

THE CHICO HISTORIAN

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The Chico Historian

*Until lions have their historians, tales of the hunt shall
always glorify the hunter.*

- African proverb

Cover Art & Design

Detail of *Ashurbanipal Hunting Lions*, gypsum hall relief from the North Palace, Nineveh, c. 645-635 B.C.E., excavated by H. Rassam beginning in 1853 (British Museum).

Cover design by Jacob Fender, CSU, Chico Alumnus, BA in History, MA in History. According to the designer, "Jake Fender works really hard, and may someday finish all the other projects he's started. Yeah, yeah, he knows." No actual lions were harmed in the publication of this journal.

The Chico Historian

History Department
California State University, Chico
400 West First Street
Trinity Hall Room 223
Chico, California, 95929-0735
(530) 898-5366

The Chico Historian is an annual publication of the Alpha Delta Omicron Chapter of the Phi Alpha Theta National History Honor Society and the California State University, Chico (CSUC) Department of History. It aims to provide students the opportunity to publish historical works, and to train editorial staff members in producing an academic journal. Issues are published at the end of each academic year. All opinions or statements of fact are the sole responsibility of the authors, and may not reflect the views of the editorial staff. The authors retain rights to individual essays.

Phi Alpha Theta's mission is to promote the study of history through the encouragement of research, good teaching, publication, and the exchange of learning and ideas among historians. The organization seeks to bring students, teachers, and writers of history together for intellectual and social exchanges, which promote and assist historical research and publication by our members in a variety of ways.

**We dedicate this volume to
John Boyle**

Retired CSUC professor of Asian history John Boyle, a scholar in the area of pre- and post-war Japan, taught courses in east Asian history at Chico State from 1968 until his retirement in 1997. He is the author of *Modern Japan: The American Nexus*. His generous support of *The Chico Historian* has made the publication of this and many other issues possible.

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The Annual Publication of the
Alpha Delta Omicron Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta
and the Department of History
California State University, Chico

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Introduction & Acknowledgements

It is our pleasure to present to you the twenty-fifth volume of *The Chico Historian*, the annual journal of the California State University, Chico History Department. This, our silver anniversary edition, presents the scholarly work of eight CSUC students, current and alumni, on a rich and diverse range of topics, touching on many cultures across a time span of some 1300 years.

While there was no plan to enforce a common theme, one has serendipitously appeared regardless, as each submission touches on issues of identity and conflicts over same. In chronological order, Rodney Thomson's paper, "The Evolution of Khawarij Identity in al-Shahraṣṭani's *Kitab al-Milal wa 'l-Nihal*," examines the first dissenting group in Islam and how they were perceived by those outside that sect. Moving forward nearly one-thousand years, Sean T. Painter explores the construction of homosexual identity in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries and how it impacted contemporary perceptions of King James I of England in "Rex Fuit Elizabeth: *Nunc Est Regina Jacobus* (Elizabeth Was King Now James Is Queen)."

Two papers address the tragic clash of cultures between native and invader that occurred in nineteenth century America. Chris Paintner's "Navajo Resistance to Relocation and Assimilation: Survival of the *Diné* in the Fearing Time," discusses the Navajo struggle to retain its identity in the face of attempts at forced assimilation, while Thomas Giles looks at clashing local identities in "John Bidwell and California's Invisible War," arguing that conflicts instigated by California settlers against native tribes were motivated largely by a desire for land. Shifting focus to the opposite side of the globe, Justin Nielsen examines the British use of the *Ramayana* as part of their colonial strategy in an attempt to use Indian identity against itself in his "The *Ramayana* in Nineteenth-Century British Intellectual History."

This year's collection is rounded out by three works addressing twentieth-century topics. Kylie Tomlin discusses the civil rights movement's identification with nonviolence before Dr. King's involvement in an excerpt from her masters thesis entitled, "The Fellowship of Reconciliation and Gandhian Nonviolence." "Identity in

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Oil: An Examination of Indigenous Identity Construction in Ecuador,” by Jean Woodmansee, looks at how identity politics helped Ecuadorians gain initial support in their struggle against outside oil concerns, as well as how they helped entrench class-based disparity and negatively impacted the identity of many native peoples not associated with influential indigenous organizations. In our final offering America's often-conflicting identities as benefactor to the downtrodden and capitalist powerhouse take center stage in Jerrad Benedict's "Doomed from Inception: Kennedy and The Alliance for Progress," in which he asserts that Kennedy's Latin-American policy could only fail in the face of American military intervention and private business interests.

This edition, the continuation of a long and distinguished tradition of scholarship at CSU, Chico, is the result of a great deal of work on the part of many. The Editorial Board offers its sincere thanks to those who submitted papers, whether they were accepted or not: your hard work and desire to contribute are gratefully recognized. Likewise the faculty who have served as our mentors and advisers: particularly Professor Stephen Lewis, who provided gentle but valuable guidance on publishing this years edition. Also the advisors to History Club and Phi Alpha Theta (the organizations that make up our local community of student historians), Professors Najm al-Din Yousefi and Dallas Deforest. We would be remiss if we did not mention the financial support of retired Professor John Boyle, whose generous donation made publication of this year's *Chico Historian* possible. Finally, the Chief Editors would like to thank the rest of the Editorial Board, each of whom took time out of busy schedules as grad students and talented undergraduates to help select and edit submissions. What you hold in your hands is due largely to their dedication.

The Chico Historian Editorial Board

Editor and Contributor Biographies

Editors

Jerrad Benedict is a current graduate student of history at California State University, Chico. Jerrad's interests lie in modern Latin America, U.S. Foreign Relations, and modern European history, the intersection of which marks the foundation of his thesis research. Upon graduating with his MA in history, Jerrad intends to teach history at the college level, with future aspirations of pursuing a Ph.D. His paper was written for Dr. Jeffery Livingston's History 490 (Historical Research & Writing) in Spring 2014.

Rodney Thomson is a graduate student of history at California State University, Chico. Rod's current research includes identity formation among early-Islamic sectarian groups and how that process was influenced by contemporary socio-political events; he is also researching student and faculty activism at Chico State College during the long 1960s. Rod intends to pursue postgraduate work in the field of Islamic and Middle Eastern studies, with the goal of getting his Ph.D. and ultimately teaching at the university level while researching and publishing on a variety of subjects. His paper was written for Professor Najm al-Din Yousefi's History 660 (Readings in Middle Eastern History) in Fall 2014.

Justin Nielsen is a graduate student in history at California State University, Chico pursuing a Master of Arts in History. His interests lie in early modern British history and the history of statecraft. Justin earned his Bachelor of Arts in History at the California State University, Sacramento. His paper was written as the culminating project for his bachelor's degree and was greatly modified under the direction of Dr. Jason Nice as an independent research project in Fall 2014.

Chris Paintner is an undergraduate at California State University, Chico. He will be graduating in Spring 2015 with a B.A. in History. Chris plans to begin working toward a teaching credential and continuing his postgraduate studies. He would like to teach at the secondary level after completing the credential program. He wrote his paper for Dr. Lisa Emmerich's History 490 (Historical Research and Writing Seminar) in Fall 2014

Matt Salisbury is currently pursuing his Master's Degree in History at California State University, Chico. He obtained his Bachelor's Degree in History from San Diego State University in 2011, spent two years seeking personal fulfillment, and subsequently entered the History MA

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program in 2013. He is concentrating on American History until 1877, Latin American History with an emphasis on Mexico, and the Long Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries in Europe. Upon completing his degree, Matt plans to obtain his teaching credential and work with high school students. In what little spare time he can conjure, Matt meticulously combs his mustache, plays disc golf, and enjoys watching *Frasier*.

Kylie Tomlin is a graduate student in history at California State University, Chico pursuing a Master of Arts in History. Her interests lie in 20th Century American history, particularly the civil rights movement. Kylie earned her Bachelor of Arts in Political Science from University of California, Davis in 2012. She is graduating this year and will be pursuing a career in cultural resources management. Kylie's contribution is the third chapter from her thesis.

Contributors

Thomas Giles is a graduating senior at California State University, Chico studying History with a focus on Comparative Religions and Middle Eastern Studies. His most recent research has been how those elements have impacted geopolitical relations. After graduating, Thomas plans on utilize his education as an officer in the military, using his insight and knowledge to help troops understand the regions and cultures that they are deployed to. His paper was written for Professor Lisa Emmerich's History 490 (Historical Research and Writing) in Fall 2014.

