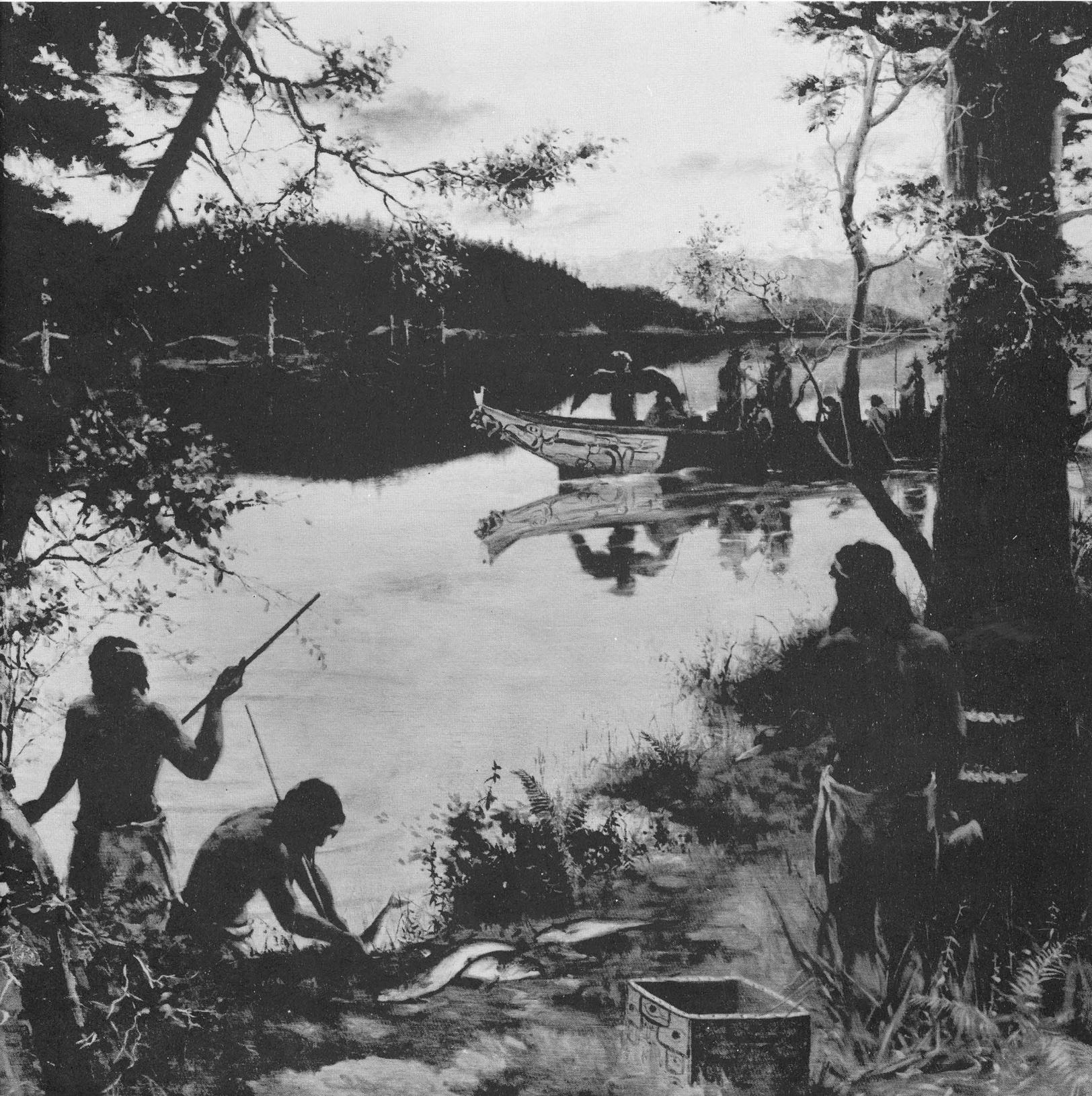


MUSIC OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

NORTHWEST (PUGET SOUND)

From the Archive of Folk Culture

Recorded and Edited by
Willard Rhodes



First issued on long-playing record in 1954. Accompanying booklet revised 1984.

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Dedicated to the memory of
Willard W. Beatty,
Director of Indian Education
for the Bureau of Indian Affairs,
Department of the Interior,
from 1937 to 1951.



FOREWORD TO THE 1954 EDITION

For a number of years the Bureau of Indian Affairs has sponsored the recording of typical Indian music throughout the United States. During this time approximately a thousand Indian songs have been recorded by Mr. Willard Rhodes, professor of music at Columbia University. The study originated in an effort to determine the extent to which new musical themes were continuing to develop. Studies have shown that in areas of Indian concentration, especially in the Southwest, the old ceremonial songs are still used in the traditional fashion. In the Indian areas where assimilation has been greater, Indian-type music is still exceedingly popular. There is considerable creative activity in the development of new secular songs which are used for social gatherings. These songs pass from reservation to reservation with slight change.

While the preservation of Indian music through recordings contributes only a small part to the total understanding of American Indians, it is nevertheless an important key to this understanding. It is with this thought that these records have been made available through cooperative arrangements with the Music Division of the Library of Congress.

Douglas McKay
Secretary of the Interior

FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION

In 1938, the first broadly conceived recording program with modern equipment of American Indian music had its beginning in a unique meeting of personalities. Dr. Willard W. Beatty, director of Indian education for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a man with unusual sensitivity to the unique value of Native American arts, was on one side of the equation. On the other side was Prof. Willard Rhodes of the music department at Columbia University and conductor of Columbia's Opera Workshop. Rhodes combined a wide background in musical performance, criticism, conducting, and scholarship with a deep interest in Native American culture.

American Indian music had been recorded before, notably in Frances Densmore's pioneer work between 1907 and 1940, during which time she recorded well over two thousand songs. In the late 1930s, electronic equipment for the making of phonograph discs in the field became available and a few samplings of Native American music began to appear on commercial discs. It seemed appropriate that a sustained effort should be launched to continue the work of Densmore (and others) in a form that could be made available to the public. In addition, Beatty and Rhodes had a research goal: to ascertain what kinds of new musics were beginning to appear in Native American communities and the extent to which traditional musics were still in use.

Rhodes undertook nine field surveys between 1940 and 1952. The recordings included 260 ten- and twelve-inch discs, obtained from 1940 to 1949, and 50 seven-inch tape reels, obtained from 1950 to 1952. The tremendous task of indexing, editing, and preparing selections of this material for publication on records took place in 1952-54. In September 1954, ten long-playing albums were made available to Indian schools and agencies across the United States and to the general public as well.

During this period, Rhodes was continuing his time-consuming duties in the music department and the Opera Workshop at Columbia and was also developing a second career in ethnomusicology. He was active in the International Folk Music Council (now the International Council for

Traditional Music), and in the spring of 1953, became one of the founders of the Society for Ethnomusicology. He was the Society's first president, 1956-58. His interest in music as a worldwide phenomenon led to a field trip to Africa in 1958-59 and to India in 1956-66. At the end of the decade, he was president of both the International Folk Music Council and the Society for Asian Music. One of Rhodes' abiding interests has been the new musical combinations and permutations that result from the contact of different cultures. Thus in his selections for the Library of Congress Indian records, he included hymns and other new musics as well as the traditional musics which had engaged the attention of scholars up until that time.

Professor Rhodes was keenly aware that the value of any ethnic recording depends greatly on the accuracy and the detail of the notes that accompany it. But recent developments in the recording industry have militated against the ideal of full documentation. For the sake of economy, the information available is now usually no more than can be printed on the record jacket itself. Informative booklets or pamphlets have become a rarity. The trend is getting even worse as cassette recordings take the place of twelve-inch discs. Instead of the approximately 100 square inches available on the LP record jacket, the cassette container limits the publisher to a surface for printed information of eight square inches, or less.

It is a pleasure, then, to welcome the publication of the documentation that Professor Rhodes has prepared for the Music of the American Indian Series of the Library of Congress. The music, in all its richness and vitality, deserves the distinguished commentary it receives here.

