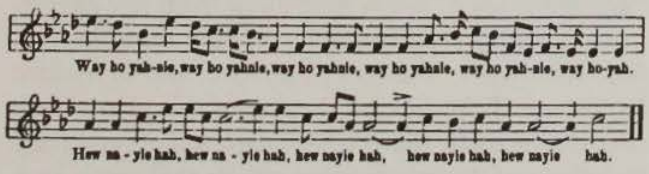
American Tribal Musics at Contact

INTRODUCTION

In the *Journal of Amerian Folk-Lore*, III/11 (October–December, 1890), pages 257–280, Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850–1930) published "A Contribution to Passamaquoddy Folk-Lore" that contained transcriptions of three songs recorded by him on wax cylinders the previous March. Fewkes chose the Passamaquoddy because he rated them the "purest blooded race of Indians living in New England"—their tribal remnants then inhabiting the neighborhood of Calais, Maine. As transcriber of the songs, he chose Simeon Pease Cheney (1818–1890), whose past six years had been spent in "taking down the songs of the wild birds singing around him" in the fields near his home in Franklin, Massachusetts.

Sung for Fewkes March 18, 1890, by tribal member Noel Josephs—who also described how the following Snake Song was performed—this song (now on Cylinder No. 4236, American Folk Life Center, Library of Congress, AFS No. 14,737, A 10) is the first of the three transcribed by Cheney. Published at page 263 of Fewkes's article, the melody is immediately followed by Josephs's description of the dance that went with it.



The leader or singer, whom we may call the master of the ceremony, begins the dance by moving about the room in a stooping posture, shaking in his hand a rattle made of horn, beating the ground violently with one foot. He peers into every corner of the room, either seeking the snake or inciting the on-lookers to take part, meanwhile singing the first part of the song recorded on the phonograph. Then he goes to the middle of the room, and, calling out one after another of the auditors, seizes his hands. The two participants dance round the room together. Then another person grasps the hands of the first, and other joins until there is a continuous line of men and women, alternate members of the chain facing in opposite directions, and all grasping each other's hands. The chain then coils back and forth and round the room, and at last forms a closely pressed spiral, tightly coiled together, with the leader in the middle. At first the dancers have their bodies bent over in a stooping attitude, but as the dance goes on and the excitement increases they rise to an erect posture, especially as near the end they coil around the leader with the horn rattles, who is concealed from sight by the dancers. They call on the spectators to follow them, with loud calls mingled with the music: these cries now become louder and more boisterous, and the coil rapidly unwinds, moving more and more quickly, until some one of the dancers, being unable to keep up, slips and falls. Then the chain is broken, and all, with loud shouts, often dripping with perspiration, return to their seats.

Thomas Vennum, Jr. of the Smithsonian Institution stresses the "historic importance" of Fewkes's recordings, "for they represent the first efforts to collect music for scientific analysis" (*The Federal Cylinder Project*, Vol. 2 [Library of Congress, 1985], page 3). But did Fewkes's recordings, and the myriad made by his successors, invalidate previous transcription efforts? Alice Cunningham Fletcher (1838–1923) contended that recordings made in 1895 merely confirmed the accuracy of transcriptions made in 1881. In her article, "Indian Songs and Music," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XI/4 (April–June 1898), page 90, she used their complete agreement to prove not only the accuracy of field

transcriptions but also the invariability of tribal songs retained in an Indian singer's memory.

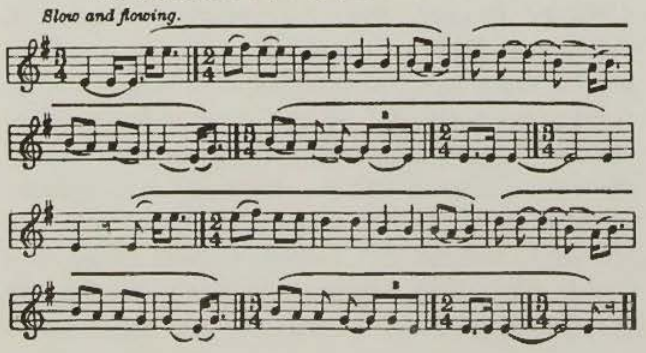
Songs have been recorded upon graphophone cylinders which fourteen years previously the writer had transcribed from the singing of the Indian, and an examination of these duplicated songs shows a complete agreement. The writer's original notes of two of these songs were verified and revised for publication by Prof. John Comfort Fillmore in 1891; they are Nos. 70 and 71 in the monograph on Omaha Indian Music issued by the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, in 1893. A careful comparison of the published transcription with the graphophone record taken in 1895 does not show the difference of a thirty-second note. The correspondence of the song transcribed from the ear, with that recorded on the machine, becomes more valuable as proof of the permanence of Indian songs, when we consider that the two records were taken from two different sets of singers, and many years apart in time.

Early in 1896 additional proof was obtained in the following manner: The writer had brought an old Ponka Indian east to assist her in certain investigations she was making. One day, as he sat by the window in her study, she heard him hum one of these songs, No. 71. As soon as he had finished the song, she asked him to sing it into the graphophone, and he willingly complied with the request. Comparing the record of the song as he sang it with the printed transcription in the monograph, the only difference was found to be the lengthening by an eighth of two rests, where the old man had taken his breath. In reply to the writer's questions, it was ascertained that the old man had learned the song among the Omahas when he was a lad. As he was over seventy years of age, he must have acquired the song more than fifty years ago.

She continued with this further observation: "These are the first mechanical proofs offered as to the accurate transmission of Indian songs."

In this same article she published her own transcription (pp. 101–102) of a plains Indian old-woman's song taken down "many years ago" before the advent of cylinder recordings."

The Mother's Vow to the Thunder Gods.

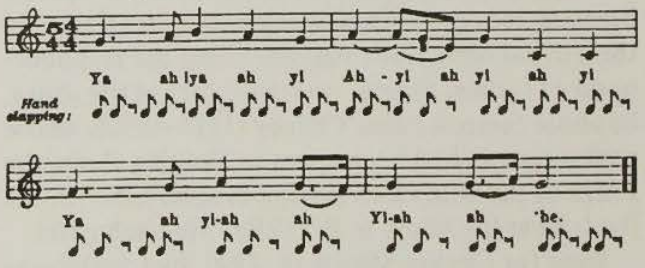


TRANSLATION.

Flying, flying, sweeping, swirling,
They return, the Thunder gods.
To me they come, to me their own.
Me they behold, who am their own!
On wings they come,—
Flying, flying, sweeping, swirling,
They return, the Thunder gods.

John Comfort Fillmore (1843–1898) began assisting Fletcher by harmonizing various Omaha songs sent him in 1888. Hewitt Pantaleoni documents Fillmore's association with her ("A Reconsideration of Fillmore Reconsidered," *American Music*, III/2 [Summer 1985], 217–222). According to Pantaleoni, Fillmore's own personal transcriptions totalled "three women's songs, fifteen Navaho songs, and five Kwakiutl songs." Fillmore also published a Kwakiutl song in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, VI (January–March 1894), pages 205–206, that he had transcribed September 3, 1893, while sitting in the Kwakiutl lodge on the Columbian Fair Grounds at Chicago.

Song of the Chieftainess at the Potlatch



Fillmore's misguided enthusiasms have long made his Indian harmonizations an object of disdain. However, he did justify taking seriously the transcriptions of Fletcher (and others) made before phonograph recordings became available. James C. McNutt in "John Comfort Fillmore: A Student of Indian Music Reconsidered," *American Music*, II/1 (Spring 1984), 61–70, correctly attributed to Fillmore "his *preference*" for transcribing from live performances, rather than from phonograph recordings (p. 66). Justified by Fletcher, Fillmore, and in Mexico by Vicente T. Mendoza, the rest of this résumé will take into account the pre-1890 descriptions and transcriptions of American tribal musics that reach back as far as Columbus's second voyage. At the very least, the earliest encounters yielded data not sullied by prior European contacts. Always the information gleaned during first encounters will take precedence over data gathered later.

Although not widely reviewed when in 1882 Breitkopf und Härtel published Theodore Baker's Leipzig dissertation, *Über die Musik der nordamerikanischen Wilden*, it did enjoy critical assessment when reprinted in 1976 with an English translation by Ann Buckley (Buren, Netherlands: Frits Knuf, 1976; 152 pp.). She began with a misleading English title: *On the music of the North American Indians*. Barbara Seitz found so many other faults in Buckley's handling of Baker's text and sources (*Ethnomusicology*, XXII/3 [September 1978], 515–517) that the English translation has been disregarded in this article. Instead, Baker's sources are reassessed and new material for the first time evaluated in an ethnomusicological context. For access to rare materials, printed and manuscript, I thank the administrators and staff of the British Library, Bibliothèque nationale, Newberry Library, Yale University Library, and Bancroft Library.

SPANISH EXPLORERS' AND MISSIONARIES' FIRST TRIBAL ENCOUNTERS

As early as 1496 Christopher Columbus commissioned Ramón Pane, a Catalonian cleric who had learned the language of Hispaniola,[1] to describe Taino life. Pane mentioned a Hispaniola drum called *mayohavau*. Made of a stout hollowed-out tree trunk something less than four feet long and two feet in diameter, this slit-drum had two keys that reminded him of blacksmith's tongs. To its accompaniment the Tainos on the island sang their religious chants. Its sound carried "a league and a half."[2] Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1478–1557), a polite musician brought up at the Spanish court in Prince John's company and within constant earshot of so famous a composer as Juan de Anchieta, met this same Haitian congener of the Aztec *teponaztli* on the island of Hispaniola in 1515, and made a drawing of it to accompany his precise description in Book V, chapter 1, of his monumental *Historia general y natural de las Indias*.[3] In his experience, the Hispaniola islanders followed the peculiarly Mayan custom reported by Bartolomé José Granado y Baeza[4] of placing the instrument on the ground rather than on a wooden trestle. Their reason was that the sound carried farther.[5]

Oviedo's drawing was first published in Spain at folio 46^{v}, column 2, of his *La historia general de las Indias* (Seville: Juan Cromberger, 1535), and in Italy at folio 112^{v} of the Italian translation published in Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Terzo Volume delle Navigationi et Viaggi* (Venice: Stamperia de Giunti, 1556). The term *areito* was used in Hispaniola for the call-and-response dance song sung to the accompaniment of this two-keyed slit-drum. First met in a European publication around 1510,[6] the term *areito* soon became indigenized in Spanish exploration literature to mean any New World dance song. According to Oviedo who claimed to have seen similar leader-follower dances not only among countryfolk in Spain but also in Flanders, the *areito* in Hispaniola was a dance song during which the leader improvised short verses immediately shouted back at him by the crowd.[7]

After Oviedo, the next writer to comment on Hispaniola *areitos* was Fray Toribio de Paredes, known now as Motolinía (1490?–1565). Having stopped on the island shortly before entering Mexico in 1524, he looked back on Hispaniola *areitos* as crude compared with Aztec dancing and singing to the accompaniment of *teponaztlis* and *huehuetls*.[8] From the moment of Spanish entry into Mexico, the panegyric literature describing instruments and performance practice on the mainland swells to such size that even the baldest summary of what was said

[1] Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana* (México: Antigua Librería, 1870), p. 35.

[2] Ramón (= Román) Pane, "Escritura de la antiguedad de los indios," *in* Fernando Colón, *Historia del Almirante Don Cristóbal Colón* (Madrid: Imprenta de T. Minuesa, 1892 [*Colección de libros raros ó curiosos que tratan de América*, V]), pp. 295–296; passage translated by Benjamin Keen, *The life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus by his son Ferdinand* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1959), pp. 158–159.

[3] *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (Madrid: Gráficas Orbe, 1959), CXVII, 114, 116; CXXI, 501.

[4] *Informe del cura de Yaxcabá, Yucatán, 1813* (México: Vargas Rea, 1946), pp. 25–27.

[5] *BAE*, CXVII, 116: "y este atambor ha de estar echado en el suelo, porque teniéndole en el aire no suena."

[6] Georg Friederici, *Amerikanistisches Wörterbuch* (Hamburg: Cram, De Gruyter, 1947), pp. 59–60.

[7] *Sumario de la Natural Historia de las Indias* in *Historiadores Primitivos de Indias*, ed. by Enrique de Vedia (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, XXII [Madrid: Sucs. de Hernando, 1918]), p. 484, trans. by Sterling A. Stoudemire, *Natural history of the West Indies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), p. 39.

[8] *Memoriales* (México: Casa del Editor [Luis García Pimentel], 1903), p. 343.

by Pedro de Gante (1480?–1572), Motolinía, Bartolomé de Sahagún (1500?–1590), Francisco López de Gómara (1511–1566?), Alonso de Molina (1514?–1585), Diego de Landa (1524–1579), Diego Durán (1537–1588), Antonio de Cibdad Real (1551–1617), and Juan de Torquemada (1565?–1624) would have to exceed 25 pages.[9]

The first to mention *areitos* in what is now the United States was Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (1490?–1557). Among the exploring party of 400 who accompanied Pánfilo de Narváez to Florida in 1528, he and only three others survived the mishaps of the expedition to tell their tale of shipwreck and slavery to Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza at Mexico City in 1536. Some lucky cures along the escape trail in Texas gave them the reputation of medicine men, a reputation sealed by the gift near Big Spring of medicine rattles.[10]

> At sunset we reached a hundred Indian habitations. Before we arrived, all the people who were in them came out to receive us, with such yells as were terrific, striking the palms of their hands violently against their thighs. They brought us gourds bored with holes and having pebbles in them, an instrument for the most important occasions produced only at the dance or to effect cures, and which none dare touch but those who own them. They say there is virtue in them, and because they do not grow in that country, they come from heaven; nor do they know where they are to be found, only that the rivers bring them in their floods.[11]

Further along their trail, Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions climbed into the Sacramento Mountains of New Mexico and "somewhere on upper Elk Creek," not far from present-day Cloudcroft,[12] came on a *ranchería* of forty dwellings. Here, Andrés Dorantes de Carrança[13] was given a "jingle bell of copper, thick and large, figured with a face, which the natives greatly prized; they told him that they received it from others, their neighbors; we asked them whence the others had obtained it, and they said that it had been brought from the northern direction where there was much copper which was highly esteemed."[14] This copper jingle bell, plus two medicine rattles given them a few days earlier by two physicians, "added greatly to our authority"[15] in their journy through West Texas and New Mexico—a journey during which they constantly attracted crowds bringing their sick and wounded to be healed.

Estevanico, the black African who with Cabeza de Vaca and two Spanish captains completed the party of four making this odyssey, reached Mexico City with them in July of 1536. Three years later he

[9] *Music in Aztec & Inca territory* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 91–120.

[10] Cleve Hallenbeck, *Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: The journey and route of the first European to cross the continent of North America 1534–1536* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1940), pp. 169, 172.

[11] Frederick W. Hodge, ed., *Spanish explorers in the Southern United States 1528–1543* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), p. 90. Spanish text in Enrique de Vedia, *Historiadores Primitivos de Indias* [*BAE*, XXII], p. 538: "y a puesta del sol llegamos a cien casas de indios; y antes que llegásemos salió toda la gente que en ellas habia, a recebirnos con tanta grita, que era espanto, y dando en los muslos grandes palmadas; traian las calabazas horadadas, con piedras dentro, que es la cosa de mayor fiesta, y no las sacan sino a bailar o para curar, ni las osa nadie tomar sino ellos; y dicen que aquellas calabazas tienen virtud, y que vienen del cielo, porque por aquella tierra no las hay, ni saben dónde las haya, sino que las traen los rios, cuando vienen la avenida."

[12] Hallenbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

[13] A native of Béjar del Castañar in Extremadura, he joined the Pánfilo de Narváez expedition as a captain of infantry. He owned Estevanico, a black Moorish slave from Azemmour or Azamor, 50 miles down-coast from Casablanca, Morocco. Dorantes, Estevanico, and Captain Alonso del Castillo Maldonado (of Salamanca) were the three companions of Cabeza de Vaca on his historic trek. For biographical details, see Frederick W. Hodge, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–9.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 95. Spanish in *BAE*, XXII, 540: "entre otras cosas que nos dieron, hobo Andrés Dorantes un cascabel gordo, grande, de cobre, y en él figurado un rostro, y esto mostraban ellos, que lo tenian en mucho y les dijeron que lo habian habido de otros sus vecinos; y preguntándoles, que dónde habian habido aquello, dijeronles que lo habian traido de hácia el norte, y que allí habia mucho, y era tenido en grande estima y entendimos que do quiera que aquello habia venido habia fundicion y se labraba de vaciado."

Copper bells ranging from a half-inch diameter to "one bell from southern Arizona about four inches in length" are reported in Donald Nelson Brown, "The Distribution of Sound Instruments in the Prehistoric Southwestern United States," ETHNOMUSICOLOGY, XI/1 (January, 1967):77. All of the several varieties were "made by the lost wax process of casting." Sites that have yielded them date after A.D. 900. Not made locally, "the exact location of their origin is still in doubt," although the "west central coastal region of Mexico" has been "frequently mentioned as a possible source."

[15] *BAE*, XXII, 540: "Y cuando llegamos cerca de las casas, salió toda la gente a recebirnos con mucho placer y fiesta, y entre otras cosas, dos fisicos de ellos nos dieron dos calabazas, y de aquí comenzamos a llevar calabazas con nosotros, y añadimos a nuestra autoridad esta cerimonia, que para con ellos es muy grande."

served as the advance guide for two Franciscan friars sent north by Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza to reconnoitre New Mexico.[16] Racing ahead to Hawikuh, the Zuñi pueblo in western New Mexico that was to be romantically christened as Cibola by the overzealous Franciscan friar who signed his report of the trip September 2, 1539,[17] Estevanico arrived in mid-May 1539 in sight of Hawikuh. To command their respect, Estevanico sent the chiefs his medicine rattle. In all probability this was one of the very rattles that had gained Cabeza de Vaca entrée everywhere the party stopped in West Texas and New Mexico three years earlier. But the Zuñi chiefs at Hawikuh were not so easily impressed. Instead they ordered him to turn back and when he failed to do so, killed him. In the friar's report notarized at Mexico City September 2, 1539:

> Esteban [= Estevanico] sent messengers ahead with his gourd, just as he was in the habit of doing, so that they might know he was coming. The gourd had some strings of jingle bells, and two feathers, one white and the other red. . . . When the emissaries handed the chief's spokesman the gourd and he saw the jingle bells, he became very angry and threw the gourd to the ground saying, "I know these people, for these jingle bells are not the shape of ours. Tell them to turn back at once, or not one of their men will be spared."[18]

In another contemporary account, Estevanico is pictured as having worn "bells, and feathers on his ankles and arms."[19] After he was killed and the pieces of his dismembered body distributed to the Hawikuh chiefs, one of the Indians from Sinaloa who had traveled north with Estevanico was held by the Zuñis in bondage until rescued by Coronado in midsummer of the next year. During his 14-months captivity, this Sinaloan Indian learned enough of the Zuñi language to serve as Coronado's interpreter[20] after Hawikuh was stormed July 7, 1540. Also this Sinaloan Indian learned to play the Zuñi flutes. "Five or six get together to play, and their flutes are of different sizes," wrote Viceroy Mendoza in his letter to Charles V dated April 17, 1540. Repeating verbatim what had been said of Zuñi music by the leader of another scouting party sent north to prepare the way for Coronado, the viceroy inserted this quote in his letter to Charles V:

> The Indians hold their dances and songs with the aid of some flutes which have holes for the fingers. They make many tunes, singing jointly with those who play. Those who sing clap their hands in the same manner as we do. I saw one of the Indians, who accompanied the Negro Esteban and who was a captive there, play, since they taught him how to do it there. Others were singing, as I said, although not anything very complicated.[21]

While based at Hawikuh, Coronado sent one party west to explore the Colorado river (a journey resulting in the discovery of the Grand Canyon), another party east under Captain Hernando de Alvarado[22] to reconnoitre the Rio Grande valley. From the sky pueblo of Acoma, three days' travel brought Alvarado and his men to the vicinity of modern Albuquerque and another five days to Pecos = Cicuye, where they were boisterously welcomed into the four-story pueblo "with drums and flageolets, similar to fifes, of which they had many."[23] In

[16] Arthur Scott Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza First Viceroy of New Spain* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1927), pp. 120–122. However, Fray Marcos de Niza left Culiacán = Culuacán March 7, 1539, not March 7, 1537. See George P. Hammond, *Narratives of the Coronado expedition 1540–1542* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), p. 63.

[17] See Hammond, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–79, for Fray Marcos de Niza's grossly exaggerated reports of Hawikuh's splendors.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 77. Spanish text in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonizacion de las posesiones españolas*, ed., by Joaquín F. Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas, and Luis Torres de Mendoza (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel B. de Quirós, 1865), III, 343–346: "Esteban envió su calabazo, con mensajeros, como siempre acostumbraba enviallo delantre, para que supiesen como iba; el calabazo llevaba unas hileras de cascabeles y dos plumas, una blanca y otra colorada . . . . y como le dieron el calabazo y vido que los cascabeles, muy enojado arrojó en el suelo el calabazo y dixo: 'Yo conozco esta gente, porque estos cascabeles no son de la hechura de los nuestros, decidles que luego se vuelvan, sino que no quedará hombre dellos.'"

[19] Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 178.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 159. Spanish text in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos* (Madrid: Imp. de J. M. Pérez, 1864), II, 360: "Los indios hacen sus bailes y cantos con unas flautas que tienen sus puntos do ponen los dedos, hacen muchos sones, cantan juntamente con los que tañen, y los que cantan dan palmas a nuestro modo. A un indio de los que llevó Esteban el Negro, questuvo allá cautivo, le vi tañer que se lo mostraron allá, y otros cantaban como digo, aunque no muy desenvueltos; dicen que se juntan cinco o seis a tañer, y que son las flautas unas mayores que otras."

[22] A native of Santander, Hernando de Alvarado came to Mexico with Cortés. A man of property, he was related to the famous conqueror of Guatemala, Pedro de Alvarado. See Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 88, note 5.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 219. Spanish text in George Parker Winship, *The*

the Pecos pueblo as well as elsewhere in the Río Grande pueblo area, Coronado's men found "in general, the same ceremonies and customs, although some have practices among them not observed elsewhere." Pedro de Castañeda,[24] who wrote the fullest extant report of the Coronado expedition, particularly admired the cleanliness of the pueblos:

> Their houses are well separated and extremely clean in the places where they cook and where they grind cornmeal. They do this in a separate place or room in which there is a grinding place with three stones set in mortar. Three women come in, each going to her stone. One crushes the maize, the next grinds it, and the third grinds it finer. Before they come inside the door they remove their shoes, tie up their hair and cover it, and shake their clothes. While they are grinding, a man sits at the door playing a flageolet, and the women move their stones, keeping time with the music, and all three sing together. They grind a large amount at one time.[25]

Despite the "seventy-league" distance (= 200 miles) separating Hawikuh from Pecos pueblo (20 miles east of Santa Fe), Coronado while at the Zuñi pueblo met a "tall, well-built young fellow with a fine figure . . . and a long mustache" from Pecos who came to invite the Spaniards to his pueblo and to make a friendship pact.[26] An even longer distance was covered by a tattooed Indian woman who traveled with one of Coronado's captains during the summer of 1541[27] into the Wichita Indian territory of Kansas.[28] Running away, she fell into the hands of members of Hernando de Soto's party, which from June 19 to July 29, 1541, tarried at Pacaha, a village in Mississippi county, Arkansas, near present-day Osceola.[29] Accounts of early Spanish explorations in what are now the United States afford several other spectacular instances of contact made between different expeditions. Near the mouth of Charlotte Harbor, Florida, in June of 1539, one of de Soto's lieutenants for instance picked up a survivor of the disastrous 1528 expedition led by Pánfilo de Narváez. During all these intervening years the survivor, Juan Ortiz of noble Sevillian parentage, had lived as a slave among the Florida coastal Indians.[30]

De Soto's march inland, which began so bravely at Tampa Bay May 25, 1539, with over 500 men, took him through the modern states of Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas. After his death May 21, 1542, at present-day Ferriday, Louisiana, he was buried in the Mississippi, and command passed to Luis Moscoso de Alvarado—who for another several months continued explorations into what is now central Texas. But convinced at last that no riches were to be found, the surviving 322 members of the expedition took ship in seven brigantines built by themselves in the winter of 1542–1543, in order to flee 720 miles down the Mississippi to the open Gulf.

During this fight they were pursued by hostile

Coronado Expedition 1540–1542 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896 [Extract from the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology]), p. 431: "los del pueblo salieron a recebir a her^{do} de aluarado y a su capitan con muestras de alegria y lo metieron en el pueblo con atambores y gaitas que alli ay muchos a manera de pifanos." French translation in H. Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux . . . Relation du Voyage de Cibola entrepris en 1540 . . . par Pedro de Castañeda de Nagera* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1838), IX, 71–72: "Les habitants vinrent au devant de lui, le reçurent avec de grandes démonstrations d'allégresse, et l'accompagnèrent jusqu'au village, au son de leur tambour et de flûtes, semblables à des fifres, et dont ils se servent souvent."

[24] Identified by Hammond (p. 191, note 1) as a native of Baeza who settled at Culiacán (founded 1531). He joined the Coronado expedition at Compostela, bringing with him "two horses, one coat of mail, native weapons" (*ibid.*, p. 94).

[25] Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 255; Hodge, *op. cit.*, p. 354. Spanish text in Winship, *op. cit.*, p. 452: "tienen bien repartidas las casas en grande limpieça donde guisan de comer y donde muelen la harina que es un apartado o retrete donde tienen un farnal con tres piedras asentado con argamasa donde entran tres mugeres cada una en su piedra que la una frangolla y la otra muele y la otra remuele [.] antes q̃ entren dentro a la puerta se descalçan los sapatos y cogen el cabello y sacuden la ropa y cubrē la cabeça mientras que muelē [.] esta un hombre sentado a la puerta tañēdo con una gayta al tono [.] traen las piedras y cantā a tres boçes [.] muelen de una bez mucha cantidad. . . ." French translation in Ternaux-Compans, *op. cit.*, IX, 172: "Trois femmes viennent s'asseoir devant ces pierres; la première casse le grain, la seconde le broie, et la troisième le réduit tout á fait en poudre. Avant d'entrer elles ôtent leurs chaussures, assemblent leurs cheveux, se couvrent le tête et secouent leurs vêtements. Pendant qu'elles sont à l'ouvrage, un homme assis à la porte joue de la musette, de sorte qu'elles travillent en mesure: elles chantent à trois voix."

[26] Hodge, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

[27] Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 243; Hodge, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

[28] Concerning the Wichitas, see John R. Swanton, *The Indian tribes of North America* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969 [reprint of Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 145]), p. 306. Coronado met them "near the great bend of the Arkansas [River] and in the center of Kansas."

[29] Hodge, *op. cit.*, p. 209, note 1, and p. 213.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 149–153. A local Pocahontas saved him from death.

Natchez Indians[31] in canoes, some of them large enough to hold 75 to 80 men. Or at least so reports Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616) in his *La Florida del Ynca* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1605)—who adds these details:

> In order for all to row simultaneously and in rhythm, the Indians have composed various songs to different tunes, short or long depending on how fast or slow the canoes are moving. The texts of these songs tell of the deeds in war of their own or of other chiefs, the memory of which incites them to battle and to triumph. The canoes of the rich and powerful come painted within and without even to the oars, in a single color, be it blue, yellow, white, red, green, scarlet, purple, black, or some other hue. Also the oarsmen and oars, as well as the warriors to the last feather and thread and last bow and arrow are tinted with that same single color. Spread out over the broad river, the canoes made a magnificent sight.[32]

After pursing the fleeing Spaniards for several days, all the while taunting them in their songs, and managing to kill 48, the Indians on the seventeenth day "worshiped the rising sun, making a great clamor and clatter of voices, trumpets, drums, fifes, shells, and other noisy instruments; and when they had rendered thanks unto it, as their god, for the victory gained, they withdrew their forces and returned to their lands."[33]

Garcilaso mentions also the European music heard during de Soto's journey: for instance, the *Te Deum* sung near the mouth of the Tyronza River (in southeast Arkansas) to climax a four-hour ceremony on June 28, 1541.[34] Obviously European music—no less than horses and weapons—went with the Spaniards wherever they penetrated. The Franciscans who followed Juan de Oñate into New Mexico brought with them, for instance, organs, programmed instruction in plainchant and polyphony, and music books.[35] At Hawikuh, the Zuñi pueblo used as Coronado's first headquarters, Fray Roque de Figueredo taught organ, bassoon, and cornett, as well as Gregorian chant and counterpoint, in the 1630's.[36] Since other pueblos enjoyed similar programs of intensive instruction in European music throughout the Spanish period, any thesis that the 82 songs relayed from early missionary centers to Frances Densmore for publication in her *Music of Acoma, Isleta, Cochiti and Zuñi Pueblos* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957 [Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 165]) embody pure tribal traditions, untainted by any European intrusions, requires careful sifting.

The visitor to New Mexico in the late eighteenth century who penned the most conscientious report of what then remained of "purely" Indian music and dance was a native of Mexico City sent in search of a connecting route from New Mexico to Monterey, California. In the section of his report dealing with Indians, he wrote:

> Their customary dances usually resemble contredanses or minuets as danced in Spain, or they are scalp dances. And for any of these dances they make preparations as follows: Just as our Spaniards bathe before putting on their gala finery, so these Indians bathe before bedizening themselves with earths of different colors (only the men, the women do not). . . . Moreover, they tie a tortoise-shell to one leg, hanging near it many little cloven hooves of deer, sheep, or similar animals, so that all this rings and sounds with the movement of the body like little bells. They also tie on some of these jingle bells [*cascabeles*], or other small bells, and it all serves to make music. . . . When they are decked out in this way, either twelve or more men dance, or the same number of women alone, or eight of each, or a couple like a minuet. There is a musical instrument and chant for these dances.

[31] Swanton, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

[32] *The Florida of the Inca*, translated and edited by John Grier Varner and Jeanette Johnson Varner (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1951), pp. 575–576. Spanish text in *Obras Completas del Inca Garcilaso de la Vega*, edited by Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1960 [Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, CXXXII]), I, 494: "Para bogar a una y en compás tienen aquellos indios hechos diversos cantares con diferentes tonadas, breves o largas, conforme a la prisa o espacio que les ofrece en el remar."

[33] *The Florida*, p. 589; *Obras Completas*, I, 500: "Y al salir del sol del día diez y siete, habiéndole adorado y hecho una solemne salva con grandísimo estruendo de voces y alaridos, y con música de trompetas, y atambores, pífaros y caracoles y otros instrumentos de ruido, y habiéndole dado gracias como a su dios por el vencimiento que en sus enemigos habían hecho, se retiraron y volvieron a sus tierras."

[34] *The Florida*, p. 433; *Obras Completas*, I, 433.

[35] See indexed entries under "Choir," "Music," "Musical Instruments," and "Organ" in *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634*, edited by F. W. Hodge, G. P. Hammond and Agapito Rey (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945 [Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540–1940, IV]); especially p. 246, note 71, which itemizes further bibliography.

[36] F. W. Hodge, *History of Hawikuh New Mexico* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1937 [The Southwest Museum]), p. 82. Concerning Roque de Figueredo, see *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial*, indexed entries, especially p. 295, note 104.

The instrument is one they call *tombé* . . . whose outline, form, or shape is a hollow log like a middle-sized barrel with both openings covered with skin like the head put on a barrel or cask of chocolate, and it is played with a small stick. . . . As a rule, words are not pronounced by the chorus when echoing the leader accompanied by the *tombé*. When by way of exception they do sing words, the texts are metrical prose, not verses of any standard length. They use their dances for ceremonial days of the year. . . . The scalp dance is as follows. . . . the Indians remove their scalps along with the hair, and sometimes with the ears. . . . This dance is their most solemn festival.[37]

In shocked tones, our 1776 informant recounts the extremes to which the women went in touching their privates with the scalp, in singing "in broken meter, with howls, leaps, shouts, skirmishes, courses back and forth, salvos and other demonstrations of rejoicing." He goes on to report that after about three hours of this "they go to the church as if to give thanks; this lasts about as long as three Credos." The same night the men assemble in the *estufa (=kiwa)*, a day is appointed to begin the feast, and guests from other pueblos are invited. On the first feast day

The dance is organized as follows: A pole is fixed in the ground in the middle of the plaza or other public place, and the new relic is placed on it along with the old ones. The *tombé* is placed at the foot of the pole, and the singers gather there and the dance continues at their pleasure, all in sight of the relics. This usually lasts three days.

