This work examines the phenomenon of seventeenth-century Wabanaki Catholics as an instance of Native American Christian religious hybridity, with an emphasis upon the Native American appropriation of Gregorian chant. This study is divided into three chapters. The first chapter analyzes a spectrum of methodological approaches from the disciplines of religionswissenschaft, anthropology, ethnomusicology, and postcolonial studies in order to establish a new hermeneutic for the interpretation of Native American music-making in colonial North America. The second chapter addresses the range of historical, mythological, and religious factors that informed Wabanakis and Europeans as they approached each other in situations of colonial contact and exchange. The third chapter combines the new hermeneutic constructed in the first chapter with the contextual conditions set forth in the second chapter toward an analysis of the meanings borne by Wabanaki Catholic musico-religious praxis as evidenced in the Thomas Kyrie manuscript and other seventeenth-century North American musical documents.
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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my grandmother Mary Tweedy Gutekunst Bertocci who devoted her life to family, music-making, and the Methodist church. I also dedicate this work to my grandfather, Reverend George Clifford Gutekunst, who died before I could know him, yet whose spirit guides me still.
Acknowledgements

I wish to express my gratitude to all of my wonderful teachers, colleagues, friends and students who have made this achievement possible. First of all, I wish to thank my advisor Dr. Lisa J. M. Poirier for her tireless mentorship, friendship, and a boundless enthusiasm which kept me going in moments of doubt and despair. I must also thank Dr. Peter W. Williams and Dr. Daniel Cobb for stretching me to think in new directions about history and history-making. I would like to thank my colleagues Philip McCormick, Paula Ayad, Stephanie Kien, Thomas Nagy, Nita Gadd, and Rishan Azad Mohideen for our many arguments and inspiring debates over matters of religion and beyond. The present work would not have been possible had I not had the fortune of encountering these good folks. Likewise, I must extend my heartfelt gratitude to Dr. Ethan Sperry and the members of Miami University Collegiate Chorale for providing me with a sanctuary of community and song during my years at Miami University. My deepest thanks go to my parents, Philip and Carol, for making this dream a reality, and to my sisters, Rachel and Kate for keeping me grounded throughout the entire endeavor. Lastly, and perhaps most critically, I wish to thank the indigenous peoples of Wôbanakik: the Penobscot and the Passamaquoddy, the Maliseet and the Mi’kmaq, and the Abenaki, whose stories of human triumph and creative resilience have been, and continue to be, systematically excluded from “conventional” American history. May this work contribute to the growing litany of voices which seeks to undermine such exclusions.
Introduction

The impetus for this work arose from my reflections on what have been two of the most meaningful experiences in my life: growing up in New England and living abroad in Ireland. The first concerns my own place of origins in rural southwestern Maine. From my current position as a fledgling scholar living in Ohio, I cast back to those years of public schools and bus-riding, each day passing the seemingly unremarkable Lake Pennesseewassee, where I first learned to swim. Growing up in Oxford County in Maine meant taking many things for granted, such as the odd juxtaposition of Native American and European place-names. Within a twenty mile radius of my home, one can visit towns such as Norway and Oxford, Paris and Sweden, Waterford and Denmark, and partake in a surreal tour through a re-imagined European geography that was imported and superimposed over the local American landscape. Yet in some places Native American place-names persist, despite an apparent absence of the Native peoples who named them. Having come to maturity in this area, I experienced first-hand the sense of disillusionment and dissatisfaction that came with growing up in a place that seemed absolutely isolated from the rest of the world. Although I suspect that the shift in perspective on one’s hometown from teenage revulsion to adult acceptance points to one of the common experiences of growing up American, I also have the sense that something vital is missing in the ways in which we learn about who we are, where we come from, and why we’re here.

The meta-narrative that one inherits as a Euro-American orients one to a legacy of past civilizations stretching from Judea to Greece, Rome, Britain, and at last to our own soil. Yet this meta-narrative has been constructed negatively, defined against those whom it has excluded and those whom it continues to exclude. The second major life experience that led me to the present work arose while living abroad and studying Gregorian chant performance over a two-year period at the University of Limerick in Ireland. There I was able to witness this meta-narrative of Western “anti-definition” in action. Toward the conclusion of my coursework, I had proposed the subject of “Mozarabic chant” as a potential dissertation topic. To offer the briefest of contexts, “Mozarabic chant” is a term common amongst musicologists who study the earliest music of Europe and refers to the Christian chant traditions (related although distinct from “Gregorian chant”) that flourished in al-Andalus (present day Spain and southern France) under the approximately eight hundred years of Muslim rule in that region. My contention had been to examine the ramifications of the exchange of performance practices between Muslims and Christians. Yet I was brought face to face with that same meta-narrative of Western cultural superiority when my proposal was dismissed by an advisor on the basis that “Muslims did not teach the Christians anything in terms of performance practice, rather it was the Christians teaching the Muslims.” Flabbergasted, I realized that such a line of inquiry would get me nowhere amid such Eurocentric triumphalism, or in the least, at the University of Limerick. Years later, in the midst of the writing the present work, I was equally astonished to discover a host of primary musical documents indicating that certain communities of Native Americans were chanting the “Gregorian” repertory in

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1 Pennesseewassee is an eastern Wabanaki (Abenaki) term meaning “sweet water.”
North America as early as the seventeenth century. Naturally, the first question that arose was “why?” What business or interest would Wabanaki peoples have in learning and performing such a repertory, both antiquated, and problematic in terms of its transmission and performance practices? Questions like these are difficult, if not impossible to answer. At the same time, in order to approach an understanding of the meaningfulness that experiences of ritualized Catholic music-making may have had for Native peoples, the Western meta-narrative must be discarded.

Rather, this work proceeds to “crawl back through American history,” to paraphrase the historian of religions, Charles H. Long, toward the goal of recovering some of those lost or silenced histories, or “nonevents.” One of the goals of this project is to reevaluate and reconstruct that Western meta-narrative in such a way that accounts for and provides an inclusive space for the humanity of all Americans in the past, present, and future, whether Native-, Afro-, Euro-, Asian-, or Latino- and otherwise. That non-white Americans require an adjectival modifier in common parlance suggests again the platform of disparity and exclusion upon which the academic disciplines of the humanities are founded. As a teacher of mine once put it, “the Academy needs disciplines of the humanities that work for all humans.” The present-day arrangement within the modern academy continues to privilege European peoples and their traditions by placing them at the center of the academic world. Conversely, non-European peoples and cultures have been and continue to be displaced to the periphery. As Professor Long has noted, to simultaneously advance research agendas on indigenous peoples under the auspices of an inclusive discipline of the humanities, yet to only be able to do so through the construction of appended sub-disciplines (e.g. “ethno-history” v. “history,” “ritual studies” v. “religious studies,” “ethnomusicology” v. “musicology”) constitutes nothing short of a scandal. The net effect of maintaining such a structure of knowledge as the foundation for the Western academy both sustains a divisive understanding of the human and systematically insulates the Academy itself from critique. If this is the case, we might then ask is it even possible to pursue research in any discipline without necessarily advancing, or in the least, reifying these structures?

The solution resides at least partially in the use of self-reflexive methodologies. Part of the problem may also be identified in the business of attempting to maintain so-called scholarly “objectivity.” Cultural critic and scholar Michael Parenti has declared that “total objectivity is impossible.” Because the formulation of the modern academic disciplines and in particular, the field of religious studies, are so intertwined with the processes of colonization and Enlightenment paradigms, it is my impression that the field of the history of religions offers the most promising avenue toward a reconciliation of the incongruities among the disciplines of the Western academy. This assertion rests upon the basis that the discipline of religionswissenschaft allows for the possibility of the existence of the Sacred, without necessarily reducing this dimension of the religious to only social, economic, or psychological factors. With these thoughts in mind, the present

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4 Long, Significations, 4.
work will look to a hermeneutically charged investigation of the history of Wabanaki Native American and Anglo- and Franco- European encounters that occurred in those same places where I once learned to walk, swim, and perhaps most critically, to sing and to ask questions. This work will further look to situations of cultural, religious, and musical exchange between Wabanaki, French and English peoples in order to establish a sense of what was (and arguably, still is) at stake.

With regard to history, meta-narratives and self-reflexive methodologies, anthropologist Raymond D. Fogelson has argued for two complementary claims: (1) “value-free, empirical, objective history… is an ideal that is impossible to realize simply because historians are never free of history,”6 and (2) “thus history cannot be regarded as a universal, singular absolute written with a capital H…. The historian makes histories. Histories do not exist as preformed narratives awaiting discovery.”7 In addition to his postmodernist claim that there is no such entity as a universal [H]istory, Fogelson reminds us that because histories are ultimately the products of the scholar’s study, the historian’s need for self-reflexivity is paramount. Anything short of total attentiveness to one’s own positionality whilst constructing histories leads necessarily to an uncritical omission of certain events (deemed less meaningful or meaningless to the interpreter) and emphasis upon others events (deemed meaningful to the interpreter). As though Fogelson’s warning was not enough (given the interdisciplinary nature of our field), Jonathan Z. Smith has long since voiced comparable critiques with regard to both “religion” as a construct of the scholar’s study as well as the paramount need for a self-reflexivity in one’s own methods.8

In reference to the corporate-capitalist agendas of perpetual expansion advanced by the Bush Administration under the guise of late twentieth and early twenty-first century U.S. foreign policy, Indian journalist-activist Arundhati Roy has remarked that such a mode of being is simply not sustainable, at least in part, because it systematically denies the authenticity of “other” peoples.9 Throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, Native Americans voiced comparable critiques of Euro-American expansionist and “civilizing” policies. Part of this work therefore also looks to points of fracture and contestation in discourses concerning the “processes of civilizing” directed toward indigenous North Americans. A prime example of this arises over the matter on religious conversion. Within the North American context, additional points where meaning has been contested can be located generally in the phenomena of contact situations and land claims, and more specifically to this study, in situations of disease, healing, and musical performance. In order to contextualize our discussion, it becomes critical to first establish a preliminary understanding of the peoples involved, the mythography that oriented the manner in which each group approached the other, and ultimately, how certain Native Americans creatively and religiously negotiated the

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6 Fogelson, 135.
7 Fogelson, 141. In this sense, Fogelson’s scholarly orientation bears a striking similarity to the historian of religions, Jonathan Z. Smith, insofar as Smith has also articulated that “religion is solely the creation of the scholar’s study. It is created for the scholar’s analytic purposes by his imaginative acts of comparison and generalization.”
9 Arundhati Roy, “Not Again,” *Guardian* (Manchester, UK), September 27, 2002, [http://www.guardian.co.uk/Iraq/Story/0,2763,800015,00.html](http://www.guardian.co.uk/Iraq/Story/0,2763,800015,00.html).
hurdles set before them by European traders, missionaries and colonial agents. As this work is concerned chiefly with Wabanaki peoples, I will begin here with a short history in order to contextualize the discussion.

The Wabanaki Confederacy, Contact Zones, and the Problem of “Frontiers”

The Wabanaki are an Algonquian-speaking people who have occupied the northeastern-most portion of North America for the past twelve thousand years. This geographical locale is referred to in their own languages as Wôbanakik, or “Land of the Dawn.” This area includes the present day states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, parts of New York and Connecticut and the Canadian Maritime provinces of Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. The people who inhabit this place refer to themselves as the Wabanaki Confederacy, or “the People of the Land of the Dawn.” At the turn of the present century, the Wabanaki continue to be represented by a confederacy of five nations, who inhabit a region from west to east and include the Abenaki, Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet and Mi‘kmaq.

Although the Wabanaki were some of the first Americans encountered by European explorers and colonizers, sustained contact did not occur until the mid-sixteenth century. The establishment of sustained contact was driven largely by a mutually profitable trade as French and English demands for beaver pelts increased through the end of the seventeenth century. Yet at the same time, these increased demands taxed the beaver populations in such a way as to become unsustainable. In turn,

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10 ‘Wôbanakik’ or “Land of the Dawn” is the Wabanaki designation for the geographical regions of New England and the Canadian Maritime Provinces. See figure 1 below. Because the Wabanaki term ‘Wôbanakik’ encompasses a broader region than the designation ‘New England’ and because a study such as this is undertaken with a hermeneutics of suspicion in regard to the long history of Euro-American misrepresentation and signification of Native peoples, I will use Native terms wherever possible as a token of respect. Thus I refer hereafter to the Wabanaki homeland as ‘Wôbanakik’ rather than “New England” or “New France.” In one sense, the use of designations such as “New England” and “New France” serve to reify the colonial myth-dream as as normative reality. Notably, in accordance with the colonial myth-dream of the “vanishing Indian” and despite the preservation of treaties such as the 1727 Treaty of Casco Bay which recognize the sovereignty of the Wabanaki Confederacy, none of these nations are presently recognized as sovereign by the United States federal government.


12 Bruce J. Bourque, Twelve Thousand Years: American Indians in Maine (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 113-115. Regarding early contacts between Europeans and Wabanaki, Bourque reminds us of the numerous Norse expeditions between the 11th and 14th centuries C.E., evidenced archaeologically by the discovery of an 11th century Norwegian penny at the Goddard site in Brooklin. Bourque notes the procession of French and English explorers through the late 15th and early 16th centuries, but attributes the first phase of sustained contact to the end of the 16th century with the rise of the beaver fur trade. At the same time, French and English engagements in the fur trade with the Wabanaki often differed, as Harald Prins has pointed out; by 1700, English interest in Wabanaki procured pelts had already reached its apex, and had since begun to wane. See Harald E. L. Prins, The Mi’kmaq: Resistance, Accomodation, and Cultural Survival (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1996), 98.
this placed Wabanaki hunters and trappers in a precarious position; dependent upon the fur trade to secure firearms and other market goods, yet without a sustainable means to continue to participate in such a market economy. Coupled with the advent of devastating smallpox epidemics and radical loss of population, the geographic locale of Wôbanakik therefore constituted for Wabanaki peoples what Mary Louise Pratt has defined as a “contact zone.”

This designation facilitates a more subtle understanding of the power relations which shaped material and musical exchanges between the Wabanakis and French and English colonial agents and missionaries who vied for control in Wôbanakik in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Indeed, Pratt’s formulation offers an alternative to the designation “frontier,” a term which scholars such as Colin G. Calloway and the Abenaki archaeologist Frederick Matthew Wiseman have rejected as outmoded and ethnocentric. Yet does the term “frontier” really bear this sort of baggage? Calloway has argued that “the traditional concept of ‘frontier’ has serious limitations for the study of interactions between Indians and non-Indians. It carries with it outmoded notions about the advance of ‘civilization’ and the conquest of a ‘savage’ and ‘empty wilderness.’” Such a Eurocentric view, Calloway continues, (i) “presents a distorted picture of the reality of Western Abenaki occupation, (ii) neglects other patterns of movement and survival behind the “frontier,” and (iii) ignores alternative sources of conflict and interaction between natives and newcomers.”

Over the course of the sixteenth century, French and English exploration of Wôbanakik continued steadily, until by the mid-seventeenth century most of northern and eastern Wôbanakik was considered by Europeans to belong to the French territory of Acadie. Conversely, English colonists and traders began increasingly to occupy Maine’s southwest and central coasts, with colonies established at Damariscove (1622), Piscataqua (1623), and Cape Newagen (1623), among others. Hence by the late seventeenth century, the Algonquin-speaking Wabanaki rather swiftly found themselves bounded on all sides by Europeans and “sandwiched between the Dutch and English on Hudson Bay, English merchants on the Merrimack and Connecticut [rivers], and French traders on Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence [river].”

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13 Mary Louise Pratt, “Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation.” (London: Routledge, 1992): 7, quoted in David Carrasco, “Jaguar Christians in the Contact Zone,” Beyond Primitivism, ed. Jacob Olupona. (New York: Routledge, 2004), 130. Pratt wrote: “Contact zones are the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relationships, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict… often within radically asymmetrical relations of power.”


15 Ibid., 17.

16 Spinney, Medeolinuwok, Music, and Missionaries in Maine, 58-74. Spinney also notes the presence of Franciscan missionaries such as Père Chrestian LeClercq in Maine in the late seventeenth century.

17 Bourque, 120.

18 Calloway, The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800, 42.
In the context of this influx of French, English and to a lesser extent, Dutch colonials, a series of factors combined to create a “crisis situation” for Wabanaki peoples. The most prominent of these factors included an increasing number of military clashes between Wabanaki peoples and neighboring indigenous peoples [e.g. Iroquois to the west & south] as French and English demands for beaver pelts escalated throughout the seventeenth century and as the need for captive rose, the outbreak of devastating epidemics in 1617 (unidentified pathogen) and 1634 (smallpox), and the subsequent, rapid declension in beaver populations that in turn destabilized the local ecologies in Wôbanakik. Ultimately, these combined factors of disease, warfare, famine, and abduction resulted in drastic losses among Wabanaki communities.

In the face of these factors of colonial expansion, increased warfare, and epidemics, many Wabanakis turned to regard members of their own communities with suspicion as they sought to locate the sources of these afflictions as had traditionally been done: to locate those powerful beings (“witches”) who were abusing their sacred gifts through acts of selfishness and destruction. By doing so, Wabanakis sought to locate and redress the causes that had led to such beings’ dissatisfaction in the first place in order to restore reciprocity. At the same time, the appearance of “other worldly” Jesuit priests in Wôbanakik presented Native peoples with a source for further concern, particularly with regard to the Jesuit insistence upon learning new ways of being (Catholic) and the abandonment of traditional practices. Indeed, in the face of these combined factors many Wabanakis were driven to question the efficacy of traditional religious leaders. Some Native people actively sought out Jesuits for their help, as Jesuits’ own resistance to those same epidemics which devastated Native communities led many Native people to regard the former as powerful beings. Wabanakis who sought out the aid of Jesuits frequently congregated around mission villages such as Norridgewock in central Maine and St. François-de-Sales in Québec. Certainly, relocation to these villages brought material and

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20 These conflicts over rights to hunt in contested territories flared in 1633 in what have since been referred to collectively as the “Beaver Wars.”
21 Bourque, 118-120.
economic benefits to such Wabanakis by ensuring them access to European material goods. Yet during this time of early contact and crisis, how did Wabanaki, English and French peoples actually perceive each other? In order to address this question more fully, this work will examine some of the mythic elements that informed Wabanaki, English and French perceptions of “the other” in such situations of contact and exchange.

Indeed, this question and a handful of others form the pivot for this study. At the most general level, what do we mean when we use the term ‘music’? Where lie the boundaries that allow us to distinguish between music and non-music? Are these boundaries always culturally contingent? More specifically, what meanings do music and/or songs hold or transmit for Wabanaki peoples? For that matter, what valences do music and songs bear for Europeans and their Euro-American descendants? Are there any points of similarity between Native and European approaches to music’s meaning(s)? Finally, toward the phenomenon of “religious conversion,” what role(s) have the internalization and performance of Europeanized Christian musics played in the formulation of Wabanaki Christian religious hybridity? Here I find Raymond Fogelson’s theoretical model of events and non-events useful in establishing a parallel in understanding the meaningfulness of musical events; i.e. one culture group’s traditional notions of meaningful musical events may very well have constituted non-events from an alternate culture group’s perspective.

