St. Francis-Xavier Mission

Kahnawake, Quebec

M-L Karen Fleming

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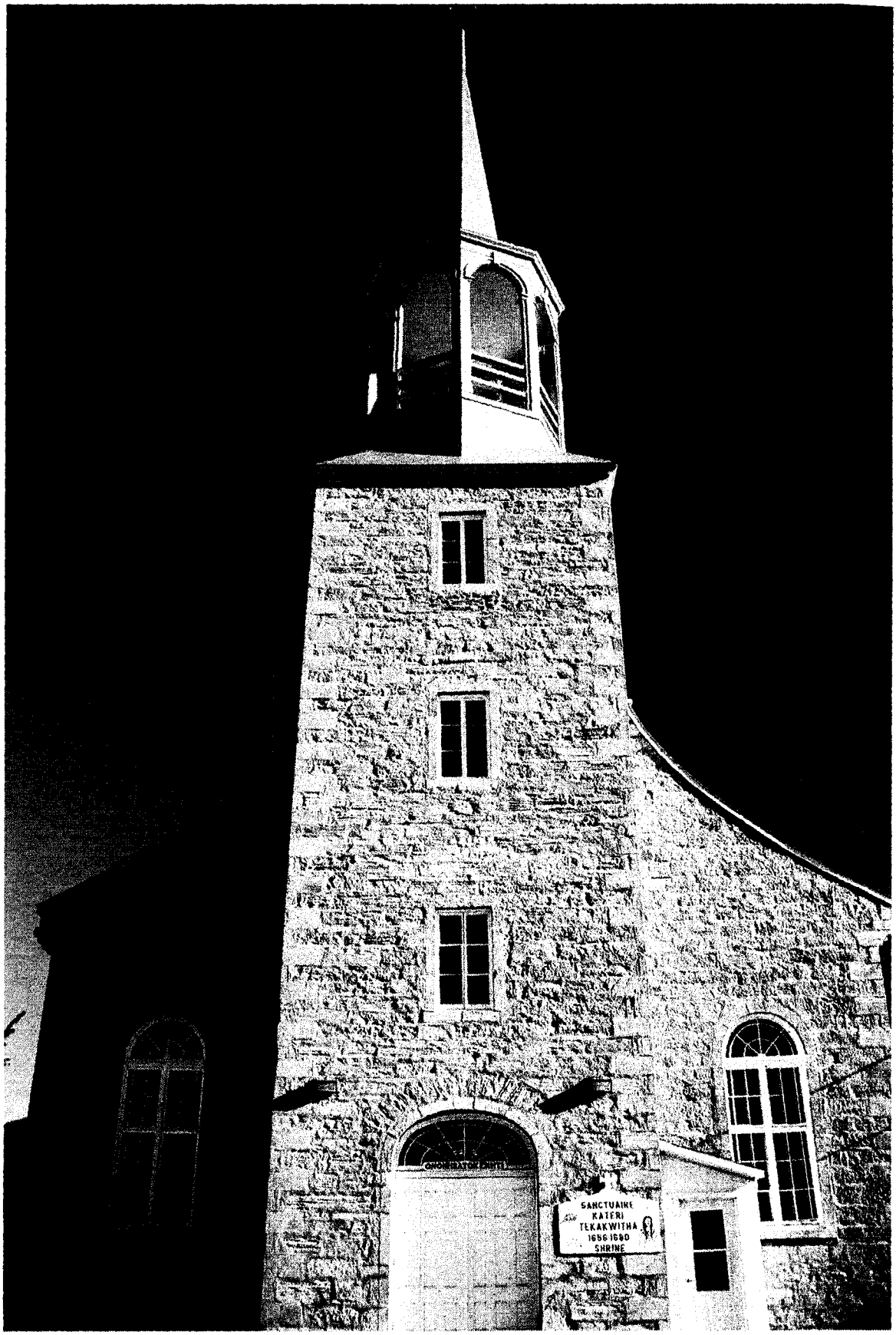
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ABSTRACT

St. Francis-Xavier Mission: Kahnawake, Quebec

M-L Karen Fleming

Architecture is a statement of the people that produced it. However, the production is not solely the design of the architect, but the actual hands that pulled the stone from the ground, carried the stone to the site and fitted the hand-chiseled pieces together. It stands as a testament to the women that found the lime and carried it in skirts full to the construction site.

This Roman Catholic Church, on the Kahnawake Reservation permeated the life and soul of the community and the individual. This thesis examines the Catholic architecture, the Catholic culture and the Catholic endurance that resided, and continues to reside, in a marginalized community. Absolute conversion can only be achieved through ritualistic, highly organized and continuous bombardment.

Shirley Scott, an elder in the community, once said, *"We chose to adapt, rather that adopt."*

As the congregation slowly diminishes, the edifice is left to stand as sculpture, testifying to an upheaval in colonial times

I dedicate this work to the following small group of people that had a great deal to do with the successful outcome.

To my uncle, **Wilbur Leslie**, for all his faith in my abilities and his treasured friendship.

To my husband, **Michael Grace**, for his knowledge of endnotes, bibliographies and computers.

To my daughter, **Shelsea Grace**, for pulling up the slack when I am too drained.

To my son, **Jackson Grace**, for his happy smile.

To my Mother, **Myrna Fleming**, for telling me that, "time will pass anyway!", and the many ways she helped with my return to school.

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Finally, to my advisor, a good man with a generous soul, **Dr. Jean Belisle,** who had faith in me even when I did not.

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To **Shirley Scott** and **Martin Loft**, both of Kahnawake, for the many hours of stories.

To the many people of the community who agreed to be interviewed.

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INTRODUCTION

"I always felt like an outsider, never really being accepted because, let's face it, I'm not."

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While religious colonialization situates itself in historical rhetoric, the reality of its consequences reaches through hundreds of years, disrupting and challenging a segregated community. Power infiltrates and generates all aspects of colonial life, in the most fundamental basis of human existence. For thousands of years Native peoples dominated and roved North America in precise rhythmic patterns. Following a very early and brief visit from the Vikings, and hundreds of years later, North America was conquered by European colonial powers. Land that once was defined by long-standing and established territories suddenly fell into new regimes with very different ideas of segregation. Erecting a Roman Catholic Church on an aboriginal reservation represented then and represents now, a symbol of foreign presence, power, and privilege. Further, it signified a beacon, negating original ways of life and the absence of Indigenous traditional beliefs.[1]

To support the forgoing, a number of sources will be used - primary sources, such as interviews with elders and other members of the

Kahnawake community, as well as, secondary sources, such as reports in articles and books, written on related subject matter. This thesis will examine the St. Francis-Xavier Mission Church in Kahnawake, Mohawk Territory, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence River, across from Montreal, surrounded by the province of Quebec, in the country of Canada. A myriad of pious factions, including the Order of the Society of Jesus, rely heavily on the body's sensorium to activate distant memories, escaped images and heightened emotions. Therefore this thesis will honour the five rudimentary sensorial equations to examine the St. Francis-Xavier Mission. The work will be broken down as follows:

Introduction

Chapter I: A Field of Vision (*Sight*)

Chapter II: Whispers (*Sound*)

Chapter III: Aroma and Savour (*Smell & Taste*)

Chapter IV: A Woman's Touch (*Touch*)

Conclusion

Chapter I (*Sight*) will be further divided into three separate headings. Historical migration will examine the movement of the Aboriginal community, moving four times over a period of fifty years. Eventually, in 1716, the

community came to rest fifteen kilometers up-stream from the first settlement and the Church can be found just west of the south-end of the Mercier Bridge. Architectural design, will briefly discuss the original church, standing for over one hundred years. Due to an over-crowded situation, the church went through a series of changes, culminating in its present structure by 1845. Both the exterior and the interior architecture will be discussed. The last subtitle is the art work, which will examine the artistic decoration gracing the interior space.

Chapter II (*Sound*) will discuss the significance of the church bells, the Native choir, the Mohawk vernacular and the effects of acoustics. Also included is the role of women to facilitate the continuity of language and, ultimately, identity.

Chapter III (*Smell*) will comprise the use and significance of the European tradition of incense versus the Amerindian tradition of sweet grass and sage. (*Taste*) will cover the use and importance of the wafer and the wine within the sacred building. This section is the most sacred for the Roman Catholic religion. The iconographic symbolism associated with the Mission uses particular items designated by Church protocol.

Chapter IV (*Touch*) will review the materials used to construct the church and the possible way in which it was assembled. The church pews will be examined for physical and psychological attributes. This chapter will also examine the role of women in the church and the contribution their presence has made.

Finally, the conclusion will glean observations from the summations of the existing data found throughout the paper.

In order to appreciate the architecture of the St. Francis-Xavier Mission, one must become aware of the historical significance and inherent background surrounding the existence of the church. (*figure 1*) The following information will help to understand the unstable symbiosis that took North American Aboriginals by surprise, by the invading architecture, religion, philosophy and dominance of the Europeans.

Author, Jonathon Saks, in *The Dignity of Difference,* believes globalization is about "the challenges it raises, the good it brings, the suffering it causes, [and] the resistances and resentments it generates".[2] Where globalization challenges us today, colonization challenged societies in our past, for hundreds of years. While globalization presents a unique set of criteria, so, too, did colonization work under similar demands. Both struggle with the challenge of negotiating a communal identity within the universal structure. Both struggle with the good it brings by the sharing of innovative ideas, progressive inventions and cultural curiosities. Both struggle with the suffering of oppression through the corruption of the powerful versus the powerless. And, both struggle with the resistance against assimilation and

the resentment of a diminished voice. Each discipline encapsulates a state of existence – both good and bad aspects - that can not be repudiated.

The idea of aboriginal territories was foreign to a European society accustomed to very fixed and well-established ideas of boundaries and states.[3] Indigenous boundaries were in direct correlation with Aboriginal power and, consequently, good fortunes.[4] These territories were permeable, and had always maintained common zones, in central locations, convenient and easily accessible for many Aboriginal Bands. Maps indicating territorial lines are never dated, promoting the indication that occupation has been in existence since time began.[5] This was a difficult concept for the invaders to comprehend and therefore, resulted in a misconception of sophisticated and progressive human cultivation. After all, Saks contends that "culture areas are mental concepts, not visible in the natural world".[6]

France arrived to subjugate the population inhabiting Canada's east coast and, of course, present day Quebec. As the newly acquired property of the French government, land could be granted to anyone, at the sole discretion of King Louis XIV of France.[7] Along with the conquering demands of colonization came the religious fervor that was so prominent during the time of the invasion. Early explorers brought sanctimonious men, some of whom, it is felt, demonstrated superiority complexes, righteous souls and black robes, all in the name of Christianity. (*figure 2*)

Aboriginal spiritual men or, Shamans, were credited with exceptional powers to act on behalf of the community to intercede with those spirits that controlled the many forces of nature.[8] Surprising to many observers, the Iroquois were sophisticated and powerful oratorical leaders. In fact, the proficiency with the spoken word caused many to compare the Iroquois to the Romans and the Greeks. Interestingly, the French use of the term, *Iroquois*, was used to describe the Confederacy in relation to their oratorical abilities. The common practice to end all speeches with two words: *hiro* and *kone* became the French phonetic, Iroquois. *Hiro* meant, *I say* or *I have said*, the second word was the correct exclamation of sorrow or joy, according to the related speech subject.[9]

Under a Catholic domain, priests were believed to hold similar attributes – they acted as a liaison between the parishioners and the higher spirit. They too had great oratorical abilities and used them whenever possible. These commonalities could help shift the faithful from one set of beliefs to another. In fact, these "black robed missionaries were viewed...as new and powerful shamans, possessing great powers in a very traditional sense".[10] Therefore, the Mission Church could be easily integrated into a pre-existing belief system.[11]

The Mohawk, or Kahniakehaka (meaning, *the people of the flint*) belong to the Six Nations Confederacy or Iroquois Confederacy.[12] One can be born a Mohawk, but in order to become Iroquois, a person must reach adulthood.

Once mature, a ceremony is held for a *name-giving* or, by an adoption process, with a chief presiding over the affair.[13] There are six tribes that adhere, to make-up the oldest living participatory democracy on earth: Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and Tuscarora.[14] (*figure 4*) The governance was, at one time, based on consent of the people.[15] It is the process of attaining *one mind* and the ability to speak with *one voice* that contributes to the Iroquois Confederacy.[16] The main thrust is dedicated to all life's happiness, liberties and promoting the exercise of the mind.[17] However, according to Cathy Rice, today the Canadian government only recognizes the elected Band Council, a process that counters traditional Councils. She further suggests this imposed structure continues to divide the community.[18]

This Six Nations Confederacy was known as the Hodenosaunee or, *The People of the Longhouse*.[19] In the fifteenth century, the Hodenosaunee were taught special standards or laws, to encourage harmonious existence.[20] By the guidance of a religious leader, the Great Peacemaker, the Kanienkehaka were able to live in peace. This code is called the *Great Law of Peace*. The Iroquois have practiced this philosophy for hundreds and hundreds of years. These laws could have been used to transfer to a Christian Bible reference. Terry Boyle and Chief Jacob Thomas, in *Teachings from the Longhouse*, comment on the similarities between a Huron religious code of the nineteenth century and the Christian bible - their conclusion can easily be

used to describe the relationship between the laws presented by the Peacemaker of the Iroquois Nation, in the fifteenth century, and the Christian Bible, as well:

> *"like the Christian's Bible, the Code combines history and prophecy, commandment and exhortation, and above all, provides an order of conduct by which men and women may live honourably in this world and happily in the next".*[21]

The word, *Longhouse* held and holds even today, very important connotations with religious overtones. An interview with Shirley Scott, a woman from the Kahnawake community, revealed that the religious aspect of the longhouse remained forever in existence.[22] Regardless of the many ways *outsiders* tried to eradicate the longhouse, it has survived as a vital organization in Mohawk society. It was based on a figurative description of the territory and the six groups that inhabited that territory. It was designed as a building, ranging from approximately fifty to seventy-five feet in length and housed the relations of one maternal clan, or family, usually consisting of fifty to sixty people.[23] (*figure 5*) The Longhouse is where people assemble to discuss important issues such as, war, politics, peace, and the worship of the Great Spirit.[24] At the time of the Oka Crisis of 1990, the City of Oka decided to confiscate sacred ground belonging to the Kahnasatake Reservation, to add onto the existing municipal golf course. The Kahnasatake community used the Longhouse in its original intension - as a meeting house, to eat, to talk, to conduct ceremonies and to hold council meetings.[25]

Common practice in Christianity is "to state that one belief is better than another belief".[26] In an article by Mary Druke Becker, entitled, *Iroquois and Iroquoian in Canada,* she observed that persistent misunderstandings have plagued Native reputations and European interpretations for hundreds of years.[27] In fact, Becker believes that there is a mythology on both sides, that describes the opposing side as, at worst, mendacious and at best, misguided.[28] Moreover, the same action from differing cultural perspectives can result in producing different opposing interpretations. Let us not forget that first contact revealed to outsiders, great devotion and piety by the Mohawk people, who had the same qualities in enjoying their own religious beliefs.[29] Actually, the Mohawk people of the Iroquois Nation, found around the Montreal area, were known as the *Praying Indians.*[30] Captain Bonneville "noted that they were 'more like a nation of saints than a horde of savages'", and Father Claude Chauchetière, S.J., in 1682, thought that there was "extraordinary virtue and Christianity among the Natives".[31] Such devotional practices and pious attitudes presented an easy access to expedite a new Catholic congregation, ready for conversion.

In *Natives and Newcomers,* Bruce C. Trigger states that "European religions, though ecumenical in spirit, were exclusive and intolerant, as well as hierarchically organized and controlled".[32] Through petition and coercion with the elite of France, the Jesuits were the first and only religious order to arrive in this area for many years, and the aim was clear – to convert pagan

souls and promote colonization.[33] The St. Francis-Xavier Mission Church, in Kahnawake, is named after a founding member of the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits. St. Francis-Xavier was, in fact, dispatched as a missionary to spread Christianity throughout India as one of his first assignments.[34] He was recognized as a master at performing "missionary work among tribes that most Europeans considered hostile".[35] (*figure 3*)

The *uncertainty principle*, devised by physicist Werner Heisenberg, "suggests that we cannot observe the world without changing it".[36] Further, the colonizer's view-point is skewed by a pre-existing bias of who holds the power. Bruce R. Morrison and C. Wilson, in *Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience*, propose that "one cannot comprehend, far less evaluate or judge, behaviour grounded in one cultural system by the standards of another".[37] Unfortunately, in order for one set of beliefs to be relinquished and another to take priority, it requires careful and meticulous replacement of concepts, traditions and allegories. An early Catholic doctrine, developed by St. Thomas Aquinas, known as *probalism* enabled the Jesuits to use and abuse any situation to further the absorption of Native Christianity.[38] Europeans, in general, wished to convert the First Nation's people. Early Jesuits preached and propagated concerns about the souls of the pagan brethren. Today, examining the past, Chief Thomas believes that while the Jesuits were busy preoccupying the Native dominion with spiritual concerns, the Native population might forget about the land and important claims.[39] The liturgy dissemination was an attempt to make everyone the same,

resulting in, a simulated culture.[40] Consequently, Aboriginal identity would begin to fade, until finally, this ancient race would be, potentially, eradicated. Moreover, Christianity attempted to replace an important, significant, and ancient religious tradition that had been in place for many hundreds of years.

Homi Bhabha, a twentieth century theorist, suggests, the church becomes the cultural difference on the marginalized parcel of land - the *other* within the *other*.[41] Morrison's and Wilson's view is that "natives have become tribal peoples encapsulated within a colonial state".[42] If one accepts Bhabha's theory of the church expressing the idea of the *other* within the *other*, then it could be extended even further, to describe the Mohawk people who joined the church on an Aboriginal reservation as: the *other*, (congregation), within the *other*, (community), within the *other*, (country).

The language of culture testifies, most succinctly, to the ability and inability to comprehend. There is truly an imbalanced symbiosis when two or more cultures collide. Cornel West contends that races who suffer from human degradation survive and are maintained through the institutions of power and economic control, within the society.[43] Certainly, colonization and, by extension Christianity, brought prophetic degradation and sudden insolvency that tainted the individual and the community. After jockeying for position of power, one group inevitably conquers the other. However, a clear and concise understanding of the *other* is completely mystified.

In order to further solidify a Catholic conversion, "the concept of martyrdom was central to the spiritual formation of the Catholic laity".[44] A martyr, or a character that is easily identified and recognized as one who suffers from illness, was quickly established in the local arena, by way of a young tribal girl named, Kateri Tekakwitha. She was a devoted disciple of the Catholic faith and worshipped freely and incessantly, though plagued by complications from the small pox disease. This Patron Saint of St. Francis-Xavier Mission carried out her tribal duties, as well as her catholic duties, everyday of her life, until the day she died, in April 17, 1680. She passed away at twenty-four years of age and suffered many hardships her whole short life. She was declared venerable in 1943, by Pope Pius XII and Pope John Paul II blessed the devoted female in 1980.[45] All who believe in her miracles wish her to become a Saint one day soon.

One time professor of social anthropology, Claude Levi-Strauss believed that there was common ground between different cultures.[46] During his studies of cultural differences, he focused on motivations and rules that governed specific and particular societies, and concluded fundamental differences were, in fact, inherent similarities.[47] Examination of cultural practices in diverse Diaspora exposed and reinforced similar rules that resided in, otherwise quite unrelated, cultures. For further explanation, we note that upon investigation in structures of kinship, Levi-Strauss concluded that all societies have rules in marriage, whereby, "members were divided

into two categories: prohibited partners and possible partners".[48] Although simplistic, and certainly obvious for biological reasons, in this example, Levi-Strauss was able to expose commonalties among all societies.

The Jesuits, most certainly, quickly ascertained the fundamental commonalties, and deduced a simple method of transference, from one code to another.[49] Utilizing the fundamental commonalities of the five senses – sight, sound , smell, touch and taste – this thesis will examine the initial and the influential effects of the Roman Catholic Church on a Native American Reservation of Kahnawake. Caroline Humphrey and Piers Vitebsky, in *Sacred Architecture* views religious architecture as a relationship between the mortal and the immortal.[50] They further contend that "divine models and sacred buildings closely reflect distinctions between priests and laypeople, men and women, or dominant and subordinate...[and often reinforce] such distinctions". [51]

The Jesuits ran the church, ruled the community and yielded economic gain for many years. They held great parcels of land under the French regime, but the ownership was declared illegal under British rule.[52] During the nineteenth century, Pope Cement XIV temporarily cancelled their position in religious servitude and they were banished from the St. Francis-Xavier Mission in Kahnawake for nearly one hundred years. The Jesuits were considered the most elite Catholic order with well-established connections with aristocracy and the Governmental powers. They became so powerful

and so involved in state matters, such as, fur trade and land leases that the Pope recalled the Jesuits and almost relinquished the Order completely.[53] However, in the early 1900's, all was forgiven by the new Pope and they returned to the post at the church.

The St. Francis-Xavier Mission was a reminder of colonial power, the vision of vanishing freedom, and yet, it did offer scant traces of traditional life that women of the community were able to exploit. Because of their responsibility for Native identity, the women maintained the use of language, traditional costumes, and decorating with bead work in the church. (*figure 6*) However, the only concrete example of the *other*, truly lies in a building that offers, "direct testimony about [creating]...an image...[that]...could outlast what it represents'.[54] (*figure 7*)

During the inception of this thesis, Father Cyr was the last Jesuit priest at the Mission. (*figure 8*) There were occasions when he was optimistic and other times when he felt quite pessimistic about the continuity of the Roman Catholic Church and religious faith in Kahnawake. He said he had mixed feelings even though he had requested the termination from the Mission. He said he never felt like an *insider*.[55] Further, he continued, "I always felt like an outsider, never really being accepted because, lets face it, I'm not".[56] He was officially recalled to the diocese in June 2003, but he remained until

November 2003. The main office of the Society of Jesus could no longer guarantee a priest for this Mission and, therefore, the decisions ultimately relied on the community of Kahnawake. Many of the women who volunteered at the church withdrew, when Father Cyr stepped down.

Today the St. Francis-Xavier Mission is being managed by some of the community that views the church as a piece of important historical documentation, to be preserved. A new priest was located, not of the Jesuit Order, from Guatemala, Father St. Lazare. The church is divided into two separate parts, the religious side and the business of tourism. Father St. Lazare is a traditional priest, in the business of simply saving souls. The tourist side is run like a business. In fact, at one time, the Jesuits, themselves, exemplified savvy business men with economic power, so the church is simply returning to its original mandate. Tour groups are actively sought, tourism symposiums have become important information tools, and merchandizing is beginning to be recognized as legitimate profit-generating possibilities. The museum is promoted to draw in additional visitors that may not necessarily come to the church for spiritual guidance. There is a budget and a business plan for the gift store. The church still conducts religious work with daily services and Sunday masses. However, an employee of the church and a member of the community, Cathy Rice, is spearheading the new direction in commercial merchandising and has only just begun to establish the church as a *sight to be seen*.

CHAPTER I:

Sight

A Field of Vision

Historical

"Technologically advanced cultures dismiss the contributions of the Aboriginal peoples. I believe our contribution can dramatically change everyone's life on this planet. It is imperative that people understand the separate reality of Native peoples and the rest of society. In the past Native Aboriginals of North America lived their lives in harmony with nature and their own nature. It was a way of thinking, a way of being. It was not a way of adversary, of being adversarial to nature and one's own nature. Their ways were to understand human nature and the environment and their part in it. Aboriginal cultures evolved into a way of being in touch with the earth, and experiencing the reality of being part of the earth. For this reason the cultures are based in harmony as a way of being."[57]

(Source: Douglas Cardinal: **The Native Creative Process**)

Situated along the St. Lawrence River, at a spot less than one hundred yards from the waterfront, the St. Francis-Xavier Mission Church was constructed, in Caughnawaga, in 1718. (*figure 9*) Even today, the slender, silvered spire can be seen for miles, on the waterfront and on the opposing river bank. However, from the time of construction to the present, the site has undergone considerable change and migration. Following a pre-existing transportation route, mission chapels were being erected quickly and precisely, in many of the forts, posts, and many Aboriginal settings.[58] In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, common designs incorporated simple structures, with primitive architectural ideas and were hastily constructed with light materials.[59] (*figure 10*)

Early in the seventeenth century, Sieur de Lauzon, Royal Counselor in Bourdeaux, granted the Jesuits a tract of land on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River.[60] The Jesuits were convinced that "God had His chosen souls among those barbarians" and the first site for the St. Francis-Xavier Mission was dictated by a land grant given to the Jesuits in La Prairie de la Magdeleine.[61] Naturally, church and state were very close and land grants were accorded to the religious order very early. In 1667, Father Pierre Rafeix was awarded the first settlement among three or four Native lodges or Longhouses, in Kentake. (*figure 11*) The Jesuits began immediately to convert the Indians to Roman Catholicism and they encouraged the latter to remain permanently in La Prairie. During the early sixteen hundreds, the French missionaries worked tirelessly to reach an agreement with the Six Nations Confederacy.[62] Through these agreements, the missionaries were

successful in inducing a great number of Mohawks to move under the umbrella of French Canada and to embrace Catholicism.[63]

The following quotation provides some insight into Jesuit thinking, "It was hoped that the example of the Christian French would encourage the Native people in the ways of right living." [64] However, a large influx of French colonists caused an overcrowded situation and debauchery ran rampant.[65] All religious orders, including the Jesuits, were concerned that the easily-accessible alcohol from the French would impact the neophytes. Ruth B. Phillips, in *Trading Identities, The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900,* realized that "Victorian writers always mentioned alcoholism as evidence of the inherent weakness that rendered Indians easily corruptible by white men".[66] This situation was not exclusive to the Iroquois Nation and indeed was experienced by other religious clergy and their charges.

Phillips attempts to explain the reason for the easily *corruptible position* of the indigenous displays of bingeing. She contends that, prior to colonization cultural patterns dictated excessive behaviour in feasting rituals during specific celebrations, as well as, an association with the all-consuming hallucinogenic forms.[67] In the process of a vision quest, a Mohawk individual will partake in a fasting ritual for days before being guided into a spiritual journey.[68] This over indulgence was regarded as an aid to achieve a higher understanding and contentment. Nonetheless, the Jesuit Priests were concerned with the effects of alcohol on the French men and on the Native

people who also over-indulged. And so, in 1676, the first move was made westward to a spot, closer to the rapids and on the St. Pierre River, called, Kahnawake.[69] (*figure 12*)

On May 29, 1680, King Louis XIV of France extended a land grant to the Jesuits, bestowing the Seigniory of Sault Saint Louis, thus extending their waterfront property by approximately six miles.[70] In October of the same year, a second frontage grant was given by Governor Frontenac, consisting of approximately five miles, or two leagues.[71] The depth of land from the water was approximately six miles. The Jesuits constructed a small structure in their first year at this location and after a storm, rebuilt a second structure in 1683.[72] In 1685, a fort was included to provide protection from renewed attacks on New France.[73]

A severe storm destroyed much of their property, including the church and the fort. At the same time the pagan Iroquois, in the south, were raiding the northern domain, British troops were beginning to move north towards Montreal. As a result and as a temporary measure, both the neophytes and the Missionaries decided to move inside the walls of Montreal for protection, in 1689.[74] Meanwhile, it was discovered that the soil was overused in the growing of corn. Consequently, the Jesuits and their Indian converts decided to set up a new settlement three miles farther west, at a point called, Kahnawakon, in 1690.[75] Given the temperament of the times, a wooden fort was erected for their protection against Iroquois raids.[76] This new settlement represented the second migration.

Within a few years the fort deteriorated and the village lacked protection once again. In 1690, the governor of Montreal, M. de Calliere was asked for assistance and, he relocated the village to a point farther west, on the south bank of the St. Laurent River, opposite Devil's Island. Devil's Island was a small island in the center of the rapids. The site name was Kahnawakon and was enjoyed for a few years.

A new site was sought in 1696 further west, once again, at Kanatakwenke. A new fort, "church and cabins for missionaries and Indians" were erected.[77] Before long, sacred reasoning reared again, concerning a new move. The soil had lost its productivity one more time, and further, Father Cholenec, Head Missionary of Converted Indians, was concerned that the English were trying to influence the Indians to leave the Jesuit Mission. The Jesuits and their charges migrated once again, three miles farther west, just beyond Suzanne River and on the other side of the rapids. This represents the third migration.

Finally, in 1716, the final migration settled just above the Lachine Rapids, in Caughnawaga. Caughnawaga was a Mohawk name that had been anglicized. Late in the twentieth century, Mohawk traditionalists demanded the true name of the Kahnawakehronon people - Kahnawake. In fact, many settlements along the migratory south-north route, traveled for hundreds of years by the Kahnawakehronon people, had the same name. It was a common practice.[78] Kahnawake means *at the rapid*.

By 1716, any major construction was planned solely for sacred or royal purposes.[79] Technical challenges for any large scale building included the achievement of size, height, stress and force to counteract against the force of gravity.[80] Obviously, without the modern convenience of computer simulations, previously recognized buildings would have to serve as models for furthering any construction. Buildings are meant to impart their particular order on society.[81] By focusing on the structural qualities or surface materials, the viewer is diverted away from its social context.[82] However, if a representational style is too foreign to our senses, then it becomes unclear and impossible to read the architectural sign.[83] In fact, it is believed that "iconography is highly localized...[and]...that localization is built on regional custom".[84] Further, the viewer must be a part of the fundamental cultural orientation and context.[85]

In 1720, plans were made by the new Governor of Montreal, M. de Ramsay, to construct a strong wooden palisade to protect the Village of Caughnawaga, or Kahnawake. (*figure 13*) Kahnawake settlement stood between the advancing English soldiers, coming from the south and Mount Royal, or Montreal in the north. Kahnawake was an important outpost, strategically situated and thus, protection included a garrison of soldiers in Kahnawake. Further, the Jesuits believed it was imperative to isolate the converts from their "pagan brethren in order to preserve their newfound faith".[86] M. Franquet's journal describes the fort:

> *"...because of the strategic position of the village and information received that the (Kahnawake) Indians continue to*

maintain a relationship with those people of the Five Nations from whence they've come, we had decided to establish a square fort. We would then be capable, through its construction, to provide a secure post for troops here, and to defend ourselves against all other attacks with the use of cannons. We therefore resolved to build an inner stronghold with a stone wall of mortar."[87]

In fact, the journal further reports that the French were anxious about the Iroquoian alliance with the Five Nations.[88] Consequently, the fort cannons were trained on the Kahnawake settlement, as well as, approaches from the south.