David P. McAllester
Wesleyan University
Middletown, Connecticut
1983

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In writing the booklets to accompany the ten albums of North American Indian Music that the Library of Congress has issued from my collection and made available to the public, it has been my intention and wish that they may introduce the Indians and their culture to the public through their music. Here they have revealed themselves, their traditions, and their beliefs, in songs and poetry. The collection admits to a limitation in the coverage of Indian tribes, but it does represent the variety of musical styles and cultures that characterize the North American Indians.

The booklets have been addressed to music lovers and persons interested in learning about the first Americans and their culture. Brief historical sketches of the tribes serve as introductions and settings for the music that follows. I have not given musical notations of the songs, nor have I indulged in ethnomusicological analysis. Qualified specialists will prefer to make their own notations and studies from the sound records, and anthropologists will supplement their knowledge by consulting the bibliographies and historic sources.

The secret of enjoying Indian music is in repeated listening to the songs. They soon engrave themselves in the memory of the listener, leaving an indelible musical pattern.

The material presented in the ten albums of North American Indian Music was recorded in Indian communities west of the Mississippi River between 1937 and 1952. This work was done for the Education Branch of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C., at the instigation of Willard Beatty, director

of Indian education, 1937-51. Mr. Beatty was highly sensitive to, and appreciative and respectful of, Indians and their culture, and he instituted a new direction in Indian education. Instead of downgrading Indian music, arts, crafts, and customs, he saw great beauty in their culture and encouraged its continuation and development.

Though the first two albums, AFS L34 *The Northwest* and AFS L35 *The Kiowa*, were issued with booklets, the remaining albums have been without booklets. A grant from the National Endowment for the Arts has made possible a visit to the Indian communities where this material was recorded to check translations to texts and to note changes since 1952. I express here my thanks and appreciation to the National Endowment for the Arts for its support in making possible the writing of the booklets that now complete the series.

Willard Rhodes
Pound Ridge, New York
March 31, 1979

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Erna Gunther, Melville Jacobs, and William Elmendorf of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington were more than generous in introducing me to singers and sharing with me their highly specialized knowledge of Indian cultures in western Washington. Alice Mariott was most kind in introducing me to Kiowa informants. Gertrude Kurath was most helpful in supplying information on her fieldwork in the Tewa Pueblos. Edith Crowell Trager provided valuable assistance with Kiowa linguistics. William C. Sturtevant, general editor of the Smithsonian Institution's *Handbook of North American Indians*, transcribed the words of the "Creek Counting Song" (B7) on AFS L37 *Delaware, Choctaw, Creek* and offered the interesting accompanying note on stray number systems. Musical transcription of this piece was by Dorothy Sara Lee, director of the Federal Cylinder Project at the Library of Congress.

For translations of native texts, I want to thank William Horn Cloud for the Sioux, Lee Motah for the Comanche, and Ronnie Lupe and Ryan Barnette for the Apache. I am indebted to Professor David P. McAllester, who offered valuable suggestions and translations that have been incorporated in the Navajo booklet; to Professor Charlotte Johnson Frisbie for information on the Navajo Girl's Puberty Ceremony; to Professor Edward Kennard, who made translations of Hopi texts and gave permission for their use; to Professor Keith A. Basso, who allowed me to quote from his monograph, *The Cibecue Apache*; and Richard Keeling of the Folk Arts Program, National Endowment for the Arts, for editorial assistance and for his annotation of several selections of Apache music on AFS L42.

To name all the many friends who contributed to this series of ten albums, *Music of the American Indian*, is an impossibility. However, recognition and sincere thanks are offered, not only to the Indians whose names appear here, but also to all those who shared so generously with me their

knowledge and information. In memory of Willard Walcott Beatty, director of Indian education, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, 1937-51, who sponsored the collecting of this music and was instrumental in making it available to the public through the Library of Congress, special thanks are offered. Bess Lomax Hawes, director of the Folk Arts Program at the National Endowment for the Arts, recognized the need for booklets of ethnographic information to accompany the series, *Music of the American Indian*, and brought this need to the attention of the Endowment, which supported the project. To her I also offer my thanks and deep appreciation.

In the Library of Congress, help was gratefully received from Harold Spivacke, former chief of the Music Division, Duncan Emrich, former chief of the Folklore Section, Rae Korson, former head of the Archive of Folk Song, Joseph C. Hickerson, head of the Archive of Folk Culture, and Alan Jabbour, director of the American Folklife Center. For assistance in checking and formatting bibliographies, Marsha Maguire and Anderson J. Orr deserve thanks, as does Claudia Widgery for typing and retyping drafts of the bibliographies. Gerald E. Parsons, Jr. of the Archive of Folk Culture and James B. Hardin of the Publishing Office divided the duty of editing the ten brochures, and Dorothy Zeiset of the Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division saw them to the press.

For any errors that may have found their way into these booklets I assume full responsibility. I thank Anne Marie Schiller for her patience and skill in typing this manuscript. And to my wife, without whose constant help in the recording of this music and the preparation of the booklets this material might not have found its way into print, I offer my thanks and appreciation.

Willard Rhodes, 1981

INTRODUCTION TO NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN MUSIC

by Willard Rhodes
*Professor of Music
Columbia University, 1954*

The music lover who is listening to Indian music for the first time is apt to be perplexed by his novel experience. He may protest that "It all sounds alike," that "They only have one tune," and in all seriousness finally ask, "But is it music?" Such honest reactions are not uncommon among the uninitiated. They are normal human responses to the unfamiliar and are not peculiarly related to Indian music. Similar questions have been raised about the art work of our best contemporary composers, artists, writers, and architects by those who are unable to view the new art in its social setting and to see it in its historic relationship with the past. Persons who would know more about the "first Americans," with whom our past three and a half centuries of history is so intimately connected, will find in Indian musical traditions a full, expressive revelation of the inner life of these interesting people.

For the Indian, music is a medium of communication and contact with the supernatural, and since all the varied activities of life find their respective places in the Indian's cosmos, there are songs for every occasion. The hard and fast distinction between sacred and secular which we are accustomed to make loses its definiteness in the Indian's world. There are songs for the making of rain, Guardian Spirit songs for success in hunting, fishing, and gambling, songs for the protection of the home, the curing of the sick, lullabies, love songs, corn-grinding songs, social dance songs, and songs connected with legends. From this brief, functional listing, it will be noted that music was closely associated with the daily and seasonal activities of living. Though the Indian is not lacking in aesthetic enjoyment of his native music, he rarely regards it as something to listen to apart from its social and ceremonial function.

For the open-minded, open-eared listener, Indian music is neither inaccessible nor difficult to enjoy. Patient and repeated hearings of these songs will gradually reveal the subtle, haunting beauty that is enfolded in their carefully modelled forms. Here one will find the same artistic features—color, symmetry and balance of form, bold, striking designs, logical unity and coherence

of thought—that distinguish Indian painting, pottery, weaving, and silversmithing, so widely admired and enjoyed. Like the music of the Greeks, and like folk music in its purest, primeval form, Indian music is basically monophonic, single-lined. There are occasional excursions into heterophony whereby one voice or group of voices temporarily deviates from the melodic line of the song while others adhere to the established pattern. Such examples of part singing, however, are relatively rare. The simplicity of this monophonic music may fall strangely on ears that have been conditioned by the thick harmonic and contrapuntal texture, rich orchestration, and massive volume of our Western European music. Just as it becomes necessary to adjust one's aural perspective in turning from symphonic music to the more modest and economical medium of chamber music, so must one adjust one's listening for Indian music.

Indian music is predominantly vocal music. Drums, rattles, bells, notched sticks, and other percussion instruments are frequently employed to supply a rhythmic accompaniment to the songs. Pitch-producing instruments are limited to the musical bow in its various forms, the single- or two-stringed violin, found among the Apache and the Yakutat (a Tlingit tribe on the Northwest Coast, bordering on the Eskimo), whistles, vertical open flutes, and flageolets. The Apache violin and the Indian flutes seem to have been used exclusively for the playing of love songs. Many of these instruments have become obsolete and are rarely found outside museums today.

