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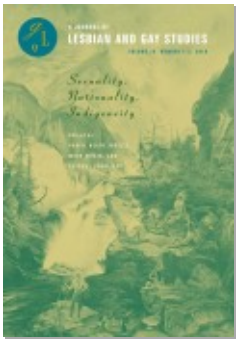

Deborah A. Miranda (Ohlone-Costanoan Esselen Nation, Chumash)

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EXTERMINATION OF THE *JOYAS*

Gendercide in Spanish California

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Attempting to address the many communities from which she spoke, Paula Gunn Allen once asserted: "I cannot do one identity. I'm simply not capable of it. And it took me years to understand that that's one of the features of my upbringing. I was raised in a mixed cultural group—mixed linguistic, mixed religion, mixed race—Laguna *itself* is that way. So I get really uncomfortable in any kind of mono-cultural group."[1] Although Allen does not speak specifically of another community—her lesbian family—in this quotation, her legacy of activism and writing document the unspoken inclusion of sexual orientation within her list of identities. Like Allen, my own identity is not monocultural: by blood, I am Esselen and Chumash (California Native) as well as Jewish, French, and English. I was born at UCLA Medical Center, raised in trailer parks and rural landscapes, possess a PhD, and teach at a small, private southern liberal arts university. I am fluent in English, can read Spanish, and was called to an *aliyah* at the bat mitzvah of my partner's niece. Who am I? Where is home?

In my poetry and my scholarship, I have worked through issues of complex identities for much of my life, primarily those relating to my position as a mixed-blood woman with an Indian father and European American mother. But one of the most urgent questions in my life—the intersection of being Indian and being a lesbian—has always been more complicated, less easily articulated, than anything else. Here again, Allen's body of work has been most helpful. In a poem titled "Some Like Indians Endure," Allen plays with concepts of just what makes an Indian an Indian—and asks if those qualities, whatever they are, are necessarily exclusive to Indians. At the heart of this poem is this thought:

> I have it in my mind that
> dykes are indians
> they're a lot like indians . . .

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they were massacred
lots of times
they always came back
like the gas
like the clouds
they got massacred again. . . .[2]

This poem illustrates the multiple directions of Allen's thought: while defending the concept of Indian as something different and distinguishable from colonizing cultures around it, Allen simultaneously compares the qualities of being Indian with those of being lesbian. She comes up with lists of similarities for both identities, the lengthiness of which overwhelms her ability to keep the two apart. While Allen recognizes balance and wholeness in both her Laguna and lesbian identities, this is not necessarily something that completely expresses my own situation.

While researching material for my book "Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir," however, I came across a page of the ethnologist J. P. Harrington's field notes that provided a doorway for me to enter into a conversation about complex identities with my ancestors.[3] Tracing my California Native ancestors from first contact with Spanish missionaries through contemporary times, my research required that I immerse myself in a rich variety of archival resources: correspondence between missionaries and their supervisors in Spain; mission records of baptism, birth, and death as well as finances and legal cases; the as-told-to testimonies of missionized Indians both before, during, and after the mission era; as well as newspapers, family oral history, photographs, and ethnological and anthropological data from earliest contact through the "salvage ethnology" era and into the present.[4] None of these archival materials came from unfiltered Indian voices; such records were impossible both because of their colonizing context and the prevalence of an oral tradition among California Indians that did not leave textual traces. The difficulties of using non-Indian archives to tell an Indian story are epic: biases, agendas, cultural pride, notions of Manifest Destiny, and the desire to "own" history mean that one can never simply read and accept even the most basic non-Native detail without multiple investigations into who collected the information, what their motivations were, who preserved the information and their motivations, the use of rhetorical devices (like the passive voice so prevalent in missionization histories: "The Missions were built using adobe bricks" rather than "Indians, often held captive and/or punished by flogging, built the Missions without compensation"). Learning how to "re-read" the archive through the eyes of a mixed-blood California Indian lesbian poet and scholar was an education in and of itself, so the fact that this essay emerges from

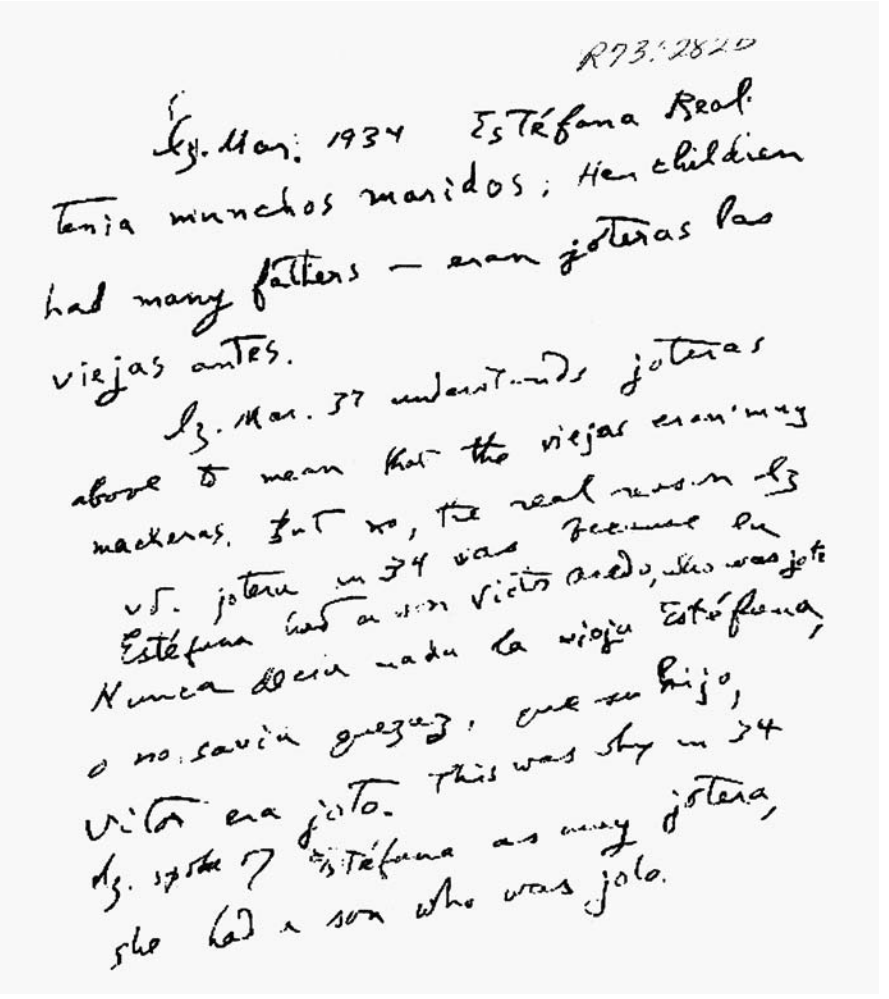

Figure 1. Harrington field note R73:282B, in Elaine Mills, ed., *The Papers of John Peabody Harrington in the Smithsonian Institution, 1907–1957* (White Plains, NY: Kraus International, 1981)

one short, handwritten piece of information gleaned by Harrington from one of my ancestors about older ancestors should not be surprising.

To tell the story of this field note, for which I use the shorthand title "Jotos" (Spanish slang for "queer" or "faggot"), I must pull threads of several stories together. The field note is like a petroglyph; when I touch it, so much else must be known, communicated, and understood to see the power within what looks like a simple inscription, a random bit of Carmel Mission Indian trivia. Once read, this note opens out into deeper and deeper stories. Some of those stories are full of grief—like the one that follows—yet they are all essential to possessing this

archival evidence and giving it a truly indigenous reading. When I say "indigenous reading," I mean a reading that enriches Native lives with meaning, survival, and love, which points to the important role of archival reconstruction in developing a robust Two-Spirit tradition today.[5] In the last two decades, the archaeology of sexuality and gender has also helped create new ways to use these biased primary sources, and I hope to pull together the many shards of information available in order to glimpse what contemporary California Indians might use in our efforts to reclaim and reinvent ourselves.[6] This essay, then, examines methods employed by the Spaniards to exterminate the *joya* (the Spanish name for third-gender people); asks what that extermination meant to California Indian cultures; explores the survival of this third gender as first *joyas*, then *jotos* (Spanish for homosexual, or faggot); and evaluates the emergence of spiritual and physical renewal of the ancestral third gender in California Indian Two-Spirit individuals.[7] It is both a personal story and a historical struggle about identity played out in many indigenous communities all over the world.