Sean T. Painter is a graduate student at California State University, Chico pursuing a Master of Arts in History. His primary interests lie in British history, Roman history, and the history of the American West. His non-academic interests include Star Trek, baseball, and his Scottish Terrier, Wally. Sean earned his Bachelor of Arts in Social Science from San Diego State in 2000, and then served in the United States Navy. He is a member of both Phi Beta Kappa and Phi Alpha Theta. Sean plans to teach history at the high school level following graduation. He previously served on the Editorial Board of *The Chico Historian* in 2010, 2013 (as the Chief Editor), and 2014. Notable academic accomplishments include five previously published papers in this publication, including one which won 2nd place for Graduate Students at the 2014 Northern California Regional Phi Alpha Theta Conference. His paper was written for Dr. Jason Nice's History 423 (Tudor-Stuart Britain, 1485-1715) in Fall 2010 and was revised and updated in Spring 2015.

Jean Woodmansee is a recent graduate of California State University, Chico with a Bachelor of Arts in Latin American Studies, a Bachelor of

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Science in Environmental Science and a Minor in Spanish. Her interest in ecology and conservation in Latin America was cultivated while studying abroad in Santiago, Chile at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. In her final year of studies she was awarded the College of Humanities and Fine Arts' Latin American Studies Student of the Year. She enjoys traveling, hiking, exploring nature, and educating herself on sustainability and social justice issues. Jean is currently pursuing a career in ecology and social sciences. She wrote this paper for Dr. Stephen Lewis' LAST 495 (Capstone Seminar in Latin American Studies) in Spring 2014.

Articles



Calligraphy of the name of the fourth Rashidun Caliph, 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, who was assassinated by a Khariji in 40/601. Image by "Rashidun Caliph Ali ibn Abi Talib - علي بن - أبي طالب" by Petermaleh - Own work. Licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0 via Wikimedia Commons, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali>.

THE EVOLUTION OF KHAWARIJ IDENTITY IN AL-SHAHRASTANI'S *KITAB AL-MILAL WA 'L- NIHAL* | Rodney Thomson

Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Shahrastani (469/1075 to 548/1153)¹ defined the *Khawarij* as, "whoever rebelled against the legitimate imam accepted by the people."² According to al-Shahrastani, such a group appeared at the Battle of Siffin (37/657), during which they coerced the fourth caliph, 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, into accepting arbitration with his opponent, Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan, just as 'Ali's, the courageous al-Ashtar³, stood on the verge of victory over the enemy Syrian army. Not content with 'Ali's acceding to their initial mandate, they next insisted he appoint a man of their choosing as arbitrator, Abu Musa al-Ash'ari, over his own choice of 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbas. Later, after 'Ali rejected the arbitration's outcome, the rebels earned their sobriquet, leaving 'Ali's camp and establishing their own at al-Nahrawan.⁴ Subsequently, they rejected the leadership of both 'Ali and his predecessor, 'Uthman ibn Affan, and instead claimed the imamate should be given to the most qualified member of the community and not automatically to a member of the tribe of Quraysh. They further claimed that rebellion against leadership opposed to the *sunnah* is obligatory, and that the commission of grave sin makes one a polytheist who must repent or suffer death at the hands of the true believers.⁵ Finally, al-Shahrastani notes that the first Khariji, Dhu al-Khuwaysirah, questioned the prophet's justice in the division of spoils at the Battle of Hunayn, while the final member of this first generation of secessionists bore the name Dhu al-Thudayya.⁶

For the historian, al-Shahrastani's accounting of early Khariji history and religious ideology reveals more about that author's context

¹ All dates are given in the format *Anno Hegirae* (AH)/Common Era (CE).

² Shahrastani, Muhammad ibn. 'Abd al-Karim, *Muslim Sects and Divisions: The Section on Muslim Sects in Kitab al-Milal wa 'l-Nihal*, trans. A. K. Kazi and J. G. Flynn (Boston, MA: Kegan Paul International, 1984), 98.

³ His full name is Malik Ibn al-Harith al-Nakha'i al-Ashtar. His epithet refers to a wound he received at the Battle of Yarmuk (15/636), "the man with inverted eyelids." By all accounts a shrewd politician and able military commander, 'Ali accorded him high praise. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, s.v. "al-Ashtar" (further references to this valuable series utilize the abbreviation, "E^F"); and Al-Tabari, *The First Civil War*, vol. 17 of *The History of al-Tabari*, trans. and annotated by G. R. Hawting (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996), 93.

⁴ Khawarij (plural of *Khariji*) translates as "those who went out," or "seceders." These transliterated Arabic nouns are used herein in preference to their anglicized forms, Kharajite and Kharajites.

⁵ Shahrastani, 98-100.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 100.

and personal biases than the sect he purports to describe. Writing approximately 600 years after the first Khariji uprising, he is part of a long tradition of polemic directed against this group – the first sectarian division in Islam – and his work reflects an evolving process of religious identity formation designed to paint the Khawarij as outsiders, distinct from mainstream Muslim society in both belief and practice. By al-Shahrastani's time, a religiously-justified expression of social, political, and personal concern had been transformed by outside observers into a religious other capable of exhibiting barbaric behavior motivated by extremist beliefs. Those engaged in this polemic utilized a variety of means to achieve this end, including reinterpretation of both scripture and sunnah to coincide with historical developments, falsification of events, and reinventing the words and deeds of the Prophet. Rather than arising from any objective attempt to create an anti-Khariji conspiracy, this process occurred organically in response to events and questions raised by dissatisfied members of a community that, prior to this first split, conceived of itself as a monolithic and unified entity. Al-Shahrastani's work provides a vantage point from which to examine the defining of a heresy by those outside the target sect who, for a variety of reasons, willingly selected, edited, and even authored information conducive to their own ends.

The term Khariji began as a descriptor of a specific group discontented with recent administration of the *ummah*, eventually coming to encompass a number of sects and sub-sects that felt justified in either revolting against or separating themselves from the political mainstream of the young Islamic world. Al-Shahrastani identifies twenty-eight Khariji groups. Named after their eponymous founders, for the most part the sub-groups differ only on minor issues of doctrine. For example, the Khalafiya disagree with the Hamziya, both sundered from the 'Ajarida, as to *qadar* (predestination). The later group denied qadar on the grounds that it would make God unjust in his final judgment, yet still held that children of polytheists were destined for hell, even though, according to the Khalafiya, they bore no guilt.⁷ An examination of other heresiographical works reveals a lack of consensus on the number of Islamic splinter groups defined as Khariji: al-Baghdadi restricts himself to twenty Khariji branches, while Ibn Hazm is less concerned with counting sects than with polemic, focusing on their, "detestable tenets so that... [he] may render clear to every reader that [the sects] are engrossed in error and absurdity."⁸ Aware of

⁷ Al-Shahrastani calls this "the most astonishing" of contradictory beliefs. Ibid., 110.

⁸ Ibn Hazm, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites According to Ibn Hazm: Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, trans. Israel Friedlaender (New Haven, CT:

this discrepancy in numbering, al-Shahrastani offers an apology for the heresiographical profession as a whole: "it is commonly known and accepted that not every one [sect] differing from another in holding certain views on one question or another is to be regarded as the founder of a doctrine. The doctrines otherwise could hardly be numbered."⁹ Like ibn Khaldun's seven historiographical precepts, al-Shahrastani relied on four "fundamental points or major principles," in determining whether a group should be defined as a legitimate sect that differed significantly from its parent organization.¹⁰ Overall, his presentation is better organized and less overtly polemical than either al-Baghdadi's or ibn Hazm's. More importantly, the discrepancies between these accounts and the greater historiographical tradition point to the influence of personal bias in how the Khawarij came to be seen by other segments of Muslim society.

Mentioned almost in passing by al-Shahrastani, Dhu al-Khuwaysirah, the author's first Khariji, provides an excellent (but somewhat convoluted) example of the extent to which non-Khawarij would go in using, redacting, and fabricating information to serve their polemical ends. In Islamic historiography, al-Khuwaysirah's name comes up during the division of spoils after the Battle of Hunayn (8/630). By all accounts, Muhammad favored new and politically-useful converts to Islam, giving them larger shares of the booty, "in order to win over their hearts."¹¹ No doubt useful in cementing their

N.P., 1901), 40. Ibn Hazm's writing is disjointed and difficult to follow, and this partial translation does not include the entirety of that author's thoughts on the Khawarij. Al-Baghdadi wants his sect count to coincide with a hadith tradition in which the Prophet predicted that Islam would eventually consist of seventy-three unique sects, only one of which (the orthodox majority – Sunni) would end up in heaven, the rest finding eternal punishment in hell. The fullest expression of this tradition is found in Ibn Majah (*Sunan Ibn Majah*, 3992, accessed September 10, 2014, <http://www.sunnah.com>), but multiple variations are attested. Al-Shahrastani likewise limits himself to a grand total of seventy-three sects of Islam, but counts more Khariji groups than his predecessor.