When in 1776 Domínguez wrote the report from which the above extracts on music and dance in New Mexico are quoted, 234 years had already elapsed since the killing of a protomartyr Franciscan sent north with Coronado to convert the Indians,[38] and 178 since Juan de Oñate's entrance. On the other hand, only seven years had passed since Junípero Serra had founded the first mission in what is now the state of California. True, Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo had discovered upper California in 1542 and Sebastián Vizcaíno had revisited it in 1602. But no settlements or attempts at evangelization had been made in the interim. Into the string of 21 missions founded up and down the coast from San Diego to San Francisco 1769–1823 were therefore gathered preagricultural tribesmen speaking six distinct languages who were as yet unacculturated.

A. L. Kroeber thus categorized their traits in *Types of Indian Culture in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1906 [Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, II/3]), pages 102–103:

Ethnologically California may be said to be characterized by the absence of agriculture and of pottery, by the total absence of totemism or gentile organization, by an unusually simple and loose social organization in which wealth plays, for a somewhat primitive and an American group, a rather important part; by the very rude development of all arts except basketry; by the lack in art of realism. . . . Hand in hand with these ethnological characteristics go the temperamental ones of an unwarlike nature and of a lack of the intensity and pride which are such strongly marked qualities of the American Indians as a whole. . . . They are among the least characteristic of the Indians of North America.

However, Kroeber did the next year in a follow-up survey of *The Religion of the Indians of California* [University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, IV/6, page 319] stress that despite a weaker development of ritualism "dancing and singing played no less crucial a role among the California Indians than elsewhere." Bruno Nettl was still willing to categorize Yuman-Californian music as sufficiently distinctive to merit being classed as a separate "good" musical area when in 1969 he returned to the problem in "Musical Areas Reconsidered: A Critique of North American Indian Research" (*Essays in Musicology in honor of Dragan Plamenac on his 70th birthday* [Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1969], p. 185).

Fray Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta (1780–1840), the Franciscan who did the most to collect and comment on California Indian music, worked among the Mutsun at San Juan Bautista, a few miles west of Hollister, present seat of San Benito County. The Bancroft Library at the University of California,

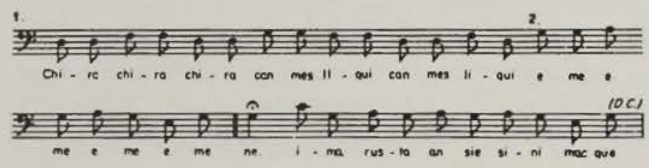
[37] Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776*, translated and annotated by Eleanor B. Adams & Fray Angélico Chávez (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956), pp. 256–257. Domínguez equated the tombé with the teponaztli, not a very apt comparison. The translators credit the Spanish manuscript original of the Domínguez report to the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico City, Legajo 10, no. 43 (*ibid.*, p. 7, note 1).

[38] The Andalusian Juan de Padilla (c. 1500–1542) who accompanied Coronado on his dash to Quivira, remained behind in Kansas to be slain by hostile tribesmen at or near what is now Herington.

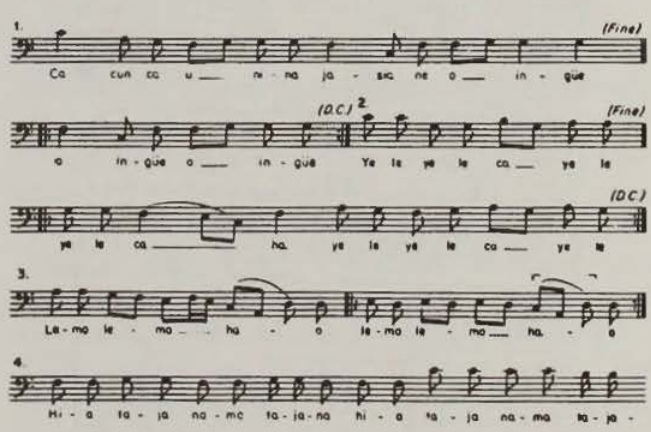
Berkeley, catalogues his manuscripts with music notation as C-C 19 (*Alphab.^{s} Rivulus obeundus exprimatiõm causa horum Indorum Mutsun Missionis Sanct. Joann. B.^{ae}*, 94 pp., 1815), C-C 60 (169 pp., 1813), and C-C 63a (45 pp., various dates ranging from 1808 to 1832).

Son of Matías Arroyo and Isabel de la Cuesta, the friar-to-be Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta was born April 29, 1780, and baptized three days later in San Millán church at his birthplace, Cubo de Bureba (Burgos province, Spain).[39] After studying Latin grammar at Valluércanes, a town only a few miles from Cubo, he took the habit at Burgos August 3, 1796, professed August 6, 1797, and was ordained priest in 1804. Next came four years at the college in Mexico City that prepared missionaries for California, San Fernando; then brief assignment to San Fernando Mission, followed by a quarter-century, 1808–1833, as senior friar at the tenth mission to be founded in California (June 24, 1797), San Juan Bautista. This mission in 1831 enrolled 1200 Indians, counted 8000 cattle, 9000 sheep, 270 horses, 500 mares and colts, and owned an orchard. After he was replaced in 1833, Fray Felipe served as a part-time assistant, first at San Miguel (1833–1834), then at Purísima (1834–1836). He died at Santa Ines September 20, 1840. Of medium height and slender frame, he suffered from rheumatism in later life. Upon retirement from San Juan Bautista he was confined to a chair. Like most of his Spanish *confrères* he acknowledged Mexican independence reluctantly. As late as 1826 a guest at San Juan Bautista, Captain Frederick William Beechey of the British Royal Navy, heard him sing *España de la guerra* in a stirring tenor voice.[40]

At page 80 of MS C-C 19 he records two Mutsun songs. Both are marked "brisk," even though the first means "you are going to die." The second is a *da capo* song repeated to the *fermata*. Both are headed "Musica fabulosa" because sung in response to myth narratives. By 1907 when Kroeber published *Indian Myths of South Central California* [University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, IV/4], the myths of the Costanoan group to which the San Juan Bautista tribesmen belonged had shrunk to "nothing but fragments, except for the creation myth, and this is brief." Fray Felipe calls the first response "Musica brebe no de espacio." After the second he specifies: "Se repite hasta la mitad." In a lengthy Latin explanation[41] below these responses (he apologizes for the roughnesses of the Latin[42]) he observes that the naratives are accompanied by much laughter of old men and boys, also of women.



Next, he notates six dance songs, the Mutsun word for which he gives as *chilte*. He heads the seventh song *moloi*. The first, second, and last he designates as sung while women dance, the other while men dance. Following these he notates another pair classed as *imthri*, the first to be sung by men during the hiding game, the second by women.



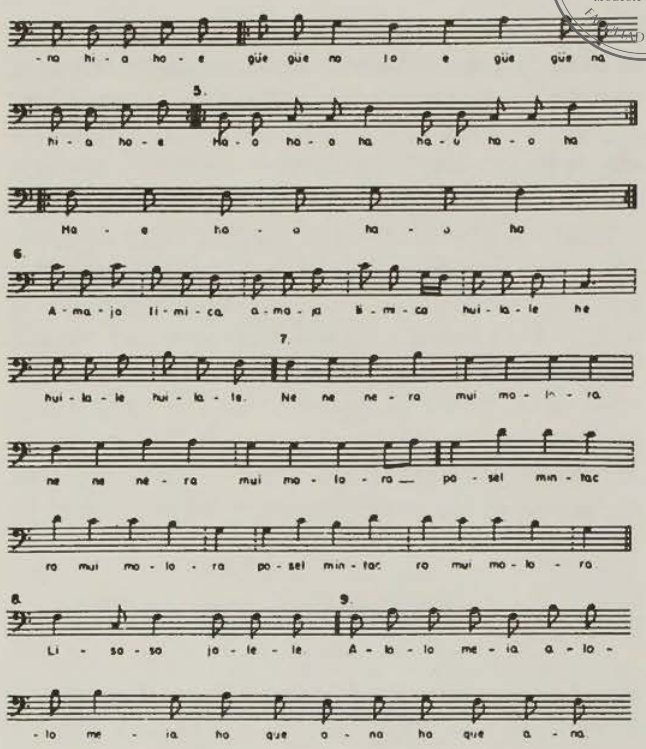
(Continued on next page)

[39] Biographical details in this paragraph were first collected in an anonymous newspaper article, "Story of an Old Catholic Friar," *The Pioneer* [San Jose], III/8 (February 22, 1879), page 1, columns 3–4, and are here summarized from that source.

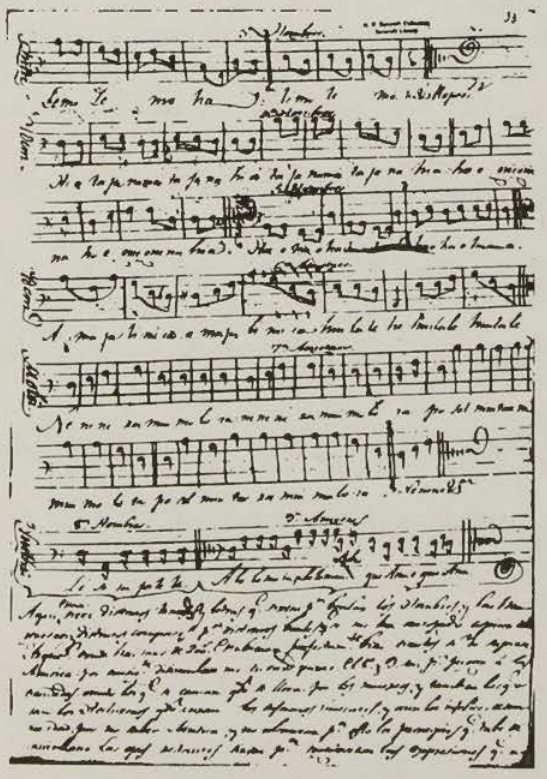
[40] *Narrative of a voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait . . . in two parts. Part I* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), p. 380: "Nor was his patriotism more diminished than his cheerfulness, and on learning that one of the party had been at the seige of Cadiz, his enthusiasm broke forth in the celebrated Spanish patriotic song of 'España de la guerra &c.'" Arroyo de la Cuesta also sang "patriotic songs of his country adapted to the well-known air of Malbrook" [*Malbrough s'en va-t-en guerre*].

[41] Hic est musica qua Yndii canunt in Fabulis, quae sunt multiplices sicut et musicae: illae sunt monologae; et istae, et consimiles dentilogae: hoc non obstante, senes et Pueri utriusque sexiis, dum illi istis enarratii Fabules, rident, et cuchinnantur etiam mulieres, et homines bustei."

[42] MS C-C 19, Bancroft Library, p. 92.



Thanks to the kindness of the Bancroft Library, I am able to present the original manuscript of songs three through nine.

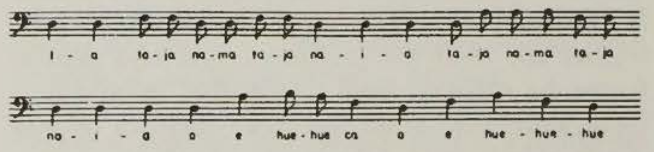


Original manuscript of songs 3 through 9 shown immediately above.

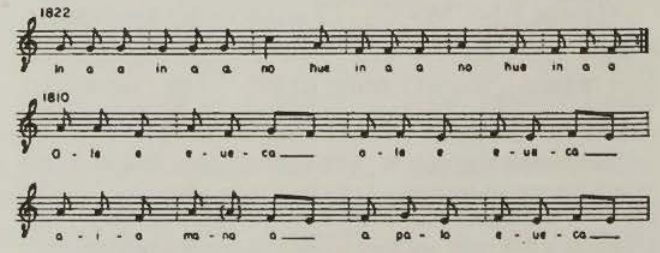
Below these nine songs he writes the following further explanation:

Here are seven different tunes and texts, in different meters, some to be sung while men dance, the others while women dance. They have been copied from my *Arquet*. [*Arquetipon*, a manuscript collection now apparently lost], where I have recorded more than 200 such tunes and texts. . . . The eighth and ninth are sung during the hiding game. I leave out those sung during wailings for the dead, and also those used by sorcerers when curing the sick; both young and old, because my plainchant background does not qualify me to transcribe more difficult music.[43]

MS C-C 60, dated 1813 on the first page, also contains later jottings (up to 1819). The songs in the Mutsun language at pages 45–48, dated 1813, look European (F Major, barred in march meter). However, the songs in C-C 63a occupying pages 31–45 include several dated specimens certified as indigenous. At page 45, he gives for instance the following "song which I heard in 1808 just after arriving at this Mission" *(Cancion q.e oi año 1808 apenas llegué a esta Mision)*. The third and fourth staves on this page continue

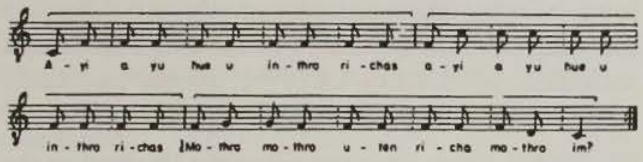


with tribal songs collected in 1822 and in 1810. The bottom pair of staves is thus headed: "This song is native, and in the Mutsun tongue" *(Esta Cancion es del Pais, y lengua Mutsun)*.

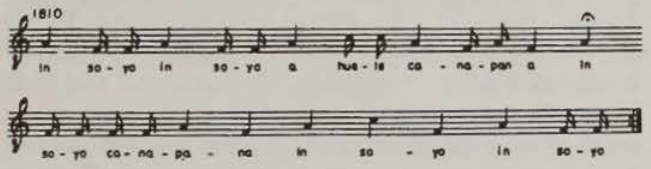


(Continued on next page)

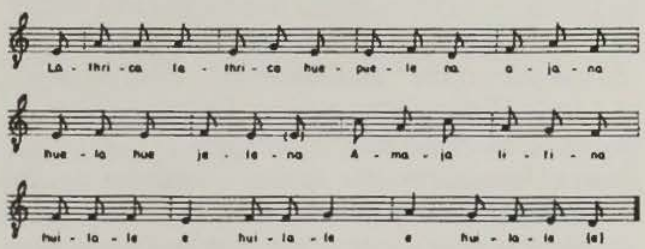
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 93: "Aqui esten siete distintas tonadas, y letras q.e sirven p.a bailar los Hombres, y las Mugeres con distintos compases p.a distintos bailes q.e se me ha antojado copiar del Arquet.n donde hai mas de 200.s . . . El 8.o y 9.o son p.a jugar a las escondidas: omito los q.e se cantan q.do llora por los muertos, y tambien los q.e vsan los hechizeros q.do curan los enfermos inocentes, y aun los infelices, de maior edad, por no saber Musica, y no alcanzan p.a esto los principios q.e tube de canto llano."



Fray Felipe's *A vocabulary or phrase book of the Mutsun language* (New York: Cramoisy Press, 1862 [Shea's Library of American Linguistics, VIII])[44] permits our guessing that the 1810 song *Ole e* was to be sung by someone quitting a gambling game because of having lost, and the last song *Ayi ayu* as referring to an animal caught in a trap. Besides these, MS C-C 63a includes also the same "hiding game" songs as C-C 19, but with slight changes. Every note in *Lisosa jolele* becomes an eighth and he adds fermatas over the asterisked notes in *Alolo meia*. Furthermore, these two "hiding game" songs are in C-C 63a precisely identified as gambling songs. At page 44 of C-C 63a Fray Felipe strays from songs in Mutsun to a tribal song of the Yokuts[45] who inhabited the San Joaquin valley. For the date of this Yokuts song he gives 1810. He says he learned it from Yokuts visiting San Juan Bautista. He professes to uncertainty so far as the 16th-notes in the example are concerned; these may be incorrectly transcribed, he fears.



Two more Mutsun songs complete page 44 of this manuscript. "All of these songs [which I have been here transcribing] I have heard a thousand times, and I myself have sung them with the youths and maidens" *(Todo esso he oido mil veces, y he acompañado cantando á los Pages y Muchachas)*, he avers above these.



Fray Felipe's valiant attempt at notating indigenous melody is by no means the only late colonial effort at preserving Indian music in written form. In Peru, Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón (1737–1797) gathered a collection of both Creole and Indian tunes during tours of Trujillo province in 1782–1787. His notated examples, now at the Biblioteca de Palacio in Madrid, as well as several lesser collections gathered in other parts of Hispanic South America, have been discussed elsewhere.[46] What makes Fray Felipe's examples unique is not so much the fact that he collected them, as is the outpost area in which he worked. No other Spaniard working so far north leaves a comparable bequest to the ethnomusicologist.

FRENCH PIONEER ACCOUNTS OF AMERICAN INDIGENES' MUSICAL EXPRESSIONS

The editors who in 1862 published Fray Felipe's *Alphab.[5] Rivulus obeundus* (Bancroft Library, C-C 19) with the title *A vocabulary or phrase book of the Mutsun language of Alta California* never once hinted at the presence of Indian tunes in this or any other of Fray Felipe's writings. Similarly, the editors[47] who in 1935, 1936, and 1955 published excerpts from Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón's 1794 manuscript bearing call number 90/344 ("Trujillo de Peru, II") at the Biblioteca de Palacio in Madrid united in ignoring the music scattered throughout this fascinating miscellany.

[44] Fray Felipe's *A vocabulary or phrase book* (= MS C-C 19 minus the music [see AMS reprint, 1970]) defies easy use because under each letter of the alphabet he lists phrases, not individual words. Furthermore, he preserves no rigorous alphabetical order under a given letter. Never intended by its author for publication in its present form, *A vocabulary*, together with his Mutsun grammar published in 1861, has hitherto served as Fray Felipe's chief passport to dictionary fame. See Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan missionaries in Hispanic California 1769–1849 a biographical dictionary* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1969), pp. 19–24. He was the Spanish friar working farthest north to compile a dictionary and grammar of an Indian tongue.

[45] Fray Felipe, like other Spaniards, called the Yokuts "Tulareños." See A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925 [Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78]), p. 476.

[46] *Music in Aztec & Inca territory*, pp. 313–321, 324–334.

[47] Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, "Un manuscrito colonial del siglo XVIII," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, nouv. sér., XXVII (1935), 145–173; Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Trujillo del Perú a fines del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: C. Bermejo, 1936); José Manuel Pérez Ayala, *Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda (1737–1797)* (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1955), pp. 247–251.

For printed Indian tunes collected in the New World during colonial times, the student must therefore turn from Spanish to French sources. Jean de Léry (1534–1611), a French Calvinist who accompanied Admiral Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon to Rio de Janeiro in 1557, collected five Tupinambá Indian melodies near there. These were first published in 1585 as part of the "additions to the third edition" of Léry's *Histoire d'vn Voyage faict en la terre dv Bresil, avtrement dite Amerique. . . . Avec les figvres, reveve, corrigee & bien augmentee de discours notables, en ceste troisieme Edition* ([Geneva]: Antoine Chuppin). In somewhat altered form, they were republished the next year in a Latin translation, *Historia Navigationis in Brasiliam, qvae et America dicitvr* (Geneva: Estache Vignon, 1586). Luiz Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo traced the vicissitudes of these tunes in later editions of Léry's frequently republished travel book, showing what changes were introduced in the French editions of 1600 and 1611, and in the Latin of 1594.[48]

Although Corrêa de Azevedo carried his pioneering investigations only through editions of Léry, Léry's Tupinambá melodies continued to be reprinted in works by other travel and dictionary writers as well. Marc Lescarbot (c. 1570–c. 1630)[49] published two of them (reduced to Guidonian syllables) in Bk. VI, chap. 5[50] of his *Histoire de la Novvelle-France*.[51] Sailing from La Rochelle May 13, 1606, Lescarbot reached Port Royal at the end of July. A year later he abandoned Acadia, embarking for the return to France July 30, 1607. A man of pronounced literary as well as musical accomplishment, he wrote the first French play produced in the New World, *La Theatre de Neptvne en la Novvelle-France*, given by the would-be colonists at Port Royal November 14, 1606. His interest in tribal customs included Micmac music. In the same chapter that ends with the quotation of the two Tupinambá melodies culled from Léry, he inserts also three melodies sung by a Micmac medicine man.[52]

The medicine men [*Aoutmoins*] of the last land of the Indies, which is the nearest to us [Acadia], are not so dull but that they know well how to win credit from the common people; . . . of this take the great Sagamos Membertou as an example. If anybody be sick, he is sent for, makes his invocations, blows upon the affected part, make incisions in it, sucks out the bad blood; if it be a wound, he heals it by the same means, applying a round slice of beaver's stones. Finally, some present is made unto him, either of venison or skins. If it is a question of having news of things absent, after consulting with his familiar he gives oracles. . . . When these *Aoutmoins* make their mops and mows, they fix in a pit a staff, to which they tie a cord, and putting their head into the pit, they make invocations or conjurations in a language unknown to the others that are about, and this with beatings and howlings, until they sweat with the effort. . . .

[48] "Tupynambá Melodies in Jean de Léry's *Historie d'un Voyage Faict en la Terre du Brésil*," *Papers of the American Musicological Society Annual Meeting 1941* (Richmond: William Byrd Press, 1946), pp. 91–94. See also the further corruptions in the German 1794 translation, p. 96.

[49] Biography in *Encyclopedia Canadiana* (Toronto: Grolier of Canada, 1968/1970), VI, 123–124.

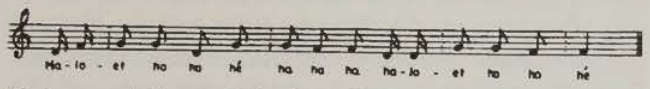
[50] See the original French as well as an English translation of the pertinent passage in W. L. Grant and H. P. Biggar's edition of *The history of New France by Marc Lescarbot* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1914 [Publications of the Champlain Society, XI]), pp. 361 (French), 106–107 (English).

[51] Found in the third edition, *Histoire de la Novvelle-France* (Paris: Adrian Perier, 1617), p. 729.

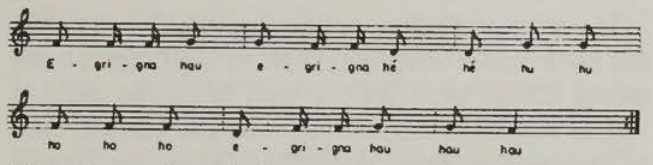
[52] French text: "Les *Aoutmoins* de la derniere tere des Indes qui est la plus proche de nous, ne sont si lourdauts qu'ilz n'en sachent bien faire à croire au menu peuple. . . . Pour exemple soit *Membertou* grand *Sagamos*. S'il y a quelqu'vn de malade on l'envoye querir, il fait des invocations à son daemon, il souffle la partie dolente, il y fait des incisions, en succe le mauvais sãg: Si c'est vne playe il la guerit par ce méme moyen, en appliquant vne roüelle de genitoires de Castor. Bref on lui fait quelque present de chasse, ou de peaux. S'il est question d'avoir nouvelles des choses absentes; aprés avoir interrogé son daemon il rend ses oracles. . . . Lors que ces *Aoutmoins* font leurs chimagrées ilz plantent vn baton dans vne fosse auquel ils attachent vne corde, & mettans la téte dans cette fosse ilz font des invocations ou conjurations en langage inconnu des autres qui sont alentour, & ceci avec des battemens & criaillemens jusque à en suer d'ahan. . . . Cela fait il se met à chanter quelque chose . . . & les autres Sauvages qui sont là repondent faisans quelque accord de musique entre eux. Puis ilz dansent à leur mode . . . avec chansons que ie n'enten point, ni ceux des nôtres qui entendoient le mieux leur langue. Mais vn jour m'allant promener en noz praires le long de la riviere, ie m'approchay de la cabanne de *Membertou*, & mis sur mes tablettes vne parcelle de ce que i'entendis, qui y est encore écrit en ces termes, *Haloet ho ho hé hé ha ha haloet ho ho hé*, ce qu'ilz repeterent par plusieurs fois. Le chant est sur mesdites tablettes en ces notes, *Re fa sol sol re sol sol fa fa re re sol sol fa fa*. Vne chanson finie ilz firent tous vne grande exclamation, disans *Hé é é é*. Puis recommencerent vne autre chanson, disans: *Egrigna hau egrigna hé hé hu hu ho ho ho egrigna hau hau hau*. Le chant de ceci étoit, *Fa fa fa sol sol fa fa re re sol sol fa fa fa re fa fa sol sol fa*. Ayans fait l'exclamation accoutumée ils en commencerent vne autre, que chantoit: *Tameja allelayah tameja douveni hau hau hé hé*. Le chant en étoit, *Sol sol sol fa fa re re re fa fa sol fa sol fa fa re re*.

That done, the medicine man begins to sing . . . and the others who are there answer in unison. Then they dance after their manner . . . with songs which I do not understand, nor do those of our men who understand their speech best.

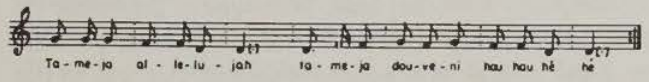
But one day going for a walk in our meadows along the river, I drew near to Membertou's cabin and wrote in my notebook part of what I heard, which is written there yet, as follows: *Haloet ho ho hé hé ha ha haloet ho ho hé.* These vocables were repeated several times. The tune which I also wrote in my notebook, reads thus:[53]



This song being ended, they all shouted *Hé-é-é-é.* Then they began another song, saying: *Egrigna hau egrigna hé hé hu hu ho ho ho egrigna hau hau hau.* The tune goes thus:



After the usual concluding shout, they began a third song with these words: *Tameja allelujah tameja douveni hau hau hé hé.* The tune whereof was:



After Lescarbot the next French visitor to describe Indian dance and song was Gabriel Sagard, who wintered among the Hurons (Wyandots) in 1623–1624 at a point somewhere on the peninsula jutting out between Georgian and Nottawasaca Bay. He devotes Chapter X of his *Le Grand Voyage dv Pays des Hvrons* (Paris: Denys Moreau, 1632) to "Their dances and songs."[54] Once gathered in the largest lodge, the oldsters and children sit down on mats, others on benches around walls.

Two chiefs rise up, each with a tortoise shell in his hand (such as they use in singing and blowing on the sick), and sing, standing in the midst of the dancers, a song which they accompany with the sound of their tortoise shell. Then when they have finished all shout loudly, saying *Hé é é é*; then they begin another, or repeat the same song as many times as shall have been ordered, and only the two chiefs sing, all the others saying nothing but *Hé, hé, hé*, like a man drawing in his breath violently, and then always at the end of each song they give a loud long shout *Hé é é é.*

All these are round dances, or at least danced in an oval, according to the length and breadth of the lodge; but the dancers do not hold hands as they do here. Instead they all keep their fists closed, and girls holding theirs one upon the other straight out from the body, the men also keeping them closed, held up in the air, or in quite another way like a man threatening a blow. Their movements are with the body and legs; they lift first one leg and then the other, and stamp their feet on the ground in time with the songs, and raise them as if half leaping, and the girls shake their whole body and also their feet and turn round at the end of four or five short steps towards the man or woman next them, making a bow by inclining the head. . . . These dances usually last for one, two, or three afternoons.

Sagard marvels at the courage of the dancers, who in deepest winter shed all clothing, even at times to the last breechcloth. But collars, earrings, and bracelets are never discarded. Jesters dressed up in bearskins with everything but their eyes covered meantime mingle with the dancers to enliven the show. In dances for the sick, the ill woman arrives the third afternoon and at the

> first of the repetitions or verses of the song they carry her, at the second they make her walk and dance a little, holding her under the arms, and at the third, if her strength allows, they make her dance a little by herself . . . crying out to her all the time at the top of their voices *Etsagon outsahonne achieteq anatetsence*, that is to say, "Take courage, woman, and you will be cured tomorrow."

At one such dance, when all the youths and maidens appeared stark naked before the sick woman, she had to perform *fellatio* on or swallow the urine of one of the young men, "which she did with great courage, hoping to be cured by it; for she herself wished it all to be done in that manner, in order to carry out without any omission a dream she had had."

Sagard next emphasizes the supreme importance of dreams in determining every decision taken by the Wyandots. He transcribes not only a typical dance

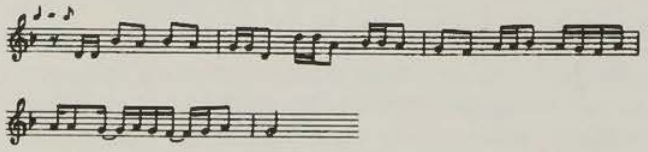
[53] The rhythms of these three Micmac songs, although not specified by Lescarbot in 1617, were clarified by the staff notation of these same songs published on four leaves between pages 312 and 313 of Gabriel Sagard Théodat's *Histoire dv Canada* (Paris: Chez Claude Sonnius, 1636). See facsimiles in *The long journey to the country of the Hurons*, edited by George M. Wrong and translated by H. H. Langton (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1939 [Publications, xxv]), inserts between pp. 120–121.

[54] *The long journey*, pp. 116–118, contains the translated portions excerpted in our quotations, French is at pp. 331–332 (= pp. 151–156 of the 1632 *Le Grand Voyage*).

song heard by him,[55] but also in the enlargement of the 1632 *Le Grand Voyage* published four years later with a new title *Histoire dv Canada* he harmonizes in four parts the three Micmac songs collected at Port Royal, Acadia, by Lescarbot in 1606–1607. To these, he adds similar four-part harmonizations of two of the Tupinambá melodies collected by Léry near Rio de Janeiro in 1557. In doing so, Sagard places himself at the head of a long procession. MacDowell, Cadman, Griffes, Busoni, Chávez, and Villa-Lobos followed in his footsteps. In particular, Heitor Villa-Lobos owned Sagard as his predecessor when in 1926 he incorporated a pair of Léry's Tupinambá songs into the first of his *Trois Poêmes Indiens (chant et orchestre)* (Mouvt de Marche Lente).

In 1636 Marin Mersenne quoted precisely the same two Léry Tupinambá songs[56] that Sagard published in four-part harmonizations that year, as well as one other of Léry's songs—*Canide iouue*. To preface these, Mersenne quoted a *Chanson Canadoise* "sent the King by one of his captains." Mersenne's purpose in quoting all four songs was to prove that the diatonic genus is endemic to all races.

Experience teaches us that even peoples who lack [professional] musicians sing in the diatonic genus, as is shown by this Canadian song, often used in dancing, according to the captain who sent it to the King [Louis XIII].



Mersenne next remarks that the American savages are already singing numerous songs learned from French and Indian traders settled among them. If this acculturation prevents Mersenne from being sure that the above dance song sent Louis XIII by a captain in Canada is indeed purely Indian, he suffers from no such doubts when he quotes Léry's Tupinambá melodies, Léry having collected them before they had met other white men. Or at least Mersenne uses this as his excuse for quoting the *Trois Chansons des Ameriquains* collected by Léry to clinch his argument that only the diatonic genus is known in native New World music.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau could not be so sure. In his *Dictionnaire de Musique* (Paris: Chez la Veuve Duchesne, 1768), page 314, he wrote:[57]

To give the reader an opportunity to judge the different ethnic styles, I have transcribed on an accompanying plate a Chinese air taken from Father Du Halde, a Persian taken from the Chevalier Chardin, and two songs of the American savages taken from Father Mersenne. Because these pieces so closely fit our own melodic schemes, some will admire the wisdom and universality of our rules, while others will doubt that the melodies in question have been faithfully transmitted to us.