The regularly recurring beat of the drum or other percussion instruments, which serves as a metric framework to so many Indian songs, has often obscured the subtle and complex rhythms of the vocal melodies they accompany. The listener's preoccupation with the most obvious element of Indian music has given rise to the popular belief that the music is principally rhythmic (referring, of course, to the drum rhythm, not that of the song) and monotonous. A concentration of attention on the melodic line of the songs will convince the listener that the rhythmic element is no more important than the tonal element, and that the songs, though repeti-

tive, are not monotonous.

The question is often asked, "What scale do Indians use?" Benjamin Ives Gilman, a pioneer student of Indian music, went so far as to deny the Indian even a "sense of scale." He wrote, "What we have in these melodies is the musical growths out of which scales are elaborated, and not compositions undertaken in conformity to norms of interval order already fixed in the consciousness of the singers. In this archaic stage of art, scales are not formed but forming." Later George Herzog gave further elucidation on this subject in the following statement: "The tones themselves are subject to more variation than ours, depending upon the musical, textual, and emotional context; especially since instruments with fixed pitches, which would standardize musical pitch and intonation, do not play an important role. Consequently, in musical transcriptions of such melodies a note does not stand for an objective unit, an ideally constant tone, but for a functional unit, a mere average value around which the variations cluster." There is no single scale, such as our major or minor scale, to which Indian music can be related. A scale is nothing more than an orderly arrangement of the tonal material from which a melody is made. Different melodies employ different sets or arrangements of tones. An analysis of a few Indian songs will apprise the student of the great variety of scales which underlie Indian music. Some simple melodies achieve a satisfying form and completeness with no more than two or three tones, in which cases we would say that they are based on two- or three-tone scales. Pentatonic scales in their various forms are fairly common in Indian music, but they cannot be regarded as typically Indian since their distribution is worldwide. The Indian singer and maker of songs, like folk artists in other mediums and in other cultures, is not entirely unconscious of what he does, but he apparently feels and expresses himself "with instinctive more than with analytical mental processes."

Among Indians music making is generally the prerogative of the men. There are, however, many instances in which the women join in the singing with the men, as in the Guardian Spirit

songs and Bone Game songs of the Northwest, the Honoring songs of the Sioux, and the Sun Dance songs of the Plains. Corn-grinding songs, lullabies, and songs of a personal nature have furnished women with a repertoire for their musical expression. In the Christian-influenced Indian Shaker religion of the Northwest and the Christian religion as practiced by various Protestant sects in the Southern Plains, women share with the men in the singing and "receiving" of songs. Some of the most beautiful hymns have been "dreamed" by women.

The music lover and student will be amazed at the variety of expression which the native singer has achieved within the limited framework of a monophonic music. Songs of similar social and ceremonial function tend to assume a type pattern, but there is considerable range of variation within the type pattern. Even more impressive are the differences of style that exist between the music of various tribes and culture groups. American Indians have been falsely represented and synthesized by movies, fiction, and folklore, into *the* American Indian, a composite type of human being that never lived. The average person is unaware of the fact that there are some fifty Indian language stocks which are subdivided into many dialectic groups. Nor is he apt to be informed of the cultural differences that give color and character not only to culture areas but to individual groups within an area. It is hoped that the music of this series of records will help the listener to a better understanding of the North American Indians as people and make him more appreciative of the wide range of cultural variation which is so beautifully reflected in their music.

Indian music is a living expression of a vital people, not a relic of the past of a dying race. The impact of the mechanized civilization of the white man has effected culture changes which are mirrored in Indian music. When old beliefs and ceremonies cease to function in the life of a society, the songs associated with them tend to pass into oblivion. But they are replaced by new songs which give truer representation to current beliefs and practices. The Shaker songs of the Northwest, the Peyote songs, so widely diffused

throughout the Plains, and the contemporary love songs used for social dances are examples of the new music. These changes are lamented by purists, predisposed to regard Indian culture in static terms and to believe the old songs more beautiful than the new ones. Acculturation, that process of change resulting from the contact of one culture with another, is age old. It was operative among Indian groups in pre-Columbian times, and the old music, like the culture of which it was a part, gives evidence of such contacts. Today the process has been greatly accelerated by modern transportation and communication. Rodeos, fairs, expositions, government boarding schools, and two world wars have brought into close contact for varying periods of time Indians of diverse cultural backgrounds, geographically remote from one another. In an attempt to give as true and complete an account of Indian music as time and space will allow, examples of both the old and the new music have been included in this series of records.

BACKGROUND FOR THE INDIAN MUSIC OF WESTERN WASHINGTON

by Erna Gunther
*Professor of Anthropology
University of Washington, 1954*

The region from which the music in this album comes is not a large one in the American landscape, since it includes only the western part of Washington, with a slight extension into southern British Columbia. From the point of view of Indian life, it is the southern margin of one of the great cultural developments in native America, namely the Northwest Coast, a region generally defined as reaching from southeastern Alaska to either the Columbia River or to northwestern California. Since the area covered here is small and compact, a more exact definition is advisable. In western Washington, between the Cascade Mountains and the ocean, there were many Indian villages, all of which obtained their living from the forest and the sea in varying proportions according to their specific location. On the basis of these proportions, anthropologists have divided the region longitudinally into three broad strips running from the Canadian border to the Columbia River. The central area includes Admiralty Inlet, Puget Sound, and the lower stretches of the many rivers emptying into the Sound. Villages here were located along the beaches and around the mouths of rivers and creeks. The inhabitants used shellfish like clams and geoducks and gathered many roots, bulbs, and berries from the forest and the occasional open meadow. Many families owned fishing sites part way up the rivers where they went seasonally for salmon runs. The eastern strip, in the foothills of the Cascades, gave a more restricted life and movement to the villagers who lived permanently up the longer rivers, like the Skagit and Nooksack. They subsisted largely on salmon but supplemented it with more game than the Sound people and were compelled to go down the rivers to trade for dried clams and other saltwater delicacies. They were looked upon by their Sound neighbors as the "country cousins" and in the Chinook jargon, a trade language, were referred to as "Stick Indians."

To the west of Puget Sound is the great Olympic Peninsula with its Pacific Ocean front as well as the southern shore of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Here lived, among others, the Quinault, the Quileute, and the Makah, who were truly maritime people. They also fished for salmon

but made extensive use of halibut as well. However, much more dramatic was their courageous pursuit of seals and whales. Outstanding in this enterprise were the Makah at Neah Bay who, like the other Nootkan-speaking people of the west coast of Vancouver Island, made a ritual of whale hunting and esteemed the whale hunter above all others in the community. These people hunted land animals less than the other groups but made use of an abundance of wild vegetable foods in their immediate environment.

There were many features of living which all these people shared. The social and political unit was the village, and even though a number of villages often spoke the same dialect and for that reason have been loosely referred to in the literature as tribes, such a political structure hardly existed. These villages consisted of a number of fairly large cedar plank houses, rarely more than twenty, with each house containing from two to ten families. A house was generally built by several related men, like brothers or cousins, and each claimed ownership to a section. The houses were constructed on a framework of upright posts, with crossbeams to support the roof. The cedar planks were set in loosely between the posts. The Indians of this part of the Northwest Coast did not make totem poles, but instead, the owner of each section of the house would carve the posts of his area with figures representing his guardian spirit. This carving was usually in low relief, augmented with painting in red, black, and white. The section inhabited by each family was screened off by cattail mats that hung down from the roof. When a large gathering was expected, these mats were removed, making a great hall of the entire house. There was a passage down the center of the house where the fires were kept for cooking and where great fires blazed during ceremonials.

Travel was very important in Indian life and throughout this area was generally done by canoe. Whether the family was going to one of its fishing sites, or to a ceremonial gathering in another village, the necessary clothing, equipment, children, and dogs were piled into canoes, ranging from thirty to sixty feet in length. If the journey was a long one the company would

beach the canoe at dusk and camp, often sleeping under the overturned craft. These canoes matched the outrigger boats of the Polynesians for seaworthiness and carried Indians long distances for visits, friendly or otherwise, including slave raids. In the second half of the nineteenth century, they used them for transportation from the Queen Charlotte Islands to the hop fields of Washington where the Indians worked as pickers. The canoes were always made of a single log, but in many sizes, and were designed for many purposes. The large ones just mentioned were for traveling and had high prows that cut through the waves. Shovel-nosed canoes with flat bows and sterns were used in the rivers. Small canoes, pointed at both ends, were good for fishing and duck hunting.