⁹ Al-Shahrastani, 10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹¹ Al-Tabari, *The Last Years of the Prophet*, vol. 9 of *The History of al-Tabari*, trans. and annotated by Ismail K. Poonawala (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990), 32. 'Abdallah Ibn Abi-Bakr explicitly claims that the Prophet favored "men of eminence" in the distribution of war booty. For his part, Muhammad appears to have unintentionally laid the groundwork for dissatisfaction among his followers by returning at least some (a majority?) of the Hawazin captives to their tribe upon their hasty conversion, depriving the victors of their slave-spoils, although he promised to replace them each with four camels if the participant objected to the return. Several parties expressed desire for a share of the loot, including Bedouin tribesmen who forcibly pinned the Prophet against a tree and took his cloak, while 'Abbas Ibn Mirdas al-Sulami was so dissatisfied with his portion – a meager four camels compared to the one-hundred given to Mu'awiyah and others among the newer converts – that he composed a verse complaining of Muhammad's stinginess to those who had fought for him. The

loyalties, some who had been part of the young *ummah* for a longer period expressed varying degrees of dissatisfaction with the Prophet's distribution. Several variations of the story survive; consistent in character, they differ principally in how dissenting participants are identified. The earliest sources, al-Tabari, al-Waqidi, and Ibn Ishaq, all claim Dhu al-Khuwaysirah accused Muhammad of failing to be just.¹² Understandably angered at this, the Messenger of God restrained the hand of 'Umar ibn al-Khatib, who asked for permission to kill al-Khuwaysirah, and instead prophesied that the offending individual would gain a religious following, but one that would pass without significance.¹³ These sources further associate al-Khuwaysirah with the Banu Tamim, a tribe to which some of the early Khawarij belonged, and which provided several early-Khariji imams.¹⁴ Al-Wahidi ups the ante in his *Ansab al-Nuzul*, claiming that al-Khuwaysirah is actually Hurqus ibn Zuhayr.¹⁵ One of the *al-sahabah*, Hurqus bears similarities to Judas of the Gospels, in that he went from being a close and loyal associate of Muhammad to opposing the leadership of 'Uthman and eventually being one of those who split from 'Ali at Siffin.¹⁶ He was the

overall sense provided by all accounts of the incident is one of dissatisfaction with and questioning of the Prophet's actions, and it was only through characteristically shrewd negotiation that he was able to stave off potentially-disastrous dissent. Al-Tabari, *Last Years*, 26-37; Ibn Ishaq, *Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ibn Ishaq's Sirat Rasul Allah*, trans. A. Guillaume (Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002), 594-7; and Al-Waqidi, *Kitab al-Maghazi*, ed. Rizwi Faizer, trans. Rizwi Faizer, Amal Ismail, and Abdulkader Tayob (New York: Routledge, 2011), 462-4.

¹² Al-Tabari, *Last Years*, 34-35; Ibn Ishaq, 595-6; and Al-Waqidi, 464. "Just" in this sense refers to fairness in the division of spoils.

¹³ Al-Tabari, *Last Years*, 35. This prophecy, which uses the simile of an arrow passing through game, is not presented as coming from God as are the Qur'anic revelations, but instead issues directly from the Prophet himself. This version of the event is likewise found in Ibn Ishaq and al-Waqidi, but not in that of early biographer, Ma'mar Ibn Rashid, who discusses the military events at Hunayn but not the subsequent division of spoils (Ma'mar Ibn Rashid, *The Expeditions: An Early Biography of Muhammad*, ed. and trans. 'Abd al-Razzaq al-San'ani (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 104-11).

¹⁴ Elie Adib Salem, *Political Theory and Institutions of the Khawarij* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1956), 56-57.

¹⁵ Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali Ibn Ahmad Al-Wahidi, *Asab al-Nuzul*, trans. Mokrane Guezou (Amman, Jordan: Royal Aal al-Bayt Institute for Islamic Thought, 2008), 103. Al-Wahidi attributes to Hurqus the title, "origin of the Kharajites."

¹⁶ *EF*, s.v. "Hurkus B. Zuhayr al-Sa'di." Hurqus also played a part in the siege against 'Uthman in Medina, either commanding the three groups which merged on that city from different parts of the nascent empire, or just the Egyptian contingent (the translation is ambiguous in this regard). Al-Tabari, *The Crisis of the Early Caliphate*, vol. 15 of *The History of al-Tabari*, trans. R. Stephen Humphreys (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990), 160.

only companion to join the Khawarij, killed while commanding their infantry at al-Nahrawan.¹⁷

All of this appears to give al-Shahrastani's claim of Dhu al-Khuwaysirah being the principle Khariji some legitimacy, however, further investigation reveals biases and inconsistencies that make this association questionable. The first and most obvious issue is that none of the early sources link al-Khuwaysirah directly with the Khariji movement, regardless of any association with Banu Tamim. While some members of that tribe did join the Khawarij, not all of them did, making this tribal association dubious in terms of ascertaining al-Khuwaysirah's status as a seceder.¹⁸ It appears al-Shahrastani tacitly accepts al-Wahidi's identification of Hurqus ibn Zuhayr with al-Khuwaysirah, from there concluding that he must therefore be the first Khariji, a logical non sequitur. For him, that association is implicit in the Prophet-*Rashidun* relationship: "if then a person who has criticized a true imam becomes a Khariji, how much more fitting it is that one who has criticized the prophet should be called a Khariji?"¹⁹ The author equates the complaint of al-Khuwaysirah with the secession of the Khawarij, but this requires back reading the later event into the former: regardless the connection is obvious for al-Shahrastani and other heresiographers. This historically apocryphal conclusion, like much of the Dhu al-Khuwaysirah tradition, is essentially another form of polemic against the Khawarij.

Second, other *ahadith* report this same event, but ascribe the complaint against Muhammad to others than al-Khuwaysirah. For example, al-Bukhari's *Al-Adab Al-Mufrad* leaves the offending individual unnamed, instead claiming that the man is one of the *qurra'*: "this man is with his followers who recite the Qur'an and it does not go beyond their throats. They pass through the deen as an arrow passes through the target."²⁰ Although other sources associate the *qurra'* with the earliest Khawarij, this hadith prioritizes that association over any

¹⁷ Al-Tabari, *First Civil War*, 130, and 132.

¹⁸ Salem points out that all of the Khariji imams of the first century AH came from one of two tribes, either Tamim or Rabi'a, in spite of his claim that the hadith, "obey even if an Ethiopian slave is an authority over you," indicates that the Khawarij would allow a non-Arab Muslim to command them. Salem, *Khawarij*, 56-57. [Cf. Patricia Crone, who argues that there are many problems with Salem's interpretation and use of this phrase, both theological and practical. "'Even an Ethiopian Slave': The Transformation of a Sunni Tradition," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 57, no. 1 (1994): 59-67.]

¹⁹ Al-Shahrastani, 17. This is an odd reversal of the argument that what is good for a superior is good for the inferior.

²⁰ Al-Bukhari, *Al-Adab Al-Mufrad*, 774, accessed September 10, 2014, <http://www.sunnah.com>.

other.²¹ An-Nasa'i's version explicitly alludes to the Khawarij, describing an unnamed man wearing white, with patchy hair and unnamed tribal affiliation, as the one who complains of the Prophet's unfairness in dividing the Hunayn booty. This variation's prophetic ending likewise adapts to fit the redacted story's new context, adding an apocalyptic element: "a people will come at the end of time.... They will not cease to appear until the last of them comes with Al-Masih Al-Dajjal. So when you meet them, then kill them, they are the worst of created beings."²² Ibn Majah remembers an independent prophecy, lacking contextual grounding but linked to the seceders – "a people who would appear to be devoted worshippers," and a source of religious unrest – but without reference to the division of spoils at Hunayn.²³ Most likely born from the same parent story, each version reveals different political interests manifesting in varying degrees of polemic targeted at different groups: the Banu Tamim in the first two versions, the qurra' in the third, and the more-ubiquitous Khawarij in the final two.²⁴ Most relevant to the present argument, al-Shahrastani's attribution to Dhu al-Khuwaysirah and his adoption of two particular versions of the related prophecy reveal that author's willingness to utilize variations of this tradition that best serve his purposes. These choices allow him to present the seceders as a phenomena foretold by the Prophet, and "as a virulent disease of faith that cuts across time and space" – while tacitly ignoring other version.²⁵ His selection of sources justifies anti-Khariji polemic and action by asserting that Muhammad had recognized and prophesied against them during his lifetime.