Waging Gendercide 101

Spanish colonizers — from royalty to soldier to padre — believed that American Indians were intellectually, physiologically, and spiritually immature, if not actual animals.[8] In the area eventually known as California, the genocidal policies of the Spanish Crown would lead to a severe population crash: numbering one million at first contact, California Indians plummeted to about ten thousand survivors in just over one hundred years.[9] Part of this massive loss were third-gender people, who were lost not by "passive" colonizing collateral damage such as disease or starvation, but through active, conscious, violent extermination. Speaking of the Chumash people living along the southern coast (my grandmother's tribal roots), Pedro Fages, a Spanish soldier, makes clear that the soldiers and priests colonizing Mexico and what would become California arrived with a deep abhorrence of what they viewed as homosexual relationships. In his soldier's memoir, written in 1775, Fages reports:

> I have substantial evidence that those Indian men who, both here and farther inland, are observed in the dress, clothing, and character of women — there being two or three such in each village — pass as sodomites by profession (it being confirmed that all these Indians are much addicted to this abominable vice) and permit the heathen to practice the execrable, unnatural abuse of their bodies. They are called *joyas,* and are

> held in great esteem. Let this mention suffice for a matter which could not be omitted,—on account of the bearing it may have on the discussion of the reduction of these natives,—with a promise to revert in another place to an excess so criminal that it seems even forbidden to speak its name. . . . But we place our trust in God and expect that these accursed people will disappear with the growth of the missions. The abominable vice will be eliminated to the extent that the Catholic faith and all the other virtues are firmly implanted there, for the glory of God and the benefit of those poor ignorants.[10]

Much of what little we know about *joyas* (Spanish for "jewels," as I discuss below) is limited to observations like that of Fages, choked by Eurocentric values and mores. The majority of Spanish soldiers and priests were not interested in learning about California Indian culture and recorded only as much as was needed to dictate spiritual and corporeal discipline and/or punishment; there are no known recorded interviews with a *joya* by either priest or Spaniard, let alone the salvage ethnologists who arrived one hundred years later. In this section, I provide an overview of what first contact between *joya* and Spaniard looked like, and how that encounter leaves scars to this day in California Indian culture. The key word here is not, in fact, encounter, but *destruction*.

Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Mastiffs

As I show, while the Spanish priests' disciplinary methods might be strict and intolerant, they were at least attempting to deal with *joyas* and *joya* relationships in ways that allowed these Indians to live, albeit marginalized and shamed.

Spanish soldiers had a different, less patient method. They threw the *joyas* to their dogs. Shouting the command "Tómalos!" (take them, or sic 'em), the Spanish soldiers ordered execution of *joyas* by specially bred mastiffs and greyhounds.[11] The dogs of the conquest, who had already acquired a taste for human flesh (and were frequently fed live Indians when other food was unavailable), were the colonizer's weapon of mass destruction.[12] In his history of the relationship between dogs and men, Stanley Coren explains just how efficient these weapons were: "The mastiffs of that era . . . could weigh 250 pounds and stand nearly three feet at the shoulder. Their massive jaws could crush bones even through leather armor. The greyhounds of that period, meanwhile, could be over one hundred pounds and thirty inches at the shoulder. These lighter dogs could outrun any man, and their slashing attack could easily disembowel a person in a matter of seconds."[13] Columbus brought dogs along with him on his second journey and claimed that

Figure 2. Theodor de Bry, "Balboa Throws the Indians Who Have Committed the Abominable Crime of Sodomy to Be Torn to Bits by Dogs," engraving from Bartolomé de las Casas, *Narratio regionum Indicarum per Hispanos quosdam deuestatarum verissima* (Frankfurt: De Bry and Saurii, 1598)

one dog was worth fifty soldiers in subduing the Natives.[14] On September 23, 1513, the explorer Vasco Nuñez de Balboa came on about forty indigenous men, all dressed as women, engaged in what he called "preposterous Venus." He commanded his men to give the men as "a prey to his dogges," and the men were torn apart alive.[15] Coren states matter-of-factly that "these dogs were considered to be mere weapons and sometimes instruments of torture."[16] By the time the Spaniards had expanded their territory to California, the use of dogs as weapons to kill or eat Indians, particularly *joyas*, was well established.

Was this violence against *joyas* classic homophobia (fear of people with same-sex orientation) or gendercide? I argue that gendercide is the correct term. As Maureen S. Heibert comments:

> Gendercide would then be . . . an attack on a group of victims based on the victims' gender/sex. Such an attack would only really occur if men or

> women are victimized because of their *primary* identity as men or women. In the case of male gendercide, male victims must be victims first and foremost because they are men, not male Bosnians, Jews, or Tutsis. Moreover, it must be the perpetrators themselves, not outside observers making ex-poste analyses, who identify a specific gender/sex as a threat and therefore a target for extermination.
>
> *As such, we must be able to explicitly show that the perpetrators target a gender victim group based on the victims' primary identity as either men or women.*[17]

Or, I must add, as a third gender? Interestingly, although Heibert doesn't consider that possibility, her argument supports my own definition of gendercide as an act of violence committed against a victim's primary gender identity.

Consider the immediate effect of Balboa's punishment of the "sodomites": when local Indians found out about the executions "upon that filthy kind of men," the Indians turned to the Spaniards "as if it had been to Hercules for refuge" and quickly rounded up all the other third-gender people in the area, "spitting in their faces and crying out to our men to take revenge of them and rid them out of the world from among men as contagious beasts."[18] This is not homophobia (widely defined as irrational fear of or aversion to homosexuals, with subsequent discrimination against homosexuals); obviously, the Indians were not suddenly surprised to find *joyas* in their midst, and dragging people to certain death went far beyond discrimination or culturally condoned chastisement. This was fear of death; more specifically, of being murdered. What the local indigenous peoples had been taught was gendercide, the killing of a particular gender *because of their gender.* As Heibert says in her description of gendercide above, "It must be the perpetrators themselves, not outside observers making ex-poste analyses, who identify a specific gender/sex as a threat and therefore a target for extermination." Now that the Spaniards had made it clear that to tolerate, harbor, or associate with the third gender meant death, and that nothing could stand against their dogs of war, the indigenous community knew that demonstrations of acquiescence to this force were essential for the survival of the remaining community—and both the community and the Spaniards knew exactly which people were marked for execution. This tragic pattern in which one segment of indigenous population was sacrificed in hopes that others would survive continues to fester in many contemporary Native communities where people with same-sex orientation are no longer part of cultural legacy but feared, discriminated against, and locked out of tribal and

familial homes. We have mistakenly called this behavior "homophobia" in Indian Country; to call it gendercide would certainly require rethinking the assimilation of Euro-American cultural values and the meaning of indigenous community.

Thus the killing of the *joyas* by Spaniards was, indeed, "part of a coordinated plan of destruction"—but it was only one strategy of gendercide.

(Re-)Naming

Father Juan Crespi, part of the 1769 "Sacred Expedition" from Mexico to Alta California, traveled with an exploration party through numerous Chumash coastal villages. "We have seen heathen men wearing the dress of women," he wrote. "We have not been able to understand what it means, nor what its purpose is; time and an understanding of the language, when it is learned, will make it clear."[19] Crespi's willingness to wait for "an understanding of the language" was not, unfortunately, a common sentiment among his countrymen, and although he describes but does not attempt to name these "men wearing the dress of women," it wasn't long before someone else did.

Erasure of tribal terms, tribal group names, and personal tribal names during colonization was a strategy used by European colonizers throughout the Americas. The act of naming was, and still is, a deeply respected and important aspect of indigenous culture. Although naming ceremonies among North American Indians followed many traditions, varying according to tribe and often even by band or time period, what has never changed is an acknowledgment of the sense of power inherent in a name or in the person performing the act of naming, and the consequent right to produce self-names as utterances of empowerment. Renaming both human beings and their own names for people or objects in their world is a political act of dominance. As Stephen Greenblatt writes of Christopher Columbus's initial acts of renaming lands whose indigenous names the inhabitants had already shared with him, "The founding action of Christian imperialism is a christening. Such a christening entails the cancellation of the native name—the erasure of the alien, an exorcism, an appropriation, and a gift . . . [it is] the taking of possession, the conferral of identity."[20] To replace various tribal words for a Spanish word is indeed an appropriation of sovereignty, a "gift" that cannot be refused, and perhaps more properly called an "imposition."

