Jesuits were likely invited to these ceremonies which were held during the spring confederacy council.

Tooker points out that the election of the tribal chief seems to have followed the Iroquoian pattern whereby the mother of the clan that holds the title of federal chieftainship (after consultation with all other women of the appropriate clan) would appoint the successor. The formal ceremonies would then commence. A council would be held wherein all the important chiefs and elders of the tribe would be treated to a magnificent feast in order to "win their support for the candidate" (Trigger 1969, 70). After the election process and the approval of the chosen candidate, the formal ceremonies of investiture would begin. Tooker summarizes the available data:

All rose except the one upon whom the name of the dead man was to be bestowed and put their hands down to pretend to lift him from the ground, indicating that they drew out of the tomb that great man who was dead and restored him to life in the person of the other, who then rose to his feet. After great applause, he received the presents offered him. Each nation gave its distinct kind of presents....There followed feasts....During the feast, the men told stories of their ancestors so that the young could learn them <JR 23, 167; S 209-210>.

(1964, 45-46)

In the Relation of 1639, Lalement also points out that at a specific time during the feast, namely when the participants were to sing the song of the dead, it was required that two women should come in to intone a certain pitch simultaneously. If they failed to do so, then all expected "to see only broken heads" during the term of guidance of the new tribal chief (JR 17, 161).

As signifying practices, the ceremonial conventions and codes which Sagard and the Jesuits relate here reveal what Trigger has described as "the strong emphasis that the Huron placed on structural continuity in their political organization" (1969, 70). This emphasis was reflected in particular relationships of identity and difference and aesthetically encoded through specific ceremonial gestures. An emphasis on structural continuity is apparent not only in the ceremonial transfer, from generation to generation, of both clan- and role-specific names, but also in the recounting of ancestral narratives to the young after the formal resuscitation. Relationships of identity on several structural levels (clan, village, tribe) were simultaneously re-explored and reconstituted.

At the same time, however, this structural succession of a political hierarchy also involved conceptual relations of difference and appropriate symbolic gestures which articulated such relations. The Jesuit description of the distribution of

gifts after the formal resuscitation whereby each nation would give its "distinct kind of presents" to the new chief is exemplary of the means by which various levels of social identities were differentiated. As Trigger has pointed out, "each present was accompanied by a stereotyped statement of its symbolical import. Presents were given to draw the deceased from the grave, to give" the new chief "weapons to repel his enemies, and to make the earth solid under his feet so that it would remain immovable during his tenure of office" (1969, 70).

The resuscitation ceremony articulated not only these forms of social status but also specific gender relations within Huron society and its political hierarchy. The participatory details of the ceremony are regrettably scant but Lalement's reference to a definite participatory role for two women suggests a variety of interpretations. Tooker offers no explanation of who these women might have been or of their significance within the ceremony as a whole but suggests that their participation occurred after the formal resuscitation and during the feast portion of the ceremony (1964, 46). Trigger posits a similar account but suggests that the women were senior members of the clan that had selected the new chief and that they likely attended the entire investiture (1969, 70). It may be possible that portions of the ceremony were analogous to the Iroquois

ceremonies of condolence and investiture--in which case the two women (as possible representatives of two moieties) might have been called upon to lead a certain portion of the ceremony. This interpretation, however, is only speculative. The fact that at least two women did participate in this ceremony is, of course, significant. Although Huron political processes excluded women, children and (usually) young men from representation at all levels of formal jurisdiction, it is important to remember that chieftainship was bound by matrilineal succession and that all chiefs were required to secure the majority support of the community which they represented at council. Nevertheless, the participation of the two (or more) women at the investiture reveals simultaneously both the aforementioned emphasis that the Huron placed upon the structural continuity of the political order (the succession of chieftainship through particular lineages within the clans) and the somewhat minor and concealed role which women played in Huron political processes. As Trigger asserts, "whatever power women may have had was yielded behind the scenes. Politics was a man's business" (1969, 74).

For this particular ceremony, then, participatory roles within the singing feast articulated not only relations of identity (such as clan segment, village, tribe), but also relations of difference (especially the socially-differentiated forms of clan and tribe and the gender-

differentiated institution of male chieftainship and its regeneration through particular lineages within the clans). As part of a complex cultural order, the resuscitation ceremony seems to have realized, through its enactment, the general predilection among the Huron for structural continuity. This form of political reproduction, however, was very much a selective one, subject, in part and especially, to contingent social circumstances and the vested interests of various individuals and groups. The various responsibilities of the solidified roles of chieftainship, for instance, seem to have been poorly fulfilled by specific men during certain historical periods. Brébeuf points out that, in such cases, securing communal support from the investiture council was not always an easy task: "some are kept back from these positions by the memory of their ancestors who have badly served their Country. But, if they are received therein, it is by dint of presents which the Old Men accept in their Assembly and put into the Public coffers" (JR 10, 235). One of the qualifications which readily ensured the support of councils was bravery and successful achievement at war.

The third context or occasion for which the singing feast was enacted was during ceremonies particular to the social role of the warrior. There is not much evidence within the early sources that describes the symbolic components of this specific use of the singing feast. It seems to have

accompanied ceremonies enacted by war parties prior to departing for and upon returning from war. Brébeuf's description of the war feast in his *Relation* of 1636 does make it apparent that the use of a singing feast in this context varied considerably from the other contexts. For example, these war feasts involved much more exclusion: participation in the ceremony was limited to male warriors only (both old and young)⁷. Brébeuf recounts that during the singing and dancing, some of the warriors would "knock down, as if in sport, their enemies" (JR 10, 181). Sagard provides further details:

To train the young to the practice of arms and make them commendable for courage and valour, which they highly esteem, they are accustomed to hold war-feasts and festivities of rejoicing at which even the old men, and the young men following their example, one after another with tomahawk in hand, or some other weapon, do wonders of fencing and fighting from one end to the other of the place where the feast is held, as if they were actually at grips with the enemy;...and to show that if occasion presented itself they would not be lacking in courage, they chant abuses, curses, and threats against their enemies in a menacing, fierce voice, promising themselves a complete victory over them....Then they sit down [to eat] and others take their place until the feast comes to an end.

(1632, 113-14)

This description of the war feast reflects the institutional character of the hostility and aggression of the male warrior and the regular practice of blood revenge as witnessed by the Europeans in the historic period. Although

7. Heidenreich estimates a total population of 2000 to 3000.

our knowledge about the genesis of these institutions (both the war feast and the practice of blood revenge) is limited by the scant information of Iroquoian prehistory, Trigger has posited some interpretations. His hypothesis is that the gradual adoption of a sedentary lifestyle by the northern Iroquoian tribes in the prehistoric period was accompanied by the acculturation of certain elements of the sacrificial cults from Mesoamerica. These elements combined with the northern Iroquoian tradition of blood revenge and persisted (in variable degrees of hostile activity) through to the historic period (1969, 52-53). Moreover, the adoption of a sedentary mode of existence was also accompanied with an altered division of labour. As Trigger points out, "in early times, hunting probably did serve as the principal measure of a man's courage and his ability to use weapons....Thus the lessening importance of hunting may well have been an important factor promoting a growing interest in war" (1969, 52-53); and, even though the growth of confederacies in the sixteenth century was accompanied by an apparent decline in warfare, nevertheless, in the historic period, "warfare was basic to the social organization of all the northern Iroquoian peoples" (Trigger 1969, 53).

Within the historic period, then, warfare seems to have partly realized certain features of the Huron cultural order-- notably the hierarchical relations of power specific to the

social prestige and authority of successful and courageous war chiefs and warriors. Trigger points out that the acquisition of personal prestige for chiefs and warriors was interwoven with the Iroquoian themes of blood revenge and prisoner sacrifice "in such a way that each of them complemented and reinforced the other" (1976a, 146).

The participatory roles of the warriors within the war feast is a lucid reflection not only of the evolved division of labour among the Huron but also of the high degree of rigidity which accompanied the construction of the role of the warrior within Huron society. In other words, as a signifying practice, the performance of this use of the singing feast re-explored and reconstituted the lived conceptual world of Huron warriors--a world where "men gained personal prestige and established a role for themselves in the social and political life of their community" (Trigger 1969, 53).

The specific vocal gestures of the war dance which Sagard describes reveal the signifying components of this feast and their relation to Trigger's notion of male prestige (1969, 53). That is, by boasting of their accomplishments (prisoners, scalps) and of their bravery and courage, warriors and chiefs were able to secure various degrees of social prestige and the political respect of their community. It is interesting to note, within the Huron myth (recorded during the historic period) which details the origins of the war

feast, the correlation between an ideal mythic human order and a set of real cultural practices particular to the Huron in the historic period:

The origin of this rite was ascribed to a certain giant. When they lived on the shore of the sea, one of the Huron wounded the giant in the forehead because he had not replied kwai, the usual response to a greeting. In punishment for this, the monster sowed the seeds of discord among them and, after recommending to them the war feasts, the Ononharoia, and the response wiiiiiii, disappeared into the earth.

(Tooker 1964, 76)

The myth seemingly legitimated or provided the rationale for not only the war feast, but also a particular vocal cry (often used in the war feasts {JR 10, 181}) and the midwinter ceremony of *ononharoia*--all of which seem to have been constructed differentially with respect to the rigid behavioral codes of politeness, courtesy and restraint that governed everyday discourse⁸ and interaction. In other words, the meaningful sets of differences between the behavioral codes of the war feast and those of everyday village life seem to have been homologous to a differential patterning of sounds within these respective practices. Sagard describes the sonic events of this feast--the "abuses, curses, and threats"--as being delivered in a "menacing, fierce voice" (1632, 114);

8. The response, kwai (or chay) was the customary polite greeting that was exchanged among villagers in daily interaction (Tooker 1964, 57,157).

these codes and the other violent and aggressive gestures of the war dance specific to this context are notably different from the restrained, courteous and polite codes and gestures of everyday interaction. Sagard characterized everyday social village discourse as being very composed and full of reflective pauses (1632, 140).⁹ I have included a similar analysis of this type of differential homology--with reference to the social uses and symbolic codes of the midwinter ceremony of *ononharoia*--in chapter four.

For not entirely fortuitous reasons, this interpretation of the three uses of the singing feast was an attempt to discern evident correlations between particular symbolic practices and the general patterns of the Huron cultural order, with an emphasis on examining specific social roles. The ethnographic detail available for this ceremony was seemingly amenable for this kind of analysis. Although we have seen that particular uses of the singing feast articulated many forms of social differentiation (kinship, gender, political organization, division of labour), it is important to remember that, for the most part, the singing

9. Note also that this composed discourse, particularly its use at council meetings, seems also to have been associated with or expressive of masculine/feminine difference. Sagard points out that Huron men jokingly called the "Frenchmen women," because they were "too hasty and excited in their movements" and spoke all together and interrupted one another (1632, 140).

feast was, as Trigger typifies it, an "integrative institution" (1969, 90).¹⁰ This is partly illustrated in the first two contextual uses of this feast detailed in this chapter. The next chapter will explore, once again, these forms of social and sonic differentiation and corresponding categories of identity specific to the Huron cultural order as articulated within local curing practices and ceremonies and the midwinter ceremony of *ononharoia*.

10. Although the thanksgiving feast or *enditeuhwa*--a ceremony of redistribution--has also been characterized as a socially integrative ceremony, musical practices do not seem to have been included within its participatory activities. The only exception to this seems to have been the customs associated with personal charms already detailed in chapter two.

CHAPTER FOUR:

CURING CEREMONIES AND MIDWINTER

To cure a sick person, they summon the sorcerer, who, without acquainting himself with the disease of the patient, sings, and shakes his tortoise shell; he gazes into the water and sometimes into the fire, to discover the nature of the disease.

(François du Peron JR 15, 179.)

All their practices are dictated to them directly by the devil, who speaks to them, now in the form of a crow or some similar bird, now in the form of a flame or a ghost, and all this in dreams, to which they show great deference,--so great that, if they are asked to express their sentiments upon any subject, they say, "Wait until we have consulted the dream." For better results, they fast beforehand. They consider the dream as the master of their lives, it is the God of the country; it is this which dictates to them their feasts, their hunting, their fishing, their war, their trade with the French, their remedies, their dances, their games, their songs;...

(François du Peron JR 15, 177-179.)

These Ondinons <desires inspired by a demon> are always accompanied by feasts or dances; the ceremonies of these and even the songs that are sung there are for the most part dictated by the Demon, who utters all with cautions and threats that all will be lost if they fail to carry out the least detail.

(Jérôme Lalement JR 17, 155.)

Moreover, the body of the Hurons being only an assemblage of various families of petty Nations, which are associated together for the purpose of maintaining themselves against their common enemies, each one has brought its special dances, customs, and ceremonies, all emanating from the same source, which are communicated to the whole country, and which are then observed according to the dream or the ondinon of each one, when he is sick, or by order of the native Physician....And such observances are called among them "Onderha," that is to say "the ground," as one might say, the prop and maintenance of their whole State....

(Jérôme Lalement JR 17, 195-197.)

In *Farmers of the North* (1969), Trigger documents a number of cultural practices related to personal illness and healing and to beliefs about disease, its causes and treatments. Trigger offers an insightful analysis of the personal and social dimensions of these practices by interpreting them in terms of his general model of Huron social relations within the historic period. As I elaborated in chapter two of this study, Trigger's model explores the dynamics and processes of a group of social worlds (local villages) where the strong emphases placed upon communal cooperation and an integrated social world were carefully balanced with the communally recognized and collectively affirmed values of personal freedom and independence.

In this chapter I will draw upon the insights of Trigger's model as a starting point for an investigation into the patterned dimensions of sound and of individual and collective participation within those ceremonies and cultural practices that were regarded by the Huron as related to personal sickness, disease, health and well-being. As in chapters two and three, I will be concerned mainly with discerning interrelations between the contextually meaningful articulation of singing¹ (and attending rhythmic practices

1. Other modes of vocal utterance will also be addressed in the analyses of certain ceremonies.

where data is available) and other cultural practices specific to village life. I will focus upon musical practices whose documentation in the primary sources includes personal observations on singing, vocal expression and other modes of participation. Since both Tooker (1964, 101-114) and Trigger (1969, 96-99;113-120) have previously documented the general features of the ceremonies and practices to be considered in this chapter, I will not duplicate the accomplishments of these monographs by reproducing lengthy ethnographic description. Rather, for each of the ceremonies and practices examined, I will provide a condensed summary of ethnographic data; special emphasis will be placed upon delineating musical practices and participatory roles. The interpretations which attend the descriptions will detail some of the correlations between these practices and Huron collective beliefs; as such, they will serve to complement and augment many of the observations of both Tooker and Trigger.

