First Fragment. "BERDACHE - I - BERDACHE. The fingers of the right hand are extended, the little finger is placed against the center of the nose pointing upward - the hand is then carried in this position to the right opposite shoulder. (8) The forefinger held in the same way is then placed along the nose pointing upward - the hand is then carried opposite the left shoulder. This represents a half breed of any kind stipulated - in the case of berdache the signs man and woman would be made before each one equals half man and half woman. Those men, as men they were, ninety nine times out of a hundred, are considered hermaphrodites, but diligent inquiry has failed to find one that was a true hermaphrodite, although it is possible that a number of them were. The name comes to us through the French from the Arabic (Jesuit Relations LIX p. 310 note: "They were called by the French 'Bardache' a word originally from the Arabic Baradz meaning a slave or Bardache - the English corruption is Berdah, a word used in various forms as early as 1548, is everywhere in use West and Northwest to designate the men referred to."

This term 'Berda' was known to the older generation of fur traders, coureurs etc. But one would go far in the west and north west now before finding anyone to recognize its meaning. Clark (p. 310) seems to have missed their whole significance, considering them real hermaphrodites. The Handbook of the Bureau of American Ethnology has nothing about them at all - yet they have been known of in the Indian country since the beginning, and there are some in existence today. Other writers, including Miss Alice Fletcher, consider them a victims of hallucination - that some spirit has imposed this role upon them at puberty, when fasting for a guardian spirit. But after several conversations with one, and a careful comparison of the literature connected (BERDACHE 2) (which) I have been able to find on the subject I am satisfied that Berdache is really nothing more than a degenerate and uses the 'spirit' story as an excuse for ignoble actions. Although in primitive times they needed no excuse - they were honored among their people, and even now one of them holds an enviable position in the Crow tribe, and is said to be one of the cleverest and wealthiest Indians in the tribe. He, or rather, 'she' as they are called, makes no pretense of having been directed to take up her role by any spirit. Repudiates it, in fact, and I consider that she holds as honorable position now as any one in the Crow tribe.

The Crow and Illinois are said to have had more of them than any other tribes. When I was young, five or six were pointed out to me in the big camp of Mountain and River Crow at the mouth of the Big Horn in 1877. I considered then that it was some sort of a freak - the wearing of women's clothes, and then forgot about it as so many important things were pressing continually for attention. There were none on the Kiowa, Comanche, Caddo, Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho (Reservations) during the nine years I lived near them, but all of these tribes knew about them and had them at one time or another in their history.

There are two now among the Dakota, one each belonging to the Brule and Ogalalas - the Brule cannot be more than 20 years old. The Berdach was found among almost every tribe from the earliest times."

Second Fragment. "WINKTA. BERDACHE. HERMAPHRODITE. 1. The sign is made for half man half woman. This does not refer to the real hermaphrodite but to a class of men who have in times past had representatives in almost every tribe, who dress in women's clothes and take the place of women in every way, occupying themselves from choice in women's occupations. This very curious phenomenon has attracted a good deal of curiosity, and we have the following references to what scientists call homosexual inversion: Many sexual perverts, etc. (BERDACHE 2) (which) I have been able to find on the subject. Miss Fletcher in her memorable treatise on the Omaha states this action is brought about by dreams at the age of puberty, when the young man dreaming for power on some lonely crag, are approached by the Moon Spirit who holds out to them a bow and arrow in one hand and a woman's pack strap in the other, and when the boy reaches out for the bow and arrow, the Moon Spirit slips the woman's strap into his hand instead of the bow and arrow, and the boy therefore must make a woman of himself or incur the wrath of the spirit, and he sometimes committed suicide rather than comply. I have spoken of this among many tribes of Indians, and have reached the conclusion that most of these and perhaps all sexual perverts, and that the idea advanced that they have been directed by spirits is an afterthought, to deceive the white man. The first ones I saw were in the Crow camp at the mouth of the Big Horn in 1877, at which time I was told there (were) five. They moved about the Crow camp as highly thought of as any one else, and sometimes went to war as women do who accompany war parties. While I was struck by their abnormality, I was too busy scouting and running buffalo, etc., to make a study of them.
Wales concubinage existed among the Natchez as elsewhere in North America. Dumont (Histoire de Louisiane, i, pp. 340-345) says that a male concubine, or "hernachrodite," among the Natchez, and perhaps also among many other savage nations, is called "the chief of the women."

It is certain (he adds) that although he is really a man he has the same dress and the same occupations as the women. Like them he wares his hair long and braided, he has, like them, a petticoat or alconna instead of a breechcloth. Like them he labors in the cultivation of the fields and in all the other labors which are proper to them, and as among these people, who live almost without religion and without law, libertinism is carried to the greatest excess, I will not answer that these barbarians do not abuse this pretended chief of the women and make him serve their brutal passions. What is certain is that when a party of warriors or of Honored men leaves the village to go either to war or to the chase, if they do not make their wives follow them, they always carry with them this man dressed as a woman, who serves to keep their camp, to cook their hominy, and to provide, in short, for all the needs of the household as well as a woman might do. (Dumont de Montigny, Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane, 3 vols., Paris, 1753. Edited by Le Maecrier, vol. 1, pp. 345-349.)
at that time. I have since taken every opportunity to study the matter among the Indians of various tribes.

