THE DREAM DANCE:

AN EXAMINATION OF ITS MUSIC AND PRACTICE AMONG WOODLANDS AND CENTRAL SUBARCTIC INDIANS

by

JOSEPHINE AGNES KACZMAREK

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies,
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ABSTRACT

The Dream Dance religion, which originated among the Santee Sioux of North Dakota around 1870, was subsequently transferred to the Minnesota Ojibwe, where it became an important ceremony of the Indian nations west and south of Lake Superior. The requirement for the transfer of the ceremony, together with the Drum, dance attire, and the special songs and dances which are integral to the ceremony, are believed to have taken the Dream Dance as far north as the Berens River region of Manitoba and northwestern Ontario. This belief is based on historical evidence: information pieced together from journals, letters, photographs and personal interviews.

In the course of the more recent investigations, former participants in the Berens River ceremonies shared some of the songs which formed part of their ceremony. It is on these songs that this paper focuses. The process involved a comparison of the two ceremonies, and a comprehensive examination and analysis of the musicological features of the ceremonial songs from both regions. It was determined that although each ceremony likely served a different purpose, the songs performed in the Berens Rivers ceremony, allowing for certain specified variations, derived from that of the Dream Dance ceremony.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Dream Dance first came to my attention in the spring of 1995 during a presentation, given by Dr. Jennifer S.H. Brown and her colleague Maureen Matthews, to the Native Music Project at the University of Manitoba School of Music. Brown and Matthews discussed their research among the Berens River Ojibwe of Manitoba -- research which had followed the course established by A. Irving Hallowell in the 1930s, but also included songs they recorded in the summer of 1992 that were subsequently found to be derived from a Minnesota Ojibwe ceremony known as the "Dream Dance." Once aware of my increasing interest in the Dream Dance, Brown and Matthews provided significant guidance, as well as access to information, photographs and slides, and most importantly to the recordings made of Ojibwe singers who were once participants in the Poplar Hill version of the Dream Dance ceremony. Without these vital components, this thesis would not exist.

I have been fortunate indeed to have had the assistance of extremely capable and knowledgeable committee members. Professor Richard Burleson, committee advisor, a musicologist with considerable expertise in aboriginal music, encouraged and assisted my pursuit of a Master's degree through the Interdisciplinary Program of Graduate Studies. The template which he had earlier designed for effective, non-notational study of music was most useful in the analyses which form an important part of this thesis. Professor Jennifer S.H. Brown, whose historical knowledge with particular reference to the Ojibwe of

the Central Subarctic kept me properly focussed, directed me to the Anthropology Museum at the University of Winnipeg, thereby extending my acquaintance with articles associated with the Poplar Hill Dream Dance. Professor William Koolage, with his anthropological expertise, provided invaluable research direction and excellent contacts. All committee members were generous in their support, attentive to my needs, and frequently set aside their own plans to assist me in my work.

Through the Native Music Project at the University of Manitoba School of Music, which focuses on traditional aboriginal music, I was introduced to cultural insights and practices. The Project, co-instructed by Richard Burleson and Walter Bonaise, Cree elder and singer, imparts cultural awareness, while at the same time encouraging a hands-on approach to Plains Cree music, for which I am very grateful.

I am very much indebted to Roger Roulette, Ojibwe linguist, with whom I met on several occasions. Not only did he describe the role of music in Ojibwe society from his own personal experience, but he also translated the text, deciphered the vocables, and interpreted the symbolism of a texted song from the Poplar Hill collection -- all of which provided this thesis with an added dimension.

My thanks are also extended to the staff at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, who assisted in locating journals and other material relating to Abishabis; to Diane Haglund, United Church Archivist, who provided the typewritten notes of Methodist missionary Luther Schuetze; to Lynn Whidden, Department of Native Studies at Brandon University, who contributed a number of relevant musicological articles and recordings of Ojibwe music; to Thomas Vennum, Folklife Studies at the Smithsonian

Institution, who provided me with substantial information and references on the Minnesota Dream Dance; and to Katherine Pettipas, Curator of Ethnology at the Manitoba Museum who set aside several hours on my behalf. The thesis has benefited greatly from these contributions.

I very much appreciate having had the opportunity to introduce aspects of my thesis as it progressed to the Algonquian Conference (1997), and the Canadian Society for Traditional Music (1998). In both cases, the responses were helpful, and occasionally opened up research areas to further develop the thesis.

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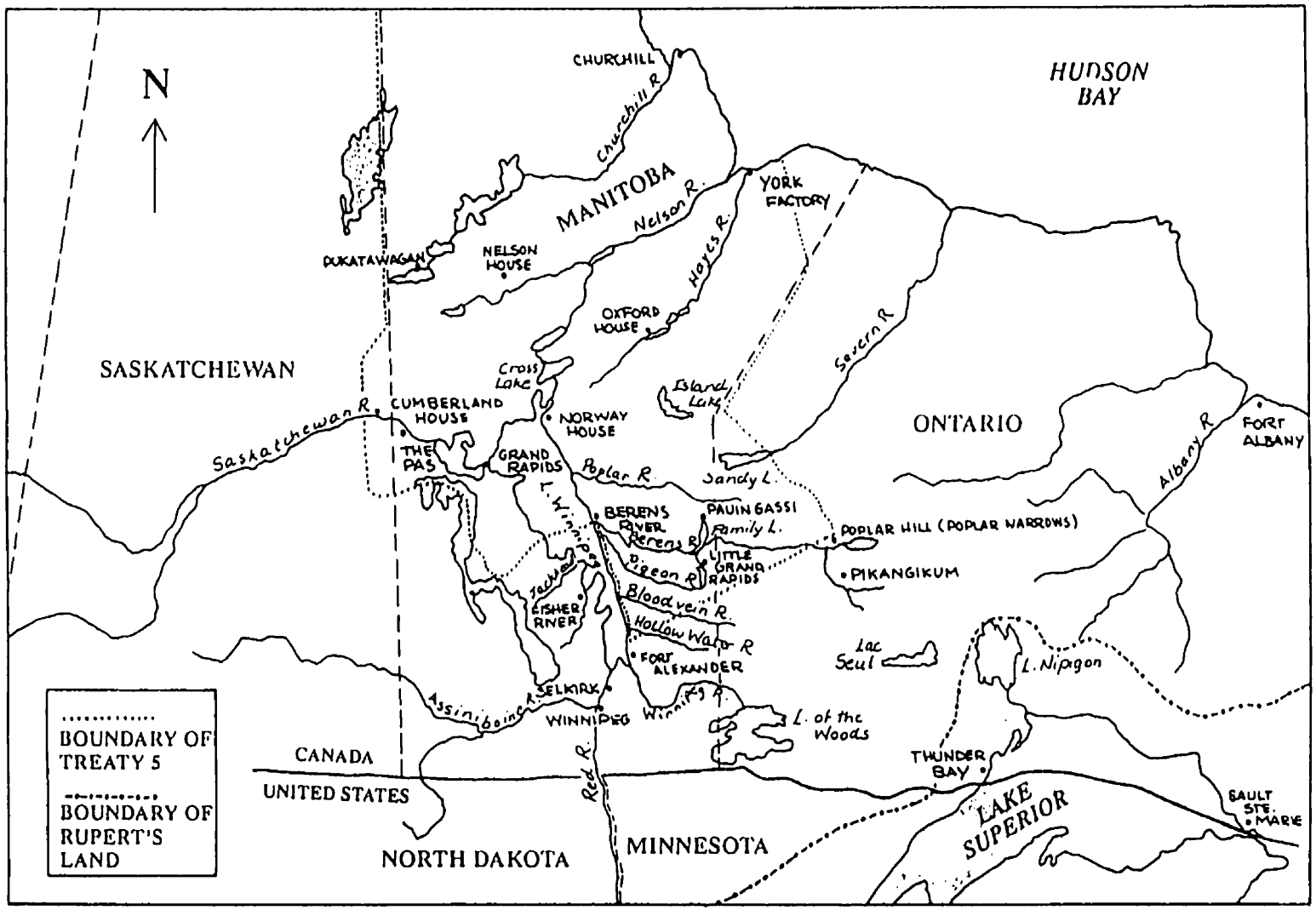

Figure 1. Map of the Cree-Ojibwe country of northwestern Ontario and Manitoba, showing also the historical boundaries of Rupert's Land (which the Hudson's Bay Company held by royal charter from 1670 to 1869) and of Treaty 5 (signed in 1875). Map drawn by Erica Smith. Hallowell 1992:2

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Dream Dance originated in about 1870 among the Minnesota Sioux who, in an effort to harmonize their relationship with their various neighbours -- and particularly the Ojibwe[1] with whom they were continually at war -- first introduced the Dream Dance to the White Earth, Minnesota Ojibwe (Vennum 1982:45, 70). The Dream Dance ritual, with its big Drum[2] and prescribed ritual, and its many attendant songs and dances, was subsequently transferred by the Sioux to other Ojibwe and Menominee groups in Michigan and Wisconsin, the Fox in Iowa, the Potawatomi of Kansas, the Sauk and Shawnee in Oklahoma (ibid., 70), and eventually to aboriginal communities north of the 49th parallel (Brown and Matthews 1994:65). Because of its origins, and its wide intertribal dissemination, it would be an error to designate the Dream Dance as solely "Ojibwe". Such a label ignores its true origin among the Sioux, not to mention the identities of the diverse adherents the Dream Dance acquired during its movement. Therefore, the title makes reference to the Ojibwe of the Woodlands and Central Subarctic, rather than solely "the Ojibwe."

The term "ceremony" does not adequately reflect the significance of the

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1 Although orthographic renditions of the name "Ojibwe" have historically appeared in many different forms (Ojibwa, Ojibway, Chippewa, etc.) in this paper the term "Ojibwe" will be used throughout in conformity to the orthographic system devised by Charles Fiero (Nichols and Myholm 1995:xxiii), except where, in citation, another form is used.

2 To differentiate between the Dream Dance Drum and any other drum in this paper, reference to the former will be capitalized; the latter will be in lower case letters (i.e. Drum vs drum), a distinction borrowed from Vennum: 1982.

Dream Dance, which is neither a single dance, nor a simple ceremony. It comprises several hundred songs and dances, all performed in a prescribed sequence, the whole integrated within a complex ceremonial pattern. Its characteristics qualify it in large part as a fully fledged religious expression, with concepts of sacredness, social participation and organization, systems of belief in both practice and doctrine, ritual procedures, and a code of ethics or behaviour. Added to these properties is the endurance of the Dream Dance movement. Arising in the late nineteenth century and becoming widely dispersed among aboriginal peoples of the Woodlands and Subarctic, it still persists today among the Sauk of Oklahoma (Reinschmidt 1994), and in such "isolated pockets of traditionalism" as the Potawatomi of Wisconsin Rapids ,on the Menominee reservation in Wisconsin, and among the Ojibwe at Bad River, Minnesota (Vennum 1982:154-155). Its message was powerful in the late nineteenth century when it was initiated, and remains so today in the communities where it continues. The Dream Dance requires no other designation.

The appellation "Dream Dance" was applied to the ceremony by outsiders: those who were not Ojibwe and who in all likelihood participated only as observers in the ceremony. The Lac du Flambeau Band of Chippewa in Wisconsin referred to the ceremony as *Dewe'igan omi'giwen'*, or 'a drum is given away' (Densmore 1913:142). Thomas Vennum, in his study on the history and construction of the Ojibwe Dance Drum referred consistently to the ceremony as a "Drum Dance" except, for example, when citing Wissler who spoke of the "Dream Dance [Drum Dance] of the Woodlands..." (Vennum 1982:52). James Howard uses the terms "Drum religion" and "Dream dance"

interchangeably (1966:117), and Michael Reinschmidt (1994) wrote about the Drum Dance Religion of the Oklahoma Sauk.

A ceremony referred to as the *ni'mihetwan* (Dancing Rite) was introduced to the Menominee in 1879. It was variously referred to by English-speakers as the "Powwow" or, more formally, the "Drum Religion." However, the term anthropologists used was the "Algonquian Dream Dance," a designation which seems to have been its original name, derived from the translation of *ena pahtan'ni mwan* (dream dance. Gatschet:13) (Slotkin 1957:13). Brown and Matthews (1994) continue the "Dream Dance" terminology in their discussion of a similar ceremony among the Berens River Ojibwe.

The objectives of this thesis are to clearly identify aspects of the Dream Dance from inception to practice to dissemination, to distinguish it from other coexistent aboriginal expressions, and to establish its position in the lexicon of aboriginal religious movements. Representative selections from the music associated with the Dream Dance will be examined, using modern analytical approaches and procedures, with the objective of illuminating and clarifying certain aspects of aboriginal music in general, and Dream Dance music in particular.

The thesis is divided into six sections. The first outlines events which precipitated new aboriginal religious expressions. Chapter II explores the circumstances which led to religious or ceremonial expressions such as the Dream Dance. Chapter III explains the concept of revitalization movements -- a term frequently employed when discussing aboriginal religions -- and describes the manner in which these are manifested and defined.

The second section discusses the development of the Dream Dance

ceremony in the Woodlands area south and west of Lake Superior, and south of the Canadian/American border. Chapter IV recounts the revelatory origin of the Dream Dance, and Chapter V presents identifying characteristics of the Dream Dance ceremony as it was practiced among the Minnesota Ojibwe and Menominee Indians.

The third section outlines developments as they evolved in the Subarctic region north of the Canadian/American border in the Berens River communities of eastern Manitoba and northwestern Ontario. To this end, Chapter VI explores the spiritual climate as it developed from mid-nineteenth-century in Manitoba, while Chapter VII focuses on the Berens River community of Pauingassi, and the Dream Dance ceremonies observed in the region by A. Irving Hallowell in the 1930s.

The fourth section brings the focus to aboriginal music in general. Chapter VIII discusses aboriginal concepts of song-making and methods of retention and transmission. Alternative methods of music analysis, with some discussion of their applicability to aboriginal music, are presented in Chapter IX.

The fifth section turns to a specific discussion and analysis of the music of the Dream Dance ceremony. Chapter X begins the analytical process by comparing several aspects of one similar song from each geographical region; it then proceeds to examine one song from the Poplar Hill repertoire, performed by two individual singers; and finally, to demonstrate the fidelity of oral transmission, it compares three versions of one song from the Minnesota/Wisconsin repertoire sung by different performers over widely separated intervals of time.

The last section discusses the similarities and differences encountered

in the musical evaluations, and attempts to establish a relationship between the two Ojibwe groups through their musical connection.

PART I:

THE ABORIGINAL REALITY

CHAPTER II

SPIRITUAL UNEASE

Given the contemporary resurgence of aboriginal ceremonies such as the sweat lodge, the shaking tent and others, which although based on the "old" forms, incorporate modern innovation, there are few opportunities to witness ceremonies performed in the traditional manner. Even when traditional ceremonies were being conducted, few "outsiders" were permitted to observe, and of those, even fewer committed their observations to paper. Noteworthy exceptions to this can be found. The writings of George Nelson (Brown and Brightman 1988), an early 19th century fur trader who lived for twenty years among the Indians in the area between Wisconsin and Saskatchewan, detailed first hand observations of a variety of ceremonial events. More particularly, the writings of ethnologist, Samuel Alfred Barrett, and musicologist, Frances Densmore, describe drum presentation ceremonies in 1910. Barrett (1911) described a nine-day event in July at Whitefish, Wisconsin located "...3 miles west of the village of Reserve on the Lac Court Oreilles reservation..."; Densmore (1913) recorded the events of an October 1910 ceremony, part of which was "enacted on the Lac du Flambeau reservation and part on the Menominee reservation." Anthropologist James S. Slotkin studied similar Menominee ceremonies during the period 1949-51.

The Dream Dance was one of several religious expressions which

emerged among aboriginal nations throughout North America in the nineteenth century. It is seldom singled out for attention, and is frequently confused with two other movements: the Ghost Dance, which originated among the Paiute Indians of Nevada and was widely disseminated between 1888 and 1896, and the Grass Dance which began its existence around 1850 as a ceremonial dance of an Omaha warrior society (Vennum 1982). The confusion derives from the many similarities or shared aspects which exist among the three movements. However, the Dream Dance has several features which render it distinct.

Historians, anthropologists and others have attempted to rationalize and categorize these currents of spiritual energy which were, in most cases, considered a reaction to colonial incursions from both east and west. There is no denying that unsettling, even devastating factors had been at work in North America beginning with the first explorers in the early 1500s. By the 1850s, no aspect of Woodlands culture remained free from some sort of interference from government and its agents, from missionaries and educators, and from colonists.

Contact with European traders was at first welcomed by the natives, who exchanged furs and other goods which derived from a seemingly inexhaustible resource base, for new and exotic goods and materials from across the sea. European incursions into the northern interior increased in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Over time, the Hudson's Bay Company (1670), the North West Company (1779-1782), and the XY Company (1795-1803) were established, and in pursuit of the fur trade, they competed extensively over a huge tract of land, severely depleting resources in many areas.

Trade resources diminished and competition grew fiercer and in 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company merged with the North West Company to try to assert a monopoly over the vast area of Rupert's Land. It was at that time that the balance of power -- which had, until then, been fairly equable -- shifted in favour of the Europeans. By the nineteenth century, colonization began to replace resource exploitation, bringing with it a new emphasis on the assimilation and religious conversion of Indian people.

In the meantime, fewer and smaller desirable areas in the Woodlands west of Lake Superior remained free for the pursuit of traditional aboriginal activities. Lifestyles, which had been defined by patterns of weather, the movement of game, and the seasonal availability of fish and other resources, were disrupted, and people were faced with either accommodating to alien preferences and priorities, or surmounting the increasing obstacles to their own accustomed pursuits. In many areas, aboriginal social systems which had evolved over the centuries were no longer operative. Warfare and hunting exploits, previously a means of achieving prestige among native men, became inappropriate or impossible.

Most important, belief systems, the core around which aboriginal lifestyles revolved, were seriously threatened. In 1895, the Canadian Parliament amended the Indian Act to incorporate a provision forbidding any Indian festival, dance or other ceremony, thus effectively banning the Sun Dance ceremony of the Plains Indians. At the same time, a western educational process -- assimilationist in nature and intent -- was initiated. Many young people were removed from their homes to institutions where European values were instilled and aboriginal traditions, beliefs and languages were denigrated

and denied. Diseases, brought from abroad and never before experienced by aboriginal people, were particularly devastating, primarily affecting the elderly and the young . Once the elderly were smitten, there remained few to transmit the ancient traditions and impart attendant spiritual concepts; in the absence of the young, to whom would the knowledge be passed? By the middle of the nineteenth century, in the region west of Lake Superior, there remained few avenues for the Woodlands people to measure their worth or establish and maintain their identities in their own terms.

In the wake of such influences, new aboriginal religious movements sprang into existence -- many ephemeral and fragile -- as if in response to debilitating external influences. Many, if not most of these religious expressions originated in a visionary experience. The Dream Dance of the Ojibwe was one of these.

CHAPTER III

EXPRESSIONS OF REVITALIZATION

New spiritual movements, particularly in non-western societies, are frequently referred to as "revitalization movements," and are defined as "deliberate, organized, conscious efforts by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (Wallace 1956:265). They are widely held to be a reaction or response by a social group against conditions of oppression which are perceived by the group to be destructive to its cultural foundations (Wallace 1956, Farb 1968). Recently, Elizabeth Vibert conducted a study of Plateau societies of the Pacific Coast region in which she probed more deeply, and concluded that prophetic movements were not responses to desperate conditions, but rather to the spiritual unease resulting from these conditions. She commented that:

> ...it is short-sighted -- and one is tempted to say arrogant -- to view everything that happened in the time of colonial penetration as a reaction to it (Vibert 1995:220);

and contended that a condition such as a smallpox epidemic, rather than being a disaster imposed by outside forces, gave rise to "a spiritual crisis *within* Plateau societies, and the prophetic movements of the time were an attempt to stem that crisis (Vibert 1995:199). The response to the condition may have taken as simple a form as an "ethnic get-together" which celebrated "traditional" food, clothing, culture and language; or a form as complex and extreme as an

armed rebellion or the violent nascence of a radically different religious doctrine (Farb 1968:275).

As Wallace explained, culture -- the linguistic, social, political, artistic and spiritual expression of a particular society -- provides a framework or structure within which individuals establish a place for themselves in relation to others. Adjustments in this structure are normally characterized by a perpetual, though gradual, state of evolution and change, a "slow, chain-like, self-contained procession of superorganic inevitabilities", in which each micro-shift in direction is dependent on some other variable. In a revitalization movement, however, the shift occurs "abruptly and simultaneously in intent" -- perhaps within the space of one generation -- and is usually brought about through the unilateral actions and intent of a single individual (leader or prophet) and his or her followers (Wallace 1956:265).

Wallace divided revitalization movements into several subcategories. *Nativistic* movements have their main focus on the elimination of alien people, customs and values, while *revivalistic* movements focus on the restoration of traditional customs and values of earlier generations no longer present. *Cargo cults* emphasize the importation of alien customs, values and materiel arriving in the form of a ship's cargo, whereas *vitalistic* movements anticipate the arrival of alien goods, but without the benefit of 'ship and cargo.' *Millenarian* movements promote apocalyptic world transformation engineered by the supernatural, and *messianic* movements emphasize the participation of a divine saviour in human flesh. None of Wallace's definitions were intended to be mutually exclusive, and in fact, any particular movement was likely to share characteristics of two or more categories (Wallace 1956:267).

The conditions under which revitalization movements most frequently occur have been the focus of many studies, and certain commonalities, which led to the development of such movements, have been found to exist. When a culture is threatened, either from within or without, levels of stress are created which affect all individuals dependent on that framework, albeit in different ways (Wallace 1956:269, Farb 1968:275-276). As community stress levels increase, suitable steps to regain what is perceived as comfortable or tolerable are instituted to maintain a state of equilibrium, or "steady state" (Wallace 1956:269). However, if a "definable social group" is exposed to circumstances such as "climatic, floral and faunal change; military defeat; political subordination; extreme pressure toward acculturation resulting in internal cultural conflict; economic distress; epidemics, etc.", with no suitable means of adjusting or accommodating the new situation, the cultural system is jeopardized (ibid.). Normal behaviour cannot be maintained in these new circumstances, and when alternative methods of accommodation are unsuccessfully attempted, the community becomes unstable (ibid.).

As Wallace explains, individuals react differently to prolonged periods of high stress in these conditions. While some attempt to disregard the new stresses, others experiment with different stress-reducing techniques, and still others succumb to "regressive innovations" such as

> ...alcoholism, extreme passivity and indolence, the development of highly ambivalent dependency relationships, intragroup violence, disregard of kinship and sexual mores, irresponsibility in public officials, states of depression and self-reproach, and probably a variety of psychosomatic and neurotic disorders (Wallace 1956:269)

This can result in a culture distorted by "mutually inconsistent and interfering"

elements (Wallace 1956:269). In this phase of the process, stress levels exponentially increase until "...symptoms of anxiety over the loss of a meaningful way of life also become evident; disillusionment...and apathy toward problems of adaptation set in" (ibid., 270). Without viable solutions, the social group is destined for destruction.

It is at this juncture -- in a process crucial to the survival of the culture -- that religious revitalization movements frequently emerge, most often initiated by an individual in the society who up until this critical moment, may have been relatively obscure (Farb 1968:290). Almost every religious revitalization movement "has been originally conceived in one or several hallucinatory visions by a single individual" (Wallace 1956:270). Visions often include direction received from a supernatural source; rhetoric concerning the social problems which recognizes the futility of maintaining the status quo; and a strategy for restructuring the group to enable it to remain viable. According to Wallace, the recipient of the vision becomes a prophet, around whom an organization develops "with three orders of personnel: the prophet, the disciples, and the followers" (Wallace 1956:273). Through the process of "doctrinal modification; political and diplomatic maneuver; and force" the doctrine is rendered acceptable to the majority (Wallace 1956:274-275). Successful cultural transformation is marked by "reduction of the personal deterioration symptoms of individuals, by extensive cultural changes, and by an enthusiastic embarkation on some organized program of group action" (ibid., 275). The social group returns to a new "steady state," where the "organization contracts and maintains responsibility only for the preservation of doctrine and the performance of ritual..." (ibid.)

An understanding of the factors which combine to create a suitable environment for the development of any new movement assist in categorizing the Dream Dance, identifying its place in the broad spectrum of Indian spiritual movements, and distinguishing it from other similar expressions.

PART II:

THE DREAM DANCE OF THE CHIPPEWA

CHAPTER IV

ORIGIN OF THE DREAM DANCE CEREMONY

The Dream Dance ceremony first arose among the Minnesota Sioux sometime between 1860 and 1890 (Vennum 1982: 45). In the ensuing years it appeared in numerous other communities (Vennum 1982), and in the 1930s was observed in three northern Manitoba and Ontario Ojibwe communities by anthropologist A. Irving Hallowell (Brown 1992). For the next sixty years, although the Dream Dance remained a component of Ojibwe life both north and south of the Canada/U.S. border, its story lay dormant until revived by Winnipeg historian Jennifer S.H. Brown and her colleagues. The Dream Dance story is being perpetuated with this writing -- while the Dream Dance ceremony still persists in "isolated pockets of traditionalism" such as the Wisconsin Rapids Potawatomi, the Menominee and Bad River reservations (Vennum 1982:154), and among the Sauk of Oklahoma (Reinschmidt 1994).

A great deal of confusion and controversy surrounds the origin and particulars of the Dream Dance ceremony. Some researchers have identified its source among the Wisconsin Ojibwe (Benjamin Armstrong, Robert E. Ritzenthaler), others among the Kansas Potawatomi (Alanson Skinner), although the prevailing version identifies the Minnesota Sioux as Dream Dance ceremony originators (Vennum 1982:46-47). Historians, missionaries and other researchers have on occasion confused it with other contemporary expressions,

such as the Grass Dance and the Ghost Dance, due to certain similarities of practice (Vennum 1982: 46-49). Closer observation, however, reveals significant differences among the three -- variations which make it clear that the Dream Dance is unique, even though certain components may have been derivative.

Figure 2 sets out important features of the Grass Dance, the Ghost Dance and the Dream Dance for purposes of comparison. The Grass Dance began its existence as a ceremonial dance of an Omaha warrior society. Despite its obvious orientation toward war rather than peace -- its name likely derived from the bustle-like arrangement of grass worn suspended from the dancer's back during performance which symbolized enemy scalps taken in battle (Vennum 1982:53) -- it appears to have the closest association with the Dream Dance. The Grass Dance featured special songs and dances conducted in a particular order (ibid., 99) and was performed in an enclosure of "definite form" (ibid., 53, 119). A prominent feature of the Grass Dance was its very large drum -- a noteworthy departure from its small hand-drum predecessor (ibid., 56) -- which in performance was suspended horizontally on stakes driven into the ground (ibid., 58-59), and it is this feature which has its closest parallel in the Dream Dance.

The Ghost Dance of the Nevada Paiutes also shared certain characteristics with the Dream Dance. The Ghost Dance was based on a vision of the prophet Wovoka which promoted peace and harmony. The ceremony included a number of songs set to dance steps, and later incorporated special dance attire, as did both the Grass Dance and the Dream Dance ceremonies.

GRASS DANCE
CA. 1850
OMAHA - PLAINS

- MAY HAVE BEEN VISION BASED
- WARRIORS DANCE
- MEN ONLY
- SONGS & DANCES IN SPECIAL SEQUENCE
- DANCE PAVILION
- SPECIAL DANCE ATTIRE
- LARGE DRUM (NOT SACRED)

DREAM DANCE
CA. 1870
SIOUX - MINNESOTA

- VISION-BASED - TAILFEATHER WOMAN
- PROMOTED UNIVERSAL PEACE
- LIMITED PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN
- SONGS & DANCES IN SPECIAL ORDER
- SPECIAL DANCE AREA
- SPECIAL DANCE ATTIRE
- BIG DRUM - SACRED

GHOST DANCE
CA. 1888
PAIUTE - NEVADA

- VISION BASED
- PROMOTED UNIVERSAL PEACE
- GENDER EQUAL
- SONGS SET TO SINGLE DANCE STEP
- SPECIAL DANCE AREA
- SPECIAL DANCE ATTIRE
- NO DRUM

Figure 2. Predominant features of Grass Dance, Dream Dance and Ghost Dance

(It is important to note here that although special dance shirts, as well as dresses with eagle feathers and protective designs, were often associated with the Ghost Dance [Feest 1992:54-55], Wovoka disclaimed "any responsibility for these garments" [Mooney 1973:772]. They were subsequently discovered to have originated among the Sioux as an auxiliary of war [ibid., 791] and as such would have had no place in a ceremony based on "universal peace.") Any similarity with the Dream Dance ended here. In the Ghost Dance, women participated fully; in the Dream Dance, women's roles, although important, were limited. The Ghost Dance had no drum of any size, or indeed *any* instrument, while both the Grass Dance and the Dream Dance are noted for their big drum. The Ghost Dance ceremony, as documented among several adherents, was conducted in a specially cleared outdoor area where men and women joined hands, closed their eyes, and danced, sometimes to the point of exhaustion or a state of trance (Mooney 1896:779, 796; DeMallie 1984:261).

The chronology or sequence of the three movements, the lack of any direct historical connection between the Nevada Paiute and the Minnesota Ojibwe, combined with the absence of any drum, large or small eliminates the Ghost Dance ceremony as a forerunner to the Dream Dance, despite the similarities shown in Figure 2.

As noted, the predominant shared feature of the Grass Dance and Dream Dance was the big drum. However, the Grass Dance drum had no prescribed design. Its framework could be hollowed out of a tree, or fashioned from a barrel or a wooden washtub. Indeed, a commercial bass drum was quite as acceptable as a handmade instrument (Vennum 1982:57). Nor were there any stipulations regarding decoration. Grass Dance drums could range anywhere

from highly decorative to plain and functional (Vennum 1982:58). They could be placed on the ground during performance, or, to create more resonance, suspended in some manner above the ground, and were often accompanied by smaller hand-drums, rattles and make-shift instruments (Vennum 1982:60).

