*Part III*

# Toward a Theoretical Understanding of Gender and Sexual Variance

# 11 *Amazons of America: Female Gender Variance*

When Pedro de Magalhães de Gandavo explored northeastern Brazil in 1576, he visited the Tupinamba Indians and reported on a remarkable group of female warriors.

> There are some Indian women who determine to remain chaste: these have no commerce with men in any manner, nor would they consent to it even if refusal meant death. They give up all the duties of women and imitate men, and follow men's pursuits as if they were not women. They wear the hair cut in the same way as the men, and go to war with bows and arrows and pursue game, always in company with men; each has a woman to serve her, to whom she says she is married, and they treat each other and speak with each other as man and wife.[1]

Gandavo and other explorers like Orellana were evidently so impressed with this group of women that they named the river which flowed through that area the River of the Amazons, after the ancient Greek legend of women warriors.

To what extent did this recognized status for women exist among Native Americans? The sources are few, since European male explorers dealt almost entirely with aboriginal men. Most documents are unclear about anything to do with women, and as a result it is difficult to make conclusions about those females who took up a role similar to that of the Tupinamba Amazons. But we can begin by making it clear that this institution was not the same as berdache. As specified earlier, the term *berdache* clearly originated as a word applying to males. Anthropologist Evelyn Blackwood has done a thorough search of the ethnographic literature and found mention of a recognized female status in thirty-three North American groups. Because she sees

it as distinct from berdachism, she does not use the term "female berdache" but instead calls this role "cross-gender female." She notes that it was most common in California, the Southwest, the Northwest, and the Great Basin, but she also notes a few instances among peoples of the Subarctic and the northern Plains.[2]

Because I have some disagreement with the concept of gender crossing, and also because "cross-gender female" is linguistically awkward, I prefer the word *amazon*. This term is parallel to berdache, but it is a status specific to women that is not subservient to male definitions. American Indian worldviews almost always recognize major differences between amazons and berdaches. With the single exception of the Navajo, in those cultures that recognize alternative roles for both females and males, have distinct terminologies in their languages that are different for each sex. The Papago word translates as "Light Woman," and such women even up to the 1940s were considered simply socially tolerated variations from the norm.[3] Among the Yumas of the Southwest, berdaches are called *elxa'*, while amazons are called *kwe'rhame*. They are defined as "women who passed for men, dressed like men and married women." There is no ceremony marking their assumption of the role, as there is for the *elxa'*.[4]

The parents of a *kwe'rhame* might try to push her into feminine pursuits, but such a child manifested an unfeminine character from infancy. She was seen as having gone through a change of spirit as a result of dreams. In growing up she was observed to hunt and play with boys, but she had no interest in heterosexual relations with them. According to Yuman informants in the 1920s, a *kwe'rhame* "wished only to become a man." Typical of amazons in several cultures, she was said to have a muscular build and to desire to dress like a man, and it was also claimed that she did not menstruate. A Yuman *kwe'rhame* married a woman and established a household with herself as husband. She was known for bravery and for skillful fighting in battle.[5]

## RAISING A FEMALE HUNTER

While there are parallels between berdaches and amazons, female amazons are also very different from male berdaches. Among the Kaska Indians of the Subarctic, having a son was extremely important because the family depended heavily on big-game hunting for food. If a couple had too many female children and desired a son to hunt for them in their old age, they would simply select a daughter to "be like a man." When the youngest daughter was about five years old, and it was obvious that the mother was not going to produce a son, the parents performed a transformation ceremony. They tied the dried ovaries of a bear to a belt which she always wore. That was believed to prevent menstruation, to protect her from pregnancy, and to give her luck on the hunt. According to Kaska informants, she was dressed like a male and trained to do male tasks, "often developing great strength and usually becoming an outstanding hunter."[6]

The Ingalik Indians of Alaska, closely related to the Kaska as part of the Dene culture, also recognized a similar status for females. Such a female even participated in the male-only activities of the *kashim,* which involved sweat baths. The men ignored her morphological sex in this nude bathing, and accepted her as a man on the basis of her gender behavior.[7] Other notable Subarctic amazons from the eighteenth century included the leader of the eastern Kutchin band from Arctic Red River, and a Yellowknife Chipewayan who worked for peace between the various peoples of the central Subarctic.[8]

Among the Kaskas, if a boy made sexual advances to such a female, she reacted violently. Kaska people explained her reaction thus: "She knows that if he gets her then her luck with game will be broken." She would have relationships only with women, achieving sexual pleasure through clitoral friction, "by getting on top of each other."[9] This changed-gender demonstrates the extreme malleability of people with respect to gender roles. Such assignment operates independently of a person's morphological sex and can determine both gender status and erotic behavior.

## TRANSFORMATION INTO A MAN

In other areas, becoming an amazon was seen to be a choice of the female herself. Among the Kutenai Indians of the Plateau, for example, in what is now southern British Columbia, such a female became famous as a prophet and shaman. She is remembered in Kutenai oral tradition as being quite large and heavy boned. About 1808 she left Kutenai to go with a group of white fur traders, and married one of them. A year later, however, she returned to her people and claimed that her husband had operated on her and transformed her into a man. Kutenai informants from the 1930s told ethnographer Claude Schaeffer that when she returned she said: "I'm a man now. We Indians did not believe the white people possessed such power from the supernaturals. I can tell you that they do, greater power than we have. They changed my sex while I was with them. No Indian is able to do that." She changed her name to Gone-To-The-Spirits, and claimed great spiritual power. Whenever she met people she performed a dance as a symbol of her transformation.[10]

Following her return, she began to dress in men's clothes, and to carry a gun. She also began to court young women. After several rebuffs she met a divorced woman who agreed to marry her. "The two were now to be seen constantly together. The curious attempted to learn things from the consort, but the latter only laughed at their efforts." A rumor began that Gone-To-The-Spirits, for the pleasure of her wife, had fashioned an artificial phallus made of leather. But whatever their sexual technique, the wife later moved out because of Gone-To-The-Spirits's losses in gambling. Thereafter, Gone-To-The-Spirits changed wives frequently.

Meanwhile, she began to have an interest in warfare and was accepted as a warrior on a raid. Upon coming to a stream, Kutenai oral tradition recalled, the raiders would undress and wade across together but she delayed so as to cross alone. On one of these crossings, her brother doubled back to observe her. He saw her nude and realized that her sex had not been changed at all. Seeing him, she sat down in the water and pretended that her foot was injured. Later, trying to protect her reputation, she

told the others that she was injured in the stream and had to sit. She declared that she hereafter wished to be called *Qa'nqon ka'mek klau'la* (Sitting-In-The-Water-Grizzly).

Her brother did not tell what he saw, but refused to call her by her new name. Later, she took still another wife, and as she had done with previous wives eventually began accusing her of infidelity. Qa'nqon was of a violent temper, and when she began to beat this wife, the brother intervened. He yelled out angrily, in the hearing of the entire camp: "You are hurting your woman friend. You have hurt other friends in the same way. You know that I saw you standing naked in the stream, where you tried to conceal your sex. That's why I never call you by your new name."[11]

After this, according to Kutenai informants, all the people knew that Qa'nqon had not really changed sex. It is conceivable that the community already knew about her sex before this pronouncement since Qa'nqon's ex-wives must have spread the truth. The oral tradition does not explain why women continued to marry the temperamental Qa'nqon. Soon after this incident, evidently, she and a wife (whether the same woman or another is unknown) left to serve as guides for white traders. The couple seemed to get along fine once they arrived at Fort Astoria on the Columbia River in 1811.

One trader named Alexander Ross characterized them as "two strange Indians, in the character of man and wife." "The husband," he said, "was a very shrewd and intelligent Indian" who gave them much information about the interior. Later, this trader learned that "instead of being man and wife, as they at first gave us to understand, they were in fact both women—and bold adventurous amazons they were." Qa'nqon served as guide for Ross's party on a trip up the Columbia to the Rocky Mountains. Ross recounted that "the man woman" spread a prophesy among the tribes they passed, saying that the Indians were soon going to be supplied with all the trading goods they desired.

These stories, so agreeable to the Indian ear, were circulated far and wide; and not only received as truths, but procured so much celebrity for the two cheats, that they were the objects of attraction at

every village and camp on the way; nor could we, for a long time, account for the cordial reception they met with from the natives, who loaded them for their good tidings with the most valuable articles they possessed—horses, robes, leather, and higuas [?]; so that, on our arrival at Oakinacken [Okanagon, near the present-day border of British Columbia and Washington State], they had no less than twenty-six horses, many of them loaded with the fruits of their false reports.[12]

Another white traveler in the area nearly a decade later heard the Indians still talking about Qa'nqon, whom they referred to as "Manlike Woman." She had acquired a widespread reputation as having supernatural powers and a gift of prophesy. Her most important prediction was that there would soon be a complete change in the land, with "fertility and plenty" for all tribes. According to this traveler, writing in 1823, she had predicted that the whites would be removed and a different race of traders would arrive "who would supply their wants in every possible manner. The poor deluded wretches, imagining that they would hasten this happy change by destroying their present traders, of whose submission there was no prospect, threatened to extirpate them."[13] What we can see from these stories is that Qa'nqon sparked a cultural movement similar to "cargo-cults" that twentieth-century anthropologists have observed among Melanesians and other tribal peoples coming in close contact with Western trade cargo goods. This movement also reflected the dissatisfaction the Indians felt with the white traders.

After establishing her fame, Qa'nqon returned to settle with the Kutenai and became noted as a shamanistic healer among her people. A twentieth-century elderly headman named Chief Paul remembered his father telling stories of her curing him of illnesses when he was a child. In 1825 she accompanied a Kutenai chief to the Hudson's Bay Company post among the Flathead Indians, taking the role of interpreter. The company trader described her as "a woman who goes in men's clothes and is a leading character among them. . . . [She] assumes a masculine character and is of some note among them."[14]

In 1837 she was traveling with some Flatheads when a Black-

foot raiding party surrounded them. Through her resourcefulness the Flatheads made an escape while she deceived the attackers. The Blackfeet were so angry that they tried to kill her, but after several shots she was still not seriously wounded. They then slashed her with their knives. But according to Kutenai oral tradition, "Immediately afterwards the cuts thus made were said to have healed themselves. . . . One of the warriors then opened up her chest to get at her heart and cut off the lower portion. This last wound she was unable to heal. It was thus *Qa'nqon* died." Afterward, the story goes, no wild animals disturbed her body.[15]

This story, which was passed down among the Kutenai for over a century, signifies the respect the Indians had for the shamanistic power of the "Manlike Woman." Even the animals recognized this power and respected it. It should be noted that the Kutenai did not recognize a berdache status for males. A tribe that had an alternative gender role for one sex did not necessarily have another role for the other sex. Native Americans did not see the two roles as synonymous so equating amazons with berdaches does not clarify the matter.

## MANLIKE WOMAN

The Mohaves, like other cultures, have different words for berdaches and amazons. *Hwame* girls are known to throw away their dolls and refuse to perform feminine tasks. It is said that they dreamed about their role while still in the womb. Adults recognize this pattern and, according to ethnographer George Devereux, make "occasional half-hearted and not very hopeful attempts to discourage them from becoming inverts. When these efforts fail, they are subjected to a ritual, which is half 'test' of their true proclivities and half 'transition rite' and which authorizes them to assume the clothing and to engage in the occupations and sexual activities of their self-chosen sex." Adults then help the *hwame* to learn the same skills that boys are taught.[16]

Mohaves believe that such females do not menstruate. In the

worldview of many American Indians, menstruation is a crucial part of defining a person as a woman. Some amazons may have in fact been nonmenstruating, or, since they wished to be seen as men, if they did menstruate they would hide any evidence of menses. The other Indians simply ignored any menstrual indicators out of deference to their desire to be treated like men.[17]

Mohaves also accept the fact that a *hwame* would marry a woman. There is even a way to incorporate children into these female relationships. If a woman becomes impregnated by a man, but later takes another lover, it is believed that the paternity of the child changes. This idea helps to prevent family friction in a society where relationships often change. So, if a pregnant woman later takes a *hwame* as a spouse, the *hwame* is considered the real father of the child.[18]

George Devereux, who lived among the Mohaves in the 1930s, was told about a famous late nineteenth-century *hwame* named Sahaykwisa. Her name was a masculine one, indicating that she had gone through the initiation rite for *hwames*. Nevertheless, she dressed more like a woman than a man, proving that cross-dressing is not a requirement for assuming amazon status. While she was feminine in appearance and had large breasts, Mohaves said that she (typical of others like her) did not menstruate. As evidence of this, they pointed out that she never got pregnant, despite the fact that she hired herself out as a prostitute for white men.

Sahaykwisa used the money that she received from this heterosexual activity to bestow gifts on women to whom she was attracted. With her industriousness as a farmer (a woman's occupation) and as a hunter (a man's occupation), she became relatively prosperous. She was also noted for her shamanistic ability to cure venereal diseases. Shamans who treated venereal diseases were regarded as lucky in love. This fame, plus her reputation as a good provider, led women to be attracted to her.

Sahaykwisa's first wife was a very pretty young woman, whom many men tried to lure away from her. Motivated by jealousy, they began teasing her, "Why do you want a *hwame* for a husband? A *hwame* has no penis; she only pokes you with her finger." The wife brushed off the remark saying "That is alright for me." But then later the wife eloped with a man. Such

a breakup was not unusual, given the fact that heterosexual marriages among Mohaves were equally subject to change. After a time the wife returned to Sahaykwisa, having found the man less satisfying. People referred to Sahaykwisa by the name Hithpan Kudhape, which means split vulvae, denoting how the *hwame* would spread the genitals during sex. This part of the oral tradition indicates that the Mohaves were well aware that an amazon role involved sexual behavior with women.

While accepting these relationships, Mohaves nevertheless teased Sahaykwisa's wife unmercifully. While teasing is quite common in American Indian cultures generally, in this case it was done so much that the woman left a second time. Sahaykwisa then began to flirt with other women at social dances, soon easily attracting another wife, and then a third one later on. Mohaves explained this by the fact that Sahaykwisa was, after all, lucky in love. Her reputation as a good provider was also an obvious factor. But after the third woman left her, and returned to the man from whom Sahaykwisa stole her, the man attacked the *hwame* and raped her. Rape was extremely uncommon among the Mohaves, so this incident had a major impact on her life.

Sahaykwisa became demoralized and an alcoholic, and ironically began having wanton sex with men. She claimed to have bewitched one man who rejected her advances, and when he died in the late 1890s she boasted about having killed him. The man's son was so enraged by this that he threw her into the Colorado River, where she drowned. In telling this story Devereux's Mohave informants were convinced that Sahaykwisa claimed witchcraft intentionally so that someone would kill her. They explained that she wanted to die and join the spirits of those she had earlier loved.[19]

While this story does not have a happy ending, it does nevertheless point out that female-female relationships were recognized. Sahaykwisa was killed because it was believed that she had killed another person by witchcraft, not because of her gender status or her sexual relations with women.

While the social role of the *hwame* was in some ways like that of men, the story of Sahaykwisa does not support Blackwood's view of gender *crossing*. The Mohaves did not in fact accept

Sahaykwisa as a full-fledged man, and the wife was teased on that regard. She was regarded as a *hwame,* having a distinct gender status that was different than men, women, or *alyha.* Mohaves thus had four genders in their society.

To what extent an amazon was accepted as a man is unclear. The variation that existed among Indians of the Far West typifies this matter. The Cocopa *warrhameh* cut her hair and had her nose pierced as men did, and did not get tattooed as women did.[20] Among the late nineteenth-century Klamath a woman named Co'pak "lived like a man. . . . She tried to talk like a man and invariably referred to herself as one." Co'pak had a wife, with whom she lived for many years, and when the wife died Co'pak "observed the usual mourning, wearing a bark belt as a man does at this time." Nevertheless, this mourning may have been the standard for a "husband" rather than for a "man," and we do not know if Klamath custom made a distinction between the two categories. Co'pak also retained woman's dress, which certainly implies a less than total crossover. Other Klamaths continued to see her as a manlike woman rather than as a man.[21]

A survey of California Indian groups that recognized amazon status revealed that in half of the groups amazons performed both men's and women's work, while in the other half they did only men's work.[22] No doubt this variation of roles is typical of cultural diversity in aboriginal America generally.

Unlike Western culture, which tries to place all humans into strict conformist definitions of masculinity and femininity, some Native American cultures have a more flexible recognition of gender variance. They are able to incorporate such fluidity into their worldview by recognizing a special place for berdaches and another one for amazons. "Manlike Woman" is how Indians described the Kutenai female, and that phrase recurs in anthropological literature when direct translations are given. By paying more attention to words used by Indians themselves, we can make more precise definitions. Gender theory is now beginning to make such distinctions. Terms like gender crossing imply that there are only two genders, and one must "cross" from one to the other. As with the male berdache, most recent theorists argue, the amazon is either a distinct gender role, or is a gender-mixing status, rather than a complete changeover to an opposite sex role.[23]

## WARRIOR WOMEN IN THE GREAT PLAINS

When we turn to the nomadic Plains cultures, the picture becomes even more complex. Here, an accepted amazon status was generally lacking. Female divergence into male activity was not recognized as a distinct gender comparable to the institutionalized berdache role. Women could participate in male occupations on the hunt or in warfare, but this did not imply an alternative gender role. Precisely because they had various activities open to them on a casual and sporadic basis, there was not as much need to recognize a specific role for females behaving in a masculine way. For example, they could become "Warrior Women." Such a woman might join a war party for a specific occasion, like a retribution raid for the death of a relative. She might even accumulate war honors, called *coup*. But since it did not affect her status as a woman, she should not be confused with an amazon. Male warriors simply accepted female fighters as acting within the parameters of womanhood, without considering them a threat to their masculinity.[24]

Warrior women were not the same as amazons partly because their menstruation continued to define them as women. Among Plains peoples, as among many other American Indians, blood was seen as an important and powerful spiritual essence. An individual who bled would not be able to control the power of this bleeding, so if a person bled it might disrupt any important activity that depended on spiritual help, like a hunt or a raid. Consequently, if a woman began her period, the raid would have to be delayed while the spirits were placated. As a result of this belief, the "manly hearted women" who sometimes participated in warfare were almost always postmenopausal.[25]

This belief was not just a restriction on women; a male who bled from an accident or a wound had to go through the same efforts to placate the spirits. The matter was more a question of power than of restriction. Menstruation "was not something unclean or to be ashamed of," according to the Lakota shaman Lame Deer, but was sacred. A girl's first period was cause for great celebration. Still, Lame Deer concluded, "menstruation had a strange power that could bring harm under some circumstances."[26] Paula Gunn Allen explains: "Women are perceived to be possessed of a singular power, most vital during menstrua-

tion. . . . Indians do not perceive signs of womanness as contamination; rather they view them as so powerful that other 'medicines' may be cancelled by the very presence of that power." American Indians thought of power not so much in terms of political or economic power, but as supernatural power. Being a matter of spirituality, woman's power comes partly by her close association with the magical properties of blood.[27]

Another possible factor inhibiting the development of amazon status among Plains women had to do with the economic need for their labor and procreation. Women were responsible for the preparation of buffalo meat. Since a successful hunter could kill more bison than one woman could dress and preserve for food or trade, every available woman was needed to do this work. This economic system limited women's choice of occupation and put more pressure on them to marry than in other North American cultures. Furthermore, with the loss of men from warfare, there was the expectation that every woman would marry and have children.[28]

There was such a strong need for female labor that Plains men began taking multiple wives. A typical pattern was for an overworked wife to encourage her husband to take a second wife. The first wife now had higher status, as a senior wife who directed younger women, and the family as a whole benefited from the extra output of the additional wife. Quite often it would be the younger sisters of the first wife who were later brought in as co-wives. This pattern gave advantages to women. It kept female siblings together, giving them support and strength throughout their lives. In contrast to Western culture, which keeps women separated by promoting competition among them for men, Plains polygyny meant that wives were added to the family rather than replaced by divorce and serial monogamy.[29]

Despite these pressures on women to marry and procreate, even in the Plains culture there were exceptions. An amazon role was followed by a few females, with the most famous example being Woman Chief of the Crows. She was originally a Gros Ventre Indian who had been captured by Crow raiders when she was ten years old. She was adopted by a Crow warrior, who observed her inclination for masculine pursuits. He allowed her

to follow her proclivities, and in time she became a fearless horseback rider and skilled rifle shooter. Edward Denig, a white frontiersman who lived with the Crows in the early nineteenth century, knew Woman Chief for twelve years. He wrote that when she was still a young woman she "was equal if not superior to any of the men in hunting both on horseback and foot. . . . [She] would spend most of her time in killing deer and bighorn, which she butchered and carried home on her back when hunting on foot. At other times she joined in the surround on horse, could kill four or five buffalo at a race, cut up the animals without assistance, and bring the meat and hides home."[30]

After the death of the widowed man who adopted her, she assumed control of his lodge, "performing the double duty of father and mother to his children." She continued to dress like other women, but Denig, writing in 1855, remembered her as "taller and stronger than most women—her pursuits no doubt tending to develop strength of nerve and muscle." She became famous for standing off an attack from Blackfoot Indians, in which she killed three warriors while remaining unharmed herself: "This daring act stamped her character as a brave. It was sung by the rest of the camp, and in time was made known to the whole nation."[31]

A year later she organized her first raid and easily attracted a group of warriors to follow her. She stole seventy horses from a Blackfoot camp, and in the ensuing skirmish killed and scalped two enemies. For these acts of bravery she was awarded *coups,* and by her subsequent successful raids she built up a large herd of horses. As a successful hunter, she shared her meat freely with others. But it was as a warrior, Denig concluded, that her fame was most notable. In every engagement with enemy tribes, including raids on enemy camps, she distinguished herself by her bravery. Crows began to believe she had "a charmed life which, with her daring feats, elevated her to a point of honor and respect not often reached by male warriors." The Crows were proud of her, composing special songs to commemorate her gallantry. When the tribal council was held and all the chiefs assembled, she took her place among them, as the third-highest-ranked person in the tribe.[32]

Woman Chief's position shows the Crows' ability to judge

individuals by their accomplishments rather than by their sex. Their accepting attitude also included Woman Chief's taking a wife. She went through the usual procedure of giving horses to the parents of her intended spouse. A few years later, she took three more wives. This plurality of women added also to her prestige as a chief. Denig concluded, "Strange country this, where [berdache] males assume the dress and perform the duties of females, while women turn men and mate with their own sex!"[33]

Denig's amazement did not denote any condemnation on his part, for individual traders on the frontier often accepted Indian ways of doing things. Rather, he respected his friend as a "singular and resolute woman. . . . She had fame, standing, honor, riches, and as much influence over the band as anyone except two or three leading chiefs. . . . For 20 years she conducted herself well in all things." In 1854 Woman Chief led a Crow peacekeeping mission to her native Gros Ventre tribe. Resentful because of her previous raids against them, some Gros Ventres trapped her and killed her. Denig concluded sadly, "This closed the earthly career of this singular woman." Her death so enraged the Crows that they refused to make peace with the Gros Ventres for many years.[34] Woman Chief's exceptionally high status was rather unique on the Plains; stories that were passed down made her a hero in the classic Plains mode. Even her death, at enemy hands, was typical of the pattern for the honored male warrior.