In response to these questions, I would argue that sacred song served as a conduit that revealed to Wabanaki peoples the means of negotiating a new form of relationship with sacred power in the face of crisis. At the same time, adopting and adapting Catholic musical practices enabled Wabanakis both to survive economically (by relocating to mission villages for stronger trade opportunities) as well as to preserve a primary religious orientation toward relationships and reciprocity, to both the land and kinship networks. Through these negotiations with French Catholic musico-religious praxes and confronted with a series of crises in the forms of epidemics, invasion, and colonization, I would argue that a new sort of human being was created: Wabanaki Catholics. Neither solely Wabanaki, nor solely Catholic, nor a syncretic amalgam of the two, I would argue that the positionality occupied by Wabanaki Catholics in the “New World” embraced what Peter W. Williams has declared to be a tertium quid, a “third thing,” or in other

22 During the summer of 1997, I had the opportunity as an undergraduate student at the University of Maine at Farmington to participate in an archaeological excavation of the Jesuit mission village of Norridgewock in present-day southern-central Maine. Over the course of the six-week excavation, our teams unearthed a wide variety of material artifacts, ranging from hundreds of clay pipe fragments to glass beads to the remains of what appears to have been Fr. Râle’s own crucifix.

23 Certainly the discourses generated by English and French colonials shaped their own expectations of what would constitute normative behavior on the part of Wabanaki peoples, yet what of the Wabanaki themselves? It is tempting to speculate that Wabanaki peoples may have reached some similar level of self-reflexive awareness as W.E.B. Dubois has argued that African-Americans achieved under the impossible circumstances of the Transatlantic slave trade. In the least, early European and Euro-American discourses on Native American “savagery” may have had a galvanizing effect on Native resistance to European expansion in New England, as historian Jill Lepore has demonstrated in the events leading up to “King Philip’s War.” See Jill Lepore, The Name of War: King Philip’s War and the Origins of American Identity (New York: Alfred K. Knopf, Inc., 1997).

24 Fogelson, 135.
terms, the condition of ontological thirdness.\textsuperscript{25} Locating themselves around the emerging centers of the French mission villages, or \textit{részerves}, such as St. François-De-Sales (Odanak), Sillery, Kahnewake, and Kanesatake, and trading posts such as those at Kittery and Taddoussac, subsequent generations of Wabanaki Catholics were increasingly a \textit{métis}, or “mixed blood” people.\textsuperscript{26} The creation of a hybridized culture like that of the Wabanaki Catholics revealed a new modality of the human that was both intimately tied to the American geography, and yet culturally equipped to negotiate the imposition of a European modernity. At the same time, certain Wabanaki Catholics, who may be defined in part through their participation in the ritual practice of chant performance, seized upon this same performative mode as a means by which to articulate critiques of the violence wrought through European colonization in general, and more specifically of the acts of violence against members of these \textit{métis} communities by non-Native Americans and non-Christian Natives alike.\textsuperscript{27}

Certainly, Wabanaki Catholics were one amongst many instances of Native-European hybridized persons and cultures in North America. Within the broader region of the American northeast, ethno-historian Daniel Richter has demonstrated comparable instances of cultural hybridity as embodied by figures such as the Mohawk woman, Kateri Tekakwitha, and the Wampanoag leader, Metacom.\textsuperscript{28} Other instances of cultural hybridity within North America can be located in the persons of the Methodist Pequot minister William Apess, the Cherokee Christian Catherine Brown,\textsuperscript{29} and among the Wampanoag Christians of Martha’s Vineyard.\textsuperscript{30} Within the Wabanaki Confederacy non-musical examples of cultural hybridity can be found in the eighteenth-century figure of the Abenaki wise-woman, Marie Agathe,\textsuperscript{31} and in the practices of nineteenth-century Penobscot river-drivers and outdoor guides\textsuperscript{32} in eastern Maine. The present work takes its departure from previous scholarship by focusing upon the role(s) played by ritual song in the formation of Wabanaki cultural hybridities.

For at the same time musical practices in the form of adopted Gregorian chant seem to have functioned both ritually and epistemologically as a locus for mediation of those hegemonic and silencing discourses which David Chidester has termed the “savage systems” of the colonial endeavor.\textsuperscript{33} Although Chidester’s work focuses specifically upon

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item Peter W. Williams, \textit{America’s Religions: From Their Origins to the Twenty-First Century} (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).
\item Daniel K. Richter, \textit{Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America} (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 158-159. By “\textit{métis}” I refer to the two types of “mixed blood” peoples that Richter has argued for; \textit{réserve} communities like Odanak, Kahnewake and Kanesatake were already hybridized in the sense that “they derived from multiple Iroquoian and Algonkian speaking roots” in addition to the sense connoted through subsequent Euro-Indian intermarriages and couplings.
\item Richter, 159-160.
\item Richter, 79-105.
\end{thebibliography}
the milieu of South Africa, I suspect that his formulation is equally applicable to the myriad of ‘contact zones’ across North and South America, Africa and Australia. Indeed, the English, French and to a lesser extent, Dutch, population expansion in northern New England marked a gradual shift in imperial stragrem from use of unmediated violence to one which rules by manipulation of discourse, silence and signification, yet notably, whose threat of physical violence is no less diminished.\textsuperscript{34} Rather, the disempowerment of the colonized continues unabated, albeit now by means of imperial manipulation of rhetoric, discourse, knowledge and law; processes whose continuing successes were insured by, as journalist Arundhati Roy has termed, “the hidden fist.”\textsuperscript{35} In this context, the medium of ritual song may well have offered Native peoples a performative modality for physical and cultural survival, self-expression and as a space to critique the Western colonial endeavor.

The first chapter addresses the enormous task of evaluating the plethora of contemporary methodological approaches available toward the goal of establishing a hermeneutically sound and sufficiently self-reflexive theoretical framework for understanding the meaning of ritual song for Native peoples in the seventeenth century, as interpreted by a white male living in the twenty-first century. Nonetheless, a study such as this can advance no further than the introduction without a systematic analysis of the scholarly modes by which we approach a complicated phenomenon such as Wabanaki Catholic musical performance.

The second chapter of this study begins with a survey of select situations of historical encounters between Native and European peoples in New England and New France, as well as an examination of some of the mythic motifs which oriented each group toward the other in such situations of contact and exchange. The discussion then shifts to explore some of the problematic dimensions associated with scholarly use of the category “religious conversion” to describe situations of Native religious change. The chapter moves toward its conclusion with an exploration of Algonquian reactions to sickness and healing in order to arrive at a fuller understanding of the mythological framework which undergirds traditional Algonquian religious modalities. Broadly, this discussion grounds our subject in its historical context of seventeenth-century New England and New France. It also investigates the contestation of meanings surrounding the phenomenon of conversion, and thirdly, strives to establish an understanding of Algonquian religiosity through an investigation of Native approaches toward sickness and healing. In turn, these considerations serve to frame the final portion of our discussion.

The third chapter picks up where the second chapter left off, departing from the general histories of colonial contact, exchange, and religious orientations to examine

\textsuperscript{34} A review of Plymouth Colony’s court records of cases (in which Native Americans were involved) offers compelling testimony to the presence of such “savage systems” operating in New England. See Jennifer L. Aultman, “Native Americans in Criminal Court Cases, 1630-1675,” \textit{Plymouth Colony Archive Project}, \texttt{http://www.histarch.uiuc.edu/plymouth/wampanoag.html}. These court records suggest a transition from general punitive practices of fining Native peoples in English courts, in accordance with English civil law, to a model which increasingly favored corporal punishment for Native peoples accused of breaking English laws.

\textsuperscript{35} Arundhati Roy, “Not Again,” \textit{Guardian} (Manchester, UK), September 27, 2002, \texttt{http://www.guardian.co.uk/iraq/story/0,2763,800015,00.html}. 
specific examples of documented Wabanaki Catholic chants and motets. Employing the theoretical models charted in the first chapter, this third portion of our discussion seeks to demonstrate the efficacy of my initial arguments; namely, that the locus of ritual song functioned three-fold as a space for Wabanaki peoples to maintain humanity in the face of immense grief and loss, to forge a new mode of being as both Wabanaki and Christian, and finally, to articulate performative critiques of Euro-American colonial agendas in the very face of those hegemonic, signifying discourses deployed to silence them.
Chapter One:  
Religionswissenschaft, Postcolonial Theory, and Ritual Song

In laying the groundwork for the study of how sacred song enabled the creation of a new form of the human, particular to the American continent, it becomes imperative to approach such a formation with methods that are both highly flexible and self-reflexive. Drawing upon the theoretical works of scholars such as Mircea Eliade, Charles H. Long, and Kenneth Morrison, this chapter will attempt to delineate how Wabanaki peoples understood themselves in relation to the “otherness” of Europeans, the academic construction of history (which systemically marginalizes the former) and those historical discourses with which Europeans and Euro-Americans have enshrived the Wabanaki as empirical “other.” Above all, the goal of this chapter is to establish a theoretical framework for the interpretation of Wabanaki Christian sacred song that is both efficacious and aggressively self-reflexive.

The first task then is to satisfactorily define both “religion” and “music” in such a way as to account for all facets of European Christianities, “traditional” Wabanaki religiosities, and Wabanaki Christianities. Part of the difficulty that faces a study such as this one resides in attempting to reconcile certain radically different worldviews. On the one hand, the Western academic discourses of theology, comparative religions, and musicology that address the phenomena of “religion” and “music” have tended to demarcate the two as distinct entities, in accordance with the Enlightenment schemata upon which the Western academy and modern discourses on reason are founded. On the other hand, there is compelling evidence to suggest that Native American peoples did not think in such categories (i.e. “religion,” “music,” “sacred/secular,” “natural/supernatural”) as Peter Nabokov’s recent study of Algonquian religions and languages has demonstrated. Hence, liminal phenomena such as Native Christian musical events, which defy ready categorization, tend to become relegated in the Western historical imagination to what Fogelson has referred to as “nonevents.”

Taking Fogelson’s critique to the next level, I would assert that rather than having been dismissed as mere “nonevents,” events such as Native Christian musical performance are events whose meanings are contested. This is a point we shall return to after establishing a workable definition for religion.

Problems of Defining “Religion” Across Cultures

Taking a cue from Charles H. Long, I would advance the hypothesis that human beings are fundamentally “hard-wired” for religious experiences:

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36 Long, 27.
38 Fogelson, 135.
For my purposes, religion will mean orientation—orientation in the ultimate sense, that is, how one comes to terms with the ultimate significance of one’s place in the world... the religion of any people is more than a structure of thought; it is experience, expression, motivations, intentions, behaviors, styles, and rhythms.\(^{39}\)

As Long has argued, the category of religion requires rethinking. Definitions of religion which base themselves in a primacy of belief or in natural-supernatural dichotomies tend to reify a “world religions” model of understanding religion. The problem with this model lies chiefly in the fact that it is based upon a comparison of “other religions” to the traditions of Christianity; as such, there tends to be an overemphasis on certain factors such as textuality. Invariably then, such a model of religion falters when it confronts indigenous religions, which are frequently not text-based, but rather favor orality as the preferred mode of transmission. Hence, it is when a scholar attempts to apply these outmoded definitions to the study of indigenous religions that weaknesses emerge.

Ethnohistorian Kenneth Morrison has pointed out that one of the chief failings among scholars of religions who study Native traditions, such as Åke Hultkrantz, resides in the ethnocentric advocacy for an understanding of the world as divided into natural and supernatural realms; this division, Morrison contends, stands antithetically to the ways in which Wabanaki peoples perceived the world.\(^{40}\) Indeed I suspect that part of Morrison’s problem with this sort of approach lies in the promulgation of the category of “belief” and/or “theology” (and particularly, a Christocentric model) as the defining component of religions.

Alternatively, Catherine Albanese has advanced a description of religion that elaborates upon Long’s articulation, by offering us specific categories of creed, code, cultus and community, through which humans are oriented and orient themselves in the world with reference to “both ordinary and extraordinary powers, meanings, and values.”\(^{41}\) By reconfiguring how we approach religion, Albanese advocates that we do so in terms of a category of praxis, rather than primarily in terms of beliefs or theologies. This is certainly not to discount the importance of beliefs, but rather to de-emphasize the centrality that this component has for so long enjoyed, in lieu of other components of religion; namely, the enacted, the embodied and the performed. Insofar as religion may be understood to be a process, rather than product or object, religion may also be grasped as a lifelong process of negotiating boundaries (social, temporal, and geographic). In this way, the performance of songs, recitation of texts, and recounting of stories all participate equally as components of religion, inasmuch as these components orient people toward each other (communities) and toward the Sacred. Expanding upon both Long’s and Albanese’s definitions, Jennifer Reid has written:

\(^{39}\) Long, 7.
Religion is the mode by which, as individuals and as communities, we both discover and construct such boundaries, in such a way as to sustain a sense of our own significance. It is at its most basic, the way in which we define what it means to be a human being within any given context of time and space.  

Therefore, from the arguments of Long and Reid we may infer that humans are fundamentally religious beings, who engage and synthesize experiences in the physical world through imaginative (or religious) faculties, yet at the same time are by nature of our physical makeup, beings bound to historical realities through our capacity to remember. Moreover, humans share three fundamental characteristics: we are beings whose lives are rooted in history; we are oriented by myths in historical time and space (with regard to the formation of identity, community, and culture) and through the orientation derived from our respective myths of origins we are enabled to live out our lives as meaningful. These parameters, I would contend, apply equally to all Native American, European and other peoples.

Although perhaps a bit redundant, it may nonetheless be worthwhile to remind the reader of what additional dimensions that such a definition of religion entails. By advancing this hybrid definition, I would argue for an understanding of religion that advances Long’s, Albanese’s, and Reid’s definitions, while at the same time encapsulating the methodological positions of their forebears; namely, (i) Rudolph Otto, 43 (ii) Joachim Wach, 44 and (iii) Mircea Eliade, 45 insofar as: (i) religious experience is irreducible, (ii) religious experience is an experience of ultimate reality, and (iii) religious experiences always occur in specific places and time, with particular regard to the tension between sacred centers and profane peripheries.

Although certain scholars might object that such a definition is too broad to be of much use, I would respond readily that for too long have scholars of religion and other disciplines embraced narrow definitions of religion that exclude countless expressions and experiences, reducing and relegating them to the provinces of other categories such as psychology, economics, music, art, et al. Although the domain of this work concentrates on an intercultural phenomenon that few would contest as “religious,” the exclusion of psychological, economic, or musical components that are less obviously “religious” would radically limit the value of a study such as this.

On this basis, I assert that the phenomena of Wabanaki song and subsequent adoption and adaptations of Roman Catholic and Protestant sacred song are fundamentally religious phenomena, insofar as they are experienced, embodied, and served ultimately as a modality by which Native Christians reoriented themselves to differing forms of sacred power. In accordance with Otto’s formulation, the experiences encountered through the singing of ritual songs is thus *sui generis* and therefore irreducible to social, psychological, musical or other categories. Certainly, while each of

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42 Albanese, 18.
45 Mircea Eliade, *Myth of the Eternal Return or, Cosmos and History*, trans. Willard R. Trask, 4th ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971). At the same time, it is critical to note that even though he promotes Eliade’s phenomenological position, Long also advances a serious critique of Eliade with regard to the latter’s reliance upon a binary model of primitive (or archaic) and civilized. Long furthers his critique of Eliade by delving into the “mess of modernity,” which Eliade tacitly avoids.
these dimensions is present and informs the aforementioned phenomena, taking any one of these dimensions as final simply fails to account for the fundamentally religious character and complexity inherent to phenomena such as Wabanaki appropriation of colonially transmitted musical/ritual practices.

**Problems of Defining “Music” Across Cultures**

Having established an overarching methodological framework with regard to religion, I turn now to a more detailed consideration of my approach to musical phenomena. In order to reconstruct some of the meanings that ritual song may have had for Native Christians, I will begin by delineating a typology of music-making as ritual activity, and exploring some of the various ways by which scholars have analyzed these ritual phenomena. The next portion of this discussion begins with a brief glance back to the somewhat antiquated theoretical arguments of philologist Johan Huizinga before advancing to examine critiques from Catherine Bell and the postmodernists Mark Johnson and Roy Rappaport. Thereafter, in order to address the problematic dimensions of interpreting the meanings derived through the actual performance of Native Christian song, the conversation turns to examine arguments from musicologists Stephen Marini, Michael McNally, and Robert Jourdain. Pursuant to this, I will attend to the most salient of critiques offered by Andrew Nercessian who writes from the discipline of ethnomusicology, before turning to peruse my final trio of scholars’ theories from Peter Nabokov, David Chidester, and Pauleena MacDougall.

Taken together, these approaches to the interpretation of indigenous appropriation of musical phenomena in the wake of colonial occupation would contend that music functions in one or more of the following ways: (i) as historical apparatus, (ii) as epistemology, (iii) as ritual, (iv) as a site for resistance, and/or (v) as a site for accommodation. I will argue that while each of these interpretations contributes critically to an understanding of seventeenth century Wabanaki Christian singing, none address the totality of such a phenomenon.

Admittedly, Johan Huizinga’s 1950 work, *Homo Ludens*, is somewhat dated. At the same time, his work directs us to some unusual possibilities toward the matter of defining “music.” In one instance, Huizinga offers an intriguing etymology of the modern

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English word, “art.” Working within an Enlightenment paradigm of categorization, Huizinga discusses “music” and “art” almost interchangeably. Applying his line of reasoning to music, Huizinga claims that the contemporary English word “art” in fact derives not from the Latin root “ars-/artis” but rather from the Dutch “art/arten” whose meaning is correlate to the German word “Dasein.” Thus in the Dutch sense, “art” takes on the meaning of “Being” in an ultimate sense, and in a manner of speaking could be argued to be more “real” than ordinary, or in Eliade’s terminology, “profane existence.”

My purpose in delving into European etymologies is not to add my voice to the fruitless search for origins which gave rise to the fields of comparative religion, anthropology, et al., but rather to indicate the hermeneutic possibilities raised by the interpretation of art and music that Huizinga demonstrates. Adopting Huizinga’s position allows for the recognition of musical performance as an embodied, ontologically creative act; or in other words, as religious.

In her chapter “The Ritual Body” Catherine Bell sets forth an extremely complex and nuanced discussion of how the “body” has taken center stage in a variety of modern academic disciplines. Her initial assessment of theoretical approaches to the “body” divides these into three categories. Bell characterizes the first of these as “anthropological explorations of the codes and classification systems of body symbolism that illustrate how social categories shape the decoration, perceptions and dispositions of the body.”

