DOCUMENTS ON UNFAMILIAR CEREMONIES, OBSERVANCES, AND CUSTOMS

OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

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Egypt, the ancient mother of the divine arts and fables, was a center for the mysteries of Isis. Herodotus states that every year seven hundred thousand pilgrims came to Heliopolis during the festivals of Isis.

Dupouy, in his Ancient Prostitution, writes that the priests of the goddess carried a mystic winnow containing corn and bran. The priests of the god carried the sacred Tau or the key opening the best guarded castle. This Tau represented the masculine member, the winnow (also an ear of corn) the feminine sexual organ. In addition there passed by an eye, with or without brows, representing the attributes of Osiris, in order to point out clearly the connection between the two sexes. Initiated young maidens, called oistophoros (fruit basket carriers) carried mystic cliste (rush baskets). Immediately after them came a priestess who carried in her bosom a golden urn containing a phallus. Dulaure states in his interesting work Deo divinites generatrices that these rush baskets contained a great variety of obscene cakes and breads in the form of male and female genitals.

Magica Sexualis, by Laurent and Nagour, pp. 282 and 283.

47 Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn. Bunzel. Introduction to Zuni Ceremonialism. 1930. (543) Religious life. — Some of the priesthoods have women members, but these positions are, it seems, even harder to fill than positions for men. One of the reasons is that husbands get very restive under the long periods of continence required of their wives. A man will remain continent during his own ceremonies but seems to think (544) it is too much to expect him to remain continent during his wife's ceremonies also. Here, again, the problem is to catch the girl young enough. Women are initiated into medicine societies on an equal basis and as frequently as men. They participate in the dances of the society, but they are debarred from holding office.
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 mamasu, (plural, memamau), that is, "corpses." These memamau dig up the bodies of the dead and strip them of their clothing. This clothing they wear in the dances 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 and friends can be recognized by those present, and the odor of putrefaction 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.

Marawu is a woman's ceremony, which apparently takes place concurrently with the wuwitsima. During the first ceremonial days preparatory to the wuwitsima and marawu the men and women participants indulge in the following practices. The men carve from pumpkin and watermelon rinds images representing the female genitalia, and present these to the women participants, with obscene speeches; the women, likewise, prepare images of clay, representing the male genitalia, and present them to the male participants with obscene speeches. Such presentations are made and accepted as an invitation to indulge in sexual intercourse.

In certain of the marawu dances the women dancers wear only a short tunio, or chemise, which reaches about one inch below the genitalia. Thus, they expose themselves when sitting, or stooping down, and thus they dance on the village streets and on the plaza in the day time.

During the katsinam, or ceremonial masked dances, the dancers being masked to represent the gods, obscene language and remarks are indulged in both in the kiva, or ceremonial chamber, and on the plaza.

Sakayantiva, another Hopi Indian, told DEPONENT, that he lost more than one wife at the katsina, or masked dances.

Lovayantiva, another Hopi Indian, told DEPONENT, that his father had instructed him that in order to become a great chief, he must, prior to marriage, accost and successfully seduce four nice girls. In each case, where he was successful, he must afterwards thank the girl in the following language: "I am glad I have seen your nakedness. It is beautiful, it will rain from now on." "Thus," said his father, "you shall do to four girls, to complete the trial number, after that you can get married if you want to."

Lomayitiva, a full blood Hopi Indian, attests that he has truthfully interpreted the foregoing, and further says: That he has seen Hopi Indian women dance in the marawu ceremony with their private parts exposed.

Kumawivivaya, a full blood Hopi Indian, deposes and says:

It is a custom in these dances, (what dances he does not say), for the young unmarried men and women to commit fornication, and the married to commit adultery. The Superintendent has been taking girls found pregnant from the above causes and putting them in jail, together with the men who caused their pregnancy. DEPONENT admits that he has had intercourse with girls at these dances, and says that prior to his conversion to Christianity he was chief priest of the marawu, or woman's ceremony and dance. The marawu was announced sixteen days ahead. On the eighth day before the ceremony DEPONENT went to the kiva, or ceremonial chamber, with five women helpers, one of them his sister. After building the altar, at night, they all want to bed together in the kiva. The next day they made prayer sticks, and four of the women each took several prayer sticks to the four points of the compass, and one woman helper took a prayer stick upwards, that is to say, up a hill. On the fifth day thereafter was
(P. 487) Windstorms during ceremonies are due to incontinence or other malefices on the part of participants or to sorcery on the part of some jealous or envious outsider.

NOTE: It is believed among the Piegon of the Blackfoot Reservation in Montana that if rain falls during the Medicine Lodge ceremonies it may be due to the fact that the Sun Woman is not as pure as she is supposed to be, or has been neglectful in the observance of the proper rites, or has failed to observe some of the restrictions imposed upon her. Joe Brown, informant, in 1932. JGC.

Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn. Bunzel, Introduction to Zuni Ceremonialism, 1930. (P. 503) Sex relations are taboo during the 10 days of the winter solstice, for four days following the planting of prayer sticks, and during participation in dances or other ceremonies. (In many ceremonies this is extended to include touching, even accidentally, addressing, or even seeing a person of the opposite sex.) Warriors who have taken a scalp must refrain from sexual intercourse for one year and must go through a ceremony of purification at the end of that time before they may again sleep with their wives. The same rules apply to the widowed who wish to remarry.

(P. 504) (Other tabooed activities.) On the other hand there are a number of personal restraints which are forms of abstinence rather than taboos. To this class belong the sex prohibitions, the prohibitions on certain kinds of foods at certain times, and the restrictions upon the activities of persons participating in ceremonies. The general purpose of all these restrictions is withdrawal. That they are not primarily purificatory is shown by the fact that in many cases they follow rather than precede the approach to the gods; as, for instance, the sexual taboo following the planting of prayer sticks. A man approaching the gods with a request cuts himself off from the world in order that he may concentrate all his thoughts upon wresting his desire from the supernatural. For this purpose all distracting activities are denied him. Relations with women are forbidden, also trading, quarreling, moving about. The fullest expression of this spirit is the retreat which forms the basis of all important ceremonies.

*It then occurred to me that somewhere I had read that when the Spaniards reconquered New Mexico, in 1592-94, their commanding general, D. Diego Vargas, imposed upon the Rio Grande Pueblos the condition that each full-grown man and woman should habitually wear round the neck a rosary as a mark of submission to the Crown of Spain and the true Church; and at the same time insisted upon the discontinuance of the dance in honor of the idol, called by the Castilians the Cochino or Pig, from its ugly snout, but known among the Zunis, who still practice it as the dances of the Ochamava or Chalaco.

The Moquis of Arizona by John G. Bourke, Page 43.
held astatoka, preparation for baptism, and new women and girls were initiated this day. These women and girls all washed their heads, and DEPOON'T said to them: 'Now all of you happy, and live as you like!' Then the women danced in the kiva, holding up their skirts so that the lower part of their bodies were nude. On the sixth day before the ceremony they put on their ceremonial garments, stripping in the presence of DEPOON'T. Then three women were dressed for the last part of the ceremony. Their legs were painted by the other women, one leg blue and the other leg yellow, up to the knee. Their thighs were striped with black rings. These stripes signify rain. The ceremonial dress these three women put on consisted of a short tunic, reaching just below the top of their thighs. Their legs were striped up to the thighs, the tunic must not cover the painting and decorations. Their privates were exposed, especially when they bent over in dancing. They also wore a little blue waist. Thus they went to the plaza to dance. The men went right close to them and bent over a little, and, as the women bent over in dancing, these men saw everything, and some of them pointed to the women's privates, saying: "isa! isa!" that is, "I wish! I wish!" During the ceremony DEPOON'T was not permitted to have sexual intercourse with the women in the kiva, under penalty of great calamity. He was much tempted, however, to take a chance. Once he did commit adultery with one of his women helpers after the ceremony, later marrying the woman. Once, while managing this ceremony, another man committed adultery with DEPOON'T'S wife. He caught them when he was coming out of the kiva. The naraw ceremony is still practiced among the Hopis, (1920), but was discontinued in the pueblo of Orabi after the rebellion of 1906. LOMAVITU, a full blood Hopi Indian, affirms the truth of the above translation, he acting as interpreter.

JOHN TUWALETSTIWA, A FULL BLOOD HOPI INDIAN, DEPOSES AND SAYS:

About the Hopi Indian ceremonies in connection with childbirth: It is customary when a boy is born that the grandmother on the father's side act as midwife. If she is not living, then the father's sister, or some other female relative of the father acts as midwife. As soon as the child is born it is placed first between the uncovered legs of the midwife. The meaning of this act is unknown to DEPOON'T. Until the child reaches the age of understanding he is cared for by the women and girls. These make it a habit to fondle the genitals of the male children, at the same time telling them that these, (the child's genitals), are what they, (the women), desire. When a male child has reached the age of understanding it is customary for the child's grandfather to joke with him about his, (the child's), genitals, and their use. Sex is a common topic of conversation between men and women, and this conversation is freely indulged in before the children. The kataina, or masked dances: Tradition says that at one time real katainaas, that is to say gods, came down and danced with the people, and that this brought rain. The people made these katainaas, so they stopped coming. But the people could not get along without the katainaas, since they needed the rain. Therefore, men put on masks to imitate the old katainaas in their dances, in order that it might rain. Kataina means supernatural being, and now means a mask, or a masked dancer, or a person made up to represent some god. It also means a masked dance. Clowns take part in the katainaas, but the clowns are not masked. These clowns amuse the people. The faces of the clowns are painted. All of the kataina dancers are men, but some of them are made up to represent women. At one kataina dance the following came, "a man and his wife working in the fields." They pretended to grow tired of work, and repaired to an open booth, where they rested. Clown were present, but pretended not to see them. The kataina man and wife then simulated sexual intercourse, and the clowns, seeing them do it, asked them what they were doing. But the man and wife feigned shame, and did not reply. Then the clowns asked the woman kataina to do as much for them, which brought on a quarrel between the man and woman. The woman put the man out, divorcing him after the Hopi Indian manner, and the clowns then danced. The clowns then danced with the woman, the simulated sexual intercourse with the woman. The great crowd of spectators hugely enjoyed this performance.

At another kataina: Two men, one dressed as a woman, simulated sexual intercourse before the crowd. The male kataina then departed happy and singing, and the female kataina departed quiet and satisfied. This occurred at Orabi.

At another kataina: Three clowns were the actors. Their names are given by DEPOON'T. A thin clown asks the crowd to spit in his mouth,
According to the Zuni Indians at Hawikuh (Cijo caliente), the following:

They declare that it was foretold among them more than fifty years ago that a people such as we are should come, and the direction they should come from, and that the whole country would be conquered.


Now the traditions say that a stronger people will come upon the Hopi, and try to get them to adopt new ways of living. And it is the traditions that the Bear clan will yield to these stronger ones. --

And Youkeoma knows that these white men are not the true Bohanna, who will come some day and who will know the Hopi language. These white men are simply the forerunners; they are not the Bohanna.

Youkeoma to Colonel H.L. Scott, Indians of the Enchanted Desert by Leo Crone, Pages 168 and 167. (1911.)

Youkeoma, a different type of Hopi, had been defeated by the Tewaquaptewa faction, and was now in the medicine-man and prophecy business about seven miles to the west, in his now and already odorous town of Horerville, whence, after the tribal troubles, like another Moses, he had led his faithful. Tradition has it that there will always be jealousy and enmity among the Crazyans until the pretender to leadership is martyred; so when Youkeoma was thrown out, he accepted it as a manifestation of the rules. But that did not prevent both outfits from resisting the Government, an alien intruder, wholly unmindful of the sacred prophecies, who entered in to pacify a perfectly legitimate family scrap. Kewanimpeta, a third Orabi factionist, who headed the weakest band of all, had trekked in another direction, a second upheaval having resulted in his eviction and retirement from the political field. His allies went to a little-known canyon, Bacabi, where, but for the prompt
so he will get fat. The crowd do their best to oblige him. The second clown then says: "Let me diagnose your case, and see why you are lean,—stooop over! The thin clown stoops, and removes his G string, which is that no article of clothing is wasted. But the second.co clown can get a good look at him. The second clown then declares that the complaint is "worms," and proceeds to dig these "worms" out of the thin clown anus with a stick, accompanying this action with a running fire of remarks suitable to the occasion. This performance is repeated four times, so that the spectators on all four sides of the plaza can get a good view. The thin clown then examines the second clown in the same way, for the same complaint, and with like results. Then the two clowns lay hold of the third clown, to examine him, but the third clown resists their attentions, struggles with them, and finally makes good his escape. This spectacle was greatly enjoyed by all those present. These dances are still held, (1920), but are carefully guarded from observation by white people. If whites are present, obscene acts are not indulged in, but obscene language is used, as the whites do not understand the Hopi Indian language.

When Superintendent Miller, of Keene Canyon, was present at a katsina at Orabi, a clown appeared naked, except for a piece of cloth wrapped around his penis. This cloth was so arranged that it made the penis appear larger than it actually was. The clown walked around the plaza, trying to catch up with his penis, until asked by another clown what was the matter with him. The clown with the penis then replied that he was trying to catch up with his penis, but the faster he ran the faster it kept ahead of him.

These dances are the occasion of fliration, and men and women swapping husbands and wives.

DEPONENT was initiated into the tsuwimli, or snake order. He says that the poison sacs, fangs and teeth of the poisonous snakes are removed when the snakes are caught, but that the Hopi Indians believe that these grow back again in the snake, so to make sure, the snakes are examined the day before the dance, and such further removals made as may appear necessary.

MASAWISITWA, A FULL BLOOD HOPI INDIAN, ABOUT FIFTY YEARS OF AGE, DEPOSES AND SAYS:

That he is not a Christian. That he was initiated into the wutse ceremony and later initiated into the powamuimi clan. Some years back he wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs protesting against the practices indulged in by the Hopi Indians in their ceremonies. DEPONENT says: "The idea of reporting these matters did not originate with me. Since the creation of the world, according to traditions held by the Hopis, a revelation of these things was so ordained. The tradition tells us that when the Man-from-the-Sun-rising brings the truth to us, then the time will come when he who dares to reveal these things, or speak of them, will find himself single-handed against the multitude, and if not overcome, the multitude will perhaps, even venture to send an arrow at him. The chief of Orabi, fourteen years ago, (1906), expelled a large part of the population of the village. These people established the village of Hotevilla, (Cedar Slope), and Bakabi. My clan were later expelled by the chief from Orabi, and went to Lower Orabi, or Kicariomovi. Chief Lomela told my father twenty years ago, (1900), that the time was fast coming when the traditions of the fathers must be fulfilled, and it would be like completing a circle, and a new history would begin for the Hopi Indians. When we were expelled from Orabi, we were alone against the multitude, and the time had come to divulge and speak against the wrong things in Hopi ceremonies. That is why I wrote the Commissioner, I wrote him about the chief putting us out of our village. I do not remember writing him about immoral ceremonies. I was the leader of the songs in the wutse, and thought only of the part I was to play in the ceremony, and not of doing wrong to other men's wives. I was not a snake dancer. The snake men try to catch anyone who sees them catch a snake, and make him join their order. I do not want to join the snake men. The snake men say that I am not a snake dancer. But when they catch a snake, the snake gets angry and will not be caught. The snakes are the dead children of the snake men. That is why they do not bite them. But years ago a snake man was bitten and nearly died." DEPONENT does not want to know the secrets of the snake men. His belly would swell and he would get tubercular bones if he heard these secrets.

OTTO LOMATIVU, A FULL BLOOD HOPI INDIAN, DEPOSES AND SAYS:
assistance of the Government Agent, the whole lot of Isheewalets would have perished. It was winter and they had no harvest. Aid in this case was gratefully bestowed, and out of the truce grew a friendship now unbroken. Those who followed Yukeama, however, remained sullen and unapproachable, accepting nothing, acknowledging nothing, rebel and defiant.

Indians of the Enchanted Desert by Leo Crane, Page 87.

In 1930 the defiance of the Oraibi first caused notice. Old Lo-la-lo-mi, their good chief, had been in Washington, and had agreed to place the children of his faction in the school. His counsellors were disregarded by the opposition; in fact they imprisoned the old man and threatened him with death for his lapse from the traditions. Lo-la-lo-mi was "too good," as his name implied. The Sub-Agent, Mr. Ralph Collins, arrested several of the war-chiefs and sent them to their Agent at Fort Defiance. When they returned, they busied themselves making more trouble; so troops were sent to pacify and coerce them.

Indians of the Enchanted Desert by Leo Crane, Page 142.

The Clowns, or koshare of the Pueblo of Acocna. The priests of Acocna, when in Washington, gave the following information to M. W. Stirling on the purpose of employing clowns in connection with religious ceremonies: That these ceremonies were so serious and important, that men were under a great strain when going through with them. It was therefore necessary to have some relief from this strain, and the clowns were injected in the ceremonies to provide this relief. (From Manuscript, not published, M. W. Stirling) Fool Dance of Assiniboin. Simon First Shoot, an Assiniboine from Fort Belknap, Montana, when in Washington in 1836, gave the following information: The Fool Dancers were selected from the good hunters of the tribe. They were called Fools, because of their cleverness in deceiving the game. A man who acted in an ordinary manner could not deceive game, and was not, therefore, a good hunter. Only by acting in an unusual, and extraordinary, or Foolish, way would the game be deceived and captured. JCG.