Prefatory Remarks

All of the ceremonies and practices to be examined here were informed by collective beliefs about the nature of personal illness, its causes and treatments and about the psychosocial well-being of individuals. Since many of these formal beliefs were integral to the sustained

institutionalization of complex rituals, I will address them here (as a preface to the descriptions and interpretations) by providing a brief topical summary.²

(1) Illness

Trigger points out that the Huron "did not limit the concept of health to physical well-being, nor was any attempt made to view the individual independently of his social environment....The concept of health included an individual's happiness and personal fulfilment, as well as his good or bad fortune" (1969, 113). Illness, then, was always regarded as a multi-faceted phenomenon; its diagnosis and treatment was regularly made and effected according to evolved systems of belief regarding the complexity of psychosocial well-being. As Trigger asserts, the three major causes of illness and disequilibrium which the Huron recognized (natural causes, witchcraft and the unfulfilled desires of a person's soul) are indicative of the sophistication of "their overall view of sickness and health" (1969, 113). Although illnesses attributed to natural causes were most often successfully cured using natural means (such as medicinal plants, emetics,

2. Once again, thorough documentation of this material is available in the respective ethnographies of Tooker (1964) and Trigger (1969). In order to avoid extensive cross-referencing on the part of the reader, I have condensed some of the relevant data from these sources.

poultices and sweating), such cures regularly involved a variety of supernatural elements and were often effected within elaborate rituals or curing ceremonies (Tooker 1964, 84-86). Illnesses not curable with the use of natural remedies were often interpreted to have been caused by witchcraft. The treatment of diagnoses of this sort usually involved elaborate rituals; some of these will be described more fully in the body of this chapter.

(ii) Desires of The Soul and The Role of Dreams

The Huron used the term *Ondinnock* to refer to the concealed (yet often powerful) desires of an individual's soul (Trigger 1969, 113-114). The fulfilment of these desires (which varied from material objects to sexual gratification) was regarded as directly linked both to personal health and to the reproduction of the Huron ideals of egalitarian social organization and corresponding relations of communal cooperation. Trigger elaborates:

Sometimes these desires were revealed to an individual in the form of dreams, which were believed to be the language of the soul. Dreams were all the more real to the Huron because they believed that in sleep the soul issued forth from the body and proceeded to the place where the things being dreamed about actually existed....If these desires remained unfulfilled, the soul became angry and would cause its owner to suffer illness and misfortune.

(1969, 114)

Because of this (conceptualized) symbiotic relation between personal health and the desires of the soul, dreams (or the expression of soul desires) informed many portions of the Huron curing ceremonies and related practices. If individuals were unable to reflexively interpret the meaning of their dreams, they would often consult a shaman in order that he or she might be able to assist in discerning the meaning of such dreams or to reveal the hidden desires of the soul. It was through this form of dream reflection (usually performed as an integral part of a variety of complex ceremonies) and through the subsequent enactment of various forms of individual and collective practice (conceptually deemed as necessary to the fulfilment of soul desires) that illnesses of this category were diagnosed and treated.³

Curing Ceremonies

In the following descriptions and observations of the personal aspects and social dimensions of musical performance, I hope to demonstrate not only some of the variety of vocal and rhythmic performance practices particular to the curing

3. If the fulfilment of soul desires involved extreme levels of social tension, forms of substitution were employed. See Trigger (1969, 116-119) for an extended analysis of the means of satisfying soul desires and a discussion of the relationship between Huron beliefs and these practices as forms of social control.

ceremonies, but also some of the correlations between seventeenth-century Huron beliefs, these practices (as forms of participation) and other practices within the village life-world. The descriptions and observations are organized as follows: (a) introductory remarks on singing, curing songs, the shaman and interrelations with the personal dimensions of dreams; (b) practices related to curing illnesses of natural causes; and (c) ceremonies incorporating supernatural remedies.

(a) Singing, Curing Songs, The Shaman and Dreams

The use of song and percussion was an integral component of the Huron curing ceremonies and related practices in the historic period. The primary sources make many references to singing and other modes of musical performance. The Jesuits in particular were interested in, often fascinated (and occasionally repulsed) by the customs that formed the various curing ceremonies which they witnessed and recorded in their *Relations*. Although the ethnographic data that I have selected will detail some of these customs, several introductory remarks should be made here.

Firstly, as Lalement points out in his *Relation* of 1639, the various "organized Fraternities" (17, 197) or medicine societies active in the early seventeenth century incorporated

specific traditional customs. Membership, which cut across village and clan lines (Trigger 1969, 98), seems to have been inherited for many of the curing societies. Some of the customs, including specific curing songs, seem to have been exclusively personal ones (JR 17, 195-97); in some instances, these personal songs seem to have been acquired in dreams and then incorporated within specific initiation rites.⁴ The nature and scope of musical participation varied considerably within different practices and ceremonies. Some of these variations seem to reflect local conceptual patterns of differentiation; they will be discussed presently.

The participatory role of the shaman within these practices merits special consideration here. In his brief discussion of shamans and shamanistic practices, Trigger points out that "the Huron recognized four kinds of shamans: those who were able to control the wind and rain, those who could predict future events, those who could find lost objects, and, finally, those who could heal the sick. Of these, the last were the most important" and "only men appear to have served as curers" (1969, 115). The Huron used the term *arendiwane*⁵ to designate any person who possessed strong

4. For example, see Lalement's description of the *awataerohi* (curing ceremony) quoted in the body of this chapter, p. 78.

5. It is interesting to note, as Tooker does, that the Seneca cognate of the first half of this compound word (*arendi-* or *orenda*) holds the meaning 'song'; and, as Hewitt (1902, 43) points out, "the Iroquois *orenda*, a

or abundant supernatural powers. The *arendiwane* who specialized in diagnosing sickness (including unfulfilled desires of the soul) were referred to as *ocata* or *saokata* and their assistants, who both carried the medicine bundle and tortoise-shell rattle and specialized in extracting witchcraft spells, as *ontetsans* or *aretsan* (Trigger 1969, 115). Most shamans (and not just the *saokata* and *ontetsans*) seem to have made use of song and percussion within their specific practices of divination, supernatural control and magical transformation. For curing ceremonies, singing, shaking the tortoise-shell rattle and other rhythmic practices were contextually empowering for the shaman, his assistant, his patient(s) or others. Some of these participatory roles as well as the sonic dimensions of song and percussion within the curing rituals will be examined presently.

Sagard and the Jesuits detail some of the features of shamanistic song and percussion within several of their descriptive passages: JR 8, 123 and JR 26, 175-177: the use of song during practices of divination; JR 12, 203: the *saokata* sings with other men in the sweating tent to gain "knowledge" of a particular disease; JR 15, 179: to "discover the nature of the disease," the medicine man sings, shakes his

subsumed mystic potency, is regarded as related directly to singing...as well as with the ideas of hoping, praying or submitting" (cited in Tooker 1964, 91).

tortoise-shell and gazes into the water and sometimes into the fire. Particularly with curing practices, it would seem that the use of song and the tortoise-shell rattle by the shaman (or his assistant) was widespread and, in some way, related to the divination of soul desires, to attempts at interpreting the dream world or to associate the self with the spirits responsible for the spread of disease. In many different contexts, music-making and other forms of activity such as dancing, smoking, and sweating may have served as psychotropic practices, facilitating alternate levels of awareness. Some of the participatory roles of the historic Huron shaman and his assistant will be detailed further in parts (b) and (c) of this chapter.

(b) Natural Illnesses

Singing and various forms of rhythmic percussion were occasionally used in the treatment of illnesses ascribed to natural causes. Natural illnesses, as Trigger points out, were "those that the Huron were able to treat successfully by natural means" (1969, 113). For the most part, sicknesses of this type were isolated incidents that didn't involve complex ritual or the supernatural powers of the *saokata*. Many treatments were made with the simple use of medicinal herbs and drugs (Tooker 1964, 84-85). However, singing, dancing and

a percussive use of the voice and body accompanied the regular practice of sweating, an activity which was supposedly beneficial for some ailments (Trigger 1969, 114). Father Joseph Le Mercier describes this remedy in his *Relation* of 1637:

Here is something quite remarkable: Towards evening of the 26th, they prepare a sweat, which was followed by a feast. I never saw anything like it in my life; 20 men entered, and almost piled themselves upon one another. Even the sick man dragged himself thither, though with considerable difficulty, and was one of the troop; he also sang for quite a long time....

(JR 14, 65)

The expressive use of singing here may have not only facilitated the release of personal psychosomatic stress, but also served as a means of reaffirming, amidst the intense interaction of everyday village life, structural relations of goodwill and cooperation among the participants.⁶

(c) Curing Ceremonies, Curing Societies and Midwinter

In the more elaborate curing ceremonies and midwinter (or all practices which incorporated supernatural remedies), vocal and rhythmic practices seem to have been patterned differently according to specific participatory contexts. Within both the elaborate village ceremonies and the specialized rituals of

6. It should be noted here, as an indication of gender differentiation, that the primary sources suggest that only men participated in activities of this kind.

the curing societies, singing, shaking the tortoise-shell rattle, striking the fist upon the ground, beating sticks against pieces of bark and other musical customs were locally meaningful practices which formed a vital part of the diagnosis and treatment of illnesses not curable with the use of natural remedies. *ononharoia* was also partly a curing ceremony performed regularly and in most of the larger villages as a kind of midwinter festival--although, as Trigger points out, this festival "does not seem to have been a strictly calendrical observance" (1969, 96). Since it did involve curing practices or was performed when many persons in the larger villages were ill, I have included it in the discussions of this chapter.⁷

Particularly for illnesses whose causes were attributed to the spells of witchcraft or the desires of the soul, singing and dancing to the rhythms of the tortoise-shell rattle figured prominently in the shaman's divinations and diagnoses. In his *Relation* of 1637, Le Mercier describes the customary practice of discerning the nature of an illness:

On this same day the sorcerer Tonneraouanont, who was beginning to play his pranks in this village, and had undertaken to cure the sick, came towards evening to have a sweat in our cabin, to get some knowledge of this disease. They crossed four or five poles in a ring, making a sort of little arbour, which they surrounded with the bark of a tree.

7. A more detailed documentation and analysis of this ceremony begins on p. 84 of this chapter.

They crowded within this, twelve or thirteen of them, almost upon one another. In the middle there were five or six large red-hot stones. As soon as they had entered, they covered themselves, as usual, with robes and skins in order to retain the heat. The little sorcerer began to sing, and the others sang after him...After much singing, he asked for some tobacco which he threw upon these red-hot stones, while addressing the devil....The others from time to time urged him to do his best; these orgies lasted a good half hour, after which they began to eat.

(JR 13, 103)

Once again, as in the previous use of the sweating tent, singing, along with the presence of heat, smoke, and tobacco fumes, may have served as a catalyst for facilitating different levels of awareness. This use of song (and percussion) seems to have been operative in most of the remedies prescribed by the *saokata* or enacted by the various curing societies.

If an illness was diagnosed as having been caused by witchcraft, the special medicine man (the *ontetsans*) was called in to extract the spell. Both Tooker (1964, 117-120) and Trigger (1969, 86-89) have detailed the customs of this ceremony. For the purposes of this chapter, it should be noted that the practice of diagnosing witchcraft spells seems to have been accompanied with the use of the tortoise-shell rattle which the *ontetsans* carried with him, although the extraction of spells was performed in silence, often apart from the village and preferably under a clear sky (JR 13, 31-33).

Apart from the special activities of certain medicine societies, most of the curing ceremonies documented in the primary sources describe the typical means of satisfying the involuntary desires of a patient (or patients) through the presentation of requested gifts, the giving of a feast, the performance of special dances or, usually, a combination of all of these practices. The fervour of these activities seems to have increased and more people participated if the sick person was highly regarded within the community. The shaman was consulted only if the sick person was unable to interpret or communicate his or her involuntary desires to the village chiefs or only after repeat enactments of traditional curing practices and customs failed to restore the patient's health.

The custom of satisfying soul desires within these ceremonies offers several insights into the relationship between specific cultural practices and the conceptually evolved patterns of Huron social organization. In his *Relation* of 1637, Le Mercier documents a group of village feasts and dances held at Ihonatiria for the benefit of the sick:

As soon as he had arrived, one of the Captains proclaimed in a loud voice, throughout the village, that all the sick should take courage,...that Saossarinon...ordained that for three consecutive days three feasts should be made, promising that all those who should be present there, and should observe all

the ceremonies, should be protected from disease. Towards evening, the people assembled in the very cabin of our host....The company was composed only of men,--the women were to have their turn afterwards; there were some present from all the families. Before beginning the ceremony, one of the Captains climbed to the top of the cabin and cried aloud in this manner: "Come now, see us here assembled. Listen you demons whom Tehorenhagnon invokes, behold us about to make a feast in your honour. Come, let the contagion cease and leave this town; but, if you still have a desire to eat human flesh, repair to the country of our enemies; we now associate ourselves with you, to carry the sickness to them and to ruin them." This harangue ended, they begin to sing. Meanwhile, Saossarinon goes to visit the sick and makes the round of all the cabins. But the feast did not take place until daybreak; the entire night was passed in a continual uproar; now they sang, and at the same time beat violently, keeping time, upon pieces of bark; now they arose and began to dance; each one strove to do well, as if supposing that his life depended upon it....The feast took place, and afterwards the men left the place to the women, who also came singing and dancing in their turn; as for a feast, they had none.

(JR 13, 237-241)

It is interesting to note, here, both the value placed on communal participation for the health of the entire village and the concurrent categorical organization of the participants. This is most evident in the seemingly benign structuring of gender difference for activities in which all were encouraged to participate for the benefit of sick persons in their families. Le Mercier's description of the (civil?) chief's invocation to the spirits of the contagion suggests that this was a ceremony of exorcism through spirit possession. The "continual uproar" of singing and beating on pieces of bark was likely conceptualized as an effort to frighten away the maleficent spirits of the disease, an effort which was also made both by mounting large masks above the longhouse doorways and by hanging effigies or what Le Mercier

describes as the grotesque figures of men similar to the orchard scarecrows of France within and "above their cabins" (JR 13, 231). By hanging these effigies and contributing to the sonic uproar of the village, the participants seem to have been trying to undo, through association and appeasement, the machinations of malevolent spirits and mythical beings. Le Mercier describes a similar event again at the village of *Ihonatiria* and documents its conceptualization:

On the 12th, early in the morning, our host addressed his prayer to the demons, throwing some tobacco in the fire for the preservation of his family. Towards evening they publicly made a 3rd sacrifice of 4 cakes of tobacco, which was followed by a din and clatter which arose from all the cabins and lasted a good quarter of an hour. They beat so hard upon the pieces of bark that it was not possible to hear oneself. Their purpose was, according to what they told us afterwards, to frighten the disease and put it to flight; and in order that nothing be wanting to this ceremony, as those wooden masks and straw men had been hung over the cabins merely to terrify the disease and the demons, our host conjured them to keep a good watch; and, to render them more favorable, he threw a piece of tobacco into the fire, in their honour.