However well taken may be Rousseau's last point, the pot calls the kettle black. He himself copies none of the ethnic melodies correctly from the authors whom he cites as his sources. The Chinese air, first of the five *Airs chinois* notated as examples *De leur musique* on the plate opposite page 267 in Jean-Baptiste Du Halde's *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'empire de la Chine* (Paris: P. G. Le Mercier, 1735), III, is pentatonic in Rousseau's source. Already in the third bar Rousseau changes the rhythm and makes it hexatonic. Carl Maria von Weber founded all but one number in his incidental music for Schiller's translation of the five-act *Turandot* (given in September, 1809) on Rousseau's incorrect version of Du Halde. Hindemith followed suit when he used Weber's *Turandot* as the basis for the scherzo section of his 1943 *Symphonic Metamorphosis of Themes by Carl Maria von Weber* (pages 16–37 of Hindemith's autograph score). Thus, Rousseau's faulty citation of his source can be called a *felix culpa* because it served both Weber and Hindemith so well.[58]

[55] *The long journey*, pp. 119, 333 (= p. 157 of the 1632 edition).

[56] "Traitez des Consonances, des Dissonances, des Genres, des Modes, & de la Composition," Livre troisiesme, Proposition II, in *Harmonie universelle . . . Paris (1636) Édition facsimilé* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche scientifique, 1963), II, 148 (second foliation).

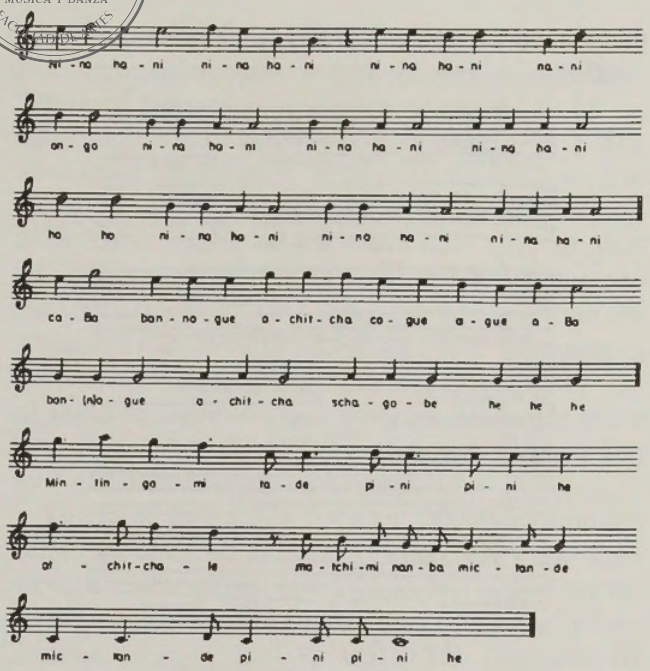
[57] French reads: "Pour mettre le Lecteur à portée de juger des divers Accens musicaux des Peuples, j'ai transcrit aussi dans la Planche un Air Chinois tiré du P. du Halde, un Air Persan tiré du Chevalier Chardin & deux Chansons de Sauvages de l'Amérique tirées du P. Mersenne. On trouvera dans tous ces morceaux une conformité de Modulation avec notre Musique, qui pourra faire admirer aux uns la bonté & universalité de nos règles, & peut-être rendre suspecte à d'autres l'intelligence ou la fidélité de ceux qui nous ont transmis ces Airs."

[58] John Warrack, *Carl Maria von Weber* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), pp. 69–70.

Planche N at the close of Rousseau's *Dictionnaire* continues with a botched jumbling together of two Léry melodies, both of which are joined under the one title, "Chanson des Sauvages du Canada." Next Roussseau indulges himself in an equally faulty rendition of the dance song sent Louis XIII by the captain in Canada. The wide diffusion of Rousseau's dictionary in all languages, its readability, and the aura of respectability that he cloaks himself with when he calls "sources" in question that only a scholar knows he is misquoting have done historical ethnomusicology untold damage.

Another victim of misquotation in the secondary literature has been Claude Dablon (1619–1679), transcriber of the Illinois tribal melody published first in *Mission du Canada. Relations inédites de la Nouvelle-France (1672–1679) pour faire suite aux anciennes relations (1615–1672)* (Paris: Charles Douniol, 1861 [introduction by Félix Martin]), II, 273, where the melody is credited to "a manuscript preseved by the Jesuits, at Paris." More accessibly the same song can be found in Reuben Gold Thwaites' edition of *The Jesuit relations and allied documents. Travels and explorations of the Jesuit missionaries in New France 1610–1791* (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1900), LIX, 311, but with all the many errors in the 1861 version still uncorrected—because Thwaites contented himself with only a facsimile of the 1861 printed page, not facsimilies of any manuscripts. Alfred Hamy consulted the manuscript, which was still at the École Sainte-Geneviève at the turn of the century, and as a result was able to correct some of the more obvious errors in the 1861 and 1900 version of this Illinois dance song when publishing it anew in *Au Mississippi, la première exploration (1673)* (Paris: H. Champion, 1903), page 136.

Unfortunately however it was still the 1861 and 1900 faulty version that reappeared in *"The Jesuit relations and allied documents,* Early Sources for an Ethnography of Music among American Indians," ETHNOMUSICOLOGY, XI/2 (May, 1967):203. A correct version, based on the manuscript[59]—a microfilm of which was kindly suppled by the editor of *Mid-America* from 1935 until his death, Jerome V. Jacobsen (1894–1970)—reads as follows:



Citing Thwaites' 1900 edition of *The Jesuit relations*, LIX as a "1959" publication, the author of the article in ETHNOMUSICOLOGY, XI/2 (May, 1967) failed to realize that in the meantime scholars have rejected the attribution of "Le premier Voÿage qu'a fait Le P. Marquette vers le nouueau Mexique" (in section 6 of which comes the misnamed calumet song) to Jacques Marquette (1637–1675), the companion of Louis Jolliet on the 1673 expedition down the Mississippi to its confluence with the Arkansas River. Instead, it is now attributed to Claude Dablon,[60] who was a trained and skillful musician:

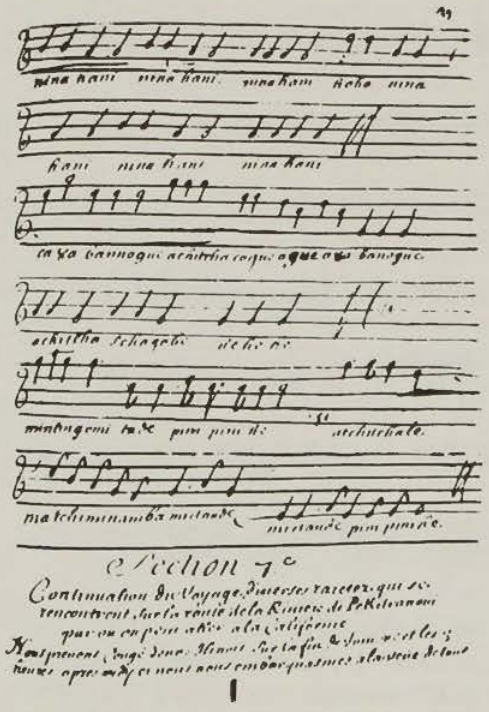
> Born at Dieppe, January 21, 1619, Dablon began his novitiate at Paris September 17, 1639. On September 19, 1655, having "recently arrived" in Quebec, he was sent to the Iroquois country. In his youth he had learned how to play several instruments "which he played very well" and which he "brought along to the Iroquois country." The Indians crowded the bark hut in which the missionaries lived, to hear him "make the wood talk." Dablon, however had not a pleasing voice.[61] After his return from the Iroquois country (April, 1656), he remained in Quebec for the next three years. On May 3, 1661, he left Quebec to find Indian tribes whose habitat was on the shores of the "Sea of the North" near the summit of the St. Lawrence watershed. Returning to Quebec sometime

[59] Jersey, *Fonds Brotier 158, Canada 4.* For the history and whereabouts of the Fonds Brotier MSS, see Jean Delanglez, "The 'Recit des voyages et des decouvertes du Pere Jacques Marquette'—Part I," *Mid-America*, XXVIII/3 (July, 1946), pp. 176–178. MSS were in 1971 at Chantilly, near Paris.

[60] Jean Delanglez, "Claude Dablon, S. J. (1619–1679)," *Mid-America*, XXVI/2 (April, 1944), p. 110.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 93. The rest of this insert is abridged from the same article.

before July 27, 1661, Dablon again left for the West in 1669.



Original manuscript of Illinois melody. The facsimile begins with the 3rd note of the second staff of the example on the preceding page.

During this journey West, Dablon and his companion Allouez visited tribes in what is now Wisconsin (autumn of 1670). In Winnebago County they met Mascoutens, Miamis, and Illinois Indians, some of the latter having come to live with the Mascoutens. The "mildness and politeness of the Illinois tribe [and] the noble character and kindness of the chief" delighted Dablon.[62] Occasionally "some of the oldest men would appear, dressed as if for playing a comedy, and would dance to the music of some very tuneful airs, which they sang in excellent accord."[63] It was here in Winnebago County during the autumn of 1670 that Dablon wrote down the music now commonly but erroneously called the calumet song.[64] Keenly aware that no European notation can ever fully capture the nuance of alien song, Dablon apologized for the imperfections of his transcription: "They give their songs a certain turn which cannot be sufficiently expressed by Note, but which nevertheless endows them with all their grace."[65]

Concerning the music for the calumet dance, "Le premier Voÿage qu'a fait le P. Marquette" says that specially selected men and women with the finest voices did the singing, that they occupied positions of honor beneath the leafy trees, that the *berdaches*[66] "who are summoned to the Councils and without whose advice nothing can de decided" joined in the singing but not the dancing, that all sang together in perfect time, that the dancers kept exact step to the singing, and that a mock combat fought to the slow beat of a special drum with or without singing served as the second part of the festivity in honor of calumet. "This is done so well—with slow and measured steps, and to the rhythmic sound of the voices and drums—that it might pass for a very fine Entry of a Ballet in France."[67]

This last comparison with "a very fine Entry of a Ballet in France" calls to mind the numerous *ballets de cours* given at Paris in this same century that incorporated American Indian entries. Lionel de La Laurencie mentioned several such *ballets de cours* in "America in the French Music of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Musical Quarterly*, VII/2 (April, 1921), pages 284–302. Americans monopolized the first entry of the *Ballet de la Reine* given January 16, 1609, a naked Tupinambá titillated the women spectators in the 1620 *Ballet de l'Amour de ce Temps*, Atahuallpa presided over the first entry of the *Grand Bal de la Douairère de Bille-*

[62] *Jesuit relations*, LV [1899], p. 15.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 205. Dablon's French text, published in his *Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable . . . les années 1671. & 1672* (Paris: Sebastien Mabre Cramoisy, 1673), 174 [= 176], reads: "quelquefois paroissoient quelques-uns des plus anciens, parez comme s'ils eussent voulu joüer une comedie, dansans à la cadence de quelques airs tres-mélodieux qu'ils chantoient de tres-bon accord."

[64] Delanglez, "The 'Recit des voyages et des decouvertes du Pere Jacques Marquette'—Part II," *Mid-America*, XXVIII/4 (October, 1946), p. 240: "The song is *not* the calument song, but as the Récit says, it is 'one of the songs which they [Illinois] are in the habit of singing.' "

[65] *Jesuit relations*, LIX, 137. French reads: "ils leur donnent un certain tour qu'on ne peut assez exprimer par la Notte, qui neanmoins en fait tout la grace."

[66] Bruno Nettl, "Blackfoot Music in Browning, 1965: Functions and attitudes," *Festschrift für Walter Wiora* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), p. 597, alludes to two effeminates who were perhaps a survival of the Blackfoot berdaches doubling as medicine men and musicians.

[67] *Jesuit relations*, LIX, 129, 133–137. In French the last sentence concludes: "ce qui se passe si bien par mesure et a pas comptez et au son réglé des voix et des tambours, que cela pourrait passer pour une assez belle entrée de Ballet en France."

bahaut given at the Louvre in February of 1626, Entry 26 of the 1641 *Ballet de M. le Cardinal de Richelieu* was danced by "Americans," and at least two of Lully's ballets sumptuously mounted at the Louvre February 12, 1657, and February 13, 1669, in Louis XIV's presence contained entries for Americans, so designated. In the 1657, the eighth entry is entitled *Les Indiens*,[68] in the 1669 the fifteenth and final entry represents the fourth quarter of the world, America.[69] In Lully's *Temple de la Paix* (autumn, 1685) one of the six entries is designated for five American men, five American women. Throughout the next century, American Indians continued a lively stage topic, *Le Huron Comédie en deux Actes* dedicated to the Swedish ambassador by Grétry and mounted August 20, 1768, affording an especially apt example.[70]

Although the music of the American Indian entries in these ballets is no more authentically Indian than are the celebrated *Lettres iroquoises*[71] in two volumes (Irocopolis [= Amsterdam]: Chez le Vénérables, 1752) that purported to be 43 letters written to a medicine man named Alha by his protégé visiting Europe, French interest in truly authentic Indian music fortunately did not die with Dablon. In the May 1754 *Journal étranger*, which was only its second issue, the editor—Antoine-François Prévost (1697–1763) now famous as the author of *Manon Lescaut* (1731) on which both Massenet and Puccini based operas—included between pages 228–229 three Iroquois melodies remitted to him by the celebrated Sulpitian, François Picquet (1708–1781), who from the summer of 1749 to 1760 ran an Iroquois colony at or near present-day Ogdensburg, New York, which rose from 400 in 1751 to 3000 when he gave it up rather than swear allegiance to the victorious English.[72] To this same Sulpitian the Abbé Prévost owed the extremely full "Remarques sur les trois airs Iroquois" printed at pages 229–234 of the May 1754 *Journal étranger* and eight years later in a somewhat blemished German translation by Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg.[73]

The three Iroquois airs go as follows (Marpurg's version is not to be trusted—he omits the key-signature flat in the third song and foists on his readers nine other capricious "improvements" of the *Journal étranger* musical text). The first with its Nachtanz betrays massive European influences,[74] but not the other pair. The translation of the last song, omitted in Marpurg, reads thus: "Listen everyone, alas alas / You who have any understanding, alas alas / You have arranged this ceremony, alas alas / So that we will always remember alas alas // He is then dead, alas alas / This man of greatest renown, alas alas / This great tree, alas alas /

[68] Music at the Paris Bibliothèque nationale (Coll. Philidor, V[m] micr 534 [36], p. 39 [last sung item in Seconde Partie du Ballet]. Title of this ballet: *Les plaisirs troublés masqvarade Dancé deuant Le Roy Par Monsieur Le duc de Guize lan 1657.* Call number of the original manuscript: Conservatoire Rés. F. 530 [#1 à 84 = 84 pp., R. 5.612:12, 5].

[69] *Ballet Royal de Flore Dansé par sa Majesté le mois de Jeurier 1669*, p. 50 (Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. F. 515).

[70] Hercule Kerkabon, a Huron brave who has lost his beloved Abucaba in Huronia (where she was eaten by a bear), comes to France to view how the rest of the world lives. Enamored by his muscles, Mlle de St. Yves prefers him to the rich poltroon seeking her hand. A portrait in a locket around his neck permits Mlle de Kerkabon and her brother's recognizing him as their nephew, whereupon they insist that he put on some clothes. He refuses until persuaded by Mlle de St. Yves to save his naked charms for her private viewing. Mounted by the Comediens Italiens, this opera took so well that it was at once printed in full score (183 pp. [British Library copy: H 511.1]). But none of the music, not even Hercule's airs, strikes any Indian pose.

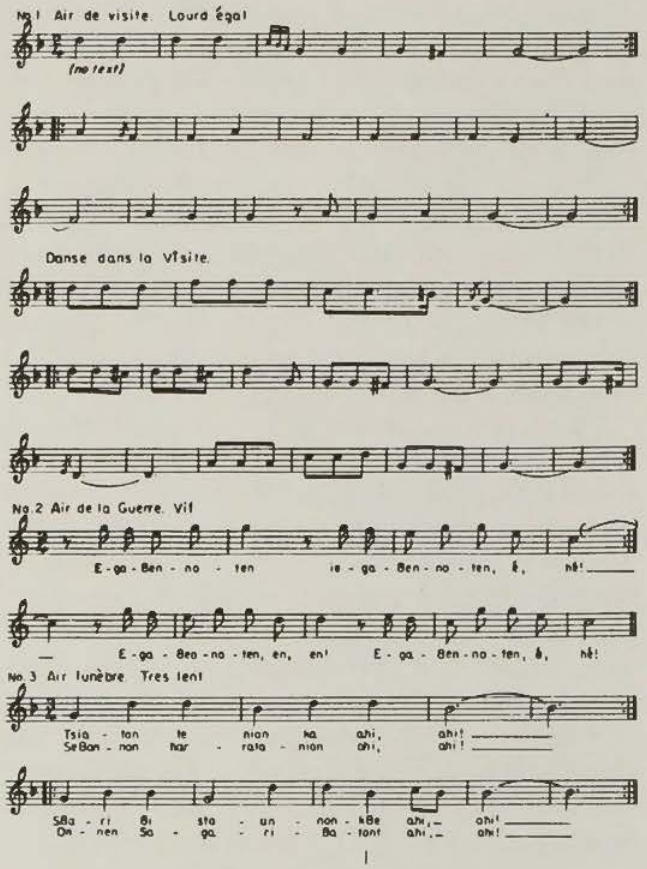
[71] British Library copy, 702.c. 30. At page 104 of the first volume, the writer compares the cruel God of Moses with the beneficent Great Spirit of the Iroquois. Throughout both volumes, the noble savage comes off everywhere a paragon in comparison with the Europeans whom he visits.

[72] Biography of Picquet (= Piquet as spelled by Prévost, *Journal étranger*, May 1754, p. 235) in *Jesuit relations*, LXIX, 295. In 1734 Picquet went to Canada. After five years at Montreal and another ten at the Sulpitian mission on the Lac des Deux Montagnes, he founded the Iroquois colony at or near present-day Ogdensburg. "The Iroquois were easily induced to settle there. . . . Picquet won their enthusiastic affection and obedience, and secured their loyalty to the French."

[73] *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1762), v. Band Fünftes Stück, pp. 341–346 ("Anmerkungen über drey Lieder der Irokesen"; music comes between pp. 340–341 on an added sheet).

[74] Already in 1655 the Iroquois were creating songs in their own language that were clearly European in style. On November 16 of that year, only four days after watching them burn an Erie child of nine to death ("he was only two hours in torment, because of his youth; but he displayed such fortitude that not a tear or a cry escaped him from amid the flames"), Dablon and Chaumonot heard the same Iroquois tribesmen welcome them at Onondaga with "six airs, or chants, which savored nothing of the savage" (*Jesuit relations*, XLII [1899], 115). Each was in a different tone, and by "the diversity of the tones, they vary naively expressed the divers passions which they wished to portray." The third song boasted "a very melodious refrain" and the fourth a rhythmic tattoo (sounded by tribsmen beating their feet, hands, and pipes against the mats).

Beneath whose delicious shade we sheltered ourselves, alas alas."[75]



To the French translation supplied by Picquet, Prévost adds a long footnote that can be thus summarized: After this funeral chant, the deeds of all the other greatest chiefs of the Five Nations[76] are similarly recalled. Iroquois manners and customs differ notably from those of the Illinois, and especially from those of the cannibal and treacherous Ischimons. Picquet's long residence among, and intimate acquaintance with, the Iroquois guarantee the veracity of what he reports concerning them. Thus, what he says about expression in their songs and about their way of singing can be trusted.

In the main body of the "Remarques sur les trois airs Iroquois" Picquet discusses each individually. The first song consists of a 2/4 "arrival" salute in *pesante* equal-value notes followed by a brisk 3/8 "visit" dance. Greeting each other, they carry in one hand a pebble-filled shell and in the other two dry feathers. In the 3/8 "visit" dance, the feet are parallel at beat 1, heels together toes apart at beat 2, heels apart toes together at beat 3. They move their feet like the English when country-dancing. The second song is a traditional war chant, so old that they no longer know the meaning of the words.[77] Upon entering battle, they publicly reproach any cowardice that can be recalled of any warrior entering the fray. Their red or blue paint hides any change of color that fright might cause. On the other hand, a painted woman among them is considered infamous. The hardiest of the braves shouts a guttural war cry and they plunge into carnage. The war chant transcribed as Song 2 belongs to the Wolf Family. Each Family takes for an emblem some animal. Whatever they sing is from the throat and nose, not from the chest and palate. The sound is hollow and strained, and they pronounce with lips open but teeth tightly clenched.[78]

After Michel-Paul-Gui de Chabanon (1730–1792), a violinist and academician whose *De la Musique considerée en elle-même et dans ses rapports avec la parole, les Langues, la Poésie, et le Théâtre* (Paris: Chez Pissot, 1785) contains at pages 393–396 some "Observations Sur les Chansons de Sauvages" illustrated with a plate of "Chansons Des Sauvages de l'Amerique septentrionale" between 392–393,[79] the next French publication to contain American tribal music was the four-volume *Voyage de La Pérouse autour du Monde* (Paris: Imprimerie de la République, 1797) by Jean François de Galaup, comte de Lapérouse (1741–1788). During July of 1786 while anchored at Frenchman's Port (= Port des Français = Lituya Bay) in the southwestern Alaskan panhan-

[75] *Journal étranger*, May 1754, pp. 233–234. The "8" in the texts underlaying the music becomes w (= vv) in the printed Iroquois texts interlining the translations.

[76] Six Nations after the Tuscarora joined the League in September 1722. See Swanton, (note 28 above), p. 87.

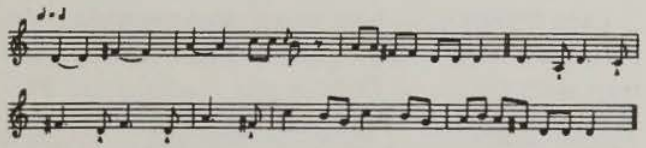
[77] *Journal étranger*, May 1754, p. 230: "C'est un vrai *cri de guerre*, dont les paroles sont si anciennes parmi eux, qu'ils ne savent point la signification."

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 232: "le son de leur voix ne tient ni de la poitrine ni du palais mais du gosier et du nez: c'est un son creux & renfermé, particulier à leur idiome, qu'ils prononcent les levres ouvertes, mais les dents serrées."

[79] See facsimile accompanying the Chabanon article in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, I, 1001–1002. The celebrated explorer Louis-Antonine de Bougainville (1729–1811) introduced Chabanon to an officer named Marin (no first name). The latter having learned these four songs during a long North American Indian captivity taught them to the Saint-Domingue-born Chabanon. All four are marked allegro. The second and third are war songs, the last a round dance. Chabanon emphasizes the primacy of rhythm. He bars in 2/4 or 3/8.

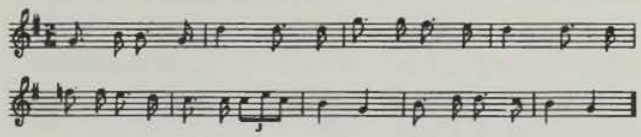
dle, Lapérouse's romantic dream of finding the first American indigenes whom his exploring expedition met to be Rousseau's ideal sons of nature was rudely shattered. As for their women, he found them "the most disgusting in the world, covered with stinking hides."[80] After describing their other customs, he mentions their games. As for music:[81]

I have often heard them sing and when the chief came to visit me, he commonly paraded round the ship singing, with his arms stretched out in form of a cross as a token of friendship. He then came on board, and acted a pantomime expressing either a battle, a surprise, or death. The air that preceded this dance was pleasing, and quite melodious. The following are the notes of it, as accurately as we could take them down. They who have the strongest voices take the air a third lower, and the women a third higher, than the natural pitch.[82] Some sing an octave to it, and often make a rest of two bars, at the place where the air is highest.

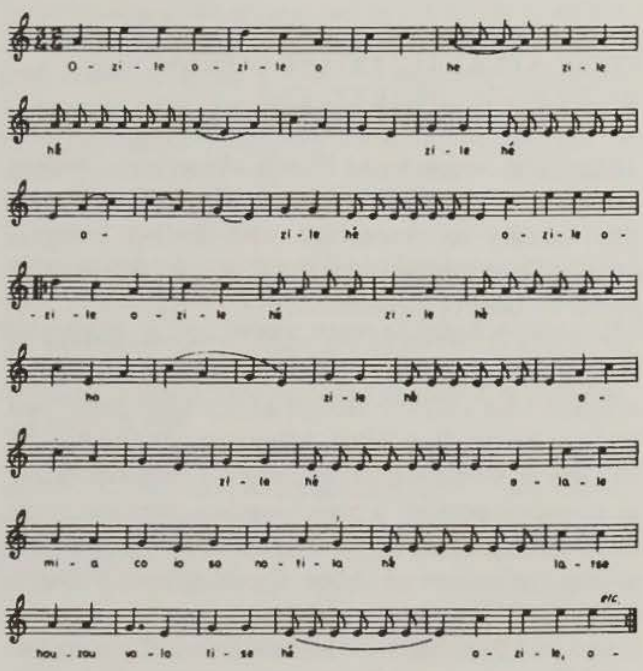


How quickly interior Alaskans—and not just those along the exposed coast—yielded to European musical influences comes equally to light in the next excerpt. Taken down January 28, 1878, at Kaltag by Charles John Seghers (1839–1886).[83] who was himself a composer of sorts,[84] this is the first of four Alaskan Indian songs transcribed during an 1877–1878 voyage up the Yukon.[85] Concerning the Kaltag song (text not transcribed), Seghers wrote

The Indians here keep perfect time, sing the triplet correctly [in bar 6] and accurately intone the natural [in bar 5]. Their voices are sufficiently true for one to transcribe the tune easily, which cannot be said of the Indians on Vancouver Island. Their musical aptitude enables them to retain their melodies easily. But above all they like noisy music.[86]



On the other hand, a long song "in honor of his dead uncle" sung by a native of Nuklukayet (where Seghers spent April 11–June 7, 1878) conforms more with what our ideas of unalloyed aboriginal song demand.



For a specimen of the songs bellowed at the top of their lungs by Indians who swarmed to Nuklukayet from so far away as the Copper River ("these men had journeyed nearly a thousand miles"[87]), Seghers gives this, which he says was

[80] *A Voyage round the world performed in the years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788 by the Boussole and Astrolabe* (London: A. Hamilton for G. G. and J. Robinson, 1799), I, 403.

[81] *Ibid.*, I, 408. For the French text, see *Le voyage de Lapérouse sur les côtes de l'Alaska et de la Californie (1786)*, edited by Gilbert Chinard (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937), p. 53.

[82] The Russians moved the capital of Alaska to Kodiak in 1779 and from 1780 on began to shift their base of operations to the Alexander Archipelago. Whether the chording mentioned by Lapérouse can be attributed to Russian precedent can only be surmised. If accurately transcribed, the melody (outlining a dominant-seventh chord) smells of Europe.

[83] Biography in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* [1967], XIII, 48.

[84] Maurice De Baets, *Mgr Seghers L'Apôtre de l'Alaska* (Paris: H. Oudin, 1896), p. xxvi: "Il était musicien dans l'âme, possédait une belle voix bien cultivée, et composait parfois quelques morceaux. . . ."

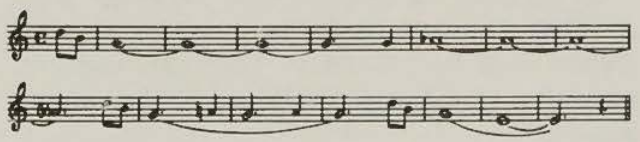
[85] *Ibid.*, between pp. 90–91 comes a plate headed *Chants Alaskiens* on which are printed all four songs.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 91: "Les Indiens de ce pays observent parfaitement la mesure, le bécarre et le triolet; leur voix est assez juste pour que l'on puisse aisément transcrire leur chant, ce qui est difficile ches les Indiens de Vancouver. Ils ont la fibre musicale très développée, et retiennent facilement les airs; mais ils affectionnent surtout la musique bruyante."

[87] *Ibid.*, p. 90A: ". . . quelques mesures d'un morceau chanté à tue-tête par un homme, accompagné de sept autres frappant un coup de tambour à chaque mesure."

accompanied by seven men beating drums at the beginning of each bar.[88]

To illustrate the kind of funeral dirge that he heard November 5, 1877, some fifty miles from the Arctic Circle (hundred miles northeast of Nulato), Seghers transcribed the following—titling it "lugubrious song performed to drum accompaniment" *(Chant lugubre que les Indiens exécutent avec accompagnement de tambours)*:



FIRST ATLANTIC COAST CONTACTS WITH ENGLISH SETTLERS

The earliest Spanish and French observers of Indian life differed markedly from the English, so far as their ability to empathize with Indian cultural manifestations is concerned. Or at least this is so, if one is to believe Densmore.

Frances Densmore (1867–1957)—a descendant of emigrants to Ipswich in 1633, the granddaughter of a judge who in 1857 settled at her birthplace and lifelong home, Red Wing, Minnesota,[89] and herself an Oberlin Conservatory product—began her career as a concert pianist, a piano teacher, and a lecturer on Wagnerian operas.[90] Not until 1895 did she yield to the influence of Alice Cunningham Fletcher (1838[91]–1923) and begin adding Indian music to her list of lecture subjects.[92] Her earliest still extant lecture on "The Music of the American Indians" was delivered at the Art Institute in Chicago, February 21, 1899. Illustrated with 22 musical examples, this lecture began with a comparison of the French and English attitudes.

> The French treated the Indians with a courtesy as dignified as his own. The Indians were made welcome at the French forts and entertained with elaborate politeness and in return they extended the hospitality of the wigwam. . . . The Jesuits went into the heart of the undiscovered country, going far in advance of the most daring hunter and trapper.
>
> The English pursued a different course. They were Puritans, struggling with the rocks of New England and the rigors of its climate. They regarded the Indian as an obstacle in the way of their progress and made no effort to conciliate him. They tried to conquer and crush him, and they might as well have tried to beat back the west wind.

Even if Densmore here exaggerates the distinction between French and English it is true that by contrast with the Jesuit Dablon and the Sulpitian Picquet, neither John Eliot nor any of the Mayhews tried recording any Indian tunes. In 1583 the Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún published at Mexico City *Psalmodia Christiana*, a collection of religious lyrics to be sung in the Aztec tongue to native tunes.[93] It must be frankly admitted that nothing comparable to this was attempted in any of the first English colonies.

What did happen? The earliest English colony consisted of 108 settlers brought over by Sir Richard Grenville in 1585. Landing on Roanoke Island, North Carolina, June 20, 1585, they remained one year. Thomas Heriot (1560–1621), a mathematician among the settlers, wrote *A briefe and true report of the new found land* (London: [Robert Robertson], 1588) that contains at folios E^{v}–F2^{v} a valuable section headed "Of the nature and manners of the people." Defining the word *Wiroans* to mean "a chiefe Lorde," Heriot wrote thus at E4:

> The *Wiroans* [chief] with whom we dwelt called *Wingina*, and many of his people, would be glad many times to be with vs at praiers, and many times call vpon vs both in his owne towne, as also in others whither he sometimes accompanied vs, to pray and sing Psalmes.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[89] Charles Hofmann, editor, *Frances Densmore and American Indian Music—A Memorial Volume* (New York: Museum of the American Indian. Heye Foundation, 1968), p. 61.

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

[91] *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), III/2, 463. She allowed both wrong birthdate and birthplace to circulate during her lifetime, even falsifying data supplied *Who's Who*. See *Who Was Who in America*, I (1897–1942) (Chicago: Marquis—Who's Who, 1968), p. 406, where she is still listed as born at Boston in 1845 (she was born in Cuba March 15, 1838).

[92] According to Densmore's own public testimony in 1899, "only one person has penetrated the mystery of Indian music—that woman is Miss Alice Cunningham Fletcher, and the key to the mystery was *love*." See Hofmann, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[93] Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVI*, new edition by Agustín Millares Carlo (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1954), p. 322.

These Sternhold and Hopkins metrical psalms were of course sung in English to tunes known by the Roanoke colonists. Sixty years later, when John Eliot began translating metrical psalms into an Algonquian tongue for the benefit of "praying Indians" at Natick and other Praying Towns in Massachusetts,[94] the melodies were still tunes familiar to the English colonists—and not anything remotely Indian in origin.

