

# HEART BEAT

Voices of  
First  
Nations  
Women



Smithsonian/Folkways

### Six Nations Women Singers

1. Mother Earth (1:35)  
(Amos and Alfred Key)
2. Bingo Song (1:35)  
(Hubert Buck)
3. Ho Way Hey Yo (1:31)  
(Betsy Buck)

### Joanne Shenandoah

4. Fish Dance Song (1:04)  
(Joanne Shenandoah, DMG Arizona [ASCAP])
5. I May Want a Man (3:53)  
(Danielle Shenandoah, DMG Arizona [ASCAP])

### Lillian Rainer, flute

6. Taos Courting Flute Song (1:18)

### Georgia Wettlin-Larsen

7. Lakota Flute Song (1:15)
8. Ojibwa Love Charm Song (1:17)
9. Ojibwa Love Song (1:59)

### Anita Anquoe George

10. War Mothers' Song (1:44)

### Mary Ann Meanus and Verbena Green

11. Bunny Hop Dance (1:10)
12. Stick Game Song (1:34)

### Lillian Rainer, flute

13. Navajo Riding Song (2:17)

### Sweethearts of Navajoland

14. Let 'em Talk (2:19)  
(Lillian Ashley)
15. One Woman's Man (2:50)  
(Lillian Ashley)

### Nancy Richardson

16. Lizard, His Song (1:39)
17. Panther, Her Song (1:19)

18. Kick Dance Song (1:13)

19. Spotted Fawn Dance (:49)

### Betty Mae Jumper

20. The Mice and the Bad Angel (:37)
21. Turtle's Song to the Wolf (:41)

### Geraldine Barney

22. Glitter Nights (5:42)  
(Geraldine Barney)

23. Tsidii-Bird (1:23)

(Geraldine Barney)

### Poldine Carlo

24. Honor Song for an Older Sister (1:41)
25. World War II Honor Song (1:06)

### Cornelia Bowannie and Arliss Luna

26. Blessing Song (3:23)

### Tewa Indian Women's Choir

27. Ange'in (3:17)
28. Holy, Holy, Holy (1:29)

### Betty Mae Jumper

29. Beautiful Mansion in the Sky (1:03)
30. Hallelujah (1:09)

### Ulali

31. Going Home (4:42)  
(Pura Fé)

32. Mother (2:49)  
(Soni Moreno-Primeau)

### Crying Woman Singers

33. Northern Lights (3:46)  
(Crying Woman Singers, Sweet Grass Records)

### Buffy Sainte-Marie

34. Starwalker (3:02)  
(Buffy Sainte-Marie, Almo Music Corp. [ASCAP])

Total time 69:43

## HEARTBEAT Voices of First Nations Women

Rayna Green and Howard Bass

### Introduction

A woman hums songs to a child. Three old ladies sing as they pick chokecherries or cactus buds, husk corn, or dig camas root. A woman's high-pitched lu-lu-lu-lu rises over the men's voices at the end of an honoring song for returned veterans. "Chorus girls" back up the men's lead song at the drum during a war dance. The pulsating, driving hand-drum beats and magic-making songs at a stick game. The songs that make the Sun Dance circle right. These are the voices of Native women. Like the drum whose heartbeat is that of a woman, these women and their songs are at the heart of Indian Country. But unlike the drum, their songs and voices are rarely heard beyond their communities.

This recording is part of an effort to present an overview of music by Native women—traditional, new, innovative, and little known. Included are traditional women's songs from tribes in the United States and Canada, as well as material usually sung by men and recently taken up by women. We also present fresh music that merges traditional songs with many styles of popular American music. This music offers a great variety of musical and tribal styles and demonstrates points of commonality and of uniqueness in Native women's traditional and contemporary music.

*"When that drum beats, I beat,  
my heart goes the same way  
the drum goes."\**

Very little women's music is known and appreciated, even by those who value and know Native American music. People may see Native women dancing when public performances take place, whether they are on stage or in a community setting. Still, men's dancing dominates the public arena. Because much of Native women's traditional singing takes place in a private setting associated with family, clan, ceremonial, or work activities, those who are unfamiliar with these traditions rarely see or hear women sing. Thus the common perception is that women have little presence or significance in the performance and



**Buffy Sainte-Marie**

preservation of Native musical traditions. A few recordings have included women's singing and instrumental music in a tribal or regional collection. Recordings by contemporary Indian women musicians like Buffy Sainte-Marie first received appreciative attention

in the late sixties. Since then, the ranks have grown to include Sharon Burch, Joanne Shenandoah, Geraldine Barney, and several groups of women singers.

\*Margaret Paul (Maliseet) from *Sound of the Drum*, 1990.

Native men and women, like men and women everywhere, historically had different roles and ways of being in daily life and in music and dance. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the roles and activities of all Native people shifted radically as disease, war, land loss, removal, and relocation shifted populations and devastated traditional ways. The United States government forced men to farm where once they had hunted, and women to sew where once they farmed. The government and missionaries forbade Native ceremonies and ceremonial clothing. New settlers and hunters wiped out the once abundant supply of buffalo, salmon, wild rice, and deer: Indians were sent to schools and churches to "civilize" them, places where they were forbidden to speak their own languages. Music, dance, and song—so integral to traditional life—changed drastically. Much went underground or was altered to be made acceptable to government agents and missionaries. Some was lost forever, but what has remained has resurfaced and been renewed in the twentieth century.

### Ceremony

Ruth Underhill, working with T'ohono O'odham people in the 1940s, tells of asking the women why only the men sang and danced. "Oh," one of the older women responded, "you sing and dance to get power"—the inference being that the women already had this power. Although women are thought to have a much smaller role than men in the area of spiritual or religious music, there are in fact serious and profound roles for women in the

performance of music associated with ceremonial life. In areas that have traditions of female spiritual leadership in healing, for example, there are significant, acknowledged female roles in public ceremony. Gender differences in vocal range and resonance and culturally based notions of male and female performance dictate the varying roles of men and women, roles that differ from tribe to tribe.

On first glance at Pueblo ceremonial dance, one would think that Pueblo women never sing at all. Certainly, women rarely sing in public ceremonies on feast days. In dance performance, men and women are equally represented—the world is divided into male and female domains and spirits. Even dance steps have male and female parts and lines. Songs have constant reference to Corn Maidens (and Corn Youths), the Green Earth Woman, Mother Earth (and Father Sky), Dawn Maidens (and Dawn Youths), to the role of women in agriculture and new life. Yet women's voices are not heard in these serious ceremonial events, only in less public, more intimate ceremonies mostly associated with women, such as the Basket Dances.

