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Aiakotetshen:
'To Dream' in the Context of the Haudenosaunee

Madeleine Lajambe

A Thesis

in

The Special Individualized Programme

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ABSTRACT

Aiakotetshen:
'To Dream' in the Context of the Haudenosaunee

Madeleine Lajambe

The thesis highlights the patterns and multidimensions of dreaming among the Haudenosaunee. By bringing together examples culled from mythological, historical, and anthropological sources, it identifies the primary role of dreams as being inherently teleological and procreative. Through the auspices of the dream, the culture of the Haudenosaunee itself could be said to have been brought into being, shaped and extended, refined and elaborated, inspired and enriched, by succeeding generations of visionaries dreaming a world together. Exploring the contributions of the many by way of the dream in the context of the Haudenosaunee is to apprehend the creative process in some of its most soul revealing wisdoms, wonders and complexities.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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It was the slain trees
skinned and naked in the clearing
that made us sick[1]

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The Personal View

The idea for the topic of this thesis -- the dynamic role of dreams in the culture of the Haudenosaunee[2] (Iroquois) -- emerged at the end of the Summer of 1990, a summer dominated by events known as "The Oka Crisis."

The trauma sparked by plans for a golf-course expansion on the land still held by the Kanienkeháka[3], and the resulting standoff at Kanehsatake and Kahnawake, provoked an ugly revelation -- the prevalence of racism and, even more disconcerting, its seeming sanction by Canadian political bodies, the media, and a respectable portion of that amorphous entity known as 'the general public'.

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[1] Michael D. Doxtater. "A New World Symphony," in The River of Blood Flows On. Art catalogue. (Toronto: Rojo Nuevo Collective/Red Tree, in association with A Space, 1992), pp. 18-19.

[2] The Haudenosaunee, meaning 'People of the Longhouse,' comprise six nations: the Kanienkeháka (Mohawks), Senecas, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras.

[3] "Kanienkeháka" -- People of the Flint -- is used in lieu of "Mohawks." According to Horatio Hale (The Iroquois Book of Rites, and Hale on the Iroquois {Ohsweken, Ont: Iroqrafts Ltd., 1989} p. 173), the Dutch borrowed 'Maqua' or 'Makwa' from the Mohicans; over time, the word degenerated into "Mohawk."

On the face of it, however, the collective intolerance was represented as an righteous adherence to law and order; to that end, troops were mobilized to subdue the threatening element -- self-assertion. In a paternalistically inculcated political and social hierarchy, self-assertion, like 'Self-Determination,' is anathema.

Heralded by radio-mediated bullets, that particular moment of awakening came on the morning of July 11, 1990. Transfixed, I stood amidst the sound of gunfire ricochetting through the Pines at Kanehsatake while a construct of the waking mind -- that Canada was more or less racially tolerant, that basic human rights could never be violated so openly and with the same impunity as, say, in Chile, -- collapsed.

Several years prior, another awakening, one which would radically alter the references by which I would come to gauge 'reality,' was the dawning realization that dreams often exposed soul-deep truths concealed behind consciously construed fictions. In the thick of police and government propaganda surrounding events unfolding at Kanehsatake and Kahnawake, therefore, I again turned to the dream, this time as a process integral to the social, cultural and historical context of the Haudenosaunee.

Because dreams also offer a means by which to transcend limitations imposed by linear time, place, culture and, most of all, those tenuous constructs of the waking mind, focussing on the richness of dreaming among the Haudenosaunee became an

attempt to find common ground by which to come to know a people who'd been so forcibly catapulted into my awareness, and toward whom I felt immediate kinship despite the fact that, at the time, I'd had little other contact with the Kanienkehaka.

To have 'discovered' in my initial readings, that the Haudenosaunee had once valued (and still do, though perhaps less exclusively) the dream as the essence of verities seemed fateful. However, being also familiar with the phenomenon of projection, I embarked on what I had identified as a psychic affinity -- a shared respect for and attentiveness to dreams -- with trepidation; inability to distinguish the boundaries separating "I" and "Thou" risked converting 'common ground' into a mine-field of assumptions in which one mistakes 'similar' for 'the same as.'

Two of the most often cited sources pertaining to the role of dreams among the Haudenosaunee are the Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, and a section by Anthony Wallace in The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca entitled "Dreams and the Wishes of the Soul."[4] While the latter is, for the most part, an interpretive study of the former, confusion arises as a result of Wallace's inclination to amalgamate different historical periods with little discrimination, combined with his liberal use of Huron dream

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[4] Anthony F.C. Wallace. The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca. (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), pp. 59-75. The chapter on dreams also appears separately in other sources.

material to elucidate the role of dreams among the Haudenosaunee.[5]

This blurring of both cultural and historical differentiations may account for the number of studies in which the dream practices of the 20th century Haudenosaunee are compared with those of the 17th century Huron instead of with their own ancestors (Altschule, 1977:27; Blau, 1963:233; Shimony, 1961:65; Wymeersch:1986: 229). With two exceptions, therefore (see Chapter 4), I have made it a point to concentrate on those dream samples contained in the Relations which properly belong to the Haudenosaunee.

Other impediments encountered in both the Jesuit and Wallace material were the strongly held assumptions regarding dreams held by the authors -- the one religious, the other based on a positivist or mechanistic science -- which tended to cloud rather than illuminate those that may have been held by the Haudenosaunee.

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[5] The dream practices and theories of the Huron people and those of the Haudenosaunee, though clearly related, are nevertheless an example of 'similar' not being 'the same as.' For instance, though both peoples practiced the dream-guessing rite, only the object dreamed of or wished for was bestowed on the Haudenosaunee dreamer; the Huron dreamer, on the otherhand, would receive whatever had been guessed, whether it corresponded to the dream desire or not. The mythologies of the two peoples also differ and emphasize separate concerns blithely summarized by Altschule: "The Hurons maintained a life of self-indulgence, or, as it is described today, self-expression. The Iroquois lived a life of consideration for and service to the group." ("Huron Ideas About the Unconscious Mind," in Origins of Concepts in Human Behaviour, {Washington: Hemisphere Publishing Corp., 1977} p. 26).

A questionnable dichotomy was further established by the fact that, if the culture of the Haudenosaunee was dream-enriched, that of the observers' was dream-dismissive, lending to a stilted appraisal of the scope and depth of dreaming among the former.

In Western societies, the beginning of the dream's demise can be traced back to the time of Aristotle wherein the latter deduced that dreams couldn't have divine origins since non-human animals, deemed 'lower' in the grand construct of 'superior' and 'inferior' life forms, also dreamt.[6]

Having been designated a phenomenon of an 'inferior' Nature, that dismissal later took on the sheen of paranoia during Christian times. Stripped of their divine origins, dreams were now seen to be an inversion of -- in fact, an outright attack upon -- Providence. In the second century A.D., therefore, Justin Martyr, a founding father of the then fledgling Christian church, warned that dreams were but the handiwork of Satan sent to "confuse and corrupt."[7]

More than fourteen-hundred years later, Justin's tenets were still supported throughout 'New France' as the devil-fixated Jesuits battled the Haudenosaunee's regard for dreams as zealously as their Old World counterparts battled Europe's

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[6] Harry T. Hunt, The Multiplicity of Dreams (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 89.

[7] Jeffrey Burton Russel. The Prince of Darkness: Radical Evil and the Power of Good in History. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 62-65.

witch-seducing Archfiend. But despite the invectives accompanying the Jesuits' recording of the dream rites and theories of the Haudenosaunee, the vitality of these, if not their full import, can still be discerned beneath the layers of condemnation.

The Haudenosaunee appear to have fared little better farther along the historical continuum with Anthony Wallace. As noted by Harry Hunt, "the shift in valuation in classical times," eventually led to a "final narrowing of dreaming in the 20th century to one type."[8] This latter type, rearticulated by Freud at the turn of the century, was the "relatively trivial"[9] personal dream, comprising childhood memories and wishes which, in the Freudian view, are understood as being predominantly sexual. Dreams eluding "Freud's core theory," such as telepathic or 'big' dreams, were waved aside as being "not really dreams."[10]

The one type of dream given 'scientific' (and therefore 'credible') status by psychoanalysis is reflected in the title of Wallace's study itself -- "Dreams and the Wishes of the Soul," wherein all manner of dream expressions are reduced to more or less a single concept: that dreams are the manifestation of passive fantasies, and repressed or forgotten childish wishes.

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[8] Hunt, The Multiplicity of Dreams, p. 89.

[9] Ibid, p. 87.

[10] Ibid., p. 91.

Following Jung's 'break' with Freud, the absoluteness of the one-type dream theory was thrown into question:

> It is certain that consciousness consists not only of wishes and fears, but of vastly more than these, and it is highly probable that the unconscious psyche contains a wealth of contents and living forms equal to or even greater than does consciousness, which is characterized by concentration, limitation, and exclusion.[11]

It is equally certain that while beliefs were held by both the 17th century Haudenosaunee and Huron people regarding the unconscious nature of certain wishes and desires (notions which preceded Western psychology by at least several hundred years), dream experiences appear to have likewise consisted of "vastly more than these" -- an assertion which I hope to establish in the pages that follow.

The psychoanalytic framework adopted by Wallace restricts not only the myriad meanings a dream symbol may draw to itself in any one culture, it further disregards the multiple interpretations it may acquire depending on the world-view in which it was dreamed. While dreaming itself crosses all manner of boundaries (including species differentiations), and while some dream symbols do indeed appear to be universal (circles, numinous trees and snakes, air-borne spirit mentors and shadowy beings of the underworld), their significance, assigned values and/or analysis are culturally informed.

An example of the 'cultural plurality' by which dream

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[11] C.G. Jung. Psychological Reflections: Selections, edited by Jolande Jacobi. (New York: Harper & Row, 1953) p. 49.

symbols are ascribed meaning is given by Barbara Tedlock. She recounts that while living among the Quiché Mayans with her husband, the latter dreamed that a stranger offered him the gift of an ear of corn, but awoke before having consumed it. Their mentor interpreted this night vision as "an extremely good dream." The ear of corn, he told them, represented acceptance on the part of a Quiché Mayan ancestor. Initiation into the culture's sacred ways, however, remained incomplete as Dennis Tedlock had failed to assimilate the gift extended to him.

Contrariwise, Barbara Tedlock claims that the same dream among the Zunis of New Mexico -- a people among whom she had previously conducted extensive dream research -- would have been interpreted as extremely ominous; in this other world view, the offering of an ear of corn would have been perceived as the ruse of a witch intent on poisoning the dreamer. To have partaken of the offering would have portended almost certain death for the dreamer and not, as among the Quiché Mayans, the successful integration of a new teaching.[12]

To further illustrate the not necessarily universal meanings of near universal symbols -- in this instance, that of the mask -- I offer a dream of my own made even more enigmatic by its inclusion of cross-cultural references:

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[12] Barbara Tedlock. "Zuni and Quiché dream sharing and interpreting," in Dreaming: Anthropological and Psychological Interpretations. B. Tedlock, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) p. 105.

> I am wearing a mask which I have made. It is in the likeness of X, a man from the nation of the Kanienkehakas. A woman cautions me that in donning the mask, it is no longer simply oneself that is behind it but that others who might 'act out' are equally being constellated. To my surprise, I then see, while peering through the eyes of this other, that she herself is wearing a mask, some fantastic, ornate creation. Moreover, she appears oblivious to the fact that it rests upon her face, mythic and larger-than-life.

As well as the dream's pointing to a tendency to over-identify which, in turn, provoked a fear of 'possession' and the being dispossesed of a personal identity (the opposite fear of giving 'false' representation is simultaneously portrayed and aptly illustrates some of the ambivalences experienced at the time of the dream), further prodding of the imagery revealed a not so clear counter-current of alternate possibilities.

While "X" was not known to me personally, he became one of a number of media-vehicled figures projected into the public eye during the drama of the Crisis; in the process, he also became a 'symbol' around whom the courage and 'spirit' which I'd attributed to the communities of Kanehsatake and Kahnawake coalesced. The woman, meanwhile, was a close acquaintance with whom I shared a similarly informed philosophical and cultural orientation.

Included in the latter orientation is the Western equation of 'mask' with 'persona,' that "collective facet of the personality that is only adaptively unique to the individual, for its appearance and meaning are defined by the

society."[13] According to analytical psychology, where there is "persona," "shadow" is also necessarily present and constitutes those hidden, and sometimes no longer conscious aspects of the self. Ironically, the greater one's repression and/or unconsciousness vis-à-vis the shadow, the larger it looms and is visible to others.

The analytical or Jungian framework also postulates that the "shadow" side of self is often, though not always, represented as a same-sex image. In this dream, the feminine figure with her larger-than-life mask carries the definition of a shadow projection to almost classic perfection.

While the visage one displays to the world is deemed a necessary 'evil' in that it facilitates one's ability to function in the public arena with its complex interaction of social roles, persona remains but a half-truth and is therefore tinged with notions of falsehood and deceit.

Conversely, for the Haudenosaunee, masks call into being and reveal, rather than conceal, a presence. The spirit forces whom the masks represent are themselves usually dream engendered -- "memorials to generations of nightmares"[14] -- and are considered ambivalent in that they can be the agents

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[13] June Singer. Boundaries of the Soul: The Practice of Jung's Psychology. (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1972) p. 209.

[14] William N. Fenton. "Masked Medicine Societies of the Iroquois," in Annual Report of the Board of Regents for 1940 (Smithsonian Institution, 1941), p. 405.

of either harm, if ignored, or helpfulness when remembered and related to.

For the Haudenosaunee then, one concept of 'evil' appears to be linked with lack of consciousness or forgetfulness towards persons of the human, or 'other-than-human' category[15]; it further implies that 'evil' or rupture and disharmony is brought about by deficiencies in the relationship for which the individual, in concert with his or her community, must assume responsibility. Masked rituals are one such means by which a spiritual energy and a community are brought into proper alignment.

Relating the dream of "X" to this premise implicates the dream ego as a participant in the current cultural disjuncture, and identifies personal ignorance as well as lack of relationship as contributing factors. An attempt to 'redress' the resulting situation is suggested by the creation and the donning of the dream mask.

In the context of the Haudenosaunee, the mask image crosses the threshold between the visions of night consciousness, and the rituals of the waking world with ease. An image speaks, a people respond and a dialogue or relationship is established. When beheld in a dream, the mask or the being associated with it, is often indicative of the

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[15] This premise similarly informs Jungian psychology. The latter, however, would situate 'spirit beings' within an interior landscape rather than pervading an all-encompassing cosmos.

presence of illness, a dis-ease of a physical, psychological and/or spiritual origin within the dreamer. The resulting masked rituals are invariably rituals of healing.

The Oka Crisis, as this "Introduction" makes clear, caused distress, a dis-ease within the psyche that precipitated a search for a means by which to alleviate it. To that end, the dream appears to recommend the adoption of the other's perspective as one step toward a possible solution, a perspective attainable by means of relationship with the Kanienkehaka 'without' as well as with the one who had revealed himself as an emerging inner presence.

This presence became a recurring dream visitor over the past three years. I came to understand these sporadic manifestations of "X" as something of a signpost, signalling a shift in consciousness and a need to readjust and re-view, to bridge the distance or to take a step back in what had become an ongoing preoccupation with achieving 'right relationship' -- intra-psychic and inter-cultural, subjective and objective.[16] On some level, 'X' also came to personify

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[16] In "Resonance in Imagery" (The Study of Culture at a Distance, Mead and Metraux, eds. {Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1953}, p. 361), Rhoda Métraux describes various ways by which individual anthropologists internalize the symbolic systems of other cultures. One such enthnographer "describes the process of assimilation as one in which he creates an 'internal society' with 'multiple voices' that carry on 'multiple conversations' in his own mind." Another "seems in some way to ingest the culture so that, in effect, her own body becomes a living model of the culture on which she is working as well as the culture of which she is herself a member, and she continually tests out relationships in terms of her own bodily integration." Developing a source within the self by which to

the thesis project itself.

In the tradition of the Haudenosaunee, the most powerful masks are carved from living trees. In the dream the living tree is also alluded to, not in the material of the mask itself, but in its reference to "X" and therefore to the Pines at Kanehsatake. The presence of a serious life-threatening illness, therefore, and the need for strong 'medicine' is also underlined.

When the Haudenosaunee masker covers his face with that of the other, he becomes a mediator. Through him the power or 'orenda' of a spirit is constellated and directed for the benefit of both individual and community. The dream ego mimics this process. It further conjures up the other's 'spirit' in it's own Euro-American context, indicating that the presence of illness extends beyond the personal into the larger socio-political and cultural environment of which it is a part.

The most well known of the Haudenosaunee's masked medicine societies are referred to as the False Faces. Interestingly, Fenton asserts that the term 'False-face' is "reservation English." In the Seneca language, the descriptive employed for this particular medicine society is simply 'Face'; for the Onondaga, 'Hunchback'.[17] Fenton

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feel for 'resonance,', whether in the body or in a body dreams, appears to be a spontaneous response to seeking acquaintanceship with cultures other than one's own.

[17] Fenton, "Masked Medicine Societies of the Iroquois," p. 405.

also stresses that,

> Finally, when we speak of masks, we must always remember...that the "Faces" are really "likenesses," in the sense that they are portraits of mythological beings, and they are not masks for the purpose of concealment.[18]

Rather than expressing a difficulty in translation, the designation "False Face" suggests, instead, a Native awareness of a non-Native understanding of the function of masks and, in the other's language, describes itself accordingly. A similar awareness is revealed to the dream ego when peering through the eyes of the mask made in 'the likeness of' "X." From this perspective, the 'false face' projection -- that elaborate cover-up behind which the wearer's true face lies hidden -- is returned to its Western source.

Gothic, unyielding, and in the likeness of no living or enlivening presence, the woman's mask is reminicent of European feudal systems and dark ages. As such, it is a transposed and dislocated artifact belonging to an interred past; unrelated to the spirit of the land in which it now finds itself, it sickens.

This, finally, is perhaps the dream's most relevant message. By attempting to see the world through someone else's eyes, acting 'as if' one were the other, what becomes strikingly apparent is one's own cultural shadow, replete with its confabulated persona and dysfunctional myths.

In closing, the process of 'analysis, by which the above

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[18] Ibid, p. 400.

dream was 'amplified' is itself culturally informed. In the hands of a traditional clairvoyant, a different though not unrelated, interpretation might have been arrived at. That the dreamer's soul 'desires friendship' ("X" would be taken as literal rather than metaphorical embodiment of friendship) is one such possible interpretation. In the waking world, the soul's wishes would then have been acted out and satisfied by means of a ritual of friendship -- a reciprocal bonding between persons that is considered 'for life'.

I have also chosen to act out the wishes of the soul. While no such poignant rite as that of a ritual of friendship exists between our two cultures, embarking on this course of study did provide one means of drawing closer to and, in the process, becoming touched by the restorative and re-creative power of the dream among the Haudenosaunee. My own dreams have drawn upon this power, charting the soul's three-year 'recovery through relatedness' from the shock and toxic revelations instigated by Oka.