Eliot preached his first native-language sermon at Nonantum (= Newton) October 28, 1646. Five years later John Endecott, governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1651, rode out to Natick to inspect results. After one Indian had expounded Matthew 13:44–46 and Eliot had talked forty minutes in their language

> there was a *Psalme* sung in the *Indian* tongue, and *Indian* meeter, but to an *English tune*, read by one of themselves, that the rest might follow, and he read it very distinctly without missing a word as we could judge, and the rest sang chearefully and prettie tuneablie.[95]

Victor Yellin assembled in one convenient abstract, "Musical Activity in Virginia before 1620," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XXII(2):1969:284–289, the references to Indian music found in both Captain John Smith's *A Map of Virginia. VVith a description of the covntrey* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1612), page 28, and in the *Relation of Virginia* first edited by J. F. Hunnewell in 1872 but written by the gentleman adventurer Henry Spelman (1595–1623) in 1609. Among the "numerous other references to Indian dancing, playing and singing in Virginia before 1620" to which Yellin alluded without specifying them, the most important is the expansion of Captain John Smith's comments on "Their Musicke" and "Their Entertainment" to be found in William Strachey's *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* (1612). Strachey (1572–1621), who was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and was in 1605 a member of Gray's Inn, London, served as Ambassador's secretary at Constantinople 1606–1607. On June 2, 1609, he sailed from Plymouth in the Sea Venture, the flagship of a fleet destined for Jamestown. Stachey's letter to a certain "noble lady" describing the shipwreck of the Sea Venture during a "most terrible and vehement storme" is thought to have suggested to Shakespeare certain incidents in *The Tempest*.[96] His remarks on Virginia tribal music include these extracts:

> The faces of all their Priests are painted as vgly as they can devise, in their hands they carry every one his rattle for the most parte as a Symbale of his place and profession, some base [larger] some smaller, their divotion is most in songs, which the Chief Priest begyns, and the rest follow him, sometymes he makes invocation with broken Sentences by starts and straunge passions, and at every pawse, the rest of the priests giue a short groane.
>
> In some great distresse of want, fear of enemyes, tymes of Tryvmphes, and gathering together thir fruictes, the whole Country men women and children, come togither to their Solemnityes, the manner of which divotion is sometimes to make a great fier in the howse or feildes, and all to sing and daunce about yt in a ring with rattles and showtes, 4. or 5. howers togither, sometymes fashioning themselues in twoo Companies, keeping a great cercuyt, one Company daunceth one waie and the other the contrary, (all very fynely paynted), certayne men going before with either of them a Rattle, other following in the midst, and the rest of the trayne of both wings in order 4. and 4. and in the Reare certayne of the Chiefest young men with long Switches in their handes to keep them in their places: after all which followes the Governour or Weroance himself in a more slowe or sollemne measure, stopping, and dauncing, and all singing very tunable.
>
> They have also divers coniurations, one they made at what tyme they had taken Captayne Smith Prisoner: . . . first so soone as day was shutt in, they kyndled a faire great Fier in a loue howse, about which assembled 7: priests, taking Captayne Smith by the hand, and appointing him his seat, about the fier they made a kynd of enchanted Circle of Meale, that done the Chief Priest (attyred as is expressed) grauely began to sing and shake his rattle, solemnly marching and rownding about the fier, the rest followed him sylently, vntill his song was done, which they all shutt vp with a groane: at the end of the first song the Chief Priest layd downe Certayne graynes of wheat, and so contynued howling and invoking their Okeus[97] to stand firme and powerfull vnto them, in divers varietyes of songes still compting the

[94] Ola Elizabeth Winslow, *John Eliot "Apostle to the Indians"* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968), p. 160.

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 133; quoting from John Endecott, *Strength ovt of Weaknesse* (London: M. Simmons, 1652), p. 34.

[96] William Strachey, *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania*, edited by Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953 [sec. ser., 103]), p. xxi: "it was this letter, presumably known to Shakespeare, which is believed to have provided background which the dramatist used in *The Tempest*."

[97] Strachey (*ibid.*, p. 88) defines an okeus as an idol of ill

songes by the graynes, vntill they had circled the fier three times, then they devided the graynes by certayne nombers with little stickes . . . in this manner they contynued 10. or 12. howres without any other Ceremonies or Intermission.

In some parte of the Country they haue yearely a Sacrifice of Children, such a one was at *Quiyoughcohanock* some 10. myles from Iames Towne, as also as *Kecoughtan*, which Captayne George Percey was at and observed, the manner of yt was: 15. of the properest young boys betweene 10. and 15. yeares of age, they paynted white, having brought them forth the people spent the forenoone in dauncing and singing about them with rattles: in the afternoone they solemnly led those children to a certayne tree appointed for the same purpose . . . all the while sate the mothers and kynswomen a far off, looking on weeping and crying out very passionately, and some in pretty wayementing [= lamenting] tunes singing (as yt were) their dirge or funerall songe.

In these four extracts from Strachey's chapter "Of the Religion amongst the Inhabitaunts" he mentions no other instrument than rattles of various sizes—and with reason, because as he observes elsewhere "their chief instruments are Rattles made of small Gourdes or Pumpeon shells, and these they haue Base, Tenor, Countortenor, Meane, and Treble."[98] The fact that the rattles sounded different pitches deserves underlining. "These mingled with their voyces sometymes 20. or 30. togither." Among other "sondry Instruments . . . they have a kynd of Cane, on which they pipe as on a Recorder . . . being hardly to be sounded without great strayning of the breath, vpon which they observe certain rude tunes." Showing his classical training at Emmanuel College, Strachey likens these recorders to the deep-toned flute known to Artistotle and Plutarch as *bombyx*: Their love songs "they will sing tunable ynough" but they have also

contryved a kind of angry song against vs in their homely rymes, which concludeth with a kynd of Petition vnto their *Okeus*, and to all the host of their Idolls, to plague the Tassantasses (for so they call vs) and their posterityes, as likewise another in manner of Tryumph at which tyme they killed Capt. William West our Lord Generalls nephew, and 2. or 3. more, and prisoners, that song goes thus

1. Mattanerew shashashewaw erowango pechecoma
   Whe Tassantassa inoshashaw yehockan pocosack
   Whe, whe, yah, ha, ha, ne, he, wittowa, wittowa.
2. Mattanerew shashashewaw erowango pechecoma
   Capt. Newport inoshashaw neir in hoc nantion matassan
   Whe, whe, yah, ha, ha, ne, he, wittowa, wittowa.
3. Mattanerew shashashewaw erowango pechecoma
   Thom. Newport inoshashaw neir in hock nantion monocock
   Whe, whe, yah, ha, ha, ne, he, wittowa, wittowa.
4. Mattanerew shashashewaw erowango pechecoma
   Pockin Simon moshasha mingon nantian Tamahuck
   Whe, whe, yah, ha, ha, ne, he, wittowa, wittowa.

Strachey translates the first strophe to mean that "they killed vs for all our Guns" (gun = *pocosack*[99]), the second to mean that Captain Newport brought them copper (= *mattasun*[100] or *matassan*), the third to mean that they killed Thomas Newport[101] for his sword (= *monocock*[102]), the fourth to mean that they took Simon Score "Prysoner for all his Tamahauke, that is his Hatchett." The third line in each strophe Strachey calls a "burthen" = burden. The Indians themselves "never bemoane themselues, nor cry out, giving vp so much as a groane for any death how cruell soever and full of Torment," but the burden of their taunting song imitated the "lamentation our people made" and they thereby meant to "mock vs."

So akin were dance and song in the mind of the aboriginal Virginian that the word for song—*cante-cante*—and for dance was the same.[103]

As for their dauncing the sport seemes unto them, and the vse almost as frequent and necessary as their meat and drinck. . . . When any of our people repayred vnto their Townes, the Indians would not thinck they had expressed their welcome vnto them sufficiently ynough vntill they had shewed them a daunce: the manner of which is thus: one of them standeth by with some furre

omen, worshiped "more for feare of harme than of hope of any good."

[98] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

[99] *Ibid.*, p. 197, line 2.

[100] *Ibid.*, p. 180, col. 1, line 8.

[101] *Ibid.*, p. 86: "Thomas Newport a boy whose name indeed is Thomas Sauadge, whome Capt Newport leaving with Powhatan to learne the Language, at what tyme he presented the said Powhatan with a copper Crowne and other gifts from his Maiestie, sayd he was his sonne."

[102] *Ibid.*, p. 203: "a sword = *Monohacan*"; p. 86 = "*Monnacock*."

[103] *Ibid.*, p. 201, column 1, line 8; see also p. 190, col. 1, line 19 (*Kantikantie* = sing and daunce).

or leather thing in his left hand, vpon which he beates with his right, and sings withall, as if he began the Quier, and kept vnto the rest their iust tyme, when vpon a certayne stroke or word (as vpon his Cue or tyme to come in) one riseth vp and begynns the daunce; after he hath daunced a while steppes forth an other, as if he came in iust vpon his rest, and in this order all of them so many as there be one after another who then daunce an equall distance from each other in the ring, showting, howling and stamping their feet against the grownd and with such force and payne, that they sweat againe.

Strachey's description of Virginia dancing confirms in writing what an illustrator sent there by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1585 and 1588 had already pictured in *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*[104] (Frankfort am Main: Johann Wechel, 1590), plate xviii, "Their danses vvhich they vse att their hyghe feastes."[105] As published by Theodore de Bry, the John White[106] illustrations include one other of ethnomusicological interest, "Their manner of prainge [praying] with Rattles abowt the fyer."[107] In "Their danses" thirteen males equidistant from each other circle three naked virgins in the center. In one hand most dancers hold a rattle, in the other a stalk. All but two dancers jump, one foot kicked behind, one hand held high. Seven wooden poles tipped with dour female heads outline the dancers' circle. In "Their manner of prainge" ten men and women sit together shaking dried gourds filled with small stones or kernels.

Both John White's illustrations and Strachey's descriptions were commmissioned. Raleigh sent White to the New World, Richard Martin, Secretary to the Virginia Company of London, commissioned Strachey. Martin's letter of December 14, 1610, ends thus: "I will conclude with an earnest request that you wold be pleased by the return of this shippe to let me vnderstand from you . . . the manners of the people, how the Barbarians are content with your being there."[108] As a rule, all lengthy ethnological reports sent by Spanish as well as French New World observers were submitted on order from royalty, his representative, a high council, or some other home-based power. The comparative dearth of English-language ethnological literature during the colonial period reflects therefore more on the London mood than on the colonists' sloth. Given an opportunity to observe, and amassing enough money in the New World to afford publishing their observations, settlers in English America made several worthwhile contributions.

LATE ENGLISH COLONIAL CONTACTS WITH SOUTHEASTERN TRIBES

The History of the American Indians, particularly Those Nations adjoining to the Mississippi, East and West Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1775) by James Adair contains the observations of "A Trader with the Indians, and Resident in their Country for Forty Years." Like the *Tratado vnico, y singvlar de origen de los Indios* (Lima: Manuel de los Olivos, 1681) by Diego Andrés Rocha (1607–c. 1687), Adair's history purports to prove that the dispersed Jews fathered the race of American Indians.[109] Apart from this thesis, which Adair was prepared to defend by investing a lifetime's savings to get his 470-page book printed, his history does boast a large lode of Indian data generally regarded as authentic.[110] In the first excerpt below, he likens the shape of a Negro banjo to that of an Indian instrument.[111]

[104] Authored by Thomas Hariot (1560–1621), *A briefe and true report* was first published without John White's illustrations at London in 1588.

[105] Reproduced in Stefan Lorant, *The New World The First Pictures of America* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), pp. 260–261. John White's original watercolor from which was made the De Bry copper engraving is at 196–197.

[106] Concerning John White, the illustrator who made his fifth and final voyage to Virginia in 1590, see Randolph G. Adams, "An Effort to identify John White," *The American Historical Review*, XLI/1 (October, 1935), pp. 87–91. Also, Lorant, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–184.

[107] Lorant, *op. cit.*, p. 259; original watercolor at 192.

[108] Strachey, *op. cit.*, p. xxv.

[109] Adair appealed to Roger Williams's like conviction to support his belief that the American Indians were descended from dispersed Jewish tribes. See *The History of the American Indians*, p. 215.

[110] *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964), I, 33: "Adair's work has outlived its thesis. Its account of the various tribes, their manners, customs, and vocabularies, its depiction of scenes and its narration of incidents in his own eventful career, give it permanent value. It is a record of close and intelligent observation, and its fidelity to fact has been generally acknowledged."

[111] George Herzog studied the problem of cross-cultural con-

In the Summer-season of the year 1746, I chanced to see the Indians playing at a house of the former Mississippi-Nachee, on one of their old sacred musical instruments. It pretty much resembled the Negroe-Banger[112] in shape, but far exceeded it in dimensions; for it was about five feet long, and a foot wide on the head-part of the board, with eight strings made out of the sinews of a large buffalo. . . . The *Loache*, or prophet who held the instrument between his feet, and along side of his chin, took one end of the bow, whilst a lusty fellow held the other. . . . When I afterward asked him the name, and the reason of such a strange method of diversion, he told me the dance was called *Keetla Ishto Hoollo*, "a dance to, or before, the great holy one;" that it kept off evil spirits. . . . He who danced it, kept his place and posture, in a very exact manner, without the least perceivable variation: yet by the prodigious working of his muscles and nerves, he in about half an hour, foamed in a very extraordinary manner.[113]

In the second excerpt Adair describes the singing of an old Chickasaw medicine man who intoned his invocation looking west, to ward off "the evil spirits of the north, south, and west." Like many a collector of Indian songs after him, Adair prided himself particularly on securing this song because "the Indians are so tenacious of concealing their religious mysteries, that I never before observed such an invocation on the like occasion."[114] He heard this song in 1765. But he had been already in Indian territory since 1735.

In the year 1765, an old physician, or prophet . . . came to pay me a friendly visit. . . . When he came to the door he bowed himself half bent, with his arms extended north and south, continuing so perhaps for the space of a minute. Then raising himself erect, with his arms in the same position, he looked in a wild frightful manner, from the south-west toward the north, and sung on a low bass key *Yo Yo Yo Yo*, almost a minute, then *He He He He*, for perhaps the same space of time, and *Wa Wa Wa Wa*, in like manner; and then transposed, and accented those sacred notes several different ways, in a most rapid gutteral manner. Now and then he looked upwards, with his head considerably bent backward;—his song continued about a quarter of an hour. . . . After his song he stepped in: I saluted him, saying, "Are you come my beloved old friend?" he replied, *Arahre-O* "I am come in the name of OEA." I told him, I was glad to see, that in this mad age, he still retained the old Chikkasah virtues. He said, that as he came with a glad heart to see me his old friend, he imagined he could not do me a more kind service, than to secure my house from the power of the evil spirits of the north, south, and west,—and, from witches, and wizards, who go about in dark nights, in the shape of bears, hogs, and wolves, to spoil people. . . . They call witches and wizards, *Ishtabe*, and *Hoollabe*, "mankillers," and "spoilers of things sacred." My prophetic friend desired me to think myself secure from those dangerous enemies of darkness, for (said he) *Tarooa Ishtohoollo-Antarooare*, "I have sung the song of the great holy one."

In turn, Adair sang Irish songs to his Indian friends. An "old Nachee warrior who was blind in one eye" worried Adair into "blowing a quill full of fine burnt allum and roman vitrol into his eye." But then he jumped up and said "my songs and physic were not good." As soon as Adair could quiet him down, "I told him the English beloved songs and physic were much stronger than those of the red people." Afterward the old warrior thought that he had had a narrow escape for "presuming to get cured by an impure accursed nothing who . . . sung *Tarooa Ookproo'sto*, 'the devil's tune,' or the song of the evil ones."[115] Adair had sung *Sheela na guira*, an Irish tune that Thomas Moore was later on to include in *The Irish Melodies*.[116] So far as "the Indian physicians" are concerned, they approach them [their patients] in a bending posture, with their

---

tact in "African Influences in North American Indian Music," *Papers Read at the International Congress of Musicology . . . 1939* (New York: American Musicological Society, 1944), pp. 130–143, without however alluding to Adair. According to Herzog, p. 133: "In Indian music, once a melody has been completed, melodic development is, on the whole, closed. The melody is repeated a number of times, either with no change at all or with minor alterations." But by way of contrast, p. 136: "African practice is quite different. While in North American Indian music the melody is normally a closed statement, in African music it is very often merely a point of departure." Because Cherokee songs collected in the southeast by Frank G. Speck of the University of Pennsylvania show "variable initial or solo motives," Herzog believed such songs to be "a definite indication of African influence" (p. 142).

[112] Among eighteenth-century spellings of banjo, *Grove's*, 5th edition, 1, 403, documents *banshaw* (1763), *banjar* (1781), and *banger* (1784); see also John Scott Odell's banjo article in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (1984), 1, 151–154.

[113] *The History of the American Indians*, p. 175.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 177. For his allusion to Indian burial songs, see p. 181.

[115] *Ibid.*, p. 173 note.

[116] See *The Irish Melodies of Thomas Moore . . . The original airs restored by Charles Villiers Stanford* (London: Boosey & Co., 1895), pp. 110–111.

rattling calabash, prefering that sort to the North-American gourds: and in that posture of body, they run two or three times around the sick person, contrary to the course of the sun, invoking God as already exprest. Then they invoke the raven, and mimic his croaking voice."[117]

Concerning the execution of prisoners in another tribe, Adair writes thus (pages 390–391):

> The victors first strip their miserable captives quite naked, and put on their feet a pair of bear-skin maccaseenes, with the black hairy part outwards; others fasten with a grape-vine, a burning fire-brand to the pole, a little above the reach of their heads. . . . [their punishment is always left to the women; and] Each of them prepares for the dreadful rejoicing, a long bundle of dry canes, or the heart of fat pitch-pine, and as the victims are led to the stake, the women and their young ones beat them with these. . . . The victim's arms are fast pinioned, and a strong grape-vine is tied around his neck, to the top of the war-pole, allowing him to track around, about fifteen yards. They fix some tough clay on his head, to secure the scalp from the blazing torches. Unspeakable pleasure now fills the exulting crowd of spectators, and the circle fills with Amazon and merciless executioners—The suffering warrior however is not dismayed; with an insulting manly voice he sings the war-song, and with gallant contempt he tramples the rattling gourd with pebbles in it to pieces, and outbraves even death itself.
>
> The women make a furious on-set with their burning torches: his pain is soon so excruciating, that he rushes out from the pole, with the fury of the most savage beast of prey, and with the vine sweeps down all before him, kicking, biting, and trampling them, with the greatest despite. The circle immediately fills again, either with the same, or fresh persons: they attack him on every side—now he runs to the pole for shelter, but the flames pursue him. Then with champing teeth, and sparkling eyeballs, he breaks through their contracted circle afresh, and acts every part, that the highest courage, most raging fury, and blackest despair can prompt him to. But he is sure to be over-power'd by numbers, and after some time the fire effects his tender parts.—Then they pour over him a quantity of cold water, and allow him a proper time of respite, till his spirits recover, and he is capable of suffering new tortures. Then the like cruelties are repeated till he falls down, and happliy becomes insensible of pain. Now they scalp him, in the manner before described: dismember, and carry off all the exterior branches of the body, (pudendis non exceptis). Not a soul, of whatever age or sex, manifests the least pity during the prisoner's tortures: the women sing with religious joy, all the while they are torturing the devoted victim, the peals of laughter resound through the crowded theatre—especially if he fears to die. But a warrior puts on a bold austere countenance, and carries it through all his pains:—as long as he can, he whoops and out-braves the enemy.

John Long, who reached America as an articled clerk in 1768 but who soon "went Indian," learned the Chippewa tongue in 1777 and was that year adopted by the Chippewas during a painful three-day ordeal. His detailed *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader, Describing the Manners and Customs of the North American Indians* (London, 1791) contains an account of the execution of war prisoners that confirms Adair's. "The warrior is fastened to a stump, and a small rattle put in his hand, called *chessaquoy*, which he shakes while he sings the dead war-song," writes Long at page 182 of his 1791 account. He adds the text of a typical "dead war song" with a translation. In 1779 a certain "Mr. Ramsay" captured by the Potawatomi succeeded in escaping by getting his captors drunk. But an Indian prisoner would have scorned any such strategem, prefering to vaunt his courage in his war song sung even while he burned, Long assures us.

The bravery of dying tortured prisoners caught Strachey's fancy, Adair's, and that of most subsequent writers on Indian customs. However, the first attempt at recording a song supposed to have been sung by a dying brave lacks any telltale marks of authenticity.[118] Such a song appeared anonymously

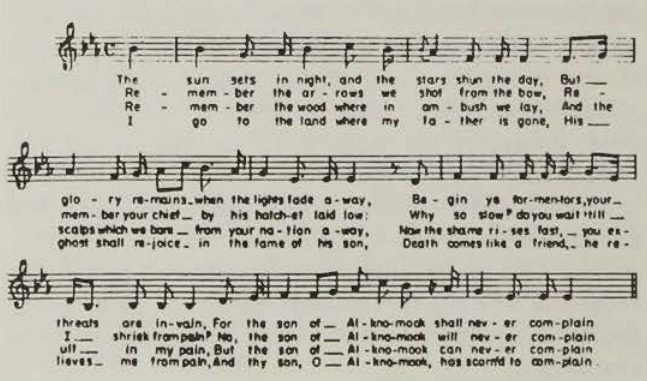
[117] Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

[118] Cherokee familiarity with European music can be documented at least as early as 1741. Antoine Bonnefoy, a captive among them, tells how he, two other French captives, a half-breed, and a black were forced to sing "for the space of more than three hours, at different times, singing both French and Indian songs" while holding a white stick and rattle. "Our clothes were taken off," before they were forced to start singing. This took place at Tellico, "a Cherokee town on the Tellico River, near its junction with the Little Tennessee" February 7, 1741. Again the next day, "they made us march in this order, singing, and having, as we had had the evening before, a white stick and a rattle in our hands. . . . After this march was finished they brought us into the councilhouse, where we were each obliged to sing four songs." Given the Cherokee quick assimilation of other white customs that appealed to them, certain songs that they made prior white captives sing may easily have become indigenized among them before 1775. See Newton D. Mereness, editor, *Travels in the American Colonies* (New

in Andrew Adgate's *The Philadelphia Songster, Part I. Being a Collection of Choice Songs* (Philadelphia: John M'Culloch, 1789), at page 8, with the title *Indian Chief*. There printed in G Major and in cut time, this song was to reappear frequently in collections published on both sides of the Atlantic for fifty years. The first to tell anything of its history was Joseph Ritson, compiler of *Scotish Songs. In Two Volumes*. His *Volume the Second* (London: J. Johnson and J. Egerton, 1794), page 261, makes it an E flat common-meter tune. Billed as "The Death Song of the Cherokee Indians,"[119] the song text is there credited to "Mrs. Hunter" (Anne Hunter [1742–1821]). So far as the tune is concerned, Ritson claims for it an authentic Indian origin:

> The simple melody of this song, as we are informed by its fair author, "was brought to England ten years ago by a gentleman name Turner, who had (owing to some singular events in his life) spent nine years amongst the natives of America. He assured the author," she continues, "that it was peculiar to that tribe or nation called the Cherokees, and that they chanted it to a barbarous jargon, implying contempt for their enemies in the moments of torture and death." She adds that, "The words have been thought something characteristick of the spirit and sentiments of those brave savages;" that "we look upon the fierce and stubborn courage of the dying Indian with a mixture of respect, pity and horror;" and that "it is to those sentiments in the breast of the hearer that the death song must owe its effect."

Elsewhere in Ritson's compilation (I, lxxvii) he states that the "Mrs. Hunter" who wrote the poetry of "The Death Song of the Cherokee Indians" was the former "Miss Home." Her obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XCI/1:1821:89–90, identifies her as not only the poetess who supplied the English text for "The Death Song" but also as Haydn's collaborator who during his second London sojourn provided him with the texts for *VI Original Canzonettas* (1794).[120] She presumably met "Turner, who had spent nine years amongst the natives of America" through her father, an army surgeon under Burgoyne (in America 1775, 1776–1777). Not because there is anything identifiably Indian in the melody, but because the tune "long had the popularity of a national air and was familiar in every drawing room in the early part of the [nineteenth] century,"[121] *Alknomook*—as the air was frequently entitled because it was his son who is the tortured Cherokee supposed to be singing the "Death Song"—deserves more than passing notice. Sonneck lists four American publications of the same tune before 1800, the earliest Adgate's in 1789.[122] The song retained its popularity, being reprinted in 1807, 1827, and again so late as 1841.[123] As published by Ritson, the tune included a Scotch snap and an



appoggiatura. Adgate, who in 1789 printed it in cut time, called ¢ "Second Mood" in his *Rudiments of Music* (issued the same year[124]), page 15—differentiating ¢ from C by saying that one bar of ¢ takes three seconds but a bar of C four seconds. Adgate also extended the range of the melody

York: Antiquarian Press, 1961), pp. 245–246. The manuscript of Bonnefoy's journal from which J. Franklin James made his translations "is in the Archives Nationales, Paris: Colonies F. 3: 24, folios 361–371" (*ibid.*, p. 240).

[119] W. Barclay Squire, *Catalogue of Printed Music Published between 1487 and 1800 now in the British Museum* [1912], II, 548, lists two sheet music editions of "The Death Song of the Cherokee Indians An original Air, brought from America by a Gentleman . . . conversant with the Indian Tribes . . . The Words adapted to the Air by a Lady" [i.e., A. Home], the first published by J. Preston "c. 1780" (1784 seems likelier), the second by Longman and Broderip c. 1786.

[120] See *Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (London: Oxford University Press, 1921–1922), X, 284–285 ("Pleydell" should read "Pleyel," p. 284, line 7).

[121] O. G. T. Sonneck and William Treat Upton, *A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music [18th century]* (Washington: Library of Congress, Music Division, 1945), p. 12.

[122] *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13. "Royall Taylor's comedy *The Contrast*, Philadelphia, 1790, called for this song in Act I, sc. 2.

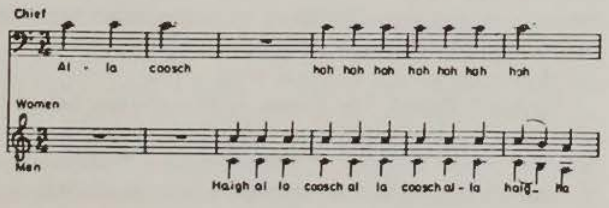
[123] Richard J. Wolfe, *Secular Music in America 1801–1825 A Bibliography* (New York: New York Public Library, 1964), I, 8 (item 75), 438 (4484); *The Musical Reporter*, 6 (Boston: Saxton and Peirce, 1841 [June]), p. 287. The latter version matches Ritson's, not Adgate's.

[124] Charles Evans, *American Bibliography* (Chicago: Columbia Press, 1912), VII (1786–1789), p. 289 (21629).

(he calls for a rising fourth in eighth-notes on beat 3 of bar 1), made the first three notes in bar 3 conform with the rhythm of the first three in bar 1, and introduced a vocal ornament on the last beat of bar 4. However, he forwent such refinements as the appoggiatura in bar 2 and the Scotch snap in bar 6.

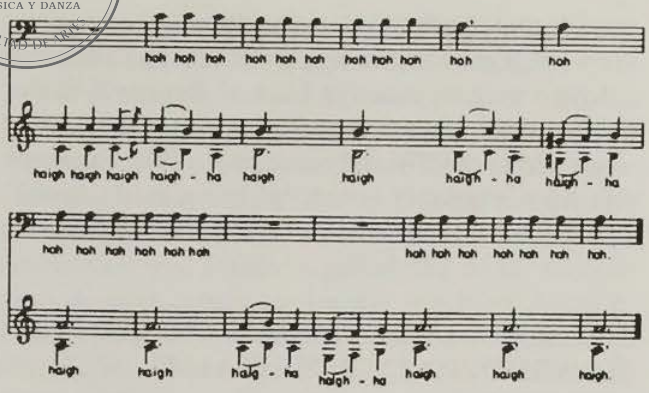
INITIAL ENGLISH CONTACTS ALONG THE NORTHWEST COAST

If the Cherokee song is here important only because it proves how innocent of authentic Indian style were both Eighteenth-Century Americans and English, another song was published in the same year as *The Philadelphia Songster* with greater pretensions. *A Voyage Round the World: but more particularly to the North-West Coast of America: performed in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788 . . . By Capt. George Dixon* (London: Geo. Goulding, 1789)[125] includes opposite page 242 a plate headed "Indian Song as generally sung by the Natives of Norfolk Sound[126] previous to commencing trade." Taken down in July, 1787, by the supercargo aboard the Queen Charlotte, William Beresford, this song as published two years later seems to be in three parts only because the parts for men and women an octave from each other are printed on different staves. Reduced to two staves, the song still falls short of being a bicinium. Barred in 3/4 by Beresford, the song could also have been barred in 6/8 or even 12/8 had he not insisted on the equally heavy stress at the beginning of each group of three's.



[125] Bibliographic details in Valerian Lada-Mocarski, *Bibliography of Books on Alaska published before 1868* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 160–163.

[126] Norfolk Sound, an inlet on Baranof Island "lies, by Captain Dixon's account in lat. 57° 03′ N. and Long. 135° 36′ W. . . . In this place they purchased about 200 excellent sea-otter skins, a large parcel of pieces, or slips, about 100 good seal skins, and a great number of fine beaver tails; and left the place on the 23d of June" [1787]. They had entered Norfolk Sound on June 12. See *The Monthly Review*, LXXX (June, 1789), p. 505.



Describing this and other songs of the Indians encountered along the coast near present-day Sitka—a town called Fort Archangel Gabriel when founded in May 1799 by Aleksandr Baranov, earliest Russian governor of Alaska (Sitka was the capital of Alaska until 1906), Beresford mentions first the robe and rattles of the chief, then his part in leading the chorus, next the manner of performance.

> The Chief (who always conducts the vocal concert) puts on a long coat, made of elk skin, tanned, round the lower part of which is one, or sometimes two rows of dried berries, or the beaks of birds, which make a rattling noise when he moves. In his hand he has a rattle . . . which is of a circular form, about nine inches in diameter, and made of three small sticks bent round at different distances from each other: great numbers of birds beaks and dried berries are tied to this curious instrument, which is shook by the Chief with great glee, and in his opinion makes no small addition to the concert. Their songs generally consist of several stanzas, to each of which is added a chorus. The beginning of each stanza is given out by the Chief alone, after which both men and women join and sing in octaves, beating time regularly with their hands, or paddles: meanwhile the Chief shakes his rattle, and makes a thousand gesticulations, singing at intervals in different notes from the rest; and this mirth generally continues near half an hour without intermission.[127]

Concerning the song taken down sometime between June 12th and 23rd, 1787, Beresford writes: "I shall here write down, in notes, a song which I often heard whilst we lay in Norfolk Sound . . . it will serve to convey a better idea of the music used on the American coast than any other mode of description can do; at the same time it should be observed that they have a great variety of tunes, but the method of performing them is universally the

[127] *A Voyage Round the World*, pp. 242–243.

same." Only in the Queen Charlotte Islands opposite what is now Prince Rupert in British Columbia did the voyagers hear "a kind of ferocity" in the singing of the Indians that displeased them.[128] Elsewhere along their island route, Beresford contends that they invariably heard "pleasing modulation" and sensed in their songs a feeling for "cadence."