The second category she describes as having “emerged in connection with a concern to undermine the framework of ‘disembodied’ objectivism that has constituted the dominant model used in the humanities and social sciences.” Bell identifies a third category as largely the domain of feminist scholarship, which has “pioneered the recognition of gender as a fundamental condition of experience and as an analytic category for specifically addressing the body’s relation to language and identity, writing and power.” It is Bell’s second category, and to a lesser extent, her third category which illuminate the theoretical scope of the current work. By this token, I suggest that instances of Wabanaki Catholic practice should be understood epistemologically. This is to say, the authentic meaning(s) that the performance of the Western chant repertory may have held for Wabanakis lay both in terms of the self-knowledge conveyed through actual musical performances as well as in terms of the dimensions of critique these

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49 Huizinga, 158-172.
50 Huizinga, 158-172. In the Latinate sense, “art” connotes a sense of imitation or simulation of that which is “real”. In this sense, the phenomena of art or music may be understood within the dualistic framework of Platonism. On the other hand, “Dasein” is perhaps one of the more difficult words to translate accurately from German into English. ‘Dasein’ connotes nuanced elements of ‘Being’, ‘Reality’, and ‘Creation’, yet seemingly in an ultimate sense; perhaps this is not a far cry from that sense of the ultimate advanced by Wach and Long in their respective definitions of religion.
52 Bell, 94. Into this category Bell places the works of early scholars such as Emile Durkheim, Marcel Mauss, and Robert Herz as well as more recent works by Mary Douglas, Victor Turner and Erving Goffman.
53 Bell, 95. Here Bell has in mind the works of such scholars as Richard Rorty (philosophy), George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (linguistics), and Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (critique of psychoanalysis and capitalism).
54 Bell, 96. Some of the scholars that Bell mentions include Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, Elaine Showalter (“gynocriticism”) and Helene Cixous.
performances may have allowed for Wabanaki Catholics, and perhaps particularly so for Wabanaki women, as I shall revisit later in this work.

The above discussion of Huizinga’s *Homo Ludens* enables us to consider an interpretation of the function of Wabanaki sacred song in terms of the creation of a ritualized, “safe” space that seems to have sustained indigenous systems of exchange whose primary object was reciprocity (or the power needed to maintain reciprocal relations amongst and between communities and the individuals within those communities) versus a limitless personal accumulation of wealth for wealth’s sake; i.e. the Euro-American capitalist model of economics.\(^{55}\)

On a different note, Mark Johnson’s notion that “bodily experience” gives rise to “the indispensable forms of imagination” and Lakoff’s suggestion that “concepts and conceptual categories that comprise and organize knowledge”\(^{56}\) are rooted in the body, when taken together seem to affirm the basic assertion that “religion is about being human in a human place” and resonate with pivotal concern for what certain scholars have referred to as “the stuff(s) of creation.”\(^{57}\) Thus, in the British and French colonies situated within present-day New England, I would advance that the adaptation of Christian sacred song provided colonized peoples with a locus for the simultaneous recognition of colonial identity and generation of alternate modalities of being that provided a creative means of survival in the face of forcibly imposed colonial hegemony. In this sense, colonized Wabanaki peoples appropriated the practices of Christian song as a mode by which to negotiate and forge new boundaries against the threat of total destruction and loss of self, body, community and culture.

Bell reminds us of an absolutely essential point that Pierre Bourdieu has made in respect to ritual: “nothing less than a whole cosmology is instilled with the words, “Stand up straight!”\(^{58}\) Bodily positionality therefore assumes an ontological character, shaping every aspect of our orientation(s) to materiality, self, community, and the world. Bell reminds us of Roy Rappaport’s observation that: “the molding of the body within a highly structured environment does not simply express inner states. Rather it primarily acts to restructure bodies in the very doing of the acts themselves.”\(^{59}\) By taking Bell’s hypothesis that bodily positionality is ontological the corollary of applying this notion to the phenomenon of Wabanaki ritual song performance would suggest that performative acts of singing may well have generated comparable bodies identified with relevant “messages” or “inner states.” Yet the question remains, what sorts of “messages” and “inner states” did Wabanaki peoples identify with musical performance?

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\(^{56}\) Bell, 95.

\(^{57}\) Jennifer I. M. Reid, introduction to *Journal for the Study of Religion: Special Issue: Religion and the Imagination of Matter* 16, no. 2, Aslam Farouk-Alli, ed. (Capetown: University of Capetown Press, 2003): 5. Advancing the positions of Joachim Wach and Mircea Eliade who have argued that in order to understand any/all religious phenomena, one’s interpretation must be grounded in the structures of materiality which inform such phenomena, contemporary scholars such as Jennifer I. M. Reid, David Carrasco, David Chidester, Kees Bolle, and Philip P. Arnold assert the primacy that materiality plays in religious experience: “in essence, things are the stuff of creation, from whose peripheries all conditions of that we call religion emanates.”

\(^{58}\) Bell, 99.

\(^{59}\) Bell, 100.
Here a broad distinction between European Christian and Native American understandings of the function of sacred song must be asserted.\(^{60}\) In a discussion of the characteristics of Western sacred song, Stephen Marini invokes St. Augustine’s definition of the hymn, which could be primarily understood as a “song of praise for God”.\(^{61}\) Although problematic in some ways, this interpretation of the function of sacred song within the Christian context can be extended to symbolize the most basic attitudes that informed the practices of Catholic chant and hymnody as first introduced to the Wabanaki peoples by seventeenth century Jesuit and other missionaries. With regard to the notion of hymn-singing as praise in Protestant Christian musical practice, John Wesley commented upon his brother’s 1779 compilation of hymns:

In what other publication have you so distinct and full an account of scriptural Christianity? such a declaration of the heights and depths of religion, speculative and practical? so strong cautions against the most plausible errors? and so clear directions for making your calling and election sure; for perfecting holiness in the fear of God?\(^{62}\)

For Wesley, hymnody served to “give clear directions” or to *clarify* those avenues most effective toward attaining salvation. In this sense, this founder of Methodism seems almost to have anticipated Charles Long’s characterization of religion as a continual process of orientation toward the ultimate.\(^{63}\)

Writing on Algonkian, and specifically, Anishinaabe (Ojibwe) approaches to sacred song, Michael D. McNally makes a similar assertion: “music was conceived as a primary mediator of the “power” that was the Anishinaabe way of life.”\(^{64}\) However, McNally also notes: “In the early nineteenth century, Anishinaabe people agreed that songs were more than aesthetic expressions of emotion, entertainment, technical virtuosity, or social solidarity. Songs fundamentally *did things* in the world of experience and survival.”\(^{65}\) Now, given the enormous power that language has in framing the categories by which we think and proceed in the world, and given also that both Anishinaabe and Wabanaki spoke Algonkian languages, I would argue broadly that McNally’s findings for the Anishinaabe also apply to the Wabanaki.

Hence, while the argument could be advanced that sacred song performed the same role in Euro-Christian, Wabanaki and Anishinaabe frameworks, a more nuanced analysis reveals that while both Euro-Christian and Algonkian understandings of sacred song indicated an awareness of how the performances of such ritual music were also orienting acts in the religious sense, an Algonkian-derived understanding of sacred song

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\(^{60}\) At the same time, I would like to express a note of caution about the tendency to impose simplistic, even, artificial, binary arrangements upon what meanings that musical performances may have held for their constituent performers and audiences. Such a wariness or “hermeneutics of suspicion” becomes a critical tool in postcolonial discussions, given the history of academic reductionism when it comes to the analysis of such phenomena; c.f. West/non-West, civilized/primitive, etc.

\(^{61}\) Marini, 7.

\(^{62}\) McNally, 34.

\(^{63}\) Long, 7.

\(^{64}\) McNally, 25.

\(^{65}\) McNally, 25.
suggests a very different sort of phenomenon; namely, one that could and did manifest changes amongst humans and the world directly, without any additional intervention, either human, supernatural or otherwise.

Recalling the aforementioned emphasis in Algonkian (both Wabanaki and Anishinaabe) religiosity upon a primacy of reciprocity and relations, the Anishinaabe headman Madwaganonint of Red Lake is reported in conversation with a European missionary to have stated: “I think that the trail you have brought into my country is a good trail; those who have walked in it have not come to harm. I do not say that I will walk in it. I do not know it. I shall always be glad to see you and will listen with open ears to the words you speak.” Madwaganonint’s statement both reflects the underlying Algonquin religious concern for showing others the highest level of courtesy, (toward the objective of establishing and/or maintaining good, reciprocal relationships) yet also points to the possibility of a striking physiological parallel insofar as concerns a shared, human capacity to hear sound.

Robert Jourdain, although writing from the disciplinary perspectives of Western musicology and auditory neurophysiology, implicitly echoes this valuation for relations and reciprocity in his argument for a fundamental “hard-wired” receptivity to tone in all human beings: “music imparts the means of experiencing relations far deeper than we encounter in our everyday lives.” In the sense that human attenuation to tonal relations enhances the capacity for engaging in meaningful relationships with both human and other-than-human persons, Jourdain’s work reinforces the possibility that Wabanaki peoples may have recognized a familiar element in missionaries’ “devotional” musical practices of Catholic plainchant, hymns, and motets. It is equally interesting to note Jourdain’s work, when taken with Long’s articulations on religion, suggest that humans are “hard-wired” for both religious and musical experiences. In turn, this commonality would seem to point to the possibility that religious and musical phenomena are perhaps more closely related than is generally acknowledged within the modern disciplines of the Academy insofar as these are founded upon the paradigm of an Enlightenment-era style of categorization. Even as the sociologist Emile Durkheim has posited that the nature of the Sacred lies within its separation from its opposite, the Profane, sacred music is sacred precisely because its performance is separate from “ordinary or profane life,” whereas secular music is secular on the inverse basis that it part and parcel of “ordinary” or “profane” life. From a Durkheimian perspective, it would be rare to find that either type of music might cross over to serve in an alternate capacity; i.e. sacred music as profane (entertainment) or secular music as sacred (transformative of reality). And yet Jourdain’s auditory neurophysiological findings hold out the proposition that such “crossovers” may have occurred more often than are commonly recognized by scholars who ground their methodologies exclusively in an Enlightenment paradigm.

Continuing this thread of thought, and although it appears to reduce all musically-induced ecstatic experiences to electrochemical reactions, Jourdain’s association of musical phenomena with the formation of relationships is nonetheless instructive. I would

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contend that his proposition concerning the affective dimension of music, and in particular when applied to the embodied practice of sacred song, functions religiously as a means for orienting oneself within the world, both externally and internally. This is to say, that sacred song orients its performers bodily, in terms of one’s stance, breathing technique, posture, etc., and mentally, through the meditation, contemplation and recitation of sacred texts and one’s own relationship to the meanings revealed in these through the act of performance. Here let us entertain Jourdain’s notion that receptivity to tonal relations deepens human relations, with reference to the Algonkian orientation to persons, both human and other-than-human. For Algonkian speakers, this orientation extends also to include one’s relations with one’s ancestors, mythic persons, stories and events re-created through the performance of sacred songs, Wabanaki, Catholic and Wabanaki Catholic. Here Jennifer Reid’s discussion of Mircea Eliade’s “religious imagination of matter” assumes a distinct salience:

Among historians of religion, Eliade was the first to relate human consciousness to a world of “matter” beyond itself. He located the hierophany— that through which the sacred is manifest to human beings—in rocks, in the sky, in the sun, indeed “in anything man has ever handled, felt, come into contact with or loved.” The critical point for Eliade was that human religious being emerges in relation to the materiality of existence. Eliade’s “religious imagination of matter”, though located in the realm of primordiality, reminds us of the inseparable relationship between religious and historical being.

Sacred song performed a mediating role between the material/historical and religious/imaginative being of Wabanaki peoples in the seventeenth century context. Wabanaki peoples encountered a host of new forms of materiality, introduced by Europeans including both commodities such as guns, horses and machinery, and also disease, starvation and displacement from lands. Perhaps the most significant new form of materiality that Wabanaki peoples encountered was the European body itself and those disjunctive orientations toward the “other” embodied by those same displaced Europeans and Euro-Americans. Negotiations with all of these crises and new forms of materiality led many Wabanaki peoples through a series of transformations in consciousness, mediated through sacred song, informed by both Native and Christian religious orientations which ultimately manifested in a new modality of the human: Wabanaki Christians.

Continuing the conversation about the meanings borne through musical performance, ethnomusicologist Andrew Nercessian reminds us of the hermeneutical significance contained within Jacques Derrida’s notion of “polysemy” and cautions our interpretations of the meaning(s) of musical performance by reminding us of what the author has argued amounts to a crisis in his field. In an effort directed toward the resolution of this interpretational crisis, Nercessian attempts to strike a middle ground

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between those ethnomusicologists he has designated as “realists” and “idealists.”\(^{70}\) The context for such a distinction can be located within the broader discipline of musicology. By “idealist,” Nercessian refers to those scholars of music who hold “a conception of music in which objective musical characteristics do not exist, since music does not exist independently of the perceiver.”\(^{71}\) The “realist” position in Nercessian’s then refers to those who hold that “music should be viewed as something independent of its perceivers or auditors, because it is useful to do so.”\(^{72}\)

At the same time, Nercessian suggests that the two categories of “realists” and “idealists” broadly define and divide the two major methodological orientations for all scholars of music: the musicological and the ethnomusicological, respectively.\(^{73}\) Alternately, Nercessian describes this middle ground as one between Kantian prescribed categories and the postmodern critique of such categories. Although interesting from both postmodernist and ethnomusicological points of view, it would appear to be problematic that Nercessian routinely ignores the historical conditions that have brought about the possibility for “Westerners” to study the music of non-West peoples.

At the same time, Nercessian deploys in his argument as many binary dichotomies as he claims to critique. The hermeneutic arché of colonialism is certainly not mentioned, nor are the asymmetrical structures of power relations that were created in New England through the advent and perpetuation of French, English and Dutch colonialisms. Thus Nercessian’s considerations of globalization and issues surrounding postcolonial discourse should be viewed as instructive, but critically restricted.

Alternatively, in his chapter entitled “Renewing, Remembering and Resisting,” Peter Nabokov has identified five categories of Native American “doings,” or ritualized activities, that help distinguish different modes of Native history-making:

1. Performances of “Great Magnitude”, or primordial re-creations;
2. Ritual dramas that address a world already created, in which humans are already socialized, but are forced to set down roots in new spaces;
3. New religious movements, or rituals of transition;
4. The masquerade, or rituals of resistance;
5. Public rituals, or self-conscious rejoinders by contemporary Indians to capitulate to assimilationism.\(^{74}\)

Of these five categories, the third draws heavily on the work of cultural anthropologist Victor Turner, with particular regard to Turner’s notion of “liminality.” In a related manner, I would invoke Victor Turner to illustrate the ritual process of Wabanaki hymn singing that serves also to further frame Eliade’s proposition.\(^{75}\)

Applying Turner’s threefold model of thesis-antithesis-thesis, Wabanaki peoples who participate in Christian musical praxis could be characterized as: (1) “separated

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70 Nercessian, 27.
71 Nercessian, 27.
72 Nercessian, 28. Here one might exchange “relativist” and “non-relativist” for Nercessian’s respective choice of terms.
73 Ibid., 14.
74 Nabokov, 172-191.
75 Ibid.
from the general population with its social structure” by the engagement in Christian musico-religious performance, (2) experiencing a transformation in consciousness through the act of singing Christian hymns, in which participants are freed from the “burdens of status, property and community identity” in this intermediary phase of liminality, and (3) “rejoining their communities but with new roles,” by a process of reincorporation; or as I would argue, with new identities as Wabanaki Christians.76

In this sense, Nabokov reminds us that with new religious movements, the third phase of Turner’s formulation is discarded; rather, the second, liminal and creative phase becomes institutionalized as a “permanent condition.”77 In addition to his consideration of ritual as resistance, Nabokov’s first and second categories of Native American “ritualized activities” also lend themselves to a discussion of the role of sacred song with the context of colonial encounter in northern New England. Here it may be useful to return to the work of anthropologist Raymond D. Fogelson.

In his article entitled, “The Ethnohistory of Events and Nonevents,” Fogelson has enumerated seven types or categories of “nonevents.” In order to grasp what he means by “nonevent,” it may be useful to rehearse that Fogelson proceeds phenomenologically to define an event as that which occurs in a given place and time. In this way, ‘nonevents’ should be understood not as phenomena which never occurred, but rather as phenomena which have occurred, yet do not appear in the historical record. In this way, the defining characteristic of “events” may be understood as the meaning contained in such events in relation to those writing the histories. Here the power inherent in the “act of naming” or of writing histories underscores the asymmetry of power relations in Wôbanakik: i.e. Europeans were literate, whereas most Wabanaki were not.

In a similar vein, and drawing upon his extensive works on colonial contact and exchange between Europeans and indigenous peoples in South Africa, David Chidester has argued that European travelers, missionaries, and colonial agents operated as “frontier comparative religionists” whose voluminous letters, journals and reports functioned to generate a form of discourse about the “colonized other” that the author has termed a “rhetoric of control.”78 Through discourses such as these, colonizing Europeans enabled themselves to extend their spheres of domination and subjugation beyond the merely physical; i.e. the “rhetoric of control” produced in South Africa, the Indian subcontinent,79 and as I argue, North America, set into motion the colonization of consciousness, for both colonized and colonizer.

In turn, Chidester’s model lends itself well toward a reinterpretation of the significance of many Wabanaki “conversions” to Christianity, in both Catholic and Protestant manifestations. With reference to identity, Charles H. Long has observed that “in this movement [the Enlightenment and colonialism] both religion and cultures and peoples through the world were created anew through academic disciplinary orientations – they were signified.”80

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76 Nabokov, 172-191.
77 Nabokov, 182. Here, Nabokov points out that Turner was quite aware of this phenomenon. Comparatively, this phenomenon would seem to coincide with Max Weber’s formulation of a “routinization of charisma”.
78 Chidester, Savage Systems, 2.
80 Long, 4.
In the face of these signifying colonial discourses, many indigenous people sought refuge in performative modalities of being and discourse, or in other words, “in acts of doing,” embodied activities such as work, play, and musical performance. In order to effectively dissect the multiplicity of meanings contained within this statement, I would first return the discussion to Nabokov’s typology of Native American “ritualized activities,” toward a deeper exploration of instances of his fourth category: the masquerade, or rituals of resistance.