(JR 13, 265-67)⁸

Similar patterns of symbolic projection seem to have been operative in other dimensions of musical performance. The primary sources mention the use of a local species of tortoise in the construction of the tortoise-shell rattle;⁹ this seems

8. The similarity of these customs to the Iroquois curing societies of the Husk Faces and False Faces has been noted both by Tooker (1964) and Blau (1966).

9. There is no indication in the primary sources of the size of this rattle or variations thereof. The historical veneration shown for the snapping turtle by the Iroquois may have been adopted from the Huron (see *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15, p. 296f).

to have been the only instrument of percussion (outside of sticks that were beat against pieces of bark) used by the Huron in the historic period. In his description of a curing ceremony performed for a sick woman, Lalement suggests that the symbolic use of this rattle might in some way be related to the Huron origin myth with which he was vaguely familiar (JR 17, 157). Father Ragueneau documents the significant patterns of this myth in his *Relation* of 1646: "...the eldest Captain of those present ..." explained "how it has happened that the earth, which was submerged in the waters, has been pushed out of them by a certain Tortoise of prodigious size, which sustains it and which serves it for support,--without which the weight of this earth would again engulf it in the waters, and would cause in this world below a general desolation of all the human race" (JR 61-63). Although neither Sagard nor the Jesuits recorded a conceptualized relation between this myth and the use of the tortoise-shell rattle, a structural analysis could interpret this cultural practice as a meaningful mediation of the origin myth: it may have been that through the shaking movement, the rhythms of the rattle breathed life and renewal into the cultural spheres of the village just as the movements of the great tortoise sustained a world of human culture.

As in other collective feasts, singing, dancing and shaking the tortoise-shell in public curing ceremonies was the

province of specialized performers. In some ceremonies, the performance of specific songs (and tortoise-shell accompaniment) seems to have been restricted to shamans, leaders of the curing societies and civil chiefs; however, the documentation of Sagard and the Jesuits is unclear here. Ragueneau's description of singing and dancing at a village ceremony provides not only some cursory evidence of participatory roles, but also some substantial evidence of larger patterns of differentiation:

When they see that the patient is a person of note, they usually do not fail to play their last stake, and to give a medical prescription that will arouse the entire public to activity....They will say that the sick person's soul has fifteen or sixteen desires,--some of which will be for very expensive and valuable objects; others for the most diverting dances in the country, for feasts, for ballets, and for all sorts of pastimes....The Captains...set about procuring for the sick man the fulfilment of his desires....

Afterward, the dances are announced that are to be performed in the cabin, and under the eyes of the patient....Most of these dances resemble the branles that are danced in France; the others are in the form of ballets, with poses and harmonies that have nothing savage in them, and are according to the rules of art; all these are performed in cadence and in rhythm with the chanting of certain persons, who are masters of that calling....

Afterward, the relatives of the sick person give very splendid feasts, to which large crowds are invited; the choicest morsels fall to the lot of the most notable persons, and of those who have made the best show during those days of public magnificence....

Such is the occupation of our Savages throughout the Winter; and most of the products of their hunting, their

fishing, and their trading, and their wealth, are expended in these public recreations; and, moreover, in dancing the sick are cured.

(JR 33, 205-09)¹⁰

It may be that the specialized dances enacted here in the presence of Ragueneau were particular to a specific curing society, although the customs prescribed by the shaman and by the desires of the sick man are typical components mentioned in many of the Jesuits' descriptions of Huron curing ceremonies. It is unfortunate that the Jesuits largely misunderstood the Huron kinship system and were unable to document with more precision the structural correspondences between kinship and other patterns of organization evident within specific curing practices. Ragueneau's description, nonetheless, indicates several instances of patterned differentiation which he recognized as being operative along lines of kin (the "relatives of the sick person") and a political hierarchy ("the most notable persons"). Various forms of exclusion and inclusion were simultaneously being renegotiated and reorganized in and through the enactment of

10. It is interesting to note in the description below the distinction Ragueneau makes between two different styles of dance: those resembling the French branle and those which, "in the form of ballets," seem to have incorporated specialized gestures. Ragueneau may have noticed a similarity between certain features of the Huron round dances and those of the branle (the branle, a side-step, was originally one of the basic steps of the courtly basse-danse of the sixteenth century and was characterized by a swaying shift of weight (Grout 1960, 229). The more elaborate dance (or those "in the form of ballets") probably refers to the masque-like dances of the curing societies; the performance of these dances often involved specialized practitioners, costumes, masks and the execution of supernatural remedies.

this ceremony. Once again, the ideals of village solidarity and egalitarian participation found expression within the seemingly contradictory institutions of kin groupings, gender difference and the political status of specific clan segments or lineages within them.

Other examples of ceremonial patterning within Huron village life appear in the activities of the various curing societies, institutions which, as was noted earlier, seem to have "cut across clan and village lines" (Trigger 1969, 97). Although membership does not seem to have reflected the organized affiliations of clan, moiety or phratry, it does seem to have been patterned according to some form of inheritance. Moreover, as a further example of ceremonial patterning and its relation with other spheres of village organization, Trigger points out that "each of the curing societies had a leader, whose office appears to have been hereditary" and that "very often, these leaders seem to have been important chiefs whose ritual office complemented and strengthened their secular authority" (1969, 98). Although both Tooker and Trigger summarize the ethnographic data in their respective monographs, I will make a few comments here on the sonic dimensions of musical practices and on correlations between these practices and other customs particular to the curing societies.

The shroud of mystery, secretiveness and esotericism which enveloped the activities of the curing societies must have generated much of their institutional prestige. Songs, dances, and the knowledge both of special remedies and of enigmatic feats of endurance were the property of initiates alone. Those who were cured by the rituals of a society often acquired membership. Sometimes, this entailed an initiation ritual. Lalement relates the story of how a twenty-year member of the *awataerohi* (a curing society whose members handled burning embers and hot stones with their hands and teeth) was able to undertake an initiation after awakening from a dream in which he saw himself handling fire like the others:

...and he heard at the same time a song, which he was astonished to know perfectly on awakening. At the first feast of this kind which was made, he began to sing his song, and behold, by degree he felt himself becoming frenzied,--he took the burning embers and the hot stones with his hands and with his teeth from the midst of the live coals...; in a word, he was master of his trade. And since then for the space of twenty years, it has befallen him sometimes to be present at three or four festivals of dances of this kind in one day, for the healing of the sick....He assured us that...all must be done following and depending upon the song that has been learned in the dream; that otherwise nothing extraordinary takes place.

(JR 21, 153)

Songs particular to individual members who wielded the embers and hot stones seem to have been sung apart from the

traditional (collective) songs of the awataerohi which Le Mercier describes twice in his *Relation* of 1637:

On the 24th of May, one of these feasts was made....They danced and howled like demons a good part of the night....24 persons were chosen to sing and to perform all the ceremonies; but what songs, and what tones of voice!...I never heard anything more lugubrious and more frightful.

(JR 14, 59-61)

An earlier description provides further evidence that musical participation in these ceremonies was differentially patterned, especially with regard to gender:

Father Charles Garnier and I went to pass the night at Anonatea, which is only one league away from us....Upon our arrival we were invited to a feast....This feast was an Aoutaerohi, where we saw a real sabbat. The women sang and danced while the men struck violently against pieces of bark; never have I heard such a din, or shouts so disagreeable. They took, to keep time, as it were, burning embers and red-hot cinders in their bare hands, then passed their hands over the stomach of the patient,--who, as a part of the ceremony or for some other reason, tossed about like a maniac, incessantly shaking her head.

(JR 13, 189)

Both of these descriptions seem to indicate that conceptual schemes of difference were operative within the curing ceremonies even though those patterns may not have always correlated with the symbolic patterns which categorized and organized other spheres of village life. The participation of women, however, within the curing ceremonies and societies is noteworthy. Their conceptualized role as agents of reproduction and sustenance (JR 15, 181-83; 33, 243-

45)--a role which patterned many of their domestic activities--may also have found a parallel within some of the curing ceremonies. Tooker relates, for example, how the *Wenrôhronon* shamans required the presence of a pregnant woman for the successful extraction of arrows from the bodies of wounded men (1964, 86).

Although linkages of this kind between conceptualized categories of kinship, division of labour, clan structure and gender difference and parallel categories within specific curing practices may have been operative through the enactment of these ceremonies (and I think they were), at the same time, the activities of some curing societies--notably those involving spirit possession and the use of masks, costumes and body paint--seem to have operated according to logics which cut across the patterns of everyday thought, practice and praxis. Indeed, the specificity of some of these practices seems to have resided in the intentional rupture of received cultural categories of experience and identity. The activities of some of the curing societies are particularly noteworthy here:¹¹

11. Once again, interrelations are evident in several of these examples; for instance, relations of identity between the mythical spirits of the natural world and their impersonation by masked dancers.

[JR 13, 227-31]: Le Mercier relates the story of how visions of local spirits from the natural world appeared to the shaman *Sondacouane* from the village of *Ouenrio* during the enactment of an *aoutaerohi* ceremony.

[JR 10, 201-03]: Brébeuf describes the costumes and masks of an unidentified curing ceremony:

On the first of February, there was another feast....You would have seen some with a sack on the head, pierced only for the eyes; others were stuffed with straw around the middle, to imitate a pregnant woman. Several were naked as the hand, with bodies whitened, and faces as black as Devils, and feathers or horns on their heads; others were smeared with red, black and white; in short each adorned himself as extravagantly as he could, to dance this Ballet, and contribute something to the health of the sick man.

[JR 10, 205-07]: Brébeuf details some of the customs of the *atirenda*, a curing ceremony performed, in this instance, to relieve the madness of a certain "sorcerer":

...still he was not free from his madness,--he must yet dream, once for all, to free himself from it. He dreamed, therefore, that there was only one certain kind of dance which would make him quite well. They call it *akhrendoiaen*, inasmuch as those who take part in this dance give poison to one another....A fortnight passes in assembling the company, which is composed of about eighty persons, including six women;...Now having arrived within musket range, they stopped and began to sing; those of the Village replied. From the evening of their arrival, they danced, in order to get an understanding of the disease; the sick man was in the middle of the Cabin, on a mat. The dance being ended, because he had fallen over backward and vomited, they declared him to belong entirely to the Brotherhood of lunatics; and came to the remedy therefore which is usual in this disease....It is the dance they call *Otakrendoiae*; the Brethren they call *Atirenda*.

[JR 13, 263]: In his *Relation* of 1637, Le Mercier describes a similar curing ceremony involving masked dancers who were "disguised as hunchbacks" and "wearing wooden masks."

Many of the interrelations between myth, dreams, soul desires and specific practices which I elucidated in the introductory remarks of this chapter are very much apparent in all of these examples. Since many of these correspondences have been pointed out in the works of both Tooker and Trigger, I will not address them here; rather, I would like to explore some possible points of intersection between some of these patterns and the aesthetic spheres of Huron village life.

To effectuate the sense of chaos and rupture and to create an aura of frightful mystery, the activities of the curing societies were appropriately characterized by disjunction, behavioral aberrations, frequent cacophony and ominous disguise. Different aesthetic systems, formed from practices largely dissociated from the patterns and norms of everyday life, were suddenly brought into play; one experiential realm of reality was exchanged for another. This aesthetic shift resonated with sonic and musical practices similarly constructed according to a logic of rupture and fraction. The polite voices of everyday village discourse shifted abruptly to the roaring and frightful screams of mythical deities and spirits of the natural world. At one

*aoutaero*hi, Le Mercier describes how "a certain man named *Oscouta* took in his mouth a great red-hot coal, and carried it to the patients...making many grimaces, and growling in their ears like a bear" (JR 14, 61). Portions of Sagard's description are equally noteworthy:

They have also among them persons possessed or raging mad, who will take a fancy to make the women and girls all dance together, by order of the *Oki*. But this is not all, for the patient and the medicine-man, accompanied by some other person, will make grimaces and utter incantations and throw themselves into contortions to such an extent that they generally become as it were beside themselves. Then the sick man appears quite mad, with eyes flashing and frightful to see, sometimes standing up, sometimes sitting, as the fancy takes him. Suddenly a whim will seize him again and he will do as much harm as he possibly can, then he will lie down and sleep some little time, and waking up with a jump he will return to his first fury, upsetting, breaking, throwing about everything that comes in his way, with a din and damage and outrageous behaviour that have no equal....

Women also get into these fits of madness, but they are not so outrageous as the men, who are usually more boisterous. They walk on all fours like beasts, and make countless faces and gestures like persons out of their senses.

(1632, 201-02)

The vocal and rhythmic practices of this curing society and others, then, were regularly characterized by unpredictable participation, the terrifying shouts and frightful contortions of patients or others possessed by spirits and the patterned cacophony of singing and beating sticks against pieces of bark. Through the experiential horizons of these practices, a distinct aesthetic world (or

worlds) was differentially organized.¹² That is, the meaningful patterns of these aesthetic worlds were moulded differentially from the aesthetic worlds of everyday village life. This differential organization may well have been a re-valuation of these day-to-day aesthetic norms; entirely different aesthetic forms were realized through the imposition of diachrony upon the received categories of experience¹³. It may be that through both the enactment of many of these specialized curing ceremonies (and also of midwinter) and this rupture of received social meanings--those specific to spheres of everyday interaction--, that different conceptual configurations of identity and experience intersected. The contradictions and discontinuities of these different aesthetic spheres among the Huron seem to have both reflected and inflected their evolved and evolving patterns of symbolic organization.

The midwinter ceremony of *ononharoia* was similarly patterned according to participatory codes which effectively

12. Once again, an experiential (or phenomenological) description of this aesthetic world (including spirit possession, etc.) is beyond the capabilities of this interpretation.