## WIVES OF AMAZONS

What about the wives of the amazon? Woman Chief, like the other amazons, evidently had no difficulty finding women to marry. Yet, these women did not identify as lesbian in the Western sense of the word. American Indian women were not divided into separate categories of persons as is the case with Anglo-American homosexual and heterosexual women. The white lesbian often sees herself as a member of a minority group, distinct from and alienated from general society. She is seen as "abnormal," the opposite of "normal" women, and often suffers

great anguish about these supposed differences. Paula Gunn Allen writes, "We are not in the position of our American Indian fore-sister who could find safety and security in her bond with another woman because it was perceived to be destined and nurtured by non-human entities, and was therefore acceptable and respectable."[35]

With the exception of the amazon, women involved in a relationship with another female did not see themselves as a separate minority or a special category of person, or indeed as different in any important way from other women. Yet, they were involved in loving and sexual relationships with their female mates. If their marriage to an amazon ended, then they could easily marry heterosexually without carrying with them any stigma as having been "homosexual." The important consideration in the Indian view is that they were still fulfilling the standard role of "mother and wife" within their culture. The traditional gender role for women did not restrict their choice of sexual partners. Gender identity (woman or amazon) was important, but sexual identity (heterosexual or homosexual) was not.[36]

## WOMEN-IDENTIFIED WOMEN

Socially recognized marriages between an amazon and her wife only tell part of the story. Relationships between two women-identified women were probably more common. American Indians, while not looking down on sex as evil or dirty, generally see it as something private. Consequently, it is not something that is talked about to outsiders, and there is not much information on sexual practices. It is most important for a woman to have children, but in many tribes a woman's sexual exclusiveness to the child's father is not crucial. Thus, a woman might be sexually active with others without worrying that she or her children would be looked down on. In many Native American societies, a woman has the right to control her own body, rather than it being the exclusive property of her husband. As long as she produces children at some point in her life, what she does in terms of sexual behavior is her own private business.[37]

Individual inclinations, after all, are usually seen as due to a direction from the spirits. This spiritual justification means that another person's interference might be seen as a dangerous intrusion into the supernatural. "In this context," writes Paula Gunn Allen, "it is quite possible that Lesbianism was practiced rather commonly, as long as the individuals cooperated with the larger social customs." Allen wrote a poem to native "Beloved Women" which expresses this attitude of noninterference:

> It is not known if those
> who warred and hunted on the plains . . .
> were Lesbians
> It is never known
> if any woman was a lesbian
> so who can say. . . .
> And perhaps the portents are better
> left written only in the stars. . . .
> Perhaps
> all they signify is best left
> unsaid.[38]

It is precisely this attitude, that sexual relations were not anyone else's business, that has made Indian women's casual homosexuality so invisible to outsiders. Except for some female anthropologists, most white observers of native societies have been males. These observers knew few women, other than exceptional females who acted as guides or go-betweens for whites and Indians. Most writers expressed little interest in the usual female lifestyle. Yet even if they did, their access to accurate information would be limited to bits that they could learn from Indian males. Given the segregation of the sexes in native society, women would not open up to a male outsider about their personal lives. Even Indian men would not be told much about what went on among the women.[39]

Given these circumstances, it is all the more necessary for women researchers to pursue this topic. Openly lesbian ethnographers would have a distinct advantage. In contrast to institutionalized male homosexuality, female sexual variance seems more likely to express itself informally. Again, enough cross-cultural fieldwork has not been done to come to definite conclu-

sions. However, Blackwood suggests that female-female erotic relationships may be most commonly expressed as informal pairings within the kin group or between close friends.[40]

## GENDER AND SEXUAL VARIANCE AMONG CONTEMPORARY INDIAN WOMEN

In what ways do these patterns continue today? An idea of the type of data that might be gathered by contemporary fieldworkers is contained in a report by Beverly Chiñas, who has been conducting research among the Isthmus Zapotecs of southern Mexico since 1966. While she details an accepted berdache status for males, among females the picture is somewhat different. In two decades of fieldwork she has observed several instances of women with children leaving their husbands to live with female lovers. She sees these relationships as lesbian: "People talk about this for a few weeks but get used to it. There is no ostracism. In the case of the lesbians, they continued to appear at fiestas, now as a couple rather than as wives in heterosexual marriages." At religious festivals, she points out, such female couples do not stand out, since every woman pairs up with another woman to dance together as a couple. There is virtually no male-female couple activity in religious contexts. The sexes are always separated in ceremonies, with different roles and duties.[41]

The only negative reaction that Chiñas reports concerned an unmarried daughter of a close friend and informant who "left her mother's home and went to another barrio to live with her lesbian lover. The daughter was only 25 years old, not beyond the expected age of heterosexual marriage. The mother was very upset and relations between mother-daughter broke off for a time but were patched up a year later although the daughter continued to live with her lesbian partner."[42]

The Zapotec mother's anger at her daughter was due to the latter's evident decision not to have children. By refusing to take a husband at least temporarily, the daughter violated the cultural dictate that females should be mothers. It was thus not lesbianism per se that caused the mother-daughter conflict. It would

be interesting to know if the mother was reconciled by the daughter's promise that she would get pregnant later. If so, it would fit into the traditional pattern for American Indian women. The importance of offspring in small-scale societies cannot be ignored; female homosexual behavior has to accommodate to society's need to reproduce the population.

Chiñas explains that in such *marimacha* couples, "one will be the *macho* or masculine partner in the eyes of the community, i.e., the 'dominant' one, but they still dress as women and do women's work. Most of the lesbian couples I have known have been married heterosexually and raised families. In 1982 there were rumors of a suspected lesbian relationship developing between neighbor women, one of whom was married with husband and small child present, the other having been abandoned by her husband and left with children several years previously."[43]

These data offer an example of the kind of valuable findings that direct fieldwork experience can uncover. The fact that one of the women was looked on as the macho one, even though she did not cross-dress, points up the relative *un*importance of cross-dressing in a same-sex relationship. An uninformed outsider might have no idea that these roles and relationships exist, and might assume that the practice had died out among the modern Zapotecs.

Since the field research that could answer these questions has not yet been done with enough Native American societies, I am reluctant to agree with Evelyn Blackwood's statement that by the end of the nineteenth century "the last cross-gender females seem to have disappeared."[44] Such a statement does not take into account the less formalized expressions of gender and sexual variance. If I had trusted such statements about the supposed disappearance of the male berdache tradition, I never would have carried out the fieldwork to disprove such a claim.

As also occurs with the berdaches, contemporary Indians perceive similarities with a Western gay identity. A Micmac berdache, whose niece recently came out publicly as gay, reports that the whole community accepts her: "The family members felt that if she is that way, then that's her own business. A lot of married Indian women approach her for sex. A male friend of

mine knows that she has sex with his wife, and he jokes about it. There is no animosity. There might be some talking about her, a little joking, but it is no big deal as far as people on the reserve are concerned. There is never any condemnation or threats about it. When she brought a French woman to the community as her lover, everyone welcomed her. They accept her as she is."[45]

Despite the value of such reports, it is clear that a male cannot get very complete information on women's sexuality. I hope that the data presented here will inspire women ethnographers to pursue this topic in the future.

Paula Gunn Allen, who is familiar with Native American women from many reservations, states that there is cultural continuity. She wrote me that "There are amazon women, recognized as such, *today* in a number of tribes—young, alive, and kicking!"[46] They may now identify as gay or lesbian, but past amazon identities, claims Beth Brant (Mohawk), "have everything to do with who we are now. As gay Indians, we feel that connection with our ancestors." Erna Pahe (Navajo), cochair of Gay American Indians, adds that this connection gives advantages: "In our culture [and] in our gay world, anybody can do anything. We can sympathize, we can really feel how the other sex feels. [We are] the one group of people that can really understand both cultures. We are special." Paula Gunn Allen also emphasizes this specialness, which she sees as applying to non-Indian gay people as well. "It all has to do with spirit, with restoring an awareness of our spirituality as gay people."[47] As with the berdache tradition for males, modern Indian women's roles retain a connection with past traditions of gender and sexual variance. There is strong evidence of cultural revitalization and persistence among contemporary American Indians.

# 12 *Social Constructions / Essential Characters: A Cross-Cultural Viewpoint*

While comparative study of female gender variance is not the central topic of this book,[1] it is important to point out that American Indian cultures are not unique in recognizing a special status and respected role for individuals like berdaches and amazons. Many societies, in various areas of the world, have a special gender category which seems to be generally comparable to the berdache role. This chapter is a survey of some of these institutions, concluding with a statement about the implications of this cross-cultural research for a theory of gender variance and sexual variance among humans.

## SIBERIA

Probably the closest institution to berdachism outside the Americas is among the reindeer-herding peoples of Siberia. The ancestors of Native Americans migrated from this area between 30,000 and 15,000 years ago. The presence of a tradition similar to berdachism among the peoples of Siberia suggests that this role has existed among at least some American Indians from their earliest arrival in the New World.

A major source for Siberian ethnography is Waldemar Bogoras, a Russian anthropologist who lived among the Chukchi in eastern Siberia from 1890 to 1901. He devoted a section of his book to "Sexual Perversion and Transformed Shamans," noting the close connection between homosexual behavior, gender variance, and spiritual power. The Chukchi refer to such a person as a "soft man (yirka-la ul) meaning a man transformed into a

being of a softer sex." The transformation takes place gradually when the boy is between ages eight and fifteen, the critical years when shamanistic inspiration usually manifests itself. The Chukchi feel that this transformation is due to powerful spirits. Though people sometimes make jokes about the peculiar ways of soft men, the Chukchi respect them highly for their healing abilities and fear their spiritual or psychic powers.[2]

The soft man keeps his masculine name, but otherwise "leaves off all pursuits and manners of his sex, and takes up those of a woman. . . . He learns the use of these quickly, because the spirits are helping him." Bogoras knew several soft men, but considered Tilu Wgi to be the most remarkable. He described this thirty-five-year-old Chukchi as physically "wholly masculine and well developed besides." Nevertheless, with his hair arranged in the manner of Chukchi women, his face "looked very different from masculine faces. . . . All the ways of this strange creature were decidedly feminine. . . . I heard him gossip with the female neighbors in a most feminine way, and even saw him hug small children with evident envy for the joys of motherhood."[3]

While homosexual behavior was not limited to soft men, and there was even a case of one soft man who had a female wife before taking a male husband, in general Chukchi same-sexuality focused on the soft men. Bogoras wrote that a soft man "seeks to win the good graces of men, and succeeds easily with the aid of the spirits. Thus he has all the young men he could wish for striving to obtain his favor." One young soft man even created something of a problem in the 1890s because all of the eligible bachelors "beset him with their courtship to the great detriment and offense of the lawful [female] beauties." When a soft man chose a husband, Bogoras wrote,

> The marriage is performed with the usual rites, and I must say that it forms a quite solid union, which often lasts till the death of one of the parties. The couple live much in the same way as do other people. The man tends his herd and goes hunting and fishing, while the "wife" takes care of the house, performing all domestic pursuits and work. They cohabit in a perverse way, *modo Socratis,* in which the transformed wife always plays the passive role.[4]

Soft men excelled in shamanism because of their close association with the spirit world, which made them "dreaded even by the untransformed shamans." A soft man would never have to worry about being treated badly because his supernatural protector would retaliate for any slight. Though having a soft man as a spouse marked high status for a man, the role of the husband could be difficult. The soft man's personal spirit was "said to play the part of a supernatural husband. . . . This husband is supposed to be the real head of the family, and to communicate his orders by means of his transformed wife. The human husband, of course, has to execute these orders faithfully under fear of prompt punishment. Thus in a household like that, the voice of the wife is decidedly preponderant." In the case of Tilu Wgi's husband, who was, Bogoras noted, "altogether a normal well-balanced person," he followed his spouse's wishes in most serious matters. Once, when he attempted to chastize Tilu Wgi, the transformed one "gave him so powerful a kick that it sent him foremost from their common sleeping room. This proves that the femininity of Tilu Wgi was more apparent than real."[5]

Not only the Chukchi, but other peoples of eastern Siberia recognized soft men. Koryak, Kamchadal, and Asiatic Eskimo men commonly had a soft man as a concubine in addition to their female wives. "The women were not displeased, but associated with their male rivals in quite friendly fashion." However, by 1900 the practice had declined greatly due to the meddling interference and complaints of Russian government officials.[6]

This practice was also evident throughout much of northeast Asia. The main authority on the ancient folk religion of Korea suggests that it was closely connected to that of Siberia. Androgynous males who served as shamans were known for their curing abilities, and also their ability to predict the future. They would often be concubines to men.[7]

Related peoples of the Bering Sea area of Alaska also had male concubines. Numerous Russian explorers noted, usually in condemnatory terms, the practice as being most common among the Aleuts and the Kodiak Island Eskimos. For example, the

explorer Davydov reported in amazement in 1812 that androgynous Kodiak males, called *schopans* or *achnuceks,* did female work and had one or sometimes even two husbands: "These individuals are not only not looked down upon, but instead they are obeyed in a settlement and are not seldom wizards."[8] As noted earlier, Kodiak parents raised a boy androgynously, and then married him to a wealthy man before his fifteenth birthday. Having such a person in a family provided social prestige for both the parents and the husband. The boy-wife was treated with great respect.[9]

## POLYNESIA

Polynesian societies also institutionalized male gender variance in the *mahu* role. *Mahus* are defined on the basis of doing women's work, but they also act as the passive partner in sexual acts with men. Masculine men might have sex with each other, and a *mahu* might abdicate the status and marry a woman, but if he remains in the *mahu* role he will not have sex with women. *Mahus* were often attached to chief's households, and were considered prestigious persons. An English captain in Tahiti in 1789 reported one of his sailors being "very much smitten with a dancing girl . . . but what was his surprise when the performance was ended, and after he had been endeavoring to persuade her to go with him on board our ship, which she assented to, to find this supposed dancer, when stripped of her theatrical paraphernalia, [was] a smart dapper lad." James Wilson, a missionary in Tahiti during the 1790s, described *mahus* as dressing in women's clothing, and seeking "the courtship of men the same as women do, nay, are more jealous of the men who cohabit with them, and always refuse to sleep with women. We are obliged here to draw a veil over practices too horrible to mention. . . . Women do not despise those fellows, but form friendships with them."[10]

Another Englishman at the same time, a sailor named Morrison from the *HMS Bounty,* remarked that *mahus* "are in some respects like the Eunuchs of India but are not castrated. They

never cohabit with women but live as they do. They pick their beards out and dress as women, dance and sing with them and are as effeminate in their voice. They are generally excellent hands at making and painting of cloth, making mats and every other woman's employment. They are esteemed valuable friends in that way." The infamous Captain William Bligh of the *Bounty* also reported meeting "a man [who] had great marks of effeminacy about him . . . and of a class of people common in Otaheite called Mahoo, that the men had frequent connections with him and that he lived, observed the same ceremonies, and ate as the women did. . . . The women treat him as one of their sex, and he observed every restriction that they do, and is equally respected and esteemed."[11]

Holding the *mahu* role is a prized position, since only one person is allowed to claim the status in each village. Families gently encourage certain boys to prepare for the roles, so that if a *mahu* dies or resigns the most suitable one would be ready to take over the position. Likewise, in the Marquesas Islands, *mahus* are merely categorized as males who prefer a woman's life and desire men. Men who have sexual relations with a *mahu* consider it no different from having sex with a female, and see no impact on their own identity other than to reinforce their male identity.[12]

Ethnographer Robert Levy interviewed some men in Tahiti in the early 1960s, who detailed their sexual involvement with a *mahu* without embarrassment. An informant told him that *mahus* "really believe that [semen] is first class food for them. Because of that mahu are strong and powerful. The seminal fluid goes throughout his body. It's like the doctors say about vitamins. I have seen many mahu and I've seen that they are very strong." On the sexual experience this man said, "It's just like doing it with a woman, but his way of doing it is better than with a woman, as you just take it easy while he does it to you."

Another informant stated, "When you go to the mahu it's more satisfactory. The sexual pleasure is very great." Asked if he had any embarrassment about doing this, he replied, "No, you're not ashamed. You don't put any value on it. It's like feed-

ing the mahu with the penis. . . . You don't take it seriously."[13] A man from the United States who lived for three months in Tahiti in 1984 reported to me that *mahus* are still quite prevalent in Tahiti. Tourists look down on them, but the native Tahitians are indifferent. The Tahitian attitude is that "They're just other people. They're really men, but they are good workers and do good service for others, so who cares."[14] Tahitians consider *mahus* to be that way "naturally," and there is no discussion of the origins of *mahu* tendencies because things that are natural are not subject to moral evaluation. Sometimes it is said that a *mahu* is born that way, and that a tendency to be *mahu* runs in certain families. Tahitians say simply that God creates the *mahu* and that is the way it is.[15]

Nevertheless, other Tahitians say that adults encourage children to take the *mahu* role. Levy observed this kind of socialization by a woman, who referred constantly to her friend's three-year-old son as *mahu* when she was talking to him. Though the boy did not seem effeminate, the boy's mother accepted this encouragement with amusement. Levy reports that he had the feeling that the woman was trying to coach the boy into being a *mahu*.[16] Similar customs exist in Hawaii, in Samoa, where the role is called *fafafini* ("like a lady"), and also among the Maori of New Zealand.[17] The widespread acceptance of this kind of gender variance by cultures spread throughout the Pacific may also indicate its ancientness.

As a means of exploring the cross-cultural similarities of gender variance, in 1984 I made a brief fieldtrip to Hawaii to interview traditional Hawaiian *mahus*. The ones I met impressed me as being very similar to berdaches. They are androgynous in character, do women's work as well as men's, may dress in unisex clothing or a mixture of women's and men's clothing, are sexually active with men, and have certain special roles in traditional Hawaiian religion.

The *mahu* is the one who usually cares for parents in their old age, and retains the greatest closeness to both parents as the other children move away to form their own families. *Mahu* is integral to the way the family works as an institution. The social utility of having a child as a *mahu* is clear. *Mahu* informants

explain that they are not considered either women or men, but are "kind of a third entity." One traditionalist says, "His relations with the parents would be stronger than the other members of the family. Because of this, the *mahu* would be more highly respected."[18]

Though the status of the *mahu* has declined considerably among westernized Hawaiians today, in the traditional religion a *mahu* could gain additional status as a *tahiku* dancer. This ancient form of the hula, a religious ceremony done with chanting, was dominated by *mahus*. According to an informant, "The chanter usually is *mahu* because he has no outside distractions in marriage. They remained separated from all women so that they could concentrate on what was necessary for the hula. . . . Traditional hula dancers, and especially *mahu* dancers even today are cherished by the traditional people. They are practically worshiped. All would like to dance as the *mahus* dance."

To be sure, homosexual behavior is not always associated with gender variance; there are masculine men who will have sex with a *mahu* or with each other. But it is expected that the *mahu* will be sexual with men. As with the berdache, however, *mahu* status involves more than sex. When I asked the difference between a *mahu* and a gay identity, a traditionalist *mahu* told me, "*Mahus* hold on to the traditional Hawaiian spirituality and value our feminine ways. . . . *Mahu* is part of the culture, it's natural. I guess for the *haoles* [whites] who find out they're gay—it's harder for them. You don't get that kind of isolation with Hawaiians, because we've always existed here. . . . On the mainland the [Judeo-Christian] religion doesn't allow a culture of acceptance. Gays have liberated themselves only sexually, but they have not yet learned their place in a spiritual sense."[19] As with the berdaches I talked with, the *mahu* saw the difference from a gay identity not in terms of the different character of the individual, but of the spiritual role taken by the *mahu*.

## INDIA

In large-scale societies, cultural diversity makes for a more complicated picture, but we still see institutionalized forms of gender variance. In India, for example, with its wide range of reli-

gious sects and ideas of acceptable behavior, the role of sexual expression ranges from celibacy to anal- and phallic-worshiping promiscuity. The celebration of oral and anal heterosexual practices has created a climate for acceptance of similar practices between individuals of the same sex. Even before the impact of sex-negative European Christianity, however, social attitudes were ambiguous because of differing opinions about nonmasculine males. South Asian mythology is full of examples of gods who were hermaphroditic, and there was a widespread belief in a third sex. Certain persons were considered as neither male nor female, or were seen as having changed from one sex to another. Androgynous males, usually incorrectly labeled by English writers as eunuchs, were often associated with same-sex desire. Ancient Indian sex manuals discussed at length the different ways that these individuals used their mouths to produce orgasm for their male partners.[20]

In modern India, the most notable example of gender variance is a cult of males who dress and live as an alternative gender and are known as *hijras*. They perform as mediums for female goddesses, which gives them a special role at weddings and after births. In addition, many of them take the passive role as prostitutes for men. Anthropologists disagree about the extent to which they are involved in sexual behavior with men, partly because Indians are so close-mouthed about even accepted forms of sexuality. But *hijras* are "an example par excellence of the cultural construction of gender, being both 'neither man nor woman' and 'man and woman.'"[21] One anthropologist reported on his 1978 fieldwork in North Gujarat:

> Almost none of the hijras I saw were effeminate in physical appearance, although many adopted caricatured feminine traits. One . . . showed a very strong chest and arms. He appeared to have recently shaved and had a strikingly handsome—and very masculine—face. He also wore a sari, the traditional dress of Indian women, and had a long, carefully combed braid that hung to the middle of his back. The androgyny—suggesting the characteristics of both sexes rather than suggesting neither—was extraordinary. . . . The hijra are neither male nor female. They have an intermediate or additional sexual identity, but they are not "unnatural" because of it. Male and female are poles on a continuum rather than two types with a fixed boundary between them.[22]

## OTHER AREAS OF ASIA AND AFRICA

The fluidity of gender roles is well represented in an analysis of gender variance in several areas. It is not the purpose of this book to provide a survey of such institutionalized roles around the world, but mention of a few instances will provide references for future research. In Southeast Asia, the Vietnamese *dô'ng bo'ng* shaman fills an alternative gender role and dresses like a man sometimes and like a halfman-halfwoman at other times. This shamanistic role represents a holdover from pre-Buddhist folk religions.[23] On the Indonesian island of Celebes, similar shamans are part of the court of an important person, serving rather as a male version of a geisha.[24] Urbanized areas of Indonesia have institutionalized an entertainment role for nonmasculine males in the ancient *ludruk* theater. They are referred to as *alus,* which denotes a quality of aristocracy and idealism, and are known to be able to arouse men erotically. Though they are referred to by anthropologists as transvestites, such singers "often accentuate the fact that they combine male and female elements." And their songs have been compared to "a prayer, voiced by a priest . . . reminiscent of certain Javanese rites."[25] When I was in the Philippines in 1983, I observed similar entertainment roles by markedly androgynous males who were also known as homosexual.

