

TRADITIONAL NATIVE POETRY

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ABSTRACT/RESUME

Poetry has been largely overlooked in the research on traditional Native literature. The author reviews and categorizes the traditional poetry of North American Indians. This poetry was oral, usually presented as song, but good translation and the transfer to a written form can still preserve the flavour of the cultures in which it developed.

La poésie a été largement révisé dans le cadre de la recherche sur la littérature indienne traditionnelle. L'auteur revoit et elle catégorise la poésie traditionnelle des Indiens de l'Amérique du Nord. Cette poésie était orale habituellement présenté en chanson mais une bonne traduction et la transcription peuvent toujours préserver la saveur de la culture en quoi s'est développé.

Traditional Native literature consists of two major categories: mythology and poetry. A great deal of research has gone into the collecting, categorizing and analyzing of myths and legends but poetry has received relatively little attention.

Myths and legends were used to teach sacred truths or to pass on historical information. Origin myths dealt with the transition from a mythical to a modern age; essentially the myths tell how the earth was created and how living things came to benefit from the phenomena of nature. The plots of the stories that have been developed in human society reflect the cultural settings, occupations and interests of the people and are usually called legends. Most widespread and popular, however, are the stories told about the "trickster". He is an inchoate being who wanders from place to place; he violates human values at will though he does not appear to be intentionally good or evil. It is through him that all values come into being (Radin, 1972:xxiii). The "trickster" straddles both myths and legends and is found, not only in ancient tales of all hunting societies, but in many contemporary Native societies as well. He can, perhaps, be viewed as a psychological phenomena, an attempt to understand human nature. Carl Jung saw him as the personification of those traits of character which are sometimes better and sometimes worse than the normal human being (Radin, 1972: 195).

Poetry served quite a different function in traditional cultures. It played a role unequalled by poetry in Western society; the religious and artistic preoccupation of much of the Indian world went far beyond anything in the European experience at the time when the cultures met. Very little poetry was used to teach or to record history; it was much more an integral part of everyday life. It was not a thing set apart for enjoyment or entertainment. The composition and singing of songs was a most important occupation.

Pre-Columbian poetry was composed by Indian singers for an Indian audience but it frequently was a precious private possession not shared until after the singer's death. Though distorted through translations it is still beautiful even in an alien language. It reveals a sophisticated world view, a profound religious belief surpassed by no other world religion and a serene harmony with the natural world. Few Indian cultures had an orthography and only Mayan and Aztec poetry was recorded in bark books, most of which were burned by the Spanish Bishop Landa. Nothing remains of them but fragments, "lovely, tattered and hopelessly garbled" (Brandon, 1971:xi). One Mayan poet wrote

With rivers of tears we mourned our sacred writings among the
delicate flowers of sorrow. (Brandon, 1971 :xi)

The poetry of American Indians can only be reconstructed with great difficulty but considerable work by scholars such as Frances Densmore (1913, 1918), George W. Cronyn (1918), A. Grove Day (1951), Margaret Astrov (1962), and John Bierhorst (1971, 1974), to name only some, have made it possible to formulate at least some idea of the important role poetry played in traditional times.

The sacred quality of American Indian songs, which all poems were, cannot be overstated. Each song, according to Thomas E. Sanders and Walter W. Peek consisted of four interrelated elements - music, words, body movement and the belief of the singer (Sanders and Peek, 1973:103). Music was a vehicle through which words were conveyed to an unseen power and it was essential that the words of prayer, supplication or coercion reach the positive creative forces in the world. Help from these forces was needed in order for tribal members to achieve anything beyond individual human strength.

Thus, the poetry was, above all, functional. Myths and legends were educational tools that taught the younger generation the beliefs and history of the tribe. Poetry, on the other hand, was associated with religious or supernatural ends; it was used to obtain power over invisible life forces. Frederick W. Turner describes Indian thought as inextricably rooted in things, yet this very grounding gave rise to "magnificent flights of the imagination like birds in liquid loops over a particular landscape" (Turner, 1975:235). The Indians were unusually aware of the practical realities of their lives; in their poetry they displayed striking metaphysical precepts which were, however, strongly rooted in their source of nurture, Mother Earth.