Common practice in fort design was to construct a walled fortress inside a walled fort, dividing the fort into the Native compound and the European compound. (*figure 14*) Normally, the church was housed inside the European enclosure, although the Native converts seemed happily invested in the Catholic religion, the Missionaries were never really confident that these neophytes would not retaliate. Thus, the Native people were housed in one courtyard, completely segregated from both the unconverted Mohawk community, outside the fort, and the missionaries. However, the Jesuits were opposed to having the soldiers present, believing their presence would antagonize further raids. Instead, the Jesuits petitioned the Governor General Vaudreuil, to halt the construction of the fort.[89] Their petition was accepted and the money allocated for the fort was used instead, to construct a powder magazine at Quebec.[90] Once again, Vaudreuil's decision was reversed and the Jesuits petitioned Versailles. This resulted in a delay of the construction until after 1725.

The frequency and the strength of the continued raids by the Southern Iroquois and British troops demanded more extensive fortifications. Thus, the building of a stone wall was begun in 1747 to replace the wooden palisade.[91] (*figure 15*) Of course, the building of a palisade must include a wall on all sides. However, the village refused to allow the building of a wall along the water's edge.[92] Thus, Franquet notes, the fort was rendered useless against the Kahnawake Mohawk warriors from the southern settlements and English soldiers.[93] Franquet's journal explains that, "the Indians were opposed to (the fort's) completion, saying that they suspected our motives, and that they disapproved of the section facing the village, as it would submit them to our whim. To calm their anxiety, we were obliged to stop construction and instead of lengthening (the eastern wall), we had to reduce it."[94] (*figure 16*)

Later, once the French soldiers were defeated, the walls of the fort were neglected and fell into disrepair. By 1900 the fort palisade had reached a perilous stage of deterioration. However, the Department of Indian Affairs assisted in the reconstruction in 1908, and completed the fort in 1910.[95] During the 1950's the walls were used by the young people of the community as running boards to dive into the newly constructed St. Lawrence Seaway. Confiscating precious shoreline, the seaway was dredged, disrupting a way of life, which had been in existence along the water's edge, for hundreds of years. (*figure 17 & 18*) The community was, once again, forced to make further adaptation. (*figure 19*)

Cruise ships traveling along the new waterway, opened new financial opportunities to a people who quickly adapted to unforeseen and unexpected circumstances. Passengers began throwing coins into the water, enticing the young Mohawk children to take a chance in the cool water, in order to win the prize.[96] Many of the community were excellent swimmers and felt very proud to perform. Still other children would dance and sing inside the fort walls for buses of tourists - a little native tune for a coin that could later be exchanged for candy. The children thought themselves quite clever.[97] Today, the court-yard, where the children enticed the outsiders to give them money is gone and in its place is the local theater company. The walls that were used as spring-boards have crumbled to the point that they are considered dangerous. However, monies are being sought, to carry on new renovations to the fort walls.

Whether fort walls or building walls, all walls are built to represent a barrier of some kind – both physically and psychologically. However, barriers can work in polar oppositions – keeping people out, or keeping people in – resulting in a profound distinction between those inside and those outside. Walls are always a representation of absolute protection. However, protection from what? Do they protect from the elements? Do they protect from some evil? Do they protect others from those inside? Is it as simple as: Do they serve to protect from *good and evil*? Certainly with any sacred space, the binary of *good and evil* must be considered.

Therefore, in a situation where one society is marginalized, making the *other* superior, good and evil would automatically resonate a precise existence. Further, after years of unrest, government legislation finally concluded in 1794, that a treaty had to be created. The *Jay Treaty* was established and stated that the Mohawk Nation to be a "nation within a nation". This recognition served only to highlight further, the distinction between those *inside* and those *outside*.[98] This community was marginalized by the country, and segregated within a small parcel of land called a reservation. The construction of the fort walls, inside the reservation boundaries created an additional marginalization. (*figure 20*)

A plaque on the fort wall is written, firstly in Mohawk, secondly in French and lastly in English, which reads: "*Erected in 1725 by the French for the protection of the Christian Iroquois*". (*figure 21*) In his book, *Kahnawake*, Johnny Beauvais, a Mohawk from this reservation, states that the plaque is incorrect.[99] Firstly, he believes the Iroquois needed no protection, as his ancestors were capable of repelling attacks, as they had been doing for hundreds of years.[100] Secondly, it was the First Nations people that stopped the completion of the fort walls. It is believed that if the walls had been completed, those that remained outside would be subjected to a barrage of European gun fire.[101] According to oral history, the fort walls were never actually used or even finished.[102]

Architecture

Exterior

Everything about religious architecture leads pious soldiers to the calling – to enter the building, along the aisle, to the altar and, ultimately, into the light. There are always pathways - the physical and the spiritual. In the design of the sacred structure, the attempt is to make the building rise, higher and higher into the heavens to meet the divine, by producing an exceptional reliquary. Some people believe that while standing outside a church, one is standing in a secular space. Still others believe that it is the last vestige of freedom before entering the sacred area. Architects designed churches to create a spiritual experience for members of the congregation even during the approach to the sacred space. (*figure 22*) Humphrey and Vitebsky agree, "the approach to a church was itself imbued with spiritual significance".[103] To stand outside a building that rises above all other structures in the surrounding area, physically constructed by the marginalized group within the particular community, must command some respect, and possibly even reverence. (*figure 23*)

In each unique culture, buildings should, in theory, reflect local ideas that follow accumulated experience and reflect continuity in building construction.[104] Introducing structural expertise from one culture to another

causes a situation that fosters foreign dominance and local inferiority. While easily recognizable to the original culture, Christian architecture signifies all that encompasses the sacred space within. It is a liturgical billboard. Unfortunately, domestic inhabitants would not be able to fathom the significance of the foreign architectural discourse and symbolism or acknowledge the significance of the alien architecture. For those who do understand the consequence and magnitude of just such an edifice, there is an immediate understanding of the embodiment of the devotional pathway for a Christian believer. However, for those standing outside the realm of belief, the structure would likely hold little significance – mainly great curiosity and apprehensive admiration.[105]

According to Jamake Highwater, in *The Language of Vision*, "it takes far more than sight to see".[106] John Berger, in *Ways of Seeing*, points out that we are governed by our own assumptions. These assumptions are learned patterns and consumed desires regulating our views of beauty, genius, form, structure, and others.[107] Implication of a sign in architecture must have specific meaning easily conveyed and easily recognizable. Highwater looked at

> *"three basic iconographic concerns that achieve symbolic meaning: one is the way space is used; another is the forms made in space; and third is related to the way time is suggested in non-temporal arts, such as...architecture".*[108]

Reverend Joseph Marcoux, the parish priest from 1819-1855 was the overseer for the 1845 complete and final stage of the construction for the present-day structure. Today, there is a road that runs in front of the church and another that runs perpendicular, down to the seaway. (*figure 24*) The church grounds are quite diminished in size and have a small fence surrounding the front and east side. The rod iron fence is interrupted by stone posts, approximately every twelve feet. (*figure 25*) The iron work is a simple design running parallel to the stone pillars. Each of the iron bars is spiked on the top, about three feet high and held together by two reinforcing bars, one six inches down from the top and one a few inches up from the bottom. The stone posts are approximately one and a half feet square and stand about four and a half feet tall. Each one is capped by a concrete two-tiered linear hat, with a shallow pyramid peak, mimicking the cap on the apse end peak, under the cross. (*figure 26*) However, given this pattern, in order to acknowledge the main entrance, two posts, closer to six feet in height, flank the main concrete sidewalk, drawing the viewer inside. (*figure 27*) There is an iron work gate that opens between the two larger posts and, approximately six feet away, on the opposite side of the entrance, begins the regular post and rod iron pattern. Between the larger posts and the first smaller posts, are iron gates. (*figure28*) Strictly for aesthetic reasons, the gates have an arch in the iron work, which again indicates the entrance way.

The side walk is ninety inches wide, the same width as the arched doorway of the church, giving the viewer a direct line into the sanctuary and up the belfry wall, to the spire, a weathervane and beyond to the heavens.

(*figure 29*) On either side of the sidewalk, there is the well-maintained lawn. (*figure 30*) On the east side is a white marble tomb stone dedicated to Kateri Tekakwitha and dated 1680. (*figure 31*) On the west side, in the middle of the enclosed grass, is the *Kateri Tekakwitha* bell, made in England. (*figure 32*) It was blessed on May 29, 1948, by Jesuit Father Leon Pouliot, S.J. It had replaced the 1832 bell, a gift from King William IV of England. Now it too has been retired and left to fend off the elements. Both items on either side of the entrance are small and unassuming. They do not interfere with the viewing of the Mission. The viewer feels a curiosity to walk closer to the two objects, but quickly becomes aware of the fact that there are no identifiable pathways transporting the curious from the sidewalk to the markers. It is approximately, twelve feet from side walk to the marble tomb and seventeen feet from side walk to bell artifact. This confusion makes a closer study of these monuments more difficult.

Following the walkway to the church, leads the eye further east, to a wooden lean-to, painted white. (*figure 33*) The juxtaposition of the old grey stone church and the white mole attached to the side disrupts the view. The displaced structure stands about fifty-five inches out from the tower's side wall, sporting a very modern outside, half-window door, thirty-seven inches wide. It has been there for many years because early pictures and charcoal renderings include this same small lean-to. (*figure 34*) In some older pictures, the room is hidden by a rectangular façade, but nonetheless, it remains visually displaced. Regardless, the visitor is encouraged to enter the church space by way of the lean-to.

The architectural style of any sacred structure, ideally, was designed to include processions and pilgrimages. [109] (*figure 35*) Further, sacred ritual actions increase human needs to communicate with an exalted power and worshipping intensifies in these arenas.[110] Therefore, the religious experience must begin prior to physical attendance. (*figure 36*) Naturally, the sacred building towers over the society that first helped in the construction promoting visitation.[111] (*figure 37*) According to Donald Friedman, in *The Investigation of Buildings*, the architectural style of the church is meant to be a visible focal point to encourage curiosity and, ultimately, enrollment.[112] Immigrants to New France, early in the seventeenth century, brought familiar building methods and styles accustomed in the life of a Northern Countryside in France.[113] North American pioneers needed to modify and adapt this established style of architecture for a more challenging climate and of course, a more challenging lifestyle.[114] Therefore, accounting for the changes needed to survive the harsher climate in the New Land, New France architecture was based on French traditions, but became distinctly Canadian.[115] For the most part, official buildings remained a traditional French style, while the vernacular became a modified version.

Originally, very crude *chapels* were established in great numbers in the vast wilderness of New France. The earliest description in *Church*

Architecture of New France, describes the *chapel hut* as, "extremely primitive, constructed of the simplest materials in the shortest possible time".[116] (*figure 10*) The second phase was constructed in a long, rectangular form that probably appeared very much like a building commonly known to the Aboriginal population in New France – the Longhouse.[117] (*figure 38*) Without windows and constructed in wood and bark, this construction *en pieux* was easily recognizable to the First Nations people who had been building the Longhouse in a similar design, for hundreds of years before the European *arrival*. (*figure 39*) They must have felt comfortable exploring a new religion that worshiped in a building so similar to the well-established Longhouse. (*figure 40*) The final construction resulted in the *parish church*.[118] The Jesuits were able to draw on financial resources from France to erect an increasingly elaborate building. This funding allowed for more stable and more impressive architectural construction and embellished interior decoration. Now, constructed in stone and mortar, the simple rectangular form added three arched windows along each side.[119] (*figure 41*)

Early construction of the St. Francis-Xavier Mission Church (1717-1720) appeared in just this rudimentary form, long and narrow, a rectangular shape. Additional buildings were constructed shortly after the original church form was established. From 1716 to 1719, extending west from the former front of the church, but now in the rear, a large residence for missionaries, or the presbytery, was constructed.[120] (*figure 42*) Living in the completed residence, historian Father Charlevoix, "wrote a letter describing the residence and also the church as, 'two of the most beautiful

buildings in the country'".[121] (*figure 43*) The residence was approximately fifty-three feet in length and thirty-six feet deep, rising two stories with a shingled gable roof.[122]

Another building was constructed adjoining the west end of the residence that was approximately forty-four feet long by thirty-one feet deep.[123] Architect, Edouard Piche studied the two buildings in 1974 and concluded that both were actually constructed at the same time.[124] The second building, however, was used to house the officers assigned to Fort Sault St. Louis.[125] These two buildings were shown on Franquet's plan of 1752 and Viger's plan of 1840.[126] (*figure 44 a,b,c*)

The Jesuit designers of this Mission were able to literally and symbolically tower above the *others*. According to Ramsay Traquair, in *The Old Architecture of Quebec*, as soon as a settlement became permanent, buildings of stone or brick took the place of wooden structures.[127] In fact, monastic construction was normally the first structures erected in New France.[128] The church resembled the New France Parish style of architecture. Characteristics of this style include, three windows flanking either side of the nave, the center belfry at the front and the small transept arms.[129] In fact, Percy E. Nobbs, in the article, *Architecture in Canada*, believed that these few details were so indicative of early New France architecture, that full documentation could not reveal any more authenticity.[130] The New France Parish style kept the decoration plain and unadorned to appeal to, what the clergy saw as, a simple people. (*figure 45*)

Characteristic of the times, the church was placed on the banks of and perpendicular to the St. Lawrence River, where it could be used as a vertical landmark.[131] (*figure 16*) Prior to the European invasion, roads did not exist. A complex system of simple and narrow trails, often over-grown, led from one place to another and could only be achieved on foot.[132] The only other method was by canoe. Therefore, travel was, generally, by way of water conveyance and therefore, determined the positioning of the building. The St. Francis-Xavier Mission sits on a north-south axis, instead of the more frequently used, east-west position. The compositional unity contributes to the power of the image, the experience of the emotion and the appreciation of the artistic creation.

Humphrey and Vitebsky, observed that a common feature in any holy site is the continuous reworking of the architecture on the same site.[133] As time passed, travel by road became more important than by water. European history and current conveniences decided the need for the building of a road system. Narrow streets connecting one area to another became the standard method of transportation. This dictated a need for a change in the major access to the church. In 1831, the front door was moved to the opposite end and the north end was closed up. In closing the original frontal elevation, the wall surface is left subdivided into three rectangular sections and a pedimental area above. (*figure 46*) Stone is bricked between plain, squared, pilasters, also of stone brick construction. (*figure 47*) The three-part section can refer to the Roman Catholic tradition of the Trinity - the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, or the Aboriginal symbolism reading the

three distinctive areas as the three sisters, represented as corn, squash and beans.[134]

The old vestibule area was temporarily given over to the sacristy, until an addition was added to the west, between the church and the presbytery. (*figure 12*) It was required that the steeple be moved from the north end, to the south end and, therefore, a stone tower was built to accept the dismantled fleche. The stone tower stood outside the church structure and was visually disruptive to the viewer.[135]

In order to make the new tower appear as part of the church, and not just a structure on its own, the wall on the front was extended approximately ten feet, thus enclosing part of the stone tower.[136] (*figure 47*) The fleche is an important part of catholic religion. Nikolaus Pevsner has discussed the precarious balance between the horizontal pull and the vertical thrust.[137] This dichotomy can "be seen as reflecting the tension of the Christian soul striving for holiness".[138] However, the spire is the culmination of a skyward building and aspirations to extend to the heavenly plain.

The Kahnawake parish was still growing and thus, fourteen years later, a new enlarged addition to the church was constructed in 1845. According to oral history, land in the Vermont area was owned by the Mohawk people and was rented to farmers. Monies received from this rental were quietly directed to the church without the knowledge of the people of Kahnawake. This was, in fact, the source for the funds to provide for the major expansion expenses.[139] An inscription deposited in the cornerstone of the church

today, identifies the architect as Reverend Father Felix Martin, a Jesuit priest. Martin was also responsible for the St. Patrick's church in Montreal.[140]

The arched-brace roof disguises the barrel vault inside, by maintaining the peaked roof on the outside.[141] (*figure 48*) Common sacred French construction was designed in the same style, with a peak roof outside and a barrel vault inside. This type of construction allows for an added timber at the end of a rafter, forming projected eaves, but only on the gable ends.[142] A stepped cornice and a cross cap the pediment, while the sides of the pediment have a scrolled ranking cornice. (*figure 49*) The only classical architectural reference on the outside of the structure is easily seen in the present-day back, or apse end, of the church. The gable has been distinctly segregated, into a pedimental area and a variation of attached squared columns, in a post and lintel reference. (*figure 50*) The pediment is designed to accept sculpture, albeit limited, as, in classical Greek pediments at one time supported sculptures.

Centered in this pedimental area, there is a niche, which houses a statue of Kateri Tekakwitha, an important Indigenous and Catholic woman. (*figure51*) Known as the *Lily of the Mohawk's*, she is often considered the Patron Saint of Kahnawake. At one time, this centered niche held a statue of the 'Virgin Mary' – a common figure in the Catholic religion. Somewhere along the historical journey, the statue was replaced by *Blessed Kateri.*[143]

Kateri's significance is directly related to the many miracles attributed to her, following her death at the age of twenty. This particular statue, of which there are many, was carved in 1941 by Medard Bourgealt.[144] The artist's creation was in celebration of the year that she was declared venerable and a great deal of effort has been and is being put forward by the community to canonize her as a saint.[145] Befitting a young Aboriginal woman, responsible for the keeping of the land, she stands guard at the water's edge.

The two transept gables are flat, with little embellishment. (*figure 52*) One sole arched fenestration is cut into the wall and a rectangular cap finishes each of the peaks on the façade of the transept arms. The windows are five feet, four inches wide and are twelve feet high, to the top of the arch. (*figure 53*) On the west side, there is a small stone lean-to built, at right angles to the nave and abutting the west transept arm, on the southern end. (*figure 54*) This annex was built to accommodate a small staircase to access the delicate pulpit on the interior space. It protrudes twenty-three inches out from the stone nave wall and eighty-two inches from the west transept wall. It stands approximately seventeen and a half feet up from the ground, with a shed roof. On the east transept side, and just inside the fence, a cracked and crumbling concrete sidewalk, approximately two and one half feet wide, runs the depth of the church. (*figure 55*) Running from front to back, it turns and leads to the back fort wall, while a well-manicured lawn runs out to the seaway. (*figure 56*)

The outside corners of the building are quoined - dressed laid stones that alternate between large and small, normally laid in a pattern of horizontal - vertical.[146] (*figure 57*) The stone structure was heavily mortared with local limestone, and the wall is approximately three feet thick.[147] The roof has recently been repaired, but the church insisted on maintaining the original integrity of the structure.[148] An artisan, specializing in ancient church roofing, was brought in from Quebec City, at great cost. The Quebec Government matched money raised by local events.[149] Prior to 1763, New France established the shingle as the preferred material for roofing. Later, the roof was commonly covered with tin in small sheets laid diagonally.[150]

The bell tower interrupts the front gable. On either side of the stone tower is a singular arched window. (*figure 58*) Above the double doorway in the center of the tower is an elliptical fan transit window.[151] (*figure 59*) The front doors are approximately ninety inches wide. The double doors are each a nine-panel door that support no hardware. (*figure 60*) Obviously these doors are meant to be opened from the inside. Three six-part double-sash vertical windows equally grace the tower front, above the main entrance. (*figure 61*) According to the Jesuit priest, Father Cyr, the small lean-to, on the east side of the tower, has continued to disrupt the simple façade, for an unknown amount of time.[152] Evidence is seen in the antique door and latch that leads from the inside of the lean-to through the sidewall

of the tower. Ordinary situations encourage the use of the side entrance to the vestibule, particularly during the winter months. Only very special occasions ensure the use of the main entrance - Christmas activities, baptisms, Christenings, weddings and funerals. (*figure 35*)

The octagonal belfry sits atop the square tower. It should be noted that the ratio of the spire to the height of the church is one to one, a common feature found on Parish churches of this time.[153] Each of the openings, in the spire, is arched, with obvious keystones, used solely as decoration, having no structural value in the wooden steeple. (*figure 62*) This broach spire is typically, in early Quebec churches, finished with a crucifix and a weather vane. The dove weather vane can be seen in drawings of the original church, before 1845. (*figure 63*)

The verticality links this world with the heavenly world above. While the horizontal stronghold is reflected in the massive stone walls, the straight, upright bell tower was to serve as a gateway to heaven and a powerful political entity.[154] However, "architecture can be used to reinforce power, as buildings usually last longer than political reputations".[155] A symbol of civic dominance, the Mission competed with the smaller, secular dwellings that surrounded the edifice. (*figure 19*) By extension, the spire could even represent the priest's virility, which dominated the weaker laymen, in the community. Early on, the priest certainly dominated community existence, conducted daily services, commanded meetings and insisted on pious

obedience. According to Jo-Anne Fiske, in *Gender and the Paradox of Residential Education in Carrier Society*, "missionaries of the Catholic Church have sought to impose a theocratic order, designed to augment the priest's powers".[156]

Interior

Through the lean-to door, one must open a very small and old, thick wooden door with antique black iron hardware, immediately to the left. (*figure 64*) Hardware such as this, would likely be a product made locally, drawing from common pattern books available at that time.[157] Approximately seventy-eight and three quarter inches deep, this small, awkward and very confined space is designed, with the sole purpose of guarding against the elements.

Once one opens the inside diminutive door, the visitor first arrives in the vestibule, which is a small, undecorated area, twelve feet from floor to ceiling. (*figure 65*) Ropes for ringing the bells hang down from above, in the center through holes, which are tied to the east and west side walls. Two small stairways lead from the approximately one hundred and forty-six square-foot vestibule, to the balcony at the front of the church and are covered with steel mesh doors, thirty-seven inches wide. (*figure 66 & 67*) The side door, the front door, the double-door into the nave and the window opposite the door most often used, have splayed walls. The main church doors are eighty-three inches wide and the doors that open into the nave are ninety inches wide. The window above the front door is forty-four inches to the top of the elliptical arch. Some signs and a small, wall-mounted glass display case decorate the wall space. The display cabinet advertises some items available in the museum store. Wainscoting, four feet high and two

inches deep, surround the vestibule, while the stark, white plaster walls and ceiling enclose the remainder of the room.

As one enters the double doorway from the vestibule, leading to the nave, one's general impressions must be recorded. A large red carpeted central aisle with pews on either side leads to the altar. (*figure 68*) On either side of the nave are similarly carpeted aisles. One gets the feeling of spaciousness and openness as one looks forward and upward to the painted high ceiling. A general impression is that the inside of the church is attractive and there exists a warm and gentle invitation to move forward towards the main altar at the far end. Because of the age of the building and general décor, one feels privileged to be present in the sanctity of the church. The walls are plastered, plain and white, and are enlivened by the fourteen Stations of the Cross and the four Medicine Wheels, or Four Directions. One is struck by the modern lighting fixtures which appear stark and out of place. The main altar tends to draw one's attention and curiosity. On either side in-front of the main altar, there are the secondary altars. These will also demand some attention. However, the height of the baldachin and the fact that the two side pilasters of the tabernacle, rest just outside the width of the main aisle, help to draw the viewer's eye forward - higher and higher into the grace of God.

Leading through the vestibule, the interior opens up into a large open space. The nave is a great hall, with the usual proportion of the length being

approximately twice that of the width.[158] A plain, wooden wainscoting, identical to the wainscoting in the vestibule, encircles the complete interior space, four feet high and two inches deep. (*figure 69*) A crown molding encircles the church interior approximately twenty-two feet above the floor. From this point springs the barrel vault. (*figure 70*) Approximately thirty-four feet above, the pastel ceiling paintings warm the contrasting starkness, of the white walls of the church. (*figure 71*)

The floors are wooden plank boards that feel sturdy and quite worn. However, in 1965, major restoration was needed to secure the crumbling structure. Under the floor of the church, Three hundred and sixty-seven simple wooden crosses were discovered in a previously unknown area of the basement. The crosses bear individual identification plaques of people of the congregation that had passed away.[159] (*figure 72*) The burials were stopped in 1874 with the last body, a women named, Kaniiosthwas, at the age of one hundred and four years.[160] Beauvais continues, citing one "exception was made in 1928 for Mrs. Adele Perrone, founder of our hospital and medical services. It was an honour bestowed on her in appreciation for her society's contribution to our people".[161] Father Cyr stated that the area has been completely sealed off to respect the dead. [162]

Windows of the church are equally spaced along the nave and follow the usual Parish Church form - three windows along each side.[163] The vast, stark walls are sparsely punctuated with glass that actually helps to reinforce

the idea of segregation. These window sizes and patterns are identical. (*figure 73*) All six are splayed, window width is five feet and the splayed opening is six feet wide. True French casements open inward, according to Nobbs. All the church windows are twelve feet to the top of the arch. The window in each of the transept arms is different and slightly more elaborate than the six main windows. (*figure 74*) Although there appear to be coloured panes of glass, or stained glass, these are actually painted glass pieces that decorate the centered arched windows at each end of the transept crossing. Although there are many panes that have been replaced, there are some that remain. At one time, the six nave windows appeared diaphanous with renderings of lace-like images. (*figure 75*) Montreal, Quebec was responsible for this style of coloured glass until the mid-nineteenth century.[164] There is only one window in the apse area that, once again, is slightly different and increasingly more elaborate. (*figure 76 & 77*) No one is certain of the dates of the altar window.

Glass is at once, a miraculous substance and an enigma that is truly awe-inspiring. It begins as an opaque malleable liquid, in a molten state and as it cools, it hardens to a sparkling brilliance, with the ability to manipulate light. Durable and solid, yet enormously fragile, it carries inherent danger if broken.[165] Letting light in, while keeping elements out, it can be used as decorative elements in a building defined by the surrounding walls.[166] Window glass provides penetration into the interior or out to the exterior and inspires dreams for architects, artists, and laymen alike.[167] Glazing in a building becomes a sculptural form.[168] When a window purely illuminates

the inside as well as the outside according to Stephen Knapp in, *The Art of Glass*, it is meant to erase the division between the two worlds.[169] However, any division of the solid pane of glass, grid or coloured, results in what Knapp believes is a definitive separation.[170] He explains that openings were conceived in such a way as to isolate one space from another, framing a carefully selected scene and separating the viewer from the viewed and reinforcing a carefully manipulated position of the dominant and the subordinate.[171] The viewer is unable to become a participant in the world on the other side of the glass.[172]

When glass is coloured or etched with a design, are these windows meant to look out – look beyond the physical pane of glass? According to Humphrey and Vitebsky, the stained glass is meant to focus the thoughts of the congregation inside the church.[173] Surely any coloured glass would transform light into an ethereal atmosphere and evoke spirituality.[174] Humphrey and Vitebsky believe that decorated glass was meant to instruct, particularly those who could not read.[175] Certainly, the stained-window or the etched adornment could, at best, prevent or inhibit the view to the outside – the wide open space beyond, to freedom. The light filtering through the embellished windows would change with the time of day or with the candles that at one time flickered in the interior space. Early architecture in New France used windows to depict spiritual symbolism.[176] It was imperative to connote the relationship between human ritual and celestial aspirations.[177] Careful placement could cause dramatic implications.

The more vertical the window, the more the window will encourage eyes and minds to lift and look heavenward, transcending confined and mortal space.[178] While seated, the congregation's view is limited to an upward vision, due to the windows being above eye level. Windows common to 1845 construction were more vertical than horizontal. Were ornamental windows, regardless of how crude, meant to keep the 'others' out or to keep those inside in? Certainly these types of windows helped to draw a line of segregation.

A closer look at the various sections in the interior of the church reveals some interesting facts. The balcony, which is placed just above the entrance to the church, has been reduced over the years to half its original size. The balcony had a series of positions, extensions and regressions, finally extending approximately twenty-two feet into the nave of the church and spanning the full width of the church. (*figure 78*) However, the balcony is seen clearly in a picture that predates the ceiling paintings, of 1924. It extends much further and actually raps around the west transept arm. (*figure 79*) The balustrade is made up of painted bulbous spindles, closely spaced and banded together with a wooden railing. (*figure 80*) The fence is approximately two and one-half feet high.

It is a mirror image of the balustrade that runs almost the full width of the Mission, dividing the congregation and the altar stage. (*figure 81*) Free-standing, this wall of spindles is two feet high and approximately fifty-seven

feet long. The length is divided into three sections, a west length of twenty-six feet, a double gate of almost five feet and an east side that equals the west. While the stage represents a division between the parishioners and the priest, the railing between the two, decides it, definitively.

A new sacristy was built abutting the church on the west side. Today, the sacristy houses a tabernacle that is believed to date back to the original Mission. Its actual creation has been in question for years.[179] The old wall separating the vestibule from the nave was removed and the altar was pushed back towards the north end of the church, adding a doorway on the altar to gain access to the new sacristy. (*figure 82*) However, this one opening was impractical and, therefore, a west transept was needed to include a second, and more convenient door for congregational use, allowing access to the new and more spacious sacristy.[180] (*figure 83*) Today, the tabernacle of what is believed to be one of the oldest altars of New France, is housed in the sacristy. (*figure 84*) The National Gallery of Canada, in Ottawa Ontario, has an official picture. The table has puzzled experts for some time, pondering its origins and its actual date.[181]

More space was required and plans were made to widen the long rectangular church. To accomplish this widening, the outside walls of the church were extended six feet outward. The New France architecture would determine the symmetrical cruciform plan, of 1845, including an east transept arm opposite the west. (*figure 85*) While the door, in the west side

opens into the sacristy, the mirror image in the east arm has no function whatsoever.[182] (*figure 86*) In order to provide the cruciform structure of the church, transept arms were extended on both the East and West sides of the church, just in front of the altar. On the southern side of each of the transept arms is another small door. On the eastern version, the door does not open, but the mirrored image in the western side opens onto a minute staircase to reach the elevated pulpit. This was the final architectural change and represents the present day version of the building.

