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Haile's of 1914 (pp. 73, 76) for his arrival in Lukachukai needs resolution. Likewise, the anonymously authored statement, published in 1954 and reprinted here (p. 211), that Blessingway is a nine-day ceremonial needs correction as does the fused word "menthey" on the same page. Additionally, a few misspelled words and place and personal names need correction. I would also suggest adding at least two references to appropriate endnotes and the bibliography for Halpern and McGreevy's *Washington Matthews: Studies of Navajo Culture, 1880-1894* and David M. Brugge's *Hubbell Trading Post: National Historic Site*. Finally, it is worth noting that as part of the Franciscans' centennial celebration, it became possible this summer to augment Bodo's intriguing presentation of Father Berard's remembrances with *Laborers of the Harvest* (Gallup: Indian Trader, Inc., 1998), collected essays by Father Cormac Antram, O. F. M., known to many for his Navajo language radio broadcasts.

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Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality and Spirituality. Edited by Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas, and Sabine Lang. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 331 pages. \$44.95 cloth; \$19.95 paper.

Since the publication of Walter Williams' *The Spirit in the Flesh* (1986), interest in American Indian gender systems, and particularly the role of the so-called "berdache" in those gender systems, has received increasing attention. The publication of *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality and Spirituality*, edited by Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas, and Sabine Lang is one of several new books on the topic, and this volume is especially important. With the increasing involvement of American Indian people in academic discourses on Native American gender and the revisionist approaches recently advocated by anthropologists, *Two-Spirit People* represents an important new direction in the study of its subject. The volume contains essays by American Indian and non-Indian contributors and offers some fresh perspectives on the long-acknowledged but misunderstood phenomenon of the so-called berdache in American Indian cultures as well as the role this traditional category plays in the lives of contemporary gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered, and other Native American people.

As Jacobs, Thomas, and Lang note in their introduction, "'berdache' is now considered to be an inappropriate and insulting term by a number of Native Americans as well as by anthropologists" (p. 3). It has been replaced by "two-spirit," a term coined by the individuals attending the third Native American/First Nations gay and lesbian conference in Winnipeg in 1990 (p. 2). A 1994 editorial in *American Anthropologist* by Jacobs called for the end of the use of the term *berdache*. Although most contributors to *Two-Spirit People* have accepted the two-spirit designation, others qualify its use—in some cases preferring the individual designations that various tribal languages have for

two-spirited persons. Wesley Thomas notes that among his people, the Navajo, the term *two-spirit* would suggest that a person possesses both a living and a dead spirit—not something Navajos consider a good state to be in. As Claire Farrer asserts in her essay, “the business of names is a tricky one indeed, and it is not yet settled to everyone’s satisfaction” (p. 248). For the purposes of this review, I will use tribal-specific designations—such as the Lakota term *winkte* or the Navajo term *nádleehí*—when possible; *berdache* when referring to older work which embraced this term; and *two-spirit* everywhere else. In some cases, where my comments address both past ethnographic work on the berdache and current work on two-spirit persons, I will hyphenate the two terms (*berdache/two-spirit*).

Two-Spirit People is a collection that came out of two conference sessions called “Revisiting the ‘North American Berdache’ Empirically and Theoretically,” held with the support of the Wenner-Gren Foundation at the American Anthropological Association meetings in 1993. A follow-up conference was held at the Field Museum of Natural History in May 1994. The goal of these conferences was to bring together Native American two-spirit people and the scholars who were conducting work on two-spirits (in some cases participants were in both categories) to form a dialogue, discuss issues of representation, and correct past ethnographic mistakes. The conference papers were then collected into a volume and published, the result being *Two-Spirit People*.

The book is divided into an introduction and five parts, which more or less reflect the original agenda of the conferences. The volume begins with an introduction by Jacobs, Thomas, and Lang that includes an overview of past research trends, mentions some of the previous scholarly highlights addressing the subject, and introduces the various papers in the volume. Following the introduction, the first section, “Rebuilding Anthropological Narratives Concerning Two-Spirit People,” includes a variety of pieces that reconsider the nature of the berdache/two-spirit category, critiquing earlier approaches. What emerges from this section, as well as the rest of the volume, is that established categories and criteria are highly problematic—that is, they contain a great deal of variation heretofore ignored by scholars. In her contribution, Sue-Ellen Jacobs notes that gender and sexuality have been assumed to be linked in ways that are not always present in the various communities. Sabine Lang makes the important point that contemporary two-spirits have been largely ignored by ethnographers more interested in traditional cultures, an opinion echoed by many of the authors (particularly the American Indian authors) throughout the book. Several contributors note that studies of women have been almost systematically excluded in a literature that is male-dominated, and Jason Cromwell draws parallels between two-spirits and male-to-female transgendered persons.