Horrified European travelers, missionaries, and anthropologists in other areas have observed the connection in many traditional cultures between gender variance and same-sex relations. Several sources note the occurrence of "transvestite shamans" in various areas of Africa, for example among the Zulus and in Zanzibar.[26] Males in an alternative gender role are active as prostitutes for men in Oman, and in other areas.[27]

## EUROPEAN CASTRATI

While there likely existed earlier forms of androgyny in European folk traditions, practically the only practice that is comparable to institutionalized gender variance in Christian Europe originated with church music. The high soprano voices of

young boys were highly valued in early modern Europe, and the Church would pay lower-class parents for boys with good voices. The main problem with investing in the training of a boy singer was that at puberty he would lose this valued talent when his voice changed. To preserve the high voice of their best students, choir directors began the practice of cutting off the boys' testicles.

When opera emerged as a popular form of musical theater in seventeenth-century Italy, it seemed natural for castrati to become the singers of female roles. In European theater women did not appear on the stage, and female parts were played by young men. Castrati became the highest-paid opera singers, the prima donnas of the high culture of their time. Cross-dressing for the opera, and often in their daily life as well, the castrati were renowned for their free sexuality as well as for their feminine dress and demeanor. Though their masculinity was questionable, their high status was not.[28]

It is perhaps not farfetched to suggest that the high prestige of the castrati in European high culture led to the establishment of a new tradition of gender mixing in the West. Though the popularity of the castrati declined, it merged with a folk tradition of androgynous males known in England as Mollies, which led in the nineteenth century to entertainment by female impersonators known as drag queens.[29]

## HOMOSEXUALITY AND MASCULINITY

### *Melanesia*

On the one hand, cross-cultural data in widely separated cultures reveals that there is a strong relationship between a socially defined androgynous character among males and a proclivity for same-sex eroticism. On the other hand, the existence of homosexual behavior between masculine men, in an equally varied group of cultures, shows that homosexual behavior is not limited to nonmasculine males. This is especially notable in cultures that take the opposite approach of those in which gender variance is institutionalized. Instead of associating male-male sex with androgyny, as hetero-gender, these other cultures as-

sociate it with hypermasculinity. It is often assumed that male-male sexual relations are necessary for the absorption of masculinity. It is intra-gender.

This notion is most emphasized in various parts of Melanesia. In many areas of southern lowlands New Guinea and nearby islands, there is a strong cultural belief that there are two body fluids that bring about human life and growth: breast milk and semen. Infants need woman's milk to grow, but in the Melanesian view boys cannot grow to become men without ingesting semen from adult males. Melanesian societies that have this belief institutionalize male homosexual behavior as obligatory for all boys, as part of their socialization into manhood. Though there is variation of specific beliefs and practices, the typical pattern is that boys between the ages of about seven and thirteen are taken from the maternal household and placed in a boys' house set away from the village. For a period of several months to several years, depending on the culture, boys avoid all contact with females as they are prepared in elaborate initiations for manhood.[30]

Sperm, the essence of manhood, is not seen as something that forms spontaneously. These Melanesians believe that it is a scarce resource that must be planted in the boy by a mature male. In some societies this is done by the boy performing oral sex on the man, in others by receiving anal intercourse, and in others by having the sperm rubbed on his body. The homosexual behavior is thus a duty of men (women are also seen as strengthened by absorbing sperm), and it is ritualized as part of male initiation ceremonies. While casual homosexual acts may take place, they must always be with the boy receiving the older male's semen. To reverse roles would be considered damaging to the boy's growth.

The most important homosexual relationship for a boy is with his mentor, who is assigned by his father and is ideally his mother's brother. This mentor is responsible for educating the boy and seeing that he is raised into proper manhood. They sleep together and work together until the boy is mature. In the Melanesian view, years of ingesting semen has an effect, as evidenced by the fact that the boy grew to adulthood. Thus, in a

cultural pattern almost directly opposite to Western stereotypes about "corrupting innocent children," masculinity and proper growth is absorbed through homosexual acts and male nurturance. Instead of fearing sex and keeping boys ignorant of it, Melanesians see sex as a key to the growth of spirit in heart and mind as well as physical growth.

This overlay of ritual and male duty makes Melanesian notions of homoeroticism seem quite different from the berdache tradition. Yet, both are ways for a society to construct sexual behavior between males, allowing close erotic bonding between individuals. Melanesian males are closely united in an egalitarian warriorhood. Just as heterosexual intercourse cements marriage, in Melanesia homosexual acts cement warriorhood. Both heterosexual marriage and homosexual relationships are integral to social harmony, in that they widen the network of individuals to whom one is tied by close emotional bonds.

Because a boy is expected to engage in these sexual acts with older males does not mean that he will become a lifelong exclusive homosexual. Just as every boy is expected to be repeatedly sexually penetrated by older males, followed by a stage when he in turn supplies semen to younger boys, so at a later time he is expected to get married to a woman. In some groups he is even expected to give up sex with boys altogether after his first or second child is born. He does not have a "gay" lifelong pairing with a man of similar age. We cannot even properly call him a lifelong bisexual, because he is homosexual at one stage of his life, followed by a period when he is bisexual, and then (in some societies) ends up as heterosexual in his later years.

All of this shows the extreme plasticity of human behavior, with cultural norms shaping people in widely divergent ways. It destroys the Western notion that homosexual behavior is somehow "unnatural," "deviant," or "abnormal." Homosexual behavior in many of these Melanesian societies, at least before Christian missionaries and colonial governments suppressed it, was the norm; it was normal in that context.

All males in these societies in New Guinea are expected to participate in homosexual acts, but we cannot tell much about gender variance because the intensive masculine initiation rites

admit no gender nonconformity. Moreover, the universality of bisexual behavior renders the concept of sexual variance inapplicable for those societies. Rather than divide society into heterosexuals and homosexuals, these people keep unity among men by making every male follow the same mixture of eroticism toward both men and women.[31]

*Azande Boy-Wives*

Though other societies did not institutionalize man-boy sex to the same degree as in New Guinea, there was (and still is, in some cases) a strong man-boy sexual tradition in many cultures. Among some Australian aboriginals it was not unusual for an unmarried man to take a prepubescent boy as a "wife," with the boy fulfilling this social and sexual role until after reaching puberty. Likewise, among the Azande of East Africa a young adult warrior was expected to take a boy as a "temporary wife" before later marrying a woman. He even went through the formality of paying a bride-price to the boy's family, while the boy did domestic duties for the warrior. After reaching age twenty the boy-wife would himself take a younger boy as a sexual and affectional partner, and he would fulfill the warrior role himself. Such a practice was the major means by which boys were socialized to their later warrior role. It likely also insured a smoother heterosexual marriage later on, after the male had played both sides in the husband-wife routine.[32]

Even for the married Azande men, boys were sometimes brought into the family as pages, to be available sexually, especially during those times (such as preparing to consult oracles) when heterosexual activity was forbidden. Though the culture set the rule of boys as only auxiliary partners for married men, a variation of individual preferences has been noted by an anthropologist who recognized that some men paid more attention to their boy partner than to their female wife.[33]

*Medieval Japan*

Japan, especially during the Tokugawa period, before 1865, also celebrated relationships between men and boys. Japanese mythology suggests that the great cultural hero Kobo Daishi,

founder of the Shingon sect of Buddhism, first popularized homosexuality around the year 800. As with the all-male warriorhoods, groups of male Buddhist monks were known for housing boys in the Zen temples, and the passion aroused by these boys is the subject of many love poems written during the medieval times. Religious laws forbade monks to have sexual relations with women, but did not proscribe other kinds of sexuality. As a consequence, the Portuguese Jesuit missionary Alassandro Valiquano reported from Japan in the late 1500s that homosexual behavior was "regarded so lightly that both the boys and the men who consort with them brag and talk about it openly without trying to cover the matter up." The monks, he wrote, not only considered their loves to be unsinful, but "even something quite natural and virtuous." Though the missionaries severely condemned homosexuality during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, their tirades seemed to have little effect on the Japanese.[34]

In the military samurai class there also developed a tradition of passionate and heroic devotion between male lovers. The usual model was for the adult samurai warrior to court a boy, and if the boy accepted, they would establish a patron-vassal tie. The boy's parents would prepare their son for sexual relations by having him relax with a special smooth wooden implement gently inserted in his rectum. The boy would serve his samurai lover as an aide in battle, and as personal secretary in times of peace. The man, in turn, educated the boy to assume the high samurai role upon maturity.

Similarly, in traditional China same-sex relations commonly occurred on an age-gradient basis between master and servant or between teacher and student. In Chinese history the most notable incidents concerned the loving relationships some of the emperors had with their male court favorites. Idealized love is presented in the famed incident in which an emperor cut the sleeve of his robe rather than disturb the sleep of his boy lover who lay next to him.[35] There was no universal stage every male would have to go through, as in New Guinea, but males with a preference for male love were encouraged to take a boy as a consort.

*Middle East*

In general, many precolonial Arabic cultures also accepted male homosexual behavior, mostly in the form of relations between men and boys. Poetry and song celebrated the special erotic attractions of boys. Anthropologists have probed the nature of these formalized man-boy marriages, which existed among the Berbers of the North African Siwah oasis area, for example, and also more casual homosexual behavior in other Muslim areas.[36]

One of the most notable forms of the institutionalization of masculinity through male bonding was the Mamluk system of government. Sultans would buy young boys as slaves, mostly from nomadic tribes of eastern Turkey and the Caucasus, and then raise them to be their loyal palace guards. In Egypt, and also in various areas of Mesopotamia, these palace guards actually ran the government. In some cases they overthrew the sultan and became the established power in name as well as in fact. Having been raised in an all-male group, Mamluks did not marry women. When a Mamluk reached adulthood his master freed him, and he in turn would buy his own boy slave. This boy became the servant, confidant, lover, and eventually heir to the master who would free him upon his maturity. Mamluks kept their power and influence over the generations by passing down this heirship from man to boy. They are one of the world's most notable examples of an all-male society, which continued without heterosexual families, and they governed large areas of the Middle East for centuries.[37]

Partly due to knowledge of the Mamluks, European travelers long associated man-boy sex with the Middle East and the Turkish empire. They even noted the spread of "boy brides" to Christian Albania under Muslim rule. It was from the Middle East, after all, that the word *bardaj* originated. There, however, it meant a boy who was a man's lover rather than the alternative gender role the word *berdache* later came to signify among American Indians. In 1850 the French writer Flaubert wrote to a friend from the Turkish empire: "Since we are speaking of bardaches, this is what I know of the matter. Here it is well regarded. One owns up to sodomy and talks about it at luncheon."[38]

*Greece*

The acceptance of masculinizing intergenerational male-male eroticism in Middle Eastern culture was partly a heritage of the ancient Greeks. Greece is the most famous example of the association between masculinity and homoeroticism. Unfortunately, when Greek homosexuality is discussed, it is usually presented as being a unique and strange aberration. Considering the foregoing examples from other societies around the world, however, what one realizes about the Greeks is how common their sexual patterns were. As in the other cultures mentioned above, it would not have been proper to continue a lover relationship after a youth matured. A pair might remain friends for life, but each turned to new adolescents as erotic partners. In this type of relationship, as is obvious in the many examples of Greek homoerotic painting that celebrate the beauty of the male body, it is the youth who chose to accept or reject the courting of the man. Since this erotic relationship frequently provided the basis for the boy's education, vocational training, and socialization into adulthood it made for a system in which youth had much more say in their own situation than pre-adults usually have.[39]

This strong association between homoeroticism and education, between sexuality and male training for adulthood, is a common factor in cultures that emphasize man-boy relationships. Whether in association with New Guinea initiation rites, Azande and Japanese warrior training, or Greek education, this male nurturance was distinct from female child rearing. Perhaps these cultures might recognize that some individuals would be more or less homosexually inclined, but they would have regarded the monosexual exclusive homosexuals and exclusive heterosexuals as odd. Same-sex relations were not only accepted, but celebrated. On the other hand, a man who did not eventually marry a woman would be seen as neglecting his social duty. The male role, in both same-sex and other-sex relations, was cast in terms of the ideal of manhood. Homosexual behavior did not threaten men's masculinity; it ensured it.

This brief survey shows that cultures can shape human vari-

ation in extremely diverse ways. In examining American Indian berdachism, and comparing it to other gender-variant institutions around the world, we can see many similarities. Yet we also see sharp contrasts to the masculinizing male bonding cultures. Why do some societies institutionalize an alternative gender as the socially acceptable form of homosexual expression, while others institutionalize such a different man-boy hypermasculine pattern?

Perhaps there is still not enough factual data to suggest anything more than a hypothesis, but a crucial factor seems to be a culture's attitude toward women. While American Indian and Melanesian societies, for example, are both gender-differentiated and sex-segregated, American Indian men generally respect women while Melanesian men generally distrust women. If men fear women, and see femininity as pollution, then they will likewise fear feminine character traits in males. They will work to suppress androgyny, and to insure male unity in opposition to women, by forcing all males to be masculine. Homoeroticism is just one among many means for strengthening these masculine bonds between the generations. In contrast, if men value women then it is not considered bad if a male displays some character traits more like those of a woman. Androgyny is not suppressed, as it is in the hypermasculine societies, but valued.

Yet despite their differences, alternative gender and hypermasculine societies end up with the same result: the unity of men as a group. Unlike Western culture, which categorizes individuals into opposite dichotomies as heterosexuals and homosexuals, and in which males of each group often feel antagonistic toward the other, these other cultures avoid such divisions.

Melanesians avoid separate homosexual and heterosexual identities by pushing every male toward sexual involvement with both males and females. While still perhaps allowing for individual preference within those ideal boundaries, they discourage monosexual extremes. In contrast, societies with an alternative gender emphasize the difference of the berdache or his equivalent to such an extent that he is no longer considered a man. They focus on the high-status social role of the nonmas-

culine male, rather than on sexual behavior, but they encourage him to be sexual with men. A masculine person, whether he has sex with a berdache or not, is still considered a man. There is no separation of males into opposite groups of homosexuals and heterosexuals; men's unity is preserved because same-sex behavior is not a matter of great concern. Because the androgynous male has a unique status outside masculinity, everyone's position in the society is secured, without stigma and without deviance.

## WESTERN HISTORY AND GENDER VARIANCE

Being aware of the cross-cultural context may help us better understand the changes in gender variance and sexual variance in Western culture. In European and Euro-American history, we can see three types of sexual variance, with two sharp changes due to major repressive campaigns against sexuality in the thirteenth and the twentieth centuries. European culture had inherited its first pattern from the ancient Greek type of man-boy bonding. Despite the influence of Christianity, such ancient traditions of intergenerational male love survived into the medieval era. But after about 1250, such traditions were ruthlessly suppressed. "Sodomy," by which accusers of the time often meant boy-love (since that was the most common form at the time), was associated with the Islamic enemy and with heresy.[40]

This suppression practically wiped out a cultural tradition, leaving Europe without culturally acceptable forms of male-male sexual behavior. While same-sex behavior no doubt continued to occur in private, or outside the bounds of established society (as among the pirates), it was not to emerge in an institutionalized form until popularized by gender-bending entertainment figures like the castrati and the drag queen. The castrati emerged in new forms of popular culture, during a creative period that was developing new styles of music and theater. Vastly different from the man-boy pattern that had become so tainted with heresy and so associated with the alien Muslims, the castrati had emerged from two of the central institutions of Europe: the church and the theater. What form of same-sex be-

havior could be less threatening? Though more research is necessary before definite conclusions can be reached, it is likely that these roles helped to make an association of sexual variance and gender variance in the mind of modern Europe and the Americas.[41]

With such an association, eventually another era of suppression occurred in the twentieth century that was in many ways quite like the Inquisition. In Europe, both the German Nazis and the Russian Stalinists campaigned to eliminate everything considered weak and effeminate among males. They destroyed a flourishing homosexual rights movement and placed unnumbered thousands of homosexuals in concentration camps.[42] In the United States, "sexual perversion" replaced anti-Semitism and ethnic prejudice as a favored political scapegoat, especially in the McCarthy witchhunts and the Eisenhower purges of the 1950s. Thousands lost their jobs, were jailed, or experienced severe harassment from police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The two derogatory images of homosexuality with which American males have been bombarded in this century are "the child molester" and "the sissy." It is not surprising that males who are attracted to other males would react against these images. Prompted by this reaction, a third pattern of same-sex relations emerged. Perhaps drawing some inspiration from the male marriages on the frontier and the "buddy system" pairings in the armed forces, this pattern became much more popular during World War II. This new masculine erotic bonding was different from the man-boy pattern and the gender-mixing pattern which had earlier existed. The new image that emerged out of World War II was the army buddy pair, masculine to the core, and above age eighteen.

These adult homosexual relationships formed the basis for a "gay" subculture, that largely rejected its cultural roots. Drag queens, pedophiles, and youths below eighteen were shunted aside both politically and socially as a masculine gay community emerged in a number of American cities. With a focus on bars where masculine adult men mixed among themselves, the older forms of gender variance became distinctly second rate. In reaction against the stereotypes, the witchhunts, and the purges,

and also as a means of trying to make themselves respectable to society at large, homophile organizations in the 1950s and 1960s became politically active and began to call for an end to discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

For a brief time in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, it seemed that a gender-mixing aspect might reemerge in the new militancy of Gay Liberation. In 1969, the drag queens began a massive riot against police harassment, at the Stonewall bar in New York's Greenwich Village. The radicalized era, in which social standards (and especially gender standards) were being questioned by numerous groups of young women and men, presented an opportunity in which nonconformists could challenge several conventions. But such radicalism was not to last. By the late 1970s the mood was more conservative. Even as the gay community grew stronger, it shifted its focus from Gay Liberation (revolutionizing society) to Gay Rights (getting the same rights as the majority). A new mood of masculinity took hold among gay men, represented by the "clone" look: work clothes and boots, short hair, and mustaches. There was little room for nonconformists.[43]

## THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The outline of modern gay history is beginning to be understood, and we have come to realize that a gay subculture is of fairly recent origin in Western history. Historians may be able to trace a recognizable gay community, at least in London, to the seventeenth century, but in North America such a sense of community did not emerge until the nineteenth century.[44] This community is a product of urbanization and a reaction against stigmatization. Gay identity is just one form of social construction, one direction in which same-sex relations may be shaped. With such wide variation of both homosexual and heterosexual desire among many people, the Western view, that every person is either a homosexual or a heterosexual, does not hold up under cross-cultural analysis. Neither category makes much sense in societies like Melanesia, where we cannot properly speak in terms of gay and straight. Such societies demonstrate that there

is quite a bit of difference between male-male sexual behavior and a homosexual identity. The many variations in sexuality worldwide are exploding our notion that humans are neatly categorized as homosexuals or heterosexuals. Institutions like the berdache are leading us also to question the categories of men and women.

Taking inspiration from the writings of Michel Foucault, a group of historians and sociologists has emphasized that it is inadequate to see sexuality as a biological constant. They rightly point out that sexual identity is not set by nature as an essential part of each individual, but that sexual desires, like other aspects of human behavior, are largely influenced by the culture in which a person happens to be born.[45] Yet, having said all that, it is not improper to suggest that the current interpretation, known as social constructionism, has gone too far.

Social constructionists postulate that culture is in total control, that individuals are basically blank slates upon which culture writes. While this degenerates to the old debate of nurture versus nature, which biologists have largely abandoned, it ignores the many biological, hormonal, environmental, cultural, sociological, and psychological influences that combine in very complex ways to shape human behavior. By looking only at the discussion of the social establishment, social constructionists examine history from the top down rather than from the bottom up. If we are going to see a larger reality, we must also recognize that individual character has a role in shaping culture, in a person's accepting or rejecting certain options that the culture offers. If behavior is socially constructed, of what is it constructed? What is the substructure on which a culture inscribes its variations?

Human behavior observed around the world does not exhibit limitless variety; there are patterns and similarities that repeat themselves beyond anything that can be explained by diffusion from one society to another. Social scientists have been struggling to understand these similarities for decades, and there are no simple answers.

Because of the complexity of cross-cultural comparisons, the certitude of social constructionists in proclaiming that no other people before "the modern homosexual" had a similar identity

seems foolhardy.[46] Such a view ignores folk traditions about certain types of persons, called "fairies," "queers," and a myriad other terms, in Europe and elsewhere. And in emphasizing the discontinuities of a modern homosexual identity, social constructionists discount the implications from cross-cultural research. Their view is quite ethnocentric, and in its focus on the modern West blithely dismisses anything we might learn about sexual variance and gender variance in other cultures. Sociologist Kenneth Plummer stated the constructionist view in its most extreme form: "Why should one even begin to contemplate the notion that the berdache has anything at all to do with homosexuality in our terms?" And Jeffrey Weeks suggests that there is no "separate homosexual role" among American Indians because in those societies "There's no place for the homosexual; it's actually a place for someone who just happens to be a biological man who lives the life of a woman and becomes a woman. . . . There are only men and women, quite straightforward."[47]

As I established earlier, seeing the berdache as a woman is inaccurate. Indian societies constructed an alternative gender, and put their emphasis on the berdache's character and social role rather than only on sexual behavior. This is certainly a social construction, and by that construction the men who had sex with the berdache do not have a distinct identity from men who didn't. Yet, the berdache does have an identity, which seems much more a reflection of the individual's innate character. And judging from the evolution of that identity from berdache to gay, and contemporary Indian people's comparison of the two roles, such folk definitions show a berdache identity to be much more similar to a queen identity among nonmasculine gay men than it is to an identity as a woman.

