DEFINITION OF A BARBARIAN. SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS. (1723-1792)

If an European, when he has cut off his beard and put false hair on his head, or bound up his own natural hair, in regular hard knots, as unlike nature as he could possibly make it; and after having rendered them immovable by the help of the fat of hogs, has covered the whole with flour, laid on by a machine with the utmost regularity; if when thus attired he issues forth, and meets with a Cherokee Indian, who has bestowed as much time at his toilet, and laid on with equal care and attention his yellow and red ocher on particular parts of his forehead or cheeks, as he judges most becoming; whoever of these two despises the other for this attention to the fashion of his country, whichever first feels himself provoked to laugh, is the barbarian.


DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PLAINS INDIAN AND EDUCATED WHITE MAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plains Indian</th>
<th>Educated White Man</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Has no conception of material objects or forces being inanimate.</td>
<td>1. Conceives material objects and forces as being inanimate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Regards dreams as actual experiences, which may be supernatural experiences.</td>
<td>2. Regards dreams merely as dreams. Or else regards them as suppressed wishes, or the result of some minor physical disorder.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. His religion is material. The objects of worship are material, the means of propitiating them are material, and the things demanded of them are material.</td>
<td>3. Has concepts of non-material supernatural force, and does pray for abstract things, such as virtue, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. An individualist for the most part. Less power and ability to co-operate with and engage in sustained collective activities.</td>
<td>4. Power of sustained collective and co-operative activity. Power to organize.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Dependant on personal experience and tradition, and word of mouth communication, or picture writing and memory. Cannot therefore preserve accumulated experiences and information as well.</td>
<td>5. Can accumulate experience by reason of ability to read and write.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Absolute belief and faith in his innate superiority over every other human being. He and his people are much better than other people.</td>
<td>7. Can possibly conceive that he is capable of improvement, and that others exist better than himself.</td>
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</tbody>
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(“Comments on Western Civilization. Back of this Page, Facing Page 188.”)
China and the Western World by Lafcadio Hearn, Atlantic Monthly, August, 1898.

Although the author who declared the Western type of society to be, in many respects, "one of the most horrible that has ever existed in the world's history" was certainly more than half right; although it is true that we see "boundless luxury and self-indulgence at one end of the scale, and at the other a condition of life as cruel as that of a Roman slave, and more degraded than that of a South-Sea islander;" although our civilization be one which opens the gate of fortune to aggressive cunning, and closes it as long as possible against the highest qualities of character and intellect—nevertheless that civilization enormously multiplies the chances for energy, for talent, for practical abilities of almost every description. While crushing and destroying in one direction, it opens a hundred ways for escape in another. Though the feeble, the stupid, and the vicious are brayed alive, the strong, the clever, and the self-controlled are not only aided, but are compelled to better themselves. The condition of success is not merely that effort shall be constant, but also that the force of the effort shall be constantly increased; and those able to fulfill that condition without a mental or a physical break-down are tolerably certain to win at last what they wish—perhaps even more than they wish. While the effort exacted is large, the return is, in the majority of normal cases, more than proportional. Life must be lived upon a bigger scale than in the past; but the means to live can be earned by the more vigorous. Although, by the law of antagonism between individualization and genesis, the higher races ought to be the less fertile races, other conditions being equal, they are not so, having been able to create for themselves conditions unknown in previous eras, and opportunities still undreamed of by races accustomed to simple natural living. Hence the phenomenon that a non-Aryan race, able and willing to adopt Western civilization, or even to submit contentedly to its discipline, will begin to multiply more rapidly under the new conditions, even while those conditions entail forms of suffering previously unknown.
Indians of the Enchanted Desert by Leo Crane, Boston, 1929.

(5) Indian Agents! a much-maligned class of officials, although recognized as part of the National Government since 1796, clouded somewhat in their efforts by the memory - fact and fiction - of the "ration" days. The very title seems to have infuriated the ablest writers of the past, and still causes some of the present to see red. When sentimentals - and God knows the ignorance of them is astounding - take pen in hand to picture the fabled glories and the believed miseries of the savage, they usually begin by attacking those very men I met and have in mind. They forget, if indeed they have ever known, that they are privileged to view the savage because of these men, that the miserable actualities of the "glorious past" would long since have engulfed the idealized protege but for them. ---

(5) These unromantic facts, having no camouflage of feathers and war paint, nothing in them of the beating of tom-toms or the chanting of legends, do not invite a sentimental record; and, it is true, few such things occur in the "dude season," when sentimentality, accompanied by its hand-maiden ignorance, takes its neuroasthenic outing in the wild.

(150) (Visit of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, unannounced, to Hopi, 1905) So the Commissioner came to exert a strong personal influence. And he found speedily that his personal influence in the Great Desert amounted to very little. The Indians had a keen sense of the fitness of things, and they resented his appearing to negotiate with them without an official sponsor. "Who are you," asked the troubled Oraibi, when invited to a council with him.

(151) "I am the Commissioner from Washington," he stated, a fact that was known to President Roosevelt, the Gridiron Club, and the New York Evening Post, and that should have been patent everywhere. "Why do you come here without Moungwi, then?" they demanded. "He should introduce you to us. We do not know you. Moungwi is not here. Why do you come in the back way, from Winslow, and call a council without Moungwi?" Indians are often peculiarly consistent. They did not regret the recent fracas with Moungwi, when they had seized him by the beard and threatened to toss him bodily from the gigantic Chimpuvi cliffs, - the action prevented only by his Navajo police threatening to open fire, - but they did know something of official courtesy between and among all Moungwis or Chiefs, and there is such a thing as having the proper entree, even with an Indian tribe in the far-removed hills. Very likely the Commissioner said something about the respect due his office; when arose a big Indian, who declared to this astonishing effect: - "This man comes here alone, and he has a crooked mouth. His words go two ways. He is no Commissioner of Indian Affairs, or the Moungwi would be here to tell us. I myself saw this man working with a shovel on the rail-road section-gang not three weeks ago. Don't listen to him. He will lead you the wrong trail." Now this was a terrible blow to dignity, and hurt all Washington.

(174) (Teaching children to school from Oraibi, on Government order) So next day the same scene was enacted. It was a short job, only three children being found; but here occurred something like resistance. All the protestants congregated in the house of Sackalstewa. When I entered, a man opened a little cupboard of the wall and produced a packet of papers. They were offered to me as documents of great value. And they were strange documents - letters from people of the country who had read in newspapers of Youkeoma's visit to Washington, and his defiance of the Government. I suppose such persons have nothing better to
CONDUCT OF WHITE TOURISTS TOWARD INDIANS, AND INDIANS REACTION TO IT.

do, and write letters of sympathy to the members of every Indian delegation that parades itself eastward in feathers and war-paint to present a fancied grievance. I recall the ends of one of these papers, from some weak minded woman:

Chief Youkeoma: you are a noble man. Do not let the Government have your children. Their schools are not the place for your Indian lads who know only the hunt and the open spaces. Resist to the last gasp. Die rather than submit.

Very like, she is now writing scenarios. Of course this correspondent had read Fenimore Cooper, and was filled to the neck with the story book idea of Indians - lithe, clean, untouched by disease, and painted by romance. The Southwest has no such Indians; and Indians, whether lithe or not, are seldom clean and never romantic. She knew nothing of filth and trachoma and child-prostitution, (175) while the Hopi had brought such things to a fine degree of perfection. And she lived in Indiana. Now there is a wide difference between demanding the rights of Indians, rights that should be sacred under agreements, and perhaps foreign treaties, such as those of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, and inciting them to warfare and rebellion when teachers and physicians are striving to recover them from ignorance and disease. There is a vast difference between the argument that a title confirmed by three sovereign Governments be not attacked for the sake of political loot - as is the case of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico - and denouncing the educational system of the United States and advising a group of benighted savages to kill in a distant and lonely desert. That writer from Indiana should have been a field matron for a little! I have no sympathy with this type of sentimentalist. I deported some of them from the Hopi desert country when they appeared with their box of theoretical trinkets.

(349) (Snake Ceremony at Walpi) The ground-area available to spectators and dancers measures about ninety feet in length and not more than thirty in width. This approximate twenty-seven hundred square feet must contain about forty Indian actors and a large percentage of the mob, to say nothing of the snakes, a most important and active feature of the meeting, among which are many rattlers. It is like staging a nervous ballet on the cornice of the Woolworth Building, knowing that fifty mice will be turned loose on signal. --- When I first noted the possibility - the probability - of accident at this unguarded mesa-brink, I proposed stretching a stout rope along it as some small measure of precaution; and I summoned the old Snake man to advise him of its purpose. A rope there might easily have been against the traditions, and I was new at the game of supervision. From the kiva came a nude figure and stood before me in the sight of the multitude. The interpreter explained my plan. "I see," said the old man, nodding; "these people are your friends, and you do not want them hurt." Now I did not care to vouch for all those present, and so corrected him. "No, they are not my friends - not all of them; they are people who travel about the country and come to see your dance." "Didn't you send them letters - write to them to come?" "No," "Well," he concluded, "I didn't send for them. They are no friends of mine, And you say they are not friends of yours. Why should we care about it? Let them fall off." But notwithstanding his unconcern, every year I had a rope stretched there, and compelled the daring to stand behind it. This too prevented them from crowding the dancers, which the Indians appreciated; for when a man is juggling an angry snake he doesn't crave close company, and I have seen an annoyed dancer throw a tourist across the face, using a live snake as his whip. Some day the
CONDUCT OF WHITE TOURISTS TOWARD INDIANS, AND INDIANS REACTION TO IT.

breaking of house rafters, or a flurry of panic at the mesa edge may present tragedy as a closing feature of this ceremony. "Let them fall off" may yet have a grim sound. The rites are conducted by the Indians with solemnity and reverence. It is not a show in a juggler's booth, to be guyed and ridiculed. But when one of the poisonous (35) snakes has coiled, and is hissing and rattling and striking, just the time when one would think spectators would become more tense, that is when taunts are flung and a perfect bedlam of thoughtless merriment arises. Were there fewer visitors, as at minor ceremonies, they would be reproved; but the Hopi are a patient people, and they never insisted that these strangers behave themselves; they only expect that the visitor would keep his place, and not attempt to join the dance, a thing that some wild whites - including a few wild women - are only too ready to do. You now see all the standpoint of the old priest. Each tourist packs one of those devices sold by Mr. Eastman. At many of the ceremonies, particularly the Flute Dance, cameras are barred by the Hopi, and I had their restriction respected. But when I proposed to increase the tribe's revenue by taxing each visitor a dollar for the camera privilege, the clan thought it good business, and asked me to arrange it. I had camera tags prepared, and the trails to the top policed. Each policeman was accompanied by a representative of the clan, who sold the tags, and who carried a sack of money to change anything up to a fifty dollar bill. Usually twentys were thrust forward, and promptly nineteen hard, cumbersome cartwheels were dumped into the canny tourist's lap. It was disconcerting to those who sought that form of evasion. Occasionally came one who demanded a decision of the Supreme Court against this outrage, chanting invariably that he was a taxpayer, and often adding that he knew Wilson, or whoever happened to occupy the place of Chief Magistrate. But backing the collector was the imperturbable Indian policeman, who did not pay taxes and who did not know Wilson. The policeman knew Mounawi (252) only, who had been found ready to "stand behind," as an officer put it. Either pay "una peso," "shu-kashe-vah," "thathli ibesco," or "one iron-man," in Spanish, Hopi, Navajo, or Americanese, whatever language you cared to have it in, or surrender that black devil-box in which a man's spirit may be imprisoned. One dollar! Yet there were many who sought to evade, and forced unpleasantness; there were a few who flatly refused to pay and yielded their kodaks; there was even one who tried to steal a moving-picture film, who was hunted down at night in the black desert, caught in the early morning, handcuffed, lodged in the Agency hoosegow, and had his precious record confiscated for Uncle Samuel, who preserves it in Washington to-day. This tricky envoy of a famous news-service has related in a magazine his harrowing experience, giving me full credit as his one-time host. I have not space in which to analyze his inaccuracies. Suffice it to say that he cost one very tired and harassed Mounawi and two hard-boiled range-men a night's rest.

(252) Tourists! I remember the incidents of an Oraibi Snake Dance. At Oraibi the water-supply is limited. The assembled multitude drank the trader's well dry, and it was then a choice between the mesa-spring, an unsanitary flow, and the water-wagon of the day school. Trip after trip to a distant well this wagon made, the horses dragging through heavy sand; and as fast as it arrived the tourists emptied it. Precious water! But I had to appoint a guard to prevent their leaving the faucet running. Because my employee objected to several wasting water, he was reported to Washington as a villain who had refused a drink to a suffering traveler in a burning and inhospitable desert. Then came an Indian who complained that they were taking his wood. The Indians at Oraibi have to haul their
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firewood a distance of ten to twelve miles. After one has brought in his winter's supply, he grows rather petulant to see another man, who rides about in an automobile, calmly burning it. "Go back to them, my friend," I said, "and politely ask for payment." "I did that first, but they told me to get out." I directed a policeman to go with the Indian, and the policeman returned to report that he had been received - not to say insulted - with words. Whereupon the policeman departed a second time, evidently pleased with his mission, and efficiently led in a very angry gentleman. The complainant trailed along too. "This Indian claims that you have burned his wood." "Yes, we used some of it." "He has to go a long way for that wood." "Well, what of it?" "I understand he asked for payment. I pay six dollars a cord for firewood delivered by these Indians." (257) "Yes, he did ask for payment." "How much?" I inquired, thinking the Indian might have overreached. "Early this morning he arrived, and demanded fifty cents." "A very reasonable charge, don't you think?" "Reasonable! We come seventy-five miles into this barren desert, and are denied firewood! Do you call that hospitality? Is that the way you educate Indians to view the public that supports them? A fine sense of courtesy!" Having delivered himself of this rejoinder, the gentleman turned away to signify that the interview was finished; but the policeman happened to be standing at the door. "Who asked you to come into this desert? This Indian did not invite you. You arrived without notice or summons. He is under no obligation to furnish your comfort. And you do not support these Indians. They are self supporting. They pay the Government for everything they receive, other than the education of their children; and I'll bet your own children a public school. Suppose this Indian came to your town, camped without asking in your dooryard, and helped himself to your firewood. You would call him a vagabond, and he would get, very likely, a magistrate's sentence. Pay him a dollar," "I will pay him nothing." "One dollar, or I will show you the line." The dollar was paid. Tourists! Are all of them like this? I answer from a long experience in the Indian country that a very large percentage of them are just like this. Outside the reservation they form the bulk of unthinking sentimentalists,

(358) preaching a crusade for dissatisfied and malcontent Indians, stirring them against real friends and worthy tribemen, making a pother and often a hell's brawl of half-baked accusations and charges. Recently a crew of them discovered "religious liberty" among the dangerous barbarians of certain backward pueblos in New Mexico. The knowledge of men of experience, the views of priests and ministers; the affidavits of eyewitnesses, the testimony of Indians who had emerged from the twilight zone and had accepted both education and Christianity, all availed nothing against those who would demonstrate that a Pueblo cacique, having a phallic doctrine to uphold, was being denied his "religious right" to enslave and debase the helpless of his community. A terrible banner for friends of the Pueblos to raise.


(37) ("Injuns") The Injun always was a trouble hunter, and getting horses don't make him any easier to get along with. Whites that don't know him think he never smiles. They got this idea walking into lodges with no invite, pickin' up anything they see. Maybe the owner of this lodge is talking to a friend. The white man thinks it's all right to stand between these two redskins. If the Injun is smoking, the civilized man takes the pipe and examines it. If there's a party of these wedges-ins, they're picking things up and talking and making all kinds of remarks - one'll tell the rest what dirty people Injuns are. Maybe there's an Injun
in the lodge that savy[s] white man talk; if he does, he aint slow tellin' what the white man says. Naturally, the red man that's been starving for years on white man's promises ain't got lots of love for him, so when he busts in on his home and fireside, the Injun don't show much joy. If other people would walk into my house without bein' asked, I don't think I'd smile an' look pleasant. What would (28) I do if I wasn't able to throw them out? I'd call the police. An Injun laughs only when it's on the square. Some white men, especially these wedges-in, are as welcome in an Injun camp as a rattlesnake in a dog town. If an Injun likes you, he'll go to the end of the trail for you; if he don't, he'll go further the other way. If he's a friend, anything he's got is yours. If he don't like you, anything you got is his if he can get away with it. Whites will do the same, I notice, in war times. We stole every inch of land we got from the Injun but we didn't get it without a fight, and Uncle Sam will remember him a long time.

Bourke in the Southwest, New Mexico Historical Review, January, 1937.

(69) (July 22, 1881, near San Ildefonso Pueblo, talking to Mrs. Boquet, an Indian woman) Mrs. Boquet, while I was eating supper, described with much vivacity the behavior of the American tourists who in shoals and swarms are now invading the Rio Grande Valley; why, said she, do you believe me; they will buy anything from these Indians and an old Indian woman said to me yesterday — "what curious people these Americans are, one has just bought the stone which covered my chimney (i.e. to regulate the draught) What could he want with it?"


(108) Life among the Nahathaways (Crees). Writers on the North American Indians always write as comparing them, with themselves who are all men of education, and of course (the Indians) lose by comparison; this is not fair, let them be compared to those who are uneducated in Europe, yet even in this comparison the Indian has the disadvantage in not having the light of Christianity. Of course his moral character has not the firmness of christian morality, but in practice he is (109) fully equal to those of his class in Europe; living without law, they are a law to themselves. The Indian is said to be a creature of apathy, when he appears to be so, he is in an assumed character to conceal what is passing in his mind; as he has nothing of the almost infinite diversity of things which interest and amuse the civilized man; his passions, desires and affections are strong, however appeared subdued, and engage the whole man; the law of retaliation, which is fully allowed, makes the life of man respected; and in general he abhors the shedding of blood, and should sad necessity compel him to it, which is sometimes the case, he is held to be an unfortunate man; but he who has committed wilful murder is held in abhorrence, as one with whom the life of no person is in safety, and possessed with an evil spirit.
(479) The only intoxicating liquor was the ava, an infusion made from the root, stalks, and leaves of a kind of pepper, which, however, fortunately for them, was entirely forbidden to the women, and seldom permitted to the lower classes. In some of the other islands this liquid is prepared in a disgusting manner. The roots were broken in pieces, cleaned, chewed, and then placed in a wooden bowl, mixed with a certain quantity of water, and stirred up with the hands. In Tahiti, however, the chewing was (480) dispensed with. The wooden bowls out of which the chiefs drank their ava were often very fair specimens of carving. ((Cook's Third Voyage, volume III, pages 148).

Indian Trade Whiskey.
(381) A great deal of whiskey was sold to the Indians in defiance of the United States laws. As there was profit in it, it could not be otherwise. There were no officers within several hundred miles to enforce the laws, and as far as there was any public opinion it sustained the whiskey traffic. I say whiskey, but it is only a euphuism (sic) that the vile stuff on which the Indians got drunk can be called by that name. The recipe for its manufacture was something like this:

1 quart alcohol.
1 pound rank, black chewing tobacco.
1 handful red peppers.
1 bottle Jamaica ginger.
1 quart black molasses.

Water from the Missouri (River) ad libitum.

Mix well and boil till all the strength is drawn from the tobacco and peppers.