Often the singing connected with the most powerful of women's rites of passage—coming of age or puberty ceremonies—is performed by men. Apache and Navajo men sing the songs for the ceremonial parts of such events. Among the Mescalero Apache, however, women sing the morning songs after the Crown Dances and join the men in singing for the back-and-forth dances

that are part of the all-night ritual associated with the girls' annual coming of age ceremony. In Northern California, men customarily sing the songs for the Flower Dance, the girls' ceremony celebrating first menses. Women have recently begun to sing these songs as part of restoring a ceremony not performed for a long time.

In tribes where women have formidable ceremonial and public roles, they do sing and "make" songs, and their songs may be more like those of male spiritual leaders. In the Plains Sun Dance, for example, women always had a special role in the ceremony, and thus in making and singing songs. Describing a Sun Dance song, Angelina Wagon, a Wind River Shoshone woman said, "My mother, she found that song. She was sleeping the first time she heard that song. So she got up and she went to the room where my dad was sleeping, and she sang that song for him, and my dad just caught that song all at once. And nowadays you hear this prayer song all over. Even in Idaho [and] Utah, they sing that song."

Some peoples, like the Northern California Pomo and those on the Halfway River Reserve in Canada, had healers whose songs came to them in dreams. Many of these were women. The Kashia Pomo Dream Dances were recovered and restored by a female dreamer. Navajo women can and do become medicine women, and have several different specialties within Navajo healing traditions. Those who become medicine women must learn

the stories, prayers, and songs that are an essential part of ceremonial healing.



**Nancy Richardson**

The medicine woman, healer, or dreamer is not always a singer; though she may be the center of the ritual aspects of a healing ceremony. In some places, she is the only singer or one of a group of singers, having invented both the song and the appropriate dance. In other places, men and women follow her lead in the curing ceremony. In the Yurok Brush Dance, the medicine woman may be healing a child as the central part of the ceremony. She is joined by men and young girls who sing and dance, the men beginning with the so-called "heavy" songs, followed by "light" songs by men and young girls. These light songs may include verbal interplay, signifying the eligibility of these young girls for marriage. The use and presentation of the voice by young women is different from that of men singers. The girls also do not sing with the group, except as soloists. In recent times, however, some Karuk women like Nancy Richardson have begun to sing the heavy songs, using the sobbing, emotion-laden vocal characteristics that once belonged only to men.

### Honoring Family, Clan, and Tribe

On the Northwest Coast, women and men alike play major roles in family and clan potlatch traditions. They sing songs honoring ancestors, chanting the genealogies, events, and deeds common to the potlatch. Most songs are associated with clan, family, and the animal spirits (Raven, Wolf, Killer Whale, and others) that gave the clan birth. In the modern musical repertoire, family groups from Makah, Spokane, Yakima, and elsewhere sing their own music, mostly in a community setting. Recently, for families in which no sons, nephews, or grandsons are available or interested in the songs usually passed down by male relatives, the men have begun to teach daughters, nieces, and granddaughters to sing them instead.

Yup'ik musical performance, like that of many Native Alaskan and Northwest coastal peoples, is based in ceremonial dance-drama. Generally, the men sing, using the large, thin hand drum with a handle, beaten with a thin stick, and the women dance in front of them.



Poldine Carlo

When the women sing, they might sing "challenge" songs or songs composed to commemorate an event or a person's deeds. Women from St. Lawrence Island sing a song, complete with dance and hand motions,

to honor the bush pilots that fly into their village, even becoming the plane, swooping down. In other songs, the women become geese, honking and courting. They also sing songs—like those favored by Poldine Carlo, an Athabaskan singer — honoring their relatives, a great hunt, or the animals pursued by the hunters.



Anita Anquoe George

In the Victory or Scalp Dance common on the Southern Plains, the women relatives of warriors returned from victory dance with lances in their hands, lances that once held scalps. They sing and end their songs with the characteristic high-pitched ululating noise called a "lu lu."

The lu lu signals the somber end of an honoring song or, during a song or dance, the excitement of the moment and appreciation of the song or dance. It is a sound associated, oddly enough, with both mourning—often heard at funerals or in honoring songs for the dead—and celebration. In addition, modern songs—like those of Kiowa singer Anita Anquoe George—that honor veterans, men, and women, and earlier songs honoring warriors always featured women in a central role. The War Mothers Societies, revitalized during World War II from earlier women's societies, created songs of respect paid ceremonially to veterans, some sung

both by men and women, and others sung specifically by women.

In most tribal groupings, women traditionally sing the sorts of music associated with familiar women's roles. The songs are numerous, but with some exceptions, quite private. They include lullabies, food preparing and gathering songs, songs associated with the making of clothing and other objects created by women, songs sung when delivering babies, for childless women to have children, as medicine for female illnesses or conditions such as problematic menstruation, mourning and burial songs, songs sung at wakes for the dead, and animal songs related to medicine or storysongs.

Many women's songs are about life-giving and renewal. They sing lullabies, and some songs among Navajo and Pueblo women are associated with the grinding and preparation of corn, the main life-giving food among southwestern tribes. Women at San Ildefonso sing Bow and Arrow or Comanche Dance songs as honor songs on Mother's Day. Zuni Olla Maidens sing Rain and Comanche Dance songs for the women dancers, who perform with pottery water jars on their heads. All these songs, while part of the social or minor ceremonial repertoire, are about the significance of water and a woman's role in the giving of life.

### Christian Music

Christian music in the context of ceremonial performance is widespread among Indian women. As is true to a large extent among many peoples in the United States, the major participants in Christian ritual among Indians are women. Christianity may have given Native women—robbed of their traditional economic and political roles in Native culture by missionization, acculturation, and the "civilization" policies of the United States government—one of the few places in which they could maintain a visible role.

In almost all churches, Catholic and Protestant Native women, like the Seminole tribal leader and storyteller Betty Mae Jumper, sing Christian music. Some of this music is composed by Indian people and is distinctly their own, and some is drawn from the standard repertoires of the religious denominations. The women sing and compose hymns and gospel songs, even masses, in their



Tewa Indian Women's Choir of San Juan Pueblo

Native languages. Christian Mohawk women on the Canadian border sing wake and burial songs that bear strong resemblance to seventeenth-century French Catholic laments, and Salish women in Montana sing both traditional Salish and Catholic songs during the mourning period. Others, like the Tewa Indian Women's Choir of San Juan Pueblo, sing for weddings as well as wakes. Many women are involved in tribal cultural preservation, and church music and work allows them to merge their interests in cultural preservation with their daily caretaking in the church.