Although the Grass Dance incorporated not only the drum but, as well, a variety of rattles and other drum-like instruments (Vennum 1982:60-61), the Drum was the *only* instrument used in the Dream Dance ceremony, . Nevertheless, the Omaha Grass Dance drum (dating from ca. 1850) can be, by virtue of its size, considered a likely predecessor to the Dream Dance Drum (Vennum 1982:63). Furthermore, given the account of George Nelson, an early-nineteenth-century trader, of an "immense large drum" in use by Wisconsin Ojibwe as early as 1804 (Brown and Brightman 1988:8, 61), it is clear that the northern Ojibwe had experienced the fuller, richer sound of a large drum nearly 50 years prior to Tailfeather Woman's vision.

As earlier noted, the Dream Dance was based on a vision or dream. There are variations of the context in which the vision occurred -- although the revelations are for the most part consistent -- and it may be instructive to examine these. The vision account, which Vennum obtained from William Bineshi Baker Sr., reads in part as follows:

The Vision of Tailfeather Woman

> Here is the story of the beginning of the ceremonial powwow Drum. It was the first time when the white soldiers massacred the Indians when this Sioux woman gave four sons of hers to fight for her people. But she lost her four sons in this massacre and ran away after she knew her people were losing the war. The soldiers were after her but she ran into a lake (the location of which is never mentioned in the "preaching" of the Drum's story). She went in the water and hid under the lily pads. While there, the Great

Spirit came and spoke to her and told her, "There is only one thing for you to do."

It took four days to tell her. It was windy and the wind flipped the lily pads so she could breathe and look to see if anyone was around. No -- the sound is all that she made out, but from it she remembered all the Great Spirit told her. On the fourth day at noon she came out and went to her people to see what was left from the war. (The date of this event is unknown.) The Great Spirit told her what to do: "Tell your people, if there are any left (and he told her there was), you tell your people to make a drum and tell them what I told you." The Great Spirit taught her also the songs she knew and she told the men folks how to sing the songs. "It will be the only way you are going to stop the soldiers from killing your people."

So her people did what she said, and when the soldiers who were massacring the Indians heard the sound of the drum, they put down their arms, stood still and stopped the killing, and to this day white people are always wanting to see a powwow.

This powwow drum is called in English "Sioux drum," in Ojibwa *bwaanidewe'igan.* It was put here on earth before peace terms were made with the whites. After the whites saw what the Indians were doing and having a good time -- the Indians had no time to fight -- the white man didn't fight. After all this took place the whites made peace terms with the Indians. So the Indians kept on the powwow. It's because the Sioux woman lost her four sons in the war that the Great Spirit came upon her and told her to make the Drum to show that the Indians had power too, which they have but keep in secret.
[William Bineshi Baker, Sr.]
(Vennum 1982:45)

A similar account conveyed to Densmore by the Chippewa *circa* 1913, while it refers to a "woman," makes no mention of her age, or of her being the mother of four sons, although the duration of her experience is consistent with Baker's account. However, two very powerful provisions were incorporated in Densmore's version. The first was that, in exchange for providing the woman's

people with the gift of the Drum, the *manido'* (dream spirit) must be given two men in return, and subsequently, when the Drum was struck for the first time, "the *manido'* appeared again and the two men who had made the drum fell dead beside it." The second stipulation was that the "women could sing with the drum, but that only the men could dance around it" (Densmore 1913:143, 44).

Another earlier version of the story, also derived from the Chippewa and Menominee (Barrett 1911:256), establishes the age of the Sioux woman at between 10 and 16 years -- scarcely of sufficient maturity to have sons old enough to participate in the fight against United States troops. The duration of the experience in this version was given as ten days (rather than the significant four of the Baker and Chippewa versions).

A more recent account is that of Michael Reinschmidt (1994) who traced the origin of the Dream Dance ceremony as it exists among the Oklahoma Sauk. He derived the woman's identity from an Ojibwa and Menominee narrative: "*Wananihkwe* of the Santee Sioux... an eye-witness who survived Custer's massacre at the Little Bighorn in 1876" (Reinschmidt 1994:23). In another variant of the story uncovered by Reinschmidt, the woman was referred to as "a virgin named *Shaskasi* (...Mesquakie: 'teenage girl, unmarried girl past puberty')", who received her vision "under the skies of the open prairies". Neither Reinschmidt's nor Barrett's account specified the duration of the visionary experience (ibid., 23), and, according to Reinschmidt, there was no further significant departure in detail between these accounts.

Other variations occur, some identifying Tailfeather Woman as a teenager, others as a mature adult. A clear and significant theme is evident despite such disparity in details.

CHAPTER V

THE MINNESOTA-WISCONSIN DREAM DANCE

Drums have long been an integral component of ceremonial activity among North American aboriginal people. In previous Ojibwe performance, small hand-drums were played by men singing in unison while standing "in a row or semicircle facing the dancers." The drum was held vertically in front of the singer by a strap, or by thongs attached to his back (a practice which still survives today among some aboriginal groups) (Vennum 1982:56). With the advent of the new large Drum, performance style had to be altered. Rather than each man playing his own drum, four men faced each other seated around one large Drum which was placed in a horizontal position slightly raised above the ground. It is immediately apparent that such a increase in drum size required not only a shift in performance style, but also in vocal style: the new fuller resonance of the big Drum's beat required a more substantial vocal accompaniment in order to be audible (ibid.).

It is not surprising that the Drum would be incorporated as a powerful adjunct to the newly established ceremony. Tailfeather Woman's vision, deemed to be given to her by the Great Spirit, incorporated strict rules governing the design, construction and decoration of the Drum, rules which among the Ojibwe were obeyed very carefully. The Menominee, as "preached by the Ojibwe" considered the Drum to be "from God" (Slotkin 1957:38).

Generally, the Drum was given a name and treated as a living being -- a close, venerated, family member. Among the Menominee, the Drum was addressed as *gimishoomisinaan* "Our Grandfather" (Vennum 1982:61). Never allowed to touch the ground, it was provided a bed of its own in the owner's home with a night light;, and was dressed, ritually fed and presented with gifts such as tobacco. The Drum was believed to be invested with both the power to heal and the power to harm. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Dream Dance Drum occupied "a central position in Ojibwe ceremonialism" (Vennum 1982:61-63).

In the early years of the Dream Dance in Minnesota, not only the Drum and its associated songs and dances, but also elaborate dance costumes with special belts, roached head dresses, sleigh bells and beaded accessory items were transferred to new Drum owners. This custom gradually changed over time: some items lost their special association and became garb used indiscriminately for all ceremonies, and others were replaced with more ordinary items such as regular headgear or belts (Vennum 1982:128-131). Nevertheless, in Naamiwan's dance ceremony -- perhaps forty years later and hundreds of miles north -- distinctive attire, including special dance capes were created for the Dream Dance (Matthews 1993:10).

The special open-air enclosure or large dance pavilion constructed for the ceremony was another outstanding feature of the Dream Dance (Brown and Matthews 1994:66; Vennum 1982:113). The purpose of such enclosures was to "...establish ritual purity within their confines and separate the events contained inside them from the disorders of the outside world" (Vennum 1982:113). Although building techniques were similar (Brown and Matthews 1994:66), the

shape and dimensions of pavilions differed notably from other ceremonial enclosures. For example, Midé lodges were "long *rectangular* or oblong structures intended as an allegory to *gichi-gami* ("The Big Sea" [Lake Superior]" (Vennum 1982:115). The shaking tent was a relatively small conical structure, about seven feet in height, and intended to accommodate only the conjurer and his "other than human" advisers (Brown 1992:68). Dream Dance pavilions, however, were round and built to accommodate large numbers of dancers, although they varied slightly in shape, size or other characteristics. For example, Hoffman in 1890 indicated that the pavilions of the Menominee had two openings: one to the east and one to the west; MacCauley, ten years earlier, observed only a western opening; and Densmore in 1913 noted openings to the east, south and west, of which the two latter were closed off (Vennum 1982:116). Naamiwan's pavilion had four doors: each facing one of the four cardinal points (Brown 1992:78).

Decorating or "dressing" the Drum was a serious matter requiring as much skill and care as its construction. The Drum was given a skirt which hung freely, covering the lacing, frame and the bottom head, usually made from blue, red or black velvet, flannel or broadcloth. A belt, perhaps 4 or 5 inches wide, beaded, and finished with shiny material like silk or satin was attached around the upper edge of the skirt. An additional narrower strip of fur was affixed over the belt, and four evenly-spaced tabs were suspended over the belt. Below the belt, several metal pendants were usually hung to make a jingling sound (Vennum 1982:170-201). This description conforms closely with that provided by Densmore (1913:145), and one to which Naamiwan also adhered (Brown 1992:77 fig. 13). The Minnesota Ojibwe placed hawk bells inside their Drums

(Vennum 1982:161), and sleigh bells were suspended inside the Henry Davis Drum (Howard 1966:119). These items were intended to facilitate communication between the drummer and his Drum. In the north, Naamiwan's Drum was likewise faithful to the concept of communication with six long, thin bones on a string framework mounted inside the Drum cavity (Matthews 1993:9).

Another important point of consideration is drum head decoration. Other than insignificant border trim, the heads of secular Ojibwe drums remained largely undecorated (Vennum 1982:201). In Minnesota, however, following instructions received in Tailfeather Woman's vision (Vennum 1982:202) the Dream Dance Drum head was bisected by a narrow yellow line, bounded on one side by a solid field of blue and on the other by a field of red (Vennum 1982:202; Densmore 1913:145). The Drum, whether in use or at rest, was placed with its colours aligned to the cardinal points: the yellow line running east and west, blue on the north, red on the south (Vennum 1982:202).

For purposes of clarification, it should be noted in passing that the Dog Feast is a sacred ceremony which may predate the Grass Dance, and which focuses on the ritual serving of food (Vennum 1982: 103). As part of the Grass Dance (Vennum 1982:108), it was transmitted to the Chippewa from the Sioux in the 1880s (Densmore 1913:173), and was firmly established as an integral part of the Minnesota Dream Dance ceremony (Vennum 1982:103-113). The Dog Feast, documented in the journal of HBC trader William Chapman, was occurring in the Little Grand Rapids area around 1912 (Brown and Matthews 1994:65). The presence of this ceremony is significant for two reasons. It is a major component of the Midewiwin -- a ceremony of quite a different nature.

Even more significant is the fact that to the Ojibwe, the practice of eating dog meat is so loathsome that it "must have been considered a demonstration of bravery indulged in only by warriors" (Vennum 1982:112).

The process of transmitting the Drum and the ceremony with its numerous associated songs and dances, as recounted by Tailfeather Woman, was intended "to establish intertribal peace and brotherhood" (Vennum 1982:70). Transmission was one of the important responsibilities of a Drum owner, whose faithful adherence to the ceremony was required. The ceremony attending the transfer of the Drum varied in some small details from one place to another, but essentially the same procedure was followed by the Woodland Ojibwe. A prospective Drum owner was selected by an existing Drum owner -- perhaps on the basis of his having had appropriate dreams indicating that he would be a fitting owner, perhaps on the basis of an excellent reputation (Vennum 1982:89). But before transferring his Drum, the Drum donor would retain a piece of it from which to make a new Drum -- a practice which symbolized the Drum's descent from a single source.

The exchange commenced with the giving of gifts, the worth of which was expected to equal the value of the Drum (Vennum 1982:88-90). Sacred songs accompanying the Drum were the subject of intensive instruction and rehearsal. Great importance was placed on the correct performance of the songs, for "...[they] are considered prayers to the Great Spirit....The beating of the drum...together with the smoke from the ceremonial pipes, is supposed to carry the invocations of the participants up to the Great Spirit" (Vennum 1982:92). Song instruction continued for extended periods, often months, sometimes years after the actual exchange ceremony had been concluded.

In the wake of a host of economic, religious and social factors in the 1930s, the Minnesota Dream Dance suffered a severe decline. It had to compete with a host of circumstances that it had never encountered before. Employment demands, religious opposition, and culture fragmentation -- all played a role in Drum societies which gradually diminished in size and number (Vennum 1982:132-147). At a time when poverty was on the rise -- the Great Depression was at hand -- the construction and decoration of the Drum, requiring specific skills, many hours of careful labour and increasingly expensive materials, became a prohibitively expensive undertaking. In Minnesota, people refused to accept the Drum because the costs of maintaining it were too great (Vennum 1982:142).

PART III:

THE OJIBWE OF THE CENTRAL SUBARCTIC

CHAPTER VI

NINETEENTH-CENTURY RELIGIOUS CURRENTS

Cree and Ojibwe communities in the subarctic region west of Hudson Bay -- what is now northern Manitoba and northwestern Ontario (see Figure 1) -- manifested an increasing amount of spiritual ferment during the middle of the nineteenth century. This unrest may have been due in part to missionary activities which began to expand northward from the Red River settlement, through the Interlake region, to Norway House (Brown 1992:28-32). Vigorous missionary efforts, combined with a relative scarcity of food resources, reduced trade potential due to the depletion of fur-bearing animals, and the social and psychological factors induced by the lack of material goods, are believed to have had a significant bearing on "religious change and movements of religious revitalization" in this period (Peers 1994:166).

Until 1839, the Hudson's Bay Company had discouraged the presence of Christian missionaries in the area, electing instead not only to have their officers conduct Sunday services at the posts, but also, by 1823, to make attendance compulsory for "every man, woman and child at the Post..." (Van Kirk 1980:131). However, in 1839-40, the Company "reversed its policy," and invited the English Wesleyans to establish themselves in the area (Williamson 1980:221-222).

Wesleyan Methodist proselytization north of the Red River Settlement began with the establishment of a base mission at Norway House, with satellite

missions at Grand Rapids, The Pas and Cumberland House -- all located north and west of Lake Winnipeg (Brown 1992:28-29). More than 30 years elapsed before any missions were established in the area immediately east of Lake Winnipeg, although the Methodist Reverend George Barnley was based in Moose Factory from 1840 on, and word of him would have spread up the Albany drainage. So slow was the eastward advancement of missionary activity, that in the late 1860s, Jacob Berens, an Ojibwe leader from Berens River, led a delegation to Norway House where he had earlier been baptized, seeking religious instruction (Brown 1992:28-29). However, despite their expression of interest in Christianity, it wasn't until 1873 that a mission was finally established at Berens River (ibid.). Figure 3 illustrates the still sparse distribution of missionary establishments throughout this region by 1891.

Within two years of Evans's appointment to Norway House, reports of unusual religious activity began to emerge in the area. Signs of spiritual unrest were widespread not only among the Cree, but also among the Ojibwe and Dene peoples. Clamorous activities, noted at Churchill and Severn posts in late 1842 in which the participants "...shouted and praised the lord aloud" (Young 1900:49-50),were attributed to Evans's Methodist activities -- the connection derived from the Indians' possession and use of the syllabic writing in their religious books and charts (Brown 1988:3). Letitia Hargrave, writing from York Factory in 1842, spoke of these gatherings as exhibiting a "religious frenzy," and suggested that "people [were] afraid to speak in case of bringing 'The Church' down on them...." (Hargrave 1947:107).

What were the precipitating events that led to this apparent rash of religious fervour? Were unstable social and economic conditions factors

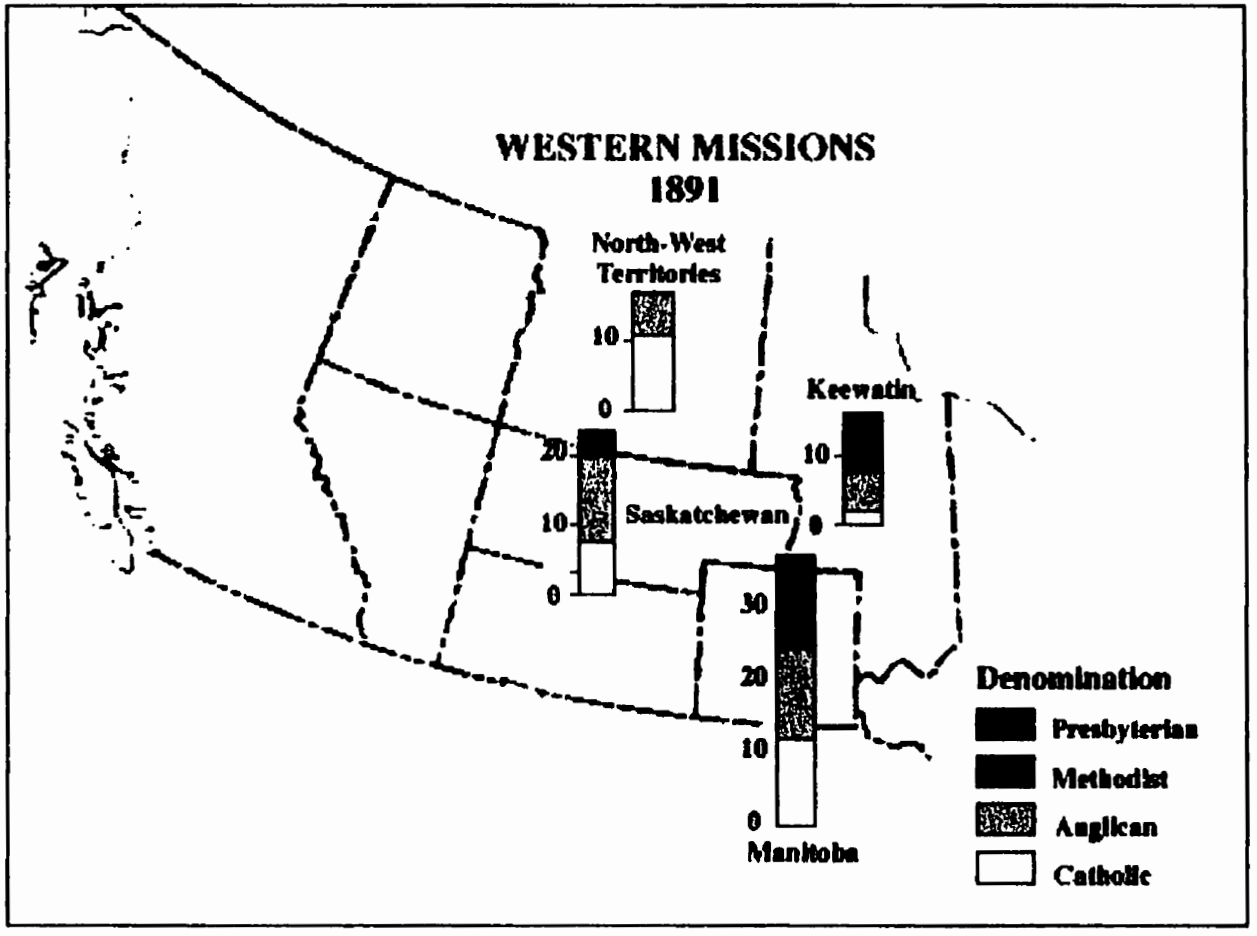


Figure 3. Western Missions: 1891. Map showing distribution of missions in region west of Hudson Bay (present-day Saskatchewan, Manitoba and northwest Ontario) by denomination. Grant and Moir, 1993, Pl. 53 (adapted)

which instigated a requirement for a new spiritual relationship? Did these people feel that the God of the newcomers was more powerful than their own? Did they feel that they had been abandoned by their own spiritual guardians, and thereforein their desperation turn to new religions?

In the early 1840s, the situation of Indians -- Cree, Ojibwe and Dene alike -- was grim. The weather had been severe, and game was scarce, a situation which prevailed throughout the Hudson's Bay Company territory in the Central Subarctic.

> By the middle of the nineteenth century...the country between the Churchill River and James Bay, particularly the region adjacent to York Factory, was nearing a state of absolute exhaustion (Williamson 1980:223).

The depletion of game encouraged increasing numbers of Indians to migrate south to Red River and west to Cumberland House (Williamson 1980:223). Despite Laura Peers's contention that in the Interlake

> ...the Ojibwa were neither literally starving nor economically destitute in the trade...[but only] relatively deprived, especially of the most prestigious meat and fur species (Peers 1994:166),

Hudson's Bay Company post journals from the Hudson Bay lowlands reflected the worsened conditions of poverty and starvation to which Indian people near the posts on the western side of Hudson Bay were reduced. Chief Trader George Barnston at Albany wrote in January 1843 that "the poverty of the country inspired terror into these poor creatures to face the evil and weather out the season" (Brown 1982:57). In September 1843, he commented:

> Some...Indians arrived...the most wretched that can, I think, be met with in any part of the country: they are literally naked... (HBCA: B.3/a/149 f.5d),

a situation arising from failure to find game which could either provide clothing

or enable trade.

Even had game been plentiful, native guns were barely functional. The many guns which Indians brought to the post for repair were "not worth a farthing," reported Thomas Corcoran, Barnston's successor at Albany, in August 1843 (HBCA: B.3/a/149 f.2d). In addition to lack of game, climatic conditions were extreme. By the end of October, Corcoran observed that the temperature was "the coldest degree I have ever known so early in the season..." and that the weather was "unusually inclement" (HBCA: B.3/a/149 f.10), indicating the prospect of yet another hard winter.

It is in conditions such as these that spiritual unrest is likely to become most evident in any culture. Very often throughout post-contact North America, aboriginal people sought to reaffirm their faith in "traditional" ways.

> The Wabano cult of the late 18th century marked one such Renaissance among the Ojibwa. Another followed in the Shawnee revival under Tenskwatawa....A good many Ojibwa subscribed to the messianic, redemptionist message of The Prophet (Tenskwatawa), as well as took part in the abortive religion (Martin 1978:147).

Similar conditions existed among the Cree and Ojibwe people in the region west of Hudson Bay. In 1842, during the initial stages of this period of instability and turmoil, Abishabis, a Cree prophet, came to prominence. As Letitia Hargrave so succinctly explained in a September 1843 letter:

> An Indian called Abbis Shabbish called himself Bishop & misled them all, got our hunters to steal for him &c., and even frightened mothers to steal their sons clothes & gave them to him (Hargrave 1947:164).

Abishabis's teachings spread rapidly, but his influence was short-lived. By the summer of 1843, Hudson's Bay journals report his incarceration, and, shortly

after, his murder -- or, in Cree terms, an execution as "windigo" (a cannibalistic spirit associated with dangerous human beings) (Brown 1988:4).

Spiritual unrest did not cease with the death of Abishabis. Indeed, a series of parallel episodes flared, sputtered, and died like spent tinder, from 1843 to 1864, in locations ranging along the interior waterways west of Hudson Bay and north into the Mackenzie River system (Grant 1980:125-128). Prophets appeared in the 1840s and '50s from places as widespread as York Factory, Norway House, Berens River and Trout Lake, and subsequently in the 1860s, from Portage La Loche, Fond du Lac on Lake Athabaska, and Fort Rae on Great Slave Lake (ibid.).

These events were documented in the accounts of missionaries -- Methodist, Oblate and Anglican -- who were at that time thinly scattered throughout the northwest (ibid.). Enough information exists in these accounts to reveal certain similarities. The incorporation of some aspect of Christianity -- the singing of hymns, the granting of absolution, the laying on of hands, the use of scripture, or the role of minister or priest -- was a fairly common element, although one aboriginal prophet claimed that he was "sent...to *oppose* Christianity" (ibid. 126, emphasis added). Most prophets claimed direct revelation in dreams or visions as the basis of their authority -- an important element of these events which reflected aboriginal belief systems (Grant 1980:128). Of these episodes, all "...pointed to the inauguration of a utopian society or...a return to a golden age that had been infinitely better than the recalled past" (ibid., 129).

Abishabis's brief influence on aboriginal people of the area was significant. Indeed, among the Cree along James Bay, the memory of the first

Wesleyan Methodist missionaries drifted into oblivion, whereas Abishabis and his colleague, Wasiteck -- George Barnley's "emissaries of Satan" -- were credited with "the first effective christianization of the area" (Grant 1980:136).

Over the next several decades, a sequence of events occurred which were to have lasting effects on the Cree and Ojibwe people of the area. First was the 1870 formation of the Province of Manitoba, followed in 1875 by the negotiation of Treaty No. 5, in which 260,000 square kilometers of land were ceded by the Cree and Ojibwe to the Crown (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 1997:76, 78), resulting in a dramatically reduced land base.

It was at this time that the first Methodist mission (1873) was established by Egerton R. Young at the mouth of the Berens River (Brown 1992:29). Conversion to Christianity was apparently successful there but farther upriver, at locations such as Little Grand Rapids and Pikangikum, this was not the case. Although the Berens River People learned about Christianity through encounters with other aboriginal groups (Brown and Matthews 1994:61), they remained relatively removed from missionary activities for a much longer time. It is to this relatively untouched area that the Dream Dance ceremony was transmitted early in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER VII

PAUINGASSI

Pauingassi is a settlement on the Berens River system located approximately 10 miles northeast of Little Grand Rapids, which in turn was "108 tortuous miles of portages and swift currents" east of Berens River (Schuetze: 4, 24). Deep in rugged territory, it offered little to attract either government representatives or missionaries -- which explains how, at a time when the Indian Act expressly forbade such ceremonies, the people of Pauingassi were better able than most to maintain traditional lifestyles. They were, however, not isolated. Formerly active in the fur trade, carrying on business with the Hudson's Bay Company and with independent traders to the south and west (Brown and Matthews 1994:60), they had linkages which were maintained even after the fur trade declined. Figure 4 reveals the close connections which historically bound together the inland communities between Lake Winnipeg and Hudson and James Bays.

Pauingassi is noteworthy because in about 1914 it became the site of an important Ojibwe ceremony. A. Irving Hallowell, a prominent American anthropologist, while conducting ethnographic research in the area during the 1930s (Brown 1992:xi), witnessed and documented this still continuing spiritual expression (Hallowell 1955:160-169). As the detail of this particular practice was not Hallowell's primary focus -- his ceremonial interests focussed on the

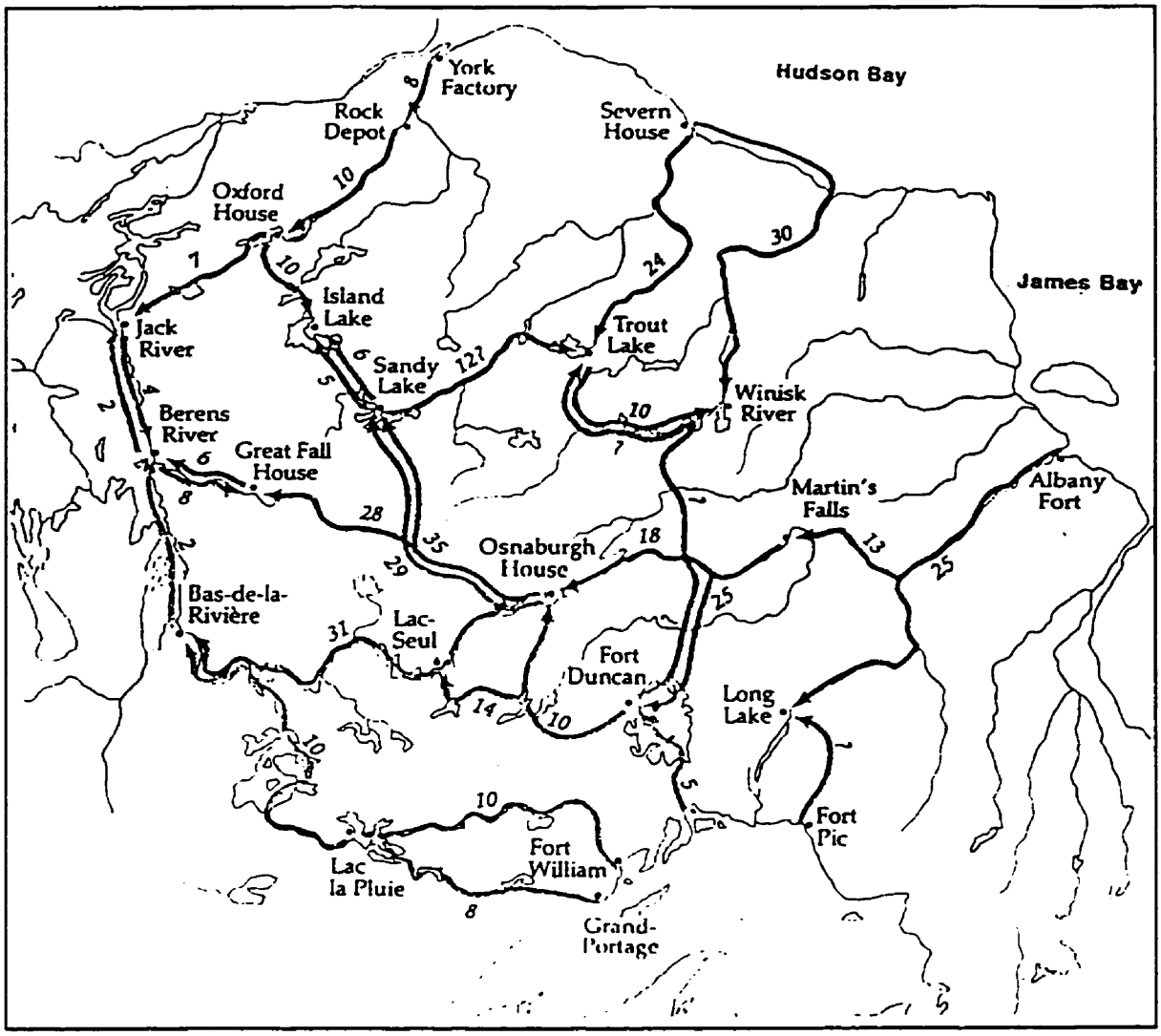


Figure 4. Fur Trade Waterways. Map showing area between Hudson Bay and Lake Winnipeg, and the interconnecting inland water routes in active use during the nineteenth century. Lytwyn 1987. Pl. 63.

