

When Strangers Met: Sex and Gender on Three Frontiers

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Albert Hurtado shifts our focus from women's survival strategies to the systems of constraint that often endangered their survival. He does this by exploring the most intimate of "cross-cultural exchanges," sexual relationships. Sex, like other basic activities such as eating and sleeping, might appear to be one constant of human relationships, and thus outside the range of history. Hurtado demonstrates that sex, too, is a social and historical category by showing how understandings of sexuality differed vastly among Spaniards, Euro-Americans, and various Indian peoples. In particular, Spanish Mexican and American gender systems had no equivalent for a variety of Indian cross-gender roles, which allowed some people to assume the roles of the other sex. In some cultures, they were actually understood to be the other sex; in others they constituted a third gender, neither traditionally male nor female. Men who adopted cross-gender roles, often called berdache, could only be understood as homosexuals by Europeans, who likewise misinterpreted Indian women's sexuality in many instances. Hurtado explores how these differences, coupled with vastly unequal power relationships, affected Indian women on three frontiers—in California under the Spanish mission system and later during the gold rush and in the Upper Missouri during the fur trade.

The evidence is grim. Indian women, Hurtado suggests, were subject to enormous abuse, including rape, venereal disease, and slavery. His research paints a picture vastly different from that suggested by histories of Indian-white relationships in other circumstances, particularly the marriages "according to the custom of the country" among European men and Indian women during the early Canadian fur trade.¹ We need to consider differences in the Europeans' enterprises, economies, and social expectations on various frontiers, as well as variations in Indian cultures, as we untangle what "intimacy" meant in different circumstances.

In the meanwhile, Hurtado offers an important caution. In our desire to recognize the historical agency of women and racial ethnic peoples, we must not ignore the realities of exploitation and abuse or the very limited options many people confronted. Systems of social constraint could sometimes be very constraining indeed. And, as Hurtado reminds us, in order to be able to exercise historical agency, one must first survive.

The West of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a cosmopolitan place—a meeting ground for people of disparate cultures and conflicting motives. Equipped with widely different ideas about correct social behavior, Indians, Hispanos, Anglos, and others frequently misunderstood and mistrusted each other. Yet these people who met as strangers came to live in close association for decades and often entered into sexual relationships—marriage, long-term cohabitation, and briefer connections as well. In some cases these intimate relationships softened the racial friction and violence that so often characterized the frontier. Especially in the fur trade Indian women joined with white men to make families that were the backbone of the trade and frontier society. These relationships produced mixed-blood (*métis*) children who populated the Great Lakes and Canadian frontiers.² In what is now the southwestern United States, the Spanish American frontier assumed a racially and culturally mixed character that in many ways resembled that of Mexico. Marriages and informal alliances between Indians, Spaniards, and others produced a mixed race, or “*mestizo*,” population that dominated the Hispanic settlements of the region.³ Such unions were, as Richard White has said of the Great Lakes region, “a bridge to the middle ground, an adjustment to interracial sex in the fur trade where the initial conceptions of sexual conduct held by each side were reconciled in a new customary relation.”⁴

The bridge provided some Indian women with new, albeit sometimes fleeting, survival routes in a changing world. Yet not all Indians could or would cross that bridge, and some of those who did found that the path was very rough going. This essay will compare several very different people, places, and circumstances—the Franciscan missions, Upper Missouri fur trade, California gold rush, Indians and whites from various nations. It focuses particularly on the experiences of Indian women and to a lesser extent on the *berdache*, a class of morphological males who dressed and acted as women.⁵ The *berdache* and the women in these stories probably represent a minority example in the range of Indian experiences, yet they serve to emphasize a major theme of this essay. Changes in social and economic relations put some people at risk—notably the *berdache* and women who were particularly vulnerable. At the same time that some couples built lasting relationships that benefited both parties, interracial sexuality exacerbated Indian-white conflict and violence. While some newcomers welcomed the seemingly open sexual possibilities of the frontier, they usually condemned—at least in public—behavior that challenged conventional European ideas about gender. The intimate experiences of Indians and whites that are presented here are not merely idiosyncratic episodes that are unconnected to the main currents of American history.⁶ On the contrary, their sexual histories illustrate how broad-based historical change affected personal life.

Concepts about sex and gender are at the heart of this matter. Sexuality, as John D’Emilio and Estelle Freedman have argued, “has been continually reshaped by the changing nature of the economy, the family, and politics.”⁷ Sexuality is a part of gender relations, a social construction

that varies according to time and circumstances.⁸ The historical analysis of gender, feminist scholar Carroll Smith-Rosenberg asserts, "forces us to reconsider our understanding of the most fundamental ordering of social relations, institutions of social relations, institutions and power arrangements within the society we study."⁹ Thus, this essay, which is focused on a particular aspect of gender relations, illuminates some of the challenges to Indian societies that were in contact with unusual new cultures in North America. In addition, it explains some of the results—whether intended or not—of the colonization of Indian resources and society.

Needless to say, it is a difficult task to disclose the private lives of any group, much less people who did not leave a personal record of their innermost thoughts and feelings. Moreover, much of what we know of Indian history comes from the writings of white men, most of whom had ethnocentric biases as well as the preoccupations of their gender.¹⁰ Still, the perspective of ethnohistory permits the cautious use of these sources to unravel some of the complex mysteries of sex and gender in the multi-ethnic American West of more than a century ago.

To begin to understand what happened, we must first know something of Indian, Hispanic, and Anglo ideas about sex and gender. Though sexual norms varied from tribe to tribe, it is fair to generalize that Indians had different ideas about sexuality than did Europeans. The Blackfeet, for example, considered it a disgrace for a young girl to become pregnant before marriage, yet anthropologist John C. Ewers reports that "chastity before marriage was more an ideal than a reality." Blackfeet men bragged of their conquests of single and married women alike.¹¹ Plains Indians generally tolerated premarital and extramarital sex among men but sought to maintain the virtue of women. A girl's reputation for chastity, or lack of it, affected her chances of marrying well. Nevertheless, love affairs, adultery, and elopements occurred among Plains Indians.¹² Serial monogamy was the usual marital pattern, but polygyny was also accepted, especially for chiefs, shamans, and other powerful people.¹³ Divorce was usually easily effected if one partner wanted it. Public ceremonial sexual practices were also known in some tribes, particularly the northern Plains Indians with their buffalo-calling ceremony. Women took lovers, but at their own risk, for their husbands might punish them if they found out. On the other hand, husbands might lend their wives to visitors or trade their sexual services for goods. However, these arrangements were thought of as gift-giving, part of the endless round of reciprocity that marked Indian life. True prostitution—sex as a purely commercial transaction—was rare among Indians before the arrival of Europeans, if it existed at all.