47 Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn. Introduction to Zuni Ceremonialism. Bunzel 1930. Religious Life. The Cult of the Katona Priests. (p. 831). There are, for instance, the Koyemsi - they are the fruit of an incestuous union between brother and sister, and display the stain of their birth in their grotesque appearance and uncouth behavior. They are sacred clowns, privileged to mock at anything, and to indulge in any obscenity. (They are, however, surpassed in obscenity by the He we kwe. The presence of white people at Zuni is resulting in the gradual suppression of these practices. The word obscenity is used advisedly since their presence is uniformly so regarded at Zuni. Here the practice is not so meticulously observed. It is a society of strong repressions. Undoubtedly the great delight in the antics of the clowns springs from the sense of release in vicarious participations in the forbidden.) On them fall the most exacting sexual restrictions. They are the most feared and the most belooved of all Zuni impersonations. They are possessed of black magic; in their drum they have the wings of black butterflies that can make girls "crazy." (sexually) In the knobs of their masks is soil from the footprints of townspeople. (A widely used love charm.) One who begrudges them anything will meet swift and terrible retribution.

(524) The Koyemsi, in addition to participating in this cycle of ceremonies, are required to attend upon the masked dancers during the summer dance series. On these appearances they play the clown roles; and many of their games are of rankly phallic significance. In their drums they place the wings of black butterflies, potent love charm.

Despite reams of theories, no one has learned anything of Hopi lore that the Hopi did not want him to know. "Make up your own story, and you won't forget it." When certain Christianized worthies of the tribe have pretended to expose their knowledge, I have paid little attention, since I knew the mental calibre of such fellows before conversion, and the depth of their gray matter was never improved. The last who gave evidence proceeded well in his story until, with a foreign fervor, he began to lie about the Oraibi happenings within my own time, and as I had taken his testimony under oath in Hopi trials, I knew just how many Bibles to trust him on.

Indians of the Enchanted Desert by Leo Crane, Page 193.
THE CEREMONIAL BUFFOON OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

JULIAN H. STEWARD

THOSE who are accustomed to thinking of the American Indian as sober and stone-faced will be surprised to learn that he not only laughed as frequently as his white-skinned cousin, but actually introduced into his most sacred ceremonies a comedian whose primary business was to delight the spectators.

The subject of laughter has long been an open field for all manner of students of human nature. Rarely have two bagged the same game. All have made the serious mistake of attempting to formulate a type stimulus to laughter from the humor of a single culture, namely, our Euro-American civilization, although a few rash theorists have fancied a "racial" difference in what things are funny.

It cannot be supposed that an anthropological approach to laughter can solve all the subtleties of this manifestly difficult problem. A review of humor in distinctly different cultures, however, may provide a least common denominator to the humor of the world and thus clear the ground for sounder psychological theorizing. The problem then may be restated in anthropological terms, "To what extent does culture predetermine what is laughable?"

The American Indian furnishes abundant material for a tentative answer to this problem, but it must be remembered that our attention is to be centered upon the institutionalized humor exhibited by the ceremonial buffoon. Humor of everyday occurrence, to be sure, was much in evidence in native life, but this is not available for our purpose because observers have paid little attention to it and made less record of it. The antics of the buffoon, on the other hand, have been well described.

The ceremonial buffoon, however, did not have universal occur-
Map 2. Distribution of the ceremonial buffoon in North America. Full lines indicate the presence of a strongly developed "clown complex"; broken lines, that the complex is weakened or that adequate data are not available.

rence in North America. The idea of setting aside one person or a group of persons to act as both sergeant-at-arms and comedian seems to have originated, as an historical complex, but once, either in Mexico or among the ancestors of the Pueblo tribes of New
Mexico and Arizona, and from its early source to have diffused to several culture areas of North America. The clown was especially prominent in the Southwest, the Plains Area, California and on the Northwest Coast.\(^1\) What diffused, however, was the idea of setting aside a special person as buffoon, not a particular set of notions about the comic. In other words, a “pattern” diffused whose content was to be filled in somewhat differently in each culture area.

A classification of the themes of humor employed by the ceremonial buffoon permits a twofold division: (1) traits of comedy common to all peoples regardless of culture, and (2) traits of comedy peculiar to each culture area.

COMIC THEMES OF UNIVERSAL OCCURRENCE

The greater number of the comic devices employed by the clowns of native America are based upon situations which are regarded as humorous in every culture. Although as employed by the Indians these devices are rude and smack strongly of the soil and are not comparable to the fine-spun themes of the highly intellectualized European comedies, they are nevertheless basic in all cultures. They center about matters which possess the greatest emotional appeal in any cultural group; they are “human interest” themes.

These may be grouped in four main categories: (1) themes of humor in which sacred and vitally important ceremonies and sometimes persons are ridiculed and burlesqued, or, at times, themes of the nature of practical jokes, which riotously disregard those folkways and mores which are so essential to the smooth functioning of society; (2) themes of humor based upon sex and obscenity; (3) themes based upon sickness, sorrow, misfortune, etc., and important activities in daily life; (4) caricature and burlesque of foreigners.

1. Burlesque of the sacred

This class of comic situations comprises one of the most common themes of buffoonery. The clown is the person *par excellence* who is privileged to ridicule, burlesque and defile the most sacred and important ceremonies, persons and customs. He is licensed to be-

\(^1\) See Map 2 for the distribution of the clown.
have as no ordinary mortal would dream of behaving. He is held accountable for nothing. In his transgression of custom lies much of his comedy. Those mores which are ordinarily observed most rigorously and which are held in great esteem are the subjects of the most pleasurable comedy. As Bandelier says of the Koshare, the "delight makers" of the Pueblo Indians, "nothing is sacred; all things are permitted so long as they contribute delight to the tribe." 2

A few illustrations from the wealth of material at our disposal will exhibit the clown in this rôle in different cultures.

Among the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest, clowns are present at the god-impersonating dances to perform comic side-plays on the central theme of the ceremony. They burlesque the *kachina* dancers, dancing out of time, stumbling, grimacing and doing things ordinarily taboo. At a Jemez Pueblo dance a clown is reported to have irreverently sprinkled his fellows with sand and ashes in imitation of the ceremonial sprinkling with corn-meal and pollen; 3 at Zuñi the Newekwe clown society speaks in Spanish or English before the gods, a thing strictly taboo to ordinary people. The latter once rigged up an imitation telephone and pretended to converse with the gods, although gods are not supposed to speak. 4 The Hopi Koyemsi or "Mudheads" perform separate dances of their own in ludicrous imitation of the *kachina* dancers. The clown of the Navajo Night Chant dance joins the masked dancers in a wholly erratic and unorthodox manner. He gets in their way, dances out of time and awkwardly, sits on the ground, rockling to and fro peering foolishly at people. When the other dancers have departed he continues dancing until he discovers his mistake and then runs after them. Sometimes he imitates the leader, trying to anticipate him in giving signals for the dance. 5 Even sacred sleight-of-hand performances are burlesqued so as to reveal the secrets. 6

The buffoon of the religious dances of California performs in a similar manner. Among the Northwestern Maidu his chief stock-

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2 1890a, p. 137. 4 Parsons, 1917, pp. 229–233. 6 Matthews, 1887, pp. 443–444.
5 Matthews, 1902, pp. 150–151.
in-trade is to parody the ceremonial leader and burlesque the dancers. He enters the dance house after the dancers have come in, munching food. The leader reprimands him and asks him to take part in the dance. A bantering dialogue ensues. Whenever the shaman tries to make a speech, the clown parodies his remarks. He steals tobacco and is again reprimanded. When he finally joins in the dance, he does so languidly, frequently stopping to eat.7 In the Wintun Hesi ceremony, the scene of Wintun ceremonialism, the clown directs his comic assaults at the leader. "When the captain of the host village was singing as he marched slowly about the inside of the dance house, one of the clowns stationed himself before the captain and marched slowly backwards in step with him, while delivering joking remarks concerning the latter's ability to sing and the particular song he was voicing. This did not seem in the least to disconcert the singer who continued to sing in his gravest manner; but his song was not received with the usual seriousness."8

In general, the Northwest Coast religious concepts imposed a pattern of behavior on the buffoon which was too rigid to permit this type of clowning, but instances of this kind have been reported from the Quinault9 and the tribes of eastern Puget Sound.10

The same thing was true in large measure of the clown of the Plains, as among the Cree,11 Ojibway,12 Arapaho,13 and others, especially in the northern Plains, where the pattern was less clear-cut.

Even in Central America, where drama tended to be divorced from religious ceremonies, the Maya are said to have had at their feasts and entertainments jesters who were clever in mimicry and caricature and did not spare even the chief men,14 while the priests of the Aztec sometimes contributed to the fun of religious ceremonies by blowing mud balls at the actors and praising or censuring the performances in a jocular manner.15

9 Olson, personal communication.
10 Gunther, personal communication.
That this type of humor is not unique in America is apparent at once from brief reflection on comic themes in our own culture. Even among other primitives it was prominent. Thus in Samoa a jester's dance is performed by men and women of rank to provide comic relief to the dance of the very sacred taupo (the woman of highest rank and divinity).\textsuperscript{16} The African Masai dances had similar frivolity.\textsuperscript{17} The primitive Konds of India actually permitted ridicule of the goddess to whom human sacrifice had been made.\textsuperscript{18}

In the foregoing examples the keynote of the comedy is what is commonly called "comic relief." Indeed, in nearly every instance it is the very thing which is regarded with greatest reverence or respect which is ridiculed.

A great deal of ruffianism is also exhibited by clowns. Things and persons are not at all respected. The Zuñi Newekewe and Koyemshi indulge in all manner of acts of physical violence. The Hopi clowns have tussles, tormenting each other with cactus branches, stripping breech-clouts and such-like.\textsuperscript{19} The Papago clowns visit people's houses, upsetting things,\textsuperscript{20} and, like them, the Miwok clowns run about after dances, prying into houses and wrecking what they can lay hands upon.\textsuperscript{21} The Cahuilla "funny man" of Southern California annoys people by throwing water on them or dropping live coals down their backs.\textsuperscript{22} And in like manner the Huechol clowns of Mexico torment people with "botherations" and prevent their sleeping by shaking rattles near their ears, or by tugging at their clothing.\textsuperscript{23}

To a very large extent, rowdism characterized the clowns of the Northwest Coast. The Haida often greeted their feast guests at the shore, "playing pranks" with their baggage, bursting it open, and doing similar things, all of which the visitors "expected and were prepared for."\textsuperscript{24} The Kwakiahtl Fool dancers, when excited by their possessing spirits, ran about with lances, knives or clubs, hitting people, or in serious cases even stabbing and killing them. Disliking clean and beautiful things, they attempted to break,

\textsuperscript{16} Mead, pp. 114–115.  \textsuperscript{17} Barrett, personal communication.
\textsuperscript{18} Chambers, 2: 266–270, from Elliot, \textit{The Indian Village Feast}.
\textsuperscript{19} Fewkes, 1898, pp. 293–294.
\textsuperscript{20} Gifford, manuscript.
\textsuperscript{21} Lumholtz, 1907, pp. 185–186.  \textsuperscript{22} Mason, 1920, pp. 17–23.
\textsuperscript{23} Strong, 1929, p. 166.
\textsuperscript{24} Swanton, 1909, p. 168.
destroy and soil them.\textsuperscript{26} The Nootka,\textsuperscript{26} Bella Coola \textsuperscript{27} and Haida \textsuperscript{28} had clowns who behaved largely in this manner.

2. \textit{Humor of sex}

The prominence of sex humor in our own Euro-American civilization need not be pressed. It is equally, sometimes more, prominent in American Indian cultures. The importance of sex humor is the inevitable result of the powerful biological sex drive. Closely associated are matters of obscenity and the excrementitious.

The Koshare and Newakwe societies of the Southwest are preeminently associated with sex. They are in fact specifically phallic societies. The Jemez clowns make advances toward women \textsuperscript{29} and the Zuñi Koyemshi, who wear imitation penes,\textsuperscript{30} encourage sex license during the Shalako ceremony.\textsuperscript{31} The Hopi clowns, who are said to be very fond of women, caper with female impersonators. The Hehe's \textit{kachina} mask, in fact, is decorated with phallic symbols.\textsuperscript{32} Obscenity and handling of filth run riot in certain ceremonial occasions in the Southwest.

Among the non-Pueblo tribes of the Southwest there was also a considerable preoccupation with sex in the activities of the clown.

In California, among the Yokuts, obscene and pretended phallic advances toward young girls formed part of the stock-in-trade of the clown.\textsuperscript{33} The Yuki clowns hold each other's privates in their frolics.\textsuperscript{34}

Obscenity, although not prominent, was not lacking on the Northwest Coast. Elliot has described scatological practices of various groups of Alaskan Eskimo.\textsuperscript{35} During a comic interlude of a Kwakiutl ceremony a man jests with a chief's daughter, making pointed references to sex.\textsuperscript{36}

The clown in the Plains was much concerned with the phallic,
which constituted a frequent theme of humor. The Arapaho clown was permitted sex license and obscene behavior. His phallic activities were facilitated by the use of a root by means of which he magically paralyzed and thus secured the women of his fancy. The Ponea clowns were said to crawl up and touch a woman's genitalia in full daylight, and the Hidatsa clowns were permitted incest, despite the usual strength of the incest taboo.

Among the Fox, east of the Plains, a mule dance in which a man imitating a stallion performs indecent antics was a great amusement. Other dances and songs of the Sauk and Fox were highly obscene.

By the Eastern Dakota phallicism was intimately associated with the Heyoka complex. The Heyoka clowns were believed to have great supernatural power which, among other things, enabled them to satisfy their libido. As part of the Winged Head complex, this belief runs eastward all the way to Maine. Among the Iroquois and various tribes of the Southeast, certain dances furnished occasions for sex license.

Themes of sex and obscenity were common in the ceremonies and performances of the tribes of Middle America.

Lewdness was also highly typical of the humor of cultures other than those native to the new world. The Samoa jester's dance, for example, was in large measure salacious. The Feast of Fools, which survived in Europe until the middle of the sixteenth century, included a licensed desecration of the church and riotous buffoonery which was largely of an obscene nature. In fact D. M. Robinson has derived the earliest Greek comedies from the phallic songs of the Bacchic dancers and revellers.

5. Misfortune

This class of humor is based upon situations and activities which are fundamental to human existence and which are frequently sources of pain, trouble and unhappiness. The clown often pretends to be crippled, infirm or destitute. He is clad in rags and goes about as though starving, begging for food. He enacts scenes of household strife and marital difficulties. He burlesques activities of hunting and fishing, food-gathering and horticulture. Gluttony, too, is employed, for it is an exaggeration of an extremely important daily activity.

In the Southwest, the Jemez Koshare dress in rags, carry crooked wands and wear corn husks in their hair. The clowns of the Jemez Piñon dance perform in rags, begging for food. One of these beggars is impersonated by the governor of the Pueblo. A Navajo stunt on the last day of the Mountain Chant ceremony is the impersonation of a dull-witted, decrepit and short-sighted old man. He enters in a woefully ragged suit, carrying a crooked bow and misshapen arrows. He totters into the dance space, where he stumbles on a yucca plant and howls with pain. In his effort to find it, he lacerates himself thrice more, complaining in a weak shaky voice. When he has marked the spot and the way back to it, in an exaggerated imitation of the old Indian way of doing things, he goes off to find “his woman,” and brings her back to pick the yucca fruit. Soon he returns with a tall, stalwart man, dressed to represent a hideous, absurd-looking old granny.

The Southwestern clowns are strongly addicted to gluttony; in fact, the Hopi kachina Paiakyamu is called the “Hano glutton,” and the Jicarillo Apache clown wears festoons of bread around his neck.

The California Maidu clown is represented as a lazy, stupid person. During the dance two men representing hunters enter. They ask the clown whether he has seen any deer. He answers that they may have gone by when he was asleep. At another time

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49 Thompson, 1889, pp. 353–355.
51 Fewkes, 1903, p. 120, Pl. LVIII.
50 Matthews, 1887, pp. 440–443.
52 Russell, 1898, p. 371.
this clown pretends blindness, which leads to absurd episodes. On still another occasion he staggers in with a bundle of splinters which he carries with prodigious effort, grunting and staggering. He spears a fish with so much vigor that the spear is driven entirely through it and then ten men are required to land it.\(^{33}\)

On the Northwest Coast, the ceremonial perverseness of the Kwakuitl Fool dancer gives him something of a destitute character. He wears a costume of rags, but this is said to be because he dislikes clean and beautiful things, which he always attempts to destroy.\(^{54}\)

In the Plains and East Woodland, rags were the common garb of the ceremonial buffoon, and begging a favorite amusement. The Cheyenne Contrary Society dressed in tatters.\(^{66}\) The Winnebago clowns, shabbily clothed, begged for food, pretending to be impoverished and destitute.\(^{65}\) The clowns of the Plains Cree, Plains Ojibway and Assiniboine were characteristically represented as poor and in need.\(^{57}\) Even the Iroquois False Face Society dressed in rags and made begging tours.\(^{58}\)

It is reported that in Central America the Aztec comedians commonly mimicked and ridiculed the deaf, lame, blind, deformed and ailing,\(^{59}\) and during the feast to Tlaoe priests "dressed like merry-andrews," went from house to house begging food.\(^{60}\) The "Pilatos" of the Totonac festival of Corpus Christi, like the "old man" of the dances of the northern part of Mexico, represents himself as poverty-stricken. He wears rags, a black derby and a wooden mask.\(^{61}\)

4. Burlesque of strangers

The humorous quality of burlesque of foreigners lies in incongruity. It is a pleasurable break from conventional patterns which is not restrained by emotions of sympathy. These are usually


\(^{34}\) Boas, 1897, pp. 409, 516.

\(^{35}\) Grinnell, 2: 206.

\(^{36}\) Radin, 1923, p. 384.


