Native Music in Canada: Through the Seven Fires

by

Michael Patterson, B.A. (Hon. Mus.)
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

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**Subject Categories**

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The undersigned recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis "Native Music in Canada: Through the Seven Fires"

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

[Signatures]

Thesis Supervisor

[Signatures]

Director
School of Canadian Studies

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
January 1996
Abstract

Natives in Canada have maintained their value systems throughout colonization. Today a strong movement toward self-determination has begun in this country. Tools brought by the Europeans and others are being used by Native peoples to allow them to break the constraints of imposed marginalization and colonization policy. One of the strongest of these tools is music.

At first European colonizers imposed their own music and worldview in an attempt to assimilate Native people and their expressions. For many years Natives kept their instruments and songs to themselves and learned Western musical culture. The drum and teachings related to the land and spirituality remained, hidden or cloaked in new expressions.

Today Native people in Canada are speaking out through their music. As Natives begin to answer the process of colonization and redefine their role in Canada, they are reflecting traditional teachings. These include Cree and Hopi teachings of the “purification,” the Seven Generations Prophecy (Iroquois) and the Seventh Fire Prophecy (Ojibwe). These teachings are related to concerns about the killing of mother earth along with her medicines, trees, fish and animal life (environmental degradation), and also with the social and economic crises in this and other countries.

Today we are living in the age of the Seventh Fire. This thesis explores how a new music combining the spirit of the drum and technology from the popular music world is helping to bring Native songs, perspectives and prophecies to the centre of the world stage.
Acknowledgements

The following people helped with and provided information for this research; this work draws on their inspiration: Elaine Keillor, Simon Brascoupé, Wilf Peltier, William Commanda, Walter and Doris Bonaise, Lillian Pitawanakwet, Arthur Smith, Rose Auger, Kathleen Greene, Cliff Thomas, Willie Dunn, Gary Farmer, Allen Deleary, David Deleary, Ann Brady, Alexandre Mackenzie, Buffy Sainte-Marie, Elijah Harper, Eddie Benton-Banai, Annie and Robert Smith-St. Georges, Donna Meness, Amos Key, Yvonne McRae, Glenn Morrisson, Harold Tarbell, Richard Powless, Akwirén:tha and Shiningwater, Roberta Dion Stout, Madeleine Dion Stout, Gordon Polson, Barry Ace, Dean Janvier, Lee Seto-Thomas, Bertha and James, Lawrence Saddleback, Ed Lyons, Jacob Wawatay, Willy Mitchell, Dave Kayosk, Peter and Jennifer Coon, Charlie Commanda, Charlie Smith, Martin Dunn, Sam Cronk, Elaine Bomberry, Debbie Winchell, Pam Sickles, Chris Printup, Agnes Mills, Louise McGregor, Louis LeBlanc and everyone at Kumik.¹ Also all my music students at McGill University, particularly Kevin Deer, Dwayne Stacey, Doreen Lazore Thompson, Elizabeth Snowboy, Shirley Moar, Ricky Jolly and Henry Rogers.

¹The Kumik is an elder’s lodge sponsored by the federal government. It is situated at 10 Wellington St. in Hull, on the ground floor of the Department of Indian Affairs. Elders from across Canada visit on a regular basis. The Kumik was started in 1985 by Yvonne McRae, who brought “some sweetgrass and a feather” to work one day at Indian Affairs, and began some circles and ceremonies. She told me that the non-Native (and some Native) civil servants ten years ago “were wondering - what are those crazy Indians up to now?”
# Native Music in Canada: Through the Seven Fires

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Foreward

I speak in this thesis as a person of mixed ancestry - mainly Irish, French and Mohawk. Although most of my ancestors are Irish and French, I have been told since childhood that I have Native blood. I undertook this thesis as part of a personal search. I don't know how Native I am or how much Native blood I have, as the stories and pictures that have come down in my family are only that; they date to the 1860s near Akwesasne (Mohawk) and there are generations not known before.

The definition of who is Native and who is not is the matter of ongoing debate. To many people such as Wilf Peltier (Odawa/Potawotami), Simon Brascoupé (Mohawk/Anishnabeg) and Walter Bonais (Cree), race or blood quantum is not an issue as the important things are shared values. When I voiced doubts about my self-identification to Elijah Harper, he told me: "It's your heritage too."

---

2 See Appendix K.

3Elder Wilf Peltier tells a story of when he was a young man in a council of elders some twenty years ago in Morley Alberta. Some of the older men were opposed to letting white people into an upcoming gathering and ceremonies. Joe Mackinaw stood up to speak and said: "Look at the trees in the forest: The pine, red cedar, the birch tree, the yellow poplar. They all live in the forest, all are welcome. They do not discriminate. I can not discriminate either; all are welcome in my lodge." Later, the older men again raised their objections to whites being welcomed, and Wilf stood and said: "Did you not hear what Joe Mackinaw said?" and the council fell silent for a long while. The "Native Code of Ethics" developed by Georgina Toulouse of Manitoulin Island includes 1) Giving thanks, 2) Respect, 3) Honesty, and 4) Sharing (honor your guests).
This work is intended to provide information to the community about Native music and way of life, and also to be a resource in an academic environment. There are many different voices here, they express Native and non-Native views on life today and on the history and future of the people Native to this place. I hope these stories will help the reader better understand the sound of the drum, and this place, and the creation it reveals. Nyaweh' koa.
Introduction

Colonizers⁴ have had a profound impact on Native⁵ culture and music in the last 500⁶ years. At one extreme, the history of contact has been a policy of mortal and cultural genocide, perpetrated by the colonizing imperative⁷ of Western civilization in the Americas (Dickason 1992: 63-399; Frideres 1993: 2-11).⁸ Although First Nations⁹ and their music and cultures were minimalized and

⁴I will use this term to refer to the system that has evolved from a number of things: European colonialism, the growth of industry and technology in the Western World (sometimes called the West), exploitation and expansionism by settling cultures in the United States and Canada; and the financial and military power of corporations and governments in America and allied Europe and Asia.

⁵I will use this term to refer to all people who are descendants of or related to the original inhabitants of Turtle Island (North America). Today this includes full-bloods, mixed-bloods, status, non-status, Metis and distant relations. Descendants of the original people here do not have a common name, as there are diverse histories and origins stories. People in the United States (U.S.) still often prefer to use the term "Indians," although this reference is now in disrepute in Canada. "Native" had become the preferred term here in the 1980s, but there are now advocates for the use of the terms "Aboriginal," "Indigenous" and "First Nations" people.

⁶I use the numeral "500" in this text to honour the Native feeling in 1992, when celebrations were held to commemorate Columbus' arrival in 1492. "500 Years of Oppression" and similar expressions are common among Natives.

⁷Also described as "Manifest Destiny" in the U.S.

⁸Although Dickason chronicles the militar⁵ and political colonization of Natives in Canada, Georges Sioui points out that disease, not the military, took the greatest toll on Natives from the time of Columbus' contact. Based on work by William Robertson and Henry F. Dobyns, Sioui says that the Native population in North America dwindled from 18 million in 1497 to some 250 - 300, 000 by 1900 (Sioui 1992: 3). The population now, counting mixed-blood people, could be over 5 million.

⁹Natives think of nations less in the political sense, and more in the cultural and linguistic sense: "In 12th-century Europe, nation originally meant people. This term was used to designate a human group whose members, as a result of complex historical processes, had attributes in common such as language, customs and
suppressed by colonizers from first contact, they have survived through wearing a coat of many colours; by learning to use selected tools and ideas imported by the colonizers. From a Native perspective, the process has become a syncretic weaving of styles and values. The colonizers sought to blend Native cultures into their own through assimilationist and extermination policies, but Native teachings

beliefs... By the end of the 18th century, however, the cultural meaning had been almost totally usurped by the emerging political economy via the developed by Western societies of Northern Europe. (Grenier and Guibault 1994: 205). The term now often means a place controlled by a state, but in the case of First Nations, its meaning is closer to the early European.


10In Canada the Native population is now around 3.5% of the total population and is estimated to reach almost 4% or approaching 1.5 million by 2001 (Fridenee 1993: 131, 132). These figures take into account status and non-status "Indians," Inuit and Métis. From 1981 to 1991 the status Indian and Inuit populations increased one-third while non-status Natives almost doubled their numbers. "The overall Aboriginal population is growing very fast... and (status Indians and Inuit) will continue to have higher growth rates than the Canadian population for several decades (1993: 129). Other estimates of overall Native population range from two to four million, taking into account all of the "distant relations" from early French, English and Native meetings (see Appendix K).

11Graburn describes Natives in Canada as Fourth World citizens (see Table 1): "The Fourth World comprises those indigenous peoples whose lands and culture have been overrun by the modern technocratic nations of the First, Second and Third Worlds." I will be referring throughout this thesis to his 7-stage colonization cycle, which he describes as: 1) Early contacts, either warlike or peaceful, leading to 2) the dominant group taking over the land for "economic or political purposes" and exploiting resources, labour and skills (as in missionization and the fur trade), then 3) these economic relationships become institutionalized and the "indigenous society" becomes "structurally incorporated into the national and world system" and labour is divided by race (relegation to the lower stratum of a complex society) until 4) "Sooner or later (sometimes after many generations) the initial economic relationship ceases; fashion may deflate the price of pelts" (for example) and loss of resources and skills can lead to extinction. Stage 5), a "slipping" into benign neglect - also known as Welfare Colonialism (the early 20th century) leads to a time when 6) the "pathology of neglect may cease with the introduction of another great role" such as the production of arts and crafts (or musical and dance displays; powwows in the later 20th century). The cycle then returns to 3) with some old skills lost and new ones gained, from where it goes to either stage four (which can lead again to extinction or assimilation) or on to 7) at which point a - assimilation is achieved (very rare at this stage) or b - self-determination, including "pluralism, perception of separateness and parallel education and occupation structures" emerges (1993: 3-6).
including the Iroquoian Two-Row Wampum Belt\textsuperscript{12} and the Anishnabek Medicine Wheel\textsuperscript{13} demonstrate how the original inhabitants of Turtle Island have always sought to live beside their European and other guests, not among them. Natives move in and out of the colonizing culture. There is giving and taking, but it is between two groups, two cultures, two different symbolic universes. This is what A. Paul Ortega sings about on his album \textit{Two Worlds}.

With reserves and residential schools, Natives have been bullied towards assimilation. In some cases, this approach has had its desired effect; in many others it has simply provided a focus for resistance by Native culture and an insistence on Native tradition.\textsuperscript{14} It also seems that Native peoples have all been physically displaced by the arrival of white\textsuperscript{15} civilization, but this is not true. For

\textsuperscript{12}This belt describes an agreement between the Iroquois and the colonizing cultures. It has two rows running parallel, each signifying a river. The Iroquois and whites are to paddle each in their own river, keeping their customs and values to themselves and not imposing one upon the other.

\textsuperscript{13}See Appendix E.

\textsuperscript{14}I speak of Native tradition as a teaching system unlike the regimented schools and pervasive media of mainstream society. In his book \textit{Culture}, Raymond Williams shows that tradition is "a process of deliberate continuity (through) selection and reselection of received and recovered elements of the past which represent not a necessary but a desired continuity." Tradition evolves through "operative reselection" to meet changing conditions, and operates "in the looser and more general relations of the whole cultural process," allowing for the use of "elements of an alternative or even oppositional tradition." This open growth process is more holistic than institutionally controlled formal education, which is aimed more at "cultural reproduction," not necessarily understanding. Native traditions, teachings and ways of learning are more autonomous, as they are "removed from otherwise organized society" (1981: 187-88).

\textsuperscript{15}White man," "white" and other pejorative references to the colonizers are still in use, but more people now realize that the colonization process also includes other races and factors other than race. I sometimes use the term "white" to refer to caucasian people, particularly in reference to the last 500 years of colonization, but "white" is perhaps too simplistic a reference. In the 19th century, the term was commonly used "by both Indians and non-Indians to identify the dominant society" (MacDonald 1993: 43). Note the following comment from a Native living in Hawaii, expressed on the Internet: "Everyone I've ever met has been some shade of pink or brown, so personally I've never seen a white man, but if I ever do, I'm going to kick
example, the Iroquois of Six Nations, or the Mohawks\textsuperscript{16} of Kahnawake, Kahnesetake, Akwesasne and Tyendinaga, have not moved significantly from the time of contact.\textsuperscript{17} Living on their ancestral land while all the apparatus of technological urban civilization has gone up around them, they try to take what is needed from the mainstream and leave what is not: The people survive like the rabbit; they are white in the winter, and brown in the summer...

\textsuperscript{16}"Mohawk" is an English term, and will be used in this paper. The more proper word, which alludes to the Mohawk's original settlements in the Mohawk Valley and their role as keepers of the Eastern Door of the Iroquois Confederacy, is "Kanienhehahakia," which means "people of the flint" (Blanchard 1980: 2). Many people I know use the term "Oinkehonwe" which means "the people" or "the original people" and is more related to similar names of the Anishnabek and Innu. The commonality of these names and their meaning stand in contrast to government separation and classifications of the people as "tribes" and "First Nations."

\textsuperscript{17}In the disputed territory at Kahnesetake (Oka) for instance, the Mohawk people argue that "independent of the arrival of Mohawk religious converts in 1721 at Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, the Mohawk Nation used and occupied that territory and exercised sovereignty over it long before the land grants by the King of France" (Fridères 1993: 383). Mohawks point to prior treaties with the Dutch, French and English, and also acknowledge the ancestral rights of Algonquins to the same territory (a 1763 census at Kahnesetake showed 307 Mohawks, 253 Algonquins, 200 Nipissing and 78 other Natives (1993: 368).

In April 1995 I was spearfishing for pickerel on the Salmon River at Tyendinaga, and I was told by people there that they have been fishing at this place for some 500 years. People from Kahnawake have told me that their relatives left for Tyendinaga and other points West "over 500 years ago." For more on the history of Mohawk settlements in the St. Lawrence Valley, see Blanchard 1980, Dickason 1992: 122-158; and Frideres 1993: 363-385.
Table 1 - The Evolution of Fourth World Societies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process or stage</th>
<th>Relationships Between Groups</th>
<th>Consequences for Minority Society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Early contacts</td>
<td>Wartile or peaceful</td>
<td>Military grouping, withdrawal, extinction. To stage 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Initial economic</td>
<td>A. Resource exploitation</td>
<td>Extinction, withdrawal or stage 4. Loss of skills; social reorganization for labour (possible mututal gain); to stage 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relationships</td>
<td>B. Labour exploitation</td>
<td>Mutual gain, loss of some skills; to stage 3 social organization for trading etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or C. Use of Native products</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Structural incorporation</td>
<td>Division of labour by &quot;race.&quot;</td>
<td>Loss of economic and political independence to lower stratum of complex society; further social reorientation and some cultural assimilation. Relative stability; to stage 4 or 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Loss of initial economic relationship</td>
<td>2B and 2C cease; no longer useful or competitive.</td>
<td>Move to stage 5 or extinction (further withdrawal rare).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Benign neglect</td>
<td>Relief, subsidy, reservations.</td>
<td>Complete dependence, frustration due to uselessness and segregation; conspicuous deviance; apathy, aggression, and social movements, to stage 6 or 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7A. Assimilation</td>
<td>General education, non-racial division of labour.</td>
<td>As a group - very rare; loss of ethnicity; as individuals - by mobility and &quot;passing.&quot; Parallel education and occupational structures; bilingualism or language shift.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7B. Self-determination</td>
<td>Pluralism; perception of separateness.</td>
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Source: Graburn 1993: 4
In the first chapter I will examine some of the ways in which the European colonizers imposed their ideals and music (which is an expression of those ideals) on Native peoples in Canada; and how the Native worldview or symbolic universe, combined with its musical expression, met those European ideals while remaining true to itself. I will be dealing with the historical period of the early 1600s to the late 1800s, and will rely largely on Western history and scholarship (that is, European and American academic perspective). Information from Native oral tradition will also be included throughout this thesis, with the guidance of the teachers and elders.

Chapter One, then, will delineate how colonizers used music to try and assimilate Native peoples, and how this effort was regarded by Natives. In Chapter Two, I will examine Western musical hegemony in the Twentieth century, and discuss how Western musical styles (such as country and western) were adopted by some Natives, while others either resisted non-Native music or tried to find ways of maintaining their identity within it. This is the stage of "full colonization," where the musical power of the white mainstream, which also includes co-opted black music such as blues and ragtime, would seem to be absolute.
The third chapter describes a prelude to a post-colonial period. It shows how some Native musicians have gone beyond "coping" with Western music; they are using both traditional Native and Western elements to create a new expression that is being heard on its own terms. This new, syncretic music is a powerful expression of Native teachings regarding the land, and the need for "traditional values" in today's complex society. I will argue that this music is an expression of the Seventh Fire Prophecy of the Anishnabek - a prophecy of this time, when the colonization process will be examined by all parties, and must be dealt with. In Chapter Four, this thesis and the history of colonization will have come full circle. I will argue that Natives and their music today are very much in accord with the traditional values that existed before contact, and that these values are being brought to the world through music.

\footnote{In this thesis, I use the term to refer to old ways and the maintenance of continuity in values (as I have already stated), although this is not always the way the word is used in practice. "Tradition" and "traditional" are heavily charged words in the Native community. Elders such as Will Peltier and Walter Boneface have commented on how the term "traditional" can be used in many ways these days, including justification of one group's set of seemingly arbitrary rules (such as one edict to stand up when an elder enters the room, or another to remove one's hat at Grand Entry). To people who live in the way they were taught by their ancestors, the new "neo-traditionalism" (term by Allen Deleary) seems spurious. It can result in the imposition of one group's values ("we're more traditional than you") over another, which is not the Native way.}

\footnote{The circle shown in Figure 1 is created from a Midewiwin Grieving Cycle: 1 is Death/instability, 2 is Denial/loss of control, 3 is Healing/recovery, and 4 is Health/stability. This circle is designed to show "where you're coming from and where you're going" in the words of a Midewiwin teacher. It operates clockwise, in a spiral fashion, expanding with time and understanding. In terms of time, it can operate on the level of seconds, hours, days, years or centuries (using Western artificial time references), and one may be anywhere in the circle at any time. Also see Appendix E.}
Methodology and Area of Study

The geographic centre for this paper is the Eastern Woodlands of Canada, particularly the area encompassing the Great Lakes. The predominant nations around me right now in Ottawa,\(^ {20}\) nations that have lived with or visited this land for centuries, are the Algonquin and the Odawa, the Mohawks and others of the Iroquois Confederacy,\(^ {21}\) the Ojibwe, the Cree and other Anishnabek.\(^ {22}\) I will also refer to

\(^{20}\)Ottawa is named after the Odawa people, although the land in this region is part of Algonquin territory. "Parliament Hill is unsurrendered Algonquin land. And so is the entire watershed of the Ottawa river, which runs behind the Parliament buildings" (Matchewan 1990: 139). "The right of the Algonquins to their territory was recognized and confirmed by European laws and proclamations... The Algonquins have lived in the valley of the Ottawa River at least as long as the French have lived in France or the English have lived in England" (Sarazin 1990: 169-170). Also see "This Land is Our Land" (Aubrey 1995).

\(^{21}\)The iroquois Confederacy was created from the elder brothers, the Mohawk and Seneca, the younger brothers, the Cayuga and Oneida, and the firekeepers, or Onondaga. The last of the Five Nations to ratify or adopt the Confederacy law were the Seneca, who joined on August 31, 1142 according to recent research by Mann and Fields of Toledo University. The Tuscarora joined around 1700, making it the Six Nations. (Johansen 1995: 62) The Five Nations came together at the time that the Peacemaker planted the Great Tree of Peace, thought to be "as early as 1000 A.D." (Lyons 1993: 2).

\(^{22}\)Anishnabek denotes primarily the Algonquin speaking Nations. In The Mishomis Book, Edward Benton-Banai explains that it is from the Ojibwe expression Ani (from whence) nishna (lowered) abe (the male of the species). There are various spellings for Anishnabe and Ojibwe; I have taken my spelling from the "Native North Americans in Canada" section of the Encyclopedia of Music in Canada (Kallmann and Potvin 1992). This section was compiled by Canadian researchers, including Beverley Diamond.
other nations and other areas of Canada, but my perspective is formed from this place and the people here.

Ottawa is a power centre for the federal government and draws the national voice of Native peoples. A recent article in the Ottawa Citizen shows that: “Ottawa has the fastest growing native community of any city in the country” (Bohuslawsky 1994). The population is estimated at 31,000, or sixth highest of all urban Native populations in Canada. The Native community here is characterized as being close-knit, family-oriented and culturally aware, and many of the people drawn here are politicians, professionals or entrepreneurs. Many are also elders, artists, college and university students, healers and teachers.

Much of my work for this thesis was done through material culture. I have gathered representative recordings of Native music from all around Canada and North America - records, tapes and compact discs (CDs). There were countless recordings made in Canada in the twenty years before Oka (1990), many of these being regional efforts (such as tapes from Sunshine Records) and productions by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). The Native music scene has grown tremendously in Canada and North America in the last five years.

I have been very fortunate and had a great deal of help in my search for contemporary Native music. Several years ago I began work with Cliff Thomas (Cree from Peguis reserve in Manitoba) at CKCU FM at Carleton University. We began soliciting music from many different sources for use on Spirit Voice and The 49. In August 1994, I was asked by Gary Farmer to research and write about

Cavanagh, Robert Wittmer, Franziska von Rosen and M. Sam Cronk.

23 Information and quote from two articles by Maria Bohuslawsky, demographics writer for the Citizen.

24 Spirit Voice is a weekly radio show of Native music, culture and community concerns broadcast Thursdays, 8:30-9:30 P.M., on Carleton’s CKCU FM 93.1. In the Spring of 1995 I started another show called The 49, which airs Tuesday mornings.
Native music for Aboriginal VOICES magazine, and found many sources there. I have also drawn from the collection of Native music held at the School for Studies in Arts and Culture (Music) at Carleton University, and have found music at record stores, through friends and relations, and at various powwows and gatherings\textsuperscript{25} over the past few years. I found further sources while helping the Canada Council with the establishment a First Peoples music category in February 1995 and through teaching a course on music to Native educators at McGill University in Summer 1995. In all, I have heard some five hundred recordings - most produced over the last twenty years in Canada, and many produced in Canada and the U.S. over the last five years.\textsuperscript{25}

\begin{center}

\textit{From 10 to 12 and is devoted entirely to music.}

\end{center}

\textsuperscript{25}In terms of the arts, one of the most significant recent gatherings was \textit{Beyond Survival}, held at the Museum of Civilization in April 1993. Singers, poets, musicians and writers from around the world came together to celebrate the power and survival of Native expressions. Singers and musicians included Ulali and Gary Farmer (North America), Ray Kelly (Australia), Dario Domínguez and Pepe Mendoza (South America), Wiremu Grace (New Zealand) and Mutabaruka (West Indies).

\textsuperscript{26}See Appendix A for a representative list, with comments.

\xvii
Chapter One - Early Weaving of Native and Western Musics

Singing Styles

...it would seem that native hymnody must be regarded not as a linguistic adaptation of Euro-American traditions but as a unique one shaped by its own context (Cavanagh 1987: 55).

Life on Turtle Island\(^1\) before the European invasion was very much an aural and oral experience. Native\(^2\) life is oral and kinetic; it is vested in sound and movement of the natural world rather than the written word which tries to describe and control nature. The voices of the indigenous people here carried legends, stories (history) and songs. Little was written. Native culture and knowledge lived through a constant communication, a circle including people and the earth, spirits and the natural environment.

Native concepts of song and music were fundamentally opposed to those of European colonizers. To the Native "singing" means a process that connects one to the natural world - singing is a communication with spirits, an expression of one's own spirit, or a thing shared for teaching, ceremony or socializing. Native singing was often a pure instrument, in that no words were used so it was without the hindrance of literal meaning. When people sang together, they normally sang in unison as one voice, with the sound of sticks, rattles or the drum to provide a heartbeat and make the spiritual connection complete.

\(^1\)This is a Native term for North America. Anishnabek and Iroquois stories tell of a giant turtle that emerged from the sea to form this continent; we are all now living on the shell of this turtle. This story points to the sensitivity and interdependence of the ecosystem (and of creation).

\(^2\)Many terms introduced in the first two chapters of this thesis are defined in the Introduction.
To Natives, European singing was foreign. It stressed the meaning of words (the liturgy), divided and organized people into groups to sing harmonies, imposed the metronomic timing of accompaniment, and had a different melodic structure. While Native song is based on natural harmonics or overtones (which are the harmonics of the human voice), the European system had evolved into a detailed and structured edifice of tempered or artificial tunings (brought about by the keyboard and the need to keep orchestral instruments in tune) and codified (written) harmonies and melodies that owed as much to instrumental and written design as to the sound of the human voice.

The Christian tradition states that “in the beginning was the word.” This describes a worldview in which linear thinking, an imposed morality and the empirical worlds of science and technology predominate. Singing in the Western world became organized in a way that can only be done with a textual outlook - a classification of the world through written words and their meaning, a descriptive process that serves to divide us from the things around. In contrast, Wilf Peltier talks of how the drum was the first thing to come to the Native people, the drum was the gift of creation. It is the sound of the heartbeat, the sound of the wind in the trees, the sound of mother earth.

Priests and preachers brought their Christian message through hymns. Soon after the first encounters with the Micmac⁴ and Beothuk on the East Coast⁵, hymns

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³ John 1:1

⁴“Micmac” is the French pronunciation of this name, as is “Miq’ Maq” which is often used these days. In actual fact, the peoples’ name for themselves sounds more like “Migaumah.” Willie Dunn suggested the last spelling to me in December 1995. Viviana Gray has suggested the spelling “Migmag,” which is close to the sound of the word (MacDonald 1993: 43). This spelling seems to be a good compromise, so I will use it in this text.

⁵“-The oral tradition of the (Migmag) describes the sixteenth century French ships as floating islands, while the sailors in the rigging were glossed as bears in trees” (MacDonald 1993: 33).
in Native languages were used to communicate the Christian message and to provide social organization. Natives were interested in the sound of these new songs, and the European use of harmonies. Missionaries quickly recognized Native interest in music, and consequently used music to gain Christian converts.

This process of musical instruction by the church was endorsed by government from the start, and continued through to 1888, when the last Native Residential School in Canada was closed (Dickason 1992: 337). Jesuit missionary Jean de Brébeuf is credited with writing "Jesous Ahatonia" (known as the "Huron Christmas Carol," written on a traditional French air) for the Wendat' as early as 1642 (Kallmann 1960: 13; McGee 1985: 12-14). The first published Native hymn books popularized in Canada were Nikammuina uabistiguiatsh (Québec City 1817), Peter Jones' Collection of Hymns for the Use of Native Christians in the Chipeway Tongue (New York 1829). Beckwith notes that "such works continued to be published steadily throughout the century," including the Roman Catholic Livre des sept nations (1865), a rare work published in Iroquois with accompanying music (most works gave the text only) (1988: 212). Anglican missionaries working with the Dene in the Mackenzie District in the mid-1800s also translated hymns and

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6 As early as 1668, it was noted in the "Annales du Petit Séminaire" in Québec that "des enfants de la nation des hurons, et aux Jesuites des algonquins" would be schooled with the French children, in order to learn French and the Catechism (Vachon 1963: 18-19).

7 Huron is a French appellation. The Wendat people now prefer to use their own name, and refer to their ancestral homeland as Wendake rather than Huronia. I will use the Native term Wendat in this thesis. See Siou 1992.

8 In this text, non-Native sources are identified by last name as is normal in academic presentations. Native sources, however, are referred to by their first and last names together or first name only. In the Native community, referring to people by their last names alone is thought to be rude.
prayers in Native languages as their first order of business (Abel 1993: 117). ⁹

Technical differences precluded the wholesale adoption of European hymnody. Native singing styles include solo or group singing, usually with the drum. With only a few exceptions,¹⁰ there are no vocal or instrumental harmonies. Native singing is based on the natural overtone series. European hymns, on the other hand, are harmonized to a form of tempered tuning and feature ascending phrases, particularly at the beginning, whereas Native melodies tend to begin high and then descend. Grabell notes that:

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 (1990: 105).

Despite these technical differences, European singing styles were enjoyed and adopted by many Native people. A report from 1676 enthuses that "The nuns of France do not sing more agreeably than some savage women here... all the savages have much aptitude and inclination for singing the hymns of the church, which have been rendered into their language" (Kallmann 1960: 12). European church music and practice enjoys a unique survival among Native people in

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⁹There were similar experiences in the U.S.. Thomas Vennum describes some of the song schools and singing masters that influenced Native singing in New England and Connecticut in the 1700s: "Eleazar Wheelock at his Indian Charity School taught his Delaware pupils to perform in three-part harmony," and gives examples of Natives learning Irish tunes and being taught "to read music and sing in harmony (Vennum 1992: 83-84). A Methodist hymnal published in the 1840s by Thomas Corruck (Narragansett) included tunes attributed to chiefs of the Flathead, Osage, Algonquin and other nations. For experiences of the Cherokee, see Heth 1992.

¹⁰These include evidence of two-part traditional singing among groups in Northern California (see Keeling 1994), and Inuit songs collected at Eskimo Point (see Pelinski 1979).
Canada, while most non-Native believers have lost the historic styles. Today the Migmag of New Brunswick and the Wendat from Lorette still sing chants taught to them over three hundred years ago by French missionaries (Kallmann 1960: 15). Mohawks from Kahnawake still sing Gregorian chants,¹¹ and survivals can be found at Akwesasne, Six Nations, and among Algonquin and Innu¹² peoples (Cavanagh 1987, 1989; Diamond-Cavanagh 1992; also Cronk 1990). Nineteenth-century tunebook practices were adopted and have been preserved by Mohawk singing groups¹³ (Cavanagh 1987; Diamond-Cavanagh 1992). The liturgy and social system of Europeans may have been destructive, but Natives found positive things in the music.¹⁴

The Inuit also adopted mission singing styles, but incorporated their own singing traditions. This was encouraged by Roman Catholic missionaries, who some say have historically been more indulgent of traditional Native musics and

¹¹Communication from Doreen Stevens, an Algonquin singer and actress from Kitigan Zibi (Maniwaki).

¹²Innu, which means "the people," is the original name of the people the French had called "Montagnais" or "Mountain dwellers." It is the name being used again today.

¹³Many of the tunebooks and singing practices used by missionaries in the 1800s and early 1900s developed in America. Composers here used characteristics borrowed from European, particularly English, practice of the late sixteenth century, but added unique qualities to the music, sometimes as a result of local music training. For further information on nineteenth-century hymn singing practices in Canada, and North America, see Marocco, W. Thomas (ed.): Music in America. New York: W.W. Norton, 1964: 96-102; Bednith, John: "Tunebooks and Hymnals in Canada, 1801-1939," In American Music, 4/2 (1966): 193-234; and Beverley Diamond-Cavanagh's "Christian Hymns In Eastern Woodlands Communities: Performance Contexts" In Robertson 1992: 381-394. Also see Gospel Music in Chapter Two.

¹⁴There is speculation that the lower, slower singing styles used by Migmag and Mohawk drums may be related to prolonged exposure to, or an affinity toward, European chant. This has not been proved.
spiritual practices than their Protestant counterparts in the North. The Netsilik of Pelly Bay, for example, have preserved their drum dancing tradition along with their new-found interest in Western singing, be it in church or at a country and western dance (Lutz 1982: 50). However, many groups lost their musical traditions through missionization. Several Labrador Inuit communities are a case in point: "From our knowledge of early Inuit-missionary contact we can deduce that in both Nain and Pangnirtung the missionaries constitute the group primarily responsible for the virtual disappearance of traditional Inuit music and dance" (Lutz 1982: 52).

In most cases, however, missionaries were not successful at selling the whole European musical package. Many Natives mixed European styles into their own. Today, certain songs sung at social gatherings of the Dogrib living at Rae in the NorthWest Territories contain text elements of Christian hymnal doctrine, but "...the musical structure and the melodic contour" of the tunes reveal "...Dogrib characteristics of small motives slightly varied and a strong tendency toward descent" (Keillor 1986: 68). The Dogrib Prayer Song used to inaugurate the Ti-Dance has a Christian association, and is sometimes used in church services, but it is sung in a traditional manner by men using a hand drum. The drumming itself, however, is slower and lighter than other traditional Dogrib songs (Keillor 1987: 39-40); this could perhaps be a Dogrib reference to a Christian spiritual meaning. Among the Dogrib, Native musical traditions seem to supersede the Christian, but

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15 Interviews with clergy in Moose Factory in 1985 suggest that "Catholic strategies allowed acceptance of Native cultural elements while Protestants did not" (Diamond Cavanagh 1992: 382).

16 In his interviews with missionaries in the Canadian North, Gualtieri found the Anglican churches to be "the most sensitive to the native milieu in which they worked" (1984: 119). It hardly seems to matter which group was more or less sensitive, given that: "The astonishing and perplexing view prevailed amongst the majority of missionaries... that prior to the advent of Christian missionaries there was little, if any, religion among the native peoples" (1984: 122).
the music acts as a catalyst for many traditions: A Protestant hymn may be sung at a Dogrib Roman Catholic service in Chipewyan (the most frequently used language for hymn translations among the Dene) (Keillor 1987).

Among the Iroquois, the Jesuits had trouble trying to enforce a wholesale acceptance of their religion and music, because the Iroquois wanted to use the white religion on their own terms. "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" (Grabell 1990: 96). So while the Jesuits viewed Native healing songs as satanic howling, the Wendat (and Iroquois) viewed Jesuit singing as a powerful intonation of a new type of spirit society. The Jesuits were often asked to pray at Native healing ceremonies, and Natives would use traditional invocations during Christian services (1990: 96-97).

A new music grew from the meetings of Natives and missionaries. Christianity, and Christian hymns, "...did not replace traditional 'religious' practices but rather merged in various ways with them. ...More syncretism has probably occurred in this domain of Native culture than in any other" (Cavanagh 1987: 45). This can be seen in the contemporary Migmag and Iroquois practice of singing hymns at the Feast of the Dead - Christian hymns used as part of a traditional

17Most of the Jesuits early work was done with the Wendat, also the Innus. The Wendat are related linguistically, culturally and familialy to members of the Iroquois Confederacy, although they never joined. Their early contact and alliance with the French is thought to be one source of their later decimation through disease and warfare. Their worldview and traditions, and their experiences with the church, are linked to those of the Iroquois, so I examine these groups together here. For more on this relationship, see Sioui 1992: 39-60.

18There is no word for "religion" or "spirituality" among Anishnabek and Iroquois languages, as these elements are part of everything in everyday existence. The division of life into areas of "religion," "economy," "politics" and "culture" reflect the segmented thinking of Europeans. An "old Cree Indian from Northern Québec" once said to Will Peltier: "What is culture anyway? We are a way of life" (Peltier na: 4).
Native practice. Beaudry has noted how today's Dene Drum Dance songs are a combination of the old medicine song style and Christian doctrine; the songs are revealed by "angels" to "prophets," and the expression that is constantly used ("yak'e gotine") means "people from heaven" or "angels" (1992: 85-86). So although some Native people accepted a complete "conversion" to the Christian doctrine, many more made selective use of the mission religions - and music:

Music was an important part of the Dene's lives, ...particularly in relation to the acquisition of spiritual power. It is not surprising, then, that they so readily accepted the use of music in European religion. What is particularly interesting, however, is the fact that the Natives were not always convinced of the power or utility of those foreign hymns. In 1886 Emile Petilot recorded a conversation with one man who proposed faith in the Trinity, Jesus Christ, Mary, and the Saints but rejected Christian hymns, preferring instead a traditional Dene chant of two syllables that he believed had been revealed by God to a sick person (Abel 1993: 133).

Musical syncretism has occurred, as described above, and parallel traditions have also evolved, each reflective of the other. Cavanagh (1992) points out that the Six Nations Mohawk Singers are now a Christian counterpart to more traditional social dance groups on the reserve, and today singers such as the Ojibwe Esau Mitchell, with his tape Sounds of O'Jibwe Country Gospel, are part of a Christian answer to the Midewiwin.10

Still, there was never a wholesale adoption of Christian music in Native

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10The Midewiwin (one translation is "mystic doings" (Johnston 1982: 95); another is "the society of good hearted ones" from the Ojibwe "mino" (good) and "dewewin" (hearted)) are the medicine or healing society of the Anishnabe. They are the keepers of spiritual traditions, objects such as drums and medicine bundles, and are teachers. The Midewiwin have recorded much information (including stories, ceremonies and songs) on birchbark scrolls over the centuries. Most are still in safekeeping, but many are held at museums. Dewdney shows and describes some song scrolls with references to medicines and animal spirits in Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibway (1975: 5, 141, 146, 155) For more information on the Midewiwin, see Kallmann and Potvin 1992: 92, Kohl 1985, Landes 1988 and Vecsey 1983. Also see Carol Devens' Countering Colonization, which argues that the Midewiwin, once a lodge of women healers, has evolved into a male dominated hierarchy through colonization. Any written sources about the Midewiwin should be read with caution; most things can not be written as these teachings live only through oral tradition, and much that is written can be misleading as it has been "extracted" from an ongoing process and then codified.
communities. One reason is the technical difference in music shown above; another is the vast difference in perspective between an oral and aural culture that lives through sound, and a linear analytical culture that tries to write it down.

Although Natives overcame the differences between traditional singing styles and those of the Europeans and adopted missionaries' songs, they did it largely on their own terms. The Native view of songs as spiritual communication remains, and hybrid examples such as the ones above show that Native singing styles persisted through the era of missionization.  

Instruments and the Drum

Native languages do not have a term corresponding to Western "music;" the drum, flute, whistle and other instruments are simply a part of life. Almost all  

21 Elaine Keillor notes how examples such as "Crees using a hymn to calm turbulent waters... a Dene drummer performing a 'prayer song' modelled on the traditional medicine song within a Mass" and others by the Migmag, Mohawk and Innu peoples "all indicate that Christian hymnody is functioning in a manner parallel to the music of aboriginal parent cultures. Such music has come to be regarded as 'Native' by the peoples themselves..." (Keillor 1995: 111).

22 The drum was given by creation to the Native people, so has always existed here in many forms. For pictures and descriptions of various drums and other instruments in the Eastern Woodlands, see Diamond, Cronk and von Rosen 1995.

23 Like the drum, the flute is an instrument of many shapes and sizes. The Eastern Woodlands people and certain of the Plains people use an end-blown flute with an external wood block, as do some people in the South. This instrument is unique to Turtle Island (see Conion 1983).

24 Western and Plains people sometimes used the Eagle Whistle, made from eagle bone - but it is not used melodically like the flute, rather as an invocation for spiritual purposes. The eagle bone whistle is a sacred instrument which is now widely dispersed throughout North America; it is very much in use today. Another instrument used exclusively in ceremony is the bone rasp, used by medicine people. One use is "in funerary ceremonies by the Aztecs and Tarascans" (Stevenson 1973: 425). People on the Pacific Coast have more complex, two or three note whistles and trumpets which are illustrated in Niblack 1971: 329-332, and also reed instruments
social gatherings revolve around the drum, be it a water drum24 (used for spiritual and teaching purposes or social dancing), the large Plains drum (always central to powwows, and now featured regularly on Parliament Hill), or hand drums of various shapes and sizes, found throughout Turtle Island.

The making of music (being spiritual, holistic and kinetic) is part of being Native. Native people were impressed by, and receptive to, the first European instrumental musical encounters. The first written account is from Jacques Cartier's journal, of a meeting in 1535 when Cartier ordered trumpets and other instruments to be played, "much to the delight" of Natives present (Kallmann 1960: 8). The Natives did not know, of course, that the trumpets were related to the military.25

European colonizers strove, using their military and clergy, to impose their musical system while suppressing Native expressions. The military arm of the colonization process outlawed instruments (such as the drum among the Mi'gmaq) and musical gatherings such as the potlatch on the West Coast in 1884 and sun dances of the Plains in 1895 (Dickason 1992: 286-287). The clergy, largely Jesuit, Oblate or Protestant missionaries, worked to suppress Native spiritual and healing musics (such as music in Mide ceremonies and among Iroquois healers), and sought to replace Native music with Christian singing styles, harmonies, and Western instruments.26

(See Galpin 1903).

24 This instrument is "unique to North America," and is used primarily by the Iroquois, Cherokee, Creek, Apache, Navajo and Dene as far North as the Northwest Territories (often as part of peyote ceremonies of the Native American Church). (Heth 1994: 35). The Midewiwin (Ojibwe) also use the "Small Boy" water drum.

25 The strident and regimented music of European and American warfare is contrasted with the ritual music and ceremonies of tribal warfare in "Warfare and Games" (Boiles 1978: 173-189).

26 A poignant reminder of this process is in the following description from the Annotated Bibliography of Written and Recorded Documentation of First Nations Music
The Inuit of the East Coast were quick to adopt Western songs and instruments from the time of first contact with whalers in the mid-1700s, to the point where Inuit fiddlers and accordion players are today the keepers of Irish and Scottish folk traditions such as the jig and reel - with an Inuit twist. Traditional frame drums are no longer used in some communities, and the drum dance is considered "heathen" by many. Replacing these expressions are four-part hymn singing, brass bands and modern popular musics such as country and western. German Moravian missionaries in the area "...placed so much emphasis on the musical life of the Inuit that musical skills such as singing in four-part harmony and the playing of brass and stringed instruments became identifying features of the Labrador Inuit and differentiated this group of Inuit from other groups" (Lutz 1982: 50-52).

In this case, traditional Inuit melodies, phrasing structures and vocal characteristics have also altered the Moravian music: Performances are judged by the Inuit for their spiritual efficacy, not Western accuracy, and:

"...the Inuit are beginning to view Moravian music from a new perspective which
the European can never understand. Perhaps they are combining the continuity which
Moravian music represents for them with new criteria for utilizing this music based more
on the values embodied in their traditional music rather than the rules imposed by Europeans on European music. A rediscovery of their traditional music combined with a new perspective on borrowed music may result in totally new areas of musical development for the Labrador Inuit” (Lutz 1982: 26).

As with the Inuit, European musical instruments and styles (such as the military music that led to the brass band) changed Native ideas about music. European instruments had begun to sound alongside indigenous Native instruments, which include the hand drum, water drum, the tortoise-shell shaker, percussion instruments made from sticks, hide and bark, and the flute. The drum is almost always linked to song; shakers, rattles and whistles can be used alone or as percussive instruments to provide a rhythmic stratum for the vocal melody.

European melodic instruments such as the fiddle and organ were introduced by missionaries to teach European notated music to Natives in the East in the 1600s. A 1640 report from the Ursuline nuns at Québec notes that a Huron student named Agnes "has made great progress in the knowledge of the mysteries of the faith... as in playing the viol" (McGee 1985: 15).

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28When you shake this, the whole of creation gets moved around, or shaken up. That is why it is called a shaker, not a rattle. (Communication from Midewiwin elder). Other people use the term rattle, and Arthur Smith of Maniwaki (see Appendix C) uses the term "rattler" for the instruments he makes. John Mohawk uses the term "turtle rattles" (Mohawk 1994: 43). I will use these terms interchangeably, depending on the territory or person being described.

29This is not really accompaniment, as the "rhythmic line" of a song does not necessarily follow the same rhythmic organization or pulse of the vocal line in Native song. This can often be seen in healing songs or songs used in shake tent ceremonies.

30Helmut Kallmann provides a detailed account of early music instruction of Native and non-Native people at Québec in A History of Music in Canada 1535-1914 (1960: 8-20). Musical instruction of Native children is documented as early as 1630s, as part of a system of choirs and boarding schools. "French and Indian children at Québec City" were taught to play lutes, guitars (see Chapter Two - Guitar Players and Storytellers), German transverse flutes, viola and violin, and drums, fifes and trumpets (Kallmann 1988: 1418). The organ possibly sounded in Québec as early as 1657. Also see McGee 1985.
Traders and other visitors also introduced folk songs and accompanying instruments. Thomas Vennum Jr. has noted that as early as 1636 the French described Natives singing "the songs of French fur traders living among them," and by the mid-1600s traders travelled into Iroquois territory with folk instruments - things that would "make the wood talk" (1992: 84).

By the mid-1800s in the West: "...the Grey Nuns at Providence had a harmonium, William Spendlove played the concertina at Fort Simpson, while Charlotte Bompass played the harmonium 'to the great delight and astonishment' of the Fort Norman people" (Abel 1993: 133). Witmer (1982: 91-95) relates that European instrumental music instruction, and participation in brass bands, were a big part of the education provided to the Blood, Blackfoot, Stoney and Piegan nations in Alberta in the late 1800s. Some of the first Native brass bands were in Iroquois country. The Tuscarora or Six Nations Band was formed in 1851, the Grand River Mohawk Band was formed in 1862, and in 1882 cornet player Mark Martin from Six Nations travelled to England with the Salvation Army Band (Jamieson 1942: 29). Brass bands and instrumental music were used in an attempt to assimilate Natives:

Everywhere we can read of the extraordinary musical talent of "natives," who are able to learn Western music with little effort. We see the large ensemble and the concept of functional harmony introduced as hallmarks of Western music, idealized and imitated. And we can imagine Europeans and Americans introducing their military style, hear them saying, in effect, "You cannot have an effective military machine without our band", and perhaps also implying, "You cannot enter the Christian kingdom of God without Westernstyle hymns harmonized in major and minor (Netti 1985: 11-12)

Although many Natives would take up European-derived instruments, prophets were warning against adoption of non-Native devices and social habits. In Iroquois territory, the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake proscribed against liquor and the playing of the fiddle, two things that were destroying the spiritual and social fabric of the Iroquois Confederacy. The fiddle, as will be shown in Chapter Two,
was the instrument most widely adopted by Native people. Traditional leaders saw the fiddle and its effects (such as the socialization of people away from traditional gatherings and ceremonies in favour of square dancing and drinking parties) as being destructive.

Europeans tried to obliterate the drum and other Native instruments, but most Natives today will say that the drum was simply hidden from the colonizers. As the heartbeat of Native peoples, the drum is more than an instrument, and continues its survival as a link to creation. Although fascinated by European instruments, Native society was slow to adopt them and only began participating widely in European-style instrumental music in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as will be described in Chapter Two. The hymns and instrumental instruction that were part of the earlier missionization process were resisted from the first, due to differences in worldview that will be explored in the next several sections.

Two Teachings: Dreams Vs. Doctrine

In 1492, America became the meeting-ground of what were then the two most widely opposed ideologies on earth. Once there was contact with Europeans, Amerindians - because of their circular, non-evolutionist vision - saw the others as humans whose culture was undergoing degeneration and needed to be regenerated, while Europeans, because of their linear and evolutionist vision, saw Amerindians as a backward human type that must at all costs be forced into the European process of evolution and development (Sioui 1992: 100).

Natives traditionally do things in a circular fashion, and see the universe as a circular and inclusive entity. The European construct (at least from the development of the printing press in the mid-1500s) is linear, and Europeans saw the universe as progressing in a line from beginning to end. The Native way of doing things is circular because the "power of the universe acts according to circles and all things tend to be round," the Native symbol of life and understanding is the circle, "wherein all beings, material and immaterial, are equal and interdependent" (Sioui 1992: 8). The European symbol, the cross, signifies a disassociation of
people from the God and the spirit world (which can be regained through salvation), and also a beginning and end to the universe. This divided view of existence is contrasted by the statement attributed to Chief Seattle:

Whatever befalls the Earth befalls the sons of the Earth. Man did not weave the web of life. He is merely a strand in it, and whatever he does to the web, he does to himself. The Earth does not belong to man; man belongs to the Earth. This we know: (for) all things are connected, like the blood that unites one family.

European attitudes were shaped by social subjugation, class differences and male supremacy, and the European model of life imported by the Jesuits and other missionaries in Canada was strictly hierarchical and exclusive.31 By contrast the Iroquois are a consensual society, with institutions designed to integrate knowledge and customs from other peoples.32 The Iroquois accepted the dances, customs and ceremonies of all of their member nations. The print version of the Great Law of the Iroquois states that: "The rites and festivals of each nation shall remain undisturbed..." (Parker 1991: 56).

The Iroquois also accepted the dreams, visions and beliefs of individuals, and promoted each individual's responsibility for one's own life and relations with the natural world. On a personal and social level, differences were recognized and

31 Frideres notes that "A basis for some of the irreconcilable differences that exist between Natives and non-Natives" can be found in "the liberal political philosophy of Rousseau, Locke and Hobbes, which stressed that individual self interest should take precedence over group rights," and that "a state apparatus was created" to support these self interests (as part of the common good) (1993: 265), as opposed to collectivity as among Natives. Churches today are beginning to acknowledge these differences, and are now trying to incorporate Native perspectives. See Appendix H - Three Apologies in Canada.

32 Hlawatha was the lawgiver who helped Dekinawide "establish the Great Peace." Dekinawide planted the "Tree of the Great Peace" and said that "Roots have spread out of the Tree of the Great Peace, and the name of these roots is the Great White Roots of Peace. If any man of any nation outside the Five Nations shall show a desire to obey the laws of the Great Peace, they may trace the roots to their source and they shall be welcomed to take shelter beneath the Tree of the Long Leaves" (in Parker 1991: 8-9). The Great Law was given to the Onkwehonwe sometime around 1390 (1991: 61).
celebrated. Unlike the Europeans, Natives "do not see history as a meaning that humans can confer on life; for them, the sense of life is, instead, the liberty of every being" (Sioui 1992: 23). This perspective was not entertained by the monarchies of Europe at the time of contact, but was adopted later on (in principle at least) by the founding fathers of democracy in the U.S.

Eventually the Iroquois sought to incorporate Jesuit practices, at least those in keeping with their own ceremonies, but problems were caused by Christian converts' adoption of rigid behavioral and moral codes - these were exclusive, hierarchical and Intolerant of the customs of the Confederacy. This undermined values such as openness, respect and sharing which are fundamental values for the Iroquois and Anishnabek peoples (Grabel 1990: 100-103). Speaking of the Anishnabek in 1854, the German explorer Johann Kohl wrote:

As long as a man has anything, according to the moral law of the Indians, he must share it with those who want... They are almost communists, and hence there are no rich men among them... Their chiefs and warriors...bestow all their gains on their followers (1860/1985: 66).

In his book *Stone Age Economics*, Marshall Sahlins examines the economic and social systems of Aboriginal peoples. He shows that in hunting societies ("The Original Affluent Society"), "economy" is a relation between means and ends, but without "this entrepreneurial and individualistic conception of the economic object" brought by the colonizers. He lists economy as an object of shared culture and religion in "primitive" society; rather than the "need-serving activity of individuals" (1972: xi-xlii). Through examples of systems of reciprocity, he shows that people such as the Plains Cree, Blackfoot and Comanche were governed by the impulse to give, rather than take. "Influence rested on generous dispositions of horses, of loot, of meat, of help to the poor and the widowed;" so chiefs would remain poor, as any property acquired would be given away to rich and poor alike, until a time of need arose and wealthier families might be called upon (1972: 254-255). Sahlins bases his observations on the work of anthropologists, dating from the mid-1800s
to the 1940s. Some further differences between Native and European or Western values are outlined in Table 2; they are still relevant today although "both value systems are in a state of flux and neither is as straightforward as it appears" (Friederich 1993: 268).

Table 2 - Differences Between Native and White Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Native values</th>
<th>Mainstream (White) Values</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group emphasis</td>
<td>Individual emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperation (concern with group and creation)</td>
<td>Competition (self-concern)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present oriented</td>
<td>Future oriented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-awareness or emphasis on time</td>
<td>Awareness of time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (respect for Elders)</td>
<td>Youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmony with nature</td>
<td>Conquest of nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving, sharing (barter system)</td>
<td>Saving (capitalist currency system)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical</td>
<td>Theoretical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patience</td>
<td>Impatience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended family, space designed for group activities, youth and adults together.</td>
<td>Immediate family, space designed for separation and privacy, youth and adults apart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-materialistic (goods produced for use, subsistence)</td>
<td>Materialistic (goods produced for sale, profit, economic growth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modest</td>
<td>Overstates (over-confident)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quiet</td>
<td>Loud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for other religions</td>
<td>Converts others to own religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion (spirituality) a way of life</td>
<td>Religion a segment of life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(The drum and song a way of life)</td>
<td>(Music a segment of &quot;culture&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land, water, forests and other resources belong to all, and to be used reasonably</td>
<td>Land, water, forests and other resources belong to the private domain, and are used in a greedy manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution of resources, equality</td>
<td>Wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matriarchal lineage</td>
<td>Patrilineage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consensus, face-to-face government (one person one voice in consensual process)</td>
<td>Representative democracy (one person one vote in hierarchical system)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decentralized, local power</td>
<td>Centralized authority</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These Native ways were so different from European and Christian social concepts that missionaries had trouble translating their teachings into Native languages. In 1640, speaking of the Wendat, the Jesuit Father Laflamme observed that:

...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 Kingdom, Kings, and their majesty;... The grounds for credence, taken from the fulfillment 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)\textsuperscript{33}

Rather than wholesale acceptance of Christianity, some Natives tried to borrow teachings that would complement, rather than contradict, their own traditions. Speaking of the 1600s, Robin Grabell writes:

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 (1990: 103).

There were fervent Christian converts, however, who would abstain from time-honoured rituals, customs, and the sharing which is the basis of traditional survival. Their actions weakened nations and alliances such as the Iroquois Confederacy. Fragmentation of society, and erosion of beliefs and institutions, inevitably followed. The Wendat were among the first to succumb to the religious and economic confusion brought by the colonizers:

\textsuperscript{33} See Appendix G.

\textsuperscript{34} I will be referring to The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents - Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791. This edition, edited by R.C. Thwaites, is in 73 Volumes. Hereinafter noted as JR.
Huron society was divided. Most of the older Huron leaders died from the (smallpox) epidemic (of 1634-1640). After the disease was over, Huron society became divided into numerous factions. There was a traditional faction, a Christian faction, a faction that wanted to continue trade with the Europeans, and a faction that wanted nothing to do with trade. Crippled by disease and divided by factions, the Huron were not strong enough to fight the Five Nations (Blanchard 1980: 141).

In her book *Countering Colonization*, Devens shows how the colonizing process also undermined Native social structure by reorganizing relationships between the sexes. The Jesuits promoted a male dominated nuclear family, which was unnatural to Natives who lived in extended family groups and who were used to women sharing in the socioeconomic and spiritual life of the group. Traditionally, women had public lives and councils - as did the men. The missionaries and traders favoured "the productive activities of native men" while often ignoring women altogether.\(^{35}\) As the men moved from "subsistence hunters to fur traders" and capitalist conditions on reserves replaced natural migratory and social patterns including "communal relations," the extended family disintegrated (Devens 1992: 4; 28).\(^{36}\)

Women were not fit to rule in the European Christian framework, and so the matrilineal and matrifocal (meaning the inclusion of women in the governing process) nature of Native society was also weakened. Karen Anderson discusses how, in the *Jesuit Relations*, women are classified either as "non-converts, who are

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\(^{35}\) The role of women in pre-contact societies has often been misunderstood. Devens shows how a late 19th-century "invented tradition of male supremacy" described by Ruth Landes and A. Irving Hallowell among the Southern Ojibwe is a colonial phenomenon, and how studies by Diamond Jenness, Frank Speck, Frances Densmore and Eleanor Leacock with the more isolated Northern Ojibwe and Montagnais-Naskapi (Innu) show that women also hunted, dreamed of game, danced, drummed and sang before the white influence took over (Devens 1992: 114-121). Diamond-Cavanagh with "the feminist anthropological critique" argues that "the Jesuits undermined the strength of the extended family and greatly undermined the role of women" (1992: 382). Also see Cavanagh 1985, 1989.

\(^{36}\) "Integration into an economy based on production for exchange rather than for use, instead of providing for greater security, introduced new variables that had a destabilizing effect on Amerindian ways of life" (Dickason 1992: 203).
lewd, unnatural seductresses" or "chaste, innocent women and girls who had embraced Christianity and who were now compliant and fearful" (Anderson 1991: 89). In either case, their traditional role as partner in the consensual governing circle was diminished. The inclusive (circular) nature of Native society was damaged.

The European worldview labelled people as good or bad, and organized society into submissive or dominant. "Bad" behaviour (that is, not responding to authority) was to be punished. Within 30 years of first contact with the Jesuits, Wendat and Innu went from being a consensual, egalitarian people to a "hierarchical" and "self-policing" group that began meting punishment on its own children, women and men. "Women were especially singled out for surveillance and punishment on the grounds that they posed the greatest potential threat to the collective well-being," as they were now instruments of the Devil (Anderson 1991: 96-98).

Missionization began with the Migmag, Innu, Wendat and Iroquois in the 1600s, and spread to Algonquin and Ojibwe through the 1700s, reaching the Cree and Dene in the West and Cree in the North some 100 years later. In the 1800s, the Oblate missionaries and Protestant groups such as the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries worked with the traders on a new North American colonizing imperative that took in the whole of the Great Lakes area as far North as James Bay (Devens 1992: 45-46), and continued into Western Canada.