The third issue with al-Shahrastani's claim regarding Dhu al-Khuwaysirah lies in the *isnad* of the versions he relies upon. The first traces back to 'Abdallah ibn 'Amr ibn al-'As, whose father had been targeted for assassination by Khawarij seeking revenge for their losses

²¹ There is no consensus as to the identity of the qurra'. Wellhausen concluded they were reciters of the Qur'an holding to a particular, probably literalist, interpretation of scripture, while Hinds saw in them a social-political movement intent on steering caliphal leadership in a *laissez-faire* direction in regards to its treatment of al-Iraq. *IEJ*, s.v. "Kurra"; and Martin Hinds, "Kufan Political Alignments and Their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century A.D.," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2, no. 4 (October, 1971): 364.

²² An-Nasa'i, *Sunan an-Nasa'i*, 4103, <http://www.sunnah.com>. Al-Masih Al-Dajjal is the final in a line of false prophets found in Islamic eschatology, comparable to the Christian notion of the anti-Christ.

²³ Ibn Majah, 169.

²⁴ This is not to say that the heresiographers themselves intended to vilify these groups, but that the original sources of these ahadith may have had cause to do so.

²⁵ Najm al-Din Yousefi, note to author, October 10, 2014; and Al-Shahrastani, 100. In this case, the latter links the Prophet's words from the versions cited in al-Tabari, et al, with those found in Ibn Majah, or a version similar to his in prophetic content.

at al-Nahrawan.²⁶ The corroborating isnad comes from Muhammad ibn 'Ali, great-grandson of the fourth caliph, 'Ali ibn Abi-Talib who was killed by a member of the same plot that tried to murder 'Amr ibn al-'As.²⁷ Neither of these sources can claim to lack bias. In the first case the assassin was from Banu Tamim, and in the second 'Ali's assassin, ibn Muljam, was aided by Qatami bint al-Shihnah of Taym al-Ribab, a tribal confederation allied with the Tamim.²⁸ Dhu al-Khuwaysirah's association with Banu Tamim may therefore be a later insertion into a tradition of unrest over the division of spoils at Hunayn, one of a polemical nature authored by those with personal axes to grind against this tribe thanks to its association with the Khawarij. Conversely, it could have been made to offset some of Banu Tamim's political clout and the tendency occasioned by some of its more proactive members to try and grab political power for themselves.²⁹

Perhaps the most curious element to the al-Khuwaysirah story is the antagonist himself, and the traditions that evolved around him. His name translates as "he with the narrow waist."³⁰ The name of the last of al-Shahrastani's early Khawarij, Dhu al-Thudayya, means "he with the woman's breast."³¹ The victors at al-Nahrawan found his body among the Khariji casualties. When examined he had some extraneous flesh attached to his shoulder, which "look[ed] like a woman's breast with a nipple bearing some black hairs. When it was stretched out it extended until it was equal to his other arm, and when it was let go it

²⁶ *EF*², s.v. "'Amr b. al-'As." 'Amr Ibn Bakr's attempted assassination of 'Arm Ibn al-'As is found in Al-Tabari, *First Civil War*, 223-4. As the story is told, the assassins decided to kill the "imams of error," in order to, "deliver the land from them, and thus achieve vengeance for our brethren." "Isnad" is the chain of transmission of a hadith tradition, listed in most-recent-to-earliest-source order.

²⁷ Al-Tabari, *First Civil War*, 213-22.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 214-6, and 214n844.

²⁹ Donner points out the Banu Tamim's considerable status in pre-Muhammadan Arabia and the participation of the majority of this tribe in the *Ridda* under the leadership of the false-prophetess Sajah. Ultimately defeated, these portions of the Banu Tamim would form the lowest tier of Arab society during the early caliphate. This must have created dissatisfaction among the more depressed elements of this large tribe, a dissatisfaction evidenced by the present of Tamimi splinter groups which opposed the forces of Abu Bakr during the conquest of al-Iraq. (Fred McGraw Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 28, 85, 88-9, 178, and 182-3). Taking all of this into consideration, the Banu Tamim must have been an important factor in contemporary political struggles, demanding either polemic against, as may be the case with the Dhu al-Khuwaysirah attribution, or legitimating for, as the Banu Tamim did for themselves (*Ibid.*, 215, and 217).

³⁰ This translation was provided by CSU, Chico's Arabic professor, Fatima Zahra Taleb; it is possible that this is not its meaning in Medieval Arabic.

³¹ G. R. Hawting, *The History of al-Tabari, Volume XVII: The First Civil War* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996), 133n551.

retracted to his shoulder like the breast of a woman."³² 'Ali rejoiced at this curious discovery, and alluded to a prophecy from God via Muhammad to the effect that those who battled the Khawarij would be somehow rewarded – a prophecy which only 'Ali had been privileged to hear.³³ This story appears in another version found in al-Tabari, with a new antagonist named Nafi al-Mukhdaj ("the deformed"), and includes a similar prophecy.³⁴ These two stories share so much in common that eventually interpreters appear to have conflated al-Thudayya and al-Mukhdaj. As this process evolved, the known-by-nickname-only al-Khuwaysirah became linked with Hurqus ibn Zuhayr, who at some point was also identified with al-Thudayya, and therefore al-Mukhdaj.³⁵ Al-Baghdadi knew of this particular tradition; writing his own heresiography in the early fourth/eleventh century, he explicitly links Hurqus with al-Thudayya.³⁶ That Al-Shahrastani does not reveal knowledge of this later attribution indicates that the process of Khariji identity development by outsiders was ongoing over a century after al-Baghdadi, and more than four since the appearance of the sect itself.

These examples implicate politics as the primary motivator for the creation of anti-Khariji polemic, regardless of when it occurred. The hadith compilers worked at a time when such polemic was needed to justify the harsh suppression of the Khawarij, since they were still perceived as members of the ummah in spite of doctrinal differences.³⁷ This led to the redaction and (probable) creation of hadith to support violence directed against them, along with reinterpretation of the Qur'an to include anti-Khariji *ayat*.³⁸ The political needs of those opposed to the Banu Tamim have been noted. Shi'i apologists likewise required an enemy in their elevation of 'Ali. Since demonization of the

³² Al-Tabari, *First Civil War*, 133-4.

³³ 'Ali does not share the terms of the prophecy, claiming that to do so would cause the people to "refrain from good deeds" (Ibid., 134). A hadith found in Abi Dawud provides minimal clarification, adding the detail that the slain rebel will have, "a defective hand or... small hand," but still omitting the alleged reward for those who oppose the seceders (Abi Dawud, *Sunan Abi Dawud*, 4763, <http://www.sunnah.com>).

³⁴ Al-Tabari, *First Civil War*, 139-40.

³⁵ *EP*, s.v. "Hurkus B. Zuhayr al-Sa'di." These associations are preposterous according to al-Tabari's accounts of the Battle of Nahrawan: Hurqus's slayer is known, making the quests to find the bodies of al-Thudayya and al-Mukhdaj unnecessary exercises because they are all the same person. Al-Tabari, *First Civil War*, 132.

³⁶ Al-Baghdadi, *Moslem Schisms and Sects, Al-Fark Bain Al-Firak: Being the History of the Various Philosophical Systems Developed in Islam*, trans. Kate Chambers Seelye (New York: Columbia University Press, 1920), 77.

³⁷ Even the heresiologists identified the Khawarij as an Islamic heresy or subgroup, not a form of apostasy.

³⁸ For example, Al-Wahidi (re)interpreted 9:58, claiming that it refers to the post-Hunayn Dhu al-Khuwaysirah incident [Al-Wahidi, 103].

Sunni majority might prove counterproductive to their continued existence as a minority religious community, the Khawarij made for perfect ready-made villains to juxtapose against the fourth caliph and his supporters.