Father Cyr questions the ownership of many of the liturgical items, most of which are historically significant silver pieces. He believes these works, some of which are listed below, should return to the head office of the Society of Jesus, rather than remaining with the Mission.[183]

The sanctuary lamp hangs in the center, at the beginning of the altar stage. (*figure 87*) Swaying approximately twelve feet above the floor, this gift was donated circa 1750. It is one of several solid silver ecclesiastic pieces in the St. Francis-Xavier Mission. The thurible, or incense burner, used during mass is silver and was made by the silversmith, Pierre Huguet dit Latour (1749 - 1817). The other solid silver pieces have remained in the Church Museum. (*figure 88*) There are silver pieces that came from France, while others that were made in Montreal. Montreal, Quebec silversmiths, Henri Polonceau (1766 -1828) and Solomon Marion (1782 - 1832) also contributed many religious silver works in the area.

ART WORK

The years from 1924 to 1928 brought another great change to the church. The ceiling paintings were created. Due to the proximity of the water and the resulting humidity, the idea of fresco painting was unrealistic. Therefore, simple scenes among more elaborately painted ribbing and moldings were created on canvas and then, glued to the ceiling. (*figure 89 & 90*) The art work was done by Guido Nincheri (1885–1973), who traveled the eastern coast leaving his creations as he went. He would get local people to dress up as models for his work.[184] In fact, an elder in the church choir, recalled that the artist stayed in her family home when she was very young.[185] He used her sister as his model for an angel in the ceiling creations. (*figure 91*) Further, Father Cyr reported that a woman in the congregation stated that she was the model for the young lady playing the harp. The woman continued explaining that she stood in the choir balcony so Nincheri could get the proper perspective. Today, Nincheri has a museum/studio in Montreal that is open to the public.

The brightly rendered depictions of the New Testament, drawing from a Catholic doctrine, are handsomely painted in compartments that cause the viewer to have to change positions in order to view the different scenes. (*figure 92*)

This artist was well-known for bringing the European classical style and local citizens into his paintings. The ceiling is divided into twenty-eight parts and three semi-circular paintings – one each at the ends of the two transept arms and one above the main altar. The artist included painting the divisional barriers as tromp l'oeil and the compartmental effects with great perspective. Italian-Canadian painter, Nincheri was known as *Canada's Michelangelo*.[186] He was known to remark, "I'm tired of people coming back from Europe and telling me how beautiful the churches are. We've forgotten what we've got here."[187] Born in Italy and inspired by the arts, he began studying architectural design and artist compositions at eighteen years of age. He finished his education with post-graduate work in commissions of several murals. Stranded in North America during World War One, he obtained work as a stage prop painter in the Chateau Dufresne, an opera house in Montreal. Later, his fresco depiction of one hundred and twenty well-known biblical stories in the Chapel Soeurs Des Noms de Jesus et Marie, was the impetuous to a multitude of commissions in Montreal, many small towns throughout Quebec and along the eastern seaboard to Rhode Island.[188]

He was inspired by pre-Raphaelite artists and his work always included local characters, parishioners and priests.[189] His beautifully rendered style was highly valued in the Roman Catholic Order specifically because of its European heritage.[190] Apparently, Nincheri was forced to paint Belloiosuea Mussolini's face on an apostle he created in a church in Montreal, to honour the Lateran Treaty of 1929.[191] The artist had serious misgivings about the

painting of Italy's fascist, however, the Archbishop of Montreal and several church wardens persuaded Nincheri to reconsider.[192] Later, Nincheri was actually jailed for this portraiture and caused an undue fall from favour in Montreal's art history for many years.

> *"Filpio Salvatore, a historian at Concordia University, [stated], 'He brought with him, such a vast knowledge of the history of painting, such classic style and such a capacity to harmonize colours and volumes and images, that it is beyond the historical period in which he lived. He is a world class painter'."*[193]

The St. Francis-Xavier Mission ceiling paintings were done under the watchful eye of Father Paul-Emile Beaudoin, S.J. (1909-85). Let us not forget the financial ability of the Order of Jesus and the important desire of all outpost Roman Catholic spaces to be capable of drawing attention from the Vatican. Unfortunately, in 1970 the canvassed ceiling was given a protective glossy lacquer coating, which makes it difficult to achieve good pictures. The stark modern lighting, already mentioned, leaves an unpleasant glare. (*figure 93*)

When the Jesuits arrived, their appearance was less than cheerful. The black attire of the missionaries and the grey of the stone work, were viewed as dull and somber. (*figure 94*) The colour or rather colourless code of this religious group was in stark contrast to the colourful dyes being utilized in North America at this time. E.P. Richardson in the preface of *The Arts of*

French Canada, 1613-1870, stated that, "churches had to be built, decorated with paintings and statues and enriched with all the beauty of colour and ornament possible, even in the wilderness".[194] So when the ceiling paintings were commissioned, vivid colour, once again came back in the lives of a people who had enjoyed the colourful embellishment of clothing and objects. Due to the fact that France lost interest, rather quickly, in New France, the artistic works needed to be done by Canadians themselves.[195]

Today, it is taken for granted that two-dimensional surfaces can be painted to appear realistic, with great perspective. The artificial rules of perspective were originally established during the Renaissance and are most commonly accepted in Western Industrial Society.[196] In fact, conditioned to see art works in this manner makes viewing other late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century renditions easier to understand. Native art was originally considered to be rendered as flat, naïve and two-dimensional. The three-dimensional renditions on the ceiling would have created quite a stir. With painted brush strokes, a skilled artist could transform the flat smooth surface into a series of compartments with architecturally painted boarders. Each grouping of characters receded into space and the figures took on a vision of special influence. Based on Roland Barthes' concept of communicative signs, Fernande Saint-Martin believed that, "the analytical concepts of visual language were still dominated by those of verbal language".[197] Certainly at a time when the community was possibly not able to fully comprehend the spoken word of the church, visual direction could improve translation.

Naturally, the more vivid the colour the more vivid the message. Saint-Martin points out, that colour is one of the most fundamental components of art.[198] However, it is also the most evasive: "the retina constructs colour according to the way it receives refracted rays of (originally white) light".[199] Naturally, the colours are further transformed and modified by the juxtaposition of other colours. Moreover, distant colours in the same confined space, can influence the hue, as well. Colours just previously viewed or the way the eye scans the image across the picture frame, can also influence the prevalent colour.[200] The eye must continuously adjust to the ever-changing process of *seeing* an image. Gunda Lambton, in *Stealing The Show*, believes that this approach to art work, is perceived as oscillating "from one experience to the other is felt as vibration, [produced either] consciously or unconsciously".[201]

Colour influences emotions and has been reputed to impact human sentiment.[202] Once the impact has been made, particularly on the vulnerable, then the absence of these images could also cause great stress. The nineteenth century was an era where much was written and concerned with the effect of colour on humans.[203] Further, colour was equally important in architecture during this same time period.[204] Shirley Scott, an elder in the community, recounts a time, long ago, at a funeral in the church, when every inch of the ceiling paintings were covered in black cloth. She was a young girl at the time, but she remembers how sad and somber

the church seemed with the dark covering looming above the congregation.[205]

Originally, there were three large paintings sent from France to decorate the altars of the church. At one time, these would have been the only paintings in the church. Today, however, only two remain, surrounded by their original frame and in their rightful place - one in each of the secondary altars. (*figure 95 & 96*) According to Rice, while conducting a group tour, a woman offered an unusual story about the two original paintings. She believed she had read that the paintings actually belonged to the bourgeois family, Desjardins, in France. During the French Revolution, the family sent the paintings out of the country to protect them from potential destruction. No church records have been found to substantiate this story. *Immaculate Conception* is on the left (west side) and *King Louis IX of France* is on the right (east side). The fact that they are large pieces requires a large space. Uncharacteristic of the nineteenth century, Richardson believed that the "rich and devout in France might send out a few pieces of church silver or small sculptures as gifts to the Indian missions", but little else, because France was basically uninterested in missionary outposts.[206] Unusual for this time, the King himself being represented in full-length portraiture was given to a distant and remote branch of the Roman Catholic Order. The official story from the church is that King Charles X of France donated both paintings in 1826 and they have hung in their current

positions from 1845 onward.[207] Both frames that were built to house and testify to their originality, are gold, concave structures, with raised moldings in the four corners of each frame. They each have small running bead work along the inside of the completed frame. The frames are rectangular in shape and fit perfectly under triangular pediments. Compared with the fact that they have never been cleaned and the poor lighting makes visual identification very difficult.

The painting that was once housed beneath the ornate arch of the main altar was the third and slightly larger work. (*figure 97*) The frame is more elaborate than the other two. It is straight on three sides and arched on the top side, fitting carefully below the arched canopy above. Father Cyr recounts that the original canvas, (circa 1800) had deteriorated beyond repair.[208] (*figure 98*) A copy was commissioned for artist, Olivier Beaulieu, in 1928. (*figure 99*) History recounts that the congregation felt the colours were too somber and unable to complement the pastel colours of the ceiling. Therefore, in 1932, the painting was replaced by a continuation of the ceiling art. During the 1930's, the main altar painting was replaced by the current cross. (*figure 100*) People of the community had complained for years about the stereotypical iconography used in the original work. (*figure 101 & 102*) The gift of the cross was made to commemorate the loss of Kahnawake steel workers. During the construction of the Quebec Bridge in Quebec City, a grave catastrophe suddenly befell the project. In 1907, the bridge collapsed, taking thirty-five men to their early graves, and leaving devastated families and friends to cope with basic survival. (*figure 103*) At

that time, there was no insurance policies, to help the families financially. The government gave very nominal financial compensation, but offered to put the devastated family children into residential schools. The monies that were awarded the families never actually ended in the rightful hands. Denis Delisle's grandfather, a prominent member of the community, Big Joe Canadian, lobbied for compensation, on behalf of many of the men lost in the devastating disaster. (*figure 104*) During the research, a book, bound by Canadian, surfaced, revealing correspondence with the families, the community and the government. (*figure 105*) The community banded together to invoke a law that stands to this day: a very limited number of men may work on the same project, at the same time. The impact on the community, affecting thirty-five families, was too substantial to ignore.

A cross, donated by the people of Kahnawake, to commemorate the thirty-five Mohawk men who lost their lives in the collapse of the Quebec Bridge in 1965, completes the replacement.[209] Perhaps the collective desire to remove the painting had more to do with the stereotypical depiction within a painting entitled, *Death of St. Francis-Xavier*. (*figure 99*) Note the warrior standing almost center with a curled bow and a sheaf of arrows on his back. In the right foreground, a maiden, with two feathers and a hatchet at her waist, kneels by St. Francis-Xavier. In the far left background there is a boat with sails, giving a reminding message of colonial arrival and power. The final and most obvious Mohawk reference is that the scene takes place under a Longhouse structure, which echoes the use of sceneography as in the scenes of the Stations of the Cross.[210] The painted arched structure

easily fits the arch of the canvas. However, the structure could have meant to depict the original chapel huts described by Alan Gowans, in *Church Architecture in New France.* The painting was finally removed from its frame, rolled up and stored in the attic of the church, and in the process, the frame has been lost and due to the extreme humidity of the attic space, Father Cyr believed the canvas has deteriorated beyond repair.[211]

The main altar was designed and created in the eighteenth century by two artists - P. LaBrosse and G. Boivin. (*figure 106*) Eighteenth century sculptors and woodcarvers, the Labrosse family of Montreal and Gilles Boivin (1711-1766) of Trois Rivieres, were considered very distinctive in their trades.[212] They were responsible for rich carvings, including, statues and statuettes, as well as, altar pieces.[213] Work begun before 1760 showed direct ties to France. After such time, the work started to be executed with more originality and mimicry.[214] This work continued in the rococo manner or, similar to eighteenth century France, until losing vitality in mid-nineteenth century.[215] Paul Labrosse and Gilles Boivin practiced their skills for many years and remained true to the rococo era. The preferred choice material used for the work was the Canadian White Pine.[216] Around 1700, carvers embraced this pine as the ideal material for religious statuary or decoration.[217]

Close to a century later, circa 1830 to 1860, Vincent Chartrand, a student of the Quebec artist and designer, Quevillion, continued and

concluded the original design of the main altar. In the early nineteenth century, craftsmen came from two sides in society, the apprenticed and the scholarly.[218] The Montreal School was associated with Louis Quevillon (1749-1823).[219] The Quevillon school at Ile-Jesus, was based on the rococo period, "distinguished by such decorations as scrolls, wreaths, delicate arabesques and interlacing forms".[220] Certainly, Quevillon style was used on the interwoven embellishment found on the main altar. (*figure 107*) His followers were criticized for not being more progressive.[221] Quevillon's disciples, like Chartrand, have managed to maintain and prolong an important phase of French culture.[222] Quevillon was known to implement the Gothic and Baroque style to Churches of New France. Chartrand is credited for finishing the three reredoses and the two side altar tables.[223] The two secondary altars mimic the main altar's characteristics with slight variations. The reredoses stand away from the wall and are treated like sculpture, instead of architectural embellishment. (*figure 100 &108*)

At the top of the main altar piece is the statue of the *Baby Jesus with a globe*. (*figure109*) It was donated to the Mission by the Ursuline Nuns from Quebec City between 1671 and 1700. Standing in a concave niche, between two caryatids, the Christ child is rudimentary. (*figure 110*) The gold crown on his head is the iconography needed to identify, the *Christian King of the World*. He holds a globe of the blue earth, wrapped in a gold band and a cross protruding from the top. The other hand is plump and baby-like and appears to be blessing the world. He stands on top of a stage of marble.

Standing in a small niche is another carved, wooden statue of Kateri Tekakwitha. (*figure 111*) This 1941 piece was created by a Quebec self-taught artist, Medard Bourgault, who was born in 1897.[224] He was known for his naive folk art and began devoting his life to sculpture in the 1920's. By the 1930's he abandoned his rudimentary work in favour of religious art. After a prolific production of over four thousand works, he died in 1967. Here, he poses Tekakwitha in a slightly different manner than the other carvings. Although she once again has the familiar Christian cross in her hands, this time she cradles the cross, holding it in her left hand close to her body, while the right hand lays on her heart. Her devotional face is tilted and looking down at the cross as most women would look upon a child. The pose actually is reminiscent of the oldest painting known of Kateri Tekakwitha. (*figure 112*) This artist sculpted her face in a very idealistic manner. Her hair and face are beautifully rendered.

The altar is the structure that was built to aid in the offer of a sacrifice. As the sacrifice became an increasingly more important element of worship in many religious orders, the solid block of wood or stone began to transform. By the time the Jesuits left France, the altar table had become as important as the actual sacrificial ritual.[225] Interestingly, these altars hold very important positions, considering that this society does advocate killing. The altar tables are very similar, painted white, with raised moldings done in gold leaf.[226] (*figure 113*) According to *Signs and Symbols In Christian Art*, by

George Ferguson, he credited himself in researching the use of gold-leaf through the years. He concluded that it is a precious metal and gold-leaf was used as a symbol of pure light and most assuredly, as a heavenly element in which God lives.[227] The raised moldings include the rose, which Ferguson views as a symbol of victory, pride and triumph. (*figure 114*) He believed it to be a reference to martyrdom.[228] The three altar tables are draped in cloth, with the main or center altar having a distinctive red colour included in the covering. This red colouring is used only on special occasions. The red simulates the flow of blood from the death of Christ. The reason the altar must be covered is in remembrance of Christ's last meal to simulate the dressing of the table for Christ.[229]

The altar table front is white background with raised gold-leaf moldings. (*figure 113*) In the center is a raised medallion that illustrates the sacrificial lamb laying on a gold-leaf altar block. The lamb is carved in high relief and painted a grey-white. The lamb appears to wait for the inevitable moment with serene acceptance. Ferguson states that the lamb is not only the symbol of Christ, but also used to denote the sinner.[230] Two moldings depicting woven baskets, on opposing sides of the table front, are heaping to capacity, with vines spilling forth. Vines are a very important symbol to express the relationship between God and His people.[231] The branches are intertwining in the center to create a tree that imitates the tree in the Garden of Eden. Included in the recreation of the Christian land of Utopia is humanity's nemesis, the snake, twisted around the tree. Above the

medallion are two larger vines crossed and tied with gold-leafed roses, evenly spaced.

Both authors of the *The Arts in Canada and The Arts of French Canada, 1613-1870*, describe the expertise of the Ursuline nuns of Quebec with regards to gilding altars and religious sculpture, among their many other talents.[232] Marius Barbeau, in a chapter in *The Arts of French Canada, 1613-1870*, states that during the early years of colonization, 1674 to 1677, Jeanne Le Ber of Notre-Dame, (now Montreal), was first trained in the meticulous and detailed work with threads.[233] Later, the Order was in need of financial aid. She established a gilding shop for tabernacles, statuettes, statues and altars.[234] Wood carvers and wood workers would finish the religious piece and send it to her shop. Decoration in churches followed closely with the artistic styles of seventeenth century homeland.[235] The Ursuline nuns practiced the traditional art of gilding on layer and layer of Spanish White Paint, for either low or high relief.[236] In fact, the Ursulines had the secret technique envied during the French colonial period.[237] The cost of gilding was equal to the expensive cost of the wood and the carving.[238]

All three altar tables are elaborate and incorporate an altar piece, a structure that surrounds the table, and evokes a message of opulence, grandeur, power and dominance. When viewing the main altar table from the entrance doorway, the altar table becomes the pinnacle in a very clear and distinctive step-tiered stage of importance. (*figure 115*) At the end of

the aisle the four stairs, with six inch risers, in the altar area, climb to a higher level than the rest of the church – a two foot altar stage. A fairly recent addition, in the last thirty years, the secondary altar table sits still higher and the altar table stands two feet even higher and is reached by three more steps on the apse end. This special baldachin stands thirty-one inches out from the back wall, leaving a hidden area behind. (*figure 108*) The plinth below the columns is hollow and is only covered on three sides, leaving the back open. The altar piece is fitted together using dovetails.

At one time and for hundreds of years, the priest stood with his back to the congregation for most of the service, but with the secondary altar table, the priest faces the congregation. In the Christian world, patriarchal images, such as, God and Jesus and of course the priest, reflect the egalitarian use of Catholic sacred space.[239] The journey into the inner sanctum is a journey into one's inner self.[240] The cruciform plan of the building represents the body of Christ on the cross.[241] The chancel is the soul and spirit of Christ and it is situated in a segregated space that is higher than the congregation.[242] The pathway from the nave to the altar represents the passage from less to more sacred or "from death to the eternal life".[243] (*figure 115*) Recognized as an act of dominance, with one person occupying a higher plane than another, the priest is seen to be closer to God.

Each of the canopies employs two flanking Corinthian pilasters and columns. (*figure 116*) Each fluted column sits atop a plinth that stands out from the wall. (*figure 117*) Each employs gold gilding with alternating

rosettes and acanthus leaf braces. (*figure 118*) White dentil work, below a gold leaf egg-and-dart molding is repeated in each. While the two side altars have a triangular pediment, the main altar makes use of the arch. (*figure 115*) Sitting above the arch canopy, on the main altar is a gold winged angel, which is repeated in the ceiling paintings. (*figure 119*) This repeated pattern of *triangular pediment - arched pediment -triangular pediment* is reminiscent of the altars inside the Pantheon, in Rome. Atop the entablature, above each column, is a decorated urn, mimicking the urns in raised molding design on each of the plinths.

For many years the only painting left in the church that marked a Native reference, hung above the doorway from the altar to the sacristy. (*figure 120*) The background was serene and children, with happy faces, were in contemporary dress. However, the woman, holding the wooden cross, was in colourful Native costume. A woman, Mrs. Marlene McCauley felt compelled to paint this rendering of Kateri Tekakwitha in 1974. Mrs. McCauley prayed to the Lily of the Mohawk, asking Tekakwitha to cure her son. Her son had lost his hearing and consequently became mute, as well. The doctors had given her no hope to ever help her son. One day, surprising the doctors, her son Peter began laughing, talking and hearing. Mrs. McCauley fully believes the Blessed Kateri healed her son. She proceeded to paint this rendering depicting the children of the world – black, white, Asian, Hispanic, and native – surrounding Tekakwitha. As she began to paint, she

was unable to find lilies to use in the work, until her pastor's garden bloomed early that year producing many new lilies. On *Kateri's Feast Day*, Pastor Stocklosa of Nanhant, Massachusetts blessed the work and encouraged many churches around the United States to display the work. Finally in 1992, the painting was presented to St Francis–Xavier Mission on Palm Sunday.[244] Recently, the painting has been moved into the museum.

Today, there is another painting in its place. (*figure 121*) The colours are reminiscent of the Romantic period in painting, such as Jean-François Millet of the nineteenth century. Jesus, as a man wearing only a draped white cloth around his waist, bows his head in prayer. An older man, John the Baptist, is baptizing Jesus. He stands on the water's edge holding a staff in one hand and extending the right hand, holding a shell filled with water, over the head of Jesus. The symbolic dove is released from the hand of God above his head. There are two angelic faces floating on the upper left and three on the upper right. The kneeling angel in the foreground mimics the pose of the two ceramic winged angels sitting front stage on the altar. (*figure 122 & 123*) This angel is holding the blue cloak that belongs to Jesus. The unsigned work could be attributed to Jean-Baptiste Roy-Audy, (1778-1848 c.). (*figure 124*) Other works of this artist are very similar in compositional form and colour, while his rendering of drapery is quite similar. (*figure 125,126 & 127*)

The two angels that sit on the stage, have moved all around the church. At one time they were relegated to the attic, until they were

rescued and reintroduced into the sanctuary. (*figure 122 & 123*) One is praying while one is bowed with hands crossed against the body. The right one stands on two knees, the left is on one bended knee and one foot. Both are sitting atop a pale blue wave that represents the clouds or heaven. They are both dressed in white garments, trimmed in gold. While the left one carries a pink cloth, the right one wears the pink cloth over the shoulder. Faces are hidden due to the devout poses. Last year one was broken and had to be sent out for repair.[245] The pair have had a series of positions in the church and in the attic throughout the years. Today, they are occasionally loaned out to other churches.[246]

On either side of the main altar are two life-sized statues - St. Francis-Xavier on the west and St. Ignatius of Loyola on the east. (*figure 128 & 129*) Both have been carved from wood and painted in solid delineated colours, by sculptor Louis T. Berlinguet in 1845. The two were contemporaries and friends in the first half of the nineteenth century. At one time, each statue stood inside arched niches, however the niches have been covered by plaster. Later they were moved to flank the organ in the balcony and, finally, they were moved to their present position. The two statues stand against the wall about seventy-eight inches above the altar stage floor. Each turns towards the main altar and each stands on a semi-circular support. The supports were carved from two vertical halves of a tree trunk, in a ribbed style that tapers gently down to a point.[247] St. Francis-Xavier (1506-

51), the most famous missionary in Roman Catholic Order; he is recognizable by the cross he carries in his hand. He was declared Patron of the Foreign Missions by Pope Pius XI in 1927.[248] Ignatius and his successors were generous in allocation of money, time and personnel. He was canonized in 1622 and declared Patron of Spiritual Exercises and Retreats by Pope Pius XI.[249] Until the recent repainting of the walls of the church, both statues were identified in large black, block lettering. Without the identification, recognition now falls under recognizable iconography within the Catholic discourse.

Many details associated with the pulpit area are difficult to identify. (*figure 130*) Father Cyr claims the pulpit came from the original Notre Dame Church in Montreal, before its demolition. However, he was unsure whether it arrived completely intact or was assembled from parts of destroyed altars.[250] Approximately five years after the pulpit was presented to the Mission, in 1840, it began a series of moves within the church. It finally found its present resting place at the current spot, on the west side of the nave just before the west transept begins.[251] However, in order to accommodate its new position, an annex to the building was required for a stairway to the pulpit. In the West transept, opposite the secondary altar is a small unassuming door that leads up a narrow flight of stairs, of approximately six steps, to a very diminutive doorway. Today the pulpit is unused.

Six plaster statues decorate the covered niches at each corner of the hexagonal pulpit. (*figure 131*) A fleur-de-lys is cut out just above the canopy that covers each statue. Due to theft - the Mission Church was never locked - only two statues are original, while four had to be replaced with smaller versions. They once sat unprotected, but now screws are drilled through the base of each statue, into the wooden pulpit. The wooden structure makes use of the same rosettes, the Corinthian capitals, the dental work and a variation of the egg-and-dart molding used on the altars. (*figure 132*) The base is similar, in form, to the two brackets that support the statues of Francis-Xavier and Ignatius of Loyola, on either side of the main altar. Above the pulpit is a thin brass canopy, which is ridged and radiates like rays from the sun. (*figure 133*) In fact, this is an ancient way to resemble the rays of the sun, as was done even in Egyptian History B.C., during the heretic reign of Pharaoh Akhenaten, eighteenth Dynasty, approximately 1497 B.C. There is the iconographic *dove* in the center of the brass ridges. The rays signify heaven and the dove signifies the Holy Spirit. This codification of symbolic imagery was an established Catholic doctrine used to convey conversion messages.[252]

When a young Native maiden, named Kateri Tekakwitha, arrived at Laprairie's first Mission Church in 1676, she was easily intrigued by a new doctrine. There was a philosophical democracy among the Aboriginal people permitting an open and receptive expression of belief. "She believed that her God was there in a special way, and she would take refuge in the little chapel to renew her physical and spiritual strength."[253] So ardent and with

such rapture was her zeal, that other people came to watch her pray. The second location of the church was where Kateri Tekakwitha died, in 1680.[254] Today, the Mission is a pilgrimage church due to Kateri Tekakwitha. Her power to cure ailments of all kinds and her bond with the Blessed Virgin Mary helped to procure her life in religious and Native history, alike. She became known as the 'Lily of the Mohawk' and lilies often appear as a pictorial signifier for the Mother of Jesus, as well as, Tekakwitha. Perhaps this was a code of transference used by the Jesuits.

Kateri Tekakwitha's statue and her remains, grace the west arm of the crucifixion form of the church. (*figure 134*) The wooden statue stands approximately four feet high, including her stage. She stands on a crude wooden block with the single word, *Kateri* etched into the wood. Etched on the back of the stage is the name of a Quebec Artist – Leo Arbour, and the date, 1981. The particular rendition mimics the oil painting done by Mother M. Nealis, r.s.c.j., made in 1927. (*figure 135*) The model for this Kateri Tekakwitha is the mother of a very beautiful elder, Ann-Marie Snow. Snow, herself, was also a model for some of the paintings in the Mission Church.[255] Countless copies have been reproduced of this same image, including other paintings, carving, ceramic molds, and devotional cards. (*figure 136*) She always wears the laced knee-high moccasins, the dress with three bands of ribbon, the fringed over-lay and the blanket shawl. She always carries the rosary beads in her right hand, held close to her body. This artist was not as skilled as the artist who carved Tekakwitha on the altar. Her face is stiff and has little expression. She is the patron saint of the Kahnawake Mission.

Even though she was eventually baptized as Catherine, her Iroquois name remained renowned and regarded with devotion – Kateri Tekakwitha.

In 1853, Father Joseph Marcoux believed Tekakwitha meant, *one who places things in order*", while in 1882, Father Jean Andre Cuoq reasoned the name to mean, *to pull all into place.*[256] She stands on a four-foot-high marble pedestal, behind her Carrara Marble tomb. (*figure 137*) The tomb is again, white marble but this time it is a simple rectangular box, sitting on a raised platform, about two feet high. Carrara marble is derived from the town of the same name, in Italy. The perfection of the transparency and sharpness of the crystals in the marble quarry has been exploited for more than two thousand years.[257] Best known for its statuary quality, Michelangelo, Canova and others created miracles with marble from the Carrara quarry. The stone has been requested from all over the world, including the sanctuary for Kateri Tekakwitha. Her tomb was blessed by Bishop G. M. Coderre, in 1972. The Jesuits believed that this gentle soul was guided to the Mission by divine Providence.[258] Today, there is a stained-glass version of Tekakwitha that hangs in the window of the east transept arm. This life size rendition can easily be seen between her wooden statue behind her tomb and the secondary altar dedicated to St. Francis-Xavier.

Tekakwitha lost her mother at four years of age and suffered continual illness, failing eyesight, continual headaches, stomach-illness with accompanying vomiting and near the end, a slow fever. From her affliction of smallpox at four, "her face was before well-done and had become

ruined".[259] In fact, after her early death, Native people were prompted to say that "God had taken her, because men did not want her".[260]

For the majority of her years, her devotional practices were split – though unevenly – between the Church and the Longhouse. She went each day to the Mission for prayers in the morning, evening, every Sunday and any special days, such as, Feast days.[261] The remainder of her time was split between devotional practices in the Longhouse and the commitment of hard work in the fields.[262] Though for many years she was allowed to practice both faiths, tolerance on both sides soon became unreasonable. The priest, Father Claude Chauchetiere, S.J., in *Narrative of the Mission of Sault St. Louis, 1667-1685*, believed that her heroic virtue and unstained chastity, served as an example for the most fervent Christians of Europe.[263] He preached abstinence of "dream feasts, dances, and other gatherings among the Natives that are contrary to purity".[264] Later, he wrote that the Native population "mistreated her in various manners, which is a manner common in this country to have her abandon the Rosary".[265] However, Allan Greer, in *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and Jesuits*, suggested that in order for Father Chauchetiere to exalt Kateri Tekakwitha, he and his colleagues had to impose a subjugated pretext of absolute virginal virtue and isolation from indigenous culture.[266] Greer, in fact, "situates Tekakwitha in her culture and brings up the possibility that she had sexual encounters". Greer further states, "she needs to be recognized as a Mohawk girl, her

existence framed by the life of the Mohawk longhouse, her fate bound up in the vagaries of Mohawk history".