Men, including medicine people trying to preserve their status, would adopt trappings of the Christian religious and economic system while the women "declined conversion and instead stressed the importance of older rituals and practices." Confrontations escalated as the women "scorned priests and converts alike for flouting tradition." Some Iroquois and Ojibwe women "had little patience for Christians who threatened eternal damnation to those who clung to heathen practices" (Devens 1992: 22). Whether men or women complied with missionaries' efforts, however, the "evangelization of Huronia (and many other areas) was
destined never to be completed. This mirrored the general picture in New France: "evangelism produced a few religious vocations among Amerindian women" (Dickason 1992: 127), and almost none among the men.\(^{37}\)

Missionization was a powerful tool for colonization and assimilation, yet the erosion of tradition was not complete. Although surrounded by Christian institutions and teachings, Natives still kept their own spiritual leaders and individual beliefs, hidden from white eyes. While it has been argued that "White colonizers destroyed the Natives' political, economic, kinship and, in most cases, religious systems" (Fridères 1993: 4) (emphasis mine), the continuance of traditional teachings and Native worldview by many elders gave Native people the strength to survive this process.\(^{38}\) Dickason notes how in the late 1600s, "the Iroquois had managed to keep their confederacy intact in the face of disasters (war losses, disease, starvation and desertion to Catholic missions)\(^{39}\) and despite the relentless

\(^{37}\)These "converts" were often acting for the Native people. "By the 1830s the category of 'Noble Savage' included Indian missionaries trained to act as translators and teachers. Their writings attempted to raise the awareness of the whites on both sides of the ocean to the realities of Indian life" (MacDonald 1993: 31). George Copway, an Ojibwe Methodist missionary, published *Recollections of a Forest Life* in 1851. Rev. Peter Jones, a Mississauga Ojibwe also trained as a Methodist minister, lectured in New England and Britain, where he was presented to King William in 1832. He wrote: "Oh, what an awful account at the day of judgement must the unprincipled white man give, who has been an agent of Satan in the extermination of the original proprietors of the American soil!" (in 1993: 31). The first Native priest to be ordained was probably Abbé Prosper Vincent in 1870, a Wendat who was also an informant of Marius Barbeau. Date from liner notes for Francois Kowarini and Claude Vincent's album *Huron Ritual Songs*.

\(^{38}\)This is my understanding from many of the people I have spoken with. Through the darkest times of the last 500 years, there have always been teachers and elders to remind the people of the old ways.

\(^{39}\)The Iroquois War of 1609-1701 was largely fought over trade competition (among Native nations and the English, French and Dutch) and to maintain Iroquois territory in the face of European incursions. At this time the Iroquois were surrounded by the French and their allies, which included the Wendat and Algonquin. the Atthwandaron (Neutrals), the Erie and Susquehannocks. Between 1689 and 1698, it is estimated the Iroquois lost half their fighting forces (Dickason 1992: 149-156). Around this time "the Five Nations suffered mass defections" to Jesuit missions, and during the 1690s "fully two-thirds of the Mohawk decamped for the two French missions around Montreal" (1992: 156).
pressures of European settlement." Iroquois society was changing, and the communal traditional Longhouse dwelling was abandoned for single family units. "Nevertheless, the Iroquois identity remained strong" (1992: 155), and the Longhouse teachings survived.

Although many trappings of Protestant and Roman Catholic faiths were adopted during the period of early colonization, and many complete conversions took place, some Christian precepts went against traditional Native teachings, and are resisted to this day. The idea of Original Sin and the consequent moral affect of Christian teachings goes against Native understanding, which shows that individuals are good, when they are in touch with themselves and the natural world around them (dynamic self-esteem).

A ...reason the Natives (The Dene in the mid-1800s) began to reject the mission teaching involved a fundamental difference in philosophy. The Anglicans in particular based their appeal on the belief that man was sinful by nature and could be saved only by faith through the propitiation of Jesus Christ. The Dene, while they might believe that breaking moral laws could result in punishment, could never be convinced that they were fundamentally bad (Abel 1993: 123).

American feminist and author Paula Gunn Allen explains it this way:

The American Indian universe is based on dynamic self-esteem, while the Christian universe is based primarily on a sense of separation and loss. For the American Indian, the ability of all creatures to share in the process of ongoing creation makes all things sacred (1992: 57).

The belief in each individual's integrity has to do with the personal relationship each has with creation. While the missionaries would promote the Bible as the link to God (the Creator), Natives had more personal, and direct, communication through their relationship with the natural world around them - part missions around Montreal" (1992: 156).
of ongoing creation. Communication is often through dreams and visions, which are fundamental to Native understanding. Dreams, trances and visions are linked, in that one may dream while partially awake, or have a vision in one's sleep. There are many beliefs and procedures associated with dreams, including fasting, sleeping to dream, offering gifts for information and accepting the obligations imposed by spirits, particularly one's guardian spirit.40

A Jungian psychologist might see this as a way of living with the collective unconscious in the conscious realm, a way of uniting the divided self, but the Jesuits saw it as superstition. They also realized it was a fundamental worldview that separated them from their hosts. In 1655, speaking of the Iroquois, they wrote:

Dreams form one of the chief hindrances to their Conversion; and to these they are so attached that they attribute to them all their past great successes... Now, as they well know that the belief in dreams is incompatible with the Faith, they become even more obstinate; especially, as they are aware of the fact that, the moment the Hurons received the Faith and abandoned their dreams, their ruin began, and their whole Country has ever since been declining to its final total destruction (JR 42: 135).

For the Native, the power of dreams is to show the way through the world and to keep in touch with the intuitive; conversely the Christian religions promote control of the world and human actions in it through a bookish construct of logical, conscious thought:

The Will assumes ethical overtones. The Euro-American feels culturally and ethically obligated to establish purposive direction or promote extension of control in the universe. All motion, all activity, must be purposeful and should have an aim. In Western thought, the impetus is to believe that life means struggling, overcoming, winning, despite all obstacles (Herndon 1982: 69).

Rather than control nature, Natives seek to understand its teachings, and those of their own spirit, which is part of nature. The Jesuits make many references

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to dreams and their power among the Iroquois. A telling one is the description in 1656 of "Honnonouaroria" (JR 42: 155-169), in which the Iroquois spend days imparting their dreams to each other in pantomimes and riddles, so that each might have their dream guessed and fulfilled by an object or action. This is part of the Midwinter Festival, and is a healing ceremony. Although health problems can be caused by natural process, they are often caused by an unrecognized or unfulfilled need of the individual's spirit, which dreams can reveal.

Both dreams and songs are credited by the Jesuits for physical cures, for an inspired worldview that lead to "proper" moral action, and even, paradoxically, for some conversions to the faith. Diamond-Cavanagh writes of "Christian hymns received in dreams" by the Algonquin (1992: 383) and in the 1600s a Jesuit priest wrote that:

...a young girl, upon whose mind his exhortations had no effect, was converted by a dream, which she says, showed her in Heaven the truth of what we preach to them (JR 43: 287).

Today, the worldview linked to dreams is still intact. Referring to a dream I

41 See Appendix D for further references. Use of dreams is not limited to the Iroquois of course; Diamond-Cavanagh also refers to this among the Algonquin (above) and elders today from different traditions all use dreams to teach and to learn.

42 For further descriptions of this practice, see Grabell: 84-87, and Sagard: 202-03. This practice, as a part of the Midwinter Festival held by the Seneca, is also described in William Fenton’s The False Faces of the Iroquois, pp. 363-379.

43 Parallel concepts of enacting the symbolism or spiritual links in dreams once also occurred during Midwinter festivals in Europe. Calendric rites such as mumming plays where “Goats, black devils, culture heroes and fertility goddesses cavort,“ were part of the pre-Christian "weather magic of ancient Indo-European cultures... As an act of ritual magic, the mumming play functions mimetically, causing that which is enacted by humans to become fact in the universe of the deities..." (Boës 1978: 34-37).
had described, a Haudenosaunee from the Seneca Nation told me:

I don’t know what to tell you about your dreams... they are very personal, and convey a message - either from the Great Spirit, or from another spirit. You must ask the Great Spirit for guidance in understanding the dream... the Great Spirit will probably send another dream to help you understand. Dreams have limitations - i.e. they are influenced by stress, or problems. They are the doorway to your own fears, joys, and YOUR spirit. It is also the gateway to the spirit world, which your spirit is a part of.

Sound / Intuitive / Space Vs. Print / Linear / Time

Midewiwin can mean the "good sound all around;" Algonquin and other people use sound and song to communicate with animal spirits. Native life and ceremony is built on sound - whether it be the drum, shakers and rattles, bells or jingles, the flute, or a storyteller’s voice. Native understanding is aural and oral - music is learned by ear, stories are remembered, dances and outfits are created through teachings and visions. And all of these things are created to work with the natural world, to be in tune with Creation or the Creator or Great Spirit (Kitchi Manitou), and to work with spirits of the natural world. Native identity is rooted in the land, and in songs and stories about the land. "The relationship of sound and spiritual power is not a new issue with respect to native North America" (Beaudry 1992: 72); and stories and songs bring myths to life. These myths are part of the continuance of Creation:

44 These are Iroquois Longhouse people - keepers of traditional ceremonies and teachings.

45 A non-Native’s voyage into the world of ritual and spirits is described in The Orders of the Dreamed. George Nelson was an Anglo-Canadian fur trader in the early 1800s, who kept a journal of his insights into the spiritual life of Cree and Ojibwe people in the Northern part of what is now Manitoba, Ontario and Québec. He describes the shake tent ceremony, in which spirits are brought down to communicate with the attending people. His descriptions of the lodge, the shaman and his rattle, and the spirits are detailed and descriptive, although Eurocentric and ambitious, in that these things can not be written down, or encompassed in a linear discourse.
Recent studies have emphasized the solid basis of these mythologies (such as Manitou and Trickster) in natural phenomena. Amerindians and Inuit perceived the universe as an intricate meshing of personalized powers great and small, beneficial and dangerous, whose equilibrium was based on reciprocity (Dickason 1992: 80).

Europeans brought the Bible and other books, and a way of looking at the world through books as something separate from people. They brought the idea of a world with a beginning and end (like a book) and introduced linear and segmented thinking to a people who were used to seeing the whole of things. "For native peoples, human beings are at one with the universe and do not conceive of themselves as separate from 'nature' as we do within our own set of beliefs" (Beaudry 1992: 72-73).

The European arbitrary system of measuring time was very different to that of the Native people who reckoned time from the space around them, the earth and the stars. The unnatural and arbitrary timing systems of science and the church conflict with natural time, replacing thirteen moons of twenty-eight days each\(^{47}\) with twelve months of irregular lengths, and natural observable phenomena like the seasons with the artificial idea of hours, minutes and weeks.\(^{48}\)

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\(^{46}\)Friederes explains it this way: "We (Whites or Europeans) think in terms of minutes, hours or days. Implicit in this linear thinking is the view that time flows one way and cannot be made up. Linear thinking lends itself to singular thinking, (toward) values which imply 'one answer,' 'one way.'\(^{49}\) In contrast, the "cyclical" and "holistic" Native view "begins with the premise that everything is interrelated...it is a generalist perspective rather than a specialist one," and "there is no beginning, no end," rather repetitive and cyclical phases and patterns and since "all parts are interrelated, each part is equal to all the others" (1993: 239-270).

\(^{47}\)Iroquois Moons include the Green Corn, Strawberries, Midwinter and The Grandmother Brings Fertility to Women. Anishnabek Moons include the Little Bears, Crusted Snow, Strawberry and Wild Rice. For more on the Anishnabek moons see Stone 1993: 70-72.

\(^{48}\)We (Native people) didn't know the difference between the Sabbath and those other six days. For us, every day of the week was sacred. We didn't have any weeks. Just sunshine and darkness. The flow of time to meet appointments with warmth and cold. The flow of life...our lives through seasons of fullness and plenty...periods of

(continued...)
Native time is reckoned in terms of the thirteen lunar months of the solar year and the four seasons, hence celebrations for every moon and season. Native identity, knowledge and time is also centred on place. Wilf Peltier speaks of how one can never be "late" for anything, as we are always in the "right time" where we are and can only arrive when we are there in a place. We can be "over here" in the future or "over there" in the past, but we are always "on time" where we are with the world around us. Natural Native time, rooted in the place and space around, is lived in the way ceremonies and gatherings are conducted and individuals are nourished and hungry. (Peltier (Wawashkesh): 16). Today as well, "time does not control life (for Native people) as compared to Whites who seem to live by the clock" (Peltier 1975: 2).

Céline Bellefleur says that "knowledge for the Montagnais people is a place." Innu "read" their territory and the plants and animals in it like a book, they hear the "languages" of the animals (in Diamond, Cronk and von Rosen 1995: 8), and judge time by these and other connections with the land.

"My people never knew or had any position in life except the face of the earth - stretching away from them in all directions forever. And they lived there laterally - on one level with each other and all things. They looked up only to trees and eagles... By reading our own footprints we could always tell where we had come from. In fact, we had no future. In our language, the closest word we had to future was sort of an arc or circle. Our going was part of the arc of a circle. So was our coming" (Peltier (Wawashkesh): 11).

Norman Rosenthal, a researcher on Seasonal Affective Disorder (SAD) which is a depression brought about by the lack of daylight in winter, says that modern medical practitioners are beginning to re-discover the effects of the seasons (natural time) on people. For instance the observance of Christmas and Hanukkah is seasonal; a gathering at midwinter in the tradition of the Ancient Romans (Saturnalia) and also Native midwinter gatherings. "While older civilizations all viewed time as cyclical, a linear view of time has dominated (non-Native perspectives) since the 17th century, which is more in keeping with ideas about human progress." (Robin 1995: A1). "Unlike the future orientation of the 'Great Religions' tribal ideology emphasized that everything was good in its natural form - and should stay that way. For untold centuries the present was experienced as a continuation of the past, a perpetuation of the sacredness of life in all its manifestations" (Brasser 1987: 122).

So-called "Indian time" is sometimes used as a reference to "indifference to promptness," but actually it is based on an understanding of time which is often (continued...)
days are ordered.

In his book *Religion: An Anthropological View*, Wallace examines the efficacy of ritual for physical, mental and spiritual disorders. Ritual medicine, which involves observances of time and place in the natural world, along with singing, massage, dream interpretation and the use of the four medicines (tobacco, cedar, sage, and sweetgrass) can "increase or decrease stress, it can exacerbate or diminish the symptoms of emotional and/or physical disorder" and can act to ease "social conflict prompted by the emotional lesions left by traumatic child-rearing experiences." He sees the use of ritual as a way for hunters and other subsistence people to "reduce anxiety...in the face of uncertainty" (1966: 174-80).

This is a Western, scientific and psychological endorsement of ceremonies and their music. What it ignores is the Native understanding of the spirit that is in all things. That difference in perspective separates the white and red people today, and the way they create their songs.

**The Role of Songs**

Music and hymn singing were used by priests and missionaries as tools for conversion, but this use of Christian hymnody could only convert so many, and only so much. The Native view and use of music is different from that of the European and Christian. As explained by Marcia Herndon, music is not a discrete part of

(...continued)

linked at the tribal level to language and structure." On an individual basis, it is "a need not to be filled with activity... Indian people know how to sit still and enjoy things, how to look even when there is nothing to see. Indians feel no compulsion to fill time with words. Words should not be substituted for meaning." When words are used in ceremony or storytelling, "all time is fused into one, with no past, present and future. The same may be said of the dance at powwows." This view of time is also linked to the individual freedom of Native people, allowing for as much free time as possible for creation and realization of one's own potential, which is then shared with the group as part of each individual's "autonomy and responsibility" (Young 1981: 345-346).
Native life - it is more of a singing the world into being. Artists act as "executors and instruments of nature, to exert the will of nature upon the universe of time, space and motion." Thus, art is "utilitarian and pragmatic," based on models of natural order and social commonality (1982: 72-74). Native music is therefore process-oriented, and based on:

...the superiority of the phenomenal method, the method of gaining knowledge through the senses, through feelings, intuition, experience, and transcendental knowledge (such as songs)...Art in a society which emphasizes a state of "being" as the ideal functional role for human beings attempts to involve people in the behaviour patterns prescribed by Nature for phenomena in the universe... (Herndon 1982: 74).

Wilf Peltier explains that "each thing before being done was sung by a power song: fishing, hunting certain dangerous animals, travelling, fighting, canoeing. Ones with power which came through songs and dreams were the ones to lead the group, because as "they sing and dance and talk about their celebrations of knowledge, they are essentially telling the world into being... An unsung land is dead, and if the songs are forgotten the land itself will die." He explains that through songs and stories such as "The People of the Deer" and "Nanabozho" (which refers to a stone known as the Sleeping Giant in Thunder Bay) we "shape the world we live in" (1990: 11-12, 29).

An early attempt to understand Native music and its role in the world can be found in the following article entitled "North American Indians," from the 1911 Encyclopedia Britannica:

According to Miss Fletcher (Indian Story and Song, 1900; also Publ. Peab. Mus., 1893), "among the Indians music envelops like an atmosphere every religious tribal and

52 Wilf Peltier talks about the Native approach to realizing the world through naming and singing it into being in his essay "Telling the World into Being." He looks at the way the world, places and things in it are realized through naming and singing by Aborigines in Australia, as explored in Bruce Chatwin's The Songlines. Orpingalik, an Inuk from Repulse Bay, said in the early 1900s that "My breath" - that is what I call this song, for it is as necessary for me to sing as it is to breathe" (Anon. 1983: 4).
social ceremony, as well as every personal experience," and "there is not a phase of life that does not find expression in song." Music, too, is "the medium through which man holds communion with his soul and with the unseen powers which control his destiny." Music, in fact, "is coextensive with tribal life," and "every public ceremony as well as each important act in the career of an individual has its accompaniment of song." Moreover, "The music of each ceremony has its peculiar rhythm, so also have the classes of songs which pertain to individual acts: fasting and prayer, setting of traps, hunting, courtship, playing of games, facing and defying death."

Songs are viewed as a medium of change, and used to cure sickness, lessen stress and promote group cohesion. Songs can be used to call game or bring the spirits and myths of the land to the people. George Nelson wrote of the Cree and Ojibwe in 1823: "As far as I can learn, every different root, plant, herb, mineral, (animal) Spirit... have each their respective songs." These "familiars" can be called by song, can give songs, and can be called upon in time of sickness (Brown 1988: 58-59).

Native songs, like stories and legends, are also teachers of history, tradition and place - they help to bind communities. They are also expressions of the living earth and of the oral history taking place on it. Songs and stories emerge from the landscape, the history of a group of people in that place, their spiritual insight and

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53 From the CD-ROM The Indian Question. See Appendix A.

54 The effectiveness of healing medicine is usually dependent on song and the resultant power given to the healer and patient. See Brown 1988: 172-173, also statement by Rose Auger in Appendix C, and Appendix D. For an overview of the use of healing and music in Native societies around the world see "Music and Health" in Boëlle 1978: 147-171.

55 Among the Dene, the Drum Dance (sometimes called Te or Tl Dance, in which some dances may not be performed with drums) is an expression of shared values and histories. Drum Dances are held to greet visitors and returning community members, or to celebrate calendric events. "The ideal Drum Dance requires desire, competence, and a willingness to lay aside personal disputes in order to create a special world... in which the conflicts contained in daily social life are suspended for a moment" and a sense of community, kinship and history prevails (Asch 1998: 88-91).
their moral cautionary imagination.\textsuperscript{56} Music is of the natural and ritual world, and carries messages to and from the Great Spirit. It is part of the process of creation and is our link to that creation. Wilf Peltier says: "If you don't sing when you first wake, you will have a bad day" (1990: 5).

What most Caucasians have managed to isolate as an art ("singing"), Natives incorporate into their spacial/temporal worldview. Marcia Herndon writes that: "The organizing principles behind the arts of oral and kinesic logic and perspective derive from the predisposition of Indian societies toward pragmatic evaluation of the efficacy of ritual activity" (1982: 60).

The Western concepts of "god" and "song" are discrete in white mainstream culture today, but they are inextricably linked in Native tradition. The Christian hymns lacked efficacy; they were not related to the natural world.\textsuperscript{67} Cronk notes that there is no word for "music" in the North American Native languages, but more importantly:

Parallel concepts are expressed, such as 'giving voice to' or 'birth to' ideas or events, and 'standing up' or 'pouring out' a song. Such words convey a sense of motion, of involvement and participation rather than passive admiration (1990: 9).

The genre of Native music often referred to in English as "Personal Songs" indicates their integral role as being linked to the natural world. Among the Iroquois


\textsuperscript{57}Since embarking on the pathway of rationalism, many Western European cultures have forgotten how to affect ceremonial cures, lost the psychological programming or enculteration (needed to make) such cures possible" (Boëlle 1978: 147).
and other groups, a personal song may be given by the elders in a puberty rite or other ceremony, or may be found by the individual as part of a vision quest. This song is a direct communication from ancestors or animal (clan) spirits, and provides strength and health for the owner. A similar type of song is related to one's personal medicine, and is invested with the power of one's guardian spirit. This medicine and spirit are invoked with song as well.

Songs can also be used to communicate with the spirit of those passed away. During the Feast of the Dead, singers repeat the "cry of souls" to honour the dead and invoke their spirit. Also, the personal songs of the dead may be sung (Grabell 1990: 28-32). Added to these are individual and collective expressions for war, clan and naming songs, lullabies, and social songs, such as those used at today's powwows (which are related to the "singing feasts" that so astounded the Jesuits with their size and elaborateness) (Grabell 1990: 35-44).

Sacred songs, such as those used by the Midewiwin, come alive through the drum:

Only the drum possessed the special tones that would be suitable for the audience of the spirits. There was no sound, human or natural, to compare to it. What the drum imparted neither man nor woman could understand, for it transcended human comprehension, going beyond it in the form of an echo that could be heard only by spirits. It was a mystery, and therefore it was the best way for man to communicate with the spirit world. While he drummed, man chanted, so that his petitions were borne by the echo of the drum and transformed into the language of the spirits who dwelled above and below and beyond (Johnston 1982: 100).

Sacred songs and sounds were and are also created through rattles and shakers by people from many traditions. Algonquin "rattlers," deer-skin rattles of the Woodlands Cree people, and tortoise shell shakers used by Iroquois and

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58 For more about personal songs, and songs in dreams and visions among the Dene and Anishnabek, see Kallmann and Potvin 1992: 929 - 930.

58 Term from Arthur Smith of Kitigan Zibi (Maniwaki).
Ojibwe are all used to bring songs and spirits to the people.

All of these songs, and their realization of the world (rather than celebration in the Christian sense), are what stand between Natives and their wholesale adoption of the Western hymnody. The Native worldview is based on sound, a sense of place and the rhythms of the earth.

**Song of the Land East**

The typical Native American artwork applies models of natural behaviour to describe human behaviour. Since natural order is the highest form of order in the universe, art should abstract its models from the realm of Nature. In other words, the structure of art should reflect the natural hierarchy of species; it should simulate the natural scheme which governs the behaviour of phenomena in the universe (Herndon 1982: 87).

"Song of the Land" is featured on *Arctic Rose*, released by Susan Aglukark in 1992. The text speaks to a concern for the land that goes beyond stewardship; Natives traditionally have offered tobacco for the land's gifts. The identity of Native people is vested in giving back to the natural space and time of the land and its spirits. Songs and music are an expression of this identity.

In the early colonization process described in this chapter, Native identity began to change through the imposition of new social and musical systems. "Music is a significant symbol which may be manipulated in the creation and contestation of nationhood and identity (Diamond 1994: 16);" and through music Natives began experimenting with European styles, instruments and attitudes in trying to come to

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60 These directions are taken from the circle on page vi. One is given for each chapter, as each chapter and direction has a place in the circle, which represents stages of the colonization and de-colonization process. For more information on the significance of these directions see Appendix E.
grips with the onslaught of colonization. At the same time, the drum became muted and songs of the spirit and the land began to be transformed. The next chapters will explore how the Native song of the land changed because of encounters with Western music. This song has grown but still speaks to the earth, the spirit world and all of creation.

61 We have gone through the first three stages of Graburn's model, from "early contacts" to "initial economic relationships" to attempts at "structural incorporation" (through the church and the fur trade). Frideres points out that "during the nineteenth century, the Natives fell victim to conscious and unconscious genocide," and that "an ideology of inherent White superiority was introduced to justify White dominance and exploitation" (1993: 465). The next chapter introduces the fourth stage, "loss of initial economic relationship." As the fur trade continued to decline and industrialization grew through the 20th century; Natives began to experience "complete (economic) dependence, frustration due to uselessness and segregation, conspicuous deviance, apathy" and finally, the beginning of "social movements" (Graburn 1993: 4).
Chapter Two - Musical Expressions in the 20th Century

Introduction

This chapter will look at various types of contemporary Native music in order to examine how Native identity has survived. Today Natives are very much involved with country, bluegrass, rock and roll, gospel and other types of music. Technology and the media have made it impossible for anyone living on Turtle Island to ignore or escape contemporary mainstream music styles. Socially, culturally and musically, the 20th Century has been a period of full colonization, with assimilation and extermination policies in Canada and the U.S.

In Global Village terms however, the mainstream styles are just more for Native creators to draw from: "The First Nations have always had a tremendous ability to borrow, adapt and selectively reshape objects and ideas from other cultures; indeed, this would seem fundamental to their survival," Cronk wrote in his book The Sound of the Drum. These "borrowed" musics represent culture syncretism, rather than loss. These new musics are Native; they "are now part of Native tradition, handed down from generation to generation" (1990: 9-10).

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1 The Indian Act of 1876 (last revised in 1951) has as its fundamental purpose the assimilation of Natives, and through the 20th Century the Department of Indian Affairs assumed more and more control over the lives of Amerindians, until they did not have a free hand in even such personal matters as writing a will, or, in the West, selling their own grain or root crops (Dickason 1992: 284; 319). Gerald McMaster refers to this time as the "Reservation Period,' with implications of imprisonment and the extinguishing of religious and cultural freedom" (1993: 93). Frideres calls the "Indian reserve" today an "internal colony that is exploited by the dominant group in Canada." His colonization model consists of "forced-voluntary entry" by the colonizers, then "destruction of social and cultural structures of the indigenous group," followed by the "interrelated processes of external political control and Native economic dependence," the "provision of low-quality social services for colonized Natives," and lastly "racism" and "the establishment of a colour-line" (1993: 2-7). In terms of Gabor's 7-stage colonization cycle this chapter examines stages three through five, when economic relationships become institutionalized and the "indigenous society" becomes "structurally incorporated into the national and world system" and labour is divided by race leading the people "into benign neglect - also known as Welfare Colonialism" (1993: 5).
Natives have had a hard time making themselves heard by white mainstream culture. A lot of the music discussed in this chapter is regional and conservative in nature. Only recently have artists been successful on a national basis with original, strong and saleable music. Throughout the colonial period, well into the 20th century, the government sought to eradicate creative Native expression. The West Coast Potlach had been outlawed in 1884 and the thirst or Sun dance of the Plains in 1895; in 1914 there were new "prohibitions against Amerindians appearing in Aboriginal garb" and performing at fairs or stampedes in the Plains, and soon after Natives were forbidden to dance at all in any "garb" without prior written permission from the Department of Indian Affairs (Dickason 1992: 326). As for expressions of Western music, Natives were not allowed into bars and clubs (where most working

\[2\] Governments were not comfortable with any type of Native display. In the U.S., there were many shows that toured North America and Europe in the late 1800s, such as the 1880s' Pawnee Bill Historic Wild West Exhibition and Indian Encampment which featured eighty-four Natives, fifty Mexican and American cowboys, and thirty trappers, hunters and scouts. "In all of these shows, Indian performers had a chance to exchange ideas, songs and dances with members of other tribes, to see parts of the world they had never seen and to bring home to their tribes new ideas and activities." The U.S. government was opposed to these shows, as they were strengthening Native culture at a time when policy called for cultural genocide through "tightening opposition to Indian dances" and "Christianization and acculturation of Indians" (Young 1981: 177).

\[3\] One of the ways Natives got around this type of government suppression was through the arts and crafts industry. The Department of Indian Affairs (DIAND) has supported the production of crafts and artwork by Natives since the late nineteenth century, and in the 1920s began "organizing and supervising Indian exhibits at industrial and agricultural exhibitions." The object was to show that Natives were becoming good farmers and tradesmen, and they were encouraged to show their "civilized qualities" through their products and learn "competitiveness and motivation" (McMaster 1993: 95-98). Local promoters encouraged Natives to dress in traditional outfits for these shows, and sometimes dances and songs might break out. Duncan Campbell Scott (superintendent of Indian education for the Dominion) was outraged at these displays: "They come to the fairs when they should be on their farms... Our purpose in educating Indians is to make them forget their Native customs and become useful citizens of the Dominion... When it comes to encouraging them to act like uncivilized heathens I think it is time to draw the line" (in McMaster 1993: 96). The Canadian Handicraft Guild (created in Montreal in 1902) was instrumental in opposing DIAND and promoting Native expression through the 1930s and 40s, when it shifted its attention to the Inuit, but other interest groups continued the work (1993: 98-102).
bands get their start) until 1951 (Kallmann and Potvin 1992: 931-32).

Although marginalized, the music continued to grow on reserves, through regional Native broadcasting, through small distributing companies like Sunshine Records of Winnipeg, and through the moccasin telegraph. Some of it built on and remained true to Native tradition (like Intertribal drum music from the West), and some of it simply went the way of country and western or rock and roll, to the point where the sound became indistinguishable from non-Native artists. The music described in this chapter will demonstrate both roads.

Much of the background for chapters two and three is drawn from writings of academics and journalists, and from interviews with the artists themselves. The artists and their music are highly accessible. Native music is no longer marginal: The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), provincial and regional

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4 Through most of the 20th century Natives had been encouraged to become enfranchised and some were enfranchised against their will, as part of DIAND's policy under Duncan Campbell Scott "to continue until there is a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department" (in Dickason 1992: 327). Keilor argues that Natives did not make a strong musical presence including "their own versions of country songs" until the 1960s when "the government granted them citizenship and suffrage and began to abandon their assimilationist policy." She points out that it wasn't until after the Second World War when an estimated 6,000 Native veterans returned to their reserves and "organized to remove the restrictions and inequities" of assimilation policy that Natives were heard in government hearings regarding the Indian Act. "The revised Act of 1951 allowed bands... a measure of control over their own affairs," but Natives did not receive suffrage regardless of "status" until 1960. She goes on to note that "in a complete reversal of its policy during the previous seventy-three years, the Canadian Government requested performances by aboriginal dance groups for the centennial celebrations of 1967," which led to a revival of traditional music and dance (1995: 117-118).

5 I am now using this term to describe Natives of Western Canada, or the Plains. Whereas "the West" referred to European perspective in times of early colonization, in earlier chapters, I am now using the term in the more Native sense. Many drum groups come from the West, as do elders and healers.

6 It could be said that music which remains identifiable Native is going the way of the Red Road or good old way, and that music which just sounds like the mainstream has gone down the Black Road of assimilation and death (culturally speaking at least).
broadcasters such as TV Ontario and the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC), music video shows like MuchMusic and MTV, and Native, community and commercial radio stations all broadcast and highlight Native music and artists today. Artists are constantly touring; most have come through Ottawa in the past several years. This chapter describes the journey to the age of the Seventh Fire,7 coming through the colonizing influences of the 20th century and earlier.

**Gospel**

I was listening to Vicky Gabereau on the CBC one December afternoon in 1994, and on came "Hear Jerusalem Moan" in the middle of a Christmas show. "Here's Tom Jackson," she said, and played another cut from *Sally Ann*.8 She didn't identify him as Native... he was, in this case, a semi-anonymous Canadian gospel voice. Although Tom Jackson is better known as a Native actor (featured on the CBC's *North of 60* and the "Journey's End" segment of Star Trek in 1994) and among Natives as a pop and rock singer, he has produced a gospel album that cuts across cultural boundaries. It could be the favourite of any gospel lover. Musically and spiritually, this sound is about as assimilated as it can get, meaning that there are no recognizable Native elements in the music.

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7 This is the time we are living in now. See Chapter Three.

8 The parallel to this Christian expression would be the traditional and spiritual music that has continued through the era of colonization. This music was kept hidden by the people through much of the 20th century, but some is now being used publicly at places like the Kumik. Although I came across many different expressions of this music in my research, my experiences can not be written down. For the words of elders Rose Auger and Walter Bonaize on this type of expression, see Appendix C.

9 Tom Jackson created this CD in 1990, with net proceeds going to the Salvation Army - which has been helping Native street people in his home town Winnipeg. Songs include "I Saw the Light" and "Amazing Grace" - which has also been recorded by Susan Aglukark, R. Carlos Nakai, Terry Widrick and many others.
Gospel music is one way Natives have come into the mainstream. In Native society, gospel music and the church choir are as much a part of reserve life as in any small town in Canada. Most of the following examples show how types of Native identity survive in gospel music, and how divisions still exist between Christian and more traditional Natives.

Gospel music has helped to preserve Native languages. At the Indian Church in Kitigan Zibi\(^{10}\) (Maniwaki) today, standard Christian hymns are sung in Algonquin. Arthur Smith, now 82, still sings the Christian hymns with Algonquin words that he learned fifty years ago.\(^{11}\)

Many services on reserves are still sung in Native languages (a process begun hundreds of years ago, as seen in Chapter One), and tapes and CDs are made to take these languages farther afield. For example, Esau Mitchell of Southampton, Ontario has produced a gospel tape in Ojibwe: *The Sounds of Ojibwe Country Gospel*, and tapes such as *The Anglican Cree Choir* and *Wemindji Christmas* are produced in Cree in the James Bay area.

Some of these choirs are multi-denominational and inclusive, and serve to promote Native culture and languages while integrating various religious factions in the community - reflecting values of the Iroquois Confederacy. In *Sound of the Drum*, Dayton Doxtater of the Oneida Gospel Choir explains:

> We have another choir here... different people from different churches, (and from the) Longhouse. Even now we have members from the United Church, First Baptist, Pentacostal [sic], Anglican Church, Longhouse. We've got everybody involved in that - non-denominational - plain "ongwehorne" (original people) choir...
>
> I think them days a long time ago it didn't matter, I mean you could come out of

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\(^{10}\)I think that the accepted name "Kitigan Zibi" (meaning "desert river") would be more correctly spelt "Kitigan Sipi." "Sipi" is Anishnabek (at least in Mushkego Cree and Algonquin) for river, the letter "z" is unknown in the Algonquin language. In any case, I use the accustomed spelling in this thesis.

\(^{11}\)See Appendix A, Field Recordings - "Arthur Smith Tapes" and "Maniwaki Tapes."
church and go into the Longhouse or vice-versa, and nobody said anything. (But often now people can’t speak their Native language, which creates a barrier) (Cronk 1990: 44-45).

Musical Christianity is sometimes blamed for the erosion of traditional society, beliefs and music among Native people, but like the brass or marching bands, it also helped to give Natives a command of Western musical forms and styles in the 20th century, and new ways of singing (as in Chapter One). Common Practice European harmonies of thirds, sixths, fourths, and fifths were taught, along with chordal and harmonic thinking. Harmonies and their practice today can be traced to 19th-century hymn practices mentioned in the first chapter; today men of the Six Nations Mohawk Singers still sing in three parts, with the melody in the Tenor and the harmony consisting of open fifths, octaves, and "angular voice leading" characteristic of many 19th-century tunebooks popularized by Protestant missionaries (Cavanagh 1987: 47) and also of 18th-century "singing schools" (Diamond-Cavanagh 1992: 385). Diamond-Cavanagh notes that this music is now thought to be "social" rather than religious or ceremonial (as with Iroquois Longhouse songs), and that with these "borrowed musics" (including the rabbit or round dances adopted from other Nations and now used by Iroquois for social dance purposes), "the sacred meaning of such musics has often been lost" (1992: 386). I would argue that this may be at least partly intentional; adopting music for social purposes is accepted among the Iroquois, but spiritual music and teachings remain the domain of the Longhouse.

Western harmonies have forever altered what used to be a primarily monophonic music. The two elements of most traditional Native music are the melodic line (singing) and the drum. Today most traditional drum groups still sing in unison, but singers are not afraid to use harmonies, and new drum groups based on the traditional, such as the women’s drums Ulali (led by Pura Fé and Sone from the U.S.) and Epona' Kwae ("Women of the Horses"), from Ottawa, are experimenting with modern Western harmonies and extended vocal ranges (Epona’
Kwae sometimes sing in seconds, and Pura Fé and group range from a low tenor to a screaming high tessitura - see Field Recordings, Robbie Robertson's *Music for the Native Americans*, Pura Fé's *Caution to the Wind* and *Epona' Kwae Live*. These groups have moved through and beyond Christian singing and are involved with cross-cultural expression, helping in the realization of the Seventh Fire Prophecy (see Chapter Three).

More artists are trying to combine these perspectives: Elin Sands, a gospel singer from Walpole Island, Ontario, is dedicated to incorporating Native traditions into the gospel (Cronk 1990: 55). Susan Aglukark combines stories of Inuit people with the Christian beliefs with which she was raised.

Native gospel groups complete with preaching and polished harmonies are also popular. Earl Sault of the Bluegrass Gospelaires (Mississaugas of New Credit) started out by playing country and bluegrass music through southern Ontario and in northern New York, but he now preaches and plays gospel music because: "Music is a great conveyer... I think that if you talk to Native people, many will admit to being touched by a gospel song that was done in harmony" (in Cronk 1990: 50). He talks about taking the Christian message to all races of the earth (a counterpart to some traditional and modern Anishnabe singers, who promote the traditional teachings).

Gospel music has been a blessing and a curse to Natives. With the Oneida and Mohawk above, it serves to bind various Native and Christian traditions together, in the Native way. In places like Maniwaki, it provides a continuum whereby the Algonquin language has another place to grow. Around these central churches, however, stand groups such as the Jehovah's Witnesses on one side and the Midewiwin on another. These conflicting spiritual movements continue to divide families and communities, as people choose to go the new Christian way, or the "old way" (traditional Anishnabek or Iroquois way).
Fiddle Music

The Métis style of fiddling, although around for two centuries or more, has slowly evolved from many strands, including French Canadian, Scottish, American, ethnic and Native Canadian traditions. The results of this style are often highly complex and quite distinctive in nature. French-Canadian (and other European-based) influences are quite apparent, especially with regard to the tapping of the feet and the bowing styles, while the tunes themselves owe much to the native heritage (Rodriguez 1988: 26).

The violin (or fiddle) is an instrument which represents European musical culture, and was at the zenith of its popularity in the 1700s and 1800s. During the era of the fur trade in Canada, French and Scottish traders and settlers socialized at fiddle dances. Natives in contact with white settlements were drawn to the dances, and the fiddle.

At the beginning, fiddle music and accompanying dances and gatherings interfered with traditional Native ways. Handsome Lake of the Iroquois forbade the use of the fiddle.¹² and Ojibwe Midewiwin teachers around the Great Lakes found their lodge attendance dwindling as Saturday night fiddle dances took over. Much as Native traditionalists (and the clergy) would protest, the fiddle gained popularity.¹³ The fiddle was portable and loud enough to stimulate gatherings.¹⁴

¹²Fiddle dances and drinking often went together. Parker notes that "The pagan Indians detest the fiddle and fiddle dances as things of great evil and assert that they produce as much wickedness as drunkenness." ¹² In his vision of Hell, Handsome Lake saw that a fiddler was punished by being forced to rub a bar of hot iron over the "cords" of his arm, and that one who had loved "hot drink" was made to drink molten metal (Parker 1980: 71).

¹³Basil Johnston describes the early days of dances and fiddling on the reserve in his story "What is Sin?" Priests and the police were working to eliminate drinking and dancing parties on the reserves, while "the dancers continued to meet secretly... the square dance loving Indians scheduled the Saturday night November dances in a remote part of the reserve, * and in order to distract authorities, "Kagige was for assaulting the priest and even raising a small party of men to howl outside his residence for several hours every night for several nights" (1978: 76-78).

¹⁴Rolling Stone magazine described the fiddle as "the electric guitar of the 19th (continued...
As a result, the fiddle was the instrument most adopted by Natives during early colonization, and this resulted in some new hybrid music styles and in survivals (of European styles and tunes). More than any other European instrument, the fiddle has allowed for a syncretism of European and Native musics, wherein both traditions are distinct within a new music.

Anne Lederman has done much work with Metis fiddlers, including her Master's thesis (York, 1986) She assembled the recordings and wrote the notes for the two record set Old Native and Métis Fiddling in Manitoba. Her research focused on Saulteaux communities in Western Manitoba, such as Camperville and Pine Creek. These are composed largely of descendants of Ojibwe who migrated from Sault Ste. Marie in the late 1700s, in pursuit of the fur trade. Marriages or alliances "in the manner of the country" with French and Scottish traders created the Metis communities there today.¹⁵

It is in the musical traditions of the Saulteaux communities that we can perhaps most easily see the mixed legacy of the past 200 years... even though it is their mother tongue, no one seems to sing Ojibwe songs anymore. Fred McKay, born in 1908, says he never heard any "powwow music" at Pine Creek in his lifetime, only violin. In spite of that, however, and even though the older style of fiddling is close to Québécois playing in many ways, the fiddle music of these communities bears the unmistakable stamp of traditional Native music...

This Native character is evident largely in the form of the tunes. The length of the phrases changes drastically from one line to the next: the overall structures have any number of these different-length phrases and are very asymmetric. Each player has his own versions of tunes and the players vary the tunes in certain ways from one time through the tune to the next. These renditions frequently vary in length as well as melody. This is playing in "the old-time way" (Lederman 1987: 9).

She goes on to point out that these characteristics are common to old Ojibwe songs, such as those recorded by Frances Densmore around 1910 (see Songs of

(...continued)


¹⁵ In most cases, these marriages were in "la façon du pays," partly because the clergy did not approve or were not available. See Sylvia Van Kerk's Many Tender Ties.
the Chippewa). Usually a number of different phrases of differing lengths are involved (common to many Native songs throughout North America), along with a descending contoured melody (another ubiquitous Native trait). As well, extended Ojibwe song endings on one pitch are similar to the endings used by Saulteaux fiddlers, and the Ojibwe fondness for five-beat phrases can be found in the unusual five-beat ornament used by Saulteaux fiddlers. She speculates further that some of these musical characteristics, such as the unusual use of five-beats, may be due not only to musical tradition but also linguistic flow and structure (1987: 13).

At the same time, Saulteaux and Gwich'in fiddle music is imbued with characteristics that can be found throughout North America, a heritage from Scots fiddlers. The complicated foot tapping patterns, thought to have originated in the British Isles as a way for solo fiddlers to accompany themselves, are part of the style that travelled from Cape Breton and other Maritime areas to the Plains and beyond (Lederman 1991: 42; MacGillivray: 6). Among the Gwich'in, characteristic "heavy syncopation" and "silent notes" (skipped beats) are regularized by constant heel to toe foot tapping. Craig Mishler observes that Gwich'in footwork closely resembles Cape Breton foot clogging, and "it would not be unfair to say that for most Gwich'in fiddlers the violin accompanies the feet rather than vice versa" (Mishler 1993: 54).

Although generations of Metis fiddlers have brought Western forms (such as

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16 Craig Mishler found metrical irregularities and alternating meters in many Gwich'in fiddle tunes and also in songs. He finds an "Indian expectation of metrical variations in both vocal and instrumental music." When a white fiddler from Indiana played at Fort Yukon with "Anglo-American style square dance tunes in straight time" the people wouldn't dance (1993: 148-149).

17 At a Walking Out Ceremony at the KUMIK in Ottawa in summer 1994 Anishnabe elder Kathleen Greene from Le Pas Manitoba finished one of her drum songs with five sharp beats, repeated four times (These ceremonies are to give children the right start in life, and are popular among many Anishnabek today - Betsy Asquabaneeskum and Sarah Tomatuk recently told me of their importance to the Cree in Wemindji on James Bay).
the Jig) and styles (such as the Scotch Snap) to Metis and Native communities, many fiddlers have retained the Native affinity for flexible phrase lengths and descending melodies - often altering traditional Scots tunes to suit their own melodic traditions. These include phrases of two to seven beats, rather than the European phrasing of eight strong beats; three to five phrases to a section rather than the regular Scots or Irish two phrases; and phrases which overlap without a clear cadence, resulting in a circular pattern (Lederman 1987: 12-13). All these characteristics could be attributed to language, or even worldview.

Stylistic differences also set Natives apart from white fiddlers: The Gwich'in use alternate tunings for various songs (not common among non-Native fiddlers), and both the Gwich'in and Saulteaux prefer to press the bow hairs very hard on the strings, making for a gritty\textsuperscript{18} sound (Mischler 1993: 50, 53).

Thomas Vennum Jr. notes that today, there are strong fiddle traditions among the Cherokee of Oklahoma, the Dene of Alaska and the Northwest, Metis from the Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota and from Manitoba. Fiddle music has also reached the Houma of Louisiana and the Arizona Apache - who designed their own one-string fiddle.\textsuperscript{19} Many fiddlers found their instrument at the ubiquitous Native logging camps in Canada; some even customized their instruments with things like porcupine quills and deer bone to add the power of their own medicine (Vennum 1992: 86).

\textsuperscript{18}Keillor has informed me that "this is also a Scots influence," as the Scots would do this to sound more like the bagpipe.

\textsuperscript{19}McAllester describes one example as being an 18-inch long mescal stalk two inches in diameter, strung with a twisted strand of horsehair and bowed with untwisted hair tied to a walnut twig (1956: 1). Mishier points out that the Apache name for fiddle translates as "wood singing," and the Gwich'in term as "the metal that sing," and that the fiddle is thought to be a metaphorical extension of the human voice. Both groups are of the same Athapaskan language family (1993: 28-29, 147).
Types of métissage\(^{20}\) can also be seen in the folk songs of the Metis. Songs of ancient France linger in places like the Qu'Apelle Valley in Saskatchewan (see Cass-Beggs 1966). Métis Songs is a recent collection of Cree and Irish or French-influenced songs from Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Examples of the mixing of musical cultures include songs in Michif (the Metis language using French nouns and Cree verbs), French epic ballads written around Metis themes ("Les tribulations d'un roi malheureux," "La Métisse"), many French songs (including enumerative and drinking songs) dating to France in the mid-1800s, English songs, songs with mixed English-Cree or French-Cree texts, and sung fiddle tunes such as "The Keystone Reel." Fiddle tunes are very much a part of the form and style of many folk songs.

In some places, European-based styles were adopted hundreds of years ago and exist in isolation today. Mishler's 1981 study shows how Gwich'in Natives of Alaska were dancing to Scottish and Orcadian music in the mid-1800s, and how vestiges of old Orcadian fiddle tunes and dances can be found among the Gwich'in people today while having all but disappeared in Orkney itself (1981: 272-275). These types of "marginal survivals" can be found throughout Canada. Fixed-form dances of British and French-Canadian ancestry, described by Mischler in pages 282-328 of his dissertation, were witnessed by Elaine Keillor at Fort Good Hope in 1987. There the Threesome Reel first mentioned in print in 1710 and perhaps one of the oldest of all Scottish reels is particularly popular.\(^{21}\) In the Northwest, many tunes and dances were introduced in the mid-1800s, and more came with the Gold Rush in the late 1800s. It is around this time that "squaw dances" were first reported.

\(^{20}\) John Morrison at University of Québec is doing research into métissage (types of blood mixing) in the Metis evolution. The mixed blood family that is Metis exists from Acadia to Sault Ste. Marie to Manitoba, from Detroit to Chicago, Texas and Mexico. Information from Martin Dunn.

\(^{21}\) Lucy Lafferty informed Keillor that "in the Winter of 1995 this dance was introduced in Rae, but performed to a traditional Dene Drum song."
in the region, when Native women and white miners or traders got together to the sound of the fiddle (Mischler 1981: 274-275). In 1848, Scottish clerk Robert Michael Ballantyne described a Christmas dance at York Factory in Manitoba:

On several benches and chairs sat all the Orkneymen and Canadian half-breeds of the establishment... while here and there the dark visage of an Indian peered out from among their white faces... Squatting down on the floor... sat about a dozen Indian women, dressed in printed calico gowns... They were chatting and talking to each other with great volubility, occasionally casting a glance behind them, where at least half a dozen infants stood bolt upright in their tight-laced cradles.

On a chair in a corner near the stove sat a young good-looking Indian, with a fiddle of his own making beside him. This was our Paganini; and beside him sat an Indian boy with a kettle drum, on which he tapped occasionally, as if anxious that the ball should begin (Mischler 1993: 18).22

In the East, the fiddle took hold from early settlement by the mid-1600s. Today, there are many well-known fiddlers on Canada's East Coast, including Lee Cremo, a Micmac from Eskasoni, Cape Breton, who has won numerous awards in competition and played with Willie Dunn on the album Akwesasne Notes. He attributes his style to Scottish, Irish, French and Micmac influences:

You might notice that my playing has some extra frills in it. By that I mean more notes, added notes. That's the Micmac way. We are very verbal people... Those extra notes come from the way we speak and sing (Cronk 1990: 63).

The square dance tradition is still popular in rural settings. In Maniwaki (Kitikan Zibi or River Desert Reserve in Québec), Clifford and Joan Tanasco have been playing square dances for decades. Like many musicians on the reserves, their influences were country radio: WWVA from Wheeling and CFRA in Ottawa, but they compare their fiddling style with the fiddling styles of their neighbours in Rapid Lake in terms of language. Although all are Algonquin, the fiddlers from Rapid Lake "have a little different dialect, and a different speed of talking. Although

22 Further descriptions of these dances can be found in Arthur T. Walden's A Dog-Puncher on the Yukon (1928), and Josiah Spurr's Through the Yukon Gold Diggings (1900). Also in Mischler's The Crooked Stovepipe, pp. 18-26.
it's the same language, it's a little bit faster, and it seems to be they play this way, and they dance this way" (in Cronk 1990: 67). The fiddle is now a part of the Algonquin heritage, says Joan Tanasco: "It is a part of our culture also. A lot of the tunes have been handed down for generations. And the different styles probably have been handed down with it" (in 1990: 70).

On the other hand, Native elements have not always survived. One of the younger Eskasoni fiddle players is Cliff Shorting, whose self-titled tape has been popularized by Sunshine Records and the Mohawk Book and Magazine Store in Kahnawake. *Cliff Shorting* mixes standards such as "Myrtle's Polka" with originals like "Constitution Breakdown" and "Eskasoni Breakdown." His style is more straight ahead and direct, with few frills - it is strict metered dance music with brushed drums and string bass playing two-step or waltz rhythms. The band with some electric guitar and vocals also plays country/rock style songs like "Rainy Day Woman" and "Swinging Doors." Their gospel side, shown in "What A Friend," shows the influence of old-style country harmonies on church hymns. For this recording, Cliff seems more influenced by Don Messer than by Migmag music or language.

Today, fiddle music is one of the top selling categories in the Sunshine Records Company catalogue. They represent some 20 fiddle players from across the country. Their featured artists include Reg Bouvette, Tommy Knott, Cliff Maywayashing, and Sinclair Chee Choo of the James Bay Cree musical family. Most of these fiddlers use recognizable, regular tunes such as "Soldier's Joy" and "St. Ann's Reel" to accompany square dances.

Unlike the Saulteaux players in the West, one of the most popular fiddlers in the James Bay area, Clarence Louttit, learned most of his tunes from tapes and records. There is no foot stomping in his style - he plays straight ahead jigs and

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23 Sunshine has been producing Native, Ukrainian and other "ethnic" musics since the early 1970s in Winnipeg.
reels with a standard bass and drum accompaniment. His most popular release on the Sunshine label (James Bay Style Fiddle) features only one original tune, "Moose Factory Special," and its melody comes from Irish and Scots tradition. Its structure is more Native, though: Most phrases are four beats, some ending phrases are six, adding a slight irregularity to the piece (like Saulteaux and Gwich'in styles). His dance style is extremely popular throughout Northern Ontario.

Fiddle music is a favourite of the Inuit as well. Music like Colin Adjun's album Fiddler Of The Arctic is a staple of Northern broadcasts. Born in a summer hunting camp in the Coppermine region, Colin picked up a fiddle at the age of four during a band break at a weekend dance. He has been playing at festivals, dances and house parties ever since. "Flop Eared Mule" is a standard of his, and like most of the tunes on his album, is a traditional fiddle tune that could be heard anywhere from the foothills of Northern Virginia to Newfoundland. Colin's style is sometimes very clean, sometimes a little scratchier, with many double stops. He characteristically increases the tempo of his tunes with each repeat.

Certain exponents such as Saulteaux fiddlers in the West and Algonquin players from Maniwaki and Rapid Lake have maintained a Native influence in their playing, creating a "new expressive tradition." Many completely adopted the styles and repertoire of the colonizers. This is most evident in the East - where the nations such as the Micmac were surrounded by settlers almost from the first.

24 Mishler describes this as a process "beginning with cross-cultural diffusion (intrusion and close copying), proceeding to juxtaposition (symbiosis), and sometimes... culminating in fusion (dynamic synthesizing and invention - a synergism)." The bonding is "fusion" when it is identifiable as a "unique nonstandard variety of folk culture," and when that variety in turn begins to diffuse regionally, intraculturally, and intergenerationally" (Mishler 1993: 9). In my view this music is better thought of as syncretic - wherein Native and European influences work together, but remain distinct. "Fusion" implies a blending of two colours into one, whereas syncretic weaving allows each colour to still be seen as distinct - as in the Iroquois Two-Row Wampum.
Brass Bands and Residential Schools

Natives across Canada were subjected to the residential school system from the late 1800s through to the 1980s. In many cases, children were taken against their will and placed in central schools, designed to ease the process of assimilation. The assimilationist policy carried over into music: "Within the residential school system experienced by Native people in the 19th and 20th centuries, instruction was often provided in violin, lute, or mandolin, as well as in keyboard and vocal music" (Kallmann and Potvin 1992: 931), and organized bands became a way of keeping students in line.

This organized attempt to destroy Native culture, language and musical traditions was a failure in many ways. The system created a resentment and resistance to white values which lasts to this day. It failed to assimilate Natives, while it succeeded in giving many Natives white musical tools that ultimately were used to strengthen Native communities. As stated in the introduction to this chapter, the Native ability to borrow musical training and instruments allows for survival through syncretism.25 This is also evident in the aftermath of the residential school experience.

From the beginning, resistance to residential schools was strong. In his 1982 study of the Blood nation in Alberta, Witmer found the majority of Natives on the Blood reserve had refused continually to abandon their teachings and culture in the face of mainstream authority. He notes that the Blood are particularly tenacious when it comes to protecting and maintaining their own culture. Speaking of today, and experiences in the late 1800s, he writes:

...Missionaries and educators have long despaired of the fact that one summer vacation spent on the reserve could undo the previous year's school-instilled 'civilization' and that a complete boarding school education produced in many cases only a superficial

25As before, I mean syncretism as in an alliance of two equal forces, where Native and mainstream influences work together but remain distinct.
and temporary allegiance to white beliefs, behaviour and aspirations (1982: 118).

This echoes the experience of Jesuit missionaries with the Iroquois in Chapter One. And this next passage from the 1980s could also apply to earlier periods of colonization:

None of the musical activities promoted by white missionaries and educators produced the intended effect: They did not arouse a sustaining interest among Blood Indian youths. No accounts were received of musical 'conversions', i.e., of informants brought up within earshot of Indian music permanently abandoning that music in favour of white music under the influence of their school music experiences. Judging from the experiences of informants it was apparently quite possible for a Blood Indian to become very proficient in white music during his school days (and perhaps even enamoured with it), only to discontinue all involvement with it upon leaving school — not in favour of musical inactivity, as is frequently the case among white North American youths, but in favour of participation in traditional tribal musical activity (Witmer 1982: 119).

The power and survival of some musical traditions and the spiritual network and social communication maintained by Natives in the face of regimented Western music can be seen in Gertrude Kurath's examination of Tutelo rituals on the Six Nations reserve in the late 1970s. These syncretic musical occasions involve the music, the social and spiritual beliefs of people as diverse as the Tutelo from the South (Virginia), the Iroquois, and the Algonquin. The Tutelo at Six Nations have "adapted to Iroquois patterns because of inherent compatibility," but at the same time have "taken on very little Christian ideology" (Kurath 1981: 106).

Although some groups continued to sing traditional music despite the efforts of residential schools, many others chose to play white music in organized brass bands, many of which were part of the school system. Paradoxically, the social nature of the brass band was also in accord with Native traditions of family, community and gathering.26 This factor encouraged a flourishing of Native brass

26 There is a Native ability to incorporate other traditions while remaining "Native." In describing a show by the Omaha in 1898, Cosmopolitan Magazine wrote "the tribes embroider their leggings, (sic) and shirts and bands, or make birchbark canoes... The Indian band sits in its rude s... and plays "There'll be a hot time in the old town tonight" or "The Stars and Stripes," with as good success with its brasses as any village band. Painted (continued...)
and marching bands from the late 1800s to the 1960s. As a North American obsession brass instrumental music was at the heart of most high school and small town activities.

Instrumental ensembles, modelled after British regimental and civilian bands, flourished across southern and central Canada from the mid-1800s until the 1970s. Community-based “Indian Bands” from British Columbia to Labrador performed in traditional-style outfits, attracting both Native and non-Native audiences at parades, fairs, and exhibitions. A separate phenomenon emerged at the turn of the 20th century when entrepreneurs, capitalizing on the popularity of travelling ‘Wild West’ shows, organized international tours of Native musicians (Kellmann and Potvin 1992: 931).