Therefore, when Spaniards arrived in Alta California and encountered a class of Indians we would now identify as being "third gender," it makes sense that in exercising power over the land and inhabitants, one of the first things the Spaniards did was invent a name for the third-gender phenomenon, a name applied only to California Indians identified by Spaniards as men who dressed as

women and had sex with other men. Interestingly, although Spanish morality disapproved of "sodomy" within their own culture and had a collection of words and euphemisms available to describe "el acto pecado nefando" ("the silent/unspoken sin") and its participants (*hermafrodita*, *sodomía*, *bujarrón*, *nefandario*, *maricón*, *amujerado*), they did not choose to apply these existing Spanish labels to California Indians.[21] Instead, overwhelmingly, primary sources use the word *joya*. As early as 1775, only six years after Crespi made his observation, the term *joya* was already in widespread use. In describing the customs of Indian women in 1775, Fages writes, "The Indian woman takes the little girls with her, that they may learn to gather seeds, and may accustom themselves to carrying the basket. In this retinue are generally included some of the worthless creatures which they call *joyas*."[22] Although Fages states that "they" (Indians) use the word *joyas*, the slippage is obvious when we note that in 1776 or 1777, the missionaries at Mission San Antonio also reported that

> the priests were advised that two pagans had gone into one of the houses of the neophytes, one in his natural raiment, the other dressed as a woman. Such a person the Indians in their native language called a *joya*. Immediately the missionary, with the corporal and a soldier, went to the house to see what they were looking for, and there they found the two in an unspeakably sinful act. They punished them, although not so much as deserved. The priest tried to present to them the enormity of their deed. The pagan replied that that *joya* was his wife . . . along the Channel of Santa Barbara . . . many *joyas* are found.[23]

In precontact California, the linguist Leanne Hinton writes, "Over a hundred languages were spoken here, representing five or more major language families and various smaller families and linguistic isolates."[24] Adding in estimates of hundreds of different dialects, it seems clear that every California tribe would have had its own word for third-gendered people, not the generic *joya* that Spanish records give us. For example, at Mission San Diego, Father Boscana describes the biological men who dressed and lived as women or, as he put it, those who were accustomed to "marrying males with males." He writes, "Whilst yet in infancy they were selected, and instructed as they increased in years, in all the duties of the women — in their mode of dress — of walking, and dancing; so that in almost every particular, they resembled females. . . . To distinguish this detested race at this mission, they were called '*Cuit*,' in the mountains, '*Uluqui*,' and in other parts, they were known by the name of '*Coias*.'"[25] *Joya*, then, is a completely new term

and must have been fashioned one way or another by the Spaniards, perhaps from an indigenous word that sounded like "joyas" or as commentary on the *joyas*' fondness for women's clothing, jewelry, and hairstyles (Spanish explorers in Mexico called hummingbirds *joyas voladores*, or "flying jewels").[26] It seems doubtful that the Spaniards would retain a beautiful name like "jewel" to describe what they saw as the lowest, most bestial segment of the Indian community unless it was meant as a kind of sarcasm to enact a sense of power and superiority over the third-gendered people. James Sandos has some sense of this as well, writing that "the Spanish called them (jewels), a term that may have been derisive in Spanish culture but inadvertently conveyed the regard with which such men were held in Chumash culture."[27] By "derisive," Sandos perhaps means that the Spaniards were making fun of what they perceived to be a ridiculous and shameful status.

Another possibility for the origins of *joya* lies in a linguistic feat, the pun. For years, people have assumed that the California town La Jolla (the double *l* in Spanish is pronounced as a *y*) is simply a misspelling of *joya*. However, Nellie Van de Grift Sanchez writes: "*La Jolla*, a word of doubtful origin, said by some persons to mean a 'pool,' by others to be from *hoya*, a hollow surrounded by hills, and by still others to be a possible corruption of *joya*, a 'jewel.' The suggestion has been made that La Jolla was named from caves situated there which contain pools."[28] Yet another similar sounding Spanish word is *olla*, which means jar or vessel. What all these things have in common—a pool, a hollow, a vessel—is that each is a kind of container, a receptacle. Ethnologists and Spaniards alike agree that the *joya*'s role as a biological male living as a female meant, among many other things, *joyas* were sexually active with "normative" men as the recipients of anal sex. In fact, a *joya* would never consider having sex with another *joya*—this was not forbidden, simply unthinkable—so this may truly have been a case of "I'm not *joya* but my boyfriend is!"

All in all, the renaming of the *joyas* was not likely meant to be a compliment, but strangely enough, it does reflect the respect with which precontact California Natives regarded this gender. Perhaps, as with the word *Indian*, *joya* has strong potential for reappropriation and a new signification of value. By choosing this word and not one of their established homolexemes, this act of renaming reinforces the notion that Spanish priests and soldiers sensed something else—an indefinable gender role, a "new" class of people?—going on here, something more or different than the deviant "sodomites" of their own culture.

On an individual basis, the changing of California Indian personal names is recorded in the mission baptism records.[29] An Indian from Cajats was baptized

at Mission Santa Barbara in 1819, stripped of the name Liuixucat and renamed Vitor Maria.[30] Yautaya from Chucumne, near Mission San Jose, became Robustiano in 1823.[31] In 1832 an Indian from Liuayto, near the San Francisco Mission, came in with the name Coutesi but was baptized Viador.[32] These same three people, brought into missions for baptism at ages thirty-two, thirty-three, and forty-five, respectively, had notations on their baptism records of another kind of naming: "*armafrodita o joya*," "*joya*," or "*joya o amugereado*." The padres applied Spanish words meaning "hermaphrodite" or "effeminate," as well as (in all three cases) *joya*. Vitor Maria died in 1821, just two years after baptism. Robustiano died in 1832, nine years after baptism. There is no death record for Viador, who may have been one of the many mission runaways. Interestingly, *joya* or other gender identifiers do not appear on the death records available, unlike the baptisms. Had Vitor and Robustiano learned to hide their gender, or was it simply accepted and no longer noted? It seems most likely that in the interest of survival (coming into the missions as grown adults, in this late era, usually meant starvation and/or capture), a *joya* would at least attempt a form of assimilation such as assuming male dress and work roles. However, as Sandos comments, "If contemporary study is any guide, these berdache, especially when they entered the missions, were important links between the new, European-imposed culture and traditional Chumash ways."[33] The entrance of older *joyas*, raised to revere and preserve cultural and spiritual continuity, into California missions where Native culture was disparaged and forbidden, must have provided a powerful infusion of Native language, religion, and values that contributed to or delayed assimilation. (Indeed, on a larger scale, tremendously high death rates combined with perilously low birth rates meant a constant "restocking" of the missions with "wild" Indians captured from farther and farther away as time went on, creating a situation where the Spanish language and European farming/herding skills were not passed from one generation to the next but had to be retaught to each incoming wave. This breakdown in transference of culture actually allowed California Natives a chance to retain more indigenous culture, albeit at great personal loss.)

Punishment, Regendering, and Shame

The Spanish priests, viewing themselves *in loco parentis*, approached the *joya*'s behaviors through the twin disciplinary actions of physical and spiritual punishment and regendering. Both of these terms are euphemisms for violence. The consequences for being a *joya*—whether dressing as a woman, doing women's work, partnering with a normative male, or actually being caught in a sexual liaison with

a man—included flogging with a leather whip (braided leather typically as thick as a fist), time in the stocks, and *corma* (a kind of hobbling device that restricted movement but allowed the Indian to work). Enforced, extended rote repetition of unfamiliar prayers on knees, verbal harassment and berating, ridicule, and shaming in front of the *joya*'s community were other forms of discipline. The Ten Commandments were beaten into Indians who spoke fragmented Spanish by priests who spoke little if any Indian language, so misunderstandings were frequent and devastating. In a culture where corporal punishment was unknown, even for children, the Spaniards quickly learned that "the punishing of Indians with lashes . . . in the case of the old and married produces shame and sarza of mind, so that at times the victims die of chagrin and melancholy, or desert to the mountains, or, *if women, are rejected by their husbands*."[34] As *joyas* were treated like women by their tribal communities, married or partnered to "normative" men, they too would be subject to rejection by their partners or community. Father Boscana wrote that *joyas*, "being more robust than the women, were better able to perform the arduous duties required of the wife, and for this reason, they were often selected by the chiefs and others, and on the day of the wedding a grand feast was given."[35] Often, *joyas* were driven from their communities by tribal members at the instigation of the priests and made homeless; this, after a lifetime of esteem and high status, must have been a substantial blow to both physical well-being and emotional health.

In one case, Father Palóu described a group of natives visiting at Mission Santa Clara; soldiers and priests noticed that one native among the women was actually a man. Father Palóu wrote:

> Among the gentile [Indian] women (who always worked separately and without mixing with the men) there was one who, by the dress, which was decorously worn, and by the heathen headdress and ornaments displayed, as well as the manner of working, sitting, etc., had all the appearances of a woman, but judging by the face and the absence of breasts, though old enough for that, they concluded that he must be a man, but that he passed himself off always for a woman and always went with them and not the men. Taking off his aprons they found that he was more ashamed than if he really had been a woman. They kept him there three days, making him sweep the plaza, but giving him plenty to eat. But he remained very cast down and ashamed. After he had been warned that it was not right for him to go about dressed as a woman and much less thrust himself in with them, as it was presumed that he was sinning with them, they let him go.