Indeed, her life and even her lifeless body, served to continually aid the Mission – causing others to join and to serve.[267] She died on Wednesday, April 17, 1680, before the final Mission was conceived or established. Her remains were retrieved by the priest, as soon as the present location was procured, at which time her bones were divided. Some of her bones were shipped to Rome, part were buried, some were sent to the Kateri Center, and the rest were put in a box and placed in the church vault. During the many years the Jesuits were not permitted to control the church, a priest from the Order of Oblates, took one of Kateri's bones and sent it to a priest friend in Chicoutami, Quebec.[268]

Tekakwitha has been promoted as a martyr. She exemplifies the perfect profile of a martyr because she was a person who suffered and accepted her suffering with grace and great piety. "The concept of martyrdom was central to the spiritual formation of the Catholic laity."[269] Through the cult of a local martyr, both the literate and the illiterate could associate themselves with a known person.[270] Until the middle of the twentieth century, the Jesuit priests would begin each Sunday morning service by carrying the relics of the *Blessed Tekakwitha* onto the altar.[271] Shirley Scott remembers a daily ritual of walking home from the school with a stop over at the church. She and her friends would beg the priest to show them *Blessed Kateri's bones*. She remembers the priest opening the vault,

picking up a small bundle and peeling way the covering cloth to reveal the Native Martyr's bones. The girls would kiss the bones and return home. This personalization of a martyr could transform *outsiders* into *insiders*, or *insiders* into *outsiders*, depending on one's view point. As time passed, more and more people on the Native reserve joined the ranks to become part of the *insider* group. It caused those outside the church to be marginalized. To be segregated in an already marginalized nation must have been overpowering. Therefore, a rudimentary coercion, such as a familiar martyr, could have easily swayed the populace.

The local female martyr's relics could be used to entice other women to recall the same physical and spiritual cleansing that Kateri Tekakwitha pursued. Let it not be forgotten that the Native religious Longhouse was unsanctioned by colonial power. Therefore, the Catholic Church, in particular the Jesuit Order, could accommodate the Native people through the appropriation of many Longhouse traditions. Scott, at one time a librarian at the Cultural Center in Kahnawake, explained that Native people adapted, rather than adopted the new religious beliefs.[272]

Every Roman Catholic Church is based on a relic. There are three kinds of relics. First class relic must be the saintly person's bones. The second class relic must be something owned personally by the holy person – such as, clothing or something belonging to the special person. Third class relic is anything that has touched her bones, such as a piece of cloth that has been passed over any of her bones. (*figure 138*) The cloth must then be blessed

by a priest. This would be considered a *touch relic*. Kateri's special oil would also be oil that touched her bones and finally blessed by a clergyman.[273]

Today, the *touch relic* that is purchased all over the Christian world has actually come from the Kateri center, across the street from the church. Cathy Rice, through her research at the Mission, has managed to reveal the source of these *touch relics* sold in the museum gift shop.[274] They have been purchasing the *touch relic*, for years from Rome and Rome, in turn, has been getting the cloth that has touched a martyr's bones from the Kateri Center, in Kahnawake.[275]

There was conflict existing between the two groups who were trying to win over the Mohawks to their faith – Catholic and Protestant. This conflict became very evident at various times. An illustration of this vying for church membership can be seen in the following story, told by Martin Loft, of the Kahnawake Cultural Center, regarding a funeral. Apparently, the Protestant congregation requested the use of the beautiful black horse-drawn hearse, normally reserved for the St. Francis-Xavier Mission, for a very special funeral. The request was granted and everything proceeded as planned. The problem was that the Protestant cemetery was arrived at before the Catholic cemetery could be reached. So accustomed was the horse to going to the Catholic cemetery, that it refused all attempts by the driver to turn into the Protestant cemetery. Finally, in desperation, the driver, with the help from Protestant members, unhitched the horse from the hearse and the

wagon was pushed manually through the gates and up a slight rise to the appropriate grave site - while the horse looked on.

Hanging approximately six feet high on the walls, surrounding the congregation are thirteen Stations of the Cross, each made of plaster of Paris. (*figure 139*) They were created by the Carli-Petrucci Company of Montreal, in 1926, and purchased by the congregation in the Montreal store. (*figure 140*) In 1928, the Mohawk language replaced the original French captions beneath each scene. (*figure 141*) The plaques are as bright and colourful as the ceiling paintings and employ a classical Roman order, in very high relief. The architectural features surrounding each of the scenes use the arch, springing from Corinthian columns, similar to the order used on the altars. The lower section of the arch is decorated with acanthus leaves. Perched on top of the arch is a Roman Numeral identifying each Station. A scroll flanks either side of the number and immediately above the numeral is a decorated cross. The columns work with a base that sits atop a plinth. The Stations appear to be a standard ceramic mold because the Native wording has been pasted onto each piece. Below each column is a plain round medallion that resembles the Medicine Wheels, at one time very much a part of the church décor. (*figure 142*) During the summer of 2006, the church walls were re-painted which gave an opportunity to send the Stations of the Cross out to be refurbished.

The written word, in a community that did not have any use for such things, must have created a difficult situation. To write the other's language requires a person with some knowledge in phonetics. The Jesuits felt compelled to design a new written language. However, when a language is devised for one culture, using the codes of another language, it must be very difficult. Imagine having to learn odd symbols to signify the sounds so familiar. Even reading their own language must have been very difficult, if not impossible for the elder members of the community. Bibles and hymnals were translated into a new written language for an ancient oral language. (*figure 143*) Could the written words on the Stations of the Cross have been a reminder of the colonial powers, or a comfort to be physically surrounded by their own language? No elder in the community, during the early colonial period has ever left a written record.[276]

Even today, generations later, a resident of Kahnawake, Valery Norton, who speaks Mohawk, has told me how difficult it is to read her ancestral language in any old documents found on the reserve. The spelling is so very different than it is today and this makes it difficult to translate. Sometimes one or two words are understood and the rest must be surmised.[277] It is annoying, frustrating and it makes it difficult to keep the Nation's history from fading away. Oral history still has its place and remains the main source of information. However, the documents that are written in Mohawk must now be included.

Taken down to repaint the Mission in 2006, Medicine Wheels or the Four directions hung inside the Roman Catholic Church. (*figure 144, 145,146 & 147*) Father Cyr did not have documentation regarding the installation of the Medicine Wheels. "*They have been hanging around since I got here.*"[278] One red wheel hung above the main doorway, a black one hung above the pulpit, while directly opposite hung the yellow wheel between the tenth and the eleventh Stations. Finally, the fourth wheel, a white one, was positioned close to the center of the church, above the Sanctuary light. According to Longhouse tradition, these four objects can be referred to as White Man, Yellow Man, Black Man and Red Man. It can be seen as a Aboriginal reference that actually attempts to signal globalization. They are referring to Caucasians, Asians, Africans and of course, to the Native population. The Medicine Wheels are used to cleanse the individual both physically and mentally.[279] During the Christmas period, the colours of the Medicine Wheels are reiterated by the four coloured advent candles, as the four elements - earth, wind, fire and water. According to Father Cyr, the fifth candle, in the center, was turquoise to represent God with the combination of "the green of the earth and the blue of the sky."[280] Even today there is an integration of pre-colonial and post colonial beliefs to "accomplish a skillful and imaginative fusing...[of]...the two traditions".[281] The Medicine Wheels, taken down to repaint the walls of the church, will be returned to their rightful place, very soon.[282]

Another *appropriated identity* that crosses the division between the Roman Catholic Church and the Haudenosaunee belief is the use of Native Peoples iconography in the Christian Nativity Scene, during the Christmas season. During the Christmas service of 2000, sitting on the altar was a white teepee with two small angels hovering above the exposed supporting sticks. Oddly, the teepee is not traditional to the Mohawk community. Further, there is no direct translation for *angel* in the Mohawk language. The word used means *people who live in the sky*. Inside, the Native rendition presents Baby Jesus in a cradleboard. A young maiden and her warrior kneel beside the child while a deer sits quietly by. Standing behind the family group, are three men dressed in full Native attire, including the headdresses. The faces of the three men appear older - obviously elders. The Jesuit priest commissioned the carved group inside the teepee during the 1970's. Howard Deer, a Kahnawake toy collector and artist produced the Native Nativity Scene.[283] Deer's services were also used to restore the water-damaged paintings on the ceiling of the church.[284]

Today, the church includes a multitude of statues that have been retrieved from the basement and the attic. (*figure 148, 149 & 150*) Some of them have been around for many years. During the reign of Father Cyr, they did not grace the window sills or the altar stage. However, with all due respect, Father Cyr should have been concerned because the small statues, in all but two, of the pulpit niches, had been stolen.[285] Father Cyr did not know the actual timeline for the missing statuettes. Before the new administration, there was no security at all in the Mission. At the present

time, the church has silent alarms and video surveillance cameras throughout the sanctuary, making it more acceptable to place the ceramic and porcelain statuettes and statues on every available shelf.

CHAPTER II

Sound

WHISPERS

The concept of language is the idea of expressing and communicating a specialized and recognized set of words and/or symbols. Language has the capacity to marginalize many different people – to keep *others* out or to keep *others* in. It, most definitely, can unify both particular groups, each privy to its own particular and peculiar discourse. The St. Francis-Xavier Mission uses the bells to call to the community, the organ to fill the church with musical compositions, the choir to envelope the congregation with melodious Mohawk voices, and finally, the original language to maintain an essential identity.

The community was forced to learn a new language, which caused further separation – with children speaking one language through education and elders speaking Mohawk. It left a community segregated, within the marginalized boarders. Certainly, the short, local radio program, teaching people of the community to pronounce Mohawk vocabulary, on a daily basis, is a good indication that the use of original language is still being negotiated. However, colonial association has brought difficult consequences to overcome, white man's language has had one major advantage – a common language. Today, First Nations people, throughout North America are now able to read and speak a common language. The English language has allowed the sharing of ideas, pleasures, difficulties and negotiations, within the First People's population. This phenomenon has established a president for insurrection. Common themes can be negotiated on grander scales – the sympathetic blockade of the Mercier Bridge to elevate the importance of the Oaka Crisis. More recently, an example of an enjoyable reason to unite took place in the summer of 2006 – a group from the Navajo Tribe, of New Mexico arrived, resulting in an enjoyable meeting with a sharing of stories, accomplished in English. However, there were many obstacles to overcome, many of which are referred to in my thesis, before getting to this point.

Nothing sounds as sweet as the sound of your own name. A name is assigned when one is born, in order to identify the presence of a new body in

the community and in the world. Everyone grows up recognizing his own name – before anything else. European names had meanings that sounded conventional, in a European setting. Often the meaning of the name was attached to a religious catholic association. Baptized by the Roman Catholic Church, your name would be a Christian name and sanctioned for life.

Now imagine hearing, recognizing and speaking your own name, hundreds of times – the sweet sound announcing your name when someone is proud of you, the stern way it is used when you have done something wrong, the frantic way your name sounds when someone is trying to find you, or maybe, the way a loved one whispers your name. Add into the audible formula, the importance of what your name means and signifies each time it is spoken. A Mohawk name has important, traditional and cultural meaning attached to a person's name. You are not Hiawatha, you are actually Rayonwatha. However, your name took a sudden and unforeseen reworking due to phonetics. Your original name means, *He sweeps away*, which would have a story to support the reason for the name.[286] Your name no longer has the same meaning – it is now simply letters placed side by side to form a sound, possibly pleasing, possibly not. It no longer describes you as a person, an individual, a character, a life. You no longer carry your heritage, your ancestry, or your tradition with you. You are now walking alone, no one to guide you, to keep you, or to connect with you.

Shortly after European invaders landed, census taking became a necessity for new bureaucratic records.[287] According to Scott, the local

community had to go to the priest in order to get a new name – a good name, a proper name, a Christian name.[288] Johnny Beauvais, from the Kahnawake community, believed that this caused constant misinterpretation.[289] He cites the example of a name such as, *Cook*. This could be a direct translation and therefore quite acceptable. However, when a new name, like *MacTavish* is branded, the connotation becomes, a possible *half breed*.[290] In Kahnawake, the priests opted to hand out new names that were more easily understandable to the French Government and to the Church – such as *Le Hache*, to announce that this particular man had an axe. Names that date back to this original time total seventy percent and include: Beauvais, Canadian, Deer, Delisle, Diabo, Jacobs and Mayo.[291]

At the time of first contact in the Montreal area, Native people in the local Mohawk Nation, began to disperse. Some remained forming Kahnawake while a few formed the community of Akwesasne, west of the Quebec border. Originally, they all spoke the same linguistic Mohawk dialect. Much of the language has remained the same, but some words are no longer the same. For instance, the Kahnawake word for *cake* is not the same word used in Akwesasne. This is due to the fact that the linguistic authorities in Kahnawake were French-speaking Jesuits and therefore, had a different ear for sounds than the English-speaking priests in Akwesasne.[292] Swiss linguist, Ferninand de Saussure proposed that if "things or concepts, language named, already existed outside language, words would have exact equivalents from one language to another, and translation would therefore be easy".[293] He cites the English word *good* converted to French as an

example - from *be good* to *sois sage*, while *a good time* would not include *sage* at all.[294]

In the process of the Jesuits including the Native language, the written translation needed to take place – especially for bibles and hymnals. (*figure 151 & 152*) Being well educated, the priests set about converting the oral communication, established for hundreds of years as an unwritten language, to a written language. As an example, in the process of formulating the written Mohawk word, the *R* was removed.[295] The *R* actually denoted masculinity and was as important to First Nations as *Le* is in French. Due to the fact that two different languages – French and English – were the basis for translating the same foreign language (Mohawk), people of the same Mohawk Nation have different dialects, today. Saussure's conclusion could be the underpinnings to seeking identity through a language, and if so, the actual written script was the conclusive factor that changed a language that had remained intact for hundreds of years.

Philosopher Susanne K. Langer, wrote "words are certainly our most important instruments of expression, our most characteristic, universal and enviable tools in the conduct of life. Speech is the mark of humanity."[296] Chief Thomas, hereditary chief of the Six Nations, believes it is impossible to "learn your culture or knowledge unless you know the language. If the knowledge disappears, all is lost."[297] Even Pierre Trudeau, Canada's Prime Minister from 1968 to 1979 and again from 1980 to 1984, said, at the first Minister's Conference in 1983, "that if you no longer speak your language,

and no longer practice your culture, then you have no right to demand Aboriginal rights or claim land from the Canadian government, because you are assimilated with the ruling power".[298]

While the colonial powers were systematically restricting the use of many Aboriginal languages, the church afforded some exemptions to such rules. The Jesuit missionaries received special dispensation from the Pope, allowing the use of the Mohawk language in the sanctity of the St. Francis-Xavier Mission. Even though the Jesuits practiced *probalism* to achieve specific desires, the Mohawk people could also have seized the very situation as a means to maintain knowledge of the original language. The church venue would allow the language a privileged place without question. Kenneth Williams wrote that "the spirit of a people exists within the language".[299] In order to reclaim and regain a Nation's history, the original language was necessary and especially important to a people where oral history has always defined a national identity and a national unity.[300]

Contrary to European examples and the views of Christian Missionaries, women held great power within the Mohawk community.[301] They are the spirit of the community and hold many roles.[302] As the children of the Earth Mother, men and women are considered equals in many Aboriginal societies.[303] However, with the onslaught of new ideas, women began to be marginalized within the already marginalized group.[304] Until recently, the government insisted that men, appointed by the dominant culture, would hold important roles on decision-making boards and councils. Monika Kin

Gagnon, in *Other Conundrums, race, culture, and Canadian art,* believes that "social inequality is revealed to insidiously permeate all levels of the language, structures and procedures".[305] However, Betty Bastien, in *Voices through Time* insists that "one of the major roles of Indian women has been to maintain 'tribal identity' for their children and the children's children".[306] The main objective must be to maintain an identity as tribal people.[307] In fact, the women of the community needed to guard against the effects of the *universality of culture* theory, where "oppressed people actually try to emulate their oppressors in an attempt to gain equality...through the process of assimilation".[308]

Christine Millar and Patricia Chuchryk, co-authors of *Women of the First Nations,* believed that, "the interlocking process of missionization and colonization created paradoxical conditions that unintentionally afforded women opportunities to subvert the aims of the priests."[309] Aboriginal women could seize and embrace this venue to usurp the suppression of First Nations people.

The question of social power is, according to McCarthy and Crichlow, directly attributed to the relationship "between culture, knowledge and power".[310] Is the power in the hands of one priest and a few aides who must learn the other's language and customs? Even today, the power is in question. Father Louis Cyr, the former priest of the Kahnawake Catholic Church, recounts a custom that stopped and surprised him. The priest

wished to find more information about the statue of Kateri Tekakwitha in the niche, on the outside pedimental area of the apse end of the church. One particular Sunday, he verbally requested that the congregation help with any pertinent information regarding this statue. Having received no answer during the following week, he asked once again, on the succeeding Sunday. During the second week, he received an anonymous note explaining that if he received no information after the first request, then there would be none forthcoming. In fact, to ask a second time was to *loose face* and that he had, indeed, lost some respect.[311]

Ngugi wa Thiong'o, in *The Language of African Literature*, noted, "any language has a dual character: it is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture".[312] "Bells were imbued with diverse powers, and have been ringing for hundreds of years".[313] The bells, although a means of communication between the Roman Catholic Church and the community, it is also a carrier of a foreign culture within the Kahnawake society. The bell in the tower could call the faithful to prayer.[314] The tolling was believed to avert pestilence, and used to warn of approaching storms. The ringing could protect souls and guard against evil spirits.[315]

Included in the building of the church in Kahnawake, a *Deerfield Bell*, made in England, was donated by King William IV of England, in 1832.[316] (*figure 32*) According to Dawn Norton, in a short paper produced in 2006, the *Deerfield Bell* enjoyed a detour, causing great excitement. Apparently,

the bell was originally transported by Father Nicolas of Massachusetts during the winter of 1704. However, through an error in shipping, the bell destined to arrive from France, arrived in Salem Massachusetts. Wishing to make a profit on the mistaken item, the bell was put on the auction block and sold to the highest local bidder, which happened to be the Protestant Church. The Reverend John Williams of Deerfield returned to his parishioners with his newly acquired bell. The community of Kahnawake was enraged and decided to organize a saving-raid-party to rescue the bell. According to legend, Mohawk men and one French soldier (Dehouville) joined together traveling south – to Fort Chambly, Quebec, across the United States border, along Lake Champlain and finally into Massachusetts. The saving-party was able to locate and secure the missing bell. The massive weight of the bell required a make-shift yoke, made from local trees. Hoisted and carried through the hundreds of miles of arduous trails and bitter cold winter, the men brought home heir special prize.[317]

Within time, the bell developed a crack, which caused the replacement, in 1948 by a second bell made in England and it lasted in the tower until 1969. Finally, a new bell, made in France was placed in the tower where it still remains today.[318] According to Rice, the bells were and are rung daily. They ring in varying manners, to tell time, to announce the birth of a female or the birth of a male and to inform about a death in the community. Of course, the bells, like all religious bells, are tolled in the call to worship. However, with the myriad of resounding rings and clangs, it speaks a special language for parishioners.

Many of the Jesuit priests, dispatched to this Mission, have been musicologists.[319] Father Conrad Hauser, S.J., who served from 1927 to 1932, organized a choir that would remain unique until this day. (*figure 153*) Known as *The Mixed Mohawk Choir*, melodious voices rang out in the Mohawk language. All music was "hand copied...in beautiful script, both Gregorian and four part music for mixed voices".[320] These Medieval style arrangements were accomplished in the Mohawk language.

There is a vibration felt in the pews as the organ strikes powerful notes. The choir and the organ are found in the balcony. (*figure 154*) At one time the choir from St. Francis-Xavier Church was world renowned for the quality of their singing. Dressed in Native costume and singing in the Mohawk language with Gregorian style music, their performance was sought in many parts of the world. Today, the choir is smaller, less dynamic visually, but maintains an unmistakable high quality.

The organ is essentially synonymous with the church. (*figure 155*) Organs "soon followed the first settlers to seventeenth century New France".[321] Although, New France began to build organs in Canada as early as 1723, the St. Francis-Xavier Mission has a pipe organ that was originally built in 1890. Constructed by the recognized, Casavant Freres Company, the organ did not arrive in Kahnawake until the 1970's. However, the mission

collected enough money to greatly expand the pipe organ from five stops to thirty stops.[322] This allowed and encouraged more complicated arrangements. The organ, which was expanded in 1970 from five to thirty stops, has a magnificent sound quality.[323] Long, tubular organ pipes emit a frequency that is twice the length of the pipes.[324] Therefore, if the church is long and barrel-vaulted, as in the case of this Mission, it could function much like pipes of an organ.[325]

Gregorian chants, named after Pope Gregory I, are still heard at the Mission today. It is a musical style that identifies a revision of sacred music. These seductive voices aided in the liturgical practice of the Roman Catholic Church to help lure in the flock. The Schola Cantorum, a Roman school of singing, trained missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church. This solemn and regular rhythm helped to recruit the curious and newly faithful. The Gregorian chant became the standard for sacred spaces – running mainly from the fifth to the eighth centuries. Leland M. Roth, in *Understanding Architecture, Its Elements, History and Meaning*, believes "if a priest chanted the liturgy using harmonic intervals...the air in the vast volume of such basilicas would soon vibrate on its inherent upper resonant frequencies and the building itself would carry the message to the worshippers".[326] This monophonic style provided the basis for future developments in musical composition.[327]

Today, Gregorian chants are sung mainly in monasteries and very special missions such as, St. Francis-Xavier Mission. The music is originally unadorned with few rhythmic ornamentations or variations. However, many performances include complex interpretations in the Gregorian repertoire. This monastic approach concentrates on the text rather than the aesthetic quality of the composition.[328]

Johnny Beauvais, in the article, *The Mohawk Mixed Kahnawake Choir*, believed the entire community was honoured to have such a talented group of singers.[329] He went on to say, "they have often been invited to display their musical talents in numerous cities across North America and their annual Christmas Eve performances have always been spectacular".[330] Beauvais recounts a story about a member of the community, stationed in Hawaii during the Second World War. While listening to the radio, it was announced that the radio station would begin to play one full hour of music from the Caughnawaga Choir, making the gentleman quite homesick.[331] (*figure 156*)

There was a pride attached to the choir that fostered more membership. However, after many years of a successful show, the choir has diminished to approximately eight people. Women now make-up more than half of the choir-members. A woman member, after a solo rendition of *Ave Maria* for a funeral, voiced her concern about the continuity of the choir. While Father Cyr, the preceding priest, would sing along with the Mohawk

voices, he did not encourage membership.[332] The diminished choir can be very powerful, aided greatly by tremendous architectural acoustics. However, life is changing at the St. Francis-Xavier Mission in Kahnawake and the remaining members worry, "*who will sing for me?*"[333]

There is a discernable difference between musical compositions played in confined spaces or open air forums. Outside, the sound waves travel at infinite succession until disappearing into oblivion. However, inside, confined sound waves are continually bounced from surface to surface.[334] The congregation perceives the notes, from the mouth of the choir, but also, a myriad of additional sounds, including the organ.[335] In fact, "these multiple reflections are delayed in time, in strict accordance with the distance traveled".[336]

Acoustically, the traveling sound waves strike different surfaces, causing reflection and refraction. Some surfaces absorb the sound better and quicker than other surfaces.

> *"Bare stone reflects nearly one hundred percent of sound energy; rough wood, soft materials and -above all, people, absorb energy and return less than twenty-five percent of sound reflection to the audience".*[337]

Architects of sacred buildings are and have been keenly aware for hundreds of years of the different materials which provide the most desirable sounds. In the St. Francis-Xavier Mission, the voices

ripple to the front wall – bounce off and ultimately settle on the congregation. The organ pipes shoot the sound waves up against the barrel vault above, ricocheting in new trajectories. (*figure 155*) In fact, according to Humphrey and Vitebsky, a dome or barrel vault, can actually intensify sound – producing a repetitious and distinguishable echo. Further, human beings automatically merge sounds arriving in close succession – approximately one thirtieth of a second – and register them as one note.[338] In fact, this reverberation ameliorates each note, prolonging and accentuating each sound.[339]

CHAPTER III

Smell and Taste

Aroma

Pre-colonial spiritual practice was anchored between two main worlds of reality - a "form of temporal reality" and a communication "with the spirit world through dreams".[340] This spiritual existence was free of a specific theological doctrine. Native people demonstrated belief in a myriad of ritual practices, such as fasting, trances, self-mutilation, sweat lodges, vision quests and, post-European invasion, alcoholic inebriation. [341] Despite the Colonial interpretation of the Aboriginal alcoholic, as a degenerate and weak character, there are some positive references. According to Phillips, consumption of anything on a binge level is an extension of a celebrated

cultural practice of excessive consumption of well-being. Of course, the inebriation was also accepted in a capacity for aiding traditional practices, as the smoking of a mild hallucinogenic form of tobacco was used for traditional rituals.[342]

The use of incense became important in the Roman Catholic Religion from the fifth century to present day.[343] Authentic *incense* is derived from frankincense, a resin extracted from the Boswellia Tree, grown even at the time of Christianity's birth of Jesus Christ. (Today, the over-harvesting of the resin is leaving the tree with less potency.) Oddly, before the burning of incense was sanctioned, it had been condemned.[344] During the Roman domination, Christians were ordered to light incense standing before the Roman emperor to test their loyalty and condemnation of Christianity. In fact, those who refused to renounce their Christian God were held up in martyrdom. Now incense purifies the air and the souls, driving out the evil spirits. The line of smoke that filters upward to the sky – to the heavens – forms the vertical axis. It matters little whether it is the Catholic symbolism – incense – or Aboriginal symbolism – sweet grass.

Purification rituals were an inherent part of Mohawk life. The smoke from the burning of sacred sweet grass and sage, even today, signifies, to all, that a purification ritual has taken place.[345] Likewise, when the Christian incense circulates between the pews and fills the church, a purification ritual is underway. Only when fire is introduced do these two elements take on significant meaning. Fire, the common element, added to each signifies life

– a beginning. Fire provides warmth, peace and comfort to the soul.[346] Without fire there would be no life, no culture and no righteousness.[347] Fire is a necessity to light the sacred sweet grass or to light the blessed incense.

It is only very recently that this item of the past, the Indigenous Sweet Grass and sage, replaced the incense in the Roman Catholic incense burner at the St. Francis-Xavier Church. The normal procedure begins by burning the sweet grass and then, it is swung out over the congregation and over the Kateri Tekakwitha marble monument in the east transept arm. During special occasions, such as the Christmas period, Sweet Grass is held up to the congregation - blessed and laid in a shallow bowl. Once set afire, Deacon Ronald Boyer, a Mohawk man, used an eagle feather to fan the smoldering trail out to the congregation. The Deacon continued the same sequential motion down the west aisle, back up the west side of the main aisle, down the east side of the main aisle and finally he walked up the east side aisle, before returning to the altar.

Then Deacon Boyer walked slowly down the west aisle, while he fanned the vapor over each individual. Fanning the smoke with the eagle feather, he repeated, "*cleanse your soul, cleanse your soul*". This process is called smudging. Men, women and children reached into the smoke and ceremoniously scooped the vapor into their face - repeating this gesture three times. The first time symbolizes, *to clear your eyes*, indicating a wish that one might be able to see more clearly. The second time represents, *to clear your ears*, so that one can better hear. Finally, the last time is *to clear*

your throat, which is a gesture to *speak better*. The three cleansing moments are a wish *to be of good mind and soul*.[348]

The Deacon's appointment has been controversial among Mohawk Catholics.[349] Many people resent the many privileges afforded a married man in a position normally reserved for an unmarried man [350] Could the appointment have been made in order to incorporate Native Longhouse traditions, thereby legitimizing the Native inclusions? It appears that it was just such a reason for the appointment. The cleansing Sweet Grass ritual during the sacred Christian Christmas Service, certainly required an Aboriginal person to perform a traditional ceremony. Authenticity requires the services of an authentic.

Taste

Savour

The celebration of the Eucharist represents the reenactment of the Last Supper. The rite of communion is central to Christian worship. In Christianity, "the Catholic Church retains its sacrificial terminology – the doctrine of transubstantiation asserts that the bread and wine are literally the body and blood of Christ".[351] The bible stories tell of Christ's death as very unique and, decidedly, great pain that drives the Catholic Church to repeat the ritual sacrifice of wine and bread, each time mass is celebrated.

A blood sacrifice is transformed into a symbolic form – the wine. The wine is drunk from a chalice – the chalice resembles the type of vessel that the biblical figure, Jesus Christ used in the Last Supper. In Christianity, the wine replaces the shedding of Christ's blood during his sacrifice, to atone for all the sins of all humanity. The wine, in the Roman Catholic religion, is actually a red wine. Used in every service, at least six days each week and during Mass on Sunday, the priest enjoys a small drink of wine. He is careful to wipe away any excess wine after he drinks. While the Sunday Mass takes place, the congregation is encouraged to partake in the holy wine-tasting. Again, after each member takes a sip, the rim is wiped clean by a dry cloth.

This then, becomes the blood of Christ to honour his bleeding wounds for all mankind.

The thin wafer, or referred to as the host for the Roman Catholic Church, represents the body of Jesus Christ. The member of the congregation clasps the hands together, while waiting in a receiving queue, to receive the blessed wafer. At one time the wafer was placed directly in the mouth of the recipient – the host was never supposed to be touched by anyone other than the priest. Today, the church's position has changed and will allow the laymen to hold the wafer in the hand, so the member can place it in his own mouth. Please note that the host must never, ever be chewed. It is placed on the tongue, the mouth is closed, the wafer is sandwiched between the tongue and the roof of the mouth and left to dissolve slowly into the body and spiritually, into the soul.