(381) Baked White Corn Tamales (M, F, Navaho informants).
Use same dough as for Kinalda Cake, adding sugar, or masticated corn, uncommon now, for sweetening (F, 50, Navaho informants). Wrap in corn husks as follows: lay out two husks end to end, butts overlapping by four inches, fold sides over the dough, then the ends, and tie in three places, crosswise, with corn husk strips. Bake in hot coals.

Scatological Rites of All Nations, by Captain John G. Bourke, Third Cavalry.
(36) VII. Urine in Human Food. Chinook Olives.
The addition of urine to human food is mentioned by various writers. Speaking of the Chinooks, Paul Kane describes a delicacy manufactured by some of the Indians among whom he travelled, and called by him "Chinook Olives." They were nothing more nor less than acorns soaked for five months in human urine (see Kane, "Artist's Wanderings in North America," London, 1858, p. 187). Spencer copies Kane's story in his "descriptive Sociology," article "Chinooks."

(Grasshoppers as food: see facing page 192.)
Mesato, poi, ngamanchi and bread. Notes upon. Probable development of leavened bread.

Bourke on the Southwest, VIII, Edited by Lansing B. Bloom, Chapter XVI. Preliminary work at Zuni. New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. XI, No. 1, January, 1936. (At Zuni, Wednesday, May 18, 1861) Page 111:

My host handed me food made, to judge from taste, of corn meal mixed with the juice of peaches. This food, I afterward learned to my great disgust was made by the young girls who first chewed the corn to a pulp & then set it out in the sun to ferment.

Head Hunters of the Upper Amazon, by F.W. Up De Graff, New York, 1923.

(Among the Jivaro of the upper Amazon, 1894-1896)

The women are seated on their heels about a great earthenware jar of freshly boiled germ (arrowroot - Jivaro). Some are half clothed, some not clothed at all. --- A woman stretches out her hand and selects a piece of yuca from the pot. She puts it in her mouth and chews it to a pulp resembling mashed potatoes; satisfied that it has reached the desired state, she deposits it on the ever-growing pile of the same pulp, which stands within reach of all on banana leaves. This is the ngamanchi, the stuff of life. (Preserved with the human saliva, it will last for six months if stored in crocks and buried in the ground against contact with light or air.) When time comes for it to be consumed, or in other words, when the proper amount of fermentation has taken place, it is mixed with water in a gourd until it looks and tastes like buttermilk. The whole idea is to our modern minds repulsive, but my own experiments have proved that there is no other way (in the woods) of preserving arrowroot. It is a highly sustaining starchy tuber, containing 60 per cent. starch as against the potato's 20 per cent.


Experiences in California. (1853-1853). They (the Indians) crushed the acorns with stone pestles into a sort of paste, and having no shortening they dug angleworms and crushed them up with the acorns. This made a sort of dough, which they made into little flat cakes and baked in hot ashes. This was their bread and largely their winter food. These little cakes of acorn bread were better to taste but highly nutritious.

Kava, Ava or Yava. (Piper methysticum of the order of Piperaceae). Shrubby plants of Polynesia with heart-shaped leaves and short, axillary spikes of flowers. From its roots an intoxicating, but non-alcoholic drink is made, also a narcotic which is used as a local anaesthetic. Kava or Ava. Is a term applied both to a shrub, and to a drink prepared by native Polynesians from the shrub by chewing its root, adding water to the extract thus obtained, and fermenting it.


Kava is prepared by chewing the green root of the piper methysticum. The mixture of saliva, the chewed root, and water is drunk at once. The mixture produces intoxication, though the beverage is non-alcoholic. Kava is a spinal depressant, and use of this drink to excess leads to profound torpor, and in slighter amounts to staggering.

(383) We spent a comparatively happy Christmas, and, by the side of a blazing fire in a warm room, forgot the sufferings we endured in our dreary progress through the woods. There was, however, in the midst of our festivities, a great drawback from the pleasure we should have otherwise enjoyed. I allude to the unfortunate Blackfeet who had been captured by the Flatheads.

(384) Having been informed that they were about putting one of their prisoners to death, I went to their camp to witness the spectacle. The man was tied to a tree; after which they heated an old barrel of gunpowder until it became red hot, with which they burned him on the leg, thigh, neck, cheeks, and belly. They then commenced cutting the flesh from about the nails, which they pulled out, and next separated the fingers from the hand joint by joint. During the performance of these cruelties the wretched captive never winced, and instead of suing for mercy, he added fresh stimulants to their barbarous ingenuity by the most irritating reproaches, part of which our interpreter translates as follows—"My heart is strong. —You do not hurt me. —You can't hurt me. You are fools. —You do not know how to torture. —Try it again. —I don't feel any pain yet. We torture your relations a great deal better, because we make them cry out loud like little children. —You are not brave; you have small hearts, and you are always afraid to fight." Then addressing one in particular, he said, "It was by my arrow you lost your eye;" upon which the Flathead darted at him and with a knife in a moment scooped out one of his eyes; at the same time cutting the bridge of his nose nearly in two. This did not stop him: with the remaining eye he looked sternly at another and said, "I killed your brother, and I scalped your old fool of a father." The warrior to whom this was addressed instantly sprung at him and separated the scalp from his head. He was then about plunging a knife in his heart, until he was told by the chief to desist. The raw skull, bloody socket, and mutilated nose, now presented a horrific appearance, but by no means changed his tone of defiance. —"It was I," said he to the chief, "that made your wife a prisoner last fall; —we put out her eyes; —we tore out her tongue; —we treated her like a dog. Forty of our young warriors — "The chieftain became incensed the moment his wife's name was mentioned; he seized his gun, and, before the last sentence was ended, a ball from it passed through the brave fellow's heart, and terminated his frightful sufferings. Shocking, however, as this dreadful exhibition was, it was far exceeded by the atrocious cruelties practiced on the female prisoners, in which I am sorry to say the Flathead women assisted with more savage fury than the men. I only witnessed part of what one wretched young woman suffered, a detail of which would be too revolting for publicity. We remonstrated against the exercise of such horrible cruelties. They replied (385) by saying the Blackfeet treated their relations in the same manner; that it was the course adopted by all red warriors; and that they could not think of giving up the gratification of their revenge to the foolish and womanish feelings of white men. Shortly after this we observed a young female led forth, apparently not more than fourteen or fifteen years of age, surrounded by some old women who were conducting her to one end of the village, whither they were followed by a number of young men. Having learned the infamous intentions of her conquerors, and feeling interested for the unfortunate victim, we renewed our remonstrance, but received nearly the same answer as before. (Cox threatened to stop trading with the Flatheads) This had the desired effect, and the miserable captive was led back to her sorrowing group of friends.
A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America, by Father Louis Hennepin. reprinted from the Second London issue of 1698, etc., Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, in Two Volumes, Chicago, 1903. Volume II, A Voyage into North America. (Text here unchanged but reduced to modern English)

(508) If the father of a savage woman has been killed, they give her a slave for him, and it is free for that woman either to put him to death, or save him alive. When they burn them, this is their manner: they bind the slave to a post by the hands and feet, then they heat red hot musket barrels, hatchets, and other iron instruments, and apply them red hot from head to foot, all over their body; they tear off their nails, and pluck out their teeth; they cut collops of flesh (509) out of their backs, and often flay their skin off from their skull. After all this they throw hot ashes upon their wounds, cut out their tongues, and treat them as cruelly as they can devise. If they don’t die under all these torments, they make them run and follow them, laying them on with sticks. It is reported, that once a slave ran so well, that he saved himself in the woods, and could not be caught again. It is probable he died there for want of succor. But what is more surprising is, that the slaves sing in the midst of their torments, which frets their executioners exceedingly. An Iroquois told us that there was one slave whom they tormented cruelly; but he told them, “You have no ingenuity; you don’t know how to torment your prisoners; you are mere blockheads; if I had you in my circumstances, I would use you after another manner.” But while he ran on so boldly, a savage woman gets a little iron spit heated red hot, and runs it into his yard (up his urethra). This made him roar, but he told the woman: “You are cunning; you understand something; this is the course you should take with us.” When the slave which they burn is dead, they eat him, and before his death they make their children drink some of his blood, to render them cruel and inhuman. Those that they give their lives to, live with them, and serve them like slaves, but in length of time they recover their liberty, and are looked upon as if they were of their own nation.

("Slave" in the above text means captive.)


(I:11) Jouvencel Relation, 1610-1613. Indians of New France, Manners and Customs. In battle they strive especially to capture their enemies alive. Those who have been captured and led off to their villages are first stripped of their clothing; then they savagely tear off their nails one by one with their teeth; then they bind them to stakes and beat them as long as they please. Next they release them from their bonds, and compel them to pass back and forth between a double row of men armed with thorns, clubs, and instruments of iron. Finally they kindle a fire about them, and roast the miserable creatures with slow heat. Sometimes they pierce the flesh of the muscles with red-hot plates and with spits, or cut it off and devour it, half-burned and dripping with gore and blood. Next, they plant blazing torches all over the body and especially in the gaping wounds; then, after scalping him they scatter ashes and live coals upon his naked head; then they tear the tendons of the arms and legs, lacerate them, or, after remov-

(I:13) ing a little of the skin, leisurely cut them with a knife at the ankle and wrist. Often they compel the unhappy prisoner to walk through
The Publications of the Champlain Society, No. VI, Toronto, 1911.
A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean In the Years 1769, 1770, 1771, and 1772 by Samuel Hearne, New Edition. J.B. Tyrrell. (July 17, 1771. Massacre of Esquimaux Indians by Chipewyan Indians near Bloody Falls on Coppermine River.)

(175) By the time the Indians had made themselves thus completely frightful, it was near one o'clock in the morning of the seventeenth; when finding all the Esquimaux quiet in their tents, they rushed forth from their ambuscade, and fell on the poor unsuspecting creatures, unperceived till close at the very eyes of their tents, when they soon began the bloody massacre, while I stood neutrality in the rear.

(178) In a few seconds the horrible scene commenced; it was shocking beyond description; the poor unhappy victims were surprised in the midst of their sleep, and had neither time nor power to make any resistance; men, women, and children, in all upward of twenty, ran out of their tents stark naked, and endeavoured to make their escape; but the Indians having possession of all the landside, to no place could they fly for shelter. One alternative only remained, that of jumping into the river; but, as none of them attempted it, they all fell a sacrifice to Indian barbarity! The shrieks and groans of the poor expiring wretches were truly dreadful; and my horror was much increased at seeing a young girl, seemingly about eighteen years of age, killed so near me, that when the first spear was stuck into her side she fell down at my feet, and twisted round my legs, so that it was with difficulty that I could disengage myself from her dying grasps. As two Indian men pursued this unfortunate victim, I solicited very hard for her life; but the murderers made no reply till they had stuck both their spears through her body, and transfixed her to the ground. They then locked me sternly in the face, and began to ridicule me, by asking if I wanted an Esquimaux wife; and paid not the smallest regard to the shrieks and agony of the poor wretch, who was turning around their spears like an eel! Indeed, after receiving much abusive language from them on the occasion, I was at length obliged to desire that they would be more expeditious in dispatching their victim out of her misery, otherwise I would be obliged, out of pity, to assist in the friendly office of putting an end to the existence of a fellow-creature who was so cruelly wounded. On this request being made, one of the Indians hastily drew his spear from the place where it was first lodged, and pierced it through her breast near the heart. The love of life, however, even in this most miserable state, was so predominant, that though this might justly be called the most merciful act that could be done for (180) the poor creature, it seemed to be unwelcome, for though much exhausted by pain and loss of blood, she made several efforts to ward off the friendly blow. My situation and the terror of my mind at beholding this butchery, cannot easily be conceived, much less described; though I summ'd up all the fortitude I was master of on the occasion, it was with difficulty that I could refrain from tears; and I am confident that my features must have feelingly expressed how sincerely I was affected at the barbarous scene I then witnessed; even at this hour I cannot reflect on the transactions of that horrid day without shedding tears. The burtlish manner in which these savages used the bodies they had so cruelly bereaved of life was so shocking, that it would be indecent to describe it; particularly their curiosity in examining, and the remarks the made on the formation of the women; which, they pretended to say, differed materially from that of their own.
The Indians of North America, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, from "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 1610-1791," New York, 1927, (I:12) fire, or to eat, and thus entomb in a living sepulcher, pieces of his own flesh. Torture of this sort has been borne by not a few of the Fathers of the society. Moreover, they prolong this torment throughout many days, and, in order that the poor victim may undergo fresh trials, intermit it for some time, until his vitality is entirely exhausted and he perishes. Then they tear the heart from the breast, roast it upon the coals, and, if the prisoner has bravely borne the bitterness of the torture, give it, seasoned with blood, to the boys, to be greedily eaten, in order, as they say, that the warlike youth may imbibe the heroic strength of the valiant man. The prisoner who has beheld and endured stake, knives and wounds with an unchanging countenance, who has not groaned, who with laughter and song has ridiculed his tormentors, is praised: for they think that to sing amid so many deaths is great and noble. So they themselves compose songs long beforehand, in order that they may repeat them if they should by chance be captured. The rest of the crowd consume the corpse in a brutal feast. The chief reserves for himself the scalp as a sign of victory, a trophy of cruelty. --- (I:64) Le Jeune Relation, 1632. Montagnard Indians torture Iroquois. There is no cruelty comparable to that which they practice on their enemies. As soon as the captives are taken, they brutally tear off their nails with their teeth; I saw the fingers of these poor creatures, and was filled with pity, also I saw a large hole in the arm of one of them; I was told that it was the bite of the savage who had captured him; the other had a part of a finger torn off, and I asked him if the fire had done that, as I thought it was a burn. He made a sign to show me that it had been taken off by the teeth. I noticed the same cruelty among the girls and women, when these poor prisoners were dancing; for, as they passed before the fire, the women blew and drove the flame over in their direction to burn them. When the hours comes to kill their captives, they are fastened to a stake; then the girls, as well as the men, apply hot and flaming brands to those portions of the body which are the most sensitive, to the ribs, thighs, chest, and several other places. They raise the scalp from the head, and then throw burning sand upon the skull, or uncovered place. They pierce the arms at the wrists with sharp sticks, and pull the nerves out through these holes. In short, they make them suffer all that cruelty and the Devil can suggest. At last, as a final horror, they eat and devour them almost raw. If we were captured by the Iroquois, perhaps we would be obliged to suffer this ordeal, inasmuch as we live with the Montagnards, their enemies. So enraged are they against every one who does them an injury, that they eat the lice and other vermin that they find upon themselves, not because they like them, but only, they say, to avenge themselves and to eat those that eat them. --- (I:65) But let us end the talk about these Iroquois. The English Captain was asked if he wanted some of them. As he supposed he would have to make them a present, he answered, "no," and said that they might do with them what they pleased. Now this is the way that they were treated. They had pulled out their nails with their teeth as soon as they were taken. They cut their fingers off on the day of their torture; then they tied their two arms together at the wrists with a cord, and two men pulled it as hard as they could at both ends, one cord entering into the flesh and breaking the bones of these poor wretches, who cried out in a horrible manner. Thus, having their hands tied, they were bound to posts, and the girls and women gave presents to the men to be allowed to torment the poor victims to
Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 115, Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz, Translated by Myrtis Jarrell and Edited by J.N.B. Hewitt, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1937. Fort Union, Upper Missouri River, October 5, 1851. (186) October 5. After Mr. Denig and I had washed and dressed Packinaud's wound he brought the conversation round to the name of a Heranta (River gros ventre) woman who is called "Fifty." On her account fifty men suffered the penalty (Footnote: An evident euphemism) because she ran away from her husband twice, all on the same evening. For like misdoing, fifteen paid the penalty on account of an Asiniboin woman. Carafel happened to be in the camp at the time and had been invited to join them but declined (Footnote: Briefly, a rape en masse). The latter woman, from indulgence in the practice for such a long time, lost the use of her legs. In Belle Vue I saw a Pawnee woman who had been taken prisoner on the prairie by thirty Omaha braves and so abused by all thirty of them that she remained a cripple for life. It was there also that I heard the story of fifty Comanche having abused a white prisoner in like manner and then left her in such a wretched condition that she was found again by her people maimed and insane. Indian women do not so easily lose their reason, at least from such causes, because, I think, they are less afraid and defy pain.

Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Fourth Annual Report, 1882-1883. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1885. Photographs of the North American Indians, A Preliminary Paper, by Garrick Mallery. Sioux or Dakota Winter Counts. I, American Horse, II, Cloud Shield. (142) 1848-'49. No. I. American Horse's father captured a Crow who was dressed as a woman, but who was found to be an hermaphrodite and was killed.

No. II. American Horse's father captured a Crow woman and gave her to the young men, who discovered that she was an hermaphrodite and killed her.

See also: Ross Cox account facing Page 199; Minnesota Massacre extract on Page 305; and Colonel Carrington's Order facing Page 305.