This class of Indians is rapidly disappearing. At the present time there is one among the Crows, Miasakte (woman) Jim, and one among the Rosebud, South Dakota, Sioux, both of whom I have seen, and (except for whom I have procured portraits of) the latter at which I have been most surprised is the --

(break in manuscript) On the margin of this sheet is written:

'This class of men called Berdash by the French of the upper Plains, Minkta by the Sioux. When the Sioux are asked about the Wintka, they have an embarrassed laugh, and will not talk about it to strangers.'

Third Fragment. "THE BERDACHE." (Sheet 1) "The sign is made for half man half woman, the same as for hermaphrodite. The word Berdache is from the French. The Dakota name is 'wintka.' Clark seems to consider the berdache as a genuine freak of nature. The Handboook (Bulletin 30, Bureau of Ethnology) gives no mention of them, nor does Mooney. The berdache is a man who dresses in women's clothes, acts, lives among women rather than among men, and practices the customs of women. They were formerly found in many tribes, probably in all, but they are now very scarce. Miss Fletcher in discussing the practice among the Omaha, states the berdache became so through a dream commanding him to act that way, but I have concluded after a good deal of study, that the berdache is nothing more than a degenerate, and the dream an after thought, to excuse an evil practice which a state of barbarism permits. There were three or four in the Crow tribe in 1877. They were often pointed out as being curious, but without loss of esteem. They all dressed like women, cooked and did the women's work of the lodge, yet occasionally did notable deeds on the war path. There is only one left among the Crow, Ma-kate (Woman) Jim. I went to see her near the Catholic Mission, St. Xavier, in the Big Horn valley, in 1919-20."

(Alex Green, Ft. Washakie, Wyoming, who lived with the Crows as one of them for many years told me -- 1936 -- that woman Jim was the best poker player in her neighborhood. [JGC].) The subject was a very delicate one to broach on such short acquaintance and had to be approached with tact. We got acquainted first by talking about the old Crow chiefs, now dead, that I knew in 1877. Iron Bull, Blackfoot, Old Crow, Two Belly, etc. I used to run buffalo with the latter. Later she -- they are generally spoken of as she -- volunteered the information that she had a very bad case of blood poison from a cut on her leg, and had thought she was going to die and had made all her grave clothes. She was asked if these were to be seen. She had them brought out (Sheet 2) "showing them with great pride -- all beaded buckskin -- a woman's dress, leggings and moccasins -- of beautiful workmanship. She was asked why she had women's clothes made, and replied 'that is my road' (or custom). She was asked if any medicine person told her to do that. She said 'No, Doctor.' I tell you that is my road. I have done it ever since I can remember, because I wanted to do it. My father and mother did not like it. They used to whip me and take away my girl's clothes, and put boy's clothes on me, but I threw them away, and got girl's clothes and dolls to play with.' She then said something to a woman, who brought a Nez Perce bag, and said to me: 'You have come a long way. I want to make you a present.' I asked her if I might take her photograph. She said to wait until she put her fine clothes on. The photograph got spoiled in the east. I went the next year to see her and get a photograph, which was more successful, but she was away from home, without her fine clothes. She said, "I wish you were going to be at the Crow camp next year, and would like to give you something." Long afterwards a package arrived at my home from the west and in it was a large bag made only by the Nez Perce. While speaking of Iron Bull's lodge, in 1877, the most spacious and comfortable skin lodge I have ever seen, she said she had made it herself, and it was composed of 35 skins, and was very proud of her work. She said she had been on the war path many times, and was with General Crook in 1876, and had rescued a wounded officer being carried on a travois, he was thrown out of the travois in the mud and water, and she had gotten him back to the officer was well. On the way home to the Mandanes (from the Ogilvie, 153-156) describes wounding of Henry, and also says at p. 101 of the Crow scouts, "three squaws were there on horseback -- wives of the chiefs." Linderman's American, giving Plenty Coups account of battle, at p. 171, describes Henry's being thrown from the mule litter. [JGC]."

(Sheet 3, missing)

"--- Gen. Custer" (evidently referring to Gen. Custer's command, [JGC]) "and she married a second time. She died at Fort Abraham Lincoln, Dakota, in 1879, and it was discovered that she was a man. This was never suspected. She had acted as midwife on many occasions. The other soldiers made much of her, and she of her second husband that they did not want to leave him. Commodore Cushing, U.S.N., says on p. 43 that he has La Belle Rose, the old chief's son, among his squaws on the list of Ojibway Indians near Pembina in 1850. Note, same page: "A berdache is any young man who affects the ways of a woman and suffers himself to be used as such (see Catlin's Plate 398, 4th Ed. 1844, at p. 214) It is curious to find the name in the list with the feminine article. Tanner, p. 105, speaks of this very person. Some time in the course of this winter there came to our lodge one of the sons of the celebrated Ojibway chief Weak-kc-bug (Le Sucre) who lives at Leech Lake.

..."
This man was one of those who make themselves women and are called women by the Indiana. There are several of this sort among most, if not all, the Indian tribes. They are commonly called A-go-kwa, a word which is expressive of their condition. This creature called Okiam-wen-dib (Tha: Yellowhead) was now near fifty years old and had lived with many husbands. Tanner goes on to say that the men who are troubled with the great troubles in escaping from the disgusting advances which she or it made.