Thesis Objectives

> We must never forget that in any psychological discussion we are not saying anything about the psyche, but that the psyche is always talking about itself.[19]

The thesis has several aims. One is to bring together references to dreams found scattered throughout some of the literature spanning approximately three-hundred years. The intent is to create something of a 'history' of the dream in its own right, and not merely as an anecdote of interest emmeshed within a socio-political or anthropological overview. Specifically, my aim is to trace the threads of continuity while noting the shifts in emphasis and content -- what endures, what changes, not only in the dreams themselves but in how they are expressed, related to and lived out.

In view of the aforementioned, the body of the material has been divided into essentially three parts (Chapters II, III, and IV). In Chapter II, the interrelationship between myth and dream (using the Creation Myth and the story of the founding of the League as examples) is explored, and shows how the one influences and sustains the other. This, in turn, helps lay the ground to further develop the means by which both myth and dream (and the patterns identified therein), shape and support the culture of the Haudenosaunee.

While Chapter III introduces the two souls of the

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[19] Carl Gustave Jung. Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977) p. 269.

Haudenosaunee -- the one 'sensitive' and relatively unconscious, the other most conscious, intuitive, and judicious -- it concentrates on the latter and highly influential "intelligent" soul which, along with gods and other mythic beings, communicated mainly by way of the dream. With multiple examples of dream-responsive actions and performances drawn from the 17th century Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Chapter III identifies not only a cultural predisposition towards 'expressiveness,' (as opposed to a Judeo-Christian emphasis on 'repression'), but one whose manifold forms were largely dream inspired.

Chapter IV assesses the impact of the 'dominant culture' upon the role and importance of dreams among the contemporary Haudenosaunee, and examines how dream-generated traditions have been altered or maintained. It also takes into account the manner in which dreams themselves have responded to the ever-growing, and often intrusive, proximity of a cultural 'other.'

Secondly, the thesis poses the question: to what extent, if any, has the importance attributed to dreams by the Haudenosaunee encouraged the continued self-reliance, adaptability and survival of cultural values despite a three-hundred and fifty year campaign to render these obsolete?

And lastly, when the eye of the beholder is itself 'dream conscious,' how does this influence what is perceived in the material: does it provide a sixth sense by which to intuit the

meanings and 'feeling tone' embedded in another's dream symbols? Or does familiarity with one's own symbolic night language invite projections so thick that the other's uniqueness becomes obscured despite a concerted effort to delineate the boundaries of separateness?

A specific 'article of faith' has also guided the writing of the thesis. This came from Professor Stan Horner (Department of Art Education, Concordia University) who stressed the necessity of disclosing "who is speaking," coupled with the impropriety of "speaking for." All seeming hypotheses, conclusions or 'interpretations,' therefore, must be understood as being inherently subjective, and do not infer having arrived at some absolute concerning someone else's experience.

CHAPTER II

MYTHIC DREAMS IN DREAM-LIKE MYTHS AS CATALYSTS FOR NEW CREATIONS

That the incandescent images and allegorical stories told by dreams and myths appear to arise from the same recondite source has been observed by, among others, Eric Fromm:

> Many of our dreams are, in both style and content, similar to myths, and we who find them strange and remote when we are awake have the ability to create these mythlike productions when we are asleep.[20]

Or again,

> The myth, like the dream, offers a story occuring in space and time, a story which expresses, in symbolic language, religious and philosophical ideas, experiences of the soul in which the real significance of the myth lies.[21]

It is fitting that a waking entry into a dream culture such as that of the Haudenosaunee be effected by way of some of the mythological stories not only because, as Wallace indicates, these latter were themselves "produced from the dreams and visions, variously remembered and distorted in the telling, of individual Iroquois over a very long period of time,"[22] but because the personages and cultural ideals described by the myths invariably inform the relationship to, and the content and interpretation of, dreams.

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[20] Eric Fromm. The Forgotten Language. (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1951), p. 6.

[21] Ibid, p. 195.

[22] Anthony F.C. Wallace. Religion: An Anthropological View. (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), p. 81.

While the selection of myths and legends is vast and varied, I have opted to include those two whose sum and substance underline a number of prominent themes which shape the experiences of dream and waking life alike -- the dream as a vehicle for expression, sometimes novel, in the day world, and an equally dynamic cultural emphasis on notions of dualism. Although the themes overlap, the former is predominantly encapsulated in the myth of creation, the latter in the semi-historical recapitulation delineating the founding of the Five Nation League.

The Woman Who Fell From the Sky

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Creation was a tiny seed
awaiting a dream.[23]

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In the repertory of the world's sacred stories, the most primary -- because it speaks to the birth of life itself -- is the cosmological narrative recounting the beginnings of earthly creation. The origin story of the Haudenosaunee is known as The Woman Who Fell From the Sky; its outlines, derived from various sources (Von Franz, 1972; Tooker, 1979; Wallace, 1972; Montour, 1993) are as follows:

Before the earth became manifest, beings known as the

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[23] Peter Blue Cloud/Aroniawenrate. From "The Cry," in Elderberry Flute Song (Buffalo, New York: White Pine Press, 1982), p. 8.

Onkwehon:we[24] lived on the other side of the sky dome. Here, night and day were regulated by the opening and closing of the blossoms of a great tree, and persons lived much in a manner that would later be adopted by the Haudenosaunee on earth; that is, they lived in long houses, practiced similar ceremonies, and sustained themselves by means of agriculture and hunting. In the land beyond the sky dome, all was harmonious until one day a woman became pregnant and the chief to whom she was wed experienced distress as a result.

Because the union transpiring between husband and wife is of a non-carnal nature there is some mystery, and therefore suspicion, surrounding the conception.[25] Either to alleviate a health-threatening doubt, or to enact revenge, the chief causes the great light-giving tree to be uprooted, and the pregnant woman to be dropped down into the hole now gaping on the sky floor. This launches Sky Woman's journey onto this side of the cosmos, and sets into motion the creation of a new world.

While there are innumerable versions of the Myth, those that hold special interest contain dream guessing and dream enactment rites as catalysts for creation. Writes Tooker:

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[24] In Kaniénke:ha, the word means the 'real' or 'original' man being and describes a person of First Nation ancestry.

[25] In the Onondaga version, man and woman slept with the soles of their feet touching so that "when they sat up their breathing met and commingled." (Elizabeth Tooker, ed. Native North American Spirituality of the Eastern Woodlands {Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1970}, p. 48).

> By Iroquois custom, fulfillment of a dream could cure a sick individual and sometimes it was necessary that the content of the dream be guessed by another before it was fulfilled and so the individual cured. Now, in the myth, it is often said that the chief of the sky world was ill and that he dreamed that in order to become well again his wife should be pushed out of the sky world, and it is further said in some accounts that he asked the people to guess his dream before it was fulfilled, and so a cure effected.[26]

One such version was recorded by A.C. Parker and comes from the Seneca people. In this account, the dream plays a two-fold role. First, it alerts the chief to his soul's desire for a certain woman when he dreams of her. The dream is then acted out and man and woman are united through the ceremonial eating of the marriage bread. Sometime thereafter the woman becomes pregnant. Believing himself deceived the chief is angered and dreams again.

> He, the Ancient One, fell into a troubled sleep and a dream commanded him to have the celestial tree uprooted as a punishment to his wife and as a relief for his troubled spirit. So on the morrow he announced to his wife that he had a dream and could not be satisfied until it had been divined. Thereupon she "discovered his word,"[27] and it was that the tree should be uprooted.[28]

An Onondaga version given by John Arthur Gibson to J.N.B. Hewitt in 1900 offers another variation. In this instance, an actual dream-guessing rite is performed when the chief announces that he has "dreamed a dream."

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[26] Elizabeth Tooker, ed. Native North American Spirituality of the Eastern Woodlands. (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), pp. 33-34.

[27] Identified the dream wish.

[28] E. Tooker, ed. Native North American Spirituality of the Eastern Woodlands, p. 36.

> He then gave a feast to the inhabitants. They began to seek his word. They did this for a long time, and perhaps all, men and women and game animals, made the attempt. Due to evil influences it was not possible to give satisfaction to his mind.[29]

For this dream, obtaining satisfaction required the assistance of the Fire Dragon or "Meteor" who stepped in and successfully identified the dream wish.

> Then he who was giving the feast said, "I am thankful. My dream has been fulfilled. Now then I will tell you. I thought that I saw it come to pass that they did uproot my standing tree; that then an opening was made through the ground. I thought that I saw my wife and I sitting together at the edge of the broken ground, her feet hanging down into the chasm. Then we two ate food at the edge of the chasm of the broken earth. This is the character of my dream. I saw all the things that shall come to pass.[30]

The dream not only reveals innate wishes whose gratification is simultaneously the cure that will restore the chief to his former equilibrium, it is also teleological. Ultimately, it is perhaps the need to disrupt the status quo -- so that dreamed intimations of a possible future may 'come to pass'-- which lies at the heart of the chief's distress.

In her analysis of the myth, Jungian analyst, Marie-Louise Von Franz, reflects that: "Whenever there is a creative constellation in the unconscious, if we do not put it out in

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[29] Ibid, p. 48.

[30] Ibid.

the form of creative work, we become possessed by it instead."[31] A similar tenet appears to be held by the Haudenosaunee. It is believed, for instance, that persons who refrain from divulging their dreams during the Midwinter or Green Corn ceremony risk having their heads "stuck to the ceremonies," that is, to become possessed by that which has been withheld.[32]

In Von Franz' view, the pregnancy, an enigma because seemingly unrelated to the laws of cause and effect, confirms Jung's conjecture that the psyche occasionally indulges in "creation for its own sake."[33]

> Creation is a sudden autonomous event which, from a psychological angle, we could say takes place in the collective unconscious for no outer reason. Here you can see, in a projected mythological form, a confirmation of Jungian hypothesis of the autonomous creativeness of the unconscious. In the Freudian view the unconscious is only -- put rather crudely -- a dustbin into which the cast away facts of consciousness and personal experience are repressed or suppressed, with also some archaic remnants, though these are rather vague in the Freudian definition. But if anything happens in a dream there is always the tendency to trace it back to some outer event, either to a childhood trauma, or a conscious representation, or some other outer events. Jung, however, came more and more to the conclusion that the unconscious is not only a response system, a reactive system but that it can, of itself, and for no outer or

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[31] Marie-Louise Von Franz. Creation Myths (Dallas, TX: Spring Publications, Inc., 1972), p. 83.

[32] Anthony F.C. Wallace. "The Institutionalization of Cathartic and Control Strategies in Iroquois Religious Psychotherapy," in Culture and Mental Health. M.K. Opler, ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1959), p. 72.

[33] Von Franz, Creation Myths, p. 37.

> biological reason, produce something new. In other words, it is creative in the essential sense of the word.[34]

While the chief's response to his wife's mysterious conception appears harsh, Von Franz emphasizes that it is nonetheless dealing with a creative constellation in the "right way."[35]

As will be seen throughout this thesis, one of the dynamics underlying the Haudenosaunee's responses to their dream creations -- whether reactive or arising spontaneously -- is precisely this 'pushing out,' the making incarnate that which once quickened in potentia. In this way, the Creation Myth, the prototype for the conception and birth of all new manifestations, is continually re-enacted; mediating the transition, like an attendant midwife drawing emerging life into view, stands the dream.

That the dreaming mind can sometimes usher forth original ideas or experiences finds few parallels in contemporary Western psychology. A predominantly patriarchal bias favours waking or 'masculine' consciousness as the progenitor of originality with the 'feminine' unconscious relegated to the status of memory bank (or "dust bin") for male-generated seeds of thought.[36]

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[34] Ibid, p. 36.

[35] Ibid.

[36] The foundations of much of Western culture is the Judeo-Christian Creation myth which attributes the existant cosmos, including the creation of femaleness, to the potent

Freudian theory, for instance, postulates that dreams are but a rehashing of wake life experiences and a clever rearrangement of memory traces. Like Jung, however, Gordon Globus challenges the prevailing assumptions:

> ...that the dream world and the life we lead in it is a first-hand, not a second-hand, production does go against the mainstream, at least the Western mainstream. (The mystics would not be perturbed at all by it). From Aristotle to Freud to contemporary dream biology, there is unanimity that the dream life is a second-hand production, deriving from mnemic copies of the wake life. I am saying instead that the dream life is a de novo creation that fulfills a set of cooperative intentional acts which had previously been operative at different times during waking. The dream intentions generate their own fulfillment, like Zeus thinks Athena.[37]

He further contends,

> ... that the monadic organism's to-be -- the human monad's existing -- is at heart a creative movement. This creative movement is the same across dreaming and waking phases. It spontaneously generates encodings of possible life-worlds that function as a horizon, i.e. as abstract specifications at the monad's various interfaces with the surrounding energy sea.[38]

As the events dreamed by the sky chief unfold, those 'creative movements' transporting his wife beyond the threshold separating the world above from the 'possible life-world' below, Sky Woman finds herself drifting down towards a endless sea. On becoming aware of her predicament, waterfowl rise up to catch her on their expanded wings in order to break

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utterings and experiments of a solitary male divinity.

[37] Gordon Globus. Dream Life, Wake Life: The Human Condition through Dreams, (New York: University of New York Press, 1987), p. 93.

[38] Ibid, p. 171.

her fall. Another creature, usually a muskrat, plunges to the bottom of the ocean to retrieve a bit of earth which is then spread on the back of a turtle. It is on this 'Turtle Island' that Sky Woman is deposited, and it is here that the legacy of the natural world begins.

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I lie in Grandmother's bed
and dream the earth into a turtle.
She carries us slowly across the universe.[39]

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When the earth covered turtle had expanded and become sufficiently large, the woman gave birth to a daughter. The child grew quickly and, in time, she too became pregnant when a man placed two arrows, one flint-tipped, one untipped, beside her as she slept. Again, conception is seen to be linked to darkness and dreaming consciousness. This time, however, the 'creative constellation' taking place in the womb was not feminine but masculine, not singular but dual.

Even while still in the womb, the twins showed opposing tendencies. The one who would be called Tharonhiawakon (He Who Holds Up The Sky or He Who Grasps [or shakes] The Sky or, again, Good Mind), exhibited a more 'constructive' disposition.

> I will cause human beings to dwell as peoples.
> Game animals also I will cause to dwell as groups of beings, and I will create that by which human beings

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[39] Beth Brant/Degonwadonti. From "Ride the Turtle's Back," in Mohawk Trail. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Firebrand Books, 1985), p. 11.

> shall live and that by which game animals shall live here on this earth, and as many things as grow shall bear fruit, and those things shall make glad the minds of human beings who will dwell as people here on earth.[40]

The younger twin, Shawískera (Flint, Evil Mind or Mischievous One) voiced his intentions to emulate his brother's powers; failing that, however, "I will make the attempt some other way. I too will have something to say on this earth."[41]

When came the time to be born, Tharonhiawakon chose to enter the world by way of the birth canal while Shawískera, seeking a quicker, less troublesome route, killed his mother by exiting through her armpit. With the help of Tharonhiawakon, the right-handed twin, Sky Woman buried her daughter from whose body subsequently sprang the plant staples of the Haudenosaunee. These included strawberries "from her feet," and tobacco "out of her heart, used to make blessings and offer thanks to the Creator for all the gifts of life,"[42] as well as corn, beans and squash, fondly referred to as The Three Sisters.

Joel Montour recounts that the moon was later created when Shawískera (the left-handed twin) tore off his grandmother's head upon Sky Woman's death. Tossing it

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[40] Tooker, Native North American Spirituality of the Eastern Woodlands, p. 54.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Joel Monture. "Saving Mother Earth to Save Ourselves, in Parabola, Volume XVIII, No. 1 (1993), p. 32.

irreverantly up into the sky it then "began to glow and it became our Grandmother, the moon, who watches over all of earth's people, just as grandmothers watch over sleeping children." The underlying philosophy seems to indicate that from the most seemingly destructive or unconscious acts, something positive can nonetheless emerge.

The birth of the Twins, the Creator and the Anti-creator represents another important and recurring theme in the world view of the Haudenosaunee -- that of duality, conflict and, ultimately, resolution leading to a creative juxtaposition of opposites. The existence of 'two' is opportune because it offers the possibility of relationship[43] through which complementarity and reciprocity can be enacted.

While the polarities between Tharonhiawakon and Shawískera echo the 'Christ and the Anti-Christ' motif of Western cultures, Druke points out one of the disimilarities:

> What Europeans and Euroamericans conceived of as "good" and "evil" seem to have been judged by Iroquois largely in terms of harmfulness and helpfulness, applied to

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[43] The metaphysics of the Haudenosaunee also account for two souls, (J.N.B. Hewitt, "The Iroquoian Concept of the Soul," in Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 8, 1895). The importance of 'twoness' is further underlined in the language itself. In Kanienkeha, for instance, the form of a verb command can be singular, plural or dualic (i.e. employed when one person addresses two others). Dualism likewise influences the social structure which is divided into moieties whereby "...every ceremony is conceived as being given by one half of the tribe for its cousins, the opposite half." (Fenton, "Masked Medicine Societies of the Iroquois," p. 400). Each moiety is, in turn, usually subdivided into male and female halves.

human actions, as well as to non-human ones.[44]

Initially, the relationship between Tharonhiawagon and Shawískera was one of sibling rivalry. Unable to match his brother's skill in intentionally fashioning that which was 'beautiful' and 'good' such as flowers and animals of a non-predatory bent, Shawískera turned his mind to undoing, or at least perverting, that which Tharonhiawakon had made. When the latter created the rose, Shawískera added the thorns; to Tharonhiawakon's ivy, Shawískera imparted poison, and if Tharonhiawakon had envisioned a peaceful cohabitation between the wolf and the deer, Shawískera caused the former to turn against and prey upon the latter.

Eventually, the conflict between Tharonhiawakon and Shawískera erupted into a full-fledged confrontation. Locked in fierce combat, the Twins battled each other until Tharonhiawakon succeeded in banishing Shawískera to the eastern horizon, the place of the rising sun, whereupon he become known as the Great World Rim Dweller.

Banishment or repression, however, appears to have been considered an inadequate solution to conflict in the mythological world of the Haudenosaunee. Therefore, a second confrontation was enacted. This time Tharonhiawakon was challenged by a giant stone head -- known to the Senecas as

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[44] Mary A. Druke. "The Concept of Personhood in Seventheenth and Eighteenth Century Iroquois Ethnopersonality," in Studies in Iroquoian Culture. Northeastern Anthropology, No. 6. N. Bonvillain, ed. (Stony Brook: State University of New York, 1980 p. 65.

the'Great Defender,' and a being closely associated with Shawískera.

> "Let this be the test," said Good Mind, "that the mountain yonder shall approach us at your bidding." So Defender spoke saying, "Mountain, come hither." And they turned their backs that they might not see it coming until it stood at their backs. Soon they turned about again and the mountain had not moved. "So now, I shall command," said Good Mind, and he spoke saying, "Mountain, come hither," and they turned their backs. There was a rushing of air and Defender turned to see what was behind him and fell against the onrushing mountain, and it bent his nose and twisted his mouth, and from this he never recovered.[45]

At Tharonhiawagon's bidding, the giant stone head was compelled to redirect his contrary energies towards more beneficial uses:

> "Then," said Defender, "shall men-beings offer incense tobacco to me and make a song that is pleasing to me, and they shall carve my likeness from the substance of trees, and my orenda[46] will enter the likeness of my face and it shall be a help to men-beings and they shall use the face as I shall direct. Then shall all the diseases that I may cause them depart and I shall be satisfied.[47]

The ritual ordained by the Great Defender in his

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[45] Tooker, Native North American Spirituality of the Eastern Woodlands, p. 46.