Fallout from this process of identity formation has left a lasting mark on the study of the Khawarij from a historical perspective. Scholars find it challenging to separate kernels of historical truth from the voluminous chaff of anti-Khariji polemic. The dearth of book-length studies reflects this difficulty; only Salem's short monograph exists in English. Published in 1956, it provides a useful collection of Khariji scholarship to that date but breaks no new ground; reviewers called it "curiously immature," and "an inadequate approach to the problem," resulting in an opportunity missed.³⁹ Regardless of any scholarly shortcomings, Salem paints the Khawarij as Islamic Puritans more concerned with the next world than the present one, an opinion shared by Donner, who claims that the motivation for their actions lay in a desire, "to establish communities of truly pure Believers."⁴⁰ In her work on early-Islamic political thought, Crone likewise focuses her discussion on the doctrinal aspects of the Khawarij, seeing eschatological concerns as motivation for questioning the murder of 'Uthman, the ascension of 'Ali, and the arbitration at Siffin, all of which combined to create uncertainty as to which leader would provide the "vehicle of salvation" for the truly faithful.⁴¹ Conversely, Michael Morony identifies more practical causes for Khariji unrest: 'Uthman's land grants and their impact on stipends, taxation, increasing socio-economic polarization in the *amsar*, and, for some, a desire to avoid punishment for participating in the murder of 'Uthman, created fertile ground for breeding unrest. Eventually the Khawarij, "were less interested in the claims of either 'Ali or Mu'awiya than... providing a vehicle for protest and armed revolt against whoever happened to represent the establishment."⁴² Falling somewhere in the middle, Hamid Dabashi holds to the Khawarij-as-Puritans model, simultaneously concluding they came into being from, "a multitude of

³⁹ Arthur Jeffery, "Political Theory and Institutions of the Khawarij by Elie Adib Salem," *Middle East Journal* 11, no. 2 (Spring, 1957): 215; and Nabia Abbott, "Political Theory and Institutions of the Khawarij by Elie Adib Salem," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 18, no. 1 (January, 1959): 92-93.

⁴⁰ Fred M. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing*, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 14 (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1998), 102.

⁴¹ Patricia Crone, *God's Rule: Government and Islam; Six Centuries of Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 25.

⁴² Michael G. Morony, *Iraq After the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 468-70.

disillusioned and disinherited Muslims who... did not come totally under the cohesive command of a new political culture," thereby combining religious zealotry with social unrest as causes.⁴³ While one of the purviews of the scholarly community is to disagree with one another, the great diversity in interpretation of this first Islamic sectarian movement owes much to anti-Khariji polemic, which relied upon religion to delegitimize the Khawarij as much as the political elite relied upon it to legitimize their status within the community.

Al-Shahrastani's text contains the influences of prior commentators and traditionists alongside his own interpretations, which in turn contribute to the evolving dialogue. In closing his chapter on this sect, he allows one of the Khawarij to speak:

I was with 'Ali in all his hardships and battles until the day of Siffin. On that day he said, "march out against the rest of the enemy's forces; march against those who say that God and his Messenger have lied, whereas you say that God and his Messenger have told the truth." I knew what he thought of the people; accordingly I left him.⁴⁴

Heresiographers do not typically allow the objects of their work to have a positive voice. Perhaps enough time had passed since the initial split to allow for some mending of fences; after all, by the author's time they had been reduced to political insignificance, therefore reducing the need for – and value of – anti-Khariji polemic.⁴⁵ But insufficient time had passed to allow for total rehabilitation of the Khariji without contradicting ahadith long accepted as *sahih*, a line the author does not appear to be willing to cross. Al-Shahrastani's depiction of the Khawarij both reveals and participates in an ongoing process of external identify formation, one willing to define a minority group by using, redacting, and inventing truths in light of contemporary political needs.⁴⁶

⁴³ Hamid Dabashi, *Authority in Islam: From the Rise of Muhammad to the Establishment of the Umayyads* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989), 123.

⁴⁴ Al-Shahrastani, 118. This quote is attributed to Qais Ibn Abu Hazim.

⁴⁵ *EF*, s.v. "Kharidjites."

⁴⁶ The present work only scratches the surface of the broader topic of Khariji identity formation: their place in Shi'i polemic has only been hinted at, and their representation in the early histories is represented by a paucity of examples. Most glaring, the question of Khariji self-identity remains entirely unexamined. Authorial limitations (such as newness to the subject and illiteracy in Arabic) as much as those of space have contributed to this sorry state, a situation the author hopes to rectify in future works on sectarian identity formation in Islam.

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Rex Fuit Elizabeth: Nunc Est Regina Jacobus



King James I, by Paul van Somer, c. 1620.

REX FUIT ELIZABETH: NUNC EST REGINA JACOBUS
(ELIZABETH WAS KING NOW JAMES IS
QUEEN) | Sean T. Painter

The public loves a good sex scandal.¹ This is not a modern invention. If sexual scandals make for good copy, then scandals involving homosexuality engross public interest at an entirely different level. Most modern scholars agree that King James I of England (1566-1625) romantic relationships likely included affairs with several of his male favorites.² How his sexuality affected the populace's interpretation of its own identity remains an important question. Contemporary critics linked his foreign policy decisions with a lack of manliness, and despite the lack of contemporary statements, James' effeminacy served as a paramount concern for many of his subjects. During the Jacobean Age (1603-1625), the nobility genuinely feared an increase in soft and effeminate behavior at the court.³ This paper examines homosexual constructs in seventeenth-century Stuart England, paying particular attention to how perceptions of James' sexuality affected the kingdom. This paper presents itself in four parts. First, the major historiographical works related to James' sexuality serve as an important starting point to understanding the history of homosexuality during and after his reign. Second, understanding the constructs of homosexuality in Stuart England allows a better understanding of why accusations of effeminacy and homosexual behavior in their king could have damaging effects on national image. The third part of this paper reviews evidence used by historians to determine James' sexuality and provides a basic understanding of seventeenth-century homosexuality. Lastly, the legacy of James' sexuality on future generations serves as a succinct conclusion.

¹ The title for this paper comes from an almost certainly apocryphal Stuart epigram, meaning "Elizabeth was King: now James is Queen." Rictor Norton, "Queen James and His Courtiers," *Gay History and Literature: Essays by Rictor Norton*, 8 January 2000, updated 13 June 2008. <http://rictornorton.co.uk/jamesi.htm> (accessed March 1, 2010). Michael B. Young reminds his readers that references to James as a queen, while strongly implied "cannot be found in any contemporary document." See Michael B. Young, *King James and History of Homosexuality* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 5.

² The term "favorites," implies a special relationship between a monarch and a subservient subject. Best explained by historian Maurice Lee, Jr., "the noun 'favorite' is usually a pejorative term. It is used to refer to a close associate of a person in authority whose influence is unhealthy and undeserved and is owing to an intimacy that has sexual connotations." See Maurice Lee, Jr., *Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I in His Three Kingdoms* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 223.

³ See Young, 69-101. For example, Philip Stubbes and William Prynne both indirectly connected effeminacy and the court in their respective works. French Ambassador Tilleres, the Earl of Clarendon, Sir John Oglander, and Sir Fulke Greville also expressed similar fears.

The Historiography of King James' Sexuality

Akin to most monarchs in British history, King James I remains a popular subject for historians. In addition to numerous biographies, many other works focus on narrower aspects of his life and reign. Scholarship dedicated to James' sexuality, arguably his most controversial aspect, remains conspicuously absent until examining works that are more contemporary. Michael B. Young writes that "James was ... the most prominent man in early modern Britain who had (or was suspected of having) sexual relations with other men, yet few historians have treated this subject well, and no one has studied it in depth."⁴ An examination of the historiography of James demonstrates that very few scholars effectively addressed his sexuality in detail until the latter half of the twentieth century. Before then, if an author did evaluate James' sexuality, it mainly included disparaging commentary. Understanding the related historiography allows for greater appreciation of how the population of seventeenth-century England viewed and perceived their king's homosexuality.