### Social Dance and Play

Apart from music that accompanies ceremony or the rituals of daily life, women from many different traditions often sing songs for social dance and play. Some also sing love songs. Such songs, however, with much bawdy word play, are the province of both women and men. On the Southern Plains and in the Northwest, women have always sung the



Verbena Green and  
Mary Ann Meanus

social dance songs known as the "49 songs" or Owl Dance songs. These are sung at the end of a dance, late at night, when courting, flirting, and "snagging" go on. As Mary Ann Meanus and Verbena Green from the Warm Springs community in Oregon

ask, in an older version of an Owl Dance Song, "How can you leave me, dear; when I love you so, in a hunky-dory way?" In these songs, both men and women sing about love, especially about thwarted or lost love, and their roles in the performance of that music are relatively equal. Another example is in Navajo skip and two-step singing, where both women and men perform in the same styles and genres, accompanying their singing on the drum, and where word play and jesting are a common feature of the singing.

Competition singing, as in Inuit throat singing, was done by both men and women in the Northwest Coast and among Inuit and other Arctic peoples. Vi Hilbert, a noted Lushootseed linguist and folklorist, remembers that her aunt did challenge or competition songs, songs meant to lift spirits in bad times. She would exchange songs with other women, songs whose lyrics would boast of things one would not ordinarily be able to say, such as, "We have power that will give us more food." Women in the midwestern tribes historically played peach or plum stone games, and there were magic game songs associated with them. As a living tradition, gambling songs for the hand, stick, or bone game are everywhere sung by women. Among Northwest Coast and Great Basin peoples, Ute, Salish, Kootenai, and others, women sing in hand games as parts of a team, as lead singers, and occasionally, as part of an all-female team. In Southern California, women sing what they call *peon* songs for their gambling games.

### Coming to the Drum

As vocalists, women have had varying roles in Native music. According to most scholars, the traditional vocal role of women in the Northern and Southern Plains is to assist the male singers. On the Southern Plains, women in the role well known as "chorus girls" have always sung behind the drum, seconding the leader one octave higher than the men. Chorus girls are usually associated with a particular drum group and, in the powwow context, are paid part of the money given to the group by the powwow committee and by those putting money on the drum for the singing of honoring songs. Referring to the electrifying sound of the nearly 100 women singing behind the drum at Red Earth, an annual powwow in Oklahoma, LaVonna Weller, a longtime dancer and singer, said, "Boy, that really made my fringes snap."

In the Northern Plains and Woodlands, women's singing roles were presumed to be modest and supportive and in the context of group singing. Women sat behind the male singers at the drum, responsible both for performing the correct songs in sequence and for "give-aways," the presentation of gifts to others by those honored in song. In the Ojibwa Drum Dance, the women's role was confined to maintaining activities surrounding the dance—such as feeding those present—and to the important, though subsidiary, activity of "helping" the drum by singing the songs with the men. Ojibwas did, however, have a Women's Dance, and

developed a smaller women's drum and repertory of songs for use by women.

According to Plains belief, the Great Spirit is said to have given the first drum to a woman, instructing her to share the drum with women of all Native nations. Many say that the Grass, or Omaha Dance, came from the dream vision of a young Sioux woman, Wananikwe. A spirit came to her and said: "Go at once to your people and tell them to stop their war and become friends with the white man. Do you see the sky, how it is round? . . . Go, then, and tell your friends to make a circle on the ground just like the round sky. Call that holy ground. Go there, and with a big drum in the center; sing and dance and pray to me. . . . You will have one heart."

Despite this oral tradition linking women to the drum, women in the Plains and Great Lakes generally have not sat at the "big" drum or the medicine drum. There are prohibitions against touching the drum for many. A woman's "coming to the drum" is not always accepted equally by men and other women. One Plains singer was reluctant even to demonstrate a song using a hand drum. "My (male relative)," she said, "would kill me if he saw me with this drum."

Changes are underway however, with respect to the place of women "sitting at the drum," particularly in the Northern Plains. Increasingly, women describe being "called to the drum" or

to be the drumkeeper in the way that men have talked about it. At the Maliseet Reserve near Fredericton, New Brunswick, Margaret Paul and other women and men have formed a drum group. Paul says, "I have always looked after the drum. That is probably why they chose me to be drumkeeper. I felt the drum should not be alone. I felt that someone should look after it. I had to learn more about it. . . . The drum and I are not apart. We are one. When that drum beats, I beat, my heart goes the same way the drum goes. . . . It just draws you."

Increasingly, powwow singing in the Northern Plains has brought the advent of mixed drum groups. Usually these are family groups, with women and girls actually sitting at the drum. Most women and girls sing with the men, generally an octave below. Others sing in the higher-voiced male register. Many of the women singers in these recently formed mixed drum groups have involved young people, inspired by the need to help preserve their culture. This may be one of the reasons why we have seen more Plains women sitting at the drum and singing in major roles. More of the mixed drum groups are from Canada and the far Northern Plains than from anywhere else, though some are beginning to appear in the Dakotas.

No women's drum groups that we know of exist in Southern Plains music. Yet among Crow, Shoshone, Cree, and Assiniboine-Nakota, all-female drum groups have formed. They sing the same songs and

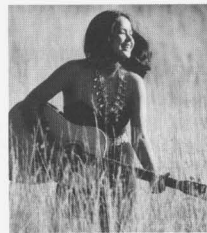
types of songs as all-male groups. The all-female groups sing in the lower female register for the Northern Plains, and they sing as though there were both males and females, an octave apart. "We got a lot of flak at first about sitting at the drum, but gradually we got a lot of people supporting us. Now they ask us to come. . . . We get asked to sing, it's an honor. So, we have to be humble, down to earth," says Celina Jones of the Crying Woman Singers.

### Songmakers

Women's roles as songmakers generally have been smaller than that of men. In the new all-female drum groups, women use, with permission, some men's songs as well as songs in the collective repertoire. They also make new songs. Celina Jones relates, "We make all our own songs. The songs just come to you. You have to wait for them. We practice and teach each other. Our songs are in Cree and the other ladies are real good. They learn to sing the songs in Cree and we sing some songs in Nakota."