(1:85) their heart's content. I did not remain during this torture, I could not have endured such diabolical cruelty; but those who were present told me, as soon as we arrived, that they had never seen anything like it. "You should have seen those furious women," they said, "howling, yelling, applying the fire to the most sensitive and private parts of the body, pricking them with awls, biting them with savage glee, laying open their flesh with knives; in short, doing everything that madness can suggest to a woman. They threw fire upon them, burning coals, hot sand; and, when the sufferers cried out, all the others cried still louder, in order that the groans should not be heard, and that no one might be touched with pity. The upper part of their forehead was cut with a knife, then the scalp was raised, and hot sand thrown upon the exposed part." Now there are some savages who wear, through bravado, these scalps covered with hair and moustaches (Moustache: a name applied, in olden times, to a long lock of hair hanging from one side of the head.—Id., v. note 14.). One can still see over two hundred dents made by the awls in these scalps. In short, they practiced upon them all the cruelties I have above related in speaking of what I had seen at Tadoussac, and many others, which do not occur to me at present. When they are told that these cruelties are horrible and unworthy of a man, they answer you: "Thou hast no courage in allowing thine enemies to live; when the Iroquois capture us, they do still worse; this is why we treat them as cruelly as we can. They killed an Iroquois Sagamore, a powerful and courageous man who sang while being tortured, when he was told that he must die, he said, as if overjoyed, "Good. I am very much pleased; I have taken a great many of the Montagnards, my friends will take still more of them, and they will avenge my death." Thereupon he began to tell about his prowess, and to say farewell to his realitives, to his friends and to the allies of his tribe, to the Flemish Captain who goes to trade for furs in the country of the Iroquois by the northern sea. After they had cut off his fingers, broken the bones of his arms, torn the scalp from his head, and had roasted and burned him on all sides, he was untied and the poor creature ran straight to the river, which was not far from there, to refresh himself. They captured him again, and made him endure the fire still another time; he was blackened, completely scorched, and the grease melted and oozed out of his body, yet with all this he ran away for the second time, but, having captured him again, they burned him a third time; at last he died during these tortures. When they saw him fall, they opened his chest, pulled out his heart and gave it to the little children to eat; the rest was for them. This is a very strange species of barbarism. Now these poor wretches live in fear because the Iroquois are always (1:67) on the watch for the Montagnards to do as much for them. That is why our Captain, wishing to send some one to the Hurons, could never find any savage who would go. ---

(II:137) Laalemant Relation, 1859-1860. Cruelties of the Iroquois Indians. And as for cruelty, I would make this paper blush, and my listeners would shudder, if I related the horrible treatment inflicted by the Agnierenmons upon some of their captives. This has indeed been mentioned in the other relations; but what we have recently learned is so strange that all that has been said on (138) the subject is nothing. I pass over these matters, not only

With a persuasive tone they (the Pawnee) endeavor to convince her (the captive girl) that their intention is not to injure her, but that the ceremonies in which she participates are indispensable before the grand feast. One of the most active of the savages unrolls the cords tied to her wrists and assists her to mount the post. He passes the cords over the branches of the two trees, between which the sacrifice is to be made. These are rendered firm by the powerful arms of the other savages, and her feet immediately fastened to the topmost of the three posts, which she had unconsciously cut and drawn to the fatal spot. On the instant all doubt of their intentions vanishes from her mind. The savages no longer conceal from her their frightful project. She cries aloud, she weeps, she prays; but her supplications, her tears and her prayers are alike drowned in the melee and cry of their horrible imprecations against her nation. Upon her innocent and devoted head they concentrate the full measure of their vengeance, of all the cruelties, of all the crimes, of all the injustice and cruelty of the Sioux, which may have taken place in their most cruel and protracted wars, and which from time immemorial had been transmitted from father to son as a precious heritage of vengeance and resentment. In a manner the most furious and most triumphant they exult with leaping and howling, like wild beasts, around their trembling victim. They then despoil her of all their ornaments and of her dress, when the chief of the sacrifice approaches and paints one-half of her body black and the other half red, the colors of their victims. He then scorches her armpits and sides (287) with a pine-knot torch. After these preparatory rites, he gives the signal to the whole tribe, who make the air resound with the terrible war-cry, the Sassaaskwi. At this piercing cry, which freezes the heart with terror, which paralyzes the timid and rouses the ardor of the brave, which confounds the buffalo in his course, and fills the bear with such fear as to take from him all the power of resisting or fleeing from his enemies, the savages, impatient and greedy for blood, issue from their dark lodges. Like a terrific hurricane they rush headlong to the fatal spot. Their cries, mingled with the noise of their feet, resemble the roar of thunder, increasing as the storm approaches. As a swarm of bees surround their queen, these Pawnee savages encompass the Sioux child — their trembling victim. In the twinkling of an eye, their bows are bent and their arrows adjusted to the cords. The arrow of Lecharoutetewarouche, or chief of the sacrifice, is the only one which is barbed with iron. With this it is his province to pierce the heart of the innocent Dakota (Sioux). A profound silence reigns for an instant among the ferocious band. No sound breaks the awful stillness save the sobs and piteous moans of the victim, who hangs trembling in the air, while the chief of the sacrifice makes a last offering of her to the master of the Universe. At that moment he transfixed her through the heart — upon the instant a thousand murderous arrows quiver in the body of the poor child. Her whole body is one shapeless mass, riddled with arrows as numerous as are the quills upon the back of the porcupine. While the howling and dancing continues, the great chief of the nation, mounting the three posts in triumph, plucks the arrows from the dead body and casts them into the fire. The iron-barred arrow is the only one preserved for future sacrifices. He then squeezes the blood from the mangled flesh upon the maize and other seeds, which stand around in baskets ready to be planted; and

(Concluded on page facing Page 303.)
The Indians of North America, selected and edited by Edna Kenton, from "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 1610-1791," New York, 1927. (11:138) because my pen has no ink black enough to describe them, but much more from a fear of inspiring horror by recounting certain cruelties never heard of in past ages. It is only a neat trick with them to make a cut around the thumb of a captive, near the first joint; and then, twisting it, to pull it off by main strength, together with the sinew which usually breaks near the elbow or near the shoulder, so great is the violence employed. The thumb, thus removed with its sinew, is hung to the sufferer's ear like an ear-pendant, or attached to his neck in place of a caracnet. Then they will do the same with a second and a third finger, while, to replace the fingers that have been pulled off, they force into the wounds splinters of hard wood, which cause pains quite different from the foregoing, although excessive, and very soon produce a great inflammation and a huge swelling of the entire hand and even of the whole arm.

1547-1577. A History of Ancient Mexico by Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, Translated by Fanny R. Baudelier from the Spanish version of Carlos Maria de Bustamante, Volume I, Fisk University Press, 1932. (110) Festival and Sacrifices Celebrated under the Signs of the Tenth Month Called Xocotlvetzi (August 25). At dawn all the captives were at once lined up (or put in line) in front of the place called tzompantli, which was where they impaled the heads of those they sacrificed. After they were thus lined up, one of the priests at once began to take from them the paper flags they carried in their hands and which were the signs of their being condemned to death. They also took off all the other papers they were adorned with and one or the other blanket, if they had covered themselves with one. All this was thrown into the fire (which was built) in a stone trough which they called quauhxicalli. In this order they were divested of all their clothes, which were thrown into the fire, since they would not have any more need of clothing nor anything else, like anyone who is to die forthwith. When they were all naked awaiting death, a priest in full vestments (ornaments) came forth; he carried in his arms a statue of the god they called Paynal, also dressed in his finery. As soon as that priest with the statue which he carried in his arms had arrived, he ascended to the Cu where the captives were to die, to the place called tlacacouhcan; then he descended again and again passed in front of the captives, then ascended a second time in the same manner as at first. The owners of the captives stood also in line, each one close to his captive, and as Paynal ascended a second time to his temple, each one of the men took his slave (captive) (111) by the hair and led him to a place called apetlac, and there all of them were left. Then those who were to thrust them into the fire came down (the steps) and powdered their faces with incense which they carried, pulverized (ground) in bags, and throwing it onto them by handfuls. They then held them and tied their hands behind (on the back), and also tied their feet. After that they carried them on their backs up the steps to the (platform of) the Cu, where a big fire with a great deal embers (live coal) was burning. As soon as they reached the top they threw them into that fire. As they were thrust in, a great cloud of ashes arose (from the fire) and wherever anyone of them fell, a deep hole (hollow) was made (by the body) in the fire because it was ablaze with
(Continued from page facing Page 303)

(Desmet account of human sacrifice to the Morning Star among Pawnee.) then as the last act of this cruel and bloody sacrifice, he plucks the
still palpitating heart from the body, and, heaping the
(688) fiercest imprecations upon the enemies of his race, devours it
amidst the shouts and screams of his people. The rite is finished. The
haughty and satisfied savages move away from the scene of their awful
tragedy; they pass the remainder of the day in feasts and merriment.
The murdered and deformed body hangs where it was immolated, a prey to
wolves and carnivorous birds.

WITCHCRAFT. EXECUTION OF WITCHES. NAVAJO. 1880-1881. BOURKE, 1884.

pricked up my ears, seized my faithful Faber, and jotted down as foll-
ows:—"Three years ago a lot of Navajoes came to me and said that they had
discovered in their band a witch or sorcerer, a bad 'medicine man! His
name was 'Ostin-Bijaca,' or the 'Old peaf Man.' They had been suspecting
him for some months, but now they had the 'dead wood' on him, and were
going (75) to kill him that very day. Sure enough, there he was in front
of the store, all tied up with lariats, and two or three young men guard-
ing him. I tried to reason with them, and told the head-men that there
was no such thing as witchcraft, and they had better let the old man go,
as he couldn't hurt them any and was bound to die soon anyhow. But what
was my surprise when the old sorcerer, as they called him, spoke up bold-
liness and sais that he was a witch; that he had a medicine which would kill
the whole tribe, and that it was now ready, and in a few days every last
mother's son in the whole outfit would be dead. He kept on singing in a
loud voice that he was a big medicine man,—a regular bad man from Bitter
Creek,—and that he had made this charm of human hair and saliva, human
flesh, cow-manure, and powdered glass. He had buried the fearful mixture
in the ground, and in the maturity of time the whole Navajo nation should
be wiped out. Well, boys, the Navajoes lost no time with him; they don't
discuss questions of emotional insanity. They tied the old buster up for
three days and three nights in front of the store, and didn't let him hav
any food or drink. All this time they kept telling the old man, 'You can't
do these things, you haven't the power.' But the old fellow held to his
first assertion, and, if anything, claimed the possession of still greater
influence. (76) So they resolved to kill him. I couldn't do the least
thing. I was all alone, the only white man for thirty miles. Barney had
gone down to Wingate, taking the cook with him, and leaving me to look
after the ranch. There I was with 300 Navajoes all crazy with excitement,
and I jest dastert say my soul was my own. Then they fired an arrow into
his body; he plucked it out; they fired another, which stuck in his spine
Then they began to stone and club him, and, after knocking him down,
dropped on his head a big chunk of rock which must have weighed four
pounds or more, and which stave in the whole side of his face. There he
lay in the hot sun for three hours, still alive, but, of course, almost
dead. I couldn't save his life, and thought the best thing to do would
be to have him put out of his misery. I said to them, 'If he is such
a bad man, why don't you kill him at once and stop torturing him!' A
young man went up close to him, when the old fellow raised himself up
suddenly, and with all his dying strength and hate, threw a club, which
came whizzing past that young man's head, and if it had ever struck him
would have put his lights out sure. The Indians returned this compliment
with a couple of bullets which killed him, but they weren't satisfied
until they had pounded the body into a gory and shapeless mass with rocks
and clubs." (77) Mr. Keam confirmed this story by telling another of a
sorcerer killed near this very nooning-place. His name was Na-klay-dilt-
klliti, or the "Black Butcher," the reasons for his death and the manner
of his execution being in strict parallelism with Webber's narrative
of the killing of Ostin-Bijaca.

(111) with embers and live coal. The poor captives at once began to twist and turn in that fire and to suffer from nausea (have vomiting spells), his body beginning to squeak (I think sizzle would be better), as does the body or part of an animal when roasting, and big blisters would rise all over the body. While in this (infernal) agony, the priests called Quaquacuitltin pulled him (or them) out with gambrels (grappling irons) and placed, one after the other on the block they called techcatl, and at once cut the breast from nipple to nipple or a little below, and tore the heart out and threw (the body) at the feet of the statue of Xiuhotecutli, god of the fire. In this manner they killed all the captives they offered for sacrifice at that festival, and after all of them had been sacrificed, all the people went home and the same priest who had brought the statue of Paynal now carried it back to the place where it was wont to be. In this he was accompanied by all the old men who were in the service of that god. Once restored to his place, they descended from the temple and went home to eat.


(157) (May 18, 1687, Among the Pawnees.) (Return of Pawnee war party.) They brought Home two of those Women (of the Cannohatinno tribe) alive, one of whom had her Head fleed for the Sake of her Hair and (158) Skin. They gave that wretched Creature a Charge of Powder and a Ball, and sent Her home, bidding her carry that Present to her Nation, and to assure them, they should be again treated after the same Manner, that is, kill'd with Fire Arms.

The other Woman was kept to fall a Sacrifice to the Rage and Vengeance of the Women and Maids; who having arm'd themselves with thick Stakes, sharp Pointed at the End, Conducted that Wretch to a By-Place, where each of those Furies began to torment her, sometimes with the Point of their Staff, and sometimes laying on her with all their Might. One tore off her Hair, another cut off her Finger, and every one of those outrageous Women endeavour'd to put her to some exquisite Torture, to revenge the Death of their Husbands and Kinsmen, who had been kill'd in the former Wars; so that the unfortunate Creature expected her Death Stroke, as Mercy.

At last, one of them gave her a Stroke with a heavy Club on the Head, and another run her Stake several Times into her Body, with which she fell down Dead on the Spot. Then they cut that Miserable Victim into Morsels, and oblig'd some Slaves of that Nation, they had been long possess'd of to eat them.

Thus our Warriors return'd Triumphant from that Expedition. They spar'd none of the Prisoners they had taken, except two little Boys, and brought Home all the Skins of their Heads, with the Hair, to be kept as Trophies and glorious Memorials of their Victory.

TALAWUIMTIWA, a full blood Hopi Indian, deposes and says:
In the wuwitsima ceremony of initiation four of the last group of novices to be initiated are chosen by lot to take the part of maksawu, (plural, mamsamu), that is, "corpses." These mamsamu dig up the bodies of the dead and strip them of their clothing. This clothing they wear in the dance of the wuwitsima society. The purpose of this is to make the other novices think that the dead are dancing with them. (As the kiva, or ceremonial chamber, is dark, and the clothing of dead relatives or friends can be recognized by those present, and as the odor of decay adheres to these garments, the effect produced is all that could be desired). These "corpses" are instructed not to fear the dead bodies they strip, and not to fear putrefaction. The "corpses" are further warned that if they divulge this secret to anyone they will die. The corpse dance takes place on the third day of the eight day wuwitsima ceremony. The wuwitsima is a men's ceremony.

(In the dances in the kiva, or underground chamber in which the religious dances and ceremonies are held, the dancers are most generally masked. This would serve further to conceal the identity of the four "corpses" who were dancing there, who could only be recognized by the clothing they wore. JCC.)
1866-1876. MUTILATION OF SLAIN ENEMIES. INDIANS OF NORTHERN PLAINS.

Ab-Sa-Ra-Ka, or Wyoming Opened, being the experience of an Officer's wife on the Plains, with an Outline of Indian Operations and Conferences Since 1865 by Colonel Henry E. Carrington, U.S.A., Philadelphia, 1890. (Sixth Edition of Mrs. Carrington's Narrative).

Headquarters Post, Fort Philip Kearney, Dacotah Territory, January 3d, 1867.

Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Platte, Omaha, Nebraska Territory.

I respectfully state the facts of fight with Indians on the 21st ultimo.

(Follows the report on "Fort Phil Kearney Massacre" by Henry B. Carrington, Colonel, 18th U.S. Infantry, Commanding Post.)

(378) Report continues: --- I give some of the facts as to my men, whose bodies I found just at dark, resolved to bring all in, viz.:

Mutilations.

Eyes torn out and laid on the rocks.
Noses cut off.
Ears cut off.
Chins hewn off.
Teeth chopped out.
Joints of fingers cut off.
Brains taken out and placed on rocks, with members of the body.
Entrails taken out and exposed.
Hands cut off.
Feet cut off.
Arms taken out from socket.
Private parts severed, and indecently placed on the person.
Eyes, ears, mouth, and arms penetrated with spear heads, sticks, and arrows.
Ribs slashed to separation, with knives; skulls severed in every form, from chin to crown.
Muscles of calves, thighs, stomach, breast, back, arms, and cheek taken out.
Punctures upon every sensitive part of the body, even to the soles of the feet and palms of the hand.
All this does not approximate the whole truth. Every Medical Officer was faithful, aided by a large force of men, and all were not buried until Wednesday after the fight.

(379) The great real fact is, that these Indians take alive when possible, and slowly torture. It is the opinion of Dr. S.M. Horton, Post Surgeon, that not more than six were killed by balls. Of course the whole arrows, hundreds of which were removed from naked bodies, were all used after the removal of the clothing.


(139) June 17, 1876, after General Crook's fight with Crazy Horse at the Rosebud Canyon. (Events below probably occurred June 18.)

This ceremony (burial of the dead) ended, our retreat began in earnest. Our battalion was, as nearly as I can remember, pretty well toward the head of the column. Between us and the 2d cavalry came the wounded, on their travois, and behind them came the mounted infantry. Looking backward occasionally, we could see small parties of Sioux watching us
My Army Life and the Fort Phil. Kearney Massacre, etc., by Frances C. Carrington, Philadelphia, 1910. Fort Phil. Kearney, Wyoming, December 21, 1866. Concerning orders issued by Colonel Carrington, commanding officer of Fort Kearney, December, 1866, regarding disposition of the women and children on the Post in the event the Indians took the Fort.

Before leaving the fort on this mission of rescue, unknown to us at the time, the Colonel had opened the magazine and cut the Boorman fuses of spherical case-shot, such as were usually used against Indians prowling in the woods or thickets near by, and so adjusted the ammunition in store by the opening of boxes that by the application of a single match all could be destroyed. His secret instructions, still preserved, were these:

"If, in my absence, Indians in overwhelming numbers attack, put the women and children in the magazine with supplies of water, bread, crackers and other supplies that seem best, and, in the event of (154) a last desperate struggle, destroy all together, rather than have any captured alive."

(139) from the bluffs, but they made no offensive movement. As I rode along with Sutorius and Von Leutwitz, I observed a crowd of Crow Indians dismounted and standing around some object which lay in the long grass some distance to our right. The lieutenant and I rode over there, and saw the body of a stalwart Sioux warrior, stiff in death, with the mark of a bullet wound in his broad bosom. The Crows set to work at once to dismember him. One scalped the remains. Another cut off the ears of the corpse and put them in his wallet. Von Leutwitz and I remonstrated, but the savages only laughed at us. After cutting off toes, fingers and nose, they proceeded to indecent mutilation, and this we could not stand. We protested vigorously, and the captain, seeing that something singular was in progress, rode up with a squad of men and put an end to the butchery. One big, yellow brute of a Crow, as we rode off, took a portion of the dead warrior's person out of his pouch, waved it in the air, and shouted something in broken English which had reference to the grief the Sioux squaws must feel when the news of the unfortunate brave's fate would reach them. And then the whole group of savages burst into a mocking (140) chorus of laughter that might have done honor to the devil and his angels. I lost all respect for the Crow Indians after that episode. I concluded, and I think with justice, that they are mostly braggarts in peace and laggards in war.

The History of the Sioux War and Massacres of 1862 and 1863 by Isaac V. D. Heard, New York, 1865. Heard was Recorder of the Military Commission which tried 400 of Little Crow's band. Of these 18 were sentenced to prison; 303 sentenced to hang, and of these 38 were hanged, at Mankato, Feb. 26, 1863.

(70) A farmer and his two sons were engaged in stacking wheat. Twelve Indians approached unseen to a fence, and from behind it shot the three. Then they entered the farmer's house and killed two of his young children in the presence of their mother, who was ill with consumption, and dragged the mother and a daughter aged thirteen years miles away to their camp. There, in the presence of her dying mother, they stripped off her clothes, fastened her upon her back to the ground, and one by one violated her person until death came to her relief. One Indian went into a house where a woman was making bread. Her small child was in the cradle. He split the mother's head open with his tomahawk, and then placed the babe in the hot oven, where he kept it until it was almost dead, when he took it out and beat out its brains against the wall... Children were nailed living to tables and doors, (71) and knives and tomahawks thrown at them until they perished from fright and physical pain. The womb of the pregnant mother was ripped open, the palpitating infant torn forth, cut into bits, and thrown into the face of the dying woman. The hands and heads of the victims were cut off, their hearts ripped out, and other disgusting mutilations inflicted. Whole families were burned alive in their homes.
Scatologic Rites of all Nations by Captain John G. Bourke, United States Army. Bowderniik, Washington, D.C., 1891.