This is a sacrificial ritual that takes place in an imitative fashion. The drinking of his blood and the eating of his body has a barbaric undertone. The sacrificial animal is Jesus Christ and the Roman Catholic Church symbolically offers God the blood and body of His son – all in the desire to establish a relationship between the human race and the one God. Humphrey and Vitebsky conclude that "many bloodless symbolic rituals refer to an archetypal sacrifice involving killing – the offering of a physical life in return for a life-sustaining blessing".[352] And with a sacrifice proposed, there is a designated area to receive the sacrifice. In the architecture of the structure, the priest, alone, conducts the offering in a ritualistic right to a

captive congregation. The altar is held as one of the most sacred areas in the building and, raised on a slight platform, is closer to God in heaven.

Sacrificial rights and elements are not new for any religion. Religion is about sacrifice. The giving-away one set of beliefs to value another, the loss of freedom for a life of servitude, all demonstrate a devotional life. Interestingly, many religious societies openly convey a sacrificial 'victim' as a willing participant and Jesus Christ was just such a man for the Christian world. It becomes a celebration of victory over demonic enticement and preserves the sacred divinity. This rite of communion is fundamental to Christian theology. It is a life-giving measure of assured atonement.

The purification and consecration in these ritualistic rites and sacred spaces reveal the analogy between a building and the human body. Both the Native and the European cultures continued to practice these ritual rights, performing redemption to the building and to the soul. Whether it is the fragrance that fills the church, or the ritual drink that enters the body, the experience in the church is considered a blessing and a reason to attend service each week.

CHAPTER IV

Touch

A Woman's Touch

We, the women of the Iroquois,
Own the Land, the Lodge, the Children.
Ours is the right to adoption, life or death;
Ours is the right to raise up and depose chiefs;
Ours is the right to representation in all councils;
Ours is the right to make and abrogate treaties;
Ours is the supervision over domestic and foreign policies;
Ours is the trusteeship of tribal property;
Our lives are valued again as high as man's."[353]
(Source: **Puck Magazine**, May 16, 1914)

A large muscular man, with a *Mohawk* haircut, reluctantly ambled his way up to the second pew in the St. Francis-Xavier Mission Church in Kahnawake, Quebec. After a hesitant genuflect, he squeezed in beside his

wife. It is obvious that his wife commandeered him to attend. By enticing the distaff side of the Indigenous population, the church could, in turn, encourage the remaining body of the Mohawk family members to become church neophytes.

The Mission Church gained popularity by extending the position of the church as a communal refuge. Scott still feels a warmth and unity with the Church, even though she has returned to the traditional Longhouse. Her memories are strong and tightly connected to the closeness and feeling of protection she felt sitting next to her grandmother in the pew each week. She remembers studying the ceiling paintings while the service continued, with the scent of her grandmother's perfume hovering about them. The church was not an institution, but a community meeting-place with friends and family - a safe and trusted space, where the community could grow and prosper. The priests were responsible for hierarchies that were meant to exclude women, while maintaining the Catholic patriarchal doctrine.[354] Positions for women were increasingly confined to informal auxiliary roles.[355] However, these marginalized areas were recognized as venues of opportunity that women needed to exploit. In fact, "the priest's emphasis on maternal responsibilities served to enhance, rather than diminish women's domestic and community leadership." [356] The women that were ultimately encouraged to participate in the auxiliary life of the church could exercise authority beyond the imposed colonial position of subordinates to the male population.

Below the ceiling paintings are the wooden pews which are approximately, thirty-four inches high. (*figure 157*) It is easy to see how used these straight-back pews once were. Bored young people have used knives to carve on many of the single-plank seats with their pocket knives. The back of the seat is fifteen inches, one plank board, absolutely straight, at right angles to the thirteen inch single-plank seat. The floors are very worn between each of the seats – varnish has disappeared. (*figure 158*) It is easy to imagine the shuffling of feet, possibly in a restless manner, to help create the wear pattern on the floor. However, as uncomfortable as these seats are, it was the women who brought the families into the church. They occupied the pews physically, while the church, itself, became the community center.

The congregation also began to mirror the Catholic philosophy. "The church favoured ... [the role of women] ...as wives."[357] Both sacred and secular colonial beliefs were commonly focused on the importance for the distaff side to perform routine *domestic sciences*.[358] This goal took away the indigenous women's original importance, within their world, before colonization.[359] In fact, this action had a second impact that would benefit the church. Millar and Chuchryk suggested that these unemployed women were "a full-time unpaid source of labour".[360] During the time Father Cyr was employed as priest and certainly previous priests as well, women volunteered to clean the church, prepare the meals for the priest, work in

the church museum store and any other chore that arose. "The missionaries clearly intended that the girls become *Catholic* wives and mothers, submissive to male authority."[361]

In spite of this, the women have managed to maintain an important hold on the Kahnawake community. Today, it is the women who have united to start a completely Mohawk daycare centre. They felt it was time to reinstate their own language at an early and impressionable age.[362] In fact, it is a common belief that to exclude a child from this environment is to abandon the true role of a Mohawk mother.[363]

"In the process of colonization, the church and state have introduced new models of leadership to indigenous peoples."[364] Martin Loft, of the Kahnawake Cultural Center, recounts a time when the people of Kahnawake went to the resident priest to help the people read their own mail. Government mail, in particular, would often be written in French, making it impossible for most residents of the reserve to understand.[365] Ordinary services, so common to Non-Natives, were often unavailable on the reserves. Cheques were difficult to cash, and therefore the church offered the service of exchanging cash for cheques, for a small fee.[366] As a result, the line between church and state became very blurred.

At the same time, the church suggested traditional dress as a tool to draw attention to the Native Choir. By allowing this, Native women could, in fact, continue to decorate clothing in traditional bead work, providing an open and approved forum to maintain conventional artistic endeavors. The Jesuits viewed this as a means to draw attention to the church, their missionary work and economic value. In fact, the choir, in full regalia, was granted an audience with Pope John-Paul II in 1980.[367] (*figure 159*) Artistic creations, such as the ceiling paintings and the use of beads to decorate Mohawk Choir costumes brought colour into a Religious Order that emphasized the starkness and lack of colour of the priest's robes and the grey of the building. Native women could use the church to hone the craft of bead work, to meet and discuss local interests with the consent, yet a watchful eye, of the church, priest and nuns. After all, according to Phillips, Mere Sainte-Marie-Madeleine, a nun born in Quebec in 1678, loved to use her leisurely hours to embroider. This type of activity was "authorized and sanctified by religion".[368] While artistic exchange took place between the European nuns and Aboriginal women, far more was being accomplished by the women of the community.

Prior to first contact, Aboriginal people were using items such as seeds, shells, bone, horn and copper, to name only a few.[369] As rosary beads left Europe in the hands of the colonialists, these well-defined religious expressions rapidly took new meaning in the hands of the *New World*.[370] According to Trigger, glass beads resembled crystals, a highly-prized substance possessing supernatural powers.[371] In turn, the beads equated

European visitors with power to confer health, good fortune and longevity.[372] The glass beads allowed for the durability and vivid luminous colours that shells did not possess.[373] Therefore, beads and textiles were among the foremost items highly valued in long-distance trading.[374] Significant quantities of these strings of beads were among the earliest of Venetian glass beads to arrive.[375]

First Nations people quickly adopted and adapted the glass bead to aid in beautifying common articles and ceremonial pieces. (*figure 160, 161 & 162*) Rayna Green, in *The Encyclopedia of First Peoples of North America,* suggests that the ready-made beads allowed beading societies to replace and supplement the older Aboriginal quilling societies.[376] Could this activity have enabled the nuns to use beading societies to encourage the women of the community to gather together? While the distaff side was performing the intricacies of bead work the nuns could have used the opportunity to talk about the church, the Christian religion, the subservient position of women, to name only a few subjects. Or, could Mohawk women have used the craft meetings to their own advantage - encouraging the continuity of a traditional craft? Books such as, *Women of the First Nations* and *The Land Looks After Us,* have indicated First Nations women to be powerful people who are driven by the mind rather than the heart. Realizing that the traditional way of life was slipping away, perhaps the women of the Kahnawake community decided to regain a communal identity by using the ancient craft.

Lidia Sciama, in the article, *Gender in the Making, Trading and Uses of Beads*, suggested that most historians agree that first glass bead works were threaded, embroidered and woven in similar fashions and can be traced to colonial expansion.[377] Further, Sciama believes that the possession of beads were of great significance at all levels of society and could be closely associated with the visual presentation of personal and collective identity.[378] For the most part, beadwork was and has been produced primarily by women. Traditional activities, such as beading, have been passed down from one generation of women to another.[379] History has shown that women played and continue to play a key role in reclaiming their personal and collective heritage.[380]

Sciama further suggests that beads could represent the *third eye*, or the *all-seeing eye* – the eye of the needle, the eye of the hole in the bead.[381] She even ponders the possibility of the curvature and subtle resemblance of the opening on each bead might signify the female genitalia, particularly given the needle and thread being pushed through the bead.[382] In fact, she views the joining or stringing process as an intimate association with fertility – for both the women and the land.[383] Beadwork can evoke ritual cycles, related to human reproduction, ideas of gender, human production and personal progression.[384] In the Longhouse, when a woman has her menstrual period she is considered very powerful.[385] She must be careful not to participate in ceremonies because she could disrupt the strength of the ritual. Beads become symbolic markers that only cultural keys can

unlock. For the Roman Catholic religion, and completely contrary to the views of the Christian church, a woman who is menstruating is considered *unclean*. Sciama believes beads can reveal "a deep-seated aesthetic impulse and need for self-expression".[386]

Father Hauser, encouraged the men and women of the choir to dress in Aboriginal regalia while performing. (*figure 163*) Remember that, popular at about the same time, was the traveling "Wild West" show, which also provided an opportunity to openly display Native costume - albeit, with a degrading cultural standing.[387] (*figure 164*) Many of the community did, in fact, participate in the carnival acts. (*figure 165*) However, Jesuit Missionaries, unknowingly, opened another link to an Indigenous past, in the decision to encourage Aboriginal dress for the choir. Through the years of Father Hauser's service to the St. Francis-Xavier Mission, he honed the talented body so that the choir's services were requested all over North America, as well as in Europe. Traveling in full costume provided an opportunity to expose the Mohawk's past - a type of educational exhibition.[388]

Kathy M'Closkey wrote, "Art by women in previous centuries was more than just marginalized; it was rendered invisible".[389] Craft work, was a global phenomenon, practiced by Chinese, Persians, Egyptians, and others –

by both men and women – without the art versus craft hierarchy.[390] However, by the time colonial immigration began, craft work was considered repetitious, functional, predictable, mundane and, relatively, inexpensive.[391] It was an observation further degraded by the fact that beadwork often graced the body, instead of the wall.[392] In spite of the fore-going, bead work has maintained its position of fine craft. Interestingly, many of the world's most expensive craft works have been produced by some of the world's most deprived groups of people.[393]

Bead production was used for economical purposes and products were designed and executed to raise money for the family. Almost exclusively, Aboriginal societies produced geometric, symmetrical, and flower patterns of colour - created by tradition with pride and self-expression. Colour, and lack of colour, were a visual distinction between the conquered and the conquerors. Through the intricate design of beadwork, Aboriginal women could present a colourful statement – contrary to the grey and black of the pious catholic order.

A brief visit to the St. Francis Xavier Mission makes it obvious that like any sacred construction of early eighteenth century, a great number of people were required to build this architectural monument. Standing in an isolated community, surrounded by those who had never worked with stone and mortar and, had not even seen European construction manuals, the Mission demanded a multitude of labourers and a generous supply of

resources. The substantial manual labour was supplied by only a few sources – slaves, captives or marginalized Nations. Natural resources dictated stone construction, because the final site of the church was to be on bed rock with a shallow layer of soil covering. There are five quarries still in operation today, in the vicinity. No records have located the exact location of the quarry used for the building of the church. However, legend has it that a quarry only a couple of kilometers away from the present elevation was the particular quarry in question.[394] For one woman, oral history, recited by an aunt when she was a little girl, confirms the delivery of tons of stone by horse and stone-boat - a flat bed, pulled on the ground to move objects from one point to another. She further remembers that the women would carry *white powder*, or lime, in the aprons they wore. The interview confirmed the necessity of many hands to complete the building process.[395]

Stone and mortar were important and regarded in high-esteem as building materials fit for the French liturgical colonial powers. Excavating stone required specialized tools. Although many tools would have been brought over from Europe, an other item that could have been used was the stone celt.[396] The stone celt, used by the Iroquois was an axe that was not grooved, made of stone, for stone cutting. The blunt base was set into a socket in a wooden or antler handle. It would have been either cemented in place with spruce gum, or held by lashings of cord or sinew. Celts were the simplest and most common form of stone axe found at the time. Beaver jaws were cleaned and prepared to use as chisels, by the Mohawk and other First Nations people. The sharp incisor teeth were left in the jaw, often re-

sharpened and used as chisels. The jaw bone was set into a wooden or antler handle.[397]

Large-scale construction would require many hands and an infinite supply of material. As previously stated, stone was close to the surface in Kahnawake and was easily excavated for building purposes. Today, a small community of homes sits atop the once valued rock, leaving no visible sign. The rustication is tailored rectangles fitted together with a mortar of limestone base, to bind the stone blocks together.

CONCLUSION

> *"...Canada's Aboriginal peoples have, by and large, survived their colonial experiences. Admittedly, there have been substantial losses, both demographic and cultural, but Canadian Native societies have demonstrated the capacity and will to make major accommodative changes to their new circumstances, to attempt to change some of those circumstances, and to maintain their separate identities. Given the desperate conditions of many of these societies fifty or a hundred years ago and the strength of the social forces working for their assimilation, their continued presence as functioning societies is a considerable feat."*
>
> (source: ***Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience***)

"Architecture is shelter, but it is also a symbol and a form of communication...a physical representation of human thought and aspiration, a record of the beliefs and values of the culture that produces it".[398] The details of building techniques for the Mission will forever remain largely unknown. However, the effort required to construct such a monument, early in the nineteenth century, is a testimony to determination and even, faith. The Jesuits were able to broadcast strength, power and dominance through the architecture. The Catholic Church saw itself, and still does today, as a three-dimensional gateway into a spiritual euphoric world. Hovering above the surrounding community, the Roman Catholic Church could use the ringing of the bells to make the church the center of the community. Everyone in the community, whether a Catholic, Protestant or Longhouse

member, could recognize the language of the particular tolling. In that way, the Roman Catholic Church could dominate the whole community.

Art is understood as a communicator of meaning and an intricate part of all things. [399] The St. Francis-Xavier Church commissioned an artist to transform the dull interior, into a church of simplistic purpose and tasteful décor. Elegant altars dappled with gold-leaf, solid bold colours of the Stations of the Cross, and statuettes that stand at attention throughout the space make the mission a surprising contradiction to the stark outside construction. Everyone that enters the church is astonished at the warmth of colour on the inside against the plain construction outside.

Language can be transmitted using a myriad of techniques. There was very specific communication and direction from the Roman Catholic Church - in the architecture, in the artwork and in the written word. Speech, itself, according to Langer, "is the mark of humanity. It is the normal terminus of thought".[400] Therefore, language must signify identity. In fact, the identity of the community through the original language, was left in the hands of the women – to help save souls that might be fractured by the one-way exchange of spiritual guidance. As a result, and, as in the past, they banded together to make a concerted effort to maintain and further their role in the community. They were able to recognize the importance of cultural difference and use the Jesuit's *probalism theory* to the benefit of the community. Perhaps that is why the Mohawk language was never destined to die.

Political and religious rule was an indissoluble unity that remained a part of the Roman Catholic Church for many centuries. The St. Francis-Xavier Mission remained a strong structural and powerful message that tried to convey stability, order and trustworthiness.[401] However, this original show of strength, being translated across the language barrier, produced negative messages of monumental proportions.[402] Christians, in the name of God, have sanctioned the slaughter of whole communities, as in the Beothuks of Eastern Canada, exiled and imprisoned others and forced religious conversions, regardless of individual desires. While the actual architecture has survived the last Jesuit missionary assigned to the St. Francis-Xavier Mission parish, the consequential arrangements are still being negotiated.

Many Native men and women have not interfused their ancestral ways with the thinking of European missionaries to create a hybridity of rites, symbols and beliefs.[403] Still others have enjoyed the use of Indigenous iconography in the St. Francis-Xavier Mission. Some examples used in the Christian sanctuary are the Four Directions hanging in the church, the fanning of the lighted sweet grass and sage with an eagle feather, the written Mohawk language in the bibles, hymnals, and on the Stations of the Cross and the sound of the harmonious voices of the Mohawk choir. All inclusions are sweetly reminiscent of ancestral and Aboriginal identity. Each week the people of Kahnawake could legitimately congregate in great numbers to speak and hear their own language within the church setting, without colonial retribution. The inclusion of Native traditions into the

service of the St. Francis-Xavier Mission, by way of the five senses – sight, sound, smell, taste and touch - have helped the Mohawk people to remain a Nation within a Nation.

Sitting on a slight rise, the St. Francis-Xavier Mission Church stands majestically, as a high point in the village of Kahnawake. Its history includes many memories belonging to both authorities, the Roman Catholic Church and the community of Kahnawake. Many of the latter accepted the White Man's God whole-heartedly, while others showed some considerable resistance. The various attempts made to lure the reluctant Natives into the fold over the years, proved, in general, futile. The Roman Catholic Church met with reasonable success in their attempts to convert the people of Kahnawake to Catholicism. Unlike other religious orders, in the early years, the Jesuits were quite tolerant of cultural differences and were willing to use the parallels to further assimilation. However, something seemed to be lacking in the offering of the Mission and, today, many Mohawk people, who once faithfully followed the Catholic ideals, are now returning to the Longhouse. While a few stalwarts remained in the church membership, others drifted away, slipping slowly but surely into the beliefs of their ancestors. Highwater states that, "the endemic process of cultural assimilation uses every possible device of mind control, subtle and otherwise, in order to prompt individuals to betray both the individual and group identities". [404] Recognizing the validity of this strong statement, if the

Mohawk converts leave the Roman Catholic Church, then their departure must be viewed as a desire to maintain their true identity.

The thesis indicates the role of the church in Kahnawake and the significance of its existence. There are devoted Christians who support and who will continue to support the St. Francis-Xavier Mission, but there are, also, those who view the importance of the church as a historical signifier.

Those who became faithful followers have now crossed generations and few young people are being indoctrinated. However, the apex of devotion would be Kateri Tekakwitha. Her arduous path to devotional practices and faithful miracles has made her an inspirational martyr to imbue spiritual reform. However, there are many, today, that question her exclusionary practices of the Catholic faith. Trigger wrote that it was more difficult to keep a convert than it was to persuade initially.[405] Even today, and as was the practice in the early years, Catholicism is insistent that one abandon all other religious practices in order to praise a Catholic God. Only those who are willing to adapt, will inherit the earth.

Nonetheless, the new church board has taken the position as guardian of the historical significance of the buildings and all the contents that lie therein. The church no longer actively pursues souls for salvation. It maintains a spiritual status quo, but has increased the efforts to promote the

museum and the church as a home-grown jewelry box filled with treasures from the lives affected by cross culturalization.

During one interview, I heard a saying recited by the daughter of an elderly gentleman in the Kahnawake community that held true in the past, holds true today and will hold true in future:

"When you feel the current taking you away, just put your feet down and stand up."

William Meloche

1929-2006

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Drawing of Mission Kahnawake Cultural Centre

figure 3

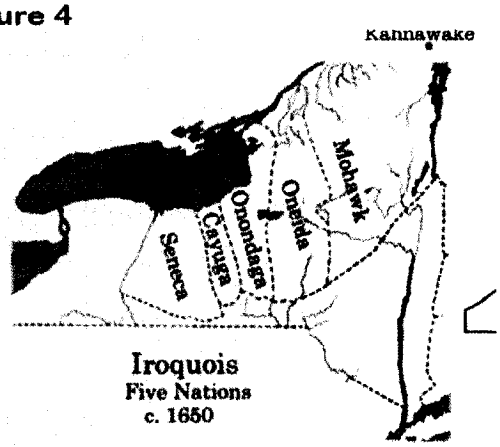
St. Francis Xavier

page 147 La Conversion Par L'Image

figure 2

Page of book St Francis Xavier Mission Museum

figure 4



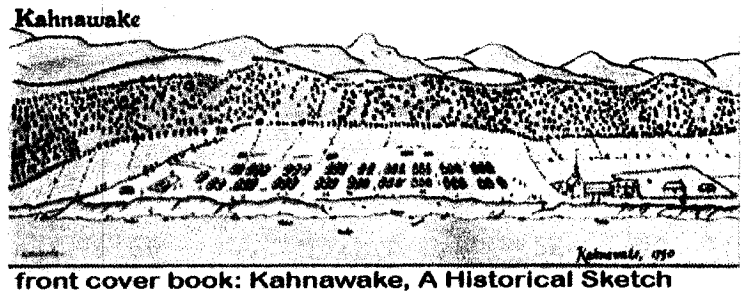
St. Francis-Xavier Mission

figure 5

Old Indian Village
Kahnawake

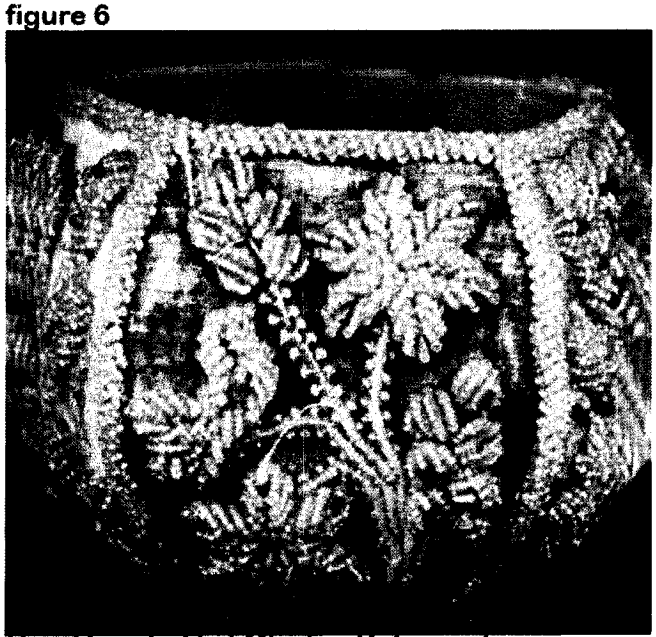
Photo by: Karen Fleming

figure 7



front cover book: Kahnawake, A Historical Sketch

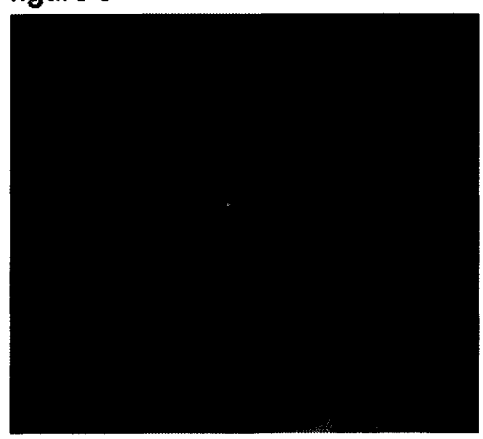
figure 6



Hand beaded I at Mission,Kahnawake

Photo by Karen Fleming

figure 8



Father Cyr S.J.

photo from Mission

figure 9

watercolour author Beinvenue

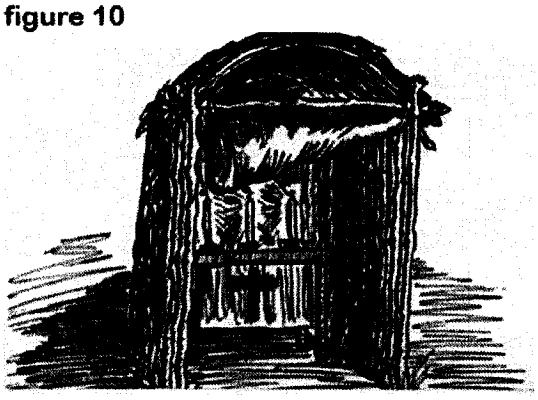
from: Mission

figure 11

longhouse

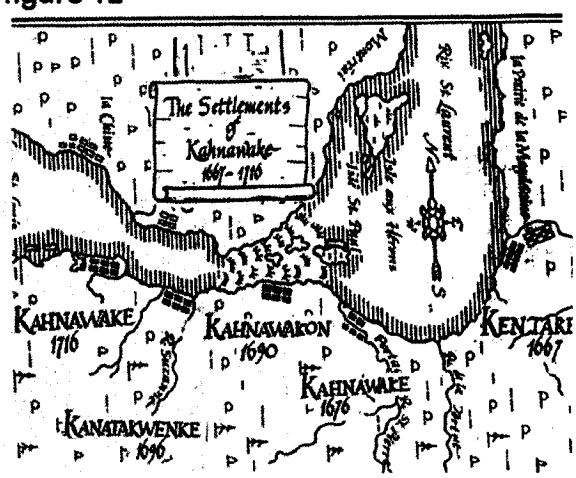
photo:K.Fleming

figure 10



sketch from "Church Architecture in New France"

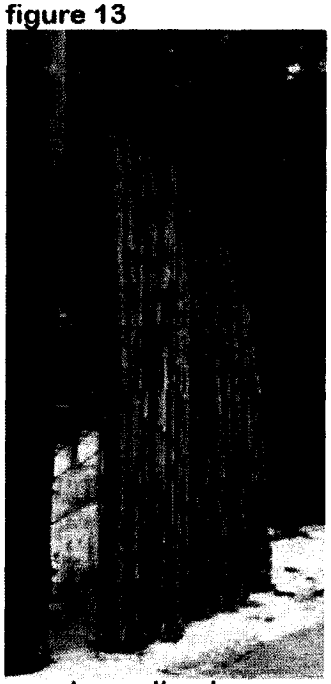
figure 12



map

Progressive movement of settlements

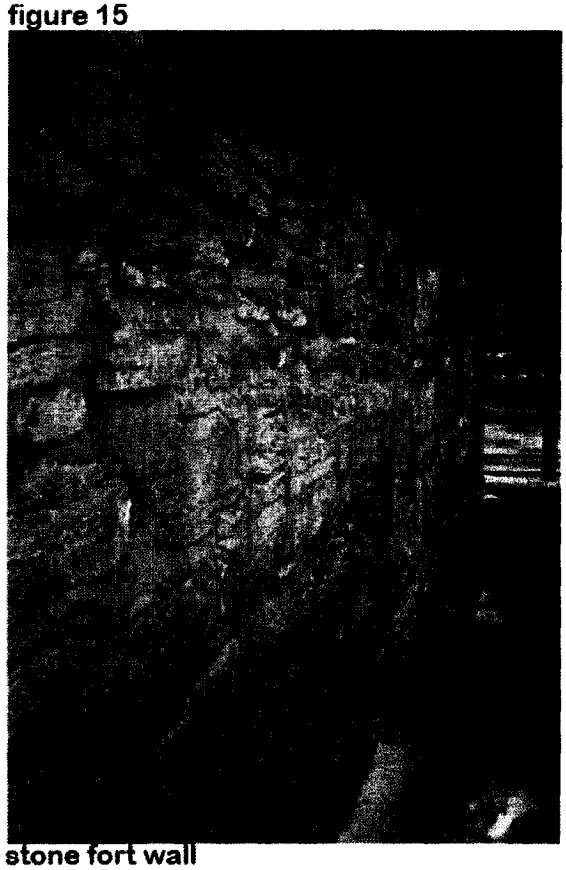
figure 13



wooden palisade

Photo:K.Fleming

figure 15



stone fort wall

photo:K.Fleming

figure 14

example of fort in fort design

La Conversion Par L'Image p.149

figure 16

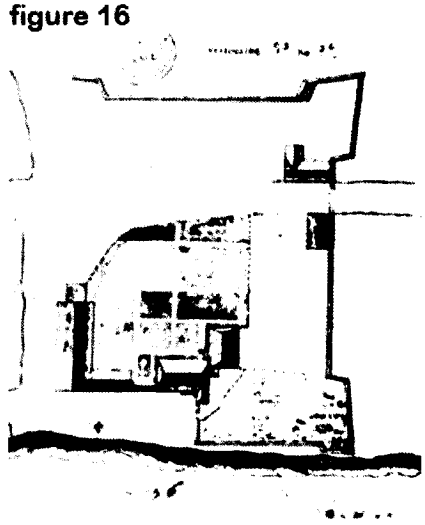


figure 17

before seaway disrupted community

photo: Mission

figure 19

After the Seaway went in.