California poses special difficulties in describing sexual behavior and gender roles before European contact. There were more than one hundred distinct groups within the current state boundaries, each with its own language and customs. Nevertheless, patterns emerge from the anthropological literature on the tribes that inhabited the regions that came under mission influence. As with other Indian tribes, it was important for

children to marry well. With most tribes premarital sex did not seem to be a matter of great importance. After marriage, however, fidelity was expected and husbands had the authority to punish their errant wives. The Chumash, who lived in the Santa Barbara Channel region, permitted husbands to whip their adulterous wives. To the north, not far from Monterey Bay, a wronged Esselin husband could demand an indemnity payment from his wife's lover. In the Los Angeles region, a Gabrielino cuckold could claim the wife of his wife's lover. Yet the women in these unions possessed some power of their own over their sexual lives. They could divorce husbands who were cruel or who were otherwise not to their liking. As with the Plains tribes serial monogamy was a common marital pattern and polygyny was one of the privileges that came with wealth, power, and high status.¹⁴

Many tribes on the plains and in California also tolerated—perhaps even respected—the *berdache*, although this is a matter of current debate. It is not altogether clear that the *berdache* engaged in homosexual acts in all tribes, but in some cases they did. More importantly, a *berdache* was not viewed as a deviant male, but as an embodiment of male and female characteristics. In some tribes the *berdache* were regarded as a third gender, endowed with special spiritual attributes and other qualities. When they were so regarded, or when they were regarded sexually as women, their sexual unions with men were not understood as homosexual. Often chiefs would take a *berdache* as a second wife. Unmarried *berdache* often took serial lovers who were regarded as perfectly normal men.¹⁵ In some tribes women also cross-dressed and took on male roles.¹⁶ Such behavior struck Europeans as unnatural, lascivious, and wanton, even though native people regulated sexuality according to their own customs.

Indian sexuality reflected Indian gender roles that differed radically from European norms. Fertility and birth made the power of Indian women palpable to tribesmen. Many Indian societies were matrilineal. In some California tribes women could be shamans and chiefs. Women engaged in other activities that Europeans regarded as men's work, e.g., farming, skinning, butchering. In some tribes, women had considerable control over their sexual lives.¹⁷ Nevertheless, marriage was an important arrangement that established kinship between families, and while women usually could refuse an unwanted union, their families applied pressure to secure especially valuable alliances. The widespread practice of giving the prospective bride's family a gift (sometimes called a "bride price") emphasized reciprocal exchange between families rather than the outright purchase of the woman. While husbands in some tribes—especially on the northern plains—gave or gambled away their wives' sexual service, the wives were not free to dispense favors on their own and risked severe punishment if they did.¹⁸

Indians' sex and gender customs differed from the sexual ideology of Christian Europeans in many respects. Protestants and Catholics alike condemned extramarital sex, homosexuality, and polygamy. Divorce was

difficult or impossible to obtain, and—ideally—the brides and grooms who approached the marriage altar were virgins. Ideas about sexual desire in women changed markedly from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. In the mid-1700s the notion that women enjoyed sex found wide support, but sex was for procreation and not pleasure alone.¹⁹ In the following century, however, a new idea took root. Women, according to some physicians and social ideologues, were frail, nervous, and uninterested in sex except as an act necessary to procreation. Women's challenges to male authority and the uncertainties of modernizing America inspired these theories that seemed to consign women to child rearing and household chores.²⁰ These theories about women's sexual nature fit well with the cult of true womanhood, which required them to be pure, pious, and domestic. Moreover, women were thought to exert a civilizing influence on men who had naturally coarse instincts.

Despite—or perhaps because of—the strictures that society placed on sexual behavior, illicit sex flourished in eastern cities even though prostitution seemed to be at odds with prevailing moral standards. Society tolerated the institution in part because it was believed that men were virile and aggressive, while women seldom wanted or enjoyed sex. This belief drove single and married men to brothels to satisfy their animal urges, while women remained at home in blissful ignorance, or perhaps grateful that they did not have to submit to their spouses' base instincts.²¹

A comparison of Anglo and Hispanic sexual attitudes and practices shows similarities and differences. Ideally, Hispanic women were secluded, except when closely chaperoned, to protect their chastity and the honor of their male relatives. In practice women had greater latitude of action than the ideal permitted, especially in frontier regions. Hispanic ideas about female sexuality also differed from Anglo theories. According to Anglo standards, normal women were sexually anesthetic, but in Hispanic lore, Latinas were easily seduced, partly because they were physically weaker than men and partly because women were incapable of mastering their own strong sexual impulses. Hispanic sexual life was further complicated because men acquired honor and status by seducing other men's wives and daughters. At the same time, the Catholic Church decreed that sex should be limited to the marriage bed for the sole purpose of procreation, which should be achieved through the so-called missionary position. All other sexual practices were sinful and prohibited.²² Spaniards did not always follow the sexual ideology that the church prescribed in their relations with Indians. While Crown and church permitted Spaniards to marry native people, informal sexual relationships also occurred with great regularity and resulted in a large mixed-race mestizo population.²³

In California's Franciscan missions, Spanish ideas about sex and gender contrasted sharply with local Indian traditions. Missions were supposed to inculcate Catholic and Spanish values in the Indians and prepare them for life as ordinary citizens. Guided by Catholic teachings, missionaries were determined to eradicate sinful behavior, including

common Indian practices like extramarital sex, easy divorce, homosexuality, and polygyny.²⁴ Thus, during confession, the friars took care to closely question neophytes about their sexual behavior.²⁵

Religious and lay Spaniards alike, who considered homosexuality an execrable sin against nature, one to be extirpated at all costs, had no other sexual framework within which to understand Indians' cross-gender roles. Much to the dismay of Spaniards, *berdache* Indians were ubiquitous in California. Captain Pedro Fages in 1775 reported that the Chumash were "addicted to the unspeakable vice of sinning against nature," maintaining that each *ranchería* had a transvestite "for common use." Fages apologized for even obliquely mentioning homosexuality because it was "an excess so criminal that it seems even forbidden to speak its name."²⁶ The missionary Pedro Font was more candid. He reported "sodomites addicted to nefarious practices" among the Yuma Indians and concluded that "there will be much to do when the Holy Faith and the Christian religion are established among them."²⁷

Other priests were as disturbed by *berdache* behavior as Font was. Father Francisco Palóu reported an incident at Mission San Antonio where a transvestite and another man were discovered "in an unspeakably sinful act." A priest, and two soldiers "punished them," Palóu revealed, "although not as much as they deserved." The horrified priest tried to explain to the Indians how terrible was their sin against nature only to be told that the two men were married. Palóu's reaction to this news was not recorded, but it is doubtful that he accepted it with equanimity. After a severe scolding, the couple left the mission vicinity. Palóu hoped that "these accursed persons will decrease, and such an abominable vice will be eradicated," as the Catholic faith increases "for the greater Glory of God and the good of those pitiful, ignorant people."²⁸