(5) An interval followed of ten minutes, during which the dusty floor was sprinkled by men who spat water forcibly from their mouths. The Nache-Cue re-entered; this time two of their number were stark naked. Their singing was very peculiar, and sounded like a chorus of chimney-sweeps, and their dance became a stiff-legged jump, with heels kept twelve inches apart. After they had ambled around the room two or three times, Cushing announced in the Zuni language that a "feast" was ready for them, at which they loudlyroared their approval, and advanced to strike hands with the munificent "Americans," addressing us in a funny gibberish of broken Spanish, English, and Zuni. They then squatted upon the ground and consumed with zest large "ollas" full of tea, and dishes of hard tack and sugar. As they were finishing this a squaw entered, carrying an "olla" of urine, of which the filthy brutes drank heartily. I refused to believe the evidence of my senses, and asked Cushing if that were really human urine. "Why, certainly," replied he, "and (6) here comes more of it." This time it was a large tin pailful, not less than two gallons. I was standing by the squaw as she offered this strange and abominable refreshment. She made a motion with her hand to indicate to me that it was urine, and one of the old men repeated the Spanish word mear (to urinate), while my sense of smell demonstrated the truth of their statements. The dancers swallowed great draughts, smacked their lips, and, amid the roaring merriment of the spectators, remarked that it was very, very good. The clowns were now upon their mettle, each trying to surpass his neighbors in feats of nastiness. One swallowed a fragment of corn-husk, saying he thought it very good and better than bread; his vis-a-vis attempted to chew and gulp down a piece of filthy rag. Another expressed regret that the dance had not been held out of doors, in one of the plazas; there they could show what they could do. There they always made it a point of honor to eat the excrement of men and dogs. For my own part, I felt satisfied with the omission, particularly as the room, stuffed with one hundred Zunis, had become so foul and filthy as to be almost unbearable. The dance, as good luck would have it, did not last many minutes, and we soon had a chance to run into the refreshing night air.

The Zuni Indians by Matilda Coxe Stevenson. 23rd Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. "Ne Weke (Galaxy Fraternity)."

(434) All night the weird performances continue, and at sunrise the Kok ko thlan na appears in order to administer his medicine to the novices - a man, a woman, and a girl of 6 years of age. The latter is the

(435) daughter of the Kia kwemosi (rain priest of the North), who is a member of the fraternity and is as much of a buffoon when acting with the Ne weke as any of the others. Though the child does not flinch from the ordeal, it is apparent that the noxious dose is taken with aversion. They must eat of the offal and drink the urine, that their intestines may not be destroyed by the hot medicine. This dose is given and received with the same seriousness that Christian churches observe with their most sacred sacraments. Later in the morning, when the fraternity adjourns to the Si aa te wita, the Kok ko thlan na administers another dose. -----

(437) The Kok ko thlan na administers the wretched morsel while moving in a peculiar dancing motion, reminding one of a humming bird hovering about a blossom. He advances to a man and whips him with the yucca switches, and then hands the dose to one of the Ko yemshi gods (see (Concluded facing Page 207.)
in attendance, who in turn gives it to the person designated by the god. None of the older members of the fraternity seem to shrink from the dose while some receive it with apparent relish. Occasionally the one receiving the morsel divides it with a man, woman, or child by placing his lips to the other's lips and forcing it into the mouth. The children accept it as a religious duty, but it is evident that they do not relish it. The god leaves the plaza at intervals and during his absence there is great revelry, the principal amusement being the woolbag game, played between the Ne wekwe and Ko yemshi, and the emptying of vessels of urine over one another. While the scenes at the closing of the initiatory ceremonies are disgusting, the same of depravity is reached after the Kok ko thlan na takes his first departure from the plaza. The performances are now intended solely for amusement. The women and girls of the fraternity leave the plaza after the ceremony and take no part in the debauchery. The one who swallows the largest amount of filth with the greatest gusto is most commended by the fraternity and onlookers. A large bowl of urine is handed by a Ko yemshi, who receives it from a woman on the house top, to a man of the fraternity, who, after drinking a portion, pours the remainder over himself by turning the bowl over his head. Women run to the edge of the roof and empty bowls of urine over the Ne wekwe and Ko yemshi. Each man endeavors to excel his fellows in buffoonery and in eating repulsive things, such as bits of old blankets and splinters of wood. They bite off the heads of living mice and chew them, tear dogs limb from limb, eat the intestines and fight over the liver like hungry wolves. It is a pleasure to state that the Ne wekwe is the only fraternity that indulges in such practices.
SEXUAL INVERSION AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS IN EARLY TIMES.

General History of the West Indies by Francis Lopez de Gomara, translated into French by S. de Gentille Matt. Fumee, Paris, 1606. (Mexico) (1553) (a63) The inhabitants are great sodomites, and publicly have brothels of children and men, and at night they are assembled more than a thousand, the same, more or less, according to the (size of) the town.

The True History of the Conquest of New Spain by Bernal Diaz del Castillo, (Vol. V), Translated by Alfred Percival Maudslay, Hakluyt Society, London, Series II, Volume XL. 1908. (Mexico) (1578-1577) (353) In addition to this nearly all of them were sodomites, especially those who live on the coast and hot country, to such an extent that boys go about clothed in the dress of women to gain (a livelihood) in that diabolical and abominable employment. Then they ate human flesh, just as we bring beef from the butchers, and they have in all the pueblos prisons of stout beams, made like houses, as cages, and in them they place and fatten many Indian men and women and boys, and when they are fat they sacrifice and eat them. In addition to this, in the wars which some provinces and pueblos wage against others, those who are captured and taken prisoners are sacrificed and eaten. The sons have carnal intercourse with mothers, and brothers with sisters, and uncles with nieces; many are found who indulge in this iniquitous vice. About drunkards I do not know what to say, so many obscenities take place among them; I wish to note only one here which we found in the province of Panuco; they make an injection by the anus with some (hollow) canes and distend the intestines with wine, and this is done among them in the same way as among us an enema is applied.*

Expedition of Coronado, 1540-1543, (Narrative of Castenada), translated by George Parker Winship, 14 Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part I. (513) Of the province of Culiacan and of its habits and customs. They do not eat human flesh nor sacrifice it. They are accustomed to keep very large snakes, which they venerate. Among them are men dressed like women who marry other men and serve as their wives. At a great festival they consecrate the women who wish to live unmarried, with much singing and dancing, at which the chiefs of the locality gather and dance naked, and after all have danced with her they put her in a hut that has been decorated for this event and the chiefs adorn her with clothes and bracelets of fine turquoises, and then the chiefs go in one by one to lie with her, and all the others who wish, follow them. From this time on these women can not refuse any one who pays them a certain amount agreed on for this. Even if they take husbands, this does not exempt them from obliging anyone who pays them. The greatest festivals are on market days. The custom is for the husbands to buy the women (514) whom they marry, of their fathers and relatives at a high price, and then to take them to a chief, who is considered to be a priest, to deflower them and see if she is a virgin; and if she is not, they have to return the whole price, and he can keep her for his wife or not, or let her be consecrated, as he chooses. At these times they all get drunk. The second language is that of the pacazes, the people who live in the country between the plains and the mountains. These people are more barbarous. Some of them who live near the mountains eat human flesh. They are great sodomites and have many wives, even when these are sisters.

*(If Diaz means pulque where he says "wine," then the above is the only way yet devised to get the stuff into the system with any degree of comfort, and without gagging. JGC.)
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History of French Colonization of Florida by Rene Laudonniere, 1562.
Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, New Series, Volume I.
(171) They have their priests, to whom they give great credit, because they are great magicians, great soothsayers, and callers upon devils. These priests serve them instead of physicians and chirurgians; they carry always about with them a bag full of herbs and drugs, to cure the sick and diseased, which,
(172) for the most part, are sick of the pox (syphilis), so they love women and maidens exceedingly, which they call the daughters of the Sun, and some of them are sodomites. They marry, and every one hath his wife, and it is lawful for the king to have two or three, yet none but the first is honored and acknowledged as queen, and none but the children of the first inherit the goods and authority of the father. The women do all the business at home. They keep not house with them after they know they be with child. And they eat not of that which they touch as long as they have their flowers. There are, in all this country, many hermaphrodites, which take all the greatest pain, and bear the victuals when they go to war.

(189) I do not know through what superstition some Illinois, as well as some Nadowessi (Sioux), while still young, assume the garb of women, and retain it throughout their lives. There is some mystery in this, for they never marry and glory in demeaning themselves to do everything the women do. They go to war, however, but can use only clubs, and not bows and arrows, which are the weapons proper to men. They are present at all the juggleries, and at the solemn dances in honor of the Calumet, at these they sing but must not dance. They are summoned to the Councils, and nothing can be decided without their advice. Finally, through their profession of leading an Extraordinary life they pass for Manitou, - That is to say, for spirits, - or persons of Consequence. * (Footnote 26)
(309)* (Footnote 26) The custom here described appears to have been prevalent among the Southern and Western tribes, and is mentioned by many travelers, even down to comparatively recent times. See Membre's narrative in Shea's Disc. of Miss. valley, p. 151; Lafitaie's Moeurs des Sauvages, t. 1, pp. 53-53; Charlevoix's Journ. Hist. p. 303; Long's Expedition, vol. 1, p. 129; Parkman's La Salle, p. 207; Carr's Mounds of Miss. Valley, p. 33; and Coue's Henry and Thompson Journals, (N.Y., 1897) vol. 1, pp. 53, 163-165. Char-
(310) levoix and Long, among others, suppose that the assumption of feminine garb and occupations by men proceeded from a superstition or a dream, or was the observance of some religious rite; some other writers assert that these men were set aside for infamous purposes - a statement apparently verified by much evidence, especially as this class of men were held in the utmost contempt among the savages. They were called by the French bardache (a word originally from the Arabic bardaj, "slave"), or berdache (a word corruption of this word "berdash"), or berdache, the English corruption of this word, "berdash" (a word used in various forms, as early as 1548), is everywhere in use in the West and North to designate the men referred to.
A relation of the commodities of Nova Hispania, and the marts of trade of Maracay written by Henry Hooke, merchant, who lived five years in that country and made the same of his travels and other things which he saw. He describes the Indians, their customs, and their way of life, saying that they are simple people and that they drink much wine. He also mentions that the wine of the Indies is very strong and that it is drunk by the Indians and by the Spanish merchants who trade with them.

The people of the country are of a hardy nature, and they are well suited for the work of the vineyard. They are also good at making wine, and they are very skillful in the art of making it. The wine they make is called the Indian wine, and it is drunk by all the people of the country. They also drink a certain kind of wine, which they make with honey and water, and this wine is called the bee's wine. They are also skilled in the art of making beer, and they make it with malt and water. They are also skilled in the art of making bread, and they make it with flour and water. They are also skilled in the art of making cakes, and they make it with flour, sugar, and water. They are also skilled in the art of making pies, and they make it with flour, sugar, and water. They are also skilled in the art of making cakes, and they make it with flour, sugar, and water.
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(1:187) Hermaphrodites are very common amongst them, which is so much the more surprising, because I have not observed any such thing amongst the other Nations of the Northern America. Polygamy is allowed amongst them; and they generally marry several sisters, thinking they agree better than strangers. They are exceedingly jealous, and cut the noses of their wives upon the least suspicion. Notwithstanding they have several wives, they are so lascivious as to be guilty of sodomy, and keep boys whom they clothe with women's apparel, because they make of them that abominable use.

(168) These boys live in their families amongst the women, without going either to their wars or hunting.

Shea points out—Hennepin's Louisiana, p. 175, note 11— that the entire chapter here ended is taken from Le Clercq's Etablissement de la Foy, ii, pp. 173-181. Ed.

(II:538) I have seen a boy of about eighteen years old, who believed himself to be a girl; and this fancy wrought so strongly upon him, that he acted all things accordingly: he habited himself like a girl, and employed himself in their sort of work.

(653) I don't know by what superstition some of the Illinois and Nadowessiens (Sioux) wear women's apparel. When they have taken the same, which they do in their youth, they never leave it off; and certainly there must be some mystery in this matter, for they never marry, and work in the cabins with the women, which other men think below them to do. They may go however to their wars, but they must use only a club, and not bows and arrows, which are fit, as they say, for men alone. They assist at all the superstitions of their Juglere, and their solemn dances in honour of the Calumet, in which they may sing, but it is not lawful for them to dance. They are called to their counsels, and nothing is determined without their advice; for, because of their extraordinary way of living, they are looked upon as Manitous, or at least for great and incomparable genius's.

(See p. 307, these notes, Marquette's First Voyage, and compare).


(150) The Illinois.

(151) Hermaphrodites are numerous. They have many wives and often take several sisters that they may agree better, and yet they are so jealous that they cut off their noses on the slightest suspicion. They are lewd, and even unnaturally so, having boys dressed as women, destined for infamous purposes. These boys are employed only in women's work, without taking part in the chase or war.

Journal of a Voyage to North America, etc., Translated from the French of P. de Charlevoix, London, 1761, Volume II. (Series of letters from Charlevoix to the Duchess of Lesdiguières.)

(80) Lake Michigan, July 31, 1731. --- In the southern countries they scarce observe any mean with respect to the women, who are no less prone to lasciviousness; from hence comes the corruption of manners, which has infected the northern nations some years since; the Iroquois
Journal of a Voyage to North America in 1781 by Charlevoix, London, 1761. (80) in particular had the reputation of chastity before they had any commerce with the Illinois, and the other nations in the neighborhood of Louisiana; they have gained nothing by the acquaintance except becoming like them. It must be confessed that effeminacy and lubricity were carried to the greatest excess in those parts; men were seen to wear the dress of women without a blush, and to debase themselves so as to perform those occupations which are most peculiar to the sex, from whence followed a corruption of morals past all expression; it was pretended that this custom came from I know not what principle of religion; but this religion had like many others taken its birth in the depravation of the heart, or if the custom I speak of had its beginning in the spirit, it has ended in the flesh; these effeminate persons never marry, and abandon themselves to the most infamous passions, for which cause they are held in the most sovereign contempt. On the other hand the women though strong and robust are far from being fruitful; besides the reasons I have already mentioned, to wit, the time they allow for the suckling of their children (Note: two or three years) their custom of not cohabiting with their husbands all that time, and the excessive labor they are obliged to undergo in whatever situation they are; this sterility proceeds likewise from a custom established in several places, by which young women are suffered to prostitute themselves before marriage; add to this the extreme misery to which (81) they are often reduced, and which extinguishes in them all desire of having children.

Customs of the American Savages Compared to the Customs of Early Times, by P. Lafitau of the Society of Jesus, Paris, 1724. Volume I. (52) Men dressed as women. There is found among them women of much courage, who seize for themselves the glory of achievement in war, which seems not to suit the men. There are also found men, sufficiently loose, to live as women. Among the Illinois, among the Siouxs, in Louisiana, in Florida, and in Yucatan, there are young men who take female garb and retain it the rest of their lives and who believe it an honor to abase themselves in all a woman's duties; they never marry; they assist at all the exercises where religion seems to have a part and by this profession of an unusual life they pass for people of a superior sort and above common (53) men. Would not these be on the same footing as the people of Africa adoring Cybele, or the Orientals, of whom Julius Firmicus spoke, who consecrate themselves to the goddess of Phrygia, the others to Venus Urania, the priests who dress themselves as women and who appear to have a feminine face, who effeminize themselves and disguise their real sex under the borrowed garb of those whom they make the effort to imitate? The sight of these men disguised as women surprised the Europeans who first landed in America. As they did not penetrate the motives of this kind of change, they persuaded themselves that these were a sort of people in whom the two sexes were confused; in fact, our old Relations did not call them anything else but Hermaphrodites. While such was the spirit of religion which made them embrace this state that it made them look like unusual men, they were, notwithstanding, really fallen, according to the savages themselves, - this, in spite of being ancient priests of Venus Urania and Cybele; and being effectively what they tried to be, in spite of their servitude to these shameful passions, such was the ignorance of the Europeans of the causes of their condition, that it gave rise to angry suspicion against them; these suspicions were so
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Customs of the American Savages Compared to the Customs of Early Times, by P. Lafitau of the Society of Jesus, Paris, 1724. Volume I.

(53) forward in their minds, that they imagined all they could think of to their disadvantage; and this imagination fired so strongly the zeal of Vasco Nunez (54) de Balboa, Spanish Captain, who first discovered the South Sea, that he caused to perish a great number by loosing on them ferocious dogs; in this manner those of his nation were the cause of the destruction of a large number of Indians.

Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner, Prepared for the Press by Edwin James, M.D., New York, 1830. (Red River, 1800-1806).

(105) Some time in the course of the winter, there came to our lodge one of the sons of the celebrated Ojibaway chief, called Weshko-bug, (the sweet,) who lived at Leech Lake. This man was one of those who make themselves women, and are called women by the Indians. There are several of this sort among most, if not all the Indian tribes; they are commonly called A-go-kwa, a word which is expressive of their condition. This creature, called Ozaw-wen-dib, (the yellow head,) was now near fifty years old, and had lived with many husbands. I do not know whether she had seen me, or only heard of me, but she soon let me know that she had come some distance to see of me, and with the hope of living with me. She often offered herself to me, but not being discouraged with one refusal, she repeated her disgusting advances until I was almost driven from the lodge. Old Net-no-kwa was perfectly well acquainted with her character, and only laughed at the embarrassment and shame which I evinced whenever she addressed me. She seemed rather to countenance and encourage the yellow Head in remaining in our lodge. The latter was very expert in the various employments of the women, to which all her time was given. At length (106) despairing of success in her addresses to me, or being too much pinched by hunger, which was commonly felt in our lodge, she disappeared, and was absent three or four days. I began to hope I should be no more troubled with her, when she came back loaded with dry meat. She stated that she had found the band of Wa-ge-to-tah-gun, and that that chief had sent by her an invitation for us to join him. He had heard of the niggardly conduct of Waw-she-kwaw-maish-koon towards us, and had sent the A-go-kwa to say to me, "my nephew, I do not wish you to stay there to look at the meat that another kills, but is too mean to give you. Come to me, and neither you nor my sister shall want for anything it is in my power to give you." I was glad enough of this invitation, and started immediately. At the first encampment, as I was doing something for the fire, I heard the A-go-kwa at no great distance in the woods, whistling to call me. Approaching the place, I found she had her eyes on game of some kind, and presently discovered a moose. I shot him twice in succession, and twice he fell at the report of the gun; but it is probable I shot too high, for at last he escaped. The old woman reproved me severely for this, telling me she feared I would never be a good hunter. But before night the next day we arrived at Wa-ge-to-te's lodge, where we ate as much as we wished. Here, also, I found myself relieved from the persecutions of the A-go-kwa, which had become intolerable. Wa-ge-to-te, who had two wives, married her. This introduction of a new inmate into the family of Wa-ge-to-te, occasioned some laughter, and produced some ludicrous incidents, but was attended with less uneasiness and quarreling than would have been the bringing in of a new wife of the female sex.
NOTE: A.C.J. Farrell of Ojai, California, spent his youth among the Turtle Mountain Chippewa of North Dakota, and was on close and friendly terms with the Chippewa Chief and Midi Priest, Ka-kin-e-wash, or Eagle Flying, or Flying Eagle. This chief told him about Le Berdash, about whom traditions were preserved among the Chippewa. La perdash, in spite of his peculiarities was a fighting fool, and had a great reputation for bravery. Therefore it was the custom, according to Chippewa tradition, of the young men who were going out on war parties to sodomize La perdash before setting forth, and thus to acquire by this intimate contact, some of his "power" or bravery. Tough on La perdash, and a very quaint form of blessing indeed. JGC.