13. This process of aesthetic re-valuation, of rupturing the received categories of experience through the manipulation of ritual symbols is analogous to Victor Turner's concept of multivocality (1969).

shattered (for the duration of this ritual) many of the aesthetic structures of day-to-day village life. Loosely translated as an "upsetting of brain" (Tooker 1964, 110), the practices particular to *ononharoia* were suitably characterized by an inversion of the polite behaviour of everyday social intercourse: frantic running and howling in and about the village and its palisades; the deliberate overturning and scattering of objects within the longhouse; and this was followed the next day by a highly charged dream-guessing rite where, as Trigger elaborates, "the villagers were called upon to guess the nature of...dreams and to present each person with the object that had been revealed to him" (1969, 97). Some of the sonic (and musical) features of this ceremony, described below in Sagard's monograph, reflected this scheme of inversion, rupture and frenzy:

When all their ordinary remedies and contrivances have had no effect, and there are many sick in a town or village, or at least some leading man among them has fallen seriously ill, they hold a council and give orders for *Lonouyroya*, their great contrivance and the most fitting means, as they say, of driving out of the town or village the devils and evil spirits which cause or procure and bring all the diseases and infirmities they bear and suffer from in body and in mind. So in the evening the men begin to break, upset, and turn topsy-turvy everything they find in the lodges, like frantic people. They throw fire and burning brands about the streets. They shout and howl and sing and run all night through the streets and round the walls of the town without giving themselves any rest. After that they imagine something, the first thing that comes into their minds, I mean those men and women who intend to be at the feast....He who receives it utters a cry as a sign of joy and runs off in great haste from the lodge, all those in the house congratulating him, striking their hands on the ground a long time with their usual exclamation, *Hé, é, é, é, é*; and that gift belongs to him. But if they see that

nothing is being given to them they are angry, and one of them will be so ill-humoured as to go outside the door, take a stone, and put it beside the man or woman who has given him nothing, and without a word go away singing, this being a sign of insult, reproach, and ill-will. This festivity usually lasts for three whole days....

(1632, 202-03)

It is important to note from Sagard's description that *ononharoia* was conceptualized as a ritual for casting out of the villages the evil spirits which brought sickness and affliction to body and mind and that it encompassed practices particular to other spheres of village life. Similar to the disjunct aesthetic forms of the curing societies, it would appear from this description that a variety of meaningful codes specific to different conceptual spheres of village life intersected. Note, for instance, the combination of sonic practices specific to the aesthetic spheres of both everyday interaction and the special customs of midwinter. The "usual exclamation, *Hé, é, é, é, é*"--an expression common to both feasts and councils--appears alongside the entirely different custom of chaotic howling. Similarly, the use of personal singing¹⁴ within the context of the dream-guessing game takes on a set of social connotations entirely distinct from the everyday uses of personal song delineated in chapter two: according to Sagard, singing in this context seems to have

14. Individuals may well have walked away from their hosts singing proudly their personal chant or *adònwé*.

been an emotional expression of "insult, reproach and ill-will" (1632, 202-03).

The aesthetic spheres of the Huron villages were seemingly marked, then, by both the contradictory and synthetic processes and categories of the cultural order. For instance, although polite behaviour (especially between the sexes) and a conventionalized comity largely pervaded the interpersonal relationships of everyday village life, the aesthetic spheres of healing ceremonies, curing societies and *ononharoia* seem to have been fashioned according to an inverse logic of behavioral aberrations, disguise or altered identity and occasional social malevolence. The inversions and violated logics of the latter sphere were not without consequence for the meaningful patterns of day-to-day village interaction. Through this process of re-valuation, the various symbol-systems of the Huron cultural order became subject to diachrony.

In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate some of the interrelations between practices particular to Huron curing ceremonies, other cultural practices and local ideas about the causes, diagnoses and treatments of illness. Some larger patterns of correspondence between conceptual order and cultural practice--including differential and hierarchical structures--were also delineated through an examination both

of participatory roles within a variety of ceremonies and of categorical and qualitative aspects of the Huron aesthetic world. These patterns and those which I have elucidated in chapters two and three will now be briefly reviewed through a historical frame in the discussions of chapter five. For this historical analysis, I will be examining once again the soundscape of seventeenth-century Huronia. At this point, however, the soundscape will enable us to focus upon the processes and internal dynamics of Huron cultural change.

CHAPTER FIVE:

THE SOUNDSCAPE AND CULTURAL CHANGE

I place among the causes for the advancement of this same work the speeches and behaviour of Joseph Chihwatenhwa, the good Neophyte of whom we have already spoken several times, who seems to have been the leaven of the Gospel that has made the whole lump of this new Church of the Hurons rise,--not only in this village, but also everywhere else where we have striven to make Christians,...--he having been everywhere present on the most suitable occasions, to make a public profession and to render an account of his faith and his conversion.

(Jérôme Lalement, JR 17, 47)

The evil is, they are so attached to their old customs that, knowing the beauty of truth, they are content to approve it without embracing it. Their usual reply is, "oniondechouten," "Such is the custom of our country." We have fought this excuse and have taken it from their mouths, but not yet from their hearts....

(Jean de Brébeuf, JR 10, 19)

The presence and impact of the European traders and missionaries among the Huron in the first half of the seventeenth century has been the subject of numerous historiographies, both ethnographic and economic. Many of these studies have attempted to evaluate and explicate the downfall of the Huron people or have offered interpretations of the complex history of European and Amerindian interaction. In his in-depth analysis of the historic period, Trigger (1976a) evaluates social change among the Huron as witnessed by the European traders and missionaries and as demonstrated

through archaeological and archival data. His investigation interprets the evidence of both acculturation or assimilation and the reactionary forces of nativist movements. Trigger's interpretations then allow him to develop a dynamic model of social change and stability. He draws upon a large group of cultural practices for his analysis and his interpretations of Huron ritual are both insightful and an integral component of his evaluations and conclusions.

This chapter will explore the forces and dimensions of cultural change among the Huron people of the historic period through an examination of a broad range of soundscape practices distinctive to Huron ritual and ceremony, including both French and Huron. By examining these practices in the context of cross-cultural interaction, a number of issues concerning cultural production, reproduction, change and disintegration can be readdressed. As in Trigger's historical evaluation (1976a), my own analysis will address specific cultural practices as evidence to demonstrate not only the forces and processes of acculturation among the Huron peoples, but also the opposing tendencies and reactionary forces of Nativist movements within the confederacy. The chapter is thus divided into two sections. Section One will present evidence of Native acculturation and will be subdivided into two parts: part (a) will describe, firstly, the role of music in the day-to-day activities of the Huron mission and will

examine the Jesuit's use of music as a tool of Christian instruction and persuasion. Secondly, while exploring some of the ways that French musical practices were combined with Huron traditions, often to serve as ceremonial symbols of a European-Native alliance, I hope to demonstrate the persistence of certain musical and ceremonial forms of participation among (potential) Huron converts. Part (b) will present evidence of the disintegration of Huron musical practices (or specific rituals and customs) and will examine the uses of music by Huron converts: firstly, as an expression of a new identity and of solidarity with the Jesuits; and secondly as a vehicle for both transforming and severing specific (traditional) social relationships.

Section Two will be concerned with the opposing social forces of nativist movements and will document Huron responses to and reproaches of Jesuit ideology as manifest both in the musical and religious practices of the priests and in their condemnation of Huron ritual; this will reveal, simultaneously, indications of the strength and rigidity of traditional Huron ceremonial practices in the context of cultural interaction and fragmentation. This documentation or evidence will be accompanied throughout the chapter with a discussion of many of the problems and issues raised by Trigger (1976a) in his analysis of the decline of the Huron peoples. Reference will be made not only to his findings but

2

of/de

2

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

also to the analyses and interpretations of previous chapters of this study. Although this chapter is organized according to the theme of assimilation and/versus traditionalist movements, I will also be drawing upon some of the interpretations of previous chapters, notably the distinction between personal and communal practices and their reflection of the Huron values and ideals of social integration and personal independence. By re-examining a variety of practices through the historical frame of European-Native interaction, I hope to reveal some stages of the gradual process by which that conceptual system of values and ideals--and subsequently, the entire cultural order of the confederacy itself--was undermined and transformed.

SECTION ONE:

PATTERNS OF ACCULTURATION

One of the important findings of Trigger's historical study of the Huron (1976a) is that the acculturation of European ceremonial customs (including musical practices) by specific individuals or factions of the Huron nation was subject not only to complex and often prolonged political debate (within jurisdictions ranging from immediate kin to the confederacy council) but also to the often variable interests, motivations and practical decisions of particular people,

especially those who wielded power or authority and could make decisions regarding foreign trade negotiations and the affairs of the fur trade.¹ This section will extend Trigger's research (1976a) by exploring the place of French and Huron musical practices within the context of cross-cultural interaction.

Part (a): The Music of the Huron Mission

The *Jesuit Relations* include several references to the use of Christian song and chant as part of the daily observances of the Jesuit priests and as a favoured activity of potential converts. From the beginnings of the new Jesuit mission in 1634, the chanting of psalm verses and the singing of hymns became regular activities of Christian instruction. Brébeuf describes these portions of the curriculum of the Huron mission in his *Relation* of 1635:

The usual method that we follow is this: We call together the people by the help of the Captain of the village, who assembles them all in our house as in Council, or perhaps by the sound of the bell. I use the surplice and the square cup, to give more majesty to my appearance. At the beginning, we chant on our knees the *Pater noster*, translated into Huron

1. Moreover, both inter-tribal trade negotiations and the Huron-French trade alliance were themselves embedded within a very unstable economic and political climate, as Trigger (1976a) and many others have demonstrated. One of the most rewarding aspects of Trigger's analysis is its chronological format which enables him to trace the transient and shifting interests, biases and motivations of specific agents, groups or alliances with the unstable political climate of New France.

verse. Father Daniel, as its author, chants a couplet alone, and then we all together chant it again; and those among Hurons, principally the little ones, who already know it, take pleasure in chanting it with us, and the others in listening.

(JR 8. 143-145)

It is interesting to note that, at the time of Brébeuf's letter, the Huron of *Ihonatiria* were quite eager to take part in the religious observances of the Jesuits and to incorporate what must have seemed like new shamanistic ceremonies into the *onderha*² of the confederacy. This interest in and respect for Christian ritual was undoubtedly increased at this time by the rewards of glass and porcelain beads that were given to diligent children and by the Jesuits' translation of Christian texts into the Huron tongue. This sharing of traditions conformed to a long-standing cultural pattern of the Huron and was reflected in the representation of a broad diversity of customs and ceremonial practices at larger celebrations such as the spring confederacy council. At the same time, the Huron of *Ihonatiria* must have been concerned by the Jesuits' refusal to participate in most of their own feasts and amusements.

This refusal on the part of the Jesuits to participate in Native ceremonies did not substantially detract many Huron

2. As Trigger explains, the Huron term *onderha*, "which meant the foundation, prop, or maintenance of a country" was used "to refer to the dances, customs and ceremonies that bound a people together and promoted friendship, solidarity, and goodwill among individuals regardless of their clan or lineage affiliations" (1969, 90).

from actively inquiring into Christian ritual and cosmology. In his Relation of 1638, Father Le Mercier describes the curiosity of his congregates and their interest in the weekly Catechisms:

Since the successful issue of this council, the curiosity to see our Images and to hear our songs attract these peoples to our cabin on Sundays and Feast days, where we appear in our surplices to offer public prayers. This is the order we observe: Our Superior begins with a Prayer in their language, which he pronounces in the tone generally used in the Councils; it is somewhat slow, being employed for their instruction, as well as to commend them to God. With the same object, we afterwards sing the Apostles' creed in the native rhymes....There follows some Church Hymn, and then all is ended with a prayer, intoned to some tune resembling their own songs, of which they are very fond.

(JR 15, 121-123)

Le Mercier's Relation not only indicates the extensive use of song in the services of the black robes, but also describes the incorporation of Native translations³ and even tunes resembling Huron chants within these worship services. The Jesuits must have encountered difficulties in adapting European tunes to resemble the Native songs. The melodic contour of traditional Huron songs within the Barbeau collection regularly follows a descending pattern, whereas the melodic contour of European tunes typical of this era usually conformed to completely different patterns: usually

3. Although the Jesuits strictly observed the canonical hours and held masses (in latin) for their own religious purposes, whenever there were Huron present, they regularly translated many of the liturgical texts. F. du Peron recorded in 1638, for instance, that the benedicite and grace were translated (JR 15, 165) and that "during the mass, the Pater and Ave" were "sung in the Huron language" (JR 15, 175).

ascending, or ascending and descending. Even Brébeuf's carol, "*Jesous Ahatonhia*," does not conform to the perceived descending pattern of the Huron traditional songs and chants. It is also important to note that the Jesuits adopted the slow, articulate council tone of the Huron for the prayers and other spoken parts of the Christian liturgy. All of these efforts must have pleased some of the Huron and increased their respect of and admiration for the Jesuits and their shaman-like rituals.

In the early years of the Recollect and Jesuit missions, the Huron seem to have adopted Christian musical practices in the same way that they acknowledged any body of customs or traditions that formed a part of the *onderha* of the confederacy. The previous descriptions of musical activity within the Huron mission provide several examples of the extent to which the Jesuits adapted their liturgical songs and texts, including chants and prayers, to imitate traditional Huron customs. Although the Jesuits likely made this effort both to win the respect of the Huron and to help them in their comprehension of Christianity, it would appear, as Trigger (1976a, 568, 496, 848) has argued, that, in the early years of the Huron mission, the Jesuits were only marginally successful in accomplishing either of these objectives. In the same way that the Jesuits initially responded to Huron customs from their own European cultural perspective, the Huron seem to

have interpreted European (French) beliefs and practices according to their own concepts and signifying systems. From these two different perspectives, the curing ceremonies of the Huron could be conceptualized as satanic rites with diabolical howling, screaming and dancing and the subdued singing of Christian hymns could be conceptualized as a rite associated with membership in a new curing society. Or, to illustrate this parallel further, an insightful comparison could be made, for instance, between the Jesuits' recitation of Christian prayers at Huron curing ceremonies and the ritual exclamation, "Ho, Ho," sounded by the Huron at the end of the Jesuits' celebrations of mass (JR 15, 123). The Jesuit descriptions of inter-cultural borrowing in the early years of the Huron mission provide a clear indication, then, that the musical practices of both the French and the Huron were subject to this two-way or double determination of interpretation.

One of the most insightful examples of the manner in which Christianity or the Christian way of doing things was incorporated within the conceptual and practical world of Huron villagers is given in Lalement's narrative of 1639 where he describes the fusion of these two spheres with particularly noteworthy references to the soundscape:

We take one working-day of the week to give another public lesson to all alike,--be they believers or unbelievers,--which takes place thus: At the hour of Noon, a man goes calling

aloud through the village, or with the bell, in the streets and public places, inviting to the council....In a place where there is no Chapel, and where our cabin is too small, we do this as well as we can outdoors; and when the weather and season do not permit it, it is done indoors,--but then we admit only the men, reserving the women and children for the next day. The people having assembled, after the invocation of the holy Ghost we say or chant a Prayer suitable to this service, in the Huron language. After this we begin the instruction, which is sometimes interrupted by the approbation or objections of the Savages; at the end of this, we have them say a few prayers, and, among others, a little one in which is included the act of contrition. After that, we engage in singing the Credo, the Commandments, the Pater, the Ave, and other prayers,--many or few, as we see the Savages attentive and in a condition to profit by them.