Civil and church officials agreed on the need to eradicate homosexuality as an affront to God and Spanish men alike. At Mission Santa Clara the fathers noticed an unconverted Indian who, though dressed like a woman and working among women, did not seem to have breasts, an observation that was made easier because Indian women traditionally wore only necklaces above the waist. The curious friars conspired with the corporal of the guard to take this questionable person into custody where he was completely disrobed, confirming that he was indeed a man. The poor fellow was "more embarrassed than if he had been a woman," according to one friar. For three days the soldiers kept him nude—stripped of his sexual identity—and made him sweep the plaza near the guardhouse—woman's work. He remained "sad and ashamed" until he was released under orders to abjure feminine clothes and stay out of women's company. Instead he fled from the mission to take up residence and a new transvestite life among gentiles.²⁹

The revulsion and violence that customary Indian sexual relations inspired in the newcomers must have puzzled and frightened native people. Formerly accepted as an ordinary part of social life, the *berdache* faced persecution at the hands of friars and soldiers. To the colonizers,

berdache were homosexuals and homosexual behavior was loathsome, one of many traits that convinced ethnocentric priests that California Indians were a backward race. In a word, they were "incomprehensible" to Father Geronimo Boscana. The "affirmative with them, is negative," he claimed "and the negative, the affirmative," a perversity that was clearly reflected in homosexuality. In frustration Boscana compared the California Indians with "a species of monkey."³⁰

Indian sexuality confounded Spaniards, but friars fretted over the sexual habits not only of neophytes. Some civilians and soldiers brought to California sexual attitudes and behavior that were at odds with Catholic and Indian values alike. Rape was a special concern of friars who condemned Spanish deviant sexual behavior in California.³¹ As early as 1772 Father Luís Jayme complained about some of the soldiers who deserved to be hanged for "continuous outrages" on the Diegueño women near the mission.³² Father Jayme worried that wanton soldiers would turn the Diegueños against the missions. "Many times," he asserted, the Indians were on the verge of attacking the mission because "some soldiers went there and raped their women." The situation was so bad that when the fathers approached the *rancherías* the Indians would flee, even risking hunger "so the soldiers will not rape their women as they have already done so many times in the past."

San Diego was not unique. Father Jayme complained that rapes had occurred at every mission. Junípero Serra, founder and father-president of the California missions, agreed with Jayme. Serra singled out Spanish muleteers who traveled between the missions as the worst perpetrators of sexual assaults. Rape, Serra believed, ultimately would alienate the Indians and imperil the mission system. The Indians, "until now as gentle as sheep," Serra wrote, "will turn on us like tigers."³³

Serra was a prophet. In 1775 eight hundred neophyte and gentile Diegueños, fed up with sexual assaults and chafing under missionary supervision, attacked Mission San Diego. They burned the mission and killed three Spaniards, including Father Jayme, beating his face beyond recognition.³⁴ As Jayme and Serra had predicted, sexual abuse made California a perilous place. Still, the revolt did not dissuade some Spaniards from sexual involvement with Indian women. In 1779 Serra was still criticizing the government for "unconcern in the matter of shameful conduct between the soldiers and Indian women," a complaint that may have included mutual as well as rapacious liaisons.³⁵

To reform Indian sexuality and protect unmarried female neophytes from Spanish assaults, friars closely watched their charges by day and kept them under lock and key at night. Unmarried men and women slept in separate quarters, although sexual segregation seems to have done little to halt illicit sexual behavior. Sherburne F. Cook, the foremost California Indian demographer, claimed that restrictions on sexuality may have induced neophytes to flee to the gentile tribes with whom they could enjoy life without unwanted sexual restrictions.³⁶ The 1824 Chumash rebellion is an illustrative case. During the revolt several hundred Santa Barbara



Monjerios, or girls' dormitories, like this reconstructed one at Mission La Purísima (California), were meant to keep young unmarried women from having voluntary sexual liaisons and to protect them from rape. Women were locked in such buildings every night. Unfortunately, the structures were unsanitary and poorly ventilated and contributed to the spread of diseases, which exacerbated the high death rates for women at the missions. (Courtesy *California History*.)

neophytes fled to the interior, where they exchanged women with Yokuts gentiles and abandoned other Catholic restrictions as well.³⁷

Even within the missions, the Franciscans' most stringent efforts did not stop determined neophytes from having forbidden sexual relations. In 1813 a Spanish government official sent a questionnaire to the missionaries inquiring about various aspects of mission Indian life. When asked about the vices most prevalent at each mission, the friars almost universally gave answers such as "impurity," "unchastity," "fornication," and "lust."³⁸ No doubt the friars had some individual successes in reforming Indian sexual behavior in the forty-four years that missions had existed, but according to their own reports, the missionaries had failed to inculcate Catholic sexual values in the neophytes.

But Spanish colonization had changed Indian sexual behavior in other ways. At the very least, sexual liaisons that were once accepted were now forbidden and had to be enjoyed furtively. There were other changes as well. Before Spaniards had arrived, true prostitution does not seem to have been customary in California, but during the mission era it became common.³⁹ A report of Father Jayme suggests how prostitution may have begun. In 1772 four soldiers raped two women at a ranchería known as El Corral. After the assault the soldiers tried to convert the act from rape

to prostitution by paying the women with some ribbon and a few tortillas. They also paid a neophyte man who had witnessed the assault and warned him not to divulge the incident. Insulted and angry, the Indians were not overawed by the rapists' threats and told Jayme. In retaliation the soldiers locked the neophyte man in the stocks, an injustice that outraged Jayme who personally released him.⁴⁰ These rapists had embarked on a program of sexual education. Food and gifts, they taught, could be had in exchange for sex.

Whether or not prostitution evolved from rapes, Spanish demands for sexual service led to the widespread sale of sex. Perhaps the adoption of prostitution was an Indian attempt to reduce the incidence of rape and exert some control over their sexual encounters with Spaniards. In any case, Indian men became involved as procurers. In 1780 Father Serra complained about a neophyte who procured women for the soldiers at Mission San Gabriel.⁴¹ A few years later a Spanish naturalist observed that the Chumash men had "become pimps, even for their own wives, for any miserable profit."⁴² So it would appear that the advent of prostitution was another unintended sexual result of the establishment of the California missions.

From a Catholic perspective the missions were failures as institutions of sexual reform, although they resulted in changes in Indian sexual life. From an Indian viewpoint the missionaries' intentions were not benign, but involved radical changes in all phases of Indian life. Franciscans railed bitterly against rape, prostitution, and other sexual practices that the Catholic Church condemned. Nevertheless, some Spaniards persisted in assaults and purchased sexual favors. Since many of these men were young unmarried soldiers, the existence of rape and prostitution in frontier California is not especially surprising. It is worth pointing out, however, that missions and presidios advanced together on the Spanish American frontier. Soldiers protected priests' lives and mission property. Without them the missions could not have endured. Thus, even though missionaries decried sexual brutality, their very presence promoted it. Spiritual, military, and sexual conquest went hand in glove on the California frontier.