Since paddling can be a very rhythmical motion, it is to be expected that the extensive use of the canoe would present occasions for canoe songs. There are a few to be found, but no great numbers of them, probably because the stern waters of the Northwest Coast rarely permitted the leisurely attitude conducive to song. However, the early explorers all mentioned that the Indians, coming out to their ships to trade, arrived singing.

The annual economic cycle was very closely bound to the ceremonial and social pattern of activity. Since the food supply was available in the summer and fortunately consisted of many products that could be preserved through drying, the Indians performed their major tasks during that season, leaving them considerable leisure for other activities in the winter. The ceremonial life here had three major motivations: the social activity necessary to gain and maintain social prestige, the ceremonials involving the guardian spirit, and shamanistic performances. For all these occasions the people gathered in a large house and included visitors from neighboring villages and even distant places according to the importance of the host and the significance of the affair. Social activity depended upon the leadership of the upper class in a society divided loosely into three groups: leaders, common people, and slaves. Mobility between these classes was considerable except for slaves, whose only possibility of social improvement was through ransom by their own people, since they were obtained by raids on distant villages. A person of

good social standing had to maintain his position through giving the proper feasts, as, when his children received new names, each with greater social importance, when a daughter arrived at puberty, when her hand was sought in marriage, when the marriage took place, when a man himself took over an important name from a dead relative, and when important funerals occurred. Some of these occasions have been generally called potlatches, but if one reserves that term for the involved social and economic transactions of the north, these feasts are clearly marginal forms. Social position was achieved by the generosity displayed on these occasions, both in the amount and kind of food set before guests, the amount of property given away (and perhaps destroyed at funerals) and by the extent of the entertainment provided.

Perhaps reconstructing here the procedure of a typical gathering will show the place of music in the ceremonial life of western Washington. When the guests arrived from another village by canoe, they always landed in a little cove near their destination and dressed in ceremonial clothes and painted themselves. To make a spectacular entry into the host's village, often two canoes were lashed together with a platform between them, on which dancers stood ready to perform when they were close enough to be seen easily. The songs and dances used on such an occasion were the property of the head of the family. The arriving guests were greeted by the host and his family, also ceremonially dressed, and a welcome song with a slow stately dance was performed on the beach. The guests were then led into the ceremonial house where they were assigned space according to their social position. The farther their position was from the door, the higher their rank. As the guests assembled and waited for the meal to be served, individuals would spontaneously sing any song that belonged to them, as for instance the Chinook songs of Henry Allen. Such songs have no serious implications and are purely for entertainment, yet nobody sings a number to which he or his family does not have a right, either through inheritance or purchase. At meal time songs of thanks were often sung to the host. After the meal, if the occasion was for one night only, the business of the gathering would begin, but if the assemblage was to stay for several days, a gambling game might be organized.

In western Washington this was generally the "bone game," the object being for one side to guess in which hand an opposing player held the

unmarked one of two tubular bones. The two sides sat behind parallel planks of wood and beat time on them with short sticks as they sang. Only the hiding side sang. Gambling songs belonged to well-known players, but older ones whose ownership had been forgotten were freely sung by all. The game was universal in the Northwest and many songs had words in Chinook jargon since that was understood more widely than any local language. This game is still played at local Indian gatherings today and new songs are often composed and added to the repertoire.

During the winter the social gatherings gave way to the more serious conditions of guardian spirit dancing. In this region, religion was extremely individual, for each person went out at adolescence to acquire, through fasting and vigil, the help of a spirit who came to him in a vision. This spirit gave the devotee the ability to be a good hunter, gambler, or basket maker, or to perform any other socially sanctioned activity. At this time, also, a song was heard and a dance seen. When the young person returned successfully from such a vigil the older men in the village helped him develop his song and arrange his dance in an accepted pattern. Then during the next ceremonial season, when he felt his spirit upon him again, he danced for the first time. To celebrate this occasion the young dancer's father had to give suitable presents to all the important people who witnessed his son's performance. In this way his possession of his spirit was validated and at succeeding ceremonial seasons he would dance if he was repossessed by his spirit. If a person was possessed by a spirit and did not respond by singing and dancing the power was strong enough to kill him. In other words, singing and dancing here was a form of exorcism.

Whether the spirit dancing lasts for several days for each participant as in former days or is done in a single night as at present, the procedure is the same. When a dancer felt his power coming to him he groaned with agony, a signal for the drummers to gather around him. As soon as he intoned his song, the leader picked it up and they drummed the rhythm. When the dancer was ready, he jumped into the center of the floor with a great leap, and faced his drummers while he sang a verse of the song. Then he turned and danced counterclockwise around the house, moving between the fires in the center

and the people sitting on the platforms along the walls. Periodically he stopped, faced the drummers and sang another verse and then continued on his way, making a circuit of the house, never less than once, never more than four times. Formerly these possessions were preceded by days of listlessness during which the family prepared for the dancing to follow. It is interesting that now, when so much of this culture has disappeared, this feature still remains in a shortened and less spontaneous form, but in the last twenty years, gaining rather than losing importance.

The individual character of these songs has frequently been mentioned, but it must be added that, in spite of this, everyone knew many songs. However, a song could be used only if the owner started it or gave his permission for its use. A very old man, who could no longer sing, would pay a younger man to sing his song for him at a gathering. If the people especially liked the song, many individuals would, in turn, give the owner a present for having made it possible for them to hear his song. Once a song was started, everyone would join in, and the degree of participation indicated the social esteem in which the owner was held. During a man's spirit dance, his wife often walked around in front of the audience and urged them to sing. Volume was generally regarded as more important than quality.

In the culture of former days, there were individuals who had relations with more powerful and dangerous spirits. These people were shamans or medicine men, who used their spiritual power to cure the sick, foretell the future, recover lost articles, and go to the land of the dead for departed souls. Their powers were specific according to their spirit helpers, and they could work for harm as well as for good. They were generally people to be feared, and children were warned not to linger near a shaman's house. A medicine man usually worked alone and came to a patient's house on call. He would sing quietly to attract his spirit and then, with the help of the onlookers' singing, dance and cure by means of massage or sucking the afflicted part of the patient. Again, as soon as his song was intoned everyone present joined in. Such a cure might last only a few hours, but if the patient did not respond, it might go on for several days. Shamanistic curings have been crowded out of the Indian life of today by knowledge of modern medical practices and by missionary preaching, but there are still many older people who are minor shamans or resort to a shaman for help.

As the power of the shaman diminished in Puget Sound villages, a partial substitute for it developed. At the southern end of the Sound, there began in 1882 one of the great religious movements so frequent among the Indians in the latter part of the nineteenth century. A Squaxin Indian, John Slocum, believed dead, came back to life and, announcing that he had seen God, preached a revivalistic type of religion called, in English, the "Shakers." This name is derived from the violent trembling indulged in during services and has no connection with the Shaker cult of the eastern United States. The religion is composed of features drawn from the guardian spirit cult, Catholicism, and Protestantism, both Christian religions having been familiar to the Indians through missionaries for several decades. In addition to Sunday services, the Shakers undertake to cure the sick, who are regarded as afflicted because of lack of faith or as being under the power of evil spirits. They also hold special meetings to convert new members and hear testimonials from "backsliders" who have rejoined the church. The music of the church often has a vague resemblance to the Protestant hymn, which is historically correct. Since these people believe in direct revelation as a guiding factor, the music is equally spontaneous, and just as the Guardian Spirit songs vary within a definite range of pattern, so this style is easily recognizable. A hymn is started by someone and taken up by the rest of the congregation. Singing in the Shaker church is accompanied by bells rather than the drum. In the curing service, the members move around the patient with a stamping step that increases in tempo until the leader breaks it and brings it down to a slower beat. In the Sunday service, the same step is used in parading around the church, but it does not become so violent.