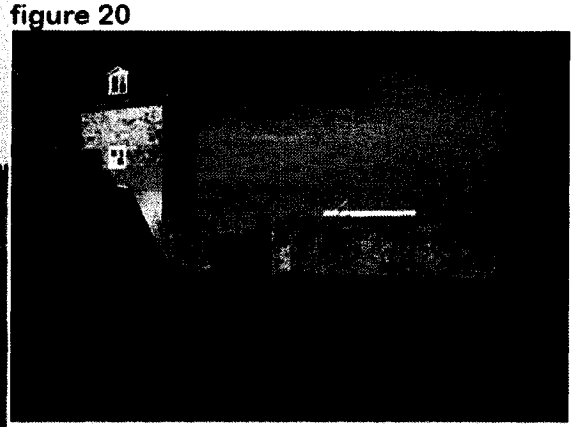
Kahnawake Cultural Centre

figure 18

Pre-Seaway

photo: Mission

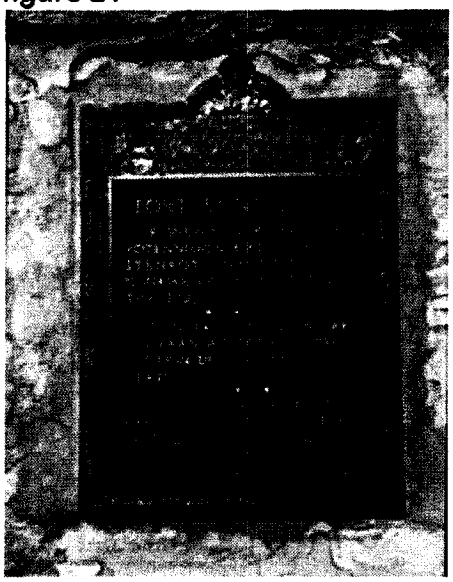
figure 20



Back Fort wall

photo:K.Fleming

figure 21



wall placque

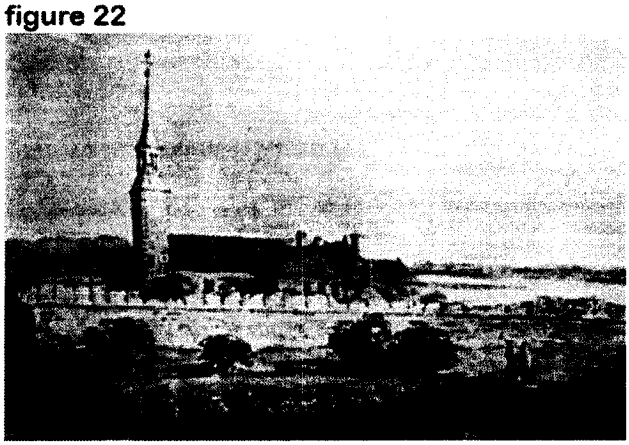
photo:K.Fleming

figure 23

surrounding area of church

photo:Mission

figure 22



Drawing

from Kahnawake Cultural Centre

figure 24

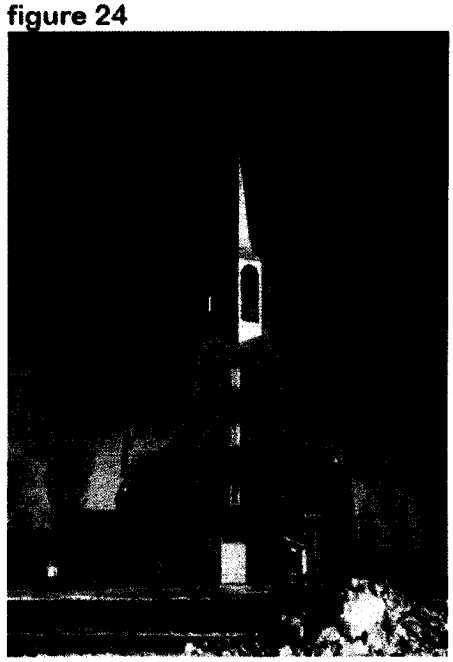
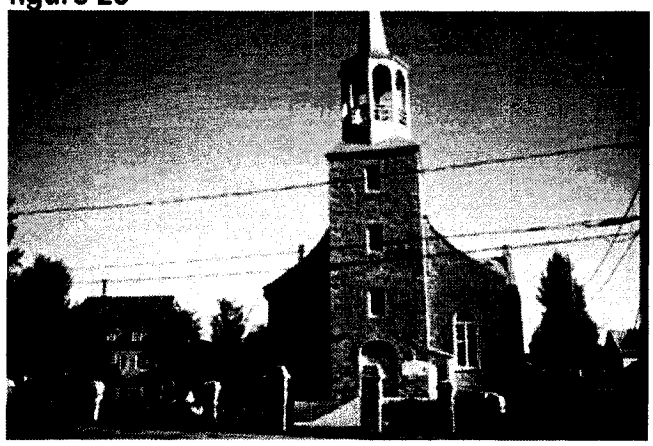


photo:K.Fleming

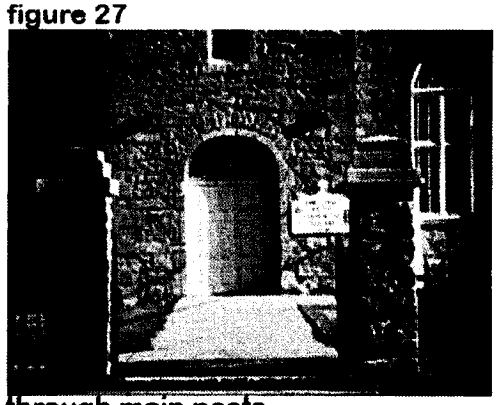
figure 25



stone posts & rod iron fence

photo:K.Fleming

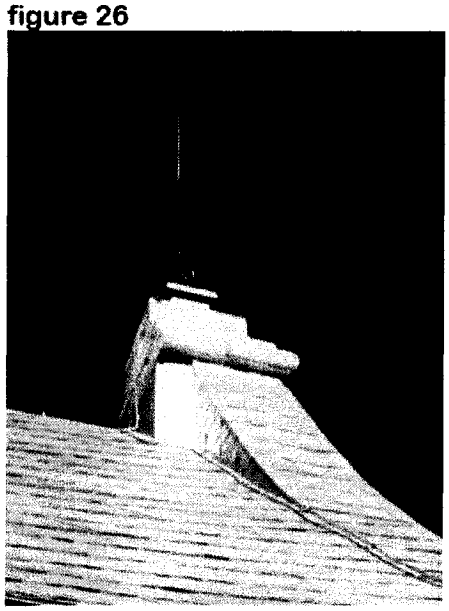
figure 27



through main posts

photo:K.Fleming

figure 26



apse end peak

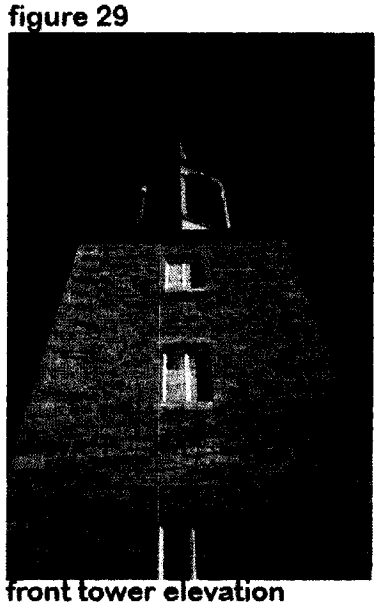
photo:K.Fleming

figure 28

iron gate between main and second posts

photo:K.Fleming

figure 29



front tower elevation

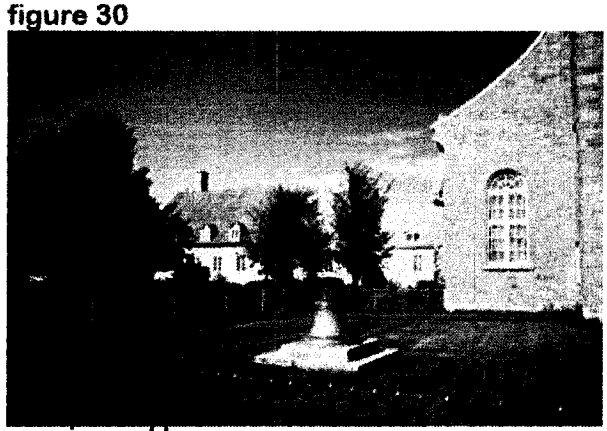
photo:K.Fleming

figure 31

Kateri Tekakwitha's tomb

photo:K.Fleming

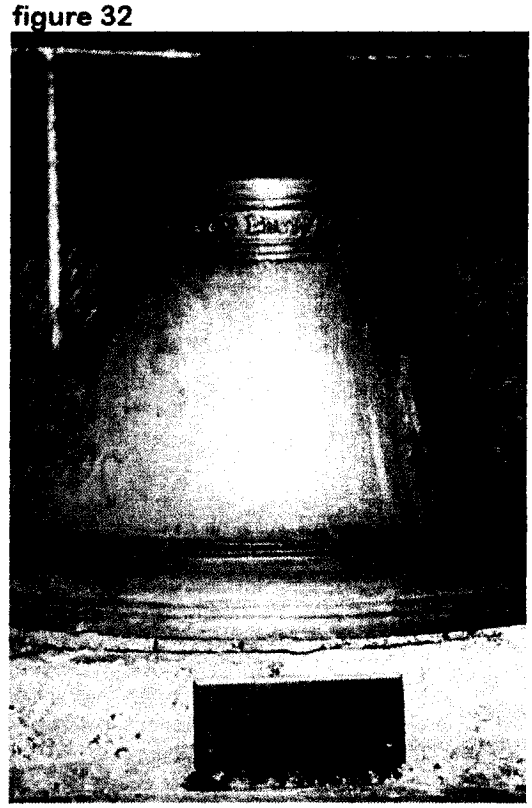
figure 30



manicured lawns

photo:K. Fleming

figure 32



bell made in England

photo:K.Fleming

figure 33

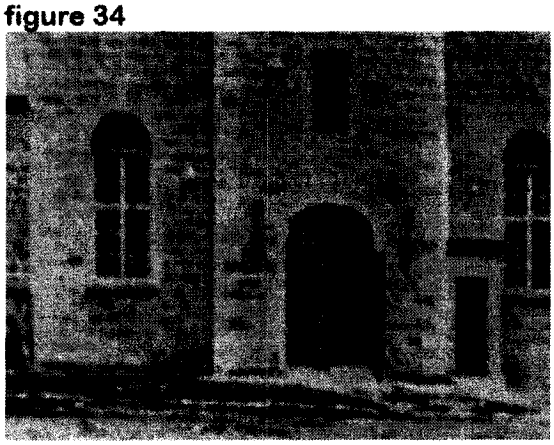
lean-to

photo:K.Fleming

figure 35

photo:Mission

figure 34



old photo from Mission

figure 36

photo: Kahnawake Cultural Centre

figure 37

photo: Mission

figure 39

Oldest Mission Church still standing

photo:K.Fleming

figure 38

second phase of church construction

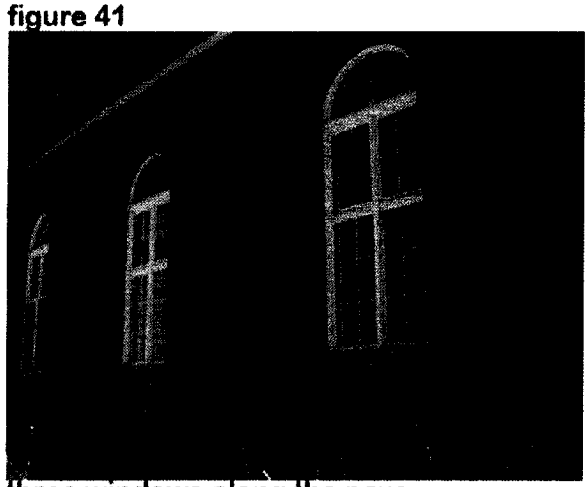
photo:Church Architecture in New France

figure 40

traditional longhouse

photo:K.Fleming

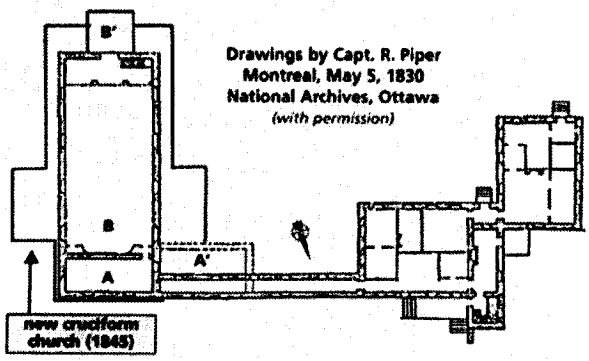
figure 41



three windows along the nave

photo:K.Fleming

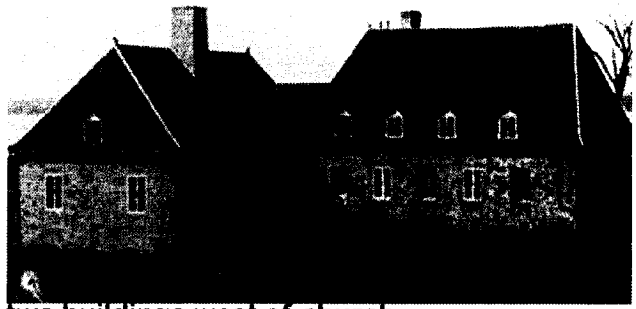
figure 42



Church plan including the two buildings

photo: Mission

figure 43



two buildings west of church

photo: Mission

figure 44 a

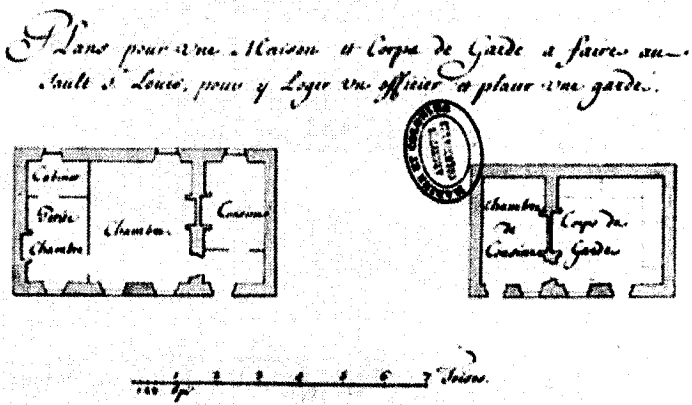


figure 44 b

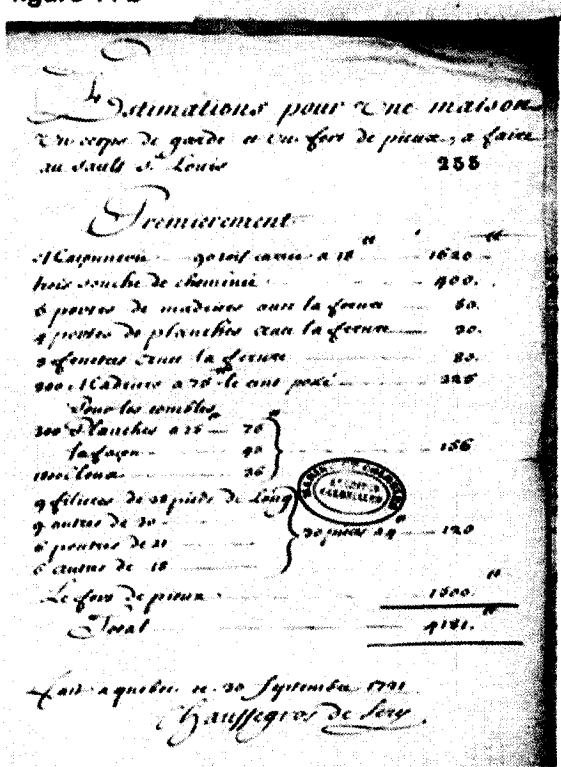


figure 44 c

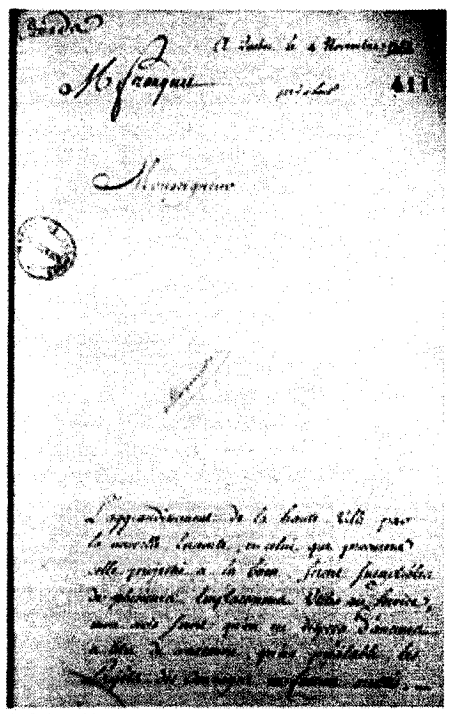
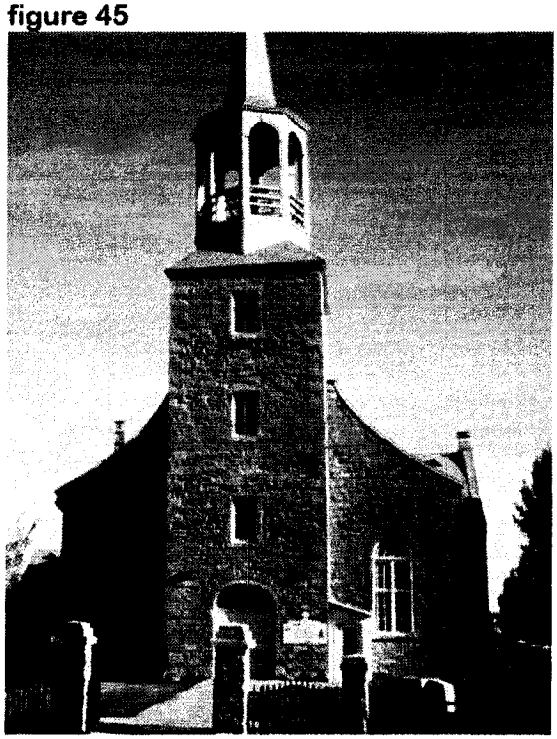