> He immediately left the Mission and never came back to it, but from the converts it was learned that he was still in the villages of the gentiles and going about as before, dressed as a woman.[36]

Close reading ("thrust himself in") suggests that the priest and soldiers completely misunderstood the situation, and assumed that this man was "sinning"—that is, sneaking into the women's work area dressed as a woman to flirt or have sex with them. The idea that a man would *choose* to dress and work as a woman with other women—and that the community accepted and in fact benefited from that choice—was inconceivable to the Spaniards. Probably because of this misunderstanding, this *joya* was able to escape and find another community (at least temporarily). After a taste of regendering by the Spaniards, no doubt even unfamiliar villages looked better than remaining with one's own family and friends. At this point in the missionization process, leaving for life with the "gentiles" was still a possibility.

As time went on and escapes like the one above became less viable, *joyas* trapped in the missions or brought in as adults by raiding parties suffered from a kind of social dislocation that must have been deeply troubling for individuals accustomed to a rich but specialized community network. Precontact native Californian societies operated under a gender separation that generally kept men and women working at separate tasks, away from the opposite sex, most of the day. Women had their work areas and were accustomed to withdrawing to them to weave, harvest, process and prepare food, care for children, and so on. *Joyas* were always a part of this women's world and did not cross over into the men's territory. The mission priests, however, demanded that *joyas* spend all their time in "masculine" company, doing "masculine" work, rather than in the company of women and benefiting from the camaraderie, friendships, and sense of worth found there. Aside from the emotional shock of being cut off from friends and community, *joyas* were also faced with what, to them, was an inappropriate mixing of genders. In a culture where work and play were gendered activities (although not necessarily gendered as the Spanish would think of them), being forcibly placed in the "wrong" group would have been both extremely uncomfortable and unfamiliar for *joyas*. Remember that Father Palóu remarked of the *joya* found in his mission, "Taking off his aprons they found that he was more ashamed than if he really had been a woman." In a kind of involuntary gender-reassignment, *joyas* were made to dress as men, act as men, and consort with men in contexts for which they had little if any experience. For the "normative" men, having a *joya* among them all day and night—let alone someone stripped of appropriate clothing, status,

and respect—must have also been disturbing and a further disruption of cultural signification. Women, too, would have noticed and missed the presence of *joyas* within that smaller, interdependent feminine community.

As a consequence of this regendering, renaming, and murder, one of the *joya*'s most important responsibilities, on which the well-being of the tribe depended, was completely disrupted; prohibited by the priests, the complex and deeply spiritual position of undertaker became a masterful example of colonization by appropriation.

Replacement

Most research on the indigenous third gender agrees that a person living this role had particular responsibilities to the community, especially ceremonial and religious events and tasks.[37] In California, death, burial, and mourning rituals were the exclusive province of the *joyas*; they were the undertakers of their communities. As the only members of California Indian communities who possessed the necessary training to touch the dead or handle burials without endangering themselves or the community, the absence of *joyas* in California Indian communities must have constituted a tremendously disturbing crisis.[38] As Sandra E. Hollimon states, "Perhaps most profoundly, the institution of Catholic burial programs and designated mission cemeteries would have usurped the traditional responsibilities of the *'aqi* [Ventureno Chumash word for *joya*]. The imposition of Catholic practices in combination with a tremendously high death rate among mission populations would undoubtedly have contributed to the disintegration for the guild."[39] It is hard to overstate the chaos and panic the loss of their undertakers must have produced for indigenous Californians. The journey to the afterlife was known to be a prescribed series of experiences with both male and female supernatural entities, and the *'aqi*, with their male-female liminality, were the only people who could mediate these experiences. Since the female (earth, abundance, fertility) energies were so powerful, and since the male (Sun, death-associated) energies were equally strong, the person who dealt with that moment of spiritual and bodily crossing over between life and death must have specially endowed spiritual qualities and powers, not to mention long-term training and their own quarantined tools. Baskets used to scoop up the earth of a grave, for example, were given to the *'aqi* by the deceased person's relatives as partial payment for burial services, but also because they could never again be used for the life-giving acts of cooking or gathering.[40]

The threshold of death was the realm of the *'aqi*, and no California Indian community was safe or complete without that mediator. Asserting that undertakers were exclusively *'aqi* or postmenopausal women (also called *'aqi*), Hollimon specu-

lates that perhaps "the mediation between death and the afterlife, and between human and supernatural realms, was entrusted by the Chumash to individuals who could not be harmed by symbolic pollution of the corpse, and who were no longer (or never had been) capable of giving birth."[41] Hollimon's archaeological work allows us to understand that the "third gender" status of *joyas* may have been extended, in some fashion, to postmenopausal women as well, should they desire to pursue a career as undertaker. Another strong possibility is that elderly women stepped into the role of undertaker when persecution reduced the availability of *joyas*.

With the loss of the *'aqi*, then, came an instant and urgent need for some kind of spiritual protection and ritualization of death. This would have suited the Roman Catholic Church, which had more than enough ritual available—and priests were anxious to institute new rituals to replace what they regarded as pagan practices. While founding the San Francisco Mission, Fray Palóu wrote, "Those who die as pagans, they cremate; nor have we been able to stop this," indicating that burial—as tribes farther south practiced—was the only mortuary practice considered civilized.[42] At these same cremations, in reference to funeral rituals, Palóu noted that "there are some old women who repeatedly strike their breast with a stone. . . . they grieve much and yell quite a bit."[43] It would have been difficult to tell an elderly *joya* dressed as a woman from an elderly woman, if one did not know of the connection between *joyas* and the death ceremony; in fact, years later, when Harrington interviewed Maria Solares, a Chumash survivor of Mission Santa Ynez (and one of his major consultants), she told him that all undertakers ("aqi") were women, strong enough to carry bodies and dig deep graves, and that the role was passed from mother to daughter.[44] Harrington pointed out that the Ineseño word for *joto* was also *'aqi*, that it was strange that "women should be so strong to lift bodies," and Solares agreed, though still puzzled.[45] It seems that by the mid-1930s, the memory of *'aqi* as beloved members of the community no longer matched Solares's cultural understanding of *joto*—the long-term damage of homophobia was substantial even in linguistic terms, let alone human terms. It is not hard for me to imagine my ancestors, fearing for their spiritual well-being, their loved ones, and what remained of their communities, turning to Catholicism out of desperation. As the diseases and violence of colonization took their toll, communities were under intense pressure about the many burials or cremations to be carried out. The turn to, and dependence on, Catholic burial rituals was a form of coerced conversion that had nothing to do with Christianity, and everything to do with fear.

Through these methods, then—murder, renaming, regendering, and replacement—the *joya* gendercide was carried out. The destruction seems to

cover every aspect of *joya* identity and survival. Yet, I argue, *joya* identity did not disappear entirely.

Surviving Gendercide

How could *joyas* survive such devastation? Where are they? What is their role in contemporary California Indian life?

First, it is important to note that mission records show baptisms of adult *joyas* as late as 1832, almost sixty years after Fages expressed his outrage in 1775. "Late arrivals" to the mission — adult Indians who, having lived most of their lives as "wild" Indians, were rounded up and brought in for forced baptism — actually slowed the missionization process considerably. In combination with the low life expectancy of mission-born children (two to seven years), a strong influx of adult indigenous cultural practices probably also kept the role of *joya* from fading away as quickly as might otherwise be expected (allowing younger Indians to witness or know *joyas*, as well as pass on that information orally to future generations).[46]

Second, just as the extermination of California Indians, while extensive, has been exaggerated as complete, so too is the idea that *joyas* could be gendercided out of existence. A *joya*'s conception does not depend on having a *joya* parent, unlike normative male and female sexes, who depend on both male and female for conception; as long as enough of the normative population remains alive and able to bear children, the potential for *joya* gender to emerge in some of those children also remains. To exterminate *joyas* entirely, *all* California Indian people would have had to be killed, down to the very last; thus it makes sense that during missionization and postsecularization, as in the past, *joyas* rose out of the general population spontaneously and regularly. However, those *joya* had virtually no choice but to hide their gender. Like Pueblo tribes who took their outlawed religious ceremonies underground until it was safe to practice more openly (although outsiders are understandably rarely allowed to partake or witness the ceremonies), *joyas* in California may have taken a similar tactic, removing themselves from ceremonial roles with religious connotations and hiding out in the general population. Sadly, the traditional blend of spiritual and sexual energy that was a source of *joya* empowerment suffered an abrupt division; as time passed and the few surviving elder *joyas* passed on, younger *joyas* would have been forced to function without role models, teachers, spiritual advisers, or even — eventually — oral stories of their predecessors. Walter Williams reports that he "could not find any traces of a *joya* gender in oral traditions among contemporary California Indians from mis-

sionized tribes," but adds, "that does not mean that a recognized and respected status for berdache no longer existed, or that same-sex behavior vanished. To find evidence of such continuity is extremely difficult."[47]

Williams outlines three major obstacles to finding such evidence: inability of surviving *joyas* to use written language (or refusal, once it was introduced), resulting in a lack of documentation; the need for extremely specialized and culturally sensitive oral ethnographies by contemporary researchers with some way to take part in community conversations; and the backlash against earlier kinds of research that left indigenous peoples distrustful and unwilling to share sensitive material.