The second section, “Questions of Terminology,” continues this thread of inquiry, though the pieces in this section vary somewhat in how they approach the topic—some seem to have little to do with terminology at all, while others go beyond discussing terminology to look at the social implications of naming and identification. This section includes a much older (1979) but previously

unpublished essay by Bea Medicine (Standing Rock Lakota), two pieces on the Navajo by Wesley Thomas (Navajo) and Carolyn Epple, and Taos/Warm Springs scholar and advocate Terry Tafoya's humorously titled "M. Dragonfly: Two-Spirit and the Tafoya Principle of Uncertainty."

The third section, "Two-Spirit as a Lived Experience: Life Stories," is perhaps less academic but more personal and offers autobiographical reflections from a number of two-spirit-identified persons, as well as a remembrance of a two-spirit Apache medicine person by anthropologist Claire Farrer. Like the academics in the first section, the American Indian writers are critical of previous ethnographic descriptions of two-spirits, though their dissatisfaction lies more in the neglect previous accounts have had for the wide variety in the lived experiences of two-spirit people. As Beverly Little Thunder puts it, "Instead of focusing on one or two people who lived in the past it is now time to begin to write about those of us who live today" (p. 209).

Part Four is titled "Comments, Reflections, and Generalizations" and represents a kind of grab bag, basically a collection of further investigation into the notion of a two-spirit category. It includes brief essays on gender categories, a more personal reflection, and an astute summary of the collection. The book concludes with a roundtable discussion of homophobia. Notably absent from this list of contributors are Walter Williams (author of *The Spirit and the Flesh*) and Will Roscoe (author of *Zuni Man-Woman*), both important scholars in two-spirit studies.

Although the perspectives are many and varied, the one thing all of the contributors agree upon is that a revision of anthropological understandings of the two-spirit category is necessary. Earlier scholarship, such as that of Williams and Roscoe, which sought to identify parallels between traditional two-spirit people and contemporary gays and lesbians is questioned and criticized throughout. American Indian contributors distance themselves from dominant-culture gays and lesbians who are seen as appropriating Native gender and sexuality for their own ends. Others note that the gay and lesbian subculture tends to exclude them as Native Americans. "To be a successful gay man, I had to become a white gay man," notes Michael Red Earth (p. 214). As Red Earth suggests and a number of contributors to *Two-Spirit People* show, many contemporary two-spirit individuals also see themselves as gay or lesbian, yet this is a relatively recent phenomenon, and, even still, the two only partially overlap. Anthropologists have tended to collapse the important differences between the two identities, even when discussing traditional berdache/two-spirit categories.

Several pieces underscore the fact that relationships between two-spirit people and their partners did not traditionally represent what is now called homosexuality because traditional gender systems did not necessarily follow the binary Western model with its exclusive dyadic categories of male/female and, by extension, heterosexual/homosexual. As Wesley Thomas asserts in his study of the Navajo gender system, homosexuality as it is thought of today, that is, as a relationship between persons in the same gender category, seems to have been rare in his traditional Navajo culture. Navajo two-spirits (called *nádleehí*) generally had partners who self-identified as male. According to

Thomas, *nádleehí* were considered a distinct gender category. As Thomas observes, traditionally, homosexual relationships within any gender category were, and still are to some extent, thought of as “inappropriate.” The problem is that in the past, scholars overlooked variation across gender systems, tending instead to see gender variance in American Indian communities through the gendered experience of their own, dominant culture. The result has been the erroneous amalgamation, both popular and academic, of two-spirits with gays and lesbians.