figure 45



unadorned front facade

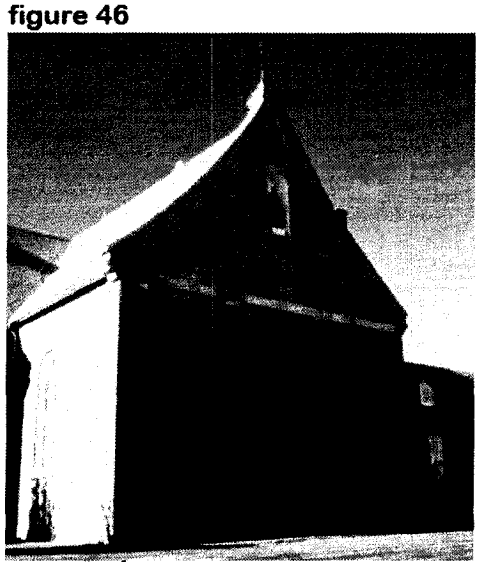
photo:K.Fleming

figure 47

construction on tower

photo: Mission

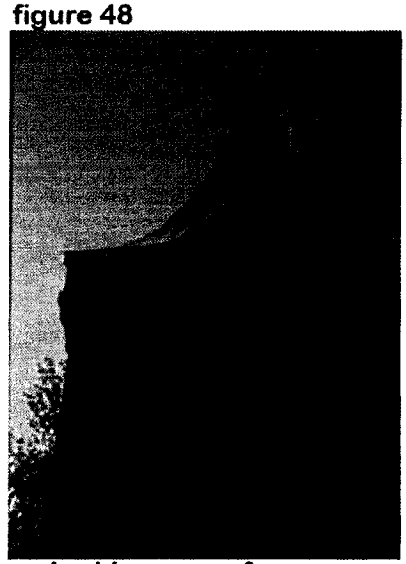
figure 46



apse end

photo:K.Fleming

figure 48



arched-brace roof

photo:K.Fleming

figure 49

gable end

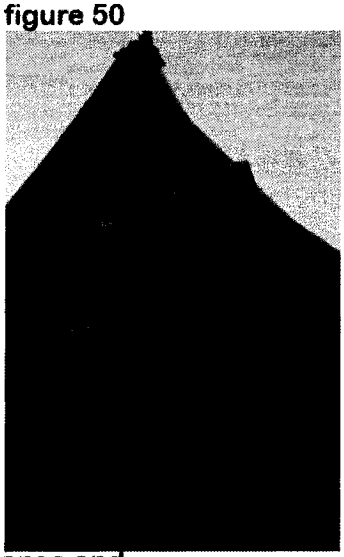
photo: K.Fleming

figure 51

Kateri Tekakwitha Statue

photo:K.Fleming

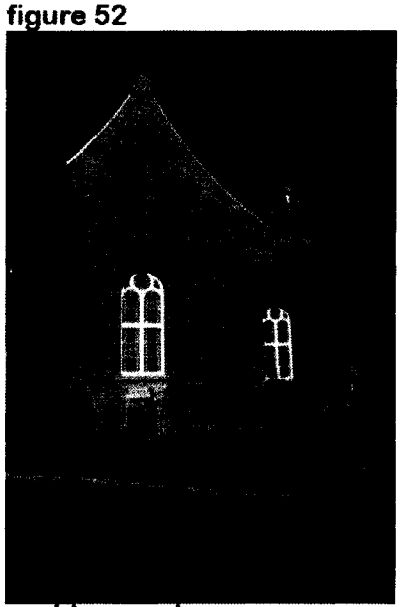
figure 50



apse end

photo:K.Fleming

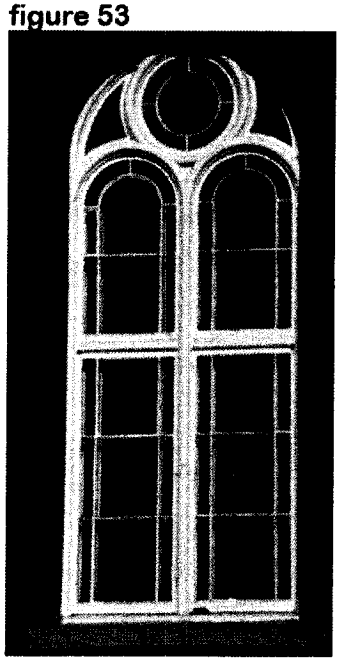
figure 52



east transept arm

photo:K.Fleming

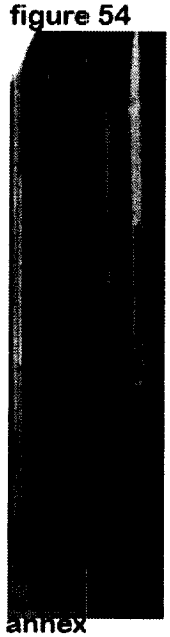
figure 53



12 ft high arched windows

photo:K.Fleming

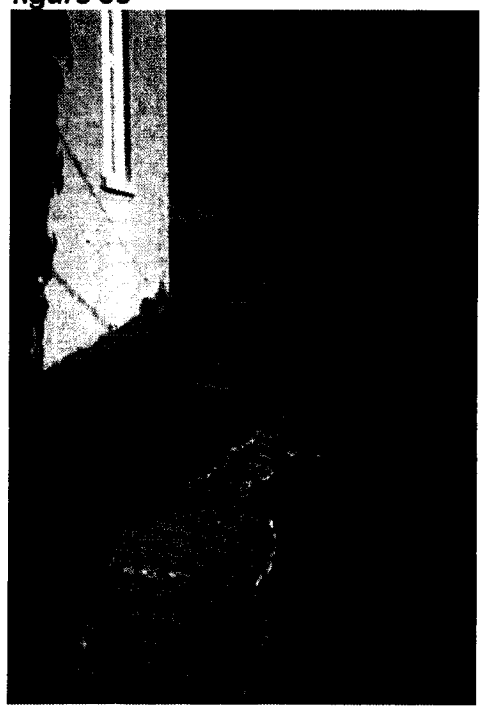
figure 54



annex

photo:K.Fleming

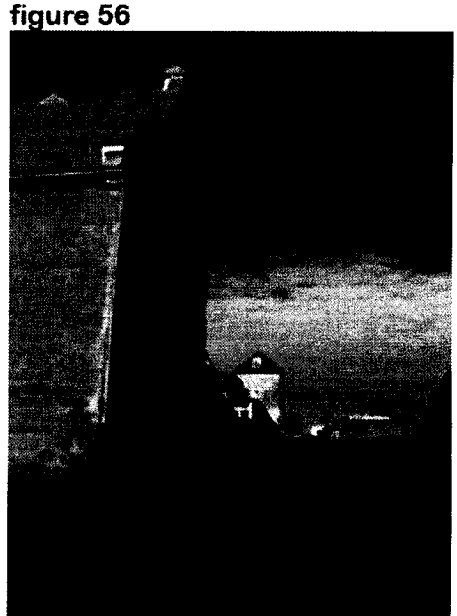
figure 55



sidewalk

photo:K.Fleming

figure 56



rear of church

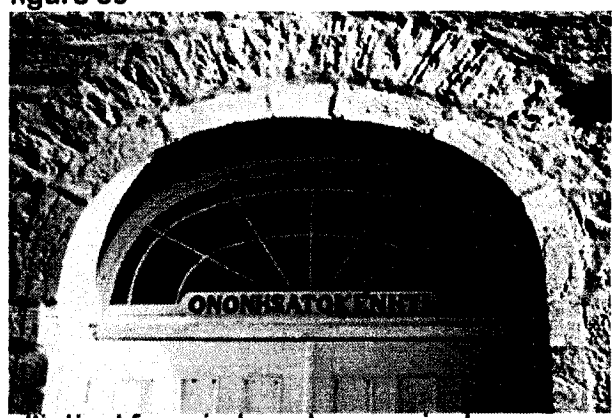
photo:K.Fleming

figure 57

quoined corners

photo:K.Fleming

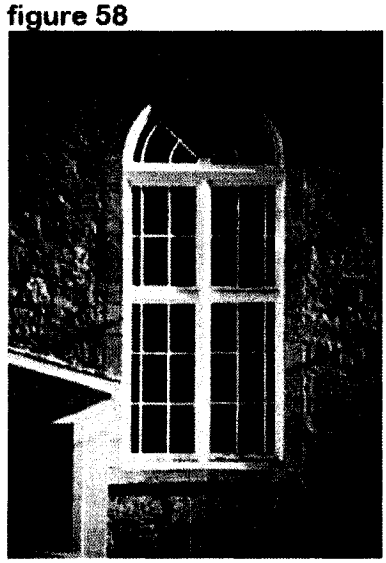
figure 59



elliptical fan window above main door

photo:K.Fleming

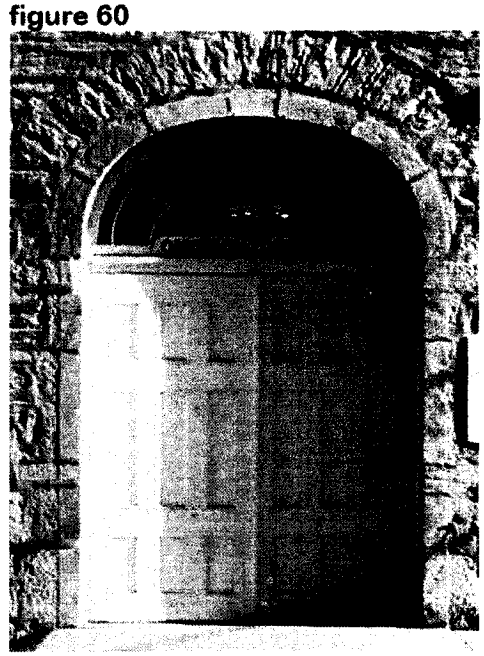
figure 58



single-arched window

photo:K.Fleming

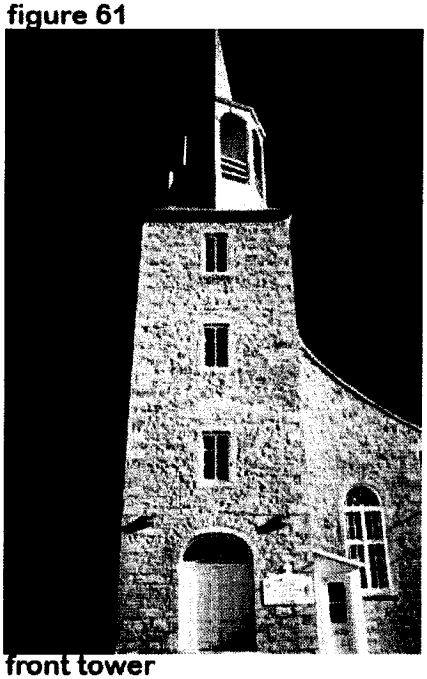
figure 60



front doors

photo:K.Fleming

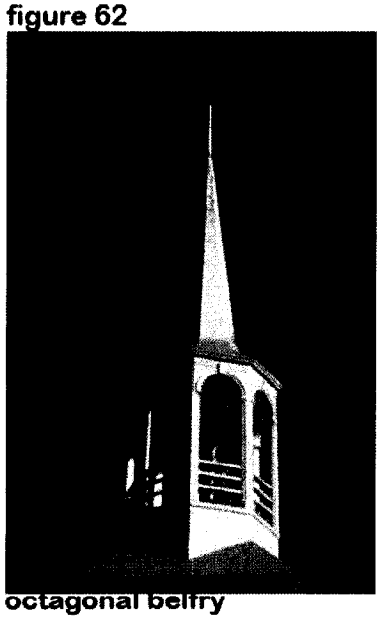
figure 61



front tower

photo:K.Fleming

figure 62



octagonal belfry

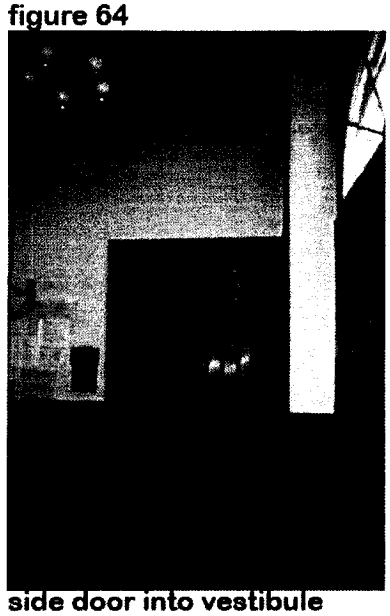
photo:K.Fleming

figure 63

church weather vane

photo:K.Fleming

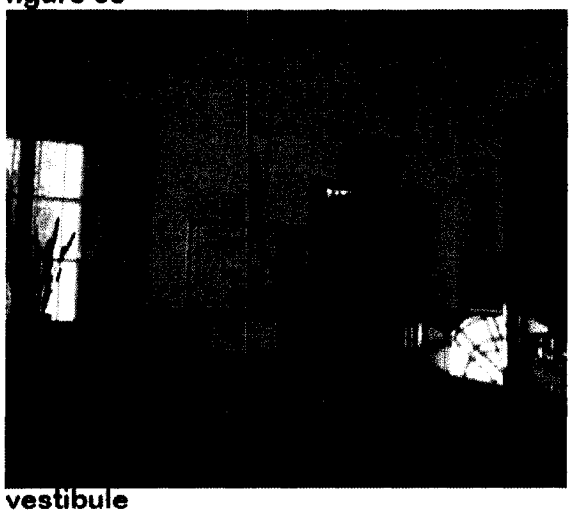
figure 64



side door into vestibule

photo:K.Fleming

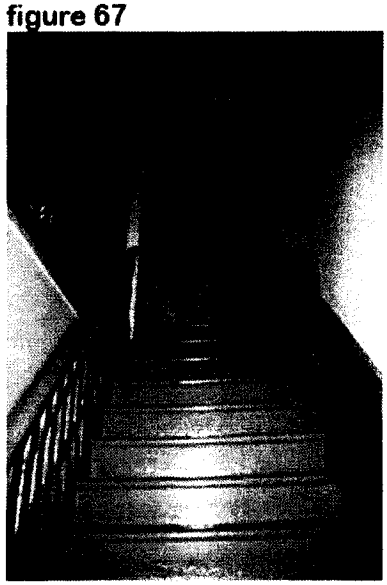
figure 65



vestibule

photo:K.Fleming

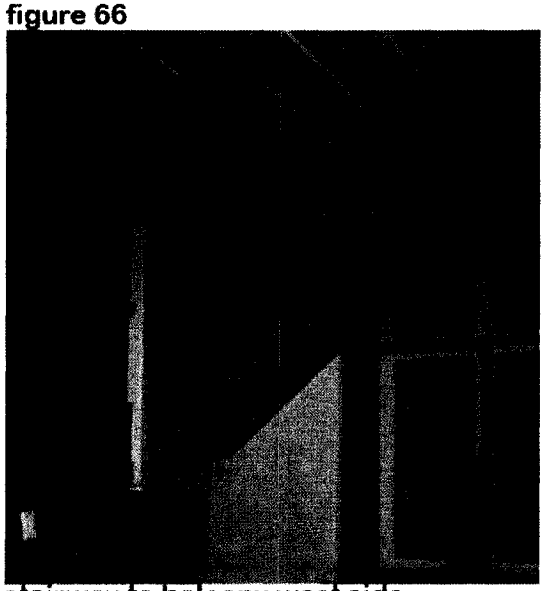
figure 67



stairway to balcony east side

photo:K.Fleming

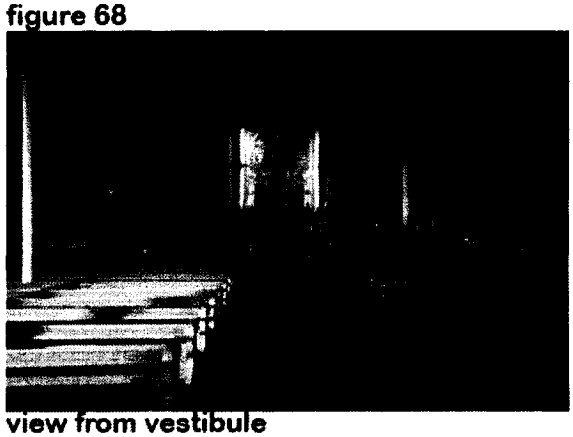
figure 66



stairway to balcony west side

photo:K.Fleming

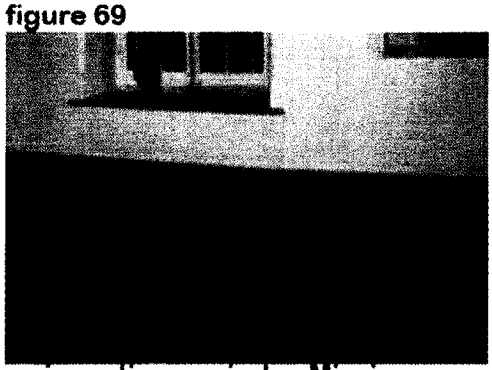
figure 68



view from vestibule

photo:K.Fleming

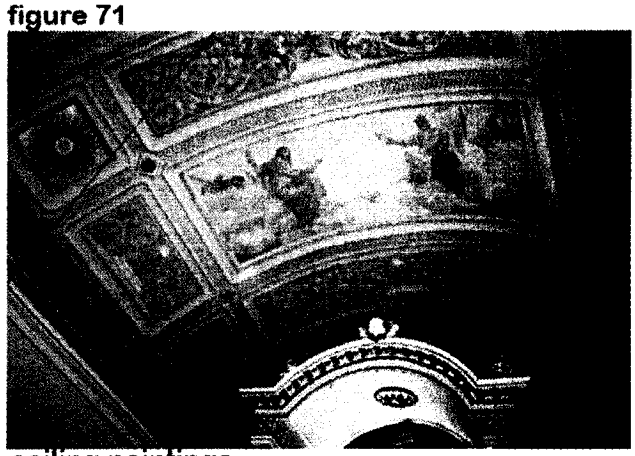
figure 69



wainscoting encircles Mission

photo:K.Fleming

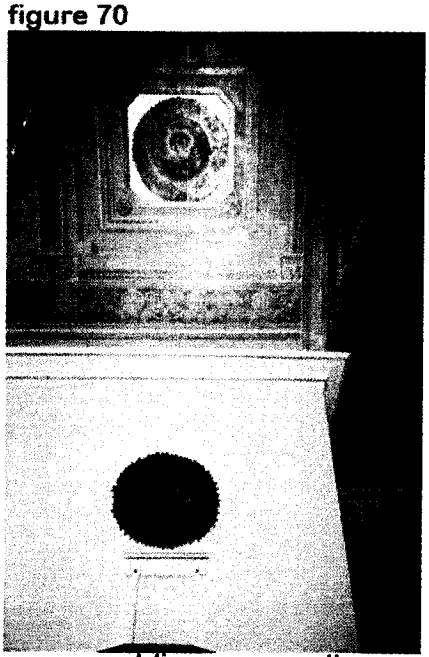
figure 71



ceiling paintings

photo:K.Fleming

figure 70



crown molding surrounding space

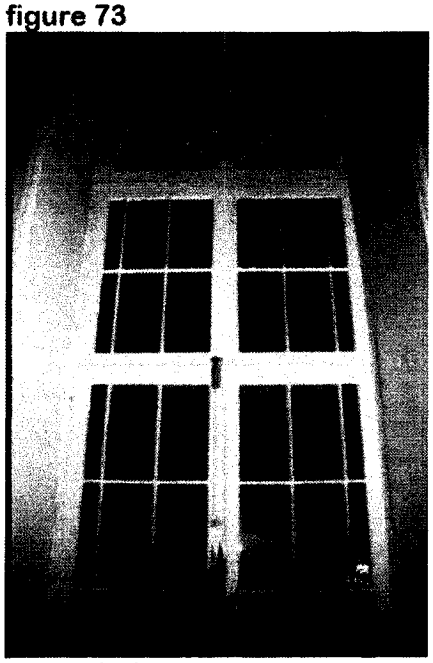
photo:K.Fleming

figure 72

one of 367 crosses found under floor

Kahnawake by J.Beauvais

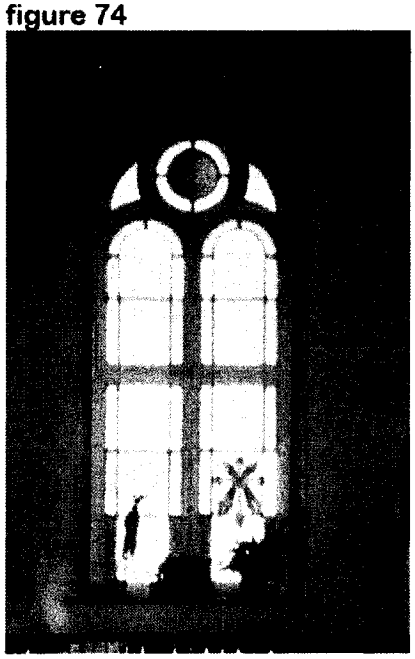
figure 73



nave window

photo:K.Fleming

figure 74



east transept window

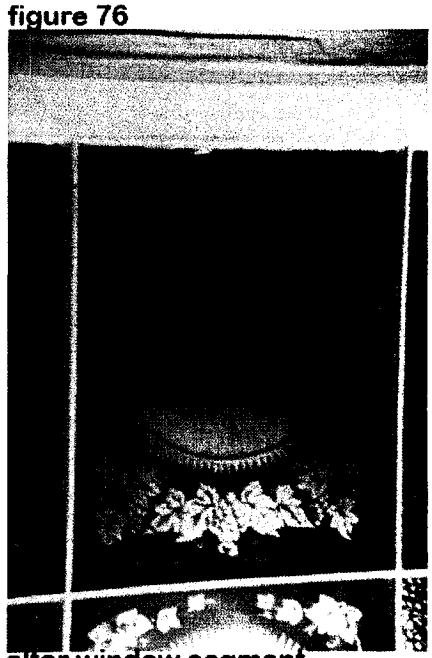
photo:K.Fleming

figure 75

diaphanous lace painted on glass

photo:K.Fleming

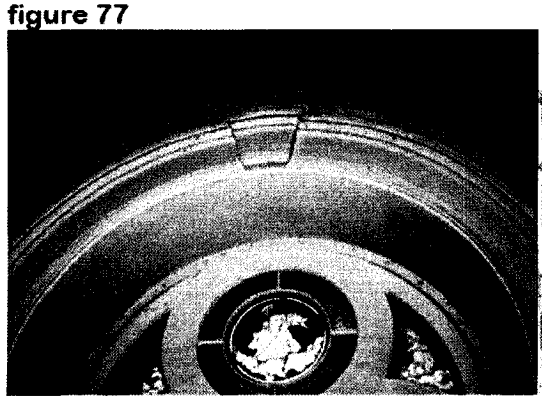
figure 76



altar window segment

photo:K.Fleming

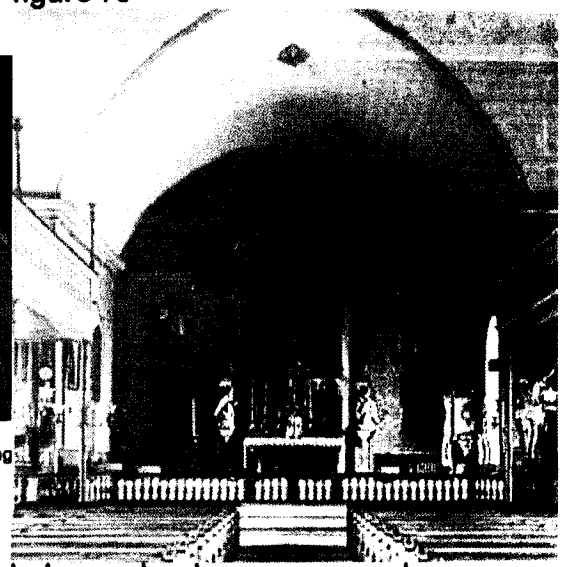
figure 77



detail of altar window

photo:K.Fleming

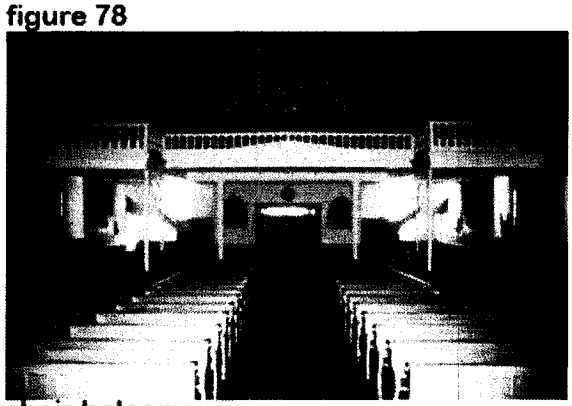
figure 79



balcony clearly wraps around nave

photo: Mission

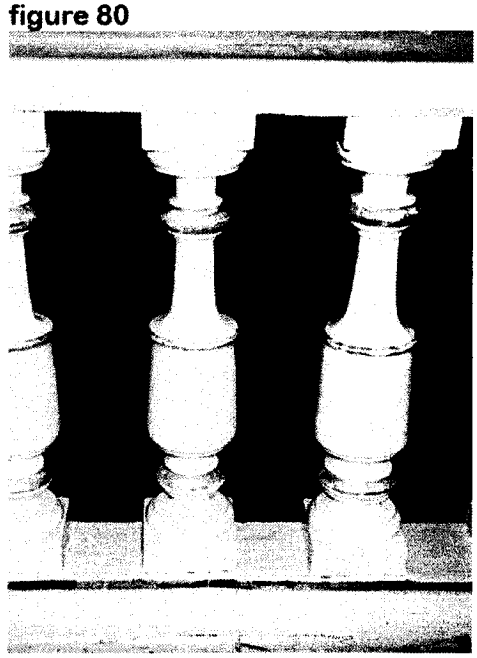
figure 78



choir balcony

photo:K.Fleming

figure 80



bulbous spindles

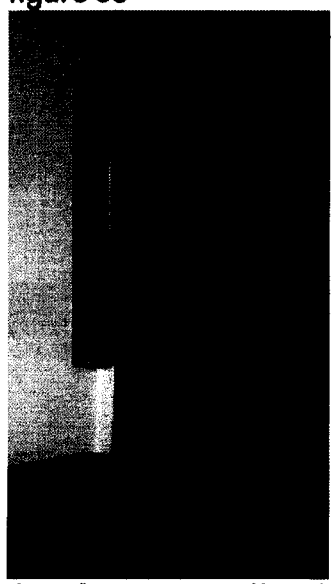
photo:K.Fleming

figure 81

wooden balustrade

photo:K.Fleming

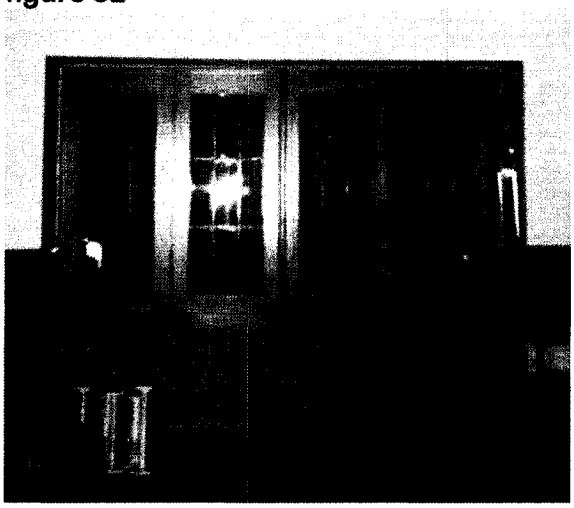
figure 83



door for congregational use

photo:K.Fleming

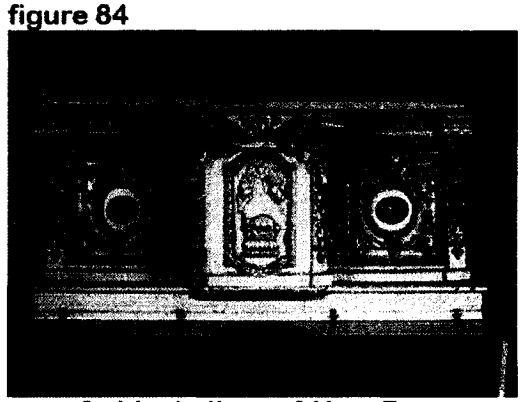
figure 82



door from altar to sacristy

photo:K.Fleming

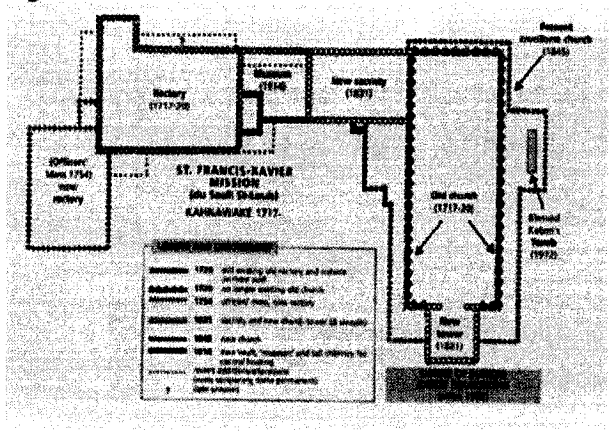
figure 84



one of oldest altars of New France

photo:K.Fleming

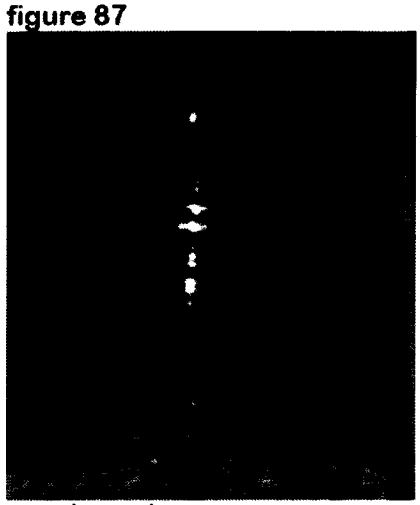
figure 85



plan for extension

photo: Mission

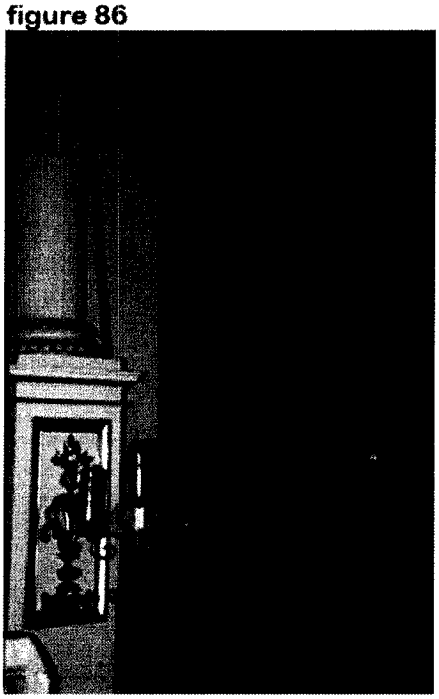
figure 87



sanctuary lamp

photo:K.Fleming

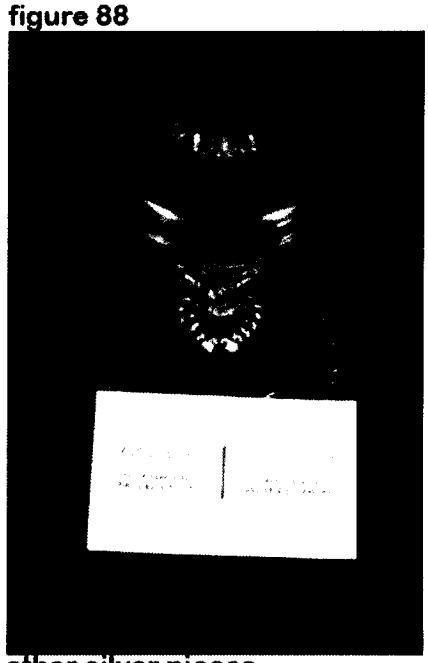
figure 86



east side mirror image

photo:K.Fleming

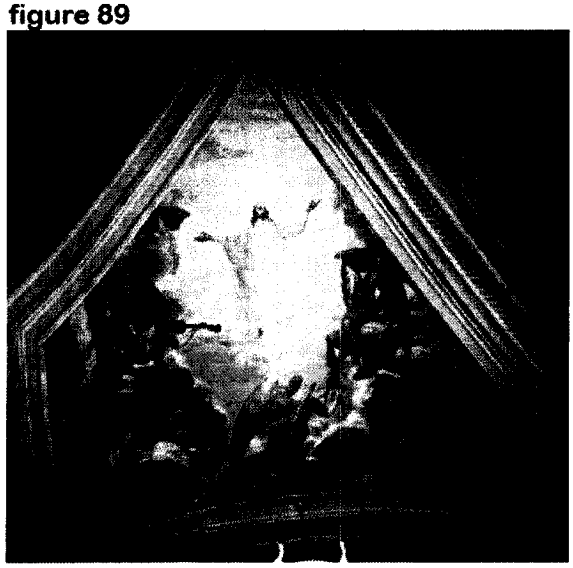
figure 88



other silver pieces

photo:K.Fleming

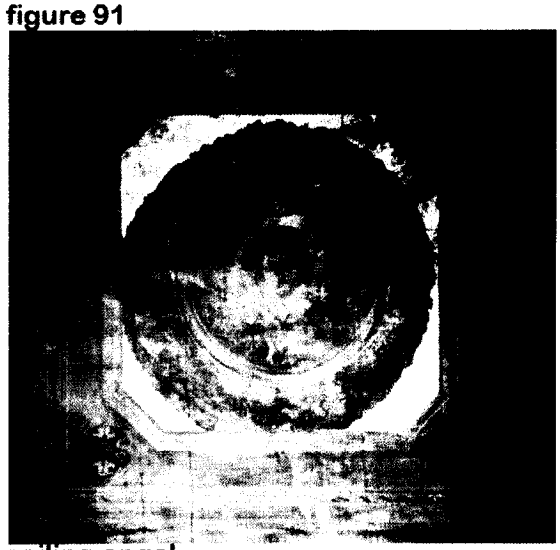
figure 89



ceiling painting

photo:K.Fleming

figure 91



ceiling angel

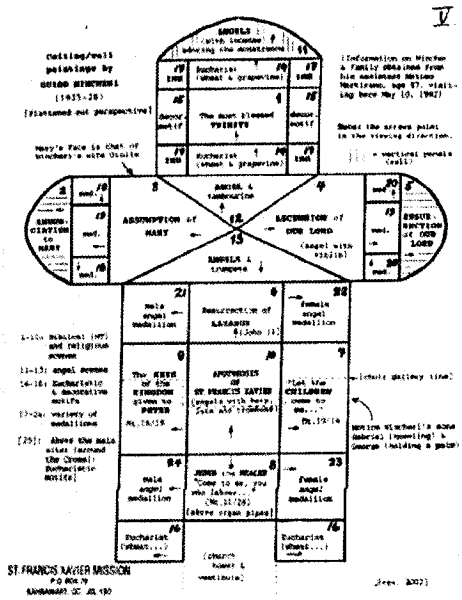
photo:K.Fleming

figure 90

ceiling painting

photo:K.Fleming

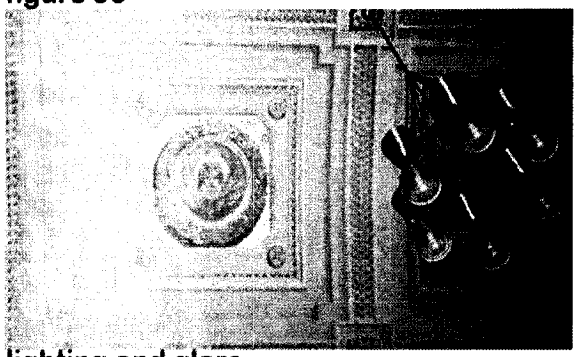
figure 92



ceiling plan

photo: Mission

figure 93



lighting and glare

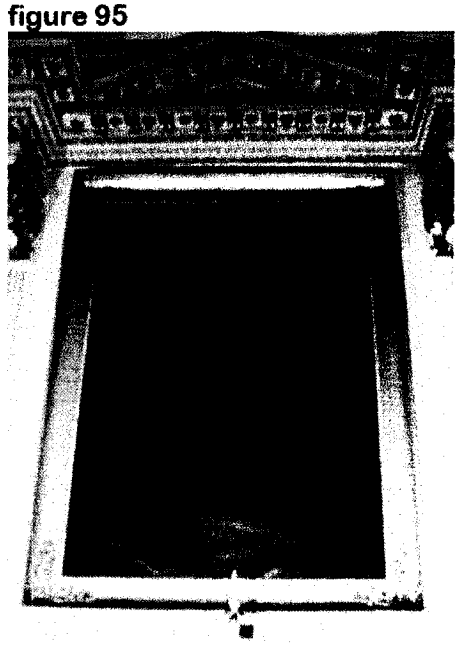
photo:K.Fleming

figure 94

Fr. Henri Bechard,S.J.(1909-1990)
His black and white vrs her colour

from: Kateri Special Issue

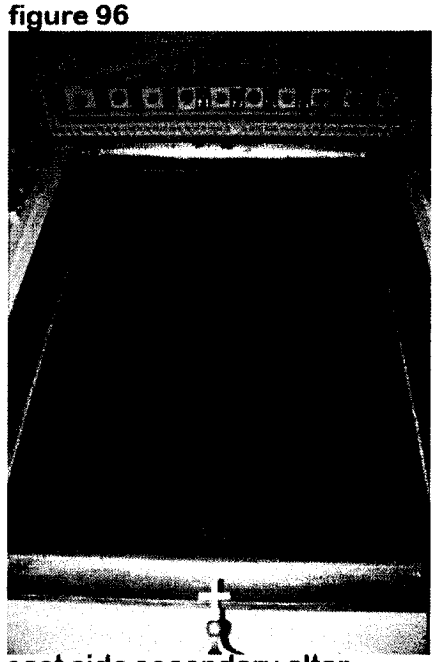
figure 95



west side secondary altar

photo:K.Fleming

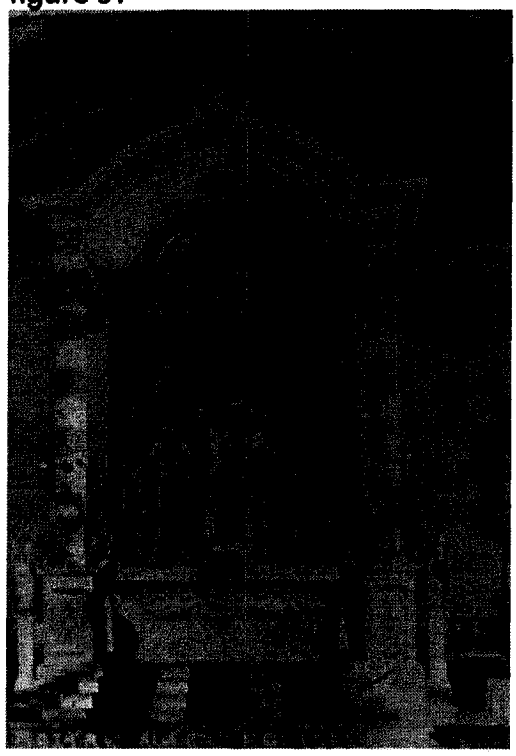
figure 96



east side secondary altar

photo:K.Fleming

figure 97



main altar

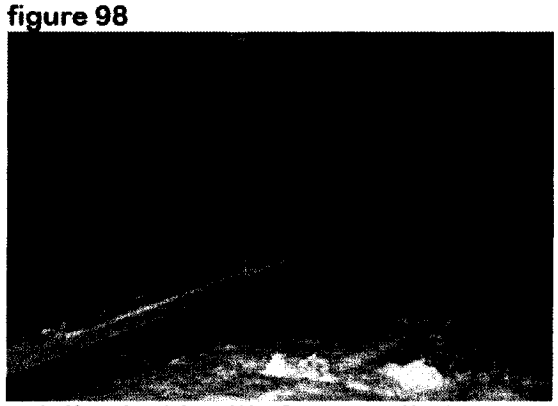
photo:Mission

figure 99

closer view

photo: Mission

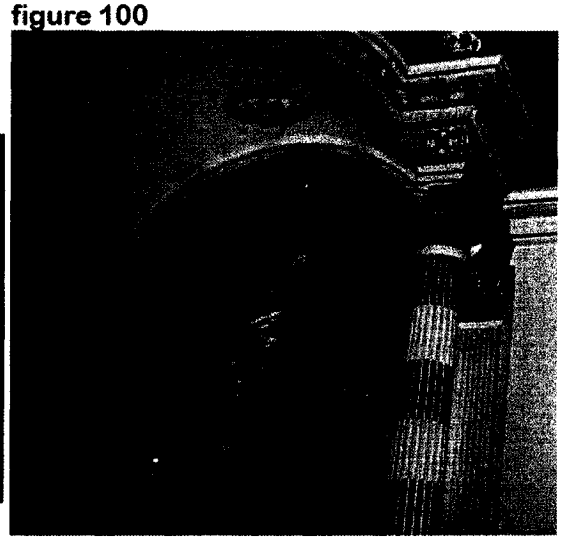
figure 98



painting lost in attic for more that thirty years.

Eastern Door

figure 100



present day main altar

photo:K.Fleming

figure 101

detail

photo:K.Fleming

figure 103

The men who lost their lives
in Quebec Bridge Disaster 1907

photo: Mission

figure 102

detail

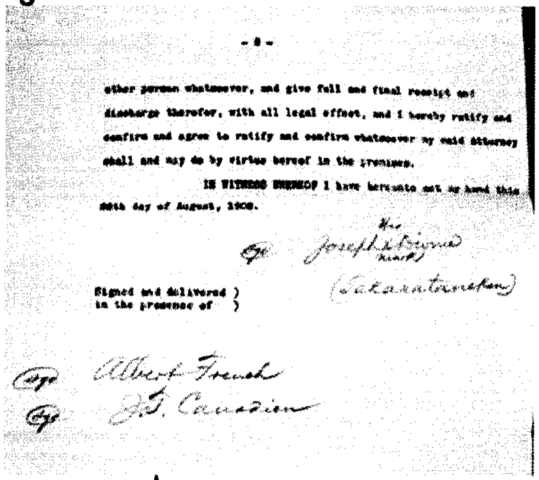
photo:K.Fleming

figure 104

Big Joe Canadian

Denis Delisle archives

figure 105



- 8 -

other person whatsoever, and give full and final receipt and discharge therefor, with all legal effect, and I hereby ratify and confirm and agree to ratify and confirm whatsoever my said Attorney shall and may do by virtue hereof in the premises.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand this [illegible] day of August, 190[illegible].