Singing was a serious occupation as long ceremonial rituals were performed in all tribal cultures. An Indian "singer" might take a lifetime to learn his material. It was believed that power was a great unknown force which could be harnessed through words and used for good or for evil. This power was dangerous to a person who was not wise, and wisdom came from knowing tradition. These keepers of tradition had a special place of honour in every tribe; they also had great responsibility.

The long chants and rituals were guarded jealously as they were at the heart of Indian religions. It was believed that their publication risked the unleashing of the power the words evoked. European society's attitude toward Indian religion led to secrecy and suspicion on the part of Indians: where the religion was not actively forbidden or destroyed, Westerners did not usually treat it with the ceremony and respect it deserved. Some of the rituals, however, such as the Navajo Night Chant (Bierhorst, 1974:291-332) and the Iroquois Ritual of Condolence (Ibid. :129-130) are extant but merit separate study.

Not only were "singers" especially trained to perform rituals but every tribal member sang, as songs played a vital role in everyday life. Every person's song, however simple, was accepted as a contribution to the culture. Never was a song used solely for entertainment or for the careless outpouring of emotions. There were sacred songs which were an integral part of day-to-day life as an elder or a medicine man greeted the day with a song. There were songs to assure success in everyday activities - hunting, fishing, planting, hoeing, food-gathering. There were songs to lighten the burden of work, to build morale before a battle, to bewitch an enemy or a lover, or to mourn the loss of a loved one. Songs celebrated social occasions - tribal games, receiving of guests, giving of gifts, divorce. They were also used to arouse laughter, to ridicule, to boast, to taunt and to describe exploits. Mothers sang their babies to sleep and every man had a song to sing at the hour of his death.

Various attempts have been made to categorize songs - old, new, mythical, historical, sacred, secular, occasional, ceremonial, private or communal. Because none of these categories serve to describe all the recorded poetry, most collectors categorize poems according to occasion or use. This greatly assists the interpretation of readers unfamiliar with Indian poetry. It is also necessary that the name of the tribe be given as this provides vital information regarding physical environment and social aspects of the culture. The list of occasions is virtually endless if all poetry is considered. This paper will describe briefly and give examples of some of the more broadly representative categories - dream songs, medicine songs, hunting songs, death chants and love songs.

Dream Songs

Various kinds of songs existed in every tribe, though each culture seems to have favoured its own particular type and style. Songs which served as tribal conductors of dream powers are found universally. In dreams spiritual powers spoke to the tribal members, giving their daily lives contact with the sacred through awareness heightened by dreams. Supernatural elements could be dealt with through dreams; dreams could also be medicinal or therapeutic leading to personal well-being through contact with forces beyond human limitations. Songs appearing in dreams and visions might cover any aspect of life and usually remained personal and private property. Dream songs were the most precious personal possessions of the individual, often having been received only after suffering and loneliness. The obligations of the dream were as binding as the necessity to fulfill a vow but a person might go a lifetime without fully understanding the dream.

The following song came from a Chippewa vision-seeker:

Dream Song
(Chippewa)

In the Sky
I am walking
A Bird
I accompany.

(Colombo, 1983, I:50)

It was believed that in later years the singer could recall the condition under which the song came to him - a condition of direct communication with the supernatural powers - and thus help him in time of need. The following vision song of an Ojibway youth came at the climax of a ten-day fast when finally he met a guardian spirit:

Dream Song
(Ojibway)

Blue-bird I feel his legs

Blue-bird I feel his legs
 Oh, Yes, of course, I feel his legs
 Oh, Yes, of course, I feel his legs. (Colombo, 1983 1:50)

When the singer became old, he would pass the song on as a legacy to another, whose property it then became. It was only after generations of private ownership that a dream song might become communal property. In Plains cultures it was possible to purchase dream songs, a practice which became more widespread with the coming of the horse, which was used as a form of currency. The Sun Dance was often a song-selling ceremony. A dreamer, however, might be directed in his dream to share his song, in which case it became communal property immediately.