\(^{39}\) Bancroft, 2: 291–292.

\(^{40}\) Bancroft, 3: 334–335, 339.

\(^{41}\) Nuñez, pp. 191–199.
directed against white men who are ordinarily the subjects of greatest emotional feeling, whether fear, envy or contempt.

A characteristic Santo Domingo theme is the “bull and horse” ceremony, which depicts the first arrival of the white men, missionaries and traders, in ludicrously ragged costumes. A mock bull fight is held, followed by songs of “London Bridge is falling down” and “Good Night Ladies.” At the end the “traders” produce a suitcase and the Indians buy from them with paper money. A Santa Clara fiesta enacts the arrival of the United States soldiers in a covered wagon, their drunkenness, and finally their fight with the Navajo, in which they are worsted until Utes come to the rescue. A Hopi Powamu ceremony of 1928 caricatured American white girls. The “kachina girls,” impersonated by men, were dressed in an incongruous attire of skirts, riding boots, sombreros and six-shooters, and they carried vanity-boxes. The Navajo buffoon furnishes great amusement simply by wearing a great false mustache and an exaggerated imitation of spectacles and other belongings of the white neighbors.

The California clown had lessleaning toward this type of humor, but we must note that the Yurok burlesque of a Karok fleeing from vengeance after eloping with another man’s wife is of this order, and so is the custom of the Southern Maidu of burlesquing the dance of their northern neighbors.

The best illustration from the Northwest Coast comes from the Kwakiutl. An interlude in a potlatch ceremony introduces four men dressed as police officers. They set up an American court, one acting as judge. A woman is arrested for being absent from the preceding part of the ceremony, tried and fined $70 worth of blankets, which is afterward distributed in her name as potlatch gifts. This episode was introduced in 1865 and had been continued up to the time of Professor Boas’ visit in 1897.

Of similar cast is the Winnebago dance in which buffoons caricature white men, and the Iroquois New Year dance, in which

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62 Gaastra, p. 67.  
63 El Palacio, 10:12, 1921, anonymous.  
64 Matthews, 1902, p. 433.  
65 Krooher, 1925, pp. 58-60.  
66 Ralph Beales, personal communication.  
67 Boas, 1897, pp. 562-563.  
68 Chandler, personal communication.
there are imitations of white men skating, locomotives, and the like. The same theme was common in Central America.

CULTURALLY DETERMINED HUMOR

That there should be some cultural differences, even within cultures, in what is laughable, is to be expected. For while the type stimuli to laughter — the pleasurable relief, the incongruous, the caricature, etc. — are forms which are not dependent upon cultures, the concrete situations into which they are set vary a great deal. The incongruous, for example, depends upon local cultural traits and patterns. The native African chief bedecked in a top-hat is ludicrous to the European; to his African subject he is the personification of magnificence. For the European has been so conditioned to top-hats that this constitutes an incongruity, a conflict of meaning. The African is not so conditioned.

In general, however, the points in which laughter varies among groups of men are not so far reaching as those themes which are shared by all. It has been shown empirically that the universal themes of humor concern matters of greatest emotional interest, and these do not differ materially with culture. Humor that differs with culture is more likely to concern folk-ways and things of material culture.

A further factor, however, making for cultural difference in the humor which is expressed through the clown is that the clown is seldom purely a comedian. His non-comic duties have frequently affected his comic behavior. For he is in addition to comedian a member of some society whose duties may entail important curing, fertility or military functions. The influence of such factors will be elucidated in the following discussion.

The Southwest phallicism

It has already been demonstrated that phallicism and obscenity constitute universal themes of humor. It must be recognized, however, that these themes, which are particularly emphasized in the Southwest, are more prominent among American Indians than, for example, in our own Euro-American culture.

Indian Ceremonial Buffoon

 Obscenity and scatology are carried to the extreme in the Koshare, Newekwe, Wówóchim and Manzrau societies of the Southwest, and, to judge from their frequency, are major sources of humor. Funny as these are to the natives, however, they have elicited only emotions of repugnance and disgust from even the ethnologist. Here clearly is a definite cultural difference in humor, and the reason is not obscure.

The concept of fertility is, as Haeberlin has shown, prominent in Pueblo thought and ceremonialism. Fertility has been essential to the very survival of the villages; the keynote of their ceremonies is taken from this necessity. As humor is likely to strike at those things which are of greatest importance, this has come to be the dominant note of Southwestern humor. Moreover, the foremost and oldest clowning societies, the Koshare and its derivatives, are concerned in their sober moments with fertility and rain-making rites. It is not surprising, then, that as clowns these societies repeat the serious themes in clowning fashion.

California

In California distinctive comic differences may also be attributed to general cultural differences. These depend upon the conditioning occasioned by the differences in the ceremonial functions of the clown and are shown for instance in the contrast between the clown of the Northwestern Maidu and Patwin and that of the Pomo and Yuki, or, in other words, between those tribes which had the Hesi ceremony and those which lacked the Hesi and stressed the secret or ghost society. In the former the clown served as speaker to the chief and was purely a mundane personage, not even resorting to disguises for his comedy. Among the Pomo and Yuki clowning was not set aside for special personages, but was carried on by men who were primarily ghost impersonators, secondarily comedians, and whose humorous aspect was merged with an unworldly character. The Patwin and Maidu clowns’ performances seemed frankly ludicrous, avowedly for sheer entertainment. Among the Pomo and Patwin the clown was primarily an antinatural being, a ghost, and the grotesque dress, strange behavior

\(^{n}\) 1916.
and contrary nature were as much an attempt actually to represent such a being as to produce a ludicrous impression. Moreover, within these tribes an atmosphere of sacred unnaturalness, even in regard to the buffoonery of the clowns, is attested by the fact that the audience was prohibited from laughing.

The traits of the Coyote type of clown are mainly to be attributed to Southwestern influence. In large measure, however, this portrayal has been exaggerated by the tricky, obscene characteristic of Coyote, which in western mythology has served to make coyote tales subjects of constant amusement. The Coyote clown represents, then, to a minor degree a cultural difference.

The Northwest Coast

The Northwest Coast has imposed a virile cultural pattern upon the activities of its clowning societies. The Kwakiutl Fool dancers are primarily a hereditary society, the members of which are possessed during the winter dance season by their spirits. This possession causes excitability, madness, unnatural behavior, and it is provoked by the members of the opposing moiety.\(^2\) The behavior of possessed individuals causes general excitement rather than specific laughter. There is, however, some difference in the character of the madness of the various societies. The Fool dancers tend more toward the comic than the others, although it is not their chief aim. They, as well as the Cannibals and Bear dancers, are closely associated with war, and they carry weapons of war—a lance, knife and club. Their military character is also evident in their behavior. When supernaturally excited they attack people by throwing stones, hitting them with sticks, and, in serious cases, stabbing and killing them.\(^3\) This of course is beyond the bounds of humor. In a sense it represents the trait of practical joking carried to a serious extreme, and this extreme follows from their character as a “possessed” military society.

There is, however, a certain humorous turn to the characterization of the Fool dancers. They are represented with enormous noses, in which lie their personalities and their power. Neophytes

\(^2\) Boss, 1897, p. 420.  
\(^3\) Ibid., pp. 468-471.
to the society are initiated by being rubbed with mucus. They possess a real Cyrano de Bergerac complex in regard to this organ. Any allusion to noses irritates them and to have their noses struck causes them to go out of their heads. When in a fury they do not dance, but run about like madmen, throwing things about, striking people and breaking things. People irritate them by pulling or spitting on their noses.

The Haida persons, who are "made gagixit," exhibit a madness comparable to that of the Kwakiutl Fool dancers. They rush about town, rolling over, running through people's houses, making fun of their canoes and crying through the woods. People do not venture out, and if anyone is caught in the woods, his clothes are torn off and his person ridiculed. They may pull canoes out of the water and break them. The gagixit may be caught. For example, on one occasion an inflated seal stomach was hung up and he was called. He came crying, "A ha, ha, ha," rolled under the stomach and went away. When he returned he was seized and taken to the dance house, where he later danced accompanied by spirit songs. At least part of the function of such individuals is to destroy property which the potlatching chief afterward pays for.

The Plains: contrary behavior

In many respects the ceremonialism of the Plains stands in sharp contrast to that of the other areas considered in this paper. As the Plains tend more toward individual rites and interests, this important ceremonial setting does not permit the type of clown found elsewhere. Societies joined through visions, for example, had their private ceremonies. Public, communal ceremonies were less common. These rituals were in fulfilment of private promises, or to gain personal ends. They centered largely around visions in which the individual rather than the community sought benefits.

With such latitude in behavior and regalia as was permitted by the lack of rigid patterns in the Plains, it might seem that a great range of comic devices would have been possible. As a matter of

71 Ibid., pp. 468-469.  
72 Ibid.  
73 Ibid., pp. 523, 545.
74 Swanton, 1909, p. 173.
fact, the Plains clown was dominated and characterized by contrary speech and action. This is generally rationalized as the result of a vision, chiefly of thunder or lightning, which causes one to behave in an unnatural manner. The strength of this association with a vision and the peculiar nature of contrary speech and action brought this into great vogue as a comic device. At the same time the individualistic nature of Plains ceremonialism made it possible that it should also develop into aberrant forms in the military societies. For Plains ceremonialism permitted indefinite variations and vision-given ritual constantly recombined old elements.

Typical features of Plains ceremonialism are exhibited in the Dakota Heyoka society. This society was joined by a vision of thunder or of Wakinyan, and such a vision made one heyoka, or antinatural, and largely governed his subsequent behavior.

The peculiar traits of the Heyoka have been explicitly and fully described for the Dakota. The desires and experiences even of the Heyoka deities are all contrary to nature. "In the winter they stand on the open prairie without clothing; in the summer they sit on knolls wrapped in buffalo robes and yet they are freezing." The initiation ceremony to the Heyoka society is somewhat stereotyped, but the outstanding feature is an antinatural trick, the boiling-water performance. In drawing meat from boiling water the performer's hand is protected by certain roots, probably the mallow. During the initiation ceremony the Heyoka members are present dressed as clowns and must act in a contrary manner. Besides the boiling-water trick, the Heyoka may splash boiling water on their backs and legs, complaining that it is cold. They exaggerate the unnatural atmosphere by singing individually and discordantly.

The prominence of contrary behavior threw other comic devices into the background, but the essential point is that the members of the Heyoka were in grave danger of thunder and lightning if they did not perform these contrary ceremonies, so that they were clowns by the direst necessity, by the imperative demand of a vision.

Examples from other tribes will illustrate the predominance of

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78 Wissler, 1912, pp. 82-85.
80 Dorsey, 1894, p. 469.
81 Lowie, 1918, pp. 113-116.
the contrary concept in Plains humor. The Ponea Heyoka were quite similar to those of the Dakota, but the Thanigratha, "Those-who-imitate-madmen," also contrary, were more purely clownish. They might, for example, ford a stream by stripping one leg and hopping across on the leg which was clad. 82

The Cheyenne Contrary society is also controlled by this concept. Like the Heyoka, it is joined by people who fear thunder and lightning. The society lodge is constructed with the skin wrong side out and the poles outside the skin; the pipe used in the ceremony is assembled incorrectly; the members dress in rags, walk backward, reverse the sitting posture by lying on the ground with their feet up, and say the reverse of what they mean; they tumble about and dance clumsily. 83 They carry red bows and arrows which they use in reverse manner, and they dart about in an eccentric way "like lightning in a storm," for it is said that the "thunderstorm has with him people who act this way." 84

The Plains Ojibway clown-doctors, Windigokan, combined the serious and humorous aspects of contrary behavior. They were contrary in their play, their warfare, and even in their curing. They too were foolhardy in war. On one occasion twelve of these clowns assembled with their leaders who said: "I am not going to war. I shall not kill Sioux. I shall not scalp four and let the rest escape. I shall go in the daytime." They departed that night and soon met a large body of Sioux. Instead of fleeing they danced until the Sioux, thinking them deities, made offerings to them. Suddenly they drew their weapons and killed four of the Sioux, frightening the remainder. After scalping the four enemies, the leader said: "Now my old men [they were all youths] you must not run home as fast as you can." On another occasion they performed as clowns, being terrified at stumps, fleeing from dogs and being thrown into spasms at drum beats. 85

Summary

Those differences which exist between the comic practices of the various American Indian clowns follow in part from the differences

set up through different cultural values, in part from purely historical accidents. The emphasis in the Southwest on sex, obscenity and scatology arose from the supreme importance in this area of the concept of fertility. The unusual prominence of the same things among the nomads of the Southwest and tribes of California arose largely from a cultural connection with the Pueblo tribes. The importance of ceremonial madness on the Northwest Coast was the upshot of a peculiar turn of development and determined the basic character of the clown in that area, while the assignment of clowning to a military society further exaggerated the clown's obstreperous and violent behavior. In the Plains, the association of clowning with societies born of visions gave the organizations a typical Plains cast, while a historical accident which originated contrary behavior — probably in a single group — lent the societies their characteristic flavor.

CONCLUSIONS

The high degree of "psychic unity" of man in regard to things laughable is explainable in terms of similar conditioning under different cultures of an innate response. There is no evidence to demonstrate any differences between races in the unconditioned stimuli which produce laughter. All indications point to laughter as an innate response to pleasurable stimuli. To the extent, then, that different cultures find similar things comical, there has been a similar conditioning to things painful and pleasurable. This means simply that sickness, misfortune, poverty and the like, and physiological necessities affect all groups of men alike. They are equally charged with emotional interest and pleasurable or comic relief from them is everywhere sought.

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Indian Ceremonial Buffalo


When DEPONENT was eighteen, he and others, as clowns, at a katsina dance in one of the kivas, exposed their genitals to the women and girls there. This they did in a spirit of merriment and jesting. When ten years old he remembers a katsina exposing his penis at a dance in the kiva to women and girls and offering a prize to any woman or girl who would pull it for him. No one accepted the offer, as DEPONENT remembers. In 1929 at a katsina dance the clowns arranged to have a competition dance. Each clown danced separately. Whoever made a mistake in dancing was to lose his G string and go naked before the village. As clown, (by pre-arrangement), made a mistake in dancing and forfeited his G string. It came then revealed that he had fastened to his person a huge artificial penis. Some one present remarked that the clown had a penis like a burro. Another clown said that a man with such a penis should not be allowed in the village because of the danger to the women and girls. Whereupon they pretended to chase the naked clown out of the village. This farce was entirely pre-arranged in the kiva. Prior to this a search was made for white men among the spectators, if any such were present it had been determined not to put on this act. DEPONENT says that these things occur now, (1929), His mother and sister are not Christians, as DEPONENT is now, and he has overheard them describe what happened at a dance at Hotevilla in the spring of 1920, there the katsinas and clowns, all men, but some dressed as women, dramatized an adulterous scene in the open street. In this scene the katsina husband had a quarrel with the katsina wife. A clown enters and prévades the katsina wife to have sexual intercourse with him, which they proceed to simulate, the other clowns meanwhile holding the katsina husband. Then all of the clowns, in turn, simulate sexual intercourse with the katsina wife. Afterwards a reconciliation is effected between all of the parties, including husband and wife, and all dance rejoicing. This scene was greatly enjoyed by DEPONENT'S mother and sister.

DEPONENT was initiated into the powamuwimi society when he was about seven years of age. This is an order which is above, and inclusive, of the katsinwimi order. By joining the powamuwimi originally, he escaped the flogging which is a part of the initiation of children joining the katsinwimi. He later witnessed floggings of children joining the katsinwimi. The initiates are flogged with yucca, (Spanish Bayonet), leaves until they are bruised and bleeding and cry out in pain. The initiates are instructed not to cry out when flogged. This practice DEPONENT believes is still continued.

DEPONENT knows three girls who returned from Government schools, and each had a baby three months after marriage. Marriage was forced by the parents when pregnancy was discovered. In the case of one girl she could not tell among three or four men which was the father of her child. So she consented to marry the one of the possibilities that she liked best. DEPONENT'S cousin on her return from Sherman Institute, a Government School, became pregnant, as DEPONENT believes, as a result of attending these dances. The father of the child is a widower who is twice her age, as he married her.

QUOYAYEPITWA, a Hopi Indian, a native of Orabi village, and seventy years of age, told DEPONENT that a certain clown in the katsina was the impersonation of the devil, and that old people had told him that these dances used to be held in order to get rain, and were not at that time so degrading. He further stated that these dances have now degenerated, so that the rain making purpose of these dances is now only a cover for an orgy.

According to DEPONENT, there is a large infant mortality among the Hopi Indians, and much disease and death among the old Hopi Indians.