Many modern historians attempting to investigate James' sexuality find these early "biographies" problematic.⁵ In many of the earliest accounts, the respective author's strong biases linger prevalently, as many were "printed after James' reign in the heated partisan atmosphere surrounding the civil war."⁶ None of these works saw publication during James' lifetime, and even fewer circulated during their respective author's lifetime. Often cited as "the most notorious" of these works, *the Court and Character of King James* (1650), written by Anthony Weldon (1583-1648) began a tradition of disparaging the memory of England's first Stuart monarch.⁷ Maurice Lee, Jr. calls Weldon a "foul-mouthed discharged office-holder."⁸ Jenny Wormald notes that Weldon's character assassination of James persisted into modernity, and "influence[d] later attitudes to James I, even for those who have never even heard of Weldon."⁹ Ellis Hanson calls Weldon's

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵ "Biographers" and "biography" are placed within quotation marks because these seventeenth-century tracts, while written as biographies on James I are mostly character attacks. No serious modern scholar would consider them biographies, and their value is in the commentary that they provide.

⁶ Young, 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁸ Lee, Jr., *Great Britain's Solomon*, 151. Lee's statement refers to Weldon's brief employment at James' court, which ended after he wrote a political tract disparaging Scotland. See Young, 116.

⁹ Jenny Wormald, "James VI and I: Two Kings or One?" *History* 68 (June 1983): 191-2.

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biography a “notorious sketch of the King ... calculated to fill the reader with a distinctly sexual disgust for the effeminacy of the King.”¹⁰ Despite these spiteful reviews, Weldon does not use James’ sexuality as a vehicle for criticizing the king.

Considerably tamer, Arthur Wilson’s *History of Great Britain, Being the Life and Reign of King James the First* (1653) contains no direct references to James’ sexuality, except a comparison to the Roman Emperor Tiberius, a common seventeenth-century allusion to homosexuality.¹¹ Neither Weldon, nor Wilson (1593-1659) “went very far beyond mild innuendo.”¹² However, subsequent “biographers” increased their viciousness. Francis Osborne’s *Traditional Memorials of the Reign of King James* (1658) exploited the king’s sexuality for propaganda, hoping that embarrassing the king would disgust his readers.¹³ These early “biographies,” received some criticism from contemporary Royalists, notably Godfrey Goodman, William Sanderson, and Sir John Oglander. Goodman and Sanderson both attack James’ detractors, and Oglander’s journal offers mostly positive commentary on the king.¹⁴ Sanderson and Goodman had difficulty defending James’ sexuality, which they tried to do by minimizing its importance and addressing his sexuality bluntly. Their efforts were unconvincing, and served to remind readers of James’ sexual acts.¹⁵ Lucy Hutchinson (1620-1681) continued a trend of hostile descriptions when she wrote *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* (c. 1650s). Heavily biased, it remained unpublished until the nineteenth century.¹⁶ Despite her prejudice, the work offers valuable criticism of the Stuart dynasty, and serves as an example of the discontent people felt toward the government in the seventeenth century. For modern historians, these “biographies” serve multiple purposes, offering evidence of a perception of James’ sexuality in the seventeenth century. While these tracts best resemble

¹⁰ Ellis Hanson, “Sodomy and Kingcraft in Urania and Antony and Cleopatra,” in *Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment England: Literary Representations in Historical Context*, ed. Claude J. Summers (New York: Haworth Press, 1992), 140.

¹¹ Arthur Wilson, *The History of Great Britain, Being the Life and Reign of King James the First, Relating to what passed from his first Access to the Crown, till his Death* (London, 1653), 289-90.

¹² Young, 123.

¹³ For a prominent example, see Francis Osborne, *Traditional Memorials on the Reign of King James*, in *The Works of Francis Osborn*, 7th ed. (London, 1673), 534-5.

¹⁴ Goodman, Sanderson, and Oglander all wrote in the 1650s, Sanderson’s found publication in the seventeenth century. Goodman’s in the nineteenth century, and Oglander’s in the twentieth century.

¹⁵ Young, 128-9.

¹⁶ Hutchinson’s bias stems from the fact that her husband, Colonel Hutchinson died in prison for his role in the regicide of King Charles I.

character assassinations, early twentieth-century studies did not do much better evaluating James' sexuality.

Charles Williams' *James I* (1934), which most scholars consider the first modern biography of James, receives criticism for its poetic descriptions of the king's life.¹⁷ Other modern scholarship includes G. P. V. Akrigg's *Jacobean Pageant, or The Court of King James I* (1966), David Matthew's *James I* (1967), and Helen Georgia Stafford's *James VI of Scotland and the English Throne* (1940). These three biographies share the complete absence of any meaningful discussion of sexuality at all, and Akrigg denies the existence of any evidence for homosexual behavior by James.¹⁸ Often considered the standard biography on James, David H. Willson's *King James VI & I* (1956) avoids controversy and skirts discussing the topic in much detail. This work presents a coy account of his relationships with his favorites, suggesting they did contain some sexual elements but mainly comprised a relationship built upon friendly intimacy, and strong bonds of friendship. He argues that James truly loved these men, and that his interest in "beautiful young men ... was first awakened by [Esmé Stewart, the 1st Duke of] Lennox."¹⁹ Willson includes several examples with explicit detail for James' relationship with George Villiers, the 1st Duke of Buckingham. These include contemporary observations, statements expressed Buckingham, and James in numerous letters, and declarations by the King to his Privy Council.²⁰ Ultimately, Willson's cursory exploration of James' sexuality demonstrates his unease in discussing the sexual aspects of the king's life.²¹

While Willson's work contains a bit of Victorian moralizing throughout it, later authors begin addressing the subject more fully.²² Antonia Fraser's popular historical biography *King James VI of Scotland I of England* (1975) hypothesizes that James lack of parental attention during his childhood contributed to his inability to "resist love when it

¹⁷ For an example of Williams' difficult prose, see Charles Williams, *James I* (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1934), 299.

¹⁸ Hanson, 141.

¹⁹ David Harris Willson, *King James VI and I* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), 36.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 384.

²¹ See *Ibid.*, 337. From his writing style, it becomes evident that Willson wrote his biography in a period where most of society viewed homosexuality as largely immoral. He does address James' sexuality but does so in a mildly judgmental fashion. Willson denotes that "the vice was common to many rulers and we need not be too shocked." The use of "vice" is curious, and demonstrates the prejudice of the age, and complements the Jacobean view of James' behavior.

²² Young, 1.

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was offered to him, because he had been so starved of early affection.”²³ She further argues that while the “first love object which came his way was a man ... one can at least advance the opinion that had an equally attractive woman come his way ... the homosexual inclinations of King James might never have been aroused.”²⁴ Caroline Bingham, author of several works on the Stuarts considers evidence for James’ possible bisexuality in her biography on the king, *James I of England* (1981). However, while Bingham alludes to heterosexual affairs, she concentrates heavily on his lack of desire for women, stating, “he preferred to surround himself with male courtiers.”²⁵ Further, Bingham addresses aspects in which few historians delve such as, James’ seemingly hypocritical condemnation of sodomy in *Basilikon Doron*.²⁶ Ultimately, Bingham does not circumvent the sexual preference question, acknowledging that the relationship between James and Buckingham “was homosexual,” evident from the “intense feeling expressed in many letters which James and Buckingham exchanged.”²⁷ Another noted Stuart historian, Roger Lockyer released “by far the best study of one of James’s lovers” with his *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592-1628* (1981).²⁸ A mammoth examination of Buckingham’s life, Lockyer examines Villiers political career and his physical relationship with James.

Alan Bray focuses his scholarship on homosexuality in Renaissance England. He cautions his readers about assuming any homosexual relationship between James and his favorites. His work as featured in both *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (1982) and “Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England” (1990) promotes an understanding of societal views on sexual identity during James’ reign. In *Great Britain’s Solomon: James VI and I in His Three Kingdoms* (1990), Maurice Lee, Jr. devotes an entire chapter to James’ intimate relationships with men. He rebukes previous historians for their moralizing tone, and distaste for the king’s homosexuality, noting “what historians have found most offensive in James’s behavior ... is that his favorites were men rather than women.”²⁹

²³ Antonia Fraser, *King James VI of Scotland, I of England* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975), 36

²⁴ *Ibid.* If reevaluated today Fraser’s opinion could garner sizable criticism because of its thesis that homosexuality is a choice.

²⁵ Caroline Bingham, *James I of England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981), 79. Bingham gives evidence for extra-marital affairs with not only male favorites, but also with at least one woman, Anne Murray of Tullibardine.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 80.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 161.

²⁸ Young, 156.

²⁹ Lee, Jr., *Great Britain’s Solomon*, 233.