(JR 16, 247)

It is interesting to note, here, the manner in which Christian practices were received within the structural parameters of Huron tradition: the public proclamation for open council and the vocal interruptions and "objections of the Savages." At the same time, the villagers were required to adhere to the agenda and protocol of this Christian council, a protocol which, for the Huron, likely seemed very strange with its subdued unison chanting and its assumed format of privileging the voice of the Father Superior (Lalement) and his songs with French tunes. Traditional Huron councils did not privilege any one voice; what Lalement regarded as barbaric interruptions of his sacred aural space was actually the attempt of the Huron to engage in their customary process of dialogue and consensual decision-making.

In the early years of the Recollect and Jesuit missions, this cross-cultural exchange of musical practices created few

social tensions. For the most part, the participation of Huron men, women and children in Christian chanting or hymn singing was limited to the local religious observances of the Jesuits. These new customs were probably regarded as being specific to the new French curing society (or the French feasts and councils) and do not seem to have been performed outside of their appropriate context. Gradually, however, some of the Christian chants and hymns of the Jesuits--or, more widespread, Christian texts translated into Huron--were incorporated into the private and public musical spheres of individual Huron converts, whole families or larger Christian factions. Especially with the growth of these larger groups of Huron converts after 1640, the use of Christian content (liturgy, prayers, chants) within both the personal and communal ceremonies of the Huron became increasingly widespread.⁴ This deeper infiltration of Christianity into an increasing number of villages marked a new phase within the history of the confederacy. Part (b) will explore some dimensions of musical practice within this more volatile phase of social and cultural fragmentation.

4. It was at this time also that, as the Huron-French alliance was solidified, the Huron at Ossosané permitted the political representation of the French at village councils by electing to the office of civil chieftainship the Father Superior of the mission (JR 15, 119).

Part (b): Musical Practice in the Era of Cultural Fragmentation

The Impact of the Jesuits

Trigger describes the period of French-Huron interaction from 1634 onwards as one of "coercive contact" (1976a, 346). It was during this time that the Jesuits made a "systematic effort to destroy many of the most cherished and significant features of Huron life" (1976a, 847). Although many of the Huron subsequently decided to openly oppose the Jesuits, Trigger has pointed out that the end result of this undermining of Huron religion and ceremony was a fragmentation of Huron society: the erosion of Huron beliefs and integrative institutions created local turmoil and lead to the growth of "factions based on varying degrees of sentiment for and against both the French and the Jesuits" (1976a, 847). Part (b) will trace these patterns of (and relations between) social fragmentation and musical practice by presenting evidence in the form of the recorded observations of the Jesuits. This evidence will be thematically organized into three sections.

(i) The Disintegration of Huron Ritual and Musical Practices

Both the personal ritual practices and many of the larger social ceremonies of specific Huron villages were systematically criticized and undermined by the Jesuits during this period of "coercive contact" (Trigger 1976a, 846). Devout Christian converts⁵ became ambivalent about practising many of their former personal ceremonies and began to refuse to participate in collective feasts and rituals (including curing ceremonies) which the Jesuits deemed "superstitious" and "diabolical" (JR 17, 159-161).

Although the avoidance of personal rituals seems to have created little friction within the villages, the disintegration of the collective feasts, rituals and curing ceremonies, many of which seemed to have functioned traditionally as integrative institutions, resulted in a great deal of local turmoil and social fragmentation. The Huron traditionalists became very acrimonious about the Jesuits' censoring of their day-to-day activities, special customs and cherished songs and dances. In his Relation of 1643, Lalement describes the bitterness of the traditionalists at the mission

5. Trigger has pointed out that many converts to Christianity quickly renounced the faith, particularly in the early years of the Jesuit mission. Gradually, however, Christian factions became more devout and rigid in their adherence to Christian laws. It is these latter converts to which I refer here.

of St. Joseph among the Atingueennonniahak and records the explicit relationship which they made between the disintegration of these integrative institutions and the social fragmentation of the villages:

All the Christians of this Mission were greatly tried...--the calumnies against the Faith redoubled. They asserted that it tended to the subversion of the country; that the sick remained without succor; that war ravaged everything more and more; that famine threatened them; that the most harmless amusements (thus they called their crimes) could hardly be indulged in...; that their ancestors did not live in such restraint.

(JR 26, 279)

It is clear from Lalement's narrative that this undermining of "harmless amusements" furthered the erosion of traditional forms of participation among the villagers and gradually led to a rapid growth in local factionalism. The emergence of factions of Native converts was paralleled by the emergence of changing Huron cultural forms.

(ii) Music-Making, Conversion and Christian Solidarity

The written records of the last decade of the Huron mission include several references to the use of Christian ritual and song by Native converts. Although in many instances these expressive forms were combined with traditional Huron customs, their contextual use seems to have

been associated predominantly with the preservation of Christian solidarity among Huron converts. The Jesuits, of course, encouraged prospective converts to abandon their traditional customs and to learn the penitential practices of the Christian faith. A few devout disciples of the Jesuits seem to have been exceptionally conscientious in their regular observance of Christian ritual. Most of the converts, however, were simply praised and rewarded by the Jesuits for incorporating Christian liturgy into their day-to-day activities and traditional customs.

Musical practices seem to have been structurally altered in a variety of ways. This was especially the case with the traditional Huron songs where Jesuit intervention seems to have effected certain formal changes. In his Relation of 1640, for instance, Lalement observed the use of personal song in the traditional context of the sweating tent; but apparently this song conveyed a much different social meaning:

This good Christian,--having returned some months ago from a journey...--seeing himself wearied with travel, took a sweat (this is a certain kind of bath which these Savages use, with which to refresh themselves). Having entered this bath, it was a pleasure to hear him,--not singing of dreams, and war songs, as all his fellow countrymen do on this occasion, but animating himself to a new combat; resolving to die for the defense of the Faith;...In a word, what is deepest in the heart is the most ordinary subject of his conversation, of his songs, of his most affectionate intercourse.

(JR 19, 259)

Although Lalement neglects to describe any of the sonic features of this sweating-tent song, the Huron convert may simply have altered the words of his personal chant or *adõnwe'* to convey a Christian zeal. This was not the case, however, for a collective feast of thanksgiving which was given by a family of Christians at the mission of St. Jean Baptiste in 1640:

With the host with whom our Fathers lodged, two received a similar cure, and by way of thanksgiving the parents made two public feasts in the Christian style,--at which, instead of their war songs or songs of dreams, the Pater noster in Huron was sung, and some other prayers, which carried away all those present, in admiration. A French voice with harmony in it excels all their howlings.

(JR 20, 27)

It is important to note, here, not only the recontextualized use of the thanksgiving feast (given in the Christian style), but also the value judgement Lalement makes between French and Huron singing styles.⁶ The chanting of Christian prayers at such feasts (or of Huron songs with Christian texts) was undoubtedly an opportunity for Huron converts not only to affirm their solidarity and new identity, but also to renew their alliance with the French (that is, by pleasing the black-robed representatives of the French

6. Lalement's assumed superiority of the French style seems to reveal, at the same time, a certain ethnocentric and colonizing frame of mind, particularly with regards to the language he uses to describe the Huron practice.

governor). Lalement mentions that these prayers were translated into the Huron language. This was probably the case for nearly all of the Christian chants and hymns that the Jesuits adopted for the use of Native converts. Yet, given the above description, we can still not be certain that Huron converts assimilated French customs without many pragmatic reservations and without encountering many of the problems entailed in cross-cultural translation. Lalement states that Christian prayers were sung at this feast and that the converts seem to have expressed a kind of admiration, but he does not tell us who sang these prayers.⁷ The sonic features of Christian chants and hymns must have differed greatly from traditional Huron songs; converts must have found the French style very strange and difficult to learn. The fact that European modes and pitch relationships (as well as rhythmic relationships) were entirely foreign to the Native musical systems probably explains why the missionaries insisted (throughout the era of colonization) that Native people were incapable of singing with a pleasant, even tone or of singing in tune. The Huron were by no means exempt from these ethnocentric and derogatory statements. Learning the French musical system and musical aesthetic must have been extremely awkward for Huron converts, especially adults. Their

7. Lalement's suggestion of the use of harmony might indicate that it was the black robes, themselves, who performed for this feast.

rendering of Christian hymns and prayers was probably no more clumsy, however, than the Jesuits' use of the Huron language. Nevertheless, the use of French tunes by Huron converts was probably an occasional custom at specific mission sites. Because the Christian texts were always translated into Huron dialects,⁸ however, there was always the additional difficulty of fitting Huron texts to European tunes.

If we take account of all of these problems associated with cross-cultural translation, it is probably not surprising to discover that, among the Barbeau collection of Huron songs (1911) recorded at Lorette, there are only six European tunes, five of which bear Christian texts.⁹ Included among these, of course, is the well-known Huron carol, "*Jesous Ahatonhia*," the text of which (we are now almost certain) was written by Jean de Brébeuf (some time around 1640) and adapted to the sixteenth-century French song "*Une Jeune Pucelle*" (Kallmann 1960, 13). This is probably the only song from this

8. This issue of translation opens up many more theoretical problems (see Trigger 1976a, 393-94; 511-12); the Jesuits, needless to say, discovered that Christian concepts and principles were not easily or properly conveyed through Huron grammar--and especially through their limited knowledge of it. Hence Lalement's despondent observations of 1640: "...it seems that neither the Gospel nor holy Scripture has been composed for them. Not only do words fail them to express the sanctity of our mysteries, but even the parables and the more familiar discourses of Jesus Christ are inexplicable to them...; they have no idea of Kingdoms, Kings, and their majesty; ...The grounds for credence, taken from the fulfilment of the prophecies; from miracles, Martyrs, Councils, holy Doctors, histories both sacred and profane; from the holiness of the Church, and from the external splendour which renders it venerable to the greatest Monarchs of the world,--all that has no place here" (JR 20, 71-73).

9. See Appendix 1, p. 141.

collection which can definitely be ascribed to the historic period.

Although the question as to whether Huron converts actually grasped a clear understanding of Christian dogma through these songs remains problematic (especially in the view of Lalement's rather sceptical reservations about the "salvation of these poor barbarians" (JR 20, 71)), this issue should not obscure the general observation that, from 1634 to 1649, a growing number of Huron converts used not only songs such as Brébeuf's carol, but also traditional Huron songs with Christian texts as symbolic expressions of their baptism into the French faith, of their solidarity and of their alliance with the Jesuits. The gradual polarization of Christians and traditionalists created a new rift in the soundscape of Huronia. Making music in the Christian style or refusing to make it according to local custom became a means of splitting off from a wide network of ceremonial institutions and established social relationships.

(iii) Severing the Soundscape and the Social World

If making music and giving feasts in the Christian style was a means of affirming a new identity, it was also an affirmation of difference or, more precisely, a symbolic act of severing specific social relations and withdrawing from the

world of local ceremony and custom. Such an act of splitting, however, was foreign to Huron social ideals. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the social foundations of the confederacy were modelled on the concept of *onderha*: that is, the confederacy was to be understood as constituted by all of the different practices and customs of its people; difference was openly recognized and celebrated. In the early years of Jesuit mission contact--up to about 1634--some of the customs of the Christians were also, as I have mentioned, openly adopted into the collective traditions of local villages.

In contrast to this pattern of inclusion, the era of coercive contact was marked by the formation of a new sect of converts to Christianity whose beliefs undoubtedly seemed, from the standpoint of the traditionalists, overly rigid and intolerant. What was especially unique to the local histories of the villages, however, was the fact that this new sect was openly condemning many of the cherished customs, both personal and collective, of the Huron peoples. For the disciples of the Jesuits, this splitting off from conventional social ties was achieved, in part, by their deliberate abstention from traditional games, feasts and curing ceremonies. Not only, then, did the devout converts attempt, through condemnation, to silence the musical practices of the traditionalists, but they also adopted a code of symbolic silence in many of their day-to-day affairs with all non-Christians. Lalement's

Relation of 1642 gives an insightful example of this politics of silence:

At the same time, a Captain, more impetuous than they, had entered the Cabin of some other Christians. Addressing the youngest, he said to him in a fiendish voice: "My nephew, make a truce for one day with the Faith. Our country is going to ruin; the sick are dying. Whither can we flee to avoid death? Why do you keep away from our dances? Why do you refuse to do this act of kindness to the People? It is the Christians who kill us, since they will not help us. Come and dance to-day, my nephew, and tomorrow thou shalt resume the practice of the Faith." To all this the young Christian answered not a word. He bowed his head between his knees, according to the custom of the Country, meaning thereby that he would do nothing of the kind.

(JR 23, 49)

In their refusal to participate in local traditions, a growing number of Huron converts were effectively attempting to sever many of their former kin relations.¹⁰ At the same time that this new sect of Hurons were splitting off from traditional social ties and ceremonial networks, the Jesuits were attempting, with some success, to mould them into the entirely different set of relationships specific to the French domestic family. In the case of the medicine societies, where specialized knowledge and institutional secrecy bound initiates to life membership, the threat of Christianity created a highly-charged atmosphere of distrust; accusations

10. It is difficult to assess the extent to which traditional social relationships dissolved among Huron converts, especially in view of the fact that traditionalists were continually undermining the strategies of the Jesuits and encouraging their kin and clan relations to abandon the new religion. See Trigger (1976a, 709-724) for an extended analysis of this issue.

of witchcraft multiplied. Trigger documents, for instance, the case of the woman named *Andotraaon* from the village of *Taenhatentaron* who, having become a Christian, renounced her membership with the *Awataerohi* medicine society: "A headman who was one of the principal officers of this society informed her that at a secret meeting its leaders had resolved that if she did not rejoin their group, they would murder her the following summer....While the curing societies obviously had a special corporate interest in resisting the spread of Christianity, the members of this one were primarily objecting to *Andotraaon's* unwillingness to help her fellow Huron, which they interpreted as evidence of sorcery" (1976a, 717).

As the strength of Christianity increased throughout the confederacy, more and more converts felt secure about their refusal to sing and dance in the communal feasts of the traditionalists. The polarization of Christians and traditionalists affected the musical practices and aesthetic codes of both the integrative, collective ceremonies of the Huron (including *ononharoia*) and also the customary personal ceremonies of everyday life. The primary sources supply a few examples of the local conflicts which ensued after specialized performers of the curing societies converted to Christianity; it is very likely that some of the practitioners of the tortoise-shell rattle would have adopted the new religion and subsequently abandoned the non-Christian activities of their

ceremonial office;¹¹ and even within the private domain of personal songs, the condemning voices of the Jesuits and their proselytes became a political act of silencing:

The same man,--taking a journey with his son, and seeing that this young man beguiled the weariness of his way by singing some indifferent airs, said to him: "My son, I see well that God is not the supreme master of thy heart; thy thoughts would all be his, and, of a time in which no one can interrupt thee, thou wouldst make profit for Heaven. The winds have carried away thy song, and have at the same time dissipated thy pleasures.