**LOMAVOYA, A FULL BLOOD HOPI INDIAN FROM THE VILLAGE OF WALPI, DEPSES AND SAYS**

That he was a member of the snake fraternity, and left it when he became a Christian, (literally, "learned the Jesus way!") He was a member of the snake fraternity because he was a member of the snake clan. He says he had to be a member of the snake fraternity for that reason. He went hunting snakes at a certain society at the age of fifteen. It is a custom of the snake men that the last man, or boy, to join the order shall catch the first snake on the hunt. Hence, when a snake is found the latest initiate is called up to catch it. DEPONENT was very afraid of his first snake, but KOBILLI, the snake priest, afterward told him that they had extracted the snakes fangs, teeth and poison sacs, before calling him up to bag it. DEPONENT says that the snake is first persuaded to uncoil, and is then held down with sticks until the snake priest extracts the poison sacs, teeth and fangs, which is done with a hoe like instrument. The snake is then bagged.
*Judge Hooker was a figure in the First Mesa community. At one time he had been a Hopi of the Hopi, and had fought the new system of schools and school regulation with all his crude ability. To prevent his children from being enrolled, he had walled them up at home; that is, he placed them in a small room of his house, gave them food and water, and then walled up the entrance door, hoping that his fresh mortar would not arouse suspicion. To-day he is hated by pagans because he has tried to assimilate the doctrines of Christianity, and is looked on by some Christians as an arch-hypocrite. Such are the trials of the savage. Actually he is a childish old fellow who has tried to merit the confidence of the mission folk, with little concept of where paganism ends and Christianity begins. His greatest sacrifice in life has been the abandonment of tribal ceremonies. From his house below the mesa can be seen the famous Walpi dance-ledge, like a miniature stage high in the thin air, thronged on pagan festal days with multicolored costumes, where faintly sound the chanting and the drums. But he never attends these feasts of rhythm and song, save at the biennial Walpi Snake Dance, when he joyfully receives a dispensation from the Agent to go as an official of the Government, he being a Judge and the authorized Crier. Many times did he cry down the aimless chatter of tourists during my administration, that solemn announcements might be made to the brethren and the visitor cautioned against the making of vile photographs and unseemly levity. Garbed in a magnificent beaded waistcoat that had decked some long vanquished Sioux warrior, and bearing his staff of office, a knotted club out of Africa, he presents a strange and not undignified figure on these occasions.

Indians of the Enchanted Desert by Leo Crane, Pages 132 and 133.
This is not known to white people, or to Hopi Indians who are not members of the snake dancers. They had a snake dance at one of the first mesa villages every two years. DEPOHENT has taken part in twenty-five such ceremonies. The caught about two gunny sacks full of snakes for each dance. They always broke out the fangs and teeth, and extracted the poison sacs of the poisonous snakes, but did not take out the teeth of bull snakes, red racers, and other non-poisonous snakes. Before the dance they examine the mouths of all poisonous snakes to make sure that the fangs have not grown back again. If so, they remove them. They also wash out the snakes mouth just before the dance. When a snake’s teeth and fangs are broken out he is gentle, but, they say, the teeth and fangs grow back again. In a few days after his fangs are removed the snakes get mad again, and then they know that his teeth and fangs are growing back, and they examine the snake and break out his teeth and fangs once more. A last examination is made of the snakes the day before the dance.

For four days and nights after the snake dance the men and women “do very bad things together. They go off together after dark. A man may have a piece of pottery, or calico, or a piece of money. The women and girls will take after him when he shows it, and try to catch him. He will let the one have it whom he wants to have it. She may run after him in the dark. He will hold the piece of pottery, or calico, or money in one hand, and with the other he feels under her clothes. The Hopi women and girls wear no underclothes. In the struggle for the pottery, money, or calico, or other thing of value, they fall down to the ground in the dark.” DEPOHENT belongs to the flute ceremony. The flute and snake clans, (orders), have the oldest ceremonies among the Hopis. One year they have one of four devotions. The four devotions, above described, is indulged in after both the snake and flute ceremonies. DEPOHENT took part in those orgies before he became a Christian, but does not take part in them now.

* JUDGE HOOKER HOMUWA, A FULL BLOOD HOPI INDIAN, AND NOW A CHRISTIAN, WAS JUDGE OF THE INDIAN OFFENSE COURT AT POLACCA FOR SIXTEEN YEARS. HE DEPOSES AND SAYS:

That prior to becoming a Christian he was a member of the wuwitsima ceremony, the snake order, and the fire dancers. He took part in the snake ceremony before he learned the secret of the way the snakes were handled. He was about fifteen years of age when he joined the snake priests, but was eleven years old when he first went out with them. His first snake hunt took place when he was fifteen. There were three other novices with him hunting snakes. They were to gather snakes for the coming snake dance, to use in the dance. The older snake men were scattered some distance from the DEPOHENT and the three novices. The whole party was scattered. The novices were taught that it is not only the duty of the youngest novice in the hunt to catch the first snake, which is found, but the novice should call up the older snake men before attempting to catch the snake, if he finds the snake first. DEPOHENT with the other novices found the first snake this day, and attempted to catch it without calling up the older snake men. The snake was a lively young rattle snake. One of the novices was bitten several times on the arm. His name was MOMI. His arm began to swell up. By this time the older snake men, who, when told that MOMI was bitten, said, “Alas! Alas!” The whole party then started for the village, the older snake men having a sharp discussion on the way, because the novices had not first been told the secret of catching the snakes. At the snake kiva DEPOHENT and the other novices were told that the next day they would be given the secret of how to catch snakes. Meantime MOMI was cared for, and by the day of the dance was well enough to take part. After MOMI was bitten the snake hunters were divided into groups, so that each novice had an older snake man with him to show him how to catch snakes. Each snake hunter carries a long stick, fourteen or twenty end, or else a hoe, SATCHIK, a snake priest, and DEPOHENT dug out a big rattle snake. SATCHIK then teased the snake until he uncoiled and began to crawl away. He then pinned the snake down, back of the head with his hoe, and instructed DEPOHENT to place his snake stick with the butt end in the ground, and the flat end in the air. SATCHIK then seized the snake just back of the head, squeezed its jaws, conformed them open, and rubbed the jaws along the flat side of DEPOHENT’S snake stick, thus breaking out the snakes fangs and teeth, and squeezing out the poison sacs. He then told DEPOHENT: “This is the way we treat the snakes, so as not to be bitten.”
A.C.J. Farrell, now of Ojai, California, (1937), related the following: That when he was at Fort Belknap Agency, Montana, during the summer of 1904 or 1905, an Assiniboine Indian came to the house of W.R. Logan, the Agent, one evening, and asked permission to leave his wife at the agency for the next few days. Upon being questioned by Logan for his reasons for depositing his wife at the agency, the Assiniboine finally revealed to the agent that on account of the long drought, the old men of the Assiniboine had decided that for the next three nights every woman in the Assiniboine camp should belong to every man, and that this orgy would insure rain. Logan asked the Assiniboine what he was going to do when he left his wife at the agency. "I am going back to the camp," replied the Assiniboine. It is believed that the above has never been published. (1) JGC. The Sacred Fire, B.Z. Goldberg, pp. 61-62.

Among the Nicaraguans, who were otherwise a people unusually strict in sex matters, the women could choose any man they might wish in their annual festival. In the frenzy of religio-sexual excitement, their choice was neither discriminating nor limited. In fact, the more strict a people was in matters of sex, the more likely the individuals were to break out in orgy at their worship. This we see in the story of the tribe of Tarahumara. (61) Here we have a peaceful, orderly, and reserved people. Whether dancing or singing they never lost their decorum and ever behaved with great formality and fitting solemnity. In fact, their self-control so impressed the traveler, who first came upon them, that he did not hesitate to state that "in the ordinary course of his existence, the uncivilized Tarahumare is too bashful and modest to enforce his matrimonial rights and privileges; and only by means of the national drink tezvino is the race kept alive and increasing." Yet there was a place in their ceremony when formality and solemnity gave way to what the writer quoted above describes as "debauch." For this very drink of tezvino was an essential part of the worship. It was generously imbibed at the close of the formal services, and, as the intoxicant was becoming effective, men and women entered into open promiscuous sexual relationship in which they engaged until well nigh dawn. Without tezvino, religious worship could not dissolve the chains of sexual constraint for the Tarahumares. (Idem. p. 47.) Suggestion was also resorted to by the people of Central America even to the time when the white men first visited them. When planting time came, they were extremely anxious that the sowing of the seed be done in a most auspicious hour for generation. Four days previously, therefore, the men separated from their wives in order that on the night preceding the planting

(Continued facing page 7)
DEPARTMENT was a member of the snake order for twenty-six years. He took part in thirteen snake dances during that time. He became snake catcher, or director of the snake hunt.

DEPARTMENT says that one year three white men followed them on the snake hunt, determined to learn how they caught the snakes. One man was named MR. STAUFFER, of Reedley, California, the other man they called CHARLES, and the third was a Doctor. As head snake catcher the other hunters asked DEPARTMENT what to do. Fortunately the hunters had caught a snake on their way over, removing its fangs. DEPARTMENT advised the hunters to scatter, and the man who had captured the snake to drop it when he got out of sight of the white men, and then pretend to find it. This was done, DEPARTMENT's party then caught the snake that the hunter had dropped with their bare hands, and the white men saw them do it and rode off "firing their revolvers, we supposed in glee over how the Hopi snake clan handles a newly caught snake."

DEPARTMENT says that a snake's fangs grow back, so the day before the dance the snakes are re-examined and the new fangs removed. Often it is found that after a week has elapsed the snakes' fangs will grow back to almost their normal size. The day before the dance they also press out the poison sacs of the snakes, and mop out their mouths with a piece of cotton cloth. The snakes are then washed, as the dancers are to put them in their mouths.

Once SUPERINTENDENT BURTON and MR. VOTH, a missionary, wanted to see the snakes washed in the kiva before the dance. A lively discussion followed among the snake priests, who sent a committee to BURTON and VOTH to dissuade them from their purpose. They persisted, however. Then SULPA, father of the snake clan, with DEPARTMENT, went to BURTON and VOTH and tried to persuade them not to enter the kiva. BURTON entered the kiva and stood at the foot of the ladder, in spite of the efforts of SULPA and DEPARTMENT. But by this time the poison sacs of the snakes had been squeezed out, and their fangs and teeth re-broken, and the washing of the snakes had commenced, BURTON saw the washing and heard the incantations which were sung, and departed saying that it was wonderful, and that he would write to Washington about it.

DEPARTMENT further says that only the fangs and teeth of poisonous snakes are broken. The red racer generally bites hard and leaves one or two of his fangs in the wound every time he bites, but is not poisonous. The bite only hurts like the prick of a needle.

For four days and nights after the snake dance every man's wife is everybody's wife. It is four days of free love among the men, women, boys, and girls.

DEPARTMENT has himself indulged in these things, before he became a Christian, and speaks of his own knowledge.

A Hopi Indian tradition from DEPARTMENT'S grandfather says that one day a white man from the east would come and teach the Hopi Indians a better way.

DEPARTMENT thinks that things are worse now than they were formerly. The recent government assistants are the backbones of these immoral practices. Adultery is their bait, and they come back to their people with just enough of the white man's ways to give them the big head.

GEORGE LOWAYESVA, AN EDUCATED FULL BLOOD HOPI INDIAN, AND A CHRISTIAN, DEPOSES AND SAYS:

He was formerly a member of the kwanwimi ceremony. When these ceremonies were rehearsed in the kiva at night, men would go down to the kiva to see who was there, and would then go out and sleep with the wives of those who were engaged in rehearsing the ceremonies. DEPARTMENT has done this himself in times past.

DEPARTMENT witnessed a katsina dance at Sichomovi, on the first mesa. At this dance a well-dressed clown appeared riding on a female burro. The clown looks about to see if anyone is in sight, and pretends to see no one. (Although there is a great crowd of men, women and children present to see the dance.) The clown then loads the burro with articles of his wearing apparel, his silk handkerchief, his silver necklace, etc., as presents, and rides again to see if anyone is looking, but pretends to seek only with large strides by the burro's heels, to prevent kicking, takes off his G string, and has sexual intercourse with the burro. The crowd were immensely delighted.

The chief of the katsinas at Sichomovi, when he heard that DEPARTMENT was going to become a Christian, constantly tempted him with women in order to prevent him from becoming a Christian. This he did especially at the times of the dances.

The buffalo dance and the butterfly dance are where the boys and girls dance together at night. They practice these dances in the kiva. Then the boys take the girls home, but often the boys take the girls else-
they might indulge their passions to the fullest extent. This intercourse was even enjoined upon the people by the priests as a religious duty, in default of which it was not lawful to sow the seed. Certain persons were even said to have been designated to join in sexual union at the very moment when the first seed was deposited in the ground.

Parkman, Jesuita in North America, Frontenac Edition, V. (1), footnote, pp. 30-31; Quotes Sagard, Voyage des Hurons, 158. This ceremony also described by Jalemant, who witnessed it, in Relation des Hurons, 1639, p. 84. The ceremony, a recognized remedy, called by the Hurons Andawandet, is described by Sagard as follows:

In the Huron country they also have gatherings of all the girls in the town to the house of a sick person, who, by their prayers seek the recovery of the invalid, or the dream which the invalid has had. This is done by the order of the Loki (doctor), and is for the health and recovery of the sick one. The girls, thus assembled, on demand being made openly by the doctor and the invalid, name the one of the young men of the village whom they prefer to sleep with on the night following. They do this each in turn. The girls each having a young man, the name is announced also by the master of ceremonies. The young men then come into the presence of the invalid to sleep, each with the girl who had chosen him. They thus pass the whole night in the invalid's hut, lying from one end to the other of the hut. During the night two captains at the two ends of the dwelling sound their tortoise shell rattles continuously until dawn, when the ceremony ends. God grant that so damnable and horrid a ceremony be abolished soon.


(561) Religious life. Formerly the Bow priests held a great public dance after harvest in the fall. This was an occasion of great festivity, as always when there is dancing by the girls. Like the scalp dance, it was accompanied by sexual licence. However, the dance has not been performed for 20 years, since two girls of a good family were killed by a stray shot from the housetops. The Bow Priests met in their ceremonial room, but there was no altar and no offerings of prayer sticks.

(574) Prayers of the Scalp Dance. --- Accompanying these important secret rites of purification and propitiation are the great public festivities. Throughout the twelve days of the ceremony unrestrained merrymaking accompanied by sexual licence is indulged in by young and old of both sexes. These three strands run side by side, all culminating in the great ceremonies of the final day.
where in the dark. These dances are to give the boys and girls a chance to get together in this way. The chiefs always taught us, says DEPONENT, that it was happiness to do this with girls. Many Hopi Indians who attend these dances neglect their cattle and sheep.

DEPONENT concludes by saying that he is a Christian now, and quotes Scripture.

SALAKO, A FULL BLOOD HOPI INDIAN WOMAN, AND A CHRISTIAN SINCE 1908, DEPOSES AND SAYS:

That she is eighty-eight years of age. That the old people used to tell her people that some day white men would come and give them good news. She belongs to the snake clan. Her son is a snake priest of the Walpi snake order. His name is HARRY SCHUPLA. She thinks that the snakes do not poison the dancers because their fangs are broken. JOHN LOWAVULA, her sister's son told her this. He was the first Hopi Indian to become a Christian on the first mesa. (May, 1927.) HARRY SCHUPLA never told her anything about breaking the snakes' fangs. She used to boil two medicines for the snake dancers, one medicine they washed their mouths with, and the other they swallowed. HARRY SCHUPLA hates Christians.

DEPONENT used to be chief of the marau dance, which is the woman's dance. They danced with very short skirts, or tunics, which reached just below the loins.

SIVENTIWA, WHOSE FATHER IS A HOPI INDIAN, AND MOTHER A TIWA INDIAN, AND WHO LIVES AT HANO, DEPOSES AND SAYS:

That he lives at Hano on the first mesa. That he belongs to the tawake clan, (order), or singers. That he has been a Christian for several years. That his father and grandfather told him that white men would come from the rising sun to the Hopis and tell them the right way. So he became a Christian. This was an old Hopi Indian legend.

A man will go to the kiva to see if the husband of the woman he wants to cohabit with is busy at some ceremony. If he finds the husband there, and busy, he then goes and cohabits with the wife. DEPONENT has done this himself. It was a common practice, but was indulged in more frequently at the times of the dances and ceremonies. The Hopi Indians gather for worship, and use this as an excuse for promiscuous sexual intercourse.

DEPONENT was baptized a Christian in February, 1915, that is to say, five years ago. (This deposition was taken in 1920.) DEPONENT says these practices still continue, but are worse than they used to be. Girls have to get married because they are pregnant. DEPONENT cited nine cases that came to his knowledge within the past five years.

At the katsina dance at Sichomovi DEPONENT saw a clown have sexual intercourse with a female burro before the crowd. He also saw two katsina come to the plaza there. One was on all fours, representing a burro. The other katsina was riding and driving him, as if he were riding and driving a burro. Then the katsina driver simulated sexual intercourse with the katsina burro. This was done to make the people laugh. The plaza was crowded, and the people enjoyed this spectacle.

DEPONENT has seen katsinas, one dressed as a woman, simulate sexual intercourse between husband and wife. This simulation is not so common now as it was in the old days, but is common enough, and is very popular with the Hopi Indians.

DEPONENT concludes by giving a Christian sermon, with many quotations from the Scriptures.

MANGO, A FULL BLOOD HOPI INDIAN, FROM THE SECOND MESA, DEPOSES AND SAYS:

That he has been a Christian for ten years. That the snake dance is bad.

That for four days after the snake dance the girls and young women are exposed to the free will of the men. He says that he has himself taken part in these things, and has, at such times, taken girls off and lain with them all night. He says that at such times husbands would be very angry because their wives would not come home all night. The snake dance occurs every second year, but this license is indulged in after other ceremonies, and occurs several times a year.

When DEPONENT was initiated into the wuwitima, he was told that this was the way to become a full fledged Hopi Indian, (that is, to indulge in loose sexual relations,) and that those things were good. The Moenooipi
(299) Then the four Sayali'a come in and the Koyemci wait outside. They stand in the middle of the room giving their calls and frightening the little ones. Finally one of them is taken up and he kneels down holding his father's knees. He has nothing over him but one buckskin. While he is being whipped all the others cry. Their noses bleed and they are terribly frightened. They whip them all in turn, and after they have whipped all the children, then the kachina chief tells the story of what they did long ago when a little boy told the secrets of the initiation. This is a dangerous thing. The kachina chief warns them not to tell.