However, Lee disapproves of these relationships, and criticizes James for allowing them to wield political influence and authority. He states that “persons in authority should not have favorites: it is a weakness.”³⁰ He partially denies that James engaged in physical sexual relations with these men, arguing, “James was one of those people ... who are simply not much interested in physical sex at all.”³¹ This analysis makes James’ relationships with his favorites less intimate than they were.

Another major contributor, David Moore Bergeron, authored two books devoted to James’ personal relationships. His first work, *Royal Family, Royal Lovers: King James of England and Scotland* (1991) focuses on James’ family life, while his second book, *King James & Letters of Homoerotic Desire* (1999) centers more on James’ relationships with three favorites: Esme Stewart, Robert Carr, and George Villiers. The latter includes “a storehouse of letters exchanged between King James and Buckingham” presented together for the first time in any modern monograph. This collection allows readers to judge for themselves, the character of the relationship. In addition to discussing these relationships, both Bergeron and Bray address the definition of sexuality in seventeenth-century England.

Lastly, Young’s *King James and the History of Homosexuality* (2000) serves as an all-encompassing work that examines numerous topics, including the significant evidence for James’ homosexuality. This work demonstrates that present societal views on homosexuality differ fundamentally from the seventeenth-century counterparts. Additionally, Young reminds readers that basic knowledge of the constructs of homosexuality in seventeenth-century England remains fundamental to understanding James’ sexuality because the way in which people perceived his behavior relies on these constructs.

Merrie Olde (and Gay) England

Attitudes toward homosexuality in the western world have changed greatly since Tudor-Stuart England. A few modern progressive nations have recognized same-sex marriages, and even more protect the rights of homosexuals (a drastic change from an age where homosexuality was illegal and punishable by death or life imprisonment). Modern conceptions of homosexuality, including vocabulary and social constructs, differ radically from seventeenth-century views. As Bergeron asserts, James “preferred the company of attractive young men,” and maintained same-sex relationships. However, in his own time, the king did not classify himself as a homosexual, because the expression did not

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid, 249.

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exist.³² The modern term frequently used today did not exist in Stuart England, and defining the seventeenth century equivalent presents problems for historians. While anachronistic, “homosexual,” serves as a “convenient term in discussing earlier periods.”³³ James and other gay men during Stuart England would not recognize themselves as homosexual for another important reason. As much as sexual identity defines people today, in the seventeenth century, sexuality did not play as important a role in self-definition. Historian Bruce Smith writes, “no one in Shakespeare’s day would have labeled himself a ‘homosexual’ ... no one in England would have thought himself as ‘gay’ or ‘homosexual’ for the simple reason that those categories of self-definition did not exist.”³⁴

Men in same-sex relationships also avoided defining themselves as sodomites, or buggers, because those terms, the closest parallels to homosexuality in Tudor-Stuart England contained highly negative connotations. Buggery also referred to bestiality, and “sodomy ... could cover a variety of heterosexual acts.”³⁵ The word sodomy contained loaded connotations that perverted it to mean something beyond sexual relationships between same-sex partners. Seventeenth-century Englanders feared the sodomite. According to Bray, their fear of sodomy compares to the twentieth-century American fear of communism.³⁶ Often associated with evil, dark, and mystical objects, depictions of sodomy and sodomites occurred in unflattering contexts that effectively demonized homosexuality. For example, Scottish poet Walter Kennedy (1455-1518) compared sodomites in a poem with werewolves and basilisks. Prominent jurist and Member of Parliament Edward Coke (1552-1634) wrote, “sodomy ... was ‘*crimen laesae majestatis*,’ a sin horrible committed against the king,” and associated sodomites with sorcerers, and heretics.³⁷ Further alarming to the population, many believed that committing lesser sins eventually led to sodomy. According to Coke, debauchery and an “excess of diet, idleness, and

³² David M. Bergeron, *Royal Family, Royal Lovers: King James of England and Scotland* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 29. The term “homosexual” did not exist until a group of German psychologists created the term in the 1890s. See also Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*, Rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 13.

³³ Bergeron, *Royal Family, Royal Lovers*, 29.

³⁴ Bruce R. Smith, *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare’s England: A Cultural Poetics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 10-11.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

³⁶ Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*, 72.

³⁷ Alan Bray, “Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England,” *History Workshop* 29, no. 29 (Spring 1990): 3. See also Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*, 19.

contempt of the poor,” led to the origin of homosexuality at Sodom and Gomorrah.³⁸

The English populace preserved a bizarre “naiveté” and “genuine national myth” that “homosexuality [was] ineffably alien, bizarre, diabolical, and, above all, un-British.”³⁹ This belief goes back to the late fourteenth century when in 1376, Parliament “blamed Lombard merchants for having ‘lately introduced into the land a very horrible vice which is not to be named.’”⁴⁰ The mere mention of sodomy became taboo, and the English persistence to avoid its discussion remained consistent throughout James’ reign. Believing homosexuality to be a foreign import, the English both feared and denied its existence. In 1628, John Harris earnestly guaranteed Parliament that the “Peccatum nefandum, that sin not fit to be named, the high hand of God hath kept out of our country.”⁴¹ The English apprehension came from the association of sodomy with “the dreaded and feared powers of Catholic rivals.”⁴² Considered both the antichrist and “a second Sodom,” the Papacy, as well as the Catholic powers of France and Spain served as easy manifestations of England’s fears. Already associated with Catholicism and its priests, sodomy easily became analogous to treasonous activities. Bray reminds readers “rebellion against the Church and rebellion against the State were not concepts easily distinguished in Tudor and Stuart England,” and as a result “the folklore of treason” and sodomy became synonymous.⁴³

The fear of homosexuality caused the government to act against it. Sodomy first became punishable by death in England with the adoption of the Buggery Act of 1533 (25 Hen. VIII, c. 6.) during King Henry VIII’s reign. The act made buggery a capital offense, “without benefit of clergy.”⁴⁴ Queen Mary I repealed the Buggery Act during her reign, however Queen Elizabeth I reinstated it upon her ascension.⁴⁵

³⁸ Quoted in *Ibid.*

³⁹ Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 362.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 361.

⁴¹ Quoted in *Ibid.*

⁴² Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*, 19.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁴⁴ The clause “without benefit of clergy” is significant. In most capital offenses, being literate had considerable advantages, including the commuting of death sentences. In Tudor-Stuart England, a person convicted of murder that could read and write could avoid hanging while the crime of sodomy still faced possible capital punishment.

⁴⁵ Under Queen Mary, Parliament repealed most of the legislation passed by the Protestant Parliaments under Henry VIII. See Crompton, 362. A likely hypothesis for the reinstatements in Queen Elizabeth’s reign could be another reversal of policies publicly seen as Catholic.

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Sodomy (and therefore male homosexuality) remained a capital offense until 1861, when the government of Queen Victoria made the crime punishable for life, or a term not less than ten years.⁴⁶ Homosexuality remained a crime in Great Britain until the Wolfenden Committee recommended its decriminalization in 1967.⁴⁷

Despite the relevant and persistent fears through Tudor, Stuart, Georgian, and Victorian society, prosecution until the late nineteenth century remained largely absent from historical records. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, no records exist for cases involving sodomy. Records for sixteenth-and-seventeenth century England are incomplete, with only a few cases available where the criminal behavior was solely sodomy.⁴⁸ The 1631 trial, conviction and execution of Mervin Touchet, the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven (1593-1631) for “assisting in the rape of his own wife and for committing sodomy with his servants” represents one of the few cases involving the nobility.⁴⁹ That Castlehaven was perceived as being foreign (his Earldom was Irish, while he himself was English), and a suspected papist, greatly contributed to his perceived guilt and supported current opinions that sodomy was foreign and Catholic. The trial also “illustrates both the probity of the king and a deepening aristocratic moral crisis.”⁵⁰ Cynthia B. Herrup alludes to the possibility that the harsh sentence meted out to Castlehaven may have been the result of his being an uncomfortable reminder to Charles I “of the dissoluteness” of his father, James I.⁵¹

During Tudor–Stuart England, the County Assizes, or Justices of the Peace at Quarter Sessions, tried men accused of sodomy. According to Louis Crompton, Essex, “the only county with complete records ... had no cases from 1556 to 1680.”⁵² However, examining records from the nineteenth century, the imprisonment of hundreds of men for the crime of sodomy reveals a marked increase in trials and executions.⁵³ Between 1801 and 1835, more than fifty men received capital punishment for sodomy related crimes.⁵⁴ These figures suggest that while sixteenth-century Englanders feared and considered sodomy a

⁴⁶ A. D. Harvey, “Prosecutions for Sodomy in England at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century,” *Historical Journal* 24, no. 4 (Dec., 1978): 939.