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New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest. Henry- Thompson Journals, Edited by Elliott Coues, New York, 1897. Volume I. (163) Henry Journal, January 3, 1801. --- Berdash, a son of Sucie (Sucie, Sweet, or Wiscoup), arrived from the Assiniboine, where he had been with a young man to carry tobacco concerning the war. This person is a curious compound between a man and a woman. He is a man both as to members and courage, but pretends to be womanish, and dresses as such. His walk and mode of sitting, his manners, occupations, and language are those of a woman. His father, who is a great chief amongst the Saulteurs, cannot persuade him to act like a man. About (164) a month ago, in a drinking match, he got into a quarrel and had one of his eyes knocked out with a club. He is very troublesome when drunk. He is very fleet, and a few years ago was reckoned the best runner among the Saulteurs. Both his speed and his courage were tested some years ago on the Schian (Cheyenne) river, when Monsieur Reasume attempted to make peace between the two nations, and Berdash accompanied a party of Saulteurs to the Sioux camp. They at first appeared reconciled to each other through the intercession of the whites, but on the return of the Saulteurs, the Sioux pursued them. Both parties were on foot, and the Sioux had the name of being extraordinarily swift. The Saulteurs imprudently dispersed in the plains, and several were killed; but the party with Berdash escaped without accident, in the following manner: One of them had got from the Sioux a bow, but only a few arrows. On starting and finding themselves pursued, they ran a considerable distance, until they perceived the Sioux were gaining fast upon them, when Berdash took the bow and arrows from his comrades, and told them to run as fast as possible, without minding him, as he feared no danger. He then (165) faced the enemy, and began to let fly his arrows. This checked their course, and they returned the compliment with interest, but it was so far off that only a chance arrow could have hurt him, as they had nearly spent their strength when they fell near him. His own arrows were soon expended, but he lost no time in gathering up those that fell near him, and thus he had a continual supply. Seeing his friends some distance ahead, and the Sioux moving to surround him, he turned and ran full speed to join his comrades, the Sioux after him. When the latter approached too near, Berdash again stopped and faced them with his bow and arrows, and kept them at bay. Thus did he continue to manoeuvre until they reached a spot of strong wood which the Sioux dared not enter. Some of the Saulteurs who were present have often recounted the affair to me. It seems the Sioux from the first were inclined to treachery, being very numerous, and the others but few. The Saulteurs were well provided with guns and ammunition, but on their first meeting were surrounded and the guns taken from them, in return for which the Sioux gave them bows and arrows; but in a manner to be of little use, giving one a bow and no arrows, another a quiver of arrows, but no bow. The white men had some difficulty to keep their arms, by which means they escaped. (See Tanner, p. 210.) (347) July 21, 1806. Mandan Villages on Missouri. Upon the whole they (the Militari) appeared to me to be a fierce and savage set of scoundrels, still more loose and licentious than (348) the Mandanes; the men appear to take pride in displaying their nudities. I am also informed that they are much given to unnatural lusts and often prefer a young man to a woman. They have many berdashes amongst them, who make it their business to satisfy such beastly passions. The men are always ready to supply a stranger with a bed-fellow, if he has any property. They are very complaisant in giving him the choice of

(Yankton Sioux, Zoogésaty and Necrophilia) (Period: About 1870.)

(3) It is not always the deed of bravery nor a laudable act that changes an Indian's name, yet that is the rule. Sometimes an Indian is given a new name because of some infamous act of which he is guilty. An instance of the latter kind is found in Cap-sue-cap-sue-jah (Scrubbed the Beaver Cuts) a Yankton Sioux, who was given that name because, when he had killed a beaver, and before the animal had left the carcass, he made an incision in its belly with his knife and satisfied his lust upon the dead body of the beaver.

Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XI.


(507) (Sexual Purity Confession, Plains-Ojibway) Men who did not tell the truth were certain to be slain on their next war party. The participants sat in a circle in the tent about the stone (a large painted spirit rock) and were quizzed one after another by the dreamer-host (the man who had a medicine dream directing him to hold this sort of inquisition). Those who had unnatural intercourse with their spouses were obliged to confess it. Once, according to Dauphin Myron, a girl refused to speak, and her father was sent for, who ordered her to make a clean breast of her sin, whereupon she confessed that she had transgressed with him.
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(345) their women, and proud when they can accomodate him with one who is provided with a good swinging pair of contrevents, or well labiated. I am not competent to determine whether this extraordinary appendage be natural or otherwise. I am informed that it is produced by the filthy custom of the men pulling upon it daily while the girls are still young, and continuing to do so when they are grown to maturity, until it attains the length of several inches on each side of the orifice. Some say that such females suspend weights to the parts for that purpose, and others again say it is natural to some of the women. That some of the women have such ornaments, or whatever we may choose to call them, I can affirm from ocular demonstration.

(392) On Sunday, July 30, 1806, early in the morning mounted and went to the other village, (i.e. that of the Big Bellies, or River Gros ventres, or Hidatsa Indians), to see the Crows, who had come there to trade with the Hidatsa. --- The language of the Crows is nearly the same as the Big Bellies'; there is also a great similitude between these two nations in manners, customs, and dress. They have the character of a brave and warlike people; though obliged to put up with many insults from the people here, they have been repeatedly at war with the latter, and on many occasions have displayed dauntless spirit. I am informed they are much addicted to unnatural and beastly lusts, and have no scruple in satisfying their desires with their mares and wild animals freshly killed.


(512) On the Columbia river, en route from Astoria to Spokane House, July 28, 1811. A fine morning; to my surprise, very early, apparently a young man, well dressed in leather, carrying a bow and quiver of arrows, with his wife, a young woman in good clothing, came to my tent door and requested me to give them my protection; somewhat at a loss what answer to give, on looking at them, in the man I recognized the woman who three years ago was the wife of Boisverd, a Canadian and my servant; her conduct then was so loose that I had then requested him to send her away to her friends, but the Kootanaes were also displeased with her; she left them, and found her way from tribe to tribe to the sea.

(513) She became a prophetess, declared her sex changed, that she was now a man, dressed, and armed herself as such, and also took a young woman to wife, of whom she pretended to be very jealous: when with the Chinooks, as a prophetess, she predicted diseases to them, which made some of them threaten her life, and she found it necessary for her safety to endeavor to return to her own country at the head of this river.


(120) Mr. Say who spent some time among the Konzas (Kansas), gives in his notes, the following account of that nation.

(122) Sodomy is a crime not uncommonly committed, many of the subjects of it are publicly known, and do not appear to be despised, or to excite disgust; one of them was pointed out to us; he had submitted himself to it, in consequence of a vow he had made to his mystic medicine, which obliged him to change his dress for that of a squaw, to do their work, and to permit his hair to grow.
Ethnography of the Kutenai by Harry Holbert Turney-High.

(128) Sexual inversion, and the presence of berdaches and transvestites are indignantly denied. "All the Kutenai were athletes and warriors!"

(AAB). Informants say they knew of berdaches among the Blackfoot with a remark much like "They would!" Definite information of berdaches was gained for the Flathead. It is true, though, that there is very little appreciation of the phenomenon among old Kutenai. But because the Salish on the south and the Blackfoot on the east tolerated berdaches, one might well say that such sexual anomaly among the intervening Kutenai is an unproven point. Certainly one story was told me involving a transvestite shamaness.
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Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832-1834 by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, Volume XXII, Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, Parts I and II. Cleveland, 1906. (Three Volumes)

(I:354) Fort Clark, on Missouri river, June 16, 1833. Crow Indians. They have many bardaches, or hermaphrodites among them, and exceed all other tribes in unnatural practices. As among all the Missouri Indians, the Crows are divided into different bands or unions. A certain price is paid for admission into these unions and their dances, of which each has one peculiar to itself, like the other Missouri tribes; on which occasion the women are given up to the will of the seller in the same manner, as will be more particularly mentioned when speaking of the other tribes. Of the female sex, it is said of the Crows, that they, with the women of the Arikaras, are the most dissolute of all the tribes of the Missouri.

(II:283) Account of the Mandan Indians, 1832-1834. Among all the North American Indian nations there are men dressed and treated like women, called by the Canadians (284) Bardaches, of whom Mc Kenzie, Tanner, Langsdorff, and others, have spoken; but there was only one such among the Mandans, and two or three among the Manitaries.


(214) (Plate 296) Dance to the Berdase (Plate 296), is a very funny and amusing scene, which happens once a year or oftener, as they choose, when a feast is given to the "Berdase", as he is called in Franch,(or I-coo-oo-a, in their own language), (Catlin is speaking of the Sac and Fox) who is dressed in woman's clothing, as he is known (215) to be all his life, and for extraordinary privileges which he is known to possess, he is driven to the most servile and degrading duties, which he is not allowed to escape; and he being the only one of the tribe submitting to this disgraceful degradation, is looked upon as medicine and sacred, and a feast is given to him annually; and initiatory to it, a dance by those few young men of the tribe who can, as in the sketch, dance forward and publicly make their boast (without the denial of the Berdase), that Agh-whi-ee-choo-sum-me hi-anh-dwax-cumme-ks on-daig-nun-chow ixt. Che-ne-a'hkt ah-pex-i-an I-coo-oo-a wi-an-gurots whow-itcht-ne-axt-ar-rah, ne-axt-gun-he h'dow-ks's dow-on-daig-e-whicht nun-go-was-see. Such, and such only, are allowed to enter the dance and partake of the feast, and as there are but a precious few in the tribe who have legitimately gained this singular privilege, or willing to make a public confession of it, it will be seen that the society consists of quite a limited number of "odd fellows." This is one of the most unaccountable and disgusting customs, that I have ever met in the Indian country, and so far as I have been able to learn, belongs only to the Sioux and Sacs and Foxes - perhaps it is practiced by other tribes, but I did not meet with it; and for further account of it I am constrained to refer the reader to the country where it is practiced, and where I should wish that it might be extinguished before it be more fully recorded.


(343) My attention was first drawn to the subject over thirty years ago, when I was first on duty in New Mexico, as a medical officer of the
The Zuni Indians by Matilda Coxe Stevenson, 33rd Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. (We wha, a Zuni berdash, was one of Mrs. Stevenson's principal informants, and accompanied her on a visit to Washington, D.C. According to W.W. Stirling, Chief of the Bureau of Ethnology, Mrs. Stevenson was not aware at the time of this journey that We wha was a berdash, but assumed that "she" was a "woman" informant.)

(313) (Footnote) *At the time of We wha's visit to Washington, Hon. John G. Carlisle was speaker of the House of Representatives. The Speaker and Mrs. Carlisle were very kind to We wha, and soon upon her return to Zuni she found a great sack of seed which had been sent by the speaker.

Unpublished Manuscripts of the late Major General Hugh L. Scott, United States Army. Files of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Fragmentary notes in General Scott's handwriting on the Berdach. Extract from notes:

(Sheet 4) (Sheet 3 missing.) --- General Custer, and she married a second time. She died at Fort Abraham Lincoln, Dakota, in 1879, and it was discovered that she was a man. This was never suspected. She had acted as midwife on many occasions. The other soldiers made so much fun of her second husband that he committed suicide.

Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 34. Physiological and Medical Observations Among the Indians of Southwestern United States and Northern Mexico by Ales Hrdlicka. Washington, 1908. 47) (Tribes of Arizona and New Mexico) There are reasons for believing that obligatory defloration of marriageable girls, promiscuous sexual intercourse, and possibly even pederasty (ceremonial) still take place occasionally in a few of the tribes. 51) Further peculiarities of the sexual life of the people could not be inquired into with profitable results. From various indications the subject does not offer much of unusual interest.

There are no mutilations of the genital organs, with one possible exception. An artificial production of the so-called "nujerados", for purposes of ceremonial pederasty, among some of the Pueblos was reported, but it is not known whether this is still practiced.* (*Hammond, W.A., Sexual Impotence in the Male, New York, 1883.)


(338) In June, 1938 John Adair visited Zuni and took this picture (given with the article) of Kasinelu, the grandchild of Naluchi, famous Bow chief of Zuni at the end of the nineteenth century. Kasinelu is one of the four transvestites I described briefly in 1916. (The Zuni Indian, American Anthropologist, xviii [1916], 521-528.) Of the others Uk or Yuka who appeared to be a case of arrested development died in 1937 about sixty years old; and Tsatalitee died in 1918, in middle age, of "acute indigestion." (I talked with him that year; he had the manners and giggle of a woman; he was intelligent.) In 1918 Laspeke (Laspik) the little boy not quite feminized I also saw again. He was carrying his little sister on his back in a blanket as a girl or woman carries a baby, but Laspeke, in a White man's terms "a very nice looking boy, rather a sissy," was sent to one of the Indian boarding-schools and has since become cook to an American roadmaking labor gang - another way of doing women's work!

Since Laspeke, no boy in the last twenty years has shown any promise of transvestism.
SEXUAL INVERSION AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS IN EARLY TIMES.

The Disease of the Scythians and Certain Analogous Conditions by Hammond. (343) Army. I was at that time stationed at Laguna, an Indian village, built and inhabited by Pueblo Indians, who are the descendants of the Aztecs, and who even yet, notwithstanding their conversion to the Catholic religion, worship the Sun surreptitiously, preserve the sacred fire, and look forward with confidence to the reappearance among them of their former emperor Montezuma, who they believe will again become their sovereign. I had not resided there long when I was informed by certain of the New Mexican inhabitants, with many injunctions of caution and secrecy, that there was in the pueblo an individual in regard to whom the Indians observed a great deal of reserve and mystery. It was asserted that by some means or other the sex of this person had become changed from male to female, that he had assumed the garb of a woman, lived with women, and followed their occupations. He was called a mujerado. Literally the meaning is "womaned," but in reality there is no such word in Spanish, and it is probably a corruption of "mujeriego," which signified "feminine" or "womanish." It fortunately happened that the old chief of the pueblo had been a patient of mine for a rheumatic affection, of which he had been relieved by the strong liniment I gave him, so that on my delicately hinting that I would like to see the mujerado, the permission to do so was, after a little hesitation, freely granted, the chief offering to act as my introducer. We therefore at once proceeded to the place where the public corn was being ground by the women detailed that day for the purpose. On entering the room, which was somewhat excluded from profane observation, we (344) found about a dozen women on their knees before the metates, laboriously doing what a mill would have accomplished in a hundredth part of the time. The chief spoke a few words, when immediately one, whom I would not have been able to distinguish on a cursory inspection from any of the others, rose and came towards us. "Aquí está el mujerado," said the old chief. "You can do what you please with him." I observed that he used the masculine pronoun "el" in referring to the individual. He was about thirty-five years old, rather tall and slim. There was not a vestige of beard, though I attached little importance to this fact, as Indians rarely have any marked growth of the kind. His countenance was cheerful and his face free from wrinkles, full and rounded, like that of most Indian women of his age. He was dressed exactly like the others. On my expression of a desire to examine him more closely, he was directed to accompany me into an adjoining room, which he at once did, the chief going with us. He then at my request removed all of his clothing. The first thing that attracted my notice was the extraordinary development of the mammary glands, which were as large as those of a child-bearing woman. He told me that he had nursed several infants whose mothers had died, and that he had given them plenty of milk from his breasts. I expressed my doubts of the truth of this assertion, but he persisted with vehemence that it was true. The chief would neither affirm nor deny its correctness, repeating, in answer to my inquiries, after the true Mexican fashion "Quisasa, quien sabe!"-("Perhaps so, I do not know.") The abdomen was protuberant and the limbs were round, full and soft. Of course the most important parts to be inspected were (345) genital organs. There was no hair on the pubis; the penis was shrunken, but was otherwise normal; the prepuce could be readily retracted and the glans presented a healthy appearance, except that it was no larger than a thimble, which it very much resembled in shape. The whole organ was, in its flaccid condition, about an inch and a half in length. The scrotum was long and pendulous and contained the remains of the testicles,

That these monstrosities (inverts) of large cities in the shape of "petits jésus" (name by which professional male prostitutes call themselves in France) are not only the productions of professional training, but rather of a degenerated mental condition is apparent from the researches made by Laurent ("Les bisexues, Paris, 1894"). He describes on page 175 of his book under the title of "hermaphroditisme artificiel" manifestations of "effemination" and "infantilisme". They refer to boys who with incipient puberty show no further development of the frame and the genital organs, have no growth of hair about the face or pubes, do not change the voice and are retrograde in their mental faculties. Often it happens that in such cases secondary physical and psychical female characteristics of sexuality are developed. A post mortem of such "petits garroches" (Brouardel) reveals a small bladder, mere rudiments of the prostate, absence of the ischial and bulbo cavernosi muscles, infantile penis, and a very narrow pelvis. They are beyond doubt heavily tainted individuals who have experienced at the time of puberty a sort of rudimentary sexual change. Laurent (p. 181) makes the interesting remark, that from the ranks of these "Infantiles" and "Effeminates" the professional passive pederaste ("petits jésus") are recruited. It is evident, therefore, that these human monstrosities are predestined for and trained, so to speak, in their abominable career by degenerative and anthropological factors.
The Disease of the Scythians and Certain Analogous Conditions by Hammond.

(345) which had almost entirely disappeared. Each one was of the size of a small filbert, as well as I could judge. Pressure upon them gave slight pain. I suppose that the glandular structure had become almost entirely atrophied, little besides connective tissue remaining. The spermatic cords could be distinctly felt up to the external abdominal rings. There was slight varicocele. In all other respects the organs were normal, there being no deformity of any kind. I was surprised at this condition, for I had expected to see some form of hermaphrodisism, or at least cryptorchism. He informed me that he had been a mujerado for seven years, and that previous to that time he had possessed in full all the sexual attributes of a man. First, his testicles had begun to get smaller, and with their disappearance he had lost all sexual desire, all liking for the companionship of men and for their ways, and had sought the society of the women. His penis had not at first diminished in size, but as it gradually lost the power of erection it had also become atrophied. Before he became a mujerado he had, as he informed me with evident pride, possessed a large penis and his testicles were "grandes como huevos" — as large as eggs — a statement which the old chief unhesitatingly confirmed. His voice was of high pitch, thin and cracked, especially when he became excited, which he did very readily; and he indulged in more gesticulations than any Indian I had ever seen. In the Pueblo of Acoma, about twenty miles from Laguna, I ascertained that there was another mujerado. Accompanied by the old Laguna chief I paid a visit to this village in the autumn of 1851, and had the opportunity of making a thorough examination of the individual who served in that capacity. There was no remarkable development of the mammary glands; the pubic was devoid of hair; the penis was greatly shrunken, not being an inch in length when flaccid, and of about the circumference of the little finger. The testicles apparently consisted of nothing but connective tissue, as no pain was experienced on strong pressure being applied to the soft masses about the size of a kidney bean, which lay at the bottom of the scrotum. There was no genital deformity of any kind whatever. The limbs and the whole body were full and rounded, and there was not a sign of hair anywhere, except on the scalp. The voice was shrill and weak. As he stood naked before me, the whole appearance was more that of a woman than of a man. When he put on his woman's dress, it was impossible to discover any marked difference between him and the women among whom he lived. He was apparently about thirty-six or seven years old, and had been a mujerado for nearly ten years. These were the only mujerados I saw in New Mexico, though I was told that every pueblo had one, or even more. Their raison d'être is evidently to be found in the force of tradition which still exists to a great extent with the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. In referring further to that subject, I am actuated by a desire to shed as much light as possible upon a custom and its results, not only important from an anthropological, but a neurological point of view, (347) and which will doubtless disappear ere long before advancing civilization, even if they have not already done so. I found it very difficult to ascertain the cause of the atrophy of the genital organs, and of the great changes which had been produced in other parts of the organism, but I finally succeeded in obtaining some information, which was certainly correct, as far as it went, for it was derived from several authentic sources, including the subjects themselves, and was uniformly to the same effect. A mujerado is an essential person in the saturnalia
(A BERDASH GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.)
The Disease of the Scythians and Certain Analogous Conditions. Hammond. Dr. Spitzka, (A Historical Case of Sexual Perversion, Chicago Medical Review, August 30, 1881.) has adduced the case of Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York during the reign of Queen Anne. This person was a degraded, hypocritical and utterly immoral being, devoid of anything remotely resembling a conscience, and so thoroughly mean and contemptible that it required but a short period of his rule to array all classes of the population against him --- He was devoid of caution, a spendthrift, and altogether erratic in his behaviour. Obtaining his position through nepotism, the queen was compelled to remove him, although he was her own cousin and the son of Lord Clarendon. On losing his position his creditors in New York locked him up in a debtor’s prison, where he languished until his father died. Then money was went over to liberate him and to enable him to represent the English people in the House of Lords.