Williams's research in South America suggests that a division of the third gender occurred there, perhaps as a conscious effort to "remove the berdaches from a public institutionalized role, to protect them from the Spanish wrath," resulting in two new, distinct groups, each with distinct roles.[48] One group are those who identify as "homosexual"—males whose preferred sexual partners are men, but who often marry women later in life to attain acceptance and status within their birth families. This group does not participate in any ceremonial or religious activity. The other group consists of a switch from traditional shamanism, with its association with male-male sex, to powerful, oftentimes physically androgynous, shamans or spiritual leaders whose birth sex is female and who identify as women (often married with children, but just as often unmarried or postmenopausal). "So strong was the association of femininity with spiritual power that if the androgynous males could not fill the role," Williams writes, "then the Indians would use the next most spiritually powerful persons. In striving for effective spirituality, they responded in a creative way to Spanish genocidal pressures."[49] By dividing sexual and spiritual power, indigenous people were able to deflect some of the violence visited on those original individuals yet maintain living connections with essential powers of life and death. Neither a traditional nor an ideal solution, such a split was nonetheless necessary for tribal survival.

I suggest that a similar survival strategy evolved among missionized California Indians: that those people who may have identified as or been identified as *joyas* experienced the spiritual-sexual split in one of two ways: they became either closeted same-sex *jotos* who engaged in secret sexual relationships with other men, or they became adult male or female members of the community with important roles as caretakers and "grave-tenders" of Native culture who chose to remain single—that is, unmarried to normative genders—throughout life. Traces of a split *joya* gender, I argue, can be found from the time of the gendercide to the

present day, if not in our oral traditions then in the libraries and documentation of our colonizers, as well as in our own Two-Spirit bodies. Two examples illustrative of this split are outlined below.

Kitsepawit Fernando Librado, a Chumash man born early in 1839, became a primary consultant for Harrington.[50] Librado lived his long life as a person who adapted from someone who might have been *'aqi* (or *joya*) in an earlier time to what seems to be a kind of cultural caretaker, collecting and preserving stories, technologies, and histories. Born at the end of mission life into the chaos of secularization, Librado would not have been allowed to become a *joya*, even if he could have found enough of a community to support him in his efforts. However, Librado fulfilled many of the spiritual roles of a *joya*: in oral material gathered by Harringon, Librado comments frequently on his intense desire to learn as much about his "dying" culture's knowledge as possible, tracking down Chumash doctors and quizzing Chumash women about plants, wild harvesting, and how to prepare traditional foods, ceremonies, and songs.[51] Librado traveled widely to attend Chumash dances, sings, storytellings, or ceremonies to observe and learn; significantly, his hunger for knowledge encouraged him to cross male and female gender boundaries, not limiting his research by labels such as "men's work" or "women's work." Librado never married, never had children, and never spoke of having ever been partnered.

Even when discouraged or chastised by other Indian people, Librado persisted in his own form of research. Repeatedly throughout his narrative in *Breath of the Sun*, he speaks of scenes like this: "Francisca . . . asked me why I wanted to learn the Swordfish Dance songs, and then she said to me: 'You should abandon the idea.' I replied: 'What is the matter with it?' and Francisca told me: 'It is not good. You better abandon the idea.'"[52] But Librado was persistent and well versed in Indian etiquette; gathering up valuable gifts of food and drink, he visited another home: "Donociana and Nolberto knew the Indian dances too. . . . I once went over to Donociana's house, taking with me some marrow, guts, tripe, and other inner things of a beef, along with some bread and wine. I wanted to learn the Swordfish Dance. After the meal I asked her to teach me the old dances, saying, 'for you are the only ones left who know the old dances.' Donociana began to cry, and I left saying nothing more."[53] Such refusal and grief among his own people must have been difficult to bear, yet Librado continued collecting knowledge and storing it away. While Librado was not able to act as an actual undertaker, tending to dead bodies, departing spirits, and their final needs, he did, in many ways, act as an undertaker for his culture, gathering indigenous cultural knowledge and caring for those scattered pieces. As traditional *joyas* protected the people and

community through their tending of the dead, so Librado protected his people and community through his tending of what culture the dead had left behind. He had no idea that someone like Harrington would come along; Librado was simply compelled to care for his culture.

Remember that in Librado's time, it was easy to believe that this world had come to an end. Anglos and Indians alike were under the influence of the notion of Manifest Destiny, which preached the inevitable and imminent death of all things Indian. Ultimately, Librado told much of what he knew to Harrington, knowing that it would be recorded—both in writing and on early sound recordings—and preserved, perhaps, until descendants came to claim it. In other words, Librado gave the remnants of his culture—all that he could gather in his long and determined lifetime—a good burial, a good place to rest, rather than let the pieces lie scattered all over the ground, without prayers, ritual, proper care. While I can't do more than speculate about Librado's decision to remain unmarried and without children, when considered together with his caretaking, his chosen role seems to be that of an *'aqi* who adapted to the times in order to best serve his community's spiritual needs. In fact, when Maria Solares from Santa Ynez discussed the word *'aqi* with Harrington, she told him that Librado was *'aqi*, meaning homosexual: "He stayed with men and would go crawling to other men in the night."[54]

Here we see clearly the spiritual-sexual split of the *joya* role; Solares knew about queerness, and she knew about undertakers, but until Harrington pointed out that the two roles shared the same word, she did not realize the connection between the two. At the same time, Solares, by her use of what she thought of as the word for faggot, indicates that she knew something of Librado's more private life that, together with his efforts as a cultural caretaker, seem to point to his living adaptation of the traditional *'aqi* role.

We glimpse the sexual side of the *joya* split in those field notes from Harrington mentioned early in this essay, in two brief comments by his consultant Isabel Meadows, from Mission Carmel. Following are my transliteration and translation of those notes.

> Transliteration:
> Isabel
> Mar. 1934
> Estefana Real tenia muchos maridos. Her children had many fathers—eran joteras las Viejas antes.
> Isabel Mar.[19]37 understands joteras above to mean that the Viejas eran muy macheras. But no, the real reason Isabel used jotera in 34 was

> because la Estefana had a son, Victor Acedo, who was joto. Nuca decir nada la vieja Estefana, o no savia quezez [quizas?], que su hijo, Victor, era joto. This was why in [19]34 Isabel spoke of Estefana as muy jotera, she had a son who was joto.[55]
>
> Translation:
> Isabel
> Mar. 1934
> Estefana Real had many husbands. Her children had many fathers—they were joteras, the old ladies before.
> Isabel March [19]37 understands "joteras" above to mean that the old women were very macho. But no, the real reason Isabel used "jotera" in '34 was because Estefana had a son, Victor Acedo, who was a faggot.[56] The old lady Estefana never said nothing, or she didn't know, maybe, that her son, Victor, was a faggot. This was why in '34 Isabel spoke of Estefana as very macho, she had a son who was a faggot.

These are not just names out of an ethnologist's old field notes, nor are these details simply interesting, if belated, gossip from a tribal consultant. I am related to Isabel Meadows by marriage.[57] In addition, Estefana Real was born in 1809 at the Carmel Mission; her sister, Josefa "Chepa" Real, born in 1812, was my great-great-great-great grandmother. Victor Acedo, my cousin, is the "joto" under discussion.

It's true what Isabel said about Estefana Real—she had at least nine, possibly eleven, children by at least several men whose names are sometimes recorded, sometimes not. She began having babies in 1825 and kept it up through 1848. Victor, born "Nestor Bitoreano Antonio," was given the surname Real at his baptism on March 4, 1846.[58] Fray Doroteo Ambris officiated. Estefana did not declare Victor's paternity at the baptism (the father's name is listed as "incognito"), but Padre Ambris noted "Parvulo [child] de Razon Real"—indicating that the father was "de Razon" or "of reason," meaning European, as well as "of Real," the priest.[59] The sketchy material is normal for this time period; during the post-secularization era of the California missions, life was a gamble and chaos was the everyday challenge. Steven W. Hackel, a scholar who has studied Mission San Carlos extensively, writes:

> By 1833, only about 220 Indians lived at San Carlos. The most skilled and independent had left or died. An untold number had never been born

> because of the sterility of many San Carlos residents. Of those at the missions, nearly half were under age twenty and a third were over forty, leaving just about two dozen men between the ages of twenty and thirty-nine. Too small to be an economically productive community, the mission had become a decaying congregation of families and dependents, an increasingly dilapidated place where people often competed with one another for food.[60]

Estefana, however, was a fighter from a long line of survivors. Her father, Fructuoso Jose Cholom, had served as a mission *alcalde* prior to secularization, which was a kind of overseer, or boss. With his wife, Hyginia, Fructuoso received a small parcel of land during secularization in 1835, one of very few Indians given this opportunity.[61] Fructuoso lived on this land until his death in 1845, when Victor was about a year old. By 1850, Hackel states, his widow may have been joined on the land by her daughter Estefana, and presumably her surviving underage children, including Victor, who would have been four years old. Some of the land was sold to Joaquin Gonzalez, an emigrant from Chile who had been a soldier at the Presidio in Monterey. The contract carried the agreement that Hyginia and Estefana (and presumably any of her surviving underage children) could continue to live on the land until Hyginia's death. By 1853, when Victor was seven, Hyginia had sold the remainder of her husband's rancho to Gonzalez, and around the same time, Estefana married the Chilean. Like several other Indian women, only marriage to a non-Indian secured what was left of Estefana's inheritance.