In contemporary music, Native women have brought an extraordinary presence to songwriting, not only composing new lyrics for traditional songs, but composing music and lyrics with contemporary relevance and for increasingly diverse audiences. Buffy Sainte-Marie's songs from the 1960s, often too narrowly described as protest music, brought commentary and a First Nations perspective to war; treaty violations, and treatment of Indians through

songs like "Now That the Buffalo's Gone." Her strong lyrics about love and the evocative power of homeland find expression in "Until It's Time for You to Go" and "Piney Wood Hills."



Joanne Shenandoah

a strong tribal base, but are rearranged for non-Native instruments, along with traditional instrumentation and lyrics that integrate tribal languages with English or, in Canada, French lyrics. In the words of Joanne Shenandoah, the music is "creative, lively, and rooted in ancient traditions [but] it isn't all drums around a fire. Give us a listen and watch as we peel away your misconceptions."

### Instruments

Women historically have played a small role as instrumentalists in traditional Native music. In recent years, however; young women like Geraldine Barney and Lillian Rainer have taken up the Plains courting flute. Some—Navajo, Apache, Pueblo, and

Other women have addressed alcohol abuse, spouse abuse, alienation in the city, and Native political issues such as environmental destruction, the preservation of sacred lands, and threats to Indian sovereignty. The songs may still have

others—use the Indian flute as an instrument on which they compose songs. Singer Georgia Wettlin-Larsen has even adapted flute songs for the voice, and others have transposed flute music for the piano and synthesizer.

Iroquois, Navajo, and Apache women use the small water drums common in the music of their peoples. Where tribes use hand drums for gambling, stick, bone, or hand games and for social dances, women play them. This is common among Inuit and Northwest Coast peoples and among peoples in the Great Basin and Plateau areas of the United States. In the rare "Navajo" dance, a clowning piece performed at the Pueblos of San Ildefonso and Santa Clara, a woman dressed in imitation Navajo garb may beat the drum.

Cornelia Bowannie and Arliss Luna, who sing for one group of Zuni Olla Maidens, use the frog box,



Arliss Luna and Cornelia Bowannie

a wooden painted box, with bottom side open, whose serrated handles are scraped with sticks. They also use the more common small Pueblo log drum. During the Basket Dance at the New Mexico Pueblos of San Juan and Santa Clara, the women scrape rasped sticks over



baskets, creating a percussive role for women found nowhere else in Pueblo ceremonials. Women in many places use rattles—the small women's cow horn of the Iroquois social dance songs or the gourd rattles of the Southwest.

As with men, the movement of objects on women's dance and ceremonial outfits creates percussive sounds accompanying song. The jingle dress, an increasingly strong presence on the Northern Plains over the past thirty years, is a major percussive instrument, with the sound of hundreds of cones fashioned from Copenhagen snuff can lids jingling together. The turtle shells (and modern tin can substitutes for turtle shells) of women shell shakers in the southeastern stomp dance have always set the unifying rhythm for the dance. As Chickasaw poet Linda Hogan has written:

*There were old women  
who lived on amber.  
Their dark hands  
laced the shells of turtles,  
together, pebbles inside  
and they danced  
with rattles strong on their legs.*

In the mid-nineteenth century, Indian women and men took up European instruments, both to accompany traditional music and to participate in non-Native, often Christian, music. The piano, the fiddle, the accordion, the tambourine, and

especially the guitar have been adopted by Indian women. Ojibwa gospel singer and actress Elin Sands recalls, "I heard all kinds of music at home . . . my parents were into Eddie Arnold and Jim Reeves, and my sisters were into the Beatles. Then there were the powwows. . . . So I grew up appreciating all kinds of music." In Canada, both women and men participate in marching and concert bands at some reservations, and everywhere young Indians play Western instruments in school bands and orchestras. Using keyboards and synthesizers, women add to the old instrumental mix with blues, folk rock, jazz, and reggae riffs and beats. Others, like Ulali, use traditional hand drums and rattles, though with vocal sounds and harmony never before heard in Indian music.

### Conclusion

Many ways of singing and music-making once existed among Native women. Much of the old music remains in its original forms and some artists are finding ways to merge the old ways with contemporary sounds and technologies. Native women's music is vital and dynamic, very much a part of the process through which Native peoples everywhere are preserving and revitalizing their lives and cultures.

## Performers and Their Songs

**The Six Nations Women Singers** are from the Iroquois communities at the Six Nations Reserve in Ohsweken, Ontario, Canada. Mostly Seneca, Onondaga, and Cayuga, these women have participated together in the traditions of longhouse music and dance for twenty-five years. Sadie Buck, the original organizer of the group, and her sister Betsy come from a noted family of singers, instrument makers, and longhouse members. Sadie and Betsy and the other members of the group, Susan Jacobs, Charlene Bomberry, Jayneane Burning, Pat Hess, and Janice Martin and others of their families and friends make up the songs they perform at least twice a year for the "sings" held by the singing societies found in every Iroquois community. A cow horn rattle and small water drum provide percussion for the songs. The music they sing is mostly *eskanye ganiseh*, or New Women's Shuffle Dance songs—Iroquois social



Six Nations Women Singers

dance music that has been sung primarily by men as accompaniment for women's dance. In the past ten years, however, the women have been singing them in public. The Six Nations Women also sing old war songs and stomp dance songs associated more with southeastern tribes. Like the men, the women sing in a full-throated chorus that emphasizes unity of voice rather than harmonies and different parts. *Recorded at the National Museum of American History, June 1994.*

**1. Mother Earth.** A Cayuga song, "The Earth, our Mother; is crying tears; Earth is shedding tears for the bad things our 'younger brothers' (white people) have been doing to her." Composed by Amos and Alfred Key.

**2. The Bingo Song.** An older *eskanye* song in Seneca composed by Sadie Buck's father, Hubert Buck. The lyrics say, "I only have two dollars, but I'm going to bingo anyway."

**3. Ho Way Hey Yo.** This *eskanye* song was written by Betsy Buck shortly after the death of her father and her sister-in-law. Betsy says that she heard their voices in her head, singing the song while she wrote it, and "they liked to wail." The song uses meaningless syllables (known as vocables) instead of an Iroquois language.