(JR 30, 53)

By far the greatest act of division, however, was the refusal of the converts to participate in farewell feasts and feasts honouring the dead. Indeed, in direct opposition to these most sacred of ceremonies, converts to Christianity held their own funerals with solemn processions through the villages. These were presided over by the Jesuits and, in place of the usual lamentations of the women and the cry of souls, the Christians recited prayers (Trigger 1976a, 714). In his Relation of 1644, Lalement documents these processions and reports on the growth of Christianity at the mission of Ste. Marie:

11. This office was usually filled by civil chiefs (headmen) or high ranking men of the village. Trigger notes that "the increasingly frequent conversions of high ranking Huron posed crucial political problems. The Jesuits observed that to be a headman and a Christian was a contradiction in terms, since the principal duties of a headman consisted of "obeying the Devil, presiding over hellish ceremonies, and exhorting young people to dances, feasts, and most infamous lewdness" (23, 185). Most headmen who became Christians seem to have tried to avoid such duties" (1976a, 712-713).

War, famine, persecutions, all these storms that seemed more likely than ever to overwhelm Christianity, have greatly strengthened it. Contrary to the usual experience of previous years, our Fathers have had as much and more occupation during the summer than during the winter. Our Missions have been changed into Residences, and the Chapels have been everywhere enlarged. Through lack of bells, we have had to hang up old caldrons, at the request and solicitation of our Christians. The cemeteries were blessed; processions were held in the villages and funerals were solemnized according to the custom of the Church; Crosses were erected and solemnly adored, in the sight of the barbarians.

(JR 27, 67)

Although Lalement could write optimistically about the progress of the Faith in certain regions of the Huron mission, the attempts of Christian proselytes to undermine the cherished customs of the Huron clashed incessantly with the reactionary politics of traditionalists. Section Two will explore the emergence of this reactionary political formation and its sonic representation in the soundscape of the last decade of the Jesuit mission among the Huron.

SECTION TWO:

THE SOUNDSCAPE OF REACTIONARY MOVEMENTS

The return of the Jesuits to the Huron country in 1634 coincided with the beginnings of a six-year epidemic of smallpox which devastated nearly every village of the confederacy. The Huron population was reduced by at least fifty percent during this time (Trigger 1976a, 499). This outbreak of sickness throughout the confederacy led to a

dramatic increase in traditional curing practices and the activities of the medicine societies. Although the toll of the epidemics resulted in several poor harvests and widespread poverty and seems to have put an enormous strain on the life of every Huron, there is no indication in the written records of the mission that, at the onset of illness, the Huron displayed any hostility towards the French or the Jesuits. It was only after repeated refusals of the Jesuits to participate in the traditional activities of the curing ceremonies--for instance, to give over one of the possessions of their chapel which was the object of a sick young man's soul desires (JR 15, 179-181)--that the French, and particularly the black robes, themselves, became the objects of much suspicion and derision.¹² The allegations of witchcraft that were levelled at the Jesuits during the bleakest epidemics of 1636 and 1637 coincided with their new, more rigorous attitude of religious intolerance toward Huron beliefs and ceremonial institutions.

All of this led to the development of various forms of reaction against the ideology and cultural practices of the Jesuits. In some instances, this local resistance remained relatively benign; in other situations, accusations of witchcraft were accompanied with very insidious death threats

12. An extended analysis of this development is given by Trigger (1976a, 534-544).

and occasional acts of mild physical violence. This local resistance was embodied in various forms of sonic articulation and of symbolic acts of silence in the soundscape of various Huron villages. The voice of the Jesuits, whether speaking or singing, became a voice of danger, of sorcery and of death. In Section One, part (a) of this chapter, I documented the generally amiable response of certain Huron groups to the chanting and singing of the Jesuit priests during the early years of mission contact. By 1637, however, a much different response was elicited:

One Sunday, when they heard us, towards evening, chanting the Litanies of our Lady, they believed, as they themselves told us afterwards, that we were weeping in expectation of the hour when they were to come and cut all our throats, or burn us in our cabin.

(JR 13, 217)

And once more, in his Relation of 1638, Le Mercier describes the re-valuation of the Jesuit presence (and their musical activities) in Ossosané:

This report was not yet smothered, when another one arose. Our crime was, they said that we had established ourselves in the heart of the country that we might more easily procure its total ruin;...They took umbrage at our slightest act, some of them complaining that we kept our door closed in the morning, possibly, they said, for some sorcery; others suspected us of some sinister design when in the early evening we sang our Litanies. In a word, they all agreed upon this point--that to put an end to their miseries they must make away with us as soon as possible, or else send us back to France. There was

nothing, even to a weather vane that we had had placed on the top of a fir tree, which did not give them something to talk about.

(JR 15, 33)

None of these accusations of witchcraft seem to have had the desired effects which were probably to halt the Jesuits' strategies of religious conversion and to encourage them to respect the values, oral narratives and customs of the confederacy. Instead, the missionaries continued in their regular activities of catechetical instruction and, because of the proliferation of fatal illness, of baptism. Once again, however, even their speech acts were met with strong forces of resistance:

What could one expect after so reasonable a speech, unless that he should surrender himself to God, and adore that power which he recognized as the avenger of their sins? But here follows a very different conclusion. "My opinion," he added, "would be that all the cabins should be closed to you; or, while allowing you to enter them, one should lower the head when you speak of God, and stop one's ears, without further disputing against you;..."

(JR 19, 217)

This strategy of resistance through silencing was similar to the traditionalist reaction that Lalement encountered at the general mission in 1639:

...no sooner had we redoubled our batteries of Sermons and instructions...and labored in earnest for the establishment of our intended enterprise, than lo, tongues were more than ever loosened. All their complaints and clamors were renewed,--that since we were in the country, and had sown our doctrine there, one saw no longer aught but misfortune and misery...;

that, after having caused the death of all those in the quarter where we had first settled, we went through all the other villages to create the same havoc; that, if the cause of all these evils were not suppressed, they would soon see their entire nation annihilated.

These speeches were not made only in private and secretly, but also in public and even in our cabins, and in the meetings of our Catechumens. It happened sometimes that at the same time that a Father was going through the village to ring the bell, or to make announcement for assembling the people, at this very time some evil-minded Captain would come out from his cabin and declaim against this,--warning the people to beware of going there; that we were sorcerers, who had no other purpose than to undo and ruin them;...

(JR 17, 115-117)

In many villages, this strategic resistance of the Huron proved to be largely effective in symbolically silencing the speech of the black-robed sorcerers. But because the Jesuits were regarded as practitioners of witchcraft--and especially of a foreign French variety whose impact and power could be potentially harmful--this ideological warfare and its sonic expression was situated, from the standpoint of certain Huron, in a context of collective uncertainty and fear. Consequently, in certain instances, the Jesuits seem to have had the loudest voice:

The two villages of sainte Joachim and sainte Elizabeth also gave exercise to our evangelistic workers, the disease having prevailed in all places alike. "The greatest difficulty we have," one of our Fathers writes to me, "is not that of consuming the poverty of these wretches, but that of entering into their minds, which we see manifestly possessed, for the most part, by some demon,--even to the extent that some, at our approach, sometimes howl like wolves: these, as I have

proved, quickly become silent when we outwardly exorcise them
per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

(JR 20, 41)¹³

With the development of Christian factions in various villages of the mission, many similar confrontations occurred between proselytes and traditionalists. Although baptism seems to have been the primary instigation for such conflicts, several of the examples from Section One, part (b) of this chapter, which document the refusal of Huron converts to participate in traditional feasts (of redistribution, integration or to honour the dead) and curing ceremonies, indicate that musical practices as well as many other forms of collective participation were likely regarded by the traditionalists as very important activities in the ideological and aesthetic reproduction of both local village life and the life of the Huron confederacy. By the early 1640's, the gradual polarization of Christians and traditionalists within local villages was creating much more hostile confrontations. The non-Christians organized themselves throughout many villages and mounted a strong movement of opposition against the Jesuits.¹⁴ Although practices of exclusion were foreign to the conceptual scheme

13. Although Sainte Joachim was a Huron village, Sainte Elizabeth was Algonquian (Heidenreich 1971, 84).

14. See Trigger (1976a, 714-727).

of the traditionalists, the uncompromising nature of Christian dogma and intolerant attitudes of the Jesuits and their proselytes eventually forced the traditionalists to ask the Christians to withdraw themselves from existing Huron villages:

...the calumnies against the Faith redoubledThey claimed that in those days the country flourished; that all these misfortunes had fallen on them since the word of God had commenced to be preached here; that the believers...should either withdraw apart, or retain their Faith in the depths of their own souls, without condemning the customs of their forefathers in so public a manner; that these should not be invited either to councils or to feasts, and that all relations with them should be broken off.

(JR 26, 279-281)

Finally, then, although the traditionalist reaction was accompanied with a revival of local custom and ceremony, the conceptual splitting or ideological divisions which had emerged within Huron society ultimately undermined the cohesiveness of both the political structure of the confederacy and its most vital constitutive cultural practices; in other words, the *onderha* of the confederacy was put into a state of fragmentation and collapse. The disintegration of the confederacy and the Iroquois defeat of the Huron followed from this internal fragmentation of the Huron cultural order; Trigger's thorough historical analysis demonstrates these patterns (1976a, 725-840) and substantiates his conclusive remarks regarding the impact of European

disease and the presence of the Jesuits on the peoples and villages of the Huron confederacy.

This chapter has attempted to demonstrate not only the interrelations, within the era of Huron cultural change, between the general fragmentation of the Huron social world and the fragmentation of many cultural practices specific spheres of ritual and ceremony (notably, musical and speech practices as evidenced in the soundscape), but also the local dynamics and patterns of this cross-cultural confrontation as evidenced particularly in the soundscape of the traditionalist reaction. It is important to note that many of the conclusions which Trigger (1976a, 725-840) arrives at concerning the fragmentation of the Huron confederacy and its ultimate demise have very little association with his theory of dependency. It is this theory and other explanatory models of cross-cultural interaction which Trigger has added to the preface of the second edition (1987) of *The Children of Aataentsic* which I would like to address briefly in the next and final chapter.

CHAPTER SIX:

SUMMARY: RITUAL, CEREMONY AND HURON CULTURAL HISTORY

"Understanding the world of signs is the means of understanding oneself"¹

Contributions to our understanding of Amerindian cultures and their historical constitution have increased significantly in the last twenty years of scholarship within the human sciences. This has been as much the case with the Huron peoples of the seventeenth century as it has been of Iroquoian studies generally.

As an ethnomusicological monograph, one of the more modest objectives of this paper was simply to contribute to this growing assemblage of Amerindian scholarship by documenting references contained within the primary sources to the musical and sonic practices distinctive to various personal and collective rituals of the historic Huron peoples. The contextualization of these practices, however, led to the more complex objectives which I outlined in chapter one. Within the discipline of ethnomusicology, there is now an attempt among field workers to move beyond a simple

1. Paul Ricoeur, "The question of the subject," trans. Kathleen McLaughlin, in *The Conflict of Interpretations*, ed. Don Ihde (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1974), p. 264.

documentary and descriptive phase of inquiry; the systematic and interpretive models of structuralism and semiology are now making a contribution to our understanding of the interrelations between music, society and culture. Although a paucity of information about certain aspects of musical practice among the Huron precluded the achievement of a comprehensive monograph, I felt that there was sufficient material to (at least partially) reconstruct the Huron musical system.²

In utilizing the analytical tools of structuralism and symbolic anthropology, I have attempted to relate the Huron musical system to other systems of signification and to the broad conceptual patterns of the historic symbolic worlds of the Huron. The historical evaluations of chapter five followed from these interpretations. Because most of the specific contributions of this paper to Huron cultural studies are inseparably linked with theoretical and methodological issues, I will summarize them within the following discursive critique of Trigger (1976a).³

2. This reconstruction, of course, was also based almost entirely on descriptions of sonic form and practice rather than on participatory observation and field recordings. Explorations into the anthropology of experience were therefore limited.

3. For this critique, I will be addressing the second reprinted edition of *The Children of Aataentsic* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1987) within which Trigger included a new preface. This edition will hereafter be cited as: Trigger 1987.

(a): RETHINKING HISTORICAL MATERIALISM***"Different cultures, different historicities"*⁴**

The interpretation of cultures or cultural forms and practices as symbolic systems has been an important landmark in the history of the social sciences, notably anthropology; however, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to detail that achievement.⁵ Rather, by drawing upon the insights of Marshall Sahlins (1976, 1985) and upon my own interpretations, I will explore some of the strengths and weaknesses of specific arguments particular to Huron cultural history as established by Trigger (1987).

Perhaps the greatest strength of Trigger's history (1987) resides in the remarkable amount of very local detail which he brings to his analysis of cross-cultural interaction between the French and the Huron. Part of this detail, of course, involves a thorough description of Huron social organization and an intricate delineation of inter-tribal relations (especially with regards to trade) among all of the Amerindian cultural groups that were, in any way, affected by the presence of the Europeans or the activities of the fur trade.

4. Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago: The U of Chicago P), x.

5. See Marshall Sahlins, *Culture and Practical Reason* (Chicago: U of Chicago P 1976).

From this understanding of the structure of Huron society, Trigger adopts Nancy Lurie's (1959, 37) thesis that, in general, "Indians made their first adjustments to the problems posed by Europeans in terms of existing institutions" (Trigger 1987, 842).

With regard to the Huron people's acquisition of European goods, Trigger concludes that this influx of trade items "tended to emphasize existing status differences" and that "there is no evidence" that this influx "did more than magnify properties that were inherent in Iroquoian society" (1987, 844). This notion of structural determination is confirmed in my analysis of various Huron responses to French musical practices and vice versa.

There are many other perceptive arguments within Trigger's interpretation of the decline of Huronia, most notably his insights into the impact of smallpox epidemics on local Huron communities (1987, xxviii), his evaluation of the Jesuits as unable to "transcend intellectually the values to which they were so fiercely committed" (1987, 849) and the incredible wealth of detail (especially regarding very localized and specific cross-cultural interaction) which he organizes in a coherent, chronological format.

Beyond these very important achievements, however, Trigger's analysis of Huron and French interaction is occasionally compromised by certain theoretical approaches.

In his preface to the second edition of *The Children of Aataentsic*, Trigger states his primary theoretical argument that Native "behaviour" should be understood (like European behaviour) as being "cross-culturally comprehensible" in terms of a "rational pursuit of desired ends" (1987, xx). I would like to argue that this approach produces a whole series of contradictions within itself and, at the same time, tends to efface the specificities of Amerindian and European cultural forms and practices. In *The Children of Aataentsic*, Trigger privileges a "rationalist approach" (1987, xx): hence follows a binaristic construction of culture as constituted by "rational" and "irrational" behaviour and the very prominent contradiction of the Jesuits (1987, xxi).