The work of Dr. Washington Matthews on the Ethnography and Philology of the Fidates Indians has, p. 191, Mia (Mia a bia) means a woman. Mi-a-ti, from mia, a man who dresses in a woman's clothes and performs the duties usually allotted to women in an Indian camp. Such are called by the French Canadians 'berdaches,' and by most whites are incorrectly supposed to be hermaphrodites. (Their) occupations and language are those of a woman. (Note on side of Ma, running over to bottom of page): 'Henry further records, p. 185: 'Berdash, a small and undeveloped Indian tribe in Nebraska, has give an account of a dance to the war. This person is a curious compound between a man and a woman. He is a man both as to members and courage, but pretends to be womanish, and dresses as such. His walk and mode of sitting, his manners, occupations and dress is both of a man, his father who is a great chief amongst the Saulteurs' "(Ojibways)"
cannot persuade him to act like a man. About a month ago in a drinking match he got into a quarrel and had one of his eyes knocked out" (Sheet 5, marked by mistake sheet 6) 'with a club. He is very troublesome when drunk. He is very fleet and a few years ago was reckoned the best runner among the Saulteurs. Catlin gives an account of a dance to the Berdashes (in 1841) II p. 314, with a Plate (396) showing a man dressed in women's clothes, surrounded by men dancing and brandishing arms. This by the Saos and Foxes. 'This is a very funny and amusing scene which happens once a year, and oftener if they choose, when a feast is given to the 'Berdash' (as if there was but one) as he is called in French (or I-o-o-o-o-o-a in their own language) who is a mandresscd in women's clothes, as he is known to be all his life and for extraordinary privileges which he is known to possess - he is driven to the most servile and degrading duties which he is not allowed to escape - and he being the only one of the tribe submitting to this disgraceful degradation is looked upon as 'medicine' and sacred and a feast is given him annually, and initiatory to it, a dance by those few young men of the tribe who can as in the sketch, dance forward and publicly make their boast (without denial of the Berdashes) that etc. such and such only are allowed to enter the dance and partake of the feast and as there are but a precious few in the tribe who have legitimately gained this singular privilege or willing to make a public confession of it, it will be seen that the society consists of quite a limited number of 'odd fellows.' This is one of the most unaccountable and disgusting customs that I have ever met in the Indian country and so far as I have been able to learn belongs only to the Sioux and Saos and Foxes - perhaps it is practiced by other tribes but I did not meet with it, and for further account of it I am constrained to refer the reader to the country where it is practiced and where I should wish it might be extinguished before it be more fully recorded.' From this quotation we may gather 1st. that there was but one 'Berdash' among the Saos and Foxes at the time of Catlin's visit. 2nd. That the custom was found among the Sioux. 3. That although Catlin had visited many other tribes, the custom was not conspicuous enough for him --- to know of its existence among them."

From Henry, "Studies in the psychology of Sex, Vol. I. Sexual inversion by Havelock Ellis. Waterford, England, London & Leipzig, University Press, Limited, 1900. P. 2. Congenital sexual inversion, i.e., sexual instinct turned by inborn constitutional abnormality towards persons of the same sex, is a comparatively rare phenomenon, so far as our knowledge at present stands. Sexual attraction between persons of the same sex due merely to accidental absence of the natural objects of sexual attraction is on the other hand of universal occurrence among all human races and among most of the higher animals. P. 3. Trace of homosexual practices sometimes appear on a large scale among all subdivisions of the human race. P. 4. On looking at the phenomenon generally, so far as they (sic) have been recorded among various lower races, we seem bound to recognize that there is a wide spread natural instinct impelling men toward homosexual relationships; that this has been sometimes, though very exceptionally, seized upon and developed for advantageous social purposes, on the whole, however, unnatural intercourse (sodomy) has been regarded as an antisocial offense and punishable sometimes by the most serious penalties that could be invented. This was the case in ancient Mexico, in Peru, among the Persians, in China, among the Egyptians.ડેસ્ટ્રી-સ્ટીલ્યું લાખી હોય રહેતું."