[46] Keppler defines orenda as a "psychic power individually inherent to all objects (within) the environment, both animate and inanimate," which could be either intensified and enlarged or diminished. Living the exemplary life augmented the strength of a person's orenda. Writes Keppler: "It (orenda) acted prominently as a moral force and deterred those on warlike missions from the commission of sex atrocities. Although Women of enemy nations might be captured, scalped or slain, they were never raped." ("Comments on Certain Iroquois Masks," in Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian Vol. XII, No. 4 {New York: Heye Foundation, 1941}, pp. 14-15).

[47] Ibid.

revivified form as wounded healer became the domain of the trickster-like False Face medicine society whose masks bear their patron's facial deformities. The cosmological story of the origins of the Faces suggests too that rifts and clashes could be turned around to provide a powerful source of healing.

All energic forces, when properly balanced and orchestrated, could yield desireable outcomes. It is indicative of the power bequeathed to the 'feminine' in the Haudenosaunee world view that, not one, but two, male deities must be manifested in order to provide counterpoise and equilibrium.[48] In keeping with a scrupulous insistence on achieving symmetry, the 'masculine' element is, in turn, polarized, creating yet another arena for the interplay of opposites. Seen in its overall cosmic context, therefore, Shawískera's 'negativity,' is perceived in a 'positive' light because his opposition to Tharonhiawakon ensured that "the world was completely in balance, with neither too much good nor too much bad."[49]

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[48] This observation is further supported by Keppler who noted that the loss of one Haudenosaunee woman necessitated the lives of two others, either in exchange for her freedom, or upon whom to mete out revenge in the event of her death. (See Chapter III, p. 67).

[49] J. Montour, "Saving Mother Earth to Save Ourselves," p. 33.

Dreams of a Great Peace:

The Founding of the Five Nation League[50]

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It seems as if Sawiskera is always at work, inside us,
undoing all the good deeds of Teharonhiawako,
who is also inside us.
The twins are you and I.[51]

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The Iroquois Confederacy is believed to have been instituted sometime around the middle of the fifteenth century.[52] Prior to its establishment, the stability of the Five Nations was undermined by a period of ongoing turmoil and social upheaval. Warfare with other nations (Huron, Tutelo, Andastes, Eries, Algonquins and Cherokee) was frequent, with the Kanienkehakas and the Oniedas rendered particularly vulnerable through repeated attacks by their powerful neighbours, the Mohicans. Internal afflictions were likewise problematic and touched the more westerly Senecas and Cayugas who lived with certain dread in the shadow of the tyranical Atotarho, a chief from the centrally located Onondaga Nation.

As with the Creation Myth, versions of the founding of the League abound. While the following is less 'historical' in tone then those events as outlined by a standard authority

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[50] The sixth nation, that of the Tuscaroras, was admitted to the Confederacy in 1714, several hundred years after its instatement (Hale, The Iroquois Book of Rites, p. 59).

[51] Joel Montour, "Saving Mother Earth to Save Ourselves," p. 36.

[52] Hale, The Iroquois Book of Rites and Hale on the Iroquois, p. 75.

such as Horatio Hale, it is nonetheless "a story which expresses, in symbolic language, experiences of the soul," and, as such, is valid on its own terms.

During the period described above, there lived a woman from the Wyandot (Huron) village of Kahanahyenh whose daughter, though a virgin, became big with child as a result of preternatural intervention. Succumbing to a deep and prolonged sleep, the daughter dreamt:

> ...that her child should be a son whom she should name Dekanawida. The messenger in the dream told her that he should become a great man and that he should go among the Flint people to live and that he should also go to the Many Hill Nation and there raise up the Great Tree of Peace.[53]

As predicted by the dream messenger[54], the young woman gave birth to a son whom she named Tekanawita (Peace Maker)[55] and who, like other divinely blessed persons in Haudenosaunee myths and legends, grew with immense speed.

Life for the young man in the village of Kahanahyenh, however, was not so blessed; his predilection for peace and

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[53] Arthur C. Parker. From "The Constitution of the Five Nations or The Iroquois Book of the Great Law," in Parker on the Iroquois (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1968), p. 14.

[54] The messenger is identified by Christopher Vecsey as Tharoniawakon. (Imagine Ourselves Richly: Mythic Narratives of North American Indians, p. 99). However, Hewitt notes the existence of a dream god named Aiko (derived, perhaps from the verb 'aiakotetshen'-- "to dream") who was believed to act in the service of Tharonhiawakon as his dream messenger. ("Iroquoian concepts of the Soul," p. 111).

[55] In deference to the wishes of the Haudenosaunee that the name not be used indiscriminantly, "Peace Maker" will identify this divinity hereat.

his consummate honesty, his "handsome face" and "good mind" incurred much resentment. Eventually, Peace Maker left. "Many things conspired to drive him away for the Crooked Tongues[56] had no love for such a man. Their hearts were bitter against a man who loved not war better than all things."[57]

Crossing a lake by canoe, Peace Maker journeyed to the Flint Nation. Upon meeting with a delegation of the Kanienkehákas who had come to greet him, he proclaimed:

> The Great Creator from whom we all are descended sent me to establish the Great Peace among you. No longer shall you kill one another and nations shall cease warring upon each other.[58]

Meanwhile, in Onondaga, the "Many Hill Nation," significant events were simultaneously unfolding as tensions between two chiefs mounted. The one named Hayenwatha (or Hiawatha, meaning "he who seeks the wampum belt")[59] was of a conciliatory nature, and desireous of peace. Atotarho (signifying "entangled"),[60] on the other hand, was ruthless and cruel and revelled in war. His position was so extreme that even his physical appearance had become twisted and

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[56] "Crooked Tongues," does not denote a bent towards deception but to the differences in the Iroquoian language as spoken by the Wyandots.

[57] Parker, Parker on the Iroquois, p. 15.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Hale, The Iroquois Book of Rites, p. 21.

[60] Ibid, p. 20.

grotesque:

> His body was distorted by seven crooks and his long tangled locks were adorned by writhing living serpents. Moreover, this monster was a devourer of raw meat, even of human flesh.[61]

Though Hayenwatha endeavoured to "clear the mind of Atotarho and straighten his crooked body,"[62] his efforts met without success. He therefore gathered the people together to discuss the matter in council. It was agreed that they would approach Atotarho collectively, making a unified appeal that he moderate his ways. Three attempts were made, but each try was thwarted by Atotarho's use of trickery and magic. Then,

> Another council was held in the lodge of a certain great dreamer. He said, "I have dreamed that another shall prevail. He shall come from the north and pass to the east. Hayenwatha shall meet him there in Mohawk country and the two together shall prevail. Hayenwatha must not remain with us but must go from us to the Flint land people."[63]

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. . . dreams . . .
of towering white pines
uprooted . . . become my enemies . . .
white scorching roots pursuing
like four writhing tentacles . . .
unavoidable . . . all engulfing . . .
. . . . . .silence. . . . . .[64]

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[61] Ibid, p. 17.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid, p. 18.

[64] Rokwaho/Daniel Thompson. From "Atataho (brooding)," in New Voices From The Longhouse, Joseph Bruchac, ed. (Greenfield Centre, N.Y.: The Greenfield Review Press, 1989), p. 265.

This meeting of minds foretold in a dream between Hayenwatha and Peacemaker would prove auspicious. However, certain council members declared it necessary to first sever Hayenwatha's ties with his community. This was effected by killing his daughters to whom he was deeply attached because, "Then he would be free to leave and in thinking of the welfare of the people forget his own sorrow."[65]

The deed accomplished, a disconsolate and grief-stricken Hayenwatha set off to the land of the people of the Flint. Upon meeting, Hayenwatha and Peace Maker recognized a kindered spirit in the other[66] and together, set about to perfect and then present the design for a confederacy of nations to the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas and the Senecas.

While Hale reports that the idea of a confederacy per se

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[65] Hale, The Iroquois Book of Rites, p. 18.

[66] There exist a number of speculations as to the 'true' relationship between Hayenwatha and Peace Maker. Hale believes that, in actuality, Peace Maker may have been the son of an Onondaga father who'd been adopted by, and later married into, the nation of the Kanienkehaka's. He concludes therefore that it was "not unlikely that they (Peacemaker and Hayenwatha) were related." (The Iroquois Book of Rites, p. 24). Fenton makes the dubious suggestion that Hayenwatha may have been schizophrenic, thereby casting Peace Maker as a kind of alter-ego (Introduction to Hale's The Iroquois Book of Rites, p. 24). The enormous task which the founding of the League entailed, however, would necessitate the very antithesis of schizophrenia -- great presence of mind. A more interesting proposition is offered by Wallace who suggests that, rather than a god incarnate, Peace Maker may have been "a god who spoke to Hiawatha in a dream...." (Religion: An Anthropological View, {New York: Random House, 1966} p. 35). There are also versions of the League story wherein Hayenwatha is related to Atotarho, claiming that the two chiefs were half brothers or even twins and therefore earthly counterparts to Tharonhiawakon and Shawískera.

was nothing new among North America's First Peoples,

> ...the plan which Hiawatha had evolved differed from others in two particulars. The system which he devised was to be a permanent government. While each nation was to retain its own council and its management of local affairs, the general control was to be lodged in a federal senate, composed of representatives elected by each nation, holding office during good behaviour, and acknowledged as ruling chiefs throughout the whole confederacy. Still further, and more remarkably, the confederation was not to be a limited one. It was to be indefinitely expansible. The avowed design of its proposer was to abolish war altogether. He wished the federation to extend until all tribes of men should be included in it, and peace should everywhere reign.[67]

As had been anticipated, all of the nations of the Haudenosaunee proved receptive to the proposed plan for peace with the exception of the Onondagas who remained under the oppositional control of Atotarho.

> And so they were given help, spiritual help in terms of a song from a bird. And this song was what they learned and what they came to him with. And as they approached -- all these leaders, all these people singing this song, with Peacemaker and Hyenwatha in front they approached him. And as they approached him with this, they convinced him. They said that if he agreed to join this Great Law, this Great Peace, that Onondaga would be the centre fire -- the Onondagas would be the fire keepers of the Haudenosaunee. The Haudenosaunee would be the name of the confederation, whom the French call 'Iroquois' and the English call 'Six Nations.'[68]

Transforming Atotarho's fierceness with the song of a bird is reminicent of Shawískera, as the Great Defender, requesting that humans likewise offer him a song by which to invoke his salubrious powers. Moreover, and unlike the violent fate of the decapitated Medusa in Greek mythology, it

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[67] Hale, The Iroquois Book of Rites, pp. 21-22.

[68] Oren Lyons in The Faith Keeper.

is said that the snakes were simply combed out of Atotarho's hair. "And there was a lesson there, for everyone", affirms Oren Lyons, "and that lesson was, no matter how bad a person is, he can change to be the very best."[69]

If, in the version outlined above, the destructive and anti-social element was embodied by Atotarho, causing the latter to, in some instances, withdraw into the woods thereby becoming "hard to reach,"[70] in another, it is Hayenwatha whose excessive grief at the death of his daughters drives him to seek solitude in the forest, and to enact vengeful acts of cannibalism upon unwary passers-by. On the complex and tremendously "disorganizing consequences of grief"[71] among the Haudenosaunee, Wallace writes:

> Death of kinfolk was, in general, a theme which received heavy, if ambivalent, emphasis in the culture. A panicky fear of separation is expressed in burial customs, in the capture, adoption, torture, and eating of captives, in presenting of condolences from the "clear-minded" to the "dark-minded" moiety in the condolence ceremony; while fear and resentment at the dead and those who represented him is also expressed in mourning and in torture themes. Such a conjunction of extreme love and extreme hate toward the dead is not uncommon in the mourning process as observed in western mental patients; among the Iroquois, however, the elaborate ritual provision for overt expression of these twin themes may have partially averted their manifestation in idiosyncratic individual pathologies.[72]

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[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] A.F.C. Wallace. "Strategies in Iroquois Religious Psychotherapy," in Culture and Mental Health, M.K. Opler, ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1959), p. 80.

[72] Ibid.

Ritual provisions guarding against pathological expressions of mourning were not, at the time, available to the 'dark-minded' Hayenwatha. Instead, "the moment of moral regeneration,"[73] occurred when, upon gazing into a pot in which the head of his latest victim boiled, Hayenwatha beheld not only the face of his victim (upon whom his own reflection was superimposed), but that of Peace Maker who was peering down at him from the smoke hole on the roof. The multi-layered image revealed that self, victim and/or adversary and the divine were but different aspects of the one. "We see the recognition of the victim as the other part of oneself; we see the adversary as a potential ally."[74]

In Jungian terms, this archetypal trilogy might also be identified as Ego (Hayenwatha), Shadow (Victim or Atotarho), and Self (Peace Maker), the latter being the suprahuman and mediating centre of the larger personality. In the story of the League, the 'larger personality' embraces both the totality of the individual, including the disparate and contrary elements within the self, and that of the greater social community within which he or she resides. As Christopher Vecsey observes, the very essence of the narrative

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[73] Wallace, Religion: An Anthropological View, p. 33.

[74] Christopher Vecsey. Imagine Ourselves Richly: Mythic Narratives of North American Indians. (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), p. 108.

"reveals a basic trust in human nature to heal itself."[75]

Approaching one's adversary with the song of bird, coupled with the desire to include rather than exclude the darker elements (so much so that Atotarho and the Onondaga nation were placed at the very heart and centre of the new design for peace and unity), became the spirit upon which the foundations of the League was built.

> In this we see the more complex nature of Iroquois dualism, even between good and evil. Opposing forces are also complementary forces throughout the Iroquois cosmology, and reciprocity of design and responsibility abound in Iroquois culture.[76]

Seen in relation to each other, the myth of Creation and that of the League could also be said to depict a "reciprocity of design" in that the latter is almost the reversal of, yet complementary to, the former. For example, in the first instance, creation originates in a feminine carrier and is exteriorized and made manifest by an active, dual masculine. Movement is from 'within' to 'without,' from the feminine to masculine, from the one to the two. In the League story, however, the opposite occurs. A feminine temenos or "sisterhood"[77] of nations is 'birthed' by way of a war chief and a peace chief, Atotarho and Hayenwatha. This time, the flow of energy can be seen as coming from 'without' to

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[75] Ibid, p. 108.

[76] Ibid, p. 108.

[77] Ibid, p. 104.

'within,' from the masculine to the feminine, and from the two back to the one.

In both narratives, the dream too arises from different points of origin. For instance, whereas the dream acted as catalyst in "creation for its own sake," in the Woman Who Fell From The Sky -- that is, for no apparent 'outer reason,' -- in the League version its function is more along the lines of 'creative problem solving' and manifests in response to external stimuli. Thus, at the outset, and in reaction to the devastation of war which raged both within and without, a Wyandot virgin dreams of new life, of a peace maker to come; as the drama unfolds, the dream continues to intervene in order to guide events to their foretold conclusion.[78]

Superimposed upon this network of zigzagging interrelationships, clear parallels between the two narratives are also in evidence. In both accounts the dream is associated with the state of pregnancy and is the harbinger of new life. And, if in the world above, a tree had been uprooted in order to help effect a transformation, in the world below, change was likewise heralded by the uprooting of a tree. Into the aperture which now appeared, the weapons of war were tossed and the tree replanted. With the far-sighted eagle keeping

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[78] A great dreamer's dream in which the bringing together of Hayenwatha and Peace Maker is shown to be crucial to the formation of the League is one example; and, though not made explicit, the song of a bird by which Atotarho's cooperation is finally gained was most likely also dream bequeathed.

vigil from atop the tree's uppermost branches, and its four white roots extending to the four directions, the tall white pine became the socio-political and spiritual emblem of the Confederacy itself which, more than five centuries later, survives as The Great Tree of Peace.

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Now, he said, let us leave
and let night be a part
of all their dreaming:

We, after all, are but myths
etched on old bones and boulders
like memories of all tomorrow.[79]

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[79] Peter Blue Cloud (Aroniawenrate). From "Of All Tomorrows," in Words in the Blood, Jamake Highwater, ed., (New York: Meridian, 1984), p. 225.

CHAPTER III

ACTING OUT:

DREAM DRAMATICS AS REPORTED IN THE JESUIT RELATIONS

Dreaming was considered a state of consciousness peculiar to the soul. The importance of the dream, therefore, cannot be situated in proper context without some preliminary discussion as to the concept of the soul or, in this case, the two 'souls' of the Haudenosaunee. The following differentiations in regards to the soul rely principally on an analysis as put forward by both Mary Druke and J.N.B. Hewitt.[80]

Opposites Within: The Two Souls of the Haudenosaunee

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O! soft responsive voices of the night
I join your minstrelsy,
And call across the fading silver light

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[80] Druke notes confusion on the part of the Jesuits in seizing the concept of 'soul' on Haudenosaunee terms ("The Concept of Personhood in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Iroquois Ethnopersonality," p. 60);in basing some of his analysis on the Jesuit material, that confusion carries over into Hewitt's "The Iroquoian Concept of the Soul," (Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 8, 1895) as well. While Druke adds: "There is no evidence indicating that the 17th century Iroquois considered themselves to be in the least bit confused," (pp. 60-61), Shimony's more recent investigations concludes that among the people of the Six Nation Reserve "there is no uniform concept of a soul." (Conservatism Among the Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve {Yale University Press}, p. 229). In light of such general uncertainty, the above preamble must be regarded as tentative at best.

As something calls to me;
I may not all your meaning understand,
But I have touched your soul in shadow-land.[81]

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The metaphysics of the Haudenosaunee encompass the idea of two souls, one of which, the "sensitive" soul, was seen as "the animating principle of the body;" it was further affiliated with the heart as the organ of feeling and emotion. The second soul was believed to be a multi-faceted "reasonable," or "intelligent" entity. Hewitt describes the first of these in vivid detail:

> Iroquoian psychic philosophy represented the soul as exceedingly subtile and refined, yet material withal, since it could be enclosed in a gourd bottle; as dark and sombre like a shadow in color; as possessing the form of the body, with a head, teeth, body, arms, legs, feet, etc.; as partially blind by day but sharp-sighted by night; as immortal by some, but as subject to death and even annihilation by others; as specifically carnivorous, but also eating the things which constitute the ordinary food of the living; as having the ability of uttering sounds, speech, sometimes resembling the whistling or the trilled note of the cricket, and sometimes resembling that plaintive and doleful exclamation so largely used and imitated in the chants of death and of public and private condolences and mourning.[82]

The sensitive soul was that life essence shared by all embodied beings. It was "a generic property of matter," responsible for "making things grow, or of strengthening

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[81] E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake). From "Moonset," in Flint and Feather: Collected Verse, (The Musson Book Co., Ltd., 1912), p. 42.