**Joanne Shenandoah**, a Wolf Clan Oneida from upstate New York, was given the name Deguiya whah'wa (meaning "She Sings") when she was a child. Her father, Clifford Shenandoah, was an Onondaga chief and a jazz guitarist. Her mother, Maisie Shenandoah, is a Clanmother for the Oneida

Nation. Both parents encouraged Joanne's early love of music. As a songwriter she often combines Iroquois social dance songs with traditional and contemporary instruments, including flute, violin, bass, guitar, drums, and synthesizers. Her songs usually address Native American struggles and issues or the subject of love and relationships. Most are sung in English. In 1994 Joanne opened the Woodstock 94 Music Festival and she was presented the award for Musician of the Year by the First Nations in the Arts organization. She tours with her band, The Shadows, and her sister, Diane Shenandoah. Among her four recordings are collaborative efforts with Mescalero Apache singer A. Paul Ortega and with pianist-composer Peter Kater. She has also contributed to many film and television soundtracks, including "How the West Was Lost," broadcast nationally on the Discovery Channel, and the award-winning PBS program "The War against the Indians."

**4. Fish Dance Song.** An arrangement of an Iroquois social dance song that gives thanks to water creatures for keeping oceans, lakes, streams, and rivers cleansed and purified. From *Joanne Shenandoah*, 1989.

**5. I May Want a Man.** A love song composed by Joanne's sister, Danielle Shenandoah, with a base of eskanye and English lyrics in combination with an Oneida refrain. This song was heard on the television series "Northern Exposure." Additional instrumentation by A. Paul Ortega and Spider. From *Loving Ways*, 1991.

**Lillian Rainer** is the daughter of John Rainer, Jr., the noted Taos flute player. Her mother, Verenda, is San Carlos Apache. As a child, Lillian recalls, her father would play the flute in the evening, so she has known the instrument her whole life. She began playing the flute in her teens, taught by her father. Now a student at Brigham Young University, Lillian is working toward a master's degree in social work. Her future plans include "doing all I can to help the Indian people." She plays a small, six-hole woman's flute made of cane from San Carlos, where cane "grows like weeds. My father cut down the cane and burned finger holes and other designs into the flute." Recorded in *Globe, Arizona*, December 1994.

**6. Taos Courting Flute Song.** Lillian says that this song was once sung by her great-grandmother, Crucita Reyna, in whose honor she plays it.

**Georgia Wettlin-Larsen**, called Whirling Cloud Woman, is Assiniboiné-Nakota (Sioux) from Montana and German-American from Minnesota. A performing artist who has studied dance, music,



Georgia Wettlin-Larsen

and theater, Georgia has lived most of her life in the Great Lakes area. She utilizes her musical and theatrical talents in counseling and training children, parents, and professionals in caring for people at risk of domestic violence, abuse, and chemical

dependency. Georgia is a singer and storyteller and has radio and television appearances, commercial recordings, and concert stage performances to her credit. To perpetuate North American Indian music and oral traditional art forms, she uses materials from many tribal traditions, including her own from the Northern Plains and the Ojibwa people who live in the Great Lakes region. Recorded at the National Museum of American History, November 1994.

**7. Lakota Flute Song.** Georgia uses her voice to mimic the sound of the Plains courting flute. The stops, trills, and leaps of the typical courting flute song take shape and form in the lyrics and music of this song in the Lakota language.

**8. Ojibwa Love Charm Song.** In this song, a love-struck Ojibwa woman tries to get her beloved to take notice of her; but she tries and fails three times. Heartbroken, she asks her grandmother for advice: "What do we have that equals the power of the flute?" Her grandmother tells her of the love charm songs, that, when sung, will cause the person you desire to fall in love with you. The song says, "Truly, I am arrayed like the roses, and as beautiful as they."

**9. Ojibwa Love Song.** The woman says to her lover, "You must be very careful. We must continue to work steadily, for I am afraid they will take you away from me."

**Anita Anquoe George** is Kiowa from Sapulpa, Oklahoma. She has been singing Southern Plains music her entire life, and comes from several related families of singers, both male and female.

Her brother Jack is the lead singer of a well-known group, the Grey Horse Drum, and her family has made a number of recordings. Much of what Anita sings is from the standard Southern Plains repertoire of honor songs, war songs, and round dance and other social dance songs. For some, she, her sisters, and other female relatives sing behind the drum, acting as chorus girls. For others, like the War Mothers' and honor songs women sing, she joins other women and men, or sings alone. Recorded in *Glorieta, New Mexico*, November 1994.

**10. War Mothers' Song.** "A Kiowa woman made that song after World War II," says Anita George. The War Mothers are groups based on older traditional women's societies that were revitalized during World War II. "The warriors, they went overseas. The war is over now. They're all coming back, and we're all happy, we're proud and we're honored that they fought for us, these men and women in uniform, to fight for our freedom and we're singing for joy. The women usually sing this song." At the end of this song, Anita makes the characteristic high-pitched ululating noise called a "lu lu" in the Southern Plains.

**Mary Ann Meanus and Verbena Green**, of the Wasco and Warm Springs tribes from Warm Springs, Oregon, come from a rich tradition of women who participate in tribal music. Whether they are singing songs associated with traditional work, traditional gambling games, spiritual songs from their longhouse religion, social dance songs ("songs that bring happiness"), or newer songs



from the pan-Indian powwow tradition, they are involved in making music. Mary Ann and Verbena are not part of an organized singing group, but are individual women who know many of the same songs through participation in the ceremonial and social life of their people. And each of them makes new songs. They use the traditional large, shallow hand drum that is typical of Northwest coast tribes, but in some cases they sing a cappella. Recorded at the National Museum of American History, November 1993.

**11. Bunny Hop Dance.** A couple's social dance, the name of which is taken from the American popular dance but which otherwise has little in common with the American version. The Warm Springs Bunny Hop, like the Plains two-step, was an Indian adaptation of European couple dances. Partners usually dance side-by-side and hand-in-hand as in the square dance promenade.

**12. Stick Game Song.** This song is one of hundreds used by teams of men and women in the traditional gambling games played by Native peoples throughout the hemisphere. The game involves hiding sticks in the hand while the team doing the hiding sings their songs to the challenging team, whose guesser must pick the hand or hands in which the sticks reside. Laughter, teasing, and magic accompany the songs—along with betting in some places—and the challenges continue until the other team guesses right. The sticks then are passed on to them, and they sing their songs. Always sung to a hand drum (or many drums, in some tribes), the songs themselves are regarded

as powerful, and each team and singers make up their own distinctive songs.

**13. Navajo Riding Song. Lillian Rainer, flute.**

A courting song sung by a woman to a man, Lillian learned this tune from Navajo singer Lena Judy.