So it is possible for me to imagine a little of Victor Acedo's life. Born into a postholocaust Indian world, living in poverty, illegitimate in the Church's eyes, he grew up with his strong Indian grandmother Hyginia, her two powerful daughters Josefa (a.k.a. Chepa) and Teodosia as his aunts, on a small chunk of his indigenous land secured for him by his mother's marriage to a former soldier at the former mission. No wonder Isabel told Harrington those old women were "joteras"—meaning, I suspect, "tough broads"! Now that I know more about Estefana, I can see how Isabel used that word as a sign of her admiration, as a way to praise those "Viejas antes," those old women before us, troublemakers who never stopped fighting, never stopped loving, never stopped trying to survive, and never gave up their identity or their relationship with their homeland.

Of course, Estefana "never said nothing" about her son's sexual choices. First, her father's position as *alcalde* indicates that, premissionization, his family was probably already in a position of authority. Inherited family status often

replicated itself within the missions, with formerly high-status families gravitating toward whatever new positions of authority were available to Indians. These same high-status families also retained much of the traditional knowledge, language, and cultural information, in part because they were more able to protect themselves and preserve the individuals possessing this information. Fructuoso came from a time when knowledge of *joyas*, by any name, was common; when men of high status sought out *joyas* as wives because of their reputations as hard workers; when to be a *joya* was a position of high status in and of itself, no matter what status the *joya*'s family of origin. Fructuoso would have taught his daughters this, as well as much more about their indigenous culture, while striving to reinvent that culture in a world undergoing the worst devastation imaginable.[62]

Second, it is clear that everyone involved in the story, from Isabel the storyteller to the three Real sisters, Victor, and even Harrington, who, after all, went back to Isabel a year later for clarification, all understood that the word *joto* was not a compliment. The infliction of homophobia as a result of earlier gendercide on California Indians was deeply fixed well before Isabel's comments and was no doubt something Victor himself was forced to deal with all of his life.

Except for a brief mention in another Harrington field note from May 1936 in which Isabel recalls Victor Acedo working as a cook for a man named Snively, I don't know what happened to Victor.[63] Records from 1850 to 1900 are scarce for Indian people, especially with the Catholic missions in limbo between Spain, Mexico, and the United States, and especially for someone who would not show up on Church registers as a groom or father. This short note is all we know about him: his name, his mother's resistant behavior, his sexual orientation, the implication that for a woman to be strong implied a mixing of masculine and feminine energy. But Victor's *presence* gives me hope; hearing via Isabel that he grew to adulthood, and knowing who his mother was, allows me to imagine him as having, at the very least, a sense of self complicated not just by shame but by some knowledge of his historical and cultural inheritance. As the sexual side of the spiritual-sexual splitting of the *joya* role, *jotos* like Victor survived—quietly, and at great cost, but they survived.

Reemergence of *Joyas* as "Two-Spirited" Peoples

Looking forward now, it is clear to me that indigenous California third-gender people are reemerging from attempted gendercide, which we survived by performing a division between spiritual and sexual roles in our communities. We are reemerging as contemporary Two-Spirit people. This name, Two-Spirit, allows the

reunion of spiritual and sexual roles into a whole and undivided gender role, a role still needed in human society. Claiming our roles as the caretakers of culture and spirituality, like Fernando Librado, as well as our sexual selves, like Victor Acedo, we focus our attentions on the nurturance of our communities.

One contemporary example of a Two Spirit is L. Frank Manriquez, a Tongva/Ajachmen artist and tribal activist. She is a board member of the California Indian Basketweavers Association, the Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival, and the Native California Network, organizations involved in the preservation and revival of Native Californian cultures through conferences, workshops, traditional arts practice, and language immersion camps, as well as chronicling collections of Native Californian art. Manriquez is also a respected artist in several genres (drawing, painting, soapstone carving, and basketweaving). Her book of drawings, *Acorn Soup*, earned her the title of "the Indian Gary Larsen," and she was coeditor of *First Families: A Photographic History of California Indians*, widely regarded as a powerful testimony to the continuation of California Indian culture.[64] I believe that what Manriquez has been doing is deeply traditional and part of the reemerging *joya* or Two-Spirit renaissance: as a person with the energy of two genders balancing within her, and conscious of the value of her work with the dead to nurture the living, Manriquez performs the ancient role of undertaker as so many specially trained indigenous people have done before her—but she is doing it without that careful training and so must find her own way. "Because our people are considered extinct, it's hard to get information," Manriquez writes. "So there's really nobody you can go to except for your dreams, and your prayers, and your wishes, and your longings."[65] In 2001 Manriquez wrote that she had felt compelled to travel to museums outside the United States where artifacts from California Indian tribes had been taken. Led by her dreams (and a timely award from the Fund for Folk Culture), Manriquez visited the Musée de L'Homme, where "I walked into this room where there were boxes and boxes and boxes and boxes of my people's lives, and they were like muffled crying coming from these shelves and these boxes, and it was just heart-breaking. . . . but these pieces and I became friends. *I tried to touch as much as I possibly could*."[66] For California Indians, as for many indigenous peoples, touching artifacts stolen from Native communities has connotations both deeply spiritual and terribly dangerous. "There was a piece that really worried me when I photographed it," Manriquez says. "It was on display in the Musée de L'Homme and it said specifically, 'grave item.'"[67] Knowing that contact with the dead, or objects buried with the dead, was a hazardous spiritual act that could affect her well-being and balance, Manriquez was torn between the desire to reclaim what little was left of her culture and a

duty to follow traditional prohibitions set in place long before that culture became endangered. Ultimately, she decided, "Well, I may burn in Indian hell, but this is really important for me to see this, for me and my people." Later, showing slides of this and other burial items to a group that included the Cahuilla elder Catherine Saubel, Manriquez was again unsure about her choice, this time for reasons of community disapproval; "I was incredibly worried because here's a grave item and I'm dealing with it. But [Catherine] looked at me and she understood what I was saying and what I was doing in bringing it back and showing people, and so I could carry on other traditions without fear of long term reprisal."[68]

Unmarried, without children, Manriquez has said that her work is her legacy: reclaiming indigenous knowledge and passing it on to the coming generations. She acknowledges that reclamation work is spiritually risky: "There aren't many of us who will endure museums because sometimes there are things in there that you should not touch, you should not see, you should not be near, and so we risk a lot going to recover."[69] I do not believe that it is a coincidence that Manriquez also identifies as a woman whose primary sexual and emotional relationships are with other women; to deal with the powerful energy of the dead, she must also be able to draw on the creative energy inherent in sexual existence. When asked if I could include her Two-Spirit identity in this discussion, Manriquez replied, "I have no problem being out there," indicating that it is as much a part of her work as any research or artwork.[70]

Many other Two-Spirit Indians currently serve the recovery of their indigenous communities via the spiritual and cultural arts of poetry, fiction, visual arts, basketweaving, tribal leadership, and environmental activism; these people also assert and live their sexual identities as what Euro-Americans call queer. In fact, Janice Gould (Concow) has described the work that indigenous women poets like Chrystos (Menominee), Joy Harjo (Mvskoke), and Beth Brant (Mohawk) do in grieving, honoring, and writing our historical losses in terms of "a resurrection of history through writing. . . . This writing, I would say, amounts almost to an act of exhumation"—a statement that reinforces the necessity of the Two-Spirit involvement in survival of Native culture and communities.[71]

Reconstructing a Spiritual, Community-Oriented Role for Two-Spirit People

In conclusion, I suggest that contemporary California Two-Spirits are the rightful descendents of *joyas*.[72] Two-Spirit people did not cease to exist, they did not

cease to be born, simply because the Spaniards killed our *joya* ancestors. This, in fact, is a crucial point: the words *gay* or *lesbian* do not fully define a Two-Spirited person, because those labels are based on an almost exclusively sexual paradigm inherited from a nonindigenous colonizing culture. The Chumash *'aqi*, or *joyas*, fulfilled important roles as spiritual community leaders, so although genocide and gendercide worked to erase their bodies, neither their spirits nor the indigenous community's spiritual needs could be murdered. This is what comes down to us as Two-Spirit people: the necessity of our roles as keepers of a dual or blended gender that holds male and female energy in various mixtures and keeps the world balanced. Although Two-Spirit people often had children in the past, and continue to do so in the present, and will into the future, we do not expect or train our children to follow in our footsteps. A Two-Spirit person is born regardless of biological genealogy. Thus we will always be with you. We *are* you. We are not outsiders, some other community that can be wiped out. We come from you, and we return to you.