(103) Voluntary Initiation into the Ko tikili. --- The initiation described was witnessed in 1891. ---

(103) A blanket of ordinary thickness and a deerskin are used for voluntary initiation. The novices pass but once before the Sa ya'hila, receiving from each of these four gods four strokes with giant yucca delivered with all their strength, and though every effort is made by the novices to keep silent, their moany groans are pitiable to hear. When all of the novices have received their chastisement they return to their seats, each one going to the side of his god-father, who places his hands over the eyes of the boy while the four Sa ya'hila gods remove their masks. The Ko yemshi do not take off theirs. After the boys are whipped the two Ko yemshi go to the roof of the ki w'ains to see that no one intrudes while the masks are being removed. Every initiate has a rain-maker's mask given him by his godfather, which becomes his personal property, and is buried after his death.


(952) (The Koyemci) The Koyemci are the first of the kachinas to "go home" in the fall, and they are the first to return at Ca'llako. They come in eight days before Ca'llako night, in the evening, soon after dark. Again every one waits for them, and they are sprinkled liberally with meal on their progress through the village. They visit all the plazas to announce the coming of the gods. This announcement is printed in text in the Journal of American Folklore. But before A'wan pekwin makes his announcement, all the others are given a chance to make obscene or ridiculous speeches. Stevenson (p. 952) gives some of these speeches. Parson quotes her informants, who belonged to the Protestant Mission group, as saying that no such remarks would be made. However, on the two occasions on which I have heard these announcements, many remarks of this character were made. The favorite topic seems to be bestiality. The following is typical: "Now that those who hold our roads, night priests, have come out standing to their sacred place, we have passed you on your roads. Our daylight fathers, our daylight mothers, after so many days, eight days, on the ninth day you will copulate with rams." (At this time of year the rams are put back into the general herd.) Many remarks of this character which I failed to hear were repeated for me the following day by two little boys of 12 who belonged to my household. After visiting all the plazas the Koyemci retire to their house and are in strict retreat for eight days (nights). On the seventh day they go early in the afternoon to White Rocks to plant their prayer sticks and to dress. When they return to the village in the evening they wear their Koyemci costume, with brown moccasins and their fawnkin pouches. They have white buckskins over their shoulders. Their masks are pushed up on their foreheads, exposing their faces. They are the last group to enter the village. It is fully dark when they come at about 9 o'clock. Before going to their own house, they visit the houses of the Ca'llako and Salyata. They stand before the door, calling the inmates by name in song, and waving them for stingingness, laziness, domestic infelicity, fondness for American ways. For example, "Our mother ---- gives her children thin coffee and peaches. (There had been no peach crop that year, therefore these had been hoarded. December, 1927.)
Hopis said the dance was good. They meant sexually good.

DEPONENT was not a member of the snake priesthood. His experience with the dance was limited to the four days orgy that followed.

At the katsina dances the men take advantage of the fact that the dancers are practicing in the kiva, and cohabit with the dancers' wives.

The katsina dances are supposed to bring rain, but DEPONENT believes that the dances would not interest the Hopi Indians unless they were accompanied by plenty of sexual intercourse.

C.

AFFIDAVITS OF WHITE PERSONS WHO HAVE WITNESED HOPI INDIAN CEREMONIES.

DAVID H. WYNKOOP, WHO WAS A FARMER IN THE INDIAN SERVICE, (1905-1906,) AND A STOCKMAN IN THE INDIAN SERVICE, (1913-1920,) DEPOSES AND SAYS:

That in 1919 and 1920 he was on the Western Navajo Indian Reservation, stationed at Tuba, Arizona. That he went as Stockman to Moenocopí, a Hopi Indian village which was near Tuba, Arizona. That a katsina dance was there in progress when he arrived. That this was the only Hopi Indian dance DEPONENT ever saw. That he met there JOHN KEIRN, a day school teacher in the Indian Service. KEIRN explained his presence at the dance to DEPONENT by saying that not so much devilment went on when he, (KEIRN,) was present. At this dance one katsina, dressed as a woman, took the part of a prostitute, soliciting the men and boys among the spectators, and making signs to them indicative of sexual intercourse.

MARY A. WYNKOOP, A TEACHER IN THE INDIAN SERVICE, (1905-1906,) DEPOSES AND SAYS:

That she saw school children brutally flogged with yuca, *(Spanish Bayonet), leaves as part of their initiation into the bean dance. That one JOSIWINKA married one HENRY DALE, both being Hopi Indians, and that she was informed by her pupils that the marriage was forced, and that the grown people forcibly held this couple down under blankets, in order to force the marriage.

J.B. FRY, A MEMNONITE MISSIONARY FOR TWO YEARS AT CRAIBI, AND FOR FIFTEEN YEARS AT MOENCOPÍ VILLAGE NEAR TUBA, ARIZONA, DEPOSES AND SAYS:

That he is familiar with the Hopi Indian language, and that he is engaged in translating the Bible into that language, and has already translated certain portions of it, which portions he sets forth fully in his reposition.

That in the latter part of 1918 DEPONENT went to the plaza of Moenocopí village to invite all who could be persuaded to do so to attend his Bible class; and that a dance was then and there being held, but that the dance was not in actual progress when he arrived on the plaza. That clowns were there performing to amuse the crowd, and that one clown had stuck his foot in some dung, and was then putting his soiled foot into the faces of some Navajo visitors who were witnessing the dancing. DEPONENT knew this clown, and remonstrated with him, and the clown begged DEPONENT not to disclose his identity, and informed DEPONENT that he was just playing to entertain the people. That other clowns were present and shouted to the crowd in the Hopi Indian language, asking if there was not a Paiute girl among them with whom they could have a dance. The clowns were accompanied with movements of their hips indicative of the performance of the sexual act. One of the clowns then jumped on another clown, continuing, by his motions, his demonstration of the sexual act. Whereupon the second clown seized a third clown and attempted to remove his G string, which was the only article of clothing these clowns wore. The first two clowns struggled with the third clown to remove his G string.

DEPONENT further says that he attended these dances until he was convinced of their immoral character, but has since stayed away from them.

Then on another occasion DEPONENT with MRS. WYNKOOP attended an initiation of children. Katsinas were present at the initiation and instructed the children that if they told the secrets of the initiation they would severely punish them, and that they would punish them if they were disobedient. The children's bare arms were then beaten with yuca leaves. One child cried out under the beating, and the father of the child, SAM NUMKINU, volunteered to take the child's place. His
The Sacred Fire, B.Z. Goldberg, pp. 180-181. "At a Dionysian Mystery." (180) (The Dionysian Procession described in part). Behind them came the symbols of their songs, the phalos, carried by the phaloptarses. Here were objects imi- (181) tative of the human organs of generation, in this procession treated derisively rather than reverently. A man might appear with an artificial lingam attached to a belt about his waist. A woman might carry in her hand high over head the effigy of her sex in various attitudes, together with articles suggestive of the union of the sexes in nature.
offer was accepted, and his arms were beaten until the blood ran. The katsinas held themselves out to the children as supernatural beings. SWINOENTWA, an old Indian, explained to DEPONENT, that only by this means could the children be controlled. DEPONENT believes that this flogging of children still continues.

WILLIAM H. PFEIFER, PRINCIPAL TEACHER OF THE WESTERN NAVAJO BOARDING SCHOOL, AND FORMER TEACHER OF THE MOENKOPI DAY SCHOOL, (1908-1913), INDIAN SERVICE, DEPOSES AND SAYS:

That while he was at Moenoppi, SKUMPTEWA, chief of Moenoppi, asked him to allow his pupils to attend a dance to be held in the village. He gave permission on condition that the dance was a "nice dance," and was assured that it was. DEPONENT observed that he was not invited to the dance along with his pupils, and decided to go and take MRS. PFEIFER. DEPONENT and his wife arrived at the plaza where the dance was being held without being discovered by the Indians, until they emerged upon the plaza. He saw a Hopi Indian clown, clad only in a G string. This clown pulled aside his G string and exhibited his penis to the crowd, turning about so that all could see. The crowd laughed uproariously. A young man of the Irrigation Service, whose name DEPONENT does not recall, told DEPONENT that at the same dance he saw the clowns either attempt, or else simulate, sexual intercourse with a female burro, or burros, in the street before the crowd, and that the crowd laughed and cheered, and seemed to enjoy the spectacle greatly.

EMORY A. MARKS, PRINCIPAL OF THE ORAIBI DAY SCHOOL, INDIAN SERVICE, DEPOSES AND SAYS:

That he has been at Oraibi for three years, and in the Indian Service for eight years. That he was formerly employed in the Indian Service at Hotewilla, a Hopi Indian village six miles from Oraibi. That in February, 1917, DEPONENT was at Hotewilla, and was invited by his pupils to attend a katsina dance at that village, and did attend said dance. That during this dance a clown appeared wearing an artificial penis, apparently made of wood, and protruding from his trousers, and that this penis had horse hair dependent therefrom. This clown exhibited his artificial penis to the whole crowd, and although other clowns were performing at the same time, yet this clown's performance seemed to be the most popular with the crowd, especially with the grills and school boys. While the clown was thus exhibiting himself, he sang a song. The clown's name was SCHEPETEWA. DEPONENT stopped the clown and threatened him with arrest, and the clown then told the DEPONENT that he did not know he was doing anything wrong, but sought only to amuse the people. Tewanentewa, a Hopi Indian, later translated the clown's song for DEPONENT, and said that the song meant that it was the penis that made the women happy.

DEPONENT says that a large number of Hopi Indian marriages occur after pregnancy. This is true of returned students, as well as others. There were seven cases in DEPONENT'S school during the past three years, where girls were pregnant before marriage.

E.M. SWEET, JR., INSPECTOR, INDIAN SERVICE:

The following are signed statements by women employees of the Indian Service. These statements are not sworn to, because not taken in the presence of the Inspector.

SARAH E. ABBOTT, FIELD MATRON, INDIAN SERVICE, AT HOTELLLA, ARIZONA, ON DECEMBER 8, 1920, MAKES THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT:

She has observed Hopi Indian dances and ceremonies to see if there was anything in them, and finds they are no place for a clean thinking woman. "At one dance I saw one of our girls come down a ladder, as girls were called for, and two men lay down, and as this girl came up as their gey strings were removed she took hold of his private parts as if she were smoking the different times. Such doings make people laugh." In the kiva are held the psychologist, or mechanical smoke dance. Smoke comes through an opening in a large screen. A man pretends to wrestle with one of the "smokes." The "smoke" takes off the man's gey string and fondles his private parts. Women and children are present. At another time clown katsinas were dressed as Hopi women. A man put his hand under the dress of a katsina woman, and then showed the people that
47 Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn. Pueblo. Zuni Katsinas. The Coming of the Gods, 1830. (951) (The Koyemsi). In general their play might be characterized as childish, in contrast to the more adult and subtle satire of the Niswe'kwes. This is in accord with the childish, unformed character attributed to them in mythology. Their sexual character has already been alluded to. Nevertheless they are possessors of the most potent love magic. The game which they have been observed to play most frequently between rounds of dances is the bean bag game, a kind of tag, which their grotesque appearance and uncouth behavior make ludicrous. Occasionally they burlesque dances, but such burlesques as the writer has observed have been crude and unfinished, lacking in any satirical touch. For their more serious moments when they first come out in the morning, they have the guessing game described by Parsons (Notes on Zuni, II, 229-237). There are set times at which this is played. Obscene games have been described by Parsons. Also, by a Zuni informant, a game in which one Koyemsi, impersonating a familiar character in folklore, goes through the motions of intercourse with another (Benedict, ms.). Another popular game is where one Koyemsi is trapped on the projecting beams of the kiva and threatened with fire until he throws down his one garment.
he had found blood, saying, "even the men menstruate!" These clowns almost always took off the gee string and exposed their privates to the women.

At one time there was a ceremony to clean a spring, where a man and woman are supposed to have disappeared in the long ago. They pretend to get the man and woman out of the spring, whereupon the man and woman come together as man and wife before the crowd. The women tell her, (the writer,) that they are afraid to go to bed after a dance, as the men wander about all night pulling the coverings off them, grabbing their privates, and then running off.

She concludes that after twenty two years among Indians "I have long ago decided that most of the katsina dance is no place for a clean thinking person."

EVELYN A. BENTLEY, FIELD MATRON, INDIAN SERVICE, ATOAIRIBI AGENCY, MOQUI (HOPI) INDIAN RESERVATION, MADE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT UNDER DATE OF SEPTEMBER 30, 1930:

She first came to Moqui, (Hop1,) Indian Reservation in 1914. She at first attended a number of their dances to see if they were as immoral as they were reported to be. She attended a public dance unobserved. The dancers were resting and the clowns were performing before an enthusiastic audience. There were four clowns, and one of them was dressed as a woman. They were playing with a rag doll, tossing it back and forth among themselves. Each of the three men got the rag doll in turn and tossed it back to the woman, who in turn, tossed it back to one of the men. The play was that they were unable to determine the father of the child, and that the woman was herself uncertain on that point. Two clowns dressed as women came on the plaza. Their skirts were about eleven inches long. The other clowns attempted to pull their skirts down for them, but when pulled down in front, the skirts would fly up in the back, and when pulled down in the back they would fly up in front. The clowns under pretext of helping the "woman" pull their skirts down attempted to peek under them. Laughter and yells from the crowd. A clown dressed as a devil appeared and pursued the other clowns to capture their G strings, which was the only article of clothing they had on. The devil also sought to pull aside their G strings and expose them to the crowd. The devil also made the clowns walk with cactus between their legs across the plaza. The clowns later went through the motions of extracting the cactus spines from their persons, apparently finding most of these spines in their privy parts. Great amusement among the spectators. The devil finally pounced upon a clown, and, with a wild yell, captured his G string, and the naked clown ran to cover amid the hoots and yells of the spectators. The devil then restored the G string to the naked clown, who dressed himself and returned to the plaza. This devil also threw clowns down and sat on their necks, sometimes pretending to urinate down their throats. MISS. MC MULLEN, a teacher at Polacoa, said to the writer of this statement that she had actually seen a clown urinate down another clown's throat at a dance which she had attended.

During the winter dances a Field Matron hears many complaints from the women that their husbands are untrue to them, and sleep away from home all night with other women.

In one instance OTTO PENTEW'S wife left him because of adultery. At a hearing held on this matter, at which the writer of this statement was present, the following facts were developed: That after the cow katsina OTTO PENTEW was so worked up by what he had witnessed there that he did not know what to do. So he persuaded one IRENE "to be bad with him," and IRENE consented. IRENE'S husband was away working at the time. OTTO'S wife caught him and IRENE in the act. The parties pleaded by way of excuse that the dance had excited them.

D.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE, CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE FIELD SERVICE AND THE INDIAN OFFICE.

LORNEGAN, INSPECTOR, INDIAN SERVICE, TO COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, MAY 28, 1935.

A letter transmitting letters containing information relating to immoral dances, etc., at Santo Domingo Pueblo. He believes that similar practices may be discovered at Jemez, Sia, Cochiti and San Filipo. He requests authority to handle the situation.

MERRITT, ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS TO LORNEGAN, INSPECTOR,
Pueblo of Santo Domingo, Julian H. Steward makes the statement: That he has seen Indian boys in this Pueblo embrace and carry each other openly in the kivas. That one night he nearly ran over a couple of Indian boys of this Pueblo, who were lying in the middle of the road loving each other. They boys got up, when he stopped his car, got on the running board, and asked very coolly, to be given a ride to town. JGC.
INDIAN SERVICE, SEPTEMBER 15, 1915.

He calls LORNEGAN'S attention to a report which he had made to the Indian Bureau in 1915, in which he recommended drastic action, (destruction of kivas, arrest of native priests, etc.,) in order to put an end to immoral and bestial practices among the Hopi Indians. ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER desires to be further informed, so as to suppress what is objectionable, and leave what is unobjectionable untouched. ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER wants to know if LORNEGAN is in a position where he can suppress these objectionable dances.

LORNEGAN, INSPECTOR, INDIAN SERVICE, ALBERQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO, TO THE COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DECEMBER 7, 1915.

He encloses letters concerning immoral dances and practices among the Hopi Indians. He states that these practices are indulged in at the Pueblos of Jemez, Sia, San Filipo, Santo Domingo, Cochiti, Tsimalle, and probably all other pueblos in the Santa Fe or Northern District, and in Santa Anna, Sandia, Isletta and Acoma of the Southern District. Laguna pueblo is free from these dances. Reports that returned students are tied up and severely beaten in some pueblos if they refuse to participate in these dances. He reports that these dances are now known as "secret dances," because they were forbidden by the Spaniards at an early date. Bandelier mentions these dances, and how vulgar and wicked they were, he says. He reports that "if they," (these dances,) "were too vulgar for the sensibilities of a Spanish explorer of the Sixteenth Century, you can imagine how bad they were." He reports that these statements enclosed are obtained, not from tourists, but from ordinary citizens, living adjacent to the pueblos.

ENCLOSURES.

L.B. MC DONALD, (FORMERLY OF THE INDIAN SERVICE,) TO LORNEGAN, INSPECTOR, INDIAN SERVICE, WRITTEN FROM JEMEZ, NEW MEXICO, MAY 11, 1915.