This church still exists, and while its numbers are not great, it has spread from Puget Sound up the east coast of Vancouver Island and southward to Hupa in California. Inroads have been made on its membership by modern evangelical cults like the Pentecostal Mission and the Assembly of God, but a strong leader can still get a following, and even in the summer, count among his congregation some who dance guardian spirit dances during the winter ceremonial season.

The Shaker interest in curing the sick was a characteristic of Northwest culture where the shaman's gift tapered off among the lay people in the ability to effect minor cures. Among the Makah, the Nootkan-speaking relatives of the tribes on the west coast of Vancouver Island, lay curing was organized into a society. In the region

from which the songs in this album come, one of the features which marks the culture as a marginal form of the Northwest Coast was the occasional presence of a very weak form of the secret society. The Makah had this trait in the Wolf Ritual and in a poorly defined society which was less exclusive and admitted practically everyone who cared to join. This was called the "Tsaiyak." Its members were on call to sing for the sick, as an aid to recovery, but not to replace the shaman. They expected no pay for this, but a household they visited would feed them during their services. The songs were described as soothing and encouraging so that the society was often called upon by families where a member suffered from "depression."

The individual songs in the album, like the love songs and the lullaby, were also personal property, inherited from relatives or sometimes bought. Another person's song was never publicly used without arrangement and compensation. In this type of singing, quality of voice was important in contrast to the standard of volume in spirit singing. Singers have been described as having "too rough" a voice for love songs. Today love songs are more often sung for recordings by women, perhaps because men are bashful about them, but that was not the pattern in the former culture.

Singing had an important function in the culture of the Northwest. There is evidence from early explorers, the Spaniards (1774), Cook (1778), and Vancouver (1792), that there has been little change in the type of music or in the occasions that demand it for the last one hundred fifty years of this culture. As in many other places, songs have disappeared with their singers, but it is encouraging to find among the Indians a renewed interest in their music. At Guardian Spirit dances there are young people participating and the bone games stimulate new songs on many reservations. And when recordings are made, no one is more eager to hear them than the Indians themselves.

THE MUSIC OF THE NORTHWEST (Puget Sound)

The music of this area shares with North American Indian music a number of general traits which also occur in South America and link Indian music with that of the Eskimo and the Paleo-Siberians in Asia. But in addition there are localized features which set it apart in style from much other North American Indian music. In a study of Salish music George Herzog noted the following characteristics: "a heavy proportion of melodies with comparatively small range; frequency of wide jumps and of 'broken triad' formations; various intricacies of rhythmic accompaniment in its relation to the voice, including frequent syncopation; the importance of rigid percussion instruments; preference for rhythms of three, also of five; a looseness and flexibility of structural organization; dronelike usages representing modest germs of polyphony; and the role of women who are nearly as active musicians as are men." Here one may also note the use of half-tone steps and the rare intervals resulting from their presence—diminished fifth, augmented fourth or fifth—which appear infrequently in Indian music. Though the singing technique for this area has been identified with styles found widely over the North American continent, a comparison of the songs of this record with those of other tribes and areas leads one to question the correctness of this view. It is possible that a more detailed study of a large body of material from this area will lead to the identification of a third type of Indian singing, intermediate to the two types now generally recognized. In relation to the musical style of the vast Northwest Coast, the music of this limited area appears marginal. Herzog suggests that the longer, more strictly organized melodies of the Northwest Coast appear as an "elaboration imposed upon what may well have been a common, or similar, simple base."

The earliest account of the music of the Northwest is that of Captain Cook in his journal reporting his visit to Nootka Sound in 1778. Despite the tremendous changes that have taken place during the past two centuries, many of Captain Cook's observations on Nootka singing are still valid and have been confirmed by present day students. Captain Cook's account follows:

These songs, which have been occasionally mentioned, bear no little resemblance to those performed by the New Zealanders, the violent motions and hideous contortions of the limbs excepted, which these have not. They seem also to sing them indifferently, whether disposed for war, or peace; for they frequently entertained us with a song, evidently with no other design than to please us, and we once saw two parties in canoes, drawn up in order of battle facing each other, each singing in their turn, and we expected every minute they would be by the ears together, but at length they parted and the strangers returned from whence they came. Not, if we understood them right, that they refused the challenge that was given them, but declined it, or pretended to decline it on our account saying we would assist the other against them, so as it appeared that we were the occasion of the quarrel, so on the other hand it appeared that we were the means of preventing them from coming to blows, oftener I believe, than this once, for our friends sometimes carried it with rather a high hand over strangers who occasionally came to visit us. But to return to their songs, those which they sing as a peaceable amusement are sometimes conducted by a man singer, dressed in a garment of many colours, to which is hung deer hoofs, pieces of bone, etc., in such a manner as to strike one against another at every motion of the body. This man is masked and shakes in his hand a rattle, as do also some of the others, and if they had any masks with them they generally put them on and for want of which I have seen a fellow put his head into a tin bottle he had got from us. These songs are always sung in concert, generally by the whole company, at the same time some brandish their weapons in the air, while others strike their paddles against the sides of their boats with such exactness as to produce but a single sound, at the divisions of their music, each strain ends in a loud and deep sigh, uttered in such a manner as to have a very pleasing effect.

The only implements of music, if such they may be called, I saw among them was the rattle and a small pea-whistle about an inch long

which they put wholly into the mouth. To the rattle they sing, but on what occasions they use the whistle I know not, unless it be when dress themselves like to and imitate other animals, they make a noise like them with this whistle as I once saw a man dressed in a wolf's skin with the head on over his own and imitating that animal, made a squeaking noise with the whistle, that I at first thought was done by some contrivance in the animal's head. The rattles are for the most part made in the shape of a bird, with a few pebble stones in the belly and the tail is the handle. They have however others that bear rather more resemblance to a child's rattle.

A more recent account is that of James G. Swan, commenting on the songs he heard at Neah Bay prior to 1869. Swan states:

The songs of the Makah are in great variety, and vary from that of the mother lulling her infant to sleep, to barbarous war cries and horribly discordant "medicine" refrains. Some of the tunes are sung in chorus. They are good imitators and readily learn the songs of the white men, particularly the popular negro melodies. Some of their best tunes are a mixture of our popular airs with notes of their own, and of these they sing several bars, and while one is expecting to hear them finish as they began, they will suddenly change into a barbarous discord. Their songs at ceremonials consist of a recitative and chorus, in which it would be difficult for anyone to represent in musical character the wild, savage sounds to which they give utterance. Some of the tribes sing the songs that have been generally improvised. They keep time with a drum or tambourine, which is simply a skin stretched tightly over a hoop. These songs sound very well, and are melodious when compared to some of the other chants. Many, both males and females, have good voices, and could be taught to sing but their own native songs have nothing to recommend them to civilized ears. The words used are very few, seldom extending beyond those of a single sentence, and generally not more than one or two, which are repeated and sung by the hour. Sometimes they take the name of an individual and repeat it over and over.

Swan's comments on the music of the Makah are especially interesting, for they call attention to the borrowing of songs from other tribes and the process of musical acculturation, operative then in the making of new songs as it is today.

A1—Skagit Guardian Spirit Song

The activities of daily life in the Northwest were closely connected with spirit power. Since guardian spirits were individually acquired, there was considerable variation in the source of the spirit and the nature of its power. The "Skagit Guardian Spirit Song" (A1) is the personal power song of Tommy Bob and was "received" when he was twelve years old. The name of this particular spirit power is *Skwadélitch*, and its special function is the guarding and watching of objects. It manifests itself through the animation of instruments, of which the Skagit recognize four types. The type of instrument associated with this song is the power board which is generally used in pairs. When the owner sings, the boards, each firmly held by two men, are animated by the spirit, which pulls the men about according to the song that is sung.