RESPONSES OF EAST COAST TRIBAL CONVERTS TO ENGLISH PSALMS AND HYMNS

However defective the transcriptions in Lapérouse and in Dixon, at least they testify to something in the way of heterophony and even perhaps to an organum in thirds. Nothing so "pleasurable" by European standards had been encountered in Indian East Coast Music. In 1723 Thomas Symmes (1678–1725) had claimed an Indian origin for the widely popular psalm tune known in New England as BELLA ("a Tune to the 24th Psalm, which is said to be an *Indian* Tune"[129]). But this claim can hardly be taken at face value.[130] By 1764 Eleazar Wheelock (1711–1779) had taught his Indian charges at Lebanon (now Columbia), Connecticut, to sing in three parts. A Boston merchant interested in Wheelock's Indian Charity School, the first pupils at which were Delawares, wrote a letter dated May 18, 1764, in which he vouched for their vocal expertise: "I reached the house a little before the evening sacrifice and was movingly touched on giving out the psalm to hear an Indian youth set the tune, and the others following him and singing tenor and bass with remarkable gravity and seriousness; . . . they seemed to have nothing to do but sing to the Glory of God."[131]

The next year David Fowler (1735–1807), a Montauk Indian dispatched to the Oneidas in 1761,[132] wrote a letter to Wheelock dated September 23, 1765, vouching for his success in teaching members of that tribe living near present-day Syracuse to sing in three parts: "I am yet teaching both Old and Young to sing; they can carry three Parts of several Tunes neatly."[133] Two year later William Knapp (1698–1768)—the English psalmodist who next to William Tans'ur (c. 1699–1783) was the most frequently published anthem composer in America before 1800[134]—sent copies of the latest edition of his *A Sett of New Psalm-Tunes* to both Fowler and the white missionary among the Oneidas responsible for the founding of Hamilton College, Samuel Kirkland (1741–1808).[135] Knapp had heard of Fowler through Samson Occom (1723–1792), the prize product among Wheelock's Indian trainees.[136] From 1765–1768 Occom toured England soliciting funds for Wheelock's Charity-School. While there, he enjoyed a tremendous vogue, preaching in the pulpits of Martin Madan, Samuel Stennett, Edward Perronet, and Benjamin Beddome—all of whom were especially interested in hymns.[137] So impressed was Knapp that in addition to sending his own original *Psalm-Tunes* to Fowler and Kirkland, he named one of his new tunes LEBANON in honor of the Wheelock School.[138] Among others who entertained Occom while in England was the co-author with William Cowper of *Olney Hymns*, John Newton (1725–1807). Hearing of Occom's intent to become the first

---

[128] *Ibid.*, p. 228.

[129] *Utile Dulci. or, A Joco-Serious Dialogue Concerning Regular Singing* (Boston: B. Green for Samuel Gerrish, 1723), p. 54.

[130] In 1686 the BELLA tune had already been printed in *A New and Easie Method* (London: William Rogers, 1686), p. 102. See Stevenson, *Protestant Church Music in America*, p. 26, note 79.

[131] W. DeLoss Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1899), pp. 80–81.

[132] Eleazar Wheelock, *A plain and faithful Narrative of the Original Design, Rise, Progress and present State of the Indian Charity-School At Lebanon, in Connecticut* (Boston: Richard and Samuel Draper, 1763), p. 39: "David Fowler, an *Indian* youth, to accompany Mr. *Sampson Occom*, going on a Mission to the *Oneidas* . . . for a term not exceeding 4 Months; and that he endeavour on his Return to bring with him a Number of *Indian* boys, not exceeding three, to be put under Mr. *Wheelocks's* Care and Instruction. . . ."

[133] Love, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[134] Ralph T. Daniel, *The Anthem in New England before 1800* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press 1966), p. 57. See James Cuthbert Hadden, "William Knapp," *Dictionary of National Biography*, XI, 236, for dates and further bibliography.

[135] For data on Kirkland, see *Who Was Who in America Historical Volume 1607–1896* (Chicago: Marquis Who's Who, 1967), p. 366.

[136] Love, *op. cit.*, p. 178. Occom studied theology with Wheelock 1743–1747.

[137] Madan (1726–1790) published the first edition of the *Lock Hospital Collection* in 1760; Stennett (1728–1795) grandson of the earliest English Baptist whose hymns are still sung, wrote "Majestic sweetness"; Perronet (1721–1792) wrote the text of "All hail the power"; the Baptist Beddome (1717–1795) also wrote several hymns still current.

[138] Love, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

Indian compiler and publisher of a similar volume of hymns, Thomas Knibb wrote Occom a letter dated February 8, 1768, in which he said: "Understanding that you know music, I here present you with upwards of six score tunes amongst which are several of the Modernest and some of the Pleasantest that are used by the Methodists."[139]

Eight years later Occom published his 119-page *A Choice Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs; Intended for the Edification of sincere Christians of all Denominations* (New London: Timothy Green, 1774), the success of which elicited a second edition in 1785 and a third (with additions) in 1792.[140] His preface to both first and second editions begins thus: "There is a great Engagedness, in these Colonies, to cultivate Psalmody; and I believe it to be the Duty of Christians to learn the Songs of Zion, according to good Method or Rule." Not only does he align himself with the many singing schoolmasters who then ranged New England seeking to make fluent sight singers of their pupils, but also he advocates "new Tunes" (page 4) to suit "uncommon Measures" and to suit "New Singers."

So far as the different editions are concerned, the same hymns in the same order prevail in all three, Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley proving throughout his favorite authors. From Watts he selected such still familiar favorites as "From all who dwell," "Alas and did my Saviour bleed," "When I can read my Title clear," "There is a Land of Pure Delight," "Join all the gracious Names," "He dies! the Friend of Sinners dies," "'Twas on that dark," and "How sweet and awful"; from Charles (or John) Wesley "Jesus the Sinner's Friend," "Ho, every one that thirsts," "Come Sinners to the gospel," "O for a thousand Tongues to sing," "Hail holy, holy, holy Lord," "Hark, the herald angels sing," "O Love Divine," "Hail the Day," "Blow ye the Trumpet," "He comes, he comes," "Rejoice the Lord is King," "Lo, he comes with clouds descending," "Arise my Soul"; from John Cennick (1718–1755) "Children of the Heavenly King"; from Johann J. Winckler (1670–1722) as translated by John Wesley "Shall I for fear of feeble man"; from Robert Seagrave (1693–1760?) "Rise, my soul"; from Alexander Pope "Vital Spark"; and from Nahum Tate, "While Shepherds watched."

Just as with the pioneer hymnal edited by a Black, Richard Allen's *A Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (Philadelphia: T. L. Plowman, 1801),[141] so also with Samson Occom's *A Choice Collection*—Watts, the Wesleys, and other Eighteenth-Century whites supplied the texts. Occom does deserve credit for having preceded Allen in introducing an optional "Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Amen" refrain after each common meter stanza of "'Tis Heav'n on Earth, Christ's Love" (no. 100 in 1774, 99 in 1785 and 1792). Also Occom anticipated Allen when he provided a two-line "chorus," so designated, to follow each stanza of the hymn "Farewell to my Pain, and farewell to my Chain" (no. 103 in 1774). Eileen Southern credits Allen with precisely the innovations in the "first hymnal for an all-black congregation."[142] But when she praises Allen for being the first to include a "hymn-with-chorus" when such were "not yet admitted into the repertory of official Protestant hymnody," she overlooks the prior steps taken by Allen's Indian predecessor.[143] Allen obviously knew and used Occom. Two of the hymns in the second, enlarged printing of his 1801 *A Collection* are Occom's: "Lord! when together here we meet" and "What poor despised company." Southern recognizes Allen's having taken at least one of these from Occom.

Occom taught his songs wherever he traveled. Several excerpts from his diary will illustrate.[144] On

[139] *Ibid.*, p. 179. Love credits this letter to the Connecticut Historical Society, Indian Papers.

[140] Evans 13507, 19152, 24641; all by the same printer (Timothy Green & Son in 1792).

[141] Copy at American Antiquarian Society, Worcester. First edition. *A Collection of Spiritual Songs and Hymns* (Philadelphia: John Ormrod, 1801); copy at Garrett Biblical Seminary, Evanston, Illinois. See Ralph R. Shaw and Richard H. Shoemaker, *American Bibliography A Preliminary Checklist for 1801 Items 1–1702* (New York: The Scarecrow Press, 1958), p. 5 (items 38, 39).

[142] *The Music of Black Americans: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971), p. 86; *Readings in Black American Music* (same publisher and date), p. 52.

[143] *The Music of Black Americans*, p. 89. Occom also contributed to Joshua Smith's *Divine Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (Norwich: T. Hubbard, 1784), the sixth edition of which was reprinted at Albany in 1804. See Love, *op. cit.*, p. 179. At least seven Allen choices (items at pp. 26, 86, 51, 40, 80, 21, 17 of second enlarged printing) duplicate Smith choices (Portland 1803 edition, pp. 87, 16, 8, 129 125, 5, 96). The first three and sixth Allen choices may have been picked up from Smith, since Southern knows of no other sources.

[144] Love, *op. cit.*, pp. 249–250.

October 24, 1785, as he approached the David Fowler home at Brotherton, a refugee Indian settlement near Marshall, Oneida County, New York (peopled by remnants of coastal tribes), "I heard a melodious Singing, a number were together Singing Psalms hymns and Spiritual songs . . . we sat down awhile and they began to sing again." Five days later "Hymns Psalms and Spiritual Songs [occupied] the bigest part of the Time, finish'd in the evening—and after supper the Singers Sung a while, and then dispersed." The next day was Sunday October 30. "In the evening we had Singing a long while." After a marriage ceremony the following Thursday, November 3, "we Spent the Evening in Singing Psalms Hymns and Spiritual Songs"—and November 4, "The Young People put on their best Clouths, and went to a Neighbours House, all on Horse Back . . . they had some Pleasant chat and agreeable conduct, some Singing of Psalms Hymns and Spiritual Songs." On Tuesday November 8 Occom visited the nearby Stockbridge Indians, while with them spending "Some Time in Singing of Spiritual Songs." On Sunday November 13, "in the evening we had some singing."

The Brotherton Indians, who in 1785 took up residence on a tract donated by the Oneidas "fourteen miles south of where the city of Utica, N.Y., now stands,"[145] began moving to what is now Calumet County, Wisconsin (east bank of Lake Winnebago) in 1831. By 1839 they were ready to accept full United States citizenship. Thomas Commuck, their historian, was a Narragansett born at Charlestown, Rhode Island, January 18, 1805. Before the age of 21 he emigrated to Brothertown, New York, there receiving the west half of lot 85. This he sold in 1831. On July 31 of that year he married Hannah Abigail, born August 21, 1814. She was the eldest of the eleven children of Randall Abner (1789–1852, a Pequot born at Stonington, Connecticut, who moved to Wisconsin in 1831 and died in Kansas). After a stopover at what is now Green Bay, the Commucks settled at Brotherton, Wisconsin, where he became the first postmaster and first Justice of the Peace. Apart from his "Sketch of the Brothertown Indians" published the year of his death, Commuck contributed also a "Sketch of Calumet County" to *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, I:1855/1903:103–106. He drowned November 25, 1855, "through a hole in the ice, near his residence, in Calumet County—whether by accident or design, is not known."[146] His wife survived him and was still alive in 1899. Of his ten children the fourth died in Libby Prison February 1, 1863 (member of Company E, 21st Wisconsin Volunteers). His second child served as a soldier also.[147]

In American Indian music history, Commuck rates as unique. *Indian Melodies. By Thomas Commuck, a Narragansett Indian. Harmonized by Thomas Hastings, Esq.* (New York: G. Lane & C. B. Tippett, for the Methodist Episcopal Church, 200 Mulberry Street, James Collard, Printer, 1845) is an oblong collection of vi + 116 pages, containing 120 tunes named for the most part after chiefs or tribes (PONTIAC 33, POWHATAN 52, POCAHONTAS 64, PHILIP 75, TECUMSEH 84, FLATHEAD 10, PASSAMAQUODDY 36, ALGONQUIN 48, PENOBSCOT 89, OSAGE 94). Hastings, harmonizer of the tunes, shared with Lowell Mason the greatest fame of any American sacred composer in nineteenth-century America. Already 23 years earlier it had been Hastings who in his 228-page *Dissertation on Musical Taste* (Albany: Websters and Skinners, 1822) had at page 219 been the first in the young republic to publish any Indian airs—in this instance *Canide iouue* and two other of the Tupynambá airs collected by Jean de Léry near Rio de Janeiro around 1557.

Two of Commuck's tunes were later to be borrowed by Theodore Baker for publication at page 75 of *Über die Musik der nordamerikanischen Wilden* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1882), but however without any acknowledgment of their Commuck source. For its title, Commuck called the first of these two melodies so unceremoniously borrowed by Baker OLD INDIAN HYMN. At the bottom of page 63 Commuck added this explanatory footnote.

The Narragansett Indians[148] have a tradition, that the following tune was heard in the air by them, and other

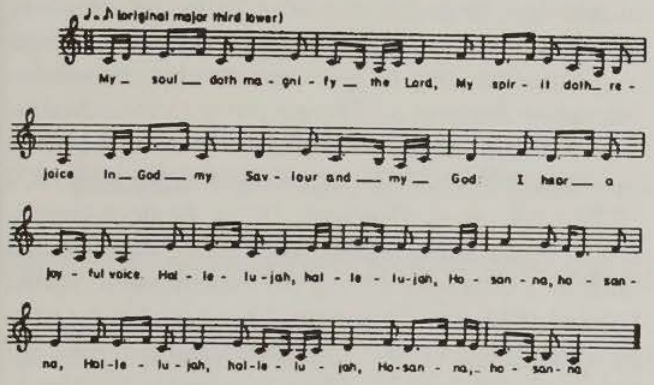
[145] Thomas Commuck, "Sketch of the Brothertown Indians," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, IV (Madison: The Society, 1906 [reprint of Original Issue of 1859]), p. 293.

[146] *Ibid.*, p. 298, note by Lyman C. Draper, secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin 1854–1886.

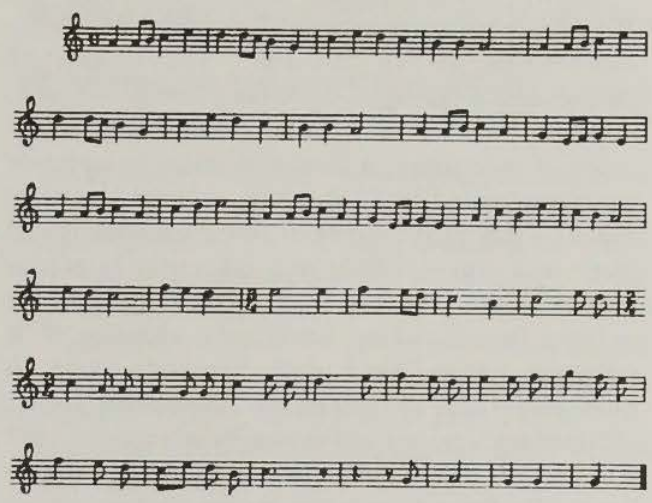
[147] All biographical details not otherwise credited in this paragraph come from Love, *op. cit.*, pp. 338–339.

[148] Commuck did not himslef claim any knowledge of the Narragansett tongue. In 1855 he remembered only six words: suck-wish (come-in), we-quo-sen (good morning), much-a-

tribes bordering on the Atlantic coast, many years before the arrival of the whites in America; and that on their first visiting a church in Plymouth Colony, after the settlement of that place by the whites, the same tune was sung while performing divine service, and the Indians knew it as well as the whites. The tune therefore is preserved among them to this day, and is sung to the words here set.



This stirring melody, printed as example XXXVII in Baker's dissertation, had the good fortune to attract MacDowell, who used it entire in "From an Indian Lodge," fifth of his *Woodland Sketches*, op. 51. All the more interesting, then, what Baker had to say concerning it. Not only did Baker garble what Commuck had written of his melody—making Commuck's footnote say instead that the Atlantic coastal folk who had heard it before the arrival of the whites always regarded it as a ghostly gift-song to be sung only at high feasts—but also Baker made the note apply not to the above melody but rather to the other song borrowed without acknowledgment from *Indian Melodies*, a tune that Commuck had called SHOSHONEE and that he had designated as suitable for Hymn 587 by Charles Wesley in the Methodist hymn book, "Lord, dismiss us with thy blessing, Bid us now depart in peace." To insure its lasting fame SHOSHONEE was also to catch the eye of MacDowell who based the third movement of his *Indian Suite*, op. 48, on it—but of course without suspecting Commuck to have composed the melody. Would he ever have used it had he but known that it was a composed hymn tune rather than anything traditionally tribal?



"INFORMATION" DISSEMINATED BY SCHOOLCRAFT AND HIS SUCCESSORS

These two songs are items XXXVII and XXXVIII in Baker. His item XXXVI deserves even less being called anonymous Indian tribal music. According to him, it is a "Muscogee (?) Trauergesang." But actually XXXVI had made its début in an American imprint thirty years earlier, credited to Haiti. Hamilton W. Pierson (1817–1888), colporteur for the American Bible Society and a Presbyterian minister, had obtained it around 1849, and had three years later allowed Henry R. Schoolcraft to publish it in *Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, 1852), II, 312, with this note concerning its origin (II, 309):

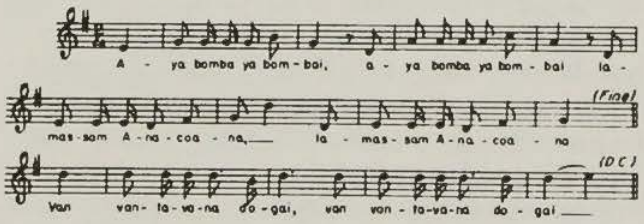
> The accompanying song was presented to me by William S. Simonise, Esq., of Port au Prince, a native of Charleston, South Carolina, but for many years a resident of Hayti, and one of her first lawyers. In my travels upon the island, I have met with nothing else that professed to be a relic of the language or music of its original inhabitants. As to the authenticity of this song, I have neither the knowledge of music, nor other means of investigation, that would enable me to give an intelligent opinion upon the subject; I therefore submit it as it came to me.

The melody in question—called "Muscogee (?) Trauergesang" at page 74 in Baker's Leipzig disser-

---

chucks (boy), taw-but-nee (thank you), chee-boy (evil spirit), and quett-hunk (a stick to poke the fire with). These six words "were taught me by my grandmother when I was a little boy. She died in 1825, aged 84. The words were taught her, by her mother, when she (my grandmother) was a little girl." See Commuck's "Sketch of the Brothertown Indians," p. 297.

tation—gained a new lease on life only one year after Baker when Antonio Bachiller y Morales published it, slightly modified, at page 45 in the second edition of *Cuba Primitiva* (Havana: Miguel de Villa, 1883), with the title "Areito Antillano." The president of the Academia Nacional de Artes y Letras in Cuba, Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes (1874–1944)—composer of *Anacaona*, a four-movement symphonic poem premiered in 1928 which exploits this very melody—reprinted the melody twice in a book issued that same year—*Folklorismo* (Havana: Imprenta Molina y Cía., 1928, pp. 11, 83)—each time with the changes introduced by Bachiller y Morales.[149] It remained for another Cuban, Fernando Ortiz, to point out[150] that the text of the "Anacaona Song" collected by Simonise at Port-au-Prince around 1849 had already been published in 1814 (Drouin de Bercy, *De Saint-Domingue, de ses guerres, de ses révolutions*, page 178). In 1814 guise, the text had read: "Aia bombaia, bombé / Lamma samana quana, / E van vanta, vana docki / Aia, bombaia, bombé, / Lamma samana quana!" As translated into French in 1814 this means: "We swear to destroy the whites and everything that they own; we shall sooner die than fail to comply."[151]



[149] Facsimilies of the Bachiller y Morales version in Fernando Ortiz, *La africanía de la música folklórica de Cuba* (Havana: Ministerio de Educación, 1950), p. 62. Bachiller y Morales changed the first note to f♯ the fifth to B.

[150] Ortiz, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–77. Unfortunately, he mistook the order in which Drouin de Bercy and Moreau de Saint-Méry published the works cited in his footnotes 163, 164. He copied the page numbers, without verifying them, from Pierre de Vaissière, *Saint-Domingue* (Paris: Perrin et Cie., 1909), p. 179. Cf. also Ortiz's citation, p. 472, fourth line from bottom. His footnotes are notoriously unreliable, however prescient his insights.

[151] Emmanuel Domenech (1825/1826–1886), *Voyage pittoresque dans les déserts du Nouveau Monde* (Paris: Morizot, 1862), p. 411, credited the same song to Haiti.

Baker's one other borrowing from Schoolcraft looks at first sight suspiciously like a Venetian Boat Song, so lilting are its 6/8 measures. Every interval not a scale step is a third. True, it cannot be parsed in four-bar phrases. As barred in Schoolcraft, measures 8–10 are sequenced a fifth lower at 13–16. Schoolcraft (v, 562) called it a Chippewa War Song, "Sung on the Lakes, when one party goes in search of another, to join in the War." Just which foray into Lakes territory yielded Schoolcraft this Ojibwa = Chippewa song he does not divulge. But in his *Narrative Journal of Travels from Detroit Northwest through the Great Chain of American Lakes to the sources of the Mississippi River in the year 1820* (Albany: E. & E. Hosford, 1821), he does consistently berate tribal music. Most of it heard on this 1820 trip (and also during his expedition to Itasca Lake in 1832) was Chippewa. This was also the tribe to which his quarter- or half-Indian bride of 1823 belonged. On June 21, 1820, he wrote in his *Narrative Journal* (page 155):

> In these festive feasts, they were accompanied by their own music, consisting of a kind of tambarine, and a hollow gourd, filled with pebbles, while one of the number beat time on a stick, and all joined in the Indian chant. There is something animating in the Indian chorus, and at the same time it has an air of melancholy, but certainly nothing can be more monotonous, or further from our ideas of music.

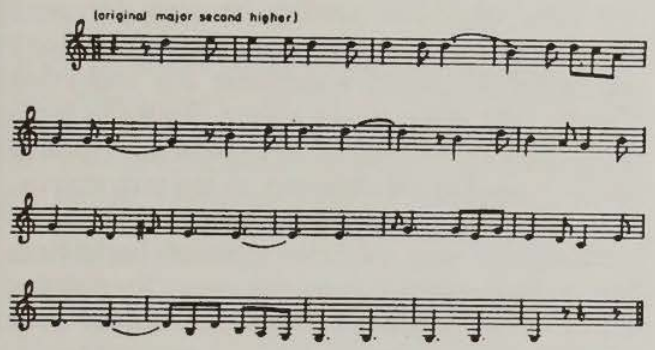
Schoolcraft returns to the music of the Chippewas heard at Grand Island eight days later, June 29 (page 186):

> In the evening, they danced upon the sand for our amusement. I have already spoken of Indian dancing and music. It is perhaps all we could expect from untutored savages, but there is nothing about it which has ever struck me as either interesting or amusing, and after having seen these performances once or twice, they become particularly tedious, and it is a severe tax upon one's patience to sit and be compelled, in order to keep their good opinion, to appear pleased with it.

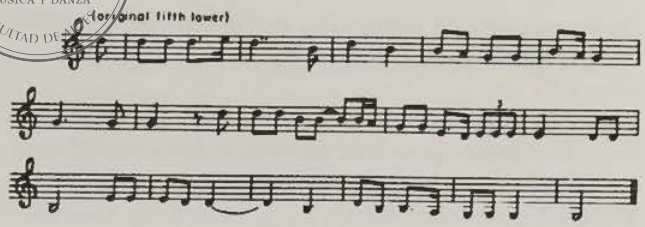
Nor does the description of the June 29 event prove to be any more flattering, as recorded in the diary of another member of the same 1820 expedition, Captain David B. Douglass: "The orchestra consisted of two elderly Indians, one of whom beat on a rude dull sounding sort of Tambourine while the other shook a large rattle—both accompanying with

a solemn monotonous chaunt whose measured cadence was all about it that could be esteemed musical."[152]

Certainly Schoolcraft's deep-rooted dislike of Indian music helps explain his reluctance to include any but this one example in his monumental five-volume *Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes*. Also, the authenticity of this one melody may be called in question by some, because of his failure to tell where and when he obtained it.



Nowhere among the 380 songs in *Chippewa Music*, I and II[153] did Frances Densmore record or allude to Schoolcraft's Chippewa song. According to her analysis of 340 Chippewa songs, the only considerable group ranging so widely as a thirteenth were war songs. A continuous 3/8 meter throughout an entire song turns up only at page 149 of her 1910 volume in the love song numbered 134. Several songs in her second volume do recall the above song, so far as melodic outline goes.[154] A sample song from *Chippewa Music*, I, 162, recalling the outline occurs at no. 148. Beginning *Daminweweckamûn*, the text is tanslated to mean "My music reaches to the sky."



For the meter, she prescribes varying bar-lengths in 2/4 and 3/4. But meanwhile the drum rhythm remains constant, every quarter involving two drum beats on first and third parts of a triplet (rest on the second part of the triplet).

Schoolcraft also served as Baker's source for the one color plate in *Über die Musik der nordamerikanischen Wilden*, Tafel I (after page 84), and for the data on Schriftzeichen (at page 48). Baker's color plate reproduces 6 of the 38 figures included in Schoolcraft's Plate 52. Entitled "Wabeno [= Chippewa shaman] Songs," Plate 52 reads from the bottom up, right to left.[155] The "whole tendency of the Indian secret institutions is to acquire power through . . . acceptable sacrifices, incantations, and songs."[156] The sought-after power in Wabeno songs is enhanced by singing them in fixed order. The mnemonic symbols inscribed on Chippewa wooden boards do not tell pitches, speed, or kind of accompaniment. But by association of ideas they do clue what songs to sing and in what predetermined order. The six figures that Baker's Tafel I borrows from Plate 52 recall songs that Schoolcraft interprets thus:[157]

Figure 1 depicts a preliminary chant. The figure represents a lodge prepared for a nocturnal dance, marked with seven crosses, to denote dead bodies, and crowned with a magic bone and feathers. . . . This lodge has the

[152] *Narrative Journal of Travels*, edited by Mentor L. Williams (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1953), p. 374.

[153] Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletins 45 and 53 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1910 and 1913). Although Densmore added a bibliography of "Authorities Cited" at pages 333–334 of *Chippewa Music*, II, she was always chary of citing other Indian song investigators' results. If any one major fault informs her studies, it was her willingness to ignore fellow researchers' studies.

[154] *Chippewa Music*, II, nos. 11, 22, 58, 61, 70, 74, 78, 83, 86, 88, 101, 116.

[155] The figures read from right to left not because the Chippewas were descendants of lost Hebrews, as the quarter-blood Chippewa William Whipple Warren believed, but because "in taking impressions from the wooden tablet on which they were originally cut, the plate is reversed." See Schoolcraft, *Historical and Statistical Information*, I (1851), p. 368. Warren (1825–1853) wrote "A Brief History of the Ojibways in Minnesota, as Obtained from Their Old Men," published in eight issues of the *Minnesota Democrat*, beginning April 1, 1851. See his arguments "to prove the red race of America is descended from the lost ten tribes of Israel" reprinted in *The Minnesota Archaeologist*, XII/3 (July, 1946).

[156] Schoolcraft, *Historical and Statistical Information*, I, 368.

[157] *Ibid.*, I, 373–375.

power of crawling about. The owner, and inviter of the guests, sings alone. "My lodge crawls by Wabeno's power."

Figure 2. An Indian holding a snake in his hand. The snake has been taken underground by the power of medical magic, and is exhibited in triumph. "Under the ground I have taken him."

Figure 3. An Indian sits crowned with feathers and holding a drum-stick. "I too am a Wabeno."

Figure 4. A spirit dances on half of the sky. The horns denote either a spirit or a wabeno filled with a spirit. "I make the Wabenos dance."

Figure 5. A magic bone is decorated with feathers. This symbolizes the power of passing through the air, as if with wings. "The sky! the sky! I sail upon it."

Figure 6. This is the big snake called gitchy keenabic, always pictured (as here) with horns. It is the symbol of life. "I am a wabeno spirit—this is my work."

Since the pictographs do not clue the words of the songs, except "from the power of association of ideas," the words and melody "must have been committed to memory before the pictorial record could be read, or sung." But as an aid to the memory of the "Wabeno seated in a large assemblage," and surrounded with distractions, such inscriptions must have proved "highly useful," comments Schoolcraft.[158]

In order to verify what Schoolcraft had written concerning Chippewa mnemonics and other tribal lore, Johann Georg Kohl (1808–1878) spent the summer of 1855 at La Pointe "on Madeline Island in the Apostle group, near the present site of Bayfield, Wisconsin." The fruit of his Chippewa researches, *Kitschi-Gami; oder, Erzählungen vom Obern See. Ein Beitrag zur Characteristik der amerikanischen Indianer* (Bremen: C. Schünemann, 1859) was published in English translation in 1860. He begins his Chapter XVIII with this reference to Schoolcraft.

> I had read that the Indians not only possessed certain hieroglyphics for things and ideas, but that they also had music notes to mark the modifications of tune in their songs. Mr. Schoolcraft, in his large and valuable work on the Indians, gives several specimens of pictures and figures, which he considers to be musical notes. I had been long desirous to gain some information on this head, and I fancy I at length succeeded in unravelling something of the sort. I believe I can show, at least to my own satisfaction, that the Indians have discovered something which may be called notes.

To wheedle information out of a singer named Kitagiguan = Spotted Feather, Kohl promised to pay him[159] (thus anticipating Densmore and other investigators who later had to buy every scrap of their data from native informants[160]). "Kitagiguan then produced his bark books, and showed me the picture-writing. . . . The Indian laid the birch bark on my lap." After explaining that each of the twelve figures recalled a specific song, Kitagiguan was with some difficulty persuaded to sing songs 9 through 12. But he would not sing the others unless "he were quite alone with me. . . . So much I saw, however, that there could not possibly be notes for every tone."[161] On another birch bark shown Kohl were sketched bears, men, a medicine bag and other objects, each representing a song. Both this birch bark (and Kitagiguan's) failed to show any repeated songs. From the arrangement of the pictographs, Kohl assumed that once having been sung in a song-cycle, any one song was never repeated. In the birch bark of Menominee provenience, wavy lines issuing out of a man's mouth denoted singing, just as in Middle American codices.[162]

Densmore made protracted studies of Chippewa mnemonics. To determine whether the same picture meant the same song on more than one reservation, she recorded 107 Mide[163] songs with corresponding pictures on one reservation. "The phonograph records were played to members of the society on another reservation, and without hesitation they drew the same pictures that had been previously secured. Conversely the picture was shown, and the corresponding song was sung."[164]

[158] *Ibid.*, I, 381.

[159] *Kitchi-Gami. Wanderings Round Lake Superior* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1860), p. 286.

[160] Hofmann, *Frances Densmore and American Indian Music*, p. 105. "I pay the singers in cash at the end of each day, and sometimes at the close of each song. An argument always arises as to the price, and I explain that I have the same price in each tribe for general songs, paying a higher price for certain classes of personal songs." Each year Densmore visited Washington to make sure she got her annual $3000, from which to pay her singers (*ibid.*, p. vii).

[161] *Kitchi-Gami*, p. 290.

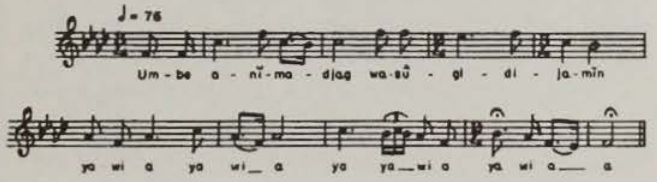
[162] *Ibid.*, p. 292.

[163] Midewiwin = Great Medicine Society. She published these 107 songs (not always with corresponding music but always with text and pictograph) in *Chippewa Music*, I (Bulletin 45), pp. 27–115.

[164] *Chippewa Customs* [Bulletin 86] (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1929), p. 175.

Densmore's dearest dream came true when composers such as Charles Tomlinson Griffes (1884–1920) and Charles Wakefield Cadman (1881–1946) began using her Chippewa melodies as freely as MacDowell had used Baker's "finds." Griffes confided to the viola the melancholy strains of Densmore's song 150 (*Chippewa Music*, I, 163) in the first of his *Two Sketches Based on Indian Themes* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1922). Transposing it down a minor third, Griffes quoted literally the entire "Farewell to the Warriors" song that according to Densmore was "sung long ago, when a war party left the little Chippewa village."

It was the custom for the women to accompany the warriors a short distance, all singing this song; later the song would be heard again, faintly at first, then coming nearer as the women returned alone, singing still, hut taking up the burden of loneliness which is woman's share in war. Only one other song in the present collection [no. 126] contains the interval of a whole tone between the seventh and eighth. This interval adds greatly to the effect of the song. The melody is of rare beauty, and is very graceful, despite the wide intervals at the beginning. The words mean: "Come, it is time for you to depart; we are going a long journey."



Song 126, signaled by Densmore as the only other song in her collection with flatted leading tone, was she believed "composed by the Sioux, who do not grudge their tribute to a brave man, though he may have been their enemy." In Song 126 "the rhythm of the voice is maintained quite steadily at M.M. 72 to the quarter, while that of the drum is 108 to the quarter, each stroke preceded by a short unaccented beat."