Simply identifying as both Indian and gay does not make a person Two-Spirit, although it can be a courageous and important step; the danger of that assumption elides Two-Spirit responsibilities as well as the social and cultural needs of contemporary indigenous communities in relation to such issues as suicide rates, alcoholism, homelessness, and AIDS. What steps can we take to reconstruct our role in the larger indigenous community? I look back at this research on my family and find guidance, examples, strategies, and lessons that converge around six key actions:

1. reclaim a name for ourselves;
2. reclaim a place for ourselves within our tribal communities (which means serious education and presence to counteract centuries of homophobia—a literary presence, a practical presence, and a working presence);
3. resist violence against ourselves as individuals and as a community within Native America;
4. work to determine what our roles as liminal beings might be in contemporary Native and national contexts;
5. work to reclaim our histories from the colonizer's records even as we continue to know and adapt our lives to contemporary circumstances and needs; and
6. create loving, supportive, celebratory community that can work to heal the wounds inflicted by shame, internalized hatred, and fear, dealing with the legacy that, as the Chickasaw poet Linda Hogan says, "history is our illness."[73]

With the adoption of the name "Two Spirit," we have already begun the work of our lifetimes. As Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas, and Sabine Lang write, "Using the word 'Two-Spirit' emphasizes the spiritual aspect of one's life and downplays the homosexual persona."[74] Significantly, this move announces and enhances the Two-Spirit need for traditionally centered lives with the community's well-being at the center. Still, we face a great problem: the lack of knowledge or spiritual training for GLBTQ Native people, particularly the mystery of blending spiritual and sexual energies to manage death/rebirth. In traditional times, there would have been older *joyas* to guide inexperienced ones; there would have been ceremony, role modeling, community support, and, most importantly, there would have been a clear role waiting to be filled.

The name Two-Spirit, then, is a way to alert others, and remind ourselves, that we have a cultural and historical responsibility to the larger community: our work is to attend to a balance of energies. We are still learning what this means; there has been no one to teach us but ourselves, our research, our stories, and our hearts. Maybe this will be the generation to figure it out. Maybe this will be the generation to reclaim our inheritance within our communities. And if it is not, I take heart from the history of the *joyas*, the impossibility of their true gendercide, and the deep, passionate, mutual need for relationship between Two Spirits and our communities.

Notes

1. Paula Gunn Allen, "I Don't Speak the Language That Has the Sentences: An Interview with Paula Gunn Allen," *Sojourner: The Women's Forum* 24, no. 2 (1999): 26–27.
2. Paula Gunn Allen, "Some Like Indians Endure," in *Living the Spirit* (New York: St. Martin's, 1988), 9–13.
3. Elaine Mills, ed., *The Papers of John Peabody Harrington in the Smithsonian Institution, 1907–1957*, microfilm (White Plains, NY: Kraus International, 1981).
4. *Salvage ethnology* is a term coined by Jacob Gruber to refer to the paradoxical obsession of Westerners to collect artifacts, linguistic traces, and cultural knowledge of cultures that they had previously spent much effort to colonize or exterminate. Rather than basic ethnological research, the study of a culture, "salvage ethnology" was concerned with an almost fanatic search (and often the hoarding of) any remains of a colonized culture. See Jacob Gruber, "Ethnographic Salvage and the Shaping of Anthropology," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 72 (1970): 1289–99.
5. I use this name as it was coined during the Third International Two Spirit Gathering, to provide a positive alternative to the unacceptable term *berdache*: Two-Spirit

people are "Aboriginal people who possess the sacred gifts of the female-male spirit, which exists in harmony with those of the female and the male. They have traditional respected roles within most Aboriginal cultures and societies and are contributing members of the community. Today, some Aboriginal people who are Two-Spirit also identify as being gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender" ("Background and Recent Developments in Two-Spirit Organizing," International Two Spirit Gathering, intltwo spiritgathering.org/content/view/27/42/ [accessed July 28, 2009]).

6. The archaeology of sexuality refers to a fairly recent movement within archaeology that brings together theoretical work from gender and women's studies, science studies, philosophy, and the social sciences on sex and gender to study material remains and to approach questions often considered accessible only through texts or direct observation of behavior, such as gender or multiple genders. An excellent collection of articles on this topic is Robert Schmidt and Barbara Voss, eds., *Archaeologies of Sexuality* (London: Routledge, 2000).
7. My use of the term *third gender* relies on and refers back to work done by Will Roscoe, Sabine Lang, Wesley Thomas, Bea Medicine, and others as a way to identify a gender that is neither fully male nor fully female, nor (more importantly) simply "half and half," but a unique blend of characteristics resulting in a third or other gender. See Sue Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas, and Sabine Lang, eds., *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997). As Brian Gilley summarizes, "The institution of the third gender [in Native American precontact societies] was less about an individual's sexuality and more about the ways their special qualities were incorporated into the social and religious life of their community" (*Becoming Two-Spirit: Gay Identity and Social Acceptance in Indian Country* [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006], 11).
8. Father Gerónimo Boscana, a Franciscan priest who kept extensive notes about Native culture and customs during his stay at Mission San Juan Capistrano from 1812 until 1826, wrote that the "Indians of California may be compared to a species of monkey" ("Chinigchinich," in Alfred Robinson, *Life in California: During a Residence of Several Years in That Territory, Comprising a Description of the Country and the Missionary Establishments*, ed. Doyce B. Nunis Jr. [New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1846], 335). Postsecularization, perceptions had not changed much; in 1849 Samuel Upham commented on California Indian genealogy and eating habits: "Like his brother, the gorilla, he is a vegetarian and subsists principally on wild berries and acorns, occasionally luxuriating on snails and grasshoppers" (*Notes of a Voyage to California Via Cape Horn, Together with Scenes in El Dorado, in the Years 1849–50* [New York: Arno, 1973], 240). This attitude persisted when John Audubon wrote in his journal of a Miwok child "eating [acorns] with the judgment of a monkey, and looking very much like one." Although the journal covers the years 1840–1850, it was published in 1906, perpetuating the distorted view of California Indians into the twentieth century

(John Audubon, *Audubon's Western Journal: 1840–1850*, ed. Frank Heywood Hodder [Cleveland: Clark, 1906], 213).

9. Although most scholars still use the population estimates by Martin Baumhoff (*Ecological Determinants of Aboriginal California Populations* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963]) and Sherburne Cook (*The Population of the California Indians, 1796–1970* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976]), many contemporary scholars view their numbers (150,000–350,000) as greatly outdated. In *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History since 1492* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), Russell Thornton, for example, writes that California Indian precontact population was "approaching 705,000" (200). In private correspondence with the author about more current population data, William Preston writes that "at this point I think Thornton's high number is totally reasonable. In fact, keeping in mind that populations no doubt fluctuated over time, I'm thinking that at times 1 million or more Native Californians were resident in that state." William Preston, e-mail message to author, July 8, 2009.
10. Pedro Fages, *A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California by Pedro Fages, Soldier of Spain*, trans. Herbert Priestley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), 33.
11. Stanley Coren, *The Pawprints of History: Dogs and the Course of Human Events* (New York: Free Press, 2003), 67–80.
12. Coren, *Pawprints of History*, 76.
13. Coren, *Pawprints of History*, 72–73.
14. Coren, *Pawprints of History*, 74.
15. Peter Martyr d'Anghera, "The Third English Book on America" [*De Orbe Novo*], trans. Richard Eden, in *The First Three English Books on America: [?1511]–1555 A.D.*, ed. Edward Arber (Birmingham, 1885), 138.
16. Coren, *Pawprints of History*, 76.
17. Maureen Heibert, "'Too Many Cides' to Genocide Studies? Review of Jones, Adam, ed. Gendercide and Genocide," H-Genocide, H-Net Reviews, www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=10878 (accessed December 17, 2008); emphasis added.
18. D'Anghera, "Third English Book on America," 138.
19. Herbert E. Bolton, trans. and ed., *Fray Juan Crespi: Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1927), 171.
20. Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 83.
21. Wayne Dynes, "Gay Spanish," Homolexis, December 25, 2006, homolexis.blogspot.com/2006_12_01_archive.html.
22. Fages, *Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California*, 59.
23. Francisco Palóu, *Palóu's Life of Fray Junipero Serra*, ed. and trans. Maynard J. Geiger (Washington, DC: American Academy of Franciscan History, 1955), 33.