A further indication of the popularity of these brass bands can be found in McIntosh’s study of music in British Columbia. He reports that between the 1860s and the 1920s, there were “no less than thirty-three of these native bands.” Most were organized by mission schools, but some were organized at the request of Native communities themselves. Province-wide band contests and public concerts were popular through the first two decades of the twentieth century (McIntosh 1989: 43-49). Native composers also wrote in the Sousa marching band style, such as Job Nelson with his “Imperial Native March” of 1907 (Keillor 1995: 114 and McIntosh 1989: 234).

Wilma Jamieson’s 1942 article “Musical Life of the Six Nations” documents the life of brass bands on that reserve from the mid 1800s. Many accomplished instrumentalists (including cornetist Mark Martin, pianist Thomas Cusick and bandleader Thomas W. Green) and musical families (such as the Martins) developed through these organizations. A number of band members were graduates of Conservatory music schools and were trained as conductors and bandmasters, instrumentalists and teachers. She wrote: “Our bands, our native

 (...continued)

braves in war bonnets and wampum are shouting and dancing war dances around the drum in the field nearby” (in Young 1981: 189-190).
music are part of our National life... No more finer heritage can we transmit to succeeding generations than the love (of) and participation in good music" (1942: 28).

In the East, brass bands were still flourishing until recently. Many wore uniforms based on traditional outfits: Six Nations would march in traditional outfits with war bonnets in the 50s, and today the Oneida Settlement Oneida Indian Marching Band (some 30 strong) plays everywhere from the Grey Cup to the Calgary Stampede dressed in buckskin.27 Like similar groups, they are associated with the local church and choir, as part of a community based musical network (Cronk 1990: 34-40).

Although brass bands have been blamed for the abandonment of Native traditional music, largely because they worked in concert with the schools to suppress Native language, dress and music, they also had a more positive function. These bands introduced "Euro-American musical forms" to Natives while technology (recording, instrumentation, radio and TV) brought the current mainstream styles (Vennum 1992: 88). These musical lessons in current Western forms and styles are part of what has enabled Native musicians to cross into the musical mainstream today.28 Many of them are bringing their traditional music and beliefs as well, in syncretic fashion, and these syncretic manifestations will be examined in Chapter Three.

27 Dwayne Stacey informed me that there was a marching band in Kahnawake, but that today the instruments and uniforms have been dispersed through the community and are most likely kept as memorabilia.

28 Chief Oskenonton, "The Famous Indian Baritone," is an early example of this ability to mix Native values with Western musical styles. A Mohawk, he would follow the "age-old Indian custom of singing to the trees, rocks, clouds and other phenomena" but he also studied voice in England and Italy, and performed for three successive Kings in England in the early to mid-1900s. He was a great success as a singer in Europe and North America, but continued to point out that "an Indian is meant to be and continues to be a child of nature" (Anon. 1942: 42).
Country and Western

Native country music provides some paradoxes that are not as evident in other types of Native music. Country and western is the most popular adopted music among Natives, yet it is associated with the myth of the cowboy and the decimation of the buffalo, ideas of the Western "frontier" and manifest destiny, and the Hollywood idea of Indian as outsider. Also, country is associated with bars and alcohol. The traditional Native teaching is to avoid alcohol, but country and western culture is built around the drinking lifestyle. Despite these seeming contradictions, country and western has long been the music of choice for local community bands.

Much of the popularity of country has to do with its high profile on radio since the early days of the medium. Radio reached remote settlements and reserves long before TV and stereos (in many places, there was no electricity to run these devices until the 1960s). Natives on Western reserves had access to radios beginning in the 1930s, and soon after began buying or fashioning makeshift guitars (Whidden 1984). The Inuit had contact with white travellers and missionaries early on, but the

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29 Handsome Lake and other Iroquois traditionalists have always condemned alcohol for spiritual and social reasons, as have almost all other Native groups (excluding some in the U.S. Southwest who use it for occasional ceremonial purposes). An Anishnabe medicine woman once told me that alcohol "tears holes in the spirit."

30 Witmer observed a paradox in his work with the Blood Indians who live near the Alberta/U.S. border: Most of his informants who played "white" music specialized in country and gospel styles, and tailored their lifestyles around these musics and the attendant non-Native values. In this case, most of the non-Native population in the area were abstainers because of Christian religious beliefs. So whereas most of the adult population on the Blood reserve drank almost daily, the "aberrant" Natives were the ones who had embraced the "white" value of temperance. (1982: 111). In this situation, country and western has served to reinforce traditional Native teachings at alcohol. At the same time, country music undermines them through encouraging (or at least commiserating with) the drinking lifestyle through lyrics, attitudes and events such as the September 1993 Jamboree held to support the Catholic Church at Timiskaming Reserve - complete with camping, Sunday Mass and a licensed bar.
advent of radio in the North in the 1940s (via crystal sets) was a profound introduction to white culture and music. Much of that music was country and western, and it determined the sound of the new Inuit music for generations. Today Inuit singers of country and gospel music include Anita Issaluk, William Tagoona, Charlie Adams and Susan Aglukark.

Radio continues to influence these places as the Southern urban culture switches its attention to TV, MuchMusic and MTV, and CDs. Long before Anik brought television to the North in 1974, the Inuit could pick up WWVA, West Virginia's country heartland station, and most Inuit in Eastern Canada grew up with that sound.

Country and western is the most popular genre of music in the North and in other rural Canadian areas. A representative sample of some 20 Inuit albums in the School for Studies in Arts and Culture: Music at Carleton University are almost all country oriented, displaying genres as diverse as bluegrass, rockabilly, country rock and the slick Nashville sound.

The most popular radio station on the Blood reserve in Alberta is KMON of Great Falls Montana - a country and western station (Witmer 1982: 99). When Lynn Whidden (1984) did a study of the listening habits of Natives in Manitoba, country

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31 Television (which Mander calls "freedom of speech for the wealthy" (1991:78)) has had a bad effect on family relations, language and social structure in remote communities. Cindy Gilday points out that the effect of TV of the Dene has been "to glamorize behaviours and values that are poisonous to life up here... People are sitting in their log houses, alongside frozen lakes with dog teams tied up outside, watching a bunch of white people in Dallas standing around their swimming pools, drinking martinis and plotting to destroy each other or steal from each other, or to get their friends' wives into bed... I heard of one old woman who prays every night for the people in the soap operas. She thinks they're real" (in Mander 1991: 104-105). Gary Farmer points out that TV is "the modern assimilator, replacing the old methods of residential schools, churches, and governments... Television has infiltrated practically every native household from the farthest reaches of the Northwest Territories through the tip of South America, and indigenous communities are bombarded by information that does not reflect their reality or their needs, their language or their culture" (1994: 63). This is why Natives must control their own media, and the process is well underway. "This cycle of alienation must be broken and Indian media are the only hope in sight for this task," also "the Canadian media (should place) more emphasis on their social responsibility" to Native expressions (Demay 1991: 428).
was by far the preferred music: More than half of Native students listed country as their favourite style, followed by rock and roll, powwow music, pop and folk. In contrast, non-Native students voted 60% for popular music, followed by classical, gospel, bluegrass and jazz.

Country music is the mainstream music that has been wholeheartedly embraced by Natives. In an article in *Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec*, Keillor argued that a downward melodic curve was common in Native songs and in many country tunes (1988: 67). Examples are country songs such as "Sweet Dreams" (recently recorded by the Mighty Mohawks), "Tumbling Tumbleweeds" (written by New Brunswick's Bob Nolan and popularized by the Sons of the Pioneers) and "Together Again," which all start high and descend in a terraced fashion similar to old style Native songs and like today's Intertribal songs. This similar melodic structure may account in part for the Native adoption of country.

Another factor may be the tone - country songs are often tragic, hopeless and despairing and this "continues to be part of the native world view" (Whidden 1984: 94). The lyrics often deal with subjects familiar to Native people, such as life on the road, prison experiences, failed romance and the joys and tragedies of everyday life. As opposed to the cultivated charm of pop music, country "...a plus de chances d'être pertinente pour la plupart des Amérindiens..." because it is down

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32 While I agree that Whidden's perception of this aspect of reserve life in 1984 (and certainly earlier) is correct, things have begun to change rapidly and "hopelessness" is not always part of Native attitudes today, as will be shown in Chapters Three and Four. The negative feelings today are more of frustration and anger, aimed at governments and people that ignore the call for respect and recognition of Native perspectives.

33 "The Indian Way of Life" described by elder Will Peltier includes acceptance of life and its situations. He writes that Native children "learned acceptance, unlike in this mainstream society where understanding (asking why) comes before acceptance" (1990:13). A curriculum statement from the "Sacred Circle Project" in Edmonton states: "Elders emphasized listening and not asking WHY. There isn't any word in the Cree language for 'why.' A learner must sit quietly and patiently while the elder passed on his wisdom" (in Diamond, Cronk and von Rosen 1995: 9). Listening to country music can be seen as accepting the realities of life through listening to others' stories good and bad, and accepting those stories and people as they are.
to earth and tells stories that "...recréer une atmosphère," much like Native storytelling (Keillor 1988: 67).

Simplicity of style and instrumentation also plays a part. One person with a guitar can sing a country song, but can't recreate a pop or rock arrangement. Some Natives may take up country and western music, rather than traditional music, because it is more accessible; or some may take it up because it is easier than traditional. Blood informants of Robert Witmer's agreed that the prerequisites for performing Intertribal songs were "...a good voice... a fast ear and a good memory" (1982: 112). As well, Intertribal music demands a great deal of dedication to the traditional Native way of life, as well as concentration and training, in order to apprehend its polyrhythmic nature. Many country and western players, on the other hand, learn their music from song sheets, the radio or the jukebox, and play from fake books while on stage. This way of learning and playing these songs is literate rather than oral - they can be learned "shorthand" through music sheets, rather than through the lifetime apprenticeship in musical, cultural and spiritual training that traditional singers undertake.

As in fiddle music, harmonic and melodic rhythms in Native renditions of country songs can be loose, or unpredictable. When playing with Native country players, I have learned to watch their movements as well as listen. They may change chords at any time, dropping or adding beats to the harmonic rhythm of the song. Country players in general are often less musically trained than those in other genres, such as pop, jazz or Intertribal.

This "unpredictability" is also peculiarly Native, as seen in the previous section. Many traditional Native solo song structures are also flexible, as part of the storytelling tradition. Words can be added or changed, emphasis or beats can be moved in keeping with the singer's breathing, interpretive feel, or mood. In transcribing Gwich'in fiddle tunes and vocal music, Swing noted that there were random insertions of extra beats, and extensions of phrases, that are related to a Gwich'in singing tradition that is "often so relaxed that time signatures are
inappropriate" (Mishler 1993: 148). This liberty is part of the form of the song, and this trait sometimes follows through into country and western. Witmer remarks:

Only two of the Blood Indian practitioners of white music were able to render white songs (country and western) without constantly dropping and adding beats... Beat dropping appeared to be quite random, rather than an aspect of faulty learning...
(Emphasis is mine)

He goes on to observe that...

Group performance was evidently entered into with the expectation that quick adjustments would have to be made to accommodate unpredictable contractions and expansions of phrase length... these seemed to be looked on almost as a stylistic prerogative of the vocalist and lead instrumentalist (1982: 107-108).

In the summer of 1992 I was asked to play guitar with the Innu musical grandfather Alexandre Mackenzie, part of the strong Innu musical family in Northern Québec which includes Kashtin.\footnote{This was at a gathering at O'Brien Beach, near Meech Lake, during the Constitutional talks in 1992. Phillipe Mackenzie is an originator of the contemporary Innu song movement which is a combination of folk, country and Native elements, including song structures "akin to Innu hunting songs" (Keilor 1995: 119). Both Kashkun and Kashtin have recorded in this style (see Discography). Alexandre was the first to use the traditional Innu drum the teuelkan in a recording with guitar (See Mistashipu, 1982). As that drum with its snares is sacred in Innu culture, Alexandre "achieved an approximation of its sound by combining maracas rattles with a drum from which the snare had been removed" (ibid). Also see Keilor 1988 and Gilles Chaumeil's "Music, A Cry From The Heart."} The contemporary Innu style is not country music per se, but has country elements such as simple chord progressions and melodies, and uses guitar as the primary instrument. We played "Uishima" (see Kashtin and Innu) which is a simple song, but was made difficult for me because Alexandre would begin and end phrases according to his personal, internal cues. At the same performance I played with Willie Dunn, who also may shorten or stretch his phrases anytime in performance - although his recordings are much more
People dancing to Willie or Alexandre (or to a drum song) must be prepared for subtle or pronounced shifts in rhythm - something that becomes fun in a Native round dance, but awkward in a white square or line dance. Their playing, built on folk and country music, sometimes breathes more like a drum song than a ballad.

Language itself can also play a part, much as it does in Saulteaux and Algorquin fiddle music. Willie Thrasher is one artist who creates irregular phrases, perhaps partly because his speech patterns are translated from Inuktut and Cree (he grew up with both) to English (see Indian/Inuit Country). Although many artists bring Native linguistic or vocal traits to country and western, creating a syncretic style (which could be called “Indian Country”), many others are opting for commercial success and the conformity that it entails. Today, Natives who play for white audiences are more predictable in their renditions of popular cover tunes. A song network of small and large bars and dance clubs supports some 20 Native country bands in the Canadian West. The majority of country artists in the Sunshine Records catalogue today are as regular in performance as their white counterparts in Canada or the U.S. The songs must be regular because the fans want to dance the popular bar styles.

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35 I talked with Richard Patterson of CBC Ottawa in the summer of 1993. A veteran drummer (going back to the Five Man Electrical Band in the early 1970s), he has played drums on a number of Inuit and Native recordings. He says that Inuit musical expression is largely based on breath and breathing, and that phrases can sometimes be extended to prove the singer's lung capacities, or just to add a few words by way of variation. He notes that other musicians, when playing with the Inuit, have to be particularly vigilant, always listening, as the singer may skip beats or jump ahead in the song at any time. And every take is different. "At times," he said, "it's more like playing avant garde jazz than country."

36 I had a chance to play with Willie and learn more about his style at the Gathering of Aboriginal Peoples, held at Ottawa's LeBreton Flats in June 1993. His guitar playing is very much tied to the words he is singing - the guitar follows the voice and language, not the other way around.
One artist is Harry Davies, a Cree from Lesser Slave Lake now living in Faust, Alberta. With the Quicksilver Express Band, he produces a traditional country sound complete with electric guitar and fiddle. Most of his songs are covers, such as "Too Cold At Home," but his "Bannock Song" is a personal statement about growing up Indian in a white community. Like Vern Cheechoo from Moose Factory (Lonesome and Hurting) and Charles Tizya in the Mackenzie Delta (Mackenzie Music anthology), he also deals with the country staple of "drinkin' and hurtin'" songs. This is a place where traditional Native and non-Native values are thrown into juxtaposition.

Country music contains a lot of contradictions for Native people, but it is widely adopted everywhere - partly for its simplicity, partly for its closeness to Native traditions, and partly because it is widely and easily accessible. The most people on reserves grew up listening to it and playing it. It exists as a parallel to the traditional musics (like Ojibwe and Mohawk gospel music examined earlier).

In Maniwaki, most people play country music, but many also have a drum, or live next door to someone who makes them. Drum songs are often used to tell stories about history or nature (such as Arthur Smith's "Oshdedewon" and his beaver and bear songs). Similarly songs conceived on the guitar tell stories of life on the reserve, adventures and travels, good and bad times. In this way, country is not that far from traditional Native music, in that it reinforces personal and Native identity in a simple and direct way.

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37 Lederman has noted that among the Metis, almost every adult male plays an instrument. I know that in Maniwaki, so many people play guitar and other instruments that many house parties and gatherings are guaranteed live music all night long.

38 See Maniwaki tapes, Appendix A.
Guitar Players and Storytellers

The guitar has been in Canada for almost 400 years. In the early 1600s, the guitar was played primarily by the women of the French elite, who read songs written in tablature.\(^{39}\) It was also a folk instrument, found throughout Eastern Canada. In one account from the early 1600s, the French at Onondoga feared that the Iroquois were planning to kill them, and used a guitar to help with their escape. They regaled the Iroquois and held a "noisy festivity," and "after the Indians had feasted, eaten, danced and shouted to the sound of flutes, trumpets and drums, a French boy who had been adopted by an Iroquois lulled the tired men to sound sleep with his guitar playing" and the French escaped (Kallmann 1960: 19). By the early 1700s, more people had guitars and would often strum them with a basic pattern, so that people could dance. In the 1850s, a guitar "craze" swept the U.S. and Canada, lasting until the early 1900s and ensuring that most people who were at all interested in music were familiar with the guitar.\(^{40}\)

Today this instrument is ubiquitous in folk, country and most popular forms of music. The guitar has been a companion to singers, storytellers and balladeers in Europe for centuries, and is now the versatile and portable instrument of choice for many Native artists. Like the drum, it can be used by one person to breathe life into their story. And Native music, like the Irish songs and ballads that were brought

\(^{39}\)The guitar used in 17th century New France was based on the English gittern. The instrument had four double courses of strings, and a thin short neck. For a picture of this early guitar, see Midgley 1978: 192. A bone piece depicting a woman muse, which was often placed on the back of the head of these guitars, was found in an excavation of the chapel that was destroyed by fire during the battle of the Plains of Abraham at Québec in 1759. The piece, which was found this year, dates from the mid to late 1600s. (Personal communication from Keillor)

\(^{40}\)By the late 1800s, guitars were also prevalent in the West, and in the Prairies "groups of bachelors from England used the guitar along with other instruments to entertain themselves at parties" (MacSween 1990: 61). The guitar no doubt also made its way to trading posts, outposts and towns, where Natives had a chance to learn it as well.
here centuries ago, is the music of oral history, myth and tradition.

Native folk singers Buffy Sainte-Marie and Willie Dunn began performing in coffee houses in Toronto, Vancouver, Montréal and New York in the early 1960s, and were joined in the late 60s by artists such as Winston Wuttunee, Shingoose and David Campbell (originally from Guyana). They were creating "songs that specifically presented Native perspectives to a non-Native public" (Keillor 1995: 118). Through the late 60s to today, there are dozens of Native artists who found ways to make statements combining traditional teachings with the European-based folk music form.

Two singers from the U.S. (Floyd (Red Crow) Westerman and A. Paul Ortega) began to reach Natives all over Turtle Island in the late 60s and early 70s, and are still recording today. They are household names in Native Canada. Floyd Westerman (Dakota) is more political, with songs like "Custer Died For Your Sins" and "Here Come the Anthros," which are part of the "protest song" movement popularized by Joan Baez and Pete Seeger in the U.S.41 A. Paul Ortega, a Mescalero Apache, has combined traditional teachings and stories with a unique, simple bluesy guitar picking style that sounds like the U.S. Southwest. He sings to Natives about Native ways.

In Canada, more Anishnabek and Iroquois singers continue to get into the urban folk style.42 Willy Mitchell is of Algonquin/Mohawk background, and grew up

41 In "To Sing a Song of Otherness..." Neuenfeldt examines Floyd Westerman's "use of a musical medium to convey his message of (political and social) dissatisfaction," pointing out that "whatever his reservations about the existing power relationship (between marginalized Natives and the mainstream)," Westerman like others realizes that "music has the communicative power to address the issue(s) directly" (1991: 95).

42 Music from the Powerhouse and Sweetgrass Music are two albums from the early to mid-1980s that show how collaborations in new styles developed among artists like Willie Dunn, Willie Thrasher, David Campbell, Morley Loon, Murray Porter and Brian Davey (now called Brian Black Thunder). Earlier folk-oriented recordings include those by Jane Peloquin, Shingoose, David Campbell and Winston Wuttunee. Chief Dan George also did some recording, one example is In Circle (1975).
in Syracuse. He returned to his mother's home (Kitigan Zibi) as a young man, and has been playing around Northern Québec for some twenty years. Now living in Mistissini with his family, he has played country and rock covers at house parties and gatherings on the reserves, and has also been writing his own songs. He is rarely heard outside of Algonquin territory. His 1993 tape Wolf Tracks is a compilation of his work dating from 1973, and all of it is concerned with the land, traditions, and the power of the individual spirit. In "Tea's Boiling" he sings:

I see the Chiefs litlin' round the fire
Burning grass and chanting to themselves
The only sound you could hear was someone talking
And the sound of the fire making love
Deep inside their soul the spirit's listening
Keeping them in line with nature's own
Up above the silver bow is gleaming
Giving light to guide them through the night

"Spiritual Conference" is a song accompanied by a strong, drum-like percussive strumming on the guitar, with emphasis on the first of each two beats, common in many modern
drum songs:

Do you remember the Spiritual Conference?

43I had the good fortune to meet and play with Willy in November 1995, when he was invited to Ottawa to play for the Aboriginal Career Symposium hosted at the Ottawa Congress Centre. He told me how in his early days, songs by the Rolling Stones and tunes such as "O Bla Di O Bla De" by the Beatles were a great hit at parties. As for his own songs, he said he is not trying "to tell people how to behave (in songs such as "Spiritual Conference" for instance) but rather to paint pictures of some of the things he has seen and make connections with larger forces (as in "Wolf Tracks"). Willy's guitar playing is strictly in (metric) time and almost reminiscent of the regularity of the drum. In his guitar he has put the objects that bring good spirits.

44Many drum songs recorded around the turn of the century have a 6/8 feel. This has been regularized over time into a more common 2/4 beat, but 6/8 and even 3/4 meters are still popular.
Or the sacred fire?
Do you remember to be burning tobacco?
Don't let your spirit retire

Elizabeth Hill from Six Nations recorded a Nashville session album which includes Native instruments such as water drum and rattles, along with a bouzouki from Greece. Her recent tape *When the Spirit Moves Me* has personal messages about spirituality, but also celebrates Mohawk ironworkers. Today Elizabeth lives in Kentucky, but makes Canadian appearances at venues such as Ontario Place in Toronto. Another Mohawk singer, Ann Brady in Ottawa, combines unique linear guitar playing with Native/Irish melodies, and has been playing at Ottawa folk gatherings since the early 70s.

In the West Ojibwe artist Shingoose also began singing his songs of humour and protest in the late 60s.. His recording style has evolved through many stages over the years (from his *Native Country* mini-album produced in 1975 to *Natural Tan* in the mid-80s), but today he still does a simple folk-style presentation with guitar. His songs are often about issues: "Loved Ones" was inspired by his awakening to the events at Wounded Knee in 1973, "Reservation Blues" deals with the problem of being caught between two worlds, and "Elijah" (based on Hank Williams' song "Kawiri'a") is a sendup and humorous look at government mistakes during the 1990 Meech Lake Accord and the respect and integrity that Elijah Harper and other Natives tried to bring to the process.⁴⁵

The above examples are in the folk idiom. Singers such as Alexandre MacKenzie, Kashtin and Susan Aglukark all began with the folk tradition of storytelling in their songs. They are a popular success in the Canadian mainstream.

⁴⁵Neuenfeldt examines the text of songs by Shingoose, and comments by Shingoose, Jane Pelaquin and Murray Porter to see how folk and country music is used by Natives here and elsewhere to "mediate public problems." He asks: "When does popular music, in this case ethno-pop of indigenous peoples, cease to be merely 'ethnic' entertainment and instead engender empowerment on the part of the makers and listeners of the music?" (Neuenfeldt 1991: 109).
music scene today, but they still sing about the people. Unlike country and western, which reflects a life within the dominant society, the ballads or stories of these singers relate to traditional Native ways and worldview. It communicates to the people in a very direct way.

Blues, Pop and Rock

Mishler observed how rock and roll overshadowed the traditional Gwich'in fiddle music in the Northwest. The pivotal year was 1975, when Arctic Village school teacher Debbie Miller showed the Beatles film Hard Days Night. Soon after, electricity came to Arctic Village and within a couple of years there were rock bands and dances competing with the square dances that had been a constant for 100 years or more. Ben Boyd, a young man from Los Angeles had moved to the area, and used the skills he had learned in music studios down South to instruct teenagers in rock instruments (electric guitar and piano, bass and drums) and chord progressions and arrangements. Part of his influence on the other kids included the fact that he had Oklahoma roots, and sometimes celebrated his traditions with Oklahoma-style dances in his Plains outfit. Through Boyd's influence, rock ensembles began playing at Fort Yukon, Venetie and Arctic Village. The rock musicians would move in and take over after the fiddle dances were over (kids had completely stopped dancing to fiddle music), and family fights broke out as kids began playing rock tapes while their parents tried to listen to their familiar gospel, country and fiddle music on the radio. Mishler reports that by the late 1980s, some influential youth had again taken up the fiddle tradition (Mishler 1993: 144-146).

Native rock and country acts began touring the club circuits across Canada beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In the East, in New Brunswick, J. Hubert Francis and Eagle Feather started out on the club scene with cover versions of hits such as "Maybelline" and "Knockin' On Heaven's Door," and also with songs by the Stampeders and Redbone. Their originals "Grandfather" and "The Indian
Song" on their debut album *Reverence* put them in the running for a Juno. J. Hubert Francis wrote "The Indian Song" nearly 20 years ago, which features an Acadian-style fiddle motif (in a descending line reminiscent of drum songs) on the guitar over a country two-step beat and Migmag vocals. Their songs use peppy two-step country rhythms, Acadian folk motifs, Natives' vocables and language (Migmag), and a soft rock sound. Eagle Feather has toured Germany and recently won a Small Ensembles award from the Canada Council to help promote a showcase in their native New Brunswick. Their new album *No Boundaries* is in the country rock style, mixed with some drum songs and chanting. According to manager Brian Francis: "The group doesn't play just native music. They are a group who happen to be natives who play country and old time rock and roll" (in Friesen 1993: 19).

From Kahnawake, the country "Indian/Western Showband" The Mighty Mohawks were a hit at Expo '67 in Montréal, and are still touring today with a new CD to their credit. Throughout the 60s and 70s, they were popular in Montréal and Chateaugay nightclubs with their imaginative acts - which included the Mohawk hairstyle and outfit, a set of Elvis songs done in prison stripes (for the movie *Jailhouse Rock*) and even a Beatles set including Beatles wigs and garb. In Six Nations the new Iroquois group Children of the Sun are taking a different, younger approach. They play grunge or hard-rock music - simple power chords combined with heavy drums, screaming guitar lines and tense 46, angry vocals by singer Dennis Miller. Their debut album *Gentle Beginnings* is devoted to Native (particularly Iroquois) concerns such as the need for youth to learn traditional ways, solidarity among the people, and the blight of cigarettes and gasoline among border

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46 The tenseness or harshness in the voice of many singers may be related to intertribal singing styles. Buffy Sainte-Marie's strong pulsating voice is reminiscent of Western Cree singing; Neil Young (who is now credited as the godfather of grunge) often pitches his voice high and stretched like a lead singer.
A new wave of Native blues and rock artists began to be noticed in the early 1980s in Ontario and Québec. A circle of artists grew up performing around Six Nations in Southeastern Ontario, including Murray Porter, Joanne Shenandoah, Elizabeth Hill, and Derek Miller and Children of the Sun. These bands and others now tour the “Rez Circuit” in towns like Caledonia, Hagersville and Brantford, while others tour places like Cornwall and Ogdensberg from Akwesasne (Anon. 1993: 11).

In Northern Ontario, artists working in the James Bay area include Vern Cheechoo, Wapistan, and the Harrappa Shires. Winston Wuttunee, a Cree living in Sioux Lookout, completed eight tapes for Sunshine Records in the 1980s, including two children’s tapes. His storytelling (“I’ve Got a Horse for You to Ride”) and humour (“Goosed by a Moose in the Spruce” and “Mean Old Dad”) make him a favourite among Natives across the country. Leland Bell from Wikwemikong incorporates Odawa, Midewiwin and country elements. Other singers include Eric Landry (a Sudbury folk-style singer), Mardy Lucier-Porte (now living in Ottawa) and Crystal Lynn Shawanda of Wikwemikong, a 16-year-old songwriter who combines country, rock and Native elements in her songs (Will You Love Me Too was released in 1994).

Bear Paws from Sandy Lake, Ontario near the Manitoba border is an example of the many Native cover bands throughout the country. Their first tape,

47 They are a young, marginal outfit at this time, but may emerge as major players. At the 1993 and 1994 Three Fires Music Festival, they brought out the younger teenage fans in droves, and in April 1994 they were the #2 independent seller at Sam The Record Man in Hamilton. They have been featured on local and national radio, and played venues like Ontario Place with 7TH Fire.

48 From the Harrapa Shires press notes, a description of James Bay touring: “Rock and rolling over frozen swamp in half tons across ice roads to gigs up the West coast of James Bay, and by bush plane to communities along the Québec side. So few bands play the coast that local audiences want bands to play all night. Many times Harrapa Shires played all night. It’s won them a loyal regional following.”
Kitchie-Ogamah, was produced in 1988 and is basic old-style rock and roll, including songs like "House of the Rising Sun" and "Can't You See." The one exception is the title song, which is a standard country and western dance tune set with Ojibwe lyrics. Their 1994 release Makin' Tracks features country songs such as "Swinging Doors" and classic dance tunes like "I Saw Her Standing There." This is a basic country rock outfit, playing bars in their area with two guitars, bass and drums. For their Sunshine Records sessions, musicians on keyboard and slide guitar are added.

More in keeping with the growing desire to return to Native musical roots and teachings, Wigwam (a newcomer from Summer Beaver First Nation near Pickle Lake, Ontario) plays "Aboriginal Country Rock" with an original flair. They sing in English and Ojibwe relating teachings from the elders. Wigwam's founders Norman Beaver and Cornelius Neshinapaise are both educators: "We listen to our elders - that's where we get our ideas, and then we try to pass that learning on to young people" (Wigwam 1994). They are working to inspire other Native musicians to sing in their own language, using unique arrangements and instrumentation from all over Turtle Island. "Listen While I Sing" from their album Cry of the Wild is a dance tune with an enthusiasm reminiscent of Kashtin. It uses guitar, drums and bass - and features an accordion, sounding much like Cajun music from the South, which is a descendant of French-Canadian Acadian music.

The two bands mentioned above are typical of the small regional successes enjoyed by many Native bar or club bands in the East, where the Native presence and profile in the mainstream communities and cities has been limited by the sheer numbers of non-Natives. The Native presence has always seemed stronger in the West.49 Non-Natives are used to a Native presence in the rodeos, at the Calgary

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49While talking to people at the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre in Summer 1995, Elaine Kellar was told that the majority of students in the elementary school system in Saskatchewan today are Native. It is not likely entirely accurate, as registered Natives make up only 5.4% of the total provincial population, but counting non-status, Metis and others it may be and appear to be much higher. Native presence in terms of (continued...)
Stampede, in clubs and other places.

In the 1970s, the music scene in Western Canada was built around a network of large clubs in Winnipeg (such as the Norwood Hotel and the Voyageur), Calgary and Edmonton, as well as rock festivals and concerts. Bar bands playing cover versions of pop and rock tunes were busy touring the circuit, and some of these bands were Native. Artists such as Redbone, Shingoose and Tom Jackson went on to create original work and expand their horizons; others stayed on the Western circuit and are still popular today.

Redbone originated on the West Coast in the early 1970s, and went on to success in the U.S. with hits like "Come and Get Your Love." This song has a Motown sound, akin to Smokey Robinson and the Miracles, but is built from Native characteristics such as a descending melody and an interplay between leader and chorus that is found in Iroquois and Intertribal tradition. In this interplay, a leader sings the beginning of a verse and the chorus repeats this and follows with the rest of the verse (see Peacemaker II or Iroquois Social Dance Songs No. 1). Leader and chorus interplay can also be seen in Anishnabek and Dene traditions (See Miq'maq Songs by Free Spirit, the Buffalo River Dene Drummers, Plains Indians Singers of Canada, and The Best of the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre).

Redbone wore war paint, feathers and buckskin, and created songs that had universal pop appeal. They were headliners at summer music festivals in Western Canada, and an inspiration to a generation of Natives. Brad Henry is a Tsimshian singer from the Yukon, now living in Ottawa. He told me about seeing Redbone in the early 70s:

I remember seeing Redbone with Grand Funk (Railroad)... they blew them away.

(...continued)
proportion of total population (as of 1989) declines heading West to East: from the Yukon (16.5%) to the NorthWest Territories (17.2%) to British Columbia (2.2%), Alberta (1.9%), Saskatchewan (5.4%), Manitoba (4.9%), Ontario (0.9%), Québec (0.5%) and the Atlantic Provinces (0.6%) (Friedes 1993: 155, drawn from research by Siggner).
I was 14 then, we wore our hair long. I had my hair long, I had a feather in my hair, I had my choker... We got it from Redbone. Nobody respected Indians back then... Now they look up to us, because of (our teachings about) the environment...

Despite their strong sound, Redbone became a casualty of the anti-Indian backlash resulting from Wounded Knee in 1973. Their image was no longer saleable, and they faded away. Recently, however, they have returned and are making occasional appearances in the U.S.

The C-Weed Band, a twenty-year veteran of the Western club circuit, is less identifiably Native. Dressing in cowboy style, and playing mainly cover versions of songs ("covers"), they have produced a number of tapes for Sunshine Records and they continue to play the larger clubs with songs such as "Can't You See" and Eric Clapton's "Cocaine." They are a polished bar band, with good keyboard and guitar work and strong vocals. There is nothing particularly Native about their music, save a few exceptions like the drum motif played on guitar for "Gimme All Your Love'n" (Flight of the Hawk Live Vol. 2). Nonetheless, when they first appeared on the club scene 20 years ago, they captured the Native audience "like Kashtin did in the 90s," according to Cliff Thomas, who was an early promoter of the music scene in Western Canada. They were one of the first successful Native bar bands.

Billy Joe Green from Winnipeg is a contemporary of C-Weed, but he is known as the "Blues Man." With soaring Stratocaster lead lines, Johnny Winter-style slide playing, Hammond organ and simple but effective bass lines, the Billy Joe Green Band is emerging as one of the strongest blues bands from Manitoba. They are now touring other parts of Canada, and appeared recently at the 1994

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50 The Fender Stratocaster guitar and its ability to create many sounds, from bell-like tones to piercing distorted high-end notes, was best popularized by Jimi Hendrix in the early 1970s. Johnny Winter is a blues player from the Southern U.S., whose style and riffs (lead guitar patterns) have inspired a generation of players.
Three Fires Music Festival. The band plays original blues tunes such as "Shotgun Wedding Blues" and "Yokohama Mama," and are now looking to their Cree, Ojibwa and Metis roots to bring out a Native message.

Keeping with the family music tradition, Billy Joe's son Jesse plays lead guitar for the new hard rock act Peacemaker. Their first two albums, Peacemaker and Reservation Dog, are full of three-chord, heavy hitting songs with Native themes, examining the ways in which religion, the mainstream schools and alcohol have hurt the people. Like the Billy Joe Green Band, they spend most of their time on the road these days, promoting themselves as the "Politically In-correct Native Rockers" (Jamco 1995).

Ernest Monias started with a country style in the 1970s, but his current album Neechee features pop/rock covers. His version of Tom Petty's "Face In The Crowd" is somehow more accessible to Native ears than the original, because it is a declarative song, and his vocal rhythms and accents are Native. A Dene friend of mine told me he preferred Ernest's version to Tom Petty's because it "sounds better." This version is more "laid back" than the original. This is part of what makes Ernest a successful song interpreter. He has introduced his children to the music business and three of his sons play with him on Neechee.

Many singers have produced tapes in their Native language, including Winston Wuttunee (Cree), Charlie Panigoniak (Inuit) and Willie Thrasher (Inuit and Dene). These efforts have had only regional success (until Kashtin captured national attention with their songs in Innu in the late 1980s). David Gon is another artist who is trying to reach the mainstream with a message of respect for the land.

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51 The Three Fires Music Festival on Manitoulin Island was started in 1992, and features contemporary Native acts. The name refers to the Three Fires Confederacy of the Ojibwe, Odawa, and Potawotami peoples.

52 Tom Petty has declared that he also has Native ancestry, but was not raised as a Native.
and his elders, who sings in his Native language, and who remembers the drum. A Dogrib Native living in the Northwest Territories, he roots his music in the drum and the dances he grew up with. His 1988 album Island Miles Away is a mixture of traditional and Christian themes. It is a presentation that could have reached mainstream Canadians, but was produced just before contemporary pop recording techniques and distribution became more widely available to Native artists here (with the advent of Kashtin). His syncretic sound includes reggae offbeats with Dogrib vocables ("Island Miles Away"), and descending drum song melody over piano accompaniment ("Nd Man").

This expansion into pop and rock styles is a recent phenomenon, no more than 25 years old, but it has taken a strong hold on Native audiences across the country. The early work done in these mainstream styles by bands such as C-Weed and Redbone has helped to prepare the stage for some of the strong new artists in the age of the Seventh Fire, which will be explored in Chapter Three.

Jazz, Rap and Alternatives

Rap is music suited to Native storytelling and oratory. In 1993 at the Three Fires Music Festival in Wikwemikong, a local group was the first to bring Native rap to the stage in Northern Ontario. Several rap groups have come out of the U.S. and played at gatherings or made a name on radio in Canada, most notably Robby Bee And The Boyz From The Rez of Albuquerque, New Mexico. In 1993 Robby Bee released Reservation of Education, a collection of songs that speak to the red and black struggle. Songs like "Land Of The Wanna Be Free" and "Stand And Be Counted" are concerned with social injustice and the environmental crises in North America. Their style is a mixture of rap rhythms and sampled Intertribal drum sounds. One song is "Powwow Girls," a young man's red-pride type of celebration of the beauty and diversity of Native women. Albuquerque hosts the world's largest powwow in April of each year, and virtually every Native group is represented.
Some lines from the song: "The intertribal honeys are just so fine / Cherokee, Cree, Comanche got to make one mine," and "I wish that they could all be California girls," a play on the Beach Boys' theme. "The powwow's never over / until we finish strollin' around. Just boogie to our left and boogie to our right / (straight ahead) what have we found ?"

Russell Wallace from Vancouver uses rap-style midi beds as part of his audio-visual shows, and his message is political. I first came upon Russell's music while going through the Spirit Voice tape drawer at CKCU FM. I found a dubbed cassette marked Dreamspeak, and when I played it I heard some of the freshest "Native-echo" music around. From the opening notes on the bass, to the sampled voice of Judy Garland saying "Toto, I don't think we're in Kansas anymore," the music took off in a kaleidoscope of midi drum tracks and sampled singers and celebrities. This is music of political expression, done by one person in a midi studio. Featured sounds include synth bass and drum tracks, traditional singers, rattles and bells; above this whirls the voices of politicians like Brian Mulroney and Native leaders such as Lovina Lightbown, James Gosnell, and Dan George.

Russell calls Dreamspeak: "The long lost tapes.... those songs were produced back in 1989 and were part of a performance at the Western Front (an alternative performance series in Vancouver) that same year." Russell is working as a music producer in Vancouver, with Native and non-Native bands. At the moment he is producing a song for a Cree singer, Tim Oye, and is working on a new CD.

This technique of sampled, layered and drum track driven music is closely allied to rap music in the U.S. and dub music from Jamaica. It is also used by Seventh Fire (they began experimenting with it in the late 1980's with Buffalo Jump) and Little Earth in Canada, and by Russell Means (Electric Warrior), Robbie

\[53\] Personal communication via e-mail April 1994.
Bee, Julian B and Tom Bee in the U.S. Russell’s music does not fit the mainstream genres and gets limited distribution. Like Pat Andrade of Toronto, who produces rap and dub music in collaboration with Native, black and other aboriginal artists from around the world, his message is too political and direct to be popular, except among Natives and with community radio stations such as CKCU FM in Ottawa. Pat Andrade’s releases include “At least American Indian people know exactly how they’ve been fucked around” (The Fire Next Time 1992), Till The Bars Break (Andrade and Paul 1994), and Basslines and Ballistics (The Fire This Time 1995), all of which receive extensive airplay on CKCU.

Another marginal artist is Chris Marten, a percussionist from Shoal Lake, Ontario who combines drums with jazz fusion (reminiscent of early Weather Report sounds), Native singing and drumming, and poetry. Chris Marten’s music is strong and well grounded - he studied music through the University of Saskatchewan, at the Creative Studios in Woodstock, New York and privately while at Prince Albert Penitentiary. He met and studied with drummers such as Jack DeJohnette, Elvin Jones and Billy Cobham. In the early 1980s he began working with South African musician N’Dikho Xaba, and with traditional drums such as Medicine Hoop (from the Toronto area). Over the last 15 years, he has led numerous jazz ensembles in Toronto and Winnipeg.

In 1988 Chris released Wagon Burner Express, a tape that was produced through improvisation, reactions and the musical instincts of the players. The politics of the tape were rooted in an earlier cassette, entitled Secret War Against the American Indian Movement and Black Panthers, which was sponsored in part by the Canada Council. Wagon Burner Express features Toronto veterans Jim Heineman on sax, Eugene Boyer on guitar and Victor Bateman on bass. This was the “…fifth in a series of cassettes which explore the political and cultural connections between Black and Indian peoples” (liner notes). “Untitled Poem” is the first piece on the tape. It begins with a simple descending motif on a dry keyboard, combined with the drum and shakers in the background. This pattern
continues as a woman recites the poem: "Native man, caught in the red white and blue... fascists are fascists, you will find that when they deal with you... Native man, move to the rising of the sun, the moon's rhythms..." The piece progresses as Chris enters with his drum kit, carving a picture of himself in short, abrupt patterns against the repeating backdrop of keyboard, drum and shakers. Musicians from this session and more returned for his 1992 tour de force, Drumscapes Dreamscapes. The title piece begins with intertribal singing, which is mixed behind Vicki Green Feather reciting poetry in Ojibwe and English, followed by improvisation and exploration of the words and the drum on a multiple percussion set. The following pieces are sonic sculptures, coloured by simple harmonies, funky bass lines, extended sax solos and free-floating guitar chords.

Chris Marten and his musical partners have created a fusion of jazz styles pioneered by Miles Davis (Bitch's Brew is an example), South African drumming styles, Native drumming and poetry. He has played jazz festivals such as Jacksonville and Winnipeg, at gatherings such as the Environment Summit Gathering in Winnipeg (1991), the International First People's Gathering in Birds Hill Park, Manitoba (1991) and at informal Native events. His music comes from many marginal directions at once, making it an exploration of the circle, but it is a music for particular and developed tastes.⁵⁴

Pat Braden from Yellowknife and his Red Devil Rockin' Blues Band play a more mainstream style of jazz-influenced music. Pat plays acoustic bass and Chapman Stick,⁵⁵ and the band's mainstream sound is a regular feature of Television Northern Canada broadcasts. The music "reveals an aboriginal sensibility: he absorbed indigenous culture while growing up here - and recently

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⁵⁴Biographical information from personal correspondence April 1993.

⁵⁵This electronic instrument resembles a long guitar neck. It is capable of producing many guitar, bass and other sounds.
discovered a Native ancestry of his own* (Pinto 1994: 71).

There are few Native jazz and rap bands in Canada today. These esoteric styles are just beginning to be used by the people, but more and more artists will be drawn to them. Rap in particular, with its steady beat and declarative oratory, promises to be a very popular and powerful tool for Native entertainers in the future. This combination of a drum and a message suits Native voices, and provides a strong link to non-Native youth in the mainstream.

Song of the Land South

It sometimes seems in the full colonization of the 20th century that the Native identity and music has been lost among the gospel, country and rock genres.56 Some musicians seem to sound no different than their non-Native counterparts in various styles, but to the Native listener, there is a difference.57 There is a distinctly Native voice in Ernest Monias' and others' country and pop renditions, and it speaks to Natives through the white mainstream styles. A traditional Native identity has survived through the colonizing process while newer musical identities have

56 By way of contrast, I find that in the world of concert music, Native and non-Native music stand apart. The European concert style of music with its tempered tunings, harmonies, and contrasting forces is perhaps as far removed from the directness and simplicity of Native expression as one can get. These two musical worlds are extremely hard to reconcile. Music by Native composers such as Brent Michael Davids or Louis Ballard can sometimes sound "Native," but somehow it is not. As with John Kim Bell's score for In the Land of Spirits, the Native motifs and the spirit consciously introduced (by Native and non-Native composers) into European forms, styles and orchestration is sometimes extremely powerful, but often sounds derivative and out of place in the European concert hall.

57 In recent conversations with Wilf Peltier, Cliff Thomas (Cree) and Patricia Foley (Migmag), I learned that there is a strong Native identification through accents in English or in the way that English is spoken (Cliff says that "The Native voice using English keeps traditional 'iD's'). These are regional differences and also related to the linguistic foundation of one's own language. For instance, a Migmag might sing about "gils" as there are few "r's in Migmag; a Cree from the West would pronounce "girls" more like "grils" or "gras."
evolved, reflective of the styles and concerns of the mainstream.

The Native worldview is still linked to a concern for Mother Earth and traditional ways in the songs of people like Willy Mitchell, David Gon and Elizabeth Hill, although these artists have not yet reached a broad audience. These artists and hundreds like them are known in the Native communities, though. Community identity and history continues to be shared on reserves through music made with tools borrowed from the colonizers. Whether singing in church or dancing to fiddle and guitar, many Natives have preserved a musical life in their homes and communities long after mainstream Canadians have lost touch with their own musical heritage. The spirits that music evoke, the cedar and other medicines tied to the natural world of place and time, remain with the Native people.

The drum was silent for many years, and kept away from the general public. Now it sounds throughout the land at powwows and other gatherings. The

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58 This is Grabum's stage six in the colonization cycle, the "introduction of another special role for the encapsulated Fourth World society." In Inuit and Cree society for example, arts and crafts and "ethnic art" have been in demand since the 1950s, providing another economic tool for autonomy. By the late 1950s "great changes had taken place" in Indian crafts, with the introduction of "commercial beads and threads" and other influences that made for a new type of art (McMaster 1983: 104). Native music is now in demand perhaps as an "ethnic" music. one that we have seen evolve throughout this chapter with many influences. The next two chapters examine how this music is going beyond "the danger of a cessation of demand and a return to the horrors of (Welfare Colonialism)" to stage seven: "structural assimilation" (in this case an ability to move comfortably through the mainstream music world) and "self-determination" (Grabum 1983: 5-6).

59 For recent examples see Appendix A: Arthur Smith Tapes and Munwaki Tapes. Also Cronk 1990.

60 Rural Canadians, particularly those in small communities on the East Coast and in Québec, continue to play and sing the music of their Irish, Scottish and French ancestors. The majority of Canadians in the cities have little contact with a musical culture and community. The learning and playing of musical instruments, and the use of song as communication, has been in decline since the advent of radio in the 1920s, and most households began favouring the TV over the piano in the 1950s.
resistance of Natives to economic colonialism and environmental exploitation is growing, and the voice of reason is getting louder through song, as will be explored in the next chapter.

61 Colonialism is still very much alive in Canada. Joane Cardinal-Schubert describes it this way: "Colonialism is the systemic, racist thread that runs through all media and through all systems. It is the basis of so-called Canadian culture, snatched on from past and privilege." Examples of colonialism include "deciding identity based on numbers and lists made by people who were, in most cases, gangsters in their own country," it is Native youth "too well educated" to fit into their own community anymore," it is the "mis-use of artists by corporations," being a "token articulate" at a conference or on a Canada Council jury, it is "the discs on the outside of tipis painted by a People to ensure that the generations following never forgot what happened." She points out that the thing anthropologists still fear most is "two Indians with the same story," a reference to the fact that Natives are now speaking for themselves (1994: 4-6).
Chapter Three - Music of the Seventh Fire

The world is nearing the brink of ecological destruction, propelled by the same materialistic forces that allowed the colonial powers to view the indigenous people and their lands as objects for exploitation. We have to change the larger society's views of its material needs, especially when these seem to be at the expense of our lands and resources and our ways of life. Our peoples' teachings of harmony and balance with nature must be adopted if humanity is to expand beyond its current destructive thinking and survive the environmental crisis (Mercredi 1993: 194).

The new aboriginal music is precisely about building an identity. This new music is alive because it is constantly changing. It reflects aboriginal society...which itself is being transformed (Chaumel 1984: 12).

Introduction

Today in Canada an era of limited political autonomy\(^1\) has occurred and there is strong movement toward self-determination,\(^2\) healing, and expression of Native perspectives. This is evident in the flood of new music being created by powerful Native artists, from Buffy Sainte-Marie to Brian Black Thunder to 7TH Fire. This new music is a mixing of Native and mainstream elements in such a way as to make it "Native" in expression, yet commercially popular in the mainstream. Much

\(^1\) The colonial assimilation and extermination policies carried out against Natives of North America for the last 500 years have not worked. To the contrary, Natives in Canada and elsewhere are surviving and thriving, and a strong movement toward self-determination has begun (Fleras and Elliott 1992; Frideres 1993; Mercredi 1993).

\(^2\) Graburn points out that self-determination is the only way for "fourth world" cultures such as Natives in Canada to avoid assimilation. We are at stage six in this chapter, where the "pathology of neglect" is being answered by spiritual leaders and artists. In Graburn's model, the cycle then returns to stage three where structural incorporation may be renegotiated, and there is further "social reorientation" (if more old skills are lost than new ones gained at this stage, cultural assimilation would take place). From stage three, Graburn's model leads either back to four ("loss of initial economic relationship") or to stage seven where either a - assimilation is achieved or b - self-determination, including "pluralism, perception of separateness and parallel education and occupation structures" emerges (1993: 3-6). I would argue that the renegotiations called for in the Seventh Fire Prophecy, and the sound and message of Native music today both point to a path toward dialogue and self-determination for Native people in Canada.
of this music reflects perspectives and teachings that have been here for thousands of years. This music has arrived now for a reason - which is explained in the Anishnabek prophecy of the Seven Fires.

In the following section, I will present Native perspectives on teachings such as the Seventh Fire Prophecy (Anishnabek) and the Seven Generations of the Iroquois, and the Purification told of by the Hopi and Cree people. I have been told many things about tradition, music and teachings with regards to this paper in the last few years. I am presenting them as much as possible as they came to me; I am also seeking to demonstrate that all of these teachings are related. The music that reflects these teachings is also described here. Links between the music and teachings can be indicated and described through the symbolic language of oral tradition.

In February 1994, when Susan Aglukark received her National Aboriginal Achievement Award in Ottawa at a televised showcase created by John Kim Bell and the Native Arts Foundation, she said that she was one of many who have

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3I am presenting these prophecies because I have been encouraged by elders to relate their messages. This is part of the task in academia today. For example, Franziska von Rosen's work with Migmag elder Michael William Francis ("Mike") shows how scholars can allow the people to speak for themselves, and not try to interpret them. His stories and stories about Eskasoni are what defines his music. She works with him on his terms, and does not use musical examples of his fiddle or guitar playing, as that would not be relevant to him. "Readers may be expecting a musical analysis of Mike's (playing)... and wondering why I focus so much on the 'said' and the 'saying.' My reason for not including a traditional analysis is that I have had no cue from Mike to suggest that such an approach would be useful" (von Rosen 1994: 570).

4John Kim Bell is a conductor and composer (his production "In the Land of Spirits" was a sensation in 1992) from Kahnawake who has dedicated himself to creating opportunities for Natives in the arts. Since 1988, the Native Arts Foundation has given out millions of dollars in aid to musicians, poets, playwrights, dancers and others of Native heritage who wish to succeed - either in the mainstream or in traditional terms in their communities. Like artists Carl Beam and Pierre Sioui, John Kim defines himself as an artist first, refusing to be limited by his Native roots. In John Kim Bell, he decries being labelled a "Mohawk conductor" (see Video in Appendix A). This opens the door to "professional assimilation," but also frees Natives from being stereotyped; artists quoted in Graburn state that "we cannot live forever off the tradition of our forefathers" and "let nothing and nobody interfere with the creative (continued...)"
worked hard and long "for the unification of all aboriginal peoples - and non-aboriginal peoples."

The unification she is talking about has to do with a dialogue, a well balanced circle that includes many perspectives. This is a unification that involves consensus, and a sharing of skills. These are Anishnabek, and Iroquois, teachings:

We have a belief about the many different people of the world. All people have a special purpose on the Earth, given to them by the Great Spirit. The yellow race (Asians) are keepers of the seas and oceans. Black race are keepers of the sky. The white race are the keepers of fire. And the Indian race are the keepers of the Earth. All keepers have a responsibility. They are to protect what they are charged with (Seneca teacher).

This teaching of Native responsibility for the earth is also found in the Seventh Fire prophecy of the Anishnabek. In this prophecy, each of the seven fires represent an era in human history. This is the time of the Seventh Fire - a time at which the earth is threatened by her own environment and people. The task of the people of this age, including the Anishnabek and other red people, the yellow people, the black and the white, is to come together through choosing the road of

(...continued)

proces" (1993: 20).

5The following teaching given to me by a Seneca teacher is echoed by Simon Brascoupé. He explains further that: "The Tree of Life in Iroquois culture is a central theme of creation" which represents wisdom (the Sky Woman examined its roots and "unlocked the door between the Spirit and this world") and equality; "in Aboriginal cultures, people and all of creation are equal parts." This equality is part of the teaching of the Four Directions, which "can symbolize the four winds, animal spirits, and human diversity. The intersection of the Four Directions symbolizes the need for harmony in the world and the sacred relationship that binds the people of the world" (Brascoupé 1992). Also see Appendix E.

6For more on this history, see Appendix F.

7See Appendix I.
cooperation. Without this, there will be no Eighth Fire, or golden age.

The following is from the Ojibway Cultural Centre on Manitoulin Island:

THE LAW OF THE SEVEN FIRES

In a time long, long ago, seven prophecies came to the Anishnawbe.

Each prophecy or fire came from a different prophet who foretold of events that would shape the future of the Anishnawbe. Each of these fires referred to a particular period of time.

The first fire tells us that the Anishnawbe would rise and follow the ways of the sacred shell of Midewiwin. The Midewin religion, to the Anishnawbe, would be the focal point for clean living and a source of strength for all Anishnawbe.

The second fire tells that the nation would be camped by a large body of water. In this time, the direction of the sacred shell would be lost and the ways of the Midewiwin would become weak. It was prophesized that a small boy would return and point the way back to the traditional ways. The boy pointed to the sacred island of Manitoulin as the way to revitalize the ways of the Midewiwin.

The third fire tells that the Anishnawbe would find the path to the chosen land of Manitoulin. This was the place where the Anishnawbe must move their families.

The fourth fire tells of the coming of the light skinned race.

The fifth fire tells of a great struggle to come.

The sixth fire prophesized that during the time of the great struggle grandsons and granddaughters would turn against their elders and that the spiritual ways of the Midewiwin would almost disappear.

The seventh fire tells of the emergence of a new people, a people who would retrace their history to find the sacred ways that had been left behind. The waterdrum would once again sound, its voice signalling the rebirth of the Anishnawbe and a rekindling of life's fire.

During the time of the seventh fire, the light skinned race would be given a choice. If they chose the right road, then the seventh fire would light the eighth and final fire...a fire of peace, love and brotherhood.

If the light skinned race made the wrong choice, then the destruction which they brought with them to this great turtle island would come back to them, causing much suffering, death and destruction.

And that is how the story is told.

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*These race classifications and colours are a guide in the circle - they should not always be interpreted literally. For instance, most people in Canada represent a mix of races, colours and perspectives. See Appendix E.*
In the *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* the Seventh Fire prophecy is recognized as a "...migration legend, a story which recounts the seven 'fires' or stopping places of the people in their journey from the East coast toward the West..." (Kallmann and Potvin 1992: 929). This prophecy also relates to the present-day struggle to strengthen traditional teachings and bring the Anishnabek message of cooperation and understanding to others (Deleary 1990). The Midewiwin society of the Anishnabek teaches the Seventh Fire Prophecy today and "among the Ojibwe of northwestern Ontario, the Midewiwin is a fundamental religious institution... Traditional Anishnabe in adulthood in the 1980s saw themselves as the generation of the seventh fire, and accept a role in bringing back many of their traditions..." (Kallmann and Potvin 1992: 929).

One person who talks about the Seventh Fire is Grandfather William Commanda of Maniwaki. An Algonquin elder, he holds three wampum belts, one of which is the Seventh Fire Prophecy belt which was made in the 1400s. His understanding of the prophecy was received from Ojibwe people in Minnesota, Michigan and Northern Ontario, and through his own family, which has held the

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*To give the reader an idea as to the possible antiquity of this story and prophecy, Anishnabek News reported recently that "a five to ten thousand-year-old" Anishnabe (estimate by the Royal Ontario Museum) was found on the East shore of Lake Huron within a mile of Scugog Island. This conflicts with the anthropological belief that the area was Iroquois or Neutral culture-based. The remains of the "grandfather" were uncovered by a construction crew, along with well preserved ceremonial tools that the Midewiwin have identified; Grand Council Chief of the Midewiwin Society Eddie Benton Banai assisted in the reburial, and said that "this Grandfather came to us, he was brought to our attention, with a number of messages for the Anishnabe people" (in Dale 1995: 1-2).*

*These comments about William Commanda are derived from a talk he gave when showing the belts at the Gathering of Aboriginal People in June 1993; from his visit to the KUMIK in July 1994; from discussions we had at his home in the summer and fall of 1994; and from the chapter "Seven Prophets, Seven Fires: Grandfather William Commanda" in McFadden 1991: 35-47.*

*Information from William Commanda.*
belts for over 100 years.

He speaks of the fact that the white race was welcomed by the Anishnabek, and it was hoped in the time of the Fourth Fire that the white race would come wearing a face of brotherhood, and that the Anishnabek and whites together would form one mighty nation. This did not happen and the white race chose the course of destruction and death.