[82] J.N.B. Hewitt, "The Iroquoian Concept of the Soul," in Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 8, (1895), pp. 108-9.

things."[83] The sensitive soul was also bound to the body. Unlike the "intelligent soul," it had no autonomy until the death of its host, whereupon it was believed to linger for a time in the bones of the dead. Souls reluctant to leave the living to embark upon the journey to the afterworld were considered dangerous, a belief which gave rise to a folklore of 'vampire skeletons'.[84]

On the further negative consequences of earthbound souls Wallace writes:

> Haunting souls, frustrated in their longings for food and companionship, were apt to bother people in their dreams, or even to plague survivors with sickness and misfortune. Such persecution by the spirits of the dead was countered by the Ohgiwe ceremony, a nighttime occasion at which a feast was held for the ghost and the living together, and certain chants for the dead were sung.[85]

The souls of persons who were murdered in skirmishes with other nations, however, could only be set free if avenged, and comprised much of the impetus for what Wallace called "the Iroquois war complex," which, in turn, was "psychologically, part of the mourning process."[86]

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[83] Druke, "Concepts of Personhood in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Iroquois Ethnopersonality," p. 61.

[84] J.N.B. Hewitt, "The Iroquoian Concept of the Soul," p. 114.

[85] A.F.C. Wallace. "The Institutionalization of Cathartic and Control Strategies in Iroquois Religous Psychotherapy," p. 84.

[86] A.F.C. Wallace. "The Institutionalization of Cathartic Control Strategies in Iroquois Religious Psychotherapy," p. 86. Retaliation was often instigated by the women who, upon the death of a kinsmen, would "appear at

The second soul -- "a spirit-like aspect of being,"[87] -- was endowed with a wide range of psychic faculties. "It seems most likely," writes Druke, "that the mind was not as distinct from the 'soul' in Iroquois thought as it is in much of Western thought."[88] Consequently, along with the more 'intuitive' functions, logic and the ability to reflect, analyze and deduce, numbered among its many attributes.

The 'intelligent' soul also enjoyed freedom of movement and a wider range of experiences than the sensitive, penumbral soul confined to the limitations of the flesh. Unlike the latter, for instance, the intelligent soul could detach itself from its living host at will, usually while a person slept.

> It separates itself ...taking flight to make excursions wherever it pleases without ever losing its bearings, conveying itself through the air over lakes, forests,and seas, and penetrating into the most inaccessible and barred places. In making these great journeys, it is checked by nothing, for it is spirit and superhuman. All this is reasonable and justifiable, for, say they,does it not give us knowledge of things far distant and quite beyond the reach of the body, which it could not do had it not in person visited the objects and places represented to us in dreams and visions? These spontaneous excursions of the soul are made, they claim, for the purpose of obtaining something necessary for the welfare of the body, and, as the body is only a unit in the community, for the nation at large as well.[89]

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public dances and feasts, weeping inconsolably." (Ibid.) When such manifestations of mourning failed to stir the warriors to action, "the women might offer payments or accuse the lagging warriors of cowardice." (Ibid.)

[87] Druke, "The Concept of Personhood," p. 60.

[88] Ibid.

[89] J.N.B. Hewitt, "Iroquoian Concepts of the Soul,"p. 110.

Invested with the ability to travel, and unconstrained by bodily form, the soul could also experience transmigration, entering the form of another species "in order to learn the secrets of that creature."[90]

Knowledge gleaned and 'rememberences' of things experienced by the soul, including interactions with other conscious, prototypical beings, were retained and lived out through the recollection and acting out of dreams. Moreover, being a free agent and therefore having something of a 'mind of its own', the 'intelligent' soul was also capable of manifesting longings and desires independent of the person with whom it was associated, and against whom it could retaliate if its wishes, expressed through the medium of dreams, went ignored.

It is the waking responses to the communications of this soul as described in the Jesuit Relations with which this chapter is concerned. However, as the Relations were written by those bent on negating the soul's native integrity at every turn, and for whom wresting it from its cultural context was applauded as "so many spoils won from the Demon,"[91] I have found it iniquitous to dismiss the 'voice' of the speaker from that which is spoken about, as though the latter existed in its own right, uncontaminated by the prejudices of the former.

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[90] Druke, "Concepts of Personhood," p. 62.

[91] Ruben Gold Thwaites, ed. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, vol. 53, (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Co., 1896-1901), p. 227.

'Contextualizing' and, perhaps, throwing into question the ligitimacy of a largely unchallenged source must serve to account for the prominance of the authors themselves in introducing what is otherwise an overview of dream practices among the 17th-century Haudenosaunee.

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Kwa-ah! Kwa-ah! I'll wail
sadly across this village, and send
a runner to Atotarho. He will know what
to do with this black robe devil
when he raises that cross to the moon.

There is something strange in his step.[92]

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Jesuit Devils And Haudenosaunee Dreams

Throughout the Relations, the Jesuits repeatedly make note of the beliefs and cultural values hindering the conversion of the Haudenosaunee to Christianity, among them "the great love they have for life"[93]. (A "contempt for life," meanwhile, was judged "admirable in those who have received Baptism"[94]). Such differences, as well as being held spiritually incorrect, were also viewed as politically indecorous:

> ...how can there be any firm and true peace between the soul of the French and the soul of the Agniés

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[92] Maurice Kenny. From "Bear," in Between Two Rivers: Selected Poems, 1956-1984, (Fredonia, N.Y.: White Pine Press, 1987), p. 113.

[93] The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. 52, p. 147.

[94] Ibid, p. 127.

> (Kanienkehaka)? The French, seeing that you do not believe what they believe, will have every reason to mistrust you, and to think that the Agnié is a deceiver and a perfidious person....[95]

Religious conflicts were further compounded by differences in lifestyles:

> But I venture to say that the life which one leads in Company with these barbarians Is a continual martyrdom, and that the fires of the Iroquois would be easier to bear than the trials one Endures among Them. One must expect to have all his senses martyred daily: the sight, by smoke of the cabins -- I have almost lost my eyes from it; the hearing, by the Annoying yells and wearisome visits; the smell, by the stench that is incessantly. Exhaled by the oiled and greased hair of both women and men; feeling, by a cold as severe as at Kebec; and, Finally, taste, by the unsavory and insipid food of the Savages, of which it is enough to say that the daintiest and most delicate of it would be refused by the dogs in France. [96]

Now and again, the absence of the small comforts of home were compensated for by the odd Catholic gain:

> God has his Predestined ones, not only among the Iroquois, where there are Missionaries, but he also permits the Iroquois to go and carry war even to the most distant regions, and to lead home captives, in order to make them find, in the prisons and fires of the Iroquois, the holy liberty of the children of God, and afterward Paradise. It is therein that we adore here every day the mysterious and wonderful Providence of God over his Elect.[97]

But, excepting those disconcerting occasions whereby a person awoke with 'rememberances' of the soul's desire to convert, it was the Haudenosaunee's attachment to their dreams

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[95] The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. 53, p. 227.

[96] Jesuit Relations, vol. 51, p. 137.

[97] The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. 54, p. 103.

which proved to be the most daunting: "Of all the devices employed by the Devil for thwarting the Father's good purposes, there is scarcely one of greater efficacy than dreams...."[98] Determined to "harvest"[99] souls for God with the same measure of success by which their countrymen "harvested" furs for King and Country, the Jesuits embarked on an ideological war against a deeply entrenched faith in dreams, condemning all such manifestations as the seductions of the demonic.

> "My brothers," said I to them in a council where I had assembled the Elders, "you are not ignorant that what your dreams order you to do is often very impious and very abominable. Is there anything more execrable than all your indecent feasts, and those where the rule of eating everything is followed, where excesses are committed which often cause you fits of sickness? Can these be held by the orders of a good Spirit? It is clear that the author of so many crimes must be very wicked. It needs only to know what God is, to judge that he forbids our doing things so evil, so contrary to reason, and so prejudicial to the public good. It is not God, then, who speaks to you in your dreams, but rather some Demon of Hell who seduces you...."[100]

Where a messianic discourse failed to sway, the use of force appeared to yield better outcomes:

> I doubt not that people are very glad to see the haughtiness of those tribes, which has been for so many years the terror of all the country, being humbled every day and being finally brought into subjection to the law of Jesus Christ. God has been pleased to make use of the King's arms to subjugate this barbarous people

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[98] The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. 47, p. 179.

[99] Ibid, p. 133.

[100] The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. 53, p. 279.

to his Empire; and the fear entertained by them toward so mighty a Monarch of the earth makes them disposed to revolt no longer against that of heaven.[101]

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Iroquois, give me your chieftains.
Give me your pride and arrogance.
Give me your wildness.
Give me your souls for God
and your sins for hell.

Marginal Note

Richly furred
beaver pelts
hang at the
entrance to
each
lodge
Ahhhhhhh![102]

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More often than not, the Jesuits' "Demon of Hell" was Tharonhiawakon, the Twin Creator of the Haudenosaunee, in communication with one of his own by way of the dream. Establishing a reciprocal relationship with either soul or deity, whereby 'one good turn' would hopefully ensure another, guided much acting out of the desires of 'other-than-human-persons' as revealed through dreams and visions. The nature of the wish itself, however extravagant, was accepted unconditionally regardless of preconceived mores.

After a year-long absence in confrontation with the Cat Nation or Eries, three warriors returned during the annual dream festival bearing the following edict from

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[101] Ibid, p. 27.

[102] Maurice Kenny. From "Approaching the Mohawk Village: Jogues' Journal," in Between Two Rivers, p. 112.

Tharonhiawakon:

> One of them announced, on his arrival, that he had a matter of great importance to communicate to the Elders. These having assembled, he told them that, while seeking the enemy, he met a Tortoise of incredible size; and, some time after, he saw a Demon in the guise of a little Dwarf, who is said to have already appeared to others. They call him Taronhiaouagui, which means "he who holds up the Sky."[103] This Dwarf or Demon spoke as follows: "I am he who holds up the Sky, and the guardian of the earth; I preserve men, and give victories to warriors. I have made you masters of the earth and victors over so many Nations; I made you conquer the Hurons, the Tobacco Nation, the Ahondihronnons, Atraguenrek, Atiaonrek, Takoulguehronnons, and Gentaguetehronnons; in short, I have made you what you are;[104]

Having reminded the warrior of his expansiveness, at least from the point of view of the Haudenosaunee, Tharonhiawakon proceeded to enumerate his own, at times quite human, wishes and desires:

> "...let there be sacrificed to me ten dogs, ten porcelain beads from each cabin, a collar ten rows wide, four measures of sunflower seed, and as many of beans. And, as for thee, let two married women be given thee, to be at thy disposal for five days. If

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[103] In 1992, three-hundred and thirty-six years after the above entry by the Jesuits, a Christian woman of the Kanienkehaka Nation recalled a childhood dream in which she'd confronted the Devil, demanding that he go away. The Devil laughed and said that he could not be outlawed. While the dreamer's childhood confrontation with Christian personifications of evil was in itself not exceptional, the manner in which he appeared to her was. The woman described this 'devil' as a small being, with brown translucent skin. With all due respect to the personal significance of dream, and the relevant life situation of the dreamer at the time, (neither of which are known to me), the dream also seemed to address larger cultural and metaphysical conflicts, intimating that no amount of European indoctrination, however consciously adhered to, could dispatch an ancient diety or dwarf spirit from the soul of the Haudenosaunee.

[104] The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. 42, p. 197.

> that not be executed item by item I will make thy Nation a prey to all sorts of disasters; and, after it is all done, I will declare to thee my orders for the future." So saying, the Dwarf vanished.[105]

While a waking response to an important dream message superseded all else, not all dreams or visions were of national import. Oftentimes, they impacted solely upon the well-being of a given individual. Even so, as the valuation of individuals was equal to that of the collective, persons associated with the dreamer would go to great lengths to ensure that his or her dream command was lived out. This unflinching demonstration of solidarity sometimes occasioned risks to the lives of the dreamer's advocates:

> Not long ago, a man of the Village of Oiogoen (Cayuga) saw one night, in his sleep, ten men plunge into the frozen river, entering through a hole made in the ice, and coming out through another. The first thing he did on waking was to prepare a great feast, to which he invited ten of his friends. They all came; joy and gladness prevailed, with singing, dancing, and every accompaniment of a good feast. "This is well," said the Master of the feast, "you give me pleasure, my brothers, showing by your joy that you like my entertainment. But it is not all: you must show me whether you love me." Thereupon he told them his dream, which, however, did not confound them; for, instantly, all ten offered to fulfill it. Accordingly, they went to the river, and pierced the ice, making two holes, fifteen paces apart. The Divers stripped. The first one prepared the way for the others, plunging into one of the holes and coming out successfully at the other. The second did the same,and likewise the rest, until the tenth man's turn came, who paid the penalty for all; he could not find his way out,

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[105] Ibid. While some dream 'edicts' appeared contrived to fulfill the desires of the waking person rather than that of his or her soul, the Jesuits remark that, on the whole, the Haudenosaunee were "too scrupulous to employ simulation, which would, in their opinion, cause all sorts of misfortunes." (pp. 165-167).

and perished miserably under the ice.[106]

Because failure to fulfill a dream command was apt to incur dire outcomes, most dreams were acted out in a state of some anxiety and with a sense of urgency. And, in most instances, dream enactments were considered no laughing matter. One jocular exception, however, is reported by a Jesuit travelling with a group of Onondaga warriors; here, a dream is shown to be acted out with much hilarity and discloses the not often enough acknowledged humour of the Haudenosaunee.

On the night in question, a warrior awoke in a state of acute distress -- "out of breath, trembling, crying out, and tossing about like a maniac." Fearing, at first, that he'd succumbed to a terrible illness, his comrades became alarmed and, along with words of assurances, prepared a medicinal potion to ease his symptoms. But the warrior tore himself away and jumped into a nearby river instead, whereupon he proceeded to act "most strangely." On being further questionned by the group of troubled onlookers assembled on the bank, it was revealed that the cause for this peculiar behaviour had been a dream.

> ...a certain animal, whose nature it is to plunge into water, had awakened him and jumped into his stomach; that, in order to fight the creature, he had leaped into the river; and that he was determined to vanquish it. Then all fear was changed to laughter. Still, it was necessary to cure the man's diseased imagination; they all, therefore, pretended to be mad like him, and to have

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[106] Ibid, p. 153.

> to fight animals which plunge into the water. Thereupon, they prepared to take a sweat in order to induce him to do so with them. While he was crying and singing at the top of his voice in the little tent used as a sweat-box, and imitating the cry of the animal with which he was contending, they too began, every man of them, to cry and sing in imitation of the animals with which they were supposed to be afflicted, -- all, in time with their song, beating that wretched man. What confusion! -- a score of voices imitating ducks, teals, frogs; and what a spectacle, to see people counterfeiting madness in order to cure a madman! Finally, they succeeded....[107]

While dreams could exact much by way of exertion on the part of the wakeful at any given moment, they were given full reign over an entire community during a three-day rite dedicated exclusively to their observances. This annual festival of dreams was called the Honnaouroria.

Theatre of Dreams:
The Honnaouroria at Midwinter

Spontaneous dream enactments often took a literal turn, such as when one man, having dreamed that he'd been taken prisoner, subsequently had "himself bound and burned like a captive on the next day,"[108] in the hopes of staving off the greater infamy of suffering the same by enemy hands.[109]

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[107] Ibid, pp. 67-69.

[108] The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. 54, p. 99.

[109] Hunt contends that in many non-Western societies, dreams are often "widely understood not simply to anticipate or foretell the future but to actually bring it about." (The Multiplicity of Dreams, p. 84).

Dreams acted out during the "Honnaouroria," on the other hand, tended more towards symbolic representation. However, both literal and symbolic actions appear to have been equally esteemed by the Haudenosaunee:

> Note, if you please, by the way, that, just as he who has captured a prisoner in war, often takes only his apparel, and not his life, so he who has dreamed that he is to kill some one, very often contents himself with his clothes, without assailing his person.[110]

The Honnaouroria, dubbed the "Carnival of Wicked Christians," or "The Feast of Fools," by the Jesuits and meaning 'to turn the brain upside down,' was an occasion by which the normally reserved and stringently self-disciplined Haudenosaunee underwent what Jung would define as an enantiodromia, that is, when the manifestation of one extreme reverses into its opposite. During the annual dream festival, an otherwise Apollonian seemliness gave way to a Dionysian frenzy:[111]

> We witnessed the ceremony on the twenty-second of February of this year, 1656. Immediately upon the announcement of the festival by these public cries, nothing was seen but men, women, and children, running like maniacs through the streets and

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[110] The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. 42, pp. 159-161.

[111] Though the yearly dream festival as such may no longer exist, something of its age old anarchy surfaces on 'Mad Night,' a seasonal festivity which coincides with Euroamericans' Halloween. In the October 23rd, 1992 edition of Kahnawake's paper, The Eastern Door, an admonishment appeared warning that the "harmless mischief" of past years ("Tipping over the outhouse and soaping windows") had begun to degenerate into manifestations of "pure vandalism" which included "slashing tires and arson." (p. 10).

> cabins...,the greater number being nearly naked, and apparently insensible to the cold, which is well-nigh unbearable to those who are most warmly clothed. Some indeed give no farther evidence of their folly, than to run thus naked through all the cabins; but others are more mischievous. Some carry water, or something worse, and throw it at those whom they meet; others take the firebrands, coals, and ashes from the fire, and scatter them in all directions...others break the kettles, dishes and all the little domestic outfit that they find in their path. Some go about armed with javelins, bayonets, knives, hatchets, and sticks, threatening to strike the first one they meet; and all this continues until each has attained his object and fulfilled his dream.[112]

Similar to the spirit of mayhem which prevailed during the ancient rites in honour of the Greek god, Dionysus, chaos and the irrational appear to have been likewise cultivated by the Haudenosaunee during the Hononouaroria as a means of attaining ecstatic states. In Ur-Drama: The Origins of Theatre, Kirby writes that Dionysus was revered as "the god of insanity and catharsis;" he was further "associated with the effect of wine, as a means of producing religious ecstacy, and with the effect of ivy, which was an intoxicant and was chewed by the maenads to induce an ecstatic state."[113]

Edmund Carpenter, meanwhile, contends that the Haudenosaunee of the seventeenth century first used European-introduced alcohol as a means of catapulting themselves out of the mundane so as to "get inside a higher spiritual order";

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[112] The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. 42, pp. 155-157.

[113] E.T. Kirby. Ur-Drama: The Origins of Theatre, (N.Y.: New York University Press, 1975), p. 96.

one pathway[114] to this mystical plane was achieved by "Striving for excess through ecstacy, frenzy, drunkenness...."[115]

Derived from the Greek "ekstasis" -- to stand outside oneself -- ecstacy allowed for transcending the bounds of ordinary conciousness in order to plunge into the extraordinary. Persons of the Cayuga Nation were observed to induce such a 'stepping outside themselves' by means of alcohol, and to proclaim with jubilant anticipation "I am going to lose my head; I am going to drink of the water that takes one's wits away."[116] Explains Carpenter: "to the Iroquois, intoxication originally meant not flight, but search; not escape, but fulfillment; not loss of self, but discovery of self. To them it was a positive, spiritual experience."[117]

With or without the use of alcohol, the Hononouaroria too, could be counted among extraordinary events -- a prolonged festival spanning three days and nights of improvisation, riddles, songs and dances in which an apparant overriding chaos was governed, nevertheless, by the underlying

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[114] Other means of attaining altered states of consciousness, particularly for the purpose of engendering significant dreams were "seclusion, fasting, meditation." (Edmund S. Carpenter, "Alcohol in the Iroquois Dream Quest," in American Jounal of Psychiatry 116 {1959}, p. 148.)