Social constructionists argue that a gay identity is unique in history, that there was no such separate category of person before modern Europe. They suggest that a person who engaged in the "sin of sodomy" had no identity as being different. Yet, evidence suggests that a distinct identity did exist, and had words that described it. Did a man who had a strong preference for sex with another male not have an identity as a "sodomite"? While the reference to Sodom, with its sense of doom, would

hardly seem able to inspire anyone to a positive identity, the meaning of that word to the participants in same-sex acts is still unclear. Perhaps "sodomite" is not as different from "homosexual" as we have been led to believe. Both terms were imposed from external, professional elites, as stigmatizing terms.

By focusing on a derogatory word imposed by an antagonistic establishment, we may be getting a distorted image of the actual life identity of a person from the past. When we look instead at terms used within the stigmatized group itself, we find much more emphasis on character: a person in the subculture today is more likely to call themselves gay or even queen than homosexual, and for the good reason that one's identity is a product of more than sex alone. There are words in other cultures which denote a different identity, with the Indian words for berdache being examples.

When seventeenth-century Europeans used the word *berdache,* or applied it to American Indians, they had a clear meaning in mind. Such a meaning denoted both androgyny and sexual involvement with other males. Since gender mixing was a major component of same-sex behavior at the time, we can hardly find fault with observers for associating the two. The berdache certainly thought of themselves as different, and their society agreed. This difference was at least partly associated with sexual involvement with men. If we are going to consider only the Western "modern homosexual" as a completely unique identity and therefore the only proper object of focus, as social constructionists have done, then such a definition will blind us to a diversity of same-sex behaviors and identities.

How we see other cultures in the past has much to do with our attitudes toward the future. If we study only the "modern homosexual," what about those growing numbers of people who dislike fitting their sexuality into either/or boxes of gay or straight? Homosexual identity will surely change in the future. The modern Western gay role has not been, or will be, the only role which sees individuals as distinctly different on the basis of same-sex attraction and androgynous character.

Today, in a world where peoples are interacting more intensively, knowledge of this diversity—and recognition that the "modern homosexual" and the "modern heterosexual" are not

the pinnacle of evolution—is necessary both politically and socially. The next frontier of research on both sexual and gender variance is to understand the many varieties of identities and roles. How they are different and alike is the question that will enrich our understanding much more than the simple answers that they are all the same or all different. They are both. The interaction of continuity and change is at the base of the human story, and any theory that ignores one of those elements is faulty. The interaction of these aspects, and of the social with the personal, is what is important. Their opposition is a false dichotomy.

We can look to institutions like the berdache for new ways of thinking about sexual variance, love between persons of the same sex, and flexibility in gender roles. We can see from the berdache that friendship is just as important a value as family, and that such emotions and tendencies erotically expressed are not unnatural. We can question whether a separated gay subculture, a minority lifestyle built around sexual preferences, is more preferable to integration of gender variance and same-sex eroticism into the general family structure and the mainstream society. We can use the American Indian concept of spirituality to break out of the deviancy model, to reunite families, and to offer special benefits to society as a whole. At the least, our awareness of alternative attitudes and roles can allow us to appreciate the diversity of the human population, and the similarities that we share across the boundaries of culture.

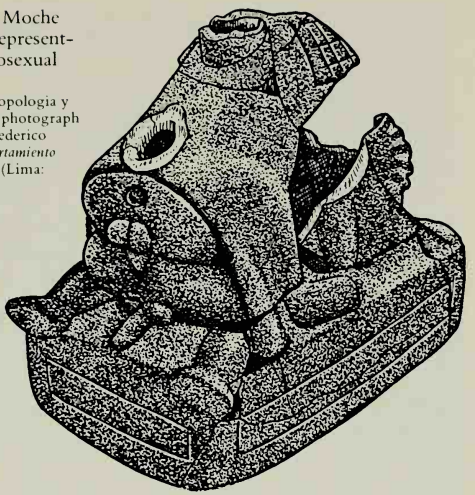

PLATE 1. Ancient Moche ceramic sculpture, representing male-male homosexual anal intercourse.
Museo National de Antropologia y Arquelogia, Lima, Peru; photograph originally published in Federico Kauffmann Doig, *Somportamiento Sexual en el Antiguo Peru* (Lima: Kompahtos, 1979).

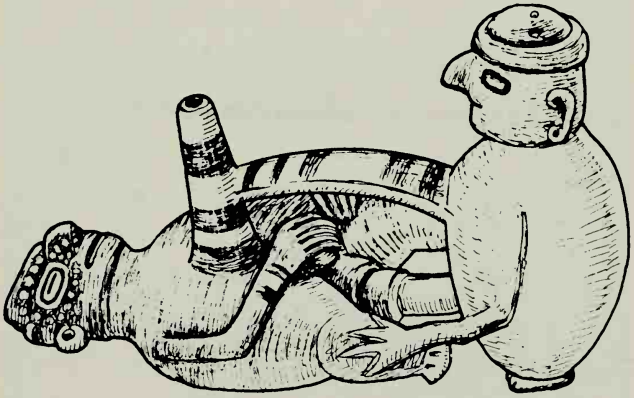

PLATE 2. Ancient Vicus ceramic sculpture, showing one male having anal intercourse while the other holds his penis in his hand.
Private collection; photograph originally published in Federico Kauffmann Doig, *Somportamiento Sexual en el Antiguo Peru* (Lime: Kompahtos, 1979).

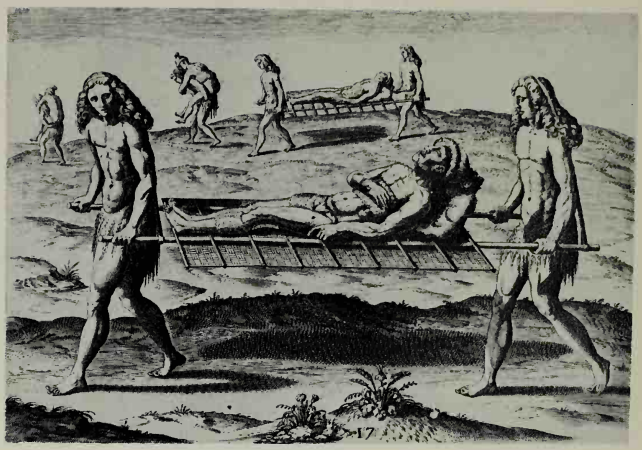
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PLATE 3. Timucua berdaches transporting injured persons for medical treatment and deceased persons for burial.
Theodor de Bry engraving (1591), based on a sketch by Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues made during an expedition to Florida in 1564; New York Public Library, Rare Book Room, De Bry Collection.

PLATE 4. Timucua berdaches working with women in carrying food.
Theodor de Bry engraving (1591), based on a sketch by Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues made during an expedition to Florida in 1564; New York Public Library, Rare Book Room, De Bry Collection.

PLATE 5. Spanish explorer Balboa orders Indians accused of sodomy to be eaten alive by dogs.
Theodor de Bry engraving (1594), based on an account by Girolamo Benzoni in the 1540s; New York Public Library, Rare Book Room, De Bry Collection.

PLATE 6. "Dance to the Berdache," a sketch drawn by George Catlin in the 1830s while among the Sac and Fox Indians.
Printed in George Catlin, *North American Indians*; original sketch in National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

PLATE 7. Barebreasted Plains Indian woman hunting a buffalo.
Painted by Alfred Jacob Miller, 1837; Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland.

PLATE 8. Shoshone woman roping a horse.
Painted by Alfred Jacob Miller, 1837; Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland.

PLATE 9. We-wha, Zuni berdache, ca. 1885.
National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

PLATE 10. A group of Zuni Indians, females on the left, males on the right, and the berdache We-wha in the middle, signifying the position of the berdache between women and men.
Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California.

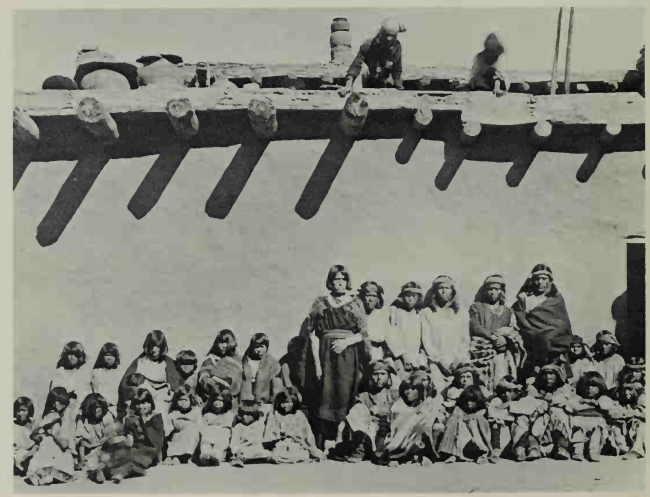

PLATE 11. Zuni berdache We-wha, who was known as a skillful weaver, ca. 1885.
National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

PLATE 12 (*right*). A Crow berdache, probably *Osh-Tisch* (Finds-Them-and-Kills-Them), ca. 1900.
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City.

PLATE 13 (*left*). Tolowa berdache shaman, also headman of his village in northern California, wearing insignia of his wealth, ca. 1910.
National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

PLATE 14. An Alaska Yupik berdache, singing and drumming traditional songs, at a social event sponsored by Gay American Indians, San Francisco, May 16, 1985.
Courtesy Gay American Indians.

PLATE 15. A member of Gay American Indians looks to the future.
Courtesy Gay American Indians.

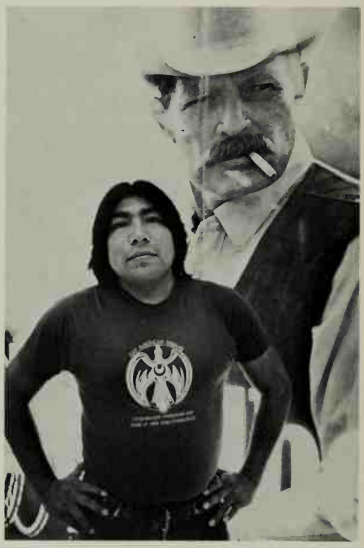

PLATE 16. Randy Burns, co-founder of Gay American Indians.
Photograph by Stephen Stewart.

# Notes

## INTRODUCTION

1. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1966), p. 52. I am grateful to Theda Perdue for convincing me that Douglas's ideas apply to berdachism. For an application of Douglas's thesis to berdaches, see James Thayer, "The Berdache of the Northern Plains: A Socioreligious Perspective," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 36 (1980): 292–93.

2. Charles Callender and Lee Kochems, "The North American Berdache," *Current Anthropology* 24 (1983): 444–46.

3. Manuscript by C. C. Trowbridge in the archives of George Mason University, Washington, D.C. I am grateful to Raymond Fogelson for this reference, in a personal communication, 17 October 1980.

4. Harald Broch, "A Note on Berdache Among the Hare Indians of Northwestern Canada," *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 7 (1977): 95–101.

5. A. L. Kroeber, "Psychosis or Social Sanction," *Character and Personality* 8 (1940): 204–15.

6. Henry Angelino and Charles Shedd, "A Note on Berdache," *American Anthropologist* 57 (1955): 121–25.

7. Sue-Ellen Jacobs, "Berdache: A Brief Review of the Literature," *Colorado Anthropologist* 1 (1968): 25–40.

8. Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1976).

9. The best recent writings published on berdachism include: Evelyn Blackwood, "Sexuality and Gender in Certain Native American Tribes: The Case of Cross-Gender Females," *Signs* 10 (1984): 27–42; Callender and Kochems, "North American Berdache"; Jay Miller, "People, Berdaches, and Left-Handed Bears: Human Variation in Native America," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 38 (Fall 1982): 274–87; Thayer, "Berdache of the Northern Plains," pp. 287–93; Harriet Whitehead, "The Bow and the Burden Strap: A New Look at Institutionalized Homosexuality in Native North America," in *Sexual Meanings*, ed. Sherry Ortner and Harriet Whitehead (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 80–115; Donald Forgey, "The Insti-

tution of Berdache among the North American Plains Indians," *Journal of Sex Research* 11 (1975): 1–15.

10. There is a tradition in the Amazon Basin, very different from berdachism, which needs fieldwork. It is similar in some ways to the male rituals of initiation in Melanesia.

11. Edith McLeod, "White Cindy, Mystery Figure," *Siskiyou Pioneer and Siskiyou County Historical Society Yearbook* 2 (Spring 1953): 33.

12. Quoted and translated in Claude Courouve, "The Word 'Bardache,'" *Gay Books Bulletin* 8 (Fall–Winter 1982): 18–19. See also Angelino and Shedd, "Note on Berdache," p. 121.

13. Translated in Courouve, "Word," p. 18. Courouve's research is typical of the type of excellent analysis that is possible for scholars of various fields who wish to pursue cross-cultural studies in homosexuality.

14. Joseph François Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages americquains* (Paris: Saugrain, 1724), vol. 1, p. 52; translated by Warren Johansson in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 289.

15. Kenneth E. Read, "The *Nama* Cult Recalled," in *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia,* ed. Gilbert Herdt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 215–17.

16. Ibid.

17. Thomas Fitzgerald, "A Critique of Anthropological Research on Homosexuality," *Journal of Homosexuality* 2 (1977): 285–397.

18. Luke Standing Elk, Cheyenne informant 5, August 1982. Despite his statement, he later told me some interesting information on *hemaneh* or *a-he-e ma' ne'*. It was always surprising to me how much Indian people would reveal to me, since I made it clear to everyone I interviewed that this was for publication.

## CHAPTER ONE

1. Joseph François Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages americquains* (Paris: Saugrain, 1724), vol. 1, p. 52; translated by Warren Johansson in Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1976), pp. 288–89.

2. Jaques Marquette, "Of the First Voyage Made . . . ," in *The Jesuit Relations,* ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: Burrows, 1896–1901), vol. 59, p. 129; reprinted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 287.

3. E. W. Gifford, "The Kamia of Imperial Valley," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 97 (1931): 12.

4. By using present tense verbs in this text, I am not implying that such activities are necessarily continuing today. I sometimes use the present tense in the "ethnographic present," unless I use the past tense when I am referring to something that has not continued. Past tense implies that all such practices have disappeared. In the absence of fieldwork to prove such disappearance, I am not prepared to make that assumption, for reasons discussed in Part II on the historic changes in the berdache tradition.

5. Elsie Clews Parsons, "The Zuni La' Mana," *American Anthropologist* 18 (1916): 521; Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "Zuni Indians," *Bureau of American Eth-*

*nology Annual Report* 23 (1903): 37; Franklin Cushing, "Zuni Creation Myths," *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 13 (1894): 401–3. Will Roscoe clarified this origin story for me.

6. W. W. Hill, "Note on the Pima Berdache," *American Anthropologist* 40 (1938): 339.

7. Aileen O'Bryan, "The Dine': Origin Myths of the Navaho Indians," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 163 (1956): 5; W. W. Hill, "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture," *American Anthropologist* 37 (1935): 273.

8. Martha S. Link, *The Pollen Path: A Collection of Navajo Myths* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1956).

9. O'Bryan, "Dine'," pp. 5, 7, 9–10.

10. Ibid.

11. Lakota informants, July 1982. See also William Powers, *Oglala Religion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977).

12. For this admittedly generalized overview of American Indian religious values, I am indebted to traditionalist informants of many tribes, but especially those of the Lakotas. For a discussion of native religions see Dennis Tedlock, *Finding the Center* (New York: Dial Press, 1972); Ruth Underhill, *Red Man's Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965); and Elsie Clews Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939).

13. Alfred Kroeber, "The Arapaho," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 18 (1902–7): 19.

14. Parsons, "Zuni La' Mana," p. 525.

15. Alexander Maximilian, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834,* vol. 22 of *Early Western Travels,* ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, 32 vols. (Cleveland: A. H. Clark, 1906), pp. 283–84, 354. Maximilian was quoted in German in the early homosexual rights book by Ferdinand Karsch-Haack, *Das Gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (The same-sex life of nature peoples) (Munich: Verlag von Ernst Reinhardt, 1911; reprinted New York: Arno Press, 1975), pp. 314, 564.

16. Oscar Koch, *Der Indianishe Eros* (Berlin: Verlag Continent, 1925), p. 61.

17. George Devereux, "Institutionalized Homosexuality of the Mohave Indians," *Human Biology* 9 (1937): 509.

18. Ibid., p. 501.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., pp. 508–9.

21. C. Daryll Forde, "Ethnography of the Yuma Indians," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 28 (1931): 157.

22. Ruth Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 186. This story is also mentioned in Ruth Underhill, ed., *The Autobiography of a Papago Woman* (Menasha, Wisc.: American Anthropological Association, 1936), p. 39.

23. John Fire and Richard Erdoes, *Lame Deer, Seeker of Visions* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), pp. 117, 149.

24. Theodore Stern, *The Klamath Tribe: A People and Their Reservation* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965), pp. 20, 24. Theodore Stern, "Some Sources of Variability in Klamath Mythology," *Journal of American Folklore* 69 (1956): 242ff. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), p. 52.

25. Alice Joseph, et al., *The Desert People* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), p. 227.

26. Quoted in Forde, "Ethnography of the Yuma," p. 157. Although he distorted the data on berdache, see also Leslie Spier, *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), pp. 6, 242–43.

27. Joseph Quiñones, Yaqui informant 1, January 1985.

28. Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California,* ed. Robert Heizer (originally published 1877; reprint Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

29. Alfred Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953), p. 497.

30. Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distribution: Northeast California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942), vol. 20, pp. 134–35, 228-B note. Ralph Beals, "Ethnology of the Nisenan," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 31 (1933), p. 376.

31. Clark Wissler, "Societies and Ceremonial Associations in the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 11, pt. 1 (1916): 92; Powers, *Oglala Religion,* pp. 57–59.

32. Ronnie Loud Hawk, Lakota informant 4, July 1982.

33. Terry Calling Eagle, Lakota informant 5, July 1982.

34. James O. Dorsey, "A Study of the Siouan Cults," *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 11 (1889–90): 378. It is unclear from the sources what would happen if a boy tried to get the man's tools and was successful, since the instances cited always have the boy getting the women's tools. If he got the bow and arrow, presumably he would not become a berdache, but would retain the power to seduce men.

35. Nancy Lurie, "Winnebago Berdache," *American Anthropologist* 55 (1953): 708; Alice Fletcher, "The Elk Mystery or Festival: Ogallala Sioux," *Reports of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology* 3 (1887): 281; Erik Erikson, "Childhood and Tradition in Two American Indian Tribes," *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 1 (1945): 329, based on Erikson's visit to Sioux reservations in the 1930s with anthropologist H. Scudder Mekeel; Robert H. Lowie, "The Assiniboine," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 4 (1909): 42; George Dorsey and James Murie, *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1940), p. 108; Alfred Bowers, *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), p. 298; George Will and Herbert Spinden, *The Mandans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1906), p. 128.

36. James S. Thayer, "The Berdache of the Northern Plains: A Socioreligious Perspective," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 36 (1980): 289.

37. Alfred Bowers, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 194 (1965): 326.

38. Fletcher, "Elk Mystery," p. 281.

39. Alice Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, "The Omaha Tribe," *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 27 (1905–6): 132.

40. Harriet Whitehead offers a valuable discussion of this element of the vision quest in "The Bow and the Burden Strap: A New Look at Institutionalized Homosexuality in Native North America," in *Sexual Meanings,* ed. Sherry Ortner and Harriet Whitehead (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 99–102. See also Erikson, "Childhood," p. 329.

## CHAPTER TWO

1. Peter Grant, "The Sauteux Indians about 1804," in *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest,* ed. L. R. Masson (Quebec: Imprimarie, 1890), vol. 2, p. 357. See also Vernon Kinietz, *Chippewa Village* (Bloomfield, Mich.: Cranbrook Press, 1947), p. 155.

2. Cieza de León, *Historia del Peru* (1553), quoted in Francisco Guerra, *The Pre-Columbian Mind* (London: Seminar Press, 1971), p. 91.

3. Clark Wissler, "Societies and Ceremonial Associations in the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 11, pt. 1 (1916): 92.

4. Alfred Bowers, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 194 (1965): 167–68.

5. Wes Fortney, Cheyenne informant 2, August 1982.

6. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuni Indians," *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 23 (1901–2): 37–38.

7. Ibid., pp. 37–38, 310. Similarly, the Navajo berdaches had a reputation for excelling in ritual performance; see W. W. Hill, "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture," *American Anthropologist* 37 (1935): 275.

8. Richard Green and John Money, "Stage-Acting, Role-Taking, and Effeminate Impersonation during Boyhood," *Archives of General Psychiatry* 15 (1966): 535–38. James D. Weinrich, "Human Reproductive Strategy" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1976), pp. 175–76. Michael Ruse, "Are There Gay Genes? Sociobiology and Homosexuality," *Journal of Homosexuality* 6 (1981): 23–24. Joseph Harry, *Gay Children Grown Up* (New York: Praeger, 1982), chap. 1.

9. On the various aspects of shamanism, see William Thomas Corlett, M.D., *The Medicine Man of the American Indian and His Cultural Background* (Baltimore: Charles C. Thomas, 1935); Andreas Lommel, *Shamanism: The Beginnings of Art* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967); John Lee Maddox, *The Medicine Man* (New York: MacMillan, 1923); Joe Medicine Crow, "From M.M. to M.D.: Medicine Man to Doctor of Medicine," *Occasional Papers of the Museum of the Rockies* (Bozeman: Montana State University, 1979); Dale Valory, "Yurok Doctors and Devils: A Study in Identity, Anxiety and Deviance" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1970); and Virgil Vogel, *American Indian Medicine* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970).

10. See Luis Kemnitzer, "Structure, Content, and Cultural Meaning

of *Yuwipi*: A Modern Lakota Healing Ritual," *American Ethnologist* 3 (1976): 261–80.

11. W. W. Hill, "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navahjo Culture," *American Anthropologist* 37 (1935): 275; Gladys Reichard, *Social Life of the Navajo Indians* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), p. 150.

12. John One Grass, Lakota informant 3, July 1982.

13. Vincent White Cloud, Lakota informant 2, July 1982; William Powers, *Oglala Religion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), pp. 57–58; John Fire and Richard Erdoes, *Lame Deer, Seeker of Visions* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), p. 150.

14. George Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923), vol. 2, p. 40; E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Cheyennes* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), p. 83.