It is in this sense of “the masquerade” that anthropologist and folklorist Pauleena MacDougall has recently argued: “tools, work, and the traditional skills associated with work provided a means for resistance for Penobscot men and women.”81 Given the geographical, linguistic and cultural proximity of Penobscot and Abenaki peoples, MacDougall’s argument readily holds true for Abenaki peoples, although certainly musical performances must be added to her list of “traditional skills” engaged as means for resisting colonial subjugation.82 Although MacDougall does not explicitly discuss the role of sacred song within her broader considerations of Penobscot resistance to European colonialism, she does offer detailed examinations of alternate Wabanaki cultural hybridities, with particular reference to some of the ways that Penobscot peoples pursued “traditional” roles as hunters, river-drivers and guides, in order to resist assimilation or eradication as British peoples settled the coasts of present-day Maine.83 Elsewhere, the Mohawk scholar Christopher Jocks has advanced a similar argument with regard to Rotinosaunee men and their engagement in high-steel construction work in New York City in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.84 In addition, MacDougall also traces a variety of alternate modes of resistance historically, ranging from organized, anti-European military activity in the seventeenth century, through to Native appropriations of “religion, education, subsistence”, and “cultural commodification” (c.f. birch-bark canoes and baskets) in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, respectively.85 Thus in accord with MacDougall’s proposition, I maintain that traditional Wabanaki musical performance practices enabled many Wabanaki men, women and children to engage European missionaries and through the exchange of religious and musical ideas, participate in such a cultural masquerade for survival. Yet the story cannot end here, for as I will argue in the following chapters, many Wabanakis found genuine meaning in the Christianities offered them by European missionaries. In this sense, our understanding of the phenomenon of Wabanaki Christians must eclipse the masquerade.

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81 MacDougall, 165.
82 See figure 1 above.
83 MacDougall, 165-182
85 MacDougall, 68-92, 125-149, 183-195.
Chapter Two: History, Mythology, and Colonial Encounter in Wôbanakik

This chapter begins with a survey of select situations of historical encounters between Native and European peoples in New England and New France, as well as an examination of some of the mythic motifs which oriented each group toward the other in such situations of contact and exchange. The discussion then shifts to explore some of the problematic dimensions associated with scholarly use of the category “conversion” to describe situations of Native religious change. The chapter moves toward its conclusion with an exploration of Algonquian reactions to sickness and healing in order to arrive at a fuller understanding of the triumvirate foundational categories of person, power, and gift which frame Algonquian religiosity. Broadly, this discussion grounds our subject in its historical time, the seventeenth century, and place, New England, New France, and Wôbanakik. This portion of our discussion also investigates the contestation of meanings surrounding the phenomenon of “conversion” and strives to establish an understanding of Algonquian religiosity through an investigation of Native approaches toward sickness and healing. In turn, these considerations serve to frame the final portion of our discussion, of an examination and analysis of some of the primary musical documents produced in seventeenth-century Wôbanakik.

A critical distinction between the material-ritual orientation of French Catholics and the iconoclastic, text-driven orientation of English Puritans seems to have been a chief factor in the relative success and failure of early colonial exchanges with Wabanaki people. Indeed, a history of colonial exchanges occurred between Wabanaki, English and French peoples in the seventeenth century along the coasts of the present-day states of Maine, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. Yet at the same time, not all histories have been equally preserved. Colonial exchanges are encounters of disparate peoples and of cultures, replete with mythic orientations and communally recognized normative modes of being. In this sense, situations of colonial contact and exchange represent points of negotiation at the religious level, insofar as “religion – or more precisely, the holy, the sacred – [forms both] the basic element in the constitution of human consciousness and human community” and is understood to be an authentic mode of the human. Or perhaps, as David Chidester has suggested, religion could be understood more generally as “ways of being a human in a human place.”

This discussion therefore begins with a contextualization of the historical and geographical conditions which framed the earliest of such religious exchanges in colonial New England, a space encapsulated within the broader region of Wôbanakik. The conversation then shifts to explore cultural perceptions of the ‘other’ from Abenaki, English, and French perspectives in order to frame an understanding of how these attitudes toward ‘otherness’ shaped the subsequent history of colonial contact and

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86 Morrison, 117.
87 Richter, 86.
88 Long, 107.
exchange in Wôbanakik. These accounts are drawn primarily from a compilation of seventeenth-century English and French documents and the Jesuit Relations.  

For the indigenous inhabitants of colonial New England, the establishment of such contact with European peoples was predicated upon the rise of the fur trade and increased as the market swiftly expanded during the late seventeenth century with the concomitant rise in demand in Europe. Two factors fueled this increase in demand: the abundance of beaver pelts, and the relatively cheap cost of these to European traders. At the same time, French and English interests in the fur trade with Abenaki peoples often differed; indeed by 1700, English interest in Abenaki-procured pelts had already reached its apex and since begun to wane. Nonetheless, the radical over-hunting and trapping of beavers in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries caused widespread ecological damage and spurred several devastating wars both between European colonial powers (English, French, Dutch) and between Native nations (five nations of the Wabanaki, five nations of the Haudenosaunee, [Iroquois] and other Algonquin communities, such as the Atikameks (located north of Wôbanakik), Pequots (located south of Wôbanakik), et al.).  

If we accept Frederick Matthew Wiseman’s proposition that Wôbanakik fits the classic anthropological model of a ‘culture area’, then accordingly we may also accept the premises of ecological homogeneity and cultural heterogeneity within such an area. The similarities in geological, climatic and ecological factors across Wôbanakik contribute to create a fundamental layer of shared, primary experiences through the immediate materiality of one’s environment. Further, this common layer of experience forms an important basis for understanding the composition of a common Wabanaki religious orientation, or again in Chidester’s terms, “of being human in a human place.”  

Regarding the earliest European incursions into Wôbanakik, archaeologist Bruce Bourque reminds us of the numerous Norse expeditions to Newfoundland and Labrador between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, as evidenced by the discovery of an 11th century Norwegian penny at the Goddard site in Brooklin, notably in situ. Further, Calloway elaborates that while these Norsemen failed in their attempts to colonize parts of both Newfoundland and Labrador, they did succeed in establishing the sailing routes that others would follow in centuries to come.  

According to Reuben Thwaites, the French presence in the “Land of the Dawn” led to the second significant series of encounters between Native American and European peoples, primarily through the activities of enterprising Norman, Breton and Basque

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91 Bourque, 115.
92 Prins, 98.
93 These conflicts over the rights to hunt in contested territories flared in 1633 in what has since been referred to by historians as the ‘Beaver Wars’. Arguably, both King Philip’s War (1675-1676) and Dummer’s War (1721-1725) also stemmed, in part if not entirely, from conflicts over hunting and trading rights, with regard to a rapidly diminishing supply of beavers and beaver pelts.
95 Bourque, 113. The archaeological designation ‘in situ’ refers to artifacts are discovered and documented in their original resting place, prior to being removed and archived. Artifacts discovered ‘in situ’ can reveal far more about their roles and the host culture(s) for which they remain as records, than artifacts of unknown provenance.
96 Calloway, Dawnland Encounters, 28.
fisherman who established temporary bases off the shores of Newfoundland, as early as
1501 C.E. In 1599 Francis Grave and Pierre Chauvin established Tadoussac at the
mouth of the St. Lawrence River as France’s first settlement and trading post in the
region of Wôbanakik. By 1608, Samuel de Champlain had founded a second trading post,
which would eventually become the city of Quebec.

Of the earliest recorded encounters between English explorers and Wabanaki,
John Brereton’s account emerges from 1602 which testifies further to a history of prior
exchanges with Europeans:

On Friday the fourteenth of May early in the morning, we made the
land… [and] standing faire alongst by the shore…we came to an anker,
where sixe Indians… with mast and saile, an iron grapple, and a kettle
of copper, came boldly aboard us…. It seems by some words and
signes they made, that some Basks or of S. John de Luz, have fished or
traded in this place, being in the latitude of 43 degrees.

As previously stated, situations of colonial contact and exchange represent points
of negotiation at the religious level, insofar as “religion – or more precisely, the holy, the
sacred – [forms both] the basic element in the constitution of human consciousness and
human community”, is understood to be an authentic mode of the human, and implies
perhaps no more than “being human in a human place.” This is to say that religions are
culturally and geographically contingent processes of orientation, particularly with regard
to boundaries of body, time and space. Likewise, bearing in mind Pratt’s notion of
“contact zones” it is clear that Abenakis, English and French advanced toward each other
guided by radically different religious orientations, although frequently these differences
were obscured in the actual situations of encounter and exchange. Early relations between
Wabanaki and Europeans revolved around the fur trade and were fairly interdependent.
By 1700, the English interest for Wabanaki furs had reached its nadir and shifted more
toward the twin tasks of territorial expansion and consolidation of their presence over and
against French/Wabanaki alliances forming to the north in the present-day state of Maine.
This start of this second phase of English engagement with the Wabanaki can be seen in
the events of King Philip’s War in 1675, and the series of conflicts between English
forces and the Wabanaki-Catholic mission village of Norridgewock under the supervision
of Fr. Sebastian Râle.

This second phase of English-Wabanaki relations was marked by an aggressive
influx of British ‘homesteaders’, increasing military incursions into the Wôbanakik, and a
renegotiation of previously interdependent English-Wabanaki trade relationships toward
the establishment of asymmetrical power relations which, as noted above, is one of the
hallmarks of colonial contact zones. In many ways, the execution of Wampanoag

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97 Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., introduction to Vol. 1, The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents
(Cleveland: Burrow Brothers, 1896-1901).
98 Calloway, Dawnland Encounters, 33-34.
99 See notes 1 and 2 above.
100 Albanese, 3-12.
101 Morrison, 75.
102 See note 7.
leader Metacom, which led to the end of “King Philip’s War,” marked the transition between these two phases of English-Wabanaki relations, as Jill Lepore has argued. Under this new asymmetry of power relations, Native peoples were forced into a space of critical self-reflection in order to renegotiate meanings of self and community, when confronted with the breakdown of their myth-dream. As Richter has shown, starting in the 1660s a growing number of Wabanaki families fled this rise in violence in their homelands to escape to the polyglot and increasingly métis French Catholic réserve of Odanak/St. François-de-Sales. Because of the enormous wealth that the English colonial governments acquired from the earlier phase of trade in beaver pelts, the English myth-dreams of establishing a “new Jerusalem” in the wilds, and ultimately, of the triumph of “civilization” over “primitive savagery” never faced the same pressures that confronted Native myth-dreams, thereby sparing the English from an equal experience of critical self-reflection.

Thus for European colonizers, the asymmetry of power relations in Wôbanakik made it possible to advance a colonial agenda without much introspection or renegotiation; in other terms, the European myth-dreams of progress and the “supremacies” of civilization, literacy, and mercantilism remained relatively intact. Comparatively, Wabanaki peoples were led in three ways to confront through their exchanges with Europeans, a “wholly Other” in Rudolph Otto’s sense; first, in the form of a series of devastating European-borne epidemics, secondly, through the arbitrariness of violent acts associated with occupation, and thirdly, through the discursive acts of signification in European rhetoric, discourse and laws aimed at dismantling Native authority and identity.

In the context of colonial North America, Native Americans were frequently described and portrayed in English travel logs, reports, missionaries’ correspondence, and works of literature as: “animalistic, prone to immoderate indulgence of violence and sex, wild speech, an obsession with trinkets, and childlike amusement.” Out of this milieu emerged the archetype of the “Noble Savage” which, as Jennifer I. M. Reid has argued, marked the discursive re-creation of indigenous peoples by Europeans in both academic and non-academic works alike, as well as on the stage and in the concert hall. Seen through such a distorting lens, Native peoples became to Europeans, objects of simultaneous romanticization and repulsion.

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103 Lepore, ix-xxiii.
104 By the term “myth-dream,” I refer in this instance to the variety of Wabanaki inclusivist gestures by which Wabanaki peoples sought to welcome Europeans into their communities, world-view, and cultural practices by extending traditional hospitality to the newcomers. These practices accord with traditional Wabanaki mythic models (such as the stories of Gluskap, the culture hero) that stressed proper ethical conduct between persons: namely, of generosity, inclusion and above all, an emphasis on forming and maintaining positive relationships through the reciprocal exchange of gifts and commodities.
105 Richter, 159.
106 Long, 89-106.
107 Long, 107-123.
109 Reid, Worse Than Beasts, 4. For an intriguing discussion of non-academic, performative discourses which served equally toward the construction and reification of the myth of “Noble Savagery”, see Michael V. Pisani, Imagining Native America in Music (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 17-43.
Within the North American milieu, such discourses of negativity empowered Europeans (particularly the English) to dehumanize the Wabanaki and engage them from the vantage of a presumed cultural superiority, which in turn provided the ballast for rationalizing acts of grotesque violence, abduction, theft, rape, and genocide against Native peoples. In 1690, shortly after King Philip’s War, Major Benjamin Church received orders in 1690 to invade Wôbanakik from the governor of Plymouth Colony, Josiah Winslow:

The Governor and Council of the Massachusetts Colony reposing great trust and confidence… of God’s presence with you; …in pursuance of an order, received from them commanding it; these are in their Majesties’ names to impower and require you as commander in chief to take into your care and conduct these forces now here present at their rendezvous at Portsmouth; …sail eastward… to visit the French and Indians at their headquarters at Amerascogen, Pejepscot… [for] the killing, destroying and utterly rooting out the enemy wheresoever they may be found; as also so much as may possibly be done for the redeeming or recovering of our captives in any places…. [bold mine].

Church’s orders serve to illustrate an emerging British mode of conduct with regard to Native peoples: total destruction. Notably, this shift in English policy is also excellently preserved in the court records of Plymouth Colony, which reveal a move away from fining Native peoples for offenses, and a reliance upon corporal punishment for even the slightest of offenses. As mentioned above, this mode marked the second phase of English engagement with Wabanaki peoples and bears perhaps an unsurprising resemblance to the pattern of engagement practiced by the British upon indigenous South Americans.

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110 Lepore, ix-xxiii. Certainly, atrocities were also committed by Native peoples against French and English settlers, although as Lepore notes, these tended to be exaggerated.
112 Philip Arnold, “What are Indigenous Religions? Lessons from Onondaga” in Journal for the Study of Religion, Special Issue: Religion in the Imagination of Matter 16, no. 2 (Capetown: University of Capetown Press, 2003), 33-49. In 1779, President George Washington wrote to Major General John Sullivan with orders to advance into Haudenosaunee territory in upstate New York: “The expedition you are appointed to command is to be directed against the hostile tribes of the Six Nations of Indians [i.e. the Haudenosaunee] with their associates and adherents. The immediate objects are total destruction and devastation of their settlements and capture of as many prisoners of every sex and age as possible. It will be essential to ruin their crops in the ground and prevent their planting more.”
113 See Jennifer L. Aultman, “Native Americans in Criminal Court Cases, 1630-1675,” in Plymouth Colony Archive Project, http://www.histarch.uiuc.edu/plymouth/wampanoag.html. Here, the court records clearly indicate a transition from general punitive practices of fining Native peoples in English courts, in accordance with English civil law, to a model which increasingly favored corporal punishment for Native peoples accused of breaking English laws.
Africans.\textsuperscript{114} Admittedly, this account is drawn from a period of New England history marked by the “bloodiest [war] in American history in proportion to population.”\textsuperscript{115}

Contrast this second mode of engagement with the earlier mode as typified by the missionary work of Puritan minister, John Eliot, who had established Indian “praying towns” across the seventeenth century New England landscape, including one near present-day Nashua, New Hampshire, well within Wabanaki territory. If coercion marked the first mode of British strategy, then certainly outright violence may be seen as characterizing the second mode. At the same time, for Wabanakis, both of these modes of English engagement drew many Native people into a critical awareness of English duplicity, but moreover, encounters between English and Natives when mediated through acts of violence (or enforced by threat of, in the case of Eliot’s approach) led many Wabanakis to a creative appraisal and renegotiation of cultural boundaries.\textsuperscript{116} At the same time, lest we oversimplify British-Native patterns of engagement, exceptions such as many of the Wampanoag communities on the island of Martha’s Vineyard and the Mayhew families (who engaged each other reciprocally) must be noted.

From the cultural perspective of English Puritans, the subjugation, “civilization” and Christianization of indigenous Americans went hand in hand and formed a necessary part of their own identities as English Protestants. Indeed, in the English colonial imagination Native peoples such as the Abenaki and Wampanoag were frequently reduced to motifs of nature, as seen in Samuel Sewall’s 1697 \textit{Phaenomena quaedam Apocalyptica},\textsuperscript{117} and in John Forster’s 1677 engraving of a map of New England,\textsuperscript{118} (see figure 2 below) both of which conform to an emerging myth of the Noble Savage and the Puritan mythical understanding of themselves as chosen peoples, sent on an “errand into the wilderness.”\textsuperscript{119} At the same time, there does appear to have been a certain degree of ambiguity in terms of just what English colonials understood Wabanakis to be, and of Wabanaki peoples’ origins.\textsuperscript{120} According to Lepore, the advent of King Philip’s War in 1675 marked “the decline of English attempts to convert and educate the Indians,” and thus signaled a shift in English attitudes toward the Wampanoag which in turn shaped the nature of future exchanges between the English and Native Americans.\textsuperscript{121}

\textsuperscript{114} Chidester, introduction to \textit{Savage Systems}.
\textsuperscript{115} Lepore, 3-20.
\textsuperscript{116} One striking instance of this appears in the personage of John Sassamon, John Eliot’s first Wampanoag convert and the first Native Protestant minister in America. See Lepore, 21-48.
\textsuperscript{118} Lepore, 83-84.
\textsuperscript{120} Lepore, 6. Here the author discusses two competing possibilities for the origin of Native peoples in the English imagination: on the one hand, if Indians were native, then they “were one with the wilderness, and had always been as savage as their surroundings”; whereas on the other hand, “if the Indians were migrants from Europe or Asia, then they had changed since coming to America and had been contaminated by its savage environment.”
\textsuperscript{121} Lepore, 43.
Native Americans were frequently relegated in the European imagination to an extension of the wilderness landscape of North America (shown above in figure 2; the “trees” on the map were intentionally selected to represent Native villages). Yet at the same time, Natives were also considered dangerous for this very reason: “Here we may see, as in a mirror, or looking glass, the woeful, miserable, and deplorable estate, that sin hath reduced mankind unto naturally.” Puritans recognized the power inherent in the “otherness” of the landscape and peoples of America, but mistook these for sinister forces. Indeed, Lepore notes: “instead of being the stage for the perfection of piety, the woods of New England might in truth be a forest of depravity.” In this sense, Puritans extended their own mythic framework in order to reconcile the incongruity between the presence of Wabanaki peoples in New England, and perceptions of Native “otherness.” One common English strategy was to locate Native Americans within the context of familiar biblical narratives, namely, as one of the lost tribes of Israel. Extending this idea, Jennifer I. M. Reid has pointed out that such mythic strategies to locate the “other” were frequently deployed as a defensive mechanism over and against the epistemological crises brought about through European encounters with peoples who seemed radically other, yet at the same time offered the frightening possibility of a shared humanity. Taken in tandem, the net result for Europeans was to increase their own sense of alienation, from both their own distant homelands and from the dehumanizing violence which they deployed against their newfound Native neighbors.