In his contribution, Jean-Guy Goulet identifies exactly this pattern in several generations of past scholarship. Goulet shows that John Honigmann, author of a 1949 ethnography of the Kaska (a Northern Athabaskan group), wrongly asserts that simply because a young girl was raised as a hunter and dressed in boy’s clothes she was “apparently a homosexual” (in Honigmann’s words). In fact, this extrapolation is spurious, as Goulet deftly demonstrates. First, he questions what Honigmann means when he claims the young girl was “raised as a boy” and shows that neither her attire nor her performance of tasks traditionally thought of as male necessarily means anything at all. “To state that the Kaska girl was dressed as a boy is meaningless,” he observes. “There was no gender-specific Kaska clothing” (p. 51). Likewise, Kaska women typically performed many of the jobs that men did, and for a young girl to travel with her father on hunting expeditions was not at all unusual. Goulet observes that Honigmann admits elsewhere in his ethnography that many other Kaska women also hunted big game. Finally, he shows that being “raised as a boy” has nothing to do with her sexual preference and that Honigmann had no reliable evidence to conclude that it did. Goulet goes on to note that later scholars, seeking to establish the existence of berdache categories across Native American cultures, not only accepted Honigmann’s observations at face value, but actually embellished them in the service of their arguments. An excerpt from Walter Williams’ *The Spirit in the Flesh* shows that Williams added a variety of information to his retelling of Honigmann’s account, including the fact that girls who were raised as boys in the manner asserted by Honigmann “would have relationships only with women.” Williams concludes that the girl demonstrates the presence of a female berdache category which he regrettably refers to as “Amazon” throughout *The Spirit and the Flesh*, a mistake for which Goulet and other contributors to *Two-Spirit People* take him repeatedly to task. Goulet’s piece is among the very best of the collection and represents revisionist anthropology at its finest.

Wesley Thomas’ chapter also effectively refutes the notion that two-spirit people represent something similar to Western homosexuality as earlier scholars like Williams have claimed. In his contribution, Thomas examines the existence in Navajo culture of multiple genders. Thomas asserts that there are actually five genders in Navajo society: male, female, *nádleehí* (the Navajo term for two-spirit), masculine female, and feminine male. Because he looks at the category of *nádleehí* within the larger Navajo gender system and not, as past scholars have tended to do, disembodied from that system, Thomas’ analysis allows for a more nuanced and culture-specific understanding of *nádleehí* than anything else that has thus far been published on berdache/two-spirits.

Another of the strengths of Thomas' piece is that he accounts for cultural change over time. As Johannes Fabian and many other scholars have pointed out, ethnographic works have historically tended to freeze their subjects in a timeless past and given little consideration to how cultural practices change over time. Thomas offers a direct comparison of gender categories among contemporary Navajos with those he sees as operating traditionally in the past. According to Thomas, Navajo society traditionally included only three gender categories: women, men, and *nádleehí*/ hermaphrodites, while all four of the remaining roles in the cultural continuum include men, women, masculine females, and feminine males, but not the *nádleehí*/hermaphrodite role. This is a fascinating conclusion, though his omission of the women's warrior tradition (which surely should be considered under his "masculine females" role in the traditional category) is not discussed and seems to be an oversight here.

Carolyn Epple's chapter is another of the volume's stronger contributions, and it nicely complements Thomas' piece. She writes on Navajo *nádleehí* and asserts that the best way of understanding gender in Navajo culture is by examining it through the lens of traditional Navajo philosophy. Epple argues against using cultural roles, behaviors, or other traits to determine the existence of a two-spirit category in a given culture, since these are, at best, essentialized and leaky criteria which exclude certain individuals in cultures which might not otherwise base the existence of a category or categorical membership on such traits, an assertion underscored by Goulet's piece discussed earlier. Instead, Epple attempts to locate *nádleehí* within Navajo ideas about gender.

Notions of gender (male and female complementarity) are included within Navajo philosophy as well, and Epple shows (with ample quotes from both her philosophical and *nádleehí* teachers) that such an inclusive philosophy makes the categorical distinction of *nádleehí* difficult at best. As one traditional Navajo scholar told her, "If you were to ask what is a *nádleehí*, no one could really say." Further problematizing the attribution of *nádleehí* status on the basis of traits or roles, traditional Navajo philosophy sees all human beings as both male *and* female, regardless of biological sex. Explaining this, another Navajo scholar told her, "we all possess both masculine and feminine characteristics" and in the view of Navajo philosophy, *nádleehí* simply epitomize this principle. All of this leads Epple to reject the notion of multiple genders, and she quotes a traditional Navajo scholar to this effect "There are only two—male and female—and no others" (p. 184).