15. Luke Standing Elk, Cheyenne informant 5, August 1982.

16. George Devereux, "Institutionalized Homosexuality of the Mohave Indians," *Human Biology* 9 (1937): 516. Robert Heizer, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians: California* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), vol. 8, pp. 131, 134, 502, 512. Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distribution: Northeast California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942) vol. 20, pp. 134–35. For the story of a Klamath berdache shaman who was both greatly respected and feared, see Edith McLeod, "White Cindy, Mystery Figure," *Siskiyou Pioneer and Siskiyou County Historical Society Yearbook* 2 (1953): 32–34.

17. Alfred Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953), pp. 46, 497. Voegelin, *Culture Element*, pp. 134–35.

18. Twila Giegle Dillon, Lakota informant 6, July 1982.

19. Terry Calling Eagle, Lakota informant 5, July 1982.

20. Hill, "Status," p. 275.

21. Terry Calling Eagle, Lakota informant 5, July 1982.

22. Robert Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935), p. 48. S. C. Sims, "Crow Indian Hermaphrodites," *American Anthropologist* 5 (1903): 580–81.

23. Ruth Landes, *The Prairie Potawatomi* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), pp. 36–37.

24. Royal B. Hassrick, *The Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), pp. 134–35, 313. Powers, *Oglala Religion*, pp. 57–58.

25. Terry Calling Eagle, Lakota informant 5, July 1982.

26. Fire and Erdoes, *Lame Deer*, pp. 117, 150.

27. Hassrick, *Sioux*, p. 134.

28. Bowers, "Hidatsa Organization," p. 256.

29. Ruth Landes, *The Mystic Lake Sioux: Sociology of the Mdewakantonwan Santee* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), pp. 37–38; Harold Driver, *Indians of North America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 383–84; E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Cheyenne: Indians of the Great Plains* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), pp. 34–35; David Greenberg,

"Why Was the Berdache Ridiculed?" *Journal of Homosexuality* 11 (1985): 179–189.

30. Greenberg, "Why Was the Berdache Ridiculed?" p. 183–85.

31. Ibid.

32. Charles Allen, Omaha informant 3, June 1982.

33. Victor Robinson, Omaha informant 1, June 1982.

34. Terry Calling Eagle, Lakota informant 5, July 1982. This statement was repeated to me almost word for word in a separate interview with Michael One Feather, Lakota informant 14, April 1985.

35. Edith McLeod, "White Cindy, Mystery Figure," *Siskiyou Pioneer and Yearbook* 11 (Spring 1953): 32–34.

36. Bowers, "Hidatsa Organization," pp. 167–68.

37. John One Grass, Lakota informant 3, July 1982. The shaman Lame Deer typifies this ambivalence, with his juxtaposition of the following positive and negative statements about *winkte:* "We accept him for what he wants to be. That's up to him. Still, fathers did not like to see their boys hanging around a *winkte*'s place and told them to stay away. There are good men among the *winktes* and they have been given certain powers" (Fire and Erdoes, *Lame Deer,* p. 149). See also Hassrick, *Sioux,* pp. 133–35. However, William Powers suggests that these viewpoints are not traditional Lakota attitudes, since *winktes* are *wakan;* William Powers, "Comment," *Current Anthropology* 24 (1983): 461–62.

38. For the concept of the variants having a different window, I am grateful to Harry Hay, who originated his ideas from a study of the medieval court jester. This "fool" was often the only one who could speak the truth, since he was outside the norm and not considered a threat. Hay's philosophical writings are currently being edited for publication by Bradley D. Rose.

39. Jerry Baldy, Hupa informant 1, 18 September 1985.

40. Michael One Feather, Lakota informant 14, April 1985.

41. Nancy Lurie, "Winnebago Berdache," *American Anthropologist* 55 (1953): 708, 710.

42. Michael One Feather, Lakota informant 14, April 1985.

43. Fire and Erdoes, *Lame Deer,* pp. 149–50.

## CHAPTER THREE

1. Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce de Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America,* ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Chicago: McClurg, 1905), vol. 2, p. 462.

2. Calvin Jumping Bull, Lakota informant 1, July 1982.

3. Alfred Bowers, *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), p. 168; Alfred Bowers, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 194 (1965): 502; William Whitman, "The Oto," *Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology* 28 (1969): 50; Frederica de Laguna, "Tlingit Ideas about the Indian," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 10 (1954): 178.

4. Lakota ethnographer Luis Kemnitzer, personal communication, 3 June 1982.

5. Michael One Feather, Lakota informant 14, April 1985.

6. Richard White, Omaha informant 2, June 1982.

7. Quoted in Ales Hrdlicka, *The Anthropology of Kodiak Island* (New York: AMS Press, 1975), p. 79.

8. Georg Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World during the Years 1803–1807* (Carlisle, Pa.: George Philips, 1817), pp. 345, 64; Martin Sauer, *An Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia . . . 1785–1794* (London, 1802), pp. 160, 176; Hubert Bancroft, "The Koniagas," in *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America* (New York: Appleton, 1875), vol. 1, p. 82; Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (New York: Random House, 1910, 1936), vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 16–17.

9. Fernandez de Piedrahita, quoted in Antonio Requena, "Noticias y Consideraciones Sobre las Anormalidades Sexuales de los Aborígenes Americanos: Sodomía," *Acta Venezolana* 1 (July–September 1945): 16. An English translation of this article, titled "Sodomy among Native American Peoples," appears in *Gay Sunshine* nos. 38–39 (Winter 1979): 37–39.

10. Father Gerónimo Boscana, "Indians at the Missionary Establishment of St. Juan Capistrano, Alta California" (c. 1826), trans. in Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History* (New York: Crowell, 1976), p. 614. See another translation in Gerónimo Boscana, *Chinigchinich* (Banning, Calif.: Malki Museum Press, 1978), p. 54.

11. Harry Hay, personal communication, 1 September 1985.

12. Edmund White, *States of Desire: Travels in Gay America* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1980), pp. 99–101.

13. Calvin Jumping Bull, Lakota informant 1, July 1982.

14. Royal Hassrick, *The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), pp. 133–34, 144–45.

15. George Devereux, "Institutionalized Homosexuality of the Mohave Indians," *Human Biology* 9 (1937): 517.

16. Charles Callender and Lee Kochems, "The North American Berdache," *Current Anthropology* 24 (1983): 443–70.

17. Donald Forgey, "The Institution of Berdache among the North American Plains Indians," *Journal of Sex Research* 11 (1975): 12. This interpretation is also put forth by Hassrick, *Sioux*, pp. 133–34.

18. Alan Bell, Martin Weinberg, and Sue Hammersmith, *Sexual Preference: Its Development in Men and Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981).

19. Jennie Joe, Navajo informant 1, November 1984.

20. Beverly Chiñas, "Isthmus Zapotec 'Berdaches,'" *Newsletter of the Anthropological Research Group on Homosexuality* 7, pt. 2 (May 1985): 1–4.

21. Ronnie Loud Hawk, Lakota informant 4, July 1982.

22. Harry Hay, personal communication, 1 September 1985.

23. Jerry Baldy, Hupa informant 1, September 1985.

24. Margaret Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (New York: Morrow Quill, 1935, 1963), p. 294.

25. Elsie Clews Parsons, "The Zuni La' Mana," *American Anthropologist* 18 (1916): 521–22.

26. Edward Thompson Denig, *Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri,* ed. John Ewers (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), pp. 187–88.

27. S. C. Simms, "Crow Indian Hermaphrodites," *American Anthropologist* 5 (1903): 580–81.

28. Pierre Liette, "Memoir of Pierre Liette on the Illinois Country," in *The Western Country in the Seventeenth Century,* ed. Milo Quaife (New York: Citadel, 1962), pp. 112–13; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 228.

29. Ruth Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 186. It is improper to assume, as some theorists on berdachism have, that a ceremonial or visionary origin of berdachism is in opposition to childhood character. Both are reflections of the child's spirit.

30. Robert Stoller, "Two Feminized Male American Indians," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 5 (1976): 530.

31. Michael One Feather, Lakota informant, 14, April 1985. What is interesting in this description is the similarity of this life history to that of gay North American men. Weinberg, Bell, and Hammersmith (*Sexual Preference*) found this same pattern of gender variance in childhood to be about the only factor with which they could find a correlation to adult homosexuality. What is notable is that the focus of Western research is usually on sexual preference, while the emphasis of many Indians is clearly on the character of the person.

32. Jerry Baldy, Hupa informant 1, September 1985.

33. Joseph Quiñones, Yaqui informant 1, January 1985.

34. Richard E. Grant, fieldnotes, May 1978 and June 1985, personal communication, 14 July 1985.

35. Ibid.

36. Elsie Clews Parsons, "The Zuni La' Mana," *American Anthropologist* 18 (1916): 521–28.

37. W. Matthews, quoted in Ferdinand Karsch-Haack, *Das Gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (The same-sex life of nature peoples) (Munich: Verlag von Ernst Reinhardt, 1911; reprinted New York: Arno Press, 1975), p. 321.

38. Jerry Baldy, Hupa informant 1, September 1985.

39. Snowbird Community Singing, Robbinsville, North Carolina, 1973. Perhaps there is a cross-cultural pattern of association between music and flamboyant nonmasculine males which warrants further investigation.

40. Ellie Rides a Horse, Crow informant 3, August 1982.

41. Jerry Running Elk, Lakota informant 9, July 1982.

42. Terry Calling Eagle, Lakota informant 5, July 1982.

43. Jerry Baldy, Hupa informant 1, September 1985.

44. Jennie Joe, Navajo informant 1, October 1982.

45. Clellan Ford, *Smoke From Their Fires: The Life of a Kwakiutl Chief* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 130.

46. Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California,* ed. Robert Heizer (originally published 1877; reprint Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p. 132.

47. Ruth Landes, *The Prairie Potawatomi* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), p. 197.

48. Irving Hallowell, "American Indians White and Black: The Phenomenon of Transculturation," *Current Anthropology* 4 (1963): 519–31.

49. Bowers, "Hidatsa Organization," p. 167.

50. Lakota informant 5, July 1982.

51. I am grateful to Maurice Kenny, Mohawk poet, for this insight. Personal communication, 22 November 1982.

52. Joe Medicine Crow, Crow informant 2, August 1982.

53. Alfred Kroeber, "Handbook of the Indians of California," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 78 (1925): 46.

54. Leslie Spier, *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), p. 242.

55. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuni Indians," *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 23 (1901–2): 37–38, 310–13.

56. Nancy Lurie, "Winnebago Berdache," *American Anthropologist* 55 (1953): 708.

57. On the Hopi see Martin Duberman, ed., "1965 Native American Transvestism," *New York Native,* 21 June 1982, p. 46. For the Lakotas see Erik H. Erikson, "Childhood and Tradition in Two American Indian Tribes," *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 1 (1945): 329–30; John One Grass, Lakota informant 3, July 1982; John Fire and Richard Erdoes, *Lame Deer, Seeker of Visions* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), p. 149. Stoller, "Two Feminized [Mohaves]," p. 531; Robert Lowie, "The Assiniboine," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 4 (1909): 42; Joe Medicine Crow, Crow informant 2, August 1982; Robert Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935), p. 48.

58. Vincent White Cloud, Lakota informant 2, July 1982.

59. Simms, "Crow Hermaphrodites," p. 580.

60. Marie Watson-Franke, "A Woman's Profession in Guajiro Culture: Weaving," *Antropológica* (Caracas) 37 (1974): 24–40.

61. Ruth Underhill, ed., *The Autobiography of a Papago Woman* (Menasha, Wisc.: American Anthropological Association, 1936), pp. 39, 44.

62. Underhill, *Papago Indians,* p. 186.

63. Chiñas, "Isthmus Berdaches," p. 2.

64. Callender and Kochems, "North American Berdache." In a survey of California Indian cultures, there were always noted a few exceptions about the shamanism or the homosexuality of berdaches, but no exceptions regarding women's work. Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distribution: Northeast California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942), vol. 20, pp. 134–35.

65. Chiñas, "Isthmus Berdaches," p. 2.

66. See Jeannette Mirsky, "The Dakota," in *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples,* ed. Margaret Mead (New York: McGraw Hill, 1937), pp. 416–17; and Landes, *Prairie Potawatomi,* pp. 36, 41.

67. Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1936), p. 480.

68. Lakota informant 4, July 1982.

69. These points have been well developed by Donald Forgey, "Institution of Berdache," p. 10; and by Harriet Whitehead, "The Bow and the Burden Strap: A New Look at Institutionalized Homosexuality in Native North America," in *Sexual Meanings,* ed. Sherry Ortner and Harriet Whitehead (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 107.

70. Robert Heizer, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 8: California* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), pp. 131, 134; Alfred Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953), p. 497.

71. W. W. Hill, "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture," *American Anthropologist* 37 (1935): 275–76.

72. Ibid., p. 278.

73. Harriet Whitehead overemphasizes the importance of work roles and material prosperity as a reason for boys to assume berdache status, but she does make a valid point that desire for material prosperity and prestige is not arbitrarily opposed to a psychosexual explanation of berdachism. See Whitehead, "Bow and Burden Strap," p. 107.

74. Vincent White Cloud, Lakota informant 2, July 1982.

75. Landes, *Prairie Potawatomi,* pp. 196, 316.

76. Stevenson, "Zuni Indians," pp. 37–38, 310–13.

77. Hill, "Status," p. 274.

78. Ibid.

## CHAPTER FOUR

1. Jacques Marquette, "Of the First Voyage Made . . . ," in *The Jesuit Relations,* ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: Burrows, 1896–1901), vol. 59, p. 129; reprinted in Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1976), p. 287.

2. Joseph François Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages americquains* (Paris: Saugrain, 1724), vol. 1, p. 52; translated by Warren Johansson in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 288.

3. An excellent short statement of women's high status in American Indian cultures, written by an Indian woman, is Paula Gunn Allen, "Lesbians in American Indian Cultures," *Conditions* 7 (1981): 67–87. Other studies that make this point clear include Evelyn Blackwood, "Sexuality and Gender in Certain Native American Tribes: The Case of Cross-Gender Females," *Signs* 10 (1984): 28, 32–34; Beatrice Medicine, "Warrior Women—Sex Role Alternatives for Plains Indian Women," in *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women,* ed. Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1983), pp. 267–80; and Beverly Chiñas, *The Isthmus Zapotecs: Women's Roles in Cultural Context* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973). For further elaboration on female gender variance, see Chap-

ter 11. For a worldwide context for understanding egalitarian societies, see Charlotte O'Kelly, *Women and Men in Society* (New York: Van Nostrand, 1980), chap. 3; and M. Kay Martin and Barbara Voorhies, *Female of the Species* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), chap. 7. See also Peggy Sanday, *Female Power and and Male Dominance: On the Origins of Sexual Inequality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Eleanor Leacock, *Myths of Male Dominance: Collected Articles on Women Cross-Culturally* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1981); Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, ed., *Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Bergin, 1980); Mina Davis Caulfield, "Equality, Sex and Mode of Production," in *Social Inequality: Comparative and Developmental Approaches*, ed. Gerald Berreman (New York: Academic Press, 1981), pp. 201–19.

4. Jay Miller, "People, Berdaches, and Left-Handed Bears: Human Variation in Native America," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 38 (Fall 1982): 280.

5. It is in this aspect where anthropologist Harriet Whitehead makes a mistake in assuming an antagonistic relation between the sexes as a basis for the berdache to become "superior" to women; see Harriet Whitehead, "The Bow and the Burden Strap: A New Look at Institutionalized Homosexuality in Native North America," in *Sexual Meanings*, ed. Sherry Ortner and Harriet Whitehead (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 86. A critique of Whitehead, and a good summary of the position of women in Indian societies, is contained in Blackwood, "Sexuality and Gender." See also Allen, "Lesbians in American Indian Cultures," pp. 67–87.

6. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuni Indians," *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 23 (1901–2): 310.

7. Robert Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935), p. 48; S. C. Simms, "Crow Indian Hermaphrodites," *American Anthropologist* 5 (1903): 580–81; Ruth Landes, *The Prairie Potawatomi* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), p. 200.

8. Robert Stoller, "Two Feminized Male American Indians," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 5 (1976): 531.

9. Quoted in Francisco Guerra, *The Pre-Columbian Mind* (New York: Seminar Press, 1971), p. 67. There are a number of reports, for different tribes at different time periods, which specify that berdaches are tall or big. Such statements are frequent enough to be noted, but they are not common enough to be seen as a general tendency. In my fieldwork and interviews with berdaches of many cultures, all of the ones I have met are of average size, so I feel such reports are not typical.

10. Quoted in Katz, *Gay American History*, pp. 285–86.

11. Joe Medicine Crow, Crow informant 2, August 1982; Lowie, *Crow*, p. 48.

12. Alice Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, "The Omaha Tribe," *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 27 (1905–6): 133.

13. Alexander Henry and David Thompson, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, ed. Elliott Coues (New York: Harper, 1897), vol. 1,

pp. 163–65. Evidently this person is the same as Ozaw-wen-dib, "Yellow Head," mentioned by John Tanner in his narrative of 1830.

14. Perrin du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes* (Lyon: Bruyset, Aîné et Buyand, 1805), pp. 318, 352; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* pp. 612–13.

15. John One Grass, Lakota informant 3, July 1982.

16. George B. Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923), vol. 2, p. 40.

17. E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Cheyennes* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), p. 83.

18. Grinnell, *Cheyenne,* pp. 39–41; Hoebel, *Cheyennes,* p. 83.

19. Ruth Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 186.

20. W. W. Hill, "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture," *American Anthropologist* 37 (1935): 273–79.

21. Vincent White Cloud, Lakota informant 2, July 1982.

22. Charlotte Heth, personal communication, 4 May 1983; Donald Fixico, personal communication, 8 April 1983. Both of these Indian people remember seeing berdaches in these traditional turtle-shell rattle dances on Creek and Seminole lands in Oklahoma. Since I am not aware of any other references to berdachism in the documents on these southeastern groups, these references mark the need for further investigation. It also is an indication that we cannot trust the absence of documentation to mean that berdachism was absent in a group.

23. Beverly Chiñas, "Isthmus Zapotec 'Berdaches,'" *Newsletter of the Anthropological Research Group on Homosexuality* 7, pt. 2 (May 1985): 4.

24. Victor Robinson, Omaha informant, June 1982.

25. Elsie Clews Parsons, "The Zuni La' Mana," *American Anthropologist* 18 (1916): 521–28.

26. An excellent discussion of this use of a Go-Between to settle differences is in Vine Deloria and Clifford Lytle, *American Indians, American Justice* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983).

27. Hill, "Status," p. 275; Margaret Mead, *The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), p. 189.

28. Ibid.; William Powers, "Comment," *Current Anthropology* 24 (1983): 461–62.

29. Grinnell, *Cheyenne,* pp. 42, 39; Hoebel, *Cheyennes,* p. 83.

30. Nancy Lurie, "Winnebago Berdache," *American Anthropologist* 55 (1953): 710; Henry Angelino and Charles Shedd, "A Note on Berdache," *American Anthropologist* 57 (1955): 125; Charles Callender and Lee Kochems, "North American Berdache," *Current Anthropology* 24 (1983): 443.

31. Hill, "Status," p. 273.

32. Parsons, "Zuni La' Mana," pp. 521–22.

33. Margaret Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (New York: Morrow Quill, 1935, 1963), pp. 294–95.

34. Pierre Liette, "Memoir of Pierre Liette on the Illinois Country," in *The Western Country in the Seventeenth Century,* ed. Milo Quaife (New York: Citadel, 1962), pp. 112–13; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 228.

35. Joe Medicine Crow, Crow informant 2, August 1982.

36. Parsons, "Zuni La' Mana," p. 523.

37. Stevenson, "Zuni Indians," plate XCIV, p. 417. There are several photographs of We'wha in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, and in the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles.

38. Grinnell, *Cheyenne,* p. 39.

39. Anon. Omaha informant, June 1982.

40. Ronnie Loud Hawk, Lakota informant 4, July 1982.

41. Calvin Jumping Bull, Lakota informant 1, July 1982.

42. Vincent White Cloud, Lakota informant 2, July 1982.

43. Claude Schaeffer, "The Kutenai Female Berdache: Courier, Guide, Prophetess, and Warrior," *Ethnohistory* 12 (1965): 217–18; Victor Robinson, Omaha informant 1, June 1982.

44. Luis Kemnitzer, personal communication, June 1982.

45. To be fair, Hill was trying to distinguish berdaches from hermaphrodites, who "usually dress as women," but the use of the term *transvestite* leads to these problems. Hill, "Status," p. 275.

46. John Fire and Richard Erdoes, *Lame Deer, Seeker of Visions* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), p. 149.

47. Chiñas, "Isthmus Berdaches," p. 2.

48. Edith McLeod, "White Cindy, Mystery Figure," *Siskiyou Pioneer and Yearbook* 2 (1953): 32–34.

49. Michael One Feather, Lakota informant 14, April 1985.

50. Clellan Ford, *Smoke From Their Fires: The Life of a Kwakiutl Chief* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), pp. 130–31.

51. Lakota informant 4, July 1982.

52. Joe Little Coyote, Jim King, Luke Standing Elk, Cheyenne informants, August 1982.

53. Elva One Feather, Lakota informant 8, July 1982.

54. Stan White Dog, Lakota informant 7, June 1985.

55. Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California,* ed. Robert Heizer (originally published 1877; reprint Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p. 132; Stevenson, "Zuni Indians," pp. 37–38; Thomas Yellowtail, Crow informant 4, August 1982.

56. See Callender and Kochems, "North American Berdache."

57. John Money and Anke Ehrhardt, *Man & Woman, Boy & Girl* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), p. 5.

58. Hill, "Status," p. 273.

59. John Money, personal communication, July 1985.

60. See Chapter 11 for an account of the usual situation, in which nonfeminine females have a distinct role from male berdaches.

61. Victor Robinson, Omaha informant 1, June 1982.

62. Angelino and Shedd, "Note on Berdache," p. 125.

63. Calvin Jumping Bull, Lakota informant 1, July 1982.

64. Lakota informant 1, July 1982.

65. Ronnie Loud Hawk, Lakota informant 4, July 1982.

66. Angelino and Shedd, "Note on Berdache," p. 125.

67. Alfred Kroeber, "Psychosis or Social Sanction," *Character and Personality* 8 (1940): 209–10.

68. Whitehead, "Bow and Burden Strap," pp. 93, 96.

69. James Dorsey, "A Study of the Siouan Cults," *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 11 (1889–90): 516.