Today, in the age of the Seventh Fire, the races are again faced with a choice. The two roads are the black road of technology and overdevelopment leading to environmental catastrophe, the other is the red road of spirituality and respect for the earth. Together, people of the world have to choose the right road, be of one mind, or the earth cannot survive.

In April 1994, William visited the United Nations with Hopi elders and elders from other nations, including the Migmag and Mohawk. The message from the Hopi was that desecration of their sacred lands must stop, or else there will be a purification of the earth which will destroy life. Their prophecies are in line with those of the Seventh Fire: "Mankind must return to Peaceful ways, and halt the destruction of Mother Earth, or we are going to destroy ourselves. All the stages of Hopi prophecy have come to pass, except for the last, the purification. The intensity of the purification will depend on how humanity collaborates with Creation." The Hopi gave a deadline to the industrial nations: Four years from the date of their presentation in April 1994. This corroborates the fact that we are indeed in the time

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12 A Mohawk perspective on the Anishnabek prophecy can be found in Sally Gaikesheyongai's *The Seven Fires.*

of the Seventh Fire.  

William teaches that now is the time for Native people to forgive the colonizers for their ignorant and destructive actions. Without this forgiveness, Native people will not be able to think clearly - and they need to be strong and healthy in order to be able to teach the road of cooperation and spiritual understanding to the industrial nations before it is too late. This is part of a movement toward decolonization - a time when Native concerns and identity in music are finding a voice.

The Seventh Fire is not just a time of reclaiming spiritual teachings; it is the time to use those teachings to help correct the imbalance felt in the circle that is the world. It is more than a revitalization movement, it is more like an arrival. Many Native musicians today are listening to teachings like the Seventh Fire prophecy, the Seven Generations teachings of the Iroquois and the prophecies of nations

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14 In Spring 1995 Six Nations hosted the Cry of the Eagle Conference, which was attended by many of the same delegates to the 1994 UN presentation, as well as other leaders and elders from Tibet, New Zealand, Malaysia, Mexico and South America. Thomas Banyacya stated that "the Hopi is looking for a white brother... We will create a spiritual circle where we join the material and the spiritual together and we will take care of the whole world in a spiritual way as well as with the fabulous inventions" (in Hill and Mourtoue 1995: 102). Arvol Looking Horse, 19th Generation Keeper of the Sacred White Buffalo Calf Pipe will be riding from Alberta to the Black Hills in South Dakota next summer, and asks that everyone pray on June 21 1996. This is "to heal ourselves, the Earth and to have a future for the children," as the "oncoming changes can be altered only through prayer" (1995: 108). William Commanda has said that "Native people must put aside their differences and speak for Mother Earth and the Great Spirit that is in all people, all races and colours" (LeBlanc 1995: 9). Arvol said at the Sacred Assembly (December 1995 in Hull) that we all have sacred sites at which to pray, wherever we live in the world, and asked everyone listening to find their own sacred spot and connection with creation.

15 Oren Lyons speaks of how we must look seven generations hence in all our actions as "when we walk upon Mother Earth we plant our feet carefully because we know the faces of our future generations are looking up at us from beneath the ground" (in Wall and Arden 1990: 68). This prophecy says that "the world will eventually come to Indigenous Peoples to learn or relearn how to live in harmony with the Earth. Today, we call this sustainable development" (Brascoupe 1993: 3). Also see Appendix I. The Seventh Generation prophecy also says that seven generations after contact with the Europeans, the Ontonohonwe would witness catastrophes: The elm trees would die, the birds would fall from the sky, the rivers and air would burn, deformed animals would (continued...)
like the Hopi, and they are making these traditional concerns for Mother Earth into popular music. The best of this new music weaves traditional sounds and symbols with mainstream music, with expressions common to both the industrialized cities and the rural, conservative reserves. It is a very old message with a new identity.

Traditional people like the Midewiwin realize the power of this new music, as shown in this saying from the Three Fires Music Festival, held yearly at Wikwemikong Reserve, Ontario:

> It is said among the Three Fires Midewiwin people that we are now gathering gifts for the Sacred Bundle to pass on to the generations to come. Music is part of that bundle.

This music now reaches mainstream Canadian audiences as well. The Native presence and message, has never been stronger or clearer to the other races. From a period of colonization, Native music is moving toward self-determination and decolonization through communication to the mainstream. Poet and musician John Trudell explains it this way: "The whole American trip is to keep the Indians in the past - to deny us a present... then we have no future. When I see... indigenous peoples experimenting with the electric sound and the traditional sounds, to me this is... a natural survival thing that comes from the people" (in Bomberry 1994: 40).

As Natives grow stronger in survival, differences between colonizing and Native cultures and music as examined in Chapter One begin to reappear. The mainstream has always had love songs; the Native version of this is more of a healing song. Love songs are often sung to the earth, or grandmother moon. Where

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be born, and the weather would change, creating "winter without snow and a season without growth" The prophecy says that seven generations after contact, the Onkwehonwe will rise to demand restoration of their stewardship of the earth, and people will turn to the Onkwehonwe ("and particularly to the eastern door of the great Iroquois Confederacy") for guidance (Blanchard 1980: 478-482).
mainstream songs highlight romance, Native music today is expressing reality. Where mainstream rock music still speaks of rebellion and disillusionment, this "new" Native music speaks of respect for oneself and the land.

The return to Anishnabek, Iroquois and other languages is important also. Kashtin and Susan Aglukark have lead the way by bringing their languages to the mainstream, and others will follow. 16 While the English language of popular culture reflects the cursive and directive, emphasizing separateness through the use of "he" and "she" pronouns, the Anishnabek and other Native languages being heard today are descriptive, flowing and inclusive. 17 The "power of 'Indian' as an oral language... does not just connote meaning like the literate language English... instead words are an enactment of meaning, providing power and dramatic intensity through their utterance" (Keillor 1995: 110).

New Drum Music

Willie Dunn has been part of the Native music scene in Canada and Europe for the last 20 years. He predicted that the drum would sound on radio stations all

16 Charlie Panigoniak began mixing Inuktitut lyrics with mainstream music decades ago, and predicted ten years ago that a star like Susan Aglukark would come from the North. Other Northern artists who have maintained their languages through song include Charlie Adams, Tim Ević, Northern Haze and the new Inuit rock band Kliysit (named with respect after the Eastern Arctic folk drum that came into disuse after contact with whalers and missionaries). See Pinto 1994: 68-69. Jerry Alfred, a song-keeper of the Northern Tutchone Nation, recently released a modern sounding album in his language which won him support from the Canada Council (Etsi Shon - Grandfather Song).

17 Qureshi argues that ethnomusicologists have spent too much time analyzing musical "products" rather than talking about the music-makers themselves, their view of the process of music, their way of understanding and their language. "Maybe the Cree have it right, with their language full of verbs denoting activity, not nouns; English and other Indo-European languages are full of nouns denotive of things, and our societal arrangements, our university setup, reflect the conceptual tendency of objectivization (Qureshi 1994: 346).
over Turtle Island, and take its place alongside Western music such as pop, rock and country. The drum, central to Native identity, has never been stronger in the mainstream culture. Shepherd has shown how "sound can imitate and thus 'refer' to other sounds" (1993: 11), and in this case the reference is to the sound of the heartbeat of mother earth.\footnote{Politically, "the power of 'music' (in this case the drum) to remind people of their inalienable and inevitable connectedness to themselves, to others, and to the material worlds has come to constitute a challenge to dominant forms of social, political and economic control..." This musical strength is lacking in European and American concert and popular music, "discursively constituted..." from "the power of a certain form of language (rational, distanced, 'arbitrary'), and of a certain form of linguistically encoded thought to manipulate and control the world unilaterally (which) has... become seductive to the point of resulting in attempts to deny and exclude from awareness other forms of experience" (Shepherd 1993: 13). In other words, the drum can expand consciousness, while much mainstream music does the opposite.}

The drum has been incorporated into the contemporary works of differing artists such as Buffy Sainte-Marie, Robbie Robertson, Kashtin, Susan Aglukark and 7TH Fire.\footnote{This is the "desired continuity" of tradition described by Williams (1981: 187).} Virtually every artist producing Native music today has found ways of presenting the identity and integrity of the drum. The drum still lives aside from mainstream music, even when used by modern recording artists in a mainstream context.\footnote{This is syncretism, in that the two elements (or roads or rows as in Iroquois teachings) are independent while still being together or parallel. It is a true alliance whereby the whole is stronger than its independent parts. It is not synthesis wherein two elements become combined or blended as with "African drum rhythms" at "the base of many syncopated rhythms idiomatic of jazz... their musical and extramusical meanings have all been changed in their very essence in the new context" (Kartomi 1981: 233). As John Trudell says: "When I work with the traditional music, I know that taking it and exploring new forms in contemporary ways doesn't dilute the strength of the music's traditional aspects" (in Taylor 1993: 13).}

On Coincidence and Likely Stories, Buffy Sainte-Marie used the drum to take "Starwalker" to people across Canada (and the U.S.) with a mix of bells, shakers, singing and drumming. In her words "I wanted both Native people and non-Native
people to approach "Starwalker" in the context of just ordinary, everyday sounds of Indian country, so I chose the powwow" (in Stawarz 1994: 34). There are sounds of people walking about, the bells on dancers' legs, and the voices of Intertribal singers. All of these sounds are instantly recognizable to Natives; they are also becoming part of the recognized sound of mainstream culture. Buffy has been working on this approach for twenty years. One of her earlier creations of mixed music was "Qu'Apelle Saskatchewan" on Sweet America, released in the 1970s.

The message of the drum is everywhere on Robbie Robertson's Music for The Native Americans. This album was produced for the Ted Turner series The Native Americans, which recently aired in the U.S. The images portrayed in the music are of Native people thriving and surviving through the horrors of the last 500 years. There are many drum songs here, and songs inspired by the drum: "Coyote Dance," "Heartbeat Drum Song" and "Ghost Dance" are three examples.

In "Ghost Dance," the power of the drum and sacredness of the circle are brought to life in modern music. The Ghost Dance was inspired by the Paiut prophet Wovoka, who said to the Plains and Basin people in the 1880s that the buffalo and old way of life would return if the people continued to dance. The sacred dance spread "from Nevada to the northern Plains," and "promised that peaceful adjustments with the whites, faithful dancing, clean living, and hard work would restore the days of Indian prosperity" (Young 1995: 14). Out of fear and ignorance the U.S. government sought to extinguish the new Native "religion," culminating in the massacre of hundreds of people at Wounded Knee in 1890.

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21 This combination of traditional music and history with modern recording technology relates back to the "two worlds" and "two row wampum," as long as the elements retain their integrity and identity within the medium. "Native artists know full well what they are doing since they have material available from both worlds with which to construct a statement, a vision, and this is more often than not taken advantage of, which is the way it should be" (Young Man 1994: 397).

22 Other artists also remember Wounded Knee, both then and now. "Wounded Knee" is on Floyd Westerman's The Land Is Your Mother; Buffy Sainte Marie's "Bury
There was 300, mostly women and children, massacred for doing a dance, for praying, and all thrown in a grave together - one big mass grave. And it's one of the most abominable, unimaginable things to have happened to a people. I felt I had to do something in this project to acknowledge this, to pay respect to this... I thought, "this needs to be dealt with." (in Kennedy 1994: 40).

The song uses a traditional Cheyenne Ghost Dance melody, sung in the background by Rita and Priscilla Coolidge and their niece Laura Satterfield. Robbie sings the English translation over the chant: "We shall live again," a message that is most timely in the age of the Seventh Fire. The music is alive as it was in the 1880s: A drumscape reminiscent of the Plains is created through modern instruments, and... "I'm answering the chant and then Rita is singing this little musical phrase while all this is going on - it becomes a round. When I heard

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My Heart at Wounded Knee was a hit from Coincidence and Likely Stories in 1992. It is a popular rock song complete with high range vocables and crunching electric guitar, which describes the horrors of 1973 incidents at Wounded Knee, during which her friend Anna (Annie) Mae Aquash was murdered, two FBI agents were shot to death and Leonard Peltier was wrongly imprisoned for the crime. See Appendix M.

23 There are a great many "Invisible Indians" among the musical establishment, many of whom are now speaking out (term from a poem by Jennifer Tsun, meaning people with Native blood who do not "look Native"). Aside from the Coolidge family, there are Neil Young, Shania Twain, Tom Petty, Eartha Kitt, Wayne Newton, and members of The Red Hot Chili Peppers (information from various sources, including Allen and David Delean). Several years ago, Willie Nelson was honored as "Indian of the Year" by the Cherokee people, and said "there's not much Indian blood in me, but it runs all the way through me" (from Simon Brascoupé). Johnny Cash has said that he wears black to honor the Cherokee who have died during colonization, and that his grandmother was Cherokee (from Cliff Thomas). Jimi Hendrix also claimed Native ancestry, which his father corroborated. In cases like the ones above, there is always fear in the Native community that people claiming Native ancestry may be acting opportunistically (See Appendix K).

24 I use this term for a number of reasons. It is related to Murray Schafer's concept of "Soundscape," wherein a place (such as Canada) can be portrayed in sound, also to Chris Martin's tape Drumscape/Dreamscape which evokes a time and place both ancient and modern, and to Robbie's musical creative process, which he describes as being a way of creating atmospheres and showing pictures, times and places through music. His work with The Band in reconstructing the American South of the Civil War era shows this.
the whole thing kind of go around inside itself, it just gave me a chill. I thought, 'we've found a way to express this thing' (in Kennedy 1994: 40).

The album was "all traditionally-based, but a so very experimental," in an effort to make a contemporary sound and get away from the Hollywood stereotype of war drums in the distance, the "cliché of Indian rhythms" (in Kennedy 1994: 37). Drums that came for this album were Tuscarora and Zuni (Pura Fé and Soni), Pueblo (Benito Concha), Aztec (Mazati Galindo), Peruvian (Alex Acuna) and Plains-style (The Silvercloud Singers).

Robbie Robertson has commented on how the drum and its songs contributed to his new sound. In his attempt to strike a balance between contemporary sound and traditional Native music, which he calls "modern traditional,"25 he was visited by sounds from his childhood. "There were melodies I'd remember from when I was a little kid, like a little chant melody... I'd been carrying them around from... way inside for a long time" (in Howell 1995). These are likely songs he heard during his summers on the Six Nations reserve when he was young - sung Iroquois style with water drum and shakers (these sounds are still very strong on the reserve; I recorded many new songs at the Onondoga Longhouse on the full moon in April this year). He says that Native musicians he worked with on the album resisted the idea that they should be "stuck in the past," and so with "complete respect for sacred and traditional ceremonial songs" they worked with modern rock and pop sounds and "ended up with something that's

25 Robbie's term is as good as others that have been applied to the new Native music, which include "Pow-Wow Rock" (the Globe and Mail, or simply "Aboriginal Music" (the Junos, the Aboriginal Music Project), or "First People's Music" (the Canada Council), or First Nations Music. Keith Secola calls his music "a contemporary noble savage beat," while Allen Deleary of 7TH Fire has used the term "North American Indian rock and roll music" (in Patterson 1995: 60). What is important to note is that "the hybrid has become a new species" in the words of Margaret Kartomi. "The process of intercultural musical synthesis... is a matter of settling into motion an essentially creative process, that is, the transformation of complexes of interacting musical and extramusical ideas" (Kartomi 1981: 232-233).
never been done before.  

Robbie notes that in Kashtin's song "Akua Tuta" (the title cut from their new CD), the sound of Florent Vollant's feet moving as he dances (to the drum) is an integral part of the song. In a like way, the words to "Akua Tuta" relate to the Seventh Fire, and to the message of the drum today:

Take care
Take care of your homelapce
Take care of your grandmother
Take care of yourself

It is sung in Innu so most Canadians do not understand the words. Their message is in their sound, which is inspired by the Innu drum. Kashtin has sold some 375,000 copies of Kashtin (1989) and Innu (1991), and Akua Tuta is increasing their popularity here and in the U.S.  

The drum is also central to Susan Aglukark's new album This Child. The Dettah drummers (Dene from the NorthWest Territories) weave their sound through the layers of this sophisticated modern production in a way that enhances the studio sound and preserves the identity and integrity of the drum. Susan's subtle approach to the use of the drum is partly a confirmation of Willie Dunn's prediction that the drum will sound on mainstream radio, as "today Susan Aglukark's music is

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26 Capitol Records press release, 1994. "Today Native American artists integrate, synthesize, and interpret traditional knowledge and artistic expression." Robbie's work integrates past and present, like the work of many successful contemporary artists today. "Contemporary artists make ancient voices speak by rediscovering and reintegrating traditional art and symbols (in this case the drum). Through our elders' teachings we have become concerned about languages, values and culture. We are now learning to read our ancient arts" (Brascoupé 1994: 93).

27 Source: Billboard magazine (LeBlanc 1994: 55). In November 1994, Kashtin released Akua Tuta. "Claude McKenzie tells me that Akua Tuta has already sold 100,000 copies in less than a month." (e-mail correspondence from Val Morrison Nov. 1994) Their success is way ahead of most Native artists in Canada (such as those mentioned in Chapter 2), who are lucky to sell 1 to 5,000 copies of a tape or CD.
at the top of the music and video charts... between contemporary artists like Mary Chapin Carpenter and Prairie Oyster" (Monchuck 1995).

Ottawa's 7TH Fire incorporates Intertribal singing and the drum. Their sound includes elements of reggae, rap, rock and roll and Zappaesque sounds, but some of their most striking work is built around the drum. Songs such as "The Death of John Wayne," "Round Dance," "Chi Meegwetch" and "Freedom Train" are drum-inspired. 7TH Fire takes their sound to festivals and clubs across the country - many non-Natives have become acquainted with Native sounds at 7TH Fire concerts.

Seventh Fire's music is based on the drum, and many of their efforts involve collaboration with musicians from different places and backgrounds. Drummer Eduardo Flores Suarez brought Latin and jazz influences to The Cheque Is In The Mail (1992). Pat Andrade, who helped develop the sound of political manifesto delivered over Intertribal sounds with "The Death of John Wayne" continues today in Toronto with an alliance of musicians from around the world. His new dub music is heard in the dance clubs, a fusion of "reggae, hip-hop, and dub with Native American musical forms like traditional singing and drumming" (Andrade 1995).

More musicians are finding new ways to emphasize the drum's message. These include Gary Williams from Curve Lake, whose band plays high-powered rock and roll driven by his large turtle-shell shaker and a hand drum, both used with

28Native music is always political in a sense. While the mainstream has "managed to isolate (and appreciate) one or two aspects of Indian life - the spiritual aspect and sometimes the art - and to separate these from the rest of the Indian experience," Natives do not make these splits or separations and "the spiritual aspect of life is inseparable from the economic and the political" (Mander 1991: 208).

29Native artists involved in Andrade's work include the Eagle Heart Singers, Don Patrick Martin (Mohawk), John Trudeau (Sante Sioux), Pura Fé (Tuscarora), Jeannette Armstrong (Okanagan), Russell Wallace (Lil'wat), Greg Young-Ing (Cree), Kristal Cook (Kwak wak'awakw), Kelly White (Ojibwe/Salish) Jessie Keeman (Inuit) and 7TH Fire (Ojibwe). Contributors from other cultures include Carl Ayton, Mikey Dread, Santa Davis, Scully and Fatta (Jamaica), Rupinder Kaur (India) and Sandile Diken (South Africa). From Basslines and Ballistics (Andrade 1995).
advice from the elders. Ottawa’s Epona ‘Kwae combine Algonquin and Celtic drumming and traditions to create new types of expressions. The Tuscarora singer Pura Fé, who is prominent on Robbie Robertson’s album, worked with Monique Mohica and the Eagle Heart Singers to help the South American group Kanatan Askí (Cree for “clean land”), create a blend that includes instruments such as pan-pipes, charango and guitar, saxophone, bongos and the Native drum - a “new style of Native Contemporary music of the Americas...as we reach the end of the millennium, we are seeing a new generation of Native people rise up in great strength... as defenders of Mother Earth” (Kanatan Askí 1993).31

Elders talk about how until recently, the drum was kept quiet and away from mainstream society. Now in the time of the Seventh Fire, the drum is an accepted focal point for successful contemporary music. Now the drum is in place and sounding on the land again; its messages will be heard.

Music of the Land

Native people in Canada are determined to save what land is left. Without the land, there are no medicines, no stories, no spirits, no life. Land deprivation

30Syren and the Eagle Heart Singers have been working out of Toronto for several years now, creating music that combines the pop/rock singing of Lea and Lyn Harper and the drum.

31There are a number of South American groups now performing in Canada, many incorporating Native themes from here. These include Dario Domingues (who plays often with Willie Dunn), Pepe Mendoza (who combines pan flutes with Cree drumming and singing), J’Ach Marka (an Aymara group playing Andean music for indigenous communities in Québec for some ten years), and Sisa Pacari (an Ecuadorian group promoting Andean culture in the Ottawa and Toronto areas). This is part of a new North-South musical dialogue that is cultural and political.

32Kevin Dear of Kahnawake told me that the Mohawk identity as “Kanienskehake” or “people of the flint” shows us that Mohawk identity is in the land. He says that “everything we do tells us that.”

(continued...)
contributes to problems in Native society including youth suicide. Native music today reflects these concerns.\textsuperscript{33}

Susan Aglukark's "Song of the Land" and "Arctic Rose" show the importance of the land to her people the Inuit and to the rest of us. "Song of the Land" is a celebration of coming together in this territory of Canada with respect and sharing, and has become a national anthem in the Canadian North. "Arctic Rose" tells the story of a young boy, disassociated from the land and his roots, who ends up committing suicide. This is a common story of life in the North and on most reserves, where suicide among young people is epidemic. The cause is a loss of culture, loss of identity, through an inability to live in a traditional way on the land.\textsuperscript{34}

On her album Coincidence and Likely Stories, Buffy Sainte-Marie voices her concerns with "Priests of the Golden Bull." In a mainstream pop song, she shows that "Indian reservations are the nuclear front line," that "the corporate caterpillars come right into our back yards." She knows that people close to the land, regardless of race, have a better view than anyone else as to how the environment is being degraded.

In 1992 Natives in Saskatchewan launched a blockade against clearcutting. They also produced a tape called Spirit Rise which was distributed to Native radio

\textsuperscript{33}Early contemporary expressions regarding the land include Willie Dunn's "O Canada" from the 1970s, and "We Are Standing" by Johnny Landry and a Slavey Dene group in the mid-1980s, both of which "stress the importance of the land" to Native culture and survival (Kellor 1995: 119).

\textsuperscript{34}After participating in This Path We Travel, a collaborative installation of Native artists that took several years and trips to the four directions (New York, Arizona, Hawaii, Alberta), Allen Delsery wrote: "My work centres on music, poetry and performance art. Our visits to the four sites... magnified my sensitivity to the earth as a living, breathing reality. The beauty of the earth is incredible... I want my children to experience the creation process that the earth is constantly undergoing" (in Smithsonian 1994: 38).
stations and to individuals across Canada at powwows and other gatherings. A variety of artists from the West contributed music related to the importance of the land, including Maria Campbell with "I Am Your Mother," Paddy Tutty with "The Land Knows You're There," and Don Freed with "You Can't Just Do As You Please." The last song is a funny but deadly serious reference to Native feelings about the land today. Referring to the events at Oka, and the likelihood of more events in the future, he sings:

If you wanna go golfing
On sacred land
Better bring along an army
With guns in their hands...
Don't bother putting on your golf shoes
Don't bother getting out your tees
You ain't a-gonna need 'em
You can't just do as you please

Murray Porter's accomplished rhythm and blues piano playing and his dusky voice have earned him a spot on AM radio across the country. Murray and Tammy Pierce, both Iroquois from Six Nations reserve, sing together on "I Am An Eagle" from The Legends Project. The song portrays the image of a person in touch with the land and the spirits. The song is one of his anthems to the land and survival here, similar to "Heart of the Eagle" and "500 Years." Today, songs like these are getting airplay on drive-in (morning) radio shows in places like Toronto. It is a coup.

Wapistan (Lawrence Martin) reflects his concerns throughout his debut album Wapistan (earlier released as Let's Play Indians and Cowboys - The Nashville sessions). His songs are very personal and local, dealing with the effects of missionization and development on the Mushkeego Cree of the James Bay area. On this album, the sophisticated Nashville production stands apart from the drum and chants of Wapistan and Vern Cheechoo. The elements do not mix as in the albums above. His songs, in Cree and English, are about changing life on the reservation, the loss of language and culture among his people, and hope that is still found in the elders and teachings, celebrated in "Elders" and "Wawatay." In
"Canada O'Daskey," he leaves no doubt about how he feels about where he comes from:

It's the Nishnabe's land
This Canada
We love it greatly
this Canada
God gave it to us
Look after it well.

Kashtin also contributes toward an awareness of the land, through songs like "Akua Tuta" (above) and through their videos depicting Innu country and the North. For many young Canadians, videos like this on MuchMusic and MTV are their first exposure to the mystery that is the Canadian landscape. And it is an inviting image, one that creates respect for the people who live there.

This message that Natives are the guardians of the land, and the conscience of developers, has never been so much a part of the Canadian consciousness. It is as if non-Native Canadians are just now realizing that they are still visitors to this place. Michael Murphy is a musician who came to the North from Ireland over 10 years ago, and now lives and works in Pangnirtung. He saw the Native perspective very clearly when he came here, and wrote the following, after spending his first day on the land with an Inuk. In the lyrics to his song "Transient Centre" he expresses what the hunter told him:

All you guys
Tryin' to change our ways
With your white life talk about future days

We've been here
Since the earlier years
And we've lived on our hopes and got over our fears

Oh, don't you forget, don't you forget
You have yet to enter

You're still just, you're still just
Part of the transient centre
Mainstream Canadians have remained at the centre of political and social power while Natives remained at the periphery. In that solitude Natives maintained their teaching regarding Mother Earth and the way she must be respected, and today that message is coming to the Canadian centre through song. The identification and self-identification of the red people as protectors of the earth is growing stronger. Cree singer Walter Bonaîse echoes the Seneca teaching in Chapter One when he says:

Indian people are supposed to be the most important thing to nature. Indian people are supposed to be the most important to all creation, they're supposed to learn, they're supposed to know, better than anybody else. That's the Indian people. And also, they're supposed to be teaching the young people the importance of life, how important it is to be able to eat, and share food on a table... which we don't have today. And I think we are going into another world, if we continue to do the wrong things. The whole Western hemisphere is changing, is changing our way of life. If I'm driving a car, it's like an exchange with the creator, you know? But the young people, they're driving past 90. We are losing our spiritual identity and our Native land. Anything you find growing up from nature, like a flower - you look at it, how beautiful it is, that's how you want yourself and your children to look. That's our Indian way of life (in Patterson 1994: 51).

Concern for the integrity of the land is more than a priority with Native people, it is a big part of identity. Natives are now being joined by environmentalists, scientists and other concerned people in the age of the Seventh Fire to present this environmental message.

Women's Voices

Native women in Canada\footnote{This is also occurring in the U.S. For instance, women are singing with men at the drum more than ever before. Powwow singing in the Northern Plains now includes family groups, and "women and girls sing with the men, usually an octave below" while "others may sing in the higher-voiced male register." Many of these women singers are "inspired by the need to train people in cultural preservation. More of the mixed drum groups are from Canada and the far Northern Plains than from anywhere else" (Green and Bass 1995: 73-74). Women's drum groups, such as the Sweethearts of Navajoland and the Crying Woman Singers, are now extremely popular. Also see Heartbeat: The Voices of First Nations Women.} are being heard more than ever before.
Traditionally in Native culture, women have been the keepers of teachings, the arbiters of social policy and the partners of men. Through the patriarchal and hierarchical nature of mainstream life, they had lost their voice. Today, they are speaking out again as part of the larger women's movement. Native women singers from Canada who have achieved national and international recognition include Buffy Sainte-Marie, Joanne Shenandoah of Six Nations, filmmaker and singer Alanis Obomsawin from the Odanac reserve near Montréal, and country singer Laura Vinson from Alberta.

36 There is an Iroquois story related to the need for women's strength in the struggle against the colonizers. Two great serpents (representing the greed of colonizers and other threats to the Onkwewhonwe) have encircled the Iroquois, and nothing grows where these serpents go. It is said that a boy will arrive to slay the serpents, but needs hair from the women to tie up his bow. The strength of the men is in the bow; the women will find the leader (the arrow) that will be used to kill the serpents.

37 In the late 1800s and early 1900s women artists used poetry music to promote awareness about Native values. They were extremely popular for their enactments of the romantic “Indian Princess,” an image created by colonizing whites to rationalize their agenda (Pocahontas, for example). Emily Pauline Johnson (Mohawk) toured Canada through the late 1800s promoting “a nation unified in heritage and outlook.” Sarah Winnemucca (Paiute) and Susette La Flesche (Omaha) performed throughout the U.S. in the mid to late-1800s seeking help for their people. Tsianina Blackstone (Creek) was an opera singer (Shanewis 1926) who worked with composer Charles Wakefield Cadman to create a body of Omaha and other songs in print and on the stage. She used her career as “an opportunity to tell the truth about the Indian race” (Wescott 1994: 7-8). Also see Anderson-Longboat 1942. Today women have moved beyond the Indian Princess image, although the image persists.

38 Folk on the Rocks at Yellowknife is one of the oldest traditional/contemporary music festivals involving non-Natives and Natives such as the Dene. In 1994, the traditional closing drum dance was sung by Rosemarie Wedzin. "For the first time (in recent memory), the beat everybody danced to came from a woman's hand..." She "chanted proudly over her caribou-hide drum, reclaiming a place once occupied by her grandmother" (Pinto 1994: 68). This is just one example, many women are now using the drum. This is part of a new political voice also; Frideres notes that through organizations such as the Native Women's Association Native women "now have a strategy for obtaining goals they see as important" (1993: 333). For more on the impact of the Native women's movement see (1993: 333-364).
Buffy has long been a champion of the governing system of the Iroquois Confederacy. The Iroquois women are traditionally responsible for appointing chiefs (clans are matrilineal) and deciding on major issues; both women and men have independent circles and councils, and major decisions are always made consensually. Although the United States took their governmental system from ideas in the Iroquois Confederacy, they failed to include the women. Buffy says that "democracy is not being practised anywhere in the world today including Canada and the U.S. But the Iroquois Confederacy for 1200 years had a true democracy (including both men and women)." She goes on to note that "The idea of a chief having no power but sort of being a child of the community, was another Iroquois idea that was not accepted by Franklin and Washington" (Anon. 1992).

Rose Auger, an elder and medicine woman of the Cree people at Driftpile reserve in Manitoba, said this at the KUMIK in October of 1994:

This government (in Canada, the U.S.) is patterned after the Iroquois Confederacy. They tried to copy it, but they would not incorporate the women's side of the Confederacy. Therefore this government is not complete and will never be complete because the women are not in place.

And that's the most important part. Because they bring life, and should choose the leaders, and de-horn them if they're not carrying (out) the natural laws of the sacred ways, and not serving the people the way that they should.

Women are not afraid to sing about painful issues from their own experiences. Susan Aglukark was abused as a child and sings about the effects of that abuse in her song "Still Runnin" from 1992's Arctic Rose; she then explores growing out of her early experiences in her new album This Child. Buffy Sainte-Marie refers to childhood abuse, and mistreatment in relationships with men, in "Bad End" on Coincidence and Likely Stories. This is not a new issue with Buffy. She addressed abusive relationships on her 1976 album Sweet America ("Free the Lady"). Both women devote time to talking with Native youth about the problems of abuse.

Susan has sung about suicide, as has Joanne Shenandoah on her latest CD,
Once In A Red Moon. "In the Middle of the Road" is a song for Native American youth (who have the highest suicide rate in North America). The "middle of the road" is being caught between two cultures, and two paths. There, one cannot make a stand and must "lay down and die." She is urging youth to come over to the Red Road.

Laura Vinson, a Metis\textsuperscript{39} from Alberta, addresses the issue of racism in her song "Half of a Half Breed" on her recent CD Rise Like A Phoenix (this album went on to win five of seven awards at the Alberta Recording Industry Awards in February 1995). Ironically, although she and some of her band are Native, the band was recently refused permission to play the Canadian International Arts Festival in Calgary because some of her band members are white (Anon. 1994).\textsuperscript{40} Laura also sings about the painful problems of mixed-race identity, and the relief to be found in accepting one's Natiiveness on her title cut "Rise Like a Phoenix." In Toronto, Metis blues singer Jani Lauzon sings about the same issues in her powerful song "Broken Spirit" (see Blue Voice New Voice).

Both Laura and Jani are voicing the concerns of a generation of Native people of mixed ancestry, trying to find their own balance. Like Shingoose with his songs "Reservation Blues" and "Indian Time" (written over a decade ago and later released on Natural Tan), they are stating the fact that mixed-race people are

\textsuperscript{39}Laura's heritage is Cree and Cherokee, English and French. "They used to tell me, don't wear that buckskin stuff anymore. It looks too country, too Indian. I told them: 'Wait a minute. I am Indian and that's what I'll wear.'" She is happy that today, there is a market for her type of music which combines different styles (folk and country) and her "native roots" (in Muretich 1995: C12).

\textsuperscript{40}This incident relates to the tension brought about by the Native community's fear of opportunism in relation to "invisible Indians" and others who were heretofore silent. The resentment is that these people become involved only when being Native is popular and prestigious, not during times of distress or struggle. As Floyd Westerman sang about these "instant Indians" (my term), "Where were you when we needed you my friend?" There is also fear that non-Natives who become involved may displace Natives in terms of employment, and resentment because the non-Native musician or other professional may have the advantage of superior skills for the task due to better education and training.
confused and unsure about their identity. In Canada, the number of people claiming Native ancestry has increased in the last five years, partly due to Bill C-31, meaning that increasing numbers of people are questioning their own identity and values, and accepting that Native side of themselves that would have remained hidden five or ten years ago.

The Seventh Fire Prophecy and the Seven Generations Prophecy implicitly call on Native sons, daughters and cousins to accept themselves and help with the task at hand. On The Legends Project, Elizabeth Hill from Six Nations sings that "we are the children of seven generations." And Joanne Shenandoah of the Oneida Nation brought that message of Iroquois prophecy along with a song of hope to the opening of the 25th anniversary Woodstock concert this past summer. With her was the traditional Peacemaker drum from Tyendinaga (near Deseronto, Ontario).

Like other music of the land, Joanne Shenandoah's music stresses the need for balance between nature and people. She does this by combining traditional Iroquois social dance songs with informative folk ballads about the Native way of life, such as "We Are The Iroquois" and "A Prayer for Sundancer." She is a household name in Native Canada, and in many parts of the U.S. as well Once in a Red Moon is an effort to strengthen Native identity through a recognition of the land ("Mother Earth Speaks" and "Spirit Lingers On"), and traditions ("You Can

[41] In 1985 Bill C-31 (An Act to Amend the Indian Act) redefined "who is and is not Indian." Designed to eliminate sexual discrimination and the concept of enfranchisement (the loss of Indian status through various means). It "provided for partial reinstatement of those people who had lost their Indian status," primarily women (and their children) who had married non-Natives. It was estimated in 1985 that some 20,000 women and 30-100,000 children would eventually regain their status, but the process has been slow (Friderees 1993: 33-34). Joanne MacDonald points out that this change came about because the provision of the Indian Act calling for Native women to lose their status by marrying non-Natives "clearly conflicted with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms" (1993: 36).

[42] In an Air Canada flight in Summer 1995, Simon Brascoupé noted that this album was among the featured audio choices for the season.
Hear Them Dancing" and "The Blackfeet Nation"). In 1994 she was selected Native Musician of the Year by the *First Americans in the Arts Foundation* for her tireless touring of North America, "preserving traditional values within the field of contemporary music" (Anon. 1994). She is acting a traditional woman's role in Native society: Protector and teacher of traditions and histories.

The above musics are popular in the Canadian mainstream, yet are still playing the role of traditional music for Native people. Women and men continue to act as teachers through their music. Jacob Coin, a musician and composer and a member of the Tobacco Clan, Hopi Nation says it this way:

> For the contemporary Native musician, music is more than simply entertainment. Like their ancestors, today's Native artists agree that a commitment to music in its role as teacher is an important responsibility to be upheld (Coin 1992: 93).

Healing

Buffy Sainte-Marie said long ago that her music is healing.\(^\text{43}\) Cree elders Rose Auger and Walter Bonaise talk of the healing power of the rattle and the drum.\(^\text{44}\) In his thesis on the Midewiwin, Nick Deleary notes that:

Mide priests are often called upon as singers and composers of music... Without the drum to accompany the Mide, his or her voice would be inaudible, powerless, and hence ineffective in prolonging life. The sound of the Water drum carries its voice loud and clear, the sound of the water drum goes everywhere. Sound itself is the essence of the Midewiwin, - Mide- wi-win. Mideway in one translation means Sounding voice, Wi-win, translates as sounding good all over. The Mide would add to this interpretation that Midewiwin means, The Way of the Heart beat, the good heart sound of life (Deleary 1990: 75-78).

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\(^\text{43}\) Some students of mine at McGill related strongly to one person's story of how they remembered "our uncles drinking and crying to Hank Williams songs... But now we have our own people - "Steelworkin' Man" (by Elizabeth Hill) speaks to our heart. We can cry about it, free ourselves from the bondage of negative things by listening to our own singers now."

\(^\text{44}\) See Appendix C.
Just as this sound and this understanding is part of the medicine lodge, it is in the consciousness of modern pop creators. Robbie Robertson's *Music for The Native Americans* is healing music also. The TV series and the music are a catharsis for Native and non-Natives alike, much like *Roots* had been to black America in the 1970s. The music itself combines insistent drumming, chorale-style women's voices, chanting, guitar and a whole landscape of synthesized sounds and textures. The message, invoking the spirit of the Ghost Dance, is that "You don't stand a chance against my prayers," and "We shall live again." The fact that the drum is increasingly being heard means that healing is taking place. It could be the drum beneath Susan 'Aglukark's modern arrangements on *This Child*, or the drum groups now becoming known to a wider, more mainstream audience.

Traditional intertribal drums and the attendant powwows are coming back all over Canada, part of a strong healing movement and spiritual resurgence (see Chapter Four). From the East, drums like Free Spirit are travelling to places like Kahnesetake, Golden Lake and Maniwaki, and South America. Their sound is slow and low pitched much of the time; notes are held for many beats. It is a very calming, soothing drum.

Healing and Peyote songs from the South are also becoming better known in Canada. Singers like Primeaux, Mike and Atson produce tapes and CDs of their chorale-style singing. Their songs are in Sioux, Navajo, French and English - and are Christian, patriotic, traditional and healing all at once. Singing like this, from the Native American Church, combines elements from traditional healing songs and Gregorian chant. Mexican and other healers are now bringing songs like this with them when they travel to Canada.44 Other artists who continue to be popular in

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44Dorson Stevens told me that their way of singing reminds her of the real "old Indian singing," where one voice starts and another follows very close behind. She sings this way, and notes that if one makes a mistake, the other following can quickly "fix" the song.
Canada are the Dene (Navajo) singers Guy and Allen and Billie Nez.

Most of the big drums in Canada are from the West, where there is now a tradition of big powwows and social and competition dancing (part of a movement in the Southern Plains in the 1940s). There are almost 100 titles of music by drums from Western Canada in the Canyon Records catalogue from the U.S., and distributors such as the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre, First Nations Music in Toronto, Sweetgrass Music from Saskatoon, and Sunshine Records of Winnipeg are ensuring that powwow tapes from the West (and other places) are available across Canada. Mainstream record stores such as Sam's and HMV now have a selection of Intertribal tapes.

Powwow music comes from ancient traditions of healing songs. In the Canadian North West, the older traditions are still strong and Cree elders continue to use the healing power of the rattle and the drum at gatherings and ceremonies. In the James Bay Cree area and among the Innu, healers use the hand drum and shakers for sacred ceremonies like the shake tent. Modern bands

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46 The Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre has been producing tapes, CDs and videos since 1988. First Nations Music was founded by Vic Wilson (former manager of Rush) and Lawrence Martin, and produces and distributes a number of artists including the White Tail Singers, Murray Porter and Elizabeth Hill. Sweetgrass Records in Saskatoon was founded in 1993 by Ted Whitecalf, who has twenty years’ experience recording drum groups, and his recording of Stoney Park made the Juno awards the same year. He and his wife Darlene have been working tirelessly since, and have created a large catalogue of quality recordings. He hopes to expand South into the U.S. soon. Sunshine Records of Winnipeg, in operation over twenty years, is expanding its catalogue of Intertribal and Native country and rock performers. Distributors in the U.S. taking a larger interest in Canada are Canyon Records (one of the oldest non-Native distributors) and Tom Bee and the SOAR Corporation. Tom is now distributing and supplying radio stations in Canada, and carries some of the best music available from the Southwest and other places, including Sacred Spirits, Jay Begaye, Vince Two Eagles and XIT, and also groups such as Guy and Allen, the Grayhorse Singers, Arawak Mountain Singers, Rocky Boy Singers and many others.

47 See interviews with Rose Auger and Walter Bonaisse in Appendix C.
such as Sundog from the Yukon incorporate some aspects of these rituals, such as chanting, because "the Creator brought us together to do this music. It's clean and it's healthy - we're all healing. That's the most incredible part" (Pinto 1994, 70). The songs and ceremonies are strong in the North these days, as more people are returning to traditional spirituality.

Song of the Land West

Native people are reclaiming their voices, largely through music and the arts... Canada is among the countries leading the way in bringing indigenous music into the mainstream (Bomber 1994: 41).

There's a huge resurgence in young Native people reclaiming their language and music. Their backs are up against the wall, but... when they start to tell their stories, their music, it comes out in a pretty powerful way (Dance Me Outside producer Bruce McDonald in Finken 1995).

The right Blackfoot way to do something is to sing the right Blackfoot song with it (in Nettl 1989: 172).

The new Native music has taken a strong hold on the Canadian consciousness. Social music like Kashtin's\textsuperscript{48} and modern music festivals like Maleotenam and Nikamu (near Sept. Ile), the Three Fires Music Festival at Wiwemikong, the Muddy Water Festival at Sandy Lake, Northern Lights (near Yellowknife),\textsuperscript{49} and urban showcases such as Toronto's Native Beat, Earth Spirit, 

\textsuperscript{48}Kashtin is one of a number of popular Innu musical groups in Northern Québec. They are all part of a long tradition which combines French-Canadian folk and fiddle music, the Innu hand drum, Irish folk and modern country. Sylvain Volant, manager of the new Innu band Tahemun (which means "rain," meant to follow Kashtin which means "tornado"), says that in Innu country "there is at least one musical instrument per house and musicians... of all ages" (in Chaumel 1995: 14). See Kashkun and Alexandre Mackenzie in Appendix A.

\textsuperscript{49}Other lesser known music festivals in the North include Iqaluit's Toonik Tyme, Arviat's Inummairitt, Fort McPherson's Midway Lake Music Festival, Fort Smith's South Slave Friendship Festival and Inuvik's Great Northern Arts Festival. The Northern music scene is very strong and includes many "allies" or artists aligned with Native (continued...)

Real Rez Blues and Aboriginal Voices and Ottawa's Cultures Canada series are bringing Native folk, country, rock and other musics to Natives and to mainstream Canada.\textsuperscript{50} This social music is also healing, in that it brings people together in the spirit of one heart, one mind. This is the healing that brings together the four colours, races and perspectives in the circle.\textsuperscript{51} This reflects what is called for in the Seventh Fire and Seven Generations prophecies - understanding and recognition of ourselves and one another.

\begin{itemize}
\item Can we talk of integration until there is integration of hearts and minds? Unless you have this, you have only a physical presence, and the walls between us are as high as the mountain range (Chief Dan George)
\end{itemize}

In contrast Western urban music in the 20th century, from classical, pop and

\begin{itemize}
\item(...continued)
\end{itemize}

interests. These include Tracey Riley (who has the same manager as Susan Aglukark), night sun and Inconnu (which plays a polished and eclectic mix of contemporary music tied to the pace of life on the land in the North). Len Osland of Inconnu says that the Northern music community is so strong because "there's always someone to listen" (in Pinto 1994: 72).

\textsuperscript{50} Artists "coming up" at these showcases and others, voices that will be heard in the mainstream and perhaps at the JUNOs soon, include Jani Lauzon (now working out of Toronto), Jerry Alfred from Pelly Crossing in the Yukon (with plans to tour Canada), Art Napoleon (a Dene song writer), and Brian Black Thunder from Moose Factory (he has paid his dues playing the James Bay area and now the cities for some twenty years and his new album \textit{Spirit with a Mask} was produced with Buffy Sainte-Marie's help). Prominent artists "coming out" about Native issues and their Native roots include Don Ross (Migmag and Scottish, he calls himself a "McMicmac" and is Canada's premiere fingerstyle guitarist; he is now experimenting with Native sounds like the drum in his playing and arrangements) and country sensation Shania Twain (an Ojibwe from Manitoulin Island, she took the name "Shania" because it means "I'm on my way" in her language) (Keyes 1995: 55).

\textsuperscript{51} In Canada, prominent non-Native artists such as Blue Rodeo, Ian Wiseman, Bruce Cockburn and Ian Tamblyn are bringing their voices to the circle in support of Native perspectives. Artists from outside Canada allied with current Native feeling include Yothu Yindi (an aboriginal group from Australia very popular with the youth here) and Midnight Oil (also from Australia).
rock to jazz and the blues, has largely been the music of distress and division. Atonalism, discordance and angst seem to be the modern soundscape, drawn from the clash of industrial cities and people's alienation from the natural world and themselves. This helps to explain the anger so often found in mainstream contemporary music, be it concert music, rap, pop or rock. Music of the Seventh Fire answers this distress through traditional Native worldview. Paula Gunn Allen says that:

In English, one can divide the universe into two parts: the natural and the supernatural. Humanity has no real part in either, being neither animal nor spirit...This necessarily forces English-speaking people into a position of alienation from the world they live in.

Such isolation is entirely foreign to American Indian thought. At base, every story, every song, every ceremony tells the Indian that each creature is part of a living whole and that all parts of that whole are related to one another by virtue of their participation in the whole of being...The natural state of existence is whole. Thus healing chants and ceremonies emphasize restoration of wholeness, for disease is a condition of division and separation from the harmony of the whole (1992: 60).

As part of a healing process heading for an era of decolonization, Natives in Canada are now sharing their teachings, through music, with the mainstream. The wholeness referred to above is the desired object and involves everyone now living in this territory. The musical leaders in Canada today are artists such as Buffy Sainte-Marie, Robbie Robertson, Kashtin, Susan Aglukark and 7TH Fire; all of them use their music as a site for political and social awakening, and for sage discourse on the implications of the Seventh Fire and other prophecies.

Gilles Chaumel said at the beginning of this chapter that Native music is about forming a new identity. There is a new, postcolonial identity emerging in the music of the Seventh Fire. Native musicians are gaining freedom and mainstream acceptance as they learn to handle the contemporary world of pop music, technology and self-promotion.52 The following prophecy by Louis Riel is

52 Natives in Canada are now living in the commercial music world. "Its values are created by and organised around the music industry, around the means and possibilities of turning sounds into commodities... sales charts become the measure.
preserved in oral history: "My people will sleep for a hundred years. When they awake, it will be the artists who will give them back their spirit." Many are waiting for the return of their "culture heroes" such as the Trickster, Raven and Nanabush, who many believe "left the earth voluntarily or (were) killed when the Whites arrived." Cree playwright Thompson Highway says that "the Trickster is still among us, on this continent, albeit in different guises, albeit a little worse for wear. I believe the Trickster is passed out under a table at a bar on Hastings Street (Vancouver) for the past two hundred years, and it's our responsibility as Native artists to sober him up... Wake him up, so he can stand on his own two feet once more and make us laugh again." "As the traditional Indian shaman sought to prevent soul loss, it can be said that the shaman is not dead, the shamanic spirit finds its expression among the artists" (MacDonald 1993: 42).

Continuity within colonization depends on the innovation, invention and creative energy of artists who encoded art with spiritual and cultural meaning." Images, symbols, stories and the drum "were all meant to pass on truth to future generations. Today readers of these symbols, with the help of elders, reawaken culture by decoding the hidden meanings and allowing the ancient voices to speak" (Brascoupé 1994: 94).
Chapter Four - Circle Stronger Again

Light It Or Lose It (7TH Fire). 2

Society is deceptive. Society in some parts is eager - twenty years ago I had professional people telling me, white people: "You aboriginal people have the answers. We have to learn them." They told me this, and I thought 'yeah right, you'll only go so far because your money won't let you go the rest of the way.' (laughs)

And that's the way it went. And that's the way it goes today. People are willing to grasp at our value system, our knowledge, our wisdom. But they can only go so far. When it means changing your lifestyle or doing things differently - that's a very difficult move to make (Rose Auger).

I try to reveal their spiritual soul, the quietness that makes us different, that no other nation or people have. The echoes of a great past may be a new beginning, a new peace. Our souls and hearts can heal, and a new togetherness makes our people proud, and in harmony again with the land (The late Ojibwe artist Arthur Shilling, from Rama reserve).

Got to build my fire up. It's very low. Only the white ash of the log. The same as the hair of the old man getting out of his car now. His fire has burnt almost full circle. It began with fresh wood, burnt merrily and raged and ebbed like man's life and now the logs are wrinkled, white: the lines so deeply entrenched, full with the knowledge of fire and life. But like knowledge, is perpetual, never ending, so too we must all light our fires* (Petier 1988: 121).

Introduction

Around the world, music is used by people to reach creation or the creator, to they gayume monks from Tibet or Navajo people engaged in an Enemy Way Ceremony. 1 These religious, or spiritual, or ceremonial musics are all used to do things; the doing of music is an essential part of our lives. The contemporary Native music that has arrived is not just more "entertainment" from the world of western disposable pop culture. Today this music contains links to the tradition of music as a healer, as a guide. Jacob Coin says that "Native musicians still understand and

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2 Message on a tombstone at the end of the video for The Cheque is in the Mail, referring to the Eighth Fire. If the people of the Seventh Fire do not work together, there will be no Eighth Fire.

1 See McAllester 1954.
value the many social roles of music... (They) will continue to compose songs that have meaning, that have their genesis in traditional ideas and inspirations... They are just as their ancient predecessors have been... teachers of thought conveyed through music and song" (1992: 94).²

Many of the Native musicians now popular in Canada, along with artists of all types, are using their skills to enrich Native identity through awareness of heritage and tradition.³ All of these artists are attempting to leave the deceptive stereotypes behind, and present new Native identities built from a combination of modern realities and traditional values.⁴

²Recently Jacob Wawatay from Rapid Lake reserve told me how an Algonquin singer uses the hand drum to help take the spirit of an animal, tree, fish or something else. That spirit becomes the centre of the singer’s universe, and then stories emerge. Jacob has made songs — once he sang a long story and only at the end, when he said he was “the meat,” did he realize he had become the moose spirit. “The typical Native American artwork applies models of natural behaviour to describe human behaviour. Since natural order is the highest form of order in the universe, art should abstract its models from the realm of Nature. In other words, the structure of art should reflect the natural hierarchy of species; it should simulate the natural scheme which governs the behaviour of phenomena in the universe” (Hemdon 1982: 87).

³These musicians include Buffy Sainte-Marie, Robbie Robertson, Kashtin, Susan Aglukark, Joanne Shenandoah and Murray Porter. There are well-known Native playwrights on the scene such as Tomson Highway, Drew Hayden Taylor and Sherman Alexie, filmmakers such as Alanis Obomsawin and Willie Dunn, visual artists like Gerald McMaster, Alex Janvier, Robert Houle, Simon Brascoupé, Jane Ash Poitras and Faye Heavyshield, and actors in the growing field of Native-oriented TV and film: Graham Greene, Winston Wuttunee, Gary Farmer, Tom Jackson. And like the weeds, Native writers are everywhere.

⁴Both assimilation and self-determination, the two elements of Graburn’s stage seven are occurring here. “Structural assimilation” (which may be positive) happens as Natives learn to use the colonizers’ tools and “participate in a whole array of roles and institutions of the majority society” including the music business in Canada today. The negative “cultural assimilation — the loss of culturally distinctive ethnic markers, such as language, dress, belief systems and arts and crafts” leads to “the disappearance of the ethnic group as a significant cultural entity” (1993: 6). I would argue that most of the Native music outlined in this chapter and the next is highlighting these “distinctive ethnic markers,” and therefore is helping to stop cultural assimilation while promoting self-determination. These Native musicians have not “become so assimilated that they internalize the cultural and artistic system of the metropolis,” (1993: 7), rather they are using the “system” to convey language, belief

(continued...)
The difference between this and earlier popularization of Natives by the mainstream is that Natives are now speaking for themselves in Canada. In the Hollywood Indian era of the 1950s and 60s, Native music and culture in Canada was either an object of study by anthropologists and museum curators, treated as a curiosity at places like the Calgary Stampede or the Indian Village at Kahnawake, or perceived as something living in doomed isolation in a backwater reserve. In the 1970s, Buffy Sainte-Marie, Redbone and Shingoose were anomalies on the pop stage, but each had a strong presence. Today the Native presence is everywhere, and a network of interest is growing up to ensure that this presence continues. As part of the self-determination and decolonization process, singers and artists are systems and the power of the drum to the world at large.

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5 Qureshi notes that ethnomusicologists today are in a position to help this process, through "an activism that might be termed postcolonial, in its broadest meaning of undoing relations of dominance between subjects, both living and dead, creating instead a multiauthorial dialogue in which scholars (anthropologists, musicologists and others) are partners across existential and phenomenological divides that are cultural as well as historical, and above all social." She argues that the current trend is toward a breaking down of barriers among disciplines to allow for a larger more inclusive perspective which will remain very much academic until we are willing to confront the political nature of music and musicology. This means to open up the community of (music) history makers to all those Others who want to speak for themselves" (1995: 341, 342). For the "Others," Joane Cardinal-Schubert states that "Post-Colonialism hasn't happened yet, and when it happens, if it ever does, we as Native people will be the first to let everyone know...There is nothing so Colonial as the announcement that a restrictive, odious, transplanted sensibility is now over; that Colonialism has been declared over. No. We'll tell you (when it's over)" (1994: 7).

6 For instance, in a recent report being prepared for the Ontario government it is estimated that in Ontario alone, 75 Native recordings were produced in 1993 and at least 25 drum groups are "active at any given time," although these numbers may be optimistic (Anon. 1993: 6). Well known drums include Whitefish Bay, Eagle Heart Singers from Toronto, White Tail and the White Eye Singers; Iroquoian drums include Peacemaker from Tyendinaga, Standing Arrow from Akwesasne, and Amos Key's Olimush Singers from Six Nations.

7 Great progress has been made since Trudeau's 1969 White Paper threatened to make Natives an "endangered species" in Canada by abolishing the Indian Act and (continued...)
being heard on their own terms at last, as Joanne Shenandoah explains in a flyer from 1991:

As a Native person brought up surrounded by non-Indians I ached to find a way to communicate my history to my American friends; perhaps... a popular film, or a top 40 song about Indians that would give us the basis for discussing a different reality than the one they had come to believe was paramount in the world... For a society extraordinarily dependent upon the media for its perceptions and beliefs... it is necessary to remove the stereotypes which have for so long kept the people down. Currently, there are many Indian performers on the road and in the studio. They are filming, dancing and recording, ever hopeful their work will finally be taken seriously; that they will be given the chance to show the world we are more than images from times past... Their music is creative, lively, and rooted in their ancient traditions. It isn't all drums around a fire. Give us a listen and watch as we peel away your misconceptions.

The popular contemporary artists who are reaching the mainstream in the time of the Seventh Fire are supported by the strength of traditions and songs being felt in the communities today. As in Chapter One, the Native music that connects the land, people and spirits still stands apart from mainstream music. This chapter looks at the powwow, the moccasin telegraph and other "contemporary traditional" Native ways that are very strong today, connecting Natives to each other and to the larger world. The music is rooted in the sounds that were here long before any visitors came. These new songs are part of the process of decolonization.6

(continued)

also "abolishing aboriginal peoples as a recognizable entity in Canada" by (in part) transferring responsibility from the federal government to the provinces. In response, during almost thirty years of struggle, "aboriginal peoples have become actively engaged in defining self-government structures" including issues of land claims, treaty rights, "citizen-plus status" and self-government. "Aboriginal assertiveness" has moved these issues "to the forefront of public and political consciousness," and as noted in the 1991 Spicer Commission report, the Canadian public "appears to be overwhelmingly in favour of aboriginal self-government." The Canadian ideological climate which has emerged over the past twenty years (featuring two official languages and federal multiculturalism) is "conducive to managing diversity," and "approaching the twenty-first century, Canada may well be on the threshold of a paradigm shift in aboriginal policy" which may result in a "fundamental commitment to redefining the status and role of the "nations within"" (Fleras and Elliot 1992: 118-120).

6I feel this is an "arrival" of strength through music in the time of the Seventh Fire, rather than a "revitalization" of culture as the anthropologists often refer to surge...
Intertribal

Whenever you see the feather or the drum... you know the Indian is not far away (Arthur Smith).

Music and dance are an integral part of life cycle events, world renewals, and ceremonial activities designed to maintain relationships with deities, supernaturals, associates, and strangers (Heth 1994: 32).