[115] Ibid.

[116] Ibid, p. 150.

[117] Ibid.

logistics of an established dream credo known as the 'dream-guessing rite'. However, as will be seen, not all dreams appeared to have required divination; sometimes, simply 'acting out' seemed sufficient to satisfy the soul and fulfill its wishes.

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Here, take some corn and venison.
Eat now, rest. You are in safe
country with my people
who will respect you customs
an invite you into the lodge
if you maintain respect for ours.[118]

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> Our host's brother, like all the rest, wished to play his part. Dressing himself somewhat like a Satyr, and decking his person from top to toe with the husks of Indian corn, -- he had two women disguise themselves as veritable Megeras, -- their hair flying, their faces coal-black, their persons clothed with a couple of Wolfskins, and each armed with a handspike or large stake. The Satyr, seeing them well fitted out, marched about our cabin, singing and howling at the top of his voice. Then, climbing to the roof, he went through a thousand antics, with an outcry as if the day of destruction had come. After that, he came down, and proceeded solemnly through the entire Village, the two Megeras walking before him, and striking with their stakes whatever chanced to come under their hands. If it be true that everyone has some grain of folly then these people must be acknowledged to possess more than half an ounce apiece.[119]

Upon the withdrawal of the "Satyr", the next participant to enter the lodge housing the Jesuits, was a woman bearing an arquebus (itself obtained as the result of a dream), who proclaimed her desire to war against the Cat Nation and to

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[118] Maurice Kenny. From "Kiosaeton" in Between Two Rivers, p. 110.

[119] The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol 42, p. 161.

obtain captives "with a thousand imprecations and curses on herself, if what she had dreamed should not take place."

The "Amazon," was succeeded by an agitated warrior who "danced and sang, shouted, and threatened," then lunged toward a woman, bayonet in hand. While initially placing the gun at her throat, in the end, the warrior was content with removing a few locks of her hair. A Diviner whose dream had offered assurances that he could locate hidden objects entered next, intending to put the fortuitous prognosis to the test. Observed the perspicacious Jesuits: "He was ridiculously attired, and bore in his hand a sort of divining-rod, which he used for pointing out the place of concealment." [120]

Richard Landy writes that in drama as therapy, persons "re-create (a self-) image so that it can be reviewed, recognized and integrated, allowing a more functional self to emerge."[121] Dramatic action, he contends, makes visible a self that is otherwise invisible.[122]

Casting aside the self that was emotionally reticent in order that the self given to passion and impulse might emerge during the Honnaouaroria may well have promoted an overall "more functional self to emerge." It also made the 'other'

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[120] Ibid, p. 163.

[121] R. Landy. Drama Therapy: Concepts and Practices, (Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1985), p. 46.

[122] While Landy is here referring to a 'core self', acting out would equally draw a 'shadow' side or alter-ego to the fore (p. 91).

visible and simultaneously validated by being responded to on its own terms. However, as the culture placed great emphasis on the expediency of dualism, integration of two divergent selves was probably not the sought for outcome; rather, as exemplified by the polarized twins, Tharonhiawagon and Shawiskera, the intention was more likely to achieve a balance of opposites by showing deference to each, giving both equitable time and place.

The Honnaouaroria might also be seen to promote the eruption of the periodic chaos observable in nature, and to emulate the dissolution which precedes re-creation, much the way night precedes day, and winter, summer (the dream festival was itself held at the high point of winter).

This pattern was previously evinced in the disruption of a harmonious sky world so that a new world might come into being, and in the re-creation of order out of disorder through the founding of the League. To push the analogy further, dreaming consciousness too, with its dissolving and shifting images, and heightened, unchecked emotions might be experienced as the necessary prelude to the more easily controled stability of the day world.

Renewal, then, and a desire to maintain one's allegiance with the flux and flow of forces shaping the natural world may capture the spirit of the Honnonouaroria more succinctly than the attainment of psychological wholeness through "recognition" and "review."

Along with giving dramatic and little censored expression to all manner of affect and desires, the Honnonouaroria comprised another important component involving the guessing of a dream wish. During the same festival described by the Jesuits, two less extravagant dream performances ensued. One of these involved a woman spreading out a mat as though it were a net to convey a hankering for fish. "Another simply laid a mattock on the ground. It was guessed that she wanted a field or a piece of ground, which was exactly her desire."[123]

But not all dream inspired actions were so easily deciphered:

> ...it sometimes happens that one is not bright enough to guess their thoughts; for they are not clearly put forth, but are expressed in riddles, phrases of covert meaning, songs, and occasionally in gestures alone. Consequently, a good Oedipus is not always to be found. Yet, they will not leave a place until their thought is divined; and, if they meet with delay, or a disinclination or inability to guess it, they threaten to burn up everything, -- a menace which is only too often executed, as we very nearly learned to our own cost.[124]

Knowing the importance accorded to the acting out of dreams by the Haudenosaunee, the question arises as to why they would choose to compound the anxiety and delay the execution of a dream wish by entrusting it to the tenuous successes of a dream-guessing rite?

One possible explication might be that in having innate

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[123] The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. 42, p. 163.

[124] Ibid, p. 157.

desires divined by members of the community, the dreamer was assured that he or she was not aberrant; if the dream wish could be named or identified then it presupposes that such wishes were acceptable because likewise known and experienced by others. Inclusion, then, and reassurances of belonging might vie equally with appeasing the wants of gods or soul in maintaining the overall well-being of the dreamer. Another reason may well have been simply to promote the thrill of danger for its own sake, and to engender situations in which a person's endurance or "traditional toughness"[125] could be tried, tested and stretched.

It is also likely that a more or less standardized 'repertoire' of possible desires was in place, enabling prospective guessers to target the wishes of the soul sooner or later. Nevertheless, as the dream was also the source of novel ideas and mediated change, modification, and re-creation, such a 'repertoire' must have been loosely rather than rigidly construed. Writes D. St. John:

> There was no aspect of life among the ancient Iroquois and Huron that was not touched by the dream. Religiously it played both a conservative and an innovative role. That is, it confirmed within an individual's experience the culturally transmitted religious system while also initiating changes in the beliefs and rituals that constituted this system.[126]

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[125] Geoffrey York and Loreen Pindera, People of the Pines (Toronto: Little, Brown & Company [Canada] Ltd., 1991), p. 137.

[126] Donald P. St. John. "Iroquois," in Native American Religions: North America. L.E. Sullivan, ed. (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., 1987), p. 137.

Irregardless of the sometimes inventive and culture-creating aspects of dreaming among the Haudenosaunee, its responsiveness to a phenomenological present or its teleological currents and unfoldments, the application of rigid psychoanalytic theories, based on notions of repression and infantile passivity, have been endeavoured by Anthony Wallace.

Freudian Persuasions in Wallace's "Dreams and The Wishes of the Soul"

Wallace relied heavily on the theories of Freud in attempting a psychological interpretation of the meaning of dreams among the Haudenosaunee, and went so far as to equate the one with the other: "The Iroquois theory of dreams was basically psychoanalytic."[127]

One of the likenesses pointed out by Wallace was that both the Haudenosaunee and Freud recognized the presence of unconscious strivings, and shared a belief that such strivings, if not made conscious and addressed, could sabotage the mental and/or physical equanimity of the dreamer.

Both Freud and the Haudenosaunee also believed that the hidden inclinations of the soul or psyche could be made knowable by means of an attentiveness to dreams. Yet another

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[127] Anthony F.C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), p. 61.

resemblence, at least in terms of an interpretive approach, was the practice of free association.[128] In Freudian psychoanalysis, it is the client who embarks on an associative spree triggered by a given dream image (always considered symbolic); among the Haudenosaunee it was a clairvoyant who undertook the task, particularly when, and if, the content of a dream was recognized as being more metaphorical than literal. The Freudian approach to free association conforms to the stress on individualism or 'psychic separateness' adhered to in Western cultures, whereas the latter apprehends individual souls as kin to a communal psyche. But this, essentially, is where the analogy ends.[129]

Freudian psychoanalysis arose during the Victorian era, in the midst of a Viennese bourgeoisie, and was formulated from a highly paternalistic standpoint, all of which were vastly at odds with the cultural climate of the Haudenosaunee.

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[128] Ibid.

[129] While Wallace observes that: "...the Iroquois' understanding of psychodynamics was greatly superior to that of the most enlightened Europeans," (The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, p. 63), Patrick Wymeersch ("The Huron Amerindians and Sigmund Freud: In Search of the Interpretation of Dreams," in Tijdschrift Voor Social Wetenschappen, 31, 3 {1986}, p. 229), and Mark D. Altschule ("The Ideas of the Huron Indians About the Unconscious Mind") propose that the similarity between the psychological insights of the Huron and Haudenosaunee, and those of Freud, might not be due to coincidence but to a diffusion of the former's ideas throughout Europe. Altchule notes that the annually published Relations of the Jesuits "were widely read," and became "important sources of information about Canada in the seventeenth and subsequent centuries." (p. 32).

For instance, instead of Freud's "patriarchal ideology, with its belief in the domination of man and subordination of woman," compounded by "its severe puritanical mores,"[130] an opposite ascendancy held sway among the Haudenosaunee, including the elevated social status and power of women:

> The woman owned the land, lodge and children, and all hereditary rights descended through the maternal line. The clan's eldest woman always had the final dictum in directing any and all actions, and women had representation at all councils, enjoyed the right to make or abrogate treaties, and held the trusteeship of all tribal property. Further, they had the power to raise up or depose chiefs and to bestow clan names, the men merely having the right to confirm or reject such a choice. Thus it was by female prerogative that a chief came to represent both the men and women of their respective clans at all councils. Upon the return of successful war parties from among enemy villages, it was the women who had the right of adopting such captives as might be brought in, of saving their lives or decreeing death for them. In the redemption of an Iroquois woman taken captive or in considering the death recompense to be met in retaliation for the taking of her life, the value was twice that placed upon a man.[131]

Further, and according to Wallace's own observations, "Dreams involving overt sexuality were not rare," and were "often acted out in therapeutic orgies."[132] The openness with which such desires were made public, and sanctionned, is in

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[130] Henri F. Ellenberger. The Discovery of the Unconscious: The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry, (N.Y. Basic Books Inc., 1970), p. 427.

[131] Joseph Keppler, "Comments on Certain Iroquois Masks," in Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, Vol. XII, No. 4 (New York: Heye Foundation, 1941), p. 22.

[132] A.F.C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, p. 61.

contradistinction to Victorian puritanism and covertness. The same 'inversion' applied to child-rearing practices. Among the Haudenosaunee, instruction to the developing child was "presented rather than enforced,"[133] childhood sexual explorations were considered "natural" and "such control as the child obtained over its excretory functions was achieved voluntarily."[134]

Even the concept of 'repression' appears, while not altogether absent, considerably weaker among the Haudenosaunee than among Europeans and this in spite, or even because, of cultural expectations:

> The Iroquois recognized a moral ideal which, in general outlines, both men and women expected themselves approximately to realize. This moral ideal was a person who, while he was personally free, autonomous, and emotionally independent, was also careful to conduct himself so as to fulfill the needs of the society. Thus a person was, ideally, courageous, indifferent to pain or insult, truthful, generous, meticulous in observing the duties of kinship, and so on: in a word, "inner-directed" to an extraordinary degree and at the same time socially very "responsible."[135]

The social matrix giving rise to such stringent "moral ideals" was equally permissive regarding the expression of contrary impulses (in deference to, not only a similarly cherished 'personal freedom,' but to the inevitable

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[133] Ibid, p. 36.

[134] Ibid, p. 35.

[135] Wallace. "Strategies in Iroquois Religious Psychotherapy," p. 69.

countervailing aspect of all things). In fact, in view of the prominence of such generously provided for cultural allowances, some desires expressed through dreams may have resulted from a partially induced process of 'incubation' rather than arising wholly unbidden. As will be seen in the following chapter, dream incubation, that is, deliberately cultivating a dream on a specific subject, was not unknown among the Haudenosaunee.

Yet, in spite of the world of differences existing between the beliefs, practices and orientations of Haudenosaunee and those of Freud, Wallace, seemingly operating under the assumption that psychoanalytic theories are universal givens, draws questionable conclusions.

Along with sexual themes, Wallace notes that dreams also contained expresssions of grief, acts of violence and, particularly among the warriors, scenarios of torture. The presence of grief, brought about by the loss of loved ones through disease or warfare, along with the latter's concommitant threat of torture, was a lived rather than a 'symbolic' reality for the seventeenth century Haudenosaunee.

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Up the long trail of fire he boasting goes,
Dancing a war dance to defy his foes.
His flesh is scorched, his muscles burn and shrink,
But still he dances to death's awful brink.[136]

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[136] E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake), from "As Red Men Die," in Flint and Feather: Collected Verse, p. 7.

It is hardly surprising that such harrowing concerns would infiltrate the permeable consciousness of the dreamer. Dream ideas spilled over into the waking world with few 'repressions,' much the way the preoccupations of day influenced the content of dreams. (In fact, the latter would transpire regardless of whether or not a culture was 'open' to dreams).

However, rather than apprehending those emotionally charged dream motifs as an attempt to deal with a current life situation, (whether probable or actualized), Wallace interprets dreams of torture, and even those involving visitations by prototypical beings, as manifestations of a repressed and infantile passivity:

> This unallowable passive tendency so threatening to a man's sense of self-esteem, could not appear easily, even in a dream, and when it did, it was either experienced as an intolerably painful episode of torture or was put in terms of a meeting with a supernatural protector: The Iroquois themselves unwittingly made the translation, however. An active manifest dream was fulfilled by a passive receiving action. The arrangement of a dream-guessing rite, indeed, raised this dependency to an exquisite degree; The dreamer could not even ask for his wish; like a baby, he must content himself with cryptic signs and symbols, until someone guessed what he wanted and gave it to him.[137]

Contrary to the 'latent dependency' theory summarized above, dreamers were generally known to "spare no pains, no

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[137] A.F.C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, p. 75.

industry,"[138] in order to realize their dreams. Notwithstanding the taxing process of making oneself understood via "cryptic signs and symbols" (improvisational theatre, the invention of songs, dances and mind-bending riddles), and using all but the simplest and most elemental of means to satisfy a longing -- asking for it -- to remember a dream meant, not an occassion to wallow in inertia, but to inherit added responsibility: "Some have been known to go as far as Quebec, traveling a hundred and fifty leagues, for the sake of getting a dog, that they had dreamed of buying there."[139]

Another example of Wallace's perceived "unallowable passive tendency," this one "put in terms of a meeting with a supernatural protector," is described herewith: After a sixteen-day period of fasting alone in the woods, and in what was obviously a rite of transition from puberty to adulthood, a youth beheld an old man "of rare beauty" descend from the sky. The white-haired avatar informed the boy that he would have a long life during which he would father four children. He then presented him with bear's fat. The sky mentor would reappear several times during his protégé's life to offer guidance; in the interim and as predicted, the youth married,

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[138] The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. 54, p. 97.

[139] Ibid.

had four children, lived to see old age and, as a result of the offering of bear's fat, became a gifted hunter with "second sight for finding game."[140]

The "Wise Old Man," writes Jung, is "the superior master and teacher, the archetype of the spirit, who symbolizes the preexistent meaning hidden in the chaos of life."[141] Puberty rites, in which the familiar is courageously abandoned so that an unknown destiny may reveal itself, is a period beset by chaos. Jung too acquired such a mentor during a time of crisis and transition whom he named Philemon. And, like the Haudenosaunee youth, Jung's Wise Old Man was first beheld in a dream: "Suddenly there appeared from the right a winged being sailing across the sky. I saw that it was an old man with the horns of a bull."[142]

Elaborating further on the 'archetype of the spirit', Ellengerber writes:

> An individual is usually confronted with it in critical life situations when he must make difficult decisions. It appears in dreams under multiple symbolic forms: wind, ancestral figures, helping animals, divinities, and
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> others. This archetype has a tendency to appear in the

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[140] A.F.C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, p. 67.

[141] C.G. Jung. The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious. (New York: Princeton University Press, 1959), p. 35.

[142] C.G. Jung. Memories, Dreams, Reflections. (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), p. 182.

figure of a wise old man.[143]

Wallace himself noted that dreams involving supernatural beings were sometimes 'personality transforming,' with the dreamer "emerging from his vision with a new sense of dignity, a new capacity for playing a hitherto difficult role, and a new feeling of health and well-being."[144] It would seem that rather than infantalizing the dreamer, visitations by prototypical guides empowered individuals to undertake those important life transitions which led to greater, not lesser, psychological and spiritual maturity.

Finally, the 'passivity' and 'dependence' alluded to by Wallace was but one momentary end of a continuum along which coursed a constant ebb and flow of giving and receiving actions. Reciprocity, which influenced all interactions engaged in by the Haudenosaunee, including those between individual and community, male and female, human and divine, order and disorder, the opposites within and, ultimately, between dreaming and waking consciousness was relationship 'in motion'.

While stasis and regression are akin to death, dynamic interactions serve and ensure life. Reciprocal relationships, including those established toward the dream, would help sustain the culture of Haudenosaunee through the devastating

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[143] Henri Ellenberger. The Discovery of the Unconscious, p. 710.

[144] A.F.C. Wallace, "Dreams and Wishes of the Soul" in The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, p. 73.

social upheavals which lay ahead, and guide it into the twentieth century -- if not unmolested, then undefeated.

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Out of his black robe came Kraft,
feedmills, blight, Benson Mines.
From his prayers flowed death
of salmon and trout in mercury pools.
From letters home to his
mother settlers followed
soldiers behind hooded priests.[145]

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[145] Maurice Kenny. From "Rokwaho," in Between Two Rivers, p. 134.

CHAPTER IV

WOUNDED SPIRITS, RESTORATIVE SOULS:

LIVING THE DREAM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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The hundreds of years of re-suppression have all but destroyed many of our old ways. Which is not to say that we do not take very seriously our dreams.[146]

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Before proceeding with a survey of both the abiding and altered dream practices of the Haudenosaunee during the nineteen hundreds, a review of some of the events spanning the end of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century will be helpful in bridging the disjunctions between past and present.

The effect upon the social, psychological and spiritual state of the once militarily powerful and politically influential Huadenosaunee brought about by two hundred years of European immigration and settlement was virtually 'world shattering.' While old values continued to hold sway, the avenues for living up to traditional expectations had been closed off. Although still considered important to be a good hunter and provider, for example, the animals once hunted had not only become scarce, but most of the hunting territory and lands once under the governance of the Haudenosaunee had also been appropriated.