Medicine Songs

The content and structure of medicine songs reveal differences among various cultures. In some tribes the songs had nothing to do with the patient, but rather told of the healer's own dreams. It did not matter what the dream was as long as it took the singer out of the realm of the ordinary and placed him in the realm of the powers beyond those of ordinary mortals. Though medicine women also existed they were not as common as medicine men. The medicine song captured the powers of the supernatural and a cure could be effected. The following chant was sung by Owl Woman, a medicine woman of the Papago tribe as she attempted to cure a dying man at dusk. She claimed she had been taught the chant by a spirit returned from the dead.

Medicine Song (Papago)

How shall I begin my songs
 In the blue night that is settling?

 In the great night my heart will go out,
 Toward me the darkness comes rattling,
 In the great night my heart will go out (Day, 1951:87)

In reading medicine songs the reader must try to reconstruct the ceremonial performance which accompanied the song. In some cases songs were holistic in approach and aimed at the rehabilitation of the patient and even the life of the tribe or the cosmic order. In other cases, however, the charms were specific to the ailment and as limited as modern methods of curing. The following was used specifically for stomach trouble in children.

Gopher Song (Pima)

In the reddish glow of the nightfall

In the reddish glow of the nightfall
 I return to my burrow
 About which the flowers bloom

With the four eagle feathers
 With the four eagle feathers
 I stir the air. When I turn
 My magic power is crossed

And I make hills of soft earth
 And I make hills of soft earth
 My breath withers before it all
 My breath withers before it all (Jankoski, 1979:12)

Helen Jankoski points out the paraphernalia used during the performance included deerskin bags containing tufts of eagle down together with twigs which had been cut by a gopher and earth from a gopher mound, all to be pressed on a sick child's stomach (Jankoski, 1979:13). Animals were thought to possess special powers because they adapted more readily to the environment than man. Man learned from them and depended upon them; they were thought of with respect and called "elder brothers". But just as animals could cause beneficial things to happen, they could also cause evil. Illness was thought to be the vengeance of animals brought about if people had not properly understood their ways or deliberately broken taboos. Careful observation and description of the animals reassured tribal members of continued harmony and cures for illnesses. A child's tummy ache was often brought on by over-indulgence in some seasonal delicacy so only a small, usually insignificant animal was invoked for the cure.

Hunting Songs

Survival depended upon the success of the hunt. Through song, the hunter hoped to ensure the assistance of unseen powers to lure game into range and guarantee a successful hunt. Sometimes these songs had come to a hunter in a dream or vision and he felt that the power could be recaptured by singing the song. At other times the songs were composed during the hunt. The following Ojibway "Song of the Buffalo" is an example of the former where there is an attempt to recapture the spirit of the buffalo, while the Montagnais-Naskapi "Songs of the Hunt" may have been composed during the tedious hours of waiting for the prey to appear.

Song of the Buffalo
 (Ojibway)

The buffalo
 as they stand in a circle
 I join them (Colombo, 1983 1:40)

Except the earth and mountains

(Brandon, 1971:92)

White Antelope was a noted captain of the Cheyennes for almost fifty years; he was killed at the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864 as he stood with his arms folded, singing this song. His scrotum was later made into a tobacco pouch by one of the Colorado Volunteers (Ibid).

Love Songs

Though all tribal cultures placed great value on songs the Ojibway (Chippewa) are considered to have been among the most musical of Indians (Velie, 1979:136). An unusually large body of poetry has been collected from this culture group; every phase of life provided subjects for songs. It is known that Plains tribes travelled far to the east in summer time to collect new songs, perhaps the for-runner of the present day folk festivals! Ojibway love songs, and love charms are among the most widely known and distributed traditional songs. The following is a very old Ojibway courting song. Kent Gooderham describes how the young man walked slowly through the camp singing each verse several times so that his girl would have plenty of time to make up her mind to welcome him:

I Will Walk
(Ojibway)

I will go into somebody's dwelling
Into somebody's dwelling will I walk

To thy dwelling, my dearly beloved
Some night will I walk, will I walk

Some night in the winter, my beloved
To thy dwelling will I walk, will I walk

This very night, my beloved
To thy dwelling will I walk, will I walk. (Gooderham, 1969:141)

Though it is Ojibway love songs and charms that are most commonly found in anthologies, the Ojibway were by no means the only cultural group to preserve love songs. The following show considerable diversity in style and content:

Love Song
(Cree)