By contrast, French explorers seemed to have approached encounters with Wabanaki peoples from a critically different perspective, namely, one informed by the material and ritual emphases which distinguish French Catholicism from the more

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122 Lepore, 84.
123 Lepore, 6.
124 Ibid., 6.
125 Chidester, *Savage Systems*. Although Chidester discusses this particular use of English Protestant mythic revisioning within the South African context, I maintain that a similar phenomenon occurred in North America, given the similarity of English experiences in both locations.
126 Reid, *Worse Than Beasts*, 105-125.
austere, text-based English Puritanism. Indeed, Calloway notes that when Samuel de Champlain reached the Penobscot River in 1604, he sought cautiously and tentatively to establish relations with Penobscot Indians, and did so with a high degree of ceremonialism; a gesture which was not lost on these Wabanakis. While there are hundreds of different Native American religions, most of these nonetheless share certain common characteristics. Chief amongst these are the centrality of establishing, maintaining and repairing relationships through the exchange of gifts (material commodities) and an absolute valuation for the practice of reciprocity in these processes of exchange.

In Champlain’s 1604 account, the encounter between French and Penobscot seems to follow these principles of reciprocity and exchange, as though scripted:

The next morning they [Penobscot] returned, and came alongside our pinnace, and held converse with our Indians. I had some biscuits, tobacco, and sundry other trifles to give them. These Indians had come to hunt beaver and to catch fish, some of which they gave us. Having made friends with them... [bold mine].

In short, what the French and Penobscot could not accomplish through spoken language, they accomplished through the exchange of material commodities. While this may have merely been fortune on Champlain’s part or perhaps simply the sort of individual Champlain was himself are possibilities, yet moreover, I would advance that this instance of exchange resolved peaceably primarily due to a similarity in their respective orientations toward the use of material commodities in Catholic and Wabanaki [Penobscot] ritual practices. In this sense, Calloway notes that “trade was a means of exchange, a social and symbolic activity, and a way of avoiding conflict with a potentially threatening group.”

While it would be a gross simplification to claim that all French encounters with Wabanakis succeeded amiably and all English efforts at exchange failed miserably, a general pattern such as this does seem to emerge in a comparison of accounts of French-Wabanaki and English-Wabanaki colonial encounters. With regard to the English in Acadia, Reid points out that unlike the French, the appearance of the British along the coasts of Maine and Nova Scotia presented Wabanaki peoples with a “new sort of European who refused to acknowledge their meaningful presence, and consequently, to enter into reciprocal relationships with them.”

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127 Calloway, Dawnland Encounters, 34.
128 Mauss, 8-19. Notably, Mauss discovered these two patterns in operation within the religious and cultural frameworks of the island-dwelling Samoan and Maori peoples of the Pacific, wherein prestige and honor are acquired not through the hoarding of commodities, but through the giving and distribution of such commodities, in emulation of local mythic prototypes.
129 Calloway, Dawnland Encounters, 34.
130 Calloway, Dawnland Encounters, 34.
131 Calloway, Western Abenakis of Vermont, 25.
132 Reid, Myth, Symbol, and Colonial Encounter, 74-75.
Morrison’s research also supports this particular pattern of French success and English failure in situations of colonial encounter, insofar as he has written: “as the Kennebecs later said of [the French Jesuit] Druillettes: ‘He is not a man; he is a Nioueskou’, that is a Spirit, or an extraordinary Genie.” Here, Morrison’s previous point about Wabanaki ethical/religious obligations is paramount to the interpretation of this passage. In essence, because Druillettes willingly entered into relationships with Wabanakis through the expected protocol of gift exchange, Druillettes was regarded as a powerful entity. At the same time the Abenaki term “Nioueskou” is ambiguous because while it identifies Druillettes as a “powerful spirit,” it does not distinguish whether he was a positive or negative one. Records of how Wabanakis perceived European traders and missionaries are sparser, tend to have been written by the English and French themselves, and hence provide greater difficult in interpreting them. One early account does surface in 1616 at the hand of French Jesuit Pierre Biard, who wrote: “they [the Wabanaki] have often told me that at first we seemed to them very ugly with hair both upon our mouths and heads; but gradually they have become accustomed to it, and now we are beginning to look less deformed.”

To grasp the significance of this passage, we must bear in mind that in the seventeenth century Wabanaki worldview, persons both human and non-human did not necessarily have fixed physical forms; rather socially responsible or irresponsible conduct contained the power to physically transform monsters into men, and conversely, to transform men into monsters. Based on the spectrum of first encounters, in which Europeans such as the French, English, Dutch, Basque et al. generally responded to Wabanaki overtures toward gift-giving and trade with the practice of kidnapping Native American and particularly, Native women, we may grasp that such anti-social, even “monstrous” conduct, may well have made Europeans appear to the Wabanaki as monsters. Indeed, this seems to have been the case when such behavior was coupled with physical characteristics foreign to Native bodies such as facial hair. Hence Fr. Biard’s account mentions that Native peoples generally first found Europeans to be “ugly” and “hairy”. Yet from a Wabanaki perspective, it would seem that demonstrations of kindness, generosity and a willingness to exchange gifts led certain Europeans such as the French Jesuits Fr. Biard and Fr. Râle, the explorers Samuel de Champlain and Christopher Levett, to be transformed from the monstrous to the human.

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133 Morrison, 90.
134 Calloway, Dawnland Encounters, 86. This may be reflective of the ambiguity with which many Wabanaki regarded Jesuit priests in general. As ‘celibate, cross-dressing shamans’, Jesuits, like traditional Native powwows, were believed to wield enormous power. For instance, amid the smallpox epidemic of 1619 no Jesuits died, which served to demonstrate their power to some Wabanaki. On the other hand, one 17th century account relates that because the church sought to remove the Abenaki mission villages of St.Francis and Becancour to Ohio, Wabanaki Catholics who refused to comply were denied the Eucharist. Hence, the reference to Druilletes as a Nioueskou may reflect this ambiguity.
135 Calloway, Dawnland Encounters, 50.
136 Calloway, Dawnland Encounters, 53. Levett’s account relates his experience of a very positive encounter with Abenakis, and it is well worth noting the tone that Levett took in this encounter: “And they began to offer me some [coats and beaver skins] by way of gift, but I told them it was not the fashion of English captains always to take, but sometimes to take and give, and continually to truck was very good.” Although notably an exception to most Wabanaki-English encounters, Levett’s account forces us to reject unduly simplistic binary understandings of Native-European relations.
Conversion: A Problematic Category

Having sketched out a preliminary historical context for Wabanaki-European encounters, our next objective is to consider some of the ways that sacred song mediated such situations of colonial contact and exchange. Bearing in mind Pratt’s reminder that a contact zone such as Wôbanakik necessarily connotes an asymmetrical power relation between colonizers and the colonized, the term “conversion” seems largely inadequate to address the complexity of negotiations undertaken by Wabanaki peoples as they came to adopt Catholic musical practices. As Ann Spinney has noted, the term “conversion” “glosses over the possibility that the decision of the seventeenth century Wabanaki to become Catholic was motivated by a complex web of reasons.” While I applaud Spinney for granting agency to those Wabanaki who did adopt Catholicism, her repeated use of the term ‘syncretism’ to characterize Wabanaki Catholicism seems to reduce that very complex web of reasons that she had initially identified.

Here I would draw a parallel to Christopher Vecsey’s classic discussion of conversion amongst the Anishinaabe peoples of the Great Lakes region. For the Anishinaabe, Vecsey claims that many, if not most, of these conversions were nominal and superficial, often undertaken as a mechanism for staving off European colonial greed. Applying this model to the Wabanaki in Maine, I would contend that while it is feasible that a number of “conversions” to Catholicism were indeed undertaken for primarily economic or social reasons, these nevertheless do not negate the authenticity of experience that other Wabanakis (or Anishinaabe for that matter) genuinely discovered in the creative and imaginative acts of indigenizing a Europeanized Catholicism. Hence through such creative acts of cultural and religious negotiation, many Wabanakis discovered the possibility of negotiating relationships with a new form of sacred power contemporaneous with the conditions of modernity.

To advance toward the phenomenon of “conversion” from another direction, let us consider the role that deadly epidemics may have played in such decisions. By the middle of the 17th century, many Wabanaki peoples found themselves in a situation of crisis with particular respect to European-borne diseases. Not only were the Wabanaki radically susceptible to European diseases, such as smallpox, but at the symbolic and religious levels, even those members of Native society who had traditionally held the knowledge and power to cure illnesses, were repeatedly demonstrated to be ineffectual against these new threats; i.e. those who weren’t already killed by such diseases themselves. It is important to note that within both Wabanaki and French Catholic belief systems, “sickness was understood as a manifestation of evil. Thus if someone survived, he or she appeared to have more spiritual power than the evil causing the sickness.”

137 Spinney, 58.
138 Spinney, 57. Here Spinney has written: “the Catholic missions were most successful, but the results were a syncretic blending of traditional Wabanaki culture with the new European Catholicism.”
139 Vecsey, 45.
140 Spinney, 67.
141 Spinney, 67.
Among the Atikameks, one account relates the story of a Native Christian convert who refused her husband’s request to have a traditional Native healer help their desperately ill son. This instance testifies to a shift occurring in some Native peoples’ orientation toward sacred power, insofar as this Native Christian woman refuses the assistance of a traditional healer, but rather requests the presence of Fr. Druillettes to assist her in her own acts of prayer, which ultimately result in the sparing of her son’s life. Examples such as these proliferate in records of the Jesuit Relations and demonstrate the authenticity of meaning that many Native people seem to have discovered within the framework of European Catholic religiosity.

In a similar incident in 1652, Fr. Druillettes observed that among the Abenaki who had been very sick, but were healed through baptism, those healed would almost always visit other sick, unbaptized, community members in order to pray for them. In this sense, the acquisition of sacred power must be viewed within a framework of reciprocity. Once an individual has received the gift of sacred power through baptism, (evidenced through one’s being healed) there is an immediate obligation to reciprocate the gift, and offer it back to other members of the community. Thus, this continued emphasis by Wabanaki Christians upon reciprocity marks the preservation of a critical praxis within Wabanaki culture, particularly in the face of uncompromising colonial agendas that sought nothing short of the eradication of that same Wabanaki culture.

At the same time, let us raise two notes of caution. Obviously, not all Wabanaki people open-heartedly embraced Jesuit teachings, as evidenced by one Abenaki elder’s vehement condemnation of Christianity. Secondly, it must made clear that for those Wabanaki who did seek out instruction in Christian religious practices, the attraction appears less to have been a total departure from prior religious and cultural orientations than to have been an inclusive gesture, as Wabanakis negotiated Euro-Christian ritual practices and beliefs by bringing these within the umbrella of their own world-view(s).

Coming to the crux of the present study, one of the ways that Wabanaki people adapted Christianity to suit their own needs was accomplished through the adaptation of Gregorian chant. This phenomenon can be recognized through the proliferation of chants such as the petit motets Ego sum panis and Inviolata; the latter piece was adapted and sung in seventeenth-century Wôbanakik for what was then the newly-created liturgical feast day for the Holy Family.

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142 Thwaites, Jesuit Relations 31, 11: 216-217. The term ‘juggler’ appears frequently in British accounts of Native American visionaries and healers; generally the term is deployed derogatorily in reference to deny the authenticity of Native religious authority. The term ‘juggler’ itself seems to derive from the older French term ‘jongleur,’ itself a reference to trickster-performers (court and street performers) that used slight-of-hand techniques to deceive and amuse their audiences. Thwaites’ retention of the term ‘juggler,’ so closely related to its French cognate, suggests that ‘jongleur’ was deployed pejoratively by Jesuit priests in their writings as a means of signification; sustained use of such a term would have reinforced the notion among French readers of the Jesuit Relations that Native American visionaries and healers were no more than frauds. Thwaites’ use of the cognate, ‘juggler,’ may simply reflect the continuation of such discourses into the early twentieth-century.

143 Thwaites, Jesuit Relations 31, 11: 216-217.

144 Thwaites, Jesuit Relations 31, 11: 216-217.

145 Thwaites, Jesuit Relations 31, 12: 241.

146 For an in-depth discussion of the petit motet “Inviolata,” see 53-57 below.

147 For an in-depth discussion of the petit motet “Inviolata,” see 53-57 below.
Wabanaki were able to forge a relationship of reciprocity with a new form of sacred power, contemporaneous with the conditions of an emerging modernity.\textsuperscript{148} Bearing in mind Roy Rappaport’s cautionary note that bodily positionality connotes ontology, the embodied experiences of Wabanaki Catholics “chanting Gregorian” should be regarded as nothing short of the discovery of alternate modalities of being. With reference to this notion, musicologist Philip V. Bohlman has suggested, “sacred music in North America is frequently distinguished by its intense physicality, its reliance on the body as a site of musical experience. Through such experiences, song not only acquires power but also conveys power.”\textsuperscript{149} In this way, we might say that Wabanaki Catholics “performed” themselves into being as \textit{tertium quid}.

Returning to the interpretive problems associated with the category “conversion”, the medium of sacred song served as merely one locus among many by which these relationships with sacred power were re-forged. For even as Jesuit priests gave Native “converts” the gift of new, powerful songs (chiefly in the form of Gregorian chants) these Native “converts” were obligated by traditional Wabanaki (and Christian) demands for reciprocity to share those gifts with others among them. It is in this sense that ethnohistorian Kenneth M. Morrison has advanced a penetrating critique of modern scholarly usage of the category of “conversion,” particularly within the context of colonial encounters.

The main problem with conversion is that it stipulates a particular and singular outcome to religious encounter. To describe eastern Algonkian religious change as conversion is to fail to understand that change itself is a process, and particularly a process of discerning, negotiating, making and adapting religious meaning.\textsuperscript{150}

As Morrison indicates, one of the fundamental problems with the term “conversion” lies in its own history and usage among Judeo-Christian religious traditions wherein the term is generally taken to signify a total departure from prior religious realities. Furthermore, Morrison also notes that the term “conversion” bears the considerable ethnocentric baggage of a religiously normative modality which historically has been defined negatively in terms of those it excludes; this becomes particularly apparent in the context of encounters between indigenous peoples and European Christians:

The category “conversion” is intimately related to the pervasive worldview that Native American history proceeds in terms of victimization and cultural decline, and in terms of non-Indian views of a universal, progressive, and Christian history. [In addition] the concept of conversion is a dehumanizing reification that overlooks, denies, and dismisses the Algonkians’ historical agency.\textsuperscript{151}

\textsuperscript{148} Spinney, 67.
\textsuperscript{149} Bohlman, 244.
\textsuperscript{150} Morrison, 161.
\textsuperscript{151} Morrison, 161.
Thus seventeenth century Wabanakis who approached, adapted and indigenized Catholicism should be understood as active, creative religious innovators responding to the crises induced by colonial encounter. Conversely, to understand Native Christians as passive receivers of a “culturally superior” religious tradition, reflects a fundamental flaw in understanding and should be discarded as outmoded ethnocentrism. At the same time, moving beyond the reductionist position intimated by the designation ‘syncretism’, Wabanaki Catholics religiously constructed identities, communities and through ritualized musical performances, came to recognize their own embodied ontological “thirdness” or tertium quid, inherent to their shared positionality as indigenous, colonized Americans. In other words, these are “New World Peoples”. At the same time, ignoring the asymmetry of power relations momentarily, it is worth pointing out that both Wabanaki Catholics and the first generations of Euro-Americans born in North America shared the status of being “New World Peoples” and both demonstrated (if differently) the condition of being a tertium quid. Notably the most significant distinction between the two groups of New World peoples lay not in their cultural, linguistic or even racial differences, but rather in the Native Christians’ ability to recognize their own status and the systematic denial of that shared status by European Americans. Ironically, despite the fact that Wabanaki Christians and Euro-Americans share more in common with each other than either group shares with non-Christian Natives or Europeans, whereas the former seems to recognize this disparity, most Americans born of European-descent continue today to reify only those European dimensions of their identities as substantive or meaningful, with little or no reference to the implications borne of being born into the status of “thirdness.”

Clearly, there were a vast number of reasons that led Wabanaki peoples toward Christian praxis. Perhaps chief among these was the recognition that certain Jesuits appeared to wield an astonishing degree of power, evidenced by their seeming immunity to diseases like smallpox. At the same time, certainly not all Wabanakis wholeheartedly accepted Jesuits’ authority or teachings, as demonstrated in the case of the Wabanaki father who sought the local medicine man’s help over and against the assistance of his wife, who sent alternatively for Fr. Druillettes to heal their son.  

Although I concur with Morrison’s acute characterization of the ethnocentric baggage which tends to accompany the term “conversion,” it is important not to utterly deemphasize the fact that some Wabanaki peoples did actively seek out Jesuits, Franciscans, and in some instances, European Protestant ministers in order to become Christians.