**Sweethearts of Navajoland.** Eileen Reed, Darlene Juan, Alberta Wilson, and Lillian Ashley from Chinle, Arizona, have been singing together since 1989. They sing for Navajo social dances and for entertainment for Navajos and other Indian people, and they participate in many competitions and festivals. At first, they learned songs from other singers, but now Lillian makes most of their songs. She accompanies the songs with a water drum made from a metal plant pot with a hide head. Its cedarwood beater has a beaded handle. This drum is specifically made for social dances like the skip and two-step dance songs. These songs are usually sung at the evening dances and most concern love and



**Sweethearts of Navajoland**

involve, like much of Navajo singing and storytelling, wordplay and joking with inferences that have double meanings. The Sweethearts' name itself has a double meaning, referring to the area around Chinle, which is sometimes known as the sweet heart of the Navajo Nation. The Sweethearts have made five recordings and have taken their music to England and Denmark as part of a goodwill tour of many Indian people. Lillian said, "We were down at Hopiland a few weeks ago, and we got 'em dancing up a storm. They were even paying money." Recorded in Chinle, Arizona, October 1994.

**14. Let 'em Talk.** A new skip dance song. Skip and two-step songs are for social dances where couples dance in a circle. They are also performed in the context of the multiday Enemy Way ceremonial used for healing Navajos who have come into contact with pollution of some kind, including going away to war and returning home. These summer ceremonies are held throughout Navajo country and the social dance portion takes place at night.

**15. One Woman's Man.** This song, a typical skip dance, tells the story of what happened between two sweethearts when they heard a hit song by a country singer: "She was dancing with this guy, back in 1950. Johnny Horton was playing 'One Woman's Man.' They were holding hands. They were dancing, and he says, 'In the future, you will remember me by this song.'"

**Nancy Richardson**, from Northern California, is Karuk, Ojibwa, Shasta, and Nahua. Her daily work

concerns cultural renewal and reconstruction through language preservation, and she develops and trains fluent speakers in an apprenticeship program. Nancy sings traditional Karuk music taught to her by Helen Tom, an elder, and by many others. Most of what she sings are storysongs from the world renewal cycle of ceremonies common to Native peoples of Northern California. In ceremonies like the Kick Dance, the Brush Dance, and the Jump Dance, people narrate and sing stories and songs about animals (lizard, panther, coyote), spirits, plants, trees, and humans. Some of the songs and stories resemble prayers or are connected to healing and curing illness. Some are associated with making war and peace, and others are social dances and game songs, often connected to courting. Nancy sings Brush Dance songs usually not sung by women. She also sings with a women's drum group, the Mankillers, whose musical repertoire is drawn from many tribal and pan-Indian traditions to present new songs about domestic violence, rape, conflict, and celebration. Recorded at the National Museum of American History, November 1994.

**16. Lizard, His Song.** A Karuk storysong that is a part of a war dance associated with the Karuk world renewal or creation tale. "They once told lizard, they said, 'Don't make human beings because they won't get along,' but lizard said, 'I'm going to do that.'" The song encourages the people to settle disputes and to live in harmony with one another. Always repeated three times, the song is illustrative of the resonant, nasal, highly ornamented singing of Northern California.

**17. Panther, Her Song.** This Karuk Kick Dance song is about the lovesickness of a female panther. The song features complex vocal leaps and twists, and like many songs from Northern California peoples, uses animal figures as a fictional way of commenting on human follies and feelings. The breathy, descending word, *henowe*, signals the end of the dance.

**18. Kick Dance Song.** Coyote says, "Whose land is this, whose land is this? It looks just like my own." The song is part of the Kick Dance creation story of creating a doctor or healer.

**19. Spotted Fawn Song.** One song particular to women is that of the little spotted fawn that dances down river. It is a song associated with the creation of the first Flower Dance, relating to a girl's first menses and becoming a woman.

**Betty Mae Jumper** is a Seminole storyteller and author from Florida. The daughter of Ada Tiger, a midwife, and a French trapper father, she grew up in a time when prejudice against people of mixed race was strong.



Betty Mae Jumper

The first Seminole to graduate from high school, Betty Mae went on to earn a nursing degree in Oklahoma. She worked in the health care profession for more than twenty years, at the same time raising a family and

occasionally filling in for her husband at his job, wrestling alligators for tourists in Florida. Fluent in three languages—Creek, Miccosukee, and English—Betty Mae served as an interpreter in disputes between her tribe and the federal government. In 1966, she was elected chairman of the Seminole tribe, one of the first women in the country to hold such a position. She founded three tribal newspapers and also served as director of tribal communications. More recently, Betty Mae has been telling stories at festivals and she has published a book entitled *Legends of the Seminoles*. "We used to sit around campfires or lay in the chickee [an open palmetto frond house] under a mosquito net, and our great uncles or grandmothers or aunts used to tell these stories. These songs come from the stories." Recorded in *Glorieta, New Mexico*, November 1994.

**20. The Mice and the Bad Angel.** A Miccosukee story about how the lowly mice helped a mother get the hearts of her daughters back from the Bad Angel. The mice sing, "I said, mighty angel can't ever do anything to me—I am—I am—far away land and sky. I sing away and I'm bringing raw hearts back."

**21. Turtle's Song to the Wolf.** This Creek song is from the story of how the turtle outsmarted the wolf in a race, a story similar to "The Tortoise and the Hare." The turtle won the race, the wolf died, and turtle sang, "I told you I was little and can't run fast, but I can outsmart you. Wolf, wolf, your bones will be quivering, the flies will be quivering, the flies will be buzzing and buzzing around you."



Geraldine Barney

(Comanche and Sac-Fox) at the Institute of American Indian Arts inspired her to take up the Indian flute, long thought of as a male and Plains Indian instrument. She uses traditional melodies from Plains and Navajo traditions and composes songs for the flute and voice, accompanying those intense and personal songs with the guitar. She has recorded a solo album and appeared on a Smithsonian Folkways release. From *Music of New Mexico: Native American Traditions*, 1992.

**22. Glitter Nights.** In English, Navajo, and vocables, accompanied by the twelve-string guitar, Geraldine sings about the alienation and despair Indian people often feel when they leave the Rez (reservation) and go to the city. The Navajo text addresses three members of the composer's family who have been most supportive in her life: her mother, grandfather, and a younger brother, to whom she says, "My heart aches. Help me!"

**23. Tsidii-Bird.** A flute piece, with the title in Navajo-English, that speaks to a theme Geraldine writes often about—learning to be Navajo. "Tsidii,"

**Geraldine Barney**, from Tohatchi, New Mexico, in the Eastern Navajo Nation, is a singer-songwriter trained in graphic arts at the Institute of American Indian Arts and the Kansas City Art Institute. Studying music with Ed Wapp Wahpeconiah

in Navajo, is the word for bird, and Geraldine's grandfather taught her Navajo by pointing at things and saying the words in Navajo and English. Geraldine's cedarwood flute, made by Paul Thompson (Navajo), was modeled after a Sac and Fox flute from the turn of the twentieth century.