It will be readily seen that this is the ratio of two voice pulses to three drum pulses, but the stroke of the drum invariably follows the singing of the tone, and the voice and drum never coincide.[165]

Concerning the migration of songs from one tribe to another, Densmore's mentor had already made these observations:

> Indian songs I have discovered travel far, and those of one tribe are soon at home in another. There seems to have been quite an extended acquaintance between tribes, the Rocky Mountains proving no serious barrier. Customs and songs borrowed from the Crow Indian have obtained for a century at least among the Nez Percé. Dakota [= Sioux] songs are also found there with an equally remote introduction. The Omahas took from the Sioux the Ma-wa-da-ne songs, and from the Otoe, the Hae-ka-ne. The Dakotas appropriated the Omaha Hae-thu-ska songs, as did the Winnegagos. I have had Omahas sing me the songs of many different tribes, but they were always credited to the tribe to which they belonged. I have never met an instance of plagiarism among the Indians.[166]

TRIBAL MELODIES COLLECTED BY STEPHEN H. LONG AND JOSEPH DRAYTON

Baker's one song credited to the Sioux first reached print in William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, Lake Winnepeek, Lake of the Woods, &c. performed in the year 1823, by order of the Honorable J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, under the command of Stephen H. Long, U.S.T.E.* (London: George B. Whittaker, 1825), I, plate opposite page 456. According to Keating, it was Long (1784–1864) himself who "reduced to notes" the Dog Dance of the Sioux. A native of Hopkinton, New Hampshire, and a graduate of Dartmouth College in 1809, Long[167] studied there during the epoch of John Hubbard (1759–1810), a textbook writer and musical enthusiast whose *An Essay on Music. Pronounced before the Middlesex Musical Society, Sept. 9, A.D. 1807* (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1808) circulated widely. Hubbard's musical credentials included also the compiling of a tunebook, *Harmonia Selecta*, published at Worcester in 1789, and of *A Volume of Sacred Musick containing Thirty*

[165] *Chippewa Music*, I (Bulletin 45), pp. 140–141. For an example of two drum beats against triplets in the voice, see Alice C. Fletcher, aided by Francis La Flesche, *A Study of Omaha Indian Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, Harvard University [Archaeological and Ethnological Papers, 1/5] 1893), p. 87 [Song 12, Hae-thu-ska Wa-an, Prayer of Warriors].

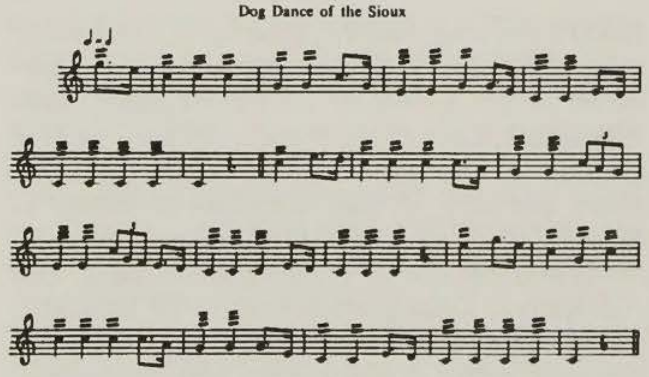
[166] Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Densmore said the same: "It is not permissible for one man to sing a song belonging to another unless he has purchased the right to sing it" (*Chippewa Music*, I [1910], p. 26).

[167] For an outline of his life, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI/i (1961), p. 380.

Anthems selected from the works of Handel, Purcel [sic], *Croft and other eminent European authors* (Newburyport: E. Little & Co., 1814). According to Nathaniel Gould who knew him personally, Hubbard composed Anthem XXVI in the latter collection, "Thy mercy, O Lord, is in the heav'ns" [Psalm 36].[168]

To indicate the "tremulous voice of the singers sounding High-yi-yi &c." Long added two or three horizontal strokes above the appropriate notes in his transcription. Wanotan, the Sioux = Dakota chief who gave the feast at Lake Taverse (northeast corner of present-day South Dakota) during which the following song was transcribed by Long July 24, 1822, apologized to Long and his exploring party "for the imperfection of the dancers, the best being then absent from the place."[169] Inasmuch as Baker traduced Long's transcription not only by omitting the horizontal strokes, but also by altering pitches and time-values,[170] Long's version deserves republication (text omited).

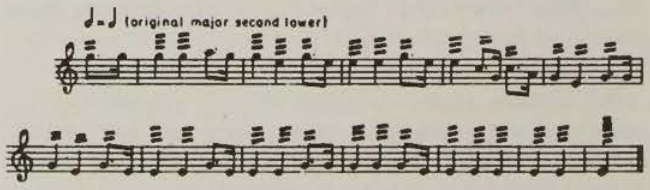
Dog Dance of the Sioux



Dog flesh, the principal dish at the feast given by Wanotan following his penitential Sun Dance, is described by Keating as "fat, sweet, and palatable." The flesh "resembled Welch mutton, [though it is of] darker color."[171] Because of danger from the Chippewa, Wanotan had vowed to the Sun that if he returned safe from a journey earlier in the summer of that same year, 1822, "he would abstain from all food and drink for the space of four successive days and nights, and that he would distribute among his people all the property which he possessed, including all the lodges, horses, dogs, &c."[172] The ropes supporting him while he danced forty yards from his principal lodge throughout the promised four days passed through three loops, one cut in the skin of each arm, and one cut in the skin of his breast. These ropes dangled in turn from the high pole around which he danced. At ten on the morning of the fourth day the strip of skin serving as a loop on his breast gave way, leaving him now only the support of the ropes passing through the loops on his arms. Two hours later the left arm strip snapped off. At this unbearable moment, his uncle took a knife to cut off the skin through which the last loop passed. Wanotan then swooned but was left exposed until dark. Next came the feast at which dog flesh was the choice entrée. During the Dog Dance transcribed by Long:

> The performers stood in a ring, each with the wing of a bird in his hand, with which he beat time. . . . They commenced their singing in a low tone, gradually raising it for a few minutes, then closing it with a shrill yell; after a slight interruption, they recommenced the same air, which they sang without any variation for near three-quarters of an hour. Major Long reduced it to notes. . . . This was accompanied by a few unmeaning words. Occasionally one of the performers would advance into the centre of the ring and relate his warlike adventures.

To show the musical similarities of Sioux and Chippewa songs, no matter how intense their tribal warfare waged incessantly, Long transcribed the following specimen Chippewa Scalp Dance. The dotted rhythms (always with step or leap down), the overall descending contour, the repeated notes, the "tremulous" vocal delivery, the limitation of tonal material to five notes with heavy accents occurring only on degrees of the major triad, bespeak a common song style—not blurred by the fact that one song can be barred regularly, the other not.



[168] Further data on Hubbard in Stevenson, *Protestant Church Music in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), p. 76.

[169] *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*, I, 456.

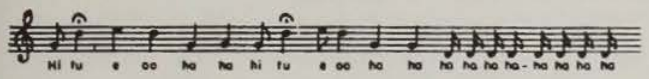
[170] Baker printed the first three notes in the second measure after the double bar a step too high, and in mm. 4-5 after the double bar arbitrarily reduced the number of beats in the bar from 3 to 2½.

[171] *Narrative*, pp. 451-452.

[172] *Ibid.*, p. 449.

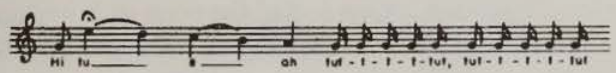
What seem to be the earliest attempts at transcribing healing ceremony songs turn up in Charles Wilkes's five-volume *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842* (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1845), IV, 399–400. Taken down some time between July 6 and 20, 1841, at Walla Walla by the artist for the expedition Joseph Drayton,[173] the two melodies gain added interest because Wilkes published Drayton's description of the ceremony.

Mr. Drayton during his stay, was attracted one day by the sound of beating sticks and a kind of unearthly singing, issuing from one of the lodges. On going to the lodge he found a boy about eighteen years of age, lying on his back very ill, and in the last stage of disease. Over him stood a medicine-woman, an old haggard-looking squaw, under great excitement, singing as follows:



To which shout a dozen men and boys were beating time on the sticks, and singing a bass or tenor accompaniment. The words made use of by the old squaw varied, and were any that would suit the case. She bent over the sick boy, and was constantly in motion, making all kinds of grimaces. She would bare his chest, and seem by her actions to be scooping out his disease; then she would fall on her knees, and again strive to draw out the bad spirit with both hands, blowing into them, and, as it were, tossing the spirit into the air.[174]

The evening of the same day Mr. Drayton paid another visit to the same lodge, when he found the medicine-squaw much exhausted. She was blowing with her mouth on his neck downwards, making a quick sputtering noise, thus—



While she was uttering this, a man was holding her up by a rope tied around her waist, while she, bending over the body, began to suck his neck and chest in different parts; in order more effectually to extract the bad spirit, she would every now and then seem to obtain some of the disease, and then faint away. On the next morning she was still found sucking the boy's. . . .[175]

S.R. AND A.L. RIGGS AMONG THE DAKOTAS

Whereas Schoolcraft, Keating, and Wilkes each contented themselves with a mere sampling of tribal melody, Stephen Return Riggs (1812–1883)[176] included an entire chapter on "Dakota Songs and Music" at pages 451–484 of *Taĥ-koo Wah-kaŋ* (Boston: Congregational Sabbath-School and Publishing Society, 1869).[177] Written by his son Alfred Longley Riggs who was born December 6, 1837, at the Sioux outpost farthest west on the Minnesota River, Lac qui parle, and who grew up among the Dakotas,[178] this chapter includes lengthy sections on

[173] Concerning Drayton, see "Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest," edited by Edmond S. Meany, *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XVI/1 (January, 1925), p. 51; XVI/2 (April, 1925), p. 145; XVI/4 (October, 1925), p. 301 ("Mr. D."); XVII/1 (January, 1926), pp. 57, 59. Drayton was one of the two official draughtsmen for the United States Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842, "first expedition of the kind ever undertaken by the United States Government." He sailed with the squadron of six ships that "got under way from Norfolk, Virginia Saturday August 18, 1838, and cast anchor at New York on June 10, 1842. . . . On May 1, 1841, the expedition entered the Strait of Juan de Fuca and began the summer's work in the Pacific Northwest."

[174] *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, IV, 399; Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 78 [XLII, 1].

[175] *Narrative*, IV, 400. Baker [XLII, 2] changed the sixth note from a quarter to sixteenth and redistributed the first "tut-t-t-t-tut." MacDowell combined both of the medicine woman's melodic formulas to introduce "From an Indian Lodge" (fifth of his *Woodland Sketches*).

[176] Concerning S. R. Riggs, see R. C. Galbraith, *The History of the Chillicothe Presbytery from its organization in 1799 to 1889* (Chillicothe, Ohio: Scioto Gazette Book and Job Office, 1889), pp. 128–129; also *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII/1, 605–606, and *Who was Who in America Historical Volume 1607–1896*, Revised Edition, 1967, pp. 514–515.

[177] A former hunter and warrior from Red Wing, Minnesota (later to be Frances Densmore's home) served as one of the principal informants on Dakota songs and customs. See S. R. Riggs, *Mary and I, Forty Years with the Sioux* (Chicago: W. G. Holmes, 1880), p. 208. *Taĥ-koo Wah-kaŋ* sold less than 2000 copies, and returned Riggs less than $200 for the labor of writing it (*ibid.*, p. 209).

[178] John Willand, *Lac qui Parle and the Dakota Mission* (Madison, Minnesota: Lac Qui Parle Historical Society, 1964), pp. 282, (date of birth), 255 (principal of Santee Normal Training School in 1880). Mary Ann Clark Longley was his mother's name. She was the daughter of a general, and had received a first-class education in Massachusetts (*ibid.*, p. 81). For further details, see S. R. Riggs, *Mary and I, Forty Years with the Sioux*, pp. 2–3: "Mary's education had been carefully conducted. She had not only the advantages of the common town school and home culture, but was a pupil of Mary Lyon, when she taught on Buckland, and afterward of Miss Grant, at Ipswich. At the age of sixteen she taught her first school at Williamstown, Massachusetts." She taught her own children (Willard, *op. cit.*, p. 143).

"Musical Instruments," "Power of Savage Song," and two love-song melodies with translations. *Dakota Odowan* (New York: The Dakota Mission of the American Board and the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, 1879), edited by the same Alfred Longley Riggs and a companion born at Lac qui Parle, John Poage Williamson, adds to the store of published Dakota melodies three more "Native Airs," so specified, at pages 98, 99, and 101.[179]

A 32-year-old A. L. Riggs's account of Dakota musical instruments deserves at least partial quotation, coming as it does from one who had grown up amongst them and had not traveled East until fifteen years old:

Their musical instruments are the drum, the rattle, and the pipe or flute. The *drum* is called *chan-chay-ga*, or "wood-kettle." The hoop of the drum is usually from a foot to eighteen inches in diameter, and three or four inches deep. Sometimes it is as much as ten inches deep. The skin covering is stretched over only one side of the loop, making a drum with one end. A single drumstick is used.

The rattle is made by hanging the hard segments of deer-hoofs to a wooden rod a foot long, and three fourths of an inch in diameter at the handle end, tapering to a point at the other. The part to which the rattles are hung is first covered with a sheath of skin, and into this the short strings that suspend them are fastened, the clashing of these hard, horny bits makes a sharp, shrill sound, somewhat like that of a string of sleigh-bells at a distance. The Dakota name, *tah-shah-kay*, means literally, "deer-hoofs." The conjurers sometimes use, in their incantations over the sick, a rattle made in another way. A gourd-shell is emptied of its contents through a small hole; smooth pebbles or plum-stones are put in, and the opening plugged up. This gives a more hollow sound.

The pipe or flute is called *chó-tan-ka*, which means literally, "big-pith." It has two varieties, one made of wood, and the other of bone. The first is the most common, and much resembles the flageolet. It is made by taking of the sumac—a wood which has the requisite "big-pith"—a straight piece nineteen or twenty inches long, and, when barked and smoothed down, an inch and a quarter in diameter. This is split open in the middle, and the pith and inner wood carefully hollowed out to make a bore of five eighths of an inch diameter, extending through the whole length, except that it grows smaller at the mouth-piece, and, at a point four inches below that, it is interrupted entirely by a partition three eighths of an inch thick, which is left to form the whistle. The halves are glued together. Finger-holes one quarter of an inch in diameter, and usually six in number, are burnt along the upper face. On the same face the whistle is made by cutting a hole three eighths of an inch square each side of the partition. Then, over these, and connecting them, is laid a thin plate of lead, with a slit cut in it, a little more than an inch long and three eighths of an inch wide. On top of this is a block of wood, two inches long and three fourths of an inch wide, flat on the bottom, and carved above into the rough likeness of a horse; and a deer-skin string binds the whole down tight. A brass thimble for a mouth-piece, some ribbon streamers, a few lines of carving, and a little red and yellow paint, and the instrument is complete.

The pitch of the particular pipe to which this description mainly refers, seems to have been originally A prime,[180] and changed to G prime by boring a seventh hole. One formerly in my possession was pitched in E♭ prime; and from it the airs which are here given were taken down.

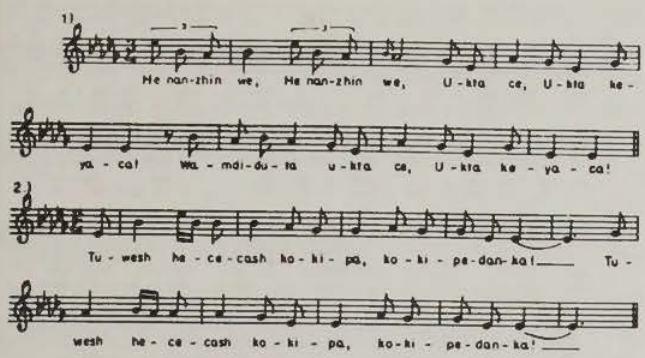
The second variety of the *chó-tan-ka* is made of the long bone of the wing or thigh of the swan and crane. To distinguish the first from the second, they call the first *murmuring* (literally "bubbling") *chó-tan-ka*, from the tremulous note it gives when blown with all the holes stopped.

One instrument not mentioned by A. L. Riggs, but described at page xx of Mary Eastman [Henderson]'s *Dahkotah; or Life and Legends of the Sioux* (New York: John Wiley, 1849), was the bone rasp —peculiarly an instrument of the medicine man, according to her. "One end of the bone with notches in it rests on a tin pan, the other is held in the medicine man's left hand; in his right hand he grasps another piece of bone which he scrapes over the notches." This was of course the bone rasp used principally in funerary ceremonies by the Aztecs and Tarascans, who called it *omichicahuaztli* (Náhuatl) or *quirihpaqua* (Purépecha). In Northern Ute Music (Bulletin 75 [1923], page 27), Densmore signaled the *morache*—wooden notched stick—as congener of the bone rasp. The two love songs copied by Baker

[179] Earlier editions of the *Dakota Odowan* not seen by the present author were pubished in 1855 (with tunes, 127 pp.), 1863 (162 pp.). The 1869 edition was the "fourth." See J. Fletcher Williams, "Bibliography of Minnesota," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, III (1879–1880) (St. Paul: The Society, 1880), pp. 40–41, for details.

[180] A above Middle C; when referring to "the pitch of the particular pipe" our author designates the note "blown with all the holes stopped."

from Riggs's compilation read as follows in Riggs's versions.[181]



Riggs translates the texts thus: (1) "Stay there I say, stay there I say, Come he will; He'll come, he said so. Scarlet Eagle, he will come, he'll come, he said so." (2) "Who would of such a one be afraid! Be afraid indeed! Who would of such a one be afraid! Be afraid indeed!" The latter text bears a double interpretation, in Riggs's view. Either these are the words of an adulteress who glories in her infidelity and has no fear of her husband; or this is her outburst against a rejected suitor who has been threatening her.

Charles Wakefield Cadman, whose setting of No. 2, *Tuwesh hececash*, was published in 1909 with the title "The White Dawn is Stealing" (Op. 45, No. 2, poetry by his favorite collaborator Nelle Richmond Eberhart), miscalls it an "Iroquois Tribal Melody, collected by Dr. Theo. Baker"—although of course Baker did nothing toward collecting it and at page 80 of his published dissertation specified it as one of "Vier Liebeslieder der Dakotas." True, Cadman does literally quote the melody as found in Baker, page 79. But his collaborator sentimentalized the text to read: "The white dawn is stealing above the dark cedar trees.—The young corn is waving its blades in the morning breeze;—The birds chant so lonely, the leaves softly moan above, the heart of me sighs, the heart of me sighs for love."

This is of course a far cry from the original sense of the "savage song," however interpreted. Concerning the "Power of Savage Song" young Riggs wrote thus:

> The power of Dakota music is not to be measured by its rudeness or undeveloped character, judged according to our standards. But if rightly considered, it would be found that just here lies the secret of its power. . . . And would the white stranger realize its power for himself, it will not be by curiously inspecting the lifeless specimens here given, or by humming over these melodies, but by placing himself in the midst of savage life, where, under misty moonbeams, the night air bears the wavering chant of the fierce dancers, now high and clear, then a low murmur, with the incessant hollow drum beat and the heartless clash of the rattles rising and falling on the breeze. As the note of the whip-poor-will at noonday would stir no heart, yet in the edge of night thrills the hearer with its low touching note, so these wild notes of savage life, to be felt in their power, must be heard on the border, where scalps are fresh, and one's life is at the mercy of the foe each bush may cover. In such an atmosphere, palpitating with possible war-whoops, the sound of chant and rattle and drum have a depth of meaning elsewhere inexpressible.

So far as the modality of Dakota native airs is concerned, A. L. Riggs was convinced that "the minor key is the favorite one."

> It is universally used in their love songs, and generally in other songs. The major key is, however, recognizable in some of their war songs and in the songs of the 'friendship leagues.'[182] In their dances, the chant or melody is sung by the men, while the chorus of women utter a single shrill falsetto note, an "ai," "ai," "ai,"—given with an explosive shriek, and keeping time with the drums.[183] In all their songs, the words form but a small part of the song, as it is sung. By the use of meaningless syllables, such as "hay, hay, hay, hay," "he, he, he, he," "ah, ah, ah, ah," any couplet may occupy an indefinite time. The same is true of the religious chants; while, on the contrary, their love songs have little of this.[184]

Riggs's description of the Sun Dance ceremonies, while agreeing in the main with what Keating had already recorded in his *Narrative of an Expedition . . . under the command of Stephen H. Long* (1825), does add a few further details. The Sun Dance song, according to Riggs, customarily lasted through seven couplets. "A chorus of singers attends, with the drum and deer-hoof rattle, encouraging the dancer,

[181] *Tah-koo Wah-kań*, p. 476; Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 79 [XLIII, 3 and 4], with errors. Note 8 in XLIII, 3 should be an appoggiatura, notes 10 and 11 should be the third beat of the preceding bar, notes 12 through 15 should be in the rhythm of the penultimate bar.

[182] *Ibid.*, p. 475. This chapter contains eight examples of war songs.

[183] *Ibid.*, p. 474. For three songs of medicine and magic, see pp. 462–464.

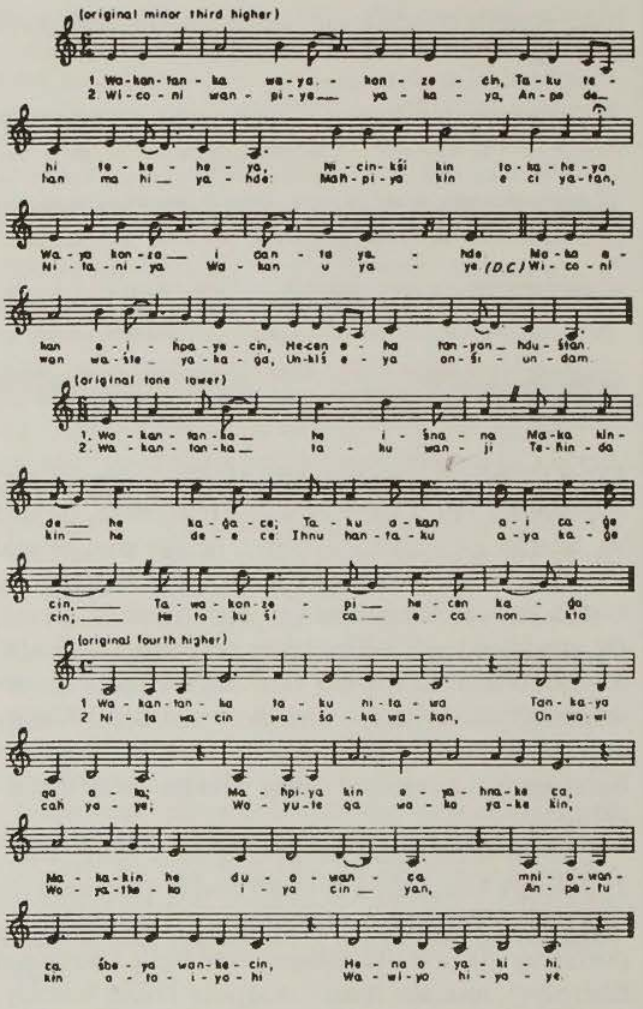
[184] *Ibid.*, p. 457. Riggs inserts ten love songs at pp. 457–462.

accompanying his song, or at times responding to it."[185] In Verse 1 the vision seeker suspended from a tall pole on cords passed through incisions under the muscles of the breast and arms "prays for four scalps and a safe return from enemy territory." In Verse 2 he wants to know the appointed day, in 3 the Sun recognizes him as holy and promises him four scalps, in 4 the devotee claims kinship with the sun-bird, in 5 the arrival of night is hailed. Through the night, "hardly can the dancer, fevered and faint, keep time with the hollow-sounding drum and shrill rattles." But dawn breaks at last. In Verse 6 the sun bursts forth in full splendor, the power of its awful rays adding to the inexpressible sufferings of the vision seeker. In 7 the attending chorus taunts the sufferer, "Sounding Cloud, my friend! Do you want water?"

To refine the torture still further, certain vision seekers after "making incisions in the back, have attached, by hair ropes, one or more buffalo heads, so that every time the body moves in the dance, a jerk is given to the buffalo heads behind."[186]

After making the cuttings in the arms, breast, or back, wooden setons—sticks about the size of a lead pencil—are inserted, and the ropes are attached to them. Then swinging on the ropes, they pull until setons are pulled out with the flesh and tendons; or, if hung with the buffalo heads, the pulling out is done in the dance, by jerk, jerk, jerk, keeping time with the music, while the head and body, in an attitude of supplication, face the sun, and the eye is unflinchingly fixed upon it.[187]

The following "native airs" (the fist and third are ABA structures) were printed at pages 101, 99, and 98 of *Dakota Odowan*, 1869 edition.[188] Like Commuck's *Indian Melodies* harmonized by the white Thomas Hastings, these three below were also harmonized by a white—James R. Murray in 1877.



For an accompaniment to these three acculturated specimens, a melodeon was used. "When a melodean was first introduced into the mission chapel, Eagle Helper, an old Indian, said: 'It sings well at one end; but why do you have it grumble away at the other, like so many bull-frogs?' "[189] This reaction contrasts with that of the Iroquois at Cattaraugus Reservation in western New York. In 1860 Asher Wright (1803–1875) published a tune book called *Gaq Nah shoh* containing 263 hymns taught on this reservation during the preceding decade. His wife *née* Laura Sheldon (1809–1886) enticed the Iroquois on the reservation into singing these hymns by playing them on a melodeon donated by a Sunday School in West Newton, Massachusetts. In their dance house seating 400 people and measuring 40 feet by 30, the turtle shell rattle had previously been their choicest musical accompaniment.

[185] *Ibid.*, p. 467.

[186] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[187] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

[188] Tune names: RENVILLE, LA FRAMBOISE, LACQUIPARLE. Scriptural references: 1 Cor 2:9, Heb 3:4, Jer 10:12–13. Joseph Renville (1779–1846) lived at Lac qui parle. Born a few miles below St. Paul on the Mississippi River, he owed his name to a French father. His mother was a full Dakota. In 1839 and 1841 he helped translate Mark and John into Dakota. Of his eight children, Joseph Renville junior died February 8, 1856, aged 47. Further biographical details in *Tah-koo Wah-kan*, pp. 154–169.

[189] *Ibid.*, p. 475.

The sacred animal is killed, the legs cut off, the inside removed, and the shell filled with pebbles, the neck is drawn out and tightly wound with catgut, furnishing the handle of the instrument. While the first man beats the drum, the second man shakes the turtle-shell rattle, and a third man joins them with a squash rattle. Three men now take their places beside these, who commence to sing.[190]

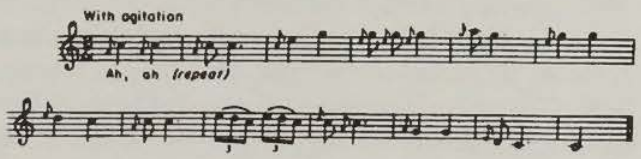
But after Mrs. Wright and the author of the narrative started visiting them with a melodeon, they were seduced into placing the melodeon "in the center of the hall, where by the grateful young people, who loved it as a human being, it was gorgeously decorated with hemlock boughs and a profusion of red berries."[191]

EDWIN ATLEE BARBER AND MYRON EELLS AMONG THE UTAHS AND CLALLAMS

Edwin Atlee Barber (1851–1916)—later to become a national authority on ceramics—published in the year of obtaining his B.S. from Lafayette College an article, "Gaming among the Utah Indians," *American Naturalist*, XI/6 (June, 1877), that included at page 352 a typical gambling song.

The procedure is as follows. A row of players, consisting of . . . six or a dozen men, is arranged on either side of the tent, facing each other. Before each man is placed a bundle of small twigs or sticks, each six to eight inches in length and pointed at one end. Every *tête-à-tête* couple is provided with two cylindrical bone dice, carfully fashioned and highly polished, which measure about two inches in length and half an inch in diameter, one being white and the other black, or sometimes ornamented with a black band. At the rear end of the apartment, opposite the entrance, several musicians beat time on their parchment-covered drums. The whole assembly sitting "Turk fashion" on the ground, then commences operations. The pledges are heaped up near the players and each soon becomes oblivious of the rest. One of the gamblers encloses a die in each hand, and placing one above the other allows the upper bone to pass into the lower hand with the other die. This process is reversed again and again, while at the same time the hands are shaken up and down in order to mystify the partner in the passing of the dice. The other man, during the performance, hugs himself tightly by crossing his arms and placing either hand under the opposite arm, and with a dancing motion of the body swaying to and fro watches the shuffling of the dice with closest attention.

During the entire game, the players as well as the musicians keep time to the accompaniment in their movements, and chant the while a tune which runs in this wise:



No words are sung, but the syllable *ah* is pronounced in a whining, nasal tone for every note. The entire party keeps excellent time and are always together, rising and falling with wonderful precision. . . . This is kept up for hours and even days, and the competitors seem never to grow weary. . . . In the connection it might be well to say a few words relating to the negligence of ethnologists in omitting to collect the songs and chants of the American tribes, when it has been in their power.

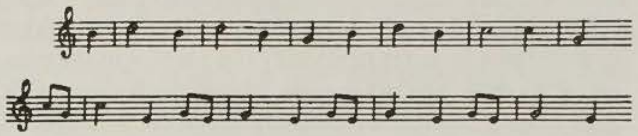
Two years after Barber's Utah article, Myron Eells (1843–1907) published "Indian Music" in *The American Antiquarian*, I/4:April:1879:249–253. Of the eight examples at page 252, all but the first two are again gambling songs. From 1874 to 1884 he had lived on Skokomish Reservation in Washington Territory, there learning the language of the 250 Twanas on the reservation. Meantime he had been in constant close contact with the 550 Clallams living in scattered villages from 50 to 160 miles from the reservation.[192] The second Clallam gambling song,

[190] Harriet S. Caswell, *Our Life Among the Iroquois Indians* (Boston & Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1892), p. 155. Before marriage to Lemuel E. Caswell, a business man of Boston, the author (*née* Harriet Clark) assisted the Wrights.

[191] *Ibid.*, p. 163. Both Asher Wright and his wife were native New Englanders, he having been born at Hanover, New Hampshire, she at St. Johnsbury, Vermont. A graduate of Andover Seminary in 1831, he spent the rest of his life among the Senecas, for whom he translated the gospels, published two editions of hymns, and a vocabulary.

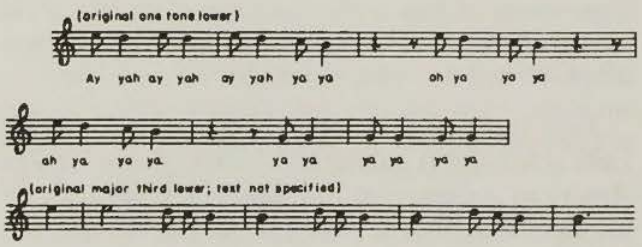
[192] Myron Eells, *History of the Congregational Association of Oregon, and Washington Territory* (Portland, Oregon: Himes, 1881), pp. 112–113. From 1871 to 1874 he had worked at Boise, Idaho, but without conspicuous success because of the "decrease in the population of the place, and an increase of the churches" (*Ibid.*, p. 110). Born at Tsheinakain, Spokane county, Washington Territory, October 7, 1843, he graduated from Pacific University, Oregon, 1866 and from Hartford Theological Seminary, 1871. He was ordained at Hartford, June 14, 1871 (*ibid.*, pp. 79–80).

sung to "ah, ah" throughout, begins with an outline of the G Major chord. The gambling song sung by both Twanas and Clallams outlines the C Major chord, first inversion.



Although Eells omits the text, he says that the latter song invoked the aid of a guardian spirit while the two tribes gambled with disks. Heard close by, it sounded like a "confused medley" but "at a distance of a few hundred yards the skips blended into what sounded like a stationary chord."

According to Eells, the Clallams sang lustily when three or more canoes arrived at a tribal council. When arriving in their canoes for a great festival they sang also. Otherwise they sang very little while canoeing. To accompany council songs they clapped hands, pounded sticks, beat the drum, and sometimes shook hollow wooden rattles. Baker copied the following two Clallam canoe songs from Eells, who called the first a council arrival song, the second a festival arrival song.