Intertribal music is the music of the Plains drum, used for gatherings from Eskasoni (Cape Breton) to the Rocky Mountains, and from James Bay to Albuquerque, New Mexico. The large drum, suitable for four to seven singers (although the numbers vary), is the one seen today in newspaper coverage of Native events, on TV during Parliament Hill protests, and at any weekend powwow¹⁰ within driving distance of Ottawa (or most cities). The style of drum and the singing originated in the Southwest, travelled through the Canadian West to Ontario and

(...continued)

Native activity. "Earlier anthropologists had considered (revalorization) to represent a final step toward total assimilation. I would suggest that it is now possible to view Native American musical revitalization as an extension or reconstruction of traditional culture - a strategy for preserving cultural continuity..." (Levine 1993: 392). This suggests a new and stronger self-determination on the part of Natives.

⁶Simon Brascoupé explains how the process of decolonization is rooted in four concerns and issues, all of which are international in nature: 1) environment (see Appendix I), 2) a sustainable future, 3) the exploitation of people and Natives (see Appendix H - Three Apologies in Canada), and 4) human rights. Frideres notes that from "early colonization to the present, no government has genuinely recognized Natives as distinct peoples with cultures different from, but not inferior to, its own." He states that this "denial of the value of cultural differences" is what is hindering the decolonization process (1993: 431-432). Nevertheless, the process continues in Canada. Buffy says that "when I look at Canada (I'm saying) "Alright (sic) Native Canada ! Alright Québecoise ! Alright White Canada too ! It's people having dialogues. This isn't happening in the United States. I'm so proud of Canada" (in Sheldon 1992).

¹⁰The term "powwow" (sometimes seen as "Pow Wow" or "Pau Wau," also "Pow-Wow") comes from a Native term for "medicine man" or "conjurer," and was applied to the gatherings that Europeans witnessed, where medicine people were always in prominent attendance (Valaskakis 1993: 41). David McAllester says that the word "was taken from the Algonkian word for priest or ceremonial practitioner" (1994: 598).
beyond. It is now moving North, as Cree reserves around James Bay adopt the Plains drum,\(^\text{11}\) although the hand drum remains the primary instrument in the North. A hand drum is also still used by groups in the Northwest, particularly the Cree and Dene (see Art Mocosomin and the Mosquito Singers, Buffalo River Dene Drummers and Drum Dance Music of the Dogrib).

The songs seem strange and simple to people accustomed to pop harmonies, and do not appear to be technically complex. In fact it is a life's work to really hear and learn all that is happening in a powwow song. The sound of the drum is quite strong and direct - it is the heartbeat, and it is "the good sound all around" of which the Midewiwin speak. The songs are the strength of Native people. Earlier (p. 88) Shepherd showed how "sound can imitate and thus 'refer' to other sounds (1993: 11)," and at the powwow the sounds include the drum, singing, jingles, bells and sometimes the eagle bone whistle.\(^\text{12}\) Powwows and the drum were kept alive in Western Canada through the 20th century, although gatherings were very small and localized before the 1950s. Recently they have come to Eastern Canada, and the gatherings are now getting much larger. People

\(^{11}\)This is a recent phenomenon. A friend of mine from the James Bay Cree does not dance in the Intertribal at Otawa gatherings; he grew up with small shake tent ceremonies where a drummer/singer will sing alone to the spirits. People sit outside; sometimes a few will go in and participate. Powwows and the big drum are not yet prevalent in the North.

\(^{12}\)All of these elements work together in a powwow song, and all can refer to something larger than the song itself. The drum can sound like the wind in the trees, like our heartbeat, the beat of life. The eagle bone whistle calls the eagle and brings spirits to the circle; its shrill sound calls directly to creation. Jingles can help to scare off bad spirits or medicine, and can effect physical and spiritual healing. Bells on the dancer's feet work in time with the beat of the drum, and create a multilayered texture of sounds that are all part of the song. The dancers' movements and outfits are also reflective of the natural world and work in concord with the songs. For instance, the grass dancer's roach (which is worn on the head) is made to imitate the tall prairie grasses being blown in the wind.
say that 1990's Oka standoff inspired the current wave of new powwows, but they are also part of a larger movement. The Kahnawake and Kahnesetake powwows are now five years old, and other places that have begun traditional gatherings (as opposed to commercial powwows like Odawa and the Toronto Skydome) include Kitigan Zibi (four years), Katarokwi (Kingston), Sheshegwaning and Waswanipi (three years), N'Amerind's Upper Thames gathering (2 years) and a new gathering at Odanac near Montréal. Powwows are coming to the reserves as part of a healing and reclaiming process that many nations are undergoing today.

The powwow is a successor to traditional summer and winter gatherings. Its function is more social, secular and inclusive than it once was. At many of the

13Blundell argues that "Kahnawake's (1991) powwow provided its Native producers with opportunities to challenge through their expressive performance practices damaging views about Mohawks that had been widely advanced by state officials during the Oka crisis" (1993: 334). [Italics hers] She also notes that as of 1991, "Kahnawake had never held a powwow, nor are powwows common in the province of Québec" (ibid: 343). They are becoming popular now.

14The Canadian map is once again starting to reflect its native roots as Native communities revive their original names. For instance, Frobisher Bay in the Northwest Territories ceased to exist in 1987, and Iqaluit took its place (MacDonald 1993: 40). Gordon Poison told me that most Algonquin communities are switching to their Native names, although some people still can't pronounce them. This is part of an ongoing effort to keep Native languages and history strong across Canada.

15Natives on reserves across Canada are returning to traditional ways to heal the effects of colonial policy. Healing circles, sweats and ceremonies are returning to communities once dominated by Christian theology. I have heard of this trend from the East (Migmag), South (Apache, Iroquois), West (Cree, Blood and Dene) and North (Algonquin, Cree). Nicole Beaudry describes how some Dene communities apparently lost the drum entirely for a time, and how it has now returned (1991: 30).

16Paula Gunn Allen explains that traditional gatherings and attendant ceremonies are to integrate the individual with others, groups with larger groups and the communal group with creation. This is a shedding of the isolated, individual personality for a "conscious harmony with the universe... songs, prayers, dances, drums, ritual movement and dramatic addresses are compositional elements of a ceremony" (Allen 1992: 62). A powwow is not like a music performance where there are musicians and audience; it is an event enacted by everyone including singers, dancers and people walking in and around the circle.
commercial powwows or Indian Days' gatherings held in Canada and the U.S., there is a "...coexistence of several events, each with different music - gambling games from an ancient tradition," dancing from a modern Indian one, other events with Western music performed by Indians." The powwow shows aspects of present day Native culture and its interaction with the white culture: "The comparison of traditional and fancy dancers reflects the dual role of the event - traditional ceremony and modern entertainment... Indian music is used to exhibit the old tradition but also to tie the various strands of the culture, old and modernized, together" (Nettl 1992: 264).\(^\text{18}\)

On one level, commercial powwows serve to strengthen Native identity through a display of strength and solidarity, through the use of "Pan-Indian" symbols such as the Plains drum and the Plains tipi,\(^\text{19}\) and through the use of

\(^{17}\) Hand Games are extremely popular with the Cree and others in Western Canada. Hand Games are played by opposing teams sitting with their hands covered by a blanket, moving objects (such as a stone or stick) from hand to hand and person to person aided by cues from the other players and the song being sung. Cliff Thomas told me that at the turn of the century, games were large and elaborate and groups coming together for the Winter Count might win or lose a whole Winter's provisions. Good Hand Game players and singers (who can sometimes throw opponents off with their rhythms and words) were highly valued and respected by the group. For a description of Hand Games and their songs among the Cheyenne, see Giglio 1994: 86-93. Also Northern Cree Handgame Songs (Onion Lake).

\(^{18}\) The powwow extending into daily life is like the centre of a circle which holds all of the people's concerns (see "The Ripple in a Pond in Appendix E"). Each powwow's movements, colours, sounds and decorative forms work together to signify meanings about aboriginal people that are at odds with views advanced in the wider (dominant) society. Powwows are "sites where meanings are contested through the deployment of aesthetic, expressive forms. As such, they are sites of on-going and more broadly based struggles in Canada to determine how (Native people want themselves) and their cultural forms to be understood within the wider national context." At the Kahnawake powwow in 1991, traditional corn-husk dolls were being sold dressed in Warrior-type outfits, holding tiny golf clubs (Blundell 1993: 341, 348).

\(^{19}\) Before Indian Shows such as at Calgary and Banff began in the West, "(Buffalo) Bill Cody (and his Wild West Show, which first came to Canada in 1885) and his imitators fixed the Plains Indian firmly in the public's mind as typical of all Indians" (Francis 1993: 94). The Plains outfit including war bonnet "began to be included in portraits and (continued...)"
English as a common language. That identity can also be weakened through promotion of a spiritual culture as something that can be bought by the mainstream (as in sales of medicine wheels and dream catchers, or the exchange of healing ceremonies for money). The commercial powwow today has detractors. For instance, some elders fear that the "...vulgar, acculturated celebration..." of the commercial powwow takes away from traditional activities such as the Sun Dance, which is still a central spiritual event in Western Canada (Dyck 1979: 89).

In his description of a powwow near the Saskatchewan town of Parklund in 1979, Dyck shows how white visitors were treated as consumers - being charged entry while Natives were not. Writing on powwows in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Corrigan noted that "at powwows the former distinctions among tribal groups are rapidly disappearing, while those between Indians and non-Indians are being increasingly emphasized" (1970: 270). At the same time today though,

(...continued)

illustrations in the eastern United States prior to 1840," and the images spread through the work of artists such as George Catlin in the U.S. Soon after the "Plains Indian wars of 1864-1876 and the defeat of General Custer focused attention on the Plaines and chiefs such as Red Cloud and Sitting Bull captured public imagination in the East much more than the "earlier exploits of Pontiac, Tecumseh, Osceola and Black Hawk." As for the war bonnet itself, one was introduced to the "Indians of Cape Breton" by a Cheyenne travelling with a "medicine show" in the 1890s (Young 1981: 337-338).

20 This is not a new complaint. In his diary of 1833, Black Hawk wrote: "We have men among us, like the whites, who pretend to know the right path, but will not consent to show it without pay. I have no faith in their paths, but believe that every man must make his own path." From a reproduction of The Autobiography of Black Hawk (1832) on the cd-rom The Indian Question (see Appendix A).

21 For a description of the modern Sun Dance, as well as the Round Dance, Masked Dance and Bear Dance of the Western Cree, see Deloit-McArthur 1987.

22 This is no longer true. More and more, whites and others are invited to the powwows as participants, and encouraged to dance in the circle. This inclusiveness is part of the Seventh Fire prophecy. At the same time, individual Nations are emphasizing their own traditions at their powwows: "More recently, some dancers have challenged the 'pan-Indian' nature of powwow forms by consciously creating (continued...)"
commercial powwows such as the Odawa powwow\(^{23}\) serve to introduce curious non-Native people to a type of Native culture; it is a way for outsiders to meet the people they have watched in the movies for so many years, and allow them to learn something about Natives as individuals.

Hundreds of powwows take place in Canada each year. Some, like the new annual competition powwow at Toronto's Skydome, are highly commercial and attract competitive dancers, vendors and tourists from all over North America. Others are more in keeping with tradition - the Cape Croker, Maniwaki and Kahnestake powwows are smaller, less commercial, more of a spiritual and social gathering for the people.\(^{24}\)

These non-commercial events combine the Intertribal powwow with the traditional spiritual gatherings that continued and sustained some small Native communities through the dark years of the early 20th century, when large Native displays were either discouraged by the government (such as the 1914 federal law which forbad Native participation in any show or exhibition) or co-opted and commercialized (such as at the Calgary Stampede).\(^{25}\) Ceremonies and traditional
dance, musical and dress forms that reflect specific tribal heritages..." (Blundell 1993: 341).

\(^{23}\)The Odawa powwow will return to traditional ways in May 1996, when competition dancing will be eliminated. Other commercial aspects are being scrutinized by the powwow committee. (Personal communication from Doug Comegan).

\(^{24}\)...Elders have begun to organize what they refer to as 'traditional powwows,' where competitive dancing is eschewed in favour of celebrations of Native spirituality" (Blundell 1993: 340).

\(^{25}\)Banff Indian Days and the Calgary Stampede were two of the most important tourist festivals to emerge..." after massive European settlement in the West in the early 1900s, and "together they made sense of the brutal expropriation of Indian lands, as well as the destruction of colonial mixed race fur trade society, by evacuating recent historical realities and replacing them with a discourse of white European (and... (continued...)}
gatherings were hidden at this time. Kathleen Greene has spoken of how she and her family were forced to travel at night and hide by day, and how she couldn't understand this as a child. She was being taught by her grandmother, and they were guarding their traditions. Wilf Peltier explains that when he was young "our dancers were then pretty much underground and so was our drum... This primarily was to move us into mainstream society as quickly as possible." When they did dance, "we danced for the animals and birds and our movements were to copy what we have seen... Trying to get into its feeling or its soul was the most important thing." He notes that today "many of the dances (have) come back, held quietly by the old people and taught to us. Most of the dances however have changed, so we see now our young people dancing for the audience instead of in reverence to the animal" (1990: 34).

On the "Powwow Trail" across Canada and the U.S., singers, artists and many others travel each summer to the places where family members from many nations get together, elders are celebrated and consulted, and youths begin to learn the dynamics of their culture. An Iroquois flag-carrier once told me: "If

(...continued)

 masculine) origins for region and nation" (Burgess 1993: 351).

To Natives in the area, they were "so a means of making money and a way to continue to celebrate their heritage in face of Indian Affairs' efforts to stamp out traditional gatherings. Duncan Campbell Scott pronounced powwows to be "senseless drumming and dancing" (in Francis 1993: 98). Although the Potlatch and Plains traditions were outlawed, they continued in secret and the people still danced at places like Banff Indian Days. These shows were commercialized but "provided needed income and became an act of resistance during a time when Native American culture was under its greatest threat." As a "negotiated space where Indian and white worlds met," the Wild West show (and later powwows) provided a "neutral and agreed-upon site" where Natives could acknowledge "their own solidarity and diversity" (Brascoupe 1994: 95).

26 Personal communication, and from a talk at the Sacred Assembly in Hull, Dec. 8 1995.

27 Modern values expressed in powwow activities are a continuation of historic values. Camping together, visiting together and eating together are valued powwow (continued...)
people start acting wild sometimes, remember, when they come here, they're coming home." People come to the Odawa powwow from all over Turtle Island, and many from as far away as New Zealand, South America and Hawaii.

Although there is commonality, differences are also celebrated. At recent traditional gatherings the Migmag drum Free Spirit was a sensation with their relaxed style, lower in pitch than the Plains style (see Free Spirit - Micmac Songs). The Mohawk drum Peacemaker, which features a small hand drum and deer horn rattles in the Iroquois tradition, closed the 49\textsuperscript{28} at the Maniwaki Powwow in 1994 (with the "Rabbit Dance" from Peacemaker II, a woman's choice dance),\textsuperscript{29} and singers and dancers from Mexico (Aztec), New Zealand (Maori) and South America have all made appearances at powwows in Ottawa, Maniwaki, Kahnawake and

(...continued)

activities that emphasize traditional values such as generosity (displayed in hospitality and gift-giving) and respect (shown in the honouring of individuals or groups) (Young 1981: 344).

\textsuperscript{28}The 49 is often a time for informal singing after the powwow is over. See following section for more about the 49.

\textsuperscript{29}Songs are a mode of "significant cultural exchange" among peoples, and the Iroquois have borrowed many songs and song sets (which can amount to thirty or so verses) including the Corn Song, Rabbit Dance, Round Dance, Eagle Dance, the Cold Dance and the Alligator Dance. "The Round Dance and the Rabbit Dance were acquired from the Plains Indians within living memory, while the Eagle Dance appears to derive from the Calumet Dance (Ojibwe) and probably was acquired from Indians south of the Great Lakes during wars of the eighteenth century" (Mohawk 1994: 45). These are mainly social songs; the Rabbit Dance is related to the Indian Two-Step which was created when "authentic" dances were prohibited and new white dance ideas (such as rests) became integrated into gatherings in the West (Burton 1993: 77). Songs related to "the grand cosmology of the Iroquois and its ritual re-enactment," including songs associated with the Feather and Skin Dance Cycle (Cronk 1982), Midwinter Festival and Peachstone Game are more related to legends and spirits. Keepers of these songs and stories are "often masters of a significant body of music." Singer Chauncey Johnny-John's knowledge (documented by Fenton in the 1940s) approached over twenty-four ceremonies and a thousand verses (Mohawk 1994: 45).
Kahnesetake over the last few years. The Cape Croker powwow of 1995 featured dancers and a singer of the Ainu culture of Japan and at the powwow held at the Sacred Assembly in December 1995, Irisii (Gaelic), Guyanese, Chinese and Lebanese performers brought their drums to join with the Algonquin, Ojibwe and Iroquois singers there.

Gathering on the land is central to Native experience, as is the circle.

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30 "Today native people share their knowledge to ensure continuity of language, religion, ceremony and customs. The leaders direct the events in native languages and follow age-old calendars and belief systems" (Heth 1994: 33).

31 Elijah Harper called this gathering so that Native and non-Native spiritual leaders could meet and discuss ways of resolving political and social conflicts (such as Gustafson Lake and Stoney Point) through spiritual means. Church representatives from across Canada (and from India and South Africa) were at the assembly to listen to Native elders, adults and youth and to apologize ("we've come to realize how badly (Native) have been hurt by us," and "any system which has done this in the name of Jesus is morally evil"). Elder Robin Greene said that "what happened at the (church's) residential schools was a form of ethnic cleansing, carried out with state support." William Commanda says that he and the other elders were praying that the youth will give up drugs and drink, that the pollution of Mother Earth will stop, and that all races will understand they are one with the Creator. "To be one people with one mind, one heart, and with respect and forgiveness" (Harvey 1995: A1-A2, C5). Many other issues were raised, particularly by the youth. For more on church and government attempts to reconcile wrongs and renegotiate differences, see Appendix H.

32 This is not just a recent phenomenon. Cross-cultural communication is not new to Native people, it is the basis of the old ways and resulted in extensive trade routes among nations on Turtle island. It is also international today, and has been for some time. Commercial interests supported the development of a sharing among cultures with shows such as the Pawnee Bill Historic Wild West and Great Far East Show, which merged with that of Buffalo Bill in 1908. In Washington, D.C. in 1911, "the entry parade of Rough Riders included Sioux and Cheyenne Indians, cowboys, Mexicans, Singalese, Dahomeyans, scouts, guides, veterans, members of the United States cavalry, cowgirls, Australian 'bushmen,' Arabsians, Japanese and Cossacks" (Young 1981: 240-241).

33 Powwows are not limited to the countryside of course. "Urban Indians" (term from David Delaney) in Ottawa have powwows all year round, and some are held indoors. Some Natives living in New York run powwows on a regular basis at the local YMCA, where they are ironically thought to be an "international" activity on their own land, and incongruities occur where "Cherokees and Hopis are indistinguishable from Irishmen and Jews, where Santa Claus arrives not to the jingle of sleigh bells but to the beat of an Amerindian drum" (Shea 1982: 73). There is a midwinter powwow in Ottawa every year, (continued...
Natives don’t go to powwows to listen, they go to participate. Mary Ritchie from the Potawatomi nation describes it this way:

MOST OF ALL: when the announcer calls an Intertribal dance, the persons who have come to pow-wow as “visitors” should respect the call and get out on the dance ring. There is a reason for this. It is not polite to “watch” as others “perform.” Pow-wow is really about honoring the circle, not letting others do the honoring for you. I realize that some folks feel self conscious about getting the moves right, but I have never witnessed any ridicule of anyone’s dancing. A good Anishinabe friend of mine suggests that we each develop the policy of leaving our egos on the seat when we get up to dance. That way, they can’t be influenced by the thought that we might look “out of place.” No one is out of place in the circle.36

The following is an illustration of powwow circles common to the East and West. Unlike the colonizing culture, where performers are placed on a stage facing rows of spectators who are separate from the performance, the powwow (like most Native gatherings) is made to include everyone attending (including spirits).

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(...continued)

between Christmas and New Year’s.

34 Ancient stone or earth circles, sometimes called medicine wheels (see Appendix E), are found throughout North America (and have counterparts at Celtic sites in Ireland and at Stonehenge). Some prehistoric evidence of circular dance grounds remain such as the ‘Cherokee dance rings’ of Georgia and perhaps the ring of packed earth which was found to be the only feature of a Caddo temple found excavated before its destruction by the land owner on the Red River in Arkansas (Young 1981: 315). The circle encompasses the four winds, directions, colours, and other elements. It also brings people together in a sacred way on sacred ground, facing each other. Spirits are present at ceremonial enactments, and the ceremony is composed for their participation as well as for humans in the circle. In describing a modern Oklahoma powwow, Young notes: “This Oklahoma-style powwow is best described from the centre outwards for it consists of concentric circles of lessening attentiveness, the people in each circle facing and focusing their attention inward. The object of greatest attention in the very centre of the circles is the drum” (1981: 3).

Although the style of singing comes largely from the Southwest Plains people, the singers and people at a gathering today might be from the Plains, or

36Densmore writes that the "Chippewa (Ojibwe) say that the drum and its 'religion' came to them from the Sioux many years ago, but it came to them also through development of character, as a step in the progress from the childhood toward the manhood of a race" (1972: 142). William Bineshi Baker Sr. tells how Tallfeather Woman (a Sioux) was given songs and instructed by the Great Spirit to have a large drum made so that attacking soldiers would hear the sound of the powwow and stop their killing; this drum, story and songs are now part of the Ojibwe Drum Dance and probably came to them in the 1870s (Vennum 1982: 44-46). One witness remembers the event as being connected with the Custer battles in 1878, and met the woman who taught that the Indians must put away the small drum they had always used and make a larger one; and Young goes on to propose that the "Drum Dance" came from "a Siouan group east of the Missouri river (possibly the Wahpeton Dakota)" (1981: (continued...)}
equally from the Midwest, from Algonquin and Iroquois territories, or from the Pueblo region. The Intertribal or Plains style originated in and around Oklahoma beginning in the late 1800s\(^{37}\) and spread to the Anishnabek in Canada through the Cree in the Northwest and the Ojibwe in the Southeast. The Intertribal powwow has taken over a large part of Turtle Island in the last 50 years, and today it shows a united Native identity in that the "same songs are known to singing groups from all over," a similar style with regional diversities is used by many nations, and "linguistic differences are submerged as the songs have no words (or occasionally English words)" (Nettl 1992: 264).

The Intertribal style consists of the drum, a lead singer and a chorus singing (usually) descending melodies in repeated sections. Describing the Intertribal or "Plains Indian style" of drum song at a powwow in Dearborn, Michigan in 1962, Nettl noted "falsetto beginnings, a harsh, tense, pulsating way of singing...a terrace-shaped melodic contour and characteristic stanza structure... (where) texts (were) typically comprised of vocables" (1985: 33-34). There is a tense sound to the voice, and singers use pulsation on longer notes.

(continued)

134, 140). Young describes early "war" and other dances "over a widespread area of central North America" as Intertribal alliances in the 17th century, including Sioux, Choctaw and Iroquois people, but does not mention a large drum in this era (1981: 103-105, 115, 118). Drums are often given from one group to another along with ceremonies and songs. Recently, a drum was given to the Abenaki at Odanac which originated in the Southern U.S. and was passed through many nations, gathering the attendant songs.

\(^{37}\)Abe Conklin writes that today's powwow was shaped in Oklahoma by the Ponca people who had moved South there in 1877. Before the modern powwow they had the "He-thus-ka Society," which was a warrior society related to the buffalo, who gave them their songs and dances. This original society, which began "celebrating" by dancing and singing after their arrival in Oklahoma was gradually changed to the powwow after the "Wild West shows came" and called their celebrations first a "War Dance," then a "powwow." It began being a large intertribal event in the 1920s, and spread throughout Oklahoma and beyond: "We (the Ponca) keep the sacred part of this He-thus-ka, but we give the social part to the Lakotas. We give the social part to other organizations. But they treat it in a spiritual way, which is good" (Conklin 1994: 17, 20-21).
Nettl has commented that technical complexity is not the goal of Native music; rather, "music is measured by such things as its ability to integrate society and represent it to the outside, its ability to integrate ceremonial and social events, and its supernatural power" (1992: 269-270). While Western culture emphasises music as a commodity and highlights the measuring of star performances, Natives live in a music that wants them to hear better, see better and feel better with the world around. Intertribal music acts on the individual like a tonic; it also brings people together. A singer told me:

Songs are like prayers. The songs are not sung for an audience, but rather for the spirits of all living creatures. The music puts the singer in touch with the natural or spirit world. Singers sing out of thanks and happiness. Songs tell stories of bravery, pride, and love. They relate a way of life that is kept alive in memory through these sounds.

Whether the group is using the round hand drum or a traditional rawhide or commercial bass drum, the structure of the songs is similar. The lead singer sings an introduction or "lead," which is repeated by all the singers in unison ("the second"). The singers then do the "first chorus" in unison, which is made of words and/or vocables, followed by the "first ending" in vocables. If there are women singers, they may begin singing an octave higher at the first chorus. Following the first ending, a "second chorus" is sung. This may be a repeat of the first chorus or different. There may be a second introduction or lead. When four to six accented beats are played ("down beats"), this signals the end of the second chorus and the "final ending" is sung. This completes one "pushup." Most often, groups will sing four pushups (see "Darling Don't Cry" on Dance to Red Bull).

A lead introduces each pushup, and also the optional "tail," which is sung

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38 The following descriptions of song structure, types of songs and dances were compiled from the liner notes of The Best of Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre. CD, by Darlene and Donald Speidel; from a September 1994 Native-L Internet posting by teacher Jean Sylwester; and from Pow Wow Time magazine (LaForme 1992).
after a pause at the end of a song. It is usually a repeat of the second chorus. The tail is not often sung these days, but is still sometimes heard in the West. The overall structure is sometimes altered by the singers, often to trick dancers in competition ("trick song") The song structure is usually retained however, because it has a meaning. A singer from the West described the structure and meaning this way in Whidden 1983:

The whole song is generally a spiritual song
This part here has a lot of spiritual significance (the lead)
When the singers sing high it's a celebration of something
When they sing high, they're calling to those people
Who have departed from this earth
They're singing high so that those people up there will hear them
Come on down. Come and join us in our celebrations
And when they're singing here (group joins)
They're singing to all the people
All over the world to come and join
Here, same thing again, high (singing high the second time)
Again calling those people who have passed on
Some songs they'll put a tail on it
When they sing the tail they're sending acknowledgement
To creation in general
They're acknowledging creation, They're acknowledging earth
They're acknowledging God's work on this earth
That's what the tail is for - thanking.

What are called "vocables," sounds such as "hey-ya" or "a-hey," all have a meaning beyond the literal. Whidden has described how each generation of Northern Cree has trouble understanding the previous generation's "song language" (1983: 9), and how the words of songs get dispersed through many nations and languages as they travel around Turtle Island and eventually lose their literal, but not spiritual, meaning.36 "Indian music" is "the music which rises with the

36The "composition" or making of songs includes "extraordinary inspiration, today as in the past" and includes dreams and visions. These songs contain power, so much so that "many old songs were not handed down to young people in Oklahoma as old ceremonies died out," as the songs "contained power which might harm people who did not know how to use it." Also, "most of the old songs now sung at powwows are somewhat secular, however even these, like the powerful old ceremonial songs, all belong to someone. Although a modern Indian person might not speak of tapping (continued...)
smoke and with the drum. Even if the syllables of the songs are vocables, the music itself carries symbolic communication heavenward," and because of this Native music and the drum "may be said to symbolize Indianness in its contrast to European-American music" (Young 1981: 326, 329).

A highly refined quality of intertribal music is the relationship of the drum to the singing. Singers will drum a beat, but the accents used in the singing may be totally removed from, and independent of, that beat. Witmer remarks that "a polymetrical relationship between melody and accompaniment is a salient characteristic of the rhythmic feel of their own (Blood) indigenous music... (This is) the Plains Indian rhythmic style, in which the voice and accompaniment do not have such easily apprehendable temporal relationships" (1984: 106). Dancers and listeners are part of many related but independent sounds at once. The drum, the singers, the sound of bells on the men's ankles or wrists, and the sound of hundreds of jingles on the jingle dresses of the women blend as they dance around the circle.

The relationship of the drum to the singing is the source of ongoing debate. In earlier recordings, such as those by Frances Densmore, it seems that the singing and drumming are separate; today in Inuit hand drumming and singing it is still hard to hear the relationship of one to the other. Halpern notes how among the Kwakiutl of the West Coast, drumming and hand clapping (a practice possibly taken up when drums were outlawed) both differ from the rhythm of the melodic line, as singer Bill Assu told her that "clapping of the hands is adapted to the words, not the music" (in Halpern 1975:23, 26, 33).

Whidden (1992) and Pantaleoni (1987) argue that there is a discernable relationship between the drum and the singing. Certainly, the "new" Plains sound shows a relationship - as in recent recordings by Red Bull (Cree) or Elk's Whistle

(...continued)

or utilizing the power of his or her personal song, the songs still stand as symbols of that power" (Young 1981: 327).
(Sioux) from Saskatchewan, or the White Eye Singers (Ojibwe) from Walpole Island. Although Whidden says "There has been virtually no 'white' influence on the powwow music" (Kallmann and Potvin 1992: 1073), it seems that this regularization of the drum and singing pulses is a recent phenomenon - and may very well be derived from the integrated voices and rhythms, and the regular phrasing of mainstream music.

Nevertheless, when listening to live drum music even today, there are still times when the drum and the singers seem to be separate voices in the same song. This independence is even more pronounced in recordings of other traditional styles featuring Zuni and San Juan Pueblo, Navajo, Yurok, Cherokee and Seneca singers among others (see Plains Chippewa/Metis Music..., Music of New Mexico..., Navajo Songs..., Songs of Earth, Water, Fire and Sky, Iroquois Social Dance Songs).

The use of repetition in Intertribal songs, using limited vocabularies, is described by Nettl (1992: 273) as being a Native instrumental (non-textual) music. It is also much more:

Device such as repetition and lengthy passages of 'meaningless syllables' take on significance within the context of the dance. Its regular recurrence creates a state of consciousness best described as 'oceanic,' but without the hypersentimental side effects implied by that term. It is hypnotic, and a hypnotic state of consciousness is the aim of the ceremony. The participants' attention must become diffused. The distractions of ordinary life must be put to rest and emotions redirected and integrated into a ceremonial context so that the greater awareness can come into full consciousness and functioning. In this way the participants become literally one with the universe, for they lose consciousness of mere individuality and share the consciousness that characterizes most orders of being (Allen 1992: 63).

The repetitive nature of powwow songs is tied to ritual and the spirit. In the past people said that songs must be repeated exactly, and so many songs and parts of songs are still here today; also songs are repeated for so many "push-ups," and there are repeated tones in the melodies. Whidden calculated "an average reiteration quotient of three grass dance songs at 59..." and goes on to point out
that Kolinski (1982) and Bloch (1974) have shown that the reiteration of tones is tied to ritual music, and that "the number of reiteration of tones is much higher in (Chippewa) religious songs (65) than in their social songs (48)" (Whidden 1983: 10). Whether spiritual or social, Native songs have a lot of repeated tones. This may also be tied to the fact that the singers are singing "off of" or reflecting the tone of the drum.

The Intertribal sound is evolving. Many songs have been lost, but many are being found or created. 40 Cliff Thomas has organized and served as master of ceremonies (MC'ed) at many gatherings, and explains how in the 1950s or so, many older Natives in the plains (Montana, Oklahoma, Alberta etc.) were working for the white ranchers, alone in the saddle remembering many of the songs they had heard as youths. When the Native revival began in the States in the 60s and 70s, many of these "cowboys" came to powwows to play and sing - dressed in cowboy regalia, including hats, boots, neckerchiefs and jeans. Although they were singing at Native gatherings with songs that hadn't been heard in years, they looked like cowboys. The cowboy "look" persists in Western powwows, partly for this reason. 41

Songs are always being made. Walter Bonaise is a Cree elder and singer

40 In Blackfoot Musical Thought. Nettl shows how Blackfoot people consider drum songs to be the most important thing they have in terms of their identity and its continuity, and that "Our songs came back to us (i.e. after 1950) when our Blackfoot feelings came back" (1989: 170-171).

41 Also, there is a history of Natives in the rodeo. In 1912, Tom Three Persons (a Blood from Cardston, Alberta) won the Bronc Riding Championship at the Calgary Stampede, and Natives have continued to participate in rodeos. Banff Indian Days also hosted an "Indian Rodeo," which proved to be so popular among Natives like the local Stonelys at Morley that it eventually undermined the traditional dancing, and organizers stopped it in the 1970s. Also it "sent echoes reverberating throughout the story (or myth) of cowboy origins, echoes which disturbed its coherence and fixity" (Burgess 1983: 353-362). "Indian days provided the Stoney with an opportunity to reveal their proud past." In 1930s, the government tried to restrict their numbers and presence at Banff, to which the Stoney replied "that they all came or no one came. They all came" (McMaster 1993: 102).
from Little Pine, Saskatchewan, who has followed in the ways of his father. He
toured with his father Alec for over 20 years, singing at powwows and holding sweat
ceremonies. Using a round hand drum, common to the Cree and Northern
Athapaskans such as the Dogrib in the West, he touches his fingernail to the back
of the drum to get that scratching or rasping offbeat that is characteristic of many
drum groups from the West (such as Red Bull, White Fish Jrs.). I asked Walter
where he got his songs, if he got them from dreams, visions, or from other singers.
He told me that he makes songs from anywhere and many come to him while he
is out driving his tractor. One of his "hit songs" (Walter's term) that travelled across
Turtle Island in the 1970s was a "tractor song."42

There was a time we didn't have any new songs (for his drum group)... so I
looked over at a little kid, about this high, about five, and he was playing the drum by
himself. So I went over and listened, he was just singing hey ya or something like that
(laughs). I went back to the guys and said: "Come and learn my new song..." and started
singing. They said: "That's a great song, where'd you get it?" I said, "from that kid over
there!" (laughs).43

There are many types of dances and songs at the powwow today. "Straight
songs" are those sung with no words (only vocables), while various types of
"intertribal songs" and "love songs"44 are used for dancing. Jean Sylwester
explains that:

Social and competition powwow dancing has evolved from the sacred dances
of the past. Like songs, dance is used to put oneself in touch with the land and the Great
Spirit. Sacred dancing is connected with ritual and with spirits. Some dances are used to

42 This term was coined by me during an interview with Walter on CKCU's Spirit
Voice.

43 From a conversation at the Kumik, July 1994.

44 What Walter calls love songs (sometimes wrongly called 49er songs by others)
are often sung at or after the powwow today. A love song is usually in English (see
"Darling Don't Cry" or "I'll Take You Home In My Boogie Van" by Red Bull).
move closer to the source of power in nature through imitating and calling to the natural world of birds, animals or spirits. Dance patterns are defined, the steps are executed with great simplicity which proves the skill and grace of the dancers. Most of the dances seem relaxed, perfectly controlled and very dignified, even though some are extremely vigorous.

There are certain common characteristics in the dancing. A bent knee position is often seen, the dancer's back is usually perfectly straight, and the body is in an erect position. There is much head movement, sometimes suggestive of birds and animals in motion. The arms are seldom used except when the dance represents the soaring eagle or the Thunderbird.

Most dances today are in steady one - two time, although there is sometimes a six - eight feel which reflects an earlier style (see recordings from the late 1800s to early-1900s). A "parade beat" has a steady slow unaccented tempo ("Eagle Staff Song" by White Fish Jrs.); the "traditional dance beat" ranges from slow to fast, played at a steady or progressively faster tempo, with the emphasis on the first beat ("Grand Entry" on the Blackstone Singers' Pow Wow Songs is fifteen minutes long, with a gradual acceleration in tempo); the "hop" has a sharply accented first beat and is played at quicker tempos ("Crow Hop" by Elk's Whistle); and the "round dance" is a "short-long" type of beat with the emphasis on the second beat ("Straight Round Dance" by Art Moosomin).

Dances determine the type of beats used. Traditional men's and women's

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45 The round dance is sometimes called the "Owl Dance" by Northern Cree people (Personal communications, Elaine Keilor and Walter Bonaiise).

46 Term suggested by Elaine Keilor. There is a similar beat among the Dene called a "double beat," described by Beaudry as "the regular repetition of a two-note pattern of a short unaccented note and a long accented one" (1992: 86). This beat could also be described technically as beginning with an eighth note anacrusis in three-eight time, with the emphasis on the quarter note on the following downbeat.

47 Mike Dashner, Anishnabe from Walpole Island Ontario and Bad River Wisconsin, is a traditional powwow dancer and a singer. In Sound of the Drum, he talks about the surge of traditionalism and traditional dancing in the mid-70s, a result of Wounded Knee and a part of the growth of the American Indian Movement (AIM).

As in Anishnabe teaching, new ideas continue to come from the East. Mike credits Amos Key, from Six Nations, with creating a new "Woodland style" of traditional (continued...
dancing calls for a slow beat that builds to a medium or medium fast tempo ("Men’s Traditional Bustle Song" by Elk’s Whistle); women’s traditional dancers sometimes dance to a round dance beat; the sneak-up dance uses abrupt pauses by the drum and drum rolls (see "Sneak Up" on Red Bull’s Have a Good Time); the men’s grass dance ranges from slow to medium-fast tempo, sometimes using the crow hop song which is characterized by punchy, staccato vocals (see above); the women’s jingle dress dance uses a steady medium to medium-fast beat, or sometimes a fast round dance (Whitefish Bay Singers Vol. 6); men’s fancy dances are played at medium to very fast tempos ("Fancy Dance" by Northern Eagle on The Best of the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre), often incorporating a drum roll ("ruffle").

While the dances continue to evolve, the powwow is still related to ceremony, and Paula Gunn Allen points out that:

"...all ceremony is chanted, drummed, and danced. American Indians often refer to a piece of music as a dance instead of a song because song without dance is very rare, as is song without the use of drum or other percussion instrument. One must also note that the drum does not 'accompany' the song, for that implies separation between instrument and voice where no separation is recognized. Words, structure, music, movement and drum combine to form an integral whole, and accompaniment per se is foreign to the ceremony, though it is common in western music. The ceremony may be enacted before people who are neither singing nor dancing, but their participation is

(...continued)

men’s dancing, in which the men pantomime a battle or hunt. He feels innovations are more likely to happen in the East: "...out west, maybe there’s more of a continuity in dance styles" (Cronk 1990: 20-21).

48 In the sneak-up, participants stop and start to emulate tracking an enemy or stalking prey.

49 The fancy dance came from the Poncas; they invented it" (Conklin 1994: 21).

50 In describing the Choctaw movement to revive old songs and dances in the 1970s, Levine notes that "in revitalizing their musical culture, the Ardmore Choctaw did not attempt to reproduce their historic dance events as such, but they did seek to recreate the spirit of early dances in contemporary performance contexts" (1993: 399).
nevertheless assumed. Participation is a matter of attention and attunement, not activity (Allen 1992: 64)

The ceremonial aspect of the dance is heightened by the dancers' outfits. Most social and competition outfits derive from tradition (such as the grass dance, which is partly an enactment of the Plains peoples' ritual of dancing down the tall prairie's grasses before raising a tipi, and also related to the movement of the tall grasses in the wind), but are sometimes created for a purpose (such as the jingle dress dance, which is a women's healing dance and outfit revealed to an Ojibwe woman in a vision). "A broad generalization may be made that men's cloth and fur outfits represent a more eastern style while feathers symbolize more western regalia, and among the women many cloth dresses are eastern while buckskin dresses are western" (Young 1981: 336). Jean Sylvester describes some of the outfits, drawn from various traditions:

The Traditional dance outfit of the men is frequently decorated with bead or quill work and features a circular bustle of eagle feathers. Traditional dancers also carry objects symbolic to their warrior status such as shields, weapons, staffs, or medicine wheels. Men's Grass Dancers' outfits have colourful fringe in place of the grasses originally used. Many also wear the hair roach, the crow-belt and the eagle bone whistle. Women's Traditional Dancers wear some of the most beautiful outfits: long dresses may be decorated with heavy beadwork, ribbons or shells. Beaded or concho belts are also worn as well as hair ties, earrings, chokers and necklaces. Most dancers carry or wear

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51 Special dance styles are ethnic identity markers of many cultures of the world. Most White Americans do not consider themselves to be members of such a culture, therefore another contrast between Native and non-Native is the dance. "To dance Indian dances is to 'be Indian,'" and "Indian dance symbolizes the Indian way of life much as the music does" (Young 1981: 331-332).

52 There are up to 365 jingles on the adult woman's jingle dress, each made from the top of a snuff or tobacco tin. "Using 365 jingle cones not only makes the right sound, but it is also an indication of process; some explain that it is ideally supposed to take a year to make a dress with one cone added per day" (Diamond, Cronk and von Rosen 1995: 146). "The standard jingle dress is more form fitting, restricting the dancers in their side-to-side movements and forcing them to dance more vertically, up and down... they place their hands on hips like (women) dancers did long ago..." (Capture 1989: 28).
a shawl and carry an eagle fan or single feather.

Women's Fancy Shawl outfit consists of a decorative cloth dress. Beaded moccasins with matching leggings, a fancy shawl and various pieces of jewellery. Jingle Dress dancers wear knee length cloth dresses with rows of jingles sewn to the fabric.

The Powwow Circle

Each day the powwow begins around noon with a Grand Entry, as the elders, war veterans, invited people and dancers (sometimes in the hundreds) enter the circle. The Eagle Staff and flags of host nations (such as the Iroquois, Canadian and U.S. flags or Native versions thereof) are brought in. The Eagle Staff represents the Thunderbird spirits who care for the inhabitants of our physical world. Because the eagle flies the highest and is closest to the Creator, and is attributed with qualities such as strength, beauty, speed and wisdom, the Eagle Staff symbolizes reverence for the Creator and all life. One or more flag songs are sung, then a prayer is said by the invited elder. This is followed by a prayer song and honour songs. After this, the competitive and social dancing begins. The drums sing until the eagle staff and flags are retired around suppertime.
The 49

After the powwow, there is often a 49. This is a time in the evening when the drums may sing social or fun songs, or people may play flute, guitar or other instruments and socialize with informal music. The 49 is a time to play courting songs or fun songs far into the night, and to socialize informally.

The term "49" may have originated after World War II, to honour 49 Lakota warriors who went to fight, and who returned (recounted to me by a Cree woman from Western Canada), or the 50 "Oklahoma Indian soldiers" who "went off to battle in one of the world wars" and were to get together and have a song sung for each upon their return, but only sang 49 because one did not make it (Capture 1989: 52). In *Southern Cheyenne Women's Songs*, Giglio presents various accounts of the origin of the term "49." She notes that 49 refers to 1949 and the dances held for returning veterans. In addition, 49 "is said to have originated among the Kiowas," relating to an event in which 50 warriors went out and only 49 returned (others say 50 went out and only one returned - the dance then being for those 49 who lost their lives); another story shows that the 49 is related to an inside joke "among Indians in a Wild West show, amused by the Barker's cry, 'See forty-nine dancing girls! Forty-nine!'; the term may also be linked to the year 1849, referring to dances designed to "keep enemy soldiers awake" (Giglio 1994: 155-56).53

I received the following from Jenny Lee, who is researching 49 origin

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53 Information from this book was posted on NativeNet (NativeNet@gnosis.svle.ma.us) by Bob Nelson on 22/11/94. He also posted the following: "To add to the possibilities: I always thought "forty-nine" was about Oklahoma route 49 (now U.S. 81, that runs n-s the length of the state west of Oklahoma City). It's even more tempting, sometimes, to imagine that somewhere back there before Alaska and Hawaii got added, somebody figured that the de facto 49th state was Indian Country, whatever state (of the union) that state (of being) happened to be in, and decided to celebrate it." In other recent Internet postings, Lyn Dearborn says that "I had always heard the origin of 49 songs had to do with the Gold Rush in 1849 but there is definitely a disagreement about this here in California." Arizona stories about 49 are presented in Appendix G.
stories, via the Internet:

The 49er stories I have been told are as simple as... "well, we sing 49 songs and it takes all night" to stories about a group of hunters who went out in search of game because the people were starving. There were 50 hunters. As they were travelling about searching for the game that had been scared away or killed off by the Anglos, they were spotted by some Anglo soldiers and mistaken for a war party. Not prepared for battle and not as strong as they could be because of lack of food, they were overcome by the soldiers. Only one survived. He returned to tell what had come of the others. They sang songs for those who did not return.

The other story I learned was that there was a carnival in a town where Anglos were mining for gold. They were drinking and dancing and having a good time but the Indians were not allowed to participate. They felt sad and went off in a group away from where the Anglos were partying. They found an old metal washtub and one of the men flipped it over and said that they could make their own good time - he began to play on the washtub like a drum and sang old songs - like expedition songs - of their grandfathers. Soon the others joined in. Some sat at the drum and others danced and they soon felt better. They called it a 49 because they thought that is what the Anglo goldminers called their party. Those are the stories as I heard them.

Walter Bonaise remembers the 49 in Western Canada (he is from Little Pine, Saskatchewan) as a time when elders ("only the elders") would drink: moonshine and sing songs, usually standing alone. These songs would have no words, were often improvised and lacked formal structure.  

Walter describes the old 49er gatherings as entertainment for the elders/singers. Whidden also describes 49s in the West where "At midnight, young people carry on the powwow... beer flows freely, in contrast to the strict prohibition of alcohol during the day" (1983: 10). This was twelve years ago; in my experience at traditional powwows in this territory over the last five years, these gatherings are now usually held without alcohol.

In the time of the Seventh Fire, powwows have allowed Natives to show themselves on their own terms to mainstream society, while allowing that society to socialize with Natives and learn their teachings of sharing and respect. The

54 These songs today are sometimes in English, and travel very far. George Horse Capture quotes the verse of a Lakota 49 as follows: "Oh yes, I love you, honey dear. I don't care if you've been married 15 times, I'll get you yet I!" (1989: 52). Joe Running Deer of Kahnawake has a 49 that goes "Oh, yes I love you, honey dear. I don't care if you marry 16 times, I'll still love you weya ho, weya ho, weya ho-o" (see The Mighty Mohawks).
powwows today are bringing the old ways back, and showing non-Natives that those old ways survive in the modern world. After World War II, the Oklahoma-style powwow began spreading all across Turtle Island and moved from West to East in Canada, and has been "accepted, adapted and transformed through individual choices," and although "etiquette, dress and paraphernalia may differ from powwow to powwow, a basic set of values is the foundation upon which individual choices are made. This heritage is an unbroken thread linking the present with the past" (Young 1994: 15). Things are changing; the drum and the Intertribal sound has never been stronger.

The Moccasin Telegraph Today

The moccasin telegraph is the way that things travel by word of mouth in Native country - the Native way is to visit, and exchange gifts, stories and information. This slow but sure network is now augmented by radio, television,55 print and computer networking.56

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55 There are over two hundred Native radio stations on reserves across Canada, many of them tied into networks such as the Wawatay Native Communications Society in Sioux Lookout Ontario. There are dozens of small television and cable producers as well, creating shows in Native languages that are broadcast on Inuit, Dene and other TV networks across Northern Canada. "For the past twenty years, indigenous communities around the world have begun to take control of the media most related to them. This is not an easy task as the communities face governments and regulatory boards that favour private broadcasters, but communities are mastering the technology and the "positive change a publicly owned radio station can make in an Indian community is astounding," and "one day, all the indigenous broadcasters around the world will come together - one day soon" (Farmer 1994: 64). "With the rapid development of new multimedia technologies involving satellites, computers, information networks, and radio and television broadcasting, Native Americans... are recognizing that the survival of their languages and cultures hinges on the ability to 'keep up with modern technology'" (SpottedBird 1994: 65).

56 There are many Native computer networks active today, including those run by the Oneida from Six Nations and Mohawks from Kahnawake. See Appendix L for a partial list. "With a multimedia computer the Internet becomes a multimedia system, featuring sound and graphics and video." It allows remote communities to communicate and access the latest information, it can support culture as in "Manitoba's Freenet, (which) (continued...)"
In Chapter Two I examined the role of radio in bringing the country and western, blues and other popular sounds to Native culture. The trend today is for Native culture to broadcast its message back - over those same airwaves:

Perhaps the strongest unifying force in Native music in the early 1990s were the independently operated Native radio stations based on reserves. Resisting the standard broadcast formats that dominate urban airwaves, these community stations mix powwow music with country music, and locally produced releases with top-40 standards. The Native Aboriginal Communications Society, which began in 1985, had 14 regional-based networks by 1991 and contacts with more than 100 Native stations throughout Canada. In urban centres, alternative and university-based radio stations in Halifax, Toronto, Edmonton, Vancouver and Victoria also have broadcast programs of Native music on a more irregular basis (Kallmann and Potvin 1992: 932-33).

In August 1994 Gary Farmer asked me to write about music for Aboriginal VOICES magazine (formerly The Runner). VOICES is an independent, Native owned publication which focuses on the "Native Communicative Arts" and the "Evolving Native American Culture."

We decided to begin the first North American top ten listing of Native music. It is a big job - there are over three hundred Native radio stations and shows in Canada, and at least twenty-five stations in the U.S. Most of the Canadian stations are funded by the federal government; they have small one to ten watt transmitters to reach from hundreds to thousands of people on reserves and nearby communities, and are staffed mainly by volunteers. Some larger stations, such as Edmonton's CFWE and Oshweken's CKRZ, reach both Native and mainstream audiences.\(^{57}\)

(...continued)

plans to support up to six Aboriginal languages," and "our Nations will be able to speak more quickly and directly than ever before" on the Internet (Morrison 1995).

\(^{57}\)Jody Berland says that "there is a popular myth that Canadian radio is the best in the world" (1994: 172). In any given week, "94 percent of Canadians listen to radio at least once, and on average around 19 hours" (1994: 174), and even though this listening is largely a secondary activity, it has a profound impact. As radio formats become more specialized (such as the ethnic and community nature of CKCU FM in Ottawa, or commercial country or rock formats), listeners are drawn along, as "listeners' loyalties are an effect, as much as cause, of this specialization process" (1994: 176).
Whether in the cities or reserve communities, Native radio attracts a good proportion of Native listeners, and many non-Native listeners as well in urban areas like Brantford (Oshwekon), 58 Cornwall (Akwesasne), and Montréal (Kahnawake). 59

I spoke to nine stations, and these were the most popular artists listed in the Fall 1994 issue of Aboriginal VOICES (before the release of Akua Tuta or Music for the Native Americans):

Turtle Island Top Ten

1 Buffy Sainte-Marie
2 Lawrence Martin
3 Kashtin
4 Red Bull Singers
5 7TH Fire
6 Murray Porter
7 Susan Aglukark
8 Willie Dunn
9 Ernest Monias
10 Keith Secola

58 Six Nations' radio station CKRZ provides "both information and entertainment" along with an increasing emphasis on language and traditional culture. The station also showcases local talent. Amos Key says that "a lot of musicians at Six Nations are into the blues. So we are recording performances and playing them" on the radio (in Morrisseau 1995: 21). Station manager Kyle Martin told me in April 1995 that the station has imposed a 25% "Native content" rule on all music shows, from country to rock, and that the percentage of Native music will be increased to perhaps 50% in the near future. In contrast, CKON at Akwesasne is the "number two radio station in the market" near Cornwall, and are moving from community to commercial status. Native radio "may be the drumbeat you pick up as you drive by an aboriginal community... the songs you hear on your favourite blues program... the laughter and jokes of the Native radio host on the local college station," and the variety and strength of Native radio in continually growing (1995: 23).

59 CKRK is "one of the most advanced Native radio stations" in Québec and "offers its listeners a range of music (from top 40 to old time big band music), talk shows, news and commentary with some programs spoken only in Mohawk" (Martin 1995: 35). When I was a guest on Donny Martin's and Sonny Joe Cross' shows in the summer of 1995, I noticed that Native music is still not a strong presence at the station, probably because the station is catering to advertisers from Montréal and Chateaugay. The community is proposing that Native music be increased.
This list is strongly biased toward Canada, as seven of the nine responding stations were Canadian. What is surprising is that Native musicians from Canada have taken nine of the ten spots - and Keith Secola, who is extremely popular in the U.S. Southwest where he now lives, is from the Rainy River Ojibwe at Couchiching in Ontario. At this moment, Native musicians from Canada dominate the airwaves on Native stations. Most of these artists, as mentioned in Chapter Three, are spokespeople for awareness and respect for traditions and teachings. Their presence will become even stronger as a Native satellite network, being created by the Alaska Public Radio Network and the Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium, continues to develop links to all Native stations (Seeseesequasis 1994).

In the summer 1995 issue of Aboriginal VOICES, the Top ten was expanded to the "Top 49" because there is too much activity for a short list of ten. I surveyed ten stations, half in the U.S. and half in Canada. The top six artists are from Canada, as are thirty-two of the total forty-nine. This shows that industry support for Native music is very strong in Canada. The music business is also very changeable; Buffy Sainte-Marie and Lawrence Martin were at the top of the chart in the Fall of 1994 but received few votes in the Summer of 1995. Independent artists such as Shingoose, Pat Andrade and 7TH Fire

60 See Appendix J.

61 I believe this has to do with a number of things. In Buffy's case, her watershed album Coincidence and Likely Stories is three years old, and there has been a flood of new releases by other artists since then. Lawrence Martin's album is apparently not a big commercial seller. Another factor is the bias of the respondents themselves. The first list was biased towards First Nations Music artists because many of the Canadian stations polled had received their CD's; in the Top 49 many of the responding stations from the U.S. had not heard these CD's.

62 Many artists, including Pura Fæ, Buffy Sainte-Marie, 7TH Fire and Brian Black Thunder prefer to be independent of record companies, and handle their own musical and financial future (see Appendix C). There is also talk in the community of the need (continued...
continue to produce popular albums, and major labels such as EMI/Capitol and Sony are now promoting Native artists such as Kashtin, Susan Aglukark and Robbie Robertson. Mark Miller, jazz critic for the Globe and Mail who has also written on Native music, suggested to me that the popularity of this music might be "industry driven," but I think it is more the case that the record industry, and the Canadian public, has taken a strong interest in Natives and messages of the Seventh Fire. This phenomenon has developed rapidly since Oka. As late as 1994, McAllester wrote: "Native American music, whether traditional or popular, is virtually unknown to the general public of the United States and Canada" (1994: 596). I don't think this was the case in Canada in 1994, and certainly not today.

A few years ago, most radio stations thought of Native music as a type of marginal ethnic music. They now see it as a category of popular music. In my new radio show on CKCU called The 49, I am required to play six different genres of music in two hours (it is a "general music" show); I can easily do this using all Native performers. Whereas the station had only a handful of Native tapes when I started in January 1993, there are now dozens of new tapes and CDs being used by programmers of all types, on diverse shows such as Vinyl Femmes and Canadian Spaces.

A new "Aboriginal Music" category was established by the Juno Awards in 1993. Its nominees included Stoney Park, J. Hubert Francis and Eagle Feather, and Sazacha Red Sky63, with Lawrence Martin (Wapistan) being named the

(...continued)

for a major Native record label in the East (There are already small studios in the East such as Maracle Studios in Tyendinaga; Sweetgrass Records and the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre are two small labels in the West) There are also plans for building a stronger Native distribution network for music, with help from organizations such as the Aboriginal Music Project in Toronto and the Woodland Cultural Centre at Six Nations.

63 Sazacha Red Sky is non-Native, and was friends with Chief Dan George. She used one of his songs as the basis for her entry to the Junos, but protests from the community and Dan George's family forced her to withdraw from the awards.
winner. The Canada Council has established a First People's category for its Touring, Sound Recording and Small Ensemble programs. In Europe, Willie Dunn, Don Patrick Martin from Kahnesetake, Dario Domingues and other Native performers from Canada are cultural heroes. Keith Secola told me that the Grateful Dead play his Circle CD before shows in the U.S., and that the album is number three on the charts in the Netherlands.

Most of this music is linked to the round dance, to the drum and its communication with the creator, with tradition, with all of our ancestors. It communicates Native values related to tradition, the land and the original instructions. The music is also effective politically. Musical allies such as Bruce Cockburn, Jackson Browne and James Taylor have joined Native artists such as John Trudell, 7TH Fire and Buffy Sainte-Marie in countless concerts and presentations designed to bring the environmental message to the mainstream. Recently, "ecostars" Jackson Browne and James Taylor were credited with helping to stop Hydro Québec's Great Whale Project (Aubrey 1995).

While much is happening in the South with independent broadcasting, the

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64 In 1995, Buffy Sainte-Marie was inducted into the Juno Hall of Fame.

65 The original instructions were given by the creator to all people at one time. They are not written down, but are contained in the oral history and culture of Native people, as well as being part of the pre-literate culture of European and other cultures. Elements of the original instructions appear in references to traditional teachings mentioned in this thesis, also in profiles of Rose Auger and Walter Bonaise in Appendix C.