24. Leanne Hinton, *Flutes of Fire: Essays on California Indian Languages* (Berkeley: Heyday, 1994), 13.
25. Boscana, "Chinigchinich," 284.
26. Connie M. Toops, *Hummingbirds: Jewels in Flight* (Stillwater, MN: Voyageur, 1992), 15.
27. James Sandos, "Christianization among the Chumash: An Ethnohistoric Perspective," *American Indian Quarterly* 15 (1991): 71.
28. Nellie Van de Grift Sanchez, *Spanish and Indian Place Names of California: Their Meaning and Their Romance* (San Francisco: Robertson, 1914), 44.
29. Huntington Library, "Early California Population Project Database, 2006" (ECPPD), www.huntington.org/Information/ECPPmain.htm (accessed September 30, 2007).
30. ECPPD, Santa Barbara, Baptismal #04128.
31. ECPPD, San Jose, Baptism #04733.
32. ECPPD, San Francisco Solano, Baptism #00977.
33. Sandos, "Christianization among the Chumash," 71.
34. Irving Berdine Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico, 1535–1847* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger, 2007), 442; emphasis added.
35. Boscana, "Chinigchinich," 245.
36. Palóu, *Palóu's Life of Fray Junipero Serra*, 214–15.
37. For a general survey, see Jacobs, Thomas, and Lang, *Two-Spirit People*; and Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York: St. Martin's, 1998).
38. J. Alden Mason writes, "That the mention of the dead was as serious an offence among the Salinans as with other Californian Indians is well illustrated by the incident that when asked jocularly for a Salinan word of profanity, Pedro Encinales gave ca MteL and translated it 'go to the devil' (ve al diablo). [Father] Sitjar writes chavmtel 'cadaver.'" Sitjar, who compiled a useful list of Salinan words and phrases, knew enough of the Indian language to make his own translation, which apparently Pedro Encinales, the indigenous speaker, wasn't comfortable speaking (J. Alden Mason, *The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians* [Whitefish, MT: Kessinger, 2006], 167).
39. Sandra E. Hollimon, "Archaeology of the *'Aqi*: Gender and Sexuality in Prehistoric Chumash Society," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, ed. Robert Schmidt and Barbara Voss (New York: Routledge, 2000), 193.
40. Holliman, "Archaeology of the *'Aqi*," 192.
41. Holliman, "Archaeology of the *'Aqi*," 182.
42. Palóu, *Palóu's Life of Fray Junipero Serra*, 193.
43. Palóu, *Palóu's Life of Fray Junipero Serra*, 445.
44. Linda B. King, *The Medea Creek Cemetery (CA-LAN-243): An Investigation of Social Organization from Mortuary Practices*, UCLA Archaeological Survey Annual Report, no. 11 (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), 47. I call Solares a "con-

sultant" here rather than use the traditional ethnological term *informant* out of respect for all Native peoples who have retained and chosen to share their cultural knowledge and expertise; my purpose is to acknowledge that Indigenous knowledge puts Native consultants on an equal intellectual level with scientists and academics.

45. Hollimon suggests that "daughters" of male-bodied *'aqi* were probably fictive kinships (such as adoption) formed with other members of the same guild or role or premenopausal children of women who took up the *'aqi* role late in life, and when colonization had created a shortage in the usual mortuary profession (Holliman, "Archaeology of the *'Aqi*," 185).
46. For information about the life expectancy of mission-born children, see Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 53–56.
47. Walter L. Williams, "The Abominable Sin: The Spanish Campaign against 'Sodomy,' and the Results in Modern Latin America," in *The Spirit and the Flesh* (Boston: Beacon, 1992), 129.
48. Williams, "Abominable Sin," 130.
49. Williams, "Abominable Sin," 129.
50. For a fascinating study of Librado's history, see John Johnson, "The Trail to Fernando," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 4 (1982): 132–38.
51. Fernando Librado, *Breath of the Sun: Life in Early California as Told by a Chumash Indian, Fernando Librado, to John P. Harringon*, ed. Travis Hudson (Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press, 1979).
52. Librado, *Breath of the Sun*, 33.
53. Librado, *Breath of the Sun*, 33.
54. See King, *Medea Creek Cemetery*, 47. Hollimon says that "her identification may have been an intended insult based on personal animosity" ("Archaeology of the *'Aqi*," 192).
55. Mills, *Papers of John Peabody Harrington*, 73:282 B.
56. Multiple translations of *joto* exist: for example, *faggot*, *queer*, *homosexual*, *pansy*. After consultation with colleagues, I believe I have chosen the word most likely to carry Isabel's meaning.
57. Isabel's older half-brother Jacinto Meadows (San Carlos, Baptism #04279), a son from her mother's first marriage to Quirino (San Carlos, Baptism #02993X), married my great-great-great-grandmother Sacramento Cantua (San Carlos, Baptism #04202). As Jacinto's baptismal information lists no surname, it seems that Jacinto adopted the Meadows name when his mother married Englishman James Meadows in 1842. Sacramento and Jacinto, both previously married, had no children together; hence, this is a familial, not blood, relationship.
58. *ECPPD*, San Carlos, Baptism #04700.

59. "Real" was a name conferred by common community use on Estefana and her sisters, probably because of their association with Padre Jose Real, a well-known womanizer; his women were known as the "Real women" and mothers of the "Real children." Even their father, Fructoso Real Cholom, acquired and used the Real name.
60. Steven Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 388.
61. Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 401.
62. Estefana's "muchos maridos"—her many husbands and/or men—look quite different from this perspective. Rather than being a *bad Indian woman* who slept around a lot, a sinner, or a lewd and loose woman, as the priests saw her, Estefana was actually practicing a very California Indian form of resistance and cultural preservation: maintaining her right to choose her sexual partners and bear children by the men she preferred regardless of Catholic marriage ceremony. Hurtado notes that Father Serra recognized early on that "common Indian sexual behavior amounted to serious sins that merited the friar's solemn condemnation" (Albert Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California* [Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999], 6). Worst of all, of course, were the *joyas*, but normative men and women were a close second, practicing premarital sex, polygamy for higher-status men, serial monogamy for everyone else (in which marriage and divorce were both accomplished quickly and without "legal" or spiritual repercussions), the taking of lovers while married to someone else (which had its own risks and costs but was not forbidden), the restrictions preventing sexual relations for up to two years after childbirth or a day or two before hunting, acceptance of masturbation, birth control, and so on. It seems to me that Estefana was resisting the countless rules, punishments, pressures, and basic colonization methods of the Spaniards via her woman's body. Therefore it is possible she would have had fewer issues with her son's status as a *joto* than many and may have even seen his sexual orientation as Victor's own form of resistance and self-fulfillment.
63. This field note, in transcription, was generously shared with me by Philip Laverty. It reads in full: "76:37B [Iz. May 36; Victor Acedo, el cosinero de Esnáyvli [Snively], used to put up aulones in frascos (mason jars); mussels, clams]."
64. L. Frank Manriquez, *Acorn Soup* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 1999); L. Frank Manriquez and Kim Hogeland, eds., *First Families: A Photographic History of California Indians* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 2007).
65. L. Frank Manriquez, "There Are Other Ways of Getting Tradition," *Museum Anthropology* 24, nos. 2/3 (2001): 41.
66. Manriquez, "There Are Other Ways of Getting Tradition," 41; emphasis added.
67. Manriquez, "There Are Other Ways of Getting Tradition," 42.
68. Manriquez, "There Are Other Ways of Getting Tradition," 42.

69. Manriquez, "There Are Other Ways of Getting Tradition," 43.
70. L. Frank Manriquez, e-mail message to author, December 21, 2008.
71. Janice Gould, "American Indian Women's Poetry: Strategies of Rage and Hope," *SIGNS: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 20 (1995): 799. Gould's essay discusses poetry by eight Native women (Paula Gunn Allen, Luci Tapahonso, Janice Gould, Wendy Rose, Chrystos, Louise Erdrich, Linda Hogan, and Joy Harjo), four of whom have primary relationships with women as life partners, including Gould herself. I find this significant in light of the "exhumation" Gould speaks of; she also calls this "our imperative . . . to resurrect, sometimes hundreds of years after the fact, a history that has been buried, lost, or ignored" (799). As Gould's work points out, the liminal states of birth and death are strangely connected twins, whose mediators are often Two-Spirit people and women.
72. Other indigenous peoples around the world attributed special powers and rights to Two-Spirits within their tribes; although they were not always the mediators between life and death, similar patterns may be found. Because of the limitations of this essay, I leave that to future scholars and seekers.
73. Linda Hogan, *The Woman Who Watches Over the World: A Native Memoir* (New York: Norton, 2001), 59.
74. Jacobs, Thomas, and Lang, *Two-Spirit People*, 3.