Epple's conclusions seem to contradict Thomas' assertion of multiple genders among the Navajo, and, indeed, Jacobs claims in her own contribution that "they strongly disagree with one another on major issues" (p. 35). While this appears to be true, I tend to see the two approaches as complementary as much as contradictory, since Epple's framework is more philosophical, focusing on the meaning of gender in Navajo philosophy, while Thomas focuses more on how gender variation play out sociologically. Perhaps some resolution of their differences can be found in Sabine Lang's assertion that simply because "two-spirit females and males are seen as a mixture of the masculine and the feminine, and not something completely dif-

ferent from both, does not imply that they are not seen as separate genders different from both man and woman" (p. 104).

The relationship between Thomas' and Epple's papers also highlights the volume's larger dialogue between the anthropologists and the American Indian contributors. If, as Gilbert Herdt asserts, the book represents a "profound example of how a new anthropology of sexuality can be constructed to open the discourse on cultural diversity rather than compare cultures against a limiting norm that takes Western culture as the ideal model" (p. 277), this could only have been achieved through a kind of postcolonial dialogue between two-spirit people and the social scientists who study them. As the editors explain in their introduction, "for too long discussions of Native American gender diversity and sexuality had taken place without benefit of shared discourse with Native Americans" (p. 8).

This "shared discourse" is not always neat or pretty. The statements of the American Indian contributors repeatedly draw attention to the exclusion of American Indian voices in the process of representation and convey no small amount of anxiety at the historical role anthropologists have had in (mis)representing Indian people. Clyde Hall states this position succinctly in his pointedly titled paper, "You Anthropologists Make Sure You Get Your Words Right," when he writes, "You know, twenty years ago I would never have thought that I would be in front of all these anthropologists, talking about such a personal subject as my own people and friends. In fact, if you had come to the reservation, I probably would have chased you off with a gun" (p. 273). The crux of the American Indian complaint lies in the anthropological tendency toward analytical oversimplification and the reduction of a remarkable variety of cultures and lives to an imaginary and irrelevant abstraction: the "berdache." As Doyle Robertson observes, "I am proud to be a first-generation, off-the-reservation, mixed-blood *winkte*.... I am growing weary of never being 'Native enough' or 'gay enough' or 'white enough.' What I do not need added to the mix is being limited by what, in my life experience, is the meaningless word 'berdache'" (p. 234). These kinds of criticisms may seem very common in the postmodern era of anthropology, but they must remain so until anthropologists come to appreciate them fully and incorporate them into their work.

It is perhaps regrettable that the critical dialogue between the anthropologists and the two-spirit contributors in *Two-Spirit People* is not more explicit or direct. For the most part, the American Indian critiques of anthropological approaches remain quite general, and in only a few instances do they directly address any specific paper within the collection. Nor do the anthropologists tend to respond directly or offer theoretical or paradigmatic ways that ethnographic approaches to gender diversity in American Indian communities could be improved, though Epple and Farrer are exceptions here, and other contributors do make some suggestions in this regard. The only direct dialogue in the book takes place in the final section, the group discussion on homophobia. This section is simply a transcript of a discussion held at the last of the three conferences. Its inclusion in the volume seems like a hasty afterthought—no context is given for the various speakers, who are identified only by first name—an odd format for a book that staunchly advocates the necessity of attending to identi-

ty and cultural context. The lack of context is confusing as well, since some of the participants are not actually contributors to the volume itself, while some of the contributors are absent from the discussion. The dialogue also lacks a conclusion—it merely seems to stop and the book simply ends.

To its credit, while much of the “shared discourse” of *Two-Spirit People* is indirect and differences between the contributors remain, at least some of the papers transcend the dichotomy between “anthros” and “Natives.” The contributions from Thomas and Epple seem to reverse the usual paradigm, showing in Thomas’ case that an Indian voice can also be an analytical and objective one and in Epple’s, that an anthropologist can successfully integrate indigenous voices and systems of knowledge into a theoretical framework, and not simply hold them up as objects of study. Other pieces also blur the boundary between personal and academic orientations, between Indian and anthropologist. Claire Farrer, for example, offers a moving portrait of Bernard Second, a Mescalero Apache medicine person with whom she had a longtime personal relationship and scholarly collaboration. Her portrait of Second is appropriately included in the “Life Stories” section, and in addition to offering subtle reflections on the ethnographic process, it voices many of the same concerns found in the contributions by two-spirit authors.