Fur traders represented a far different aspect of European and American imperialism than did Franciscan missionaries. These expectant capitalists, as a historian has termed the traders, had material rather than spiritual goals in mind and pursued their vocation with hardly a shadow of humanitarian concern for their Indian clients.⁴³ Traders were not celibate by inclination or priestly vows. Because their business compelled them to live for extended periods among Indians, many traders married Indian women.⁴⁴

The Mandan and Hidatsa villages on the bluffs of the upper Missouri provide a commanding view of sex and gender at work in the fur trade. These Indians had been farmers and traders for generations before the first whites arrived at their villages in 1738. Strategically located where the expanding horse and gun frontiers met, Mandan and Hidatsa traders were

an important force on the upper Missouri in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁴⁵

Indian women were one of the prime attractions of the Missouri villages. In 1798 David Thompson, a North West Company trader, reported that his companions wanted to go to the Mandan communities chiefly for women. Thompson—like many other white visitors—remarked on the practice of providing “a bedfellow” to a traveler, adding, “if he has any property.”⁴⁶ Since traders often gave the women and their husbands presents, whites frequently equated the practice of wife lending with prostitution, but the Missouri tribes and other Plains Indians were involved in a far more complicated sexual enterprise than that. For them, the provision of a sexual partner was a matter of hospitality that cemented friendships and trading relationships. Moreover, they believed that coitus transferred power from one man to another, using the woman as a kind of transmission line. The Mandan institutionalized this principle in the buffalo-calling ceremony, a famous rite where old, respected hunters copulated with the wives of younger men who sought to invoke the elders’ spiritual aid. These acts also symbolized intercourse with life-giving buffalo, ensured fertility, and drew nigh the bison herds. Other tribes of the northern plains also practiced ritual intercourse.⁴⁷

The Indians who celebrated these rites no doubt considered their participation to be a sacred obligation, but when whites arrived on the scene the situation became confused. Mandans regarded fur traders as powerful persons, so whites were welcomed into the buffalo-calling ceremony, much to the carnal delight of the members of the Lewis and Clark expedition. As Pierre-Antoine Tabeau drolly remarked, the men of Lewis and Clark were “untiringly zealous in attracting the cow.”⁴⁸

Public sexual rites and the frank solicitations of Indian men and their wives were not the only erotic attractions of the Missouri villages. They were also slave marts where fur traders could purchase women. Slave women were captives from enemy tribes, often Shoshone, Sioux, and Arikara. Sacagawea, a Shoshone woman, was one of them. Her husband, Toussaint Charbonneau, purchased her and another young woman from Hidatsa traders sometime between 1800 and 1804.⁴⁹ The purchase of slave women for wives was not a romantic arrangement. Expedience and price were the main considerations of Francis A. Chardon who bought an Arikara woman at Fort Clark in 1838. His diary entry shows how casually such purchases were made. Tired of living alone, Chardon concluded “to buy myself a Wife, a young Virgin of 15—which cost \$150.” A month later Chardon received a present. An Arikara, or perhaps a Gros Ventre man, gave him a twelve-year-old Assiniboine girl, one of eight female captives taken during a fight that killed sixty-four of their kin.⁵⁰

Sacagawea, it is fair to say, is the best known of the luckless slaves who passed through the Missouri villages, but much about her life remains shrouded after her service with Lewis and Clark. Needless to say, we know far less about the uncounted anonymous women who shared her fate. The story of one of them, an extraordinary woman known only as

the "flying beauty," suggests how fortunate was Sacagawea. Her story comes to us through Charles McKenzie, a North West Company trader who visited the Mandans in 1805. A Mandan chief called him to his lodge and told him about a young Shoshone woman whom he had recently captured. The Mandan claimed that she was the greatest beauty of all the tribes and that he had saved her for McKenzie, knowing that he would pay a good price for her. He explained that he had "used her kindly," whatever that may have meant. She was all the more interesting because she been captured twice before, only to escape. Unfortunately for her Mandan captor, she had fled again, taking a horse and some weapons, leaving only memories of her uncommon beauty behind. "None of our women equal her," the chief said, "we know the white men would love her."⁵¹

Perhaps tired of hearing about the qualities of the escaped slave, an old blind woman interrupted. "I wish you had killed the B---h," she said. Not only had the Shoshone absconded, she had stolen the old woman's favorite knife. Encouraged by the outburst, a young girl added, "[T]he bad Slave has stolen my knife also—I wish she was dead!" Inspired by sentiments like these, four young Mandan men pursued the Shoshone, following the trail she made by digging camus roots for food. But the trail vanished at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, and the Mandans wandered aimlessly in unfamiliar territory. Meanwhile, the resourceful flying beauty had killed a buffalo, built a shelter in a mountain valley, and commenced smoking meat for her journey home. She no doubt thought she had eluded her pursuers, but bad luck overtook her. The lost Mandans happened into the valley, killed her with lances, and carried her head back to the Missouri—a trophy on the end of a pole.⁵²

It is difficult to know if the experiences of Sacagawea or her kinswoman, the flying beauty, were typical or exceptional examples of Indian slave life. There are no statistical sources that tell how many enslaved Indians were sold to white traders or to Indians. There is no way to know how many women escaped or were killed in trying. Nor do we know how many may have been adopted and married into the tribes of their captors, a common practice.⁵³ Slave women who were useful and compliant might well have found a valued place among the people who kidnapped them, but that was not their choice. It is fair to say, however, that fortune played a part in the ultimate fate of captive women whose lives were at the disposal of others. Charbonneau did not put Sacagawea's head on a stick, but that was her good luck. No one would have stopped him. The flying beauty was clever and attractive, but she met a sorry end that shows how risky and dangerous the world of the fur trade could be for slave women.

The Mandans continued to capture and sell women until smallpox devastated their villages in 1837. This epidemic nearly wiped out the tribe. Some survivors fled to the Arikaras, but a few remained in the nearly deserted Missouri River village near Fort Clark. Neither group fared well. The Arikaras stole the women of their Mandan guests, a powerless minority unable to stop these assaults. Tiring of this treatment, some

moved on to other tribes where they hoped to find a more hospitable and compassionate reception.⁵⁴

In December 1838 the Mandans finally abandoned their village near Fort Clark, leaving behind a sickly old woman who soon died. In January 1839 their old enemies the Sioux burned the deserted town. As a parting gesture, they took the scalp from the Mandan woman's corpse and carried it to their camp. It was a suitable trophy. The Sioux were the rising power of the plains, and their women would no longer be subject to the assaults of Mandans.⁵⁵ The women of the Mandans, former masters of the trade in Indian slave women, were now at the mercy of more powerful tribes.