Shaking Tent ceremony -- his notes were comparatively brief. However, he provided sufficient information for others to draw some conclusions about its origin, its purpose and its relationship to more "southern" ceremonial practices.

Hallowell described two ceremonial dances, one in Pauingassi and one in Little Grand Rapids, in which the practitioners communicated with the spirits of the dead (*djibaiyak*). Prominent in both rituals were the indispensable large drum and ceremonial dance. It should be noted in passing that none of the accounts relating to Abishabis, his disciples, or parallel contemporaneous movements, refers either to the ceremonial use of a drum, large or small, or to dancing. Hallowell's observation of the Pauingassi ceremony occurred in 1933 (Hallowell 1955:165). He had been told by his interpreter -- doubtless Chief William Berens, Hallowell's "interpreter, guide and virtual collaborator" in his Berens River investigations (Brown 1992:6) -- that the ceremony had no specific name, but that it could be called *Djibaisimowin*, "Ghost (or Spirit of the Dead) Dance" (Hallowell 1955:165). The ceremony had originated with a vision experienced by Naamiwan, also known as Fair Wind (Figure 5), who was at the time a powerful Ojibwe leader in the Berens River area (Brown and Matthews 1994:59-60).

At the time of his vision, Naamiwan had been in the throes of a deep personal trauma, both as a leader and as an individual. A favourite grandson had fallen ill, and Naamiwan, with all his power, was unable to cure him. When his grandson died, it left Naamiwan both personally bereft, and diminished as a healer in the eyes of his community. Griefstricken over his loss and prepared for or seeking his own death, Naamiwan experienced a powerful vision which provided him with a strong reason to live, helped assuage his grief, and

Figure 5. Naamiwan (Fair Wind) also known as John Owen. with snowy owl (?) wing. Naamiwan, at one time Ojibwe leader of Pauingassi, died in 1944 at the age of 93 (information courtesy of Gary Butikofer) (Hallowell 1992:83). Photo by A. Irving Hallowell, American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia).

bolstered his reputation as an outstanding leader.

A second ceremony witnessed by Hallowell occurred in Little Grand Rapids in 1934 (Hallowell 1955:162), and was identified as the *Drum Dance of* Kiwitc. It was described as a ceremony in which the *djibaiyak* were called upon for their blessing. As Kiwitc explained to Hallowell, in the spirit world (*djibaiaking*), the *djibaiyak* sing, dance and drum. Therefore, by engaging in these activities, the people pleased the spirits and thereby earned the desired blessings (ibid., 161).

Kiwitc's ceremony was based on two specific related dreams: one experienced by Kiwitc, an Ojibwe living in Little Grand Rapids, and one by his wife, the details of which were only cursorily provided to Hallowell because of a "taboo" which prohibited the communication of dream content unless specifically instructed by the dream messenger to do so. The essence of the dream had been inscribed by Kiwitc on birch bark in the form of animal figures (which represented specific animals which had spoken to Kiwitc in his dream), dots (representing human dwellings), and geometric devices (one of which likely represented the drum (ibid., 161). The dream -- a gift attributed to *pinési* (the Thunder Bird) -- did not appear on the birch bark in its entirety, and required elucidation by Kiwitc. *Pinési's* gift was represented during the course of the ceremony by the placement of two eagle skins at the south posts of the dancing ground (Hallowell 1955:160-161).

There were several differences, in both practice and setting, between Naamiwan's drum dance and the drum dance conducted by Kiwitc. Both Naamiwan and his ceremony were acknowledged to be more powerful, for in the words of Kiwitc, "I have not gone *that* far" (ibid. 165).

With regard to physical distinctions, the design of Naamiwan's dance pavilion was circular (see Figure 6) with four directionally oriented openings. Flying from a flagpole erected in the centre of his pavilion was a British flag. The dance area for Kiwitc's Drum Dance was "delimited by a series of stakes laid out in a square" (ibid., 161), with two opposing entries: one at the north providing access, and one at the south for egress. As Hallowell noted, "This orientation is in contrast to the east-and-west orientation of the Wabano pavilions and, in former times, of the Midéwiwin" (ibid., 161). He conjectured that this emphasis on the south (the direction of participants as they enter or depart from the dance square), suggested the origin of *pinési* (the source of the revelation), as well as the location of *djibaiaking* (ibid.).

The drum was central to Kiwitc's Drum Dance ceremony, and was spoken of respectfully as *kimicómisanän* "(our grandfather), according to Kiwitc because it was one of the "oldest things known to the Indians." But since "grandfather" was not only a term of respect for an old man, but was also used in "addressing or referring to spiritual helpers," Hallowell believed the term may have held an even deeper significance (Hallowell 1955:162). In Kiwitc's ceremony, the drum, encircled by four drummers oriented to the four directions, was placed in the centre of the dance area. Kiwitc "circled the dance ground with his pipe, ceremonially pointing it in all the directions of the compass" (ibid.) and spoke to the people, reminding them of their origins and their obligations of thankfulness for their blessings. Addressing himself to the "old people down south", he asked for their blessings, as well as those of the *pawáganak* (spirit helpers). Kiwitc made a tobacco offering, both to the *djibaiyak* and to *pinési,* in

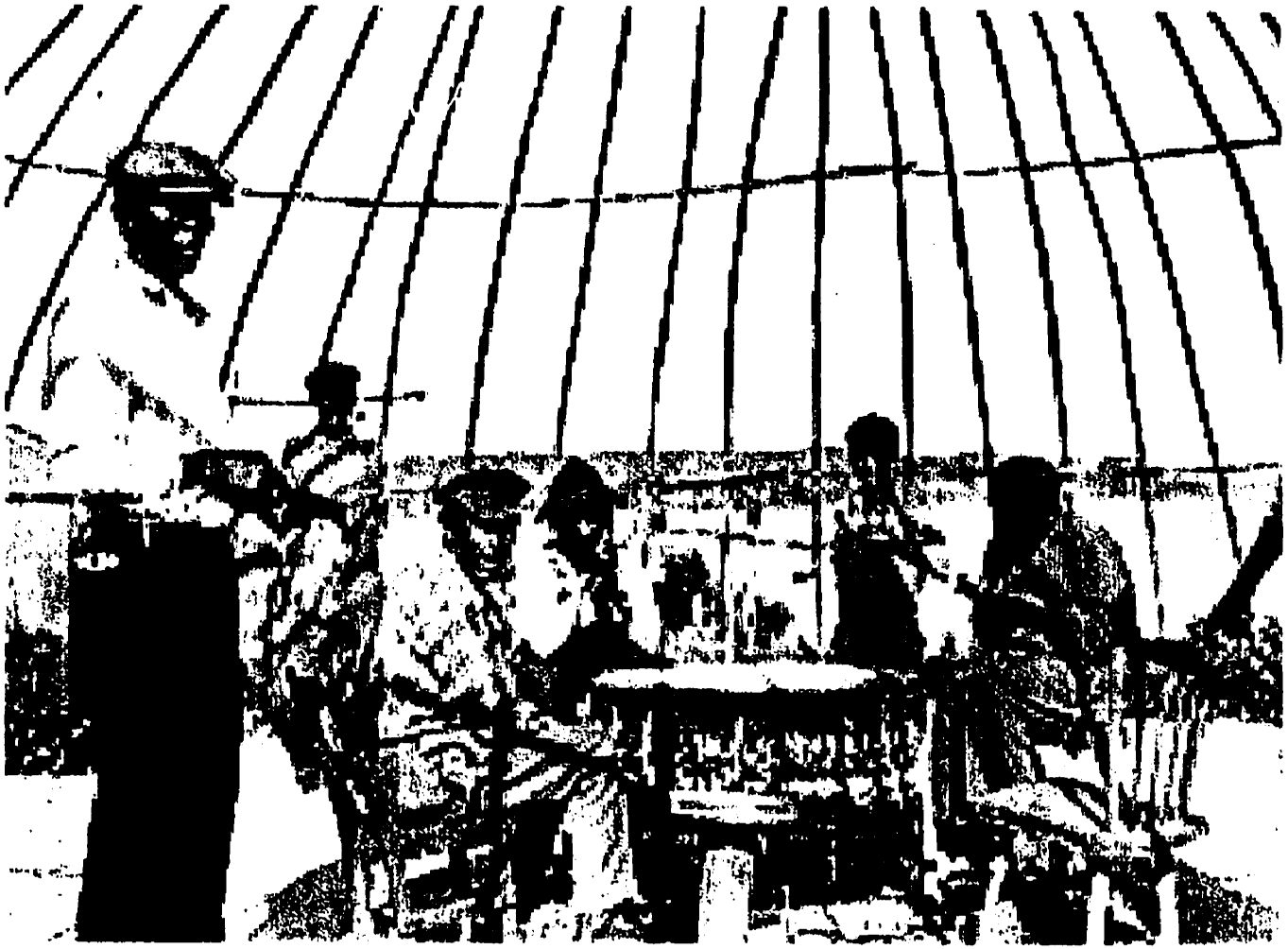


Figure 6. Dance pavilion used in Naamiwan's dance at Poplar Hill, with large, carefully dressed drum mounted in centre. Photo (ca. 1933) by A. Irving Hallowell, American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia.

anticipation of a healing process, and the ceremony concluded with dancing (ibid.).

Because Naamiwan's drum was the medium of communication with the spirits, it was even more central to the ceremony. The opening of Naamiwan's ceremony was similar to that of Kiwitc. Naamiwan's drum occupied the central position in the dance enclosure, and was played by four drummers. Although Hallowell did not provide a detailed account, his description suggested that a ceremony with the pipe may have been part of the opening:

> ...Fair Wind [*Naamiwan*]...with lighted pipe in hand (the stem pointing towards the drum), and his hat off, made some opening remarks. Then he circled the pavilion, took his place, and smoked for a while (Hallowell 1955:166).

This procedure was followed by a speech explaining how Naamiwan had obtained the dance.

At this point, Naamiwan's ceremony incorporated a series of auxiliary activities. Naamiwan's son Angus, head drummer for the ceremony, began a subdued communication with the spirits through the drum. This exchange was conducted by Angus lightly tapping on the edge of the drum, and speaking quietly, asking questions and making responses to an entity which only he and his father could hear (ibid.).

A feast, heralded by a new song, began. A group of women entered the pavilion carrying covered dishes, circled the drum (were they dancing?) and placed the food beside it. Naamiwan explained, for the benefit of "the great visiting Chief" William Berens (Matthews and Roulette 1996:351 n.2), that this food was an offering to the *djibaiyak* -- in this case the most recent dead, saying:

> When a person has lost a brother, a child, or some other relative, we call upon them to look down upon us. They have been on this earth once, and before that they were sent from above to come on

> this earth. Jesus, too, came from above to be the boss of the earth... (Hallowell 1955:167).

Thus one encounters the first indication, in Hallowell's description, of a Christian element, although there is reason to believe that Berens, in his role of interpreter, may have used analogous Christian terminology; this is a reasonable inference given Berens' adherence to Christian teachings, and his probable desire to facilitate Hallowell's comprehension of the proceedings (Matthews and Roulette 1996:352). The feast continued:

> ...the dishes of food were placed on the ground, arranged roughly in a ring around the drum; then the persons who had brought them in, while dancing around the drum, took their respective dishes and after circling around the dance path once or twice, placed them on top of the drum. The dishes were now unwrapped by the drummers, and every person in the pavilion stepped forward and helped himself to the bannock. (Hallowell 1955:166-167).

Another deviation from Kiwitc's ceremony occurred with the final dance, led by Angus's wife. Such an active role for a woman in the ceremony may in itself not have been unusual. However, midway through this dance, the motion reversed, while another dancer, "walking clockwise, wove in and out of the line" (Hallowell 1955:168). This contrapuntal action may have reflected practice in Minnesota, where in a special "Woman's Dance" (*ikweniimi'idiwin*), performed immediately following the Dream Dance, the women move "shoulder to shoulder around the drum...sideways in a clockwise direction for awhile, then counterclockwise" (Vennum 1982:86).

Several components of the ceremony which followed -- also at variance with the ceremony conducted by Kiwitc -- reflected Christian practice:

> ...the drummers stood up, Fair Wind came forward, and the whole group sang a Christian hymn. Finally, Fair Wind lifted his hand in benediction, in the Christian manner, and Jesus was mentioned again. (ibid., 168).

Further questioning revealed that the dance "came directly from God" (ibid.). Other components, which appear to have been omitted from this ceremony, were only briefly alluded to by Hallowell, and included a ceremony in which the clothes and other belongings of a deceased were redistributed, and a curative.function which Hallowell was informed had been incorporated into the Drum Dance "...since the *Midéwiwin*...died out" (ibid., 169).

The Christian elements evident in Naamiwan's ceremony may have developed from United Church practices observed on his visit to Little Grand Rapids in 1918, at which time he reportedly stated: "As my old religion seems to bring me trouble, I think I will try this new religion" (Brown and Matthews 1994:68). It was documented in the United Church Record and Missionary Review that Naamiwan had subsequently embraced Christianity, replaced his drum with a church bell, and dispensed with the dancing tent (ibid.). Later investigation revealed, however, that Naamiwan's actions were more in the order of syncretism:

> a photograph...shows the bell mounted...on a small wooden tower next to the round drum pavilion....Fair Wind's descendants at Pauingassi recalled that along with his Wabano and drum ceremonies, he rang the bell on Sundays to call everyone together, and he would preach and pray (Brown and Matthews 1994:69).

Another apparently Christian feature was the design resembling a Maltese cross on Naamiwan's drum head. However, one of Naamiwan's grandsons, Adam Owen, advised that Naamiwan had called it *gaagige-anang* (forever star) (Brown and Matthews 1994:69), suggesting that it had rather more Ojibwe than Christian implications.

The reasons for the presence of a British flag in Naamiwan's pavilion are

difficult to pinpoint decisively. What purpose would that flag serve? Was it some form of patriotism? Or was it representative of treaty rights and the special status of Indians within Canadian society, as was the British flag flown at a 1979 Saskatchewan pow-wow (Dyck 1983:170)? Was it to emulate the flag regularly flown from fur trade posts? Among the Minnesota Ojibwe,

> It is customary for Drum societies to raise one or more American flags at the dance site for the duration of the ceremony....the flag is understood to symbolize peace between the Indians and the United States Government as well as among all tribes under American jurisdiction...[and] to offer protection to those practicing the Dance (Vennum 1982:125).

Clearly, the symbolic properties of the flag are many, but the particular one intended by Naamiwan is unknown.

What might have given rise to these ceremonial performances? In the case of Naamiwan, there was evidence of great personal grief. Kiwitc's revelation seemed to have no specific instigation -- no overt community disruption, no individual trauma -- which might provoke a visionary experience. As Hallowell's 1932 record indicates, in 1912, an individual named Niskawewitang (when *pinesi* [thunderbird] calls there is always rain -- also known as Edward Thomas, a powerful healer from Roseau River in Manitoba), brought to Little Grand Rapids a give-away dance and the "proper songs" (Brown and Matthews 1994:63). That give-away dance may well have been the progenitor of the ceremony as conducted by Kiwitc, and developed and expanded by Naamiwan.

Two years later (1914), Naamiwan had the vision which led him to initiate a Drum Dance that "combined local and individual innovation with religious influences whose origins lay several hundred miles to the south" (ibid. 62). By

the time of Hallowell's visits to the Berens River area, there were at least three big Drums being used in ceremony in different families (Brown and Matthews 1994: 64-65).

PART IV:

ABORIGINAL MUSIC IN CONTEXT

CHAPTER VIII

ABORIGINAL MUSIC STRUCTURES

The literature concerning Canada's aboriginal people can be divided into three categories. The first comprises the journals and accounts written by the early fur traders, explorers and missionaries -- those who interacted with aboriginal peoples from the time of Cartier until the early nineteenth century. From such sources we might ideally hope to obtain the most intimate, first-hand knowledge concerning the aboriginal way of life -- including musical practice and performance -- prior to the advent of the Europeans.

The second category consists of accounts by anthropologists, historians and musicologists whose objective was to scientifically document aspects of aboriginal life. These accounts, written predominantly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were too late historically to capture an accurate picture of traditional ways, but simply documented those aspects of aboriginal culture which still existed.

A third category of literature is currently emerging -- one greatly enhanced through the contributions of aboriginal people themselves. It places in better perspective the role of aboriginal people in the initial years of European settlement -- years in which the European settlers relied heavily on aboriginal people for their very existence. It exposes the restrictive and sometimes genocidal colonial practices employed against aboriginal peoples,

and recognizes the contemporary contributions being made by aboriginal people across the country.

Each of these categories could be said to reflect the stages that aboriginal people have undergone since the European influx: their initial decline precipitated by European dominance; their confinement on reserves, in residential schools and through restrictive legislation; and their subsequent emergence in a much enlarged and more meaningful role in today's Canadian society.

It is not surprising that only a very few pages in early journals and accounts were devoted to describing aboriginal music. These documents were written by people whose priorities were to improve their own economic circumstances through securing furs and other trade items, explore new territory, or convert souls to Christianity. Moreover, they often addressed a European readership which was interested in the bizarre, the outrageous, and the sensational (Dickason 1984). It is more than possible that some authors and editors, in response to this demand, may have invented material.

Those whose writings included reference to music often wrote from a position of ignorance, as they rarely had an understanding of music, or if they did, they demonstrated an appreciation for no music but their own. Father Joseph Lafitau, a late seventeenth century Jesuit missionary, provided an unflattering account of aboriginal music:

> The music and dancing of the Americans have the barbarous quality which is, at first, revolting and of which one can scarcely form an idea without witnessing them...and their *hé, hé's* are so noisy that they make the entire village tremble. I have never been able to discern either finesse or delicacy in the violence of these impetuous dances nor could I distinguish one from the other... (Lafitau 1974:326).

A second category of literature results from the research of ethnologists and musicologists, one of the most notable of whom was Frances Densmore. Using an objective, scientific approach, Densmore researched aboriginal music as sung by native singers. She documented their songs, rhythms, dance patterns, and the associated ceremonies and rituals she was permitted to observe. These analyses of musical repertoires of the Chippewa, the Teton Sioux, the Choctaw (cf. Densmore 1913, 1932, 1972a, 1972b) and many others, are useful in comparing the music as it was performed in the early twentieth century with the way it is performed today -- a comparison which may demonstrate trends in aboriginal music. Densmore described the distinctive voice quality which pervaded contemporary native music as:

> ...different from that of the white man. The former cultivates and greatly admires a pronounced vibrato; a falsetto tone is also considered a mark of musical proficiency...This vibrato is not invariably found in a good singer, but, as in the white race, it is frequently present (Densmore 1936:61).

She then referred in passing to the "nasal tone" of love songs, the "wailing" found in songs of hopeless illness or after death, and the "crooning tone of lullabies." Was there a distinction made by native singers in the tone quality applied to the different song genres? Or was it that Densmore felt there *should* be a distinction? Alec Bonaise (1902-1991), a contemporary Cree singer, performed a *Round Dance Love Song* and his *Eagle Dance* (not a love song) without demonstrating any appreciable variation in tone quality. Densmore, however, researched and compared many singers from several aboriginal nations, and their styles may have varied enormously.

Contemporary commentary on aboriginal vocal quality, whether rightly or wrongly, still tends to compare singers in the aboriginal tradition with those

who sing in the European tradition. With reference to the voice quality of native singers, Harry Paige comments:

> Most Sioux Indians sing in a high-pitched *falsetto* that to the untrained ear sounds whiny, trembling and discordant...the effect created by the singers seems to resemble musical anarchy, each singer going his own way in the manner of jazz musicians. The ability to "crack" his voice is regarded by the Indians as a mark of musical proficiency, and they do this with remarkable skill. (Paige 1970:187)

Like Densmore, Paige also makes passing reference to the tonal differences in the performance of love songs and lullabies (Paige 1970:187-188).

How does one convey on paper the essential vocal qualities required to replicate the song in an "authentic" manner? In fact, appropriate voice quality cannot be conveyed through notation in any music. As Charles Seeger pointed out:

> ...no one can make it sound as the writer of the notation intended unless in addition to a knowledge of the tradition of writing he has also a knowledge of the oral (or, better, aural) tradition associated with it -- i.e., a tradition learned by the ear of the student, partly from his elders in general but especially from the precepts of his teachers. For to this aural tradition is customarily left most of the knowledge of "what happens between the notes".... (Seeger 1958:186-87).

Music, a combination of song, rhythm and often dance, has long been an essential component of aboriginal life. Walter Bonaise affirms that it accompanied almost every aspect of day-to-day life, from preparing meals, to gathering food; from catching fish to preparing the cooking fire. From the smallest activity to the largest social or ceremonial event -- all were intertwined with the music. Every object in nature had its own song -- trees, rivers, stones, insects, birds and animals -- and it was incumbent on the people to learn and

sing the appropriate songs when interacting with those objects. Not to do so was disrespectful, and lack of success the likely outcome of any endeavour undertaken without the appropriate song (Bonaise 1996).

The formulation of traditional aboriginal music was a very distinctive process from the composition of western music. In the latter case, the compositional process is labour-intensive, based on theoretical guidelines, and committed to paper in a notational process. The creation and retention of aboriginal music, on the other hand, was a purely intellectual process, requiring a prodigious effort of memorization. Traditional aboriginal singers carry immense song repertoires in their memories -- repertoires which have been passed down for generations with scarcely any alteration in pitch or rhythm -- a process which those who depend on musical scores may fail to comprehend fully. There is an impressive variety of song genres, styles and rhythms in traditional music and although each singer may have a recognizable style associated with his songs, each song is distinct. The one aspect that is shared by European and aboriginal genres is the necessity of transmitting such characteristics as vocal inflection by example.

Aboriginal music is "owned" and can be acquired in one of three ways: through inspiration, by purchase or as a gift (Burleson 1993:7-8). To receive the gift of a song from any source was a great honour, attached to which were certain obligations well understood by the recipient. Acquisition by inspiration, or "dream," required that the recipient not only learn the song to perfection before ever singing it to others, but also to sing it faultlessly each and every time, and to ensure its continuation into the next generation (Bonaise, 1996). It often happened that a song was so admired by another singer that he wished to

include it in his repertoire. He would then approach the original singer and offer to buy the song from him -- resulting in the song being "purchased." When a singer became older, he would select an appropriate individual as a vehicle for the traditional songs and "gift" some or all of his repertoire to that person (Bonaise, 1996).

Although some aboriginal music may contain texts to accompany the rhythm of the drum, Plains Indian music usually consists of "vocables" -- units of sound which, to the untutored ear, do not incorporate any apparent meaning. Nevertheless, an absence of recognizable words does not indicate that a song is without meaning -- although the "message" may be known only by the singer. Is it possible that vocables are the remnants of some long-forgotten words which have been distorted out of recognition through time, or that the song(s) originated with a group using a language unknown to the purchasing singer? or a coded language understood at the time by only a select few, and subsequently lost or replaced? This is a issue which has never been satisfactorily resolved, although it has been addressed frequently by musicologists.

Plains Indian music is sacred,

> ...[but] some music is especially sacred by virtue of association with ceremony. Thus, in either context, and only to varying degrees, music is inextricably linked to the spiritual realm (Burleson 1995: 5),

and the musician is the "vessel of a divine gift" (Burleson 1995:5). But the sacredness is not confined to the music and the musician. The drum, too, is sacred. From the words of an Elder, "when the drum is struck all creation stands still" (Bonaise 1996), we understand that the sound of the drum establishes a

communications link between the Creator and humankind.

Add to these components the symbolism of the circle. The drum, fashioned from specified materials in a prescribed manner, is usually circular. The group seated around the drum is arranged in a circular fashion, as are the women singers who may be present beyond the men to provide vocal support. The dancers mark out a larger circle around which they move in clockwise fashion, emulating the movement of the sun around the earth (Bonaise 1996). These are the predominant characteristics of Plains Indian music which were in existence before the arrival of the Europeans, and which for the most part have remained intact in traditional music despite significant efforts of the dominant society to eradicate aboriginal culture.

CHAPTER IX

ANALYTICAL PROCESSES

Aboriginal music was, in traditional practice, transmitted orally. From realization, to performance, to transmission, it always involved an exercise of the intellect. However, the shift from an oral to a literary society must be accommodated by a similar alteration in the learning process. While an oral society learns by apprenticeship, by discipleship, by memorizing proverbs, by formulating myths, and by participating in "corporate retrospection" (otherwise known as pooled memory), a literate society learns by study, by establishing sequences, by classifying, by explaining and by challenging. In oral societies, there is a thought process, a process of expression, quite distinct from written thought (Ong 1982).

The real difference is that a word, once spoken or sounded, is gone. Language is an oral phenomenon where sound is pivotal. If sound exists only when it going out of existence, then a special kind of attention must be given in order to retain that sound. When one knows that he or she can "look up" information that cannot be recalled, less attention will be paid to its initial retention. But if one has never acquired that "special kind of attention," one can listen, but will be unable to adequately retain the information. Given all this, an oral process of transmitting music to a literate society is simply not practical.

Several methods have been designed to enable the study and analysis of the music of other cultural groups. There is a wide range of possible foci for study, and every culture has some unique aspect that invites further investigation. Each component of the music can be studied and analyzed from a variety of perspectives. Is the music produced vocally, with instruments, or through some combination of the two? Are the vocal and instrumental parts mutually dependent or self-sufficient? If instrumental, which instruments are used, and what are their characteristics? Varieties of range, timbre, and tone quality may be considered, as well as the materials used to construct the instrument, the technique used to produce sound on the instrument, and styles associated with performance on the instrument. Voiced sound or song can be assessed on the basis of range and sound quality, with the added considerations of such features as nasalization, vibrato, glottalization, vocal width and enunciation.

Some relationships -- instrumental, vocal, or both -- invite our consideration of form, rhythmic structure, melodic shape, phrasing and tempo. These are as important as the relationship between text and music in the application of one to the other. The presence or absence of meaning in the text, and whether its presence is representative, symbolic or literal, are also issues for study. Further distinctions can be made concerning the use of a particular piece of music: whether sacred or secular, for commercial gain or for pleasure, for public or private performance, and for what audience or occasion. The length of time the music has been part of the culture, and whence it derived can also constitute a focal point for the ethnomusicologist.

Frances Densmore was heavily engaged in the study of American Indian

music and culture. During the course of her research, she prepared an overview of American Indian social and religious practices (Densmore 1936), and developed a comprehensive approach to the study of American Indian music. Not only was her methodology extensive, but the size of the repertoire collected from each native group was substantial.

In Densmore's analyses, each aspect of the music -- the drum rhythm, the text and the melody -- was subjected to individual attention. Only rarely did she make reference to the relationships between text and music. Nevertheless, with reference to the songs of the Midéwiwin, Densmore did note instances where words were "forced into conformation with the melody...[by] add[ing] meaningless syllables either between the parts of a word or between the words..." Reiterated words may have been accented or pronounced in a different ways to fit the melodic line (Densmore 1910:14).

Fifty years after Densmore, Harry W. Paige published his study of music of the Teton Sioux collected in the 1960s. His objective was to determine the probable degree of acculturation of Teton Sioux music, and his methodology incorporated a study of the "physical, psychological and spiritual" contexts in which these songs occurred. In the process, he addressed the texts alone -- in isolation from either the voice or the drum. His focus was on:

> ...the language of metaphor, secret language, archaic language, as well as the stylistic devices of contrast, variation, incremental repetition, parallelism, personification, apostrophe and euphony... in their relationship to the composition and purpose of the songs (Paige 1970:xiv)

As confirmation of his rationale for this focus, he explained that "dance and music...are the most vulnerable to time and change...the most ephemeral", and that "words provide the "additional dimension of intellectual power."

> Words ...have evolved from meaningless adjuncts to an integral part of the matrix...and, as in the case of prayer, came to stand alone without the support of music or movement. Therefore, words alone have become a justifiable though necessarily incomplete basis for the study of primitive expression (Paige 1970:32).

Particularly in the songs relating to the Sun Dance, Paige drew heavily on Densmore's material for texts. Recently, however, John Nichols (1997) demonstrated that Densmore didn't always translate accurately from the Ojibwe to English; that her translations were occasionally edited in ways which obscured the song's true meaning; and that most song texts were incomplete.

Judith Vander took an intriguing approach in her study of Shoshone music (1988). In some respects, her approach was conventional, but she introduced a model used in Western art and literature in search of a particular essence -- a model which confined her informants to five women ranging in age from 20 to 70. She explained that "...the tension between the individual or the particular and the general or broader abstraction, integral to Western art and literature, is embraced in this study." (Vander 1988:xiii). Her informants were asked questions ranging from "...the particularities of a song and its performance to discussions of genre and to broader questions about the particular occasion for which the song is performed." (ibid., xiv)

Each woman in Vander's study had a distinctive repertoire, a "songprint" which captured "...her culture, age, and personality, ...[and was] unique in its configuration..." (ibid., xi). Through these musical repertoires, Vander was able to trace patterns of cultural change -- the ascendancy of the Peyote song genre could be seen to eclipse the Naraya (Ghost Dance) songs; the decline of Women's Dance related to the increase in popularity of War Dance songs -- in the 1980s, a principal activity in Pow-wow. Vander also proffers evidence of the

influence of Euro-American music, and the more recent participation of women in men's dances.

A study of Hopi song conducted by George List (1993), seems to have yet another valuable approach to consider. His purpose was to determine the extent to which elements such as "...speech sounds, pitches, and durational values," can differ in successive renditions of a song, and the performances still "be considered to be those of the same song..." (List 1993:1). He chose a specific Kachina Dance Song and a particular lullaby for his research. Each was recorded on several separate occasions, with different performers over a span of 80 years commencing in 1903 -- a period during which the Hopi culture was in a state of turmoil.