I wonder if she only looks out
Near to weeping, my sweetheart
and says,

"Ah me, my sweetheart
I love him". (Colombo, 1985 I:63)

Love Song
(Malecite)

Again you look up,
Up the river
Again the spring ice
Breaks up.
Again you might see me
Coming down the river
Ke we nu de nu
Ke we nu de nu. (Colombo, 1983 I:27)

Song of the Young Man Girls Cannot Resist
(Omaha)

It was the gods that made me as I am:
Blame them
if you will!
Hiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii... (Sander and Peek, 1973:62)

Tribal men were the singers; women might trill and express admiration but except for the occasional medicine women, like Owl Woman of the Papago tribe, the making and singing of songs was the men's prerogative. Among the Ojibway, especially, the artistic contributions of women were appreciated but they were given no formal recognition. Even a cursory examination of collected poetry, however, shows that women did, indeed, compose and sing songs. As they did not occupy leadership positions in tribal ceremonies, their songs have not received the same attention from collectors as have the songs of the men.

Women also composed songs about their lives; the songs tell of life in the camp, their daily work, their children, their men and simply what it was to be a woman. Many love songs composed by women exist; most fit the stereotypes of the woman at home pining for her loved one or of the woman who has been jilted for another, as is shown in the following examples:

When I Think of Him
(Ojibway)

Although he said it
Still
I am filled with longing
When I think of him. (Colombo, 1983 I:36)

The Lover Who Did Not Come
(Ojibway)

A loon I thought it was,
But it was
My love's
Splashing oar.

To Sault Ste. Marie
He has departed.
My love
Has gone before me.
Never again
Can I see him.

(Sanders and Peek, 1973:63)

But not all love songs by women fit the above categories. Ojibway women showed remarkable self-confidence; their songs reveal audacious self-assurance with mischievous undertones.

Love Charms
(Ojibway)

What are you saying to me?
I am arrayed like the roses
And beautiful as they.

I can charm that man
He is completely fascinated by me.

In the centre of the earth
Wherever he may be
Or under the earth.

(Day, 1951:152)

Lovo-Charm Song
(Ojibway)

I can make
That man bashful
I wonder
What can be the matter
That he is so bashful.

(Colombo, 1983 I:36)

From the Plains comes this sorrowful lament :

Song of a Maiden Disappointed in Love
(Blackfoot)

My lover looked like an eagle from a distance,
 but alas!
 When he came nearer I saw that he was
 nothing but a buzzard. (Colombo, 1983 1:57)

Many lullabies are recorded which were the special domain of the women. They range from the Creek "Cradle Song," which has many similarities to poetry from Western cultures, to some rather startling Blackfoot lullabies which are guaranteed to subdue even the rowdiest youngster.

Cradle Song
 (Creek)

Down the stream
 You hear the noise of her going
 That is what they say
 Up the stream
 Running unseen
 Running unseen
 Up the stream
 You hear the noise of her going
 That is what they say
 to the top of the bald peak
 Running unseen
 Running unseen. (Sanders and Peek, 1973:57)

Lullabies
 (Blackfoot)

I
 Come wolf, bite this baby:
 He won't sleep

II
 Come, old woman, with your meatpounder
 And smash this baby's head;
 He won't sleep. (Colombo, 1983 1:60)

As with the men, women sang about their daily activities, describing their tasks or praying for favourable conditions.

Prayer For the Field
 (Lillooet)

O Zemüha!
 know that we come

to dig roots.
 May no lizards
 harm us
 or follow us! (Colombo, 1983 II: 10)

Woman's Song
 (Blackfoot)

Do not worry about me
 I shall be eating berries on my way home. (Colombo, 1983 I:57)

Birth, life and death: tribal societies may seem far removed from contemporary times yet tribal women sang about these occasions so eloquently. They reveal that the condition of being a woman has not changed greatly over the years after all.

Prayer of a Woman in Labour
 (Thompson)

May I have no trouble
 and give birth
 to my child easily!