A decade after the Mandan village was reduced to ashes, James Marshall and some Indian workers found gold in California and set off the gold rush. The social and ethnic milieu of the gold rush was far more cosmopolitan than those of the missions and the fur trade, and the added complexity had ramifications for women and men according to their culture and skin color. The mass migration that inundated the Sierra Nevada foothills included people from all over the world, but regardless of origin, young men vastly outnumbered women. Tribes in the gold region were one hundred miles or more from the Spanish and Mexican settlements and had not been directly affected by them. During the Mexican era, however, American and Hudson's Bay Company traders and trappers had scoured the California interior. In 1839 John Sutter established New Helvetia, an outpost in the Sacramento Valley that became a focus for sparse Anglo-American settlement that was nominally under Mexican control. Like Hispanic rancheros on the coast, Sutter and his fellow frontiersmen employed Indian labor to work their herds and fields. Some of these Indian workers were free, others were peons, and some were slaves. After gold was discovered, Anglos and Hispanos alike used Indian hands in the mines until free white labor drove them out.⁵⁶

Though far removed from the mines, the gold rush affected Indians who lived along the overland trail as some immigrants sought sexual gratification on their journey. These sexual liaisons are poorly documented, but two examples suffice to demonstrate activities that were probably widely known but seldom recorded. In 1849 Howard Stansbury reported that "a company of unprincipalled emigrants" committed "a gross and unprincipalled outrage" on some Shoshone women and killed the Indians who attempted to rescue them.⁵⁷

Another recorded sexual incident happened three years later after tens of thousands of overlanders had passed through Shoshone country and sharply depleted Indian food resources. Travelers thoughtlessly killed game and overfished the streams, and their draft animals overgrazed the range and fouled watercourses. By 1852 Shoshones near the trail were suffering. In July John Hudson Wayman, an Indiana physician, passed through Shoshone territory near the present-day Utah-Nevada border. Wayman was obviously unhappy to have Indians in his camp, upset as he was by the "d----d Indians sneaking around begging [*sic*]." Meanwhile, two of his companions "were conjureing around the Squaws," evidently

hoping for sexual favors. Eventually the two men gave an Indian woman "some victuals" with "care & solicitude without receiving any thing in return in sight." The woman led the men away from the wagon train and returned later "without any explanation," a suggestive chain of events of which Wayman disapproved.⁵⁸

This casual assignation represents more than the lust of two men on the long trip to California. It illustrates the poverty of Shoshones who pan-handled wagon trains and acquiesced to travelers' sexual solicitations in return for food. Moreover, the gold rush was not the beginning of the Shoshone sexual experience with whites. Shoshone women had been objects in the fur trade of the Upper Missouri for one hundred years. The advent of overland immigration and its sexual component was part of a long chain of events that impinged on the intimate lives of Indian women.

In California the booming gold-rush economy spawned a growing prostitute population that included Indians and other women of color. In 1852, Henry B. Sheldon, a Protestant missionary, described San Francisco prostitutes as the "aristocracy" of San Francisco and estimated that there were about one thousand of them. Courtesans rode in "the most splendid carriages, and on the most showy studs," which they often raced near the old Franciscan mission on the Sabbath. "Who can find a virtuous woman?" Sheldon asked rhetorically, adding with unintended irony that if one could be found her price would be far above rubies. The ratio of harlots to honest women was so great that the latter class had to "conduct themselves with the strictest propriety or be cast from the pale of good society," such as it was. San Francisco was not unique. As Sheldon noted, there were "no villages of any size" without prostitutes.⁵⁹

Despite Sheldon's description of the San Francisco high life, most prostitutes lived desperate lives that were shadowed by violence, disease, alcoholism, and crime.⁶⁰ Prostitutes in the mining camps worked in much drearier circumstances than the ones that Sheldon described in the city. Warren Saddle's brief sketch of a Sunday morning in the mines conveys how bleak prostitution in the mining districts could be. "We got up early—went to the pit—Then over to Gold-run, to look about, found nothing very flattering. We passed by the Grave-Yard—saw some persons digging graves—several at work digging gold and hundreds at work gambling—all in sight—and a party holding a sort of funeral and so it goes—You can imagine what else there is—a house just below where there are several Kanackers or Sandwich Island girls—there 'aint much of a crowd down there,'" he added wryly. Saddle portrayed the tedium of the mining districts where men waited their turn to have sex with a Hawaiian woman. The view from the bordello must have been just as monotonous. There is little romance in this vision of gold-rush prostitution.⁶¹

Not surprisingly, California Indians were among the first prostitutes in the mining districts. Like other women of color, they were believed by most Anglo miners to be racially inferior and acceptable only for temporary sexual gratification. Prostitution was not a usual part of California Indian society, but native women took it up in the most desperate

circumstances. Starvation, Indian wars, and sexual assaults shaped their sexual lives.⁶² The low prices that they received for their services demonstrated their desperation. Moreover, Indian prostitutes ran risks in their own communities, as an 1851 incident in southern Oregon shows. After a young, one-eyed Indian woman had intercourse with a miner for some food, her husband appeared and threatened her. The next day another Indian came to the camp and begged the whites to leave the women alone. He added that among his people the penalty for adultery was the loss of an eye.⁶³ Far from being part of an aristocracy, as Brother Sheldon had put it, Indian prostitutes were victims of racism and violence who were caught between two worlds with conflicting sexual values.

Rapes of Indian women were widespread in gold-rush California. Whites invaded rancherías and kidnapped tribeswomen. Even on a federal Indian reservation the agents responsible for the Indian inmates raped women "before the very eyes of their husbands and daughters," a newspaper reported, "and they dare not resent the insult, or even complain of the hideous outrage."⁶⁴ Some observers blamed sexual assaults for Indian warfare in northern California.⁶⁵

Often Indians attacked white men who had assaulted native women, as in the case of Big Tom, a miner who met his end after abducting a Nisenan woman in 1855.⁶⁶ But some infuriated Indian men inflicted violence on tribeswomen who were the victims of white assailants. In 1859 a man named Abbott attempted to kidnap a Honcut Indian woman, and her husband killed her to keep her from the kidnapper. Subsequently Abbott wounded the husband with a pistol. Then the rest of the Indians badly beat Abbott, a fate that some whites believed was well deserved. The local newspaper expressed indignation that a "squaw man" like Abbott could endanger the countryside by inciting the Indians in this way.⁶⁷ There were many similar incidents in California in the 1850s.⁶⁸

The gold rush was a deadly period for California Indians, male and female alike. During the 1850s their population declined from about 150,000 to 30,000, but Indian women evidently died at a more rapid rate than men, a circumstance that limited the ability of Indian society to recover demographic losses.⁶⁹ The deficit of Indian women intensified competition for potential wives in some Indian communities. In the mid-1850s John Sutter reported that fights over women were a special source of tension among the Nisenans who lived at his Hok Farm near Marysville. Sutter, who had lived among these Indians since 1839, reported that during drunken brawls Nisenan men assaulted women. One suitor murdered a woman who had resisted his importunities.⁷⁰ While perhaps not typical, these incidents show the horrific possibilities in a society with a rapidly declining population and few women.