Jason Cromwell’s article “Traditions of Gender Diversity and Sexuality,” also acts as a bridge between the essays with an academic focus and the more autobiographical pieces. According to Cromwell, female-to-male transgendered persons (abbreviated as “FTMs”) have been ignored in popular academic writing due to “homocentrism” (the tendency for the gay and lesbian community to ignore transgendered and transsexual individuals) and transgenderphobia (the fear behind the ignorance). Cromwell makes a good case that similar processes are occurring in the historical neglect of female two-spirits. Although it appears anomalous, Cromwell’s essay is very important to the collection because it discusses in detail some of the nuances of identity politics and negotiation which remain for the most part implicit in many of the life stories. The strength of Cromwell’s essay is that he defiantly refuses to allow FTMs to be statically or categorically defined and offers a multitude of definitions of female-to-male transgendered persons, asserting at different points in his article that FTMs represent female gender diversity, are men, are between men and women in a dimorphic society, represent a different alternative gender altogether, and defy categorization. Like the American Indian voices in *Two-Spirit People*, Cromwell pushes the reader to listen to people’s self-definitions and abandon simplistic social categories in favor of an emphasis on negotiated identities.

What emerges from the autobiographical pieces is that being a two-spirit person is not so much belonging to a certain social category, but an ongoing and sometimes painful life process, in which self-identification is complex, requiring resilience, courage, and strength. Beyond merely offering a corrective, the contributions of the two-spirit-identified persons are indispensable to the collection because they humanize it. However revisionist the anthropologists are in their approaches, much of their work remains social science after all—for the most part, impersonal, objective, and, with some exceptions, still

more concerned with traditional roles than contemporary lives. Many two-spirit writers also reflect on moving life stories and experiences. For example, Little Thunder tells of a time that "I heard a young two-spirit man cry because his sister would not allow him to hold his newborn nephew. She told him that she did not want her son to be gay" (p. 205). The life stories in *Two-Spirit People* make it clear that colonialism has irrevocably altered traditional Native North American gender systems, forcing two-spirit people to endure not just racism from the dominant culture, but prejudice from within their own cultures as well.

While some academic purists may question the wisdom of including essays that are more personal and less scholarly in a collection like *Two-Spirit People*, I believe their role is integral. The collaboration between two-spirit persons and researchers creates a kind of two-pronged attack on the limitations of "berdache" that is far more effective than either group would be standing alone. Moreover, the two-spirit presence keeps the anthropologists from becoming, for lack of a better term, too anthropological. In her perceptive summary of the volume, Evelyn Blackwood suggests that "Recognizing two-spirit as an identity rather than as an immutable gender may be the most fruitful direction to take" (p. 293). In fact, this may be the single most important contribution of this most important book. Although the dialogue between anthropologists and American Indian two-spirit people needs to continue, *Two-Spirit People* represents an essential step forward toward a more sensitive and complete understanding of an important topic in contemporary American Indian studies. It is both accessible and informative and is highly recommended as essential reading to anyone interested in American Indian gender systems.

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"We Are Still Here!" The Algonquian Peoples of Long Island Today. By John A. Strong. Interlaken, New York: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1996; 1998. 108 pages. \$14.00 paper.

In this upbeat little book John Strong, the author of a number of fine studies on Long Island Indian ethnohistory, has examined the efforts of Long Island's Shinnecocks, Unkechaugs, Montauketts, and Matinecocks to protect and nurture their cultural traditions and ensure their survival as autonomous groups with a powerfully articulated sense of ethnic identity. As the title of the work suggests, Strong is most interested in the efforts of Long Island's Indians to remain Indian in present-day New York state.

Strong has drawn heavily on the work of anthropologist Nancy Lurie, who described in 1971 the emergence of "articulatory movements" on the "Contemporary American Indian Scene" (*North American Indians in Historical Perspective*, New York, 1971, p. 418). According to Lurie, Indians have struggled to find a path between the extremes of economic marginality as Indian communities or the achievement of prosperity through individual assimilation. They have done so, she argued, through a "successful redefinition of