The physical concentration and emotional absorption which accompanies the singing of Guardian Spirit songs is plainly evident in the frenzied rendition of this song. At the conclusion of the recording of the song Tommy Bob exclaimed, "I really go under the spirit when I'm singing that." An older Skagit, John Fornsby, in discussing guardian spirit, explained, "Sometimes when I shook, when guarding power came to me, my grandmother came and held me. I was singing there and I could feel the power come into me like the wind." *

There are a number of musical features which contribute to the interest of this song. The symmetry of the musical structure, with its phrases and sections so nicely balanced and clearly articulated by the two-tone cadential formula, is bound to impress the musically minded listener. The first section is in the nature of a freely improvised introduction, with considerable ornamentation of the long sustained tones. The second section, in a livelier tempo, and with a regularly recurring beat, provides a vivid contrast

* June Collins, "John Fornsby: The Personal Document of a Coast Salish Indian," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, Marian Smith, editor. New York, 1949, p. 317.

to the preceding section, at the same time furnishing a rhythmic accompaniment for the spirit dance. The concluding section, in a moderate tempo and triple meter, is a rhythmic variation of the two-tone cadential motive. Since this simple melodic cadence is derived from the introduction, the variation based upon it serves as a coda while recapitulating the melodic material of the opening section. These three sections form a well-rounded musical form, A B A¹.

In the middle section of the song appear the only meaningful words, *gwádada gwáchah* [Now you speak]. In dictating the text the singer added, *hetsatisidith* [That is me], but these words, if sung on the record, are not recognizable. Of such interest because of its relatively rare occurrence in North American Indian music is the musical phenomenon of heterophony, which may be observed in this section of the song. While the principal singer or leader carries forward the melody of the song, the women sustain a high monotone, which produces a striking harmonic effect. This budding trend toward part-singing has been noted by Frances Densmore among the Papago, the Pawnee in their Morning Star Ceremony, and the Makah, Quileute, and Clayquot of the Northwest. In addition to the examples of heterophonic and harmonic singing on this record (A1, A5, B6) others have been recorded in the Stomp Dance songs of the Creek (*Music of the American Indian*, AFS L37 *Delaware, Choctaw, Creek, Cherokee*).

Throughout the song there is a gradual mounting of pitch, sometimes effected within the framework of a structural section, other times between sections, but almost always clearly articulated. The second phrase of the introductory section, which is basically a varied repetition of the first phrase, is pitched a half tone higher than its prototype. The middle section of the song is further raised approximately a half tone. This constant climbing of pitch continues to the end of the song when it cadences on a final tone one-and-a-half steps above the central, organizing tone of the first phrase. This gradual mounting of pitch within a song may be an idiosyncrasy of the individual singer, but inasmuch as it occurs consistently with various singers and has been noted elsewhere among the Coast Salish by Helen Roberts, one is tempted to regard this phenomenon as one of the stylistic features of the music of this area. Further studies will either confirm or correct this assumption.

This song, sung by Tommy Bob, with the assistance of Mrs. Tommy Bob, Mrs. Amelia Billie, and Mrs. Amelia Dan, was recorded in the Bob home in La Conner, Washington, August 21, 1950.

A2—Lummi Paddling Song

The countless miles of shoreline and numerous waterways of the Northwest made canoe transportation the natural medium of travel for Indians of that area. Canoe trips were often accompanied by paddling songs, sung in the manner described by Captain Cook in his journal reporting his visit to Nootka Sound in 1778. The "Lummi Paddling Song" presented here is the property of the Frank Hillaire family and is characteristic of the canoe songs owned by families for such occasions. Sung by Joseph Hillaire, the song was recorded in the library of the Lummi Day School, Lummi Reservation, near Marietta, Washington, August 15, 1950. The regularly recurring rhythmic movements of paddling have doubtlessly influenced the rhythm of this triple metered melody. The descending, glissando exclamation at the end of the song and after each of its repetitions is a signal to the paddlers to shift their paddles to the opposite side of the canoe. The melody is based on a descending pentatonic scale, A, G, F, D, C, with an auxiliary tone G sharp. It may be noted that the first repetition of the song is pitched about a quarter tone above the first statement, the second repetition, a full half tone higher. The song is vocalized on the following syllables:

O ho ho
O ho ho
O he he o
O ho ho ho
He ya he
A ho
A ho ho ho
He ya he
O hi o hi o hi
Ho

A3—The Story of the Rock and the Little Crabs

The folklore of the American Indian is rich in legends and myths. The "Story of the Rock and the Little Crabs," with its accompanying song and imitation of the waves, is typical of the legends with which the Coast Salish entertained their children during the long winter evenings. The story, told here by Joseph Hillaire, was recorded in the library of the Lummi Day School, Lummi Reservation, near Marietta, Washington, August 16, 1950. Mr. Hillaire learned this story from his mother who came from Fraser River.

The story of the Rock and the Little Crabs that abound along the shores of Puget Sound goes like this: The Rock was the Grandmother, and the Little Crabs that live under these rocks along the shoreline are her grandchildren. A great storm started to blow and the waves beat upon the shore and Grandma Rock began to lament because of the awful shock coming up her head. And so she began to sing, hoping that the wind and storm would abate.

Wuthauwata, wuthauwata

Wuthauwata, wuthauwata

Nuslalenuxta

[Now there is nothing more]

Nuslaxheyasi

[That I can do with my head]

Wuthauwata, wuthauwata

But the waves continued to beat, Oom! Oom! Oom!

So she continued to sing:

Wuthauwata, wuthauwata

Wuthauwata, wuthauwata

Nuslalenuxta

[Now there is nothing more]

Nuslaxheyasi

[That I can do with my head]

Wuthauwata, wuthauwata

My dear little grandchildren, one of you should go up to the top of my head and see if the storm is quieting down. So hurriedly the oldest one of these Little Crabs hastened outside, out from under the Rock, and started to climb. As he got about half way up on the side of the Rock the waves struck him and knocked him down, and he came tumbling in again. So Granny had to sing her song again.

Wuthauwata, wuthauwata

Wuthauwata, wuthauwata

Nuslalenuxta

[Now there is nothing more]

Nuslaxheyasi

[That I can do with my head]

Wuthauwata, wuthauwata

One after another the Little Crabs took their turn to go up and see if the storm had abated. But each time they came tumbling down until the last tiny crab made its little effort to go out and see. And lo and behold, he was able to get right on top of the stone, the great Rock, his Grandmother, and look out on the beautiful calm of the sea. And so he came back and told his Granny that it was a beautiful, calm day. And so all the Little Crabs came up on top of Grandma's head, and looked on the waters, and they saw the dry particles of sand floating on the surface of the water. And they were happy that a beautiful day had come. So they would mock the sound of the wave. They would say:

Oowoom! Oowoom! Oowoom!

That's all.

A4—Chinook Jargon Songs

The barrier created by the great diversity of languages and dialects on the Northwest Coast was obviated by the development of a *lingua franca*, the Chinook jargon. This intertribal language, composed of Nootka, Chinook, English, and French, served both the trader and the missionary in their dealings and communications with the natives. In 1878 a little pamphlet entitled *Hymns in the Chinook Jargon* was printed. It proved to be very useful to its author and compiler, the Reverend Myron Eells, and his associates in their missionary endeavors. In his book, *Ten Years Missionary Work at Skokomish*, Eells writes: "The first efforts were to translate some of our simpler hymns into the Chinook language, but this we found to be impracticable, with one or two exceptions. The expressions, syllables, words, and accent did not agree well enough for it; so we made up some simple sentiment, repeated it two or three times, fitted it to one of our tunes, and sang it." Among the tunes employed by Eells are "John Brown," "Jesus Loves Me," "Hebrew Children," "A. B. C.," "Bounding Billows," and "I'm Going Home." Many of these spiritual folk melodies originated in New England and were passed on by oral tradition and printed songsters during the Great Awakening, that revivalistic movement of the eighteenth and nineteenth century which swept through the southern states and into the new settlements of Kentucky and the West. There they served the religious needs of a pioneer population for three quarters of a century before being introduced to the Indians of the Northwest. In *Hymns in the Chinook Jargon* (second edition revised and enlarged, Portland, Oregon, 1889) Eells gives the following texts to the two songs which Henry Allen sings on the record (A4).