JG. It flourished, for instance, among the Cathaginians and among the Normans, as well as among the warlike
Dorians, Scythians, Tartars and Celts, and when there was an absence of any strong moral feeling against, the instinct has been cultivated, idealized as a military virtue, partly because it counteracts the longing for the softening feminine influences of the home, and partly because it seems to have an inspiring influence in promoting heroism and heightening espirit du corps. Scandalous stories about Indians, also, of course, contributed to the future of America. The influence of the feminine arts has been very frequently observed. Sometimes they have" (Sheet 2) "been regarded by the tribes with honor, sometimes with indifference, sometimes with contempt, but they appear to be always tolerated." Lisiansky tells us that: Of all the customs of these Islanders (Aleuts) the most disgusting is that of men calling themselves "women," living with men and supplying the place of women. They are brought up from their infancy with females and taught all the feminine arts. They even assume the manner and dress of the women, so nearly a stranger would naturally take them for what they are not. This odious practice was formerly deemed a sign of more than average prosperity; it is now considered as fortunate; it is however, daily losing ground. -- P. 8. In Louisiana, Florida, Yucatan, etc., somewhat similar customs exist or have existed. In Brazil men are to be found dressed as women, and solely occupying themselves with feminine occupations, they are not very highly regarded. -- Among all the tribes of the Northwest United States, sexual inverts may be found. The invert is called a 'bote' (This word is used only among the Crow Indians, JGC) (not man not woman) by the Montana, and a bards, or half man, half woman, by the Washington Indians. (Bardash is a word of Arabic derivation introduced by the French, JGC) The bote has been carefully studied by Dr. A.B. Holder (New York Medical Journal, 7th December 1869). Dr. Holder finds that the bote wears woman's dress and that his speech and manners are feminine. The dress and manners are assumed in childhood, but no sexual practices take place until puberty. These consist in the practice of fellatio by the bote, who probably himself experiences the orgasm at the same time. The bote is not a pederast, although pederasty occurs among those Indians. Dr. Holder examined a bote who was splendidly made, prepossessing, and in perfect health. With much reluctance he agreed to a careful examination. The sexual organs were quite normal. -- Dr. Holder's careful description suggests a congenital element. -- On the whole the evidence shows that among the lower races homosexual practices are regarded with considerable indifference, and the real invert, if he exists among them, as doubtless he does exist, passes unperceived. -- Even in Europe today a considerable lack of repugnance to homosexual practices may be found among the lower classes. In this matter, as folklore shows, the uncultured man of civilization is linked to the savage. In England, I am told, the soldier" (Sheet 3) "often has no objections to prostitute himself to the 'swell' who pays him, although for pleasure he prefers to go to women, and Hyde Park is spoken of as the center of male prostitution. P. 15. What may be regarded as true sexual inversion can be traced in Europe from the beginning of the Christian era, especially among the lower classes, or over the borders of both. Homosexuality mingled with various other sexual abnormalities and excesses seems to have flourished in Rome during the Empire, and is well exemplified in the persons of many Emperors, Julius Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Trajan, Hadrian, Commodus, and Heliogabalus, many of them of great ability, and from a Roman standpoint of moral worth, are all charged on more or less solid evidence with homosexual practices. In Julius Caesar 'the husband of all women and the lover of all men' sexual activities have accompanied, as is sometimes seen, an excess of intellectual activity. -- Heliogabalus to have been a true sexual invert of feminine type - he dressed as a woman and was devoted to the men he loved. -- P. 13. Homosexual practices everywhere flourish and abound in prisons. -- The fact that homosexuality is especially common among men of exceptional intellect was long since noted by Dante (Inferno xlv). Note 1. Mantegazza remarks (Gli Amori dagli Uomini) that in the l'own restricted circle, he is acquainted with a French publicist, a German poet, and Italian statesman, and a Spanish jurist, all of whom acquire taste and ability in the male sex. Some are sexually unmixed; others have sexual excesses. In the Preface to his Psychopathia Sexualis, referring to numberless communications he has received from these 'stepchildren of nature,' remarks that the majority of writers are men of high intellectual, social position. Raffalovich (Urania, p. 197) names among distinguished inverts, Alexander the Great, Socrates, Sophocles, Pindar, Phedias, Epaminondas, Virgil, The Great Conde, Prince Eugene, etc. P. 17. Goethe, Moliere, Montaigne, Affieri, Casanova, etc. These writers also refer in the same connection to various" (Sheet 4) "kings and potentiates, including the Sultan Beber, Henry III of France, William II, Frederick II, James I, William II, and of Charles II and George III. Friedrich the Great and his brother, Heinrich, Popes Paul II, Sixtus IV, Julius II, Ludwig II of Bavaria, etc. Jacoby and many others have shown monarchical families are very subject to degeneration. P. 15. In modern Europe we find the strongest evidence of the presence of what may be fairly called true sexual inversion when we investigate the men of the Renaissance. The intellectual independence of those days and the influence of antiquity seem to have liberated and fully developed the impulses of those abnormal individuals.
ped’s big toe was on the right or left side of the foot, and became sadly perplexed when asked where the genitalia, etc., were placed.

From this evidence, it appears that Otata, in recounting these wonders to the Onate expedition, was not telling “tall tales” to strangers, but was giving them a rather complete account of his tribal mythology. It is entirely possible that Otata was a shaman, and, recognizing in Fray Escobar a kindred spirit, proceeded to swap notes with him, as a “professional courtesy.”

University of Colorado

THE FRANCISCANS RETURN TO ZUNI

The Franciscan Mission that was established in Zuni Valley in 1629 and after century-long vicissitudes abandoned in 1821 because of danger from Navaho and possibly because of the “small attendance of the inhabitants at church” (1813) was reestablished in 1920, and a church, double monastery, and school were built. At that time the federal Agent was Catholic and he greatly facilitated the reestablishment. Only a very small group of townspeople supported him. The general attitude was that Zuni religion being so exigent additional religious duties would be oppressive. In view of this negative, sometimes hostile, attitude, information about the reestablishment is of interest.

Through the Fathers Mr Adair reports (July, 1938) as follows: Fifty to sixty baptisms a year, mostly infants or children. Of the 160 children in the Mission school only eight were found to be unbaptized at the enrollment in 1937. (Baptism continues to be the popular rite of the Church!) Confirmation is not mentioned and inferably occurs rarely if at all. As far as I know it has rarely if ever been established among Pueblos. Two or three church marriages a year, young people who have gone through the Mission school. “Zuni prefer to marry in their own way so they can break off the marriage at any time they want.” The last sacrament for the dying is performed from twenty to thirty times a year. (A surprising frequency. Is final unction considered to be medicine? Dr Bunzel tells me that two days before he died Nick yielded to the solicitation of the Protestant Mission and was baptized. As Nick was affiliated with the Catholic group this rite could have meant nothing to him but “medicine.” His relatives refused to give the body to the Protestants for burial.) No burial has been made in the Catholic Mission cemetery. The churchyard of the church ruin in the heart of town is still used in the old way, burial on top of burial, the corpse transported and the grave dug by family connections.