One can hardly imagine more disparate places than the Franciscan missions, Upper Missouri fur posts, and California mines. Missionaries endeavored to change Indian sexual behavior with sharp limitations on old California customs—homosexuality, cross-gender sexuality, polygyny, and extramarital sex. Ultimately, they hoped to incorporate Indians into

Spanish society as part of Indian and mixed families where sanctioned conjugal relations could occur. What happened was a classic example of unintended results. Interracial rape became all too common and prostitution proliferated. Even mission Indian behavior was far from the Catholic standards that the Franciscans imposed. Moreover, while priests recorded thousands of Catholic marriages among Indians, there were disappointingly few mixed-race unions. The mission marriage records indicate that Hispanic Californians—whatever their racial origins—preferred to marry other Hispanos.⁷¹ Sexual relations did not bring substantial numbers of Indian and Hispanic Californians together in stable families.

Fur traders, on the other hand, adapted some Indian sexual conventions. Circumstances compelled some of them to marry the women of their customers while others purchased slave women for conjugal pleasure, companionship, and the convenience of domestic service. Whites uniformly misunderstood the ceremonial significance of ritual intercourse and the ramifications for the transmission of power. Instead, traders emphasized sexual relations as an occasion for an exchange of goods rather than an exchange of strong medicine. Sexual services and female slaves became products for sale in the fur-trading marketplace as well as a reciprocal exchange that assured kinship alliances.⁷²

During the gold rush Anglo-Americans forced their sexual needs on native women with no regard for Indian sexual customs. As the white population overwhelmed California, they also engulfed Indian society, impoverished native communities, and forced destitute women to prostitute themselves. Part of the invading population was imbued with a conquest mentality, fear and hatred of Indians that in their minds justified the rape of Indian women. The mining districts became an arena for assaults on women that further debilitated a population already in decline and suffering from a variety of infectious diseases.⁷³

The mission, the fur trade, and the gold rush imperiled women and menaced Indian society, although we will never know with precision the extent of these adverse repercussions or how to compare them with other, more positive outcomes. However, there was one physiological result of Indian and white sexual relations that seems to have been nearly universal. From the banks of the wide Missouri to the shores of the rolling Pacific witnesses reported syphilis. This disease probably originated in the Western Hemisphere before Columbus, but Europeans carried the disease far and wide to populations that had not previously been exposed. So rapidly did syphilis spread in the mission region that in 1792 a Spanish naturalist traveling in California believed the disease was endemic among the Chumash.⁷⁴ Twenty years later the friars recorded it as the most prevalent and destructive disease in the missions.⁷⁵

Syphilis and perhaps other sexually transmitted diseases were also common among the Missouri tribes. Lewis and Clark reported it among the Mandan.⁷⁶ The comments of the trader Tabeau suggested that syphilis was particularly virulent in the Upper Missouri region. "The venereal disease makes terrible ravages here and, from the moment it attacks a

man, it makes more progress in eight days than elsewhere in five or six weeks," he claimed. The Indians had no cure for this disease but resorted to shamanistic treatment.⁷⁷ In the California gold fields syphilis was particularly loathsome and deadly among the Indians. In 1853 an Indian Office employee reported that many native women were forced into "open and disgusting acts of prostitution" from which they contracted syphilis. In one ranchería alone he saw nine women who were "so far advanced with this disease that they were unable to walk."⁷⁸

Syphilis was much more than a temporary inconvenience for the infected victims. Sherburne Cook, a physiologist and demographer on the Berkeley faculty, reported that some infected mission Indians died outright from the immediate effects of the disease, while others were so enfeebled that they succumbed to other infectious diseases.⁷⁹ Other scholars also suggest that syphilis had a dramatic impact on Indian demographic decline: Syphilitic women tend to miscarry, and fetuses carried to term may be stillborn; live babies may be born with syphilis and not survive to adulthood; and untreated, the disease may lead to general debility, madness, and premature death.⁸⁰ Sexual contact let loose these profoundly negative biological consequences among western Indians who were already declining from other causes. The impact of syphilis and other sexually transmitted diseases needs particular attention. Medical research on the relationship between syphilis and HIV, or the AIDS virus, reveals much about the complexity and destructiveness of syphilis in combination with other diseases that should inform further historical inquiry.⁸¹

The history of Indian and white sexuality provides a sobering view of events that have too often been celebrated without due regard for the Indians who paid the price of conquest. Interracial sexuality provided a way to incorporate strangers in tribal life and created kinship ties with newcomers, yet it also put women at risk, subverted traditional gender roles, infected reciprocity with marketplace ethics, aggravated population decline, and thus weakened tribal society. This grim assessment should be taken into account as historians integrate Indian history with western women's history. Sacagawea may yet prove to be an enduring symbol for all of those unnamed other Indians who met with strangers in a time of dramatic upheavals and historic change. For them, crossing the bridge to the middle ground was fraught with possibilities and perils that ranged from the familiar comforts of family life to violent death. They sometimes crossed by force and other times by choice, but all of them went without assurances.

Notes

1. See Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980).

2. See especially Jennifer S. H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver, B.C.: University of British Columbia Press, 1980); Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*; Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds., *The New Peoples: Being and*

Becoming Métis in North America (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985); Gary Clayton Anderson, *Kinsmen of a Different Kind: Dakota-White in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650-1852* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

3. Mestizos did not always constitute a majority of frontier populations and they often claimed to be entirely Spanish, regardless of their ethnic and genetic background. Demographic studies of various locales in the Southwest clearly show the racially mixed quality of the populations, although the details varied substantially from place to place. David Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 8; Manuel Patrio Servín, "California's Hispanic Heritage: A View into the Spanish Myth," in *New Spain's Far Northern Frontier: Essays on Spain in the American West, 1540-1821*, ed. David J. Weber (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), 117-33; Alicia Vidaurreta Tjarks, "Comparative Demographic Analysis of Texas, 1777-1793," in *New Spain's Far Northern Frontier*, 135-69; Ramón Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1991), table 5.3; Henry Dobyns, *Spanish Colonial Tucson: A Demographic History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976).

4. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 65.

5. The word *berdache* is the most common term associated with Indian men's cross-gender roles. Europeans originally applied it to Indian men who assumed female roles, and thus they reduced numerous cross-gender roles to a single term. It comes from the Arabic *berdaj*, meaning a boy slave kept for sexual purposes. See Evelyn Blackwood, "Sexuality and Gender in Certain Native American Tribes: The Case of Cross-Gender Females," *Signs* 10, no. 1 (1984): 27-42, esp. 27.