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**Comparative Cosmogonies: Norumbega and Dawnland**

In this section, I will compare selections representative of those mythic corpora that informed the religious imaginations of European explorers and Wabanaki peoples within the context of 17th century Maine as a contact zone. There is a rich variety of extant travel writings and early cartographic accounts from European explorers that describe “Norumbega”, which seems to have its earliest mention in the travelogues of Giovanni de Verrazzano. Richard D’Abate has written:

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152 See note 58 above.
“Norumbega” is the name of an intriguing puzzle in the history of European exploration. In the relatively brief period between the 1530’s and the early 1600’s, “Norumbega” was thought to be a New World Paradise, a rich, cultivated, civilized spot in the northern wilds of America that had somehow been prepared for the coming of the Europeans. Although no one in the sixteenth century could say for sure where “Norumbega” was, its rumored existence caused explorers, sovereigns, and investors to turn longing eyes to the cold Northeast, as though the name had given back an image of their own desires.153

In this way “Norumbega” was an imagined, mythic locale, akin to other much-sought-after locales such as “El Dorado,” the “kingdom of Prester John,” or those among 20th century seekers, such as the lost continents of “Atlantis,” or “Lemuria.” While D’Abate’s explanation that “Norumbega does not represent reality so much as it represents human thought about reality,” is plausible, his assessment that it was primarily misinformation, or incomplete information about geography that led to the European obsession with “Norumbega,” seems to miss its mark.154 Rather, in order to effectively interpret the European fascination with “Norumbega” and other imagined locales, it becomes imperative to attend to the ways in which late Renaissance Europeans constructed their identities: namely, in opposition to an imagined “other.” Maintaining our discussion of “religion” as a phenomenon intricately tied up with boundaries, we can situate our understanding of the relationship between self and other akin to that which so characterized European considerations of Native peoples, enabling the former to simultaneously demonize and romanticize the latter. As Jennifer Reid has argued:

Human origins and identity emerge within patterns of human existence that we both imagine and perceive- patterns that to a great extent are understood only in relation to their boundaries and what is situated beyond…. We might add that it is always in the realm of chaos beyond the pattern that additional dangers reside, and as [Mircea] Eliade has noted, these can variously include “demons,” “the dead,” and “foreigners.”155

Maps rendered in the sixteenth century by cartographers such as Pierre Desceliers, Giacomo Gastaldi, and Sebastian Munster also seem to suggest Reid’s line of argumentation. At the periphery of the each of these maps lurk serpents and other chthonian beasts, symbols for chaos and the unknown.156 These images were almost always placed at the peripheries of maps, simultaneously signifying the limits of safe or sacred space and of the dangers and chaos which lay beyond those boundaries.157

153 Baker, 61.
155 Reid, Myth, Symbol and Colonial Encounter, 15.
157 For additional examples, see Baker, xxvi, xxviii, 18: Pierre Desceliers’ Planisphere (1550), Giacomo Gastaldi’s La Nuovo Francia (1556), and Sebastian Munster’s Typus Cosmographicus Universalis in his Novis Orbis Regionum (1532).
Concomitantly, it was through the processes of exploration, encounter and exchange in North America that the modern European identity came into being. Characteristics of a “civilized” identity, which include the traits of possessing a monotheistic religion (i.e. Christianity), a Cartesian philosophical grasp of mind-body dualism (science), and modes of communication (written), attire (‘fully’ clothed), and domestic space (sedentary housing), etc. came to define the European modality. Yet this modality was only recognizable through encounter with a people and modality of being, “other” to that of the Europeans. While it is important to note that neither the categories of “European” nor “Native American” have ever represented some sort of homogenous entity, it is nevertheless the case that differences between sub-groups (e.g. French vs. English, or Wabanaki vs. Narragansett) within each category were in many ways overshadowed by the broader differences between the two larger groups (European vs. Native American) such as religious orientations to cosmic and worldly otherness. On the matter of Algonkian religiosity, Morrison has argued that Algonkians “recognize a system of otherness that stresses dimensional continuities between all classes of persons,” including both human and non-human entities. In addition, Morrison warns us that this structure of Native religiosity differs significantly from the structure present in Christianity, insofar as the latter divides beings in the world into a vertical hierarchy, privileges the supernatural over the natural with regard to power, and finally distinguishes humans and gods as possessing “radically different natures.”

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159 Morrison, 160.
160 Morrison, 160.
Yet at the same time, lest we reify one of the very colonial binaries a study such as this seeks to undermine, there were specific instances of commonality, such as in the performance practices of sacred songs, which cut across binary arrangements of Native American and European orientations. In this case, one example appears in that Wabanaki and French Jesuit musical practices seemed to have shared a similar aesthetic, in particular regard to vocal performance of sacred song.\footnote{Spinney, 65.} This comparison will be taken up in a subsequent discussion of theoretical considerations specific to grounding an interpretation of musical phenomena that occurred in seventeenth-century Wôbanakik. For our present purposes let us return to a consideration of the mythic components that informed Wabanaki peoples understanding of, and approach to, colonial encounters.

Morrison reminds us that Algonkian religiosity and by extension, Wabanaki religious orientation “emphasizes reciprocity between persons” and while persons both human and other-than-human are fundamentally of the same make-up, it is the mode of conduct toward both others and the “Other” that chiefly defines the character of any particular being; “positive powerful beings share; negative powerful others withhold.”\footnote{Morrison, 160-161.} This same mode of orientation shaped Wabanaki expectations in their encounters with Europeans, French and British traders, Jesuit priests and others. An example drawn from the Jesuit relations serves to illustrate this principle. In a 1652 account describing the Kennebec Abenaki Mission, Fr. Gabriel Druillettes observed a pattern of exchange between some of those whom he had healed through baptism and sick, unbaptized Abenaki, which accords with the practice of reciprocity:

Another man, still older, is so greatly given to prayer that he spends a part of the night in private intercourse with God, while the others are taking their rest. On one occasion, when I had lain down to sleep in his cabin, I heard him get up stealthily, hidden by the darkness from my eyes, but not from my ears. He began his orisons with the prayers that I had taught him, adding others so appropriate, and rendering acts of devotion so tender, that they delighted me. He tried to speak in a very low tone, and I [had] to listen very attentively to him. His people told me that God often answered the prayers that he offered in behalf of sick persons, or for other purposes.\footnote{Thwaites, Jesuit Relations 39, 21.}

Thus the acquisition of sacred power through the rite of baptism and whether or not baptism succeeded in healing an individual, hinged on the recipient’s desire and moreover, on his actions to reciprocate that gift to other members of the community. According to Morrison, whereas many Canadian Indians came to “identify baptism as a killing agent,” certainly exceptions to this appear as with the case of Fr. Druillettes at the Kennebec mission.\footnote{Morrison, 89.} Further, Morrison argues that many Jesuits like Druillettes, although unaware of the “mythological criteria which the Kennebecs used to judge him,” nonetheless “realized that they could win Algonkian allegiance by carefully controlling
their personal behavior to express their general, supportive intent.”165 This manipulation of outward appearances on the part of Jesuits led them to be identified by many Wabanaki peoples as positive, powerful and sharing beings, rather than negative, powerful and withholding beings. Indeed, as previously mentioned in the case of Dr. Druillette, Kennebecs had deployed the term, Nioueskou; indicating a being with recourse to great sacred power, the term retained a sense of ambiguity as to the ethical impetus of that power; i.e. constructive or destructive.

A second example drawn from the Jesuit mission among the Atikamek people, who dwelt to the north of Wabanaki territory, is instructive with regard to the Native American valuation for reciprocity. In this account, the Jesuit priest had spoken with a French trader, the latter who claimed to have been astonished at overhearing native neophytes praying in the forest at night, properly and at length. Thereafter, the next day that priest approached the cabins of some of these neophytes and asked one of them to lead the prayers, to witness this phenomenon himself.

Upon this [request], the young man kneels in the middle of the cabin, and takes his Crucifix in his hand, all the others take their Rosaries, and, with hands joined and lances on the ground, follows word for word everything that he who recited the prayers was saying; that was done composedly, in a tone without artifice, without airs, without affectation; in accents entirely simple and artless, and replete with devotion. The Father was surprised- he no longer recognized the prayers which he had taught them; they were in the style and in the purity of their own language; they were increased by many orisons to Jesus Christ, to the blessed Virgin, to her glorious Spouse saint Joseph, to the Guardian Angel, to the saints whose names they bear; in a word, they made it appear that these prayers proceeded from a spirit higher and more sublime than that of men.166

This example also demonstrates a valuation for reciprocity in a broader sense. In order to appreciate this, Morrison’s critique of the popular scholarly assertion that “Algonkians accepted Christianity wholesale as a “religion” and as a system,” may be instructive. It would seem that even as Europeans “tested” Native Americans’ capacity for humanity and commonly found them to fail, so too did Eastern Algonkian peoples “test” and fail Europeans. As Morrison has suggested, “far from converting to a European authority and impersonal cultural system, nothing in the Eastern Algonkians’ relations with the French changed their confidences in their relational world order.”167

Yet, how do we account for the willingness of many Wabanakis to embrace Christian teachings and ritual praxes? A variety of reasons appear, including but not necessarily limited to: (i) access to new sacred powers, via the figures of Mary, Jesus and the Holy Family, (sacred powers that proved more efficacious against new “evils” of

165 Morrison, 89.
166 Thwaites, Jesuit Relations 31, 209-213.
167 Morrison, 162.
smallpox, etc.), (ii) access to European material commodities and the market economy, (iii) by Wabanaki standards, it was proper religious conduct to incorporate others (including Jesuits, traders, et al.) within one’s established network of relations. I would also venture that wherein “deficiencies” in the European human were recognized, certain Wabanaki took upon themselves the responsibility of teaching these Europeans the proper ways to conduct themselves in relationships with others. The accounts mentioned above testify to this claim; particularly so those of the young Abenaki man demonstrating proper devotion in prayer, and of the woman who was healed through baptism, who then demonstrated proper conduct by attempting to reciprocate the power to heal with the unbaptized.

A third example that demonstrates both the primary valuations in Wabanaki religiosity for reciprocity and good relationships, as well as one of the central mythic structures that governed Wabanaki actions within the context of colonial encounters can be located in two paradigmatic stories concerning Kiwakwe (Penobscot, literally “going about the woods; in Anishinaabe myths, windigo). To understand the significance of the mythic kiwakwe, a species of cannibal frost giants intimately tied to the winter season and geographic locale of Wôbanakik, it is helpful to recall the Eliade’s formulation of the structural relationship of the religious imagination of matter: “the critical point… [is] that human religious being emerges in relation to the materiality of existence.” When interpreted from Eliade’s perspective, we can recognize in the figure of the kiwakwe a mythologized articulation of the hierophany which for Wabanaki peoples manifested itself through the material forms of “cold, brutal Winter”; hence for the Wabanaki and other Algonkian-speaking peoples, the season of winter figured centrally in all Algonkian cultures and consciousness, and “constituted the milieu that most evoked individual and social values while at the same time put them to their most severe test.”

It is in this manner that we may grasp at some of the ways in which stories about these mythic figures provided Wabanaki peoples a source for orienting themselves toward the world in which they lived. Yet at the same time, this source of orientation operated in a two-fold manner, or as Clifford Geertz has put it, these stories about the kiwakwe functioned both descriptively and prescriptively for Wabanaki communities. Dialectically these stories explained to contemporary listeners how and why the world came to be as it is, while at the same time offering exemplary models for appropriate Wabanaki social-ethical conduct, as well as some of the consequences entailed in deviating from these models. The following example illustrates these principles:

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168 See Thwaites’ Jesuit Relations 31 for additional accounts of conversion experiences: 195-197, 213-214. By “new evils” I write with Morrison’s careful description of Wabanaki epistemology in mind; namely, that all forms of suffering, whether in the form of disease, drought, or otherwise, were understood in terms of an imbalance of relationships, or the doing of anti-social malevolent beings. The most effective remedy would hence be to invoke the sacred power of a pro-social, positive being to counteract the former’s effect.

169 Reid, Myth, Symbol, and Colonial Encounter, 4.

170 Morrison, 62.

A man, his wife and little girl were living far from other people in the woods. They heard someone coming. Suddenly a noise was heard in the smoke hole of the wigwam and looking up they saw Ki-Wa-kwe peering down. The old woman of the wigwam said aloud, "Oh! Your grandfather has come," speaking to the husband. The monster was pleased at this and grew small. He came around and entered the camp. The woman tried to feed him but he would not eat in spite of her coaxing. He said, "I shall meet somebody here and we will fight." The he sent them away across a lake and he fought with the other Ki-wa-kwe. He had told them to leave the place if he got killed by the other. But he won the fight and when it was over he ate with them, becoming again an ordinary man.\textsuperscript{172}

In this example, the grandmother’s actions are particularly notable. Confronted with impending death as the \textit{kiwakwe} first approached the wigwam, the grandmother seems untouched by fear or loathing, but quite confidently asserts her own role as provider and invites the cannibal frost giant to eat with her family, although not before first naming the \textit{kiwakwe} as "grandfather." By doing so, the grandmother has effectively defined the terms of this particular encounter. In a very real sense, by naming the \textit{kiwakwe} as "grandfather" and by extending an offer of inclusion and hospitality, the \textit{kiwakwe} is obligated to reciprocate in the mode defined by the grandmother; as family, and peaceably so. As noted above, "positive, powerful beings share; negative, powerful beings withhold."\textsuperscript{173}

Hence, by making such a gesture, the grandmother demonstrated her own power to the \textit{kiwakwe}, but in so doing, also communicated that though powerful, she was a positive, benevolent being, as exemplified by her overture to peace and friendly relations by inviting the \textit{kiwakwe} to dinner. Notably, the \textit{kiwakwe}’s own normative modalities of exchange are typified in his exchanges with the other \textit{kiwakwe} (i.e. fighting, contestation, selfishness), yet through the grandmother’s powerful gesture of inclusion, not only do the frost giant’s actions and attitude change, but even his physical form shifts to resemble his human benefactors. Although this particular account demonstrates the potential for monsters to become human through acts of charity and inclusivity, accounts such as these also bear the latent admonition that through selfish, anti-social and exclusive acts, humans can also become monsters.

Thus in addition to the more overt moral-ethical dimension of Wabanaki religiosity (i.e. the prescriptive), it is worth noting that these stories also focus on the \textit{kiwakwe} who themselves embody what are arguably the two most defining forces in Wôbanakik: the winter and the woods (i.e. the descriptive). Although regarded as other-than-human persons in the Wabanaki sense, the historian of religions may appropriately understand the phenomenon of \textit{kiwakwe} among Wabanaki peoples as mythic manifestations of human negotiations with local forms of materiality, or in Eliade’s terms, hierophanies.

Accounts of encounters such as these permeate the Wabanaki mythic tradition, yet not all encounters between human persons and other-than-human persons are unmediated. Indeed, most encounters and negotiations between human and other-than-

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{172} Morrison, 64.}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{173} Morrison, 160-161.}
human forces such as the *kiwakwe* were negotiated by culture heroes. As Morrison notes, “Gluskap, the central figure of Wabanaki, Maliseet, and Mi’kmaq “old time” epitomizes such a hero.” In a related account, Gluskap contends with the “dread forces of Winter” who had captured and imprisoned Summer. Ultimately in this account Gluskap conquers Winter and establishes new boundaries for both Summer and Winter, thereby securing a new balance of power between Wabanaki humans and other-than-human peoples. Rather than a “creator” or “destroyer,” it is perhaps most salient to consider the nature of Gluskap’s role among the Wabanaki as a “trickster” or “transformer.” In this sense, Gluskap and his twin Malsum bear a certain resemblance to their counterparts in the Wendat (Huron) cosmological myth; namely, Tiuskeha and Tawiskarong. Emblematic of “cosmic twin” cosmological myths, these two brothers are born as the embodiments of complementary, though opposing principles. In this way, Tawiskarong’s and Malsum’s actions create animals that are out-of-proportion with regard to their environment and neighbors, whose overly large physical sizes and selfish demeanors automatically stipulate an inequality and lack of reciprocity with regard to these animals’ consumption of natural resources and their relations with human communities. Conversely Tiuskeha and Gluskap then work to undo or restore these destructive/unbalancing acts, such as returning animals to their proper size; i.e. as they found to be today.

Encountered through the ritualized medium of storytelling, Gluskap, like his Huron/Wendat counterpart Tiuskeha, therefore provided Native peoples with a mythic legacy and an exemplary guide for ethical conduct toward future encounters with other powerful beings, negative and positive alike that was fundamentally dialectical, and hence capable of being adapted to serve as an analog to contemporary developments and incongruities.

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174 Morrison, 62. By “old time,” I suspect that Morrison alludes to what Mircea Eliade designated as *in illo tempore* or “mythic time.” Here it should be mentioned that claims to ‘Gluskap’ as a transformer-trickster figure among the western Wabanaki are somewhat problematic, as Gordan M. Day has pointed out. See Gordon M. Day, “The Western Abenaki Transformer” in *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 13, no. 1 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976). Here, Day notes that although the figure named ‘Glu’kap’ appears in Passamaquoddy, Maliseet and Mi’kmaq oral traditions, with cognate counterparts among the Penobscot (Gluska’be), and Becancour (Wawenock), only one 20th century account from western Wabanaki sources suggest this character’s presence (Gluskoba). However, as Day suggests, even though references to Gluskap within Western Wabanaki oral traditions are virtually non-existent, there is an abundance of data to suggest that the corpus of western Wabanaki mythology celebrated the memory of two trickster-transformer heroes: Odzihozo and Bedegwadzo. After careful analysis, Day concludes that while Odzihozo bears only a superficial resemblance to Gluskap, Bedegwadzo’s shares far more in common with this figure. Perhaps most significant are Gluskap’s and Bedegwadzo’s shared concern for the welfare of humanity; this stands in sharp relief to Odzihozo, who seems to have been a figure associated with originary creation among the western Wabanaki, yet who bore no subsequent interest in the welfare of humans. Eastern Wabanaki accounts drawn from Passamaquoddy, Maliseet and Mi’kmaq oral traditions indicate that this final characteristic of benevolence toward humans was one of Gluskap’s defining characteristics. Hence, this paper will treat Gluskap and Bedegwadzo as similar entities and for the sake of clarity, use only the name ‘Gluskap’ in reference to the Wabanaki trickster-transformer figure (see Day, 75-88).

Chapter Three:
Not the Same Old Song and Dance: Wabanaki Chant and Ontological Thirdness

This chapter builds upon the general histories of colonial contact and exchange established in chapter two in order to examine two critical examples of documented Wabanaki Catholic ritual song. Employing the theoretical models charted in the first chapter, this third portion of our discussion seeks to demonstrate my thesis; namely, that the locus of ritual song functioned three-fold as a space: (i) for Wabanaki peoples to maintain humanity in the face of immense grief and loss, (ii) to forge a new mode of being as Wabanaki Christian, and finally, (iii) to articulate performative critiques of Euro-American colonial agendas in the very face of those hegemonic, signifying discourses which were deployed to silence them.

A Brief History of “Gregorian Chant”

Prior to the concerted Benedictine efforts of the 19th century to systemize chant, there existed diverse and radically different approaches to interpretation and performance of the same liturgical material. Extant chant traditions such as those still performed today in southern Italy (Beneventan), Milan (Ambrosian), and even those traditions recorded, but no longer performed (such as the Mozarabic liturgies that flourished under Muslim-controlled al-Andalus) testify to the processes of musical hybridization at each of these centers.

In some ways, the 19th century effort by the monks of Solesmes seems to have been a recapitulation, or in the very least derived its orientation from a historical and now mythically enshrouded forebear: the campaign of Charlemagne to codify the disparate musical traditions of Catholic churches into a single uniform practice. According to one version of the story, Charlemagne set out at the start of his reign as emperor (800 C.E.) to engage in one of several exhaustive tours of his empire. In turn, this procession led him to attend mass in a host of different locales. To Charlemagne’s shock and chagrin, the style and mode of performance of liturgical chant varied noticeably from church to church, and from monastery to monastery. Upon his return home, Charlemagne was reported to have been much troubled over the disparity in chants and spoke aloud: “When you want to find pure water, do you go the stream or to the source?” Thus Charlemagne concluded that the only explanation for the differences in chant practices was corruption. And thus began a series of correspondences between Charlemagne and Pope Hadrian I, wherein the former requested of the latter a book of chants, uncorrupted and pure, that copies might be made and disseminated through his empire, thereby ceasing the corruptive local [pagan] tendencies.

The central problem that this request presented lay in the facts that: chant was entirely an oral tradition at the time, in Rome’s churches as elsewhere, thus Hadrian could not effectively respond; and by extension, there seemed to have been no uniformity...