This notion of human societies as motivated by means to ends and its relationship to anthropological theory has been carefully critiqued by Sahlins (1976);⁶ rather than duplicating this critique, I will attempt to show that Trigger does not successfully "extricate" himself from his theoretical "labyrinth of confusion" (xxi) by adopting Marx's formulation of base and superstructure. To argue that material production (or the "human activities of food production, trade, and competition for material resources") are, in some way, less "culture-bound" (Trigger, 1987, xxi) or more susceptible to

6. Ibid. See especially chapters two and three, pp. 55-165.

rational calculation is to suggest that material production (with a separate logic constructed variously around rational interests, the satisfaction of human needs, or the ecology of selective advantage) can be separated out from the realm of the production of meaning or a symbolically-constituted cultural system.⁷ In other words "men do not merely survive. They survive in a definite way" (Sahlins 1976, 168).

With this postulate in mind, I would like to return to the world of the historic Huron: if, as Trigger asserts, the Huron engaged in a "rational pursuit of interests" (xix) with the French traders, then they did so according to a "meaningful scheme" (Sahlins 1985, vii). This scheme or symbol-system is not to be understood as "closed", which is Trigger's understanding of "the romantic view" (1987, xx) of cross-cultural interaction;⁸ rather, the meaningful scheme or symbolic relations of cultural order are always open to history and permutation--whether internally or externally induced. But because cultures are differentially open to such permutations, especially when externally induced, any "system-changes" (Sahlins 1985, vii) or transformations of the

7. In the words of Sahlins, "the error consists in this: that there is no material logic apart from the practical interest, and the practical interest of men in production is symbolically constituted" (1976, 207).

8. To make this assumption is equivalent to privileging the Saussurean *langue* (the system of language in a purely synchronic state) over *parole* (its diachronic actualization in particular peoples, places and times).

cultural order are structurally determined. Thus, the 'value' of European goods to the Huron (from axes to porcelain beads) cannot be interpreted independently from the cultural system as constituted. To interpret this value in terms of a (cross-culturally comprehensible) logic of needs satisfaction (which Trigger is wont to do with many trade items) is to map onto the Huron symbolic order a very foreign logic of utility. In other words, the "desired ends" of Trigger's (1987, xx) rationally calculating Huron subjects must, in my opinion, always be interpreted within the symbolic order of persons and things as constituted. Because European goods were taken up and appropriated within a system of significations, these goods, as well as all other forms of material production, are inextricably linked with the entire symbolic order of seventeenth-century Huron culture. Their symbolic values are not at all separable from the sets of hierarchical and differential relations (kinship, clan affiliation, gender, social status, division of labour, etc.) that were distinctive to the evolving conceptual schemes of the Huron.

Following from this, the distinction which Trigger makes between a "spiritual" and a "utilitarian" appropriation of trade goods (1987, xxiii) and, analogously, between rational and irrational behaviour, reveals the cultural bias of his premise. His observed fact that "metal kettles were regularly cut into pieces" and that these "fragments" were "widely

exchanged from tribe to tribe" (Trigger 1987, xxiii) doesn't invite an interpretation of either of these modes of appropriation (or behaviour). Even if a Huron headman had handed one of these kettles to his wife to cook with--this, perhaps, conforming to Trigger's notion of rational utility--I would surmise that the various interpretations of such an event within Huron society would be framed, not within any utilitarian notions of a rational fulfilment of human needs, but within the received meanings of the cultural order, as constituted. That is, from various social positions and perspectives, the metal kettle would likely be taken up as a sign, conventional or novel, of social status, division of labour, femininity, adulthood, kinship relations, marriageable status, tribal affiliations, relations with deceased ancestors, etc.. The distribution of these metal fragments among the tribes and their apparent appropriation as grave goods reveals not simply a "spiritual" (Trigger 1987, xxiii) valuation of these objects, but much more specific information about the form of Huron tribal organization, about hierarchical relationships and social process within that organization, and also about conceptualized relationships that the Huron of the early contact period maintained between themselves and their deceased ancestors. In terms of this "kind of cultural change, externally induced yet indigenously orchestrated." (Sahlins 1985, viii), the activities and

events of the fur trade become more comprehensible. Although this study did not set out to examine the appropriation of European trade goods, I will link up this topic with my own examination of the Huron-French interchange of sonic symbols--summarized below.

For this summary, I would like to draw upon certain instances of the Huron-French interchange of sonic practices and forms which I documented in chapter five. What I wish to demonstrate here is that this exchange of practices was also a very complex interchange or interpretation of symbols and that our analysis or understanding of these interpretations must begin from within the respective conceptual schemes of the Huron and the Jesuits. As difficult as the task may seem, we somehow have to think through the respective collective meanings of the Huron and French symbolic orders.

By way of introduction, several points should be made here. Firstly, I will be drawing upon two of the anthropological insights of Sahlins (1985). One of these insights concerns the notion of the "dual existence" of the cultural order--the fact that the meanings of signs (or of cultural categories) as given in convention are regularly submitted "to empirical risks" in the "practical projects and social arrangements" (Sahlins 1985, ix) of everyday life. Sahlins refers to this process of risking meanings as "the

functional revaluation of the categories" (1985, ix). The other important observation of Sahlins which I would like to draw upon relates to the differential status of signs within social life:

The sense of a sign (the Saussurean "value") is determined by its contrastive relations to other signs in the system. Therefore it is complete and systematic only in the society (or community of speakers) as a whole. Any actual use of the sign in reference by some person or group engages only part, some small fraction, of the collective sense. Apart from the influences of the context, this division of meaningful labour, is broadly speaking, a function of the differences among people in social experiences and interest...Acting from different perspectives and with different social powers of objectifying their respective interpretations, people come to different conclusions and societies work out different consensuses.

(Sahlins 1985, ix-x)

The first of these observations, the functional revaluation of cultural categories, has substantial relevance for any analysis of history, whether within one specific culture or across cultures. Especially in situations of cross-cultural interaction, where entirely novel persons and things appear before the existing cultural order, the importance of this process of sign reflection is made evident: history is made as people reevaluate their categories, appropriate new signs within the received symbolic order and "reconsider their conventional schemes" (Sahlins 1985, vii). All three of these modes of historically transforming the

cultural order are evident in the soundscape of the seventeenth-century Huron peoples.

Note, for instance, in Lalement's Relation of 1640, the description of the Huron convert who altered the words of his conventional songs: while taking a sweat bath he was heard to be singing not of war but of "the defense of the Faith" (JR, 19, 259). The functional revaluation of these songs as meaning-structures might be interpreted in at least two ways here: the convert may indeed have come to embrace the tenets of the Gospel and was subjecting the conventional social meanings of his war songs' and songs of dreams--for instance, the differential and hierarchical relations of masculinity, adulthood, social status and power (for war songs)--to a substantial empirical risk by giving these cultural categories a very novel connotation; or, more likely, the convert was simply extending the reference of the received meanings of the war song to incorporate French interests within the political sphere of his village. That is, by altering these songs to include a novel reference to Christianity, this warrior may have been connoting his desired affiliation with the French.¹⁰

9. Although Lalement describes these songs as being of this genre, the Huron convert may not have been a warrior.

10. Because the Jesuits seem to have been regarded in many Huron communities as political representatives of the French (especially by certain social groups), their Christian teachings and dogma were likely subject to

This second reading affords an illustration of the second mode of historical modulation--the appropriation of new songs within the received cultural order. To the extent that any such appropriation always involves a reflection upon and reinvestment of particular social meanings, these first two modes of historical process are similar.¹¹ The incorporation of the Jesuits' voices within Huron councils (at various levels of jurisdiction) and of Jesuit songs within a variety of ceremonial contexts is an example of this cross-cultural appropriation of symbolic practices.

Finally, within this historical process of interpretation and meaning-transformation, specific groups and individuals within Huron society seem to have begun to reconsider their conventional schemes. The withdrawal of the Huron Christians from traditional spheres of social interaction and from ceremonial institutions (and their construction of alternative forms of social interaction and structuration--largely inflected by Jesuit prohibitions) are indicative of the extent

interpretations that were often far removed from their intended meanings. This kind of context-bound interpretation is illustrated in my reading of this example.

11. The spheres of aesthetic inversion particular to the curing ceremonies and midwinter are also good examples of the dynamics of functional revaluation; many of the alternate states of consciousness or forms of institutionalized dissociation delineated in chapter four are also applicable here. Generally the implications of ritual-based epistemologies for studies in cross-cultural interaction and change have, unfortunately, been underemphasized by western scholars.

to which many Huron were actively engaged in a critical reconsideration of their symbolic practices.

All of these interpretations, of course, were made from a variety of perspectives (or social positions) within Huron society. The documentations of chapter five illustrate the wide gamut of Huron interpretations and appropriations of the Jesuits' musical practices; these interpretations, moreover, were inflected not only by specific social positions and interests as constituted in any one conjuncture of signs, but also by changing positions and shifting interests throughout the historic period. Thus, for example, the Jesuits' chants and hymns were at first appropriated variously as symbolic affiliations with the French (for the headmen who garnered trade privileges) and as curiosities (for most other children and adults of the villages where the Jesuits attempted to establish their missions); later, in other specific communities, these same chants and hymns were subject to entirely different interpretations: as evidence of witchcraft (according to high-ranking traditionalists concerned about the political power of the Jesuits and the disintegration of the cultural order); as confirmation of sorcery (according to parents who lost their children to the epidemic after their young ones were baptized); or, by taking up these practices, as a meaningful way of promoting solidarity amongst themselves, of signifying their affiliation with the Jesuits

and of insuring that they would be united with loved ones after death (for Christian factions within the village). This conflict of interpretations within (and regarding) the cultural order gave rise to the immense confusion of the Huron that the Jesuits observed in the last decade of the Huron mission.

(b): RETHINKING THEORIES OF TRADE-DEPENDENCE

This confusion of the Huron derived from a conflict of interpretations addressing not simply the existence of the population or the survival of individuals, but of the specific form or organization of that existence. This issue returns us to the other major weakness of Trigger's analysis: the theory of trade-dependence. Trigger attempts to argue that, through the historic period, the Huron became "dependent" (1987, xxvi) on certain French goods. What I would like to argue is that such a notion is comprehensible only within the theoretical approach of economic rationalism which Trigger adopts. In other words, the theory of trade-dependence is an explanatory framework which addresses the biological needs of individuals but does not address the specific social form whereby those needs are realized.

Given the "common anthropological knowledge that the 'rational' and 'objective' scheme of any given human group is

never the only one possible" (Sahlins 1976, 168), how is it then conceivable to argue that any specific human group can become dependent on the resources of another, for the culturally determined realization of human needs. Trigger argues that the Huron became dependent on European axes, knives, other cutting tools and guns (presumably) for their survival. What seems to escape Trigger is that, within the historic period, the Huron as a distinct culture group survived in a definite way: that is, according to a complex and historically evolved meaningful scheme which, for instance, distributed axes, kettles, guns and knives according to a specific division of labour, according to specific differentiations and hierarchies of age, gender, kinship, clan affiliation and social status; and, as equally important, these goods were appropriated according to specific schemes of cultural production.

I am not arguing here that the Huron did not recognize the value or superior qualities and craftsmanship of these European goods; undoubtedly they did. The issue, rather, concerns the deployment of these items within the given cultural order, or the use-value of these technologically superior goods for reproducing, not simply the biological existence of individuals, but a very particular mode or form

of existence¹². Axes were not simply deployed for reproducing physical existence; they were deployed among particular men for building certain kinds of longhouses, for hunting certain kinds of game (which would then be distributed in specific ways), for carving war clubs, and for torturing Iroquois prisoners. This is a very particular way of reproducing social and physical life; and, as culturally engendered, it is never the only one possible. An entirely different mode of reproducing social and physical life--with or without European goods--was as much possible for the Huron as it was for their conquerors.

Finally, lest I be accused of emphasizing an irrational understanding of human behaviour, or a romantic view of Huron-French interaction that regards the Huron as being "less rational" than the Europeans (Trigger 1987, xix), I will simply invert this last statement and argue that European behaviour, like all other cultural behaviours, is not rational. Corollary to this, of course, is the argument that seventeenth-century European (notably French) culture had its own mode of symbolic organization and reproduction.

As a case in point, I will begin by asking a question: Was it possible for the Europeans to become dependent on North

12. Moreover, not all European technologies were superior to the Native products for achieving or reproducing culturally-defined goals. Given (1987, 1989) has demonstrated this through an analysis of the operational parameters of European firearms and of their deployment in Iroquoian warfare.

American furs? My argument here will be the same: from a perspective which regards clothing as merely satisfying the biological needs of individuals, the answer would likely be 'yes'. My own theoretical approach, however, would begin with the observation that men and women do not merely dress up; they dress up in particular ways--that is, according to meaningful schemes. Hence, we have the sign systems of fashion. Any examination of the European market for furs in the seventeenth century cannot avoid referencing the symbolic relations of the cultural order: although furs were worn chiefly by the nobility¹³ (as signs of social rank and prestige) through to 1600, their demand increased with the appropriation of these symbols by the burgeoning mercantile class throughout the seventeenth century. Although a much finer structural analysis could be made here, the basic theme is apparent.

In this paper I have attempted to illustrate, from within the discipline of ethnomusicology, the relevance of symbolic anthropology and the models of structuralism and semiology for the interpretation of the ritual and ceremonial spheres of Huron culture and its historical constitution. The general semiology of cultural life that Saussure made possible in his

13. This sign-system of fashion is no more apparent than in the construction and enforcement of sumptuary laws within seventeenth-century Europe--particularly Germany and France--whereby dress and costume were hierarchically structured according to specific class distinctions.

structural analysis of language is appropriate not only to an interpretation of the historical life of a system of sonic signs within any specific culture, but also to an analysis of the cross-cultural interaction of distinct symbol systems. This interpretation, then, of the Huron soundscape within the historic period of European contact was an attempt to understand the production, reproduction and historical transformation of ritual and ceremony from within the totality of Huron symbolic life. From within this totality, the structural determination of Huron responses to and appropriations of French sonic and musical practice is made apparent. The persistence of Huron musical forms through to the time of Marius Barbeau's field recordings in 1911 and beyond reveals not only the continuity of structure through time, but also the historical character of musical form: the traditional songs recorded by Barbeau seem to have been interpreted by their performers (in a way similar to today) as a sign of cultural difference--especially a difference from the encroaching and colonizing conceptual scheme of the white man.