Last September the WRITER was working with the well contractors at Santo Domingo pueblo. He went with Mr. LAMBERT to Jemez. They forded the river at Santo Domingo on their journey. There they found several hundred Indians, men and women. They were at first stopped by Indian outposts, but on explaining their business, were allowed to proceed. They passed several hundred Indians during the next mile. There was no organized dance among them. They had fewer clothes on than the WRITER had seen on any other Indians dancing. Their chief object of amusement seemed to be in imitating animals in the act of sexual intercourse. A man would chase a woman like a rooster chases a hen. The woman, apparently entering fully into the spirit of the play, would squat like a hen, or bend like a cow, or crouch, when caught. The man would bend over the woman, hold her tight in his arms like a stallion or a rascal, or a dog, in the act of sexual intercourse, and go through all the necessary motions. Some women were held for a few seconds, and some for a few minutes. Some men wore masks. As MRS. LAMBERT was present with the WRITER, and with Mr. LAMBERT, her husband, the performance may have been considerably modified. Indians indulging in this pastime were all along the river, and among the trees and bushes. The performance kept up for hours, and grew steadily worse as time went on.

Upon another occasion the WRITER witnessed the following on the plaza of Santo Domingo pueblo. There were forty men and women dancers, dancing on the plaza. The spectators stood under the walls of the houses surrounding the plaza. Presently all the men dancers went into the kiva, leaving only eighteen women dancers and four clowns on the plaza. The clowns pulled their penises out from under their breech clothes, and the women dancers marched by the clowns, each woman kissing, or taking a bite at the clowns penises. The women ranged in age from eighteen to forty. The women laughed and giggled during this performance, and some of them spat upon the ground. The clowns dragged some young man, eighteen or twenty years old, from the crowd, and led him to the women, and forced him to put his hand under each woman's dress, in front. This seemed to be an initiation for the youngest men. Some of the women dancers would grab young men from the crowd of spectators, put their arms around them, and go through the motions of sexual intercourse with them, standing up. Some women dancers would embrace each other and go through like motions. The dancers then burlesqued American and Mexican manners, strutting around and bowing to each other. MR. MITCHELL, of Cochiti, tells the WRITER that in one of their dances the men can suck any woman's teats, which is done promiscuously, and on the plaza and on the streets. WRITER complains of being halted on the public roads because of these
In relation to this tabooed word for an ancient and well known pastime, the following letter has been received: "Jan. 31, 1934. Dear Giovanni:—With regard to your expressed mystification over the derivation of a certain lowly verb (or noun) in our language, I have obtained the following from my linguistic friend:—The word goes back to quite ancient Anglo-Saxon and its root is to be found in—or at least is similar to—the still existing German verbs which have the same meaning. These verbs are "PICKEN" and "VORBIELEN". There is also the Greek "φύω", which is similarly deprived. My informant advises me that the word was used even before Chaucer's time. However, he was—much to my surprise—unable to make immediate reference to a specific instance of such early usage. The only work in which the word appeared and to which he could refer off hand was Brydge's "Comic Translation of Homer". That is rather a late bit of literature, 1785, but at least it indicates that we of this generation are not guilty of fathering the ear-grating word. Should you need further details in your research, I'm sure that my omniscient friend could get up quite a treatise on the subject with a little preparation. Sincerely, R.C.W."

In the Classic Greek Dictionary, Hinds, Noble & Eldridge, 1921, the word "φύω" does not appear at all. However, the verb "φῦω", Page 773, which means, among other things, bring forth, produce, make to grow, and also beget and generate, does appear. "τρηθὼν" is the Epic Greek form of "τρῆθηκεν ὁ", which is the third person plural, pluperfect tense, of the verb "φῦω", Page 746, J.G.C.

It is very difficult to determine why the purely Hellenistic tock should be deemed vulgar, while its Roman equivalent, the sonorous but obscene sexual intercourse should be considered more polite. Perhaps because the Romans conquered the Greeks. But this fact is no more remarkable than the change which occurred in the use of the word "jazz". Jazz had a humble beginning, as a brothel word, used to designate commercial or mercenary frigging. It was then applied to a dance, practiced by whores upon their patrons, in order to lower the patrons sales resistance. It was then applied to the music of this dance, and was thence wafted on the wings of music into the high society, where it became chaste and pure by reason of being frequently rolled off the tongues of debutantes. Who knows but that some day the ancient word, of Creasian origin, may not likewise come back into general use among society swells. When it does, we may rest assured that it will be a welcome addition to the language of polite society. J.G.C.

It is also suggested, in this connection, that the modern slang expression Phoey, and Phoey to you, may have an humble origin in the Greek verb above given. If so, then indeed, this long banished word is finding itself, though thinly disguised, back once more in polite society. J.G.C.
dances, and of the effect upon the white population, who are obliged to witness such things if they travel abroad near an Indian village.

L.M. MITCHELL, FARMER, TO LORNEGAN, INSPECTOR, INDIAN SERVICE, WRITTEN FROM PENA BLANCA, NEW MEXICO, MARCH 7, 1915.

There were four of us, LYMAN DARNOLD, DICK DONWAY, R.L. MC DONALD, and MYSELF. We saw this at Santo Domingo. In the dance four squaws dressed in clownish attire approached the men, embraced them, and simulated the sexual act. The these women clowns approached a man clown and pulled aside his G string, put his organ in their mouths for a brief period, ran a short distance away and pretended to vomit, fall on the ground and roll around. There were yells of delight from the crowd. On another occasion the dancers formed in a large circle, men and women dancers alternating. Four clowns on the outside of the circle proceeded to imitate turkey gobblers. After stamping the ground awhile, these clowns ran up to the women dancers from behind, the women bent over at their approach, and the clowns made pretense of treading the women. This occurred all around the dance circle, until all the women were served.

LYMAN DARNOLD TO LORNEGAN, INSPECTOR, INDIAN SERVICE, WRITTEN ON MAY 19, 1915.

"At a dance at Santo Domingo I seen a squaw suck a buck's prick. DICK DONWAY lives at 308 North Broadway, Alberquerque, New Mexico. He will tell you the same."

MACARNO GARCIA, (TRANSLATION FROM SPANISH,) SAN ISIDORO, NEW MEXICO, ON OCTOBER 28, 1915, WRITES AS FOLLOWS:

"I have seen for twenty years the Indians of Jemez and Sia Pueblos dancing -- fucking*animals -- like burros and cows and horses. I have seen this same thing in Jemez, and Sia Pueblos, Indian men and women also. This year I went to Sia, close to the church; the Indians did not see me, and I saw Indians fucking like goats, burros, and horses fucking, men and women."

BLAC CASAUS, OF SAN ISIDORO, NEW MEXICO, TO LORNEGAN, INSPECTOR, INDIAN SERVICE, ON NOVEMBER 7, 1915, WRITES AS FOLLOWS:

"They permit boys and girls to dance these dances naked. They dance jumping on each other, imitating dogs, goats, or other beasts, and go through the motions of fornication, making big clowns dance, and small, which they adore as gods."

JESUS CASAUS, (TRANSLATION FROM SPANISH,) OF CANYON DE JEMEZ, NEW MEXICO, NOVEMBER 8, 1915, DEPLOSES AS FOLLOWS:

"I, the undersigned, JESUS CASAUS, a Justice of the Peace in Precinct Number 9, Sandoval County, New Mexico, depose and say: That in this Pueblo of Jemez I have seen the Indians in their entertainments, (dances,) go through lewd or dissolute motions and acts in their public dances, to which I sign as Justice of the Peace, JESUS CASAUS.

Further I have seen Indian women with Indian men go through motions or acts of sodomy. Further, I believe the Indians of Jemez have from ten to twelve secret dances a year, and on these days they won't even let a person by on the public road going through the pueblo."
From a very early period the idea has existed that the male inhabitants of the Caucasus are subject to a peculiar disease, the chief characteristics of which are the loss of the physiological and moral attributes of man, the supervision of impotence, the disappearance of the beard, the atrophy of the penis and testes, and eventually the implication of the mind to such an extent that the subjects, believing themselves to be women, clothe themselves like women and adopt the manners, customs, and occupations of the female sex.

The first mention of the condition in question is that by Herodotus, (History of Herodotus, Rawlinson's Translation, vol. i. p. 190) who states that when the Scythians were about leaving Syria and Palestine, which they had invaded, their rear guard pillaged the temple of Venus at Ascalon. The goddess was so enraged at the act of desecration that she caused the perpetrators to become like women, and further decreed that their posterity should be similarly affected. Herodotus accepts this story without any question.

Hippocrates, (αἰρὸν εὐρίττων, ἐξεανοῦν, το Πολύ.) is the next to refer to the matter, and as showing to what causes the "Father of Medicine" attributed the remarkable disease I quote his observations at length: "I have to make another allusion," he says, "and that is to the fact that among the Scythians many impotent persons are encountered, who occupy themselves with the work of women and who have like pitch or tone of voice. They are called amandrii. The natives allege that the phenomena are caused by a god, and they venerate and worship those who are thus affected, fearing each one that he may himself become the subject of a like visitation. As for me, I regard this disease as being no more of divine origin than any other, for no disease has any pre-eminence in this respect. Each one has a natural cause, and no one can arise without the intervention of nature. Let me state what appears to me to be the cause of the affection."

"Horseback riding produces with the Scythians engorgements of the articulations, because the limbs are always hanging without support, with those who are severely visited the hip is drawn back and they are rendered lame. For the cure of this deformity, they open the two veins which are near the ears. When the blood has ceased to flow they are overcome with weakness and fall asleep. On awaking some are found to be cured, but others are not. I presume that it is exactly by this treatment that the seminal fluid is changed, for near the ears there are veins which render impotent those in whom they are cut. Now, I think that they divide these veins. When after this operation they attempt to have sexual intercourse and fail, they are at first not disquieted, but after two or three more trials they do not succeed, they imagine that they are being punished by some god whom they have offended. They then assume the attire of women, declare that they have lost their virility, associate exclusively with women, and follow like occupations." "This disease attacks the rich and not the lower classes. The noble and powerful are its chief victims, because they go much on horseback, while the poor do not. ** It is also met with in other people, for when equitation is the chief and habitual mode of exercise many must suffer from swelling of the joints, with sciatica and gout and be deprived of sexual intercourse. These infirmities are widespread among the Scythians, who are the most impotent, in consequence of the causes specified and by reason of the fact that they constantly wear breeches and pass the greater part of the time on horseback. Thus they never touch the genital organs with the hands; and subdued by cold and restrained by fatigue attendant on sexual pleasures, they do not attempt intercourse till they have in reality lost their virile power." It will be seen, therefore, that Hippocrates attributes the disease under notice indirectly to horseback riding in excess, and directly to the division of veins near the ears, which he supposes to be in intimate relation with the generative organs.
Sprengel, (Histoire de la Medicine, French Translation of A.J.L. Jourdan, Paris, 1815; 1. I. P. 207,) speaks of the pretended wise men among the Strybians who, rendered irritable by abstinence to which they condemned themselves, often induced violent convulsions in their fellow men, whenever the expectation of their countrymen required. The unintelligible words which they spoke while in this state caused them to be regarded as prophets. The Greeks called them enarees, anandrites, either because their prejudices obliged them to avoid intercourse with women, or because their excessive sensibility really changed their constitutions, and rendered them unfit for the generative act. He quotes Reinegg, (Beschreibung der Kaukasus, St. Petersburg, 1786. Th. I. p. 389,) who in his description of the Caucasus says:

"The most remarkable of all the nomadic tribes of the Kuban is that called the Nogays or Mongutays. The members of this are distinguished from the others by the Mongolian features, which characterize their entire physical structure. The men are obese, large and swollen, the cheek bones are very prominent, the eyes deep-sunken, and the beard sparse. When they are reduced by disease, or when they have attained an advanced age, the skin of the whole body becomes wrinkled, the beard disappears altogether, and in this state they present a great resemblance to women. They become incapable of the procreative act, and their feelings as well as their actions cease to be like those of the sex to which they belong. Obliged to fly from the society of men, they seek that of women, whose dress they adopt."

Jules Klaproth, (Reise in der Caucasus, und nach Georgien, Berlin, 1813, Th. I. p. 285.) the son of the eminent chemist, has noticed the like facts in the Nogays of the Caucasus, and recognizes the accuracy of the description given by Hippocrates, and which I have already cited. Chotominski, (cited by Darmest, in his translation of Hippocrates, Paris, 1849, p. 497.) is authority for the statement that there are to this day many among the Tatars of the Caucasus who are affected with impotence as a consequence of excessive riding on horseback.

It therefore appears that there is good reason for believing that the male Strybians of an early day and their descendants, the inhabitants of the Caucasus of the present time, are particularly subject to sexual impotence, and that this condition is accompanied with such moral and physical changes in the affected individuals as to cause them to look like women, and to acquire the mental characteristics and instincts of the female sex.

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 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 secrecy and solemnity, 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 mujerisco, which signifies "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 my medicines; and so that on my distinctly 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 detailecd that day for the purpose. On entering the room, which was somewhat excluded from profane observation, we 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 among the many inquests of many of the others rose and came towards us, "Aquí está el mujerado!" "Here is the 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 "quisas, 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 the 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, 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, 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 hermaphroditism, or at least cryptorchism. He informed me that he had been a mujerado for seven years, and that previous to this time he had in the second or third stages 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. He was of this type and this condition was only the tip of the iceberg, especially when he became excited, which he did very readily; and he indulged in more ejaculations than any Indian I had ever seen.

In the Pueblo of Agoma, 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 pubis was hairy; the hair on the penis was greatly shrunken, not being an inch in length when flaccid, and the scrotum thin and 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 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'etre 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 moral point of view, 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.
Sexual Relations of Mankind, Paolo Mantegazza, trans. by James Bruce, 1933. (23) This fact also explains why in many countries sodomy is performed with boys, in fact as a reward to the victor. The Classic Greek Dictionary, Hinds, Noble & Eldredge, Publishers, 1902.

(512) Πάει χαίδος, b.h., a child, a son or a daughter. (Greek, PAIS, paidos, no or ne.)

(263) ἐσταθής, ou. o - - a lover. (Greek, erastes, ou, ho.) (ho, masc. art.)

New Webster Dictionary, Edited by John Devlin, 1935, p. 120.

Bugäre = - a, (slang), an irrational person; a foolish fellow.

Bugaboo, n. a bugbear.

Bugbear, n. a frightful object of the imagination; vain terror.

Bugger, n. one who practices buggery; a dirty, low fellow; a mean wretch.

Buggery, n. unnatural sexual intercourse; sodomy.

Myths and Myth Makers, John Fiske, 1872, pp. 104, 105 and 106.

(104) When Maitland blasphemously asserted that God was but "a Bogie of the nursery," he unwittingly made a remark as suggestive in point of philology as it was crude and repulsive in its atheism. When examined with the lenses of linguistic science, the "Bogie" or "Bug-a-boo" or "Bugbear" of nursery lore turns out to be identical, not only with the fairy "Fook," whose Shakespeare has immortalized, but also with the Slavonic "Bog," and the "Baga" of the Cuneiform inscription, both of which are names for the Supreme Being, further, and inquire after the ancestral form of these epithets—so strangely incongruous in their significations, - we shall find it in the Old Aryan "Bhaga," which reappears unchanged in the Sanskrit of the Vedas, and has left a memento of itself in the surname of the Phrygian Zeus "Bagalos." It seems originally to have denoted either the unclouded sun or the sky of noontide illumined by the solar rays. In Sayana's commentary on the Rig-veda, Bhaga is enumerated among the seven (or eight) sons of Aditi, the boundless Orient; and he is elsewhere described as the lord of the life, giver of bread, and the bringer of happiness. ("Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. IV. P. 121; Muller, Rig-Veda Sanhitā, Vol. i, pp. 230-231; Fick, Woerterbuch der Indogermanischen Grundsprache, p. 124. s. v. Bhaga.)

Thus the same name which, to the Vedic poet, to the Persian of the time of Xerxes, and to the modern Rus- (105) sian, suggests the supreme majesty of deity, is in English associated with an ugly and ludicrous fiend, closely akin to that grotesque Northern devil of whom Southey was unable to think without laughing. Such is the irony of fate toward a deposed deity. The German name for idol - Abrütt, that is, "ex-god," or "dethroned god" - sums up in a single etymology the history of the havoc wrought by monothelism among the ancient symbols of deity. In the hospital of the Pantheon of the Greeks and Romans a niche was always in readiness for the new divinity who could produce respectable credentials; but the triumph of monothelism converted the stately mansion into a Pandemonium peopled with fiends. To the monotheist an "ex god" was simply a devilish deceiver of mankind whom the true God had succeeded in vanquishing; and thus the word demon, which to the ancient meant a diviner or semi-divine being, came to be applied to fiends exclusively. Thus the Teutonic races, who preserved the name of their highest divinity, Odin - originally, Guadan - by which to designate the God of the Christians, ("In the North American Review, October, 1889, p. 354), in its deloused and number of facts which seem to me to prove beyond question that the name God is derived from Guadan, the original form of Odin the supreme deity of our Pagan forefathers, the case is exactly parallel to that of the French Dieu, which is descended from the Dyaus of the pagan Roman,) were unable to regard the Bog of ancient tradition as anything but an "ex god," or vanquished demon.

The most striking illustration of this process is to be found in the word devil itself. To a reader unfamiliar with the endless tricks which language delights in playing, it may seem shocking to be told that the Gypsies use the word devil as the name of God. "See Pott, Die Zigeuner., II. 331; Kuhn, neirrache, I. 147, yet in the worship of devil by the Gypsies is to be found the element of diabolism invariably present in barbaric worship. 'Bewel, the great god in heaven (deus, deus), is rather feared than loved by these weather-beaten outcasts, for he harsms them on their wanderings with his thunder and lightning, his snow and rain, and his stars interfere with their dark doings. Therefore they curse him foully when misfortune falls on them; and when a child dies, they say that newel has eaten it.' Tylor, Primitive Culture, Vol. II. p. 348.)