He was able to obtain melographs of the recordings through Charles Seeger at UCLA, who commented that "...American Indian singing is about as ill-defined in notatable pitches as any we have run into except for Chinese and Japanese art singing." (letter, 3 January 1962.) (List 1993:5) The graphs confirmed that Hopi music did not have a scale. Rather than plateaus signifying discrete pitch levels, "...the line continuously moved upward or downward with sudden descents and sharp rises." (List 1993:3, 5). This recalled the frequent reference of Vander's informants to "curves," "drop-downs," and "dips" (Vander 1988:154, 128) in the melodic line, and her own comment:

> Shoshones talk about songs in visual linear terms...Angie, for example, remarks that the old Sun Dance songs "don't have very much curves. Some, they're kind of straight, you know, singing. But the new ones, you'd say they got curved in those, more zigzagged... (ibid., 68).

In order to indicate the contour in some detail but not in discrete pitches, List developed a form of "pitch band notation" :

> A note written on any line or space of the five-line staff represents a band a whole tone in width...the centres of the band are represented by the lines or spaces of the bass or treble clefs...when the staff represents the bass clef, a note placed in the top space indicates a G, a G#, a G^{b}, or any fluctuation of pitch within this band. By this means, the direction of the melody, rising, falling, or remaining at approximately the same pitch, can be indicated, as can the approximate size of the intervals produced. (List 1993:6)

For purposes of analysis, List then positioned a pitch band notation of a segment of the music with the accompanying text above the melographs -- one indicating contour, the other amplitude. Along the side of the contour graph was a pitch guide. Through this methodology, List studied the various components (with the exception of drum rhythms) in detail, and more importantly, the relationships which existed between them.

Methodologies vary widely among ethnomusicologists, depending on the available material, the culture, and the focus. The particular feature(s) to be studied, and the manner in which the best results can be achieved must be carefully evaluated. Paramount is the message, which is implicit in the works cited, that a proper study and analysis cannot be hurried, and sufficient time must be invested to reveal all the nuances which might otherwise be forgotten or overlooked.

Once a methodology has been established, the challenge of a suitable transcription -- the reduction of music from live or recorded sound to a written form -- is the next issue. Transcription is a process of turning the sound into written signs which, when laid out, enable us to work with "extended sequential analyses" (Ong 1982:9); of taking what one hears and putting it on paper so it can be studied, evaluated, analyzed, observed from all angles, and then

reconstituted -- in brief, to make the best possible effort to understand how the parts are integrated -- how they function.

Transcription can take many forms. The most familiar form is the western system of notation, employing standard note values, staves, clefs, measures, key signatures, time signatures and other musical indicators. However, there are examples of aboriginal music which, by virtue of their complexity, cannot be transcribed with conventional notational systems. Even the sophisticated twentieth-century notational styles of such composers as Ligeti, Stockhausen or Cage may be inadequate in some instances. Drum rhythms can be the most difficult element to convey. The question of whether the beat should be an eighth note followed by two 16ths, or a set of triplet eighths is relatively insignificant compared to a drum pattern that is in segments played "as fast as possible," or "fast, and accelerating" separated by durational silences. Does one then resort to elapsed time indicators, such as "23 seconds" to specify the length of a rhythmic section? And duration must somehow be indicated, because aboriginal music is not aleatory, but rather, extremely precise.

Notation is "the product of a long history of feature added to feature, as the complexity of musical thought increased" (Ferguson 1959:108). Western music has relied on some form of notation for almost 1,000 years, and it is almost inevitable that students, newly emerged from its study, will attempt to impose its almost "entirely prescriptive" system (Seeger 1958:186), with all its restrictions, on non-Western music. In order to understand or explain a particular music, it is placed in the framework of a staff, clefs, and notes having time values which may be restrictive. Our system of Western music-writing -- a mixed symbolic-linear notation (Seeger 1958:186) -- nonetheless renders the

music accessible to those who wish to replicate the sound, as well as to those who wish to do comparative analyses. This may work for some, even many, examples of music. Even when one is faced with the prospect of transcribing, for example, the rhythm of the Plains Cree Eagle Dance or the Sneak-up Dance, one can draw on the twentieth-century notational style referred to earlier.

According to Charles Seeger, one of the hazards inherent in Western music-writing practices

> ...lies in our having failed to distinguish between prescriptive and descriptive uses of music-writing, which is to say, between a blue-print of how a specific piece of music shall be made to sound and a report of how a specific performance of it actually did sound (Seeger 1958:184).

Perhaps we place too much emphasis on an exact rendering of the music, rather than attempting to portray its essence. Is it necessary to indicate the pitch, register and duration of each and every note, or to calculate the exact nanosecond that a particular note is sounded in relation to other notes? Is it perhaps more important to establish the form or structure of the music: whether it is derivative, binary, or some other form? Where do we "zero in" to achieve the best possible comprehension of music?

In western music, the performer is expected to render the music precisely the way it is written on the page, and deviation may be characterized as "mistake" or "error." But in unwritten music, how do we distinguish between an error, and what may be a deliberate artistic maneuver intended to enhance the performance? And if our transcriptions are not "accurate," our comprehension of such parameters is diminished. But Seeger refers to "...the fetish of extreme accuracy in the writing of music" (Seeger 1958:192). So where does

carelessness end and accuracy begin? Where does accuracy end and "fetishism" begin?

Seeger developed a music notation system over the course of several years. In 1951, he presented a paper to an International Folk Music Conference describing his notator as:

> ...an electronic device that will record instantaneously, for reading by musicians rather than by physicists, a single melodic line led into it by a wire from a phonograph or microphone. The minimum requirement is to show the functions of pitch and time by means of a single curve traced upon suitable graph paper. It is expected that dynamics can be shown...upon a separate graph -- also by a single line-curve. The maximum requirement is to show not only pitch, time and dynamics...but also timbre, probably by some other medium than by an oscillographic recorder (Seeger 1951:103).

It was Seeger's opinion that the "instantaneous notator" would:

> ...serve as a check upon the bias each and every one of us trained in the European fine art of music must inevitably carry with us when we write or read the notation of that art. Indeed, one might go so far as to predict that the time will come when the science of Comparative Musicology (hopefully renamed!) will be regarded as having become a science in two great steps -- first, by the use of mechanical and electronic sound-recording in the field, and second, by the use of mechanical and electronic sound writing in the laboratory (Seeger 1951:106)

By 1958, he had developed his idea to the point where he could combine notation with a graph produced through the "electronic reduction of the oscillographic curve" (Seeger 1958:187), to produce a visual, readable presentation. Using this medium, Seeger found that of the tonal functions, pitch, which can only be indicated within a half-tone in notation, could be represented by way of a fundamental frequency analyzer with "a top discrimination of about 1/14 tone"; amplitude showed changes in dynamics far beyond what the ear can detect. Of the rhythmic functions, tempo indications were extremely

accurate on both frequency and amplitude graphs; but proportion, while easy to read in notation, was difficult in the graph; and accentuation was problematic in both notation and graph. Tone quality could not be represented at all. In summary, a researcher would find that:

> ...the pitch and the beat [are] more accurately shown in the graph than in the notation, but less independently delimited. As conceptions of verbal thinking, he will find both becoming less rigid and absolute. Also, he will find the gross formal aspects of melody more readily perceivable in the graph. But he will have some difficulty in fitting conventional terminology with what he sees in the graph (Seeger 1958:189).

List probably had access to an even more refined version of this "instantaneous notator" for his study of Hopi Music in 1962.

A recently innovated form of transcription -- a process which, as far as possible, avoids Western notation, yet permits musical analyses incorporating concepts of pitch, form, and rhythm and effectively demonstrating relationships between those components -- has considerable merit. This method (Burleson 1996) consists of the following:

A. A staff with an appropriate clef, containing the dominant notes in order of their appearance in the melody, labelled a *pitch class chart*. These pitches, numbered in order of their appearance, will be representative only, and will not have such attributes as duration applied to them.

B. A representation of the prevailing rhythmic structure(s) throughout the piece, labelled "rhythm."

C. A template, in which the pitch classes and rhythm of the music can be inserted, to illustrate the form or structure of the music.

Figure 7, incorporating hypothetical musical material, demonstrates the transcription template in use. The numbered notes indicate the sequence of the

predominant melody notes. Each tone is shown in terms of its relationship to the rhythm. The placement of the B section indicates its derivation from Section A, and indicates any variations in the rhythm from one section to another. There would be no difficulty incorporating text in such a chart, and with some experimentation, additional features such as microtonal shifting could also be represented.

This transcription method, in combination with notation and computerized evaluations, will be used in the analyses of the Dream Dance music.

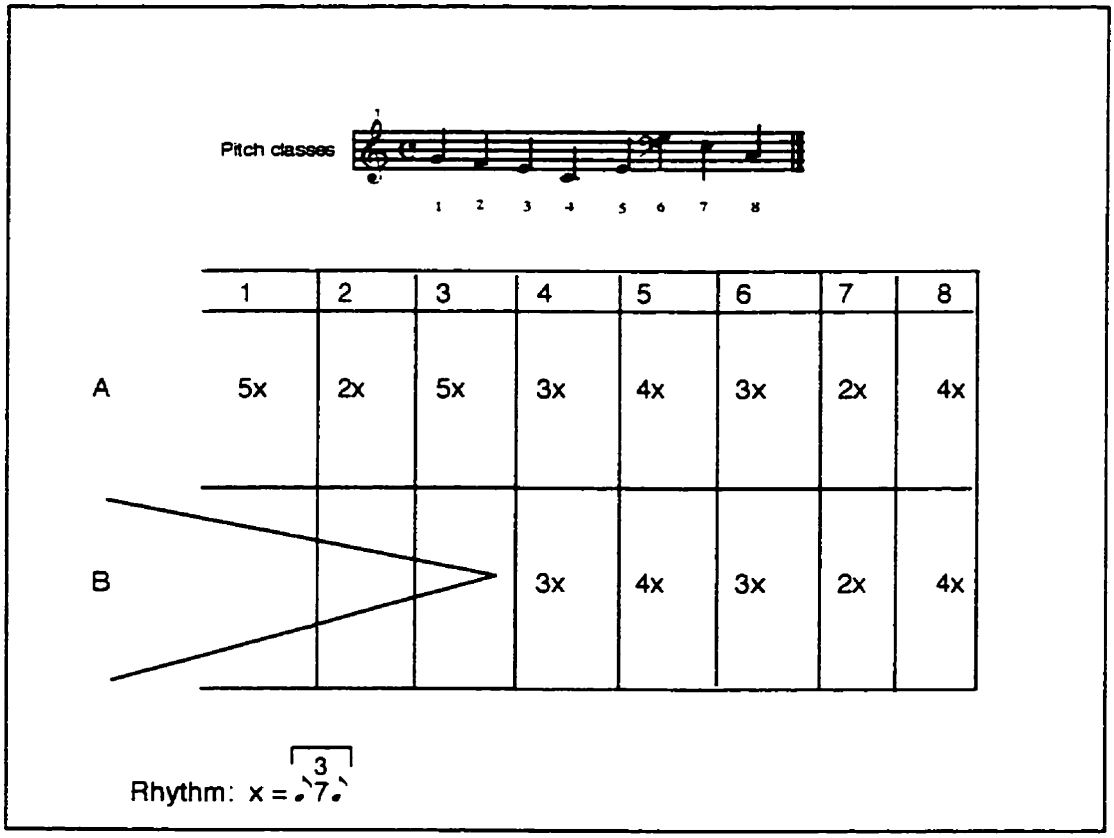


Figure 7. Transcription Template

PART V:

THE MUSIC OF THE DREAM DANCE

CHAPTER X

DREAM DANCE MUSIC

Brown and Matthews, following the trail left by Hallowell almost sixty years earlier, personally visited the Berens River area in the summer of 1992. During their visits with the people in the communities of Pauingassi and Poplar Hill, they had acquired, from participants in the ceremony and their descendants, recordings of some of the songs associated with Naamiwan's *Ghost (Spirits of the Dead) Dance*. They recorded songs from two individuals at Poplar Hill -- George D. Strang and Sugashki Strang -- both grandsons of Naamiwan and, at one time, participants in Naamiwan's ceremony.

In George D. Strang's interview, during which he sang two songs in a clear, strong voice, he verified both his positive recollection of the songs and their place in the ceremony. He sang the first song twice, both to ensure a good quality recording, and to confirm his faithful adherence to pitch, inflection, tempo, relationship of melody and rhythm, and text. Aside from slight variations in the melody which occurred at the end of sections -- attributable perhaps to breath accommodation -- the two recorded versions of the song were virtually identical.

The first of the ceremonial songs, he advised, was sung at the point in the ceremony "where they put the plates down" (Matthews and Brown 1992a:19-20: George D. Strang as translated by Charlie Johnny Moose); the second was

sung...

> ...when they make way for the dancers...then the ceremony would be over...they went this way and then they went that way, and that's the end of the dance (Ibid., 21).

These descriptions correspond to Hallowell's account of Naamiwan's ceremony. We can therefore conclude that the first song was performed as the food, brought in on plates, was deposited beside the drum (Hallowell 1955:166-167). The second song evidently relates to Hallowell's depiction of the "last dance," or the end of the ceremony, led by the head drummer's wife, in which "After going clockwise, the direction was reversed and the participants went counterclockwise to the end of the dance." (Hallowell 1955:168).

Sugashki Strang also sang songs associated with Naamiwan's ceremony for Brown and Matthews. One of these -- very similar to George D. Strang's song for the end of the dance -- he identified as the "beginning song for the big drum" (Matthews and Brown 1992b:21). Although there may be some confusion in the identification of the place of each song in the ceremony, the songs are invaluable in assessing characteristics of music and song of the ceremony.

These songs have been transcribed, in a style designed to facilitate comprehension by those accustomed to reading western music, and incorporated in this paper. In this process, we are able to isolate a number of extremely important charcteristics which are identified in bold print in the material which follows. The transcriptions are intended to be descriptive -- detailing a specific performance -- rather than prescriptive, which details how it *should* be performed, a distinction which originated with Charles Seeger (1958:184) and which is particularly important when transcribing a music that is

by tradition entirely oral in nature. The melody is delineated on a staff, the drum rhythm and text established, and the whole supported by an analysis. Note values indicate relative durations. In cases where the durations are difficult to accurately depict using ordinary notational symbols, diamond-shaped note heads are substituted. Metronome markings indicate the approximate tempo for each of the melody and rhythm. The notes are displayed on a staff governed by the bass clef, which was deemed most appropriate to represent the pitches without the use of unnecessary ledger lines. Despite the western style of transcription, time signatures and bar lines have been omitted, with the exception of the presence or absence of a final bar line to indicate respectively an unabridged rendering as opposed to an excerpt. Figure 8 explains graphically some of the western musical concepts which are used in the following analyses.

The songs are arbitrarily divided into sections by the writer to facilitate comparison and analysis. These divisions would not necessarily be recognized by the singer, who, in the nature of oral tradition, grasps each song in its entirety. Rather, they are an attempt, however imperfect, to reflect the nuances of the performer's treatment of the song. Each of the songs under discussion will be presented in this fashion; other forms of transcription and analysis will also be offered. A descriptive transcription of the first ceremonial song performed by George D. Strang is presented in Figure 9.

One feature of this song was the performer's delivery of Section A1 a semitone higher than Section A. Did the singer misjudge the transition interval from Section B to Section A; or was this transition a deliberate vocal maneuver? The analysis which follows assumes that the tonal shift was

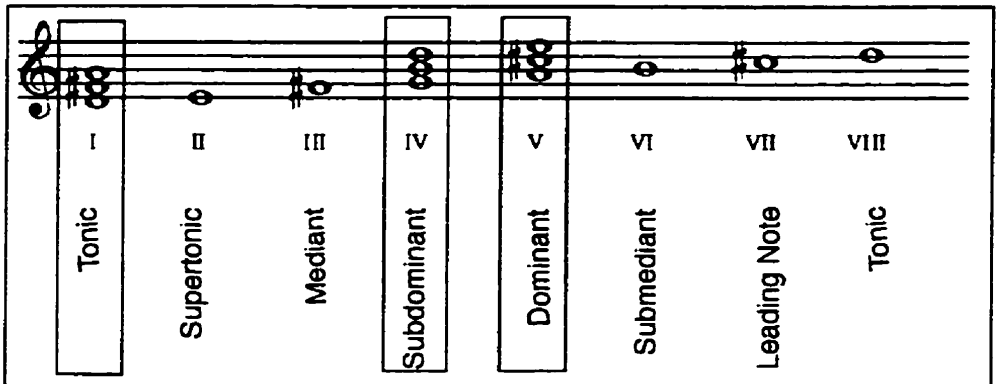
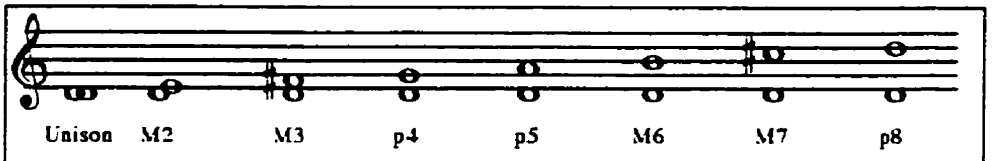


Figure 8A. Chart showing scale degrees, with appropriate names for each pitch. Note the three predominant chords constructed on the tonic, the subdominant and the dominant.



(M= major, p = perfect)

Figure 8B. Chart showing basis on which intervals are measured, using the key of D Major as an example. The interval referred to as a "tritone" is either an augmented (increased by a semitone) p4, or a diminished (decreased by a semitone) p5.

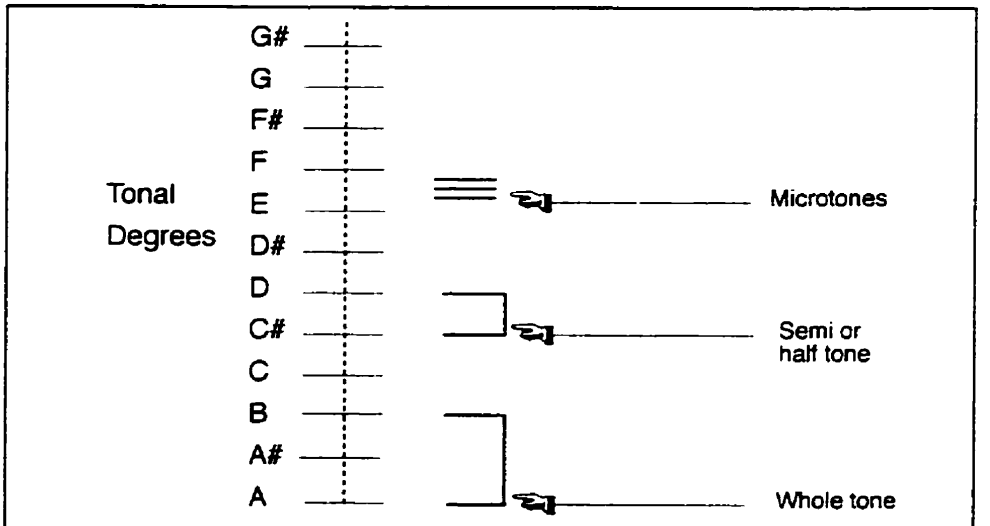


Figure 8C: Chart showing relationship between whole tones,halftones and microtones.

Figure 8. Western tonal constructs.

deliberate.

General characteristics of aboriginal song have been well documented by musicologists in the course of the last century. Frances Densmore, for example, is noted for her extensive studies during the early 1900s of Indian music, including Teton Sioux, Chippewa, Mandan and Hidatsa, Choctaw and others. In the 1980s, Richard Burleson, working in concert with Walter Bonaise, Plains Cree, traditional singer and elder from Little Pine Reserve in Saskatchewan, began an intensive 15-year study documenting general attributes of North American Indian music, with a particular focus on Plains Cree. Certain of these general characteristics present in the Poplar Hill songs become evident through an examination of transcriptions; other attributes are clear only upon hearing a performance of the music, or in the case of ceremony, from observation or study. It is appropriate to examine these more general characteristics of aboriginal music as they provide many interesting insights.

George D. Strang's song demonstrates one of the more common characteristics of aboriginal music, originally documented by Frances Densmore and confirmed many times over: the predominantly **downward tendency of the melodic line**. This descending motion in Song #1 begins on "d" and concludes on the same note in a lower octave. Were the music to be considered in terms of tonality, the key would likely be established as D Major due to the presence of "f#", although the 7th degree of that scale ("c#") is absent. Section A1, by virtue of the semitonal transposition, then assumes the tonality of E^{b} Major.

The melodic line of Sections A and B incorporates five notes (the appearance of "d" in both upper and lower octaves is recognized as a single

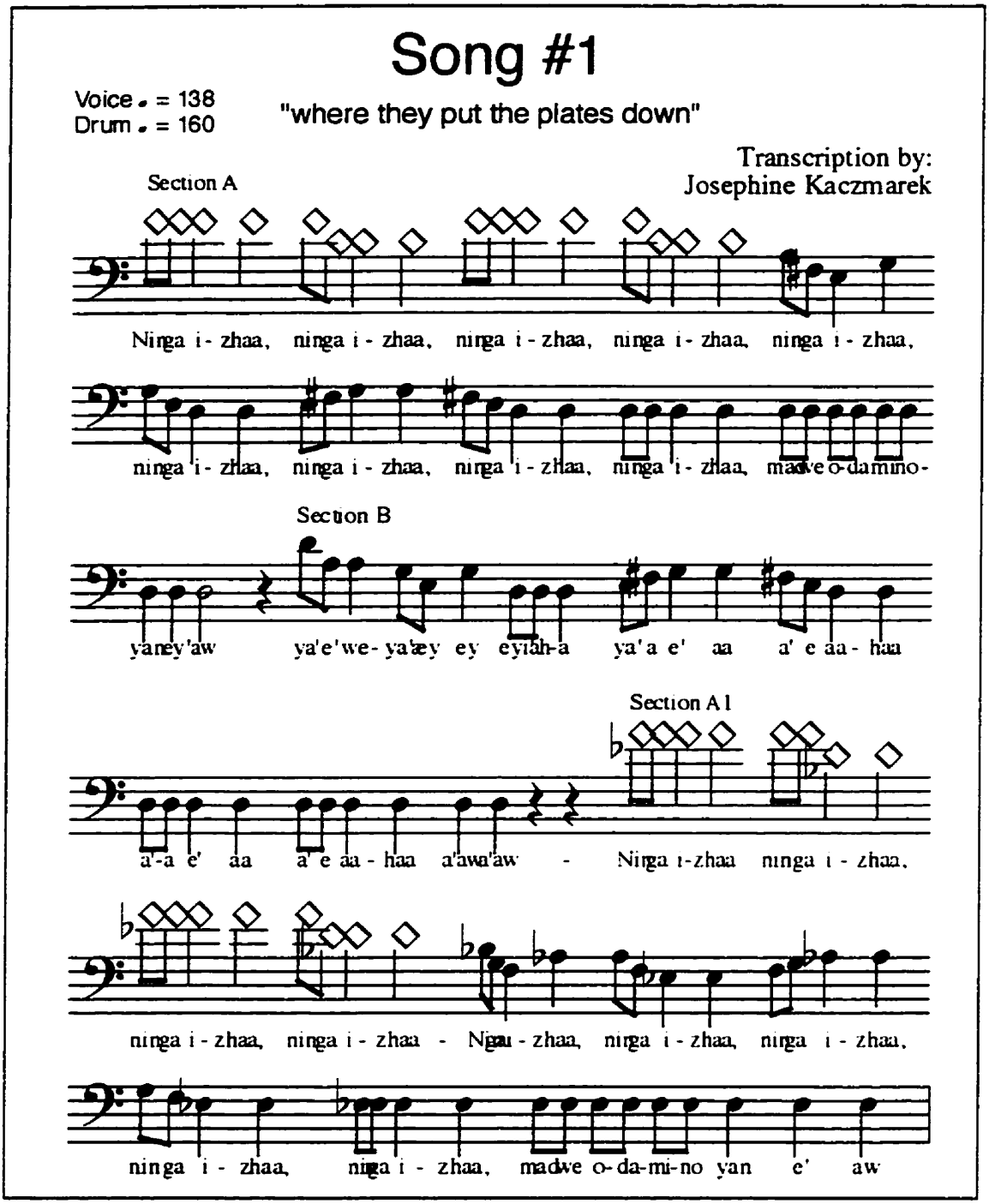


Figure 9. George D. Strang's Song #1. Transcription of song performed by George D. Strang, June 25, 1992 at Poplar Hill, Ontario (Matthews and Brown1992d). Ojibwe text, translation and semantics provided by Roger Roulette, Ojibwe speaker and linguist, personal conversation 1998.

pitch) which appear in the sequence in the graphic analysis of Figure 13. If these pitches are arranged in ascending order, they produce a **pentatonic** scale. Pentatonicism is a term commonly associated with particular, regionally defined, five-tone scales, but which also correctly denotes any five-note scale, including the "tonal" example encountered here: d, e, f#, g, a[1] -- a mode commonly associated with both Plains and Woodland Indian music. In the same fashion, Section A1 comprises a pentatonic scale, transposed up a semitone (Figure 10).

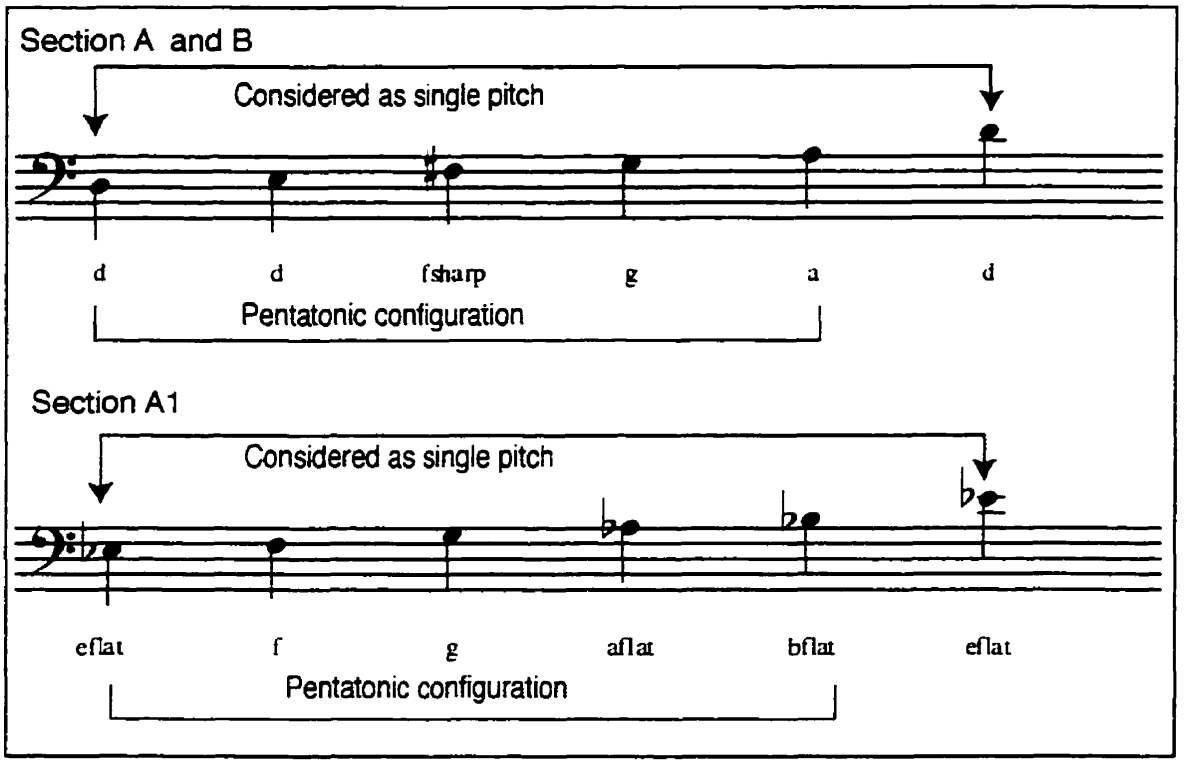


Figure 10. Pentatonic Configuration, Song #1

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1 Note that the designation d' locates the pitch in the octave above middle C (the "c" occurring roughly in the middle of the keyboard). The pitch identified as "d" occurs in the octave below. A complete ordering of this pitch would thus be, from the lowest to the highest on a keyboard:

D_1 D d d' d'' d''' d''''

Middle C

As indicated in Figure 9, there are two different tempos in this song: that of the voice, and that of the drum. Each rhythmic stream proceeds at its own pace, independent yet interdependent. The novice out-culture member may find it difficult to follow these rhythms simultaneously, and may instead identify with individual separate layers. On the other hand, an aboriginal singer trained in the oral tradition, during the course of performance often naturally beats the rhythm associated with the melody with his foot, and the other with the drumstick. These **parallel but opposing rhythms** may effectively be termed "isochronous" and "non-isochronous"[2]: the former referring to rhythms based on identifiable and repetitive units of time which are clearly perceptible -- in this case, the drumbeat, and the latter to rhythms based on variable units of time which have no evident relationship to a *tactus* -- in this case the melody (Burleson 1995:4). The relative independence of the two layers of the texture produces the effect of the melody "floating" over the regular beat of the drum, and is a further documented characteristic of orally transmitted aboriginal music (Burleson 1987:36).

Another rhythmic occurrence in George D. Strang's Song #1, which cannot be deduced from examining the transcription, is immediately perceptible to the ear. As stated above, the melody and the drum beat each have their own non-isochronous rhythm, yet in three instances throughout the performance of this song, the rhythm and the drumbeat come into conjunction. This unity occurs only during the repetition of the final low pitch at the end of each section and in the opening motives of Section B (see Figures 12 and 13). This does not diminish the performance; it occurs in exactly the same manner at the identical

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2 Jacques Chailley applied these terms to describe the relationship between "la rythme gestuel" and "le rythme verbal" in a discussion on French classical music. They have been appropriately adapted for this context (Chailley 1974:45).