1. *Kwanesum Jesus hyas skookum*
[Always Jesus is very strong,]
Kahkwa yaka papeh wawa,
[So His paper (the Bible) says,]
Delate nawitka,
[Truly so,]
Kahkwa yaka papeh wawa.
[So his paper says.]
2. *Jesus tolo kopa chuck, etc.*
[Jesus conquered the water, etc.]
3. *Jesus tolo kopa wind, etc.*
[Jesus conquered the wind, etc.]
4. *Jesus tolo kopa mes chie, etc.*
[Jesus conquered the wickedness, etc.]
5. *Jesus tolo kopa Lejaub, etc.*
[Jesus conquered the Devil, etc.]
6. *Jesus tolo kopa mimoluse, etc.*
[Jesus conquered death, etc.]

1. *Ahnkuttie nika tikegh whiskey,*
[Formerly I loved whiskey,]
Ahnkuttie nika tikegh whiskey,
[Formerly I loved whiskey,]
Ahnkuttie nika tikegh whiskey,
[Formerly I loved whiskey,]
Pe alta nika mash.
[But now I throw it away.]
Alta nika mash,
[Now I throw it away,]
Alta nika mash,
[Now I throw it away,]
Ahnkuttie nika tikegh whiskey,
[Formerly I loved whiskey,]
Pe alta nika mash.
[But now I throw it away.]
2. *Whiskey has cultus, etc.*
[Whiskey is good for nothing, etc.]
3. *Whiskey mimoluse tillikums, etc.*
[Whiskey kills people, etc.]
4. *Cultus klaska muckamuck, etc.*
[They that drink it, drink what is worthless,
etc.]

It will be noted that Henry Allen sings only the first verse of the first song, and the first and third verses of the second song. He was unable to recall the other verse. The tune of the first song, "Jesus Loves Me," is widely known throughout the world as the result of Christian missionary activities. Folklorists will recognize the tune of the second song as that of the old "Marlbrough s'en va-t-en guerre," a tune that has been sung to "Pig in the Parlor," "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow," and countless other texts. Henry Allen, the singer, was intimately associated in his boyhood with Rev. Myron Eells and his missionary associates. These songs were recorded near Union, Washington, September 2, 1950.

A5 and B1—Shaker Church Songs

The Shaker Church songs, with their haunting melodic beauty and hypnotic, compelling rhythm, constitute the essential core of this religious cult, for it is in these sacred dance songs that the religion achieves its fullest and most exalted expression. Rhythmic and melodic fragments of gospel hymns of evangelical sects have been elaborated according to native principles and techniques of melodic development into a song type so homogeneous and distinct in style that it can be readily recognized.

The group of four songs (A5), sung by Tommy Bob, Mrs. Tommy Bob, Mrs. Amelia Billie, and Mrs. Amelia Dan, we recorded in the Bob home in La Conner, Washington, August 21, 1950. Mr. Bob classified these songs as "work songs," which involve dancing about the patient being worked over, and "prayer songs" used for devotional purposes. Before the recording of the Shaker songs, Tommy Bob, a licensed preacher of the Shaker Church, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, at this time we look up to you, Lord Savior, Jesus Christ. Lord, accept this prayer recording by our white brother who has come to know our ways of living our Christian life. Jesus, according to your Word, that You wanted me to work for You and stand up for You, when You brought me back from my death-bed, Jesus, and You spoke in my heart, and You showed me all things to share with You in truth only. Now at this time, Jesus Christ, bless the brother in this home. My humble prayer to him that these things recorded that some other people may understand our ways and how to carry on our religion. When one of the Indian race died, before he died he

told his brothers not to be buried until after the fourth day. He came back after the fourth day and preached the Word of God. He came back with a spiritual gift, the healing power of God, to save the lost, to heal the sick. At this time, my Lord, Jesus Christ, in my humble prayer at this time, Jesus, accept my prayer that this thing may come true, that this record may travel to far brothers that don't know You, Lord, Jesus Christ, and for them to know our ways that our Indian race here in the Swinomish Tribe, I will sing this song that was given to one of our members. They didn't know God, they didn't know Jesus. And Jesus wanted to know whether we are traveling in the right path. So Lord, accept this prayer.

Reverend Bob's prayer, spoken in English, was accompanied by a counterpoint of similar prayers, freely improvised in the native language, by Mrs. Bob, Mrs. Billie, and Mrs. Dan. The songs presented here are prefaced with an exclamation, *He, Massa Je, he, Massee*. At the end of the recording session, the following prayer was made by Reverend Bob:

At this closing of our song and prayer, where we'll all pray and thank the Lord for accepting this here recording, His wonderful gift that was given to the poor Indian race, that didn't know God. But God give us understanding by delivering this wonderful spiritual gift into our heart, that we might save someone out in the world, that we might save the one that's sick. So at this time, Sisters, we will now pray for the closing of this here recording, the wonderful gift of God.

Qwaxs nak man

[In the name of the Father,]

Se to man

[The Son,]

Santu splee

[And the Holy Ghost.]

Almighty God, at the closing of our recording, Your wonderful words, and we pray look up to you again, my Lord, Jesus Christ, Oh, Lord, You're so merciful and You're so kind, that the way was open for my white brother to come into this humble home. (The balance of this closing prayer was not recorded because the reel of tape ran out.)

Many of the musical features of the Guardian Spirit songs have been transferred to the Shaker Church songs. The emotional involvement and absorption in the singing of Shaker songs is comparable to the spirit possession described by Tommy Bob after the recording of the "Skagit Guardian Spirit Song" (A1). One singer and informant, when asked to sing only one Shaker song at a time, countered that she was unable to do this and explained that she had to sing the songs as they came to her. In the second song of this group one encounters another instance of heterophonic singing like that observed in the "Skagit Guardian Spirit Song" (A1). The vocal technique and manner of singing, common to these two categories of songs, includes relatively clear intonation, also noted by Helen Roberts in her study of sixteen Snohomish melodies, a refined, expressive vibrato, the employment of the diminuendo at the close of a song, and the deep, heavy audible inhalations, which punctuate the phrases. To what extent these features are representative of the musical style of the area can be determined only after further studies have been made.

The sense of ownership, so dominant in Northwest culture, is operative with the Shaker music just as it is with the Guardian Spirit songs. Certain songs are regarded as the exclusive property of certain individuals and are sung only when the owners are present to start them. Like power songs, the Shaker songs are individually "received" by spiritual revelation in dreams. When questioned about her Shaker prayer song (B1), Mrs. Lyda Butler Hottowe explained: "I dreamed it. I dreamed it. And there was a woman that apparently was in good health, and I dreamed one night that I was on the top of an extreme high cliff. And it seemed to be miles down to the bottom, and she was just hanging on with her finger tips. And I knew something miraculous had to be done to save her from falling, so I started singing this song in my dream. And that's the only song I've ever received while I was in the Shaker Church. That is the only prayer song I received." The song is sung several times in the native language, then repeated in English translation, a fairly common practice with Shaker songs. The words of Mrs. Hottowe's song follow:

Jesus, Savior, daukwachi

[Jesus, Saviour, help me]

Jesus, Savior, daukwachi

[Jesus, Saviour, help me]

Jesus, Savior, daukwachi

[Jesus, Saviour, help me]

Ai, hai, hai ya

Ai, hai, hai ya

The extent to which acculturation has taken place is manifest in the ease with which old culture patterns have been modernized and adapted to the teachings and practices of Christianity. There is little or no conflict between the beliefs of the old guardian spirit cult and those of the more modern Shaker religion. For the average Indian they are complementary. It is significant that both the "Skagit Guardian Spirit Song" (A1) and the Shaker Church songs (A5) were recorded the same evening by Rev. Tommy Bob and his neighbors.