70. While these ideas are my own, the literature on transsexualism is large. See Anne Bolin, "In Search of Eve: Transsexual Rites of Passage," (Ph.D. diss., University of Colorado, Boulder, 1983); Richard Green, *Sexual Identity Conflict in Children and Adults* (New York: Basic Books, 1974); Richard Green and John Money, *Transexualism and Sex Reassignment* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969); John Money and Patricia Tucker, *Sexual Signatures: On Being a Man or a Woman* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1975); J. G. Raymond, *The Transsexual Empire: The Making of the She-Male* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1979); Robert Stoller, *Sex and Gender: On the Development of Masculinity and Femininity* (New York: Science House, 1968); and the classic by Harry Benjamin, *The Transsexual Phenomenon* (New York: Julian Press, 1966).

71. Gladys Reichard, *Social Life of the Navajo Indians* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), p. 150.

72. Hill, "Status," p. 279.

73. Bill Little Bull, Lakota informant 10, July 1982.

74. Robert Lowie, "The Assiniboine," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 4 (1909): 42.

75. Thomas Yellowtail, Crow informant 4, August 1982. Among the Lakotas, *winktes* also used to call each other "sister." Fire and Erdoes, *Lame Deer,* p. 150.

76. A. B. Holder, "The Bote: Description of a Peculiar Sexual Perversion Found among the North American Indians," *New York Medical Journal* 50 (December 7, 1889): 623–25; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* pp. 312–13.

77. Chiñas, "Isthmus Berdaches," pp. 1–2. This notion of a third, or intermediate, sex appeared in English writings by the late nineteenth century (see Chapter 10).

78. Harry Hay, personal communication, 1 September 1985.

79. Callender and Kochems, "North American Berdache," p. 443.

80. Sue-Ellen Jacobs, "Comment," *Current Anthropology* 24 (1983): 459–60. She and I have been corresponding about this matter since 1980, and our ideas have evolved similarly.

81. Callender and Kochems, "North American Berdache," p. 443.

82. Charles Callender and Lee Kochems, "Men and Not-Men: Male Gender-Mixing Statuses and Homosexuality," *Journal of Homosexuality* 11 (1985): 165–78. Each of us has been influenced by the work of the other; Lee Kochems heard a paper I delivered in Chicago in 1981, from a "third gender" perspec-

tive. I then modified my views, as they have theirs from the "institutionalized woman" perspective, to end up with a gender-mixing perspective. Harriet Whitehead also is now using "gender-mixing" as her approach, as evidenced by her commentary in the "Gender Crossing" session at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Denver, November 1984. Only Evelyn Blackwood continues to argue for the term "gender crossing," as applied to females, but even she agrees that the male berdache status may be more properly seen as a mixture or alternative role. See Blackwood, "Sexuality and Gender."

83. Ferdinand Karsch-Haack, *Das Gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (The same-sex life of nature peoples) (Munich: Verlag von Ernst Reinhardt, 1911; reprinted New York: Arno Press, 1975), p. 327.

84. Henry and Thompson, *New Light,* vol. 1, p. 163.

85. Stevenson, "Zuni Indians," p. 313; Parsons, "Zuni La' Mana," p. 528.

86. D. B. Mandelbaum, "The Plains Cree," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 37 (1940): 256.

87. Fire and Erdoes, *Lame Deer,* p. 150.

88. James Thayer, "The Berdache of the Northern Plains: A Socioreligious Perspective," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 36 (1980): 292–93.

89. Grinnell, *Cheyenne,* pp. 39–41.

90. Lakota informant 2, July 1982.

91. Lakota informant 4, July 1982.

92. Lakota informant 5, July 1982.

93. Calvin Jumping Bull, Lakota informant 1, July 1982.

## CHAPTER FIVE

1. Fernandez de Oviedo, quoted in Francisco Guerra, *The Pre-Columbian Mind* (London: Seminar Press, 1971), p. 55.

2. Fernandez de Piedrahita, quoted in Antonia Requena, "Noticias y Consideraciones Sobre las Anormalidades Sexuales de los Aborígenes Americanos: Sodomía," *Acta Venezolana* 1 (July–September 1945): 16. An English translation of this article, titled "Sodomy among Native American Peoples," appears in *Gay Sunshine* nos. 38–39 (Winter 1979): 37–39.

3. Pedro Faxes, "Supplemento Noticia del Misiones de Monterey y California por Pedro Faxes" (1775), papers of Pedro Fages, second military governor of California, Library of the California Historical Society.

4. Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce de Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America,* ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Chicago: McClurg, 1905), vol. 2, p. 462; quoted in Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1976), p. 611, n. 7.

5. Henri de Tonti, "An Account of Monsieur de La Salle's Last Expedition . . . ," *Collections of the New-York Historical Society,* series 1, vol. 2 (1814): 237–38; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 611, n. 7.

6. Zenobius Membré, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley . . . ,* trans. John Shea (Albany, N.Y.: McDonough, 1903), p. 155; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 611, n. 7.

7. Pierre Liette, "Memoir of Pierre Liette on the Illinois Country," in *The*

*Western Country in the Seventeenth Century,* ed. Milo Quaife (New York: Citadel, 1962), pp. 112–13; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 228.

8. Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North America* (London: Dodsley, 1761), vol. 2, p. 80; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 290.

9. Ruth Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 117.

10. Mohave informants, February 1984. NOTE: Because I do not wish to violate the privacy of my informants, when I am speaking of their sexual behavior I do not quote individuals by name, or footnote them, except in some instances when, at their request, I have been using an alias throughout the book.

11. George Devereux, *Mohave Ethnopsychiatry* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1969), pp. viii–ix. Originally published as *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 175.

12. George Devereux, "Institutionalized Homosexuality of the Mohave Indians," *Human Biology* 9 (1937): 518, 498–99.

13. Devereux, *Mohave Ethnopsychiatry,* pp. xii-xiii.

14. Fred Voget, "American Indians," in *The Encyclopedia of Sexual Behavior,* ed. Albert Ellis and Albert Abarbanel (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1961), vol. 1, pp. 99–100.

15. Richard Grant, personal communication, 14 July 1985.

16. Quoted in Guerra, *Pre-Columbian Mind,* pp. 172–3.

17. Beverly Chiñas, "Isthmus Zapotec 'Berdaches,'" *Newsletter of the Anthropological Research Group on Homosexuality* 7 (May 1985): 1–4.

18. Ibid.

19. Navajo informant, January 1985.

20. H. Clay Trumbull, *Friendship the Master Passion* (Philadelphia: Wattles, 1894), pp. 71–72, 165–66.

21. Francis Parkman, *The Oregon Trail* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 280–83.

22. C. Daryll Forde, "Ethnography of the Yuma Indians," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 28 (1931): 157.

23. Devereux, "Institutionalized Homosexuality," pp. 507–8.

24. Victor Tixier, *Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies,* ed. John McDermott (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940), p. 182.

25. Omer Stewart, personal communication, 17 November 1984.

26. John Honigmann, *The Kaska Indians: An Ethnographic Reconstruction,* Yale University Publications in Anthropology 51 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), p. 130; Cornelius Osgood, *Ingalik Social Culture,* Yale University Publications in Anthropology 53 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), pp. 222–23.

27. James Dorsey, "A Study of the Siouan Cults," *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 11 (1889–90): 467.

28. Edmund White, *States of Desire: Travels in Gay America* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1980), p. 100.

29. Ruth Landes, *The Mystic Lake Sioux: Sociology of the Mdewakantonwan*

*Santee* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), pp. 32, 112, 128. David Greenberg develops this line of reasoning in an important essay, "Why Was the Berdache Ridiculed?" *Journal of Homosexuality* 11 (1985): 165–78.

30. Jennie Joe, Navajo informant 1, August 1985.

31. Greenberg, "Why Was the Berdache Ridiculed?"

32. Alice Fletcher, "The Elk Mystery or Festival: Ogallala Sioux," *Reports of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology* 3 (1887): 281.

33. A. B. Holder, "The Bote: Description of a Peculiar Sexual Perversion Found among North American Indians," *New York Medical Journal* 50 (December 7, 1889): 623–25; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* pp. 312–13.

34. Devereux, "Institutionalized Homosexuality," pp. 514–15.

35. Alfred Kroeber, "The Arapaho," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 18 (1902–7): 19–20. Krober switched from English to Latin for this description: "Viro connexum petente, consensum praebuit; dorso recumbens et penem ventri deponens, permisit accessum in anum."

36. Devereux, "Institutionalized Homosexuality," pp. 510–11. See also pp. 499 and 514–15 for references to the popularity of anal intercourse.

37. Ibid., p. 511.

38. Clellan Ford, *Smoke From Their Fires: The Life of a Kwakiutl Chief* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), pp. 129–30.

39. Robert Stoller, "Two Feminized Male American Indians," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 5 (1976): 530–31.

40. Robert Lowie, "Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 20 (1924): 282–83.

41. Omer Stewart, "Homosexuality among the American Indians and Other Native Peoples of the World," *Mattachine Review* 6 (February 1960): 13.

42. White, *States of Desire,* pp. 99–100.

43. Ford, *Smoke From Their Fires,* p. 130.

44. Richard Grant, personal communication, 14 July 1985.

45. W. W. Hill, "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture," *American Anthropologist* 37 (1935): 276, 278.

46. Harald Broch, "A Note on Berdache among the Hare Indians of Northwestern Canada," *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 7 (1977): 97.

47. Ibid., pp. 97–98.

48. Ibid., p. 98.

49. Ibid., p. 99.

50. Ibid., p. 99.

51. Ibid., p. 98.

52. Bob Waltrip, "Elmer Gage: American Indian," *ONE Magazine* 13 (March 1965): 6–10.

53. Erik Erikson, "Childhood and Tradition in Two American Indian Tribes," *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 1 (1945): 329–30. Erikson did fieldwork on Lakota reservations with anthropologist H. Scudder Mekeel in the 1930s.

54. Underhill, *Papago Indians,* p. 186.

55. Ibid., p. 117.

56. My thanks to Paul Voorhis and Raymond DeMallie for analyzing this passage. Their conclusions are that the text is neither Sauk and Fox nor Dakota.

57. George Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians, with Letters and Notes,* 10th ed. (London: Henry Bohn, 1866), vol. 2, pp. 214–15; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 302.

CHAPTER SIX

1. Cabeza de Vaca quoted in Francisco Guerra, *The Pre-Columbian Mind* (London: Seminar Press, 1971), p. 67.

2. Alanson Skinner, *Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1912), pp. 151–52; Nancy Lurie, "Winnebago Berdache," *American Anthropologist* 55 (1953): 708, 710; Clark Wissler, "Societies and Ceremonial Associations in the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 11, pt. 1 (1916): 92; Lakota informants, July 1982; Leslie Spier, *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), p. 242.

3. Ronald Olson, *The Quinault Indians* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1936), p. 99.

4. Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distribution: Northeast California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942), vol. 20, pp. 134–35. This was also the pattern among the Pomo; see Edward Gifford and Alfred Kroeber, *Culture Element Distribution: Pomo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), vol. 4, p. 153.

5. James Dorsey, "A Study of the Siouan Cults," *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 11 (1889–90): 378–79.

6. Paul-Louis Faye, "Notes on the Southern Maidu," *Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 20 (1923): 45.

7. W. W. Hill, "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture," *American Anthropologist* 37 (1935): 273–79.

8. Lakota informant 4, July 1982.

9. Edmund White, *States of Desire: Travels in Gay America* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1980), p. 100.

10. Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1936), p. 480.

11. George Devereux, "Institutionalized Homosexuality of the Mohave Indians," *Human Biology* 9 (1937): 518.

12. Alfred Bowers, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 194 (1965): 167.

13. Gerónimo Boscana, "Indians at the Missionary Establishment of St. Juan Capistrano, Alta California" (1814–26), in *Chinigchinich . . . Boscana's Historical Account* (Santa Ana, Calif.: Fine Arts, 1933), pp. 54, 170–71; quoted in Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1976), p. 614.

14. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuni Indians," *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 23 (1901–2): 38.

15. George Devereux, *Mohave Ethnopsychiatry* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1969), pp. 84, 101.

16. Devereux, "Institutionalized Homosexuality," p. 513.

17. Ibid., pp. 514, 518.

18. Ralph Beals, "Ethnology of the Nisenan," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 31 (1933): 376.

19. This is true for other tribes, but see as examples, for the Mohave, Devereux, "Institutionalized Homosexuality," pp. 500–501; and C. Daryll Forde, "Ethnography of the Yuma Indians," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 28 (1931): 157.

20. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), p. 52.

21. Devereux, "Institutionalized Homosexuality," pp. 514, 521.

22. Ibid., p. 514.

23. Bowers, "Hidatsa Organization," p. 167.

24. Beverly Chiñas, "Isthmus Zapotec 'Berdaches,'" *Newsletter of the Anthropological Research Group on Homosexuality* 7 (May 1985): 2–3.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Charles Callender and Lee Kochems, "The North American Berdache," *Current Anthropology* 24 (1983): 443–56.

28. Clellan Ford, *Smoke From Their Fires: The Life of a Kwakiutl Chief* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 132.

29. Jennie Joe, Navajo informant 1, January 1985.

30. Martha Austin, Najavo informant 3, February 1985.

31. Ruth Underhill, ed., *The Autobiography of a Papago Woman* (Menasha, Wisc.: American Anthropological Association, 1936), p. 43. Underhill repeats this story in her book *Social Organization of the Papago Indians* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 187.

32. Ford, *Smoke From Their Fires*, p. 130.

33. Henry Angelino and Charles Shedd, "A Note on Berdache," *American Anthropologist* 57 (1955): 125.

34. James Thayer, "The Berdache of the Northern Plains: A Socioreligious Perspective," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 36 (1980): 288.

35. Harriet Whitehead, "The Bow and the Burden Strap: A New Look at Institutionalized Homosexuality in Native North America," in *Sexual Meanings*, ed. Sherry Ortner and Harriet Whitehead (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 80–115; Callender and Kochems, "North American Berdache." A weakness of the latter essay is that the authors make statements based on both male and female "berdaches," which confuse two traditions that Indians see as separate and distinct.

36. Forde, "Ethnography of the Yuma," p. 157.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

1. John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

2. Francisco Guerra, *The Pre-Columbian Mind* (London: Seminar Press, 1971), p. 221. This book is the best starting point for future research on berdachelike traditions in Latin America. The Latin influence has relevance for North America because of the significant Spanish impact on the Indians of California and the Southwest.

3. Guerra, p. 226.

4. Dennis Werner, "A Cross-Cultural Perspective on Theory and Research on Male Homosexuality," *Journal of Homosexuality* 4 (Summer 1979): 358–59.

5. Americo Castro, *The Structure of Spanish History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1952), pp. 82–83.

6. Guerra, *Pre-Columbian Mind,* p. 222. This brief suggestion of this thesis on Spanish homphobia deserves much more research, which I hope that historians will undertake.

7. Quoted in Antonio Requena, "Noticias y Consideraciones Sobre las Anormalidades Sexuales de los Aborígenes Americanos: Sodomía," *Acta Venezolana* 1 (July–September 1945): 32. An English translation of this article, titled "Sodomy among Native American Peoples" appears in *Gay Sunshine* nos. 38–39 (Winter 1979): 37–39.

8. Quoted in Requena, "Anormalidades Sexuales," pp. 1–3. A similar statement is quoted from Francisco López de Gomara about the natives of the Mexican port of San Anon.

9. Quoted in Guerra, *Pre-Columbian Mind,* p. 56.

10. Federico Kauffmann Doig, *Sexual Behaviour in Ancient Peru* (Lima: Kompahtos, 1979), pp. 46–51. For examples of surviving homoerotic art, see Guerra, *Pre-Columbian Mind,* plate I.

11. Guerra, *Pre-Columbian Mind,* pp. 123–24.

12. Quoted in Requena, "Anormalidades Sexuales," p. 7.

13. Cieza de León, *Historia del Peru* (1553), quoted in Guerra, *Pre-Columbian Mind,* p. 91.

14. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia Verdadera de la Nueva España,* vol. 1, p. 202; quoted in Requena, "Anormalidades Sexuales," p. 8.

15. Quoted in Richard Burton, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* (1886; reprint New York: Heritage Press, 1934), vol. 1, p. 211.

16. Quoted in Guerra, *Pre-Columbian Mind,* p. 190. Even the French complimented this action; see Joseph François Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages ameri-cquains* (Paris: Saugrain, 1724), vol. 1, p. 52; trans. in Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1976), pp. 288–89.

17. Quoted in Guerra, *Pre-Columbian Mind,* pp. 59, 61. On the impact of disease, see Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1972), pp. 35–63.

18. Fernandez de Oviedo, Historia Natural de las Indias (1926), vol. 1, pp. 532, 193; quoted in Guerra, *Pre-Columbian Mind,* pp. 55–56.

19. Ibid., pp. 59, 61.

20. Quoted in Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1965), p. 47. No reader in the 1980s could fail to notice the parallel today, as fundamentalist Christians cite the current Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) epidemic as an indication of

God's attack on gay men (they do not explain why lesbians are exempt). The irony of the Spanish attack on Indian sinfulness is that the diseases turned out to have been due to the Spanish themselves.

21. Jerald Milanich and William Sturtevant, eds., *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confesionario: A Documentary Source for Timucuan Ethnolography,* trans. Emilio Moran (Tallahassee: Florida Division of Archives, 1972), pp. 43, 48, 75, 76; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* pp. 286–87.

22. Pedro Font, *Font's Complete Diary of the Second Anza Expedition,* trans. Herbert Bolton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), vol. 4, p. 105; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 291.

23. Francisco Palou, *Relación história de la vida y apostólicas tareas del venerable Padre Fray Junípero Serra* (Mexico City: Zuñiga y Ontiveros, 1787), p. 222; trans. in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 292.

24. Gerónimo Boscana, "Indians at the Missionary Establishment of St. Juan Capistrano, Alta California" (1814–26), in *Chinigchinich . . . Boscana's Historical Account* (Santa Ana, Calif.: Fine Arts, 1933); quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 614.

25. Pedro Cieza de León, quoted in Guerra, *Pre-Columbian Mind,* p. 89.

26. Francisco López de Gomora, quoted in Guerra, *Pre-Columbian Mind,* pp. 85–87.

27. Clark Taylor, "Mexican Gaylife in Historical Perspective," *Gay Sunshine* nos. 26–27 (Winter 1975–76): 1–3.

28. Alfred Metraux, "Boys' Initiation Rites: Religion and Shamanism," vol. 5 of *Handbook of South American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 143 (1949): 588–89. See also Alfred Metraux, "Le Samanisme Araucan," *Revista del Instituto de Antropología* 2 (1942): 309–62; and Louis Faron, *Hawks of the Sun: Mapuche Morality and Its Ritual Attributes* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964).

29. Beverly Chiñas, "Isthmus Zapotec 'Berdaches,'" *Newsletter of the Anthropological Research Group on Homosexuality* 7 (May 1985): 1–4. Other ethnographers among the Zapotecs who have gathered considerable information on *ira' muxe,* but who have not yet published it, are professors Anya Peterson Royce and Della Collins Cook, both of Indiana University.

30. Steve Greene, personal communication, 13 October 1982.

31. See Guerra, *Pre-Columbian Mind,* pp. 76, 172–73.

32. Nancy Farriss, *Maya Society Under Colonial Rule* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), is a valuable ethnohistory of the centuries since the Spanish conquest. Farriss points out that while the conquest transformed the upper echelons of Maya society from a complex social hierarchy to a peasant society, it was less destructive to the folk traditions of the common people than it was in central Mexico.

33. For this and my other interviews in Yucatán during the month of January 1983, I express my appreciation to Raymundo Concha, who served as my traveling companion and interpreter during my fieldwork. His efforts helped to ensure the accuracy of my interviewing.

34. Erskine Lane, "Guatemalan Diary," *Gay Sunshine* nos. 26–27 (Winter 1975–76): 13–15.

35. Ibid.

36. Paul Kutsche, "Situational Homosexuality in Costa Rica," *Anthropological Research Group on Homosexuality Newsletter* 4 (Fall 1983): 8–13.

37. Ibid.

38. Lane, "Guatemalan Diary," p. 13.

39. Ibid. Thorough research on male homosexuality in present-day Mexico has been done by Clark Taylor, "El Ambiente: Mexican Male Homosexual Social Life" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1978); David Lennox, "Homosexuality in Mexico: Repression or Liberation?" (unpublished typescript in the International Gay and Lesbian Archives, Hollywood, California, 1976); and Joseph Carrier, "Urban Mexican Male Homosexual Encounters: An Analysis of Participants and Coping Strategies" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Irvine, 1971). Carrier's most valuable publications on the topic include "Cultural Factors Affecting Urban Mexican Male Homosexual Behavior," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 5 (1976): 103–24; "Sex-Role Preference as an Explanatory Variable in Homosexual Behavior," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 6 (1977): 53–65; and "Homosexual Behavior in Cross Cultural Perspective," in *Homosexual Behavior: A Modern Reappraisal,* ed. Judd Marmor (New York: Basic Books, 1980), pp. 109–20.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

1. The following discussion on buccaneers depends heavily on ideas developed in B. R. Burg, *Sodomy and the Perception of Evil: English Sea Rovers in the Seventeenth Century Caribbean* (New York: New York University Press, 1983).

2. Ibid., chap. 2; for treatment by the law of same-sex behavior, see B. R. Burg, "Ho Hum, Another Work of the Devil: Buggery and Sodomy in Early Stuart England," *Journal of Homosexuality* 6 (1980): 69–78.

3. Burg, *Sodomy,* chap. 4.

4. Ibid., chap. 2.

5. Ibid., chap. 4. The lack of much specific evidence on the sexual behavior of the pirates is the greatest weakness of Burg's book. However, his piecing together of the typical background of a pirate, and his chain of reasoning showing the persistent lack of association with women in the life of the pirate is convincing. This is not to suggest that males of self-conscious homosexual inclinations as a group decided to go out and become pirates so they could establish a gay paradise. Far from it. It is just that those males with this type of background who were satisfied with it most likely participated in the type of sex that was available and that was familiar to them. Those with strong heterosexual feelings would not have remained in an all-male society.

6. Burg, *Sodomy,* chap. 3.

7. Arthur Gilbert, "Buggery and the British Navy, 1700–1861," *Journal of Social History* 10 (1976): 72–98.

8. Ibid., p. 73.

9. Douglas McMurtie, "Notes on the Psychology of Sex," *American Journal of Urology* 10 (1914): 436. My thanks to James Foshee for referring me to this essay.

10. Josiah Flynt, "Homosexuality Among Tramps," in *Studies in the Psychology of Sex: Sexual Inversion,* ed. Havelock Ellis (New York: F. A. Davis Co., 1902), pp. 220–24; Nels Anderson, *The Hobo* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923), p. 148.