APPENDIX 1:HURON-WYANDOT SONGSIII H

- 1 (1) - Lorette War song (*ania*) for the discovery of the enemy.
 (1a)- Song sung after the discovery of the enemy, with war whoop (*yukanuwa*).
 (2) - Pipe dance (*yahye*).
- 2 (3) - Pipe song, probably obtained from Caughnawaga, originally (*heya*).
 (4) - Amusement dance (*hikede*).
- 3 (5) - Amusement dance around a kettle (*hinoria*).
 (6) - Amusement dance (*chant de la rencontre*), (*yanehe*).
- 4 (6a) - Amusement dance around a kettle (*akweko samoge*), Iroquoian origin (?).
 (7) - Amusement dance around a kettle (*hinorya*).
- 5 (8) - Ceremonial song of welcome to foreign chiefs (*hai*).
- 6 (9) - Snake dance *onetsa* (*anawiyo*).
 (10) - Amusement dance (*okyoriwa*).
- 7 Cylinder missing
- 8 (13) - Amusement dance (*wenohyane*).
- 9 (14) - Amusement dance (*wekayuyaninohe*).
 (15) - Amusement dance (*hayuwanine*).

- 10 (16) - Amusement dance for old men (*wehayawne*).
(17) - Amusement dance for old men (*tsote*).
- 11 (18) - Amusement dance (*wekahayu wanche*).
(19) - Amusement dance (*yanitannite*).
- 12 (20) - Amusement dance for old men, Iroquois origin (*yahowania owanica*).
- 13 (omitted)
- 14 (18) - Amusement dance.
(19) - Bacchic song, Iroquois.
- 15 (25) - Bacchic song (*akweko nikanowake*), Iroquois.
(26) - Bacchic song (?) (*sakwisero*), probably Iroquois.
- 16 (27) - Canoe song (*hayuwe*).
(28) - Song in a myth (*kwatonahe*).
- 17 (29) - Amusement dance for women (maybe Iroquoian).
(30) - Amusement dance for women.
- 18 (31) - Cradle song perhaps Abenaki.
(32) - Song in the myth of the two suitors (*ironike*).
- 19 (33) - Amusement dance around a kettle (*wenoyaheno*).
(34) - Amusement dance around a kettle (*kanayatsi*).
- 20 (35) - Amusement dance around a kettle (*weyawenuye*).
(36) - Amusement dance around a kettle (*ayuwehahe*).
- 21 (37) - Amusement dance around a kettle (*ayuwanne*).
(38) - Amusement dance for old men (*nohoweita*).
- 22 (39) - Amusement dance around a kettle.

- (40) - Amusement dance around a kettle
(*wekayuwanincho*).
- (21) - Amusement dance for old men (*nohoweita*).
- (22) - Amusement dance, possibly Iroquoian,
(*wakenosaye*).
- 23 (41) - Pipe dance (*kayuwantino*).
- (42) - Amusement dance (*kayuwantino*).
- 24 (43) - Amusement dance (*ayuwakenne*).
- (44) - Amusement dance (*hayuwantino*).
- 25 (45) - Amusement dance (*watsiwe*).
- (46) - Amusement dance (*wenohiane*).
- 26 (47) - Invitation to the dance (*wahihi*).
- (48) - Amusement dance (*wewewe wenoya*).
- 27 (49) - Amusement dance (*hato wheno*).
- (50) - Amusement dance (*wekahaya wanche*).
- 28 (51) - War song (*wehania*).
- (52) - War whoop (*yukanuwa*).
- 29 (53) - Amusement dance (*yaokioriwa*).
- (54) - Amusement dance (*wenuya*).
- 30 (55) - Amusement dance (*whenuhane*).
- (56) - Amusement dance (*wetsuwe*).
- 31 (57) - Amusement dance (*tsote*).
- (58) - Song in the myth of *kwatonahe*.
- 32 (59) - Cradle song (*neki*).
- (60) - Song in the myth of the two suitors (*ironike*).
- 33 (61) - Song for a feast (*yakwenote*).

- (62) - Iroquoian dance (*wiyegahohoho*).
- 34 (63) - Iroquoian dance for women.
- (64) - Dance of welcome to onontio.
- 35 (65) - Amusement dance for women (*yawenosa*).
- (66) - Amusement dance for women (*yaweyawe*).
- 36 (67) - Amusement dance for women (*Yanikoya*).
- (68) - Sorcerer's song in connection with a tale (probably foreign).
- (68a) - Amusement dance (*weyawie*).
- (69) - Snake dance (*nikoya*).
- 39 (72) - Woman's dance (*gogaboni*), (foreign in origin).
- 40 (73) - Lyric song (*wahiehe*).
- 41 (74) - Lyric Song (*kayuwaneyane*).
- 42 - Christian song of the Lorette Hurons (*oneota*).
- 43 (77) - Christian song.
- 44 (78) - Christian song in Huron language.
- 45 (79) - Vision song, European tune; stated to have been heard in a vision by an old Huron woman.
- (80) - Christian song in Huron.
- 46 (81) - Christian song in Huron.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Amtmann, Willy. 1975. **Music in Canada, 1600-1800.** Montreal: Habitex.
- (Author Uncertain) "Grammar of the Huron Language...trans. from the Latin by Mr. John Wilkie." **Fifteenth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario.** Toronto: Clarkson W. James, 725-77.
- Axtell, James. 1985. **The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America.** New York: Oxford UP.
- Bailey, Alfred G. 1969. **The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700: A Study in Canadian Civilization.** Toronto: U of Toronto P.
- Baker, D. 1972. "Color, Culture and Power: Indian-White Relations in Canada and America." **Canadian Review of American Studies** 3:3-20.
- Barbeau, Marius. 1914. "Supernatural Beings of the Huron and Wyandot." **American Anthropologist** 16:288-313.
- Barbeau, Marius. 1915. **Huron and Wyandot Mythology.** Ottawa: Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Memoir 80.
- Barbeau, Marius. 1949. "How the Huron-Wyandot Language was Saved from Oblivion." **Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society** 93:226-232.
- Barbeau, Marius. 1960. **Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives in Translations and Native Texts.** Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 165.
- Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann. 1966. **The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge.** Garden City: Doubleday and Company.
- Biggar, H. P. 1922-23. **The Works of Samuel de Champlain.** 6 vols. Toronto: The Champlain Society.
- Blau, H. 1966. "Function and the False Faces: A Classification of Onondaga Masked Rituals and Themes." **Journal of American Folklore** 79:564-80.

- Blacking, John. 1973. **How Musical is Man?** Seattle: U of Washington P.
- Campeau, Lucien. 1987. **La mission des jésuits chez les Hurons, 1634-1650.** Montréal: Editions Bellarmia.
- Cavanagh, Beverley A. 1981. "Ethnomusicology." In H. Kallmann, G. Potvin and K. Winters (Ed.), **Encyclopedia of Music in Canada.** Toronto: U of Toronto P: 309-313.
- Clarke, Peter Dooyentate. 1870. **Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts.** Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Company.
- Connelly, William E. 1899. **Wyandot Folklore.** Topeka: Crane & Company Publishers.
- Cordwell, Justine M., and Ronald A Schwarz. Eds. 1979. **The Fabrics of Culture: The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment.** New York: Mouton Publishers.
- Crawford, David E. 1967. "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Early Sources for an Ethnography of Music among American Indians." **Ethnomusicology** 11:199-206.
- Densmore, Frances. 1926. **The American Indian and Their Music.** New York: The Women's Press.
- Douglas, Mary, ed. 1970. **Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations.** London: Tavistock Publications.
- Eggan, Fred R. 1966. **The American Indian: Perspectives for the Study of Social Change.** London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Fenton, William N. 1957. **Indian and White Relations in Eastern North America.** Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P.
- Fenton, William N. 1987. **The False Faces of the Iroquois.** Norman and London: U of Oklahoma P.
- Foster, Michael K. 1974. **From the Earth to Beyond the Sky: An Ethnographic Approach to Four Longhouse Speech Events.** Ottawa: National Museum of Man, Mercury Series No. 20.

- Foster, Michael K., Jack Campisi and Marianne Mithun, Eds. 1984. **Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquois Studies.** Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Frances, Daniel and Toby Morantz. 1983. **Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay, 1600-1870.** Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1984. **The Constitution of Society; Outline of the Theory of Structuration.** Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Given, Brian J. 1979. "A Study of European Weapons Technology as a Locus of Native Trade Dependence Prior to the Iroquois Defeat of the Huron, 1648-52." Ottawa: M.A. Thesis, Carleton University.
- Given, Brian J. 1987. "The Iroquois Wars and Native Firearms." In **Native People, Native Lands: Canadian Indians, Inuit and Métis.** Ed. Bruce Alden Cox. Ottawa: Carleton UP.
- Given, Brian J. 1989. "Contemporary Ethnohistory: Rethinking Trade-dependence." In B. Cox, J. Chevalier and V. Blundell (Ed.), **A Different Drummer: Readings in Anthropology with a Canadian Perspective.** Ottawa: The Anthropology Caucus; Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University: 131-144.
- Grant, J. W. 1984. **Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534.** Toronto: U of Toronto P.
- Grout, Donald J. 1960. **A History of Western Music.** New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Hanzeli, Victor E. 1969. **Missionary Linguistics in New France: A Study of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Descriptions of American Indian Languages.** The Hague: Mouton.
- Heidenreich, Conrad. 1971. **Huronian: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians.** Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Heidenreich, Conrad E. 1973. "Huron." In B. Trigger (Ed.), **Handbook of North American Indians.** Vol. 15: Northeast. Washington: Smithsonian: 368-388.

- Hewitt, John N. B. 1974. *Iroquoian Cosmology*. New York: AMS Press.
- Hunt, George T. 1940. *The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P.
- Ihde, Don. Ed. 1974. *The Conflict of Interpretations*. Tr. Kathleen McLaughlin. Evanston: Northwestern UP.
- Innis, Harold. 1956. *The Fur Trade in Canada*. Toronto: U of Toronto P.
- Jaenen, Cornelius. 1976. *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Jaenen, Cornelius. 1985. *The Role of the Church in New France*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association Booklet No 40.
- Judd, Carol M., and Arthur J. Ray, Eds. 1980. *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference*. Toronto: U of Toronto P.
- Jury, Wilfrid. 1954. *Sainte-Marie among the Hurons*. Toronto: Oxford UP.
- Kallmann, Helmut. 1960. *A History of Music in Canada, 1534-1914*. Toronto: U of Toronto P.
- Kidd, Kenneth. 1949. *Excavation of Ste. Marie I*. Toronto: U of Toronto P.
- Lagarde, Pierrette L. 1980. *Le Verbe Huron*. Paris: Editions l'Harmattan.
- Leblanc, P. G. 1968. "Indian-Missionary Contact in Huronia, 1615-49." *Ontario History* 40:133-46.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. 1964. *Mythologiques: Le Cru et le Cuit*. Paris: Plon.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. 1963a. *Structural Anthropology*. New York: Anchor.
- Lurie, Nancy O. 1959. "Indian Cultural Adjustment to European Civilization." In *Seventeenth-Century America*. Ed. J. M. Smith. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, pp. 35-60.

- Massicotte, Jean-Paul, and Claude Lesard. 1980. "La danse chez les Indiens de la Nouvelle-France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles." *Revue d'ethnologie du Québec* 11:49-61.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. 1964. *Signs*. Tr. Richard C. McCleary. Evanston: Northwestern UP.
- Richards, Cara. 1967. "Huron and Iroquois Residence Patterns 1600-1650." In *Iroquois Culture, History, and Prehistory*. Ed. E. Tooker. Albany: The University of the State of New York, pp. 51-56.
- Ray, Arthur J. 1974. *Indians in the Fur Trade*. Toronto: U of Toronto P.
- Rouget, Gilbert. 1985. *Music and Trance: A Theory of the Relations Between Music and Possession*. Tr. and Rev. Brunhilde Biebuyck. Chicago: U of Chicago P.
- Sartre, Jean-Paul. 1963. *Search for a Method*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Sebeok, Thomas A., Ed. 1976. *Native Languages of the Americas*. 2 Vols. New York: Plenum Press.
- Sahlins, Marshall. 1976. *Culture and Practical Reason*. Chicago: U of Chicago P.
- Sahlins, Marshall. 1981. *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P.
- Sahlins, Marshall. 1985. *Islands of History*. Chicago: The U of Chicago P.
- Schneider, David M., and K. Gough. 1961. *Matrilineal Kinship*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of California P.
- Silverman, Hugh J. 1987. *Inscriptions: Between Phenomenology and Structuralism*. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Smith, Wallis M. 1970. "A Re-appraisal of the Huron Kinship System." *Anthropologica* 12:191-206.
- Smith, Wallis M. 1973. "The Fur Trade and the Frontier: A Study of an Inter-cultural Alliance." *Anthropologica* 15:21-35.

- Spicer, E. H. 1961. Ed. **Perspectives in American Indian Cultural Change**. Chicago: U of Chicago P.
- Steckley, John. 1978. "The Soul Concepts of the Huron." St. Johns: M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Sturtevant, William C. 1966. "Anthropology, History, and Ethnohistory." **Ethnohistory** 13:1-51.
- Thwaites, R. G., Ed. 1896-1901. **Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents**. 73 Volumes. Cleveland: Burrows Brothers.
- Tooker, Elisabeth. 1964. **An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649**. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.
- Tooker, Elisabeth. 1970. **The Iroquois Ceremonial of Mid-Winter**. Syracuse: Syracuse UP.
- Trigger, Bruce. 1969. **The Huron: Farmers of the North**. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Trigger, Bruce. 1975. "Brecht and Ethnohistory." **Ethnohistory** 22:51-56.
- Trigger, Bruce. 1976. **The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660**. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP. (Reprinted 1987.)
- Trudel, Marcel. 1973. **The Beginnings of New France, 1524-1663**. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Turner, Victor. 1969. **The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure**. Chicago: Aldine.
- Turner, Victor. 1974. **Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society**. Ithaca: Cornell UP.
- Turner, Victor. 1986. **The Anthropology of Performance**. New York: PAJ Publications.
- Vincent, Marguerite. 1984. **La Nation Huronne: Son Histoire, Sa Culture, Son Esprit**. Québec: Editions du Pelican.
- Von Boehm, Max. 1935. **Modes and Manners; Vol III: The Seventeenth Century**. Tr. Joan Joshua. London: George G. Harrap and Co.

- Wallace, A. F. C. 1958. "Dreams and the Wishes of the Soul: A Type of Psychoanalytic Theory Among the Seventeenth-Century Iroquois." *American Anthropologist* 60:234-48.
- Wickwire, Wendy Cochrane. 1983. "Cultures in Contact: Music, The Plateau Indian, and the Western Encounter." Middletown: Ph.D. Dissertation, Wesleyan University.
- Williams, Raymond. 1981. *Culture*. Glasgow: Fontana Press.
- Wrong, G. M. Ed. 1939. *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*. Toronto: The Champlain Society.

END

03/03/92

FIN