66 The Cree of James Bay, led by Matthew Coon Come and Bill Namagoose, stopped the Great Whale Project (James Bay - Phase II) through appeals to the public and politicians in Canada and the U.S. Robert Kennedy Jr. was also part of the fight to stop the Great Whale Project - and made a canoe trip to James Bay this year. I take this as another indication that the environmental message of Natives in Canada is reaching mainstream politicians.
North still relies on a more conservative outlet, CBC Northern Services. The CBC reaches 100,000 people in the Yukon, Northwest Territories, and the James Bay and Arctic (Nunavik) regions of Québec and Northern Labrador. The service spans four time zones and covers over a third of the total land mass in Canada. The listening audience consists of about half white, quarter Inuit and another quarter of Natives such as the Dene, Metis and Cree. Some programming originates in the South, particularly Toronto and Montréal, but much is being produced in the North as well, and there are afternoon broadcasts in several Aboriginal languages. This service broadcasts largely country and fiddle music as well as traditional singers.

The global village concept is very much a part of life in the North. The North can be viewed as a small town, stretched across 3,000 miles and linked by satellite rather than by party phone lines. Through the CBC and small Native and Inuit radio and TV stations, Northerners don't just receive messages from the South, they make up and send their own local and regional shows. William Tagona tells how his parents, when taking their yearly vacation in Arizona, use a satellite dish to pick up CBC Northern broadcasts. Steven Blanchard of the Tagamiut Nipingat Inc. (TNI) communications society says that "radio is so important... It's the lifeline for many people. You go into any home in the North and the radio will be on" (in Martin 1995: 36). Increasingly, Native-produced music is being heard in the North. The

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67 The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) held a "Connecting the North" symposium in November 1995 to discuss better ways of reaching the "100,000 aboriginal people in the far-flung communities of the Northwest Territories." Building on efforts such as those by Rosemarie Kuptana to establish the satellite distribution network Television Northern Canada (TVNC) in 1991, the symposium looked at a "revival of community radio," among the Dene, affordable Internet access for the North and the development of "community videographers." Marina Devine notes that "for those who remember 25 years ago, few Inuit had ever seen a television show, let alone produced one, (and the symposium) was an awesome demonstration of inuit adaptability" (1995: 41, 43).

68 The three major communications societies in Québec are the James Bay Cree Communications Society (JBCCS), the Society of Communications Atikamekw-Montagnais (SOCAM) and TNI. They "collectively service via satellite 37 northern aboriginal communities ranging from the Québec-Labrador border to Ungava Bay to the southeastern tip of James Bay," and "programming is delivered in each Society's (continued...)


most popular artists include Susan Aglukark and Kashtin, but many local singers are featured as well.

Cliff Gazee is a producer for the CBC who has travelled extensively among the Inuit. He explains that most Inuit are involved in music, traditional or contemporary, in one way or another, but as of yet, there are few true professional musicians. As Cliff told me, "if you make a carving you can sell it and buy some pork chops at the village store...but you can't sell a song."

However, the Northern and isolated musicians are still serious about their craft, and have access to recording facilities with the CBC. Through its Boot Records and other labels, the CBC has released some 100 albums, tapes and CDs for broadcast on its stations, most featuring Inuit or Amerindian musicians in traditional or country styles. There are also many small, independent production studios in places like Moose Factory on James Bay and in Yellowknife, and their recordings are a regular part of CBC broadcasts. These studios also produce tapes for regional sales, another older type of moccasin telegraph. Chiwhatin Productions of Wemindji, Quebec is one such company. They have produced seven tapes in the last few years, each of which might sell 1500 copies. Clarence Louttit (a favourite fiddle player in the Sunshine Records catalogue) is the biggest seller; the other artists play "Cree Language Country," hymns and gospel music.

There is a busy sociomusical syncretism in the North, where musicians with

(...continued)

Native language" (Martin 1995: 35).

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63 In my paper "Contemporary Inuit Music in Canada" (1992) I documented a collection of Inuit and Native recordings held at the School for Studies in the Arts and Culture, Music at Carleton. There are perhaps 100 albums produced by CBC in the 1980s and 1990s. These do not represent "leading edge" music or technology, rather regional tastes and traditions.

70 Personal communication, Jeff Merriam and Earl Danyluck, August 1994.
Native, Inuit, Irish, French, and Scottish influences are getting together in Yellowknife and Whitehorse to create a lively country and bluegrass scene. Traditional country and bluegrass musicians from Canada and the Southern U.S. are being drawn up to the Northern communities.\textsuperscript{71}

While a regional metissage continues in the North, Native artists in the South continue to address the mainstream. In the 20th century, there has been a long tradition of "Indian Shows" at rodeos, fairs and in the cities.\textsuperscript{72} Arthur Smith was invited down from Maniwaki in the 1960s to demonstrate birchbark canoe-making in Toronto. People from Maniwaki have been invited all over the world to participate in shows and fairs, such as Norma Dube who travelled to Illinois in the early 60s to perform at the state fair.\textsuperscript{73}

Today touring companies such as The North American Indian Travelling College from Akwesasne and the American Indian Dance Theatre from New York City bring the drum and Native music to university campuses, urban outdoor concert venues, and showcases in cities such as Ottawa (National Arts Centre), Toronto,

\textsuperscript{71}Personal communication, Richard Patterson, CBC Ottawa.

\textsuperscript{72} This stereotype is still very much in place, but is being offset by the work of artists and artisans from different nations who are promoting their own traditions - people such as Arthur Smith and Dr. E. S. Stevens (Algonquin), JTH Fire (Ojibwe) the American Indian Dance Theatre (various) and Kashtin (Innu).

\textsuperscript{73} In the 1960s, promoters from the U.S. visited places like Maniwaki to hire individuals and families to perform at fairs in the U.S. and Canada. Everyone in Norma's family specialized in something, be it singing, dancing or making canoes. There was a great deal of pride in being able to display these skills and traditions. Again, these public appearances gave many Natives a chance to maintain and preserve parts of their culture, present it to others, travel, and get paid for their talents. Today, the tradition of hiring Native performers to enact stereotypes (or just be themselves) is still very popular in Europe. The Native performing presence in Europe is important, at least to counter European "Indians" such as the Germans (who have an ongoing "fascination with Indians"). A 1990 "annual gathering of Germans playacting and dressing like Plains Indians" upset a visiting Sacerio couple from Alberta who saw "sacred dances being trivialized" (MacDonald 1993: 31).
Washington, and Los Angeles. It is part of a process in which Native people are taking control of their own image, through strong representation on stage and in the media.

On November 28, 1994, at the National Arts Centre (NAC), the American Indian Dance Theatre (AIDT) presented Iroquois social dances, music from the Zuni Pueblo, ceremonies, songs and dances of the Kwakiutl of Alert Bay, Plains Intertribal music, and all the attendant outfits and instruments. Joe Bellanger has been singing with the AIDT since 1988. Before that, he was with the Chippewa Red Lake Singers for fifteen years. He says that: "It's not only the dancing and singing, it's an educational thing for the audience too. We have the greatest opportunity there is, to go around and travel, and explain to people how Indians really are. That we're not what they see on television, you know -- bunch of guys jumping around a fire, dancing some goofy way, wearing stupid feathers. It's not like that. We're not like that." Singer Kenny Merrick Jr., a Sioux from South Dakota, agrees that "the movie industry and Hollywood people have depicted Indians as what they thought it was: You know, going out in one big war raiding party, shooting bluecoats."\(^7^4\)

The singers and dancers of AIDT take audiences around Turtle Island in a two-hour tour. The show begins with the *Eastern Woodlands Suite*, including traditional Iroquois songs and dances such as the "Standing Quiver Dance" and "Raccoon Dance," then goes South to Pueblo country and the "Eagle Dance" and "Hoop Dance,"\(^7^5\) then to the West Coast for the *Red Cedar Bark Ceremony* and its songs and spirits. The finale is a series of Plains songs and dances. This whole

\(^7^4\)Personal communication in a pre-show interview. See Appendix A.

\(^7^5\)The hoop dancer manipulates many reed hoops, forming shapes of flowers, eagles, turtles, butterflies and other living things. The dance, created to teach and convey stories, shows how all natural things are connected, yet grow and change (AIDT 1994).
tours is accomplished by three singers and fifteen dancers - all trained in the
traditions they are enacting. There are artists from British Columbia, Alberta and
Ottawa in the troupe. The outfits, songs and dances live at the NAC as they do in
Iroquois territory, or on the Plains. This highly talented group of singers and
dancers have captured glimpses of traditional Native reality and identity, and are
able to portray them to the mainstream. This is part of the decolonization process
in the time of the Seventh Fire, it is another way for Natives to share teachings on
their own terms.

The strength and presence of Native music and art today was created
through a long process that demonstrates that Native cultures are not transitional
or on their way out, as was once believed. Alfred Young Man explains it this way:
"North American Indian artists...have literally reinvented their cultures many times
over with no loss of continuity with earlier Native cultures and consequently, they
have had, and do have, an untold influence on the way the 'outside' world perceives
them... To an anthropologist and an archaeologist, cultures do die. To a Native
American cosmologist, perhaps they do not..." (Young Man 1994: 390).

He goes on to show that "the Native perspective (states) that Native art is,
in fact, part of a continuum of Native American cultural and metaphysical existence
that has persisted for thousands of years with no loss of authenticity. Indian
activism, as a concept for continuity, has been around for centuries and certainly
was in existence at the time of Columbus." The proof is in "walking, talking Native
Americans themselves... Science, to the contrary, through anthropology and
archaeology, has mounds of evidence to prove that the Native Americans living
here today have no real relationship with the First Americans who lived 'thousands
of years ago... The scientists are wrong of course, there is a continuum here not

76 Some of these dancers also have training in classical dance, as Natives also dance
in the ballet of course. The most popular Native classical ballerina was Maria Tallchief,
who was the highest paid dancer in the world before Nureyev arrived on the scene in the
1960s (personal communication, Elaine Keillor).
a set of artifacts.  

The Moccasin Telegraph today is a continuation of communication and creative expression on the part of Natives. Through technology like radio and performance spaces such as the NAC, the Native perspective becomes louder and clearer. As mainstream society learns to understand and respect Natives for who they are, they are acting in accordance with the Seventh Fire Prophecy.

**Powwow Notes**

One result of the anthropological debate is the new focus on the definition of the Other, not as a self-inclosed or independent object of study, but, rather, as an object that can be defined only in relation to the researcher... By and large, in the act of writing about and accounting for Others, whether cultures, peoples or musics, anthropologists as well as students of popular music are becoming involved in an increasingly self-conscious venture. More and more, scholars are acknowledging that they do indeed construct and produce Others in different ways, within specific contexts, and for no less specific purposes, and in the process, they are also constructing themselves (Grenier and Gullibault 1994: 214-215).

I have been to dozens of powwows and gatherings over the past four years. The first powwow I attended in aid of this research was the Odawa Pow Wow in Nepean, May 1992. This is the spring gathering of the Odawa and their trading friends, held at the meeting of three rivers (the Gatineau, Rideau and Ottawa). It has been attended by many Anishnabek and Iroquois nations since before recorded time. The tradition was broken by white settlement in the area, but was revived by local elders like Yvonne McRae and Wilf Peltier 20 years ago.

At this powwow in 1992 I found a contemporary expression of the traditional, very much in keeping with the Pan-Indian sound that came from the Southwest in the 1970s. There were many drums including Young Nation from Brantford, White Tail from James Bay, and the Sioux Assiniboine singers from Pipestone, Manitoba.

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77He adds that these same scientists believe that "they still have some factual relationship with a certain person crucified on a cross 1,992 years ago on the other side of the world " I (1994: 384).
Odawa Chief Angus Pontiac was the invited elder. His helper Rico told me that contemporary Native music is Kashtin and Led Zeppelin. We agreed that the main feature of Kashtin's popularity was the drum; and that the screaming, high-end vocal range of Led Zeppelin is not unlike that of the White Tail singers. It was here that I began to see how the two musical worlds can coexist, and can reinforce each other.78

Ted Whitecalf of Sweetgrass Records in Saskatchewan talks about recording sessions with new collaborations, such as one between Buffy Sainte-Marie and the Red Bull Singers;79 he also arranged for the Stoney Park singers to make an appearance on the Rita MacNeil show. The powwow and its music is now moving into people's homes via TV.

As the public face of Natives in Canada becomes stronger and more recognizable, the old teachings and ceremonies call out more strongly to the people. That is why there is a resurgence of tradition, and traditional powwows, ceremonies and gatherings. More people in Canada are beginning to think of what might be Native about their heritage and themselves, and what that could mean for

78Musical mixtures continue without a loss of "Indianness;" rather as an appreciation of other cultures. At the Kumik in December 1995, singer and guitarist Ann Brady (Mohawk/French/Irish) got together with Iain Phillips (a Mohawk who teaches and plays Celtic instruments) and elder Noel Knockwood (Migmag) for an exchange of songs, stories and instruments that included the drum, guitar, mandolin, Celtic harp and flute. The commonality of Celtic and Anishnabek and Iroquois traditions was celebrated in an Anishnabek elder's lodge.

79This is the first time Buffy has recorded in her home province of Saskatchewan. She was so taken with Edmund Bull's song "Darling Don't Cry" (which he wrote a couple of years after starting Red Bull in 1987) that she will be including it on her forthcoming retrospective album. Ted Whitecalf acknowledges Buffy's help in bringing "the sound of powwow singers to a mainstream audience. Buffy has done a lot for grassroots producers and performers" by remaining involved in the community. She says her idea is "not to turn powwow singers into pop stars" because "pop stars are taken out of their community and put into a penthouse; Native performers remain part of the community. I've spent my whole life playing... in grassroots communities like the small towns in Saskatchewan and Alberta, places that Madonna and Michael Jackson would be insulted to be invited to." She goes on to say that everywhere she goes, town or reserve, she finds more and more "great music" (in Craig 1995).
the future.

**Song of the Land - North**

Native people have seen their identity change, particularly in the last one hundred years. Like the people, the music has gone through phases of religious impositions, political suppression, and acceptance of gospel, country and rock styles and values. Through all this, Native identity was maintained through the music. Finally, using values passed down for generations, Natives have begun an answering process with reliance on the original instructions.

As Seeger says: "In the case of music, the same ethnic group may at one time define itself by ancient autochthonous traditions, and at another time choose hymns or popular music as its cultural signature. The music through which a group establishes its identity can easily change from situation to situation and will do so in systematic and intelligible ways." The social changes of the last 500 years have all been reflected in Natives' reaction to Western musical styles. "People use music... and many other agents to act on situations... to unite or divide, to exhort to peace or war, to honestly enlighten or deceive..." and "when a group performs music, it is doing more than creating sounds. It is creating both the past and the present, and it is projecting itself into the future of its own construction" (Seeger 1992: 436-438).

Early research into Native music was clouded by romantic images of the "Vanishing Indian" (Francis 1992: 38).\(^8^0\) I would argue that, far from vanishing,
Native people in Canada have established themselves as a separate yet connected people, shaping the future through a strong and unified voice.\textsuperscript{61} Today the music of Native people is not so much an object for historical study, it is a continuing source for social and spiritual change and health.\textsuperscript{62} The spiritual and social aspects of the drum, the sweetgrass growing by the water, and the Native worldview mentioned in Chapter One are still with us today.\textsuperscript{63}

Ethnomusicologists and other academics in Canada need to work more within the Native perspective, particularly given the implications of the Seventh Fire Prophecy.\textsuperscript{64} We have to indigenize ethnomusicology today.\textsuperscript{65} Further research

(continued)

America possibly exist if great numbers of people believed that the minerals in the ground, the trees and rocks, and the earth itself were all alive?" He argues that society insists on the romantic image of Natives because "if our society suddenly believed it was sacrilegious to remove minerals from the earth, to buy and sell land, our society would evaporate" (1991: 214).

\textsuperscript{61}Walter Bonaise talks of the Cree prophecy that one man would rise to speak for the people, and he would be heard. Elijah Harper has done that; others will also.

\textsuperscript{62}Within academic work we often discuss music as if it were separate from the events and experiences of our daily lives," but in Native teachings "music is integrated with dance, spirituality and life; the discourse about these things often focuses on personal experience; and the right way to begin more often involves celebration and thanks than rigorous explanation or analysis" (Diamond, Cronk and von Rosen 1995: 2).

\textsuperscript{63}The arts play "a crucial role in the decolonization process which reappropriates voice and control of identity and self" and they ensure cultural continuity. The drum is essential to this process. "Following long periods of incursion and dependence, native cultures are now in a renaissance... The artistic productions of today stand up to those of any previous era... Native American voices are being heard through their own artists... If these are indicators of social health, then our artists are saying we are at the threshold of a Golden Era" (Brascoupé 1994: 96).

\textsuperscript{64}As ethnomusicologists, anthropologists, historians and other academics today recognize the importance of an interdisciplinary approach, we begin to see the relationships that allow us to see a larger (and more personal) picture, which is closer to the Native worldview. Diamond, Cronk and von Rosen, Qureshi and Wickwire all

(continued...)
should benefit the community by promoting awareness of Native values, helping to
gain mainstream respect for spiritual practices and prophecies, and through
assisting in the cultural, spiritual and political process of self determination. As
Qureshi says:

For while we all have good will, I think at some level, our very professional
character has been invested with a certain amount of patronizing attitude, following years
of intellectual/academic colonialism and post-colonialism... The real challenge, then, is to
live equivalence and mutuality even where we can get away with less for the moment,
because ultimately our very legitimacy as researchers in the Canadian mosaic is at stake.
Such equivalence means no less than to include community representatives in our own
policy making, from research goals to teaching. For ultimately, it is the members of the
music-making groups who are their own best experts (1994: 348).

Institutions and academics have to be more flexible in encouraging and
appreciating the perspectives and ideas that Natives can bring to scholarship;
Native students should be encouraged to do their own research more on their own
terms, and non-Native academics must learn to work with the help of Native
advisors. The ethnomusicologist can assist Native people in making audio and
video recordings for community as well as academic use; institutions are in a

(...continued)

comment on the need for more involvement as participants rather than observers in
the circle; the ‘Other’ mentioned today in academic writing should continue to
remain elusive as long as we examine (and are part of) the "process of change,"
rather than resort to the traditional academic focus on the "final outcome of change"
within a model (Wickwire 1983: 45). This involvement in the process is also part of the
Native worldview. "Most ethnomusicologists consider it beyond their domain to take
an activist stance, to act as participants in culture or to become mediators of change.
In this, they perpetuate... ideals of Western individualist ideology" (and the Western)
"belief in ‘progress’ as a goal of humanity" (1983: 58). The Native answer to "progress"
is "sustainable economy."

65Wickwire argues we are engaged in a "self-reflexive process of looking at self
and society through the medium of music," that there is a need in ethnomusicology
to "see music in its relation both to our human communities and to their natural
environments," that "dialectical communication" between individuals is preferable to
"the limitations of scientific observation. Ultimately, we become eco-musicologists,
aware of our differences and committed to their survival in harmony in the places
where they are" (1983: 60, 65-66, 69). We all share a responsibility for our environment
(see Appendix 1).
position to help Natives with the development of CD-ROM and other leading edge technologies. Efforts to compile extensive bibliographies and resources for music and dance, or books chronicling instruments or histories, should be aimed at and advised by the Native community. We are no longer engaged in an effort to preserve and analyze Native culture, the time has come to promote and encourage the growth of Native expression and musics.\textsuperscript{66} Funding and other support is needed to bring Native artists and educators back to the reserves where they are needed most.

Most importantly, we must remember that the essential work has to do with the people and communities spread throughout Canada. This thesis is an academic (and therefore idealized) description of the Native artist and the process of self-determination. Throughout this country on reserves and in the cities the people still feel the "extreme urgency and concern for cultural survival," for the preservation of languages and teachings and the restoration of health to the people; there are two "mutually exclusive Indians" described in Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology and Akwesasne Notes (Wickwire 1983: 60-61).\textsuperscript{67}

\textsuperscript{66} The Museum Age (Bazin 1967) of the 19th and 20th centuries must yield to a more active and aware participation on the part of academics. "Music represents a very important part of the cultural and linguistic identity and future of Native people." It is an integral and vitally important part of the current cultural/community revival. Help is needed "to provide better support and assistance to Native organizations and businesses" involved in Native music, to increase "access to recording studio resources (and) managerial and technical skills," and to support the expansion of Native distribution networks (Anon. 1993: 2, 19).

\textsuperscript{67} R. Carlos Nakai is a Navajo/Ute of the Naashteezh Dinee Taachihil clan. He is a flute player with many albums to his credit. R. Carlos, A. Paul Ortega, Buffy Sainte-Marie and John Kim Bell have all talked about the advantages of being able to live in two worlds at once, having both the Native perspective of wholeness and inclusion with creation and the mainstream ability to move through the system and achieve results (Graburn's "structural assimilation"). They are exclusive worlds, but an individual can have both at once. Many of the artists described in this thesis have this ability, but the people not described are the vast majority of Native people still struggling to overcome racial, spiritual, economic, and technological oppression at home on the land or in the surrounding cities. There is still an ecological, cultural and social crisis throughout the territories as people learn how to protect themselves and the land in a modern (continued...)
Natives have stated that academics wishing to "extract" knowledge and information from the communities are no longer welcome. The important voices today are the ones of Natives speaking for themselves. R. Carlos Nakai expressed it this way:

The people who want to be like us are those who are just taking bits and pieces, they don't want the responsibility of being human beings. I say to Americans: I want your children to come to us. You are no longer Europeans, you are us now. You were born in our country. It's time for you to start learning how to be in our land (in Tayac 1989: 40).

The elders say we must know where we are before we can know who we are. We are all being asked to come home. Five years ago, Ojibwe elder Dan Pine of the Garden River Reserve near Sault Ste. Marie said:

We have been undressing too long, it is time to put our clothes back on. It is time to go back home. When someone knocks there is no one to answer the door. Take the water that flows, and the lakes, and bring them back in here within your spirit, the fish in the water, the insects, the animals, the birds that fly and those that do not, and bring those too, back within you. The trees and rocks, the land and sky, the clouds, the winds, the air, the stars, and bring this too back within you where they rightfully belong. Take the spoken word of every language there is on this Earth, this too belongs within you. Then, and only then, will you be home and you will be fully dressed, and when the knock comes to your door you will be there to open it. Each foot will know exactly where to fall. You then cannot make a mistake (in Peltier 1990: 4).

This thesis has come full circle. William Commanda says that the white race was welcomed by the Anishnabe in the time of the Fourth Fire, when the white race chose the course of destruction and death. Today in the age of the Seventh Fire the races and perspectives face each other again. Native musicians are listening to the elders today and using the tools of musical communication handed down through the generations. They are looking ahead Seven Generations, bringing a view of wholeness to all who will listen.

(...continued)

complex society, Dudley George died at Stoney Point (Camp Ipperwash) because he had "returned to his homeland to try to find relief (from "living conditions most Canadians would find intolerable") in political action" (Aubrey 1995: B1, B4).
Appendix A - Annotated Discography

This discography is arranged by first names, as the artists are commonly known to Native people.

Field Recordings / Radio Interviews


Arthur Smith Tape 1. October 15 1994. From tape A1 (tapes are numbered in the order Arthur gave them to me), titled Mouth To Mouth Indian History. Side A - 1) A trilingual talk about trees and berries, before a walk in the bush with students of the Maniwaki Polyvalent. He describes softwoods and hardwoods, different types of berry bushes and branches, roots, and herbs, including a cure for jaundice. He describes the good of sharing knowledge. 2) A short tune on the harmonica. 3) Four girls sing a short song in Algonquin. Side B - 1) Arthur talks about the church influence on Indians and history. "Most of those white men, some of them our relatives, they were jailbirds. They told them, if you can survive with the Indians, then you're free." Stories about scalping, Indian wars, liquor, James Bay Cree, treaties and reserves, history of Maniwaki, religion vs. religious leaders, problems with language loss. 2) Talk about Kitigan Zibi boundaries, land loss on the reserve. 3) Old Indian way of life, beliefs. 4) Recent history of the church in Maniwaki. 5) Indians as slaves (liquor laws).


Assorted A. Interview with Don Patrick Martin; Florene Belmore poem. CBC interview with Lawrence Martin, recorded 10/12/93.

Assorted B. Pura Fe, recorded Kahnawake 1992 by Glenn Morrison. Peter Gzowski Interview with Robbie Robertson, recorded 29/9/94.
Assorted C. Trisha Sky, recorded at Wilf Peltier's fire the last night (49) of the 1993 Odawa Pow Wow. Maori Group: A travelling troupe recorded at Kahnesetake Powwow on July 11 1993 by Cliff Thomas.


Maniwiki Tape 1. November 21 1994. Recorded at Kate's house, and at Norma Dubé's (Kitty Williis') house, with Doreen Stevens and Charlie Commanda. Side A - 1) Norma sings "A Faithful Boy." 2) Describes how she wrote it. 3) She sings "Rudy Percoocoo," a song she wrote about an Illinois fair that she and her family performed at in the early 60s. 4) Talk among Doreen, Norma and myself. 5) Another song. 6) Talk about Norma's influences, styles. 7) Norma sings the Mishomis song. 8) She talks about it. "It was passed down from our ancestors." 9) About going high and low (harmonies), Doreen talks about her singing and her mother's and grandmother's singing. 10) Norma sings "Paper Roses." 11) Norma sings "Detroit City," harmonies by Doreen. 12) Talk about water in Maniwiki. 13) Talk about Charlie Commanda's funny songs. 14) Norma sings a Kitty Wells song. 15) Norma sings "Quand le Soleil..." 16) Talk about fiddle player Edward Cote. 17) Norma sings "Blackboard of My Heart." Side B (at Norma's house) - 1) Curtis Stevens (Doreen's nephew) sings a song from school, in Algonquin. 2) Norma sings "Rye Whiskey" in Algonquin. 3) Talk about the song, how it was made. 4) Norma sings an Algonquin lullaby. 5) Talk about how Indian names were changed by the government, how Maniwiki reserve lost land, Norma's shop, her life as an artist: "If money grew on trees, I'd be always up the tree." 6) Norma talks me into singing "When I Fall in Love." Norma and Doreen sing harmonies. Two versions. 7) Norma sings her song "Treat Me Like a Lady." 8) She sings her song "Mommy Be Good." 9) Talks about it. 10) A capella version of "A Fool Such As I." 11) Doreen talks about yodelling, her father and grandfather. "He was always singing - down the road, up the road..." 12) Norma sings "Rudy Percoocoo" again, a more complete version. 13) She tells the story. 14) Charlie Commanda sings "Alberta, Alberta." 15) Talk about show business in Maniwiki. "You try to do something and they laugh at you."

Maniwiki Tape 2. November 22 1994. This is a compilation of Arthur Smith's tapes from the early 1980s, and a live interview, made at Arthur's house. Side A - 1) Arthur introduces the story of Oshdedewon and sings the song, in
Algonquin. He sings bits of the song, interspersed with the story. 2) Arthur explains the story, in English, to me. Oshdebowon is the chief who first saw the white people coming to Algonquin territory. 3) The song again, in Algonquin and French. 4) Indian life and respect for the animals. 5) Story and song of the Beaver. 6) Arthur supplies missing verse. 7) beginning of O Holy Nite. 8) Live: Arthur explains the Bear song in Algonquin, then sings it. 9) Talk amongst Arthur, myself and Charlie Commanda, about bears, spirits, travelling. 10) Arthur sings the Muskrat song with his rattler. 11) Charlie grabs the rattler and shakes the room. 12) Talk about the Mexican healers. 13) Arthur talks about Iroquois and rattlers, talk about what to put in rattles. 14) Raccoon and Lobster dance - Arthur sings, dances and explains this dance. 15) Talk about feathers, Plains Cree rattles, Arthur’s orders on hand, his birthday present.

*Ođawaa Pow Wow.* May 1992. I made this field recording, which features White Tail, Manitou, Tuscachee, Young Nation and the Amikoonsuck singers.

*Onondaga Longhouse.* April 15 1995. Field recording of new songs by singers from Caughnawaga, Tonawonda, Six Nations and other places. Recorded at the Onondaga Longhouse at Six Nations on the full moon. This is an annual gathering featuring new songs by singers from around Iroquois territory, held alternately at different longhouses. I was invited there by Amos Kay, who sang with the Olmush Singers on this occasion. Three tapes.

*Randel Proulx.* 1994. This drum song was recorded at Kathryn Michaud’s house in November. The song was given to Epona’ Kwae. Randel Proulx is an elder from Georgian Bay.

*Rose Auger Tapes.* Interview with Rose at KUMIK late October, appearance on Spirit Voice. Two tapes.


*Willie Dunn Interview.* 6/5/95. Interview for Aboriginal VOICES.

**CD-ROM**

*The Indian Question.* 1994. A CD-ROM produced by Objective Computing - P.O. Box 51246 Indianapolis IN U.S.A 46251. (317) 475 9904. This resource contains the full text of 300 treaties, the 1850's encyclopedia on American Indians edited by Henry Shoolcraft, primary texts on the Algonquin language, assorted myths, guides to the National Archives, BIA statistics and U.S. reservations, notebooks and paintings of artist George Catlin, and biographies of Indian Chiefs, including the full text of Black Hawk’s autobiography.
Video

17th Annual SiFC Pow Wow. 1995. Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre. 

The Incas. 1993. PBS Home Video PBS 1061.

Live and Remember. 1987. Produced by the Solaris Lakota Project.


Contemporary Native Music

Anthologies

24 Canadian Aboriginal Artists. 1995. 24 Greatest Hits. Sunshine Records SSCD 4253. CD.


Here and Now: A Celebration of Canadian Music. 1995. Sony Music Special Products CDSSP 4513. 4 CDs. A compilation of Canadian artists in different styles, created for the 50th anniversary of the United Nations and to promote Canadian music. The first album in the set is Music of the First Peoples and
Folk Music. Artists represented include Kashtin, Tudjaat, Stoney Park, Jerry Alfred and Jani Lauzon.


*Mackenzie Music.* 1992. CBC Northern Service CBC CD4 Two CDs. A mix of Inuit singers and drummers, folk, country, and other styles. Also Native performers.


Artists


Art Napoleon. 1992. Napoleon. Independent release: P.O. Box 1382 Chetwynd British Columbia V0C 1J0. (403) 244 5639. Tape.
Blackfoot. 1979. Blackfoot Strikes. WEA Music Canada QSD 38 112. LP.
--------. 1980. Tomcatin'. ATCO Records XSD 32 101. LP.
--------. 1981. Marauder. ATCO Records XSD 32 107. LP.
Bob Wiseman. 1991. Presented by Lake Michigan Soda. WEA Records CD 75782. CD. This album by the keyboard player/producer for Blue Rodeo is in support of environmental and Native causes. Titles include "Diary of a U.S. crop-dusting pilot spraying the defoliating tebuthiuron (spike) on coca plantations in the upper Huallaga valley (Peru)" and "Another obscure death in the history of the American Indian movement (AIM)."
--------. Early 1990s (est.) Mother. Chiwhatin Productions JM 03. Tape.
Brian Black Thunder. 1995. Spirit With a Mask. Bear Clan Records BCR 01. CD.
--------. 1969. Illuminations. Vanguard VSD 79300. LP.


1976. Sweet America. ABC Records 9022 929. LP.


1992. She Used To Want To Be A Ballerina. Vanguard VMD 79311. CD. Reissue of 1971 LP.


Charlie Panagoniak. Late 1980s (est.). Inuktitut Songs by Charlie Panagoniak. CBC Northern Service QCS 1474. LP.


Chief Dan George and Fireweed. 1973. In Circle. Can-Base Records CBL 5002. LP. Dan George talks about stories and prophecies, and also sings "My Blue Heaven." Fireweed play "Will the Circle be Unbroken" and "McMillan Bloedel"


Cliff Maytwayashing. Late 1980s (est.). Native Fiddling Fever. Sunshine Records SSBCT 443. Tape.


Colin Adjun. Late 1980s (est.). Fiddler Of The Arctic. CBC Northern WRC1 3452.
LP.
CD.


--------. na. *Through Arawak Eyes*. Development Education Centre of Toronto IFF 0001. LP.


David Gann. 1987. *Island Miles Away*. Boot Records, CBC Northern Service WRC1 5676. LP, tape. David is distributing this tape through P.O. Box 352, Fort Simpson, N.W.T X0E 0N0.


Country/gospel; "100% Yukon Music."

Edward Gamblin. late 1980s (est.). *This Can't Go On*. Sunshine Records SSCT 4058. Tape.


Ernest Monias and Sons. 1992. *Neechee*. Sunshine Records SSCT 4111. Tape. This is a mixture of country and pop covers, such as "Face In The Crowd" and "I've Been Down That Road Too." Ernest's biggest seller so far.


Etulu and Susan Aningmiug. 1989. I'm Glad in My Heart. CBC Northern Service WRC1 6140. LP.

Etulu Etidloie. Late 1980s (est.). Today's Thoughts. CBC Northern Service WRC1 1486. LP.

The Fire Next Time. 1992. "At least American Indian people know exactly how they've been fucked around." Irresistible/Maya/Revolutionary, distributed by Cargo Records Montréal. LP. Political dub and rap music.

The Fire This Time. 1995. Basslines and Ballistics. EXTREME XCDUB 7001. CD. Dub music featuring Pat Andrade of Toronto and other artists from around the world.

--------. 1995. Dancing on John Wayne's Head. EXTREME XCDUB 7002. CD.


Gen Huit. 1995. Independent demo recording. Tape. Produced by Gen Huit (Flathead) and Michael Ballantyne of Minneapolis. Original songs, including "O Cedar Tree."


--------. 1994. Antarctica. Holborne Distributing NTCD3. CD.

--------. 1995. The Middle Distance. Holborne Distributing NTCD17. CD.

Inconnu. 1994. Produced and distributed by Inconnu Productions IP1-1994, Box
5514 Whitehorse Yukon Y1A 5H4, fax 403 633 4788. CD. Interesting instrumentation, including tuba and dobro.


Jesse Ed Davis. Mid 1970s (est.). Jesse Davis. ATCO Records SD 33 346. LP. Featured artists include Leon Russell and Eric Clapton.


Jody Thomas Gaskin. 1995. ...Part of being Arishnabe. Sunshine Records SSCD 4254. CD.


-------. 1994. johnny dasmas and me. Rykodisc RCD 10286. CD.


Kashkun. 1990 (est.). Menuatetau. Les Studios Innini. Tape. Includes one reggae tune, with horn section.


-------. 1991. Tshinuatu. Distributed by Musicor PPFLC 5021. From the Innu album, one song with interview.


*night sun*. '199'. Produced by night sun and Rob Heaney NSCD 00. CD. P.O. Box
508 Iqaluit NWT XCA OHO. (819) 979 4204.
Northern Haze. Late 1980s (est.). CBC Northern Service WRC-1 3962. LP.
Pat Andrade and Don Paul. 1994. Till the Bars Break. Irresistible / Maya / Revolutionary IMR 014. CD.
Peacemaker. 1994. Sunshine Records Jamco International JICT 801. Tape. This rock/heavy metal group does originals for the rock bar circuit. Songs include "Sacred Ground" and "Whiskey Sponge."
Pura Fé. 1995. Caution to the Wind. Shanachie/Cachet 5013. CD.


*Star Boy.* 1994. Dakotah DAK 102. CD. A story by Paul Goble, narrated by Tom Bee, with music by Tom Bee and XIT.

Susan Aglukark. 1990 (est.). *Dream's For You.* Produced by Randall Prescott and Les McLaughlin for the CBC. Tape.


1995. *This Child.* Produced by Chad Irsckick, distributed by EMI E 2 7243 32075 2 7. CD, tape.


Tom Jackson. Late 80s (est.). *Love, Lust, and Longing.* Sunshine Records SSCD 4104. Tape. Excellent, varied production, "Vacation" is Native calypso.


1994. *"No Regrets."* Sony PMK 078. CD.


Vince Two Eagles. 1995. *In America.* Sound of America Records SOAR 173. CD.


has a very strong current sound to it, partly due to production by Chad Irshchuck, who also produced Susan Aglukark's This Child. Lester Mianscum and Mark Meekis of the White Tail Singers provide the chanting on the album.

------------- 1994. ADISOKAAN. Sunshine Records SSDC 4223. CD.

------------- Early 1990s (est.). The Pacific. Reissue of 1986 LP, produced by Claus Biegert and Willie Dunn, distributed by (Germany) Trikont - U.S. 00075 -2. CD.
------------- 1994. Willie Dunn (1973) and The Pacific. Tape produced by Willie, from recordings. Also features new songs such as "Yellowhead."


**Intertribal / Traditional**

**Anthologies**

*The Best of Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre*. 1993. Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre SICC CD 091493. CD. Great selection of songs and singers, including the "Crow Hop" by Elk's Whistle and Red Bull’s "Darling Don't Cry."


SGBH081294. Tape. Singers are Jack Bull, Francis Green, Melvin Stone and Arnold Pete.


*Still the Eagle Flies Vol I & II.* 1995. Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre SICC CD 95. Two CDs.

Drums / Singers / Flute Players


--------. 1995. *Feel the Thunder*. Sound of America Records SOAR 167. CD.

Art Moosomin and the Mosquito Singers. 1991. Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre AMS 121691. Tape. From Mosquito reserve near North Battleford, Sask., the singers are Nakota and Cree.

Billie Nez. *Peyote Songs From Navajoland*. Sound of America Records SOAR 114. CD.


CD.


*Elk's Whistle (Henca Ho Tanin).* 1989. Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre EW 140689. Tape. The Dakota singers live in Regina and other places in Canada and the U.S.


------. 1994. *Kickin' it in Da '90's.* Sunshine Records SSCT 4233. CD.


Free Spirit. 1993. *Micmac (MiKmac) Songs.* Sunshine Records SSCT 4093. Tape. This group's power and traditional songs were very popular on the Powwow Trail in 1993. They made memorable appearances at the Odawa, Maniwaki and Kahnesetake powwows, among others.


*Hawk River Singers.* 1993. Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre HR 011593. Tape. "I'll Kiss You By The Moonlight" has some wild English harmonies. The drum is Nakota, from the Alexis reserve in Alberta.
Indian Creek Singers. 1994. *Pow Wow Jammin’*. Sound of America Records SOAR 156. CD.


*Pablo Hurtado*. 1995. *Five Fing’ed One(s) - CODEX MARIACHI*. Independent production. Pablo is Dene and Aztec, now living in Montréal.

*Peacemaker’s Drum II*. 1992. Produced at Maracle Studios. Tape. A Mohawk group from Deseronto (Tyndenaga), the Peacemaker drum is a cultural preservation singing society. They do ceremonial and social music, with some singing in English.


*Red Bull*. 1989. Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre RB 180489. Tape. Traditional songs. This Cree drum is from different places in Saskatchewan, including Little Pine (Edmund Bull) and Onion Lake (Brian and Irvin Waskewitch).

*Red Bull*. 1992. *Dance to Red Bull*. Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre DRB 052192. Tape. These are Cree love or round dance songs, featuring
PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

PRECISION\textsuperscript{TM} RESOLUTION TARGETS
characteristic rhythms and endings, as well as titles such as "I'll Take You Home In My Boogie Van."

Terry Widrick. 1995. By Sacred Waters. Sunshine Records SSCD 4257. CD.
The Tewa Indian Women's Choir of San Juan Pueblo. 1994. Songs from the Tewa Mass. Produced by the Tewa Indian Women's Choir. Tape. Started in 1987, the choir sings "ange'in" or spiritual songs traditionally sung before ceremonial dances, also standard Christian hymns and songs composed for the church. Accompanying instruments are synthesizer, drum, turtle shell rattles and bells. PO Box 27 San Juan Pueblo New Mexico 87566.
Turtle Mountain Singers. 1987. Navajo Social Dance Songs. Indian House 1523. Tape. Vibrant voices and harmonies... these singers sing in unison with a decided "swing." Songs include "Reno, Nevada" and "I'll take you home in my limousine."

White Eye Singers. Early 1990s (est.). Produced by the group from Walpole Island, Ont.


Appendix B - Music Producers / Distributors / Retailers

Aboriginal VOICES. 116 Spadina Ave. Ste. 201 Toronto Ontario M5V 2K6. (800) 324 6067. This magazine is devoted to the communicative arts on Turtle Island.

AKINA. P.O. Box 1595 Tempe Arizona U.S.A 85280. (602) 968 5744. Founded by Keith Secola, AKINA (which means "all" in Ojibwe) is an Indigenous recording company which handles archival and modern recording projects and distribution of Native music.

Aura Musics. 742 Rue St. Antoine Terrebonne Québec. (514) 471 2805. Aura produced Pepe Mendoza's The Spirits Sing.

Bear Clan Records. 10520 Yonge St. Unit 35B Suite 144 Richmond Hill Ontario L4C 3C7. (905) 884 0179. Producers for Brian Black Thunder.

Canyon Records. 4143 North 16th St. Suite 4 Phoenix Ariz. U.S.A 85016. (602) 266 7835. Most U.S. and many Canadian artists are represented. Canyon records original work, re-releases popular material and distributes product for themselves and other producers, such as Sunshine Records.

Chiwhatin Productions. Box 279 Wemindji Québec J0M 1L0. (819) 978 3100. They produce local artists such as Clarence Louttit and Earl Danyluck.

COOL RUNNINGS - The Indian Music Store. Window Rock Shopping Center P.O. Box 3564 Window Rock, Az 86515. (602) 871-5600.


Dark Light Music Ltd. 686 Richmond St. W. Main Floor Toronto M6J 1C3. Dark Light produced Vern Cheechoo's Lonesome And Hurting.

De Konkurrent. Box 14598, 1001 LB Amsterdam, Holland. +31.20.6844153, fax +31.20.6849505. Produced Don Patrick Martin: So... This Is America.

Denon Canada. 17 Denison St. Markham Ont. L3R 1B5. Wholesale Canadian distributor for Vern Cheechoo, John Trudell and others. 1 800 668 0652.

EXTREME. P.O. Box 147 Preston 3072 Victoria Australia. EXTREME USA 1071 Main St. #2000 Cambria CA 93428, (805) 927 2827, fax 0384. extreme@well.sf.ca.us Web Site: http://www.nets.com/extreme.html

Festival Records. 3271 Main St., Vancouver British Columbia Canada V5V 3M6. (604) 879-2931, fax 4315. Wholesale distributor for Shingoose.

First Nations Music. P.O. Box 1180 16 Fifth Ave. Sioux Lookout Ontario Canada PST 1B7. Distributors for Murray Porter, Lawrence Martin, White Tail Singers and others.


Full Circle Productions. 2951 Bluewater Road, Malibu, California U.S.A. 90265.

1Further U.S. record companies and distributors can be found in Gombert 1994.
Production for Floyd Westerman.

Holborne Distributing Co. Box 309, Mount Albert Ont. L0G 1M0. They distribute Anakwad.

Indian House. P.O. Box 472 Taos NM U.S.A 8757. Production and distribution of traditional music.

Iroqrafts Ltd. Oshwekon Ontario Canada N0A 1M0. They produce and sell tapes, books and crafts relating to traditional Iroquois culture.

Maracle Music. P.O. Box 266 Deseronto Ontario K0K 1X0. (613) 396 1470. Tape production.

Midsummer Music. 270 -1508 W. 2nd Ave. Vancouver BC V6J 1H2. (604) 737 2347, fax 2395. Toronto: (416) 604 7612, fax 7605. Wholesale distributor for artists such as R. Carlos Nakai and Martin Silverwolf.

Mohawk Nation Book And Magazine Store. Box 645 Kahnawake Québec J0L 1B0. (514) 638 4016, fax 5639. Great selection of tapes, retail sales of recordings, books and videos.

Musicor. 2620 route Transcanadienne Pointe-Claire Québec H9R 1B1. (Distributors for Kashtin)

N’dakinna Crafts. 222 Waban-Aki Odanak Québec J0G 1H0. (514) 568 0869.

New Southwest Music Publications and Wakan Records. P.O. Box 4552 Santa Fe New Mexico 87502. (505) 983 5294.

New World Records. 701 7th Ave. NY NY 10036. (212) 302-0460. They are re-releasing many traditional titles.


Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre. 401 Packham Place Saskatoon Sask. S7N 2T7. (306) 373 9901, 244 1146, fax 665 6520. First tape was 1988's Red Bull Singers, followed by 3-4 Intertribal tapes a year. Now producing Intertribal tapes monthly. Plans to go into video, dance oriented material.

Shanachie Records. 37 E. Clinton St. Newton, NJ 07860. 201 579 7763.

Shoog-Wayuk Productions. P.O. Box 2567 Winnipeg Manitoba R3C 4B3. 204 775 1442. Producers for Chris Marten.

Silver Wave Records. P.O. Box 7943 Boulder Colorado 80306. (303) 443-5617.

Southwest Music Publications.

Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, c/o Centre For Folklife Programs And Cultural Studies: 955 L'Enfant Plaza Suite 2600 Wash. DC 20560. (202) 287 3424. Many contemporary and traditional artists are represented; reissues of Folkways recordings.

Sunshine Records. 275 Selkirk Ave. Winnipeg Manitoba R2W 2L5. (204) 586 8057, fax 582 8397.

SOAR Corporation. Box 8606 Albuquerque N.M. 87198 U.S.A. (505) 268 6110. Production and distribution by Tom Bee and XIT.
Sweetgrass Records, P.O. Box 23022 Saskatoon Saskatchewan Canada S7J 5H3. (306) 343 7053, fax 5930. Ted Whitecalf records and distributes artists such as Stoney Park, Grey Eagle, Red Bull and Buffy Sainte-Marie.

Trikont via EFA Medien GmbH, Billwerder Neuer Deich 334 A, D - 2000 Hamburg 26, Deutschland. Phone 040/789 170-0, fax 040/78 27 83. European distributors for Willie Dunn

WAKAN - Native American Classics. P.O. Box 4552 Santa Fe New Mexico 87502. Production and distribution for Louis W. Ballard.

Appendix C - Biographical Notes

These biographies and profiles are arranged by first names, as the artists are commonly known to Native people.

7TH Fire

Brothers Allen and David Delary (Ojibwe from the Walpole Island) remain the core members of the band. Allen sings (or raps, or intones) and writes lyrics, attitudes and philosophy. David plays bass and creates musical atmospheres through strong arrangements, and the use of midi and computer equipment. Allen says that the band is "aggressively political."

I first saw the band in September 1992 at Ottawa’s Saw Gallery (the gallery features Native works, and includes a Native video co-op). It's a small place, and it was packed with some 200 fans, all of whom knew the band. 7TH Fire was playing high energy, rock/punk/reggae/funk with Intertribal roots. There were 7 players ranging in age from 22 to 78 years old in their 1992 performance at the Saw Gallery, representing Native groups from North and South America. Today the lineup has evolved, and 7TH Fire is still an excellent band with high calibre musicianship. It is a rock guitar band, making use of all the latest effects with panache and abandon. A Native sound and message is always there: The sax lines on The Cheque is in the Mail are distinctly Native, as are some of the drumming patterns. David DeLeary explained that in 1992 7TH Fire was a fusion of music of the Americas, some worldbeat, latin, reggae, rock, Native, rap.

David and Allen's influences include Intertribal drums Frank Zappa, Bob Marley and Motown. Terry Whiteduck from Maniwaki was lead guitarist and shaped the band's sound over the past five years (he has now moved back to the reserve). His style was influenced by the 70s "guitar gods" such as Jimi Hendrix and Pete Townsend of the Who. Terry Owen, a white player who crafted the distinctive
descending sax lines of 7TH Fire's 1993 CD came out of the blues scene.

David feels that their music must be high-calibre, and musicians must be socially responsible: "Alternative music has dropped the ball," he says, speaking of many club bands in Ottawa today. Much is "unprofessional, unmelodic, three-chord stuff. The lyrics are interesting (as social comment), but the musicianship is bad." Good musicians are "also letting us down...they're sticking to music formulas like the sludge on CHEZ FM" (a mainstream commercial station).

The following is an article I wrote for the Spring 1995 issue of Aboriginal VOICES, entitled "7TH Fire: Self-Determining Music:"

7TH Fire has gone independent again after buying themselves out of their contract with First Nations Music in Toronto. The Ottawa band has regrouped and is looking at touring Canada, the U.S. and Europe. Core members Allen and David Delaney have been joined again by guitarist John Maracle (who previously played on "Well, What Does it Take?") and Noel Habel on drums.

Says Allen: "We're the real 7TH Fire, we've distilled and patented our unique style of North American Indian rock and roll music and we're here to bring it to unsuspecting listeners everywhere.

"For the first time 7TH Fire is an all-Indian band, and we're hotroddin'. We stepped on the gas a few times on the last album, you know, and on the new one we want to do it again. What dictates it now is solid drum and bass, rockin' rhythm, and good vocals. And of course our own unique cultural background, and personalities." Brothers Allen and David are Ojibwe who grew up in Detroit but hail from Walpole Island, John Maracle is Mohawk from Tyendinaga and new drummer Noel Habel is Sioux from Manitoba. Allen sees the makeup as being Anishnabek, Iroquois and Lakota/Dakota - traditional enemies now united under music.

Eight years ago Allen created the original 7TH Fire, and brother David joined the band four years ago. They remain the core members, and bring diverse influences to the band.

Allen during his tenure at Trent University in the late 70's used to sing for a traditional intertribal drum called Migizi Daywagon (Eagle Drum). Brian Black Thunder, (see review this issue) and Ernest Beck, both from Moose Factory, were the lead singers for the drum during their formative years. Growing up in Detroit, he listened to Frank Zappa, Bob Marley and Motown.

David sang a few years ago with the Wack singers, on an O'retham reserve near Tuscon. "It was an intertribal, powwow drum," he says. "There were different singers and influences - Navajo, Sioux, Kiowa." He listens to "all kinds of funk and rock, and the broad spectrum of country music. Hank Williams Sr. has never died." The brothers have a great knowledge of the roots of Native rock. While on the Spirit Voice radio show recently (Ottawa 93.1 FM), they went through the station's album collection and pulled out some old favourites, such as Floyd Westerman, Jesse Ed Davis and "Link Wray - he was Cherokee, was one of the inventors of early fuzz guitar, I liked him when he was a greaser," says David. "He was slashing speakers on his amplifiers ten years before Jimi Hendrix. He played "Be Bop A Lula," "Shake Rattle and Roll" and stuff like that, but "Rumble" - that's the epitome of Link Wray.".

Allen sings (or raps, or intones) and writes lyrics, attitudes and philosophy. David
plays bass and creates musical atmospheres through strong arrangements, and the use of midi and computer equipment. They both say that the band is "aggressively political."

Two tapes from the late 1980s, The Buffalo Cliff Collection and "Well, What Does It Take?" set the political tone for the 7TH Fire. "The Death of John Wayne" sees the Indian Agent, cowboy icon and movie star doused in flammable beer oil by the Beothuk (who then light a match...), Rebecca and Flora Belmonde melt some plastic tourists in "High Tech Tepee Trauma Mama," and soundscapes and voices are used to strengthen Native awareness with messages such as "Colonial Attitudes" (with Jim Sinclair) and "Together We Can Do It." (with James Gospeling of the Nis'Qu'la). With humour and purpose, the tapes explore "the lighter and darker sides of termination."

On their recent album The Cheque is In The Mail, 7TH Fire played high energy, rock/punk/reggae/funk with intertribal roots. There were 7 players representing Native and non-Native groups from North and South America. The sound on the album was a fusion of music of the Americas, some worldbeat, Latin, reggae, rock, Native, rap. In a way, it spoke to the 7TH Fire Prophecy and the call for cooperation among races. This time out though, the band is more focused on self-determination.

"We were a seven-piece band on our last cd The Cheque is in the Mail," says David, "this time we've boiled it down to a three piece band plus my brother on lead vocals...we've become harder, and meaner. Last year was such a disappointment (partly due to disagreements with their record company), now I have a bad attitude, and the music is starting to reflect that a little bit. We feel mean and we're ready to come snorting and tearing out of the gate."

"We're back to administering our own form of self-government," says Allen. "It's a good feeling. As an independent, we're able to establish our own fan base and image. Self-government is taking control of your
own music."

The band has decided that control of their music and message is more important than the advantages of record company deals. "Native control and ownership of their music is an important thing to hold on to. The industry is such now that there's a worldwide interest in independent music, and we have the ability to distribute it independently as well. Why not put the cut, the slice of the pie as it were, more fully back in the control of 7TH Fire. First Nations self-government, you know?"

The movement in Native and popular musics today is toward independent cd production and promotion - with the artists maintaining control of their music and their future. "It's a good move back to being an independent. The whole industry is going that way. The need for record companies is not as great anymore - with the new technology we can put out our own product, do our own advertising. The technology of Internet, CD-ROM, and computerized mini studios has put the world at the fingertips of Native creators. Record companies are good for distribution, that's all you need them for. Don't sign your (music) rights away."

"We like putting out music, the onus is on us to put out a good piece of work. Forget about everything else, it's the music that matters in the end, and the message." Allen feels the responsibility of the name 7TH Fire in the light of the Ojibwe (Anishnabek) Prophecy. Part of that responsibility is waking people up to social and political realities facing Natives and others today.

They also do a great deal of work for the community, and at benefits related to rights, social injustice and the environment. Most are put on by Native people - recently Roger O'Bomsawin asked them to Toronto to help with a fundraiser to fight government taxation of Natives. They play at benefits for Rock Against Racism, for Clayoquot Sound with "all the Canadian rock royalty," and helped celebrate the first anniversary of Kahnesetake. Although most of their touring has been done in Ontario and parts of Quebec, they have appeared across North America from LA to Washington DC, to Michigan.

David feels that musicians must be socially responsible, but their music must be high-calibre to be effective. "Alternative music is the wellspring of better musical ideas, but it has dropped the ball," he says.. Much of the music is "unprofessional, unmelodic, three-chord stuff. The lyrics are interesting (as social comment), but the musicianship is bad." Stronger players and better musicians are "also letting us down...they're sticking to music formulas like the sludge on mainstream commercial stations. It just seems that all the good players are sucked into the sonic sludge of commercial music."

There is an increasing need for strong Native musicians today, and also for players who are trained. 7TH Fire is now one of the few Native bands that can read music and are trained musicians. John and Noel are studying music at the University of Ottawa, and David is a few courses shy of a degree. He began formal music training at the age of 13. "Everyone should at least do first year music theory... it's important today for musicians to be able to read and write music. If you want to play in the studio or on pickup gigs, you have to know music." The band is getting stronger musically, because the members can also communicate on a technical level. Today 7TH Fire is "writing and rehearsing brand new stuff" says Allen. The band has set a September 1, 1995 deadline for release for their new cd and video. "We're going to plan all summer to play and test the new material. We're developing some 25 songs now, we'll pick the best and work on them through the summer. We go into the studio around the middle of May and we'll have an album ready for the packagers the middle of July, then do the video and have the complete product ready for September. Then we want to tour nationally and, after that, Europe."

This Spring and Summer, the band will be playing alongside bands from Wilwemikong, Jani Lauzon, and Crystal Shawanda at Canadian Music Week in Toronto, at Buffy Sainte-Marie's honouring festival for her induction to the Juno Hall of Fame, at independent showcases in Toronto, and at the Three Fires Festival in Wiki. They're looking forward to a chance to work with Brian Black Thunder again - "he's got a real hot band." So does 7TH Fire.
Alanis Obomsawin

Alanis Obomsawin was born in 1932 in New Hampshire, a member of the Abenaki nation. She was raised on the Odanak reserve near Montréal, and near Trois Rivières. She is a celebrated singer, composer and film producer.¹

She began learning Native and folk songs in the 1950s, and began her singing career in New York in the early 1960s. Since then she has toured Canada and the world with her songs. Her songs are political, but they are also constructed like a work of art. Her music is diverse, and accesses moods through instrumentation (from a capella to small concert ensemble) and through modern tonalities (see Bush Lady). Most of her performances are with hand drum and rattle. She sings her own songs in Abenaki, English and French, and songs of other nations in their original languages.

In 1983 she was appointed a Member of the Order of Canada, and was awarded the degree of Doctor of Literature, honoris causa, by Carleton University at the Fall 1994 Convocation.

Arthur Smith

Arthur is a drum maker, singer and elder of the Algonquin people at Kitigan Zibi. Now 82 years old, he has lived the way of the land all his life.

He learned singing as a child from his grandfathers, uncles and his mother. His grandfather on his father's side was French Canadian, and taught him the

chansons, rhyming songs and ballads of the Québécois, rooted in France. His mother and uncles taught him the "animal songs," the spirit songs of the land, the Anishnabek songs.

For twenty years Arthur sang at the Indian Church in Maniwaki, but he continued his animal songs and his life as a trapper, a trader and a maker of drums and rattles. Today he still makes things, tends his traplines and teaches songs to children on the reserve. He also has a new career as a film star (Windego was a recent effort, with Doreen Stevens) and is working on audio and video productions to help educate others on Algonquin language, culture and history.

Buffy Sainte-Marie

Buffy Sainte-Marie was the first Native musician from Canada to achieve international celebrity. She has produced more than 20 albums since the late 60s. After a 15 year hiatus she created Coincidence and Likely Stories in 1992, an album which examines individual and corporate greed, rewrites the history of colonials\(^2\) such as the FBI, and provides strong statements of faith and traditional strength to millions of Natives and non-Natives. It is being played across North America and Europe, and, like Robbie Robertson's last albums Storyville, and Music for the Native Americans, can now be heard amongst the Muzak at the local IGA. She has crossed over to the mainstream, but her message is one of Native traditional teachings.