(354) "Unfortunately," continues Dr. Spitzka, "only the most notable feature of his insanity has been preserved in the records. But that single feature demonstrates the character of his mental disease. His greatest pleasure was to dress himself as a woman; and New York frequently saw its Governor, the commander of the Colonial troops and a scion of the royal stock, promenading the walls of the little fort in female attire, with all the coquetry of a woman and all the gestures of a courtesan. His picture, which is extant, shows him to have had a narrow forehead, an unsymmetrical face, highly arched eyebrows, a very sensual mouth and a very feminine expression. The painting, of which I have seen a copy, represents him in female dress, with his neck and part of his chest bare, and his hair done up in female fashion. Probably Lord Cornbury was what would now be called a "reasoning maniac." He was a sharp, shrewd and bold man, who constantly consulted his own ends to the exclusion of those of the people, and whose chief object in life seemed to be to get money from the Province on one pretence or another and put it into his own pocket. But he never, so far as we know, entertained even for an instant the idea that he was a woman. He had a reason of altogether a different kind for appearing in female attire, and that was that, as his Sovereign was a woman, it was proper that he should show his respect for her by dressing as she did. (Bryan's Popular History of the United States, New York, 1879. vol. iii. p. 41. There is on the same page a copy of the portrait referred to by Dr. Spitzka. The original is in the Kensington Museum, London.) An insane motive, doubtless, but not based on the delusion that he was of like sex to his Queen. Lord Cornbury had his favorites as corrupt as himself, and upon whom he lavished all the gifts of money and place in his power. It would be interesting to know whether or not (355) he was addicted to pederasty, and whether or not he eventually became impotent.

Nelson's Perpetual Loose-Leaf Encyclopaedia, Vol. III. pp. 375 A & B. Cornbury, Edward Hyde, Lord, third Earl of Clarendon (1661-1723), colonial governor, was the grandson of Charles II.'s lord chancellor, and thus was own cousin to Queen Anne. After serving as a member of Parliament from 1685 to 1701, he was appointed governor of the province of New York by William III. He arrived in New York in May, 1702, and the same year was made governor of the province of New Jersey also. Soon after his arrival he visited Albany and concluded, with Major Peter Schuyler's assistance, a treaty with the Iroquois Confederacy, which insured the neutrality of the Five Nations until 1713. His administration was marked by personal dissipation, incapacity, bigotry, and avarice to such an extent that formal complaints were made by the colonial legislators to the lords of trade in England, and he was removed from (concluded facing page 217)
SEXUAL INVERSION AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS IN EARLY TIMES.

The Disease of the Scythians and Certain Analogous Conditions by Hammond. (347) or orgies, in which these Indians, like the ancient Greeks, Egyptians and other nations indulge. He is the chief passive agent of the pederastic ceremonies, which form so important a part in the performances. These take place in the spring of every year, and are conducted with the utmost secrecy, as regards the non-Indian part of the population. For the making of a mujerado, one of the most virile men is selected, and the act of masturbation is performed on him many times every day. At the same time he is made to ride almost continuously on horseback. The genital organs are thus brought at first into a state of extreme erethism, so that the motion of the horse is sufficient to produce a discharge of seminal fluid, while at the same time the pressure of the body on the animal's back — for the riding is done without a saddle — interferes with their proper nutrition. It eventually happens that though an orgasm may be caused, emissions can no longer be effected, even upon the most intense degree of excitations. Finally the accomplishment of an orgasm becomes impossible. In the meantime the penis and testicles begin to shrink, and in time reach their lowest plane of degradation. Erections then altogether cease. But the most decided changes are at the same time going on little by little in the instincts and proclivities of the subject. He loses his taste for those sports and (348) occupations in which he formerly indulged, his courage disappears, and he becomes timid to such an extent that if he is a man occupying a prominent place in the councils of the pueblo he is at once relieved of all power and responsibility, and his influence is at an end. If he is married, his wife and children pass from under his control, whether, however, through his wish, or theirs, or by the orders of the council, I could not ascertain. They certainly become no more to him than other women and children of the pueblo. At the same time no disgrace attaches to the condition of the mujerado. He is protected and supported by the pueblo, is held in some sort of honor, and need not work unless he chooses. Men, however, do not associate with him, but this is more in accordance with his wishes and inclinations than from any desire on their part to avoid him. Indeed, his endeavor seems to be to assimilate himself as much as possible with the female sex, and to get rid as far as may be of all the attributes, mental and physical, of manhood. Nevertheless, the condition is one which is, I believe, forced upon him by the powers of tradition, custom and public opinion, and which — recognizing the impossibility of escape — he assumes probably with reluctance in the first instance, but eventually with entire complaisance and assent. I could not ascertain, with any degree of certainty, whether the mujerados were public property for pederastic purposes at any other times than at the annual orgies, but I am inclined to think that the chiefs, or some of them, have the right to so employ them, and that they do avail themselves of the privilege. They avoided all references to the subject, and professed the most complete ignorance of the matter when I questioned them directly thereon. The (349) old chief, however, who acted as my escort, while not disposed to be communicative, was not altogether reticent on this point, and admitted, by unmistakable signs and with perfect equanimity, that he himself, in his younger days, had made use of the mujerados of his pueblo in the manner referred to.
office in 1708. His debts having accumulated, he was thrown into prison in New York; but on the death (1709) of his father, whom he succeeded as third Earl of Clarendon, he was able to pay his debts and return to England. He became a privy councillor in 1711, and envoy extraordinary to Holland in 1714.

Anthropological Studies in Strange Sexual Practices by Dr. Iwan Bloch. (314) So perhaps the statement of the intermediate "Count Caju" that to ten thousand men there is one intermediate has more claim to accuracy than those of his fellow sufferers. (See notes p. 319, and facing 319.)

Unpublished Manuscript of the late Major General Hugh L. Scott, U.S.A.
Files of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, D.C. Extract from fragmentary notes of general Scott on
The Berdache. Reference to Woman Jim, a Crow Indian Berdache.

Third Fragment. "The Berdache." (Sheet 1.) "The sign is made for half
man half woman, the same as for hermaphrodite. The word Berdache is
from the French. The Dakota name is "wintka." Clark seems to consider
the berdache as a genuine freak of nature. The Handbook" (Bulletin 30,
"has no mention of them, nor does Mooney. The berdache is a man who
dresses in women's clothes, acts, lives among women rather than among
men, and practices the customs of women. They were formerly found in
many tribes, probably in all, but they are now very scarce. Miss Fletcher
in discussing the practice among the Omaha, states the berdache became so
through a dream commanding him to act that way, but I have concluded
after a good deal of study, that the berdache is nothing more than a
degenerate, and the dream an after thought, to excuse an evil practice
which a state of barbarism permits. There were three or four in the
Crow tribe in 1877. They were often pointed out as being curious, but
without loss of standing. They all dressed like women, cooked and did
the women's work of the lodge, yet occasionally did notable deeds on the
war path. There is only one left among the Crow, Ma-kate (Minzate) (woman)
Jim. I went to see her near the Catholic Mission, St. Xavier, in the Big
Horn Valley, in 1910-1920." (Alex Green of Fort Washakie, Wyoming, who
lived with the Crow for many years, as a Crow, told me in 1936, that he
knew Woman Jim, and "she" was the best poker player in "her" community.
J.G.C.) "The subject was a very delicate one, to broach on such short
acquaintance and had to be approached with tact. We got acquainted first
by talking about the old Crow chiefs, now dead, that I knew in 1877;
Iron Bull, Blackfoot, Old Crow, Two Belly, etc. I used to run buffalo
with the latter. Later she - they are generally spoken of as 'she' -
volunteered the information that she had a very bad case of blood poison
from a cut on her leg, and had thought she was going to die and had made
all her grave clothes. She was asked if these were to be seen. She had
them brought out" (Sheet 3.) "showing them with great pride - all beaded
buckskin - a woman's dress, leggings and moccasins - of beautiful work-
manship. She was asked why she had women's clothes made, and replied
'that is my road' (or custom). She was asked if any medicine person
told her to do that. She said 'No! Didn't I tell you that is my road. I
have done it ever since I can remember, because I wanted to do it. My
father and mother did not like it. They used to whip me and take away my
girl's clothes, and put boy's clothes on me, but I threw them away, and
get girl's clothes and dolls to play with.' She then said something to a
woman, who brought a Nez Perce bag, and said to me: 'You have come a long
way, I want to make you a present.' I asked her if I might take her
photograph. She said to wait until she put her fine clothes on. The
photograph got spoiled in the east. I went the next year to see her and
get a photograph, which was more successful, but she was away from home,
(Concluded facing page 318)
SEXUAL INVERSION AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS IN EARLY TIMES.

Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1850, (Washington, 1851.) Report Agent J. S. Calhoun, New Mexico, February 16, 1851:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pueblo</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Bardaches</th>
<th>Rate per 1000 (JCC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(New Mexico)</td>
<td>(Calhoun)</td>
<td>(Hammond)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acoma</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laguna</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(623) (Extracts given only in reference to American Indian. Bote is the Crow name for bardenas. He practices fellatio according to Holder.) In the Crow or Apsaroke tribe, of which I had medical charge for two years, there are at present five bote (in this dialect there is no plural form, the number being indicated by the qualifying words), and about this number has flourished for years past. While in reports of physicians and others concerning various Indian tribes I find no mention of this class, and while in personal replies from physicians in charge of more than twenty agencies I have been able to get little positive evidence concerning them, yet I feel assured that the bote is to be found in nearly all tribes of Indians, of the northwest at least. From physicians I have obtained the following information: Dr. Joseph B. Graham, of Lower Brule Agency, Dakota, reports one "so-called hermaphrodite who affects woman's manner and dress, and it is said he lives and cohabits with a man occasionally, but more I have been unable to learn." Dr. Best, of Fort Berthold, Dakota, informs me that there are among his Indians, Gros Ventres (Hidatsa or Minitari), Mandans, and Rees (Arikari), "a few bucks who have the dress and manner of the squaws and who cohabit with other bucks," but in what manner and for what purpose he is unable to say. Dr. C. K. Smith, of Klamath, Oregon, writes: "There is but one 'hermaphrodite' in this tribe. She (?) has lived with a number of different men who claim that they have performed the sexual act with her. She has also cohabited with white men. The Indians claim that she has a rudimentary penis and that she used to cohabit with females. She dresses as a female, but is masculine in voice, features, etc." One of the bote accredited to the Apsaroke tribe is a Sioux, and I can assert, on perfectly reliable testimony, that among the Lower Gros Ventres (Hidatsa) there is a larger number of them than in the Apsaroke tribe. A bote, a description of whom will be introduced presently, told me that the tribes of his acquaintance living in the North west had bote as follows: Flatheads, four; Nez Perces, two; Gros Ventres (Hidatsa), six; Sioux, five; Shoshonis, one. There seems to be a species of fellowship among them, and I have no reason to doubt the correctness of his statement. The bote wears the "squaw" dress and leggings, parts the hair in the middle and braids it like a woman's, possesses or affects the voice and manner of a woman, and constantly associates with that sex as being of it. The voice, features, and form, however, never so far lose masculine qualities as to make it at all difficult to distinguish the bote from a (624) woman. One of them does "squaw" work, such as sweeping, scouring, dish-washing, etc., with such skill and good nature that he frequently finds employment among the white residents. Usually the feminine dress and manner are assumed in childhood, but the art to which they subsequently devote themselves does not generally become a practice until toward puberty. One little fellow while in the Agency Boarding School was found frequently surreptitiously wearing female attire. He was punished, but finally escaped from school and became a bote, which vocation he has since followed. One of the bote of my acquaintance is a splendidly formed
without her fine clothes. She said: 'I wish you were going to be at the Crow fair. I am giving things away there, and would like to give you something.' Long afterwards a package arrived at my home from the west and in it was a large bag made only by the Nez Perce. While speaking of Iron Bull's lodge, in 1877, the most spacious and comfortable skin lodge I have ever seen, she said she had made it herself, and it was composed of 25 skins, and was very proud of her work. She said she had been on the war path many times, and was with General Crock in 1876, and had rescued a wounded officer being carried on a travois, he was thrown out of the travois in the mud and water, and she had gotten him. — " (The officer was Colonel Guy V. Henry, in command of the 2nd Battalion, 3rd Cavalry, who was wounded in action at the Battle of the Rosebud, June 17, 1876. See War Path and Hivuauc by John F. Finerty, pp. 128-130, for description of wounding of Henry in that battle. Finerty also says, p. 101, idem, "three squaws were there on horseback - wives of the chiefs," this in reference to the Crow scouts who accompanied General Crock to the battle of the Rosebud. Linderman's American, giving Plenty Coups account of the battle, at p. 171 describes Henry's being thrown from the mule litter. J.G.C.) *Bulletin 43, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1911. Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley by John R. Swanton, at p. 100, The Natchez Group: Male concubinage existed among the Natchez as elsewhere in North America. Dumont (Mem. Histoire sur Louisiane, I, pp. 248-249) says that a male concubine, or "hermaphrodite," among the Natchez, and perhaps also among many other savage nations, is called 'the chief of the women.' It is certain (he adds), that although he is really a man he has the same dress and the same occupations as the women. Like them he wears his hair long and braided. He has, like them, a petticoat or alconand instead of a breechcloth. Like them he labors in the cultivation of the fields and in all the other labors which are proper to them, and as among these people, who live almost without religion and without law, libertinism is carried to the greatest excess, I will not answer that these barbarians do not abuse this pretended chief of the women and make him serve their brutal passions. What is certain is that when a party of warriors or of Honored men leaves the village to go either to war or to the chase, if they do not make their wives follow them, they always carry with them this man dressed as a woman, who serves to keep their camp, to cook their h'f'miny, and to provide, in short, for all the needs of the household as well as a woman might do. (Dumont de Montigny, memoires Historiques sur La Louisiane, 2 vols., Paris, 1753. Edited by Le Mascotier, vol. I, pp. 348-349.)
The Bote. Description of a peculiar sexual perversion among Indians, Holdem (624) fellow, of prepossessing face, in perfect health, active in movement, and happy in disposition. Desiring that my knowledge should be positive, I had this bote brought to my office, and, by offering a moneyed consideration, induced him to submit himself, though with considerable reluctance, to a thorough examination. He is five feet eight inches high, weighs one hundred and fifty-eight pounds, and has a frank intelligent face—being an Indian, of course beardless. He is thirtythree years of age and has worn woman’s dress for twenty-eight years. His dress was the usual dress of the Indian female, consisting of four articles—a single dress or gown of half a dozen yards of cloth, made loose with wide sleeves, and skirt reaching to the ankles, the skirt and body of one piece, very much like the “Mother Hubbard” negligée worn by ladies; a beaded belt loosely confining this at the waist; stockings from Government annuity goods; and buckskin moccasins extending above the ankles. The hair, twenty-four or twenty-six inches long, was parted in the center and allowed to hang loose in two masses behind the shoulders. Since among the Sioux and some other tribes it is usual for men to wear their hair in this way, it is well to observe that in this tribe (Absaroka) the men usually wear the hair in long braids and always part it on the side and “reach” the front. Removing his dress, I found his skin smooth and free from hair, there being absolutely none on the leg, arms, or breast, or in the arm pits. This, however, is of no special significance, as all Indians with whom I am acquainted, male and female, are free from hair on these parts of the body. The mammae were rudimentary, as usually found in the male. Coming now to the more interesting parts, the sexual organs, I will state that when he removed his dress he threw his thighs together so as to completely conceal the organs, whether male or female; such a movement as I have frequently seen made by timid women under examination—a movement usually successful in the female, owing to the non-projecting character of the genitals and to the rotundity of the thighs, but not usually easy, for the reverse reasons, in the male. In this the bote—either from the conformation of the thighs, which had, really, or to my fancy, the feminine rotundity, or from skill acquired by habit—succeeded completely. When he was induced to separate his thighs, male organs came into view, in size not quite so large as the physique of the man would indicate, but in position and shape altogether normal. The penis, being flaccid, measured four inches and a half in length, three inches and a half in circumference. The testicles were about the size of a small almond; the foreskin and glans were normal. On the pubes was a light growth of short hair, the usual amount found on the Indian male. Before he would submit to the examination he had me promise that I would tell nothing to the authorities nor to any of his tribe. When I was done he asserted that no one had seen his genital organs from childhood till this examination.

His constant associates are women, and I said to him, “You go swimming with the women; how do you keep them from seeing your organs?” “Oh,” he said, “I do this way,” throwing his thighs together as he had done when he first removed his dress for examination, again concealing completely the penis and scrotum, and under direct inspection in this position it would be impossible to declare his sex. He denied ever having had sexual intercourse with a female, and pointed as evidence to his penis and groins—“no sore, no scar”; by no means bad evidence in a tribe so universally venereal. Other Indians assert that this bote formerly occasionally had sexual intercourse with women. Such, however, is rare, perversion of the function depriving them of the normal passion for the female. They have,

(353) Ulrichs ("Kritische Pfeile," p. 3, 1880) declares that, on an average, there is one person affected with antipathic sexual instinct to every 200 mature men, or to every 600 of the population; and that the percentage among the Magyars and South Slavs is still greater, - statements which may be regarded as untrustworthy. The subject of one of my cases knows personally, at his home (13,000 inhabitants), fourteen unnings. He further declares that he is acquainted with at least eighty in a city of 80,000 inhabitants. It is to be presumed that this man, otherwise worthy of belief, makes no distinction between the congenital and the acquired anomaly.

(381) (Case 148) "In smaller cities there are relatively few 'aunts,' though in a small town of 3300 inhabitants I found eight, and in one of 7000 eighteen of whom I was absolutely sure, - to say nothing of those whom I suspected. In my own town of 30,000 inhabitants I personally know about 130 'aunts.' The greater number of them, and I especially, possess the capability of judging another immediately as to whether they are alike or not, which, in the language of the 'aunts,' is called 'reasonable' or 'unreasonable.' My acquainances are often astounded at the certainty of my judgment. Individuals that are apparently absolutely masculine I recognize as 'aunts' at first sight." ***

The Arapaho declare that they never had any women that dressed and lived as men, but they have a story of such a woman among the Sioux. (See p. 218, supra, David Thompson's Narrative for account of female transvestite. Kroeber asserts in his report that the Arapaho had berdaches. Robert Friday informs me that they never had berdaches. I am inclined to believe Friday. JGC.)