BAKER'S OTHER INDEBTEDNESSES

In his preface Baker paid tribute not only to Myron Eells but also to Mrs. Harriet S. Caswell who wrote *Our Life Among the Iroquois Indians*, to both Alfred Longley Riggs and his younger brother by ten years Thomas Lawrence Riggs, to John Poage Williamson who with A. L. Riggs edited *Dakota Odowan*, and to four other veteran Protestant missionaries. Through Mrs. Caswell and Mrs. Asher Wright, her associate who was the widow of the leading missionary to the Senecas, Baker was to gain the needed entrée at the Cattaraugus Reservation in western New York during the summer of 1880 that permitted his gathering the ten Iroquois harvest songs published at pages 59–63 of his doctoral dissertation.

The 22 Songs XI through XXXII represent a different set of tribal traditions—Cheyenne, Comanche, Dakota, Iowa, Kiowa, and Ponca—but were all gathered earlier that same summer in one batch at the Carlisle Indian School. This was the school organized in 1879 by the then Captain Richard Henry Pratt (1840–1924),[193] who the previous year had taught at Hampton Institute. Ironically, Pratt never endorsed the preservation of native cultures, and instead throughout his career opposed any "scientific study of the primitive red man."[194] However much the chief of the United States Bureau of Ethnology during the 1880's and 1890's might stress "the importance from his standpoint of recording early North American languages, customs, and history," Pratt's avowed purpose at Carlisle during those same years was always to turn his Indian charges into mainstream Americans.

In 1879 Carlisle School was the pet project of the Indian Office and was under the special patronage of Carl Schurz, secretary of the interior. It was the particular love of the Eastern Christian and benevolent groups who were interesting themselves in Indian welfare, and all these people had high hopes that Captain Pratt was beginning a movement that would very soon create a new and glorified Indian race, educated and brought up level with the whites in all respects. The Indian Office officials were so proud of the school that by New Year's, 1880, they were planning a gathering of notables at Carlisle in the following June, to celebrate the completion of the first year. They wrote to the agents at Rosebud and Pine Ridge, sending carefully chosen lists of chiefs who were to be brought East at public expense to attend the Carlisle meeting.[195]

On this list were Spotted Tail, Two Strike, Swift Bear, Red Leaf, White Thunder, and "Old Man Crazy Horse," the father of the famous Oglala war chief of the same name. . . . In the end Swift Bear and Old Crazy Horse withdrew, because of their age, and Black Crow and Iron Wing went in their places. These Rosebud chiefs and the ones from Pine Ridge reached Carlisle ahead of

[193] For the story of the school's organization told from Pratt's viewpoint, see Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Pratt the Red Man's Moses* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), pp. 76–88.

[194] *Ibid.*, p. 188.

[195] George E. Hyde, *A Sioux Chronicle* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), p. 53.

time, and spent some days living at the school and inspecting it.[196]

Taking with them their entourages, the chiefs saved Baker the trouble and expense of visiting the Plains Indians personally. Instead, he had leading singers from the several tribes at his beck during the chiefs' two stays at school (interrupted by their visit to Washington). Happy in acquiring his Plains repertory with such ease, Baker was less fortunate when it came to reviews. Only Albert S. Gatschet (1832–1907), the Swiss-born linguist who had joined the Bureau of Ethnology in 1879 and who from 1874 had devoted himself to American Indian languages, published a knowledgeable review. In "On the Music of North American Indians," *The American Naturalist*, XVII/2:Feb.:1883:226–277, Gatschet summarized Baker's dissertation.

Most of the 42 songs from at least 12 tribes are purely diatonic major or mixolydian. All have the degree of the 5th and tonic, half have the major third, 4th and 6th degrees are frequent, but 7th degree is scarce. Duple meter, 2/8 or 2/4, heavily outweighs triple. Baker has refuted the widely held notion that Indian melodies cannot be notated.[197]

Twenty-seven years after Baker had published his dissertation, and more than a decade after MacDowell had given Baker's examples an artistic cachet denied all subsequent Indian collections,[198] Frederick R. Burton could still dare to prepare for the press what purported to be a definitive study of *American Primitive Music with special attention to the Songs of the Ojibways* (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1909) in which he confessed ignorance of Baker's *Über die Musik*—which "I myself did not read until this book was almost ready for the press" (page 7).[199] By so doing, Burton merely set the pace in Indian music studies. If Burton failed to read Baker, so also Fletcher ignored everything written before her. Densmore failed to exploit her predecessors or contemporaries, Burlin did the same, Roberts ignored Densmore; and the pattern of ignoring predecessors has largely continued to the present.[200]

Only Bruno Nettl (*b* Prague, March 14, 1930) broke the chain—Baker's German having defied intervening scholars. From 1953—by virtue of his Indiana Ph.D. dissertation, followed in the next several decades by such authoritative articles as "Indianermusik (Nordamerika)" in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, VI (1957), 1140–1150, a host of contributions to specialized journals, and the "Indians, American" updating in *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* (1986)—Nettl spoke with a finality denied all other investigators.

CONCLUSION

Above at page 3 mention was made of the 1976 facsimile reprint of Baker's dissertation—which was issued with Ann Buckley's English translation. Among reasons that the republication did Baker scant honor: his title was mistranslated, his Vita (page 83 of the 1882 original) was omitted, and such questions as the following posed by Barbara Seitz were left unanswered.

Where is the scholarly introduction which could illuminate the historical significance and influences of and upon the original text, the nature of its contents, the sources and associated problems of its musical transcriptions, and the biographical background of the author?

In Mireille Helffer's aperçu (*Revue de Musicologie*, LXIV/1 [1978], 116–118), Baker's ethnocentrism, his attempt to equate Indian melodic intervals with

[196] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[197] The following sentences (Buckley translation, p. 81) exemplify Baker's misguided attempts to jacket Indian melodies in European terminology:

From this investigation it is evident that the chief function of the second degree is as the fifth of the dominant chord. The fourth appears in most cases as the dominant seventh, and the seventh as third of the dominant chord: these three intervals are employed essentially as parts of the dominant or dominant seventh chord from the fifth, the root of the chord. The third, a component of the tonic chord, depends on the tonic.

[198] In the full score of MacDowell's Second Suite ("Indian"), op. 48 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1905), the opening subject of the first movement equals Baker, p. 60, II; of the second movement equals Baker, p. 68, XVIII; of the third equals Baker, p. 75, XXXVIII; of the fourth equals, p. 70, XXIII, of the fifth equals, p. 63, IX. Cadman's "The Pleasant Moon of Strawberries," op. 54, no. 1 (Boston: White Smith Music Publishing Co., 1912) levies two Baker melodies for its sources: pp. 73, XXXII and 72, XXX. His "The White Dawn is stealing," op. 45, no. 2, quotes p. 79, XLIII, 4.

[199] Burton mistakenly calls Baker a German, and counts his examples as "several score songs" (same page).

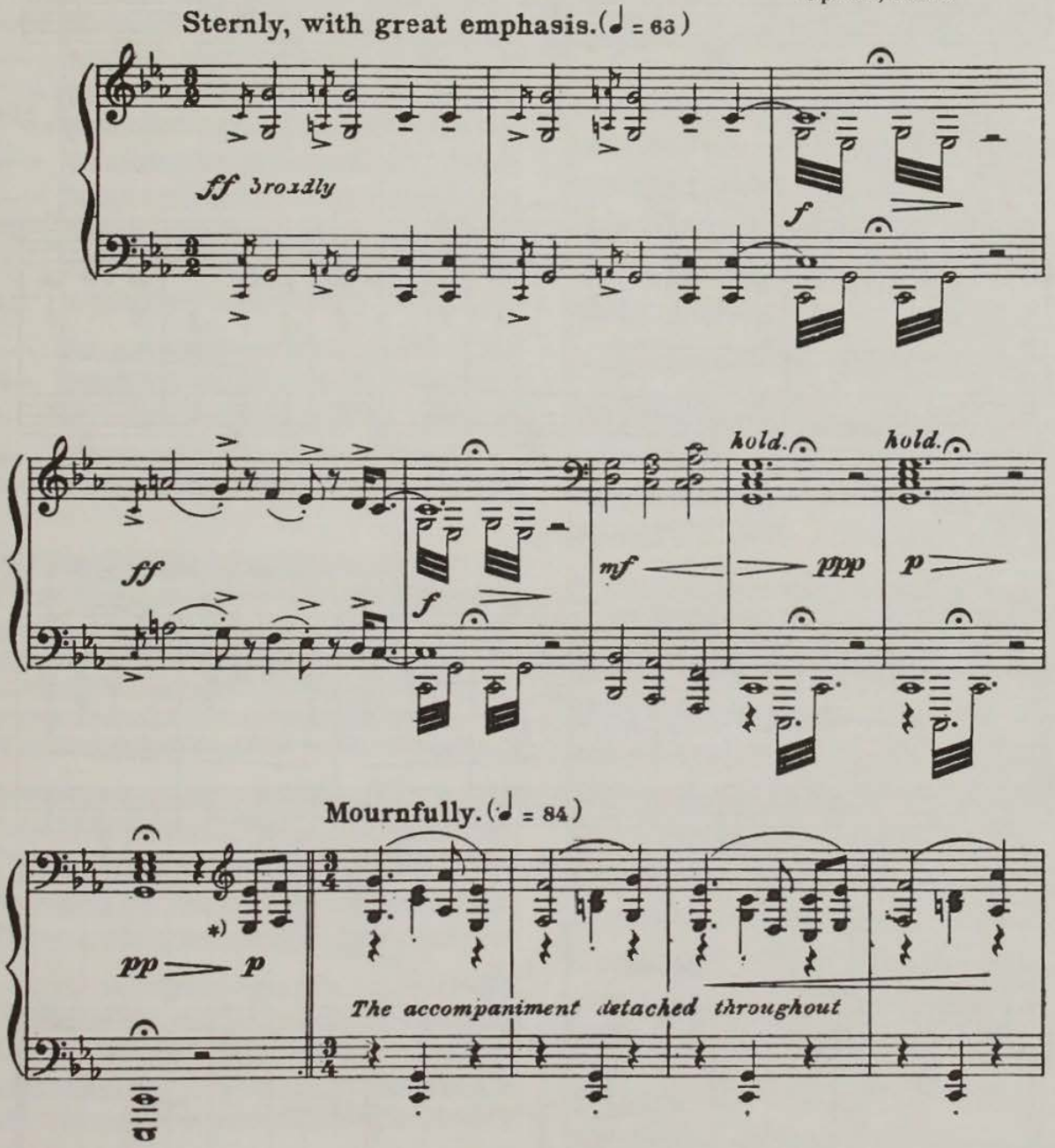
[200] Buckley ignored Stevenson whose two articles in ETHNOMUSICOLOGY, XVII (1973), pp. 1–40 and 399–442, join a new introduction and conclusion to form the present monograph.

degrees of European scales, and his categorizing Indian melodies under seven headings, beginning with "cabalistic songs" were called in question. Hans Oesch (*Die Musikforschung*, XXXIII/2 [1980], 233) saw some value in Baker's passé outlook—because his attitudes, although now outmoded, showed the temper of his times.

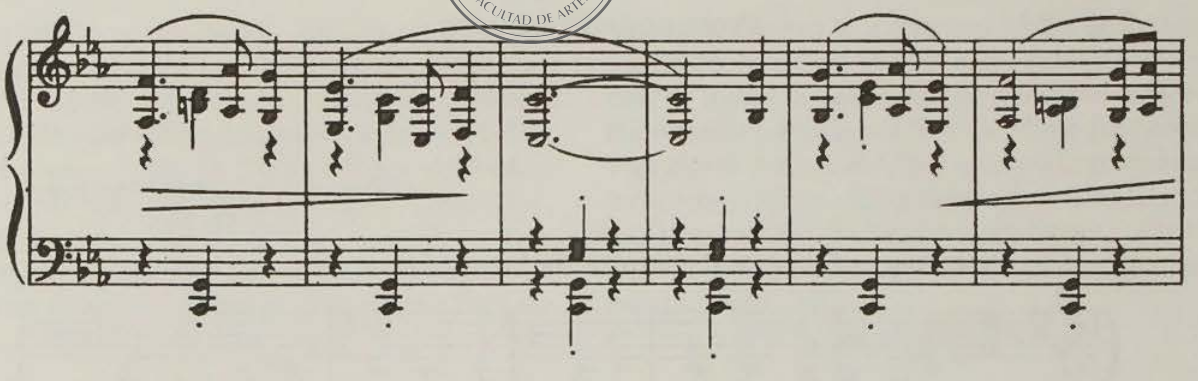
Ultimately, however, the Baker opus remains a landmark worthy of all continuing respect because it pointed the way to a recovery of the earliest transcriptions. Mistaken though so frequently Baker can now be found to have been, he did quote explorers, missionaries, and expeditioners whose first contact with North American tribes resulted in records now infinitely precious. Only those who made first contact documented the primeval ambience, only they knew tribal music before European contamination became inevitable.

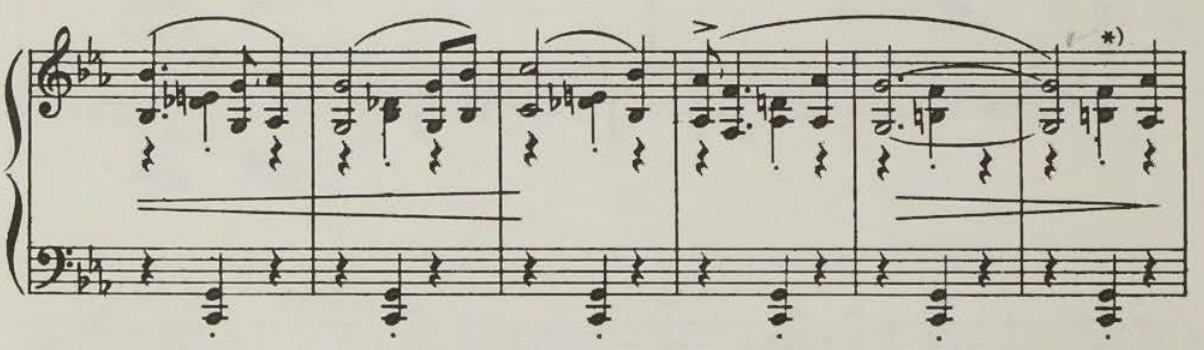
From an Indian Lodge

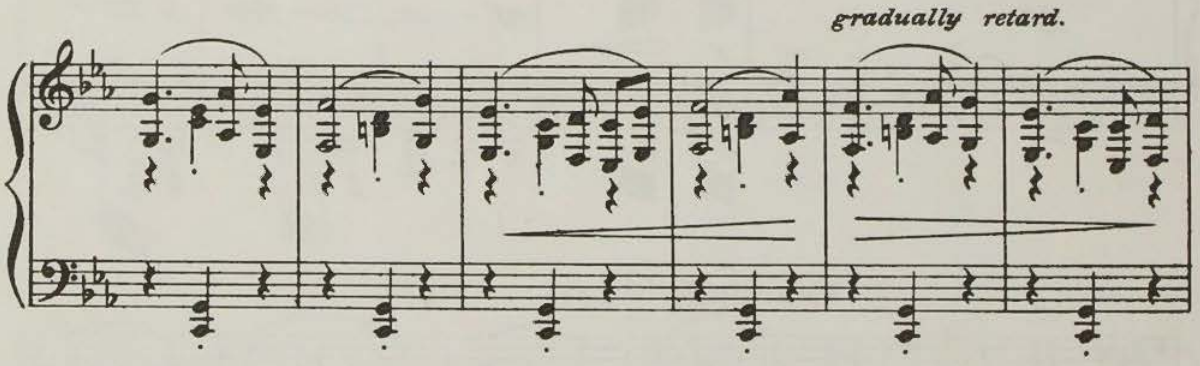
Edward Alexander MacDowell
Op. 51, No. 5

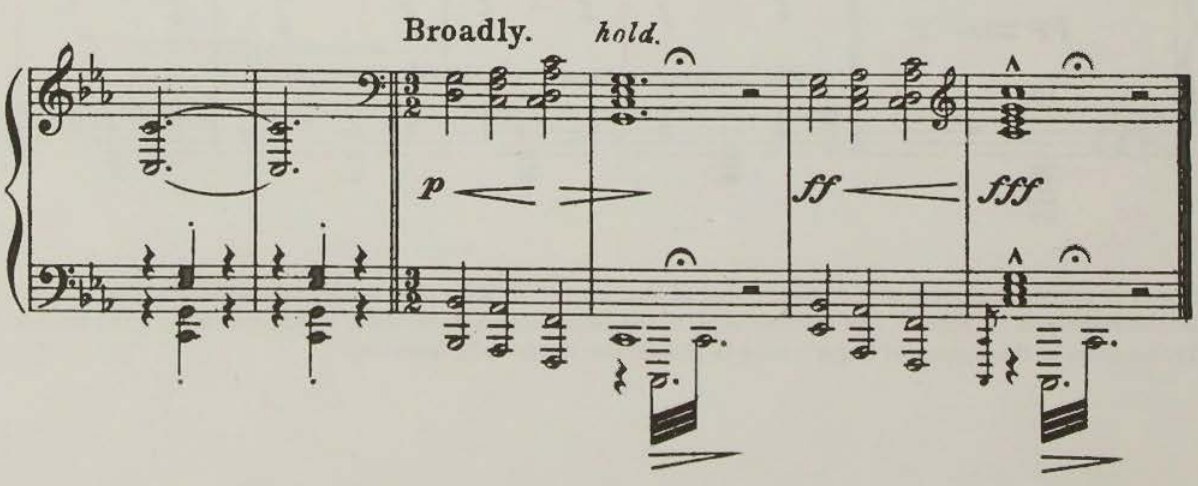


*The melody in octaves beginning here duplicates that of OLD INDIAN HYMN, shown on preceding page 31, first column. Baker published this melody on his page 75, first example. MacDowell's introductory declamatory section derives from the first two Walla Walla Indian songs at the bottom of Baker's page 78 (*Lieder der Walla-walla Indianer*).

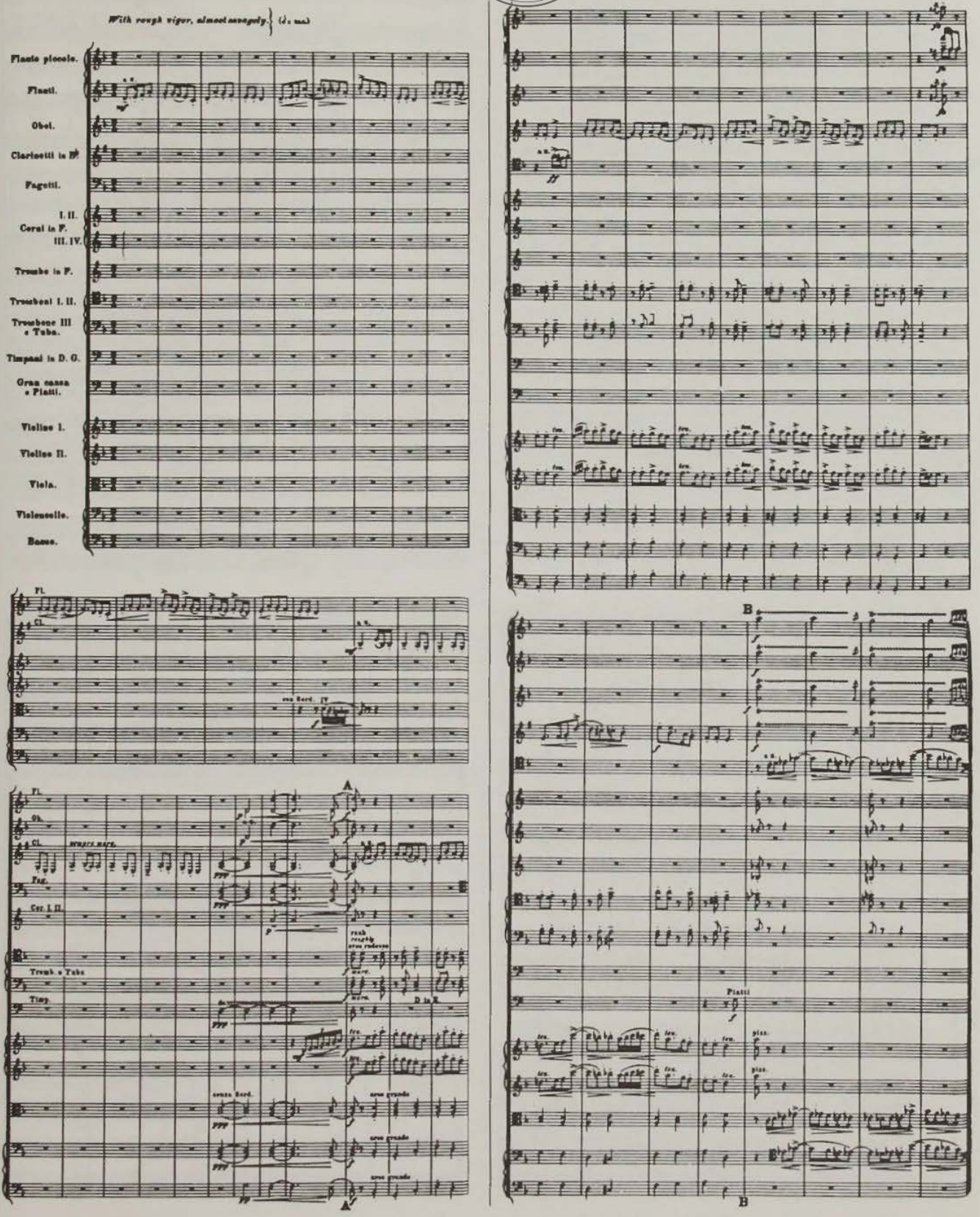




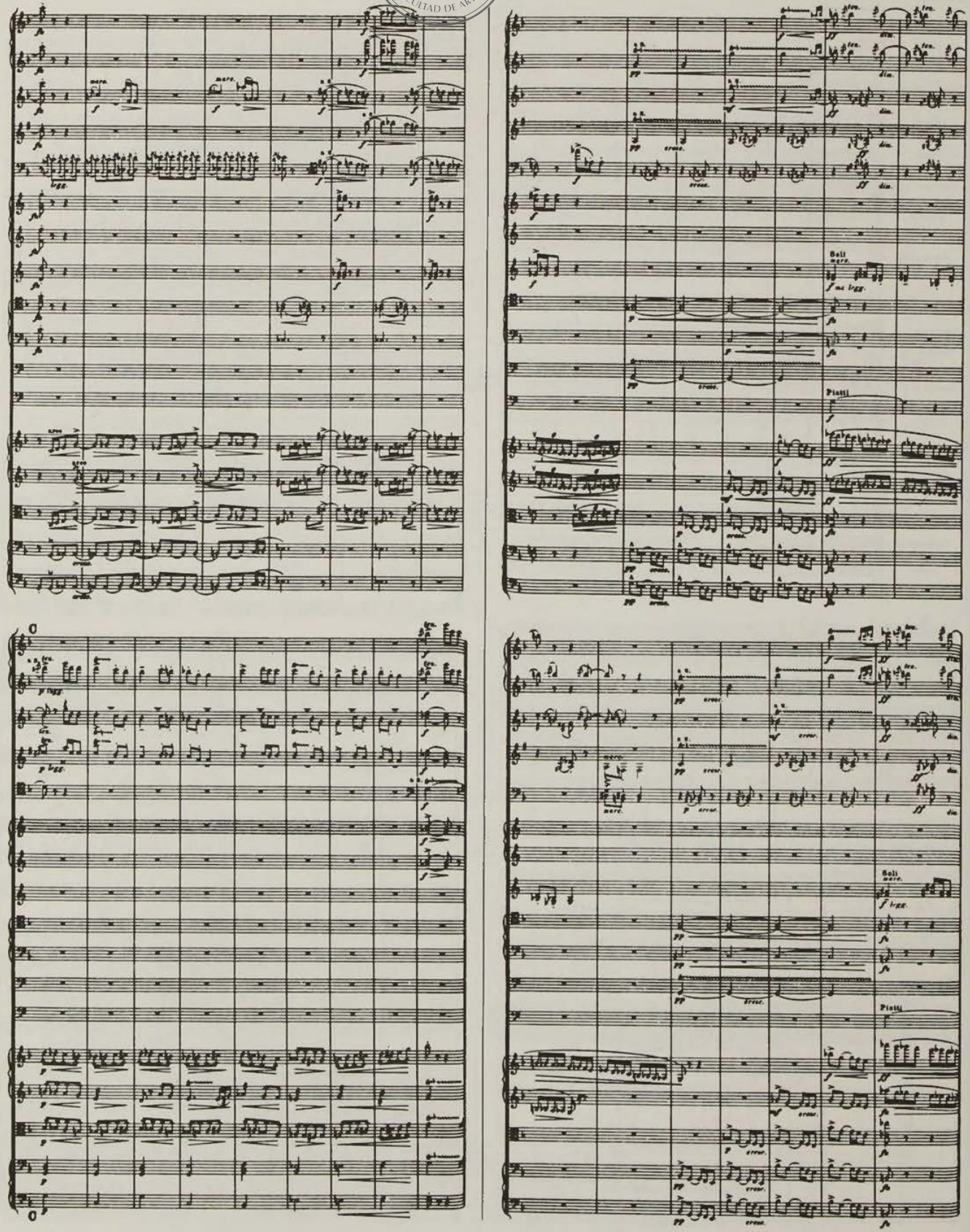


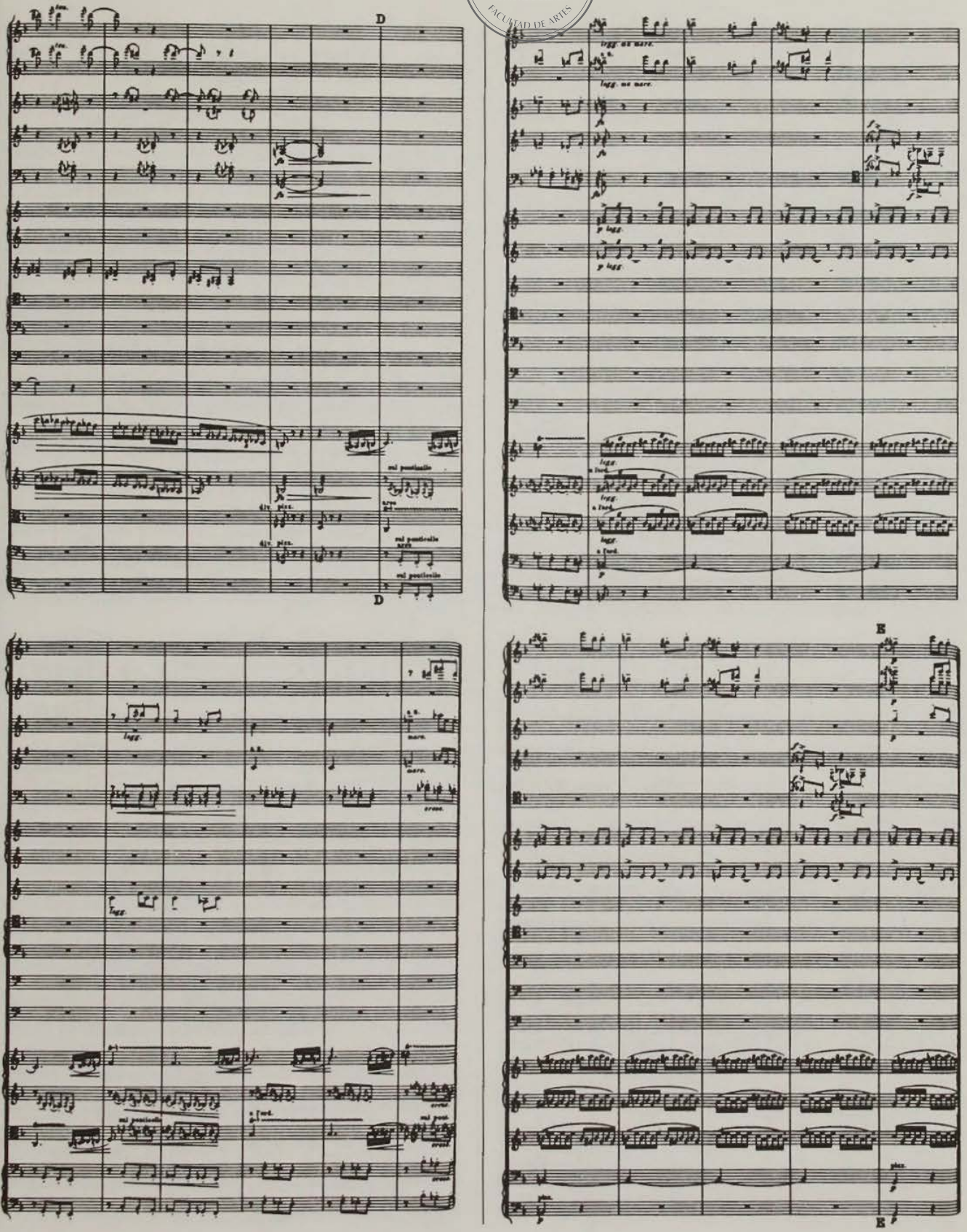


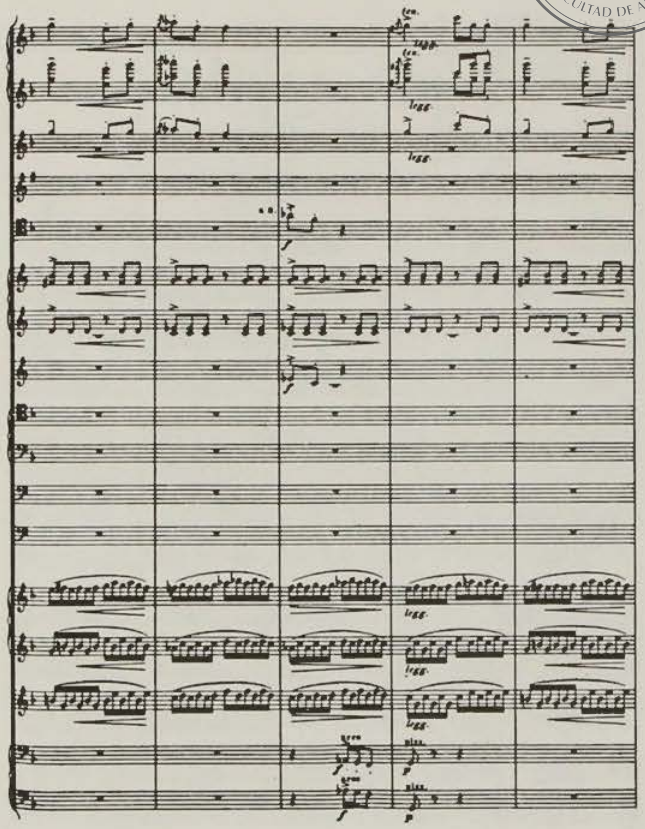
In War Time

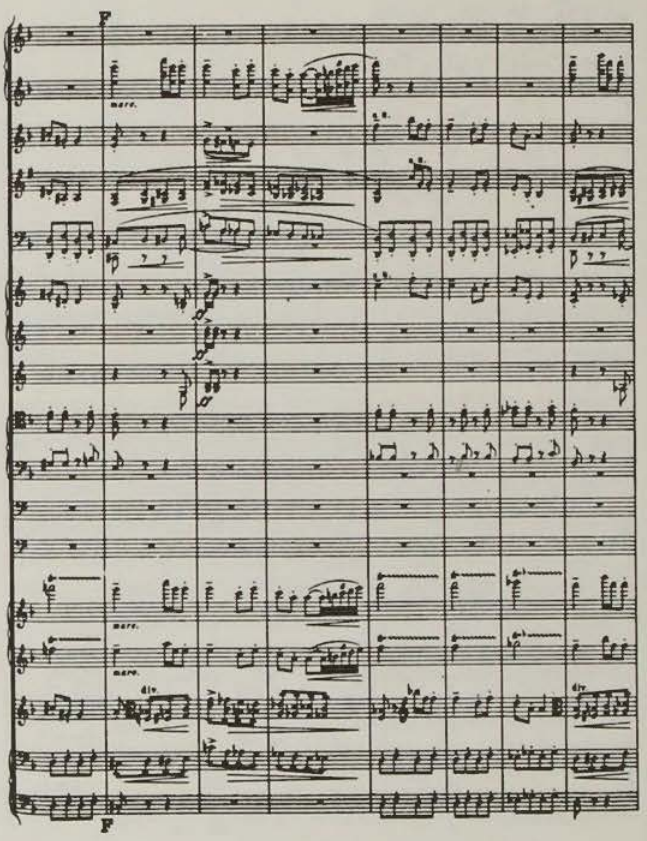


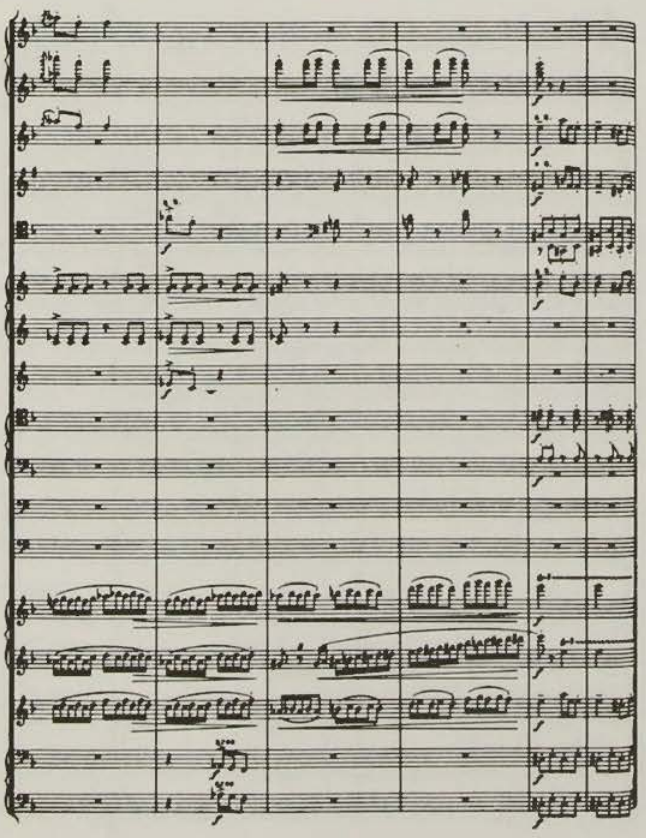
Commuck's SHOSHONEE, quoted here and subsequently is shown above on page 31, column 2. Baker published it at his page 75 (example XXXVIII). *In War Time* is the third among the five movements in MacDowell's Second Orchestral ("Indian") Suite.