Other cultural values upon which a person's identity and self-worth depended were similarly bereft of means of

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[146] Peter Blue Cloud; from a letter dated April 4, 1992.

expression. Writes Wallace:

> A man might be a brave warrior, but native enemies were now protected by the United States, and the whites were willing and able to destroy not only the warrior but his village and his women and children if he tried to avenge personal insult or the murder of a relative by taking a scalp or burning a farm. A chief might be a wise statesman and an adroit diplomat, but his efforts to negotiate advantages to his people were now made meaningless by the contempt of his listeners, who smiled at his quaint metaphors, deprecated his logic, and used the threat of force to silence his protests at chicanery and injustice. If he drank, seeking relief from tension in alcoholic brawls, the damaging consequences of this form of catharsis remained for him to see when he sobered up. If he sought, with tolerance for the fact of cultural differences, to discuss religion with a white friend, he was likely to discover a scornful Christian impatient of his stupid heathen superstitions. He learned that white men deemed his women to be fit only for pleasure, not for marriage, and that white women were prohibited to him; that his families were not good enough for white prisoners to be adopted into; furthermore, he learned that he was, in white men's eyes, dirty, ragged,ignorant, doomed to extinction, and damned to eternal hell fire.[147]

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Always the memories come rising like smoke
from burning fields, from smoldering towns --
the soldiers whose grandfathers came from Europe
destroying hundred weights of corn, torching
storehouses of dry beans, orchards of nut trees,
fruit trees, and every longhouse they could find.[148]

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But in this atmosphere of confusion, despair, and loss, one indomitable attribute survived -- the ability to dream and with it, the soul's predilection to recreate and restore.

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[147] A.F.C. Wallace. "The Institutionalization of Cathartic Control Strategies in Iroquois Religious Psychotherapy," p. 89.

[148] Gail Tremblay. From "Sehià:rak," in New Voices From the Longhouse, p. 272.

"Creative Illness" and Handsome Lake's Dreams of a New Religion

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Is it possible to shout back the praise which
was given us once in a long ago yesterday?
To dream back the dreamers?[149]

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Born in 1735, Handsome Lake embodied the dispiritedness of his times -- "It is known from tradition and from his own story that he was a dissolute person and a miserable victim of the drink habit."[150] Explains Parker: "There is not much energy in a despairing nation who see themselves hopeless and alone, the greedy eyes of their conquerers fastened on the few acres that remain to them."[151]

Already weak from chronic self-destructiveness, Handsome Lake succumbed to a debilitating illness when he and his people, the Seneca, were removed from their homes in the Genesee country and relocated to the Allegany Reserve where "For four years he lay a helpless invalid."[152] However, Handsome Lake's story shows that disease itself can sometimes lead the way to a more profound healing:

> His sickness afforded him much time for serious meditation and it is quite possible that some of his precepts are the result of this opportunity. His own condition could not fail to impress him with the folly of

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[149] Peter Blue Cloud. From "A Gentle Earthquake," in New Voices from the Longhouse, p. 21.

[150] Arthur C. Parker, Parker on the Iroquois, p. 9.

[151] Ibid, p. 11.

[152] Ibid.

> using alcoholic drink and the wild whoops of the drunken raftsmen continually reminded him of the "demon's" power over thought and action.[153]

It was during his decline in the langourous zone between life and death -- in fact, Handsome Lake claims to have died before his rebirth as a prophet[154] -- that he experienced visionary dreams in which he was visited by angels: "Now the beings spoke saying, 'We must now relate our message. We will uncover the evil upon the earth and show how men spoil the laws the Great Ruler has made and thereby made him angry."[155] From these visitations, Handsome Lake's code known as the "Gai'wiio'" or "Good Word" evolved.

In The Discovery of the Unconscious, Ellenberger states that a "creative illness" is usually of a three or more years duration from which a person eventually "emerges with a new vision of the world or with a new philosophy."[156] It involves "a period of intense preoccupation with an idea and a search for a certain truth."[157] Creative illness further "occurs in various settings and is to be found among shamans, among the mystics of various religions, in certain philosophers and creative writers." Modern European survivors of a creative

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[153] Ibid, p. 9.

[154] Ibid, p. 22.

[155] Ibid, p. 27.

[156] Henri F. Ellenberger, The Discovery of the Unconscious: The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry, p. 210.

[157] Ibid, p. 447.

illness cited by Ellenberger include Mesmer, Fechner, Neitzche, Freud and Jung.[158]

> This is how Mesmer came to proclaim the truth of animal magnetism, Fechner the principle of pleasure, Neitzsche the eternal return, Freud the Oedipus complex and the infantile sexual root of neurosis, and Jung the anima and the process of individuation. Thus those who have known Freud report that he talked of the Oedipus complex and the libido as absolute truths that could not suffer any doubt. But Jung also spoke of the collective unconscious, the anima, and the Self with the quiet certitude of the man who knows.[159]

That which distinguishes a creative illness from other illnesses is the fact that it is followed by a reaggregation into society; the illness itself functions as an out-of-secular-time place of transition, a prolonged 'betwixt and between' phase as in a rite of passage. Upon termination of the illness, a person reenters the flow of life not only 'transformed' but with the "conviction that he has discovered a great truth or a new spiritual world."[160] For Handsome Lake, that great truth as relayed to him during his illness by way of his dreams was the code of ethics contained in the Gai'wiio'.

Included in the Gai'wiio' were admonishments against indulging in practices such as imbibing alcohol, witchcraft, and medicine society rites. The societies were never successfully abolished, however; instead they went

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158 Ibid, p. 210.

159 Ibid, p. 890.

160 Ibid, p. 448.

'underground' and, for a time, continued to be enacted in secret.

Disapprobation was also directed against abortion, divorce, the mischief causing gossip of old women, unkindness towards elders, the mistreatment of farm animals, and the unjust punishment of childen (Parker asserts that Handsome Lake was "ever the champion of children"[161]).[162] Influenced in part by the Quakers, the New Religion resonated with the tones of a fundamentalist Christianity.

> . . . puritanical injunctions were supported by threats of devilish persecution, hell-fire, and damnation which suggests both Protestant revival preaching and also ancient traditions of torture now serving a new function. Thus, for instance, those who sinned by fiddling, dancing, and playing cards were tortured by fire.[163]

Still, underlying the veneer of Christian dogma stood the foundations of a deeper, older tradition :

> Handsome Lake was thus not introducing a radically new religion; he was endorsing and reviving the old. He fully supported the ancient calendar of ceremonies, and his pantheon was isomorphic with the old, for the Creator of Handome Lake's revelation was simply the ancient culture-hero Tarachiawagon...the Punisher was but Tawiskaron, the culture-hero's Evil Twin; and the four angels were in all likelihood the Four Winds of ancient belief. These deities were, of course, now revealed to

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[161] Arthur C. Parker, Parker on the Iroquois, p. 33 (footnote).

[162] Ibid, pp. 27-80.

[163] A.F.C. Wallace. "The Institutionalization of Cathartic Control Strategies in Iroquois Religious Psychotherapy," p. 90-1. Wallace points out that the "puritanical severity," of the early years of the Handsome Lake religion was short-lived and did not "become a part of the religion as institutionalized between 1800 and 1850." (p. 93).

> have unsuspected powers and sentiments, but the revelation of these qualities and desires and the propriety of using new names in reference to old divinities was not upsetting to a people who were prepared for such progressive revelation by the customary usages of name change and by their theory of dreams.[164]

The success with which Handsome Lake's religion eventually took root where an all-out Christian indoctrination had floundered, is attributed by Parker to the fact that "The prophet was a man of their own blood, and the ground that he traversed was their ancestral domain."[165]

However, equally significant cultural alterations were also introduced by the Code of Handsome Lake, including the shift for men from a hunting economy to an agricultural one (traditionally regarded as 'women's work') and a radical change of emphasis within the family unit itself, from the extended family and the politically influential mother/daughter relationship to that of husband and wife and the preferred nuclear family structure of Western societies.

In short, without wholly forfeiting its own indigenous character and spiritual world view, the religion of Handsome Lake nonetheless became "whitemanized", to an appreciable degree and revolutionized what had once been a "reliance on expressive, cathartic procedures, to a heavy if not

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[164] A.F.C. Wallace. The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, p. 251.

[165] Arthur C. Parker, Parker on the Iroquois, p. 7.

predominant reliance on repressive disciplinary measures."[166]

But the change of emphasis from expression to repression observed by Wallace was probably not so much innate to the Handsome Lake religion itself as it was socially reactive to outside factors. Not all traditionalists whose spirituality centres around the Longhouse are followers of Handsome Lake, for example, yet all appear to have become more doctrinal. The emergence of an uncharacteristic inclination towards rigidity or 'repression' therefore, was more likely a reflection of being repressed.

The freedom and psychological 'space' in which an unmitigated expressiveness and cultural experimentation could flourish, had shrunk along with the land, and by the mid-eighteen hundreds, the Haudenosaunee found themselves hemmed in and imprisoned on "tiny reservations, slums in the wildernesss, lonely islands of aboriginal tradition scattered among burgeoning white settlements."[167]

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In the shimmer of shadow and light
I gaze at reflection after reflection,
watch myself shrink
until I nearly vanish.

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[166] A.F.C. Wallace, "The Institutionalization of Cathartic Control Strategies in Iroquois Religious Psychotherapy," p. 68.

[167] A.F.C. Wallace, Religion: An Anthropological View, p. 31.

Time shifts like a dream
rolling slowly out of control.[168]

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Though dreams (whose very fluidity and spontaneity are the antithesis of convention and structure), have retained much of their former importance, the means by which they are 'lived out' have become more formal and predetermined.

At the commencement of his career as preacher, Handsome Lake was a modest evangelical messenger; within a year, he had become grandiose, authoritarian and, eventually, even claimed to be something of a divinity himself. (Conversely, his brother, Cornplanter, insisted that he "made no divine claims, he did not pose as infallible nor even truly virtuous.").[169] And now, as then,[170] the teachings of Handsome Lake provoke ire, particularly among members of the Kanienkeha or Mohawk nations. In the late political philosopher Louis Hall's view, for instance, the code put forth by the "boozy prophet" both demeaned and betrayed the inherent integrity of the Haudenosaunee:

> ... (he) reached into the white man's vessel and took out the white man's religion and adopted it as his own. Doctrines such as hell, devils, angels, purgatory, etc., adopted by Handsome Lake are unprovable Christian beliefs and until they are proved they shall not be regarded as knowledge systems. They

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[168] Amber Coverdale Sumrall. From "Infinity," in New Voices from the Longhouse, p. 250.

[169] Arthur C. Parker, Parker on the Iroquois, p. 13.

[170] The prominent leader, Red Jacket, among others, accused Handsome Lake of being an imposter. (Parker, 1968: 11).

> would be better left in the white man's ship since they never did the white man any good morally or spiritually, only financially and politically.[171]

On the other hand, followers of the Gai'wiio', when reminded of their prophet's formidable weaknesses, argue: "What he did and said of himself is of no consequence. What he did and said by the direction of the four messengers is everything -- it is our religion."[172]

Of greater interest than the debate over the worthiness or impropriety of the Gai'wiio' within the context of this thesis is the fact that Handsome Lake or, more to the point, Handsome Lake's dreams provided one solution out of the morass of despondancy in which many of the nations of the Haudenosaunee had become mired.

The dreams synthesized past with present, giving rise to alternate ideals within the reassuring framework of familiar and fundamental values. Further, "his code was a blueprint of a culture that would be socially and technologically more effective in the new circumstances of reservation life than the old culture could ever have been."[173] In so doing, the 'new world order' dreamed by Handsome Lake also reawakened and redirected the once unflagging energies of the Haudenosaunee towards goals that had become once more attainable, thereby

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[171] Louis Karoniaktajeh Hall. Rebuilding the Iroquois Confederacy, (Kahnawake: Privately published, n.d.) p. 9.

[172] Arthur C. Parker, Parker on the Iroquois, p. 13.

[173] A.F.C. Wallace, Religion: An Anthropological View, p. 32.

helping to restore the self-esteem upon which the survival of both individuals and nations depend.

And finally, Handsome Lake's dreams conformed to, and reaffirmed, ancient patterns of dreaming among the Haudenosaunee in that they acted as catalysts for a new creation, echoing the role played by the dream in the origin myth, and pointed towards a means of reinstating order in the midst of disorder, such as was seen in the narrative of the League.

Night and Day:
The Two Worlds of the Contemporary Haudenosaunee

In the current century, the high drama, all out improvisations, and ecstatic states accompanying the enactment of dreams of earlier periods has become more or less extinct. Nevertheless, dreams in the twentieth century continue to be acted upon and even, occasionally, acted out though in much subdued form. Moreover, their influence in both shaping and preserving cultural constructs and world views remains decisive.

> Dreams function in many ways, each peculiar to its own cultural definition and subject to local variation. To mention but a few; dreams are a vehicle for attaining membership in medicine societies. They may reveal predictions of important events, or the outcome of a particular event. Power from animal and nature spirits are bestowed upon people through dreams. Dreams are a means of communicating with the dead. Supernatural

sanction is often obtained through dreams.[174]

Formerly, dreams, even those containing life-threatening situations, were likely to be re-created in the waking world as literally as possible. Instances in which dreams are now acted-out, however, indicate a greater apprehension of the dream situation being a metaphorical representation of inner dynamics; corresponding actions taken in the waking world, while mirroring events in the dream, tend to focus more on its psychological import:

> ...the informant, in 1951 or 1952 around Strawberry time, dreamed that he was walking alone in a deserted place, when suddenly crashing cliffs surrounded him on all sides and began approaching him. The faster he ran, the faster the mountains in front closed in upon him and the mountains in the rear rushed up from behind. All of a sudden, he saw a certain man, dressed in Indian costume, coming toward him and telling him to take his hand and follow him, to jump when he jumped, to run when he ran. He followed the advice, jumped and strangely rose above the clashing rocks, where he saw verdant fields; and on the ridge sat another acquaintance, also dressed in Indian costume, singing four Feather Dance songs and eating corn soup. Four costumed men (all recognized) from Six Nations were dancing to the music and as the dreamer and his escort reached the plateau, they too joined in the dancing and were saved.[175]

Having dreamed the exact same dream two summers in a row, the disquieted dreamer consulted a ritualist who advised that the first step to be taken in order to avert the doomful prognosis of the dream was to befriend the individual who had

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[174] Harold Blau, "Dream Guessing: A Comparative Analysis," in Ethnohistory 10 (1963), p. 245.

[175] Annemarie Amrod Shimony, Conservatism Among the Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve, (Yale University Press, 1961), p. 219.

helped the dreamer 'rise above' the menacing cliffs. The second was to re-enact the dream.

> Consequently, the very next day, all the participants were invited to the informant's house, and the dream was duplicated as much as possible. The two men became "friends" and yard goods were exchanged. The singer seen in the dream played the rattles while the four dances of the dream, together with the dreamer and his guide...danced the Feather Dance. All were asked to wear Indian costume, and the same songs were performed in the dream. Corn soup was served just as in the dream. The only addition to the events of the dream was that the interpreter was asked to burn some tobacco and to explain proceedings to the assemblage. The informant claimed he had good luck thereafter.[176]

In receiving the ministrations of his fellows and in finding support, the dreamer was able to overcome anxieties which had threatened to overwhelm him when attempting to surmount these alone. The dream, however, may also have been an appraisal of an external, and therefore 'objective' situation affecting the life of the dreamer.

The year of the dream, 1951, was also the year in which Canadian federal law was finally revised to allow First Peoples to practice their traditional spirituality without criminal sanction.[177] Hitherto, these had been carried out in secrecy and under threat of raids by federal agents and the RCMP.[178] Viewed as representing a social reality, the crashing cliffs closing in on the dreamer might be an apt

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[176] Ibid.

[177] Geoffrey York and Loreen Pinderra, The People of the Pines, (Toronto: Little, Brown & Company (Canada) Ltd., 1991), p. 416.

[178] Ibid, p. 121.

metaphor for those ever "burgeoning white settlements" driven to annihiliate through assimilation. In order to escape 'self' destruction, the dream appears to counsel that the dreamer embrace his cultural indentity more fully by joining with those who promulgate, openly and with pride, traditional values and beliefs.

The re-enactment of the dream simultaneously highlights another important ceremonial observance among the Haudenosaunee in the pursuit of wellness -- the formation of ritual friendships which, according to Shimony is generally instigated as a result of "sickness, a dream, and an extreme non-sexual affection for another person."[179]

The prescription for a ritual friendship sometimes originates in a dream emanating from a person other than the beneficiary. Speck noted that among the Cayugas, clairvoyants known as "dreamers" could be professionally engaged to dream on behalf of others. Such services were generally requested when the more customary channels (consultation with medicine society ritualists) had failed to enlighten a sick person as to either the cause of an ailment or its cure. In what is a description of a classic dream-induction process[180], Speck

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[179] Annemarie Amrod Shimony, Conservatism Among the Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve, p. 218.

[180] The ancient Greek cult of Aesculapius (the god of healing) whose leading temple was located in Epidaurus, was an institutionalized form of dream incubation. As with the Haudenosaunee, the ancient Greeks also consulted their dreams when ill because "the dream was thought to give either the cure itself or directions for the treatment of the

writes:

> In case of serious illness, some one takes a piece of the sick person's clothing, puts some tobacco in it, and wraps it up. He then goes to the dreamer and tells him of the person who is ill. The dreamer puts the small parcel under his pillow and that night he dreams. He has a secret medicine which he drinks before going to bed, and sometimes the medicine makes him sleep all night.[181]

The following day, the client or his or her advocate returns to confer with the dreamer upon the results obtained from the incubated dream.

> Then he tells what he has seen in his dream-vision. He tells whether or not it is a certain medicine that must be prepared and administered, or if one of the medicine societies should be called in. The dreamer sometimes sees in his dream-vision that the sick person needs a "ceremonial friend." He describes the person he has seen in the dream to members of the family of the person who is ill, and they know who the person is from the dreamer's description. The making of friendship ceremonially is performed in the Long House during the performances of the Society Dances.[182]

While the prominence of the dream itself appears little diminished, certain practices, most notably dream-guessing, have experienced considerable decline, even among the Onondagas for whom it is still a relatively major rite.

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affliction." (James A. Hall, Patterns of Dreaming {Boston: Shambhala, 1991}, p. 5). The dreamer attempted to induce a significant dream through rites of purification. Thus prepared, he or she would enter the temple to sleep and await the tell-tale dream (later interpreted by a temple priest). Dream induction was also incorporated into the Islamic tradition, and taken up by the Egyptians in the fourth century, B.C. (Ibid).

[181] Frank G. Speck in collaboration with Alexander General/Deskáheh. Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Longhouse (Ohsweken, Ont.: Iroqrafts Ltd. {Iroquois Reprints), 1987), p. 124.

[182] Ibid.

Though dream-guessing once reigned supreme during the Midwinter ceremonies (and, in fact, appeared to be its 'raison d'etre,') the observations of anthropologists such as Blau, Shimony, Speck, and Tooker show that it has all but lost its former primacy.

Among the Cayugas at Six Nations on Grand River, Speck, writing in the late 1940's, noted that dream guessing had become but an optional practice consigned almost exclusively to Midwinter, and was generally reserved for persons who had been "harassed by a persistently recurring dream of evil portent or trouble."[183] By the middle of this century, therefore, the guessing of dreams among the Cayugas was not only arbitrary but its range of efficacy was limited to counteracting harping nightmares.

Similarly, and writing some ten years later, Shimony observed that during Midwinter at Six Nations, dream-guessing had "atrophied" and was no more than "a minor item in the program, which may or may not be observed."[184] Nevertheless, on those occasions in which the rite was performed, dreams were as seriously deliberated as they'd always been, and had to be guessed, "else the dream will come true, and if one dreamed of a disaster, one is subject to that disaster."[185]

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[183] F.G. Speck. Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Longhouse, p. 122.

[184] Annemarie Amrod Shimony, Conservatism Among the Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve, p. 173.