The six Sisters visit the townspeople and in minor cases do a little nursing, more particularly in homes of Mission school children. There is a government district nurse in town, said not to be as well liked as the Sisters, and a government hospital four miles or more away to which people are often loath to send their sick.

The Mission school attendance (?) enrollment) is as noted 160 as against 125 in the Protestant church school and in the government day school, 200, with 25 in the government school at Nutria. The school children attend Sunday Mass as part of their curriculum.
Church attendance by adults appears to be negligible except at Easter and Christmas services when the church is packed. (No mention of presents or throw-aways, but there are free meals.) Even the children do not go to church in summer. In summer Mission activity abates: Sisters and the Father in charge are absent. Many Zuni families are away on their farms.

It would be interesting to learn current town opinions about the Mission. Adair was told by townsmen that the Sisters were kinder than Government nurse or teachers; also that people hung crosses and saint’s pictures in their houses only because they thought them pretty—this last from a notorious anti-Catholic. A townsman whose own children attended the Mission school said that after graduation young people do not go to the Mission, “there is nothing for them to go over there for.”

NEW YORK, N. Y.

THE LAST ZUNI TRANSVESTITE

In June, 1938 John Adair visited Zuni and took this picture of Kasinelu, the grandchild of Nauchi, famous Bow chief of Zuni at the end of the nineteenth century. Kasinelu is one of the four transvestites I described briefly in 1916. 1 Of the others Uk or Yuka who appeared to be a case of arrested development 2 died in 1937 about sixty years old; and Tsalatitsa 3 died in 1918, in middle age, of “acute indigestion.” (I talked with him that year; he had the manners and giggle of a woman; he was intelligent.) In 1918 Laspeke (Laspiik) the little boy not quite feminized I also saw again. He was carrying his little sister on his back in a blanket as a girl or woman carries a baby. But Laspeke, in a White man’s terms “a very nice looking boy, rather a sissy,” was sent to one of the Indian boarding-schools and has since become cook to an American roadmaking labor gang—another way of doing women’s work!

Since Laspeke, no boy in the last twenty years has shown any promise of transvestism. Kasinelu, the clever potter and plasterer, is therefore the only surviving transvestite in Zuni, and almost certainly will be the last one. As in the case of Laspeke American influence will work against the trait. There was also some degree of native resistance at Zuni although, as Dr. Hill indicates (American Anthropologist, N.S., 40: 338-340), it was less than among the Pima. Kasinelu’s mother and grandmother were compliant, but his grandfather Nauchi tried to shame the boy from turning girl. Nauchi was a warrior.

There are two lines of development discernible for transvestism among Pueblos: the authentic lifelong economic line of which the source or history is obscure and the motivation merely a preference for women’s work; and the pseudo or temporary

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1 The Zuni Lamana, American Anthropologist, XVIII (1916), 521-528.
2 People laughed at him because he talked back like a child at the children who teased him and because he went on using men’s words, for example, saying ikina for younger sister as would a man, instead of kuni, as would a woman.
3 This was his feminine name; his masculine name had been Tsiamuní. Kasinelu did not change his name.
ritual line of burlesque or dance in which clowns or dancers take on parts of women's array or impersonate women. Here motivation is twofold: contrary behaviour is funny and so is a general feature of professional burlesque or clowning, and being laughed at, not with, is punitive and so unsuccessful warriors have to dress like wom-
en who do not fight. The Zuni kachina who was captured in the mythical Ky'ana-kwe fight was made to put on a woman's dress in order to break his spirit—he was rebelling against taking part in the celebration of his capture. He was in Zuni theory the first transvestite. In another Zuni version the first transvestite was the elder sister of the Koyemshi clowns. In other words in Zuni opinion the practive had some association with war and with clowning.

There is a general Pueblo war-clown complex which among Tewa emphasizes change of sex. Also the Tewa hunter outdone by a girl in pursuing a rabbit had to exchange garments with her until he gave her another rabbit (Bandelier). These rabbit hunts with the girls are generally directed by the clown societies and, among Keres, at the request of the masked dancers. Possibly hunt and war transvestism was derived from Plains Indians; and possibly it was carried along into the late dance cult that derived in part from hunt or war dances, the masked dancer or kachina cult. Passing from an antifeminist culture like the Plains into a feminist culture like the Pueblo the trait of exchanging sex would tend to lose punitive character or disappear as it does in the Keresan rabbit hunt with the girls. In Bandelier's novel the Keres travellers from the south who come upon the disguised and penalized Tewa rabbit hunters can interpret their woman's dress only as clowning.

NEW YORK CITY

ELFIE CLEWS PARSONS

NOTE ON RICHARD SCHULTES' "THE APPEAL OF PEYOTE."

Richard Schultes' paper on "The Appeal of Peyote," in the recent Anthropologist, is ably argued, but contains some misconceptions, I think, which should be pointed out. Mr Schultes' general thesis is (p. 704) that "the peyote vision has been incidental while the medicinal reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult in the United States."