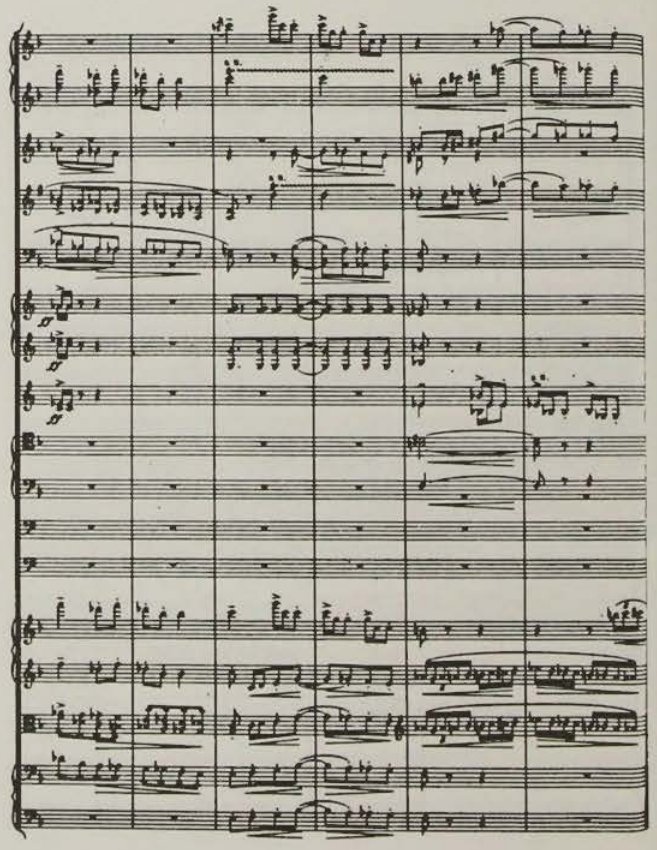


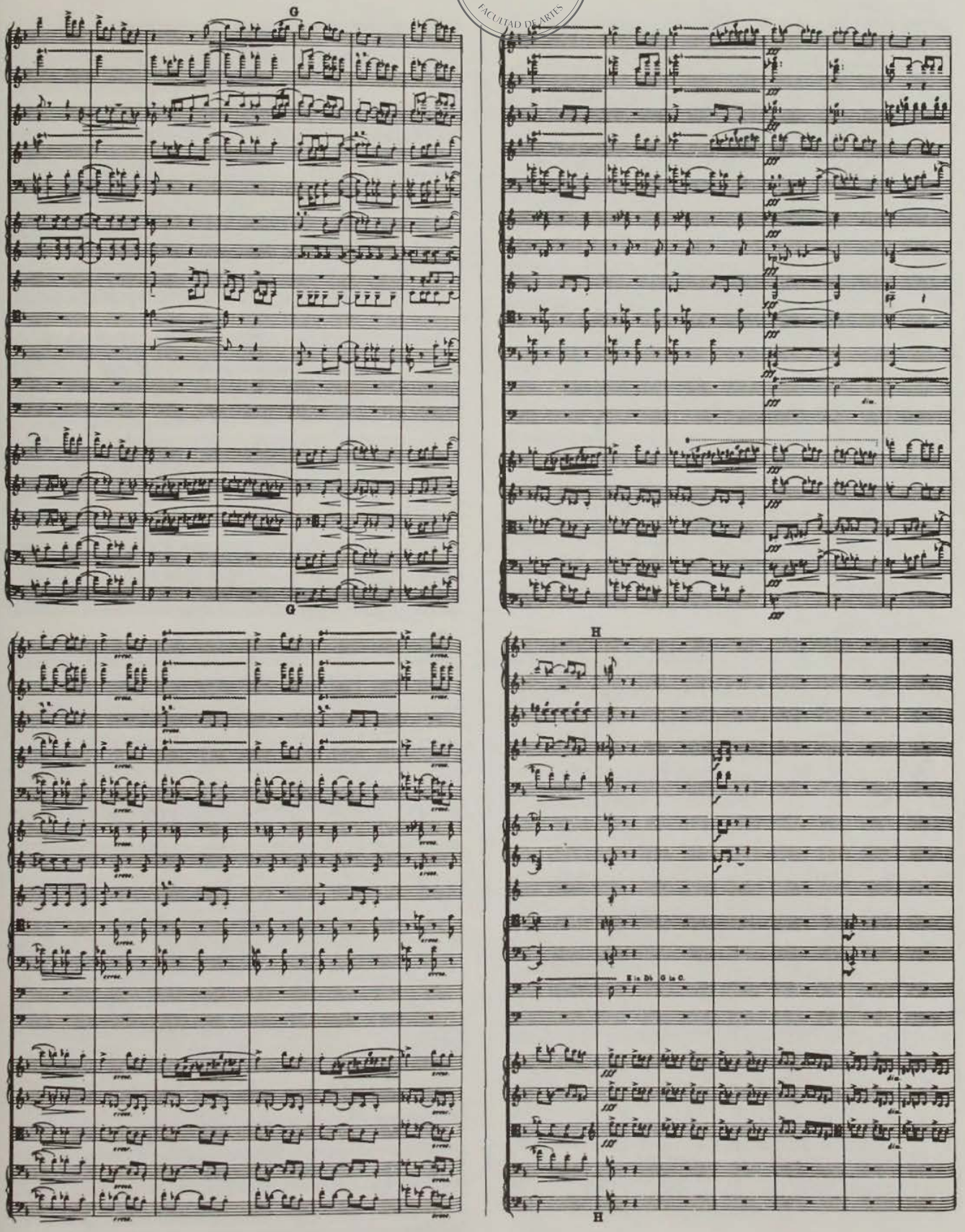


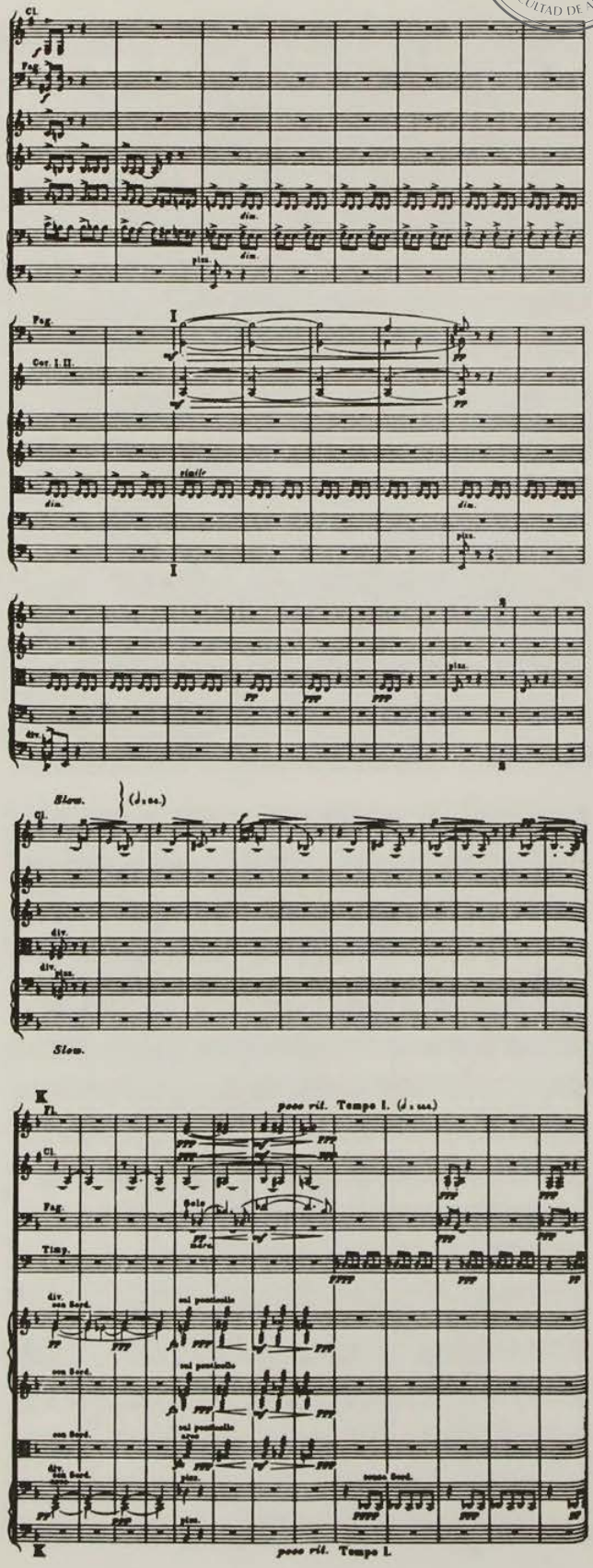


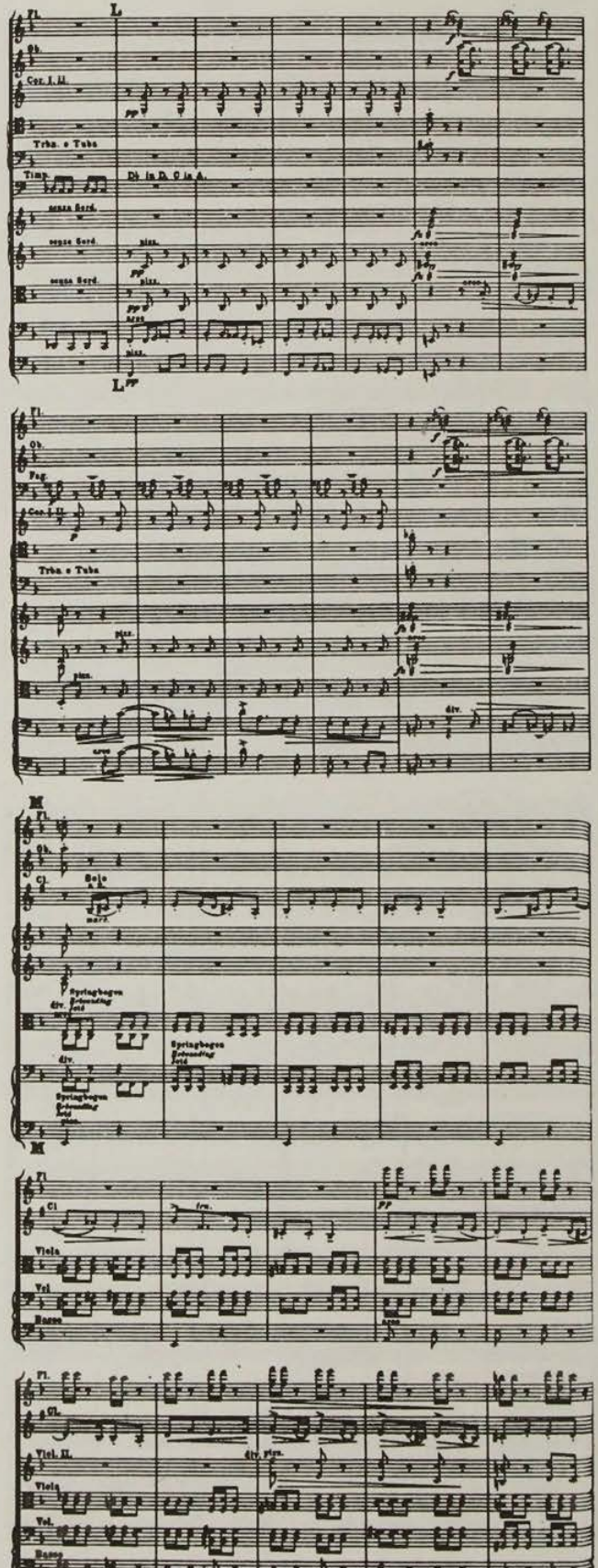


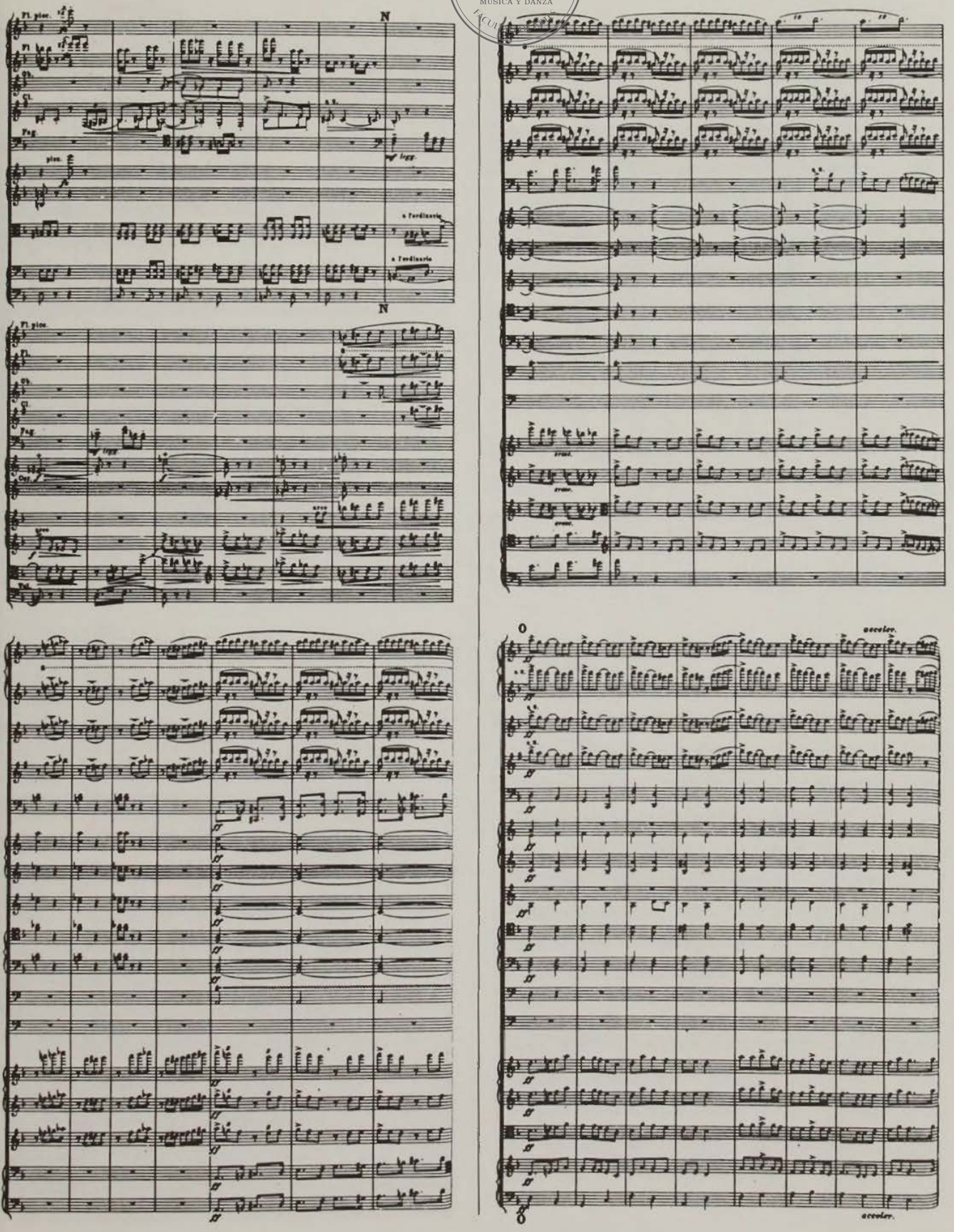


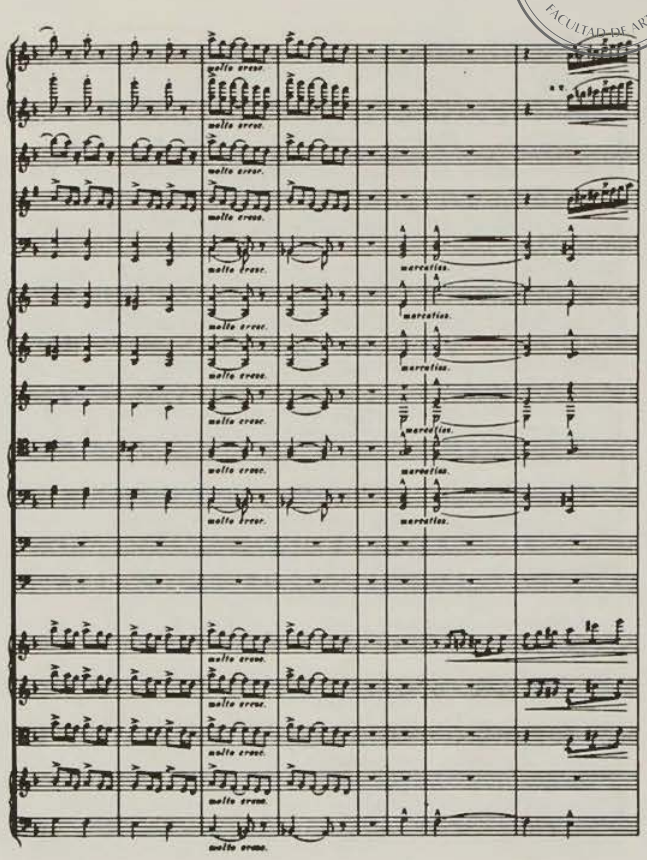


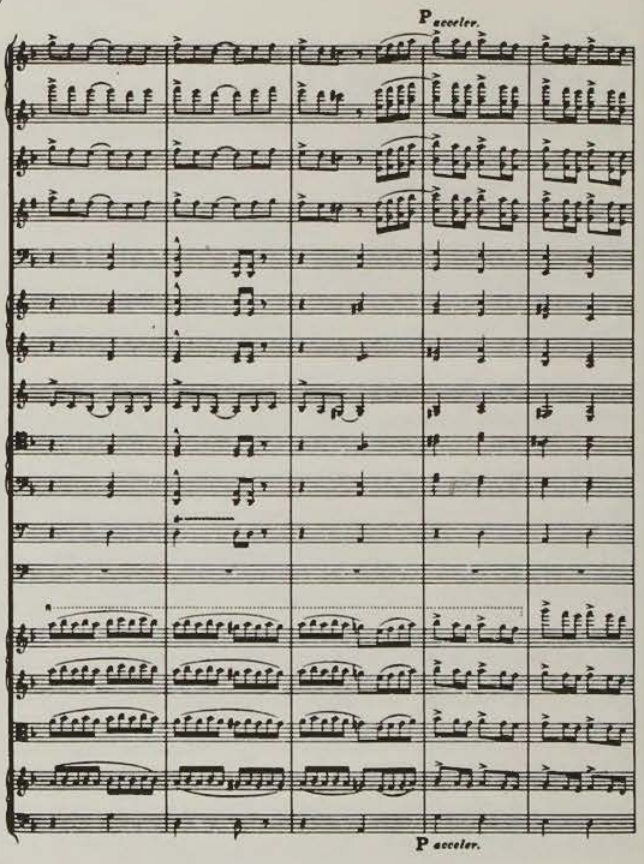


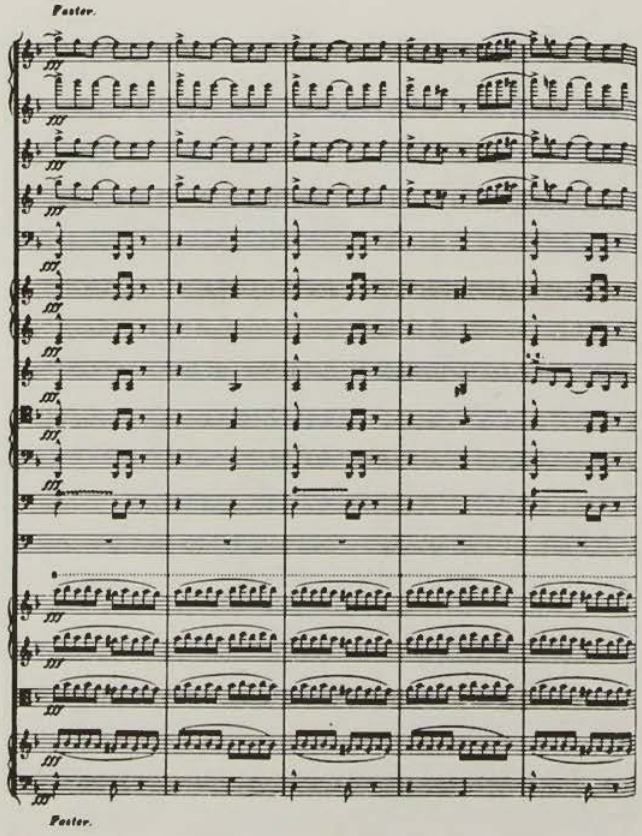


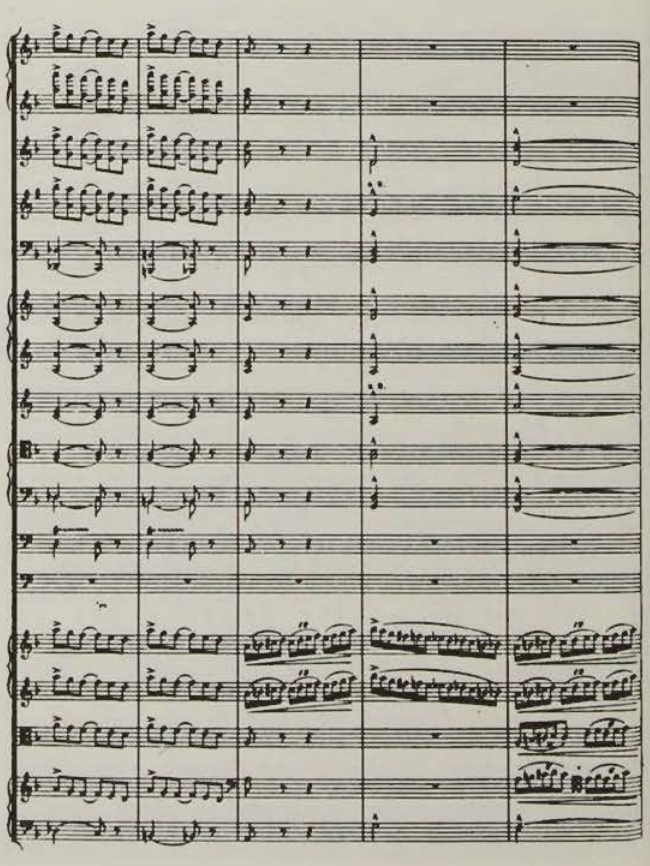


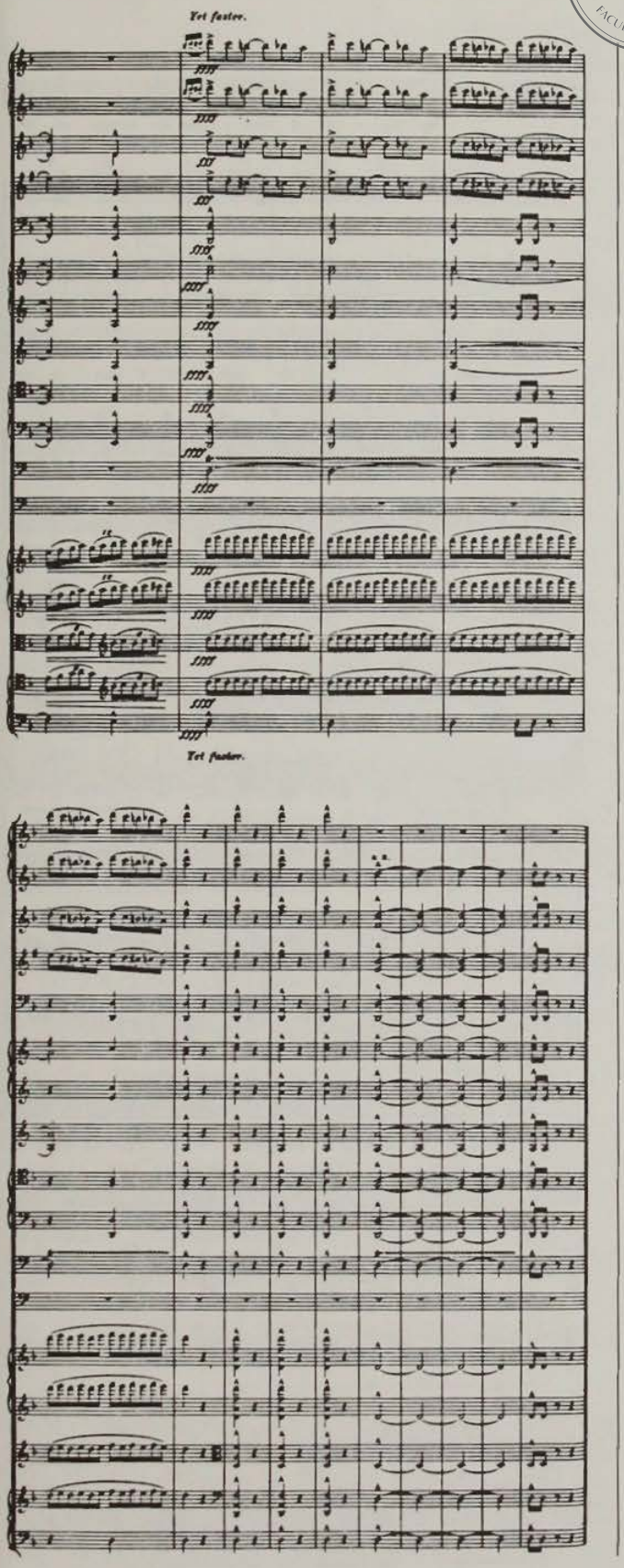




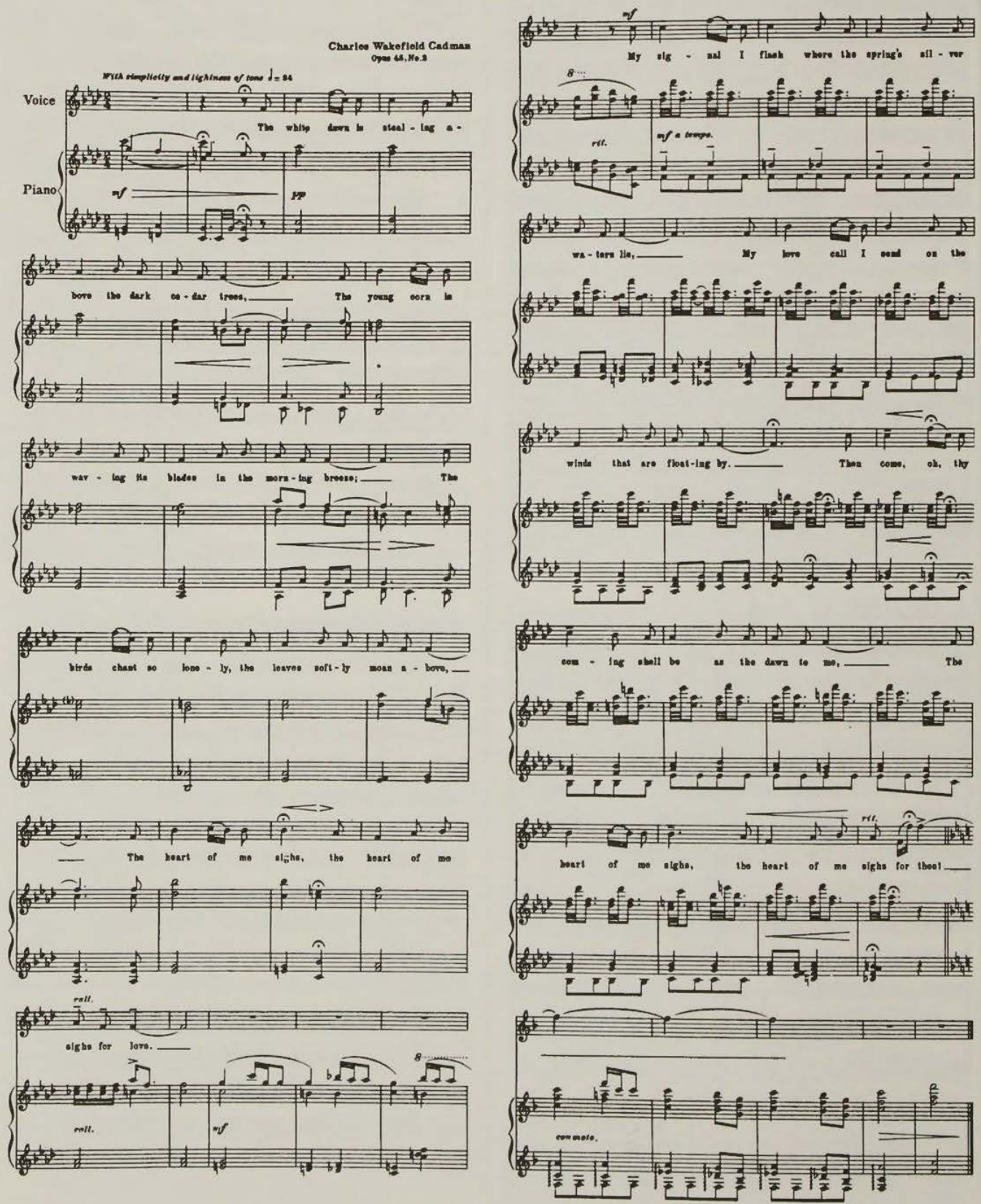








The White Dawn is Stealing



At Baker's page 79, last example, he published the melody harmonized in Cadman's exquisite "The White Dawn is Stealing." See above, page 43, note 198.