(19) Among the Indians called Cheyennes lived a woman whose voice and genitalia were like a man's. She wore the garments of women and lived with women as a woman. She attracted the eyes of friends more by looseness of manner. A man seeking intercourse, she gave (30) consent, lying on her back and laying her penis on her belly, allowed penetration into her anus.


(313) Wollenberg, too, stresses the great overestimation of the number of true homosexuals, similarly Havelock Ellis calls true homosexuality "a relatively rare phenomenon." Kraepelin and Führbringer likewise regard of Ulrichs about the frequency of homosexuality "considerably exaggerated."

(314) --- All in all, the endeavors to pump up intermediatism artificially to a great social importance are not supported by facts. Fortunately homosexual relations do not take such a place in social life and the life of the state as is claimed by the exaggerated fancies of the urgings and their literary spokesman. On the contrary, it cannot be stressed often enough that homosexuals, according to the verdict of qualified authorities, represent a constantly diminishing fraction of the population, and that intermediatism absolutely is not so conspicuous in social life as is claimed. / the assertions

***Krafft-Ebing: Figures, 1.33 per 1000; .93 per 1000; 1.33 per 1000; 2.87 per 1000; 3.87 per 1000; 4.00 per 1000. Mean average Europeans: 3.34 per 1000. (World Wide Encyclopedia, New York, 1934, vol. II, p. 3045: New York State, Insanity rate is 4.78 per 1000.)
SEXUAL INVERSION AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS IN EARLY TIMES.

The Bote, Description of a peculiar sexual perversion among Indians. Holder (634) however, for this perverse gratification a passion equivalent to the normal. I have heard a bote beg a male Indian to submit to his caress. The bote described above lived constantly two years as the female party to a marital partnership with a well-known male Indian. It is not, however, the usual habit of the bote to form a "partnership" with a single man. He is, like the female members of this tribe, ready to accommodate any male desiring his services. ---

(635) In the manner of making the mujerado and his importance in the traditional rites of the people among whom he is found, Dr. Hammond gives him a position of greater dignity than I can assign the bote, whose making I adjudge the work of his own perverted lust, and whose tolerance I attribute not to any respect in which he is held, but to the debased standard of the people among whom he lives. There is, moreover, a difference in the method of the practice of their vocation. Pederasty is by no means unknown among the tribes of Indians where the bote is found, but the bote is less than any other a pederast. With him it is the oral and not the rectal cavity into which he admits the male organ.

**Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1868.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Berdaches</th>
<th>Rate per 1000.</th>
<th>(JGC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crow</td>
<td>2,456</td>
<td>5 (1 Sioux)</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Brule</td>
<td>2,145</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klamath</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flathead</td>
<td>2,018</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nez Perce</td>
<td>1,193</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gros Ventre</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sioux</td>
<td>24,329</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Sioux in Dakota and Montana, excluding Assiniboine.

(1851) (Hammond and Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1851).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Rate per 1000.</th>
<th>(JGC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acoma</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laguna</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Mean Average of above tabulation is: 3.51 per 1000.)

The above data is necessarily incomplete. It gives the population of the tribes and the numbers of open professional inverts, but the figures are not available as to the number of steady customers or patrons of these inverts, or the number of their occasional patrons. It is impossible to obtain complete data on this subject.


Each of these groups has its own distinctive name, decoration and dance. Its purpose is purely social, offering the members a variation from their usual diversions. --- At these dances eunuchs wear no clothing at all except mocassins, not even the breechcloth. They fasten an eagle feather on their limbs.

From above data, rate per 1000, sexual inverts, is, Indians 3.51 Europeans 2.34. 0.17 per 1000 less among Europeans than among Indians. 1857: 93 to 350,000 Insane or 0.2630 per 1,000. J.G.C.

Insanity: 80 committed cases in population of 350,000 Indians or 0.2286 per 1000. No per THE. J.G.C. (1934-5)
Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz, Translated by Myrtis Jarrell and
Edited by J.N.B. Hewitt. United States Government Printing Office,
Washington, 1887.

(176) (Fort Union, October 10, 1851. Fort of the American Fur Company
on the Upper Missouri River near the mouth of the Yellowstone River. Mr.
Denig was the Bourgeois, or Chief Trader, in charge of this Fort.)
Mr. Denig declares that the drinking of whiskey does Indians no harm
whatever. To be sure, here as elsewhere, brawls and murders not infre-
quently occur as a result of drinking, but wild Indians think nothing of
such things as that. On the other hand, they were more reliable, more
industrious, and cared more for their personal ap-
pearance at the time when Uncle Sam allowed them to barter for
whiskey than at present, for the simple reason, universally accepted as
true, that people work more diligently for their pleasures than for
the necessities of life. They find in whiskey, Mr. Denig says, a keen
incentive to work; in order to enjoy a drink the man went more frequently
on the chase, his wife dressed a larger number of hides. Since that time
they have brought fewer skins for exchange, not for the reason that
buffaloes have decreased in number but that Indians, so long as they have
meat, which is the food they prefer, will not exert themselves at all
for bread and coffee. But for whiskey they are willing to suffer hunger,
cold, and most strenuous exertions for days together. This is all doubt-
less very true, but let us consider also the other side of the question.
The fur trader's principal reason for wishing whiskey back again as a
commodity for trade with Indians, notwithstanding the attending peril to
their own lives, is the enormous profit they derive from the sale of it -
a profit out of all proportion to the one now realized. They made a gain
earlier ranging from 200 to 400 per cent; their gain today is not more
than 50 per cent. Fur traders form their judgments and carry on business
as such. They regard civilization of the Indian with detestation, because
that means the end of their traffic. They know that when Indians begin to
cultivate their land they will become independent. They will no longer
follow the chase as their chief occupation, consequently there will be no
longer a supply of furs and skins, present source of the fur trader's
ready money. Anyone who investigates the history of the dispossessed
Indians will find the fur traders always among warning the tribes against
the whites, their own countrymen, and yet at the same time abetting the
plunderers. What has the Hudson Bay Co. ever done to benefit the Indians
since they have had the chartered rights of English fur traders in North
America. Nothing! What evidence do we find here of the Englishman's love
of mankind? English philanthropists give themselves tremendous airs where
trade is not affected adversely thereby. So di American fur-trading
gentlemen in all matters that do not affect their financial interests.

History of the Sioux War and Massacre of 1862 and 1863 by Isaac V. D. Heard.

(33) The traders, knowing for years before that the whites will purchase
the lands, sell the Indians goods on credit, expecting to realize their
pay from the consideration-note paid by the government. They thus become
interested instruments to obtain the consent of the Indians to the treaty;
and by reason of their familiarity with their language, and the assistance
of half-breed relatives, are possessed of great facilities to accomplish
their object. The persons deputed by the government to effect a treaty are
compelled to procure their co-operation, and this they do by providing
that their debts shall be paid. The traders obtain

(34) the concurrence of the Indians by refusing to give them further credit

(Concluded facing Page 221.)
VALUE OF FURS AND COST OF TRADE GOODS TO INDIANS IN FUR TRADE.

History of the American Fur Trade in the Far West by Hiram Martin Chittenden, Captain, Corps of Engineers, U.S.A. New York, 1902.

(3) The white man valued the native furs altogether beyond what the Indian was able to comprehend, and the latter was only too happy to find that he could trade them for that gaudy and glittering wealth which had been brought from a great distance to his country. Thus, in the early intercourse of the white man with the Indians, each gave to the other something that he valued lightly, and received in return something that he valued highly; and each felt a keen contempt for the stupid taste of the other. The trade, thus begun by imposition on the one side and ignorance on the other, developed, upon more thorough acquaintance, into a regular system. * (See Facing p. 231, Le Jeune.)

(4) To convey a clear idea of the variety of articles in a trading equipment, as well as the prices at which they were rated in the mountains, and extract is given in the accompanying footnote from the bill of sale by which General William H. Ashley transferred his outfit to the firm of Smith, Jackson and Sublette, near Great Salt Lake, July 18, 1836.*

*The invoice included "gunpowder of the first and second quality at one dollar fifty per pound, lead one dollar per pound, shot one dollar twenty-five cents per pound, three point (pound) blankets at nine dollars each, green ditto at eleven dollars each, scarlet cloth at six dollars per yard, blue ditto common quality from four to five dollars per yard, butcher-knives at seventy-five cents each, two and a half point (pound) blankets at seven dollars each, North West fuzils (muskets) at twenty-four dollars each, tin kettles different sizes at two dollars per pound, sheet iron kettles at two dollars twenty-five cents per pound, square axes at two dollars fifty cents each, beaver traps at nine dollars each, sugar at one dollar per pound, coffee at one dollar and twenty-five cents a pound, raisins at one dollar fifty cents per pound, grey cloth of common quality at five dollars per yard, flannel common quality at one dollar fifty cents per yard, calicoes assorted at one dollar per yard, domestic cotton at one dollar twenty-five cents per yard, thread assorted at three dollars per pound, worsted binding at fifteen dollars per gross, finger rings at five dollars per gross, beads assorted at two dollars fifty cents per pound, vermilion at three dollars per pound, files assorted at two dollars fifty cents per pound, fourth proof rum reduced at thirteen dollars fifty cents per gallon, bridles assorted at seven dollars each, spurs at two dollars per pair, horse shoes and nails at two dollars per pound, tin pans.

(5) assorted at two dollars per pound, handkerchiefs assorted at one dollar fifty cents each, ribbons assorted at three dollars per bolt, buttons at five dollars per gross, looking glasses at fifty cents each, flints at fifty cents per dozen, moccasin awls at twenty-five cents per dozen, tobacco at one dollar twenty-five cents per pound, copper kettles at three dollars per pound, iron buckles assorted at two dollars fifty cents per pound, fire steels at two dollars per pound, dried fruit at one dollar and fifty cents per pound, washing soap at one dollar twenty-five cents per pound, shaving soap at two dollars per pound, first quality James river tobacco at one dollar seventy-five cents per pound, steel bracelets at one dollar fifty cents per pair, large brass wire at two dollars per pound."

(40) A common unit of price in the earlier years of the trade was a first-class beaver skin, worth in the neighborhood of six dollars. It was called a plus, and was much used at that time.
and by representing to them that they will receive an immense amount of money if they sell their lands, and thenceforth will live at ease, with plenty to eat and plenty to wear, and plenty of powder and lead, and of whatever else they may request. After the treaty is agreed to, the amount of ready money is absorbed by the exorbitant demands of the traders and the expense of the removal of the Indians to their reservation. After that the trader no longer looks to the Indian for his pay; he gets it from their annuities.


(593) (Fur Trade) According to Mr. Bliss, the number and value of the furs and peltries exported from British America to all parts, in 1831, were -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beaver</td>
<td>126,944</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>3,850</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deer</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fox</td>
<td>8,765</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lynx</td>
<td>58,010</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minx</td>
<td>9,398</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskrat</td>
<td>375,731</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raccoon</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tails</td>
<td>2,990</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weasel</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolverine</td>
<td>1,744</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>5,947</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(151) 1633-1634. Le Jeune's Relation, 1634. (Montagnais and other Indians. He (my host, a Montagnais Indian) was making sport of us Europeans, who have (289) such a fondness for the skin of this animal (the beaver) and who fight to see who will give the most to these Barbarians, to get it; they carry this to such an extent that my host said to me one day, showing me a very beautiful knife, "The English have no sense; they give us twenty knives like this for one beaver skin."
VALUE OF FURS AND COST OF TRADE GOODS TO INDIANS IN FUR TRADE.

In regard to the magnitude of the trade it is difficult to give definite figures; but the following table of statistics compiled about 1832 by Indian Agent John Dougherty, embracing the fifteen years from 1615 to 1830, gives a fair idea, not only of the extent of the trade, but of the wages paid, the prices of furs, and the profits realized, during this period.

**Expenditures.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30 clerks, 15 years, @ $500 per year</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 men, 15 years, @ $150 per year</td>
<td>$450,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchandise</td>
<td>$1,500,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Returns.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36,000 buffalo skins per yr. for 15 years @ $3 each</td>
<td>$1,170,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25,000 beaver skins per yr. for 15 years @ $4 each</td>
<td>$1,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000 otter skins per yr. for 15 years @ $3 each</td>
<td>$180,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,000 coon skins per yr. for 15 years @ $250. each</td>
<td>$45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150,000 lbs. deer skins per yr. for 15 years @ 350. per lb.</td>
<td>$742,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37,500 muskrat skins per yr. for 15 years @ 20c. each</td>
<td>$112,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>$3,750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average annual expenditure</td>
<td>$140,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average annual returns</td>
<td>$350,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average annual profit</td>
<td>$110,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(40) In transporting the furs to market, they were disposed of in packs weighing about one hundred pounds.*

*A pack of furs contained ten buffalo robes, fourteen bear, sixty otter, eighty beaver, eighty raccoon, one hundred and twenty foxes, or six hundred muskrat skins.

(531) The extensive use of beaver fur in the early years of the (18th) century caused an immense exportation from America to Europe, reaching as high as 200,000 skins annually. This great draught on the supply led to the rapid extermination of the beaver. It so happened, however, that at the time when this process had begun to show its effects, an unfavorable change came over the beaver market of Europe which helped to counteract it. Silk largely supplanted the use of this fur in the manufacture of hats, while other kinds of fur took its place in other uses. The price fell so that the trapping was no longer profitable, and nature, responding to the relief thus produced, began to recuperate her resources. In later years, although the price of beaver did not fully recover its old figure, its exportation began to increase, until it finally very nearly recovered its former magnitude.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blankets, 3 and 2½ point, each</td>
<td>plus 4 8 dollars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blankets, 2 point, each</td>
<td>plus 2 4 dollars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blankets, 1½ point, each, (a point is a pound)</td>
<td>plus 1 2 dollars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue strouds, per fathom</td>
<td>plus 4 8 dollars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarlet cloth, 8-8</td>
<td>plus 6 18 dollars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worsted binding, per piece</td>
<td>plus 4 8 dollars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermilion, per pound</td>
<td>plus 4 8 dollars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molten (glass beads), blue and white, per fathom</td>
<td>plus 2 4 dollars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunpowder, per half pint</td>
<td>plus 1 2 dollars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balls, per 30</td>
<td>plus 1 2 dollars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shot of all sorts, per handful</td>
<td>plus 1 2 dollars.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Congressional Record, Vol. 3, Pt. 3, 43d Cong., 1st Sess., House, Mar. 10, 1874. (3108) MR. MC CORMICK. --- I have here a letter from General Hazen, from which I will read a single extract. He says: --- "The buffalo for food has an intrinsic value, about equal to an average Texas beef, or say twenty dollars."

Report of the National Museum, 1887. The Extermination of the American Bison by William T. Hornaday. (435) At a low estimate these (bison) could easily have been made to yield various products worth $5 each, as follows: Robe, $2.50; tongue, 25 cents; meat of hind-quarters, $2; bones, horns, and hoofs, 25 cents; total, $5. Eighty-One Years in the West by George A. Bruffey, Butte, Montana, 1935. (40) (Montana, 1864-1865) Many loads of game, deer, elk, and antelope were coming in. Deer sold for one dollar each, antelope the same, and elk varied according to the size and quality of the animal.

Memoirs of General W.T. Sherman written by himself, New York, 1875, Vol. I. (19) (California, 1846-1848) Cattle cost eight dollars fifty cents for the best, and this made beef net about two cents a pound, but at that time nobody bought beef by the pound, but by the carcass.

Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869. Report of Mr. J.M. Gallegos, late Superintendent of Indian Affairs for New Mexico, for year 1868. (246) One half ration of beef, 95,812 pounds at seven cents—$6,706.84. Some Memories of a Soldier by Hugh Lenox Scott, Major-General, U.S. Army, Retired, New York, 1938.

(107) (Fort Totten, Dakota Territory, 1878) We felt abused when the price of beef went up to seven cents a pound.

Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, Vol. II, Helena, Montana 1896. A Historical Sketch, etc., by Granville Stuart, Esq. July 4th, 1876. (122) Speaking of Florence City (Idaho) brings to mind an interesting relic of early days in that rich and nearly inaccessible mining camp of a bill of goods bought there in the spring of 1862 by a miner who afterwards came to Bannack City (Montana), and from whom the writer procured it as worthy of preservation. Here it is verbatim:

(132)

Bill of Provisions.

100 lbs. beans @ $1.25 ---------------------- $125.00
300 lbs. flour @ $1.00 --------------------- $300.00
11 lbs. coffee @ $1.25 --------------------- $13.75
300 lbs. beef @ $.25 ----------------------- $75.00
9 lbs. beans ------------------------------- $9.50
3 sks. salt @ $4.00 (5 lbs. each) --------- $15.00
1 bar soap -------------------------------- $3.00
6 lbs. nails @ $1.00 ------------------------ $6.00
10 lbs. sugar @ $1.50 ---------------------- $15.00
25 lbs. bacon @ $1.35 ---------------------- $31.25
1 paper saleratus --------------------------- $6.00

Paid $595.50

This might strike the pampered dwellers in Eastern cities as being rather high living for a new country, and it does seem that way; but provisions came near reaching as giddy an altitude at Virginia City (Montana) in the spring of 1865, and in fact flour surpassed it, being held at $145. per 100 pounds just prior to the flour riot which broke up the combination.

Forty Years on the Frontier by Granville Stuart, Volume I. (239) May 15, 1863, two pack trains arrived from Walla Walla. Bought from them the following:

53 lbs. Tobacco @ $4.00
168 lbs. Bacon @ $.40
241 lbs. Sugar @ $.60
17 lbs. Soap @ $.50
Tobacco, per carrot, *plus 4 8 dollars.
Twist tobacco, per fathom, plus 1 2 dollars.
Beaver-traps, each, plus 4 8 dollars.
Half-axes, each, plus 2 4 dollars.
Caustics, (?), plus 1 2 dollars.
N.W. guns, each, plus 10 20 dollars.
Knives, each, plus 1 2 dollars.

For wampum and silver works, as well as rum, there is no regulation; but the real price of goods here, in exchange for peltry, is about 250 per cent, on the prime cost.

GEO. ANDERSON.

*The plus in the fur-trade was the standard of value, viz.; one prime beaver (abiminikwa) in the above scale of prices the plus was reckoned as 3 dollars. The scale was a multiple or fraction of this, which answered the purpose of an English shilling, French franc, Indian rupee, or our dollar. Thus Perrault tells us that in 1784 a bear, an otter, or a lynx was worth a plus; three martens or 15 muskrats were also a plus; a buffalo was two plus, etc. A keg of "made" liquor, i.e., three-fourths water, one-fourth alcohol, with a little strychnine, Cocculus indica, or tobacco-juice to flavor and color it, has been sold to many an Indian for 20 to 40 plus. (Coues).


(385) -- estimating the cost of each in buffalo robes at $3 each, their value in this country.