This, however, (106) is not because these people have made the archfiend an object of worship, but because the Gypsy language, descending directly from the Sanskrit, has retained in its primitive exalted sense a word which the English language has received only in its debased and perverted sense. The Teutonic words devil, dioule, diavul, dijful, dijful, may all be traced back to the Zend dyaev. (Continued opposite page 17)
A mujerado is an essential person in the saturnalia or orgies, in which these Indians, like the ancient Greeks, Egyptians and other nations indulge. He is the chief passive agent in 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 many times every day. At the same time he is made to ride almost continually on horseback. The genital organs of the subject 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 degeneration. 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 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 to the female sex, and to get rid as far as may be of all the attributes so essential, and manly, of masculinity, whether, on the contrary, 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 not make these girls only a privilege. They avoided all references to the subject, and professed the most complete ignorance of the matter when I questioned them directly thereon. The 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.

The difference between the mujerados and the enares, as Herodotus calls them, of the Scythians, consists chiefly in the fact that the deprivation of virility is intentionally produced for a specific purpose in the Pueblo cases, while in the Scythians it is the incidental result of customs and other factors which exist among the people. As a whole, I am quite sure that it is in both instances due to causes of similar character.

There seems to be little doubt that the male Scythians were, and their Tartar descendants of the present day are, extremely addicted to the vice of masturbation, and that they are also subject to seminal losses not directly the results of voluntary acts. An this, notwithstanding the circumstances alleged by Hippocrates that the constant wearing of breeches prevents them carrying their hands to their genital organs, arenkel, (Dea pertes semenales, Paris, 1838, Part I, p. 561.) who reports several cases of impotence due to seminal losses as
The History of Witchcraft and Demonology, Montague Summers, 1926, Ed. C.K. Ogden, (189) (The witches Sabbath.) In the encyclopaedic treatise be Strigibus (excerpt of 1659, given in Malleus Maleficarum of that date) by an earlier authority, Bernard of Comines, the following remarkable passage occurs: "The aforementioned abominable wretches actually & awake & in full enjoyment of their normal senses attend these assemblies or rather orgies, and when they are to go to some spot hard by they proceed thither on foot, cheerily conversing as they walk. If, however, they are to meet in some distant place then are they conveyed by the Devil, yet by whatsoever means they proceed to the said place whether it be on foot or whether they are borne along by the Devil, it is most certain that their journey is real and actual, and not imaginary. Nor are they under any delusion when they deny the Catholic Faith, and worship and adore the Devil, tread upon the Covetousness of Christ, and give themselves up to filthy and unhallowed copulations, for associating with the Devil himself, who appears to them in human form, being used by the men as a succubus, & carnally serving the women as an incubus. " (157) When the blasphemous liturgy of the Sabbath were done all present gave themselves up to the most promiscuous debauchery, only interrupting their lasciviousness to dance or to spur themselves on to new enormities by spiced foods and copious draughts of wine. "You may well suppose," writes Bouquet, "that every kind of obscenity is practiced there, yes, even those abominations for which Heaven poured down fire and brimstone on Sodom and Gomorrah are quite common in these assemblies."

Sexual Magic, Emile Laurent and Paul Nagour, 1934. Trans (44) The declarations made by the witches on the sensations during their infernal cotations, prove that the assumptions of Esquirol, Lamber, Schrader, Rosehart and others are incorrect: the witches were violated by men who assumed the mask of devils; on the other hand, they are very similar to the descriptions given by many female lunatics as to the face and form of the devil as seen in their hallucinations.

(55) Once the solemn initiation has been performed, each has assigned to himself or herself of a devil, or attendant-devil or assistant-master, with whom he or she retires in private for carnal satisfaction. The said devil is, of course, in the shape of a woman if the initiated person is a man; in the shape of a man, sometimes of a satyr, sometimes of a buck-goat, if it is a woman who has been initiated and who has thus become a witch.

(72) Ceremonies of the Witches Sabbath. --- Everything that the most bizarre an unnatural eroticism of abnormal minds could imagine took place there: practices of stercoraires, copromania, philotan, bestiality and pederasty. Some writers have handed down to us various details of these ceremonies in which reminiscences of the ancient cults of Priapus and Pan are mingled in anomalous atavism with parodies of the Catholic divine services.


Gregory VII in 1080 wrote to King Harold of Denmark forbidding witches to be put to death upon presumption of their having caused storms or failure of crops or pestilence. Neither were these the only examples of an effort to stem the tide of unjust suspicion, to which these poor creatures were exposed. See for example the Weisenstephan case discussed by Wolland in the "Zeitschrift f. Kirchengesch.", IX, 595.

On the other hand, after the middle of the thirteenth century, the then recently-founded Papal Inquisition began to concern itself with charges of witchcraft. Alexander IV, indeed, ruled (1258) that the inquisitors should limit their intervention to those cases in which there was some clear presumption of heretical belief (manifeste haeresim saperent), but Hansen shows reason for supposing that heretical tendencies were very readily inferred from almost any sort of magical practices. Neither is this altogether surprising when we remember how freely the Cathari parodied Catholic ritual in their

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consequences of excessive equitation. According to him the friction shocks to the perineum resulting from contact with the saddle cause irritation of the efferent ducts, hence the morbid process passes to the epididymis and the testicles, which are kept in an almost constant state of erethism. Emissions result spontaneously, and the condition in question prompts to frequent commission of masturbation. Impotence is the ultimate consequence.

Another explanation of the abolition of sexual power from excessive horseback exercise is given by Daremberg, [Histoire de la.outer Paris, 1843, Motteau, etc., (4th edition, Paris, 1866.), who attributes it to the pressure exerted upon the spermatic vessels and the consequent interruption of the duo course of their nutrition, and the loss of all procreative desire and ability. He does not appear to have had his attention drawn to the erethism of the sexual organs produced by excessive horseback exercise.

Under the heads of "Eviration" and "Maladie des Scythes," Nysten, (Dictionnaire de Medicine, etc., (4th edition, Paris, 1866.) speaks of the impotence resulting from inordinate equitation. He produces, he declares, complete loss of sexual desire, and an impossibility of erection in case under notice the vigorous and in good health. Foresters and country physicians, who pass a good deal of their time on horseback, are mentioned by him as among its subjects. The habitual compression of the vesiculae seminales and of the prostate gland appears to him to interfere with the secreting process of the semen.

The Pueblo Indians appear to recognize the influence of horseback riding as an efficient aid in their process for making a "mujerado." It is certainly true, as I know from my own observations, that the nomadic American Indians, who are the representatives of the Scythians on the Western Continent, especially the Apache and Navajo, are the most active and impetuous in sexual desire and power. From their very infancy they are accustomed to the use of the horse for going even the shortest distances. They rarely walk unless to the places where their horses are hitched, and they keep them generally within arm's reach; I have seen them mount a horse to ride twenty-five feet to get the saddle; one of the consequences of this practice is the arrest of development in the muscles of the lower extremities, their thighs are attenuated and their calves are as flat as the hand. They are entirely incapable of long foot marches. But this information would not suffice to convince me that it is sure that impotence is common among them. I have often, when they had ascertained that I was a "medicine man," had young and apparently otherwise vigorous and healthy men beg me to give them some "strong medicine" to restore their virile powers, and I am aware that a major part of the "pow-wowings" of their own "medicine men" is undertaken for the same purpose. An Apache or Navajo woman with more than two or three children would be a curiosity among them. I have already spoken of the probable object had in mind in the creation of the "mujerados." It is not at all improbable that the writers of the "Disease of the Scythians" have from the earliest period been used for the like purpose. Bourdier, (Recherches et observations sur Herode, Dijon, 1746, p. 249,) asserts that they are the passive agents in pederasty, and that therefore they correspond to the pathic of the ancients, and, I may add, to the "mujerados" of the Pueblo Indians. A like view is held by Rosenbaum, (Geschichte der Lustensehe, Halle, 1837, p. 141,) who regards the disease as also being produced by the practice in question which is at the same time therefore cause and effect. Interesting and important data relative to the mental and physical changes in the organism which result from this vice, are given by Tardieu, (Etude medico-legale sur les attentats aux mœurs; 7th ed., Paris, 1873.) Le grand Du Saule, (Trait de medicine, etc., Paris, 1874.) Moreau de Tours, (Des aberrations du sexe génésique, 2d ed., Paris, 1880.) Codard, (Egypte et Palastine, Paris, 1897,) and other writers on sexual aberrations.

Freidrich, (Historisches Fragment - Magazine fur die philosophische Medizin und gerichtlichen Seelenkunde, Hamburg, 1838, 3, p. 76.) regards the Disease of the Scythians as being delusional insanity, but I think a very little consideration of all the phenomena of the affection, and those present in the "mujerados" of the Pueblo Indians, will suffice to show that the subjects were actuated rather by morbid impulse than by delusion. It differs altogether from those cases of mental derangement, in which works on insanity abound, in which men and women have believed themselves to have undergone a veritable change of sex. In these latter examples there is no physical alteration on which the delusion is based. They are as much men or as much women as they ever were, but entertaining the erroneous belief that a transformation of sex has occurred, they dress and act accordingly.

There is no evidence to show that the Scythians suffering from the disease really believed themselves to have become women. What they labored under was the idea that being men they were obliged to dress, to live and to feel like women, that possessing the sexual organs of the male sex they were cut off from the privilege of using them, and forced to
"consolamentum" and other rites, and how easily the Manichaean dualism of their system might be interpreted as a homage to the powers of darkness. It was at any rate at Toulouse, the hot-bed of Catharan infection, that we meet in 1375 the earliest example of a witch burned to death after judicial sentence of an inquisitor, who was in this case a certain Hugues de Baniol (Causeron, "La Magie", II, 217). The woman, probably half crazy, "confessed" to having brought forth a monster after intercourse with an evil spirit and to having nourished it with babies' flesh which she procured in her nocturnal expeditions. The possibility of such carnal intercourse between human beings and demons was unfortunately accepted by some of the great schoolmen, even, for example, by St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure. Nevertheless within twenty years it is clear that there was always a strong common-sense reaction against this theorizing. A reaction which eventually manifested itself in the confession manuals of the close of the fifteenth century. These were largely compiled by men who were in actual contact with the people, and who realized the harm effected by the extravagances of these superstitious beliefs. Stephen Lanskranna, for instance, treated the belief in women who rode about at night, hobgoblins, were-wolves, and "other such heathen nonsensical impostures", as one of the greatest sins. Moreover this common-sense influence was a powerful one.

Science and Literature in the Middle Ages. Paul LaCroix. London. Bickers & Son. (337) Popular Beliefs. Lactantius, in his book upon the "Divine Institution," says, "Religion is the worship of what is true, superstition of what is false." "All superstition is a great punishment and a very dangerous infamy for men," added St. Augustine. The Council of Paris, held in 1269, pronounced very energetically against "most pernicious evils, which are assuredly remnants of paganism, such as magic, judicial astrology, witchcraft, sorcery or poisoning, divination, charms, and the conjurations drawn from dreams." The Provincial Council, in 1406, admitted with St. Thomas that superstition is an idolatry. The illustrious John Gerson had already declared that superstition is a vice opposed in the extreme to worship and religion. At all periods the Church, by the organ of her doctors and her councils, waged war upon superstition, as the good labourer roots up the tares which threaten to choke the wheat. In some cases superstitious beliefs took the form of an exaggeration of faith and an excess of devotion, in which there was something touching and respectable about them; in others they were due to demonomania, and were the expression of a culpable or absurd credulity. In other cases, again, they had their root in an erroneous or distorted tradition; some-

(338) times, also, they were of a futile and uncertain character, or became a heresy against the Church. In fact, everything in the physical world was made the pretext for superstition.

The Middle Ages teemed with recollections of ancient mythology, and those who may be surprised that such should have been the case, considering the horror in which the religion of the Gospel held everything relating to the errors of paganism, may be reminded that the pagan religions, when they disappeared from off the face of the globe, left behind them a mass of popular prejudices profoundly rooted in men's minds. We may cite, for instance, the address of St. Eloi, minister of King Dagobert, and Bishop of Noyon, to his clergy: "Above all, I beseech of you, do not observe any of the sacrilegious customs of the pagans; do not consult the engravers of talismans and charms, or the sorcerers, or the charmers, or the diviners, or the doctors for illness; pay no heed to charms, amulets, or magic; do not be influenced by the singing of birds when you hear them in your journeys....Let no Christian pay heed to the day he leaves a house, or that upon which he returns to it....Let not any one at the Feast of St. John celebrate the solstices by dances or diabolic incantations. Let no one seek to invoke the demons, such as Jupiter, Pluto, Diana, Minerva, or the Evil Genius....Let no one observe the day of Jupiter (Thursday) as a day of rest, etc., etc., make vows in the temples, or by the side of fountains, or gardens, or stones, or trees....Let no one perform lustrations, or sacrifices upon herbs, or drive hogs, as they do the hollow in a tree, or through a hole dug in the ground. Let no one utter loud cries when the moon wanes....Let no man call the sun or moon his master." Thus spoke, in the seventh century, a pious prelate, who boldly attacked the superstitions of his time; and this episcopal exhortation readily explains, and even excuses, a number of strange or monstrous facts which, though of much more recent date, seem to form part of the annals of the grossest idolatry.

The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I. Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, Second Edition, 1913. Cambridge: At The University Press. Ch. II. Crime and Tort. (355) Ecclesiastical Offenses. Sorgery in later times. A change came in the fifteenth century. In 1466, soon after our first statute against heretics, Henry IV. empowered the bishop of Norwich to arrest sorcerers and witches, and to keep them in prison after conviction until further order. (proceedings against Allos Kyteler, Introduction, p. x, from the Patent Roll.) By this time a witch could be tried and burnt under the statute against heretics. Also the king's council began to take notice of sorcery, and accusations thereof were used for

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assimilate themselves to a sex which they believed to be of inferior social rank. This was the punishment which, as their ancestors believed, was inflicted on them by Venus, and which their descendants now conceive they are still forced to undergo from God, whom they have in some unknown fashion offended.

(352) Dr. Montyel, ("De la maladie des Scythes," Annales Medico-Psycholoiques. Mars, 1877, p. 131) while contending for the facts that its starting point is impotence, caused by excessive equitation, and that it ends in seminal mania (folie seminale), nevertheless asserts that the mental alienation is delusional in character. He thinks that the insanity takes this form in consequence of the continued existence of the tradition that a penalty was incurred by their ancestors, and hence the production of this particular type of sexual insanity. Just as with people who believe in the existence of witches and devils, insanity is characterized by delusions of possession or other forms of satanic influence. The case with which he cites seems undoubtedly those of lunatics, but lunatics who, like others entertaining delusions, act in strict accord with the character of their false beliefs.

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 rendered impossible the exercise of his rule to array all classes of the population against him. He was devoid of caution, a spendthrift, and altogether erratic in his behavior. 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 sent over to liberate him and to enable him to represent the English people in the House of Lords."

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 pretense 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 he was addicted to pederasty, and whether or not he eventually became insane.

The essential point in the "Disease of the Scythians" and in the mœnogados of the Pueblo Indians, is that the mental alienation through the influence of which they dressed and acted like women had its origin in sexual impotence. Hence the cases described by Servais, (Zur Kenntiss von der contraren Sexual-empfindung - Archiv fur Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankeiten, 1876, p. 464.) by Krafft-Ebing, (Neber gewisse Abnormien des Geschlechtertriebes, n.s.w, Archiv fur Psychiatrie, 1877, p. 383.) by Lymar, (Caspar's Lehrbuch, & Auflage, p. 308.) by Steffen's Lehrbuch, (Les eiges physiques des folies raisonnantes - Dissertation - Annales Medico-Psychologiques, 1878, p. 383) at least among others, as well as the remarkable case reported by Dr. (Medical Record, New York-March 19, 1881, p. 338.) are not exactly embraced within the scope of this
political purposes. (Proceedings against Alice Kyteler, supra, pp. xi-xx. Lea, op. cit. iii. 466-8. As to the witch of Eye, see also Coke, 3rd Inst. 44.) The epidemic which was raging on the continent reached our shores; but it came here late and mild. Where there is no corn to eat there can be little witchcraft.

Statutes were made by Henry VIII., and Elizabeth which condemned various forms of sorcery as crimes to be punished by the temporal courts (Stat. 33 Hen. VIII. c. 8. (A.D. 1541), repealed by 1 Edw. VI. c. 12; Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 18 (A.D. 1553). See as to these statutes Stephen, Hist. Cr. Law, ii. 451.; but these statutes were neither so severe nor so comprehensive as the canon law; they seem to have been (558) occasioned by attempts to use divination for purposes that were regarded as treasonable (Francis Hutchinson, Essays on Witchcraft (1718) pp. 173-6), and very for people were done to be burnt by them. A bloodier statute was passed by that erudite demonologist James I. (Stat. 1 Jac. I. c. 13; Stephen, Hist. Cr. Law, ii. 433;); but it was left for the Puritans in the moment of their triumph to enforce with cruel diligence this statute and the written law of God. The days of the Commonwealth were the worst days for witches in England (Hutchinson, op. cit. p. 48: 'in this collection, that i have made, it is observable, that in 103 years from the statute against witchcraft in 53 Henry VIII. till 1644, when we were in the midst of our civil wars, i find but about 18 executed. But in the 16 years following while the government was in other hands, there were 102, and not more, condemned').

But we have transgressed our limits. The thirteenth century seems to have been content to hold as an academic opinion that sorcerers, being heretics, ought to be burnt, if convicted by the courts of Holy Church (Coke, 3rd Inst. 44 and Hale, P.C. i. 383 take this to have been the law); but no serious effort was made to put this theory into practice. Sorcery is a crime created by the measures which are taken for its suppression.