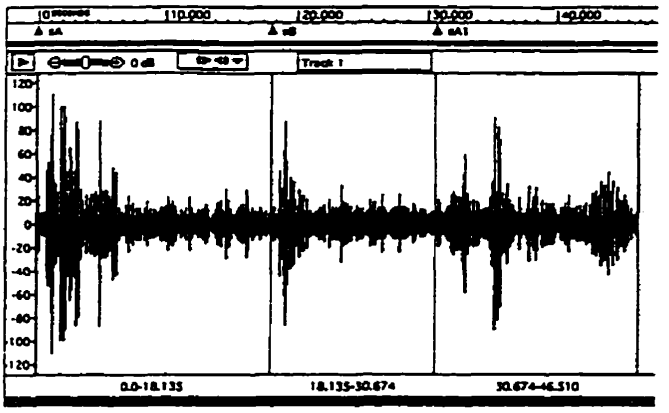
location in each rendition of the song and is therefore a deliberate execution. The separation and subsequent "coming together" of the melodic rhythm and the drumbeat is similar to a pivotal event occurring in East Indian music, a significant moment in performance signifying unity, and referred to as *sam*.

To illustrate graphically the non-isochronous nature of the music, a recorded version of this song was transferred to computer, and through the Macintosh application MacroMediaSound Edit 16b, its sound waveform displayed on the monitor where it was possible to isolate the points at which a particular sound attack (i.e. voice or drum) began. The song, which had a total duration of 46.510", was carefully delineated into its three sections, each calibrated to thousandths of a second. The following data emerge:

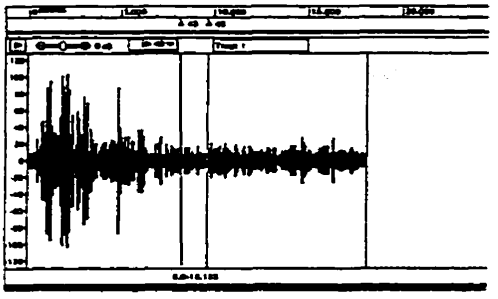
- Section A - 00.000" to 18.135"
- Section B - 18.135" to 30.674"
- Section A1 - 30.674" to 46.510".

From Section A, an excerpt of the waveform which contained the four syllables of text: *Ninga izhaa* (8.213" to 9.663") was selected (corresponding to the first repetition of that phrase in the second system of Figure 9 -- Cell 3 in Figure 12). This excerpt, occupying 1.450 seconds, was then subdivided into units corresponding to the syllables of the word. The results may be plotted as follows:

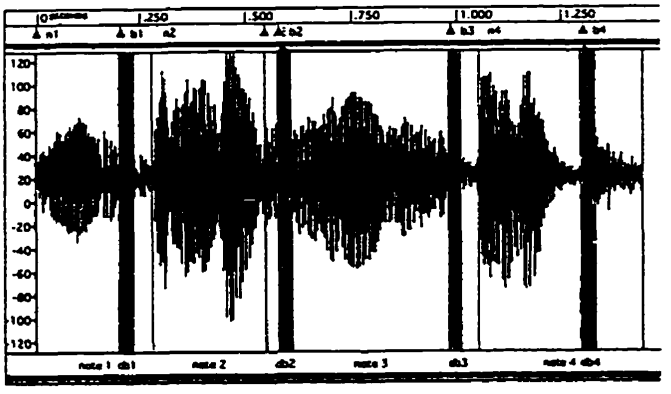
- ("nin-") - 0.000" to 0.273"
- ("ga") - 0.273" to 0.500"
- ("i-") - 0.500" to 0.900"
- ("zhaa") - 0.900" to 1.450".



Waveform of Song #1. Vertical liness indicate end points of Sections A, B and A!.



Waveform of Section A. Vertical lines demarcate the location of Cell 3.



Expanded waveform of Cell 3. Vertical lines indicate location of each vocal attack; vertical bars represent drum beat placement.

Figure 10. Computer analysis, Song #1, illustrating non-isochronous relationship between voice and drum

Further analysis of the sound wave enabled almost precise placement of the drum beat in relation to the onset of each syllable, with the following results:

- beat 1 - 0.205" to 0.238"
- beat 2 - 0.581" to 0.614"
- beat 3 - 0.987" to 1.020"
- beat 4 - 1.308" to 1.343"

From Figure 11, it is clear that the drum rhythm was independent of the vocal attack on the syllable, sometimes following, sometimes preceding the voice. However, intervals between beats, varying from 0.288" to 0.373", were regular.

Closer study of George D. Strang's Song #1 reveals yet another characteristic of aboriginal music. Until very recently, the transmission of musical material from one generation to the next was solely an oral process; faithful dissemination of the music relied on its being in a form which facilitated recall. George D. Strang's song embodies what may be considered retention techniques in the form of **repetitive motives and patterns**.

A review of Section A in Figure 12 confirms that the opening notes of the melody not only established the rhythm, but also outlined the largest musical interval of the song -- descending from "d'" to "a," the interval of a fourth. As the performance progressed, five new musical units or cells, each with an identical rhythmic structure, were introduced. Every second cell descended to the lowest note of the melody, and each cell pair was progressively smaller in range. Cells 1, 2 and 3 outlined a fourth; Cells 4 and 5 outlined a third, and the last (Cell 6), while maintaining the core rhythmic structure, consisted of repeated notes. The section concluded with an extended repetition of the lowest pitch. It was during this latter, reiterative segment of the song (Cell 7) that the melody and the drumbeat came into synchronicity.

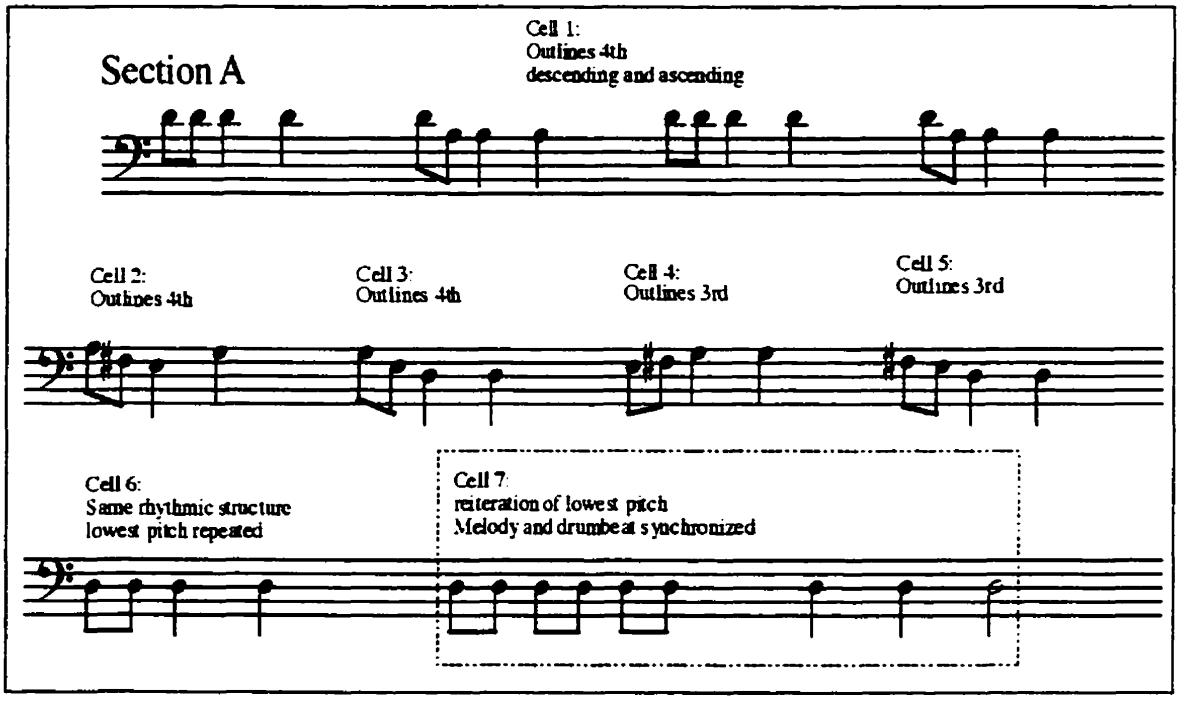


Figure 12. Section A, Song #1

The underlying structure of the song can be most clearly demonstrated in the reductive, schematic approach of Figure 13 -- one which closely adheres to the transcription template introduced on page 64-65, and not only addresses form, pitch and rhythm, but also demonstrates relationships between them. The main pitches are expressed above the graph in notational form in order of their first appearance in the song, and each pitch is assigned a number. In the first level of the graph (pitch units), these numbers are used to indicate the sequence of pitch units throughout the song. Below the pitch units, Sections A, B and A1 are horizontally depicted, and the duration of each pitch is indicated by relating it to the drum beat "x". Therefore, in Section A, pitch unit "1" has a duration of five drum beats and is accompanied by text; the first pitch unit "1" of Section B has a duration of one drum beat, and is accompaned by vocables.

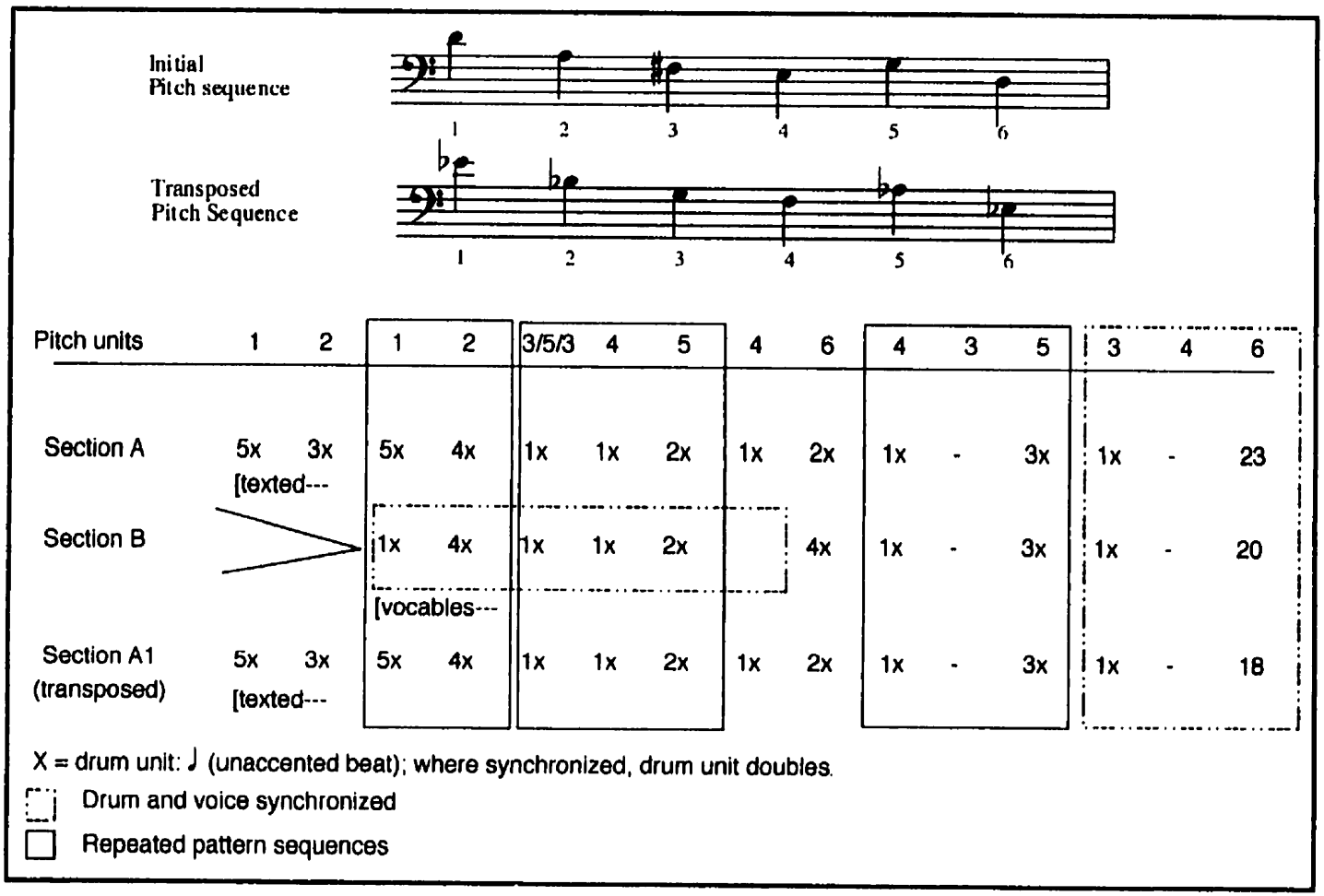


Figure 13. Graph analysis of George D. Strang's Song #1 (Format developed by Richard Burleson, Native Music Project, 1996.)

Derivative structure is a significant property of aboriginal music (Burleson 1987:35, 1995:9), and the graphic analysis in Figure 13 demonstrates the structure of the song supported throughout by the presence of regular motivic and rhythmic patterns. Section B is clearly derived from Section A with the exception of the initial pitches 1 and 2, and slight variations on both occurrences of pitch 6. The form of Section A1 repeats that of Section A, again with the altered rhythm patterns accompanying note 6. In support of this structure, throughout Sections A, B and A1, the melodic sequence based on the pitch classes 3/5/3-4-5 is underlain by its own consistent rhythm pattern, as is the melodic sequence based on pitch classes 4-3-5, and the final melodic sequence 3-4-6.

Slight variations occur between sections: the 3-4-5- pattern of Section A and A1 becomes 5-4-5 in Section B. The second incidence of pitch 4, part of the melodic sequence in Sections A and A1, is omitted from Section B. However, the remaining patterns remain identical throughout, and the final sequence of repeated tones varies only slightly in rhythmic presentation (i.e: 23x, 20x and 18x). The rhythmic synchronization which begins in the final pitch unit [3-4-6] of Section A carries over into the first half of Section B (see Figure 13).

Although the *cell patterns* are consistent in all three sections, Section B differs in *pattern size* from either of Sections A or A1. While A and A1 comprise three *four*-note cells, B contains three *three*-note cells (Figure 14). Each three-note cell in Section B descends to a lower plateau, while at the same time demonstrating a steadily diminishing range: the first descends to "a" while describing the interval of a 4th, the second descends to "g" and outlines a 3rd,

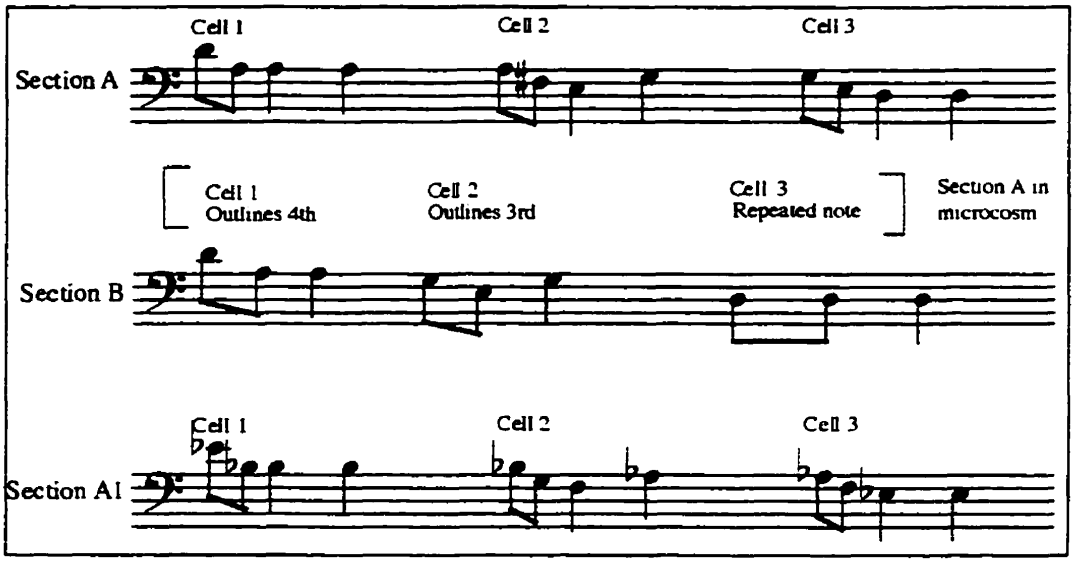


Figure 14. Sections A, B, A1, Song #1

and the last 3-note cell, while still maintaining the rhythmic structure of the preceding two motives, reiterates the lowest pitch -- Section A in microcosm (cf. Figure 12). These differences are simply variations on the overall structural pattern and reinforce the concept of its derivative structure.

A noteworthy feature of this song is the presence of words or text, placed in the transcription. The predominant use of sound units known as **vocables** has been established as a general characteristic of aboriginal song, although songs occasionally incorporate a brief texted section (Burleson 1995:4). The song deviates from this established standard by reversing this balance: it is texted throughout with a brief incorporation of vocables. The text of Sections A and A1 (see Figure 9) contains the following words: "Ninga izhaa... madwe odaminoyan," which literally translated, mean: "I will go... where you are heard

playing."[3] This text refers to the place of the "afterlife," where it is "trouble-free...problem-free" (Matthews 1993:15, Roger Roulette translating for George Strang).

Section B was delivered in a sequence of vocables. From a western perspective, vocables would appear to have as much significance as "humming" or singing with the lips closed. From an Ojibwe perspective, however, it is the vocables which are important, while the text is only necessary to give the ones who are present an indication of the significance of the song. The vocables "guide the singer to a better understanding of the reason for the gathering or ceremony," and provide focus for the singer -- much in the same manner as the mantra in Hindu practice (Roulette 1998). This corresponds to the concept of "**introversive meaning**" -- a meaning within the consciousness of the singer -- a term coined by Burleson (1995:7), which he had earlier elaborated in the following terms:

> ...in native song, the objective is not a generalized outward communication which can be understood by any speaker of the language in question. It is, rather, the embodiment of meaning in an intensely personal, individual sense -- a turning inward of meaning (Burleson 1993:11).

It is worth further note that these "meaningless syllables" are articulated in an identical manner in each performance of the song, and are not simply careless vocal renderings.

Having reviewed the main general features of aboriginal music and their relevance to George D. Strang's Song #1, let us now examine the specific characteristics of Dream Dance music. On December 3, 1992, Maureen

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3 Transcription, translation and interpretation provided by Roger Roulette, Ojibwe speaker and linguist (Personal conversation, 1998).

Matthews and Jennifer Brown interviewed Thomas Vennum in Washington, D.C. from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) studios in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Vennum is a leading American ethnomusicologist, and an acknowledged expert on the Minnesota and Wisconsin Ojibwe Dream Dance drum and ceremony. As such, he was in a position either to confirm or to deny the relationship, if any, between the music of that ceremony and the one which was initiated and performed by Naamiwan in Pauingassi and subsequently transferred to other communities in the area. Prior to the interview, Vennum was provided with copies of the recorded music and relevant photographs. He subsequently confirmed, based on "the song, the drum, [and] the photograph of the dance lodge," that Brown and Matthews had uncovered a "personalized situation" of the Dream Dance ceremony in which "the orthodox central core of the drum itself and the songs" had been maintained, but with personal additions (Matthews and Brown 1992c:6).

Salient portions of the interview with Vennum were incorporated in the radio broadcast entitled "Fairwind's Drum" on Lister Sinclair's program "Ideas" (May 1993). In this context, Vennum identified George D. Strang's song (Song #1, Figure 9) with the comment: "I have a recording of that song -- it's the same song" (Matthews 1993:15). To substantiate his belief that this song was part of the Dream (or drum) dance repertoire, Vennum offered a set of criteria to distinguish drum dance music from other aboriginal music. The first of these was a **restricted melodic range** -- "many [songs] only encompass an octave" (Matthews 1992c:4).

The music of the drum presentation ceremony had been studied by Frances Densmore, who recorded and transcribed songs in the years 1910-

1913. These transcriptions, published in Chippewa Music II (Densmore: 1913), included *Song of Departure, Song of the Chief, Song of the Speaker, Song of the Owner of the Drum, Song of the Warriors, Song of Giving Away the Drum, Song of the Pipe and Song of the Drum.* Although the melodic range of these eight songs varied widely, only one had a melodic range of less than an octave while seven exceeded it; two songs spanned a ninth, two a tenth, two an eleventh, and one a twelfth (Densmore 1913:149-152, 169-170).

One might attempt to establish a relationship between the importance of a precise recollection of a melodic configuration, as, say, in the case of a ceremonial song, and a restricted melodic range. However, again returning to Densmore's analyses of Chippewa songs in which she explored the compass of a wide variety of genre including Midé songs, war songs, game songs, etc., no tendency to restrict the melodic range of ceremonial songs is evident. For example, out of the 95 Midé songs she analyzed, approximately 13% had a range of a fifth, 22% extended to an octave, and 37% a twelfth (Densmore 1913:21). On the other hand, in his study of Plains Ghost Dance music, George Herzog found one significant characteristic to be the restricted melodic range of each song. Among the 38 he studied, the range varied from a fifth to a twelfth, but almost 50% had a narrow range -- "essentially a fifth" (Herzog 1971:116). It would seem, then, that a restricted melodic range may not be relevant to Ojibwe ceremonial music, although George D. Strang's song, with a melodic range of precisely an octave, does come within the parameters of Vennum's criterion.

A more significant aspect is the particular association of melody and rhythm in drum dance music. Vennum described this fusion as a "**very**

distinctive style of singing... which involve[s] a pulsation pattern of the singer's voice in triplets against the duple beat of the drum" (Matthews 1992 c:4). It is difficult indeed to discover the specific aspect of this song to which Vennum refers. In technical terms "triple" may refer to metre -- the prevailing disposition of rhythm -- or to various specific groupings of triple rhythm. Thus, "triplet" suggests an equal tripartite division of a single rhythmic unit, the most common subdivision of which would be duple. The identifying characteristic lies in the fact that there is no change in either the prevailing metre or tempo, for which reason a "triplet" will have a very notable impact upon the auditor.

At no point in this song do we encounter a triplet configuration. Indeed, it may be argued that the non-isochronous relationship of the two layers (drum and voice) precludes such a possibility, since both the physical concept and the auditory impression of "triple" (or "duple," "sextuple," etc.) depend absolutely upon an isochronous context -- whether prevailing or momentary. Vennum is correct in describing aboriginal music as distinctive and in attributing this quality to the rhythmic patterns of the music. However, as suggested earlier, "isochronous" and "non-isochronous" may be more appropriate terminology.

The third ethnomusicological indicator of drum dance songs offered by Vennum was the **frequent occurrence of glottal stops** (Matthews 1992 c:4). A glottal stop is a constriction of the glottis -- the opening between the vocal cords in the larynx -- which momentarily closes and produces a particular speech sound. In George D. Strang's delivery of Song #1, it is in Section B that we find occurrences of glottal stop; the transcription represents these by an apostrophe inserted in the vocable line (Figure 9). Glottal stops, however, are

not confined to the music of drum dance songs, and are regularly encountered in music sung by traditional Cree, Ojibwe and other aboriginal singers. It may even correlate with what George List referred to as the "breath accent" of Plains-Pueblo singing where, rather than sustaining a note for a long time, the vowel or diphthong of the syllable was reiterated by a rhythmic movement of the diaphragm, with a consonant often added for reinforcement (List 1993:8).

The characteristics of Dream Dance music cited in Vennum's interview were probably not exhaustive, and given the constraints of the interview process, may have been shorn of the detail required for perfect clarity. Nevertheless, of the three characteristics cited by Vennum, one (restricted melodic range) appears irrelevant, while the other two (distinctive style, presence of glottal stops) apply to aboriginal music in general.

Given the uncertainty which follows such a cursory assessment of Dream Dance music, a comparison of George D. Strang's song with one which had been taped in 1951 at a Menominee Reservation in Wisconsin, and identified by Vennum as "the same song," may be useful in determining the relationship between the ceremonies conducted by the Ojibwe of Pauingassi and those in Minnesota and Wisconsin. The Menominee Song, as heard on CBC Radio, is transcribed in Figure 15. Possibly due to economies of time, and the probable derivative nature of the final section, the radio presentation of the Menominee Song was incomplete. However, a sufficient portion of Section A1 remained to determine the absence of the tonal shift observed in Song #1. The song has a tonal focus of F# major. However, in order to facilitate the identification of comparable components of the two songs, the song has been transposed to a D major tonality so that both songs begin at the same pitch and register.

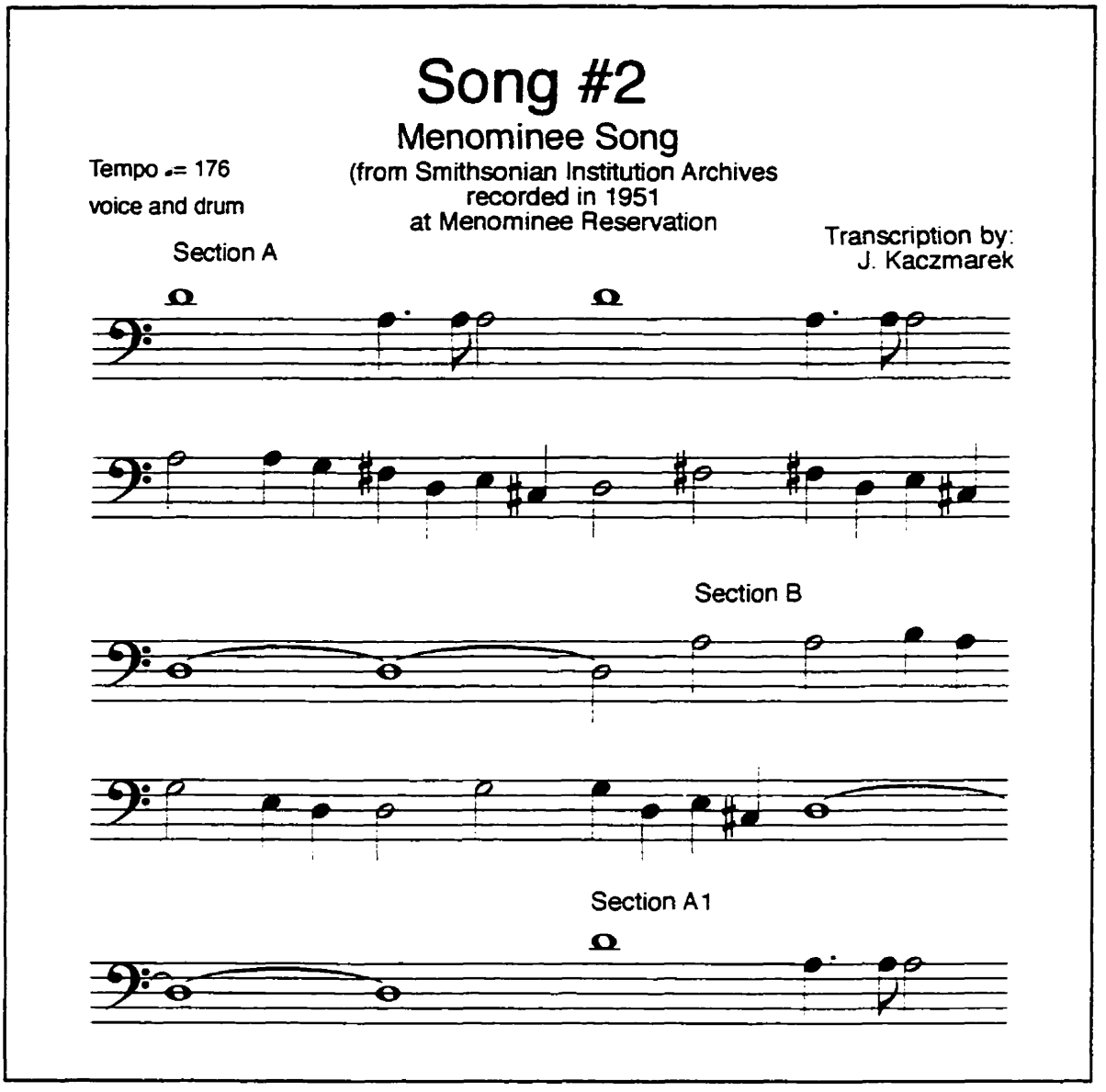

Figure 15. Menominee Song, Song #2. Transcribed from Ideas: "Fairwind's Drum" CBC May 1993 (transposed from F# to D Major)

Applying the general characteristics of aboriginal song, it is immediately apparent that the melody line of Song #2 gradually inclines downward from the opening "d" to the octave below. Section A comprises a range of a 9th, and Section B has a range of a 7th (Figure 16). Pentatonicism, either within a section or on an overall basis, is not apparent.

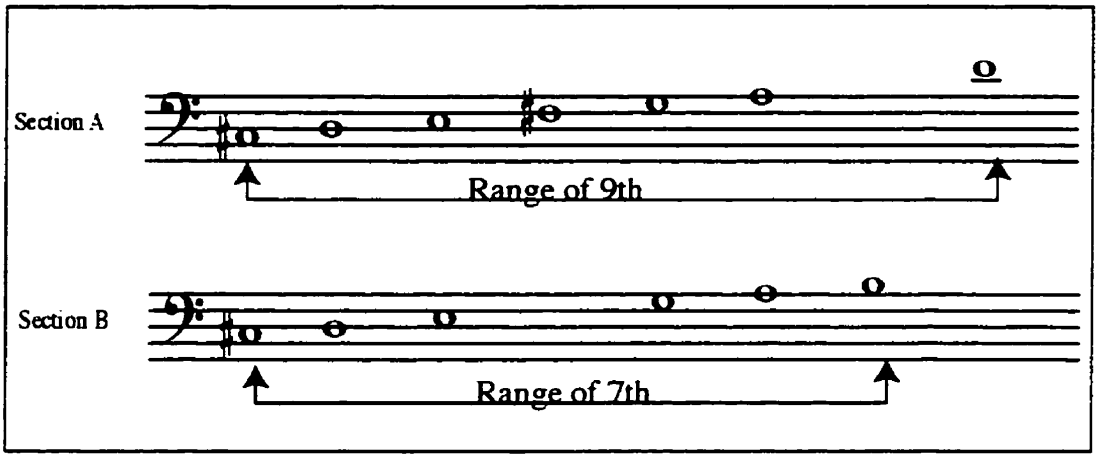

Figure 16. Range, Song #2 by section.