**Poldine Carlo** is an Athabaskan from Nulato who now lives in Fairbanks, Alaska. Athabaskans are best known in contemporary music for the merger of Anglo-American string music traditions with Native songs in the extraordinary fiddle music they play. Poldine sings a number of the songs used for fiddle music and for dances, such as the well-known "Eagle Island Blues." She also sings honoring songs or storysongs for ancestors. Very much in the Northwest tradition of dances and songs for the ancestors, these would be performed at feast times and ceremonies. Recorded in *Glorieta, New Mexico*, November 1994.

**24. Honor Song for an Older Sister.** "This song was made way, way before my time . . . over a hundred years ago . . . by a man from Nulato for his older sister." "Tsodah" means sister in the Athabaskan language.

**25. World War II Honor Song.** This Athabaskan and English song speaks of the boys who went away and the people who said a sad good-bye to them, knowing that some would never be seen again. When recording this song, Poldine spoke of the bittersweet feeling of Native peoples whose sons fought for a country in which they were denied equal rights and opportunities.

**Cornelia Bowannie** and **Arliss Luna** are members of one of the groups of Olla Maidens currently active at Zuni Pueblo. The Olla Maidens are relatively new. Ordinarily, at Zuni and other Pueblos, women do not sing for ceremonial functions. Olla Maidens were formed in response to the annual Gallup Ceremonial, developed in the 1930s as a yearly tourist event that features performances by tribes from all over the Southwest. Zuni women developed a dance performed with pottery on their heads, and the songs to accompany the pottery (or olla) dances were sung. Since the thirties, this dance has been passed down from several groups. Currently, there are two groups who perform the pottery dance, though there are family groups in which the younger women "dance with the potteries." Cornelia Bowannie and Arliss Luna sing for their group while five to ten dancers perform the pottery dances. The songs they sing are ones they learned from male singers at Zuni or from Cornelia's mother, Crystal Cheka, who sang for an earlier group of Olla Maidens. *Recorded at Zuni Pueblo, New Mexico, February 1995.*

**26. Blessing Song.** This Zuni song is both a blessing and a prayer for rain. Connected with pottery water jars, the song asks for and celebrates the renewal of life through rain and the ancestor clouds of the Pueblo people. The singing is accompanied by a "frog box," a wooden box scraped with a rasp and painted with the colors and symbols associated with rain, clouds, and the earth.

**The Tewa Indian Women's Choir** was organized by Libby Marcus and others as part of their community work in the Pueblo of San Juan and in the community Catholic church. The choir sings in many church services and for Indian social and charity events throughout New Mexico. They sing at wakes, weddings, and feasts, performing choral music associated with the Mass as well as music from modern popular, folk, and charismatic Catholic traditions. They also sing traditional Pueblo songs. That they sing these in the church, along with composed masses in the Tewa language, is evidence of the merger of Pueblo and Catholic ceremonial and ritual traditions in the Indian world. Members of the choir use bells, drum, and rattles from Pueblo ceremonial traditions as well as the church organ. They also sing songs from other religious traditions, such as "Amazing Grace," in the Tewa language. The members of the choir are Ramoncita C. Sandoval, Mary M. Garcia, Elidia Johnson, Predad C. Antoine, Peggy Faith Sanders, Lena Cata, Mary Ann Padilla, Sylvia Medina, Gertrude T. Calvert, Stella T. Vigil, Felicita M. Garcia, Julia Martinez, Rosalind Cata, Roserita Kidd, Querina B. Martinez, keyboard, Libby Marcus, drum. *Recorded at San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico, October 1994.*

**27. Ange'in.** One of many songs associated with ceremony at the Pueblo, cleansing songs that would ordinarily be sung on the evening before a feast day. These songs, like others that accompany traditional ceremonies, are prayers reflecting a need for rain and remembrance of the people's origin. Such songs are appropriate to both the winter and summer

clans who welcome the ancestor clouds, the food grown, and the sharing of all good things among the people. This song commemorates winter and is accompanied by rattles and bells.

**28. Holy, Holy, Holy.** Accompanied by bells, drum, rattle, and organ. This song is one section of the four-movement Tewa Mass, one of the three masses the choir composed for Pueblo people. The others are the *Blue Cloud Mass* and the *Western Tribes Mass*. The Tewa Mass, in the Tewa language, is musically in the tradition of Hispanic folk mass, combined with older Catholic plainsong traditions.

**29. Beautiful Mansion in the Sky.** Sung by **Betty Mae Jumper.** Missionaries came to the Seminoles in the 1920s, causing an eventual split between the new converts and those who followed the traditional tribal ways. Betty Mae and her family belong to the Chickee Baptist Church. Betty Mae says, "I learned these when I was a little girl, from the missionary." The Miccosukee song says, "If you follow me, we'll be up there in this mansion, where there'll be no hurting, no sickness."

**30. Hallelujah.** Sung by Betty Mae Jumper; who says this Creek song "is popular among my tribe and Oklahoma Creeks and Seminoles."

**Ulali** (formerly Pura Fé & Soni) is a group of women from varied backgrounds whose music combines the traditional and the contemporary. Pura Fé is Cherokee and Tuscarora, and has studied dance with Martha Graham, danced with the American Ballet Theater, and appeared on



**Ulali**

Broadway. Soni Moreno-Primeau is Aztec and Maya. She studied at the American Conservatory Theater, and played Chrissie in the original San Francisco and 1975 New York productions of *Hair*. She has appeared on Broadway and toured Europe with La Mama E. T. C. Jennifer Kreisberg, Pura Fé's cousin, is a music student at the Hartford College for Women. She also sings with the Full Circle Drum Society of Quinnetucket. Most recently, Ulali played a major role in Robbie Robertson's soundtrack production for the Turner Network's six-part series, "The Native Americans!" Their songs, accompanied only by drum and rattles, draw on an eclectic mix of southeastern Native musical styles like the stomp dance, Plains and northeastern Indian phrasing, Mexican Indian musical forms and tunes, and on vocal mixes and riffs from jazz, African-American gospel, and blues. *Recorded at the National Museum of American History, November 1993.*

**31. Going Home.** This song combines blues lines and field shouts with southeastern stomp dance call-and-response lyrics and dance forms, acknowledging the complex mergers of African and southeastern Native peoples' histories and lives during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This song was written by Pura Fé, who introduces it as follows: "Back a long time ago, back in those days when the settlers came in, they lived among the peoples. Everything was fine; we gave them a lot. Then they didn't have enough people to work the fields. They started taking our peoples into slavery and moral decay. They got us fighting each other in big wars, massacres. They sent our peoples on boats far away. They brought other peoples back. We worked together in the fields. Some of us left. Some of us ran and hid in swamplands and the hills. Many peoples were amongst us. We weren't only one kind. We sang when we worked together. And that's the birth of the blues."