In section IV, paragraph 4, he argues that even in Mexico the medicinal virtues of the plant over-topped the importance of the visions. This may be so, yet the preceding paragraphs of evidence he cites for this do not appear to me to support the thesis, for it was the visions which accounted for the use of peyote in prophecy etc. (compare the "death vine," datura, cohoba snuff, yahé etc. in native America). Indeed, even in Mexico some of the authorities Schultes cites mention the vision. Further, Humboldt's term "curing" in Mexican peyotism is used in a special sense: it is a prophylactic "baptism" ceremony, rather than a therapeutic medicinal cure, a ritual to protect a group, not to cure an individual invalid. Furthermore (p. 706), the use of peyote in battle is surely as much for its supernatural vision-produced "power" as for its "stimulating" properties.

Again, Mr. Schultes argues (p. 707) that the healing power of peyote was the most important element in enabling peyotists to sweep aside conservative tribal opposition, and cites Radin to this end; but Radin mentions in the quotation "the glorious visions" of peyote-intoxication also. I think, indeed, a mere new plant medi-
this or coition. (Each puts a piece in the mouth and they proceed with the most complete realism of action, but without exposure, to imitate the sexual act. When through, he tumbles off with a goran as if completely exhausted).

SHE (Spitting the fruit from her mouth). -- The hoshkawn is sweet, but not half so sweet as what we have been doing. (She rises, takes a handful of dust from the ground, and acts as if scattering it on the vulva. They put the fruit into the basket and depart).

The spectators of this scene are persons of both sexes -- married and unmarried -- and of all ages; a most promiscuous audience. The act of dusting the vulva I have heard of as done by Indian women of other tribes in the arid region after the act of coition al fresco. The dialogue given above was obtained for me by Mr. A.M. Stephen of Keam's Canyon, Arizona, who witnessed with me the night ceremonies of November 5th, 1882, and next day, learned the words of the play from the man who enacted the part of the woman. I have since heard other versions of the dialogue, but none superior to this. W.M.
who would otherwise have found no clear expression and passed unnoticed. Marot, for instance, a distinguished French humanist, was through his whole life the victim of his homosexual impulses. — Michael Angelo, one of the very chief artists of the Renaissance period we cannot now doubt was sexually inverted. P. 34. Plato was perverted sexually. P. 35. Westphal, an eminent professor of psychiatry at Berlin may be said to be first to put the study of sexual inversion on an assured scientific basis in 1870. He published a detailed history of a young woman who from her earliest years was sexually inverted — or, in his own language, "only living for her body" — as she grew up was sexually attracted only to women with whom she formed a series of under (sic) relationships in which the friends obtained sexual gratification by mutual caresses. — Westphal perceived that this abnormality was congenital, not acquired, so that it could not be termed a vice. — He gave to this condition the name of 'contrary sexual feeling,' by which it is known now in Germany. P. 36. The man, however, who has done more than any one else to bring" (Sheet 5) "the phenomena of sexual inversion had not been concerned with either the medical or legal aspects of the matter, Carl Heinrich Ulrichs, who for many years expounded and defended homosexual love — as he himself sexually perverted. P. 36. Of much more importance in the history of the theory of sexual inversion is the work of Dr. R. von Krafft-Ebing. This writer, who stands at the head of Austrian psychiatric metico-legal authorities, is now professor of psychiatry and nervous diseases at Vienna. Since 1877 he has taken an acute interest in all the various forms of sexual perversion, and his great work, Psychopathia sexualis, which is in the 8th Edition (1893) contains 200 histories, mostly original cases, is the best known book on the subject of sexual perversion, and the chief storehouse of facts. — P. 31. In 1881 Dr. Albert Moll of Berlin published his work, which contains the first catalogue of cases of sexual inversion that may be regarded as the foundation of the whole the most important discussion of sexual inversion which has yet appeared. In America Hammond, Kiernan and Lydston have for years been devoted to the study of this matter. P. 107. In the other 39 cases the abnormal instinct began in early life, without previous attraction to the opposite sex. In eleven it dates from about puberty, usually beginning in school. In 19 cases the tendency began before puberty; in 14 cases between the ages of 9 and 11, and eleven usually between 7 and 9. While in the other 3 cases the instinct began to manifest itself as early as the subject can remember, P. 130. Note, Krafft-Ebing asserts that inversion is a degenerative phenomenon. A functional sign of the nervous system and insanity or involution is equally a sport or variation — one of those organic aberrations which we see through (—) — nature in plants and animals. P. 140. The average invert moving in ordinary society, is most usually a person of average general health, though very "(Sheet 3) "markedly neurotic. He is usually the subject of a congenital predisposing abnormality, or complexion of minor abnormalities, which make it difficult or impossible for him to feel sexual attraction to his own sex (sic). P. 136. Moral attitude. The remainder, a large majority, (including all the women) are emphatic in their assertion that their moral position is precisely the same as that of the Irish and the French. They have regarded inverted love as nobler than ordinary sexual love. P. 108. Laws. The only European countries in which homosexuality per se remains a penal offense appears to be Germany, Austria, Russia, and England. — P. 151. The existing law of England is severe and simple carnal knowledge per anum of the man, woman or animal is a felony punishable by penal servitude from life as a maximum to 10 years as a minimum. The Code Napoleon does not recognize homosexuality or make it an offense, and there is no law to punish it per se in France or Italy. It is said to be more prevalent in Germany and England where the law forbids it with strong penalties, than in France and Italy where there are no penalties. P. 155. I do not know whether it has been pointed out that in the evolution of culture the popular (attitude) towards homosexuality has passed through three different stages, roughly corresponding to the stages of savagery, barbarism and civilization. At first it is a problem of economics, of over or under population, and it is forbidden or allowed accordingly. Then as throughout the Middle Ages, from the time of Justinian, it became primarily a matter of religion, and thus an act of sacrilege. Now we hear little of either its economic aspects or its sacrilegious. It is for us primarily a disgusting abomination in a matter of taste, of aesthetics, and while un- speakably ugly to a majority, it is proclaimed as beautiful by a small minority. P. 157. Inversion is an aberration from the usual course of nature, P. 136. In France since the days of Morel the stigmata of degeneration are much spoken of. Sexual inversion is generally regarded as one of them, i.e., as an episodic symptom of an hereditary disease having its place beside other psychic stigmata, such as kleptomania and pyromania. Krafft-Ebing also regards inversion — strictly speaking the invert is degenerate. He has fallen away from the genus. So is every blindness. (?)" (Sheet 7.) "P. 185, Appendix D. Gives an account of the countess Sarotta and celebrated case of a woman living in men's clothes. (1863). She gave her name as Count Sander and married a woman.
Appendix calls him a man-woman. P. 10. A fact patent to all observers that simple folk display no disgust for the abnormalities of sexual appetite than they do for its normal manifestations. (Note, p. 11). In further illustration of this I have been told that among the common people there is often no feeling against connection with a woman per annum, and that it is common in Venice. This implies no special stigma to either party, but is meant to indicate the utmost degree of intimacy. P. 23. In his brief glance at some of the ethnographic, historical and literary aspects of homosexual passion, there is one other phenomenon which must be mentioned. This is the curious fact that we find a special proclivity to homosexuality among certain races and in certain regions. On the whole this proclivity seems more common in the hotter regions of the globe. In Europe it is probably best illustrated by the case of southern Italy, which in this respect is totally different from northern Italy, although Italians generally are franker than men of northern race in admitting their sexual practices. How far the homosexuality of Southern Italy may be due to Greek influences and Greek blood, it is not at present easy to say. It must (be) remembered that in dealing with a northern country, like England, and in the present volume I am dealing chiefly with England, homosexual phenomena do not present themselves in the same way as they do in Southern Italy, or in ancient Greece. In Greece the homosexual impulse was recognized and idealized. A man could be an open homosexual lover, and yet like Epaminondas be a great and honored citizen of his country. But it is quite otherwise in a country like England or the United States. Here all our tradition, all our moral ideas, as well as the law, are energetically opposed to every manifestation of homosexual passion. It requires a very strong impetus to go against this compact social force, which on every side constrains the individual into the paths of heterosexual love. This impetus in a well bred individual, who leads the normal life of his fellow men, and who feels the ordinary degree of respect for the social feeling around him, can only be supplied by a fundamental usually inborn.