Signed and delivered)
in the presence of)

Albert French

correspondence

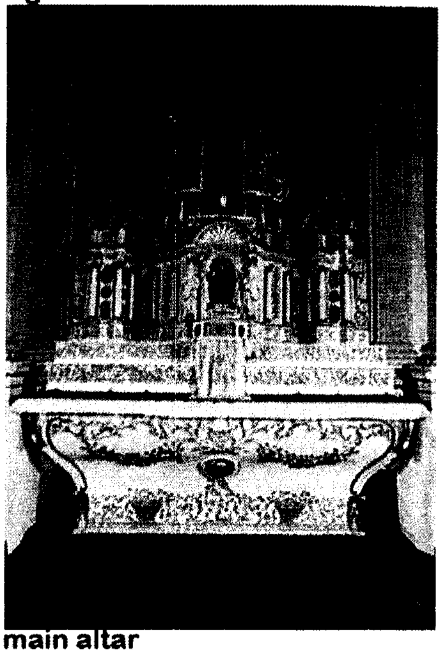
photo:K.Fleming

figure 107

detail of main altar

photo:K.Fleming

figure 106



main altar

photo: Mission

figure 108

behind the reredoes

photo:K.Fleming

figure 109

Jesus holding a globe

photo:K.Fleming

figure 110

between two men

photo:K.Fleming

figure 111

statue by M. Bougault

photo:K.Fleming

figure 112

oldest known painting
of Kateri Tekakwitha

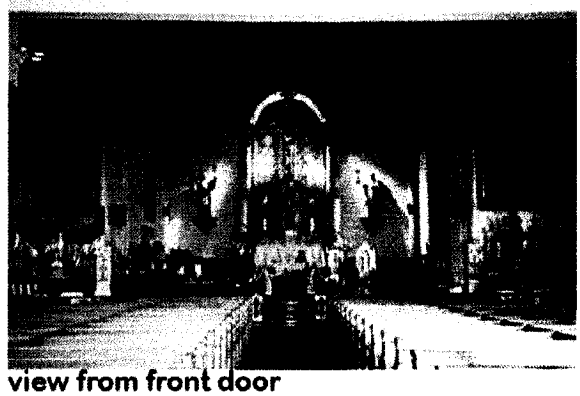
photo:K.Fleming

figure 113

main altar table

photo:K.Fleming

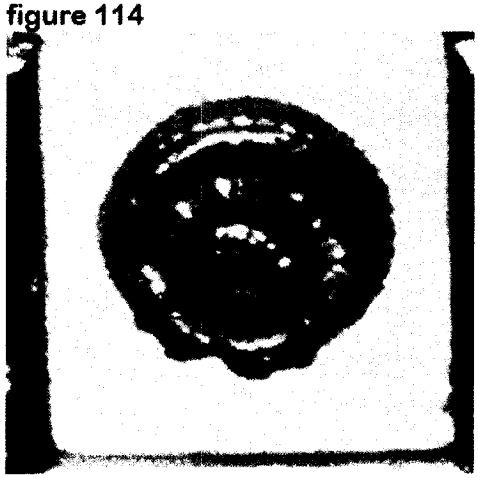
figure 115



view from front door

photo:K.Fleming

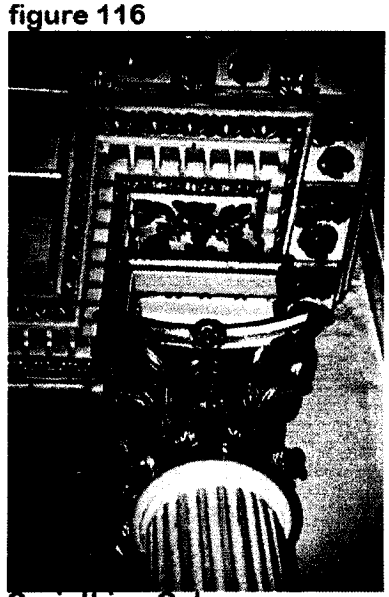
figure 114



one of many rosettes

photo:K.Fleming

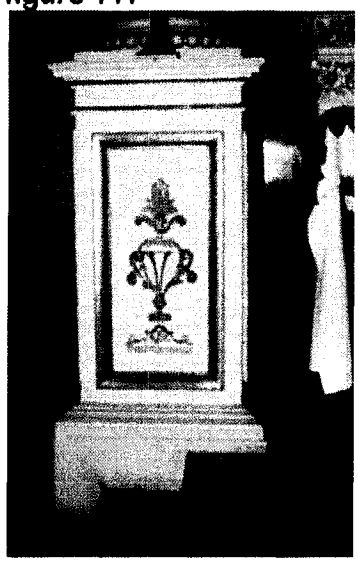
figure 116



Corinthian Columns

photo:K.Fleming

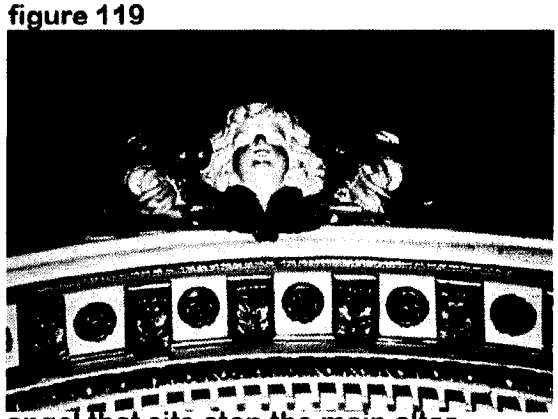
figure 117



plinth

photo:K.Fleming

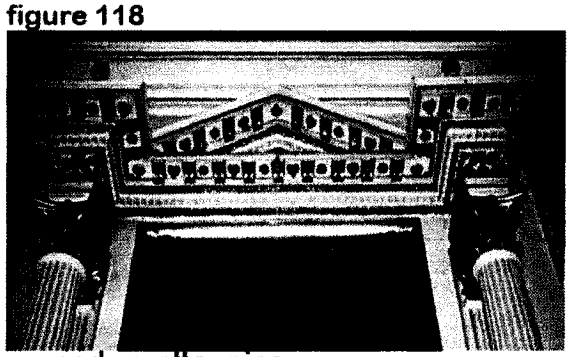
figure 119



angel that sits atop the main altar

photo:K.Fleming

figure 118



secondary altar piece

photo:K.Fleming

figure 120

original painting
over door to sacristy

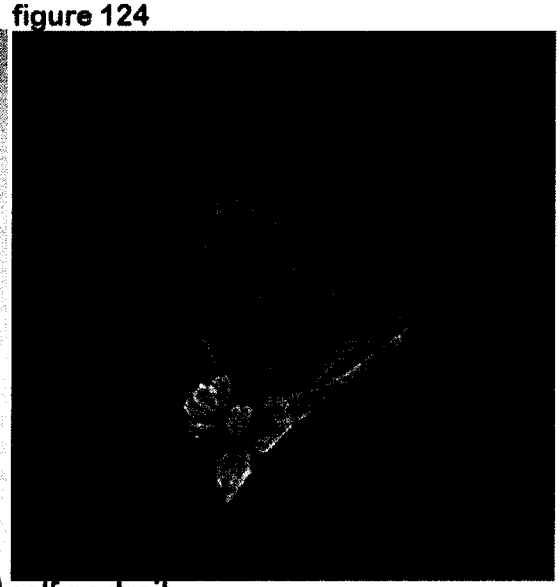
photo:K.Fleming

figure 121

unsigned oil on canvas

photo:K.Fleming

figure 124



self-portrait

p.9 Jean-Baptiste Roy-Audy

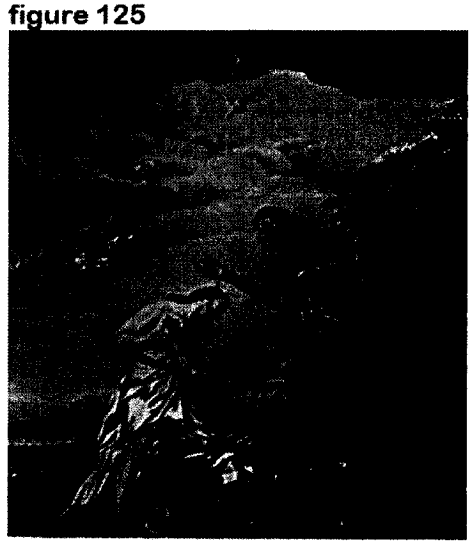
figure 122

figure 123

pair of angels

photo:K.Fleming

figure 125

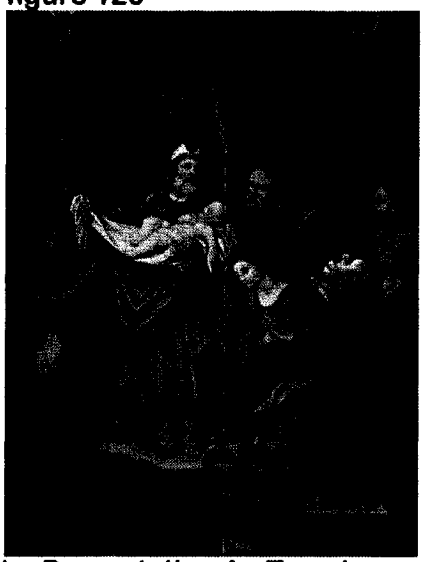


LE BAPTÊME DU CHRIST

Jean-Baptiste Roy-Audy
1824

p.71 Jean-Baptiste Roy-Audy

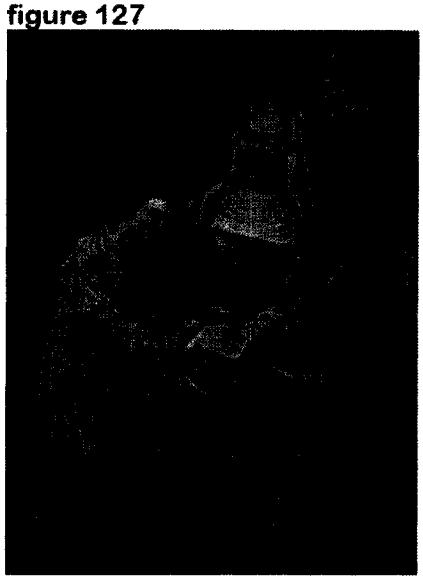
figure 126



La Presentation Au Temple

p.79 Jean-Baptiste Roy-Audy

figure 127



L'Education De La Vierge

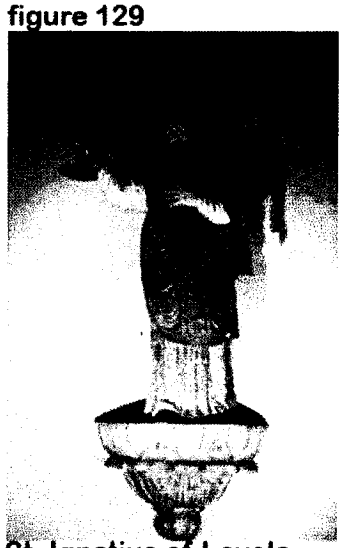
photo:p.63 Jean-Baptiste Roy-Audy

figure 128

St Francis-Xavier

photo:K.Fleming

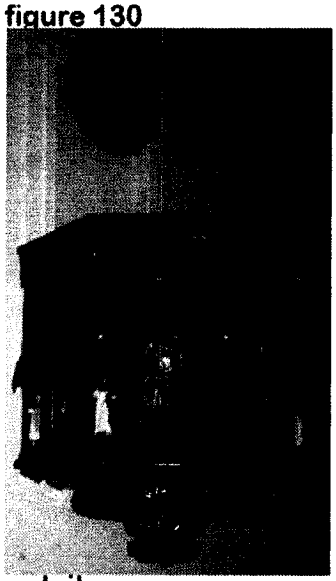
figure 129



St. Ignatius of Loyola

photo:K.Fleming

figure 130



pulpit

photo:K.Fleming

figure 131

detail pulpit

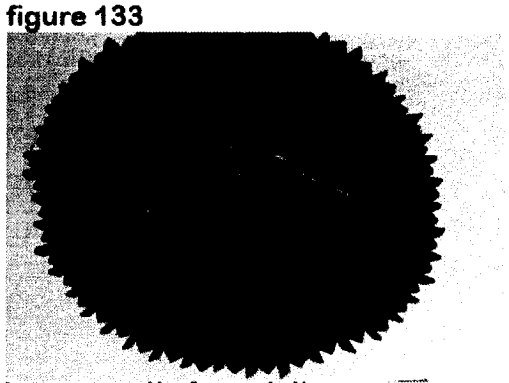
photo:K.Fleming

figure 132

additional detail

photo:K.Fleming

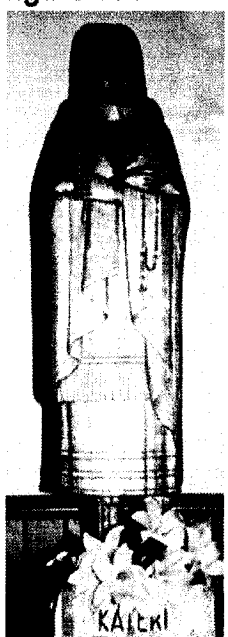
figure 133



brass mantle for pulpit

photo:K.Fleming

figure 134



Kateri Tekakwitha

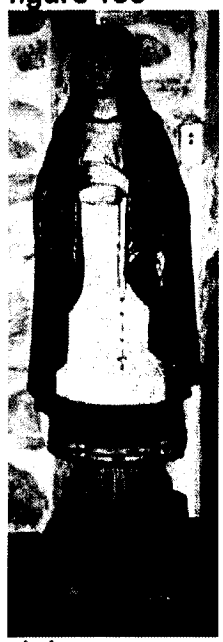
photo:K.Fleming

figure 135

by Monther Nealis, r.s.c.j.

photo:K.Fleming

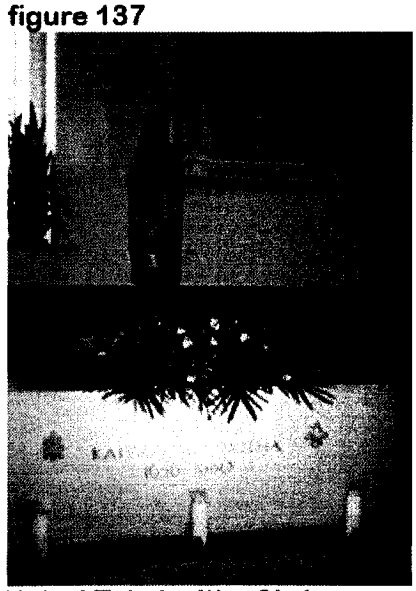
figure 136



statue

photo:K.Fleming

figure 137



Kateri Tekakwitha Shrine

photo:K.Fleming

figure 138

touch relic

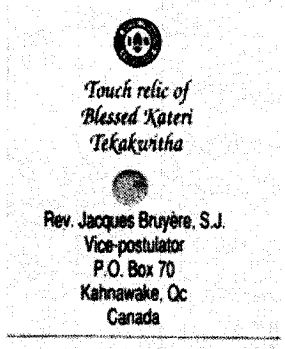
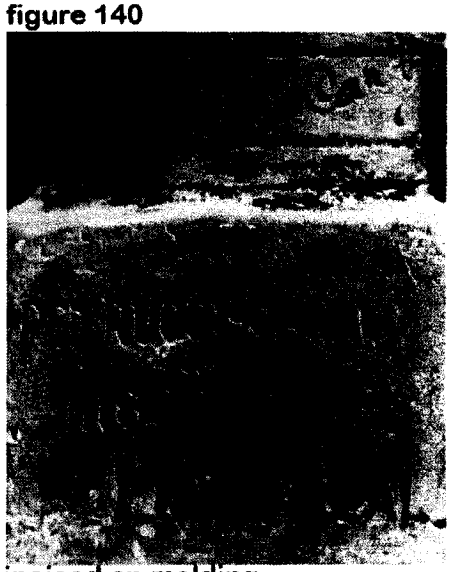


photo:K.Fleming

figure 140



incised on molding

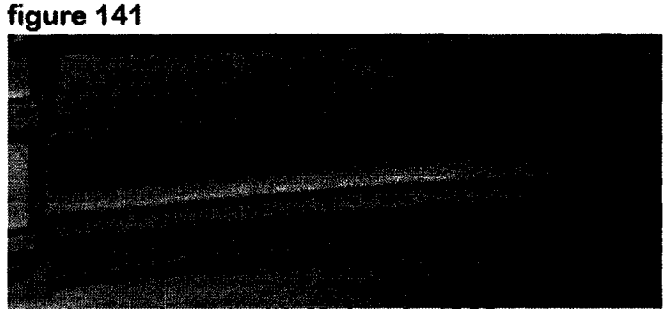
p.136 L'Annonciation dans la sculpture au Quebec

figure 139

Station of the Cross

photo:K.Fleming

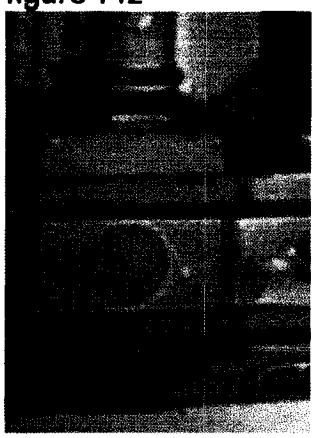
figure 141



caption replaced with Mohawk 1928

photo:K.Fleming

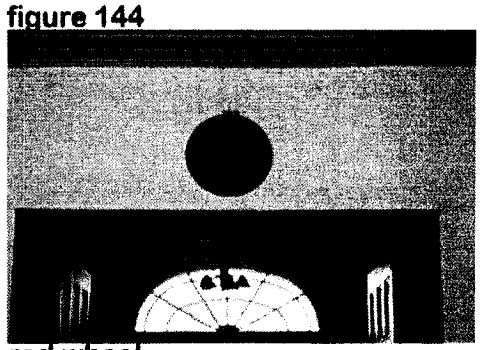
figure 142



plain medallion on
Station of the Cross

photo:K.Fleming

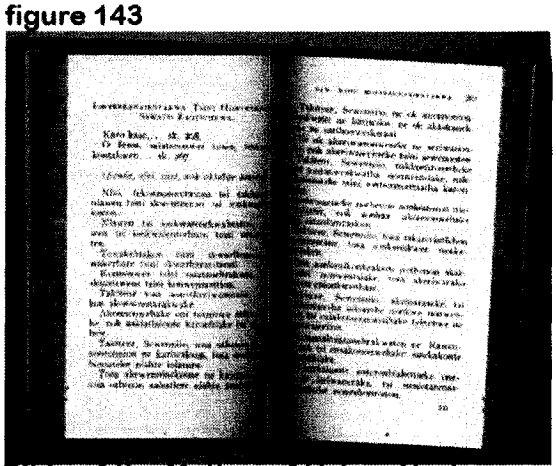
figure 144



red wheel

photo:K.Fleming

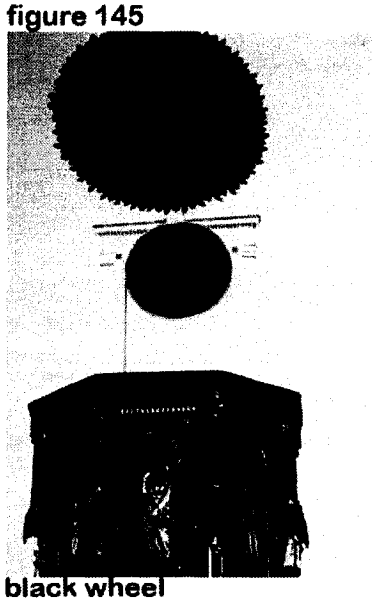
figure 143



Bible of the Mother of Valery Norton

photo:K.Fleming

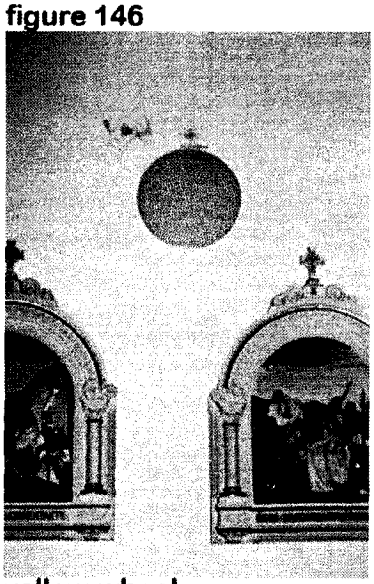
figure 145



black wheel

photo:K.Fleming

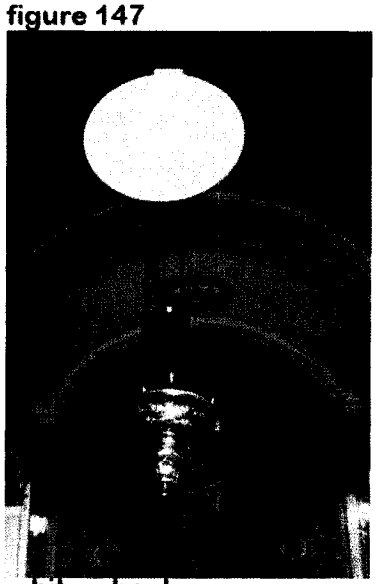
figure 146



yellow wheel

photo:K.Fleming

figure 147



white wheel

photo:K.Fleming

figure 148

photo:K.Fleming

figure 149

photo:K.Fleming

figure 150

photo:K.Fleming

figure 151

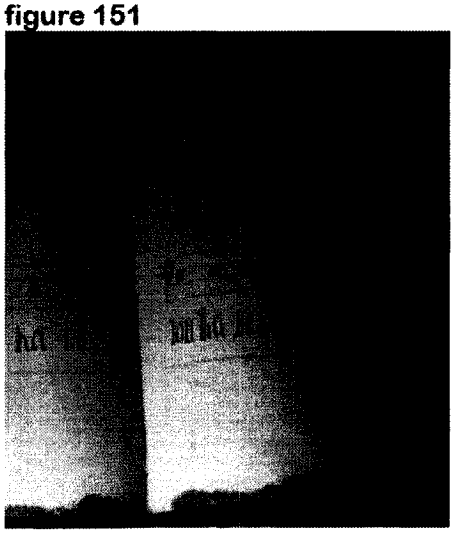


photo:K.Fleming

figure 152

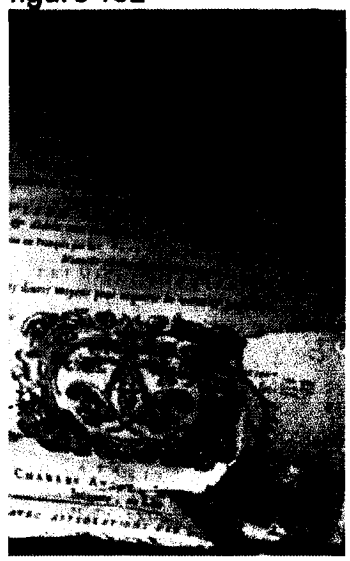
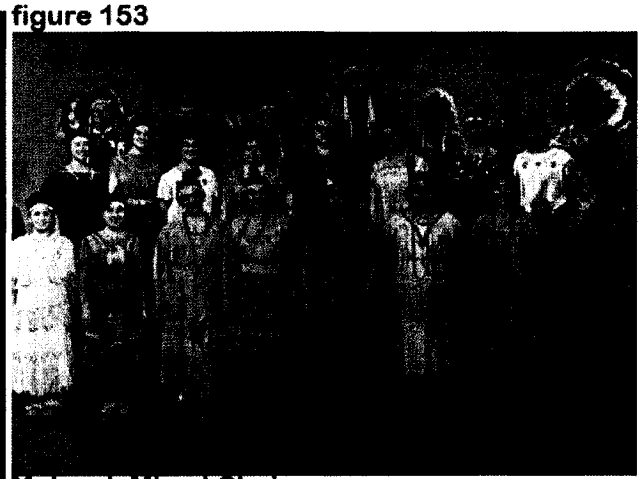


photo: K.Fleming

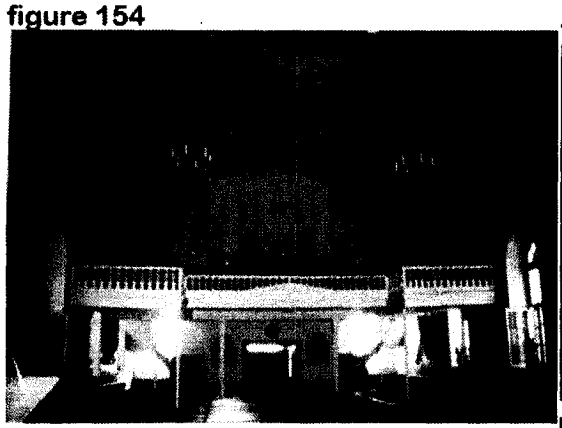
figure 153



Mohawk Mixed Choir

photo:Mission

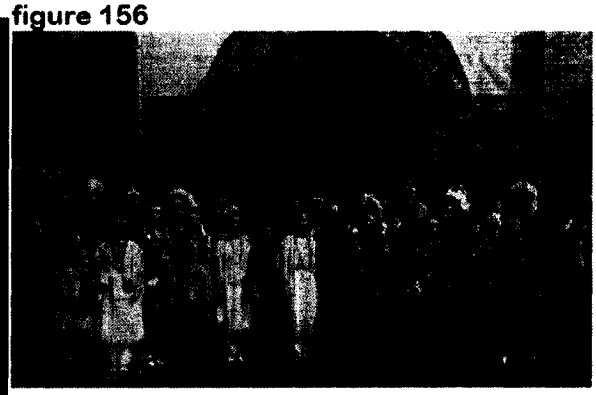
figure 154



choir loft

photo:K.Fleming

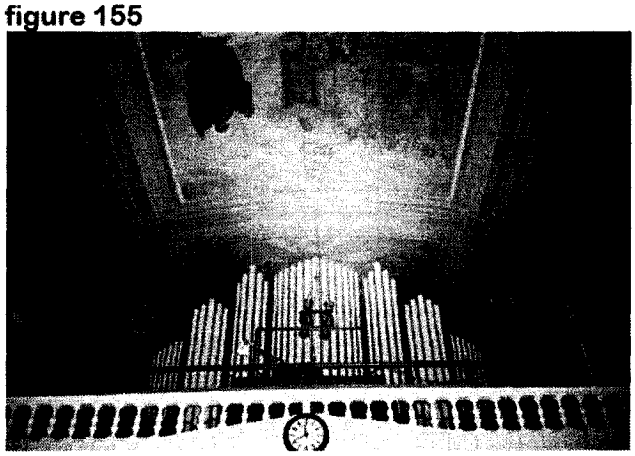
figure 156



Mixed Mohawk voices

photo: Mission

figure 155



organ

photo:K.Fleming

figure 157

pews

photo:K.Fleming

figure 158

worn flooring

photo:K.Fleming

figure 160

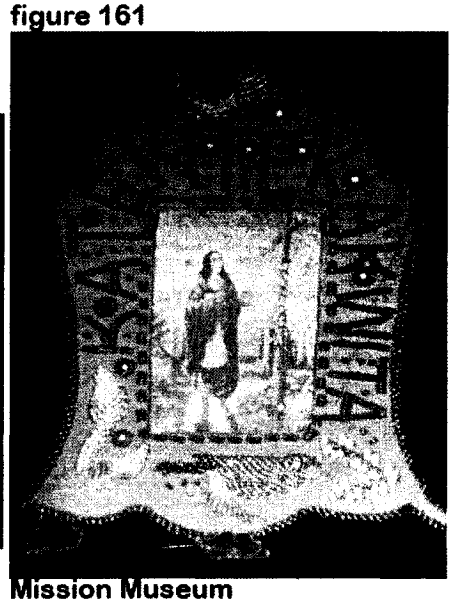
Mission Museum

photo:K.Fleming

figure 159

audience with Pope June 1980

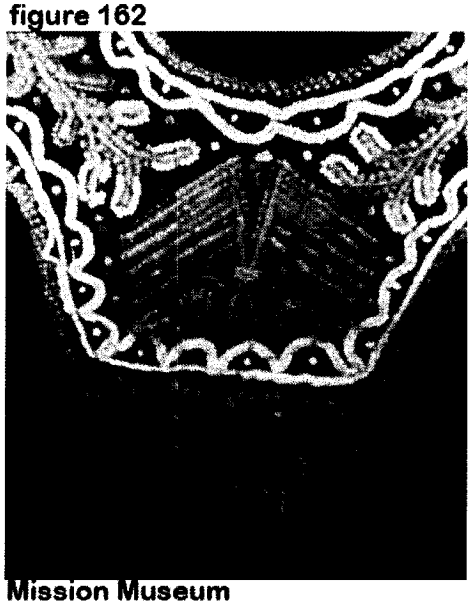
figure 161



Mission Museum

photo:K.Fleming

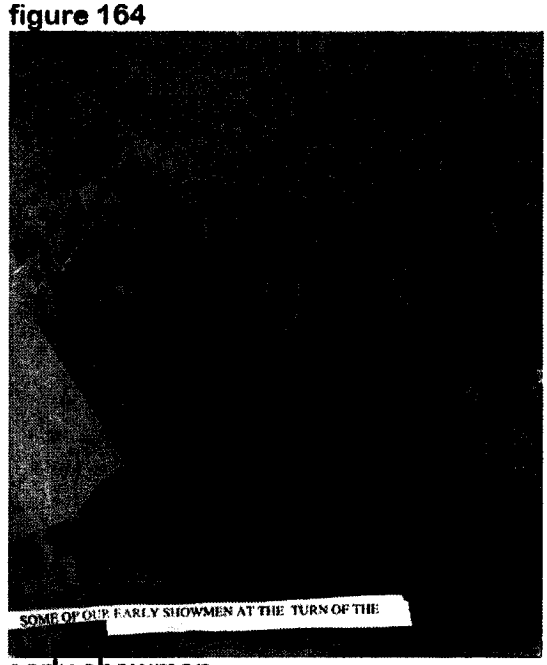
figure 162



Mission Museum

photo:K.Fleming

figure 164



early showmen

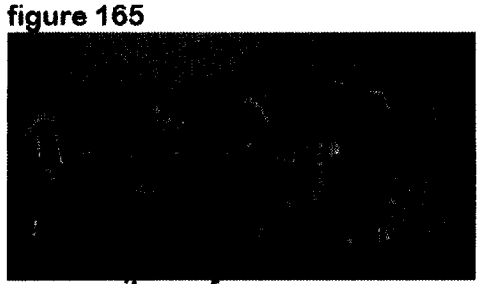
photo: Mission

figure 163

Mission choir performing

photo: Mission

figure 165



community performers

photo: Misson