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amongst Rome’s own traditions of chant. Thus from Hadrian’s perspective, it had to have been a peculiar request and concern. As the story goes, Charlemagne did succeed after multiple requests, in having a book of the prayer texts for the liturgical year sent to him. Shortly thereafter, Charlemagne had this text copied and assigned local monks to create a notational system for the “accurate” transmission of chant melodies. This movement in turn led to a ripple effect, which over the ensuing centuries, witnessed the rise to dominance of Charlemagne’s musical-ideological imperative, of a uniform Catholic chant tradition. This tradition was posthumously renamed “Gregorian chant” after Pope Gregory I, for purposes of demonstrating its authenticity to the Catholic lineage. Concomitantly, the diversity of chant traditions that had flourished locally now came under threat of extinction as the Gregorian reform was advanced throughout Europe.

Finally, as the centuries of the late Medieval and Renaissance (10th-15th centuries C.E.) advanced, devotional musical practices turned somewhat away from Gregorian chant and focused on the emergence of new musical forms: polyphony, homophony, etc. The movement away from the chant traditions was such that by the 18th century, many Catholic monastics feared the loss of their heritage. Hence, the monks of Solesmes undertook to revitalize, codify, and to create a taxonomy of Catholic chant from the thousands of manuscripts that had been produced since Charlemagne’s reform was initiated. In many ways, the work of these monks resembles the early ethnographic work beginning to emerge from colonial travel writings and from the history of missionary writings that had been streaming into Europe since the 15th century encounters with America. In the same sense that the concept of the “New World” was invented and located within the realm of the religious imagination, as Edmundo O’Gorman has argued, so too were notions of “pure chant” and an unbroken liturgical-musical tradition reaching from the present day back to the days of Christ, imagined, invented, and active within the religious imaginations of both 9th and 19th century reformers, as well as those Jesuits who brought the practices of chant to Wabanaki peoples in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Critiquing Terms: “Plainchant” & “Syncretism”

In order to efficaciously interpret the meanings that the performance of Catholic chant may have held for Wabanaki Catholics, it is necessary to contextualize the practice of chant itself. In her recent article, Medeolinuwok, Music and Missionaries in Maine, Ann Spinney deploys the term ‘plainchant’, without explanation as to its derivation. Broadly, “plainchant” is a term that came into usage in the latter decades of the 19th century, disseminating from Benedictine monastic centers in France (primarily Solesmes, in western France) in reference to the 19th century efforts by French monastics (such as Dom Mocquereau, Dom Cardeau, et al.) to “canonize” the plethora of musical phenomena referred to today as either “Gregorian chant,” “plainchant,” or at times, simply “chant.” I contend that the flurry of French monastic activity concerning the collection, organization, categorization and taxonomization of manuscripts (9th - 19th

177 Hiley, 622-629.
178 Long, Significations, 97
179 Spinney, 57-82.
centuries) should be understood as form of colonialism, or in the least, should be understood as a metaphor for colonial aspirations; however, rather than colonizing peoples or lands, it was their own historical ad musical traditions that the Benedictines sought to colonize. It is critical to note the pattern of social and political upheavals that shook France, Europe and the Euro-American colonies around the turn of the eighteenth century (e.g. American Revolution (1776), French Revolution (1789), Haitian Revolution (1804), et al.). Thus let us entertain the notion that the Benedictine concatenation of chant traditions into a single, “uniform,” Catholic chant tradition during this same period could well have been undertaken as an internal attempt to assert control over their own history, musical heritage and identity in the face of a world and colonial world order that was vastly out of control. As such, the consolidation of disparate chant traditions into one may also have served to reinforce a growing sense of French nationalist identity insofar as these efforts seemed to coincide with a growing nostalgia for an imagined past.

Returning to an explanation of the problematical notion of ‘plainchant,’ this term arose out of the 19th context of Benedictine organizing. Faced with thousands of manuscripts from hundreds of monasteries, with liturgical traditions that developed with little outside influence (often for centuries) replete with their own forms of neumatic notation, the Benedictines faced the nearly impossible task of attempting to reconcile and commodify all of these into a single collection. The result was the creation of a formulaic performance practice that erased the nuances and local character of the chants themselves, while simultaneously encapsulating the aforementioned nostalgia for a lost past. Thus in any given performance of a chant, all neumes (notes) receive equal duration, with the exception of the final neume of every phrase, which receives double duration. Thus the incredible complexity and diversity of the family of “European” Christian chant traditions were distilled, reduced and by the end of the nineteenth century, commodified into “plainchant.” Hence, when Ann Spinney deploys this term in her work, to which tradition is she referring? She uses the term to refer to the musical phenomena introduced to Wabanakis by 17th century Jesuit missionaries, as well as to twentieth-century Wabanaki practices. This generalization raises significant interpretive problems with regard to Spinney’s characterization of the similarities between historical Wabanaki and Catholic musical practices.

Spinney also discusses four sources of material evidence in correlation to Wabanaki-Catholic chant that are equally critical to my own research: (i) the Thomas Kyrie manuscript, which contains a fascinating combination of neumatic notation\(^{180}\) and

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\(^{180}\) “Neumatic notation” refers to the musical notational systems that first arose in the latter half of the 9th century around the Frankish monasteries of St. Gall and Laon. These systems arose locally and independently of one another it would seem. Hence, there are perhaps hundreds of different systems of neumatic notation, although the “Western” traditions tend generally to be categorized into five major ‘types’: (i) Celtic (from those monastic traditions within Ireland, England, Scotland, Wales, and Brittany – none survive), (ii) Gallican (most of those traditions within present day Germany and France- most survived), (iii) Mozarabic (from those monastic traditions which flourished under Muslim rule in present-day Spain and southernmost France- none survived with staff notation), (iv) Beneventan (from the Benevento monastery in southern Italy- some survived), and (v) Ambrosian/Milanese (from monasteries in Milan in northern Italy- some survive.) The “notes” or “neumes” as they are called, differ from modern Western musical notation insofar as they do not convey precision in pitch. Rather, neumes are read primarily for their nuanced rhythmic indications, although they do often convey melodic direction. By the close of the 12th century, staff lines had been introduced to a number of neumatic notational systems, thus
Abenaki translation of liturgical chant (located in the New Brunswick Museum), (ii) a variety of Jesuit Prayer books, such as catechisms, books of prayer and as Spinney notes “what amount to liber usuali in the local languages,” and (iii) the works of Eugene Vetromile, a priest whom Spinney notes was the last traveling missionary to Maine during the early nineteenth-century. A fourth category of data that reflects music as a locus for mediation appears in the form of Franciscan prayer books (17th-19th centuries) that appropriate Mi’kmaq hieroglyphs as a tool for catechism. These hieroglyphs, Spinney relates, were also used as mnemonic devices on wampum belts exchanged between Wabanaki nations. A fifth category of data appears in the form of the late 17th century St.-François-de-Sales manuscripts, which Spinney appears not to have encountered at all.

Throughout her work, Spinney’s use of the term “syncretism” to interpret Wabanaki-Catholic musical relations is curious, given the availability of more nuanced terms in her discipline (e.g. hybridity). From the perspective of postcolonial theory, “syncretism” signals a failure to account interpretively for instances of tertium quid, or “thirdness”. As Inga Clendinnen has pointed out, the term “syncretism” functions to reduce the “thirdness” of Wabanaki Christian to a mere combination of Native and European cultural components, and critically, without giving any heed to the asymmetrical power relations which framed New World encounters. Bluntly, the term “syncretism” obfuscates the power dynamics in situations of colonial contact and exchange in a manner similar to that produced by the term “frontier,” as previously noted. While Spinney does hint that the spaces created by the learning and performance of sacred song acted as a points of mediation between Wabanakis and Catholic missionaries and which allowed for a certain degree of “slippage,” or creative negotiation, far more attention could be directed toward this dimension of colonial exchange. The net effect of Spinney’s analysis seems to reduce the agency of Wabanaki Catholics. Certainly, acts of creative negotiation occurred in contexts such as these, yet to interpret the phenomenon of Wabanakis “chanting Gregorian” as merely acts of resistance or alternatively, accommodation, fails to account for the totality of the phenomenon. While it cannot be claimed that an interpretation of “thirdness” exhausts the meanings inherent to such a phenomenon as Wabanaki chant, in the very least this interpretive model returns a degree of agency to Wabanaki people, and to their religious imagination and creativity, while simultaneously affirming the authenticity of their religious experiences as Wabanaki Catholics. Consequently, it was experiences with this new form of the Sacred which seemed to have enabled Wabanaki peoples both to creatively re-imagine strategies for surviving the waves of disease and violence introduced by French and English colonists. Further, acts of creative negotiation of self and identity seems to have made it possible for some Wabanaki Catholics to advance a

marking the beginning of the Western musical tradition’s precise notation of pitch and the subsequent loss of notating nuanced vocal rhythmic instructions. Indeed the history of musical notation in Europe (none → neumes → staffed neumes → staffed notes) represents the staggered transition from a plethora of oral-based musical traditions to a “literate” traditions (using texts only for rhythmic instruction/pitches and melodies memorized) to a uniform and entirely textually-based tradition.

181 Spinney, 71.
182 Spinney, 74.
183 Carrasco, “Jaguar Christians,” 133.
184 Spinney, 58.
musico-religious critique of the fallacies of such colonial enterprises. Spinney’s assessment is therefore acute, though limited by the methodological constraints imposed by her field. Her work suggests that such scientistic limitations are extraordinarily subtle and perhaps only become visible when broaching subject matters (e.g. Native American religions) that do not neatly cohere to categories determined by an organizing paradigm grounded in Enlightenment thought.

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**The Thomas Kyrie Manuscript and Chants for the Office of the Holy Family**

The centerpiece of this chapter resides in two primary musical documents that both contain admixtures of neumatic musical notation, and song texts in Latin, French and Abenaki. The first of these documents is the *Thomas Kyrie Manuscript*, named for its content, a Kyrie chant from the Catholic Mass, and its last known owner, Etienne Thomas, a Maliseet man who lived in the vicinity of Fredericton, New Brunswick. The authorship of the manuscript is not clear. The employment of Latin, Greek, transliterated Penobscot, and European musical notation (neumes) strongly suggest that a Jesuit or Franciscan may have written these pages, although the fact that there is an overabundance of neumes/notes written above the text, suggests the possibility of an alternate understanding of the process of musical notation, a marked distinction in musical performance practices, and possibly even Native authorship.

![Figure 4 – Thomas Kyrie Manuscript page 1](image)

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185 Spinney, p. 69.
186 Spinney, p. 70.
The manuscript itself consists of two tattered pages inscribed with what appears to be both Maliseet-Passamaquoddy language or hieroglyphs transliterated into Romanized letters, and Latin, adorned with elaborate neumatic notation; i.e. the earliest musical notation that came to be used expressly for notating European chants of the Catholic church. In addition, I would add that there appears to be a striking resemblance between the Greek word, “Kyrie” and that which appears twice on page 2 of the manuscript: “K-Y-H-L-I-E” (see lines 1 and 3 in figure 4 below). Among 18th and 19th Wabanaki peoples, a substantial amount of evidence supports the hypothesis that the letter ‘r’ was pronounced with a sound akin to the letter ‘l’.  

By comparison, an Abenaki medicine woman well known throughout Oxford County in southwestern Maine appears in a number of historical, documentary and oral accounts; the name she received through her Catholic baptism was the “Marie Agathe”; commonly pronounced, “Molly Ockett.”

In her article, Medeolinuwok, Music and Missionaries in Maine, Ann Spinney has analyzed the Thomas Kyrie Manuscript and offered the suggestion that what appears to be musical notation may in fact merely be “doodling” that held sentimental or “spiritual” value for its writer. While this is a possibility, I would nonetheless reject this notion in part because it seems overly dismissive, but more so due to the radical similarity of these markings to the type of melismatic (ornamental), musical notation employed in the

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188 McBride, Women of the Dawn, 43-67. This name can also be found in the name of the Mollyocket Motel in the town of Bryant Pond, Maine.
189 Spinney, 71.
notating of most kyries and alleluias; i.e. chants of the common of the Catholic Mass, recognizable for their low incidence of text, and frequent use of vocalise.  

In addition, Spinney also points out there are strong parallels between the musical styles of Wabanaki and European Roman Catholic traditions. Both traditions emphasize (i) the use of heightened speech through chanting and singing, (ii) an open, relaxed vocal quality, (iii) text-based rhythm, (iv) close intervals, and (v) a monophonic texture over the more commonly modern Western use of polyphonic (multiple melodies) and homophonic (harmony) textures. Finally, Spinney has also observed that there also appears to be a shared appreciation for the “style of liturgical speech” in both Wabanaki and Catholic practices; i.e. the use of special, ceremonial words not used in everyday life. As Spinney notes: “contemporary Wabanaki ceremonial chants today use words that are glossed as ‘chant words’ by elders and singers”; these are generally archaic terms, whose meanings are not known beyond the ceremonies with which they are associated, but are nonetheless considered to convey a varying degrees of power.” In this sense, it may be plausible that the retention of select Greek words (Kyrie, Alleluia) in the Catholic liturgy may be considered somewhat comparable, insofar as these words also bear the traces of “otherness.”

Apart from the direct evidence contained within the Thomas Kyrie Manuscript, references to Wabanaki musical practices are ambiguous and scattered. In one potentially revealing account of the Atikameks, the reporting Jesuit priest relates that he had heard from a visiting French trader that “the Indians of Tadoussac prayed long and well.” In response to this the Jesuit priest requests one of the Atikamek Indians volunteer to lead that day’s evening prayers, in order to verify the claims of the French trader. Although impressed by the Atikameks’ use of rosaries and recitation of Christian prayer, this Jesuit priest was also quite surprised, in that he could no longer recognize the prayers that he had earlier taught to this congregation of Atikameks. Indeed, the priest makes two additional critical observations in reference to Native Christian prayer: secondly, the Atikameks’ prayers had been “in the style and language of the Natives” and “had been increased by many orisons to Jesus Christ, to the Virgin [Mary], Joseph, to the “Guardian Angel” and other saints.” Thirdly, and perhaps most pertinent to this argument, the priest also notes that the Atikamek man whom he requests lead the prayer, “recited [it] word for word in a tone without artifice, airs, in accents entirely simple and artless.”

How might one interpret the historical and/or musical import of these two passages? On the one hand, this example of creative re-interpretation and integration strongly supports the argument that Wabanaki Christians extended their own pre-contact religious orientations to include and incorporate European Catholic ritual practices. Indeed, the first example points to an intriguing possibility regarding the oral transmission of chant: were Wabanaki Catholics continuing the pre-notational musical

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190 Hiley, 130-139. “Vocalise” refers to a form of textless singing, using only a single syllable from a word, such as the final ‘ya’ sound in the word “alleluia.”
191 Spinney, 65.
192 Ibid., 65.
193 Ibid., 65.
194 Thwaites, Jesuit Relations 31, 11:213-214 [italics mine].
195 Ibid., 213-214.
196 Ibid., 213-214.
practice of troping their chants? As musicologist Leo Treitler has observed in his investigation of the pre-notational Catholic chant traditions, in tandem with Albert Lord’s classic study on oral transmission, a broad pattern emerges regardless of location: as songs are passed down from one generation to the next, each subsequent generation seems to add additional verses, yet using the same memorized melodic sequences. A second tendency is that over greater periods of time (multiple generations) chants and songs that are passed from singer to singer orally have a tendency to acquire more notes, in the form of added musical ornaments. Compare the Kyrie chant, Orbis factor, as it appears in its tenth and fourteenth/sixteenth century forms in Europe:

Noticeable differences appear between the two chants, despite the fact that they are melodically and modally the same. Whereas the 10\textsuperscript{th} century version has 64 notes altogether, the 14\textsuperscript{th}/16\textsuperscript{th} century version has 83 notes. Almost all of these additional notes

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are to be sung on the word ‘eleison’ and may be recognized as filling in the melodic leaps present in the 10\textsuperscript{th} century version. Hence in the second measure of the 10\textsuperscript{th} century version, we recognize a leap of a major third from F to A; however, looking to the 14\textsuperscript{th}/16\textsuperscript{th} century version, that leap is filled in diatonically, such that we see the melodic progression of F-G-A-Bb-A.

Hence, a comparison of these two versions of the same Kyrie chant yields some degree of variations with regard to the actual notes sung. Yet when one turns to examine the text itself, a striking dimension of change emerges. As Marcel Perez has noted, the tradition of troping the Kyrie was practiced beginning in the ninth century until the mid-sixteenth century when the Council of Trent “abandoned this tradition of embellishing the long vocalizations of the Kyries with a poetic text, the trope sung by a soloist or a small group while the choir repeated the melody without words.”\textsuperscript{199} For example, the simple three-line text for the Kyrie (kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, kyrie eleison) found within the Graduel D’Alienor de Bretagne contains an additional nine lines of text, interspersed equally among the original text. Frequently, chants such as the Kyrie would be troped with texts that enabled performers and clergy to tailor chants to a particular feast day. However, troped verses were also commonly drawn from secular poetry contemporary to the times. The purpose of troping sacred texts like that of the Kyrie seemed to have been to make the meaning of the original song texts more relevant to the present-day realities of those performing and listening to such chants.

Returning to the Thomas Kyrie manuscript (figures 3 & 4) how might we interpret the presence of so many neumes for the word ‘Kyhlie?’ Clearly the presence of so many notes on the vocalise ‘kyh’ should recall the pre-Tridentine practice of “embellishing the long vocalizations of the Kyrie”, while in the Thomas Kyrie manuscript there also appears prior to the notated chant (figure 3) and after the chant itself (figure 4) an abundance of additional text. Admittedly, one of the most problematic dimensions of interpreting paleographic texts is trying to determine just how the performers might have performed a particular chant, given the immediacy of musical performance. With this admonition in mind, we may infer that the Thomas Kyrie manuscript could be grasped as evidence of a continuing tradition of chant-troping in Wôbanakik; as Wabanaki Catholics adapted foreign musico-textual forms to suit their own needs, they seem to have added their own local words, meanings, and performance practices to these inherited European musical forms and texts.

The alternation between a solo singer or small group singing the troped lines (the text written in Penobscot on page 1, figure 3 and on the bottom half of page 2, figure 4) and a larger choir or congregation singing the text “kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, kyrie eleison” is one possible interpretation, and as Ann Spinney has noted, this call-and-response format would have been a familiar one to Wabanaki traditional musical practices. In the very least, the extremely long vocalises on the syllable ‘Kyh’ of ‘Kyrie’, each of which is notated with no less than 70 notes supports my contention that Wabanaki peoples were troping the chants they received from European Catholics. Another interesting possibility lies in asking, with what were Wabanaki Catholics troping their chants? Did they employ additional Catholic verses and prayers or perhaps traditional Wabanaki song texts? Regrettably, these questions must go unanswered here.