She celebrated her heritage and the place of her birth with "Qu'Apelle Valley, Saskatchewan" on her 1976 album Sweet America. This song also points at her central message:

\(^2\)This is the term Buffy uses to refer to selfish and destructive business and government interests.
You can travel all alone
You can travel all alone
Or you can come along with me
Walk the old way
Whe-ya whe whe whe-oh...
Walk the old way
Whe-yas whe whe whe-oh...

Walking "the old way" means abiding with traditional teachings and belief systems. Qualities such as respect and sharing are most important. It is also important to live with traditional ceremonies, and with the advice of elders.

"Qu'Apelle Valley, Saskatchewan" is built from a traditional descending terraced melody. It is like an Intertribal drum song, with short phrases and refrains sung by a leader and chorus. The melody starts high with a pulsating tessitura voice and moves low to rest on a fundamental at the end of each phrase. The song is in European waltz time and the orchestration is in pop style - both elements that appeal to the mainstream audience. Like the songs on her latest album, this comes very close to a balanced mix of Western commercial and Native traditional musics - or close to being a music of its own.

Buffy was born a Cree mixed-blood on the Piapot reserve in Saskatchewan, but was adopted and raised in Maine. Her adoptive mother was part Migmag, and urged her not to believe the stereotypes of Natives in books and on TV. In her late teens, she was reunited with her Cree relatives, and began a lifetime involvement with her Native heritage.

She began playing with the family piano as a child, picking out her own melodies. As a student at the University of Massachusetts in the early 1960s, she immersed herself in learning about the world, beginning an academic career that gained her degrees in teaching, oriental philosophy and fine arts. She also began writing her own songs with original guitar tunings and scales. Bob Dylan heard her sing in Greenwich Village, and helped introduce her to the New York folk scene. She wanted to write, and was inspired by those around her:
There were a lot of real folk singers around, like Pete Seeger and Joan Baez, singing genuine folk songs that were already three or four hundred years old. What an inspiration for a songwriter... songs with universal themes that can make sense for generations (EMI 1992).

Many of her albums also contain rock and blues influences, as well as sophisticated arrangements. From an early age, she had been watching the world of rock and roll:

"The first musician who really flashed me was Elvis Presley. It was for personality, it was for sex, it was because of music, it was because of chord changes. I mean, there never was a guy like that in my home town! That got me moving and I mean it, and it's affected me all through my travels and my performances." (Cronk 1990: 71)

Her strong voice, original melodies and powerful stage presence made her a leading light of the American folk scene. In 1964, her first album for Vanguard Records, *It's My Way*, set the tone for her career as a musician of conscience. "Universal Soldier" was the most acclaimed song on the album, and was recorded by Glen Campbell and Donovan. That same year, she was named Best New Artist of the Year by Billboard Magazine, and recorded her second album *Many a Mile*, which contained the hit "Until It's Time for You to Go," which was covered by artists such as Barbara Streisand, Elvis Presley and Roberta Flack. "Cod'ine," another song on that album, was her first anti-drug warning (similar warning is given in the song "Bad End," from the new album).

Buffy began touring major cities, but she also toured reserves on her own. After a concert in New York, she might end up at a Mohawk reserve in Québec, or would visit with Aborigines in Australia after a show there. Even when she took a 14-year break from recording (until the release of *Coincidence and Likely Stories* in 1992), she continued to do two types of concerts - fund raisers for UNICEF, attended by royalty, and "...next day I'd get on a plane and go to a reserve in the middle of nowhere." She has always acted as a bridge between the two worlds:
"When I'd come to the Rez, I'd bring a rock and roll show, or news from Paris... And when I'd go to Paris or Tokyo, I'd be telling people about how things are on the Rez" (Nahwegahbow 1992: 35).

Buffy continued recording for Vanguard and other companies through the late 60s and early 70s. She became involved with the American Indian Movement (AIM) and recorded "Soldier Blue" for the Mike Nichols film of the same name, which portrayed the decimation of Native nations by the U.S. military. As her involvement with Native issues grew, her concert appearances declined in the US, where anti-AIM sentiment was growing, but she found appreciative audiences in Europe and other parts of the world. "My career could have been enormous if I'd played it the right way," she says, but instead she chose to devote herself to the Native community and the art of her music.

When her son Dakota was born in 1975, she retired from recording and concerts, and became a regular on Sesame Street, helping mainstream American children become acquainted with Natives and their culture. At a recent press conference in Ottawa, a young reporter apologized to Buffy for not being aware of her musical career; and explained that she had come to know her through watching Sesame Street.

Buffy also stayed busy with concerts for UNICEF and at reserves in Canada and the U.S. While she continued to keep in touch with Native audiences, she also continued writing music for films and began learning the musical applications of computer technology. She won an Academy Award in 1982 for her song "Up Where We Belong" from An Officer and a Gentleman, and continued to explore computer music for the rest of the decade.

In 1992 she released Coincidence and Likely Stories, a watershed album that is the culmination of over twenty-five years of music making and involvement with Native issues.³ Themes of addiction, greed and corruption run through the album.

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³Sources: EMI Records Group biography, June 1992; Interview by Barbara (continued...)
The songs paint pictures of "bigshots embroiled in loyalty to the system they know is wrong," and "patriotism to a corrupt state, loyalty to a company that's polluting the world" (Lazaruck 1992).

She says she writes three types of songs: Love songs, informative songs and songs about people's feelings about society. She sings about the global problems that are being caused by the technocratic, patriarchal and greedy corporate system, and about the effects of that system on Natives here ("Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee," and "Priests of the Golden Bull"). Her comments are timely, given the prophecies we are seeing today, and she knows this is part of a long struggle to correct the imbalance in the wheel:

Every country I go to, every single person I meet is totally dissatisfied with every single politician. And I don't necessarily think that's a negative situation. It means that the world is a fertile place right now for new ideas from alternative sources. Artists, students, journalists, Native people.

It's always been like that in history. There are times when the super rich have a big straw right into the heart of the economy and they slurp all the money to the top. That's when you'll hear from students and journalists and songwriters and Native people and all kinds of creative people. These are very fertile times for people to come through with their contributions (Saxberg 1992).

Her technique for creating Coincidence and Likely Stories is timely, in that it uses current computer and communications technology. She produced the entire album at home using a Macintosh computer. She played all the parts into her computer using a piano keyboard, then used a microphone to record her voice and acoustic guitar, so it sounds less impersonal and computerish. This technique of home recording with computers has made sophisticated sound technology available to musicians who would otherwise be faced with huge studio costs, or the prospect

(...continued)

of not being able to record at all.

She continues to work with Native people and artists from all over. She is currently working on a new album in collaboration with the Red Bull singers.

Epona' Kwae

"Epona" is Celtic, meaning goddess of the horses. "Kwae" is a Native word for woman. The women who created Epona' Kwae are Celtic and Native, and are showing how these people and music can work together. Their songs are Native and Celtic inspired and original; they speak to Natives, mixed-blood or "rainbow people," and to a general audience. All of the music is sung by two to four women, and is centred around the drum.

Kathryn Michaud is Celtic from Eastern Canada and a founding member. She explains that the singers are "warriors of the rainbow, representing the four colours of the circle (red, black, white, yellow). The colours are not overlapping, but as one in the circle."

She also notes how the sound of the Celtic songs she grew up hearing and singing with her family are similar in sound to some Native melodies. This is not new: In 1898 David Boyle described Iroquois dance songs as being "...pitched in minor key, resembling in passages songs and lullabies of the Scottish Highlands." One song sung by a woman struck him as "...bearing a strong resemblance to a familiar cradle-song." He found the range to be "...neither very high nor very low..." and noted that the beat of the drum or shaker "...is not in time with the vocal utterances..." and that dancers took their cues from the drum (Boyle in Tooker: 143).

Epona' Kwae continue to present that world where Celtic and Native musics

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meet to audiences in Ontario and Québec.

John Kim Bell*  

We live in two worlds. My chief Joe Norton says we should take the best of both. Not everybody likes moose... I do. Not everyone likes country and western music... I don't.  

(John Kim Bell on Aboriginal Voices, CHRO TV March 27 1994).

John Kim Bell is a composer and conductor of concert music, and the founder of the Native Arts Foundation, which is an organization dedicated to helping Native musicians get training. A Mohawk from Kahnawake, he grew up in Ohio and attended Ohio State University. Known for his outspoken opinions and his tireless work in aid of the Native musical community, he is a central force in the move to bring Native music and musicians to the forefront in Canada.

John Kim studied conducting in Italy, and began working with the Toronto Symphony and on Broadway musicals at a young age. Recently he has worked with Buffy Sainte-Marie, on showcases such as the National Aboriginal Achievement Awards, and wrote and produced In The Land of Spirits, Canada's first full-fledged Native ballet (based on an Ojibwe creation story).

He founded the Native Arts Foundation in 1985, and since then it has given close to $2 million to hundreds of struggling Native artists. The goal of the foundation is not so much to preserve Native culture, but to allow Native artists to excel in whatever arts-related field they choose. Some money for the foundation comes from government, but a large part of it is raised from individuals and corporations.

As an artist, he feels free to choose from all sources of inspiration. He also thinks that Native artists should have the same choices, and not be limited by their "Nativeness." He has said that the foundation's aim in part is to break the

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stereotypical images of native people and to instill discipline, commitment and
sacrifice in the pursuit of a career in the arts.

Kashtin

Kashtin means "tornado" in Innu. Cousins Claude McKenzie and Florent
Vollant are taking the North American pop scene by storm with their music, a
combination of the Innu drum and folk and rock styles. Their music is part of a long
tradition of gathering and music making among the Innu of Maleoténam, Québec.
Their message comes from values imparted by their elders and ancestors.

Since their first album in 1989 (Kashtin), the duo and their band have had
astounding success in Canada. With the release of Akua Tuta in 1994, the band is
ready for mainstream success in the U.S. They have an authentic and
uncompromising sound, built from the drum and from "British Invasion-era rock and
more contemporary styles." According to Florent Vollant, "it's a mix we heard when
we were young... the Beatles, the Stones, (they) had a melodic force. We took the
rhythms that were closest to our own. We blended the two, both influences, and that
became Kashtin" (Pilon 1992).

The Innu rhythms he is referring to are found everywhere in Innu territory in
Northern Québec. They are part of a centuries-old tradition of musical gatherings
that incorporate the Innu drum (teuikin), guitars, fiddles, harmonicas and other
folk and rock instruments. The songs and melodies are a combination of Innu songs
and French and Celtic folk, modern country and rock and roll.

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6 The teuikin (sometimes spelled teuikun) is a large hand drum used to
communicate with animal spirits. A strand of caribou nerve stretched across its diameter
is strung with pieces of bone or wood to give it a special sound directed at the spirits. See
Beverley Cavanagh's "The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and Native Music
Records" in Yearbook for Traditional Music, Vol 19, and also "Music and Gender in the
Sub-Arctic Algonkian Area" in Women in North American Indian Music - Six Essays,
In his 1989 article "Music, a Cry From the Heart," Gilles Chaumel shows how old a new values come together at places like the Maleoténam music festival (*Innu Nikamu*). Grandfather Joseph McKenzie (McKenzie is one of the most prominent musical names in Innu country) describes the use of the drum: "When you dream about a hunt, you've got a right to take up the drum. Singing your dreams with the drum allows you to tame the animals." Another singer, Marie-Clara Jourdain, shows how women "can (also) tap the power of the drum. Even though a woman can't dream of the hunt... the drum taught me the language of birds and my father told me it would always help me in my life. And that is what has happened" (Chaumel 1989: 12). These drum songs come together at Maleoténam with country music styles, rock and roll, and new sounds that are constantly evolving into new types of music and expression. Kashtin is a popular example of this "song movement."

In her 1988 article "La naissance d'un genre musical nouveau," Elaine Keillor shows that modern Innu song styles are a strong new type of music formed from the *teueikan* and its teachings, and the influence of country music in the region over the last fifty years or so. Through song examples by Phillipe McKenzie⁸ and others, she demonstrates that country music was adopted by Natives partly because of its descending melodic contour (similar to Native melodies) and because its songs are often related to everyday concerns of love and the home (both also part of Native

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⁷I played guitar with Alexandre McKenzie at a gathering at O'Brien Beach, during the Meech Lake Constitutional talks in 1992. We played "Uishime" (a song of his on *Kashtin*). This type of verse/refrain song with irregular structure and simple harmonies is found in some French folk songs in northern Québec - and has become part of Innu culture through centuries of interchange in the North. When we played this song, everyone danced a round dance, just as if we were doing a traditional drum song. We were playing and dancing like the old days, but using a "new" centuries-old musical tradition.

⁸Cyrille Fontaine is a traditional Montagnais drummer from Maleoténam, Québec. When interviewed by Beverley Diamond, he said: "Philipppe McKenzie, he was the first Innu singer who made his own (contemporary/popular) compositions. He began the process which (culminates) now with Kashtin. It began with Philipppe, then, the more that happened, the more groups did that. Today, it's good" (Cronk 1990: 28).
song heritage).

Kashtin takes this musical mix of the drum, the Beatles, Bob Dylan and other influences to a new level by singing in their own language. The power of their music is such that their message of care for home and the land can be heard through the music - even though the lyrics are unintelligible to most people.

Florent Vollant points out that their music is helping Natives gain recognition. "To make this music is a sign that says 'we're here and we're alive.' It also says 'we're strong and we're proud to sing in our own language.' We dream in our Innu language and we speak in our Innu language. Why shouldn't we sing in our Innu language as well" (Jennings 1991)?

Lawrence Martin

Lawrence Martin (his Native name is Wapistan - which means "the Sable") is Mushkeego Cree from Moose Factory in James Bay, and now lives in Sioux Lookout, Ontario. The father of eight, he is a busy communicator. As well as producing two albums, he is the mayor of Sioux Lookout and the President of Wawatay Communications, a radio and TV network of some thirty-five Native communities in Northern Ontario (Wawatay means "Northern Lights"). In March 1994 he won the first Juno to be awarded in the new Aboriginal Music category for an album that combines traditional Native values with a contemporary Nashville sound.

Much of Wapistan's work is done in Cree. Wapistan was produced in Nashville in 1993, and combines a sophisticated studio sound with Native motifs, rhythms, and chants by singers like Vern Cheechoo. Songs are sung in English and Cree. "The idea is to encourage a lot of young Native people to use their language,

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*Most of the background and quotes for this profile was taken from an interview with Lawrence Martin on CBC Ottawa, 10/12/93.*
and to reach that Native audience, which is quite strong out there."

Both Wapistan and Vern Cheechoo grew up listening to country music and rock and roll. They met in high school, where they began playing music together. Wapistan learned guitar from his aunt (like most in the North, Vern and Wapistan come from very musical families). She taught him to chord along while she played banjo or mandolin, and when the time came for a chord change "she would kick me on the shin, or on the knee." After he learned guitar, he began playing with bands on weekends in the James Bay area.

Although Vern's latest CD (Lonesome and Hurting) is country and western all the way, Vern provided the Native chants on Wapistan. "Vern has also been able to follow the traditional way in learning how to drum and sing... that's something that's been missing from a lot of our people up in Northern Canada where Christianity has become a very strong element in our lives."

"Elders" is a bilingual song (Swampy Cree and English) that is being heard throughout Northern Ontario, and on mainstream radio in the South.

Gitchi Yaw Wuk
Glis sken da mok
Dan Deh
Dan Deh Gi shi nah gook
Gitchi Yaw Wuk
Ge whe taah mah gook
Dan Deh
Dan Deh Gi shi nah gook
Dan Deh
Dan Deh Gi shi nah gook
(The elders know)
(The elders told me)
(The future holds)
(The future holds)
(The future holds)

Like most popular Native musicians today, Wapistan is working to counteract the effects of colonialism in his territory and on the world through traditional messages and sounds mixed with modern styles and technology. He notes that people like the Ojibwe of Manitoulin Island have been more successful than the
Cree in Northern Ontario and Québec in maintaining their traditions and spirituality, because the missionary influence in Cree territory has been quite intense and prolonged. His aim is to help restore traditions and language that were suppressed by Christian influences.

"The Great Spirit is with all of us every day, and having learned my traditional ways again I've been able to do a lot of things with that confidence that comes from the spirit." He doesn't discount Christianity, as "we both have just the one God," but wants to correct the destructive imbalance that has resulted from the imposition of Christianity on his people.

"It's a matter of incorporating the drum and that intertribal singing into music that everyone can listen to. So we can share something that comes from us, not just from Hollywood." He talks about how stereotyping of Natives ("the first people of North America") comes out of ignorance and a lack of education in the school system. Part of his job as the "electronic warrior" (his name from a chief in Northern Ontario) is to educate the public about "who we are, what we are, and what our values are. And how we can share that, and share in the whole political infrastructure of the country. The big problem is lack of information, lack of understanding."

Wapistan admits there is some confusion among his names Wapistan, Lawrence Martin and the electronic warrior. Back home in Sioux Lookout, "they call me Your Worship." His names come from his involvement and initiative in the community, and he hopes his music inspires more Natives to get involved in their own future. People feel defeated by government and Indian Affairs policies. He feels that music and new communications technology in the North will help bring Native language and identity back to the communities.

Murray Porter

Murray Porter is Mohawk and Oneida from Six Nations reserve near
Brantford, Ontario. He has been playing rhythm and blues for 20 years, at gatherings, on the reserves, and in clubs throughout Southwestern Ontario and the Northern U.S. He released 1492 Who Found Who in February 1994, and by March it was featured on the playlist of Toronto's Mix 99 Radio, in the morning drive-in slot. The title song is an answer to slanted Eurocentric history:

(We) Welcomed all your tired and weary travellers
and old Chris gave out new names.
But this ain't India
we are not Indians.
To this day it's still the same.

Chorus

History books celebrate his great success;
Sailed the Nina, Pinta, Santa Mara across.
Said he was a hero
for findin' the New Wo...
How can you find what was not lost?

This is a direct Native answer to the muddled thinking of North American colonizers, and Murray's humour and mainstream R&B arrangements are broadcasting that answer to thousands of average Canadians and to a core listenership of Native Canadians in the cities and on the reserves. He is regularly featured on the CBC, and is being promoted at commercial and community stations across the country. Songs like "Heart of the Eagle," "White Man's Card" and "500 Years" get the Native perspective across to other races, bringing Native traditions and teachings to mainstream Canadians.

Murray grew up with music - his mother would take him to sing in the Pentecostal church on the reserve, and his father played tuba in the community band. He would also listen to his father's records at home, by Nat King Cole, George Jones and Merle Haggard.

Twenty years ago, when he was ten, he began listening to late night radio from Buffalo, Detroit and Chicago..."on a portable radio under the bed sheets." At first, he listened to artists such as Ray Charles, Bobby Blue Bland and B.B. King;
later he was inspired by 70s rockers like Led Zeppelin and Creedence Clearwater Revival.

Recently, he helped host a workshop on blues songwriting for the Toronto Blues Society, along with blues veterans like Morgan Davis and Jack deKeyzer. He calls himself "a red man singing the black man's blues, living in a white man's world," and his sound is reaching from Northern Canada to New Mexico.¹⁰

Robbie Robertson

Robbie Robertson was born in Toronto in 1943. His father was Jewish. His Mohawk mother had been raised on the Six Nations reserve near Brantford, Ontario. In the mid-1950s he began to visit his reserve and picked up guitar playing from relatives there. He found life outdoors on the reserve to be awe-inspiring, and the musical social life there gave him a strong musical grounding. With his family there, "it was just a different way of life altogether, a lot of music though. They all played something - mandolins, fiddles, guitars." He says that hearing his uncles playing and singing was "just like a burning spear through my heart."¹¹

By the early 1960s Robbie was playing in various local Toronto rock bands, creating music inspired by artists he had heard in clubs and on radio, such as Muddy Waters, Bo Diddley, John Hammond Jr. and Jimmy Reed. He began touring with Ronnie Hawkins in 1960, and in 1965 met Bob Dylan. Robbie and other musicians from Ronnie Hawkins band the Hawks recorded and toured with Dylan

¹⁰See the Turtle Island Top 10 in Aboriginal VOICES Fall 1994 and Winter 1995 issues.

¹¹Quoted in Eagles 1992: 6
as he "went electric" for the first time. Robbie, Levon Helm, Rick Danko, Richard Manuel and Garth Hudson from the Hawks took the name The Band in 1968, and went on to international success until disbanding in 1976. Robbie was their principal songwriter, and wrote hits such as "The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down," "Up on Cripple Creek" and "Acadian Driftwood." These songs reflected his and the Band's preoccupation with the American heritage they were experiencing while touring, and also their own Canadian roots. Robbie did not begin writing about his Mohawk heritage until after leaving The Band in the mid-1970s.

His guitar style and sound had become noticeable by the mid-60s. "Robertson's guitar playing was becoming increasingly respected and imitated... his lead guitar playing in 1965 was an aggressive hybrid of country and blues techniques executed with a bright tone (and the frequent use of wide vibrato - which Robbie first created in trying to imitate the sound of bottleneck or slide guitar)" (Eagles 1992: 16, 34). By the mid-1970s, Robbie had developed his own style, inspired by the freedom he heard in Jimi Hendrix's playing. His sound was still Native somehow:

There are some interesting parallels to Native music in his lead (guitar) work. Robertson's pinched sound, combined with a honky, nasal non-sustaining amplifier tone is reminiscent of Native vocal timbre (when singing). The use of very fast vibrato and quick tremolo picking is sonically akin to the pulseting (vibrato) effect used within Native singing. The false harmonics (high-pitched "chirps" created by the guitar pick touching the fretted string at odd angles) which Robertson employs sound similar to the bells which are heard as Native percussion instruments... or the use of overblown harmonica... on the Native flute (Eagles 1992: 31).

After leaving The Band Robbie began acting as musical director for film, including The Last Waltz (1976), Raging Bull (1980), the King of Comedy (1983) and The Color of Money (1986). He released solo albums in 1987 (Robbie Robertson) and 1991 (Storyville), each of which reflected a personal search for his Native roots and featured collaboration with other Native musicians. His music was a mainstream success, and earned Robbie Grammy nominations and a Juno award. His 1994 album Music for the Native Americans has secured him a place in
the forefront of contemporary Native musicians. In a 1991 radio interview, Shingoose commented:

I think that someone who kind of wraps up the overall experience of having been a mainstream pop figure, of having gone through the system, having gone through some kind of awakening process inside and discovering something about themselves and wanting to come back to it, is someone who we all know from The Band - Robbie Robertson. And he's done what I think every aboriginal artist would like to do, is to be able to bring the contemporary experience with some of the insights and inspirations from the cultural experience. And do it with something that's very relevant today in terms of issues. So, Robbie Robertson says it for me (in Eagles 1992: 59).

Rose Auger

Rose Auger is a medicine woman of the Woodland Cree people from Driftpile reserve, near Faust Alberta. We talked about music, although there is no word for music in Native languages. The drum, rattle and flute, the songs, are all used for sacred and other purposes, they are all part of something larger than just music. "People say the Indian way of life is gone after 500 years, but look at me. I'm here."

Her music and her ceremonies are used to bring spirits and help the people. The social system today and the lifestyles of people, particularly in the cities, is putting their spirits and bodies in danger. The nine to five lifestyle for money, the culture of the TV, the inner city life that leaves so many people lost, are all killing people. Rose works to help people see the reality of the red road.

"Sometimes I wonder how it can work, with the way we have our lifestyles, they way we eat, the way we abuse our body in all that we do. You know, a lot of people are so tired from a day's work that they'll go home and then they'll try to relax with alcohol or whatever. More abuse! And then finally they fall asleep in the wee hours, then get up and take off again. That's a very abusive life. And then they wonder why they have all this turmoil in their life, and disease in their body, it's just

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12 This profile was created from talks with Rose at the KUMIK, October and November 1994.
chaos.

"I see this, and try my very best to bring it out to people, to say 'stop doing that, there is a better way.' You know we were here thousands of years, and we know a better way. We have the values of our ancestors, which are in our genes, which are here. Stop using this harmful drink, this harmful drugs, and values. Your values are not good, it's driving you crazy."

Governments and society are in a state of denial in regards to the sickness that has fallen on mother earth. As a result, purification foreseen by the Cree in the West has begun. "The purification already has happened. If you pay attention, look at the world and the natural disasters, that's part of purification. Your earthquakes, your floods like the great ones down Florida way and Texas - that's all part of it. The purification means many lives lost and many, many people totally wiped out. You have your air disasters, your wars, your fanatics who wipe out people.

"A lot of people think that purification is the end of the world. I don't think that's the way it is. It just a way that's going to change things: The money markets are going to collapse, money is going to have less and less value, and people are going to have to learn how to survive and go back to the old ways and the land, to relearn their natural traditions in order to become whole.

"When the holy people were putting out their teachings of prophecy, they told us: 'Go back to the land. Learn how to find your water. Old knowledge. Learn how, so that when purification happens you will be prepared for it.' I've done that, I've led people back to the land to prepare for that purification, but they're just too weak, too weak. They gotta have town, town..."

Rose tries to show people how to live with the land and the spirits on the land. Not everybody is ready to learn. Some time ago at Timbers (a sacred site in Alberta), she went out to help people prepare for the purification by teaching them about the land there.

"The first year they put in the garden they didn't get much out of it because the gophers got it all, you see? (laughs) So that's as far as they went, they didn't
learn how they had to do it. They could have put up offerings and fixed it so that those ones would not do that, you see, because you're working with the spirits.

"And that's the way it went. And that's the way it goes today. People are willing to grasp at our value system, our knowledge, our wisdom. But they can only go so far. When it means changing your lifestyle or doing things differently - that's a very difficult move to make. And then there are some young people are so super eager about saying 'oh yes yes I'm gonna give up my job and go back to the land and be like you were, before white man came."

"And I say 'yes that is super, that is wonderful, but let me tell you my dear friend, you must have support in what you do. You can't do it alone.' And you must also know how to relate to mother earth and all the beings, whether it's trees or medicine or water. You have to make that connection. And don't jump into it. Your body cannot take it. Your mind is too unbalanced. Your mind will get the worst of you. So you have to do it in a way that makes the transition wise.

"Continue to have some place where you have this (your life today) and then, work at it over there. Because when you get over there and you want to live the right way, you have to know that it's not just for today, but fifty years from now. You will build that place for the generations coming, that they will have a place. To have the natural water, and to have the medicines.

"I built a round house, and the beavers kept making dams because that was their area and we came and invaded it. And so they kept making their dams and our land was flooding and we couldn't keep our horses and our cattle there because their hoofs would suffer, it was too damp. So finally I had to do a ceremony and ask the beaver to pity us, and go somewhere else. And they did. They moved, you see... that is the teaching of our ancient ancestors, that we have a way of living in harmony with the beings.

"The thing was, some of the people who were there building said 'Well go get us some dynamite and we'll dynamite the beaver dam and houses and that's how we'll get rid of them.' And I said 'No, no, you don't need to do that, that's
destructive, to disturb all the plant life, all the waters."

Some people are now waking up, says Rose. "People are just now saying: 'What happened here?' (speaking of the crisis in the world today). And then when we come in and tell them, they may accept it or they might try to find other ways of looking at it. But most times people just will not make those changes that they need to make in order to know a better way of life.

"That better way of life was here for thousands of years. Those days, those times, there were no prisons or hospitals. We always lived in harmony and our people who were medicine people, or people of visions, people of dreams, they played all those parts to keep the nations alive and in harmony.

Rose plays her part through her music, her ceremonies, and travels. These things are done to reach people. She has 126 spirits, and she carries a yuipi ceremony, given to her by a Sioux medicine man who had carried it for 42 years. "He came to my land, and passed it to me and one of my brothers.

"I have my own sacred songs and they're addressed to different spirit people, and different things. Most of them came to me and the others, that were passed to me, came when the ceremony was passed to me. That's how it works. The music and the ceremony are all one. If you profess to know a ceremony and you don't have the music, then it's not a ceremony."

She doesn't use a drum, she uses a rattle. "Me, I have turtle rattles, and I've had a turtle rattle since I can remember. Someone coming up here will say 'how come there's turtle rattles here, there's no turtles here... you know, but the spirits are universal. We knew the turtle and we had the turtle in our ceremonies... it's a real ancient spirit. The same as you see shells, we use shells... all these things are everywhere. How it came about is... back there somewhere. I'm just a baby, I don't know."

She says that people have been travelling a long, long time. "Turtle rattles, they have them in the West and in the East. I've had different rattles given me like the small ones, I like the small ones, the ones that I work with. I also have a big
one, which was given to me by the Onondaga (firekeepers of the Iroquois Confederacy). A grandmother brought me there and I did some doctoring and they gave me this rattle and they gave me tobacco and they gave me a lot of sacred stuff. It's because of love of our ceremonies.

"Spirits are so holy, that's why we have rattles. That's why we have a ceremony. We put all these sacred objects there for them to use. To touch us, that's how holy they are. That's why we have what we have, you know - the pipe, the rattles, the sage, all these sacred things.

"We put them there for them (the spirits) to come, and to cleanse us, heal us - all that we need. And we always ask for everything, in our ceremonies. We ask for forgiveness for the mistakes we made, anything that we may have inflicted on somebody that caused them pain, or maybe put them off course on their path.

"What mistakes we make, we have to ask for forgiveness and ask, you know, to learn. Show me, teach me, have no pity on me - how else am I going to learn? In my early years I made a lot of mistakes. I kept worrying: 'I can't do this, I'm not holy enough, I wont be able to do this - I've just done too many things that are not good.' And the holy man who passed the lodge to me kept saying 'It's not your choice, the spirits chose you, you have to do it, you have no choice.

"Most people have their own free destiny, they can choose. I'm not one of them. This is what I was told, and so, regardless of how I may try to run away and ignore what comes through, it'll keep coming until I respond. And in the beginning I used to really put myself through a lot of pain because I was ignoring the spirit. But I finally learned to realize that there's no other way to go that will leave me this great sense of well being.

"In my life, I've gone through so much, so many places, met so many people. So I'm always prepared to hear what people say, what people think, and I want that. I honour it as much when somebody's upset as when somebody's happy. I just honour what's happening with them, and sometimes it's painful, especially when it's from our own people. Those kind of things are painful."
"But I know a way to free myself from that pain. I just take a smudge and smoke my little pipe, then I'm back on track. Because to work in a holy way you always have to be holy, in order for the spirit to work through you."

A constant healing process is needed for a healthy life. Her helper Celeste Strikeswithagun equates that with learning kindness: "There are people who say: 'Oh I'll do that, I'll do anything (to get the spirituality).' But they don't know what it takes. It takes your whole life to learn about kindness, about being happy."

Rose says that "once you're on it (the road) you just flow with you: life. And the part that most people find difficult is the part to give. To give of their time, of theirselves, to give without expectations. When you give you give from your heart. And you know that the creator sees you and watches you, and the creator's going to give you what you need. And you a lot of the time don't even know what that is. But you just know that you do this and it will be given to you.

"Someone who is always giving away things, he just walks free. He doesn't accumulate a bunch of stuff that weighs him down. They're just free. They're just so free in life. That's how our people were. They just roamed this world, everywhere. Because they never got weighed down by the materialistic world. They just had survival, what that was about - and the most important part is the spirituality, being able to get from here to there anytime.

"I have a car, which was given to me. When I get in my car, I light my smudge, I offer my tobacco for protection from anything harmful. Also for help so I can get where I'm going soon. In that process the police might cross my path, but he's busy with someone else or he fell asleep at that moment I went by there, breaking the speed limit.

"When we're in that power, it's just so awesome. Myself, I don't want to be there alone so I work really hard to teach my children, my grandchildren, and all the people who wish to come and learn. Learn and be free to pursue that lifestyle. In this world, it's all connected. We don't separate ourselves from anything. We venture into life with this kind of support and help from our ways."
"Learning to be in harmony, especially with the water... you have to be in harmony and connected with all these things because should it be that some kind of disaster happens, then you're going to have that knowledge, and the spirit people helping you. It's not going to work to just go and be there on the land, and not be connected."

She has had many good times, teaching the people and bringing the spirit to give guidance. Her way of life and her songs are shared by many people. She describes an experience at Waterhen Reserve in Alberta:

"It was so beautiful... we had just put our pipes up and we were fasting, and it was in September, the leaves were just beautiful and the water was incredible. And so here we were, we were coming down from the fast, and the women had brought the food, we were going to have a feast right on the shore of that lake.

"And a whole school of loons were there because that's where they lived, these loons. And so they started coming, and they were just talking and telling each other what we were about, what we were doing. And they were very pleased, because the loon man was there, that's my son Dale, he has this gift of the loon call. So he started to call, and they just came right to the shore, and they were just going in and talking back and we were all in awe of what these loons were doing before our eyes. This wasn't just loons, this was sacred beings and we were in their territory.

"And my son has the loon song, and then the people sang the loon song and we were in unity with these loons. That was so profound for me, I had never seen that before. That unity, that these beings, these loons, knew who we were. And we had a vague idea what they were about. We know they are very sacred, they are the medicine people of the waters, of the land. We knew that, but there was much more than that between us.

"Most people will never really get to know the extent of what everything is about. But everyone can learn things. You learn to be grateful when you have that opportunity to be passed these songs, these rituals and ceremonies - being able
to work with these beings. It's a great gift. Even just one spirit."  

Shingoose\textsuperscript{13}

Shingoose is an artist who has reached the Canadian and American public through his own Native (Ojibwe) identity. Born Curtis Jonnie, Shingoose took his grandfather's name and became politically active after Wounded Knee, when he returned to Winnipeg from the U.S. in 1973. A versatile musician, he has the uncanny ability to move between styles, sounding alternately like John Lennon and Stompin' Tom Connors. His songs have messages that speak to Natives and mainstream Canadians - his wry single from the album \textit{Natural Tan} was a hit in 1989. Like "Reservation Blues" and "Indian Time," it manages to convey Native perspective with humour.

He was raised by Mennonite missionaries in Manitoba, and trained in choral singing from an early age. After touring with the Boystown Concert Choir from Nebraska, he embarked on a career in rock and roll in his late teens, playing with a number of bands in the U.S.

He has produced several albums and a number of TV specials to date, notably "Indian Time," a 1989 program that featured Buffy Sainte-Marie, Tom Jackson and Laura Vinson. His approach has always been to use different musical resources (and styles such as country, rock and pop) in such a way as to reach the mainstream. In a 1991 interview with Marie-Lynn Hammond on the CBC, he explained:

I think that if you want to try to reach an audience you have to go with what's happening and I think that's very much an Indian thing.

I mean, they (Natives) looked in their environment and they used what they needed and took what they needed and left the rest. Now, for me to get an idea across, if I just took out a drum and I did (the music of) oral tradition it would be labelled as a "cultural oddity," (and) would never get played on the air. I'd be in the "Ethnic" bin.

\textsuperscript{13}Biographical information is taken from "Shingoose" in Kallmann and Potvin 1992: 1214.
somewhere in row 99 somewhere (in some record store).

So, to try to connect to a certain market you've got to use the symbols, the mythology, all of the things that connect you with a certain audience. Music is universal and you use what you have to use in order to get the message across... (in Neuenfeldt 1991: 106).

Verbena Greene, Medicine Singer

Verbena Greene, known as "Beans" lives on the Warm Springs Reservation, on the Eastern side of the Cascade Range in Oregon. She is the keeper of a ceremonial longhouse, a long structure with a meeting room, dining hall, and kitchen. Here she talks about a form of spiritual healing known as Medicine Singing, which she inherited from her ancestors.

"Medicine Singing is related to Indian doctoring. The government didn't like the Indian doctor, who was the shaman doing his duties to his people. If they found out you were singing, the police would arrest us. It was not allowed. But the people never gave up, they wouldn't let them take this away. It takes some people forty years of singing before they can become an Indian doctor, I sang because it would make me a better keeper of my children.

"If you truly are a spiritual person, the spirits will come to you. Many of the spiritual songs that people sing are different, because there are many spirits that are very challenging. There are songs that will help you in times when another spirit is trying to do you in, or cause you to get sick. Those kinds of songs can help you fight that spirit out there.

"There are songs that are only for children. They call on the spirits who take care of little children. There are spiritual songs that many people sing that will only take care of adults. Some come easy, and so very gentle. And then there are some spiritual songs that just slap you. I have had that happen to me, where they just hit you and almost knock you over. Many of them make you sick, and you can be sick for many days. But they are not there to harm you, they are just coming into your life.

"There was a song that came to me and, honest to goodness, it almost killed me. I was so sick, all I could do is crawl into the rest room. These are the kinds of things that will happen to you sometimes. You have to go through them because it's like a trial. You have to ask yourself, 'Are you ready for it? Are you fit?' It's like this song is entwined around you and feeling you out to see whether you are a fit person for this song or not. There are many songs that will do that to you. There are many songs that will just come to bother you, until you finally sing it. Some of the songs come in dreams.

"When people ask me about Spiritual Singing, I tell them that I always wanted to become one. There are many rituals that you must go through first. You have to cleanse and purify your body through the sweathouse during the course of a year or two, Sweating once a week, two or three days in a row. Or you could sweat every day, once a day two or three days in a row until you feel you have changed. It's like a total changing of your life. You have to let a lot of things go, like anger, meanness, being tough and tough, and maybe you have to start watching your mouth and what you say.

"The Medicine Singing is inherited from generation to generation. There are very few who find their own vision quest to do this. We are supposed to sing in our own

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language, we can express ourselves better than we could in a borrowed language.

"I can go quite a ways back in our ancestry, at least five generations of Medicine Singers. They believed and respected everyone's religion. No one ever told me, 'Don't believe in that;' and they didn't force us to learn the ways of the longhouse. They told us that it may help some day, and when we grew up we could pick a religion of our own to learn about the Creator. We all believe in Him who is the Creator of all things."

Walter Bonaise\textsuperscript{15}

Walter Bonaise is a Cree singer and elder from Little Pine, Saskatchewan (originally from Poundmaker reserve). A young 52 today, he started travelling across the country with his father Alec in 1973, singing at gatherings, assisting at sweatings, and translating for his father, who spoke mainly Cree. His father died four years ago, and Walter is now travelling with his wife Doris, who makes handicrafts and teaches young people how to make their own.

This summer Walter visited the University of Manitoba (where he has been asked to teach a course called "Music in Traditional Native Culture" this winter), the KUMIK (elder's lodge) in Ottawa, and Restigouche reserve in New Brunswick. He is respected as a singer and teacher of songs, and as a pipe carrier.

He has been singing for 40 years, and 20 years ago he and his father began attending Youth and Elder gatherings, where Alec would speak and Walter would "pick up drum songs here and there." Walter still likes to work with the youth, and with elders. He will sometimes sing with or write songs for Fly in Eagle (his nephew Allan Bonaise also sings with the drum).

Walter has his own songs, and many of his father's songs, which go back to 1915. He was the one who would ask his father where his songs came from, when and how he made them. Many of the old songs are "just straight singing... in those days there was no such thing as a grass dance song or whatever, not like today with the grass dance or snee-up or whatever... it was just straight singing, with no words."\textsuperscript{16} He saw the songs with words completely take over around 1985, and "now all the singers are putting words together, and they think that's the traditional way of singing. It's not right."

"In my early days, there was no such thing as 'word songs' at the powwow. And it used to sound much much better. And you can dance to those old songs... I was a dancer for 11 years in Canada and the States, but when they started competition, that's when I quit. You can't compare a powwow today with a traditional powwow back in, say, '45. I don't go to powwows anymore, because I miss my old traditional singing, the real Indian singing."

The traditional powwow Walter grew up with ended around 1980 in his area.

"Traditional powwow was a sacred dance, more or less. The only ones who used to dress up were the elders. There were no women dancers, only the men. The women would only dance at a Victory song, and they would dance in the back.

"And you have to eat a dog... the dog is a sacred animal. The dog is like the "musqua," same thing like the bear, we say "musqua" to a dog because it gives us strength and the way to see things as an Indian. You see, that dog is so sacred... when

\textsuperscript{15} This profile was originally published in Aboriginal VOICES magazine (Patterson 1994: 48-51).

\textsuperscript{16} See Fly in Eagle: The Straighter the Better.
you have a dog at home, some night... he may start barking from a certain area, and he will go all around your house, running around in a complete circle. That means he sees some badness coming to your house, and the loudness of that dog protects your house so you can sleep and relax. That's why the most sacred thing we have is the dog. The dog is a medicine, they used to use that in a medicine." Today the ceremonies and the songs have changed.

Walter says that the various types of modern powwow songs heard today originated with the Sioux people, including the idea of love songs in English ("...although I made some myself... because when I met my wife, she didn't understand Cree").

Walter began making his own songs in 1956. "You have to see something, an object or a moving object, or the sound of something... that's how I make a song." Songs also come to him when he's out driving his tractor, or taking a break at lunch hour. Sometimes Walter takes bits from powwow songs and puts them together to make new songs. Most of his songs are social dance songs.

"I look at the people, and when I see they're restless, that's when I have to come up with a song to get them moving, feeling better." He describes the old Cree round or circle dance (where people are side by side) as being a healing dance, for the people.

"The sound of the beat of a drum is a medicine to us singers... the same thing as the song, it's a medicine. Healing medicine. That's why we used to have healing dances years ago (an Indian two-step)." Walter does a lot of "entertaining," his drum hardly rests, because he still uses it to heal.

His father's first song in 1915 was a round dance song. "Some days we wouldn't feel good, in the winter, that's when we would have these dancing dances, that's where these round dance songs came in. We offered food to our forefathers first, to give us strength, to give us our strength back through this dance. Lots of people used to walk out from the powwow, from this dance, feeling healed."

One of his father's best songs from the 1930s was a grass dance song. Today, he says, some of the old guys still sing it, and other of his father's songs. In the early 40s, Walter remembers waiting at home for his father to come back from hauling wood to town, and hearing a song from miles away as his father approached at night in the wagon. He still has that travelling song. Walter also makes popular songs - one he made in 1975 was sung across Canada and the States for at least five years. It has no name, a straight beat, no words, and is a love song. He also has a travelling song to call the thunder, made by his father, which is used before going to a powwow so that the people will be "...shook up and feel different..." when he starts singing.

He sometimes sings with drum groups, but says it is hard keeping a group together these days. Too many people drink, and this is not part of the sweet ceremony. The sweat is "the only way a young person can understand what his singing is all about." They should sweat "at least once a month, or twice, or every week."

Walter's style of singing comes from his father. "The voice is always pitched above the drum, so the harder you hit the drum, the higher you have to sing. The young singers, they sing too low, sometimes lower than the drum. All you hear is drum. That's why they use loudspeakers... in the old days we didn't use loudspeakers, the people used to be able to hear us. They could tell from across the field who was singing."

He uses the round hand drum. He gets a bounce out of the sound by touching a finger of his left hand to the centre of the drum after every beat, a kind of springing sound. "The drum is alive. That is the most important thing, to have our drum alive. We are carrying a message to our creator, our god or whatever you're calling... and also the whole creation. It's entirely up to us, how we love the drum. If you were drunk two days, four days or three days before and you went and hit the drum, you will ruin your mind, or your heart, whatever... it's not to touch until after the fourth day or even forget about singing. That's how sacred the drum is, even this little hand drum. It's because the beat of the drum is the most sacred thing on earth."

His drum gives young people a lift, to help them find their spiritual identity. Many people are travelling to new places today in search of their spirituality, but Walter says: "For me, since I was brought up and raised with spirituality, it's very very easy for me, to
find what I'm searching for. I don't need to go out there and search for anything, because it's there, in my community. All I have to do is use my brain, and my eyes, my heart, to identify what I want."

He says spirituality must be in the community, it can't be copied from somewhere else. "Sure, I can talk about it, but that's all. I can not teach anybody about spirituality. I can talk about the spirituality, all kinds of various important things, important steps of that spirituality. But, that's all. I can't tell you your spirituality. That's up to you."

What about people who have lost their own rituals and ceremonies? Walter went to Roman Catholic boarding school, he was hit for speaking his own language, or sent off to say his prayers, "which I never did anyway, I used to pretend." He was "pushed into" Christianity by the missionaries, but "it's not in me. I studied the Bible very carefully. It's not in me. What I learned, from the Bible, it's to be a hypocrite. I always reject that."

He says that communities suffering from a loss of tradition should start by building up their own language. "If you lose your Native tongue, you will never find anything. A lot of young people today surprise me, because they talk their own Native language. And they're the most important thing. That's part of the spirituality."

People learn from their grandfathers and grandmothers, by sitting with elders. "My father, I used to sit with him for so many hours. All I would hear from him were three things: 'Come in... How is it outside?... Goodbye... ' the rest of the time, he was doing something with his hands... he was always moving, and I studied that, the movements he made... that's how I learned a lot of my spirituality. It comes from there."

"It takes you your lifetime. First of all you have to learn one most important thing in your life, is to be able to relax your life, yourself. Before you start asking your spiritual things to an elder... if you don't relax, you will never learn anything. That's what I find because I used to go out and visit my elders, they would tell me a story, from centuries and centuries ago, and that story was passed down from generation to generation. And in between the story, they would pitch in their spiritual things, so I could click that spiritual meaning in my mind - what does that object mean to me? That's how you're supposed to learn about your spiritually, by listening. A good listener can go a heck of a long ways. But if you're trying to learn it very fast, it will never work. Because you will be so confused, because you're only looking at today. You have to learn it word for word from an elder."

Walter can see the bridge between Cree traditions and that of other cultures. Irish, Spanish or East Indian peoples have their own music, words and dances to identify their culture. Walter wants to share his own music and teachings with others, and so has begun a project to record and transcribe his music, so that it can be taught to children in reserve or public schools. And he will be teaching at the University of Manitoba.

He says races, and nations, are fighting each other because they don't know who they are. They lose their way through money. "Money is the devil - if you are so crazy with money, you are working for the devil. That's the name of the game. My Indian people believe in protecting nature. I want my children to live properly. If you're thinking the white man's way, then you might as well go and live in France or Europe, forget about trying to live on the reserve, you reject the reserve. So you go and try to find your identity outside of the reserve. That's the game you play."

"Indian people are supposed to be the most important thing to nature. Indian people are supposed to be the most important to all creation, they're supposed to learn, they're supposed to know, better than anybody else. That's the Indian people. And also, they're supposed to be teaching the young people the importance of life, how important it is to be able to eat, and share food on a table... which we don't have today. And I think we are going into another world, if we continue to do the wrong things. The whole Western hemisphere is changing, is changing our way of life. If I'm driving a car, It's like an exchange with the creator, you know? But the young people, they're driving past 90. We are losing our spiritual identity and our Native land. Anything you find growing up from nature, like a flower - you look at it, how beautiful it is, that's how you want yourself and your children to look. That's our Indian way of life."
Willie Dunn

Willie Dunn is of Migmag and Scottish ancestry and grew up in Montréal, although his roots are in the Restigouche reserve in Eastern Canada. He was one of the strongest Native Canadian voices of the early 70s, making him a musical elder to the present generation. His songs and legend are mythic and musical - which is why Kashtin covered his "Son Of The Sun" on their album *Innu.* "Pontiac" is one of Willie's honour songs, which also include "The Ballad of Crowfoot," "Yellowhead," "The Carver" and "Charlie Wenjack." The Migmag influence is the drum in the guitar (heard as a sort of drone), the descending, terraced melody, and the use of Native expression, such as "a-hu." Willie's Scottish side comes out in the folk harmonies, and in the use of a regular narrative form akin to the British Broadside. Also hear his use of vocal ornaments, similar to those used by Irish and Scots singers in the Celtic folk tradition of Eastern Canada.

"Pontiac," like the other stories above, is also a traditional story, told in a traditional way. Pontiac was an Odawa chief who warred against the English in the Ohio Valley in 1763, leaving his Michigan home to form alliances with some 30 Nations against the English (Nabokov: 1992). From the song:

*Pontiac the chief and warrior  
  chief and warrior  
  raised his wampum belts of war  
  belts of war  
  30 belts for 30 nations  
  to drive the strangers  
  from his shore...  
  A-hu, a-hu,  
  hoo-o, a-hu.*

Willie opened the Eastern door with his songs, which were some of the first to tell traditional and modern Native stories to a larger Canadian audience, and although he never gained mainstream success here, he has produced four albums, NFB documentaries, and programs for the CBC. As a performer, he is popular in Europe, particularly Germany, where his early albums are being reissued as CDs.
In Canada, he remains an inspiration to today's Native artists, with the message that Native teachings and culture belong as music. He has made many tours of Europe, visiting hundreds of towns in Germany and Italy. In Canada, his music is known mainly to a Native audience across the country. He feels that the Canadian media has ignored Native culture, because the government represents power and money, not the people. Culture here suffers in comparison to Europe, because the government does not properly support producers and artists, he says.

Willie Thrasher

Willie is from Inuvik in the NorthWest Territories (now Nunavut). He grew up whaling with his father on the Beaufort Sea. He uses legends from 200 years ago to create his own brand of rock and roll. The mystical and spiritual side of Inuit culture is often reflected in his songs. He also uses imagery of the land and the ancients in his songs and recitations. Willie often sings in a high head voice, reminiscent of some Southern rockers like Neil Young. He is also an excellent lead guitar player.

Willie sings in both English and Inuktitut. His songs are based on the drum; they all have a strong traditional drumming sound which reflects the traditional drumming style used by Inuit from the Central Arctic.
Appendix D: Written Sources on Traditional Iroquois Songs

The following is a list of references to the use of songs and dances among the Iroquois speaking peoples, particularly during the 16-1700s. Primary texts include *The Jesuit Relations* (noted as JR),^{1} and Robin Gravelle’s thesis (noted as GR) which draws largely on writings of Sagard, the Jesuits, and Bruce Trigger. Other works are also included, but this list is only a beginning and many more sources exist.


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^{1}See Crawford 1967 for a partial look at the musical references found in these volumes.
Appendix E - An Anishnabek Medicine Wheel

Teachings of the Wheel and Circle, and circular concepts of life, thought and spirituality, are universal to Natives in North America. The Anishnabek Medicine Wheel is used to teach a way of life and understanding, emphasizing the need for balance and harmony. Medicine wheels and the circle operate on many levels, incorporating many different elements. They also move in a spiral fashion, expanding with time. Simon Brascoupé talks about the arrow as the spiral aspect of the circle. When in use, it is time and space together. At rest, you can look at it, draw it, or touch it. When it is fulfilling its purpose, flying through the air, you can't see it. The Wheel shown here is used by an Ojibwe elder from Birch Island, Ontario. The Rainbow colors are: Yellow, Red, Black, White, Blue, Green and Purple. Yellow is in the East, Red in the South, Black in the West and White in the North.

These four colours are not fixed. They depend on the teaching being given, on the personal colours of the wheel's carrier, or on traditional colours of a group. Another medicine wheel from Le Pas, Manitoba has the colours (from the East) red, green, blue and white, while the wheel from the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural
Centre is yellow, blue, white and red - surrounded by green.

The four colours and four directions in each wheel are the basis of its teachings. If one of the four elements of the wheel is too strong or weak, the wheel is thrown out of balance.

Much of the imbalance in the world today stems from the inability of the four colours - faces of the Medicine Wheel to recognize each other and cooperate in the circle. The mainstream perceives that Natives have wisdom when it comes to living with and preserving the land, which is true; but the Medicine Wheel, in the age of the Seventh Fire, also shows that all peoples have their own wisdom, and that the circle that is earth cannot survive unless each group shares its knowledge with the others. These ideas have been with the Anishnabek since long before the time of contact, but they shared them with white visitors early on. Kohl remarked, on visiting a Midewiwin lodge in 1854:

The four human figures at the sides of the sanctuary are the four great spirits sitting to the north, south, east and west... they (the Anishnabe) recognize four quarters of the world, and place a great and powerful spirit in each of them (1985: 152).

Mike Dashner is a teacher and dancer. In Sound of the Drum, he gives this teaching of the Medicine Wheel:

The medicine wheel (represents) basically the message that I try to get across when I do educational outreach programs. There are four sacred colours of mankind on the planet. And... the medicine wheel is out of balance, because there's input from all three of the other races; and the Indians are just now starting to come into their responsibility to get their message out - about the environment, the greenhouse effect. But also I think that a humane kind of life is missing (in the non-Native world)... When you're there in full dance regalia, you have all these young minds just locked into everything you say - so I feel there's a real responsibility, you have to take care in the message you get across (in Cronk 1990: 21).

"The Ripple in a Pond" is a teaching from Linda Smith:

As the name implies, this circle is a series of concentric circles. The purpose of this circle is very basic. Healing is accomplished by helping the individual understand the universe and his place in it. This understanding promotes a sense of belonging. Each of the ripples is distinct and complete. However, at no time, do any of the ripples cease to be water, nor do they cease to be part of the greater picture in the pond. The circles radiate from the center in the following order: spirit, self, partner (spouse), family, extended family, community, nation, world, world views, universe/environment, spirit.
Appendix F - Notes on the Seventh Fire Prophecy

Nick Deleary, an Ojibwe and member of the Midewiwin, says the following in his 1990 thesis:

About one thousand years before the coming of the European, our lives were full and complete. We had known at least five hundred years of peace and prosperity. The alteration that would come with the warring European nations was known throughout our land. Long before the invaders stepped ashore we had fore-knowledge of what to expect. This fore-knowledge came to us in the form of seven prophets, or prophecies. Each foretold of a time in the future and symbols to look for. One such prophet (Fire) spoke of how the Midewiwin would be the source for our lives, we would see great health. Another spoke of a time when we would follow the sacred Megis shell, towards the West "to the place where food grows upon the water," Minnesota. The reason for this move was foretold by another prophet or fire. His words were of the coming of the light-skinned brother. We were told to beware as the stranger would come wearing two faces, one of peace and true brotherhood, the other face would be that of death and destruction. We were told to exercise great caution in accepting this stranger. As time would prove, the face the "newcomer" came with was one of destruction. We know the words of the next prophets to speak of the truth; the face our white brother has come wearing has been the face of destruction and death......

One prophet said you will know the words of the other prophets are true when you see the "waters turn foul and the fish turn belly up with disease." Another prophet spoke of a time when families will be broken up, children will turn their backs on their elders and grandparents. Those who know the Life ways will go silent out of fear for freedom of religion, and when that day comes, those who come looking will find emptiness and dissolution....

The last prophet had a different outlook. It is said that he spoke of a new generation who would retrace their grandfathers' and grandmothers' feet steps along the trail of the migration, reclaiming what has always been theirs. The water drum would once again sound its voice across the land.....

The above story is a fraction of the full story. The main ideas are nevertheless present (Deleary 1990: 57-59).
Appendix G - The Man Who Went Around the World

William Commanda is the keeper of the Primstaven, a wooden staff carved by the Vikings who began visiting North America over 800 years ago. Markings on the staff are said to show that all people come from the one Creator. They also show that different people have different ways of seeing this truth.¹ The purpose of this section is to show that, rather than be at odds with Christian belief, Native mythology incorporates and supports many different spirits, including Jesus Christ. It is this acceptance of others' traditions that makes it possible for Natives to ally themselves with people from all around the world.

Both the Iroquois and the Anishnabek talk about a man who visited them a long time ago. This man was Jesus Christ, who said he was going around the world to visit different people. The Iroquois say that the Peacemaker came from the Bay of Quinte, and that another Fatherless Man (aka Jesus Christ) taught them the four Stone games.

He also travelled to Algonquin territory. Arthur Smith says that he came to the Anishnabek "a long, long time ago. I don't know if it was 1500 years ago or 2000 years ago, but he came to the Anishnabek."

Arthur tells how Jesus visited the people. Many had heard that he was coming, and there were two or three hundred people gathered. Jesus told them who he was, the Son of God, and that he was travelling around the world.

The chiefs thought of a test. There was a spruce tree nearby with heavy, low hanging branches covered in fresh snow. They said to Jesus: "If you can go and lie on those branches and not disturb the snow, we'll believe you." And he did.

"We believed him," says Arthur. "The Indian people believed him... we didn't have to crucify him, or make him wear a crown of thorns, or make him drink gall from a bladder, or pierce him with a lance. We believed him." Natives were not

¹From a talk by William Commanda at the KUMIK, July 1994, and from "Grandfather William Commanda" in Profiles In Wisdom.
afraid to welcome this new spirit.

The Inuit also tell how their medicine people went out to meet Jesus, and thought him to be the most powerful spirit they had ever met. The Christ god and spirit god can coexist in Native cosmology. The damage inflicted by churches and colonizers is viewed as something separate. Many have allowed Christ into their cosmology. As it did before contact, this cosmology also includes the natural world of dreams, spirits and Mother Earth. The original instructions are still here.

Native people from Canada are also going around the world with their teachings, as others visit here. A lot of travelling and searching is happening on Turtle Island; people from all over are sharing traditions. Mexican healers are visiting Northern reserves, and people from the North are also travelling South.

Fiddlers from the James Bay Cree made a visit to Scotland in the early 1980s. They brought some of the old time fiddle tunes and techniques with them — things that were all but lost to the Scots fiddlers.\(^2\) The technique of holding the fiddle low on the arm, rather than under the chin, is still used in James Bay but has been abandoned where it originated, in Europe and Scotland.\(^3\)

Migmag elders and singers have visited South America recently. People in Argentina were introduced to the Anishnabek sweat several years ago, and last year hosted the Migmag drum Free Spirit. As a result, people in Argentina are now conducting sweats and singing Migmag songs.\(^4\)

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\(^2\)Personal communication from Gordon Polson and Cliff Thomas. See the JVC/Smithsonian Folkways Video Selection 13.

\(^3\)According to medieval iconographical representations, this position was the standard one in Europe at least to ca. 1550.\(^\) Personal communication from Elaine Keillor.