(End of Scott Manuscript on Bertahe).

5th Fragment. From Scott Manuscript, Miscellaneous Papers, Files of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, entitled: "Sioux Indians, Standing Rock, Fort Peck, and Brule Sioux." Single sheet; a Fragment headed, "Popular, Montana, September 14, 1919." On reverse side of this sheet, the following:

WINTA. I knew one Brule named Spotted Hawk, and one Minneconjou named "Big fat man," Big Fatman had a dream in which a black tailed deer told him he must be a woman — do everything and dress like a woman or he would not live long. Spotted Hawk used to be very quarrelsome when young. He had a dream in which a woman told him he must dress like a woman, and do things a woman does. The people did not think much of them. Spotted Hawk was married to a man named Black Tiger and died here — she was very rich — had many horses — she made fine mocassins and did everything a woman does — they were not —— (End of fragment).
This is one of the saddest pages in the history of human delinquincies. The motives that bring to pederasty a man originally (566) sexually normal and of sound mind are various. It is used temporarily as a means of sexual satisfaction faute de mieux - as in infrequent cases of bes- tiality - where abstinence from normal sexual indulgence is enforced. (footnote: Lomboks, 'her Verbrecher,' p. 30 et seq. shows that also, in case of animals, intercourse with the same sex occurs where normal indulgence is impossible.) It thus occurs on shipboard, during long voyages, in prisons, in watering-places, etc. It is highly probable that, among men subjected to such conditions, there are single individuals of low morals and great sensuality, or actual urgings, who seduce the others. Lust, imitation and desire further their purpose.

The origin of the sexual instinct is most markedly shown by the fact that such circumstances are sufficient to overcome repugnance for the unnatural act. Another category of pederasts is made up of old royes that have become super- satiated in normal sexual indulgence, and who find in pederasty a means of exciting sensual pleasure, the act being a new method of stimulation. Thus they temporarily renew their power, that has been psychically and physically reduced to so low a state. The new sexual situation makes them, so to speak, relativety potent, and renders pleasure possible that is no longer found in the normal intercourse with women. In time power to indulge in pederasty also rickets, and the individual thus finally be reduced to passive pederasty as a stimulus to make possible temporary active pederasty; just as occasionally, flagellation or looking at obscene acts (Mascha's case of mutilation of animals) is resorted to for the same purpose.

The termination of sexual activity expresses itself in all kinds of abuse of children - parricide, fellatio, and other enormities. This kind of pederasty is the most dangerous, since they deal mostly with boys, and ruin them in body and soul.