(297) When the Indian came to trade, he was usually followed by his squaw who entered the room staggering under the load of a dozen or more robes. These were thrown over the counter one by one, and the Indian would call out what he wanted. Half a dozen or more would go for a gun and a saddle, as many more for blankets, generally one was traded for coffee and several for sugar. These articles were measured out in a tin cup and simply poured into a corner of the squaw's skin-dress. When the goods had been measured out and handed over, "tail" was thrown in, corresponding to the amount of the trade, and the trader was ready for the next Indian. Profits were large when I first came on the river. A robe was bought with three cups of coffee, or six cups of sugar, or ten cups of flour. A red three-point Mackinaw blanket cost three robes and all other goods in proportion. Beads and other fancy goods afforded the largest profit. I remember one particular kind of pale blue necklace beads to which the Indians took a great fancy, and the robes purchased with them cost just sixteen cents apiece. It is curious that while it is a generally accepted truism that the most glaring colors are the most acceptable to uncivilized people, the Crows will not buy or use bright beads. Almost without an exception their favorite beads are pale, dull colors, and the squaws are as particular in choosing and matching them as a white woman with her ribbons. The pale blue seed-beads are their favorites for embroidering, and the squaws will invariably throw out any bunch which is the least off color. Fashions in beads and fancy goods of all kinds change rapidly with them also, and it is very important that they be selected by someone familiar (298) with their tastes, as they will not accept for a gift beads of a color which does not strike their fancy.

Systematic Cookery, Montreal, 1826. Weights and Measures, pp. 8-9. 4 1/2 cups coffee, ground, equals 1 pound. 4 cups, white flour, equals 1 pound. 3 cups, granulated sugar, equals 1 pound.

(Over)
The Conquest of the Great Northwest by Agnes C. Laut. New York, 1918. Two Volumes in One. Volume One. (1669-1670. Hudson's Bay). (117) As far as I could ascertain from the old records, the scale of trade at the time was half a pound of beads, one beaver; one kettle, one beaver; one pound shot, one beaver; five pounds of sugar, one beaver; one pound tobacco, one beaver; one gallon brandy (diluted?), four beaver; one blanket, six beaver; two awls, one beaver; twelve buttons, one beaver; twenty fishhooks, one beaver; twenty flints, one beaver; one gun, twelve beaver; one (118) pistol, four beaver; eight bells, one beaver; At this stage, trade as barter was not known. The white man dressed in gold lace and red velvets pompously presented his trade goods to the Indian. The Indian had previously, with great palaver, presented his furs to the trader. Any little difference of opinion as to values might be settled later by a present from the trader of drugged liquor to put the malcontent to sleep, or a scalping raid on the part of the Indian.
AVERAGE DISTANCE PER DAY TRAVELLED ON HORSEBACK AND FOOT OVER COUNTRY DEVOID OF ROADS AND BRIDGES. 1689, 1715, 1876, 1880.

Original Narratives of Early American History. Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543. New York, 1907. The Narrative of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, Edited by Frederic W. Hodge. (22) (Footnote 2,) The Spanish league varied greatly, but in these early narratives the judicial league, equivalent to 2.634 English miles, is usually meant. Distances, however, while sometimes paced, were generally loose guesses, as is often shown by the great disparity in the figures given by two or more chroniclers of the same journey.


Thurs, March 24. Marched 7 leagues. 18.453 miles.
Fri, March 25. Marched 7 leagues. 18.453 miles.
Sat, March 26. Marched 6 leagues. 15.804 miles.
Sun, March 27. Marched 3 leagues. 7.902 miles.
Mon, March 28. Marched 6 leagues. 15.804 miles.
Tues, March 29. Marched 4 leagues. 10.536 miles.
Wed, March 30. Marched 4 leagues. 10.536 miles.

Fri, April 1. Marched 5 leagues. 13.170 miles.
Sat, April 2. Marched 5 leagues. 13.170 miles.
Sun, April 3. Marched 5 leagues. 13.170 miles. (Palm Sunday.)
Mon, April 4. Marched 8 leagues. 21.172 miles.
Tues, April 5. Marched 7 leagues. 18.453 miles.
Thurs, April 7. Marched 4 leagues. 10.536 miles.
Fri, April 8. Marched 8 leagues. 21.172 miles. (Good Friday.)
Sat, April 9. Marched 5 leagues. 13.170 miles.
Sun, April 10. Marched 1 league. In camp. (Easter Sunday.)
Mon, April 11. Marched 13 leagues. 31.608 miles.
Tues, April 12. Marched 5 leagues. 13.170 miles.
Tues, April 14. Marched 6 leagues. 15.804 miles.
Fri, April 15. Marched 8 leagues. 21.172 miles.
Sun, April 17. Marched 5 leagues. 13.170 miles.

TOTALS. Marched 34 days. 154 leagues. 358.956 miles.
Average march per day: 5.583 leagues. 14.70 miles. (league: 2.634 miles.)


(90-93) Muster of Expedition. 56 officers and men with 219 horses and mules, 3 men without mounts. 153 Indians. Total: 211 men. 219 mounts.

(94) Diary of Juan Paez Hurtado against the Faroan Apache, 1715.

(94) Fri, August 30. Marched 6 leagues. 15.804 miles.
Sat, August 31. Marched 4 leagues. 10.536 miles.
Sun, Septem. 1. Marched 1 league. 2.634 miles.

(95) Mon, Septem. 2. Marched 8 leagues. 21.172 miles.
Wed, septem. 4. Marched 11 leagues. 28.974 miles.

(257) Overland Trail by David Hilger. (By ox team and wagon from Fort Wadsworth, Minnesota, to Helena, Montana, summer of 1867.)

(258) The ordinary immigrant's outfit consisted of from one to two yoke of oxen and a wagon which contained a family or sometimes two, and three or four single men. When finally organized and ready for starting, this immigrant train consisted of nearly 300 wagons. An organization was affected, and Capt. Davy was selected as commander or captain, and from the membership of the train an advisory board was selected. It became necessary to adopt a code of laws to regulate and decide all matters pertaining to the management of the train, and the safety of its people, and punishment for infractions of its so-called criminal code, for it must be remembered that we were now like a ship on an ocean, adrift from civilization or the protection of courts and its officers, and must organize for mutual protection against the lawless bands of Indians whose territory we were about to invade. Well do I remember a cheerful morning in July, 1867, when a long line of ox teams strung out and headed westward over the trackless prairie covered with luxuriant grasses and wild flowers, and bidding adieu to the last settlers who had dared to endure the trials and dangers of frontier life plunged into an unknown ocean of prairie, our objective point being Helena, Montana. Besides our train of nearly 300 wagons we were joined by Capt. Smith of the regular army with two companies of infantry who were taking or driving 300 head of beef steers to Fort Buford on the Missouri river. All combined this made a homogeneous gathering of men, women and children, besides the government troops, and collectively a strong outfit to resist the attacks of hostile Indians. The routine work from now on was one composed of camp life, with its attendant details, and the route and distance of travel, and places of camping were left in the hands of the captain and his advisory board, with full power to maintain a strict military discipline. In selecting grounds for a camp, which was always done with the view of protection from any attack of the Indians during the night, high ground was chosen, and the train was always camped by making a large circle of the wagons, with the tongues turned inside of the circle, thereby forming protection for those within the train enclosure, and also making a corral for the work cattle. We had a very fair brass band that enlivened the occasion with music, and dances on the open prairie by adepts who were not used to wax floors were indulged in. Game, which was our principle article of diet, was abundant; buffalo, antelope, deer and elk were to be seen every day. We had our trials and tribulations - our so-called ups and downs. When the weather was fine, travel good, water and fuel plenty, no sickness, and work cattle in good condition, then everybody was in a good humor, at least during the early part of the trip. But when we reached the Milk river in northern Montana, in September, the down had an inning; bad water, if any at all, country dry and hot, alkalai in abundance, no fuel, provisions running low, sore-footed cattle, sickness, and everybody in bad humor. --

(281) The principal reason why we used work oxen instead of horses in making this trip is because the Indian had no use for the ox. At that time he had all the same he wanted. Horses would have been subject to stampede and could have been taken away from us by any attack of Indians, and this would have put us on foot, as the saying goes. Cattle wander only a short distance from camp where there is plenty of water and grass, which is not the case with the horse. Oxen were a great deal cheaper than horses and required only a yoke and a chain to be ready for action. We usually drove from twelve to twenty miles a day, depending, of course, upon the water, fuel and available camping ground.
AVGIRJE DISTANCE PER DAY TRAVELLED ON HORSEBACK AND FOOT OVER COUNTRY DEVOID OF ROADS AND BRIDGES, 1689, 1715, 1876, 1880.

(95) After Coronado. Expedition of Hurtado against Apache in 1715.


(98) Fri. September 13. Marched 16 leagues, 42.144 miles.

TOTALS. Marched 15 days. 111.5 leagues. 293.691 miles.
Average march per day: 7.433 leagues. 19.579 miles.


(183-184) Muster roll of expedition:

General Gibbon and staff ------------ 3 officers.
Infantry battalion -------------- 13 officers, 232 men.
Cavalry battalion -------------- 10 officers, 188 men.
Non-combatant ------------------ 1 officer, 20 men.
Total: ------------------------------- 27 officers, 488 men.

Crow scouts ------------------------------- 36
Squaw men interpreters for Crows -- 2
1 Twelve pound Napoleon gun. Total: 451 men
2 Gatling guns; calibre 50. 27 officers.
34 Government wagons. Totals: 478 officers
13 contract wagons.


(152) Fri. March 31. Marched in camp. Snow. (*Odometer measurements begin)

(153) Sat. April 1. Marched 7:15 A.M. to 1:45 P.M. 19 miles.


(159) Fri. April 7. In camp until April 13.

(160) Thurs. April 13. Marched 7:15 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. 11.8 miles.

(161) Fri. April 14. Marched 6:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. 14.8 miles.

(162) Sat. April 15. Marched 6:45 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. 17.5 miles.


(164) Mon. April 17. Marched 8:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. 15.8 miles.


(166) Wed. April 19. Marched 7:30 A.M. to 3:30 P.M. 18.5 miles.

(167) Thurs. April 20. Marched 7:50 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. 17.2 miles.

(168) Fri. April 21. In camp until May 10. 5 miles below
the mouth of the Big Horn River.

(169) Wed. May 10. Marched 8:45 A.M. to 7:30 P.M. 17 miles.


(171) Fri. May 12. Marched 7:00 A.M. to 5:30 P.M. 19 miles.


(173) Sun. May 14. Marched 8:00 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. 17 miles.
In camp, until June 5.

Oct. 3d. Mr. Langlois and others started for the Hair hills. This caravan demands notice, to show the vast difference it makes in a place where horses are introduced. It is true they are useful animals, but if there were not one in all the North West, we should have less trouble and expense. Out men would neither be so burdened with families, nor so indolent and insolent as they are, and the natives in general. would be more honest and industrious. Let an impartial eye look into the affair, to discover whence originates the unbounded extravagance of our meadow gentry, both white and native, and horses will be found one (336) of the principal causes. Let us view the hustle and noise, which attended the transportation of five pieces of goods to a place where the houses were built in 1801-02. The men were up at break of day and their horses tackled long before sunrise; but they were not ready to move before ten o'clock, when I had the curiosity to climb on top of my house to watch their motions and observe their order of march.

Antoine Payet, guide and second in command, leads the van, with a cart drawn by two horses and loaded with his private baggage, cassetetes (tomahawks), bags, kettles, and mashquemnettes (?). Madame Payet follows the cart with a child a year old on her back, very merry. Charles Bottineau, with two horses and a cart loaded with 1½ packs, his own baggage, and two young children with kettles and other trash hanging on to it. Madame Bottineau with a squalling infant on her back, scolding and tossing it about. Joseph Dubord goes on foot, with his long pipe-stem and calumet in his hand; Madame Dubord follows on foot, carrying his tobacco pouch with a broad bead tail. Antoine Thellier, with a cart and two horses, loaded with 1½ packs of goods and Dubois' baggage. Antoine La Pointe with another cart and horses, loaded with two pieces of goods and with baggage belonging to Brisbois, Jasmin, and Pouliot, and a kettle hung on each side. Auguste Brisbois follows with only (237) his gun on his shoulder and a fresh-lighted pipe in his mouth. Michel Jasmin goes next, like Brisbois, with gun and pipe puffing out clouds of smoke. Nicolas Pouliot, the greatest smoker in the North West, has nothing but pipe and pouch. Those three fellows, having taken a farewell dram and lighted fresh pipes, go on brisk and merry, playing numerous pranks. Domin Livernois, with a young mare, the property of Mr. Langlois, loaded with weeds for smoking, an old worsted bag (madame's property), some squashes and potatoes, a small keg of fresh water, and two young whelps howling. Next goes Livernois' young horse, drawing a travaille loaded with his baggage and a large worsted mashquemcate (?) belonging to Madame Langlois. Next appears Madame (John) Cameron's mare, kicking, rearing, and snorting, hauling a travaille loaded with a bag of flour, cabbages, turnips, onions, a small keg of water, and a large kettle of broth. Michel Langlois, who is master of the band, now comes on leading a horse that draws a travaille nicely covered with a new painted tent, under which his daughter and Mrs. Cameron lie at full length, very sick; this covering or canopy has a pretty effect in the caravan, and appears at a great distance, in the plains. Madame Langlois brings up the rear of the human beings, following the travaille with a slow step and melancholy air, attending to the wants of her daughter, who, notwithstanding her sickness, can find no other expressions of gratitude to her parents than by calling them dogs, fools, beasts, etc. The rear guard consists of a long train of 30 dogs, some for sleighs, some for game, and others of no use whatever, except to snarl and destroy meat. The (238) total forms a procession nearly a mile long, and appears like a large band of Assiniboines.

(The above is a description of a band of Red River Half Breeds on the march, and is given by way of contrast to the march of Sitting Bull.)
AVERAGE DISTANCE PER DAY TRAVELLED ON HORSEBACK AND FOOT OVER COUNTRY DEVOID OF ROADS AND BRIDGES, 1689, 1715, 1876, 1880.

(209) Bradley's Diary, Sioux Campaign of 1876. II Mont. Hist. soc.
Mon. June 5. Marched 8:55 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. 9 miles.

(210) Tues. June 6. Marched 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. 10 miles.

(211) Wed. June 7. Marched 7:45 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. 22 miles.

(211) Thurs. June 8. Marched 7:00 A.M. to 7:40 P.M. 16 miles.


War Path and Bivouac, or the Conquest of the Sioux, by John F. Finerty, Second Edition. Chicago, 1890. (General Crook's march from Fort Russell to his junction with generals Gibbon and Terry. Campaign against the Sioux in 1876.)

Colonel Royall, at the outset of our march, used to have us on the road at 5 o'clock in the morning, but General Crook, on assuming command, fixed the hour at 6 o'clock for the infantry and at 7:30 o'clock for the cavalry, in order that the horses might have sufficient rest, as he intended to make night marches against the hostiles, accompanied by his pack train only, after the campaign had been fully developed.

Our column, including cavalry, infantry, wagon train, pack train and ambulances, stretched out a distance of, perhaps, four miles.

The wagons, 130 in all, with their white awnings and massive wheels, each drawn by six mules, covered the rising ground in advance of the horsemen, while the dark columns of infantry was dimly discernible in the van, because Crook always marched his foot, for obvious reasons, an hour or two ahead of his horse. We used to joke about the infantry, and call them by their Indian name of "walk-a-heaps," but, before the campaign was over, we recognized that man is a hardier animal than the horse, and that "shank's mare" is the very best kind of a charger.*

(*See foot of page 223 d, Bradley Diary, June 28, 1876.)


Having barely enough horses to pack their effects nearly all the able bodied men and women were a foot. The order of march being, first 3 mounted warriors, one keeping the proposed line of march, the others acting as flankers observing a distance of about half a mile to the right and left of the centre (sic) guide. Next in line of march, and immediately preceding (sic) the main body, were about 50 warriors afoot, and armed for action, moving, however, without any more display of military order than would a herd of so many cattle. Then followed the camp proper, men, women and children leading and driving the ponies all heavily laden with camp equipage, not even the little colts nor the dogs were exempt from burden, and all in an indescribable state of disorder. Bringing up the rear was a guard of about 75 warriors mounted on the best horses. From this company, at intervals of about a mile small detachments of 5 or 6 were sent ahead, riding swiftly on either flank until they reached a point a mile or two in advance of the main column, when, taking a position on some knoll, they would dismount, and sitting down in the snow, fill a pipe (35) for a smoke, while their ponies foraged in the snow for the nutritious buffalo grass. Here they would remain till the rear guard came up when they would rejoin them. In the mean time another party of flankers had gone out, and so all day long. Our progress was necessarily slow, making an average of about 12 miles a day.

(Grouard was General Crook's Chief of Scouts in the campaign against the Sioux of 1876. Much of De Barthe's life of Grouard is given in the first person singular, and was evidently given directly to De Barthe by Grouard. The following is the account of Grouard's journey to the Custer battlefield, the night of June 25-26, 1876, Sunday-Monday.)

(255) Grouard says he first noticed the signals made by the Indians on June 25 between nine and ten o'clock in the morning. These signals indicated a big battle with the soldiers, the Indians having "way the best of it," as the scout expresses it. Grouard immediately repaired to Crook's camp on the Little Goose creek, and imparted his information to the officers he found there (Gen. Crook being up in the mountains on a hunt). Not having any experience with Indian signals, the officers in camp ridiculed the idea advanced by Grouard that the troops and savages were engaged. The scout therefore informed them he would prove he was right, and immediately jumped on one of the best horses in the command and started for the locality whence the signals had been given. The distance from Goose creek to the Custer battlefield is about seventy miles, and as it was close to noon when Grouard started, and the latter part of the trip was made after dark, he necessarily had to ride at (256) the rate of seven miles an hour to reach the Custer battlefield by eleven o'clock.
AVERAGE DISTANCE PER DAY TRAVELLED ON HORSEBACK AND FOOT OVER COUNTRY DEVOID OF ROADS AND BRIDGES. 1689. 1715. 1876. 1880.


Our course for 7 days was down Rock creek when we crossed over east to the Porcupine which we followed 3 days to its mouth in the Milk river 3 miles from the Missouri.


The Caravan. --- In earlier days pack trains were exclusively used; later wagons were resorted to for part of the distance. Mules were used as pack animals, and experts in the art of packing disposed the unwieldy cargoes with marvelous skill upon the unwilling beasts. The caravans moved fifteen to twenty-five miles per day, and camped at the end of each day's journey wherever good grass, wood, and water were to be found. Great caution was always taken to guard against Indian attacks.

SUMMARY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Miles per Day</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1689</td>
<td>14.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1715</td>
<td>19.579</td>
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<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>14.07</td>
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<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>12.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chittenden, Caravan</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chittenden, Caravan</td>
<td>35.00</td>
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</tbody>
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TOTAL: mean average 16.724.


Monday, (June) 26. Major Prisbin, who in General Gibbon's absence commands the column, roused me up this morning at daylight, and ordered me out on a scout at once, not allowing my men to get breakfast. As I had traveled some twenty miles further yesterday than anybody else, so that my horses were tired and my men hungry, it struck me as rather rough treatment. I was too much vexed to hurry much, and did not get off till 4 A.M., having sent six Crows ahead half an hour earlier.

The infantry had remained in camp last night twelve miles back and at 5 A.M. resumed the march, coming up with the cavalry toward noon, having been greatly delayed by the pack-train.

The halt was made at 9 P.M., the infantry having marched thirty miles, the remainder of the command about eighteen.

Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93, by J.W. Powell, Director. Part 2. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1896. The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890 by James Mooney, Wounded Knee, Battle of. (October 29, 1890) The news of the battle was brought to the agency by Lieutenant Guy Preston, of the Ninth Cavalry, who, in company with a soldier and an Indian scout, made the ride of 16 or 18 miles in a little over an hour, one horse falling dead of exhaustion on the way.