Unlike Song #1, the Menominee song does not demonstrate the distinctive rhythm, earlier described as endowing a "floating" quality to the music, which results from a non-isochronous melody over an isochronous drum beat. In fact, the rhythm strongly suggests a straight quadruple metre associated with some western musics, with a pronounced vocal emphasis on the first of each group of four drumbeat.

The graphic representation of Figure 17 enables identification of repetitive patterns between sections. Clearly, the only repeated patterns are contained in the opening cell labelled [1-2] which appears twice in Section A and at the opening of Section A1, and that designated [5-6-7-5], which concludes both Sections A and B. This song, therefore, does not comply with

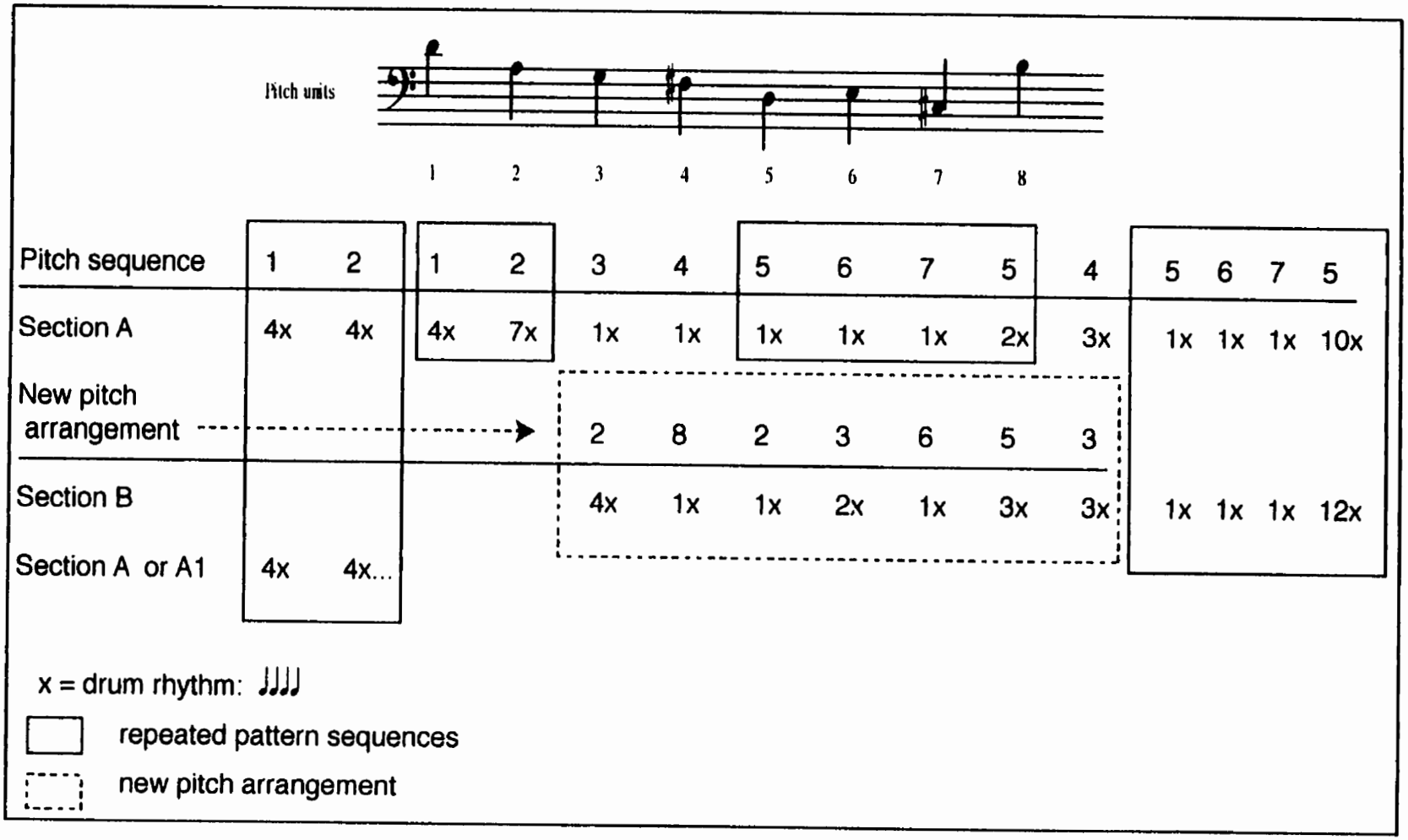

Figure 17. Graph Analysis Song #2

the concept of derivative structure, but more closely resembles the ABA (or possibly ABA^1) structure attributed to certain types of western music where "A" represents the first section of a composition, "B" signifies a second, contrasting -- as opposed to derivative -- section, and "A" or "A^1" returns to the first section or a variation thereof.

Examining the Menominee song in the light of criteria established earlier in this chapter, we can make the following observations. Of the several general characteristics established by Burleson, only two prevail: the melodic line inclines downward, and the song is delivered entirely in vocables. The few repeated patterns do not support a derivative structure. Of the three specific characteristics attributed to Dream Dance music by Vennum the Menominee Song conforms to two -- restricted range (a 9th, or an octave plus one) and the frequent occurrence of glottal stops.

Note durations do not correspond. The opening note of Song #2 is sustained, with the effect described on page 85 as a "breath accent", for four drum beats. In Song #1, the opening interval is structurally identical, but is distributed into notes of shorter duration. If this is construed to be a necessary accommodation for the syllables of the text: "ninga izhaa", then, coupled with the subsequent occurrence of the identical intervallic contours, a certain degree of similarity begins to take shape. On the other hand, the very fact that one song has text, and the other has none, seems to indicate a very definitive distinction.

By rearranging the pitches of Songs #1 and #2 into an ascending order and comparing them, minor variations are evident (Figure 18). With the exception of the "c#", Song #1 uses the same tonal vocabulary as Section A of Song #2. However, Section B of Song #2 omits the "f#" and "d^1", and

incorporates "b" thus creating a different tonal quality. As before, the occurrence of the note "d" in both upper and lower registers can be deemed a single expression of that pitch.

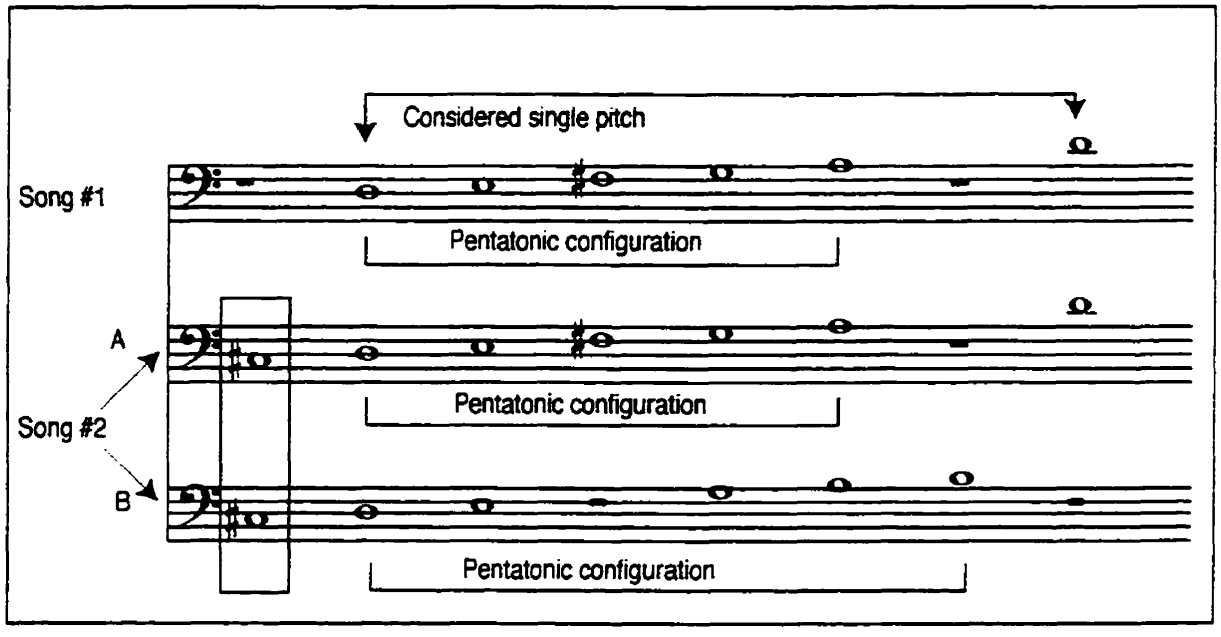

Figure 18. Pitch Comparison, Songs #1 and #2

The question of pentatonicism within the melodic structure of the Menominee Song was earlier mentioned, and dismissed as not clearly evident (see page 87). It may be worthwhile to revisit this aspect of the song from a new perspective. If we were to remove the "c#" from the pitch sequences of the Menominee Song -- on the basis that it reflects an adaptation from the surrounding culture -- then pentatonicism can be observed in each of the two sections: Section A: d-e-f#-g-a -- identical to the pentatonic structure of Song #1 -- and in Section B: d-e-g-a-b. In this construction, the presence of pentatonicism in Song #2 establishes yet another similarity between the two songs.

Despite the presence of pentatonicism, Song #2 also exhibits tonal qualities. The inclusion of all pitches in the format of a major scale is one significant factor; the presence of "c#" in the melodic line is another. By examining the frequency of appearance of each note in Song #2 as an indicator of its relative importance in the melodic line, it may be possible to strengthen or confirm its tonality. Figure 19 sets out pitch appearances both by section and overall. The notes of Section A1 are determined from Section A based on the likelihood of the two sections being similar.

	Sections			
	A	B	A1 (extended)	Overall
Pitches				
b	--	1	--	1
a	2	2	2	6
g	1	2	1	4
f#	2	--	2	4
e	2	2	2	6
d + d'	6	→ 3	→ 6	→ 15
c#	2	1	2	5
Total	15	11	15	41

Suggestion of Tonic

Figure 19. Pitch Appearances, Song #2.

The predominant note in all three sections is "d" (the combination of "d" and "d1"), with "a" and "e" sharing second place, followed closely by "g" and "f#". In western terms, the primary tones of D Major are those associated with the tonic "d", subdominant "g" and the dominant "a", and the triads built on those

tones (see Figure 8. Western tonal constructs).

We can construe from this examination of predominant pitches that the melody notes suggest the key of D major (d, f#, a), supported by the dominant (a, c#, e). "C#" (the leading note of D major) figures prominently in both sections, not through frequency of iteration, but by virtue of a) its penultimate location in each section, b) its position at the nadir of the tonal spectrum, and c) its chromatic motion to the final -- all of which are characteristic of leading note functions in western music.

A similar analysis was conducted on Song #1 (Figure 20). All pitches appeared at least once in all three sections, while the predominant pitches were "d," "e," "f#" and "g". It is only the prominent presence of the tones "d" and "f#" which suggest a D-Major tonality.

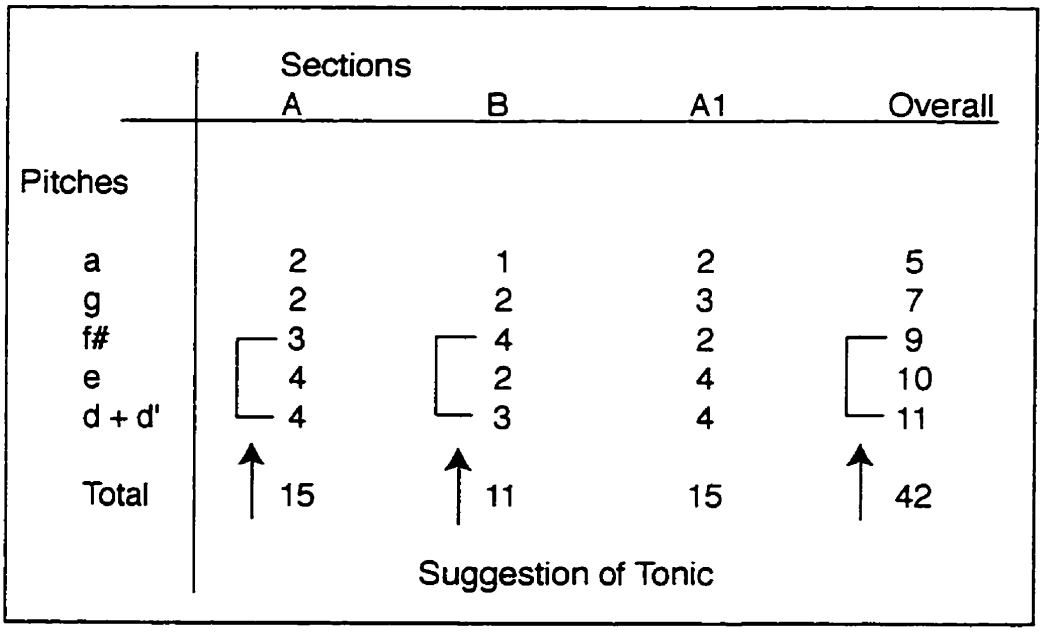

Figure 20. Pitch Appearances, Song #1.

Before attempting to draw any conclusions, it may be useful and informative to study the relationship between a second song from the Drum ceremony, one performed by George D. Strang and one by Sugashki Strang, both previously helpers (*ashkabewis*) in the Drum ceremony based on Naamiwan's dream.

* * *

A comparison of George D. Strang's second song (Song #3) -- what he referred to as "the song for the end of the ceremony" -- with a similar one of Sugashki Strang's (Song #4) may provide additional insight into the relationship which exists between the songs found in Naamiwan's ceremony and those of the Minnesota/Wisconsin complex. Methods of analysis similar to those earlier in this chapter -- notational, graphic and computer -- are presented to support this discussion.

George D. Strang's song, performed for Brown and Matthews in 1992, has been transcribed in Figure 21. This song displays a greater level of complexity and variety than the songs discussed previously, having a structure which can be designated as A, B, B1, A1, B2. The descending melody line, as well as the genre-specific feature of restricted range, are immediately evident from the transcription.

Although the overall range of this song exceeds that of a pentatonic scale, pentatonicism exists within all the sections except B2. When the notes of each section are placed in sequence, two pentatonic configurations are produced, as indicated in Figure 22.

The tempo indicators for Song #3 suggest that voice and drum in this song are synchronous. This is not the case; the non-synchronous feature still exists -- partly because the voice does not "land" on a note simultaneously with the drum beat, but arrives milliseconds either before or after the beat. Due to the microscopic time lapse between vocal and drum rhythms, the ear cannot easily detect "landing points." Unlike western music in which there is usually a variation in the strength of the beat depending on its placement, in George D. Strang's song the drum beat is entirely unaccented -- a factor which may

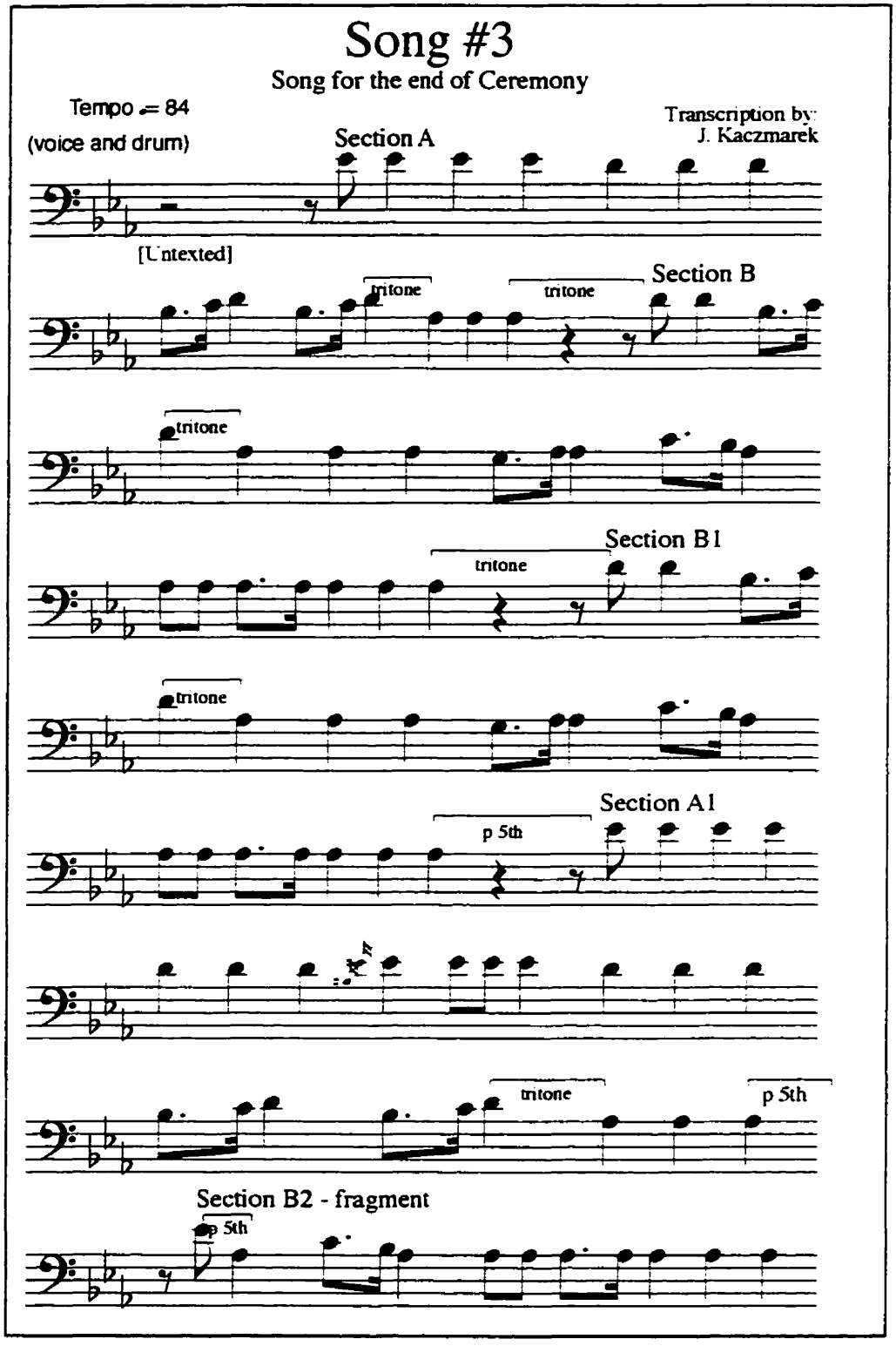

Figure 21. George D. Strang's Song, Song #3. Transcription of song performed by George D. Strang, June 25, 1992, at Poplar Hill, Ontario (Matthews and Brown 1992a).

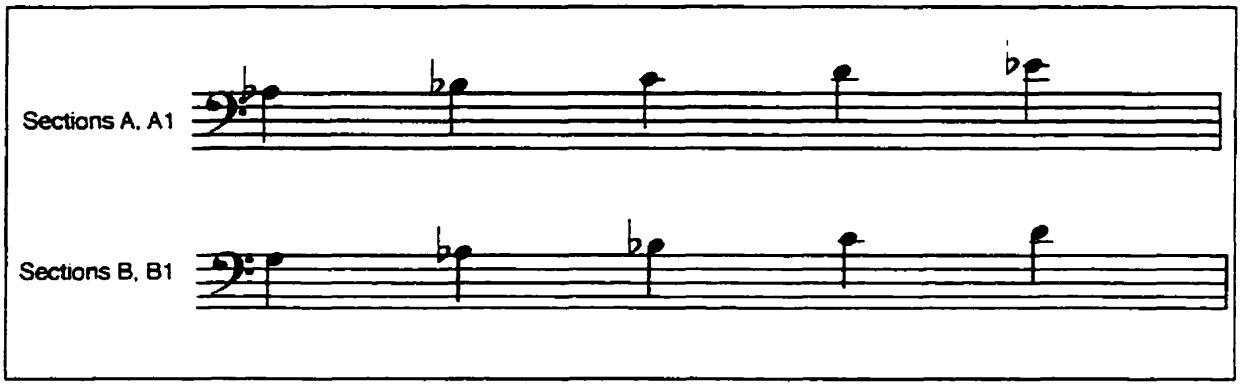

Figure 22. Pentatonic Cofiguration, Song #3

contribute to any perceived synchronicity -- or lack thereof. On one occasion, Frances Densmore observed an example of Ojibwe music where the "metric units of voice and drum are so nearly alike that the same metronome indication is used for each." This near-synchronicity was attributed by Densmore's informant to the song's "special purpose" which was "...to control the will and influence men to act against their wishes and judgment" (Densmore 1910: 6, 139). Is it possible that a similar concept of control had at one time been operative in this song?

The patterns facilitating retention are readily apparent throughout this song (Figure 23). Section A opens with a chromatic descent from "e$^{b'}$" to "d'", and proceeds in progressively larger interval sequences: seconds and thirds, concluding with a fourth. The two sets of a repeated, upward-moving syncopated cell (accented-dotted-eighth-sixteenth-quarter pattern), are both preceded and followed by repeated quarter notes, the opening series occurring on the highest pitch ("d") of the Section , and the concluding. series on the

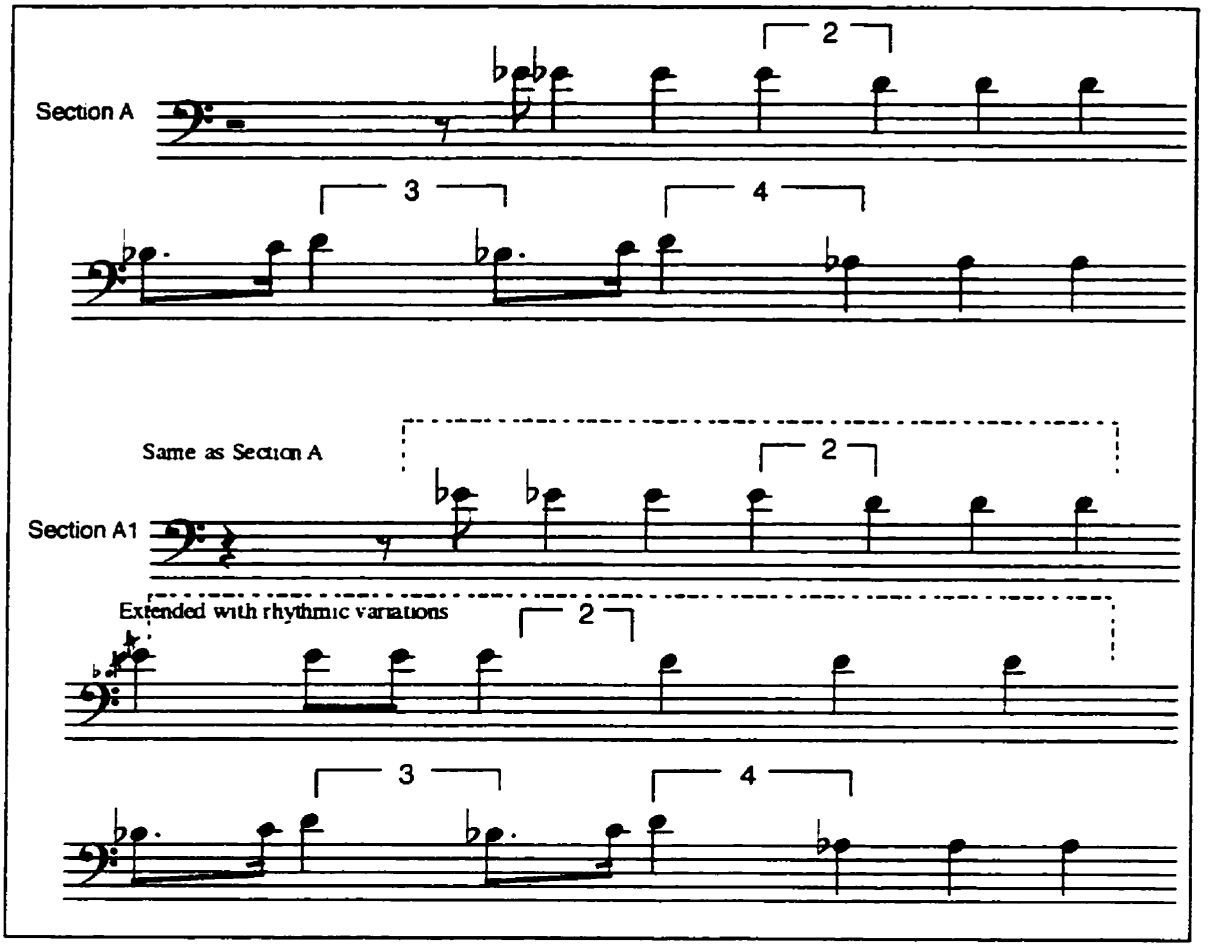

Figure 23. Sections A and A1, Song #3.

("a^{b}"). Section A1 repeats Section A, but with rhythmic variations, and a pronounced decoration.

Sections B and B1 incorporate the last eight notes of Section A, then introduce the new note "g" to the tonal vocabulary (see Figure 24). Further, the shape of the dotted-eighth-sixteenth motive is altered: rather than two upward-moving motives, the first motive rises; the second one falls. The sequence of repeated a^{b}s then follows in a series of three varied rhythm patterns, identically delivered in each B section. Although Sections B and B1 are identical

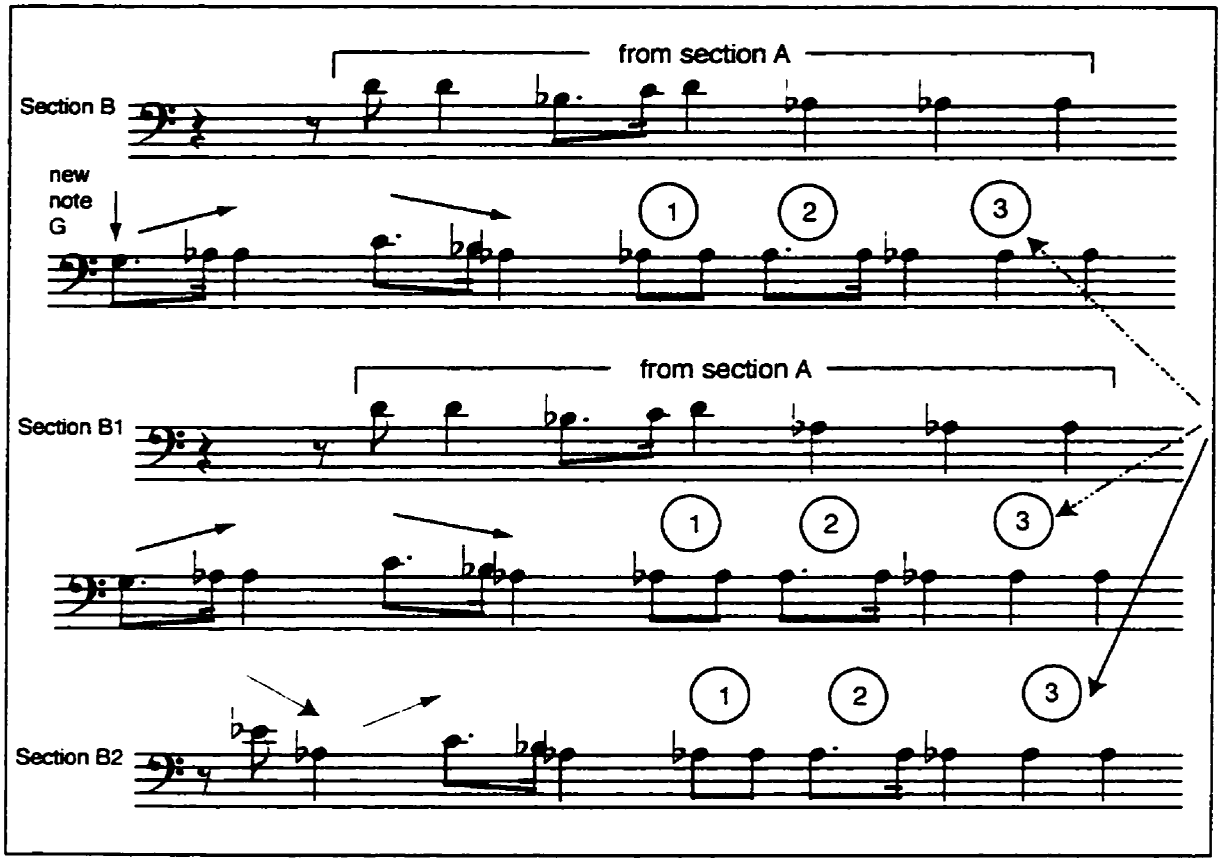

Figure 24. Sections B, B1 and B2, Song #3. Circled numbers 1, 2 and 3 indicate identical patterns of delivery..

throughout, Section B2 -- perhaps to counterbalance the extended A1 section -- is reduced to a fragment. However, in the transition from the end of Section A1, the melody executes a dramatic change of direction from the inflected sixteenth note ("e^{b}") down to the "a^{b}", and back up to "c" before beginning the gradual, stepwise descent to the final "a^{b}".