Unnatural crimes. The crime against nature seems to have had a somewhat similar history. (Coke, 3rd Inst. 56; Blackstone, Comm. iv. 212; Stephen Hist. Cr. Law, ii. 428.) It was so closely connected with heresy that the vulgar had but one name for both (Lea, Hist. Inq. i. 115; also Oxford English Dictionary). Possibly an old Germanic element appears when Flota speaks of the criminal being buried alive (Flota, p. 56.); but we are elsewhere told that burning is the due punishment (Britton, i. 43 and the note from the Cambridge MS.), and this may betray a trace of Roman law (Cod. Theod. 8. 7. 2. This passes into common knowledge through Lex Romana Visigothorum; see Hanel's ed. P. 721.). It was a subject for ecclesiastical cognizance, and apparently there was a prevailing opinion that, if the church relinquished the offenders to the secular arm, they ought to be burnt (Lea, Hist. Inq. iii. 356.); As a matter of fact we do not believe that in England they were thus relinquished. In the twelfth century Anselm had been compelled to deal less severely with a prevailing vice (Letters of Anselm Migne, Patrol. vcl. clix. col. 98; Endres, p. 143.);

The statute of 1533 which makes it felony affords an almost sufficient proof that the temporal courts had not (557) punished it and that no one had been put to death for it for a very long time past (Stat. 35 Hen. VIII. c. 8: 'forasmuch as there is not yet sufficient and condign punishment appointed and limited by the due course of the laws of this realm.'.


(30) Of the offence of majesty. The crime of majesty is an horrible offence done against the king; and that is either against the king of heaven, or an earthly king.

(31) Against the king of heaven in three manners, Heresy, venery, sodomy.


(192) Rapid Growth of Statute Law. 1585-1800. A concession alike to humanity and to common sense was made by the Act of 1756 repealing the old statutes against heresy and imposing any prosecution to be instituted for that offence (For history of law and trials for witchcraft in Eng., see Stephen, Hist. of Crim. Law of Eng., i. 54; ii. 410. 430-6. See also Thayer, J.B., Legal Essays, oh. xii., Trial by Jury of Things Supernatural.).

A History of Penal Methods. George Ives, Frederick A. Stokes Company, Publishers. (44, footnote 7) Lea, Hist. Inq. Middle Ages, i. p. 288. A deacon was burned at Oxford in 1283, having been tried before Archbishop Langton for embracing Judaism in order to marry a Jewess. * From that time until 1460 no one is said to have been burned to death for heresy in England. - Maitland, Law Quarterly Rev. 1891, ii. p. 153. Lea, Hist. Inq. i. 115.

Professor E.P. Evans throws an interesting sidelight on this offence. "It seems rather odd," he observes, "that the Christian lawmakers should have adopted the Jewish code against sexual intercourse with beasts, and then enlarged it so as to include the Jews themselves. The question was greatly discussed by jurists whether cohabitation of a Christian with a Jewess, or vice versa, constitutes sodomy. Damhouder (Prax. rev. crim. c. 96, n. 48) is of the opinion that it does, and Nicolaus Boer (neces, 138, n. 5) cites the

(Continued opposite page 20)
The above article is referred to in Psychopathia Sexualis, by R. von Krafft-Ebing, Translation of 18th German Edition, pages 303-304.

It is also cited in Anthropological Studies of Strange Sexual Practices of All Races, etc., by Iwan Bloch, translated by Keene Wallis, pp. 48-49, 1838.

It is not cited in Notes on the History of Psychiatry by Smith Eli Jelliffe in Alienist and Neurologist, vol. XXXVII, 1915, at page 178, who says under the heading "Disease of the Scythians" the following: "The navigators Narvaez, Rivault and Laudonniere found in Florida several masculine individuals who wore women's clothing and did women's work."
case of a certain Johannes Alardus or Jean Alard who kept a Jewess in his house in Paris and had several children by her; he was convicted of sodomy on account of his relation and burned, together with his paramour, "since coition with a Jewess is precisely the same as if a man should copulate with a dog" (Dolpl. Theat. ii. p. 157). Damhoudar includes Turks and Saracens in the same category."—The Criminal Prosecution and capital Punishment of Animals, p. 158. London, 1906. Cf. William Eden, Lord Auckland: Principles of Penal Law, p. 55.

COMMENT: The above footnote is explicable if the word used for sodomy was buggery, which in its original context meant heresy, or the worship of bug, a false or evil god.***

SUMMARY: The word pederasty is derived from the Greek paidos, genitive of pais, meaning therefore of child, and erastes, a lover, hence a child lover. The English word buggery was derived from bug, originally Baga, a name for the Supreme Being, and the word as originally employed referred to heresy, and also witchcraft, which was regarded as a form of heresy. As many of the witchcraft ceremonies were alleged to include pederasty, the term became later restricted to pederasty alone, and is now so used. JGC.

***NOTE. That heresy and sodomy were considered under one and the same classification is apparent from Andrew Horne, The Mirrour of Justices, "written originally in the old French, long before the Conquest,"(Published, John Byrne & Co. Washington, 1803). Horne died at London in 1328. Horne states' (pp. 30-31, Bryne Edition), as follows: "Of the offense of Majesty. The crime of Majesty is an horrible offense done against the king; and that is either against the king of heaven, or an earthly king. (31) Against the king of heaven in three manners, Heresy, venery, sodomy. "
THE STATUS OF THE HERMAPHRODITE AND TRANSVESTITE IN NAVAHO CULTURE

By W. W. HILL

UNLIKE our own society, many primitive societies recognize in a social sense, and include in their culture pattern a place for those individuals whose psychic or physiological peculiarities set them apart from the normal. The present article is concerned with the hermaphrodite and transvestite among the Navaho; their social recognition and the opportunities given these people to capitalize on an irregularity. To a lesser extent the individual adjustment to these cultural opportunities will be discussed.

The Navaho term for both hermaphrodite and transvestite is nadle, which I was told meant “weaver” but according to Dr Edward Sapir can be etymologized as “being transformed.” However, they distinguish between the two and between male and female transvestites. The hermaphrodites were called “the real nadle.” “You can tell them when they are born.” The transvestites were called “those who pretend to be nadle.” “A boy may act like a girl until he is eighteen or twenty-five; then he may turn into a man or he may not. Girls do the same thing.” Male and female transvestites were about equal in number. Culturally the status of both hermaphrodite and transvestite is the same and the following description, except where the individual is discussed, applies to both.

During the past year I was told by various informants that there are today at least six nadle living on the reservation. The two best known are kla at Newcombe (Nava), New Mexico, and kinipai at Buck’s Store, New Mexico. The former is a well known chanter. He is described as having a voice like a woman and doing a woman’s work, but dressing sometimes as a woman and sometimes as a man. His grandfather is also said to have been a nadle. Kinipai, according to her own and other testimony, is hermaphrodite. She has masculine looking hands and shoulders and a rather masculine face. Her voice is that of a woman. Her hips are well developed but her bust only moderately so. The four other nadle noted by informants live respectively in the vicinity of Crown Point, New Mexico, and White Cone, Tuba City, and Polacca, Arizona. According to informants those living at Crown Point and White Cone are transvestites.

The concept of the nadle is well formulated and his cultural rôle well substantiated in the mythology. In the tales dealing with the creation and

1 The material contained in this article was gathered incidentally to research on Navaho material culture as a Fellow of the National Research Council.
emergence of the Navaho the pursuits and activities of the nadle are outlined. They are described as wealthy and as having control of all wealth. In that part of the Emergence Myth which tells of the quarrel between men and women, they play a very prominent part. In this dispute the nadle cast their lot with the men when the sexes separate. Because of the ability of the nadle to perform the functions and duties of women as well as men, they make it possible for the men to overcome the women.

The outlook of Navaho society toward the nadle is very favorable. They are believed to have been given charge of the wealth in the beginning and to control it to the present day. The family which counted a transvestite among its members or had a hermaphrodite child born to them was considered by themselves and everyone else as very fortunate. The success and wealth of such a family was believed to be assured. Special care was taken in the raising of such children and they were afforded favoritism not shown to other children of the family.

As they grew older and assumed the character of nadle, this solicitude and respect increased, not only on the part of their families but from the community as a whole. This feeling is very real. All the older Navaho have a genuine respect for the nadle and only in rare instances do the younger ones scoff at them. They were never made fun of and their abnormalities were never mentioned to them or by themselves. This respect verges almost on reverence in many cases. A few quotations from various informants will serve to make this attitude clearer. One states, "They know everything. They can do both the work of a man and a woman. I think when all the nadle are gone, that it will be the end of the Navaho." Another says, "If there were no nadle, the country would change. They are responsible for all the wealth in the country. If there were no more left, the horses, sheep, and Navaho would all go. They are leaders just like President Roosevelt." A third says, "A nadle around the hogan will bring good luck and riches;" a fourth that, "They have charge of all the riches. It does a great deal for the country if you have a nadle around;" and a fifth, "You must respect a nadle. They are, somehow, sacred and holy."

2 This concept is also found in another phase of culture. The genitals of hermaphrodite deer, antelope, mountain sheep, and sheep are rubbed on the ends of the tails of female sheep and goats and on the noses of male sheep and goats. This is believed to cause hermaphrodite sheep and goats to be born. Hermaphrodite sheep and goats were never killed, but were allowed to remain with the flocks. "Then you will have many sheep and grow rich." Renmit from the stomachs of hermaphrodite animals was also rubbed on sheep to make them grow large and to increase their milk.

3 Albert Sandoval, a Navaho of Lukachukai, who read this manuscript, says that the nadle are not so much respected nowadays. The older attitude is giving way to one of ridicule. Any child showing a tendency to a transformation is discouraged.
The economic rôle of the nadle is dual, their activities overlapping both those of men and women. They are given unusual opportunities for material advancement. They quite generally act as head of the family and are given the control and disposal of all the property. They supervise the work of the women around the hogan and direct the planting and the work in the fields. At large ceremonial gatherings they are placed in charge of preparation and cooking of the food. Beside these general domestic duties, they knit, tan hides, make moccasins, are said to be excellent sheep raisers, and excel as weavers, potters, and basket makers. The last three pursuits contribute substantially to their wealth, as especially are basketry and pottery making restricted technics and they are able to trade these products extensively with their own and other peoples. The only masculine activities from which they are barred are war and hunting.

In the realm of religion and ceremony, the nadle also actively participate and are on a parity with anyone. While all informants agreed that there was nothing about a nadle that made him better qualified to practice curing ceremonies than an ordinary Navaho, the fact remains that most of them excelled in the performance of one or more of these rituals. As mentioned before, the one at Newcombe is a well known chanter. The transvestite at White Cone is one of the few remaining Hail Way chanters. Kinipai at Buck's Store knows the chants for curing insanity resulting from incest, and for curing body sores, and is noted as a midwife. It is also current gossip that she practices witchcraft, of which my interpreter was thoroughly convinced.

The social status of the nadle, while well defined, gives ample opportunity for individual expression. Hermaphrodites usually dress as women and assume the position of women when sitting. Transvestites wear the garb of either sex. Both care for their bodily wants after the manner of men or women depending on the attire they are wearing.

If they dance they assume the woman's rôle for the occasion and joke with the men as women would. In address, the polite person always calls them by the kinship term used for a woman of their relationship and age to the speaker. Their legal status is also that of a woman. The blood payment for the murder of a nadle is the same as that for a woman, which is higher than that required when a man is killed.

Their political power seems limited to an advisory capacity. In case of disagreements between men and women they act as mediators and are also employed as go-betweens in the affairs of the younger people.

4 This seems well established. Kinipai sold me two articles which were the personal property of two women in her family. In all other cases I encountered, the right of disposal of personal property has been strictly observed even though the owner was a child.
No stigma is placed on the irregular sex activities of the nadle. The usual tabus placed on abnormal sex relations by normal individuals are lifted in the case of the nadle and their promiscuity is respected rather than censured. "You make fun of a prostitute, but you do not make fun of a nadle; you respect them." Hermaphrodites are said not to marry. Transvestites are known to marry both people of the same and opposite sexes. When they marry, they take the garb of a man and do a man's work. "If they marry men, it is just like two men working together." There is one account of a divorce between a female transvestite and a normal person, and one was known to have borne a child. Transvestites had sex relations both normally and unnaturally with both sexes. Hermaphrodites appear to have sex relations only with men. Sodomy with a nadle is countenanced by the culture and the insanity believed to follow such an act with a normal person does not occur if the relation is with a nadle. Two informants stated that the nadle commonly paid the other person to perform the act. The only limit to these relations is that the clan incest tabu must be observed.

From the preceding sketch of the nadle in Navaho culture it is plain that they enjoy more opportunities for personal and material gratification than the ordinary individual. They are respected and to some extent revered. Their economic advantages are such that it is easy for them to justify the belief that they bring with them and control wealth. In religion and society they enjoy as much, if not more, opportunity and protection than the more normal member of the society. In sex expression they are given the absolute sanction of the culture. In fact every opportunity for personal adjustment to the culture is given. If, however, the individual nadle is studied, there is evidence that in some cases no advantage has been taken of these opportunities.

The writer is primarily interested in the technological aspects of Navaho culture. It was in the course of this research that the hermaphrodite kinipai, who is one of the few remaining potters and basket makers among the Navaho, was used as an informant. As she was well known as a nadle the interpreter was instructed before the work began to be alert for any behavior which differed from the cultural norm. The conditions under which the work was done were favorable. The interpreter's family are friends of the informant, and as had been my previous experience, as soon as the informant was convinced that the interest was in the practical aspects of the culture and not in esoteric ritual, the information was given cheerfully and readily.

Six days were consumed in the questioning. Whenever possible the
questions were put in such a way as to encourage answers and explanations to take the form of a personal narrative, and leads were also given which would bring up the personal element. However, all the informant's answers were impersonal and circumspect, and she refused all leads which might lead to a personal discussion. After six days without any results, this indirect method was abandoned and the interpreter questioned her directly on the subject of the needle. The result was that the informant gave instant evidence of acute emotional distress. She was visibly upset, very nervous, kept her eyes on the ground during the whole recital, kept rubbing her hands together, and squirming. She lost her voice completely for a few

Fig. 1. Kinipai, Buck's Store, New Mexico.
moments and when she began to talk, spoke in a whisper, and her accounts and answers were so incoherent that the interpreter had trouble in getting the sense and was forced to question her repeatedly.

The fragmentary account which she gave checked very well with the information given about nadle by other informants. She recounted the myth of the separation of men and women, and the part that the nadle played in mythical times. She then gave a short sketch of her own life.

A family that has a nadle born into it will be brought riches and success by that nadle. A person like that will be like a head of the family. Even now I have charge of everything that my family owns. I hope that I will be that way until I die. Riches do not just come to you; you have to pray for what you get. When I was young my father and mother and grandfather took special care of me. I am a hermaphrodite. As I told you, I have had relations with more than a hundred men. My parents always took better care of me than they did of my sisters. I have been happier than my sisters. The family, after I grew up, always gave me the choice of whatever they had.

Besides the anxiety registered at the direct questioning, several other things came up during the course of the work which were outside the norm of Navaho behavior. Kinipai's lack of reticence on questions concerning sex was unusual. She, on three occasions, brought up the subject of her own accord and was cheerfully frank about her own experiences and those of others. She even joked the writer about his experience. This, to my knowledge, is very unusual. While the Navaho have always answered in a matter of fact manner questions on such subjects, neither men nor women have ever joked about the subject or referred to it of their own volition.

Another curious piece of behavior was kinipai's willingness to discuss the subject of witchcraft. Most Navaho are uncomfortable when being quizzed on this subject for fear of being suspected of the practice. However, kinipai, who certainly must have known that she was suspected of practicing witchcraft, gave a fairly full account.

On the other hand, she gave further evidence of maladjustment to the culture by her refusal to discuss or do certain things which would have been done or talked about by an ordinary Navaho without question.

One of these was the subject of dreams. She admitted dreaming but refused to tell her dreams or to discuss dreams in general. The question obviously upset her. This is rather unusual: though the average Navaho may think such a question silly, he is always willing to tell and discuss his own dreams.

In the matter of being photographed, once again her behavior was hardly normal. Most Navaho have no objection to having their pictures
taken, unless it is a monetary one. Kinipai was extremely reluctant to have hers taken, telling the interpreter that she thought that I only wanted the picture to make fun of her. When she did acquiesce she would not be photographed standing, but only in the sitting position of a woman and surrounded by her pottery.

One other inconsistency in behavior was noted. While the informant usually addressed her relatives by the kinship terms used by a woman speaking, she on several occasions, when talking of her sister’s daughter, used the male speaker’s term of address.

Some insight into her feelings was also obtained from a distant relative of kinipai’s, who was used as an informant. He stated that kinipai always addressed him as older brother and that he called her younger sister. “She sure likes that. When her uncles or nephews come over they call her mother. She likes that. Some people call her mother’s brother. She does not like that.”

As to the personal adjustment of other nadle to their culture, I was able to obtain very little information. One informant stated that “in recent times some of the school boys made fun of the woman’s dress of kla at Newcombe, and he put on his pants.” I was also told that kla has rationalized the status of the hermaphrodite dicty of the Navaho into the position of a supreme god; a concept denied by all other informants. The statement about nadle generally that “you do not mention to a person that they are made nadle because you respect them, and that they do not mention that they are nadle because they respect themselves,” would lead one to the inference that this is another rationalization to protect sensitive feelings.

There is no doubt that kinipai has failed to make the personal adjustment which her culture makes possible. This appears also to be true in the case of kla and is probably also true of others.

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