\textsuperscript{199} Marcel Perez, notes to Graduel D’Alienor De Bretagne: Plain-chant et polyphonies des XIII & XIV siecles, Ensemble Organum (Arles: Harmonia Mundi, 1993), 8.
However, consideration of questions such as these leads us toward intriguing possibilities. Referring back to the two observations of the Jesuit priest among the Atikameks, he stated that: “he could no longer recognize the prayers that he had earlier taught to this congregation of Atikameks” and the Atikameks’ prayers had been were “in the style and language of the Natives” and “had been increased by many orisons to Jesus Christ, to the Virgin [Mary], Joseph, to the “Guardian Angel” and other saints.” In light of the previous discussion on tropes, these two statements would seem to support such a hypothesis, particularly if the troped verses that the Atikamek man sang were other Catholic prayers transliterated into Algonkian, or perhaps even, traditional Algonkian songs.

At the same time, the same Jesuit priest’s third comment leads us to an alternate consideration. The third passage also seems to resonate with contemporary European sensibilities for an emerging aesthetics of Gregorian chant. Indeed, musicologist David Hiley has cogently argued that three factors led to the “restoration of medieval chant” and ultimately, I would add, the construction of an 18th -19th century aesthetic paradigm for the performance of Gregorian chant. These factors include: (i) the mid-18th century, sweeping rejection of liberalism in the Roman Catholic Church, which in turn entailed a “return to Rome in liturgical and other matters”; i.e. for older musical forms; (ii) the “perennial tendency of the church to renew itself by returning to an earlier and supposedly ‘purer’ state,” by which the “musical revival” of traditional plainchant may be recognized as mirroring the contemporaneous ‘Gothic revival’ in architecture; and (iii) paleographic and “proto-musicological” techniques for medieval manuscript interpretation had already been developed by the late 17th and early 18th centuries, particularly by the Benedictine monks of the Congregation of Saint-Maur.

Until recently, the fragment preserved in the Thomas Kyrie manuscript appears to have been the only extant source for Wabanaki Catholic chant, yet two recently produced French-Canadian works provide an additional array of primary sources documenting the musical dimension of Wabanaki Catholic life in 17th and early 18th century New France. These are the compact disc, “Le chant de la Jerusalem des terres froides” by the Studio de Musique Ancienne de Montreal and the musicological publication “La Vie Musicale En Nouvelle-France.” These two sources offer an additional wealth of data in the form of Gregorian chants and motets derived from 17th and 18th century chant manuscripts, several of whose examples clearly indicate the combination of Gregorian paleographic notation and texts translated into local Abenaki dialects. The two pieces, Invioleata and Ego sum panis, are examples of the petit motet, a vocal musical form which first
appeared in French music between 1652 and 1671, and for which the first documented examples in New France appears between 1685 and 1695 at the Wabanaki mission village of Saint-François-de-Sales.205

Thus, by the close of the seventeenth-century, an increasing number of Wabanaki peoples had relocated to reside within proximity of mission villages along the St. Lawrence River (e.g. Saint-François-de-Sales, Sillery, Kahnewake, Kanesatake) driven in part by escalating internecine conflicts over access to the fur trade and by the advantages bestowed through primary access to trade at the missions, the threat of disease and the safety proffered by Jesuits when “conversion” was undertaken.206 In these liminal spaces, many Native and métis peoples seemed to have embraced the practice and performance of Gregorian chant, motets, and other sacred Catholic musical forms even as these musical forms were themselves incorporated into pre-existing Wabanaki religious frameworks. Out of these unique environments emerged Wabanaki Catholics.

In a certain sense, the petit motet, Inviolata, may be treated as a metaphoric articulation of the ontological “thirdness” embodied by Native Christians as “new world peoples.” Linguistically, this motet was sung entirely in Algonquin, although notably a number of terms which appear in the text of this motet demanded the adaptation or in some instances, creation of new Algonquin vocabulary to account for foreign European epistemological and mythic categories.207 Within the context of the petit motet, Inviolata, a clear example of this appears at the end of the choir’s first melodic entrée (see figure 6 below, measure 4 or the last measure of the 1st system), with the term, “spemkik,” a derivative of the Algonkian root “spemkí,” which translates approximately as “paradise.”208

was usually arranged in a pattern of reiterated rhythmic configurations, while the upper voice or voices (up to three), nearly always with different Latin or French texts, generally moved at a faster rate.” Further, Boyd and Anthony credit “Du Mont, a Walloon who arrived in France in 1638 introduced to France the petit motet of one, two or three voices and continuo in collections issued between 1652 and 1671. Here motets with italianate chains of suspensions, light polyphony, ‘affective’ melodic and harmonic intervals, echo effects, dialogue techniques and word-painting co-exist with motets exhibiting such French characteristics as more syllabic rendering of the text, use of melodies of restricted range and shorter phrases, basic diatonicism and rhythmic organization corresponding to popular French dances” [emphasis mine]. Certainly, Christopher Jackson’s interpretation of the petit motet, Ego sum panis, on his recording, Le chant de jerusalem des terres froides, would seem to affirm such a rhythmic resemblance as described by Du Mont. Yet this is deceiving because Jackson developed his interpretations of these pieces in consultation with musicologists Jean-Pierre Pinson, Elizabeth Gallat-Morin and Paul-André Dubois who most likely were familiar with James R. Anthony’s and Malcolm Boyd’s research.

Jackson, notes to Le chant de jerusalem des terres froides, 10.

Gallat-Morin and Pinson, La Vie Musicale en Nouvelle-France, 276. By “New World peoples” I mean to draw attention to the condition of ontological “thirdness” embodied by Wabanaki Christians, who were at once Native and Christian and yet through such a synthesis came to constitute a new form of the human previously unknown to either Europeans or Native Americans, prior to colonial contact.

Other examples of the adaptation of Algonquin linguistics to accommodate European conceptual categories appear in the presence of terms such as “kchí́̀ issors,” “wda̱wasgiskwí,” “kinomasowinno,” and “póbatamwóγan,” which refer to “archangel,” “apostle,” “preacher,” and “religion,” respectively.
Perhaps most intriguing is the liturgical feast for which the chant, *Prose de la Sainte Famille*, was written: the Mass of the Holy Family. Indeed, as Jean-Pierre Pinson has noted, “this work...was the only one specifically intended for New France and is of special interest because this lone chant is the only piece of music known to have been composed in New France.”

Recalling Morrison’s articulation of the three categories most essential to Wabanaki religiosity, of person, power and gift, and of my own efforts herein to emphasize the fundamental Wabanaki religious orientation reciprocity amongst persons, human and other-than-human, this chant and its associated feast day stand forth as symbolic articulations of the new modalities of humans being produced in Wôbanakik. At the same time, Pinson relates that “the creation of the Mass of the Holy Family as a phenomenon unique to New France is entirely unsurprising, given that the country (Canada) itself was placed under the patronage of Joseph, Mary and the Child Jesus.”

Most strikingly, Pinson appears to possess little or no knowledge of Wabanaki religiosity, and therefore ethnocentrically attributes the significance of the Feast simply to European design. Alternately, that the Mass of the Holy Family was the first feast day unique to New France/Wôbanakik seems to confirm that active and creative contributions Native Christians made in their efforts to draw Europeans into their own religiosity, with its primary emphases upon relationships and an orientation to their shared “mother” land.

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209 Jackson, notes to Le chant de jerusalem des terres froides, 71.
210 Jackson, notes to Le chant de jerusalem des terres froides, 71.
Likewise, the text for the hymn, *Inviolata*, when taken in combination with the examples above, indicates the emergence of a pattern consistent with the hypothesis that Wabanaki Catholics actively and creatively sought to include non-Natives within their religious framework. This song text serves a variety of symbolic purposes. On the one hand, praise to “our kind mother” and “requests for forgiveness” echo the Wabanakis’ critical valuation for women, and speaks to the power women wielded in traditional Wabanaki society. The caustic figure of Molly Ockett/Marie Agathe, who, in one story managed to outwit an unidentified Jesuit priest bent on cheating her, would seem to underscore that women bore considerable power in traditional Wabanaki culture. Moreover, with its invocation of/to “Mary the inviolate, Mary the unharmed,” the performance of this text in song may well have been intended by singers to signal a request for the protection, of freedom from harm, and in light of the pattern of European explorers who kidnapped Native women, protection from abduction and rape. Given the traditional Wabanaki religious valuation for inclusivity, relationships and reciprocity, I would further offer the suggestion that the invocation of hymns like *Inviolata* could perhaps also have been intended to benefit European women whom Wabanakis were likely to have encountered in mission villages, such as St. François-de-Sales.

Thus, having traced a brief history of the formation of the canon of Gregorian chant and analyzed examples from the two musical sources, it is evident that the phenomena of seventeenth-century Wabanaki Catholicism should be considered as a type of creative religious response to the crises induced by European colonial encounter. Responses such as this, testify to the creativity, agency, and power wielded by colonized people. I would also argue that Wabanaki Catholics religiously constructed identities, communal spaces, and through the active adoption and practice of Gregorian chant, came to a recognition of their own embodied ontological “thirdness”; this “thirdness” positioned Wabanaki Catholics as neither solely Indian, nor solely Christian, but as an authentic mode of the human, unique to North America. Toward the close of the seventeenth-century, when beaver pelts were in short supply and many Wabanaki found their livelihoods threatened, there was a need to adapt and to forge new connections. The adoption of Gregorian chant as a religious practice was one such adaptation. It allowed Wabanaki Catholics to maintain their cultural identity while also connecting them to the larger Catholic Church.

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212 McBride, 43-67. Although beyond the scope of the present study, it is interesting to note that stories about Molly Ockett continue to make up a large portion of the “folk tales”, or oral tradition, still circulated today in southwestern Maine.
themselves increasingly bounded on all sides by European colonizers, some Wabanaki Christians may also have turned to familiar Gregorian chants and motets in order to voice their critiques of the colonial agenda. Ultimately, however, we must bear in mind McNally’s admonition that for Native peoples, sacred song went beyond mere aesthetics; sacred song fundamentally possessed the power to shape tangible reality. As Kenneth Morrison notes, recalling an exchange between Fr. Paul Le Jeune and the Montaignais Christian leader, Pigarouich, the latter requests of the former:

“Teach me what must be sung to cure the sick and to have a good hunt.”

Morrison, 140.
Conclusion

Through the preceding pages I have argued that the phenomenon of seventeenth and eighteenth century Wabanaki Catholics and their adaptation of “Western” chant practices constitute a form of ontological thirdness, or, of the creation of a new mode of human being unique to the Americas. Neither solely European, nor solely Native American, nor even a syncretistic amalgam of the two, the example of Wabanaki Catholics should be understood as a typifying outcome of, rather than an exception to, the sorts of encounters that occurred between European and Native American peoples throughout the colonial period. As previously mentioned, other instances of cultural hybridity abound in situations of colonial contact and exchange; within the North American milieu examples can be located in the persons of the Methodist Pequot minister William Apess, the Cherokee Christian Catherine Brown, and among the Wampanoag Christians of Martha’s Vineyard, within the Wabanaki Conferacy, examples can be found in the practices of Penobscot river-drivers and outdoor guides and among the Pigwackets of western Maine, in the personage of the Abenaki wise-woman, Marie Agathe.

Additionally, throughout the course of this work I have made a series of arguments geared toward demonstrating the mythical modes through which European and Native communities approached each other in situations of contact and exchange. The bulk of the evidence drawn upon in relation to this part of my argument is located within Jesuit and Native American historical accounts, geared toward the theme of disease and healing.

Notably, while the notion that Europeans routinely tested and failed Native Americans in terms of the latter’s capacity for a basic humanity is widely acknowledged, what is less widely circulated is that these situations of contact and exchange provided a dialectical forum for cultural commentary and critique. In other words, even as European missionaries, explorers and colonial agents enticed the Wabanaki and other indigenous peoples in North America into exploitative relationships based within a capitalistic market-economy, the Wabanaki and their brethren held out comparable challenges to Europeans, the latter of whom routinely failed such tests of humanity, due in no small part to the transparent, and frequently “demonic” conduct, that participation in such a market-economy entailed. In tracing situations of exchange like those demonstrated between Wabanaki peoples and the English explorer Christopher Marrett, between Wabanakis and the French explorer, Samuel de Champlain, and moreso, between Wabanakis and French Jesuits, a persistent question emerged from the North American context of the eighteenth century: “what does it mean to be human in a post-contact world?”

For British, French, and Dutch colonizers empowered by a world-view intimately tied to new Enlightenment paradigms, the “benchmark of the human” was revealed in one’s capacity for reason, for rational thought and argumentation. Conversely, Wabanakis proceeded toward these situations of exchange armed with the mythic

214 Martin, 61-82.
215 Ronda, 369-394.
216 MacDougall, 173-176.
knowledge that while surface images may be deceptive, the measure of one’s humanity lay primarily in the scale of one’s willingness to enter into and participate in meaningful relationships with others. Even as most Wabanaki seemed to fail European “tests” for a common humanity, so too did Europeans repeatedly fail to meet Wabanakis’ criteria for what was required of mature human beings. Curiously, both Europeans and Wabanakis seemed to turn to similar strategies as a means of recourse when such tests of the other’s humanity failed: like any responsible adult, when confronted by rebellious or mid-guided children, the responsible adult seeks to teach the child; to transform a lost opportunity into a “teachable moment.”

At the same time, it must be pointed out that a study such as this is always in danger of succumbing to the temptation to reduce the complexities of situations of cultural contact and exchange into mere binary oppositions. Indeed, as Daniel Richter neatly illustrates in his discussion of the emergence of a “racial frontier” during the 1760s wherein hatred and persecution of the other abounded on both sides between various Native peoples in the west and Euro-Americans in the east, it was the British crown which sought to arbitrate peace. 218 This example serves as a reminder that imperial European and colonial Euro-American interests were certainly not homogenous; rather, they were frequently at odds with each other, particularly with regard to the treatment of Natives. While much of this work has pursued broad generalizations with regard to Native and non-native understandings of religion and music, I have striven to keep the conversation from slipping into a crude set of binary assertions about Native versus European peoples.

Moving beyond the reductionist position intimated by the designation “syncretism,” Wabanaki Catholics religiously constructed identities, communities and through ritualized musical performances, came to recognize their own embodied ontological “thirdness” or tertium quid, inherent to their shared positionality as indigenous, colonized Americans. In other words, these were “New World Peoples.” At the same time, so are all who are born in North America “New World Peoples,” but only those who have been born into bodies where the asymmetry of power relations cannot be ignored, recognize the meanings inherent in that status.

The preceding work reached its pinnacle through an examination of the handful of musical-liturgical documents that have survived from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Based upon an analysis of the Thomas Kyrie manuscript fragments, I have argued that the musical data present points strongly to the presence of troping among Wabanaki Catholics. This literary and musical technique may well have been employed in order to adapt ancient chants and less relevant texts to bear upon the problems and hardships Wabanaki Christians confronted in their day. Additionally, by means of the petit motet, Inviolata, I extended this argument to consider the plight of Wabanaki Catholic women, whose experiences with European and Native men alike tend to vanish in the annals of history. Yet here the text of Inviolata, an otherwise commonplace hymn with reference to its theological content, takes on the potential for a host of new meanings when interpreted in light of the experiences of Native women, who were subject equally to abduction within the context of late seventeenth and eighteenth century “mourning wars” waged by other Algonkian- and more frequently Iroquoian- speaking Native communities. Further, performance of the text for Inviolata seems to have served its

218 Richter, 212-227.
singers in multiple capacities, as a deep felt request for aid, for protection, yet also by reinforcing the honor traditionally accorded to women within broader Wabanaki culture. At the same time, performance of chants like *Inviolata*, *Ego sum panis*, and the *kyrie eleison* may well have taken on additional meanings for Wabanaki Catholic women when confronted with the very real possibilities of abduction, abuse, and rape at the hands of European, *metis*, and Wabanaki men.

As Ashis Nandy has pointed out within the context of British colonialism in the Indian subcontinent, in regard to the psychology of the colonized, Indian men were frequently “feminized” by their male British counterparts in the broader processes of imperial domination.\(^{219}\) While working their way through these psychologically corrosive acts, which were in turn reinforced through discursive acts of signification, many Indian men found solace by turning back to traditional Hindu stories. As Nandy has argued, one of the primary mythic archetypes that colonized Indian men identified with and drew strength from was that of the *rakshasa*, or demons. This model, Nandy argues, appealed to Indian men precisely because of the psychological trauma incurred through the British strategy of feminizing them; in turn, the *rakshasa* represents a form of “hyper-masculinity,” and for many colonized Indians became the model for escaping the psychological torment imposed through British colonialism.\(^{220}\) At the same time, the archetype of the *rakshasa* is also selfish, especially prone toward violence (particularly toward women) and ultimately, self-destructive. Extending Nandy’s argument to the context of North America, it is not difficult to imagine that the British may have adopted similar policies toward Wabanaki men. In turn, it is plausible that in their anger and helplessness, some Wabanaki men lashed out at Wabanaki women. In this context, the performance of chants such as *kyrie eleison*, *ego sum panis*, and *Inviolata*, may have assumed a further symbolic dimension of meaning for Native women and men alike. The violence which is endemic to all situations of colonialism, whether visited upon the colonized by the colonizer himself, or whether wrought by one’s own hand surely brought those same disastrous effects upon the structure of families within Wôbanakik. Conversely, how are we to interpret the emergence of new feast days such as the Mass for the Holy Family, which French historians of music have indicated was the first feast newly created among the communities of New France? As musicologist Paul-André Dubois has noted, the text of *Inviolata* which formed a part of the new feast day for the Holy Family is itself revealing insofar as it constitutes a local expression of seventeenth-century Canadian liturgical realities.\(^{221}\)

Beyond this view, perhaps we ought to understand the creation of a new feast day for “*la Sainte Famille*” in Wôbanakik as an articulation and commemoration of the new families and above all, of a new mode of the human being, forged at *réserves* like those at Odanak and Sillery through decades of contact and exchange, intermarriage and relocation, and shared ritual praxis. The perspectives of Wabanaki Catholics and other *tertium quid* peoples borne of the colonial era would seem to demand that we each recognize our own place among “*la Sainte Famille*.” Yet in this sense, perhaps “*la Sainte Famille*” ought not be understood within the confines of traditional Catholic theology, but rather in terms of global community, of a “new world” created through trans-Atlantic

\(^{219}\) Nandy, ix-xx.

\(^{220}\) Nandy, 20-22.

\(^{221}\) Pinson, 271.
voyages, contact, and exchange. Finally, we must also recognize in the significance of the formation of a new feast day like “la Saint Famille,” not only an awareness of new communities being created, but also the paramount need for inclusivity and reciprocity between members in such “New World” communities.
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