Symmetry and balance are everywhere evident in Song #3. Although the primary movement of the melodic line throughout is conjunct (i.e: moving by tones or semitones), the transition to each succeeding section is accomplished by a vocal leap from the final note of the preceding section. Such a feature is to

be expected, given the general characteristic (noted earlier) of downward melodic movement: following a descending passage, upward disjunction facilitates continuation of the process. A tritone marks the transition to Sections B and B1; a perfect fifth opens Sections A1 and B2 (see Figure 21).

The basic components of the song can be described as follows: Section A introduces the melodic material, Sections B and B1 derive from and develop this theme. Section A1 then restates and extends the opening, while Section B2 uncharacteristically omits any of the derivative material from A, and is confined to an abbreviated rendering of the previous Sections B and B1. The expansion of one part, followed by a contraction of another, contributes to the song's overall symmetry. To more clearly illustrate the overall structure and symmetry of Song #3, a graphic analysis is presented in Figure 25.

An additional means of analysis is afforded by the MacroMedia application, *Sound Edit 16b*. Song #3 was recorded on a computer which displayed the sound in spectral and/or wave form. Using a calibration which measured the sound in thousandths of a second, the song was carefully delineated into Sections A, B, B1, A1 and B2, and each section was further subdivided into note or note-sequence (cell) units, correlated with those established in the preceding graph analysis (see Figure 26). This analysis confirmed the overall symmetry of the song, as well as the integrity of units within the sections. In terms of elapsed time, Sections A and A1 differ by approximately 3-1/2 seconds due to a combination of the expanded opening of A1 (note sequences [1-2], and [2-2]), which contains twelve additional drum beats, and the fewer drum beats accompanying notes 1 and 4 (two and three beats respectively). It emerges that Section A1 has an additional seven drum

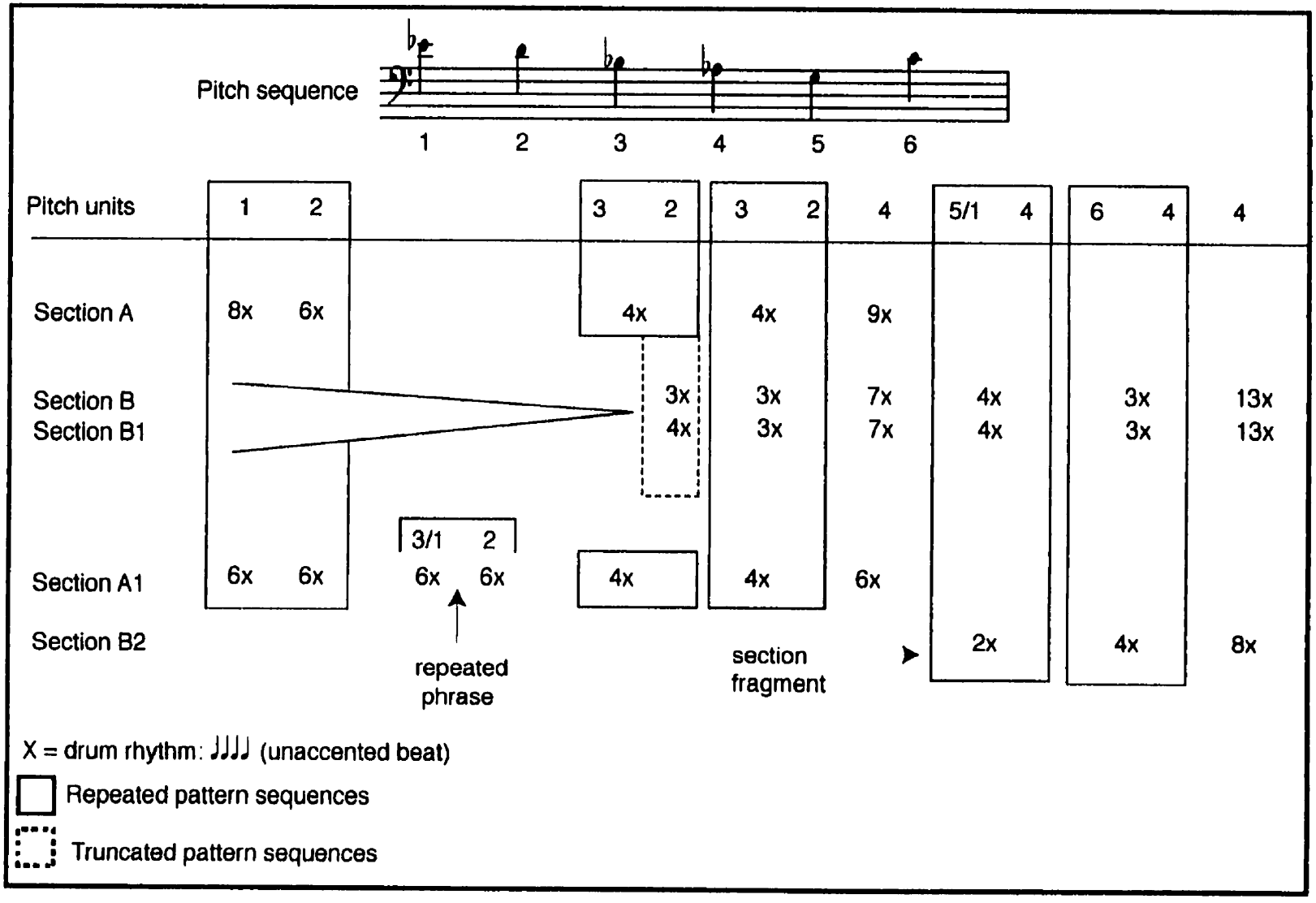

Figure 25. Graph analysis, Song #3

Detailed analysis by section

	Note/ Note sequence	Time in	Time out	Duration	Drum Units
Section A	1	0.000	2.577	2.577	8
	2	2.577	4.647	2.070	6
	3-2(1)	4.647	5.982	1.335	4
	3-2(2)	5.982	7.385	1.403	4
	4	7.385	10.449	3.064	9
Totals				10.449	31
Section B	2	0.000	1.104	1.104	3
	3-2	1.104	2.439	1.335	3
	4(1)	2.439	4.512	2.073	7
	5-4	4.512	5.786	1.274	4
	6-4	5.786	6.994	1.208	3
	4(2)	6.994	11.238	4.244	13
Totals				11.238	33
Section B1	2	0.000	1.104	1.104	4
	3-2	1.104	2.439	1.335	3
	4(1)	2.439	4.509	2.070	7
	5-4	4.509	5.790	1.281	4
	6-4	5.790	6.994	1.204	3
	4(2)	6.994	11.352	4.358	13
Totals				11.352	34
Section A1	1	0.000	2.347	2.347	6
	2	2.347	4.302	1.955	6
	1-2	4.302	6.948	2.646	6
	2-2	6.948	8.996	2.048	6
	3-2(1)	8.996	10.261	1.265	4
	3-2(2)	10.261	11.618	1.357	4
	4	11.618	13.945	2.327	6
Totals				13.945	38
Section B2	7-4	0.000	.966	.966	2
	6-4	.966	2.197	1.231	4
	4	2.197	5.770	3.573	8
Totals				5.770	14

Global Analysis

	Section	Time in	Time out	Duration	Drum Units
	A	0.000	10.449	10.449	31
	B	10.449	21.687	11.238	33
	B1	21.687	33.040	11.352	35
	A1	33.040	46.985	13.945	38
	B2	46.985	52.755	5.770	14
Totals:				52.755	151

Figure 26: Computer Analysis, Song #3

beats, thus accounting for the time difference.

Sections B and B1, as delivered, were virtually identical, there being one additional drum beat accompanying the final note of Section B1. Section B2 is drastically reduced from either B or B1, reflecting the absence of note combination 2, [3-2], [4(1)]. The interpolation of sequence [1-4] in place of [5-4] 4, accompanied by fewer drum beats, results in a total of 14 drum beats for this fragmented section -- 20 fewer drum beats than Section B, and 21 fewer than Section B1. The balance created by the combination of an expanded A1 section and a reduced B2 section becomes clear from this computer-enabled analysis.

From the foregoing, it is apparent that George D. Strang's song complies with many of the general characteristics of aboriginal song which can be observed from notational and graphic analyses: the downward motion of the melodic line, the inherent pentatonicism, the use of patterns to facilitate memory retention, and the derivative structure. Other characteristics become clearer by listening to the song: for example, the inflected delivery, the opposing rhythms, and the presence of vocables.

As mentioned earlier, Sugashki Strang's "beginning song for the Big Drum" (#4) was performed for and taped by Brown and Matthews in June 1992. It bears a strong resemblance to Song #3, although Strang's recollection of its place in the ceremony conflicts with George D. Strang's placement at "the end of the ceremony." Since these individuals would have participated in the same ceremony, it is curious that there would be such an inconsistency in their recollection; a song honouring the Drum would remain associated with the Drum, and the song for ending the ceremony would have quite a different

significance attached to it. As William Bineshi Baker, Sr., observed:

> Our original songs that was given to us, that's passed onto us, we always try to sing the way it was given to us....You can't change our religion, the beginning is still the same today, and the songs are the same today as far back as I can remember, and you can't change them. (Vennum 1982:95).

Vennum subsequently confirmed, "...each one of those drum dance songs was meant to be performed at a certain point in the ceremony" (Matthews 1992:2). It is likely that either George's or Sugashki's recollection of its place in the ceremony is flawed.

Sugashki Strang's song (Figure 27) displays a structure similar to, but more extended than, Song #3: two A sections, and four B sections in the sequence A, B, B1, A1, B2, B3. Unlike Song #3, no section is either expanded or fragmented in any of its iterations. The delivery of Sections A1 and B2 was lowered a semitone from the opening tonality, with a similar tonal shift occurring in Section B3. A similar, but inverse, shift was seen to occur in Song #1 (see Figure 9), in which the singer transposed Section A1 *up* a semitone. In Song #4, however, the song opened in one key, was transposed *downward* in Sections A1 and B2, and in Section 3 shifted from a minor to a major tonality. Again the question arises: was this a deliberate stylistic maneuver on the part of the singer, or an error in the transition between Sections B1 and A1 that, once begun, could not be corrected without disrupting the performance? The analysis which follows has been conducted on the basis that the various shifts -- which expanded the pitch repertoire and range, but did not alter the structure -- were intentional.

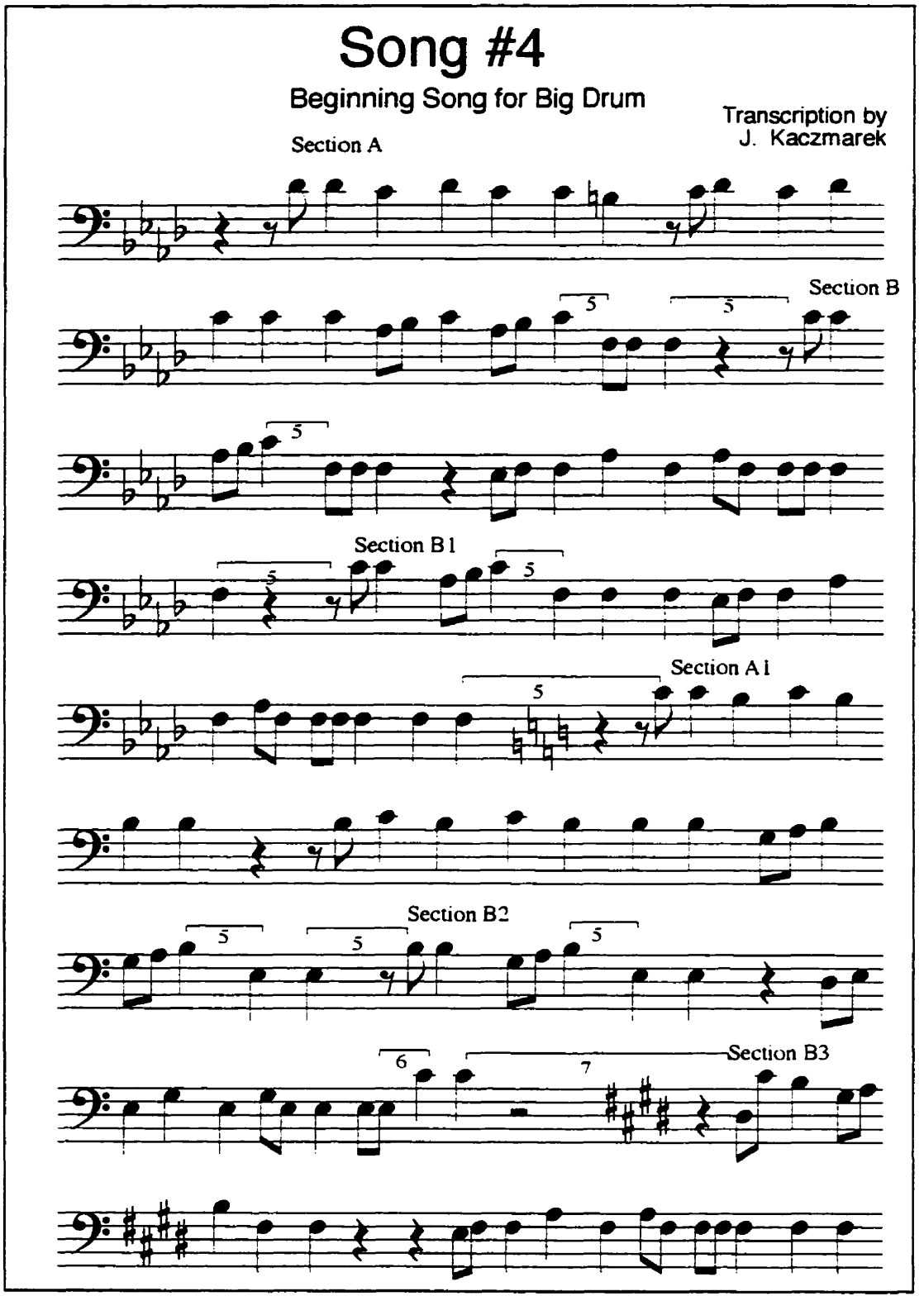

Figure 27. Sugashki Strang's Song #4. Transcription of song performed by Sugashki Strang, June 25, 1992 at Poplar Hill, Ontario (Matthews and Brown 1992a). Recording from Maureen Matthews collection.

The range of Song #4 can be considered in two ways: overall, or by section. The highest note delivered by Sugashki Strang was "d^{b}", the opening note of the song; the lowest note "d" occurred in Section B2, providing an overall range of an diminished octave as in Figure 28.

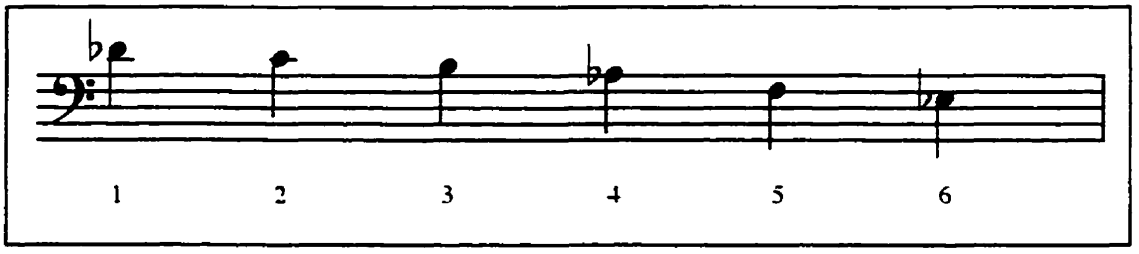

Figure 28. Range, Song #4

The movement of the melodic line is at first chromatic (moving in semitones), then gradually expanded by two downward leaps of a third, followed by a descending perfect fifth. Transition *between* sections is accomplished, except between Sections B2 and B3, by an *upward* leap of a perfect fifth. In the transition to Section B3, however, before beginning its descent to the final "f#", the melody line begins a semitone lower than the last note of the preceding section, and then leaps upward a minor 7th, from "d#" to "c#" -- at once a significant variation from earlier section openings, a larger interval than any other in the song, and one which accentuates the tonal shift.

By arranging the pitches of Sections A, B and B1 in sequence, we arrive at the configuration: e^{b}, f, a^{b}, b natural, c, d^{b} (excluding pitch "b^{b}" due to its unaccented position in the structure). This configuration closely resembles the western tonality of A^{b} Major, although lacking the fourth degree ("g") and

incorporating "b natural" in the chromatic opening.

There is immediate evidence of pentatonicism in Song #4. Section A comprises the five predominant tones f, a^{b}, b natural, c and d^{b} (see Figure 29).

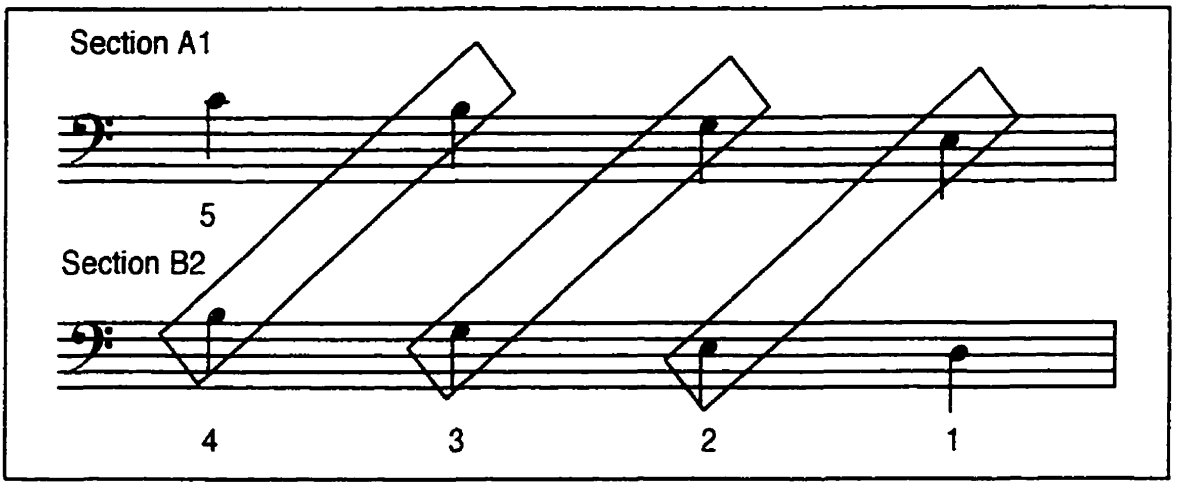

Figure 29. Pentatonicism, Sections A1 and B2, Song #4

On the other hand, there are only four pitches in Sections B and B1. If Sections A, B, and B1 are combined on the bases of shared tonality and contiguity, as well as the derivative quality of the B sections, the pitches then number six, thereby exceeding the requisite five of pentatonicism. Sections A1 and B2 each contain four predominant pitches - insufficient for a pentatonic configuration. However, by combining these two sections, a pentatonic scale emerges . Section B3, considered in isolation, contains six predominant pitches (d#, e, f#, g#, a, b), and is therefore not pentatonic.

The rhythm of Song #4 differs from Song #3 in three important ways. The drumbeat of Song #4 is slightly accented, with every second beat receiving a heavier stress. Where Song #3 uses a dotted-eighth-sixteenth rhythm, Song #4 uses two eighths: the former perhaps more dramatic or intense in its effect than

the latter. The non-isochronous sections of Song #4 -- most apparent in patterns comprising the two-eighth-note rhythm -- are more audible. Even so, Song #4 demonstrates the "near-synchronous" rhythm mentioned by Densmore.

The graphic analysis clearly illustrates the derivative structure and repeated cell patterns of Song #4. Due to the complexity of this song, the pitch sequence for each section is shown in Figure 30; the analysis in Figure 31. Sections A and A1, except for slight variation in the drum beats accompanying the final pitch unit of each, and the singular occurrence of pitch 3 accompanied by 3 drum beats in Section A, are virtually the same. The B sections derive from the third cell pattern (labelled 4-1), reiterate the ending pattern of the A section and expand from that point. The drum beats shown with the final note in each B section are divided: the first set of drum beats accompanies the voice, the second set does not.

Figure 32 aligns the four B sections so that similarities and differences are more easily noted. Note that, despite the presence of four *flats* in Sections B and B1, the *absence* of sharps or flats in Section B2, and the shift to four *sharps* in Section B3, the melodic contours and timing are essentially identical. Areas of minor rhythmic variation are outlined by rectangular boxes. Two significant alterations occur in Section B3: the opening interval (a 7th), the widest interval in the entire song, and the intervallic reduction from a fifth in Sections B, B1 and B2 to a fourth in Section B3.

It is evident that Songs #3 and #4 share general characteristics of aboriginal music. Both have the descending melody line, and aspects of pentatonicism. Each displays a non-isochronous rhythm in a form so unusual

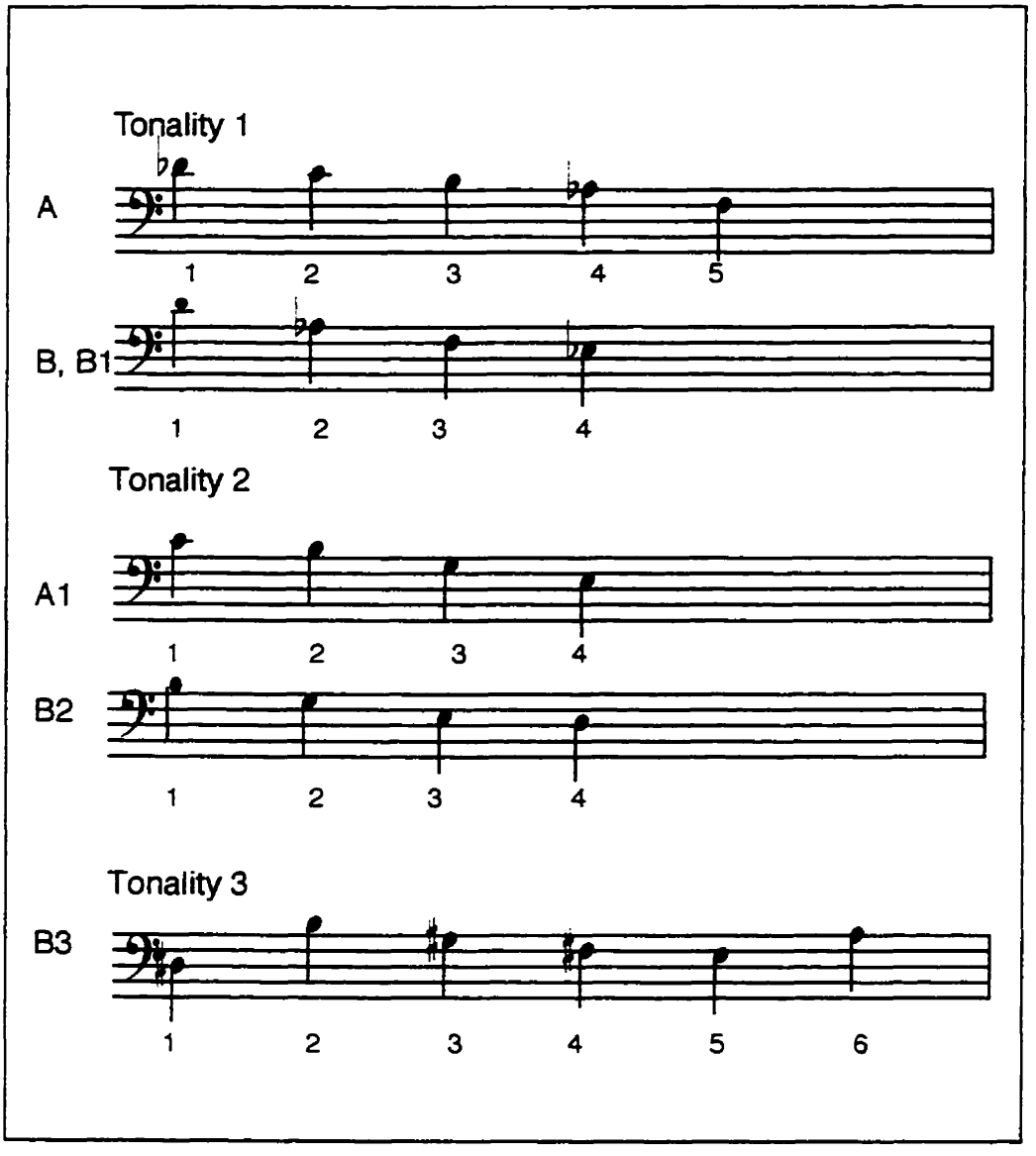

Figure 30. Pitch units by section, Song #4

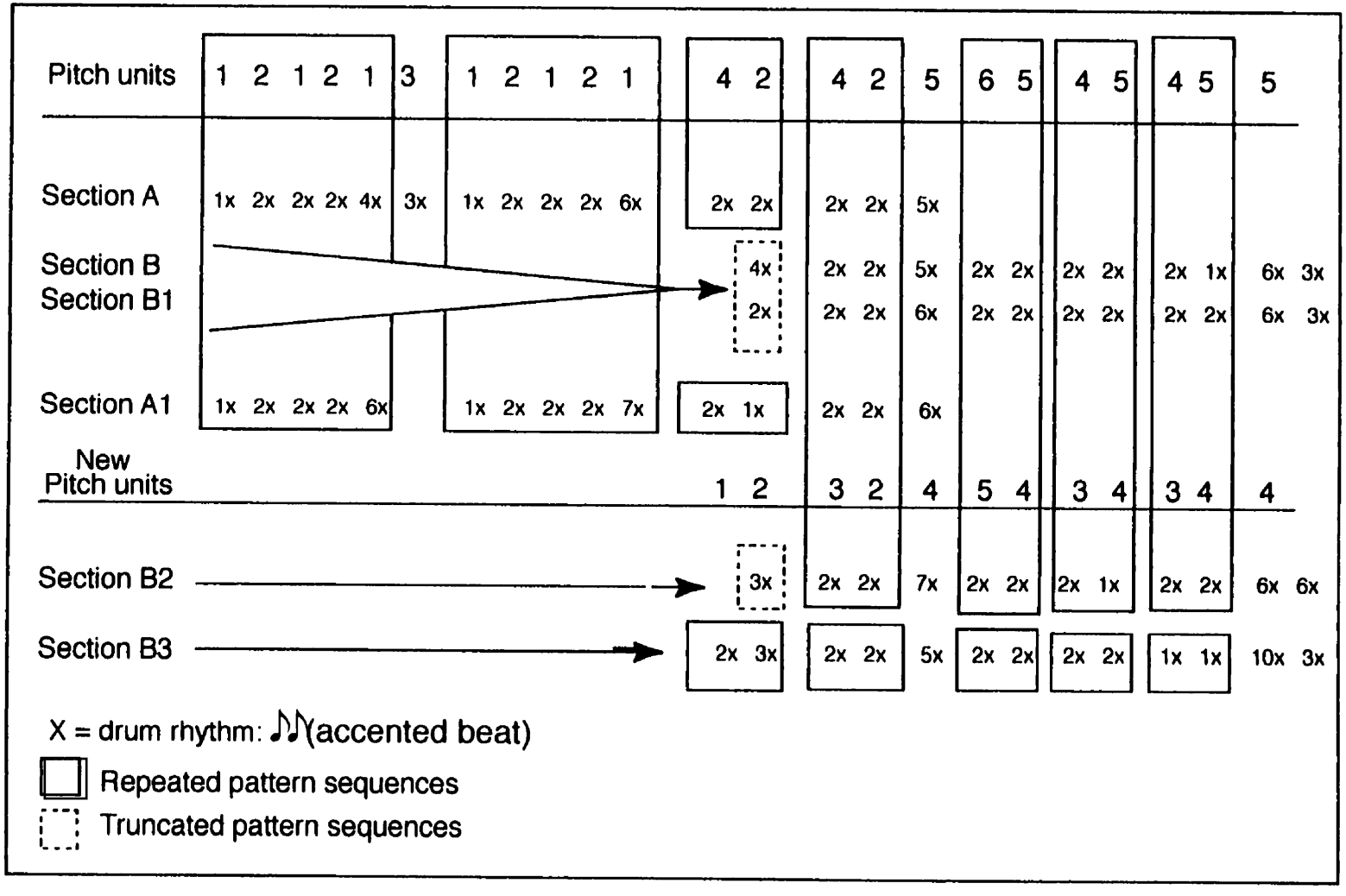

Figure 31. Graph analysis, Song #4

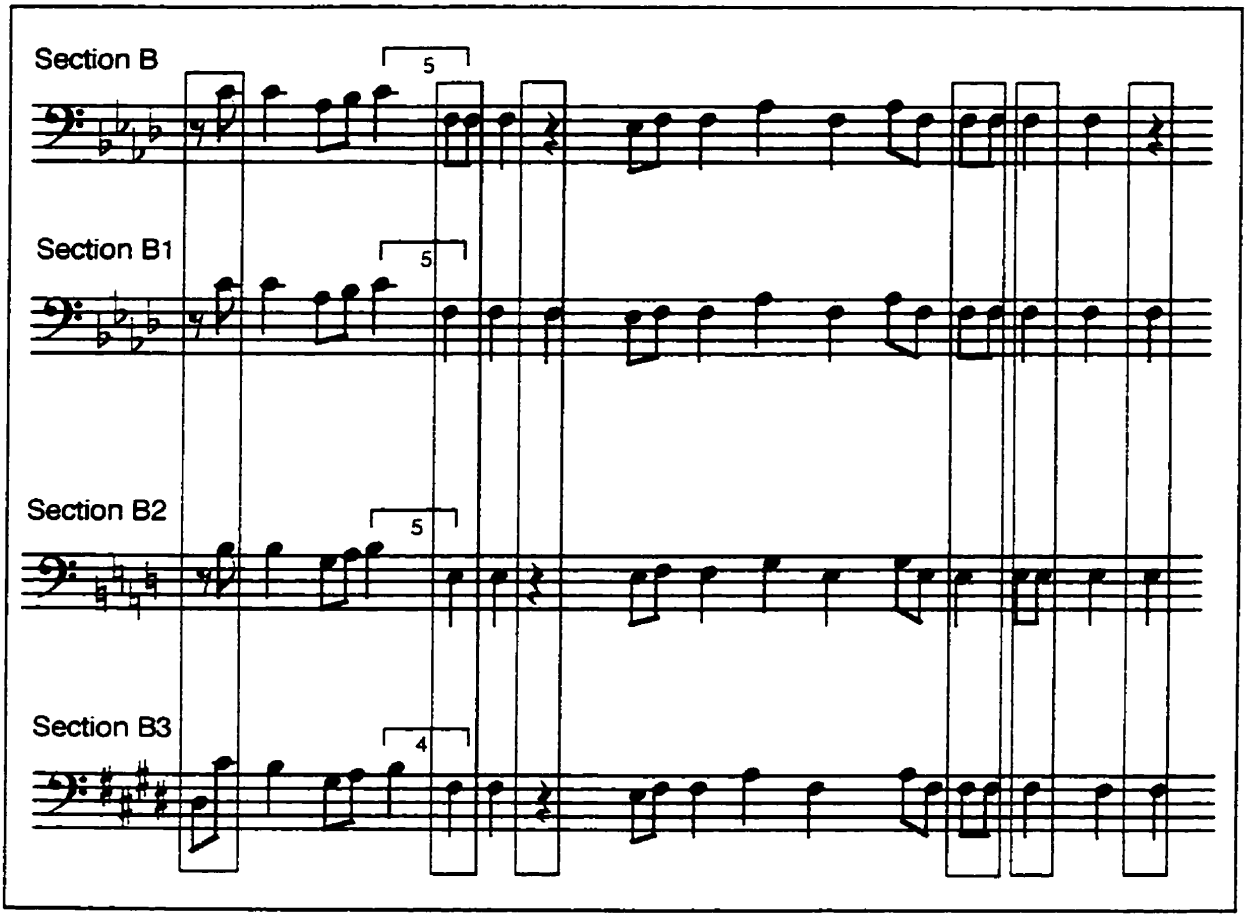

Figure 32. Sections B, B1, B2 and B3, Song #4. Rhythmic variations marked by rectangular bar; tonality changes by key signatures.

that it was particularly remarked on by Densmore. Both songs are derivative in structure and employ repetitive patterns which facilitate recall. No text exists in either song. Specific features of Dream Dance ceremonial songs are also evident. The range of Song #3 is a 6th, that of Song #4 is a 7th, so both demonstrate the restricted range attributed to Dream Dance songs. Both singers employed glottal stops in their delivery. Clearly an overall similarity exists between the two songs.