6. For a historical overview of sexuality in the United States, see John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), especially chap. 5 on race and sex. For other aspects of sex and gender, see also Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1973); Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1985); Ronald T. Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979); Annette Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975). Prostitution is perhaps the best-known aspect of western sexuality. See, for example, Anne Butler, *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery: Prostitutes in the American West* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985); Marion S. Goldman, *Gold Diggers and Silver Miners: Prostitution and Social Life on the Comstock Lode* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981); Sandra L. Myres, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 254-56; Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1880* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979), 107-46. Patricia Nelson Limerick has suggested that the history of western prostitutes can tell us something about gender relations, which in turn can help to illuminate Manifest Destiny. Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987), 51. Demographers seldom speak explicitly about sexual behavior, but fertility is certainly reflective of sexuality. Walter Nugent, *Structures of American Social History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981); Richard A. Easterlin, "Population Change and Farm Settlement in the Northern United States," *Journal of Economic History* 36 (1976): 45-75; Richard A. Easterlin, "Factors in the Decline of Farm Family Fertility in the United States: Some Preliminary Research Results," *Journal of American History* 63 (1976): 600-614; Jack Eblen, "An Analysis of Nineteenth-Century Frontier Populations," *Demography* 2 (1965): 399-413.

7. D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, xii. For insights on how sexuality as a social construction changes through time, see Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, *An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon, 1978); Michel Foucault, *The History*

of *Sexuality*, vol. 2, *The Use of Pleasure*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon, 1985). For a concise introduction to sexuality and its recent literature, see Jeffrey Weeks, *Sexuality* (New York: Ellis Horwood and Tavistock, 1986).

8. Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," in *Gender and the Politics of History*, ed. Joan Wallach Scott (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 28–50.

9. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 19.

10. On the problems of reading biased sources, see Katherine Weist, "Beasts of Burden and Menial Slaves: Nineteenth Century Observations of Northern Plains Indian Women," in *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*, ed. Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1983), 29–52. See also Rayna Green, *Native American Women: A Contextual Bibliography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983); Gretchen M. Bataille and Kathleen Mullen Sands, *American Indian Women: Telling Their Lives* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984); James Axtell, *The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

11. John C. Ewers, *The Blackfeet: Raiders on the Northwestern Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 98.

12. Robert H. Lowie, *Indians of the Plains* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1954; reprint ed., 1982), 78–79.

13. *Ibid.*, 79–80; Ewers, *Blackfeet*, 99–100; Weist, "Beasts of Burden," 43–44.

14. Robert F. Heizer, "The California Indians: Archaeology, Varieties of Culture, Arts of Life," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 41 (March 1962): 5–6, 10–12; Nona C. Willoughby, "Division of Labor among the Indians of California," in *California Indians*, vol. 2, Garland American Indian Ethnohistory Series (New York: Garland, 1974), 60–68; Robert F. Heizer, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 8, *California* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 498, 502, 511, 523, 544–45, 556, 566, 602, 684–85; Thomas Blackburn, ed., *December's Child: A Book of Chumash Oral Narratives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 56–58, 137–38, 154–55.

15. For accounts that present the *berdache* as respected and important members of their societies, see Walter L. Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986); Will Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991). Scholars who depict a more problematic role for the *berdache* are Raymond DeMallie, "Male and Female in Traditional Lakota Culture," in *Hidden Half*, 243–50; Ramón Gutiérrez, "Must We Deracinate Indians to Find Gay Roots?" *Out/Look* (Winter 1989): 61–67; Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came*, 33–35.

16. Blackwood, "Sexuality and Gender."

17. Weist, "Beasts of Burden," 45.

18. Harold E. Driver, *Indians of North America*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 222–41; David Smits, "The 'Squaw Drudge': A Prime Index of Savagism," *Ethnohistory* 29 (1982): 281–306; Axtell, *Indian Peoples*. For an observation on the husband's control over his wife's sexual services, see Francois-Antoine Larocque, "Journal of an Excursion of Discovery to the Rocky Mountains by M. Larocque in the Year 1805 from the 2d of June to the 18th of October," in *Early Fur Trade on the Northern Plains: Canadian Traders and the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, 1738–1818*, ed. W. Raymond Wood and Thomas D. Thiessen (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 208. On the evolution of kinship after the fur trade, see Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind*.

19. D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 19–20.

20. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg and Charles Rosenberg, "The Female Animal: Medical and Biological Views of Woman and Her Role in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of American History* 60 (September 1973): 332–56.

21. There is evidence that this interpretation of sexuality was at variance with sexual behavior. At least some Victorian women enjoyed sex, and some men exhibited a range of emotions that

transcended mere lust. Peter Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud*, vol. 1, *Education of the Senses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 109–68; Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 249–78; Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820–1860,” *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151–74; and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, “The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth Century America,” *Signs* 1 (Autumn 1975): 1–29.

22. Ann Twinam, “Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America,” in *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Asunción Lavrin (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 118–55; Janet Lecompte, “The Independent Women of New Mexico, 1821–1846,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 11 (1981): 17–35; Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came*; Elizabeth Kuzenoff and Robert Oppenheimer, “The Family and Society in Nineteenth-Century Latin America: An Historiographical Introduction,” *Journal of Family History* 10 (Fall 1985): 215–34; Patricia Seed, “The Church and the Patriarchal Family: Marriage Conflicts in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century New Spain,” *Journal of Family History* 10 (Fall 1985): 284–93; Ramón A. Gutiérrez, “Honor, Ideology, Marriage Negotiation, and Class-Gender Domination in New Mexico, 1690–1846,” *Latin American Perspectives* 12 (Winter 1985): 81–104; Ramón A. Gutiérrez, “From Honor to Love: Transformations of the Meaning of Sexuality in Colonial New Mexico,” in *Kinship Ideology and Practice in Latin America*, ed. Raymond T. Smith (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 238–63.

23. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came*, 176–240; Guillermo Céspedes, *Latin America: The Early Years* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 55–56; Asunción Lavrin, “Sexuality in Colonial Mexico: A Church Dilemma,” in *Sexuality and Marriage*, 57–58.

24. Kjerstie Nelson, *Marriage and Divorce Practices in Native California* (Berkeley, Calif.: Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, 1975).

25. Albert L. Hurtado, “Sexuality in California’s Franciscan Missions: Cultural Perceptions and Sad Realities,” *California History* 71 (Fall 1992): 370–85, 451–53. For surviving California confessional dialogues containing questions about sexuality, see Harry Kelsey, ed., *The Doctrina and Confesionario of Juan Cortés* (Altadena, Calif.: Howling Coyote Press, 1979), 107–23; Madison S. Beeler, ed., *The Ventureño Confesionario of José Señan, O.F.M.*, University of California Publications in Linguistics, vol. 47 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

26. Pedro Fages, *A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California by Pedro Fages*, trans. Herbert Ingram Priestly (1937; reprint ed. Ramona, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1972), 48, 33.

27. Font quoted in Herbert E. Bolton, ed. and trans., *Font’s Complete Diary: A Chronicle of the Founding of San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1931), 105.

28. Francisco Palóu, *Palóu’s Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, trans and ed. Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M. (Washington, D.C.: American Academy of Franciscan History, 1945), 198, 199.

29. Ibid.

30. Geronimo Boscana, *Chingichnich: A Historical Account* (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1846), 282, 334–35. Boscana also noted transvestism and homosexual marriage, which he regarded as a “horrible custom,” 283–84.