In a summary description of the musical style of Shaker songs based on an analysis of twenty-nine melodies, one may note: (1) the large tonal range of these melodies, (2) the tendency for the songs to begin on the octave above the tonic and to end on the tonic, (3) the more or less equitable distribution between upward and downward movement in the initial interval and the occasional use of repeated tones at the beginning of songs. (4) A "pendulum" melodic movement is common to the majority of the songs. (5) In a third of the songs the melodies follow the "broken triad" pattern. With regard to rhythmic organization there is: (6) a preponderance of 4/4 meter and a consistent adherence to it throughout the song, (7) a tendency for melodies to start on a strong down beat, and (8) little use of syncopation. (9) The tempo of the songs averages between sixty and seventy quarter notes to the minute and is gradually increased to about one hundred and twenty five beats to the minute. (10) Introductions and codas are infrequent. (11) The Shaker songs are organized into clear-cut structural forms composed of four, three, or two phrases, with preference for the three-phrase pattern. (12) Pentatonic scales furnish the tonal material for seventeen of the twenty-nine melodies. Of these seventeen melodies, twelve are based on the fourth pentatonic scale (C, D, E, F, G, A, C). (13) An accompaniment of bells played in a regular pulse of eighth notes and simply coordinated with the rhythm of the voice replaces the more traditional accompaniment of drums and rigid percussion instruments. (14) The Shaker vocable, *hai*, so consistently used, is a diagnostic feature of the style. (15) The vocal techniques and distinct singing style, though not exclusive with the Shaker songs, are nonetheless identifying features of this music. (16) Occasional examples of heterophony, so rare in North American Indian music, are to be observed in the Shaker songs.

B2 and B4—Love Songs

Songs in this category are distinguished by their lyricism and the intimacy of thought and emotion they express. The words rarely consist of more than a simple statement that is broken into two or three short phrases and repeated over and over. But to the singer and the person to whom the song is addressed there is an inner meaning not apparent in the words themselves. The circumstances and situation attending the making of the song, the emotional relationship between the singer and the subject, memories and associations, shed an aura of warmth and feeling on the love songs. The "Clallam Love Song" (B2) sung by George Hottowe and his sister, Mrs. Nellie Wilkie, was recorded at Neah Bay, Washington, August 29, 1959. It is based on a descending pentatonic series of tones, B flat, A flat, F, E flat, D flat, B flat, A flat, and is in triple meter. The words follow:

He yai ya na
He yai ya na
He yai ya na
He yai ya na
He yai ya ni na ha ni na
He yai yo na
He yai ya ni na ha ni na
He yai ya ni na
Chau yai yeng sukwa
 [You have gone so far away]
Chau yai yeng sukwa
 [You have gone so far away]
Chau yai yeng sukwa
 [You have gone so far away]
Ching su ya yeng u hai ya
 [On a long journey]
Chau yai yeng sukwa ha ni na
 [You have gone so far away]

The "Quinault Love Song" (B4), sung by Mrs. Hannah Bovechop, daughter of Chief William Mason of Taholah, was recorded at Neah Bay, Washington, August 29, 1950. It is based on a four tone scale, F sharp, E, D, B, and is in a compound triple meter, the measures of irregular length. In the middle of the song the singer raises the pitch, thereby making the song end one half-tone higher than the original tonality. A comparison of the text as dictated by the singer with that as sung on the record will give some suggestion of the variation and liberty singers often introduce in their singing. The text as dictated by Mrs. Bovechop follows:

Ai yat skiyutan tins yai ying watam ha
 [On my horse I journey to see my loved one]
Ai yat skiyutan tins yai ying watam ha
 [On my horse I journey to see my loved one]
As li wachi ya klan axt hans
 [Deliver me to my loved one]
At hans has sakl kiyutan
 [On the bad horse]
At hans has sakl kiyutan
 [On the bad horse]

B3—Quinault Lullaby

Indian babies were often sung to sleep with lullabies such as this charming one which Mrs. Hannah Bovechop learned from her mother. Today these songs are rare, for modern mothers seem less inclined to sing to their babies than the mothers and grandmothers of the past. The collecting of these songs is made difficult by the fact that many of the lullabies were little more than a freely improvised crooning, changing from day to day. Only when the lullaby crystallized into a clearly defined song-form through repetition could it be passed on from one generation to the next. The song employs a descending pentatonic series of tones, D, C, A, G, F, C, with F serving as the tonic. It is in duple meter and is marked

by a syncopated rhythmic motive. The song was recorded at Neah Bay, Washington, August 29, 1950. The text follows:

O tish ka he no ai yo
Tish ka he no ai yo
O tish he no ai yo
Tish ka he no ai yo
Ha a o o
Osh kishyam au
 [Go to sleep now]
Tish ka he no ai yo
 [My little darling, ai yo]
O tish he no ai yo
 [O my little darling, ai yo]
Tish ka he no ai yo
 [My little darling, ai yo]
O tish he no ai yo
 [O my little darling, ai yo]
Ha a o.

B5—Tsaiyak Society Songs

According to Frances Densmore, who witnessed a dance of the Tsaiyak Society at Neah Bay, Washington, August 26, 1926, "The songs were in pairs, the first being with a very rapid beating on the planks, after which the accompaniment changed to a measured beat on the drum. The dancing continued during both styles of accompaniment." The two Tsaiyak Society Songs (B5), presented here as sung by George Hottowe and his mother, Mrs. Lyda Butler Hottowe, appear in an order reverse to that described by Densmore. The songs were "received" by Mr. Tom Butler, Mrs. Hottowe's father, who was half Clallam and half white. Mrs. Hottowe believes that her father's grandmother was a member of the Tsaiyak Society. The songs were recorded at Neah Bay, Washington, August 29, 1950.

The triadic patterning of the two songs gives them a genetic relationship that is fairly obvious. The first song, in triple meter and slow tempo, employs only three tones, A, F sharp, D. The second song, in duple meter and a rapid, excited tempo, employs four tones, A, G, E flat, C. The trailing, descending glissando at the end of the song is characteristic of Tsaiyak Society songs. In the second song appears the word *skaiyaxhasin*, which is the name of the power received by the owner of the song. Mrs. Hottowe sang with closed eyes and in a frenetic, inspired state. The emotional excitement of her singing, the brilliant and beautiful tone color of her voice, the genuineness and sincerity of her performance are all captured on the record and may be enjoyed by those who listen with imagination, sympathy, and sensitivity.

B6—Makah Bone Game Songs

Much of the tension and social excitement that surround the bone games emanates from the songs which accompany them. Sung by the group of players that hides the bones and accompanied by drum and by striking of sticks on a long plank before the players, the songs rise in the course of the game to frenzied heights. This social activity engages not only the players but the onlookers as well in a hypnotic spell in which music plays a significant role. The songs are short and are repeated over and over until the guessing side has guessed the position of the bones. One is immediately impressed with the infectious rhythm of these songs and the great variety of rhythmic and melodic ideas which characterize them and serve as a means of cultural and social exchange between tribes. The older people at Neah Bay stated that some of the bone game songs now sung there were brought back from Alaska years ago by local Indians who had visited there and played with their hosts. The tribal proximity and fluidity of movement on the Northwest Coast with the resultant cultural exchange make it very difficult to establish tribal musical styles.

The four songs in this group (B6), led by George Hottowe, were recorded at Neah Bay, Washington, August 29, 1950. Regarding the third song of the group, Mrs. Nellie Wilkie remarked that it is "from our relatives and we have a right to sing it. And that's why I favor it." Most of the songs are without words, but the second song introduces the following Chinook jargon words:

Hilo maika nanich hi ya!

[You won't see them, o ho!]

Hilo maika nanich hi ya!

[You won't see them, o ho!]

Yawa naika slahal hi ya!

[There are my bones, o ho!]

Ya li la a ha li la

Ya li la a ha li la,

Ya li la a ha li la

Ya li la a ha li la.

The drum is silenced during the singing of these words so that their taunting meaning may be clearly understood by the guessing side. In the fourth song one notes a simple harmonization which represents a consciously modern and sophisticated version of the song. Inasmuch as the techniques of drone or heterophonic singing have been noted in the Guardian Spirit songs and Shaker Church songs of this record, and was also observed by Densmore at Neah Bay in the 1920s, one cannot discount the influence of this traditional though relatively rare practice. The first song is based on a descending pentatonic series of tones, B, A, F sharp, E, D, B, with B serving as organizing center. The second and fourth songs employ B, A, F sharp, E, D, with D as tonic. The third song is based on A, G sharp, G natural, F, D, with D as tonic. The songs are all in duple meter.

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