\(^4\)Information from an Algonquin teacher.
Appendix H - Three Apologies in Canada

The following apologies to Native people are presented as received on the Internet.

Date: Mon Jul 25 18:48:42 1994
From: NativeNet@gnosys.svle.ma.us
Subject: Apologies in Canada
To: NATIVE-L@TAMVM1.TAMU.EDU (Multiple recipients of list NATIVE-L)
Reply-To: native-l@gnosys.svle.ma.us

Original Sender: eyenet.north.net/Trevor_Falk (Trevor Falk)
Mailing List: NATIVE-L (native-l@gnosys.svle.ma.us)
(message edited)

I have the text of three apologies in Canada, one by the United Church of Canada (1986), one by Ontario Hydro (1993) and a recent apology by the Presbyterian Church. I was the lead Manager for Ontario Hydro on a joint problem-solving team (Involving the Company and the First Nation) whose work resulted in the Hydro apology (together with appropriate compensation which included some very forward-looking elements). The 1993 Apology to Native Congregations of the United Church reads as follows.

"Long before my people journeyed to this land your people were here, and you received from your elders an understanding of creation, and of the Mystery that surrounds us all, that was deep, and rich and to be treasured.

"We did not hear you when you shared your vision. In our zeal to tell you of the good news of Jesus Christ we were blind to the value of your spirituality.

"We confused Western ways and culture with the depth and breadth and length and height of the gospel of Christ.

"We imposed our civilization as a condition for accepting the gospel. We tried to make you like us and in so doing we helped to destroy the vision that made you what you were. As a result you and we are poorer and the image of the Creator in us is twisted, blurr...", and we are not what we are meant by the Great Spirit to be.

"We who represent The United Church of Canada ask you to forgive us and to walk together in the spirit of Christ so that our people may be blessed and God's creation healed."

The Ontario Hydro apology to the Ojibways of Onagaming First Nation was made by the Chairman of Hydro on August 18, 1993, at a ceremony on the Reserve. That apology reads as follows:

"Long before our ancestors came to this land, your Nation was already here. Your people lived in harmony with the environment and respected Mother Earth. We came uninvited, and your people helped us to survive and thrive in this land.

"In our zeal to develop and exploit the richness of this land, and without consideration for your rights, culture and values, we used resources, dammed rivers and erected power lines. In pursuit of our immediate goals, we rejected your knowledge, wisdom and way of life."
"At Onagaming, Hydro used land from your community for our power lines, diminishing your resources and defiling your sacred land.

"Ontario Hydro acknowledges that the Constitution of Canada recognizes and affirms the Treaty and Aboriginal rights of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada, including the right to self-determination. We apologize for our failure in the past to respect your rights and your dignity. As we build a new relationship based on mutual respect, we look forward to the time when we will have earned your trust and forgiveness."

Recently, at its Winnipeg convention, the Presbyterian Church approved the following statement:

Our Confession
The Holy Spirit, speaking in and through Scripture, calls the Presbyterian Church in Canada to confession. This confession is our response to the word of God. We understand our mission and ministry in new ways, in part because of the testimony of Aboriginal peoples.

1. We, the 120th General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, seeking the guidance of the Spirit of God, and aware of our own sin and shortcomings, are called to speak to the Church we love. We do this, out of new understandings of our past, not out of any sense of being superior to those who have gone before us, nor out of any sense that we would have done things differently in the same context. It is with deep humility and in great sorrow that we come before God and our Aboriginal brothers and sisters with our confession.

2. We acknowledge that the stated policy of the Government of Canada was to assimilate Aboriginal peoples to the dominant culture, and that The Presbyterian Church in Canada cooperated in this policy. We acknowledge that the roots of the harm we have done are found in the attitudes and values of western European colonialism, and the assumption that what was not yet moulded in our image was to be discovered and exploited. As part of that policy we, with other churches, encouraged the Government to ban some important spiritual practices through which Aboriginal peoples experienced the presence of the creator God. For the church's complicity in this policy we ask forgiveness.

3. We recognize that there were many members of The Presbyterian Church in Canada who, in good faith, gave unstintingly of themselves in love and compassion for their aboriginal brothers and sisters. We acknowledge their devotion and commend them for their work. We recognize that there were some who, with prophetic insight, were aware of the damage that was being done and protested, but their efforts were thwarted. We acknowledge their insight. For the times we did not support them adequately nor hear their cries for justice, we ask forgiveness.

4. We confess that The Presbyterian Church in Canada presumed to know better than Aboriginal peoples what was needed for life. The Church said of our Aboriginal brothers and sisters, "If they could be like us, if they could think like us, talk like us, worship like us, sing like us, work like they would know God as we know God and therefore would have life abundant." In our cultural arrogance we have been blind to the ways in which our own understanding of the Gospel has been culturally conditioned, and because of our insensitivity to aboriginal cultures, we have demanded more of Aboriginal peoples than the gospel requires, and have thus misrepresented Jesus Christ who loves all peoples with compassionate, suffering love that all may come to God through him. For the church's presumption we ask forgiveness.

5. We confess that, with the encouragement and assistance of the Government of
Canada, The Presbyterian Church in Canada agreed to take the children of Aboriginal peoples from their own homes and place them in Residential Schools. In these schools, children were deprived of their traditional ways, which were replaced with Euro-Canadian customs that were helpful in the process of assimilation. To carry out this process, The Presbyterian Church in Canada used disciplinary practices which were foreign to Aboriginal peoples, and open to exploitation in physical and psychological punishment beyond any Christian maxim of care and discipline. In a setting of obedience and acquiescence there was opportunity for sexual abuse, and some were so abused. The effect of all this, for Aboriginal peoples, was the loss of cultural identity and the loss of a secure sense of self. For the Church’s insensitivity we ask forgiveness.

6. We regret that there are those whose lives have been deeply scarred by the effects of the mission and ministry of The Presbyterian Church in Canada. For our Church we ask forgiveness of God. It is our prayer that God, who is merciful, will guide us in compassionate ways towards helping them to heal.

7. We ask, also, for forgiveness from Aboriginal peoples. What we have heard we acknowledge. It is our hope that those whom we have wronged with a hurt too deep for telling will accept what we have to say. With God’s guidance our Church will seek opportunities to walk with Aboriginal peoples to find healing and wholeness together as God’s people.
Appendix I - Notes on the Environment

The message of the Seventh Fire and the popularity of Native music today relates to the land. Concerns of the land and environment are on peoples' minds. The industrialization of North America has meant that most Native lands have been lost to development, which makes it nearly impossible for Natives to raise their children with traditional cultural values - as those values are tied to the land.

The future of the planet itself is in question. We are affected by disasters in the Amazonian rainforests, by carbon dioxide emissions in all the industrialized countries, by damage to the ocean and depletion of fish stocks. The turtle, sacred animal to the Iroquois and others, and symbolic of our life on North America, has "assumed the new role of harbinger of death by pollution" at Akwesasne, where, by 1990, "the state was warning residents not to eat any fish at all" (Johansen 1993: 12-14). This is the result of pollution, foretold in the Seven Generations prophecy; destruction of the land is also central to events of protest and violence that occurred in Akwesasne and Oka from 1988 to 1991 (Johansen 1993: xxxi).

Natives here have taken responsibility for trying to control this damage. One example is the recent Protectors of Mother Earth Day, observed by Natives across Canada with prayers, protests to governments, and gatherings. POME was celebrated on Feb. 19, 1992, and this declaration, from Andrew Big Smoke of Canoe Lake, Saskatchewan, was published in the Odawa Native Friendship Centre newsletter:

I have discussed the matter of Protectors of Mother Earth Day with the elders of POME. We are now into seven months of the blockade at Wiggins Bay to protest the clear cutting of the trees. The effect it has on Mother Earth is an outright crime, not only to the people of the territory but to the world as a whole. For the trees are one of the protectors of the people who are on Mother Earth. For this reason, it not only concerns the people but the world also.

We the Red Nation of the Four Colours were given the instruction of caretakers of the Earth. We would be given knowledge of plants, grass, medicine, trees and the power that is in this plant life. We would be in harmony with the earth and all life that is from our source of life Mother Earth.

We the Red Nation are in the sacred time of the 7th Generation Fire. We will go back to our teachings of all life and harmony. We will be a people that will become as an
all powerful people, unity prayers and knowledge our responsibility as caretakers of Mother Earth. This is the reason why now in the short pass that people have come to say: “No more of this destroying our way of life and our beautiful Turtle island, the Earth.” Blockades have been set up throughout Canada, from the west coast peoples to the east coast peoples of the Red Peoples. This is why we must come to acknowledge the duty we are doing. For there will be a day of prayer, knowledge, feast, dancing, sharing and caring that will make up this day. And we will call it Protectors of Mother Earth Day.

World leaders, such as those at the United Nations and at the Earth Summit in Rio De Janiero in 1992, are asking for Native input.¹ The West is finally beginning to realize that traditional Native teachings about sharing and respect for the land² are valuable and that Natives must be heeded if global disintegration is to stop.³

Canada's Maurice Strong was Chairman of the Rio summit. He acknowledged the need for the West to listen to all Aboriginal peoples, and stated that the first world must transfer power to the third (and fourth) and must start on a

¹“Throughout the years, the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) has found common cause with indigenous peoples from the Arctic to the Amazon, from Australia to Argentina. It has responded to a specific appeal made by the Haudenosaunee Six Nations Confederacy to assist in the exploration of environmental hazards in their territories with the intent of forming a strategy for the restoration of native lands” (Johnson, Brown and Stephens 1995: 68).

² One way of teaching respect comes from Albert Snow from Kahnawake who promotes the study of “Ethno-Science,” rooted in Navajo culture and tradition, as a way of promoting traditional stories and songs (about plants, for instance) to foster that direct relationship while showing new ways of looking at the teaching of subjects like science and agriculture in the classroom, among Native and non-Native students. See 1972, 1977.

³“The West will have to learn from Aboriginal Peoples about respecting and living in harmony with Mother Earth... Society must learn, not only to respect the Earth, but to love Mother Earth, as a loving parent love their children. We have accepted a second rate system based on cynicism and mistrust for people.⑥ But “caring for each other is our highest calling” and a “short-cut to spirituality,” and “spirituality is about our personal and direct relationship with the environment and the community” (Brascoupe 1993: 5)
new track. Former Supreme Court judge Bertha Wilson has said that Canada must be part of the world wide movement to bring respect to Native people and their teachings, and that it must come up with a national policy of reconciliation and regeneration.

Mordecai Richler points out that the "wasting tribal quarrel between the English and the French" will eventually be laid to rest, but perhaps not by the parties involved. Within 20 or 30 years, the majority of Canadians will be of neither extraction (Richler 1992: 101). The majority of new Canadians will represent the world; many have come here as a last island of escape. The Native people who continue to meet them will try to remind them of their link to the earth and to each other:

Think about where you are. See yourself for a moment from the perspective of outer space looking back at the Earth. Slowly, slowly, slowly approach closer and closer to the surface of the atmosphere, through the sky and way below you see yourself. You are part of a large biosphere of interlocking, interdependent life-forms sharing the air, the water, the Earth and many living resources of the web of life. When we take things for granted part of our consciousness is split off. Through acknowledgement and Thanksgiving, one recognizes the importance of everything, thus creating a larger consciousness, a continuous memory of what we have on the planet. Thoughts precede action. Unfortunately the systems of life are not in most people's thoughts. Thus the

"It is now generally acknowledged by the international development community that Western development models have collapsed because they were not sustainable," and "consumption mentality results in increased consumption of resources, and further exploitation and pollution of the environment." Indigenous peoples around the world are calling for sustainable economy and development in keeping with traditional values. When elders from the Yukon were asked to define economic development, they called it 'spirituality,' when asked again they said 'respect' ("a development model based on exploitation has little use for respect"), asked again they mentioned 'sharing,' but "many believe that sharing has been rendered meaningless by industrialization (and mass production)" (Brascoupé 1992: 8).

"Western science and Indigenous knowledge are, in reality, complimentary. By sharing and cooperatively making informed choices and usage (Natives and non-Natives may be able to realize) worldwide sustainable development. Indigenous knowledge can, through its spirituality, fulfill the ever-enlarging spiritual void created by Western rationalism and alienation with the natural world... in order to understand Indigenous knowledge and spirituality, the West must enter into a partnership with Indigenous peoples based on respect" (Brascoupé 1992: 12).
consequences of their actions on the rest of Creation are not perceived and seemingly the (environmental) problems do not exist (Callen 1995: 91).

This reminding is part of the new music by Natives that is being heard daily across Canada. Hopefully this music can help to correct the indifference that still exists towards Natives and their knowledge about the land. There is still a lack of attention and respect for the Native message, as shown in the following letter from the Internet:

Article #10522 (10539 is last):
From: wisdomkeep@aol.com (Wisdomkeep)
Newsgroups: soc.culture.native
Subject: UN Decade: An on-scene report
Date: Fri Dec 16 07:15:08 1994

Observations on the Opening Ceremonies for the UN's International Decade of the World's Indigenous People

On Thursday, December 8 I sat in the vast and eerily empty press balcony at the United Nations' General Assembly Hall in New York and observed the opening ceremonies for the UN's "Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995-2004)" There were two other reporters on hand: one from Sami Radio in Norway, and a print guy from Kenya. Rumor has it that a Newsweek ace was roaming the halls. Over the course of the morning we heard predictable -- and perhaps promising -- speeches from Official representatives of the UN, and some of its member states.

The Officials said they got it -- that they now realized indigenous people have a close relation with the Earth, and that their ecological knowledge, democratic traditions, and agricultural systems could play an important role in sustainable development, especially when partnered with some of the latest technological tools. They said they got it that indigenous peoples have been dispossessed and subjected to genocide as a consequence of "modernization's thirst for energy, minerals, timber, farmland and living space."

But talk is talk. "Deeds," the native people responded. "We've had words for centuries. We are asking for deeds." This theme of 'deeds not words' arose in the late afternoon through an "unofficial" presentations by speakers representing not just various indigenous communities around the world, but networks of indigenous communities.

While the UN press gallery echoed in emptiness, the NY Times was dutifully reporting on the Mythic Encampment of press and digital technology at Camp OJ in LA, and also on the astounding 5,000 reporters now gathered in Miami for the Summit of the Americas.

In Miami, President Clinton and other Official Heads of the Western Hemisphere's nation states outlined their dreams of vastly expanded trade, and their "Vision for the Hemisphere" -- sans any acknowledgment of the vision held by the folks who have populated the hemisphere for the last 30,000 years or so. Tellingly, the U.S. mission to the UN was nowhere to be seen -- at least not by me -- far to the North, on the fabled isle of Manhattan. Not one U.S. Official had a Public Thing to say about the opening of the UN Decade.

It struck me as predictable and ironic (at least) that the indigenous speakers at the UN from North and Central America received in the aftermath not a column inch of
news anywhere I could find, while the leaders of the nation states now set upon their ancient homelands -- in concert with the press -- supplied enough wrapping material for a year’s worth of the admittedly depleted global fish harvest.

At the UN last Thursday, Onondaga Clan Grandmother Audrey Shenandoah spoke not for the IIA-instituted tribal governments, but for the traditional peoples of Turtle Island (North America): She began with a prayer for everyone and everything. And then she talked. As best I could record it, here is a fragment of what she said: “Our ancestors have been issuing the same warning since the invasion began 500 years ago,” she said, “and we continue to speak the warning and the message to this day. All the people are welcome to come here, that’s always been our way. But there must be respect for the people and for the land...The treaties that were made were made in honor, and in foresight for the future to ensure this respect. We have a mandate to remember what was in the minds of the people then, and to consider why those agreements were made.”

Those treaties make for interesting reading; especially the clauses the Native peoples insisted upon when they were being written. This communiqué is not a rant on treaty rights, nor were any of the UN speeches the other day. But it is relevant that, as Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii) has said on the Senate floor, the U.S. government has entered into over 480 legally binding treaties with the Native nations, and broken or violated every single one of them—a remarkable record of inconsistency.

The thrust of the indigenous talk at the UN on Thursday, and in general among many traditional peoples, concerned basic stuff that can seem, to some, tiresome: human rights, respect for the environment, freedom of religion: respect for differences. They talked not of ethnic exclusivity, or of a desire to break up the world’s nation states -- as is happening worldwide -- but of their desire for meaningful and respectful inclusion into the benefits of the Nation States that have arisen on the lands where they live. They say they have something important to contribute, as well as to gain.

The traditional native voices said that they have learned something about living close to the earth in this Hemisphere -- and around the globe -- over the last 30,000 years or so, and that if finally we would just listen, we might learn something that would help us all out.

- Pax Vobiscum,
Steven McFadden for The Wisdom Conservancy
(If you want information about The Wisdom Conservancy, send a postcard to TWC at Merriam Hill Education Center, 148 Merriam Hill Rd., Greenville, NH, 03048 U.S.A).
Appendix J - Turtle Island Top 49

The following is the Top 49 featured in the Summer 1995 issue of Aboriginal VOICES.

Turtle Island Top 49
Compiled by Michael Patterson

We are contacting radio stations, music producers and distributors, and musicians all over Turtle Island with the question: “Who are your favourite Native musicians today?” There are hundreds of Native radio stations and record producers in Canada and the U.S., and we hope to talk to all of them. Please call VOICES with your list.

Top 49 Artists

1 Susan Aglukark
2 Robbie Robertson
3 Kashtin
4 Murray Porter
5 Joanne Shenandoah
6 Elizabeth Hill
7 Black Lodge Singers
8 Robby Bee and the Boyz from the Rez
9 Red Thunder
10 Bill Miller
11 Keith Secola
12 R. Carlos Nakai
13 Dawnland Singers
14 Tammy Pierce
15 Sharon Burch
16 7TH Fire
17 Willie Dunn
18 WithOut Rezervation
19 Whitefish Bay Singers
20 White Tail Singers
21 Jackalope
22 John Trudell
23 XIT
24 Guy and Allen
25 Glen Blackamth
26 Little Island Cree Singers
27 The Mighty Mohawks
28 Eagle Feather
29 Out Of The Blue
30 Ehlu and Susan Anungming
31 The Fire This Time
32 Harold Mariano
33 John Rainier Sr.
34 Nap Gardiner
35 Richard Brown Sr.
36 Vince Two Eagles
37 Ed Lee Natay
38 Cathedral Lakes Singers
39 Primeaux, Mike and Atson
40 Leland Bell
41 Out of the Rain
42 Red Bull Singers
43 William Tagoona
44 Shingoose
45 Brian Black Thunder
46 Charlie Adams
47 Jerry Alfred and the Medicine Beat
48 Stoney Park Singers
49 Tom Jackson

Contributors for this issue
We spoke with five radio stations in the North (Canada) and four stations and one record producer in the South (U.S.) to produce our first Top 49. We would like to feature many more stations in our next issue, so please send us your Top Ten (or more) favourite musicians and singers so we can expand our list and make it more accurate – many noted artists are not present here yet! We would like to include company and station logos in our next issue – so please send them in.

CFTI 101.5 FM - Big Cove New Brunswick
Brian J. Francis and the communications society in Big Cove have just started up this Migmag station. Congratulations and welcome to the broadcast circle!!

CKCU 93.1 FM - Ottawa Ontario
Spirit Voice, a Native community show, has been on the air over eight years now. The 49 is a new show for traditional and contemporary music.

CKON 97.3 FM - Akwesasne
Station manager Larry Edwards says that more Native music is being played all day (and night) at CKON.

WRPI 91.5 FM - Troy New York
Debbie Winnebago's new show NATIVE CIRCLE provides Native American cultural information and entertainment in the Capital District area. It features Native music, stories, poetry, interviews and live performances.

Canyon Records Productions - Phoenix Arizona
Canyon produces and carries more titles than anyone on Turtle Island.

KTRN AM 660 Navajo Radio - Window Rock Arizona
Laurie Lee puts great music in the air with her show Navajo Nights.

Rainbow Network TV Group - Minneapolis Minnesota
Gen Hult of the Flathead people is working with friends to create more opportunities for Natives in the arts.

KCIE 90.5 FM - Dulce Oklahoma
Bernadette Howland from our favourite Jicarilla Apache station does the Native Drum Show.

Missinipi Broadcasting Corporation - La Ronge Saskatchewan
Missinipi is a radio network of Native and community stations transmitting from places like
Flying Dust, Buffalo Narrows and White Bear.

CBQR FM - Rankin Inlet North West Territories
Noah Tiktak of the Tagjaaraqpaluk Radio Society hosts a number of music shows featuring Inuit and other artists.
Appendix K - Notes on Identity

The following is a series of articles and opinions compiled from the Internet. These different views about understanding, identity and reality are presented as they appeared on the Internet.

Date: Thu Jul 14 18:53:00 1994
From: NativeNet@gnosys.svle.ma.us
Subject: Still Cherokee Religion?
To: NATCHAT@TAMVM1.TAMU.EDU (Multiple recipients of list NATCHAT)
Reply-To: natchat@gnosys.svle.ma.us

Mailing List: NATCHAT (natchat@gnosys.svle.ma.us)

EMAIL: WHITECOYOTE@JPL.NASA.GOV

One of the best times to sit around is when two people start talking (or yelling) and we get the benefit of the debate. Usually, the two doing the talking don't change their minds, in fact they become more solidified in their point of view. But we the listeners are the benefactors in that we can see the merits and faults of each speaker.

To prove that I'm not so wise, I'm about to join the speakers and remove myself from the ranks of listeners. First is the clipped-texts from an older conversation:

* Young Owl Hatching posted:
  I don't know about others & can't speak for others, but many spiritual elders of many tribes have it in their prophecies that this would all happen in the 5th generation after the 1800's - that the invaders would come back to learn. Many teachers & leaders I have heard have talked about this and that this is what they must do, even if it is not what they wanted to do at first.

* Amy Echo-Hawk replied:
  I would appreciate something a little less nebulous than "many." What other tribes & which spiritual elders prophecy have you heard? I'm curious. ;)

* Amy continues: It would be nice if all people (including myself) knew which tribes believed that they -must- teach the invaders what they have forgotten. That way, those who sense the need to return to land based/Nature based spirituality would know who they could turn to for instruction without offending other Natives.

* Amy continues: I am very serious about my request. I would like to know which Tribes I can refer people to who try to steal my religion. It is only Rape and only Theft when it is AGAINST the WILL of the PEOPLE.

Here I go. (Stupid is as stupid does. (grin))
Amy, don't steer the culture to failures to my tribe, the Ojibway. Yes we do have the beliefs that the Western culture must learn. (And many many more the new agers would love to get their ears on... but they won't hear about those from me! Least of all not on a national bb.)
Our Ojibway prophecies say that the West must become more like the Indian cultures. (Insert gasp here!)

So does that mean we must hold seminars, sweat, move everyone out of New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and put them into the Birch forests or the plains and make them hunt buffalo. Life in teepees or rice on our lakes with our traditional canoes and get sugar from maple trees, and treat the world with respect, and love our families rather than abuse them... (sorry for going on... I just enjoy my culture so...)

"No it does not."

What it means is that our elders, over 200 years ago observed the Western culture and made some horrible predictions. For whatever reason the Western culture has come here, they are here, and they are here to stay. Forever.

What it means is that the Western culture must learn that people are more valuable than "things." The "one-to-one" relationship is more important than money, fame, or the popular description of "success."

Turn to us? No way. I don't even want to give them a flashlight to show them the way. (grin) The prophecies say that the Western culture must learn a different way, or they and we with them are doomed. Like it or not (so the elders say) our destiny forever more is linked to theirs. (YIKES!) Nowhere do they say we must teach, but the West must change their ways or else we are all going down together.

Stealing our culture? You bet. Big time. Look at our tribal Dream Catchers! (sigh) But taking things is among their talents. Then again, we see Indians are guilty too of stealing their culture. Look at the discussions on the board about who is Indian and who isn't. Look at the discussions about "success" and money. Look at the illegally elected tribal council, child abuse, and drug abuse. How many of our Indian brothers and sisters are pintcan-sniffers to escape and/or trash their lives. These are not traditional topics. In fact it clearly shows a lack of tradition and enforcement.

The Hopi also have a similar prophecy to our Ojibway elders. They too see the demise of the Western "so called Civilization."

No we don't teach and please don't send them our way. No culture (not even Ojibway) can tell another culture (Pawnee or White) what to do or how to change, so the question is how?

We don't want their seekers, wannabes, pretenders, phonies, flakes, fakes, windigos and crooks (to name only a few). But something must change. Or.... or.... lets just say an ugly nation and a dark time in humanity will emerge. I tend to have a brighter outlook, though lately I seem to be on the losing side... yet again.

—Charles P. Whitecoyote, born Ojibway...
(Sitting back down next to the electronic fireside.)
ednet1.os1.or.gov/laechohaw (Amy EchoHawk) writes:

> Hi!
> Young Owl Hatching posted:
> "I don't know about others & can't speak for others, but many
> spiritual elders of many tribes have it in their prophecies that
> this would all happen [re. Cherokee Religion/Wannabe/cultural
> rape etc.] in the 5th generation after the 1800's - that the
> invaders would come back to learn. Many teachers & leaders I
> have heard have talked about this and that this is what they must
> do, even if it is not what they wanted to do at first."
> I am still curious exactly which tribes & individuals & "spiritual
> elders" constitute the nebulous "many." Whose prophecies are you
> referring to? I would like to know so when a Wannabe or a person
> "searching" for a religion/lifestyle/life to take makes a move
> for my culture I can tell that individual where they will be
> welcome and adopted into the tribe etc.

My former Pawnee teacher spoke of this and said it was in the Prophecies that were handed down from his Grandfather. I've heard it from Slow Turtle and Medicine Story, from the Wampanoags here, I've heard them from Grandfather Wallace Black Elk. I've heard them from various other Lakota elders. I've heard them from Mayan elders. I've heard them from Eli Gatoga, Cherokee. And I've read of them with dozens of others from various tribes. Again, as Jay pointed out, it's not tribes, but specific elders.

> This would help them and it would help religions that are not
> evangelical or preaching or open. Not all religions and not
> all cultures and not all tribes are into making "converts."

It isn't about converts! This is the narrow view. We all go down if things don't change first. I'm not interested in specific tribal things. We're talking about coming together as human beings. They are nothing to convert! Everyone has the same set of Original Instructions from the Creator. Everyone has the Tribal living thing in their blood. Everyone had Sweat Lodges and quests. Everyone lived close to the Earth. It's about helping each other re-discover those things we already knew. It's much more universal then the: I want to learn a tribe's things, You won't share, point them to some other. It's not about that. Creator made all of us. We all are human beings.

> I am interested in prophecies - if anyone is of the mind to
> share them (ie. If they are prophecies that may be shared.).
> The ones I am most familiar with are similar to the ghost
> dance prophecy of Wovoka - which new agers & wannabe's do
> not really care to exploit for some reason! :D

We can start with Black Elk's Vision and prophecies: that the people would suffer for 5 generations and then people would return to the sacred hoop in the 5th generation (now). This would be people from the 4 races as in his vision all making one great Flowering Tree. There's much more I could say about this one if you would like.

I'll just say these things for the last time. I was at a Pow Wow yesterday where one of my elders and teachers, Slow Turtle, Supreme Medicine Man of the Wampanoag Nation here in Massachusetts had everyone in the Circle hold hands. He talked about going all over
the world looking for human beings. He has not found many. He then told how he hoped that he could plant a seed today in people to follow the Original Instructions and to all be together as human beings. That's what I'm talking about.

In the Circle is the power of understanding other viewpoints and healing.

Young Owl Hatching

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Date: Sat Aug  6 04:03:58 1994
From: NativeNet@gnoys.svle.ma.us
Subject: Re: Elders
To: NATCHAT@TAMVM1.TAMU.EDU (Multiple recipients of list NATCHAT)
Reply-To: natchat@gnoys.svle.ma.us

Original Sender: uclink.berkeley.edu/libis (Mary Carol Randall)
Mailing List: NATCHAT (natchat@gnoys.svle.ma.us)

(hi folks. the following e-mail is not from me [Mary Carol, the name on the "from" line], but my friend Max who is visiting.)

aparant.ac.brocku.ca/njmiller (Mary Jane Miller) writes:

> Yes there are Scottish elders. Called by the Spirit and nominated by
> members of Presbyterian congregations and voted upon, they are set
> apart for life and are called "elders"

As to the Presbyterian elders in Scotland: historically only males were given this power in the Presbyterian church (I don't know what might be true now) and these "elders" were actively involved in persecuting what I would call true elders: the old wise women who cured with charmimg and herbs out of the ancient Celtic traditions. Old women were tortured and burned at the stake when the ministers and "elders" found bundles of herbs or other medicine items in cottage searches. This term in the European context is often tied to male supremacy: I think of the Mormon church, where 20-year-old men are granted the title of elders by virtue of their maleness, while old women, be they ever so knowledgeable, will never be accorded this recognition. The thousand-year long witch persecutions did a thorough job of wiping out female elderhood in most European culture.

--Max Dashu

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From: NativeNet@gnoys.svle.ma.us
Subject: Who is really...
To: NATCHAT@TAMVM1.TAMU.EDU (Multiple recipients of list NATCHAT)
Reply-To: natchat@gnoys.svle.ma.us

Original Sender: delphi.com/FOURCIRCLES
Mailing List: NATCHAT (natchat@gnoys.svle.ma.us)

People saying that only card-carriers have a right to walk the red road, do Spirit a serious disservice. When they forbid the ways of Spirit which fit this land, from good hearted people who live here, just because of the seeker's color or ethnic background, do they think they are doing right by God?
Recently Oren Lyons (of the Six Nations Confederacy) said this:

"The elders will say it is impossible, while the
young have the capability to make it happen."

and...

"I was at a meeting with several tribal elders, when
young white people seeking native ways showed up on
my doorstep. I asked the other elders what should
we do? The guidance of the creator has always been
to refuse this help to no one. So we decided to
help them."

And for a while I've been saying stuff like this:

This continent was settled by several waves of migration, from Atzlan, southeast Asia,
and northeast Asia. All came here with respect for the land, and the land accepted them.
Their descendants are now known as Indians, Native Americans, Native, etc. Even a few
whites came before Columbus, sailors from Scandinavia who found it good here and
settled in with those who were already here. All were accepted by the land, because they
respected the land.

The way it was supposed to be was anyone who lives here and respects the land, was
to be considered native. Until the Europeans came, who for the most part did not respect
the land, it was so. Then a distinction had to be drawn, as to who is "native" or "indian"
and who isn't. A distinction was drawn between friend and enemy, and the gov't was the
main one who drew this distinction.

Some people ask me what percent Indian I am. I cannot say, because my family didn't
like to talk about those things. Anyway, "percent Indian" is a BIA thing – a U.S.
Government thing – a power of 2 based on how far back your most recent known
fullblood ancestor was. What does it matter how many generations back she was if she
is talking to you now? That's what I tell them. People cannot be cut up like pie charts;
"percent Indian" conjures up images of dissecting human beings. Someone else I know,
when asked this, likes to say, "my heart, my mind, and my right middle finger!", or
something like that. Nowadays many tribes are disbanding, and many new tribes forming.
Maybe it will be the way it was supposed to be from the beginning – that anyone who
lives here with respect for the land is a native, no matter what their ethnic heritage or
when their family got here! This is the way it was meant to be, and this is the way it will
be again.

Dee @ 4C
Song of the Breed

Don't offend
the fullbloods,
don't offend
the whites,
stand there in
the middle
of the god-
damned road
and get hit.

Carroll Arnett - Cherokee/ French

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Article #19074 (19139 is last):
Newsgroups: alt.native
From: ab155@FreeNet.Carleton.CA (Martin F. Dunn)
Subject: Re: Race In Canadian Census
Reply-To: ab155@FreeNet.Carleton.CA (Martin F. Dunn)
Date: Wed Nov 22 21:59:38 1995

Donald Phillipson (ad201@FreeNet.Carleton.CA writes:
(If you want
> to get serious about genetics, the most "purely" bred Canadian community is
> probably French Canadian, six million people now traceable to 60,000
> Quebeckers 230 years ago.

Considering there were never more than 10,000 immigrants to Canada from France, and
no more than 2,000 of them were women, I'm not sure what the writer means by "purely"
bred Canadian. Most Quebeckers -- estimates range from 40 percent to 85 percent --
have some Aboriginal ancestry. From my own (admittedly Métis) point of view these are,
indeed, pure Canadians, -- in fact the first Canadians -- but they are definitely not "pure"
French.

<------------------------------->
Martin F. Dunn  Aboriginal Rights Consulting
ab155@freenet.carleton.ca  from an Aboriginal Perspective
<------------------------------->

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Original Sender: Jack Mone <pipeline.com@jackdoolo>  
Mailing List: NATCHAT (natchat@gnosys.evl.ea.ma.us)

Anyone who says you do not look Tsasligi, does not know what a Tsasligi looks
like. As for changing your appearance; the Mystery creates each of us different from the
other. No two are exactly alike. With these differences, you have diversity, in this way we
are able to see some of the many aspects of the "Mystery." It is really a gift from the
Mystery and it should be recognized as such. But some of our brothers and sisters have
been hurt and they have become bitter and bigoted. Do not let them upset you. Show
them the Mystery within yourself; they will either accept or reject the gifts; either way it
is their medicine to live with.

You must continue with your journey now. You must go to your people, to the
Traditional Tsasligi, to learn more of the ways of your people. You have been a contrary,
all your life, with no outlet - no way to share with your people. You are being called by the Old Ones. A door will open for you, you must go in and become their daughter.—Ho.

In the Circle, there is no beginning, there is no end——only the continuation of the Circle.

Mitakuye Oyasin
“Spirit Keeper”
at jackdook@pipeline.com

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From: clb5q@dayhoff.med.virginia.edu (“Cheryl L. Boyd”)
Subject: Re: Native Musical Instruments
To: aj0996@freenet.carleton.ca

Dear Mike,

I have found the Native American flute and drum to be very spiritually moving. I am interested in particular in a round hand drum with which I might be able to bring its magnificent heart beat sound into my own life.

I live in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains on 60 secluded acres which I have worked very hard for the past 17 years to save from development. I feel connected to this land and it to me. The Native American drum reminds me of the Earth’s heart beat. I would love to hear it tonight beneath my dark star lit sky with just the sliver of a moon. This place seems to want such peaceful natural rhythms.

Thank you again,
Sherry

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Original Sender: anchor.engr.sgi.com/lyn (Lyn Dearborn)
Mailing List: NATCHAT (natchat@gnoeys.svi.m.aa)

Tina Stinnett asks:
>Is Sioux a french word, and if so, does it have a particular meaning for
>the tribe? It looks like a french spelling.

No, Sioux is a “non-word”. It comes from the Ojibwe word “nadoewsioux” and as is the history in our country, when non-Indians hear a word of ours that they can’t "grasp" they make up their own version. It is NOT a positive term, and is thought by many to mean “snake”, “one who crawls on the ground” or “enemy.” The ottawa word, Nadowese, is supposed to mean “little serpent” (Ottawa is a form of Ojibwe).

The following is in a posting from Mark Ruml, dated 27 January 1993. Mark’s email address WAS 050631@acadvmlottawa.ca. I am including this because Mark did a LOT of research on the subject and pretty much sums it up well. Bottom line: Don’t call someone a Sioux unless you want to appear ignorant. This is especially important if you call them “friends”, or belong to a tribe that hasn’t a positive history with this Nation, because that makes it twice as insulting, period. My son has begun selling Dream Catcher bids because we got tired of seeing signs at PowWows saying “According to Sioux Legend, the Dream Catcher, etc...” They aren’t "sioux", they are Ojibwe, we will say. Most of the time the vendor will say ”A Sioux person told me they are Sioux” to which my son will reply "!!” that was true, they would tell you the dream catchers are Lakota, Dakota, etc., not Sioux” ... All of this is simply to show that knowing the proper name for
a "people" is important if you wish to show respect for them ... though according to Lame Deer, Lakota, Dakota, etc., are not correct terms either, as you will read:

I am just completing my PhD on the religious tradition of the Dakota in Canada and the following is what I understand, based on the written literature, to be the situation:

The word "sioux" originates from the fact that the literary world first learned about the Dakota through the explorer and trader Jean Nicolet who received his information from Algonkian speakers at Green Bay Wisconsin. Apparently, the Algonkians lived in opposition to, or conflict with the Dakota and hence, referred to the Dakota as "nadowesau" which means "snake-like ones," a metaphor for enemies. While admitting that the literal meaning does not mean "enemy," Stephen Riggs, a missionary to the Eastern Dakota when the Dakota were predominantly living in the area around the junctures of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers (pre-1862), says on the word "nadowesau": "The Ojibwas are said to call the Iroquois Indians Nadowes, which signifies a large serpent. It is further stated, that the name given by the Ottawas to the Dakotas is Nadowesee, which name is also sometimes used by the Ojibwas, though they commonly call them Swan. This later name appears in Assinaboine. It does not appear that either has properly the signification of enemy, except so far as a serpent may be thus regarded." (Stephen R. Riggs, Tah-Koo Wah-Kan; or the Gospel Among the Dakota. New York: Arno Press, 1972--p.2).

It is not clear in this quote but "Nadowesau" is supposed to mean "little serpent" supposedly because the Iroquois were more of a threat as enemies.

I mentioned that the literary world first learned of the Dakota through Jean Nicolet. The first published mention of the Dakota is by Paul le Jeune in the Jesuit Relations of 1640 (le Jeune supposedly used the lost manuscript of Nicolet). The passage in the original reads: "...es enuirons de cette nation [Ouinipigou] sont les Nazeousiu." In the English translation it reads: "in the neighborhood of this nation [Ouinipigou] are the Nazeousiu." (Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, vol. XVIII, part 1, Chapter X. Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1898, p. 231).

Throughout the Jesuit Relations, the Dakota are variously referred to as Nadoweau, Nadoweau, Nadoweauwac, and Nadoweauwec. Eventually the word was shortened to "Sioux" from the last two syllables of the Algonkian word --pronounced roughly "see you" in French and more like "sue" in English—and the new name stuck. A similar situation applies to the Inuit (their own name for their Nation) who were "stuck" with the word "Eskimo" (esters of raw fish) because the literary world first heard about the Inuit from the Cree people—I think, I have to check this—who referred to them, derivatively, as 'Eskimo.' I notice that today the Inuit have reclaimed their own name for their Nation and the word Eskimo is appropriately falling into disuse. The word 'Sioux' should also fall into disuse whenever possible, since, as McGee writes, "It is an alien and abhorrent designation for a people bearing a euphonious appellation of their own." It is interesting to note that the Lakota Wicasa wakan ("holy man," "medicine man," "spiritual leader," etc.) Lame Deer says that calling his people Sioux or Dakota is "white man talk." Lame Deer writes: "Mea tanhan wicasa won—I am a man of the earth, as we say. Our people don't call themselves Siouk or Dakota. That's white man talk. We call ourselves Ikice wicasa—the natural humans, the free, wild, common people. I am pleased to be called that." (John Fire/Lame Deer and Richard Erdoes, Lame Deer Seeker of Visions. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972, p.23).

Actually, there is much more to say, regarding the meaning of the word Dakota or Nakota or Lakota and the names and origin stories of the various "band" and "sub-band" names of the Dakota/Nakota/Lakota Nation, but its 3:30 a.m. and I am getting tired. Good night.

Mil sago minik!
Nin sa,

lyn
"We did not weave the web of life. We | Lyn Dearborn; Naturalist/Person
are merely a strand in it. Whatever | Turtle Clan Ojibwe
we do to the web, we do to ourselves. | dearborn@anchor.sed.sgi.com

Original Sender: slcl.slcl.lib.ut.usjay
Mailing List: NATCHAT (natchat@gnoeye.svie.ma.us)

>Original Sender: "Deanna Gail Shlee" <sf.gc.maricopa.edu/225>
>An idea just came to mind with all the talk about Thanksgiving and telling our
>children the "right stuff." Has anyone heard of SPENDING Thanksgiving WITH >an
Indian family/tribe?

As a matter of fact some of us do spend "Thanksgiving" with an Indian family — OUR
OWN! Thanksgiving as a holiday to give thanks to Tunkasaia for all that we have received
is IMHO a good thing. In my family we celebrate such a giving of thanks each day. This
is the Indian way, the idea of stuffing ourselves with food and watching the football as a
way to thank Tunkasaia seems strange. Don't get me wrong, we may eat a good meal
on the third Thursday of the month of November. In my family we do not feel that the
"custom" of celebrating a "Thanksgiving" that the Pilgrims lived through their first year is
very good idea as the Pilgrims could not have had their feast with out the help of Indian
people. The same Pilgrims who OWED their lives and the lives of their children to the
Indians who help them out; were the SAME people who killed the CHILDREN and wives
of those who helped them. (not to mention the Indian men who were also killed). Perhaps
your idea bears reconsideration.

>Here in Arizona, there are several reservations and different tribes of Native
>Amerians. I will check into it here. I think it would be great and would love for
>my family to do it!

I suspect that you will find that you are not as welcome as you seem to expect to
be. Native American people tend to hold Thanksgiving meals within their own families
and communities. If you really want to experience the First Thanksgiving from INDIAN
eyes, then take your meal and find some starving homeless strangers and welcome
them into your home, feed them give them all that they need to thrive. Show them
your family treasures. However, one word of warning, experience has taught us that
they may come back to kill you. Take your chances; perhaps you will do some real
good in the world by sharing your meal.

Jay Brummett
Cecilia Ptehincalaska-Calf

*****Moderation Note*****
The opinions expressed in the
above message do not speak for
the NativeNet, nor any of its lists
Jay Brummett
Cecilia Ptehincalaska-Calf
jay@slcl.slcl.lib.ut.us
Moderation Staff: NatChat/Native-L

*****
Original Sender: Jay Brummett <slcpl.slcpl.lib.ut.us/jay>
Mailing List: NATCHAT (natchat@gnoeys.svie.me.us)

Keith idea sent this to me and asked me to post it to NatChat. He asked me to comment on it prior to deciding to post it. I have passed it along as it first arrived to me.

Warmest Regards
Jay Brummett
Cecil Ptehincalaska-Calf
jay@slcpl.slcpl.lib.ut.us
Moderation Staff: NatChat/Native-L

---------- Forwarded message ----------

Hau to all:

I have been off the net for about a month, and have just returned to read many posts that sadden me. It is not good to see so much anger and resentment go unchecked while there is still much happiness and gratefulness around.

My grandmother was very sickly this past summer and laid on her deathbed for about a week before slowly recovering. Doctors scheduled her for exploratory surgery to check her body for internal cancerous growth.

A humble sundancer offered to pray for her recovery and my family travelled North to pray upon this alter with him. While dancing, his own wife fell ill and was admitted to the hospital. This dancer wanted to heed home to be with his family, but at the same time he knew he could help them more by continuing to send prayers from the sundance. When a few hundred people of all colors pray together with the sacred pipe in a sacred way - without anger, resentment, or prejudice - extremely powerful things can occur.

The wife of this sundancer recovered the following day at the hospital. My grandmother's surgery proved to find no malignant growths in her body. Who can say what additional prayers were answered following this sacred time?

The point is this, that prayer is powerful. It matters not whether we are full, mixed blood, or non-Indian. Any sincere prayer is listened to by the Creator, as we are all his children, and are recipients of his love. We must remember that all good gifts come from the Creator, and that different gifts are given to different children; but again, all these gifts are good. By looking at our own families, we might notice that when good gifts are shared amongst our own children, all of them benefit.

To the Lakota, the sacred pipe was given. Proper use and respect for this pipe brought countless benefits to the people. The Lakota shared this gift that other children might also benefit from it. It was first shared with those belonging to neighbouring tribes, and was eventually shared with peoples living across the entire North American continent before the arrival of the Europeans.

At present day there is much debate over who should or who should not be allowed to participate in or even lead a "traditional" native american ceremony. Specific tribes and religious groups or societies within these tribes are the ones who ultimately make this decision. But no group can force an individual to go against the dictates of his own conscience.

So if an individual decides to share a good gift with another, it should be done sincerely with an open heart and with no monetary strings attached, as it is done when larger
groups or societies choose to share a good gift that others too may benefit from it.

At the sundance where I prayed for my grandmother's health, all sincere and humble people had the opportunity to come and pray. They had the opportunity to benefit from this good gift that the Lakota people had chosen to share with everyone at this given location. No one there was misjudged, mistrusted, or mistreated based solely on their outward appearance. And as I stated earlier, the prayers given there unselfishly were extremely powerful.

So let us remember not to dwell on our feelings of anger and resentment, because doing this only brings ourselves and others down with us. Instead we should spend more time praying for those who have caused us to feel anger or resentment that we might somehow reach an understanding of one another's strengths and weaknesses and respect them. And when you pray, remember to be sincere.

In closing, I would just like to say that it was not so long ago that our own Moderator of this newsgroup had fallen ill and was hospitalized. I know of some individuals who have not agreed fully with Jay on certain topics, but I know that they too were among those praying for his full and speedy recovery.

I hope I haven't been too preachy, but I was deeply saddened after reading some of the harsh language that was written after returning to the internet. I pray that we can all continue to discuss our different viewpoints on this forum without losing the perspective that there are real people out there who might be hurt by what we post.

Mitakuye Oyasin, Keith
Appendix L - Intertribal Internet List

The following is a list of bulletin boards (bbs), worldwide web homepages (www) and ftp sites, gathered from bulletin boards, individuals and the Native-L mailing list.

Thanks to gars@netcom.com (Gary Night Owl), gst@gnosys.svle.ma.us (Gary S. Trujillo), connolly@hookup.net (Mark Connolly), timb@sce.unr.edu (Tim Brogan), jburrows@halcyon.com (John Burrows), mwilson@csd.uwm.edu (Michael Wilson), jt_wayagola_shupe@vnet.ibm.com (JT Shupe), amcgee@netcom.com ("Arthur R. McGee").

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Bulletin Boards via telnet
First Nations Confederacy of Cultural Education Centres
telnet: culturalcentres.fnccec.ca

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FTP sites
Fourth World Documentation Project

IndianNet
pines.hsu.edu 198.16.16.10

KANOHEDA ANIYAVWIYA (NA T I V E A M E R I C A N N E W S) It is archived at the Native American FTP site ftp.cit.cornell.edu in the directory /pub/special/NativeProfs/newsletters.

Native Professors
ftp.cit.cornell.edu /pub/special/NativeProfs/usenet

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Gopher sites
American Indian Science and Engineering Gopher
alpha1.csd.uwm.edu

Berkeley Library Gopher (UC) (See URL's)
info.lib.lib.berkeley.edu

Dene Cultural Institute
direct your gopher to gopher.ucalgary.ca
Select < University Library >
then select < Polar Information Sources >
then select < Polar Research Institutes >

Extension Indian Reservation Program cru1.cahe.wsu.edu
csd4.csd.uwm.edu

Fourth World Documentation Project
gopher://lockst.cic.net/11/Politics/Fourth.World

Intertribal Network (Ken Hunt)
CSCNS.COM Gopher menu: /ITN
The National Indian Policy Center - George Washington University
NIPC@gwuvm.gwu.edu

Native American Net
bioc02.uthscsa.edu 129.111.1.229

Native American Net Server (Michael Wilson)
ALPHA1.CSD.UWM.EDU Gopher menu: /UWM Information, /NANS

Native Food Info
gopher.cahe.wsu.edu

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Jacob Eagle Eyes bbs network: Covers most of North America and has 4 nodes in Europe. They are:
Amazing_Grace_Bbs,Sjodetalje_Sweden,Mats_Ryskasen 46-8-550-617-21
Europe_Mail_Hub_NativeNet,Hagersten_Sweden,Diana_Lindholm
46-8-7440044
FRAME*MUNICH,Germany,Rainer_Heun 49-89-535065
Dada_&Surrealismus,Malmo,Dag_Dao 46-40-9521540

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LISTSERVS and Mailing Lists

AISESnet
To subscribe, send your e-mail address to: aisesnet@selway.umt.edu
with a request to be added to the distribution list.

IndianNet
To subscribe, send an e-mail message to: listserv@spruce.hsu.edu
in the message area write: subscribe INDIANNet-L "your full name"

IndKnow
To access, send an e-mail message to:
listserv@uwavm.u.washington.edu

Iroquois Language
To access, send an e-mail message to: listserv@vm.utcc.utoronto.edu

Nativo Food-L
To access, send an e-mail message to: listproc@listproc.wsu.edu
In the body of the text type: subscribe natfood-L <your real name>

Tribal Law (N.A. legal history, court decisions)
To subscribe send a message to: listserv@thecity.sfsu.edu
In the body, write: subscribe triballaw <yourname>

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National Indian Policy Center Mailing Lists (Cornell University)

Native 1492
To subscribe, send an e-mail message to: listserv@tamvm1.tamu.edu
in the message area write: subscribe NAT-1492 "your full name"

Native American Literature
To subscribe, send an e-mail message to: listserv@cornell.edu
in the message area write: subscribe NativeLit-L "your full name"
Native Education
To subscribe, send an e-mail message to: listserv@indycms.edu
in the message area write: subscribe NAT-EDU "your full name"

Native Health
To subscribe, send an e-mail message to: listserv@tamvm1.tamu.edu
in the message area write: subscribe NAT-HLTH "your full name"

Native Language
To subscribe, send an e-mail message to: listserv@tamvm1.tamu.edu
in the message area write: subscribe NAT-LANG "your full name"

NatChat
To subscribe, send an e-mail message to: listserv@tamvm1.tamu.edu
in the message area write: subscribe NATCHAT "your full name"

NativeL
To subscribe, send an e-mail message to: listserv@tamvm1.tamu.edu
in the message area write: subscribe NATIVE-L "your full name"

Native-L Archives and list of Native student organizations.
STUDENT ORG-LIST 354 94/06/20 Am. Indian Student Organizations
to get a copy of this file, just send a message containing:
get student org-list native-l
to the address "listserv@tamvm1.tamu.edu"
(that's the numeral "1" in "tamvm1" and the letter "l" in "native-l")
Anyone wanting a complete index of what's in the archives can get a list
by sending:
index native-l
to that same LISTSERV address.

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Telnet sites
telnet ux1.cso.uiuc.edu
telnet panda.uiowa.edu
telnet gopher.msu.edu
telnet history.cc.ukans.edu login: history
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URL's (Uniform Resource Locaters for use on the World Wide Web) and
WWW sites.
AISES homepage: American Indian Science and Engineering Society
http://bioc02.uthscsa.edu/aisesnet.html AISESnet homepage
AICAP homepage: American Indian Computer Art Project
(Our Home), The Atlas of Canadian Communities National Atlas Information
Service.
http://ellesmere.ccm.emr.ca/ourhome/commun\t/ourhome/introduc.html
This web site contains a subset (10) of over 100 communities from the
MapInfo
based CD-ROM version of this digital atlas.

**Canadian Museum of Civilization**
http://www.cmcc.muse.digital.ca

**Center For World Indigenous Studies**
http://www.halcyon.com/FWDP/cwisinfo.html

**The First Perspective News homepage**
http://www.mbnet.mb.ca/firstper

**Fond du Lac Tribal and Community College**
http://www.fdl.cc.mn.us/

**Fourth World Documentation Project.**
http://www.halcyon.com/FWDP/fwdp.html

**Lisa Mittens Home Page**
http://info.pitt.edu/~lmitten/
(She has done an excellent job and has many links to these other sites).

**MIT AISES/NASA**

**Native Americans at Princeton.**
http://www.princeton.edu/~naap

**Native-Lit. (U of Kansas).**
http://khttp.cc.ukans.edu/~marc/natlit/native_lit_main.htm

**NativeNet WWW Home Page**
http://khttp.cc.ukans.edu/~marc/native_main.html

**Native News Journal Archive**
http://ukanaix.cc.ukans.edu/~marc/journals/nanews/

**Oneida Indian Nation of NY**
http://nysernet.org/oneida/

**Ojibwe Language and Culture, by Nancy Vogt.**
http://www.willamette.edu/~tjones/languages/ojibwe-main.html

**Prehistoric Archeology of the North East**
http://spirit.lib.uconn.edu/HTMLarchnet.html

**UoK Native Network 1 Homepage**
http://kuhttp.cc.ukans.edu/~marc/glenn.html

**UoK Native Network 2 Homepage**
http://kuhttp.cc.ukans.edu/~marc/glenn2.html

**United Nations Index Page (from Fourth World Doc. Proj.)**
http://www.halcyon.com/FWDP/un.html

**Wabimeguil** is a Cree artist who lives in northern Ontario, Canada. Her art
is now accessible on a WWW site. The URL is:
http://www.worldlinx.com/wabimeguil

**World Heritage Materials 1**
http://hpb.hwc.ca:72world.heritage.html
World Heritage Materials 2
http://hpib.hwc.ca:72heritage.list.html

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Usenet News
alt.native
soc.culture.indian.american
soc.culture.native
soc.culture.native.american

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Appendix M - Leonard Peltier's Case

Date: Tue Dec 26 16:11:42 1995
From: R2.ISO@VM1.CC.UAKRON.EDU (Joe Quickie)
Subject: Leonard Peltier: Case Summary
To: NAT-WORK@VM1.CC.UAKRON.EDU (Multiple recipients of list NAT-WORK)
Reply-To: NAT-WORK@VM1.CC.UAKRON.EDU (Native American Work Issues)
Newsgroups: bit.listserv.nat-work

Leonard Peltier's Case

Summary:

1972-1976 on Pine Ridge reservation marked a reign of terror, supported by the US government and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The US installed a puppet regime to expedite seizure of uranium-rich land from the reservation, and then overlooked and even supported attacks and murders directed against the traditional Lakota who opposed the US-backed regime.

Drive-by shootings, firebombings, and other assaults against traditionalists were rampant, giving Pine Ridge the highest per-capita murder rate in the country. Despite maintaining the highest agent-to-citizen ratio anywhere in the U.S. at the time, the FBI cited "inadequate manpower" as their reason for not investigating the bulk of the violence. Testimony by former members of the tribal chair's paramilitary squads has revealed that the FBI aided and directed much of the violence, providing information and even ammunition.

In June 1975, two FBI agents engaged in a firefight with still unknown individuals after following their pickup truck onto a private ranch. A group of American Indian Movement members had been asked to camp on the ranch by its owners, traditional elders, to protect them. Believing they were under attack, the AIM members returned fire in defense. Two agents and one Indian activist died in the firefight that ensued.

Two participants in the firefight were tried in the agents' deaths and were found not guilty based on self-defense. Another, Leonard Peltier, was extradited from Canada based on a perjured affidavit which had been coerced by FBI agents. At Peltier's trial the judge barred most of the overwhelming amount of evidence in Peltier's defense. FBI agents were allowed to perjure themselves (giving statements that conflicted with their own written reports and their testimony at the earlier trial), and the FBI provided fabricated evidence (although this did not come out until after Peltier's conviction, with the release of FBI documents under the Freedom of Information Act).

Leonard Peltier was sentenced to two consecutive life sentences, without ever having a fair trial. Despite FBI documents demonstrating that the original evidence against him was falsified, he has been denied all appeals.

Leonard Peltier has widespread support from around the world: over 25 million people have signed petitions for his release: he has the support of over 50 members of the US Congress, 50 members of the Canadian Parliament, Amnesty International, the National Association of Christians and Jews, Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Nelson Mandela; and the Canadian Justice Ministry is currently investigating the circumstances of Peltier's extradition.

(Note: this is only the briefest of summaries; a great number of improprieties and illegal acts on the part of the government have been left out for the sake of brevity. See the "For more information" section below if you are interested in learning more.)

Current Status:

Leonard Peltier's early December 1995 parole hearing went very well, providing an important window of opportunity for supporters to contact the U.S. Parole before they make their decision in the next several weeks.)
A campaign for presidential clemency is also underway, as an appeal for clemency is currently being reviewed by President Clinton.

What you can do:

WRITE AND FAX THE U.S. PAROLE COMMISSION:
United States Parole Commission, 5550 Friendship Blvd., Suite 420,
Chevy Chase, MD. 20815; fax: (301) 492-6694.

WRITE, PHONE, FAX, AND E-MAIL THE PRESIDENT:
The White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20500;
phone: (202) 456-1111 (Whitehouse comment line); fax: (202) 456-2461; e-mail: President@whitehouse.gov.

WRITE, PHONE, AND FAX THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT:
Honorable Jamie S. Gorelick, Deputy Attorney General, 10th Street
and Constitution Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20539; phone (202) 514-2101; fax: (202) 514-4699

ALSO, write, phone, and fax your local congressional representatives,
and urge them to promote freedom for Leonard Peltier.

TELL others about the Peltier case and encourage them to take action.

MAKE a donation to Leonard’s defense fund at the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, P.O. Box 583, Lawrence, Kansas 66044

Call the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee to find out if there is a Leonard Peltier Support Group in your area which you can join.

For more information

* Write or call the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, P.O. BOX 583,
  Lawrence, Kansas 66044; or phone (913) 842-5774
* Subscribe to “Spirit of Crazy Horse,” the newsletter of the Leonard
  Peltier Defense Committee, at the above address.
* Read Peter Matthiessen’s book “In the Spirit of Crazy Horse”
* Read Jim Vander Wall’s chapter “A Warrior Caged” in the book “The
  State of Native America.”
* Read Jim Messerschmidt’s “The Trial of Leonard Peltier.”
* Rent the video “Incident at Oglala,” produced and narrated by
  Robert Redford, at a local video store.
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