[185] Ibid, p. 182.

For example,

> Esther Jamieson recounts a tale told to her by her grandmother, in which a dreamer dreamed that he fell into a swamp and was helped by swamp weed. However, no one guessed, and he finally revealed the dream himself. The following spring, this same person was discovered drowned, with his head resting on the very swamp weed he had foretold.[186]

Tooker describes essentially two dominant orientations in approaches to public dream observances among the Haudenosaunee -- "a western or Seneca practice of renewal and fulfillment of dreams through individually sponsored rites, one of which is the dream-guessing ceremony," and an "eastern," or Onondaga tradition in which, contrariwise, a lengthy dream guessing ceremony still holds an established position during Midwinter and comprises one of the primary means by which dreams are fulfilled.[187] But, among the Onondagas too, dreams which qualify for the rite are restricted to specific categories such as "medicine dreams or spirit dreams,"[188] and no longer harken to the multitudinous desires of wishful souls.

Blau reports another feature exclusive to the Onondagas in New York State and that is the use of two ceremonial houses at Midwinter -- a Longhouse and a Mudhouse -- in which

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[186] Ibid.

[187] Elizabeth Tooker, The Iroquois Ceremonial of Midwinter (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1970), p. 151.

[188] Ibid, p. 240.

attendance is divided according to moiety.[189] During the three nights devoted to the guessing of dreams a representative from the dreamer's moiety enters the opposite house and relay's the dream in the form of a riddle.

> These riddles are stylized and are clues to the assembly as to the subject of the dream. The name of the dreamer is mentionned by the representative. The importance of the clue being understood and hence the dream revealed is stressed. Clues may be understood more readily if one is familiar with legendary accounts of various societies and spirit forces. Single sentence riddles are proposed. "It whistled in the wind," may refer to a corn husk spirit. Likewise, "It has holes, yet it catches," may refer to a lacrosse stick net. The people take delight in attempting to guess the dream from the clue given.[190]

Though a source of amusement on the one hand, the possible negative ramifications should the dream not be guessed imposes an equally heavy burden of responsibility on the other. Remarks Blau,

> Their dreams must be guessed, because these represent a disturbing element. The people must help in fulfilling the desires of others, because of hadánidáseh, the cooperative spirit of helping one another, a cardinal principle in Iroquois society.[191]

Prolonged sessions in which the content of a dream evades identification can fuel a palpable stress sometimes diffused through the wry and timely wit of certain elders: "I have heard guesses of 'bubble gum' or 'Pall Mall cigarettes' voiced aloud by such individuals who manage to retain a serious

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[189] Harold Blau, "Dream Guessing: A Comparative Analysis," p. 236.

[190] Ibid, p. 237.

[191] Ibid, p. 245.

contenance while those around them laugh off the tensions."[192]

Among the Onondagas, the process involved in dream-guessing is also twofold: having solicited a correct response from one moiety, the dream must then be presented to the other ceremonial house in order that a second component of the dream be fulfilled. And, as in all instances in which the rite is enacted among the Haudenosaunee, the individual who has proffered the correct guess must then provide the dreamer with a corresponding gift. (In keeping with the inviolate spirit of reciprocity, the one who has guessed is thanked in turn with a small gift on the part of the dreamer).

> One man in the Longhouse promised to give a woman a "barrelfull of corn pudding," for the woman's dream. In so saying he registered his guess as "corn pudding." Had he been correct, it would have been required of him to fulfill his promise for his guess contains a moral obligation, as a pledge.[193]

Gifts of food as 'symbolic substitutes' have historical precedents. In 1636, a Jesuit missionary living among the Wyandots (Hurons) reported that in response to an extensive list of dream desires, "everything the dreamer requested was given to him with the exception of gull's eggs which were replaced by small loaves." Over time, the prominence of food offerings have escalated and become ritually incorporated.

> Today at Onondaga, the substitution of food symbols for the real item has crystallized into a major method of dream guessing. Culturally approved dreams, i.e., those of known ritual value and spiritual import are linked to

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[192] Ibid, p. 239.

[193] Ibid, p. 237.

> foods somehow adjuged to be related to the item. Thus, since dreams of False Faces are quite frequent, and legends report the wooden faces to be fond of tobacco, scorched corn pudding and bread, these foods are guessed in place of the wooden mask.[194]

Ultimately, however, food is more than just a substitute or even a 'symbol' of metaphysical nourishment. The schism that exists between matter and spirit is largely a perception of the Western mind. For the Haudenosaunee, matter is spirit incarnate. In the Thanksgiving Address which opens and closes the coming together of people, "of minds," all manner of life forms, unseen or embodied, are greeted and thanked, including trees and strawberries and stars. Expressed Speck: "Emphasis on the sentiment of thanksgiving -- the beatitudes of the faithful -- is mysteriously marvelous in the overtone of worship by a people like the Iroquois."[195] The giving and taking in of nature's gifts is similarly marvelous in that, being whole, they nourish the whole, giving sustenance to the mind, body, and soul of the one who receives it.

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Tonight I slice and fork the Western moon,
crunch on stars,
and drink the whine of wolves.[196]

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As well as offerings of food, dream gifts run the gamut of other culturally significant objects:

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[194] Ibid, p. 238.

[195] Frank G. Speck, Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Longhouse, p. 171.

[196] Maurice Kenny from "When in Reality," in Words in the Blood, p. 218.

> Most frequently it will be a miniature False Face mask, which is also the appropriate item in cases where the dream was merely "frightening." Other common objects are Husk Faces, snow snakes, corn pounders, lacrosse sticks, ears of corn, sticks like those for the tug-of-war game, canoes, paddles, knives and ladders. These objects then act as protective charms throughout the lifetime of the individual ("they watch one"). They must be "taken care of," however, or else their feelings might be hurt, and they might cause the owner illness.[197]

That dreams are 'organic,' a world unto themselves, and as independently animated and imbued with the stuff of life as are the concrete manifestations of the waking universe is underlined by Fenton's claims that masked representations carved as the result of dreams and visions often bear their own unique idiosyncracies "despite the tyranny of tradition."[198] The dream-birthed masks, he explains, "are like people," and, like all living beings, "They express different moods and characteristics."[199]

Dreams, masked spirits and the medicine societies are especially interactive, interdependent and interrelated:

> The medicine societies...were linked to the dreamcult both because (if one may judge from origin legends), they were instituted in accordance with dream commands, and because the need for their services was indicated in the dreams of sick persons.[200]

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[197] Annemarie Amrod Shimony, Conservatism Among the Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve, p. 183.

[198] William N. Fenton. The False Faces of the Iroquois, (University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), p. 14.

[199] Ibid, p. 15.

[200] A.F.C. Wallace, "Institutionalization of Cathartic Control Strategies in Iroquois Religious Psychotherapy," p. 74.

However, while the manifestations of individual spirit beings are personalized, the cluster of symptoms caused or cured by their particular 'race' or 'society' tend to be grouped under more formal categories. Speck notes that "frights in the bush," nosebleeds, facial deformities, along with dream persecutions by false face spirits, are countered by the rites of the False Face Medicine Societies. Similarly, a Bear Society Rite is called for when a person exhibits "howling hysteria" or dementia, a Husk Face rite to alliviate hallucinations and "afflicting dreams," and a Medicine Men's Society Rite or Pig Mask Rite to forestall the actualization of illnesses foretold by dreams as well as to promote the healing of injuries suffered by body. Certain dances may also be prescribed:

> ...a medicine society dance is called for when a sufferer has had a vision of the spirit-patron of a society, such as the bear, otter, eagle, a dwarf, a false face of one of the various orders, or a ghost.[201]

Games too, such as lacrosse or the snow-snake game may be called for in observance to a dream command or according to a diagnosis of symptoms (the snow snake game, for example, is recommended for 'sores on legs'). Sometimes, a somewhat unexpected combination of elements, both traditional and transcultural, is called for by a dream as shown in the following anecdote collected by Fenton:

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[201] Frank G. Speck. Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Longhouse, p. 59.

> Gawe?nanu:we, a Cayuga matron of the Bear Clan and wife of George Gibson, some years previous to the interview dreamed that Chief David Skye, a prominent figure at Six Nations, came in carrying a large False Face in one hand, and in the other a hockey stick. He said, "I brought these to protect you and to cure you." Her face had been swollen on one side, and for three days and nights relatives had tried to relieve her, but in vain. Exhausted, she and her attendants had fallen asleep. When she awoke, David Skye was visited. The dream occurred just before the Midwinter Festival; the chiefs were informed, and they ordered the appropriate dream objects made. They returned with the leader of the False Faces, presumeably old John Jamieson, Sr., who always led the society. The False Face curing ceremony was gone through while Chief David Skye stood by wearing a large mask. Then Mrs. Gibson recovered and became a member of the society. Afterward, she put up an annual feast for the False Faces, inviting the men to play hockey when David Skye was present with his mask. She thoroughly believed that these miniature dream objects warded off evil.[202]

Mrs. Gibson's dream also illustrates the latter's adaptability to an ever changing environment. Yet, though the dream incorporates a non-traditional artefact such as the hockey stick, it feeds it back into its own cultural frame of reference thereby making it wholly its own. When questionned as to the 'legitimacy' of claiming a separate cultural identity when "the clothes they wear, the houses they live in, the longhouses they worship in," were largely the products of a Euro-American technology, friends and acquaintences of A.C. Parker would reply: "All these things may be made of the white man's material but they are outside things. Our religion is not one of paint or feathers; it is a thing of the heart."[203]

Of all the masked medicine societies, the False Faces are

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[202] Fenton. The False Faces of the Iroquois, pp. 161-2.

[203] Arthur C. Parker, Parker on the Iroquois, p. 15.

perhaps the best known outside of their own cultural domain. While the origins of the society were briefly touched upon in Chapter II, wherein the Great Defender first decreed the ritual observances to be upheld, Wallace attests that in actuality, "The Faces were the faces of many gods."[204]

As well as being associated with the Great Defender and Shawískera, the Faces could also invoke He-Whose-Body-Is-Riven-in-Twain (half Shawískera, half Tharonhiawagon) along with "a whole legion of forest spirits, huge, shy, featureless heads who flitted from tree to tree on spindly legs, with their long hair snapping in the wind...."[205] Though timid, an unsought for glimpse of these "guerulous"[206] beings by the ill-fated beholder could lead to paralysis, nosebleeds or even, as Wallace claims, 'possession.'[207] Again, that which caused an affliction was also instrumental in providing its antidote.

> The Faces of the Forest have claimed to possess the power to control sickness. They have instructed

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[204] A.F.C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, p. 92.

[205] Ibid, p. 91.

[206] Ibid, p. 92.

[207] Ibid, p. 92. ('Possession,' in which personal power is abjucated goes contrary to the 'self-possession', independence, and inner-directedness consistently exhibited by the Haudenosaunee. Possession, when this occurred, might be more akin to that of the actor who 'mediates' a character or 'allows' the emergence of a sub-personality from within, indulging, for a time, the 'other's' desire to take centre stage.

> dreamers to carve likeness in the form of masks, promising that whenever anyone makes ready the feast, invokes their help while burning tobacco, and sings the curing songs, supernatural powers to cure disease will be conferred on human beings who wear the masks.[208]

Maskers, whose intimate proximity to these spirit forces exceeds those of the lone hunter in the woods, do not become possessed but, rather, experience something of an altered state of consciousness during which "a powerful spiritual force works through the mask, affecting the wearer's entire being."[209] Insists Sturtevant "the wearer does not become a False Face, he is not himself divorced from his normal cultural humanity."[210] That the wearer nonetheless participates in the identity of the being whom he impersonates or calls forth is also illustrated by Sturtevant:

> I was told, as an amusing anecdote, of a man whose False Face fell off as he was dancing in the Longhouse; my informant remarked, "He was making the awfullest face in behind there. I guess he was thinking about how he was looking or something."[211]

In the intense relationship developed between mask wearer and conjured spirit, the former, as co-partner in the healing process, is also privy to manifestations of exceptional powers

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[208] Fenton, The False Faces of the Iroquois, p. 27.

[209] Frank G. Speck, Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Longhouse, p. 68.

[210] William Sturtevant, "Seneca Masks," in The Power of Symbols: Masks and Masquerade in the Americas, N. Ross Crumrine and Marjorie Halpin, eds. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), p. 44.

[211] Ibid.

including an "apparent imperviousness to fire."[212]

Such imperviousness to what would otherwise be humanly unsupportable has antecedants in the related Wyandot Nation as well. In 1669 a Jesuit recounted the story of a young woman who'd had a dream or vision of a moon goddess in which the latter had declared:"I love thee and on that account I wish that thou shoulds't henceforth be like me, and, as I am wholly of fire, I desire that thou should be also at least the color of fire."

To shake off the "giddiness of the head and a contraction of the muscles" which the encounter had provoked, the woman undertook extreme measures to emulate the lady of the moon and fulfill her desires:

> It was through the middle of the cabins, and consequently through the very middle of the fires, that the sick woman marched, her feet and legs bare -- that is to say, through two or three hundred fires -- without doing herself any harm, even complaining all the time how little heat she felt, which did not relieve her of the cold she felt in her feet and legs.[213]

Likewise, members of the False Face Medicine Society acquire a remarkable endurance to extremes of both hot and cold when protected by their powerful masks.

> It is said that they are unaffected by plunging their bare hands into hot coals and ashes when they treat patients. During the Midwinter Ceremony, the outside

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[212] Hope L. Isaacs and Barbara W. Lex. "Handling Fire: Treatment of Illness by the Iroquois False-Face Medicine Society," in Studies on Iroquoian Culture, Northeastern Anthropology, No. 6, Nancy Bonvillain, ed. (Stony Brook: State University of New York, 1980) p. 8.

[213] Ibid, pp. 7-8.

> temperature is often far below freezing, yet False Face wearers often dress without shirts when they approach and leave the Longhouse, and do not feel the cold.[214]

There exists an intricate web of associations and relationships connecting dreams, fire, and the Midwinter ceremonies. At Six Nations, Shimony observes that dreamers are led "across the fire," that is, to the opposite moiety, in order to have their dreams guessed. Healing rites performed by a medicine society such as the False Faces, involve hot ashes which are blown onto the patient or applied to those parts of the body which cause suffering.

The now obsolete White Dog Sacrifice in which the strangled body of a white dog was once burned is believed by Tooker to originally have had war, and therefore sun symbolism; later on, the white dog sacrifice was enacted to fulfill a dream wish of the Creator's.[215] During Midwinter "stoves, ashes, hot coals, and burning tobacco are the focus of a climactic series of rituals."[216]

One of the major rites of the ceremony is the Stirring of Ashes which Tooker suggests may be "survivals of an old New

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[214] William Sturtevant, "Seneca Masks," p. 44.

[215] Shimony writes that the Creator's dream wishes are still fulfilled during Midwinter at Six Nations; his impersonator sings a dream song while people attempt to name the wish (it is now that tobacco should be burned as an offering from the people. (Conservatism Among the Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve, pp. 186-7.)

[216] Isaacs and Lex "Handling Fire," p. 7.

Fire rite."[217] The underlying theme percieved by Tooker is one of death and renewal. Dreams too are directly connected to the symbolism of fire in that "the rites of dream fulfillment and renewal are still quite obviously rites of renewal."[218]

In following the role of the dream among the Haudenosaunne, the theme of renewal is consistently repeated. Like the Phoenix of Western mythology who perishes in the flames only to rise again from the ashes, the critical turning points along an historical continuum (both personal and collective), in which the death of one state of being occurs, are invariably succeeded by a rebirth. And almost always, revivification is presaged and ushered in by way of the dream.

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You have an Indian name. That's why the bird came down to you in your dream. That's why it can help you. The bird that can help the Indian, that can give him strength and anything else helpful, will help your complaint if you put Indian tobacco in the fire and tell him what is wrong with you. The bird has three colors. They saw him only once in a while long ago before the white man discovered America. The bird has since then almost disappeared. But its spirit is still around. That bird never dies.[219]

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[217] Elizabeth Tooker. The Iroquois Ceremonial of Midwinter, p. 149.

[218] Ibid, p. 151.

[219] Fast Talker in Frank G. Speck's "How the Dew Eagle Society of the Allegany Seneca Cured Gahéhdagowa (F.G.S.)," in Primitive Man, Qualterly Bulletin of the Catholic Anthropological Conferences, Vol. 22, nos. 3 & 4. (Washington, D.D.: July and Octover, 1949), p. 51.

The patterns of dreaming among the Haudenosaunee are sometimes extended to persons who are from outside of the culture yet deeply attached to it. Frank Speck, anthropologist and adoptee of the Seneca Turtle Clan at Allegany in New York State devoted a paper to a curing rite of which he himself was the recipient entitled "How the Dew Eagle Society of the Allegany Seneca Cured Gahéhdagowa (F.G.S.)." After being released from hospital, he writes that persons of the Coldspring Longhouse "desired to know the nature of my recent dreams in order to decide which of the animal spirits could be appealed to in a ritual to help me."[220]

Speck managed to recall a dream in which,

> ... a few large bird-like bodies projected themselves across the sky in rapid flight. They possessed large heads, no wing motion was apparant, yet it seemed to me upon awakening that they resembled eagles as much as any bird forms that I could identify.[221]

The dream was interpreted to mean that a curing rite by the Dew Eagle Society was called for and so,

> On the night of March 10, 1949, at the farmhouse of Haiwasnówe, Fast Talker, a Seneca of the Allegany reservation near Quaker Bridge, N.Y., a ceremony of curing was voluntarily given by a group of those kindly-intentioned folk on my behalf.[222]

In retrospect, that Frank Speck's dream featured a creature of the air and not an earthbound animal-spirit

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[220] Ibid, p. 41.

[221] Ibid, pp. 41-42.

[222] Ibid, p. 40.

carries especial meaning, as do the mythic orgins of the Dew Eagle Society which Speck also included in his paper, and with which he was no doubt well acquainted prior to his dream.

The story tells of the misadventures of a small boy who loses his way in the woods and who creeps into the shelter of a hollow log to sleep. Dew Eagle, meanwhile, swoops down and carries the log up to the top of a mountain where he is building a nest. Upon 'discovering' each other, the boy is adopted into his newly acquired family and dances with the eaglets and learns to sing their songs. Then,

> One day he grabbed a ride by hanging on the under side of the old eagle and rode back home to earth. When he appeared his folks said he had been dead a long time and had a feast for him. Then he showed them how to perform the dance and taught them the songs.[223]

Indirectly, Speck's dream may have associated the shelter of the log in the myth with the Coldspring Longhouse itself, and the boy's adoption by the eagles with his own spiritual adoption by the members of that Longhouse. More specifically, and as a result of the dream which had called forth the rite, it was also anticipated that Speck would be inducted into the Dew Eagle Society.

Frank Speck died shortly after the periodical in which his paper appeared went to press. An editorial footnote announced that he'd been "striken with his last illness while among the Iroquois of the Coldspring Longshouse, where a second ceremonial of the Dew Eagle Society was being carried

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[223] Ibid, p. 43.

out on his behalf."

Speck's dream appears to have intimated the impending death. But the dream also assurred that the crisis of death was but a metamorphoses and part of the ongoing process of renewal. For Speck, the healing power of his dream lay in the message that in the world of the Haudenosaunee (to which, in the end, he'd returned), spirit, like Dew Eagle, "never dies."