**32. Mother.** Written by Soni Moreno-Primeau, this song was originally composed for use in a theater piece with an African performance group and later adapted to a Native American style. It is about the heart of the drum, which is also the heart of a woman. Pura Fé uses a traditional technique of scratching the hand drum with her fingernails on the opposite side of the drum. The song, in vocables, draws on Northern Plains vocal techniques, with the lead singer joined by the other voices after the first line.

**Crying Woman Singers.** Lead singer Celina Jones (Cree) and her sister, Marcella Bird Wuttunee, were raised near the Thunderchild Reservation in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada, where their uncle taught them to sing. Celina Jones married into a Sioux family from Ft. Belknap, Montana. A man who came to their home to teach her husband to sing heard her seconding him from the kitchen and asked her to sing with his drum group, Day Eagle. After a year, other Sioux and Gros Ventre women asked the sisters to teach them to sing. Now there are twelve or thirteen singers, plus a young boy who has been with them from the beginning. "We waited a year or more before we sang in public. . . . We went to sing at a high school and we needed a name. My sister lived over by this place, this Crying Woman Lake. A woman used to cry there, they said. For some, it sounded kind of mournful, but to us it's about happy tears. We think of our uncle, and we shed happy tears, giving him



Crying Woman Singers

thanks for what he has given to us." The other members of the group are Kim Geer Halver, Toni Blue Shield, Walisa Doney, Iris Main, Garrett Snell, Christina Jones, Ramona Speak Thunder, and Rochelle Strike. From *Dancing Spirits*, 1994.

**33. Northern Lights.** This is the group's theme song and it incorporates the hissing sound associated with the aurora borealis. "We got our theme song from our great uncle who taught us to sing. He'd whistle sometimes, so we heard this whistle, and we burned sweetgrass and we thanked him. The song is about the Northern Lights. When we see them, we think it is the spirits, our ancestors dancing and singing, going 'shhh shhh.'" The song says, "Listen to the heavens, the spirits are singing. Listen to the heavens, the spirits are dancing. Listen to the songs, the spirits are singing."

**Buffy Sainte-Marie** (Cree) was born on a reservation in Saskatchewan, Canada, and was adopted and raised in Maine and Massachusetts. She is the best-known American Indian musician of the twentieth century. Her career includes the writing of protest and love songs for many leading performers since the 1960s, including Janis Joplin, Barbra Streisand, Joe Cocker, Roberta Flack, Tracy Chapman, and many others. Known to a generation of American children for her work on the PBS television series "Sesame Street," Buffy has also won an Academy Award for the song "Up Where We Belong," from the film *An Officer and a Gentleman*. In her early career as a singer-songwriter, she adapted Cree and other Native vocal conventions

and traditions, including an instrument, the mouth bow, to produce contemporary songs. Like others of the sixties, she wrote songs with political commentary on the treatment and history of American Indians. Songs like "Now That the Buffalo's Gone" became classics of the protest song genre. More recently, she has worked extensively in film scoring, and she has been involved with electronic and computer technology as applied to music and art. Her involvement with Native education led her to found her own company, Creative Native, to bring Native art and entertainment to many indigenous people. Buffy continues her longtime activism in Native rights.

**34. Starwalker.** A song that merges Northern Plains rhythms, vocal techniques, and the traditional powwow sounds (bells, drum, and dancers) with contemporary instruments and electronic sound production techniques. The song invokes mythological spirit figures, such as the female Wolf Rider and Lightning Woman, as positive role models for contemporary Native peoples. Composed by Buffy Sainte-Marie, *vocals, guitar, strings*; John Neff, *bass*; Ben Blackbear, *Man's solo (Holy Light)*; Boo Hewerdine, *acoustic guitar*; Dave Ruffy, *drums*; Roger Jacobs, Buffy Sainte-Marie, *powwow drum*. From *Coincidence and Likely Stories*, 1992.

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Indian House, Box 472, Taos, NM 87571

SOAR Corporation, P.O. Box 8606, Albuquerque,  
NM 87198

Sweet Grass Records, P.O. Box 23022,  
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada S7J 5H3

## Native American Music on Folkways

Between 1949 and 1987, when the Smithsonian Institution acquired the label, Folkways Records issued more than sixty albums of music of American Indians of North and South America and of Inuit music. These include live recordings made in traditional contexts and contemporary social music. These titles are available on cassette only through Smithsonian/Folkways Mail Order:

Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings has also issued several new Native American titles. The following recordings are available on compact disc and cassette in stores and through Folkways Mail Order:

*Creation's Journey: Native American Music.* SF 40410.  
*Navajo Songs.* SF 40403.

*Mountain Music of Peru.* SF 40020.

*Mountain Music of Peru.* Vol. 2. SF 40406.

*Borderlands: From Conjunto to Chicken Scratch.*  
SF 40418.

*Music of New Mexico: Native American Traditions.*  
SF 40408.

*Plains Chippewa/Metis Music from Turtle Mountain.*  
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**Text: page 1** Buffy Sainte-Marie. **3** Nancy Richardson,  
Smithsonian Institution photograph by Rick Vargas. **4 left**  
Poldine Carlo. Photograph by Howard Bass. **4 right** Anita  
Anquoe George. Photograph by Howard Bass. **5** Tewa  
Indian Women's Choir of San Juan Pueblo. Photograph by  
Tony Isaacs. **6** Mary Ann Meanus and Verbena Green,  
Smithsonian Institution photograph by Rick Vargas. **9 left**  
Joanne Shenandoah. Photograph by Steve Vail. **9 right**  
Arliss Luna and Cornelia Bowanni. Photograph by Howard  
Bass. **11** Six Nations Women Singers. Smithsonian  
Institution photograph by Rick Vargas. **12** Georgia Wettlin-  
Larsen. Smithsonian Institution photograph by Rick Vargas.  
**14** Sweethearts of Navajoland. Photograph by Pat Ashley,  
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**17** Geraldine Barney. Smithsonian Institution photograph  
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