11. Burg, *Sodomy,* chap. 4. Remarkably similar is a practice in the Chinese province of Fukien, where there is a particular reputation for homosexual behavior among sailors. As with the pirates, they believed women on board their ships to be unlucky. A mature sailor, called a *ch'i hsung,* would establish a relationship with a youth *ch'i ti.* The family of the youth treated the man as if he were a bridegroom. The sexual nature of their relationship is referred to in the word used to describe sexual acts between males, *ch'i.* See Vern Bullough, *Sexual Variance in Society and History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 304.

12. Burg, *Sodomy,* chap. 4.

13. Ibid., chap. 4.

14. April 15, 1871; quoted in Clifford Westermeier, "Cowboy Sexuality: A Historical No-No?" *Red River Valley Historical Review* 2 (1974): 94.

15. Bruce Siberts quoted in Walker Wyman, *Nothing But Prairie and Sky* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), pp. 100–101.

16. Badger Clark, *Sun and Saddle Leather* (Boston: Richard Badger, Gorham Press, 1915, 1919), pp. 67–69.

17. Westermeier, "Cowboy Sexuality," p. 101.

18. Manuel Boyfrank to Roger Austin, 16 December 1974, Manuel Boyfrank Papers, International Gay and Lesbian Archives, Los Angeles.

19. Anon. quoted in Winston Leyland, ed., *Flesh: True Homosexual Experiences* (San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1982), p. 14.

20. Alfred Kinsey, Wardell Pomeroy, and Clyde Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1948), pp. 455–57.

21. Ibid., pp. 630–31.

22. Dorothy Crew, frontier informant, Interior, South Dakota, June 1982.

23. Martin Duberman, "Writhing Bedfellows . . ." *Journal of Homosexuality* 6 (1980): 93.

24. For an argument for evaluating women's relationships, which can also be applied to men, see Blanche Wiesen Cook, "The Historical Denial of Lesbianism," *Radical History Review* 20 (1979): 60–65.

25. Jonathan Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac: A New Documentary* (New York: Harper, 1983), pp. 68–70; Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1976), pp. 16–19.

26. Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac,* p. 75.

27. *Gay American History,* p. 39.

28. Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac,* p. 237.

29. Frederik Hammerich letters, quoted in ibid., pp. 237–39.

30. Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark*

*Expeditions* (New York: Dodd & Mead, 1904–5), vol. 1, p. 239. Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), p. 531; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 293.

31. Henri de Tonti, "An Account of Monsieur de La Salle's Last Expedition . . . ," *Collections of the New-York Historical Society,* series 1, vol. 2 (1814): 237–38; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 611, n. 7.

32. Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey, 1822–23), vol. 1, pp. 129, 267; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 299.

33. Thomas McKenny, *Sketches of a Tour to Lakes, of the Character and Customs of the Chippeway Indians* (Baltimore: Fielding Lucas, 1827), pp. 315–16; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 300.

34. Alexander Maximilian, *Travels in the Interior of North America,* ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: A. H. Clark, 1906), vol. 22, pp. 283–84, 354; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 615.

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36. Anon. [William George Drummond Stewart], *Altowan, or Incidents of Life and Adventure in the Rocky Mountains,* ed. J. Watson Webb (New York: Harper, 1846), vol. 1, pp. 53–55. My thanks to James Foshee for locating this reference.

37. Henry Schoolcraft, *Information Respecting the History, Conditions and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1852).

38. Dr. William Hammond, "The Disease of the Scythians (Morbus Feminarum) and Certain Analogous Conditions," *American Journal of Neurology and Psychiatry* 1 (1882): 339–55; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* pp. 181–82.

39. Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California,* ed. Robert Heizer (originally published 1877; reprint Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p. 132.

40. Peter Grant, "The Sauteux Indians about 1804," in *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest,* ed. L. R. Masson (Quebec: Imprimarie, 1890), vol. 2, p. 357.

41. John Tanner, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner,* ed. Edwin James (New York: Carvill, 1830), pp. 105–6; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 301.

42. Victor Tixier, *Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies,* ed. John McDermott (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940), p. 182.

43. For the development of this idea that U.S. literature has as a major theme the sanctification of male love as the ultimate emotional experience, see Leslie Fiedler's essay "Come Back to the Raft Ag'in Huck Honey," in his *An End to Innocence* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), pp. 143–48. That these male marriages were often on the frontier or the sea is a reflection of the all-male fringe societies that existed among sailors and frontiersmen.

44. Certainly we can see these push-pull factors operating in twentieth-century U.S. migration. There is in some respects a re-creation of an all-male fringe community (and a parallel all-female fringe community) in major urban

areas. This type of fringe society, however, has been transformed into a very different thing, due not only to the urban revolution but also to the creation of the new idea of personal identities based on sexual orientation. The sexualization of the United States in the twentieth century has put great pressure on people to decide on an identity as "a heterosexual" or "a homosexual." This is a new social construction, one that violated the earlier taboo on talking about sex, which ironically allowed male-male (and female-female) relationships to exist in a restricted but sheltered manner. The role of these same-sex urban communities in attracting people who desire a certain amount of isolation from general society, and a greater chance for same-sex relationships, should not be ignored. Perhaps there is a relationship between the fact that large urban homosexual communities in the United States emerged only after the end of the frontier era.

45. The process of Indians taking in non-Indians began in the east and moved west as the frontier did. Some of the initial absorbing groups, like the Lumbees of North Carolina, absorbed so many escaping whites and blacks that they became essentially a triracial society. See Adolph Dial and David Eliades, *The Only Land I Know: A History of the Lumbee Indians* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1975); Walter L. Williams, ed., *Southeastern Indians Since the Removal Era* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979); Irving Hallowell, "American Indians White and Black: Transculturation," *Current Anthropology* 4 (1963): 519–31.

46. Hallowell, "American Indians."

47. Omer Stewart, "Homosexuality among the American Indians and Other Native Peoples of the World," *Mattachine Review* 6 (February 1960): 14. Stewart got this information from anthropologist Frank Essene, who interviewed Pomo Indians for the 1930s Culture Element Survey carried out by the University of California Anthropology Department.

48. Gonzalo Solis de Meras, *Pedro Menendez de Aviles* (1567), trans. Jeannette Conner (Deland, Fla.: Florida State Historical Society, 1923), pp. 180–81; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* pp. 15–16.

49. James Adair, *History of the American Indians,* pp. 156–57; quoted in John Swanton, "Social Organization and Social Usages of Indians of the Creek Confederacy," *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 42 (1928): 364.

50. Andy Adams, *Log of a Cowboy* (1903; reprint Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1955), pp. 312–14. My thanks for this reference go to James Foshee.

51. Charles Warren Stoddard, "A South Sea Idyl," *Overland Monthly* 3 (September 1869): 258–64; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 501.

52. Charles Warren Stoddard to Walt Whitman, 2 April 1870, in *The Whitman Correspondence,* ed. Edwin H. Miller (New York: New York University Press, 1961), vol. 2, p. 445; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 507.

## CHAPTER NINE

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2. Walter L. Williams, "United States Indian Policy and the Debate over Philippine Annexation: Implications for the Origins of American Imperialism," *Journal of American History* 66 (1980): 810–31.

3. George Grinnell, "The Indian on the Reservation," *Atlantic Monthly* 83 (February 1899): 256–60.

4. Martin Duberman, ed., "Documents in Hopi Indian Sexuality," *Radical History Review* 20 (Spring 1979): 105, 124.

5. Theodore Stern, *The Klamath Tribe: A People and Their Reservation* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965), p. 114.

6. Alfred Bowers, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 194 (1965): 315.

7. A. B. Holder, "The Bote: Description of a Peculiar Sexual Perversion Found among North American Indians," *New York Medical Journal* 50 (December 7, 1889): 623–25; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History*, pp. 312–13.

8. S. C. Simms, "Crow Indian Hermaphrodites," *American Anthropologist* 5 (1903): 581.

9. Robert Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935), p. 48.

10. Joe Medicine Crow, Crow informant 2, August 1982.

11. For background on the Crows at this time see Frederick Hoxie, "Building a Future on the Past: Crow Indian Leadership in an Era of Division and Reunion," in *Indian Leadership*, ed. Walter L. Williams (Manhattan, Kans.: Sunflower University Press, 1984), pp. 76–84.

12. Phyllis Rogers, Navajo informant 2, May 1983.

13. Robert Stoller, "Two Feminized Male American Indians," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 5 (1976): 530; Michael One Feather, Lakota informant 14, April 1985.

14. Clellan Ford, ed., *Smoke From Their Fires: The Life of a Kwakiutl Chief* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 130.

15. Oscar Kock, *Der Indianishe Eros* (Berlin: Verlag Continent, 1925), p. 64.

16. Hubert H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America* (New York: Appleton, 1875), vol. 1, p. 82.

17. Carl Lumholtz, *New Trails in Mexico* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), pp. 252–53.

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19. Joseph François Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages americquains* (Paris: Saugrain, 1724), vol. 1, pp. 603–4, 608; trans. in Katz, *Gay American History*, p. 288.

20. Isaac McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions* (Washington, D.C.: William Morrison, 1840), pp. 360–61.

21. John One Grass, Lakota informant 3, July 1982.

22. Calvin Jumping Bull, Lakota informant 1, July 1982.

23. Thomas Yellowtail, Crow informant 4, August 1982.

24. W. W. Hill, "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture," *American Anthropologist* 37 (1935): 274, 279.

25. Willard W. Hill, *Navaho Humor* (Menasha, Wisc.: Banta, 1943), pp. 12–13.

26. Dorothea Leighton and Clyde Kluckholm, *Children of the People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), p. 78. Harry Hay remembers that Kluckholm knew *nadle* while doing fieldwork in the 1940s (Harry Hay, personal communication, 25 February 1980). It would be interesting for a biographer of Kluckholm to check to see if there are any revealing fieldnotes in the National Anthropological Archives.

27. Hill, "Status," pp. 276–78.

28. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), pp. 51–52. For a view contradicting Spier, see Edith R. McLeod, "White Cindy: Mystery Figure," *Siskiyou Pioneer and Yearbook* 2 (Spring 1953): 32.

29. Ibid. Omer Stewart also questions this tendency of some anthropologists to accept disapproving statements about berdaches without recognizing the historical influence of Western homophobia. Omer Stewart, "Homosexuality among the American Indians and Other Native Peoples of the World," *Mattachine Review* 6 (February 1960): 14–15.

30. Leslie Spier, *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), p. 242.

31. For a particularly biased viewpoint that distorts the ethnographic evidence, see Marvin Opler, "Anthropological and Cross-Cultural Aspects of Homosexuality," in *Sexual Inversion,* ed. Judd Marmor (New York: Basic Books, 1965), pp. 108–23. See especially p. 114, where he assumes that because homosexuality is a "deviation" it is thereby necessarily condemned by a society.

32. George Devereux, "Institutionalized Homosexuality of the Mohave Indians," *Human Biology* 9 (1937): 526–27; Lowie, *Crow,* p. 48; Thomas Fitzgerald, "A Critique of Anthropological Research on Homosexuality," *Journal of Homosexuality* 2 (1977): 389. See also Martin Duberman's response, in *Radical History Review* 21 (1980).

33. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuni Indians," *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 23 (1901–2): 38.

34. Elsie Clews Parsons, "The Zuni La' Mana," *American Anthropologist* 18 (October–December 1916): 526.

35. The Acoma man who acted as Hammond's escort, and whom the doctor had treated for illness, did develop enough of a sense of trust with the doctor that he did confide "with perfect equanimity, that he himself, in his younger days, had made use of the *mujerado* of his pueblo in the manner referred to." What is remarkable is that Hammond, even as early as 1851, was able to get no other Indians to talk more specifically about the *mujerado*. See William Hammond, "The Disease of the Scythians (Morbus Feminarum) and Certain Analogous Conditions," *American Journal of Neurology and Psychiatry*

1 (1882): 330–55; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* pp. 181–82.

36. Anna Gayton, *Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), p. 106. Nancy Lurie, "Winnebago Berdache," *American Anthropologist* 55 (1953): 708–9.

37. Richard Grant, personal communication, 14 July 1985.

38. A. L. Kroeber, "Psychosis or Social Sanction," *Character and Personality.* 8 (1940): 209–10; Paula Gunn Allen, "Lesbians in American Indian Cultures," *Conditions* 7 (1981): 84.

39. Duberman, "Documents in Hopi," pp. 109, 112, 113.

40. Mischa Titiev, *Old Oraibi: A Study of the Hopi Indians of Third Mesa* (1944; reprint New York: Kraus, 1971), p. 205-B; Richard Grant, personal communication, 14 July 1985.

41. Peggy Reeves Sanday, *Female Power and Male Dominance: On the Origins of Sexual Inequality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

42. Bowers ("Hidatsa Organization," p. 168) concludes that the disappearance of the berdache tradition resulted primarily from the collapse of the aboriginal ceremonial system, which followed the end of warfare. While it is certainly true that the ancient religion declined, this explanation ignores the primary role of acculturation forced on Indians by whites.

43. Lurie, "Winnebago Berdache," pp. 708, 709.

44. Harry Hay, personal communication, 25 February 1980; James Roland, Cheyenne informant 1, August 1982; Scott Dewey, Arapaho informant 1, August 1982.

45. Lakota Studies Department, "Hanta Yo: Authentic Farce" (Rosebud, S.D.: Sinte Gleska College, 1980), pp. 6, 8. My criticism of the homophobia of this pamphlet is not to be interpreted as a defense of the historical novel *Hanta Yo,* which rightly deserves condemnation for its basic misunderstanding of Lakota culture. However, one of my informants, a Lakota berdache, claims that in the main the novel's portrayal of homosexual behavior was fairly accurate; see Ruth Beebe Hill, *Hanta Yo: An American Saga* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1979), p. 313.

46. This controversy was reported in Harry Hay and John Burnside, "Gay Awareness and the First Americans," *RFD* no. 20 (Summer 1979): 18–19.

47. Maurice Kenny, "Tinselled Bucks: An Historical Study in Indian Homosexuality," *Gay Sunshine* nos. 26–27 (Winter 1975–76): 17.

48. William T. Hagan, *Indian Police and Judges* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), p. 123.

49. William T. Hagan, personal communication, 11 February 1980.

50. Hagan, *Indian Police,* p. 115.

51. Theodore Stern, *The Klamath Tribe: A People and Their Reservation* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965), p. 114; and Hiroto Zakoji, "Klamath Culture Change," (M.A. thesis, University of Oregon, 1953).

52. Terry Calling Eagle, Lakota informant 5, July 1982.

53. These reports are quoted in Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (New York: Random House, 1910, 1936), vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 16–17.

54. Stevenson, "Zuni Indians," pp. 310, 380; Triloki Pandey, "Anthropologists at Zuni," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 116 (1972): 327.

55. Triloki Pandey, personal communication, 1 June 1983.

56. Wes Fortney, Cheyenne informant 2, August 1982.

57. Terry Calling Eagle, Lakota informant 5, July 1982.

58. Berard Haile, "Navaho Games of Chance and Taboo," *Primitive Man* 6 (1933): 39; Gladys Reichard, *Navaho Religion* (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1950), pp. 140–41.

59. Harry Hay, personal communication, 25 February 1980.

60. Gene Weltfish, *The Lost Universe* (New York: Basic Books, 1965), p. 29.

61. Ronnie Loud Hawk, Lakota informant 4, July 1982.

62. Harriet Duncan Munnick, *Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: Vancouver and Stellamaris Mission,* trans. Mikell Warner (St. Paul, Ore.: French Prairie Press, 1972), pp. 83–84. I would like to thank Indiana Matters of the British Columbia Provincial Archives for this source.

63. Harry Hay, personal communication, 13 February 1980.

64. Interview with a Pueblo Indian, in Edmund White, *States of Desire: Travels in Gay America* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1980), pp. 99–101.

65. Crow informant 3, August 1982.

66. Elsie Clews Parsons, "The Zuni La' Mana," *American Anthropologist* 18 (1916): 523.

67. John Fire and Richard Erdoes, *Lame Deer, Seeker of Visions* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), p. 149.

68. Donald Forgey, "The Institution of Berdache among the North American Plains Indians," *Journal of Sex Research* 11 (February 1975): 6–7.

69. Elva One Feather, Lakota informant 8, July 1982.

70. Ruth Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 186.

71. Walter Williams, ed., *Southeastern Indians Since the Removal Era* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979).

72. Gladys Reichard, *Social Life of the Navajo Indians* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), p. 150.

73. Interview by Maurice Kenny, "Tinselled Bucks: An Historical Study in Indian Homosexuality," *Gay Sunshine* nos. 26–27 (Winter 1975–76): 17.

74. Harry Hay, personal communication, 25 February 1980.

75. Jennie Joe, Navajo informant 1, October 1982.

## CHAPTER TEN

1. Edward Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas* (London: Macmillian, 1908, 1926); see also Westermarck's *Memories of My Life* (New York: Macaulay Co., 1929). There is an oral tradition within anthropology that Westermarck was actively homosexual, and enjoyed relationships with his male informants in North Africa where he did fieldwork; Omer Stewart, personal communication, 17 November 1984.

2. Ferdinand Karsch-Haack, *Das Gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvolker* (Munich: Reinhardt, 1911; reprinted New York: Arno Press, 1975).

3. James Steakley, *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement in Germany*

(New York: Arno Press, 1975); Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (Berlin: Louis Marcus, 1914); Magnus Hirschfeld, ed., *Jahrbuch fur sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (1900–1934).

4. Edward Carpenter, *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk: A Study in Social Evolution* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1914; reprinted New York: Arno Press, 1975). Several of Karl Ulrichs's most important essays have been translated and analyzed by Michael Lombardi, "Karl Heinrich Ulrichs" (Ph.D. diss., ONE Institute of Homophile Studies, Los Angeles, 1984). The best book on the English pioneers is Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain, from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (London: Quartet Books, 1977).

5. Harry Hay, personal communication, 25 February 1980.

6. Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1976), pp. 413, 419–20.

7. John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940–1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

8. Jim Kepner, personal communication, 9 May 1983.

9. W. Dorr Legg, "The Berdache and Theories of Sexual Inversion," *One Institute Quarterly of Homophile Studies* 5 (Spring 1959): 59–63.

10. Dorr Legg, personal communication, 12 September 1985; see Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 326, for an assessment of the impact of Clellan Ford and Frank Beach, *Patterns of Sexual Behavior* (New York: Harper, 1951).

11. Donald Cory, ed., *Homosexuality, A Cross-Cultural Approach* (New York: Julian Press, 1956); Dorr Legg, personal communication, 9 May 1983 and 12 September 1985.

12. Stewart's speech was later published as "Homosexuality among the American Indians and Other Native Peoples of the World," *Mattachine Review* 6 (January 1960): 9–15, and (February 1960): 13–19; Henry Hay, "The Hammond Report," *One Institute Quarterly of Homophile Studies* 6 (Winter-Spring 1963): 1–21, 65–67; Bob Waltrip, "Elmer Gage: American Indian," *ONE Magazine* no. 13 (March 1965): 6–10.

13. Harry Hay, personal communication, 12 September 1985; Sue-Ellen Jacobs, personal communication, 1 June 1984.

14. Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 284.

15. Maurice Kenny, "Tinselled Bucks: An Historical Study in Indian Homosexuality," *Gay Sunshine* nos. 26–27 (Winter 1975–76): 16–17; Dean Gengle, "Reclaiming the Old New World: Gay Was Good with Native Americans," *The Advocate,* 28 January 1976, pp. 40–41; Arthur Evans, *Witchcraft and the Gay Counterculture* (Boston: Fag Rag Books, 1978); Mitch Walker, *Visionary Love* (San Francisco: Treeroots Press, 1980).

16. Charles Allegre, "Le Berdache, est-il un modele pour nous?" *Le Berdache* 1 (June 1979): 21–24; J. Michael Clark, "The Native American Berdache: A Resource for Gay Spirituality," *RFD* no. 40 (Fall 1984): 22, 28.

17. Judy Grahn, personal communication, 15 May 1983; Judy Grahn, *Another Mother Tongue: Gay Words, Gay Worlds* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984).

18. Will Roscoe, *Making History: The Challenge of Gay Studies* (San Francisco, 1984), p. 48.

19. Will Roscoe, "Gay American Indians: Creating an Identity from Past Traditions," *The Advocate* 29 October 1985, p. 48.

20. Kevin Prather, personal communication, 1 September 1985.

21. Paula Gunn Allen, personal communication, 3 June 1983.

22. Harry Hay, personal communication, 25 February 1980.

23. Harry Hay, personal communication, 13 February 1980.

24. Ronnie Loud Hawk, Lakota informant 4, July 1982.

25. Gengle, "Reclaiming."

26. Ibid.; Randy Burns, personal communication, 24 October 1980; Roscoe, "Gay American Indians," p. 46.

27. Randy Burns, personal communication, 24 October 1980. A photograph of Burns, and another of Erna Pahe, current president of GAI, appear in Stephen Stewart, *Positive Image: A Portrait of Gay America* (New York: William Morrow, 1985), pp. 143, 150–51.

28. Randy Burns, personal communication, 24 October 1980; Roscoe, "Gay American Indians," p. 45; Will Roscoe, ed., *A Bibliography and Index of Berdache and Gay Roles among North American Indians* (San Francisco: Gay American Indians, 1985). The current GAI address is 1347 Divisadero Street, no. 312, San Francisco Calif. 94115.

29. Michael One Feather, Lakota informant 14, April 1985.

30. Lakota informant 2, July 1982.

31. Gaston, "Lettre ouverte au Berdache," *Le Berdache* 1 (June 1979): 20.

32. Vincent White Cloud, Lakota informant 2, July 1982.

33. Calvin Jumping Bull, Lakota informant 1, July 1982.

34. Twila Giegle Dillon, Lakota informant 6, July 1982.

35. Terry Calling Eagle, Lakota informant 5, July 1982.

36. Ibid.

37. Though Oklahoma Kiowas have a publicly expressed negative attitude toward homosexuality, gay identity is fairly common among the Kiowas and their families tend to feel positively toward them. Tony Brown, Oklahoma Creek-Cherokee informant, May 1983.

38. Hupa informant, September 1985.

39. Ruth Landes, *The Prairie Potawatomi* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), pp. 196–97, 316.

40. Ibid., pp. 26, 190–91, 195–97.

41. Ibid., pp. 196, 198–99, 201.

42. Martin Duberman, "1965 Native American Transvestism," *New York Native*, 21 June–4 July 1982, p. 46.

43. Robert Stoller, "Two Feminized Male American Indians," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 5 (1976): 531–32, 536.