31. Daniel J. Garr, “Rare and Desolate Land: Population and Race in Hispanic California,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 6 (April 1975): 135–37.

32. Jayme in Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., *Letter of Luís Jayme, O.F.M., San Diego, October 17, 1772* (Los Angeles: Dawson’s Book Shop, 1970), 38, 39.

33. Serra to Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursua, 22 April 1773, in Serra, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, vol. 1, ed. Antonine Tibesar (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955–1966), 341. Serra’s missionary work is currently a matter of hot debate. See James Sandoz, “Junípero Serra’s Canonization and the Historical Record,” *American Historical Review* 93 (December 1988): 1253–69; Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo, *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1987).

34. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, vol. 1 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886-90), 249-54. Franciscan historian Maynard J. Geiger attributes rape as a principal cause of the San Diego revolt in Geiger, ed., *Letter of Luis Jayme*, xxx.

35. Serra to Rafael Verger, 8 August 1779, in Serra, *Writings*, vol. 3, 349-51.

36. Sherburne Cook, "The Indian versus the Spanish Mission," *Ibero-Americana* 21 (1943): 107, 108.

37. See the responses of Indian rebels Leopoldo, Senen, and Fernando Huiliaset, 1 June 1824, in Sherburne F. Cook, ed., "Expeditions to the Interior of California: Central Valley, 1820-1840," *University of California Anthropological Records* 20, no. 5 (1962): 153-54; James A. Sandos, "Levantamiento!: The 1824 Chumash Uprising Reconsidered," *Southern California Quarterly* 67 (Summer 1985): 109-133; Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988), 37-39.

38. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., trans., and Clement W. Meighan, ed., *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813-1815* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Santa Barbara Mission Archives, 1976), 105-6.

39. Heizer, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 8, 502, reports only one tribe (the Salinan) that practiced prostitution. It is difficult to know if the apparent rarity of prostitution reflects precontact reality or points to defects in modern reporting.

40. Jayme, *Letter of Luis Jayme*, 44-46.

41. Serra to Felipe de Neve, 7 January 1780, in Serra, *Writings*, vol. 3, 409-13.

42. José Longinos, *Journal of José Longinos Martínez: Notes and Observations of the Naturalist of the Botanical Expedition in Old and New California and the South Coast, 1791-1792* (San Francisco: n.p., 1961), 55.

43. William H. Goetzmann, "The Mountain Man as Jacksonian Man," *American Quarterly* 15 (1963): 402-415; Wilbur R. Jacobs, "Frontiersmen, Fur Traders, and Other Varmints: An Ecological Appraisal of the Frontier in American History," *American Historical Association Newsletter* 8 (November 1970): 5-11; David J. Wishart, *The Fur Trade of the American West, 1807-1840* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979). For traders' attitudes toward Indians, see Lewis O. Saum, *The Fur Trader and the Indian* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965).

44. William Swagerty, "Marriage and Settlement Patterns of the Rocky Mountain Trappers and Traders," *Western Historical Quarterly* 11 (1980): 159-80; Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 73-74, 111-30, 199-230; Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, 28-52, 231-42.

45. Roy W. Meyer, *The Village Indians of the Upper Missouri* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977); Raymond W. Wood, and Thomas D. Thiessen, eds., *Early Fur Trade on the Northern Plains: Canadian Traders among the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, 1738-1818. The Narratives of John Macdonnell, David Thompson, Francois-Antoine Larocque, and Charles McKenzie* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 3-8; Edward M. Bruner, "Mandan," in *Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change*, ed. Edward M. Spicer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 187-277.

46. David Thompson quoted in Bruner, "Mandan," 69.

47. Alice B. Kehoe, "The Function of Ceremonial Sexual Intercourse among the Northern Plains Indians," *Plains Anthropologist* 15 (May 1970): 99-103.

48. Annie Heloise Abel, *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri*, trans. Rose Abel Wright (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), 197. James Ronda discusses the buffalo-calling ceremony in *Lewis and Clark among the Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 107, 131-32.

49. Ronda, *Lewis and Clark*, 256-59.

50. Annie Heloise Abel, ed., *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark, 1834-1839* (Pierre: Department of History, State of South Dakota, 1932), 164, 168.

51. Charles McKenzie, "Some Account of the Missouri Indians in the Years 1804, 5, 6, & 7," in *Early Fur Trade*, 263-64.

52. Ibid., 264-65.
53. Weist, "Beasts of Burden," 44.
54. Abel, ed., *Chardon's Journal*, 165.
55. Ibid., 181.
56. Albert L. Hurtado, "'Hardly a Farm House—A Kitchen without Them': Indian and White Households on the California Borderland Frontier in 1860," *Western Historical Quarterly* 13 (1982): 245-70; Hurtado, *Indian Survival*, 39-71.
57. Brigham D. Madsen, *The Shoshone Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985), 33.
58. John Wayman, *A Doctor on the California Trail: The Diary of Dr. John Hudson Wayman from Cambridge City, Indiana, to the Gold Fields in 1852*, ed. Edgely Woodman Todd (Denver: Old West Publishing, 1971), 70.
59. H. B. Sheldon to Dear Friends, 25 June 1852, H. B. Sheldon Papers, California Room, State Library, Sacramento.
60. Butler, *Daughters of Joy*.
61. Warren Saddle, undated entry [1849 or 1850], MS Journal, vol. 2, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
62. Hurtado, *Indian Survival*, 169-92.
63. Herman Francis Reinhart, *The Golden Frontier: The Recollections of Herman Francis Reinhart, 1851-1865* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962), 45.
64. San Francisco Bulletin, 13 September 1856, quoted in Robert F. Heizer, ed., *The Destruction of the California Indians* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Peregrine Smith, 1974), 278.
65. Sacramento Union, 1 October 1858, quoted in Heizer, ed., *Destruction of California Indians*, 279-80.
66. Sacramento Daily Democratic State Journal, 1 September 1855, quoted in Robert F. Heizer, ed., *They Were Only Diggers: A Collection of Articles from California Newspapers, 1851-1866, on Indian and White Relations* (Ramona, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1974), 29.
67. Butte Democrat, 24 September 1859.
68. See, for example, newspaper articles reprinted in Heizer, ed., *Destruction of California Indians*, 278-83.
69. Hurtado, *Indian Survival*, 169-92.
70. Sutter to Thomas J. Henley, 9 February 1856, Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, California Superintendency, 1849-1880, National Archives, RG 75, microfilm publication M234, reel 35; Albert L. Hurtado, "Indians in Town and Country: The Nisenan Indians' Changing Economy and Society as Shown in John A. Sutter's 1856 Correspondence," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 12, no. 2 (1988): 31-51.
71. Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, *Essays in Population History: Mexico and California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 278-310.
72. Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind*, xi-xii, 58-76, 226-260.
73. Hurtado, *Indian Survival*, 169-92.
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