(567) In reference to this, the experiences of Tarnowsky, (op. cit. p. 53 et seq.), gathered from society in St. Petersburg, are terrible. The places where pederasty is cultivated are institutes. Old royes and urgings play the role of seducers. At first it is difficult for the person to carry out the disgusting act. Fancy is made to assist by calling up the image of a woman. Gradually, with practice, the unnatural act becomes easy, and at last the individual, like one debased by masturbation, becomes relatively impotent for women, and lustful enough to find pleasure in the perverse act. Such individuals, under circumstances, give themselves for money.

As Tardey, Hofmann, Simon, and Taylor show, such friends are not infrequently found in large cities. From numerous statements made to us by urgings, it is learned that actual prostitution and houses of prostitution for male-loving men exist in large cities. The arts of coquetry used by these male prostitutes are noteworthy - ornament, perfumes, feminine styles of dress, etc., to attract pederasts and urgings. This imitation of feminine peculiarities is spontaneous and unconscious in congenital and in some acquired cases of (abnormal) anti- pathetic sexual instinct.

The following lines are of interest to the psychologist, and may give the officers of the law important clues concerning the social life and practice of pederasts.


The "amatours" ("rivettes") are debauched persons, frequently of congenital sexual inversion, of position and fortune, who are forced to guard themselves against detection in the gratification of their homosexual desires. For this purpose they visit brothels, lodging-houses, or the private houses of female houses of female prostitutes, who are usually on good terms with male prostitutes. Thus they escape blackmail.

(568) Some of these "amatours" are bold enough to indulge in their vile desires in public places. They run the risk of arrest, but in a large majority little risk of blackmail. Danger is said to add to their secret pleasure, The "entrepreneurs" are old sinners who, even the danger of falling into the hands of blackmailers, cannot deny themselves the pleasure of keeping a (male) "mistress."

The "souteneurs" are pederasts that have been punished, who keep their "issus," whom they send out to entice customers ("faire chanter les rivettes"), and who then, at the right moment if possible, appear for the purpose of plucking the victim.
Not infrequently they live together in bands, the members, in accordance with individual desire, living together as husbands and wives. In such bands there are formal marriages, betrothals, banquets and introductions of brides and grooms into their apartments. These "souteneurs" train up their "Jesus." The passive pederasts are "petits jesus," "Jesu," or "sants." The most depraved children, placed by accident in the hands of active pederasts, who seduce them, and reveal to them the horrible means of earning a livelihood, either as "entreteneur" or as male street-walkers, with or without "souteneurs." The eldest and choicest "petits jesus" are those trained by persons who instruct these children in the art of female dress and manner. Gradually they emancipate themselves from teacher and master, in order to become "femmes entreteneur," not infrequently by means of anonymous denunciation of their "souteneurs" to the police. It is the object of the "souteneur" and the "petit jesus" to make the latter appear young as long as possible by means of all the arts of the toilet. The limit of age is about twenty-five years; when they all become "Jesus" and "femmes entreteneur," and are then often sustained by several "souteneurs." The "Jesu" fall into three categories: "filles galantes," i.e., those that have fallen again into the hands of a "souteneur," "pierreauses" (ordinary street-walkers, like their female colleagues); and "domestiques." The "domestiques" hire themselves out to active pederasts, either to gratify their desires or to obtain "petits jesus" for them. A sub-group of these "domestiques" is formed by such of them as enter the service of "petits jesus" as "femmes de chambre." The principal object of these "domestiques" is to use their positions to obtain compromising knowledge, with which they later practice blackmail, and thus assure themselves ease in their old age. The most horrible class of active pederasts is made up of the "sants," i.e., the "souteneur" of (male) prostitutes, - who, though normal sexually, are morally depraved, and practice pederasty (passive) only for gain or for the purpose of blackmail. The wealthy "amateurs" have their reunions and places of meeting, where the passive ones appear in female attire, and horrible orgies take place. The waiters, musicians, etc., at such gatherings are all pederasts. The "filles galantes" do not venture, except during the carnival, to show themselves in the streets in female attire; but they know how to lend to their appearance something indicative of their calling by means of style of dress, etc. They entice by means of gesture, peculiar movements of their hands, etc., and lead their victims to hotels, baths, or brothels. What the author says of blackmail is generally known. There are cases where pederasts have allowed their entire fortune to be wrung from them. That these monstrosities of large cities in the shape of "petits jesus" are not only the product of professional training, but rather of a degenerated mental condition is apparent from the researches made by Laurent ("Les bisexus," Paris, 1884). He describes on page 175 (590) of his book under the title of "Hermaphroditisme artificiel" manifestations of "effemination" and "infantilism." They refer to boys who with incipient puberty show no further development of the frame and the genital organs, have no growth of hair about the face or pubes, do not change the voice and are retrograde in their mental faculties. Often it happens that in such cases secondary physical and psychical female characteristics of sexuality are developed. A post mortem of such "petits garroches" (Brourdel) reveals a small bladder, mere rudiments of the prostate, absence of ischio and bulbocavernosus muscles, infantile penis, and a very narrow pelvis. They are beyond doubt heavily tainted individuals who have experienced at the time of puberty a sort of rudimentary sexual change. Laurent (p. 181) makes the interesting remark, that from the ranks of these "Infantiles" and "Effeminates" the professional passive pederasts ("Petits Jesus") are recruited. It is evident, therefore, that the human monstrosities are predestined for and trained, so to speak, in their abominable career by degenerative and anthropological factors.