I rely on thee, Dawn
 of the Day. Pity me! (Colombo, 1985 II:14)

Song About What the Unmarried Woman Said
 (Nootka)

"I am the one, husbandless,
 whom the married women fear",
 she said, talking foolishly
 as if she were drunken. (Colombo, 1983 II:26)

Song of an Old Woman
 (Tlingit)

Already I am going,
 I am going to die:
 I have dreamed of my son. (Colombo, 1983 II:69)

A Woman's Song
 (Ojibway)

You are walking around
 Trying to remember

What you promised,
 But you can't remember. (Sanders and Peek, 1973:65)

Though it was stated earlier in this paper that certain topics were transmitted through myth and legend and the trickster was usually found in these prose works, the line of demarcation between prose and poetry may be difficult to determine. Translators face difficult tasks, as is evident by the introductory and explanatory comments that most folklorists allude to in the prefaces to their books. Most point out the deficiencies and inadequacies of their translations and meticulously describe their sources and methods of work so the final product can be evaluated accordingly.

William Brandon, in *The Magic World: American Indian Songs and Poems*, makes no apology for his renditions. He has added invaluable knowledge about Indian poetry but his interpretations are not as painstakingly done as many others. He stated that his criterion was to create "literature" according to his idea of what would be pleasing to the non-Native reader. He was successful in creating an awareness of a body of poetry that has been historically ignored, whether deliberately or through lack of scholarship.

It therefore comes as no great surprise to find a poem about Coyote, the trickster, in this collection. It comes from the Conchiti tribe and was adapted from Ruth Benedict's *Tales of the Conchiti Indians* (1958).

Coyote and Beaver Exchange Wives

Old Coyote and Old Coyote Woman lived
 On one side of the hill

Old Beaver and Old Beaver Woman lived on
 the other side of the hill

One night it was snowing

I will invite my brother Beaver to go hunting
 said Old Coyote

and whoever hunts the best will have the other's wife
 said Old Coyote

So he went to see Old Beaver

We'll go hunting and if we kill rabbits
 we'll bring them to our wives
 said Old Coyote

I'll take mine to your wife and
 you take yours to my wife

Old Beaver smoked a while

All right
said Old Beaver

You go first, since you invited me

All right I will go in the morning
said Old Coyote

I will go hunting for you
he said to Old Beaver Woman

I will sing a song for you
so you may kill many rabbits
said Old Beaver Woman

So Old Coyote was gone all day hunting

In the evening Old Beaver Woman sang her song
Old Coyote Old Coyote come and sleep with me
Old Coyote Old Coyote come make love to me

Then she howled like a coyote
Woo-wu! wu! wu! woooooo-Wook-Wike-Yike-yiyiyi.
woooooo-woo!

He won't kill anything
said Old Beaver

He isn't any hunter
It won't do you any good to sing

But Beaver woman waited and waited
singing and singing

But Old Coyote killed nothing at all
so he never appeared at all

The next day Old Beaver went hunting

He told Old Coyote Woman to wait for him
He told her he was going to kill rabbits for her

Then he hunted
and killed so many rabbits he could hardly carry them

and hardly able to carry them
he brought them to Coyote's house

Old Coyote Woman here are the rabbits

Thank you thank you Old Man Beaver

They went straight into the inner
room and left Old Man Coyote by himself

Old Man Coyote was unhappy

They gave him his supper and then
they went in to bed

Old Beaver Man started putting his penis into
Old Coyote Woman and
Old Coyote Woman cried out and cried out at the
top of her voice

Old Beaver don't you hurt my wife
said Old Coyote

Shut up Old Man Coyote
said Coyote Woman
I am crying out because I like it

You old fool
said Coyote Woman

When they were finished Old Beaver Man came out and
said to Old Coyote

We won't have bad feelings
you know this was your idea

So they all remained friends
the same as ever.

(Brandon, 1971:56)

It is important for the contemporary reader to remember that American Indian oral poetry was not poetry as it appears on the printed page but song. Music and dance were an inseparable part of Indian poetry enveloping the individual's life like an atmosphere. In order to know a people it is necessary to examine their poetry in its context for it is there that the most emotionally honest statements are frequently found. The natural eloquence, the desires, passions, aspirations, dreams and fantasies of traditional societies can be better

understood through poetry. Though it was originally sung it can be read and appreciated as literature. Even when North American Native poetry has passed through various translations, the perceptive reader can still find the soul of Indian society in its songs.

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