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Come here; yes, that's it, slowly.
Yes, now take my hand. Yes, now sit, stop trembling.
Gently now, this robe I place about you, softly. There.
It is done,
now sleep, and do not fear your dreaming.[224]

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[224] Peter Blue Cloud/Aroniawenrate. From "I Cry Often and Long," in Elderberry Flute Song, p. 11.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

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Memory is knowing, mind is Creation Space;
mind is, we are, Creation Dreaming.[225]

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Closing Concentric Circles

In its larger aspects, to dream in the context of the Haudenosaunee is to participate in the act of creation -- of world, of culture, of self. As Rollo May suggests: "dreams arise as a need to 'make something' of the world I live in."[226] The dynamic aspects of dreaming are further enhanced by the 'cardinal principle' of reciprocity which engages all 'halves' in relationship, including the consciousness activated during sleep and that which normally prevails during waking. Dreaming, then, is an active process equipped with its own set of obligations and responsibilities -- notions which set it at odds with the idea of the dream as an expression of infantile desires and passivity popularized by Freud.

On the greater interactiveness generally between waking and sleeping modes of consciousness in dream-cognizant societies, Bastide observes:

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[225] Peter Blue Cloud. From "A Gentle Earthquake," in New Voices from the Longhouse, p. 22.

[226] Leopold Caligor and Rollo May, Dreams and Symbols: Man's Unconscious Language (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968), p. 7.

> Thus the door is always open between the two halves of man's life; there is a constant exchange between dream and myth, between individual fictions and social constraints; culture permeates the psychic and the psychic leaves its imprint on culture.[227]

In its particulars, the nature of dreaming among the Haudenosaunee is complex and diverse, fulfilling innumerable functions. To reiterate but a few that we have seen in previous chapters: dreams generate autonomous creative impulses, giving rise to the new and unanticipated; through the personification of deities and spirits, dreams offer counsel and hope to troubled individuals and/or their nations; dreams can predict the probable outcome of future events; in dreams, the source of an existing illness, or an illness to come, is brought to light and its treatment recommended; further, by alerting the wakeful to the sometimes contrary propensities of independent-minded souls, dreams may help avert the psychic schism which threatens the physical and mental cohesiveness of the dreamer.

Dreams also offer opportunities to work through emotional grief or to 'rehearse' difficult life situations. The torture motifs in the dreams of 17th century warriors, for example, prepared the dreamers to face the ordeal with greater equanimity if, and when, the situation arose in their waking lives.

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[227] Roger Bastide, "The Sociology of the Dream," in The Dream and Human Societies, R. Caillois and G.E. Von Grunebaum, eds. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1966), p. 200.

Moreover, dreaming is 'community minded'. As a result of dreams, friendships are ritually forged and nations are bonded; medicine societies are instated or joined; variations on existing songs, dances and rituals, or whole new creations, are inspired via the dream and culturally incorporated. The environment within the dream itself affords the opportunity to commune with others, including gods and witches, masked spirits and animal deities, or even the wandering souls of fellow dreamers.

For the Haudenosaunee, as for other dream-engaged peoples, the dimensions of dreaming extend far beyond simply revealing previously hidden wishes and desires though these comprise an important aspect. Declared Jung:

> The view that dreams are merely imaginary fulfillments of suppressed wishes has long ago been superseded. It is certainly true that there are dreams which embody suppressed wishes and fears, but what is there which the dream cannot on occasion embody? Dreams may give expression to ineluctable truths, to philosophical pronouncements, illusions, wild fantasies, memories, plans, anticipations, irrational experiences, even telepathic visions, and heaven knows what besides.[228]

Among the Haudenosaunee, that which is generated from within the private enclose of a solitary dreamer is extended to the waking collective. Yet the matrix from which dreams arise is itself two-sided. Like the Janus-faced "divided mask" (half black, half red) or He-Whose-Body-is-Riven-in Twain, the soul is equally 'two-faced,' showing allegiance to both Tharonhiawakon and Shawiskera, life and death, love and hate,

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[228] C.G. Jung. Psychological Reflections, p. 53.

creation and destruction.

Only in fairly recent times has Western psychology arrived at similar conclusions regarding the dual nature of the psyche which it calls 'conscious' and 'unconscious.' And, as Jung points out, the 'discovery' itself came by way of a renewed interest in, and consideration of, dreams:

> As a matter of history, it was the study of dreams that first enabled psychologists to investigate the unconscious aspect of conscious psychic events. It is on such evidence that psychologists assume the existence of an unconscious psyche -- though many scientists and philosophers deny its existence. They argue, naively, that such an assumption implies the existence of two "subjects," or (to put it in a common prhase) two personalities within the same individual. But this is exactly what it does imply -- quite correctly.[229]

In its most eloquent and luminous expressions, "aiakotetsen" -- to dream -- is an act of supreme generosity because it is a giving and a sharing of the best that emanates from within the self. In its more dreadful guise, exposing the dark side of the soul to the light of scrutiny is also a gift -- from the dreamer, of courage, honesty and trust; from the community, of acceptance, and a desire to share the burden of

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[229] C.G. Jung. "Approaching the Unconscious," in Man and His Symbols,(Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964), p. 162. It is regrettable that Jung showed himself equally naive in regards to the insights and psychological sophistication of other cultures. While approaching the 'counter-culture' of dreams with much openness and even humility, these qualities tended to be subverted by a Eurocentric blind spot when the gaze of inquiry turned itself towards many non-Western peoples; everywhere, in Jungs writings, comparisons between "our more advanced civilization," and those of "primitives" surfaces, obscuring both the contributions of non-Western peoples along with the sometimes sluggish and slow developing sagacity of Jung's own 'advanced civilizations.'

the dreamer's fear or pain or sinistral longings. And often, the act of bringing a 'disturbing element' to the fore, and drawing it into the fold of existence, helps to depotentiate or neutralize its more catastrophic promptings.

In the mid-sixteen hundreds, for example, a man's dream revealed that his soul wished to consume the flesh of a woman. Though alarmed by the request, the dreamer's compatriots nevertheless complied and an unsuspecting girl, adorned with "all the ornaments used by women," was brought forward in order to fulfill his soul's sanguinary cravings.

> All the people attended to witness so strange a spectacle. The guests took their places, and the public victim was led into the middle of the circle. She was delivered to the Sacrificer, who was the very one for whom the sacrifice was to be made. He took her; they watched his actions, and pitied that innocent girl; but, when they thought him about to deal her the death-blow, he cried out: "I am satisfied; my dream requires nothing further."[230]

It would seem that 'repression' was considered more harmful than 'expression.' Hidden and split off, that which is oblique festers and feeds off its own one-sidedness so that, like Atotarho, it grows twisted and becomes monstrously out of balance. When illumined by the light of a central fire, a collective consciousness, extremes can be tempered and divisiveness reoriented into relationships of complementarity; in the centre of the circle of community, dreamer, soul and Atotarho are re-balanced and made whole.

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[230] The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol 42, p. 155.

Like masks, dreams reveal rather than conceal. Attentiveness to dreams, therefore, fosters a high degree of self-awareness. Knowledge gleaned through introspection combined with a waking responsiveness to the messages of the soul and the counsel of the gods, must account, in large measure, for what Wallace declared was the extreme "inner-directedness" of the Haudenosaunee.

Both self-awareness and inner-directedness are also integral to what Jungian psychology calls 'individuation'. Individuation or self-realization is further mediated by the "archetype of wholeness" which, in 'Jungspeak,' is called the Self:

> The Self can be defined as an inner guiding factor that is different from the conscious personality and that can be grasped only through the investigation of one's dreams. These show it to be the regulating centre that brings about a constant extension and maturing of the personality.[231]

The constellation of the Self among the Haudenosaunee can be apprehended in such figures as Peace Maker who guided nations towards greater political maturity[232], and in the manifestation of a spirit mentor of "rare beauty"[233] who led a youth to the brink of adulthood.

'Becoming,' then, is the blossoming of a self that is intrinsically rooted to the dark, rich soil of the soul. In

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[231] Marie-Louise Von Franz. "The Process of Individuation," in Man and His Symbols, p. 162.

[232] See Chapter II, p. 40.

[233] See Chapter III, pp. 71-72.

Kahnawake, where the faces of the yet unborn slumber like spring bulbs under the earth's skin; where the Shakotinenioaks, dwarf spirits who toss rocks, are still perceived by the keen of sight; where a grandmother with lake-blue eyes is taught the old ways by the spirit sister of the corn; where women are graced with such names as Kaia'tanóron (Her Body is Precious), and where the Great Mystery dreams its dreams to a sleepless poet in the twilight, soul is especially generative.

In describing the ideal inter-relationship between self and society which sustains the development of its members, James Hall might well have been portraying the situation as it has always striven to exist among the Haudenosaunee when he wrote:

> It (individuation or self-realization) is what is unique in the person, although components may be chosen from the collective. It makes possible differentiations from the merely collective view of man. It is a developmental tendency toward the unique, although the person is still a link in his society. Development of individuality is also a simultaneously development of society. Society is probably dependent for its own life on the personal growth of specific individuals who can influence society in turn. Not only is suppression of the individual tragic for the individual, it weakens the ability of society to withstand disintegration.[234]

As has been seen, disintegration is not only 'withstood' by the Haudenosaunee, it is understood as the precursor to new life. In the Origin Myth, separation from the known with its descent into the void resulted in the creation of a new world.

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[234] James Hall. Patterns of Dreaming, p. 148.

In times past, a youth on the threshold of adulthood would separate from his community (and from his former relationship to that community) to undertake a solitary sixteen-day fast during which the familiar must have crumbled, giving way to the vivid and sometimes frighteningly unpredictable intrusions of the imaginal, in order to emerge 're-formed.'

In the story of the League, disintegration is not only tolerated, it is transcended in such a way that the ensuing creation of a confederacy of nations resulted in an alliance so powerful and politically ingenious that the Haudenosaunee were referred to as both the "Indian of Indians" by Parkman[235], and the "Romans of the New World" by Benjamin Franklin.[236]

While less politically and, for some, spiritually advantageous (perhaps because disintegration was imposed from without, and without regard for the natural order of things as respected by the Haudenosaunee), the period which Handsome Lake's dreams helped transform was equally heroic because it led to a revival of a cultural sense of self when it was at its most injured, and at risk of being lost.

And lastly, chaos and disruption were part of an annual rite of passage during the Honnaouroria, the ancient festival of dreams celebrated at Midwinter, so that the cycle of life,

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[235] Horatio Hale, The Iroquois Book of Rites, p. 151.

[236] Geoffrey York and Loreen Pinderra, People of the Pines, p. 148.

and the life of the spirit might die to the old and be born anew. On the inherent wisdom of embracing 'death' in the service of life, Rossi, in Dreams and the Growth of Personality, reflects:

> ...the psyche is in a continuous state of flux and change wherein we must slough off the old to integrate the new that perpetually wells up within. The reality of the phenomenal world is a continuous process of transformation that we must learn to flow with. Our personal and social ills are at base all related to our inability to continually tune into and integrate the new evolving out of our continually changing nature.[237]

Having the wherewithal to tolerate dissolution demands a strong sense of self, and a deep trust based on an intimate knowledge of the 'rightness' of the flux and flow of natural processes. Explaining the degree to which concepts of 'selfhood' are grounded in, and decreed by Nature rather than by arbitrary geographical boundaries and social inventions, Vachon writes:

> To be a Mohawk is not the result of a human social contract as would be the case in conventional western states and the modern Nation State. One is born a Mohawk and Haudenosaunee, and one remains a Mohawk and Haudenosaunee. It is almost like being a species, distinct from another species.[238]

According to Jung, dreams too are manifestations of nature, "and therefore of an unspoilt natural truth, and thus more apt than anything else to bring us back to the primary

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[237] Ernest Rossi, Dreams and the Growth of Personality, (New York: Pergamon Press, Inc., 1972), p. 175.

[238] Robert Vachon. The Mohawk Nation and its Communities, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, Issue #13 (Intercultural Institute of Montreal, Fall, 1991), p. 14.

essence of humanity." [239] Through the mediation of dreams, the Haudenosaunee were able to remain connected to that essence, and to live out the truth of their own humanity.

In a circumambulatory way, I have been leading the conclusion up to the central question posed in the Introduction: To what extent, if any, has the importance attributed to dreams by the Haudenosaunee encouraged the continued self-reliance, adaptability and survival of cultural values despite a three-hundred and fifty-year campaign to render these obsolete?

Perhaps the most succinct answer lies embedded in the dream of a soft-spoken resident from Kanehsatake who described himself as a "conservationist."

Several years ago, Kanátase dreamt that he followed a path through the Pines when he came upon an immense being standing next to a tree. The giant, who was almost as tall as the pine itself, revealed himself to be friend, not foe; he spoke to Kanátase and said "do not be afraid." And Kanatase affirmed: "I am not afraid."

At the time of the dream, Kanátase was embarking upon the ongoing struggle to 'conserve' the land of the Kanienkehaka at Kanehsatake, a struggle which was culminate in trauma on July 11, 1990. In post 'Oka Crisis' retrospect, the dream appears to have been premonitory.

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[239] C.G. Jung. Psychological Reflections, Joland Jacobi, ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1953), p. 48.

During the subsequent 'Mohawk Trial' of 1992 which, ironically, took place at the height and heart of Montreal's 350th birthday festivities, Major Tremblay of the Royal 22nd battalion attested that not since the Korean war had the 5th brigade been "dispatched into a real battle situation."[240] To the decision-makers presiding at the federal and provincial levels, this "real battle situation," involving a group of people committed to protecting their land from being defiled by a golf course, had warranted the deployment of 700 troops (with 3,400 "on alert"), C-7 machine guns and C-6 automatic ("multi-purpose") weaponry "capable of firing 800 rounds per minute," 14 armoured vehicles, 14 helicopters, smoke grenade launchers, anti-riot billy clubs, and provincial police SWAT team backing, to name but a few.[241]

Only the inner fortitude of giants, such as an individual dreamer had uncovered within himself, and the enduring presence of a spiritual power allied to the defended Pines, can help explain that the small community under attack was able to hold its own during a 78-day standoff against such a display of military killing hardware and 'Might makes Right.'

Major Tremblay's "real battle" was in actuality one of 'power over' versus 'self-empowerment.' In mainstream Western societies 'authority' is, more often than not, exteriorized

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[240] Mohawk Trial Update: Week 1, May 11-14, 1992, Vol. 1, No. 1. Produced by: Regroupement de solidarité avec les Autochtones, Montreal.

[241] Ibid.

and projected onto outside (usually paternal) figures. Authority 'from without' subsists on control and derives its power from an obeisance such as Issac showed Yahweh as he prepared to sacrifice his only son, or as Hitler's troops showed the Fuehrer as they prepared to murder a Nation, or as a CAF Warrant Officer at Oka during the Crisis showed the Canadian Government when he said: "I executed my orders, and that's all."[242]

Conversely, as Wallace was to observe, pride and independence (including independence of thought) -- those characteristics which Western ideology associates with Lucifer, the "religious anti-hero"[243] and rebel angel (whose name, interestingly enough, means 'lightbearer'[244]) -- are the very qualities cherished and upheld by the Haudenosaunee.

Having once declared that the Haudenosaunee had, "properly speaking, only a single Divinity -- the dream,"[245] the Jesuits too, in an inverted way, recognized that authority was a Self which spoke from within, a Self which was judged Luciferian (the "Demon of Hell") because unreceptive to the

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[242] Mohawk Trial Update: Week 2, May 19-21, 1992, Vol.1, No. 2.

[243] A.F.C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, p. 50.

[244] Jeffrey Burton Russell, The Prince of Darkness: Radical Evil and the Power of Good in History, p.43.

[245] The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. 54, p. 97.

latter's attempts to enforce and impose an alien indoctrination: "We don't believe it -- you are so different from us in every way that it is nonsense to think we should believe as you do."[246]

In the final analysis, the 'battle at Oka' was yet another version of a 350-year old 'war on dreams' once engaged in -- and lost -- by the Jesuits.[247]

> The crimes and atrocities of yesterday -- proud products of civilization! Or are they only of yesterday? The blind, stupid struggle for autocratic power, the insatiate lust for gold -- unholy appetites, sharpened, alas, too often by greedy theological princes whose temple altars are supposed to be mortised with temperance, tolerance and humility.[248]

It would seem that as long as there are dreams to guide, to renew, to make whole, the world of the Haudenosaunee remains a world of its own creation; so long as there are dreamers to dream to life masked spirits, wise mentors, powerful gods, giant allies and a sheltering tree of peace, the essence of being Haudenosaunee remains protected.

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[246] David Boyle, "The Pagan Iroquois," in Annual Archaeological Report for 1898. (Ont.:Minister of Education, Ontario, 1898), p. 55.

[247] At an information session organized by the Intercultural Institute of Montreal in 1992, Louis Cyr, the Jesuit currently holding office at the Catholic church in Kahnawake, spoke most benevolently on the Kanienkehaka's interest in their dreams; instead of diabolic, such interests were now pronounced "poetic."

[248] Joseph Keppler, "Comments on Certain Iroquois Masks," p. 10.

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He (Peace Maker) said there will come a time
when this tree will be attacked. And we can
look at that at this time, or we could have looked
at it in 1776, or we could have looked at it in 1620
when it's come under attack.
And today, its still here.
The tree is still standing.[249]

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Synthesis

A secondary, albeit unanswerable, question, and concern, expressed in the 'Introduction' was whether or not, when exploring the dreaming of others, the eye of the beholder was made lucid, or blinded by personal metaphor, when it was itself 'dream-conscious?' An indirect response is that while researching the existent material on the Haudenosaunee, it was apparent when the 'eye' was not. For instance, Wallace's contrived 'interpretations' bore the stamp of 'authority from without,' not personal engagement. Shimony's dismissal of a young woman's dream of a white chicken by 'interpreting' it to mean that the girl was "undoubtedly hungry,"[250] was another flagrant example of dream illiteracy.

On the other hand, I was also aware of 'dreaming' the contents of the thesis as it unfolded, asleep and awake, of feeling the emotional charge in the dreams recounted, of

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[249] Oren Lyons, from The Faith Keeper.

[250] Annemarie Amrod Shimony, Conservatism Among the Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve, p. 273.

catching reflections of myself in the weave of images, the thread of stories, of incorporating and finally, of being incorporated. The self which I had sought to keep separate from 'other,' and the 'boundaries' which I had sought to establish and maintain, had wavered. Instead, the lines of demarcation grew fluid rather than rigid, encircled rather than divided. In the shared time/space of the dream, 'self' and 'other' were juxtaposed as interactive halves. As I was later to learn, the word comparable to 'boundary' in Kanienkeha is "tehonatekhen" and it means "where the two are together."[251]

> I dreamt I was visiting the Pines in Kanehsatake. 'X' and his 'wife', a caucasian woman, stand on either side of me. Farther off, their children, five or six, dart free-spirited through the sun-streaked woods. We watch them in silence, united by the profound peace of the Pines, this moment of regeneration, bestowed and received in the night womb of an evanescent dream.[252]

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[251] Robert Vachon, The Mohawk Nation and Its Communities, Chapter 1, p. 16.

[252] The last dream in the series of 'X.'

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