44. Jerry Running Elk, Lakota informant 9, July 1982.

45. Margaret Mead, "Cultural Determinants of Sexual Behavior," in *Sex and Internal Secretions*, ed. William Young (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins,

3rd ed., 1961), p. 1452. My thanks to James Weinrich for reminding me of this quote.

46. Anon. Hupa informant, September 1985.

47. Calvin Fast Wolf, Lakota informant 13, June 1982.

48. Jim Young, Lakota informant 15, February 1980.

49. Joe Little Coyote, Cheyenne informant 3, August 1985.

50. Robert Black, Omaha informant 4, June 1982.

51. Calvin Fast Wolf, Lakota informant 13, June 1982.

52. Joe Medicine Crow, Crow informant 2, August 1982.

53. Gary Johnson and Thomas Yellowtail, Crow informants 1 and 4, August 1982.

54. "Penthouse Interview: Russell Means," *Penthouse Magazine,* April 1981, p. 138.

55. Gary Johnson, Crow informant 1, August 1982.

56. Ronnie Loud Hawk, Lakota informant 4, July 1982.

57. Phyllis Rogers, Navajo informant 2, May 1983.

58. Cliff Powell, Choctaw informant 1, May 1983.

59. Michael One Feather, Lakota informant 14, April 1985.

60. Roscoe, "Gay," pp. 45, 48.

61. Micmac informant, September 1985.

62. Quoted in Roscoe, "Gay," p. 48.

63. Paula Gunn Allen, personal communication, 3 June 1983.

64. "Winkte," in Maurice Kenny, *Only As Far As Brooklyn* (Boston: Good Gay Poets, 1979), pp. 10–11.

65. Quoted in Rosa von Praunheim, *Army of Lovers* (London: Gay Men's Press, 1980), p. 148.

66. Waltrip, "Elmer Gage," p. 10; quoted in Katz, *Gay American History,* p. 332.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

1. Pedro de Magalhães de Gandavo, "History of the Province of Santa Cruz," ed. John Stetson, *Documents and Narratives Concerning the Discovery and Conquest of Latin America: The Histories of Brazil* 2 (1922): 89.

2. Evelyn Blackwood, "Sexuality and Gender in Certain Native American Tribes: The Case of Cross-Gender Females," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 10 (1984): 27–42. These tribes are listed on p. 29: California (Achomawi, Atsugewi, Klamath, Shasta, Wintu, Wiyot, Yokuts, Yuki), Southwest (Apache, Cocopa, Maricopa, Mohave, Navajo, Papago, Pima, Yuma), Northwest (Bella Coola, Haisla, Kutenai, Lillooet, Nootka, Okanagon, Queets, Quinault), Great Basin (Shoshoni, Ute, Southern Ute, Southern and Northern Paiute), Subarctic (Ingalik, Kaska), and northern Plains (Blackfoot, Crow).

3. Alice Joseph, et al., *The Desert People* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), p. 227.

4. C. Daryll Forde, "Ethnography of the Yuma Indians," *University of*

*California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology* 28 (1931): 157; Leslie Spier, *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), p. 243.

5. Forde, "Ethnography of the Yuma," p. 157. E. W. Gifford, "The Cocopa," *University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology* 31 (1933): 294.

6. John J. Honigmann, *The Kaska Indians: An Ethnographic Reconstruction* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), pp. 129–30.

7. Cornelius Osgood, *Ingalik Social Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958); commented on in Blackwood, "Sexuality and Gender," p. 32.

8. K. J. Crowe, *A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), pp. 77–78, 90.

9. Honigmann, *Kaska,* pp. 129–30.

10. Claude Schaeffer, "The Kutenai Female Berdache: Courier, Guide, Prophetess, and Warrior," *Ethnohistory* 12 (1965): 195–216.

11. Quoted in ibid.

12. Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River* (London: Smith and Elder, 1849), pp. 85, 144–49; quoted in Schaeffer, "Kutenai Female."

13. John Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Seas* (London: J. Murray, 1823), p. 152; quoted in Schaeffer, "Kutenai Female."

14. T. C. Elliott, ed. "John Work's Journal," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 5 (1914): 190; quoted in Schaeffer, "Kutenai Female."

15. Quoted in Schaeffer, "Kutenai Female," pp. 215–16.

16. George Devereux, "Institutionalized Homosexuality of the Mohave Indians," *Human Biology* 9 (1937): 503. George Devereux, *Mohave Ethnopsychiatry* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1969), p. 262.

17. Devereux, *Mohave Ethnopsychiatry,* pp. 416–17.

18. Ibid., p. 262.

19. Ibid., pp. 416–420.

20. E. W. Gifford, "The Cocopa," *University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology* 31 (1933): 257–94.

21. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), p. 53.

22. Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distribution: Northeast California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942), vol. 20, pp. 134–35.

23. Charles Callender and Lee Kochems, "Men and Not-Men: Male Gender-Mixing Statuses and Homosexuality," *Journal of Homosexuality* 11 (1985); and by the same authors, "The North American Berdache," *Current Anthropology* 24 (1983): 443–56. See also Harriet Whitehead, "The Bow and the Burden Strap: A New Look at Institutionalized Homosexuality in Native North America" in *Sexual Meanings,* ed. Sherry Ortner and Harriet Whitehead (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 80–115. The beginnings of a sophisticated approach, recognizing cultural variation in the number and statuses of genders, are suggested in M. Kay Martin and Barbara Voorhies, *Female of the Species* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), chap. 4.

24. Beatrice Medicine, "'Warrior Women'—Sex Role Alternatives for Plains Indian Women," in *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*, ed. Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1983), p. 269. Though Medicine criticizes Sue-Ellen Jacobs for suggesting that Plains Warrior Women were parallel to berdachism, Jacobs has clarified that "they should not be confused with transsexuals, third gender people, homosexuals or others." Sue-Ellen Jacobs, personal communication, 17 May 1983. See also Whitehead, "Bow and Burden Strap," pp. 86, 90–93; Donald Forgey, "The Institution of Berdache among the North American Plains Indians," *Journal of Sex Research* 11 (1975): 1; and Ruth Landes, *The Mystic Lake Sioux* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968).

25. Ibid., pp. 92–93; Oscar Lewis, "The Manly-Hearted Women among the Northern Piegan," *American Anthropologist* 43 (1941): 173–87.

26. John Fire and Richard Erdoes, *Lame Deer, Seeker of Visions* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), pp. 148–49.

27. Paula Gunn Allen, "Lesbians in American Indian Cultures," *Conditions* 7 (1981): 76.

28. Blackwood, "Sexuality and Gender," p. 39; Jeannette Mirsky, "The Dakota," in *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*, ed. Margaret Mead (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), p. 417.

29. The best recent works on the position of Plains women are the essays in Albers and Medicine, *Hidden Half.*

30. Edwin Thompson Denig, *Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri*, ed. John Ewers (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), pp. 195–200.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. Allen, "Lesbians," pp. 68, 78–79.

36. Blackwood, "Sexuality and Gender," pp. 35–36.

37. Allen, "Lesbians," pp. 65–66, 73.

38. Ibid.

39. Blackwood, "Sexuality and Gender," p. 38; Allen, "Lesbians," pp. 79–80; Albers and Medicine, *Hidden Half,* pp. 53–73.

40. Evelyn Blackwood, "Some Comments on the Study of Homosexuality Cross-Culturally," *Anthropological Research Group on Homosexuality Newsletter* 3 (Fall 1981): 8–9. Important source material on female homosexual behavior is in the classic study by Ferdinand Karsch-Haack, *Das Gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (The same-sex life of nature peoples) (Munich: Verlag von Ernst Reinhardt, 1911). It and Judy Grahn, *Another Mother Tongue: Gay Words, Gay Worlds* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984), are the starting points for future cross-cultural research on lesbianism. Just two examples of female-female relationships which bear further investigation include groups of women silk weavers, "spinsters," in China—see Agnes Smedley, *Portraits of Chinese Women in Revolution* (Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, 1976)—and female marriages in Africa—see Denise O'Brian, "Female Husbands in

Southern Bantu Societies," in *Sexual Stratification,* ed. Alice Schlegel (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

41. Beverly Chiñas, "Isthmus Zapotec 'Berdaches,'" *Newsletter of the Anthropological Research Group on Homosexuality* 7 (May 1985): 3–4.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

44. Blackwood, "Sexuality and Gender," p. 38.

45. Joseph Sandpiper, Micmac informant 1, September 1985.

46. Paula Gunn Allen, personal communication, 6 September 1985.

47. Quoted in Will Roscoe, "Gay American Indians: Creating an Identity from Past Traditions," *The Advocate,* 29 October 1985, pp. 45–48.

## CHAPTER TWELVE

1. Evelyn Blackwood has done an excellent survey of the ethnographic literature for women in her thesis "Lesbian Behavior in Cross-Cultural Perspective" (M.A. thesis, San Francisco State University, 1984.). Theoretical perspectives are contained in Suzanne Kessler and Wendy McKenna, *Gender: An Ethnomethodological Approach* (New York: Wiley, 1978), pp. 23–31; and in Evelyn Blackwood, ed., "Anthropology and Homosexual Behavior: Special Issue," *Journal of Homosexuality* 11 (Summer 1985). For males see Dennis Werner, "A Cross-Cultural Perspective on Theory and Research on Male Homosexuality," *Journal of Homosexuality* 4 (Summer 1979): 345–47, 360; J. M. Carrier, "Homosexual Behavior in Cross Cultural Perspective," In *Homosexual Behavior: A Modern Reappraisal,* ed. Judd Marmor (New York: Basic Books, 1978), p. 120; Wainwright Churchill, *Homosexual Behavior Among Males: A Cross-Cultural and Cross-Species Investigation* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1967); John Kirsch and James Rodman, "The Natural History of Homosexuality," *Yale Scientific* 51 (Winter 1977): 7–13; James Weinrich, "Human Reproductive Strategy," (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1976); Randolph Trumbach, "London's Sodomites," *Journal of Social History* 11 (Fall 1977): 3–5; Vern Bullough, *Sexual Variance in Society and History* (New York: Wiley, 1976); Alfred Kinsey et al., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948), pp. 638–39, 650–51; Robert Padgug, "Sexual Matters: On Conceptualizing Sexuality in History," *Radical History Review* 20 (1979): 10–15.

2. Waldemar Bogoras, *The Chuckchee,* Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 11, pt. 2 (New York, 1907), pp. 449–51.

3. Ibid., pp. 450–51, 453.

4. Ibid., pp. 455, 451.

5. Ibid., pp. 453, 452, 454.

6. Ibid., pp. 456, 457; Iwan Bloch, *Anthropological Studies in the Strange Sexual Practices of All Races,* 1902 trans. (New York: Anthropological Press, 1933), p. 51.

7. Charles Allen Clark, *Religions of Old Korea* (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1961), pp. 182–86. David Eyde gave me a photograph that he took of a Korean male shaman dressed in feminine clothing. Laurel Kendall

of the American Museum of Natural History has done fieldwork with these shamans.

8. Quoted in Ales Hrdlicka, *The Anthropology of Kodiak Island* (New York: AMS Press, 1975), p. 79. See Chapter 3 Note 7 for the continuation of this quote.

9. Georg Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World during the Years 1803–1807* (Carlisle, Pa.: George Philips, 1817), pp. 345, 64; Martin Sauer, *An Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia . . . 1785–1794* (London, 1802), pp. 160, 176; Hubert Bancroft, "The Koniagas," in *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America* (New York: Appleton, 1875), vol. 1, p. 82.

10. George Mortimer, *Observations and Remarks Made During a Voyage* (London, 1791), p. 47; James Wilson, *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, 1796–8* (London, 1799), p. 200; both as quoted in Bengt Danielsson, *Love in the South Seas,* (New York: Reynal, 1956), pp. 148–52.

11. Quoted in Robert Levy, *Tahitians: Mind and Experience in the Society Islands* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), pp. 130–31.

12. Danielsson, *Love,* pp. 147–53; Craighill Handy, *The Native Culture of the Marquesas* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1923), p. 103; Levy, *Tahitians,* pp. 130–40; Trumbach, "London's Sodomites," pp. 6–7. Extensive early references to homosexuality in Polynesia, especially Tahiti and the Marquesas Islands, regarding both *mahus* and masculine men, as well as women, are contained in Ferdinand Karsch-Haack, *Das Gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvolker* (Munich: Verlag von Ernst Reinhardt, 1911; reprint New York: Arno Press, 1975). See also Charles Warren Stoddard's experiences in Hawaii, as reported in the last part of Chapter 8. My experience in the Philippines, in November 1983, with males who openly desired sexual relations but who had no identity as "homosexual" or even "bisexual," reinforces the prevalence of this attitude.

13. Levy, *Tahitians,* pp. 134–35.

14. Brad Hammer, personal communication, 15 April 1985.

15. Levy, *Tahitians,* pp. 139, 239.

16. Ibid., p. 139.

17. The acceptance of *mahu* was observed particularly on the Hawaiian island of Molokai, where the traditional attitudes have continued more strongly, by ethnographers Maria Lepowsky, John Acevedo, and Wayne Wooden; personal communications 1985. Alison Laurie, "Homosexuality among the Maori of New Zealand," paper presented at the Sex and the State Conference, Toronto, July 1985.

18. A brief report of an interview in Hawaii is in Walter Williams, "Sex and Shamanism: The Making of a Hawaiian Mahu," *The Advocate,* 2 April 1985, pp. 48–49.

19. Ibid.

20. Bullough, *Sexual Variance,* pp. 248, 257–58, 261–63; Leonard Zwilling (University of Wisconsin), "Homosexuality as Seen in Indian Buddhist Texts," paper presented at the Gay Academic Union Conference, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., October 10, 1983.

21. Serena Nanda, "The Hijras of India: A Transvestite/Transsexual Community," *Anthropological Research Group on Homosexuality* 4 (Fall 1983): 6–8; interview with Triloki Pandey (University of California, Santa Cruz), 2 June 1983.

22. Richard Herrell (University of Chicago), "Notes on the Hijras of India," unpublished typescript to Walter Williams, 25 August 1982. If my own experience with American Indian berdache is any guide, the only way to accurately discover the sexual feelings of these individuals is to have openly gay researchers live among them. The reluctance of Indians to talk about same-sex desire has too often provided the excuse for nongay researchers to claim that such homosexual aspects should be deemphasized. Serena Nanda has done important field research based on observation and interviews with *hijras* of Bangalore and Bombay. See Serena Nanda, "The Hijras of India: Cultural and Individual Dimensions of an Institutionalized Third Gender Role," *Journal of Homosexuality* 11 (1985): 35–54.

23. Jimmy Pham, personal communication, 26 July 1985; Elliott Heiman and Cao Van Le, "Transsexualism in Vietnam," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 4 (1975): 89–95.

24. Janet Hoskins, personal communication, 15 September 1985.

25. James Peacock, *Rites of Modernization: Symbolic and Social Aspects of Indonesian Proletarian Drama* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 168, 198, 204–9. See also Peacock's paper in Barbara Babcock, ed., *Reversible World* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978).

26. An excellent bibliography on these practices is Wayne Dynes, "Homosexuality in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Gay Books Bulletin* 9 (Spring–Summer 1983): 20–21.

27. Unni Wikan, "Man Becomes Woman: Transsexuals in Oman as a Key to Gender Roles," *Man* 13 (1977): 665–67; with several comments on the piece in following issues. See also Unni Wikan, *Behind the Veil in Arabia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982); Edward Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas* (London: Macmillan, 1908), and Westermarck's autobiography, *Memories of My Life* (New York: Macaulay Co., 1929). Vern Bullough, *Sexual Variance in Society and History*, gathers together a remarkable amount of data for the Middle East, India, and China.

28. Although it is fictional in form, the historical research done by Anne Rice for her book *Cry to Heaven* (New York: Knopf, 1982) is impressive. This is another topic in which future research needs to be done.

29. Trumbach, "London's Sodomites," pp. 1–2; Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (London: Gay Men's Press, 1982).

30. Gilbert Herdt, ed., *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Ray Kelly, *Etero Social Structure* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1977); Ray Kelly, "Etero Social Structure: A Study in Structural Contradiction" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1974); Werner, "Cross-Cultural Perspective," p. 358; Carrier, "Homosexual Behavior," pp. 112–114; Gilbert Herdt, *Guardians of the Flutes* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981); F. E. Williams, *Papuans of the Trans-Fly* (Oxford:

Oxford University Press, 1936); J. van Raal, *Dema* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966); John Layard, *Stone Men of Malekula* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1942); Gunnar Landtman, *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea* (London: Macmillan, 1927); Trumbach, "London's Sodomites," p. 5; William Davenport, "Sexual Patterns and Their Regulation in a Society of the Southwest Pacific," in *Sex and Behavior,* ed. Frank Beach (New York: John Wiley, 1965).

31. See the works listed in n. 30.

32. Trumbach, "London's Sodomites," pp. 5–7; John Layard, "Homoeroticism in Primitive Society as a Function of the Self," *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 4 (1959): 106; A. G. R. Ravenscroft, "Some Habits and Customs of the Chingalee Tribe, Northern Territory, S. A." *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 15 (1892): 121–22; Edward Hardman, "Notes on Some Habits and Customs of the Nations of Kimberly District, Western Australia," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 7 (1889–1891): 73–74; E. E. Evans-Pritchard, "Sexual Inversion among the Azande," *American Anthropologist* 72 (1970): 1428–34.

33. Evans-Pritchard, "Sexual Inversion," pp. 1428–34; Carrier, "Homosexual Behavior," pp. 102, 116–17; A. E. Ashworth and W. M. Walker, "Social Structure and Homosexuality," *British Journal of Sociology* 23 (June 1972): 155–56.

34. Maggie Childs, "Japan's Homosexual Heritage," *Gai Saber* 1 (Spring 1977): 41–45.

35. Ibid.; Bullough, *Sexual Variance,* pp. 300–06; Trumbach, "London's Sodomites," pp. 5–6. In Japan in particular, it is easy to see the relationship between a culture's tolerance for homosexuality and its attitudes toward population growth. The pre-1865 Tokugawa period was a time of stable population, in which the limits of comfortable physical subsistence and ecological balance had been reached. Overpopulation had to be kept down by abortion and infanticide. In such an ecological state, it is not surprising that homosexuality would be tolerated. Taboos against nonreproductive forms of sex seem to be stronger in societies that try to maximize their population growth (for example, the ancient Hebrews, America before 1960, or Stalinist Russia). With this in mind it is not surprising that Japanese society responded to Western pressures for condemning homosexuality and abortion only after the 1860s, when new economic opportunities produced a need for increased population growth. Werner ("Cross Cultural Perspective," pp. 358–59) uses a survey of societies in the Human Relations Area Files to note the close relationship between pro–population growth and antihomosexual attitudes. He notes as an example the dramatic turnabout of government policy in the Soviet Union. In 1917 the Bolsheviks, who were not concerned about population growth, abolished both antiabortion laws and antisodomy laws. But by the 1930s Joseph Stalin's regime emphasized population growth, and reinstated antiabortion laws at the same time as it carried out mass arrests of homosexuals. Such a hypothesis would explain why America, from the colonial period to the twentieth century, with its strong emphasis on population increase, would also be antihomosexual. When birth control, abortion, and

nonreproductive sex became more accepted after 1960, this was accompanied by a greater toleration for gay people.

36. Bullough, *Sexual Variance,* pp. 205, 221–44; Trumbach, "London's Sodomites," pp. 6, 9; Westermarck, *Origin and Development,* chap. 43; Westermarck, *Memories;* Walter Cline, *Notes on the People of Siwah* (Menasha, Wisc.: American Anthropological Association, 1936), pp. 17–19.

37. Donald Little, *An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1970); Allen Edwardes, *The Jewel in the Lotus: A Historical Survey of the Sexual Culture of the East* (New York: Julian Press, 1959), pp. 200–215; Paul Hardman, "Homoaffectionalism: The Civilizing Factor" (Ph.D. diss., ONE Institute, Los Angeles, 1986), chap. 8.

38. Gustave Flaubert to Louis Bouilhet, 15 January 1850, translated in Claude Courouve, "The Word 'Bardache,'" *Gay Books Bulletin* 8 (Fall–Winter 1982): 18–19.

39. K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); Bullough, *Sexual Variance,* p. 99. Sergent, *Homosexuality in Greek Myth* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), covers the parallels with Melanesia.

40. John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Bullough, *Sexual Variance.*

41. Stephen Murray, *Social Theory, Homosexual Realities* (New York: Gay Academic Union, 1984), pp. 51–53. This is an important theoretical work which, while brief, suggests many new directions for research.

42. James Steakley, *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement in Germany* (New York: Arno Press, 1975).

43. The outline of recent gay history is traced in John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940–1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

44. Trumbach, "London's Sodomites"; Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England;* Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1976).

45. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (London: Allen Lane, 1979); Weeks, *Coming Out;* Jonathan Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac* (New York: Harper and Row, 1983).

46. My ideas in this section have been shaped by discussions with Larry Gross, Wayne Dynes, Gert Hekma, Rick Bébout, Gregory Sprague, George Chauncey, and Martin Duberman, among others. They are part of a growing number of scholars who see the need to move beyond the essentialist–social constructionist debate. For an attempt to answer his critics, and to move toward a middle ground, see John Boswell, "Towards the Long View: Revolutions, Universals and Sexual Categories," *Salmagundi* No. 58–59 (Fall 1982–Winter 1983): 89–113.

47. Jeffrey Weeks and Kenneth Plummer interview Mary McIntosh, "'The Homosexual Role' Revisited," in *The Making of the Modern Homosexual,* ed. Kenneth Plummer (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes & Noble, 1981), pp. 47–49.

# *Bibliography*

ABBREVIATIONS

BAE Bureau of American Ethnology (Annual Reports and Bulletins, published by the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.).

GAH *Gay American History* (documentary reprint collection; see citation under Jonathan Katz). For the convenience of the reader, rare publications are listed if reprinted.


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NOTE: The name for berdache in a particular native language, when known, appears in italics in parentheses following the tribe's name. An Indian person's tribe is inserted in parentheses following her or his name.

Walter L. Williams is professor of ethnohistory in the Program for the Study of Women and Men in Society at the University of Southern California. The recipient of research fellowships from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, Williams has written numerous essays on interethnic relations and is the author of three books: *Southeastern Indians Since the Removal Era*, *Black Americans and the Evangelization of Africa*, and *Indian Leadership*.

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