A comparison of the graph analyses for the two songs (Figures 25 and 31) reveals some interesting variations. For example in Section A of Song #3, pitches 1 and 2 are accompanied by a total of 14 drum beats. In Section A of Song #4, the first 11 drum beats accompany the alternation of pitches 1 and 2 , followed by pitch 3 and its three drum beats, for an overall total of 14 drum beats. Although the pitch unit numbers across the section are different (only because of their order of appearance in the song), the melodic contours are virtually identical for the remainder of both sections.

The B sections show an interesting correspondence. In Sections B and B1 of both songs, the opening cells, though derived from Section A in both cases, are fragmented. Note that in Song #3, cells labelled [6-4] 4 at the end of Section B are accompanied by 16 drum beats. In song #4, the final cells of Sections B, labelled [4-5] [4-5] 5 are also accompanied by 16 drum beats. Therefore, not only melodic contours but rhythm structures are closely related.

Both songs have pronounced variations in Sections A1 and the succeeding B sections. In Song #3, Section A1 is extended by the repetition of cell labelled [1-2]. An ornament incorporating a perfect fourth leap from pitch unit 3 to pitch unit 1 accentuates this reiteration. Thus, the expanded, ornamented Section A1 is followed by a fragmented, ornamented Section B2. In Song #4, although the melodic contour of Section A1 does not deviate from the pattern established in Section A, it does alter the tonality, a change which extends into Section B2. Section B3, in which the tonal centre changes yet again, there is an ornamented, expanded opening (as in Section B2 of Song #3), but this follows through the previously established sequence of the section to the end -- without fragmentation.

It appears that Songs #3 and #4 have sufficient similarity to be considered "the same". The differences can be attributed to stylistic preferences of the individual. It would seem likely that Song #3, being less complex in structure and performance, preceded Song #4; and that ornamentation, expansion, tonal shifts and other variations would be more likely to occur over time as enhancements or developmental features. It is less likely, although possible, that this progression would operate in reverse. Nevertheless, it is probable that these two songs developed from the same source.

At this point, applying a similar line of reasoning, a re-examination of Songs #1 and #2 is appropriate. As discussed earlier, Song #1 (George D. Strang's first song) and Song #2 (the Menominee Song) appear to have very little in common. Although they both shared the feature of a descending melodic line, and to some degree the concepts of pentatonicism and repetitive patterns, only Song #1 exhibited the general characteristics of non-isochronous rhythm and derivative structure. With regard to specific characteristics, the range of Song #2 (9th) not only exceeded that of Song #1(octave), but employed two additional pitch units. In Song #1, the rhythmic pattern was largely non-isochronous, whereas Song #2 displayed synchronicity throughout. Both songs were delivered using glottal stops.

The graph analyses of the two songs (Figures 13 and 17) show few commonalities. The opening cells [1-2] of Section A in both songs are each underlain by eight drum beats; in Song #1 this rhythm is non-isochronous, while Song #2 is rigidly synchronized. Song #1 clearly displays the derivative structure A, B, A1; on the other hand Song #2, albeit structured ABA (or A1), denotes two independent sections followed by a repeated (and perhaps

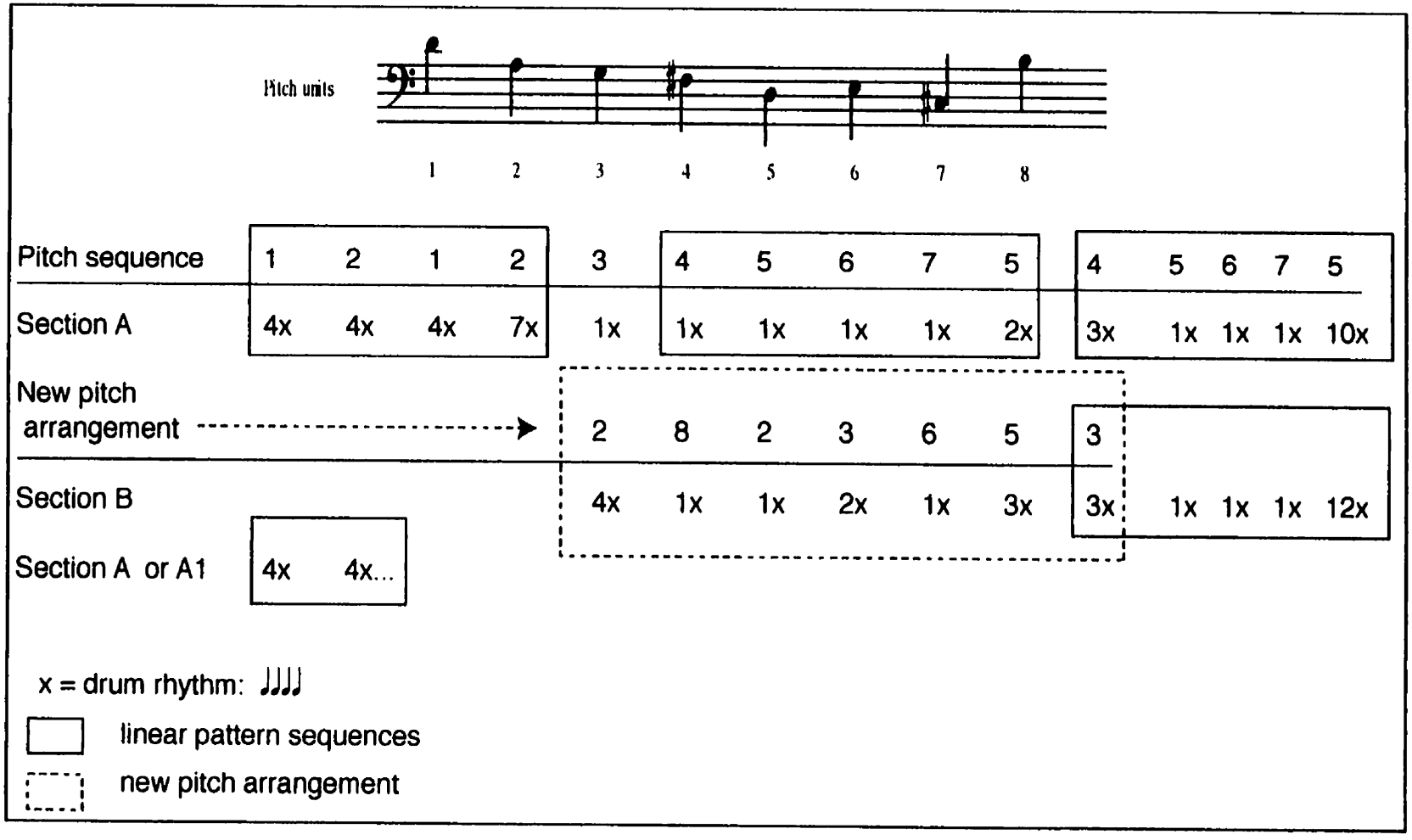

Figure 33. Graph Analysis Song #2 showing linear patterning

varied) Section A. However, a different pattern, which takes a linear or horizontal form rather than the vertical patterning of Songs 1, 3 and 4, emerges *within* Section A of Song #2 (Figure 33). Although Section B opens in a new, non-derivative sequence of pitches, it concludes with the same pattern as Section A, (i.e: [5-6-7] 5). The new pitch sequence, however, is not accompanied by the tonal shift that occurs in Song #1.

Song #2 is much more tonally-oriented than Song #1-- perhaps an influence of the surrounding western style music, as earlier discussed. It is delivered entirely in vocables, where Song #1 has some texted sections. At first glance this may seem significant, but may only indicate a sequence of musical development in aboriginal music.

* * *

The final phase of this paper examines an Ojibwe song honouring the *Ogichitakwe*, the "warrior women" (Song #5). Three separate performances of this song, recorded at intervals over a sixty-year period, were provided by Thomas Vennum of the Smithsonian Institution to Maureen Matthews during the course of their collaboration in 1992. The first of these (Version 1) was performed in 1914 by Bill Leaf of Tama, Iowa, and recorded by Truman Michelson. Nearly forty years later, the same song was sung by a group of Menominee singers on their Reservation and recorded by James Slotkin (Version 2). A third performance was given at Lac Court Oreilles during the 1970s by William Bineshi Baker and Pipe Moustache (Version 3) and recorded by Thomas Vennum (Vennum 1992:5). The recordings and background information were provided for this paper from the collection of Maureen Matthews. These three versions are compared in Figure 34, which expands upon the format used in the preceding graphic transcriptions.

The songs share certain characteristics. All display the ubiquitous descending melodic line, and the singers all use glottal stops in their delivery, although these tend to diminish in power over time. Unfortunately, because Version 1 is unaccompanied, variances in drum rhythm cannot be compared across the board. However, in Version 2, the drumbeat is strong, regular and completely isochronous; in Version 3, the drum beat is introduced only after the introductory phrases, and is non-isochronous. There are audible differences between the three versions. Version 1 is sung by an individual, while versions 2 and 3 are sung in a style analogous to the "call and response" format (alternation between two singers, or between a soloist and a group). Versions 1 and 2 have a range of a 10th; while version 3 covers a 12th.

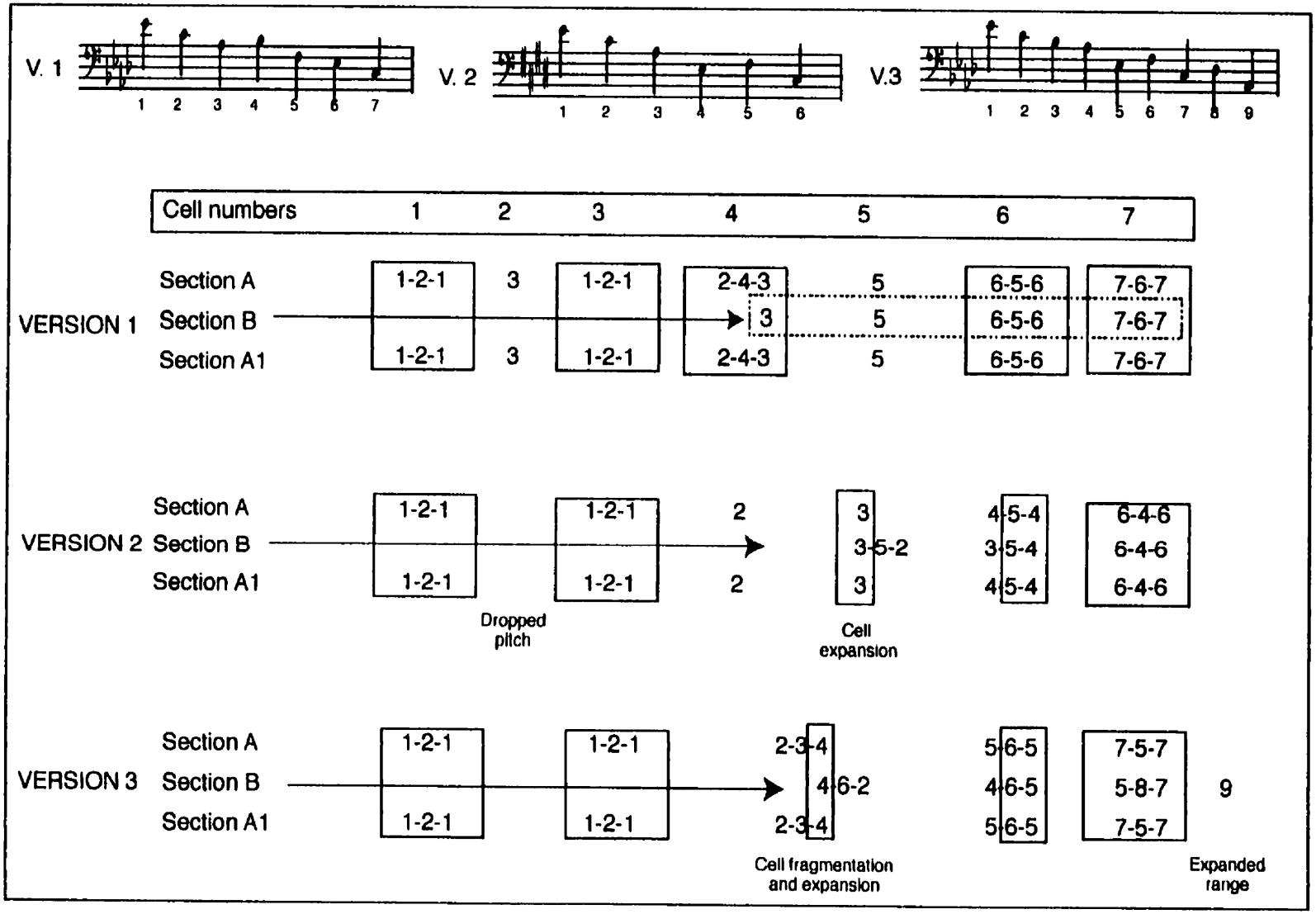

Figure 34. Graph comparison of three versions of Song #5.

Although there is no doubt that these are three versions of the same song, a gradual alteration in the structure can be observed from their graphic representations. Using Version 1 as the pattern, the song is comprised of seven cell units. The derivative structure is completely intact, underlain pervasively by vertical cell patterning. Section B omits the first three pitch units, begins with a fragment of the fourth pitch sequence, and faithfully reiterates the remainder of Section A. Section A1 is identical to Section A. This version was also based on a pentatonic configuration, as seen in Figure 35.

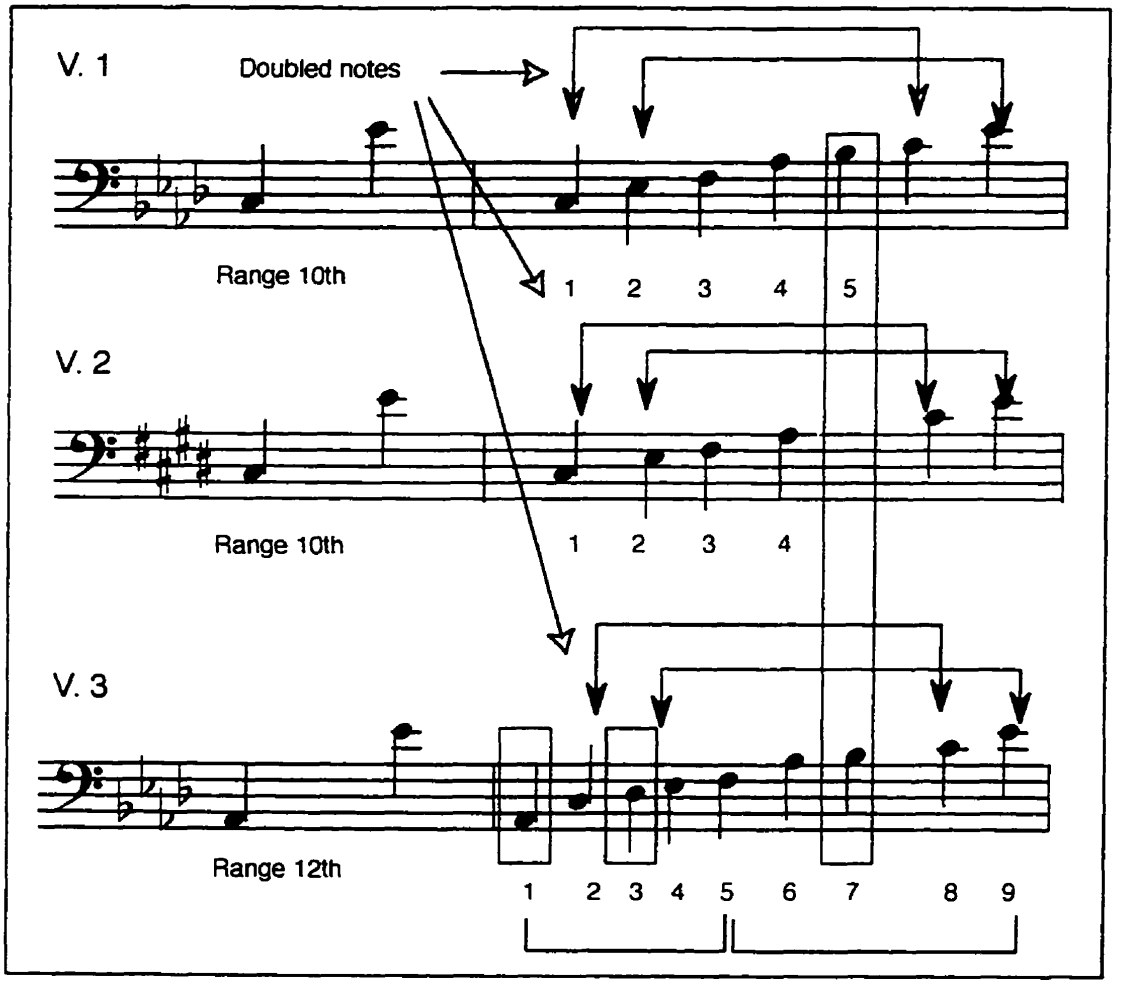

Figure 35. Graph showing range and pitch units employed for each version of Song #5. Note the pentatonicism of version 1, compared to four pitches in version 2, and two overlapping pentatonic figures of version 3, the second of which is anhematonic.

In Version 2, although the derivative structure is clear and the cell patterning vertical, certain alterations have been made to the structure. Cell 2 is completely absent, and cell four reduced to the iteration of a single tone. In Section A, the fifth cell unit consists of one note repeated several times. This is also the cell from which Section B is launched, and from the graph it is clear that in that section, the cell is expanded. The first tone of cell unit six varies from note 4 in Section A to note 3 in Section B, and back again. In this version, there are six tones used, two of which are repeated, resulting in a four-tone scale.

Twenty years later, Version 3 still demonstrated derivative structure supported by vertical patterning. Cells four and five from Version 2 have been amalgamated by a combination of expansion and fragmentation, and an additional pitch unit (9) is added at the end of Section B. Note that pitch 5 of version 1 was dropped from version 2, and reinstated for version 3. The pitch range has been expanded from both Versions 1 and 2, forming what appear to be two overlapping, slightly different pentatonic structures. The incorporation of three additional tones in version 3 (tones 1, 3 and 7) form a nearly complete scale of Ab Major -- missing only the note "g" -- resulting in a more tonal sound.

A comparison of these three versions provides evidence of how faithful oral transmission of any particular song can be over extended periods of time. It also demonstrates how subtly changes can occur and how complex the long-term changes can be: from a pentatonic configuration to one that is more tonal; from a non-isochronous rhythm to one more synchronized; from a performance heavily endowed with glottal stops to one which merely suggests glottalization; from a horizontal to a vertical patterning; and to the gradual decline of derivative structure.

PART VI:

CONCLUSIONS

XI

CONCLUSIONS

It is a well-known fact that ceremonies which have been transmitted from one region to another, or one nation to another, are subject to change -- amendment, modification, and incorporation -- in accordance with the recipients' preferences and purpose. Any aspect may be altered or changed, from the name or purpose of the ceremony, the style of garments worn, the location of the ceremony, or the quality and quantity of ceremonial objects incorporated. The Ghost Dance and the Sun Dance ceremonies clearly exemplify this concept of variation, adaptation, change and syncretism. The preceding chapters have confirmed several links between the Dream Dance religion of the Minnesota and Wisconsin Ojibwe and that practiced in the Berens River area. A musical connection not previously explored, has been addressed here in detail.

Of the songs examined, the most significant were Song #1 sung by George D. Strang from the point in Naamiwan's ceremony "where they put the plates down," and Song #2 recorded at a Menominee Reservation and identified as "the same song." The similarities and differences between these songs were reviewed in detail using as criteria both the general characteristics of Plains and Woodlands Indian music as determined by a number of musicologists, and certain specific characteristics of Dream Dance music as

outlined by Thomas Vennum, an American specialist in the ceremony.

The notational transcription of these two songs showed few commonalities. Song #1 was texted, and exhibited a more complicated melodic line than Song #2; Song #2 was delivered entirely in vocables. Although each song had three sections labelled ABA, in Song #1, this indicated a derivative structure, while in Song #2, B represented a contrasting section to A supported by a greatly varied pitch selection. In Song #2, the opening sequences of the A sections and the closing sequences of all three sections demonstrate repeated patterns. However, these patterns were more linear or horizontal than those in Song #1. Neither the chromatic transition which marked the opening of Section A1 in Song #, nor the fine melodic balance of ever-increasing intervals illustrated in Figure 14, are apparent or even suggested in Song #2.

Another important difference was the treatment of the rhythm. Song #1 alternated non-isochronous and isochronous passages. Song #2 was isochronous throughout. Therefore, the computer evaluation to determine placement of drum beat in relation to vocal attack was only completed for Song #1. In Song #1, the drum beat is entirely unaccented; in Song #2, every fourth beat has a more substantial emphasis.

Analysis of pitch appearances for each song revealed, in both cases, a rather sketchy indication of a major tonality -- more pronounced in Song #1. In Song #2, pitches are omitted from each section, imbuing each with its own distinctive tonal flavour. This is not the case with Song #1, which employs all the pitches in each section. Certain features of western music seem to have been absorbed into the Menominee version of the song (#2) -- in structure, in format and in use of the leading tone.

To demonstrate how changes, alterations and variations occur, even in related or neighbouring communities, Song #3, "song for the end of ceremony," and #4, "beginning song for the big Drum" -- similar songs despite the confusion relating to their place in the ceremony -- performed by George D. Strang and Sugashki Strang, were introduced.

In these songs, the main differences were those of style and complexity. Song #4 had a more extended range than Song #3, but both shared the quality of pentatonicism. Both had a derivative structure, although Song #4 had one additional B section. The predominant rhythm pattern of Song #3 was a dotted-eighth-sixteenth; that of Song #4 was eighth notes. Song #4 moved through a series of varying tonalities, while Song #3 maintained the opening tonality throughout. The most common intervals between sections of Song #3 varied between a tritone and a perfect fifth; in Song #4, the fifth predominated, though these were enlarged in the final section to a 6th and then a 7th. Both songs shared the feature of a dramatic ending -- each according to the singer's stylistic preference.

The three versions of Song #5, sung at intervals over a 60-year period demonstrated remarkable similarities -- while at the same time, displaying significant differences: a non-isochronous drum rhythm in one case, isochronous in another; a tonal vocabulary which changed over time; the move from a pentatonic to a four-tone scale and back to a variation of pentatonicism; a different treatments of transitional material. Nevertheless, they are three versions of the same song.

Clearly, if so many differences are present, and the song can still be considered "the same," then similar allowances must be granted to account for

the differences between Songs #1 and #2. Given that the ceremony conducted by Naamiwan seemed to be for an entirely different purpose than the original Dream Dance ceremony of the Ojibwe cousins to the south, and that he was known to have incorporated elements of other ceremonies -- both Christian and non-Christian -- into his ceremony, it is not unlikely that the observed differences reflected Naamiwan's agenda with regard to himself and his community. It is quite conceivable that both songs sprang from the same source, and over time were influenced by factors both internal and external to the communities involved.

Seldom is a connection or link between widely separated aboriginal groups or events established through the medium of music. And yet, music is the one element which links each and every aspect of aboriginal life -- perhaps equal in importance to such disciplines as anthropology, ethnology and history.

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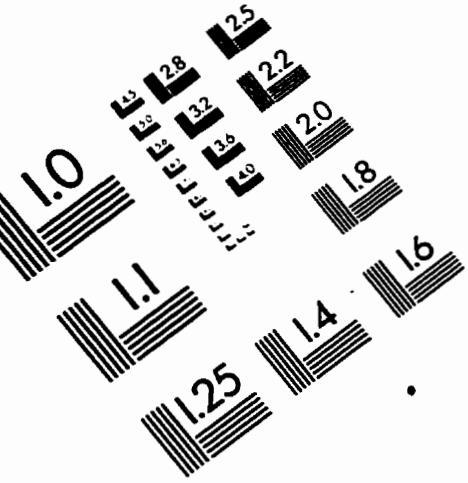

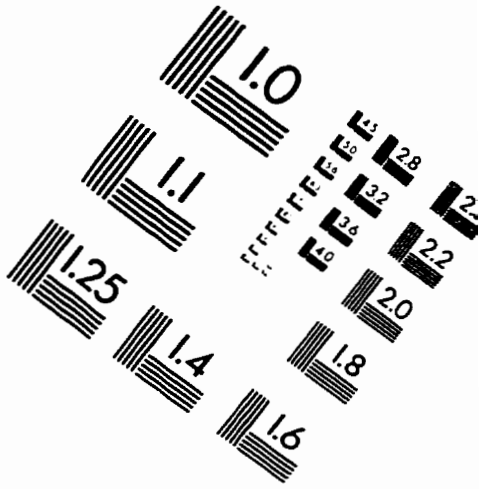

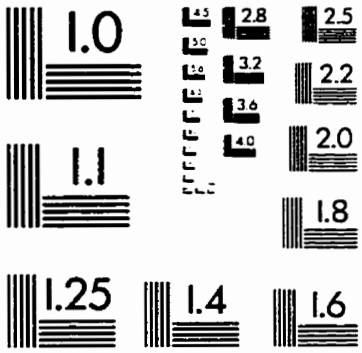

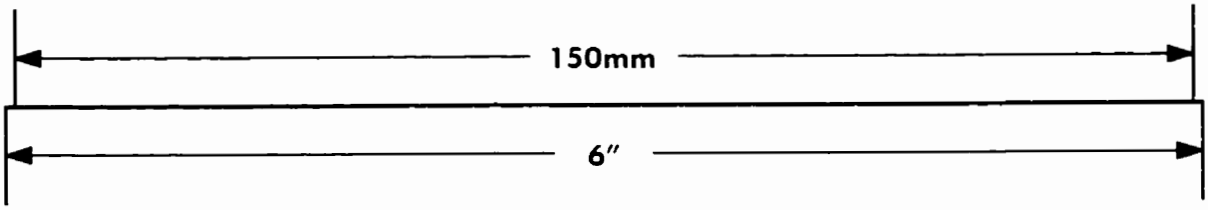

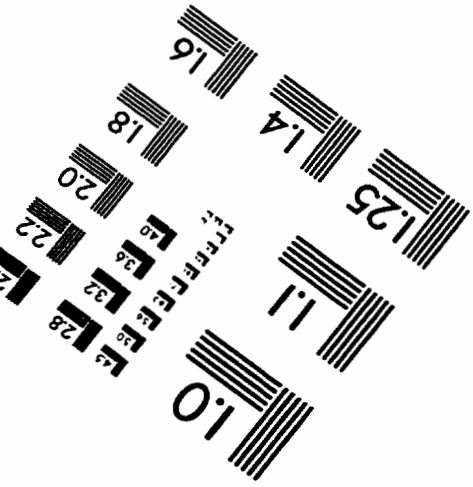

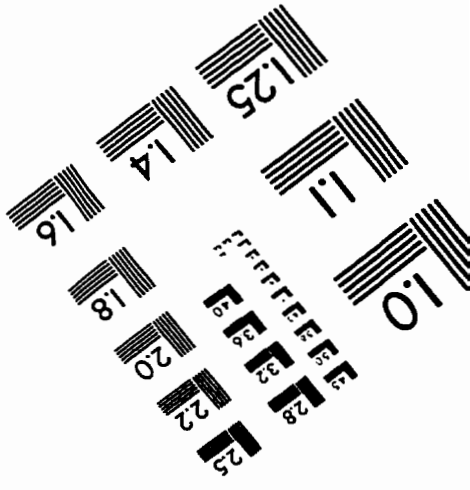

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