⁴⁷ Crompton, 366.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 362.

⁴⁹ Cynthia B. Herrup, *A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), xiii.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Crompton, 366.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Harvey, 941.

“monstrous sin against nature,” it remained largely tolerated or ignored when compared to later periods.⁵⁵

The lack of a significant amount of prosecutions for sodomy during seventeenth-century England suggests a neglectful toleration among society. The structure and self-definition of homosexuality during this period are important concepts to consider. Bray accurately assesses the pulse of society, writing, “so long as homosexuality was expressed through established social institutions ... the courts were not concerned with it.”⁵⁶ Sixteenth-and-seventeenth-century England was “overwhelmingly rural ... the great majority of people were born and lived out their lives” in the community in which they were born.⁵⁷ Bray argues the social construct of English society created an environment in which homosexuality could not be a causal relationship with a stranger, and “was overwhelmingly something that took place between neighbors and friends.”⁵⁸ Organized in a patriarchal fashion, women and servants in all households lived under the authority of the head of the household.⁵⁹ Courts and law enforcement, while superficially concerned with homosexual activity, paid closer attention and “took a lively interest in cases of premarital heterosexual intercourse” in order to prevent a rash of children born in illegitimacy. Due to a fear of prosecution for heterosexual behavior, easily detected by pregnancies, many turned to homosexual activity to satisfy sexual urges.⁶⁰ This may explain why many people failed to associate their sexual activities with the “monstrous sin against nature” that frequently described sodomy.

The images of werewolves, basilisks, or Catholic conspirators coupled to the sodomite did not help either. These ill references were “so distant from everyday life” of most individuals engaged in same-sex relationships, that disassociating their behavior occurred quite easily.⁶¹ There also existed no reason for someone to identify themselves by their sexuality. This twentieth-century self-identity marker did not exist during Tudor-Stuart England, especially when such open hostility existed towards homosexuals. Bray proposes the question who “would have tried to overcome the effects of this hostility?”⁶² Likely no one, not even a king, which explains James’ seemingly contradictory behavior in which he condemned sodomy in *Basilikon Doron*, as one of the crimes “that yee

⁵⁵ Bray, “Male Friendship in Elizabethan England,” 2.

⁵⁶ Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*, 74.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 70.

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are bound in conscience neuer to forgiue,” but failed to see his “crime” in his own actions.⁶³ James avoided identifying himself as one who practiced buggery. His lack of self-identification exists in a self-serving manner. Noticed by many in society, the King’s behavior became a frequent source of discussion though his subjects (for whatever reason) did not associate his behavior with his favorites as a sexual relationship consistent with sodomy. Certainly, to a present-day observer, this seems absurd. However, as stated before, the modern definition of homosexuality differs greatly from the seventeenth-century sodomite.⁶⁴

Other reasons for the lack of contemporary commentary could be the discernable existence of genuine fear, and state-sponsored censorship and suppression. Paul Hammond offers evidence of the latter during the Jacobean age. The state suppressed material from many works, “which might be thought to reflect upon the King’s behavior with his favorites,” and therefore could be embarrassing for James.⁶⁵ Robert Shepherd assesses that “the relative paucity of rumors and gossip about James’ homosexuality” resulted from a state sponsored purge of tracts considered politically dangerous.⁶⁶ Fear also played a considerable role. The case of Scottish merchant Frances Tennent provides a relevant example. In 1600, found guilty of “false, malicious, undutiful writing and dispersing of slanderous, calumnious, and reproachful letters, to the dishonor of the King’s majesty,” Tennent faced harsh punishment: the removal of his tongue! He escaped this torturous sentence, and instead hanged for his criticism of James.⁶⁷ What Tennent and others wrote about the king that resulted in such draconian punishment remains a mystery. In response to, and fearing similar punishment, many

⁶³ James I, *The Political Works James I* (1616; repr., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), 20. Crompton references nineteenth century jurist Jeremy Bentham’s utter disdain for James hypocrisy. See Crompton, 386.

⁶⁴ Bray, “Male Friendship in Elizabethan England,” 1. See also Robert Shephard, “Sexual Rumours in English Politics: The Cases of Elizabeth I and James I,” in *Desire and Discipline: Sex and Sexuality in the Premodern West*, ed. Jacqueline Murray and Konrad Eisenbichler, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 113.

⁶⁵ Paul Hammond, *Figuring Sex between Men from Shakespeare to Rochester* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 133. Hammond, Professor of Seventeenth Century English Literature at the University of Leeds reveals that among the more famous works censored to avoid embarrassing King James was William Shakespeare’s *King Lear*. Hammond further directs his readers to his own “James I’s Homosexuality and the Revision of the Folio Text of *King Lear*,” *Notes and Queries*, 242 (1997), 62-4. While Hammond’s scholarship focuses on literature, it would be easy to see that a Jacobean government censoring literature could easily censor and eliminate other evidence.

⁶⁶ Shephard, 112. See also Young, who alleges that James suppressed and destroyed numerous “books, ballads, pasquils, rhymes and libels regarding the Duke of Lennox.” Young, n. 168.

⁶⁷ Quoted in Young, 37.

individuals likely censored themselves.⁶⁸ The topic of James' sexuality did not become a safe topic until after his death, and in most cases, not until the temporary usurpation of the Stuarts by Parliament during the English Commonwealth (1649-1660).

When homosexual activity occurred behind closed doors, it remained relatively easy for people to conceal their acts or avoid self-identification. However, same-sex relationships did not exist solely within households. They also existed in public and familiar environments, most notably, schools and playhouses. Homosexual relationships in an educational environment date back to Ancient Greece, where teachers and students often had sexual relationships to cement the bonds of authority and subservience.⁶⁹ "Catamite" became a frequent descriptive term for these relationships, the word evolving from the Latinized form of Ganymede, the "beautiful young Trojan hero whom Jupiter fell in love with" and abducted.⁷⁰ Ganymede became Jupiter's lover and served as his cupbearer, and his name became a euphemism for intimate same-sex relationships in seventeenth-century England. According to Bray, "there is evidence that homosexuality was institutionalized not only at the universities but also in grammar schools and even in the village schools."⁷¹ Several instances of prosecutions for sodomy in England involving educators are recorded, the first case occurring in 1541.⁷²

English sixteenth-and-seventeenth-century playhouses proved especially susceptible to homosexuality activity. Philip Stubbes (c. 1555-c. 1610), an English pamphleteer linked effeminacy (of which James would be accused throughout his reign) to sodomy in his *Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakepere's Youth*. For Stubbes, "all stage-playes,

⁶⁸ Shephard, 112-113.

⁶⁹ Crompton, 79-82. Ancient and Renaissance pederasty differs vastly from present day pedophilia, which centers on the physical and mental abuse of children by an older adult. Pederasty in Ancient Greece and Renaissance Europe consisted of socially accepted educative apprenticeships that period art depicted in a prestigious manner. Many of the most vehement character attacks on James still accuse him of pedophilia, the most notable, Robert Ashton's *James I by His Contemporaries* (London: Hutchinson, 1969), referenced by Hanson in his article. While modern commentary depicting James as a pedophile is rare, Young points out that contemporary commentary frequently accused him of being a pedophile, including an unnamed French ambassador who suggested James was a child molester. See Young, 56, 119. For discussion on pederasty in Ancient Greece, see: William Armstrong Percy III, *Pederasty and Pedagogy in Archaic Greece* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

⁷⁰ Young, 53.

⁷¹ Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*, 52.

⁷² In 1541, Nicolas Udall, the headmaster at Eton College became the first person prosecuted solely for sodomy under the Buggery Act of 1533 when his homosexual relationship with one of his former pupils created a sensational scandal. See *Ibid*.

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Enterluds, and Commedies [were] either of diuynе or prophane matter.”⁷³ Stubbes abhorred men dressing in women’s clothing, and “the spectacle of boys who pretended to be women on the stage,” suggesting eventually that in “their secret conclaues they play the Sodomits, or worse.”⁷⁴ Society tolerated an institutionalized form of homosexuality in both the educational system and theatre. Master and servant, teacher and student, and patron and actor existed as power-based relationships, in which the dominant partner exploited sexual power over the weaker, less experienced partner. These types of homosexual relationships, where older males dominated younger males, appeared to be the prevailing form of same-sex relationships before the modern age.⁷⁵ While non “age-structured” relationships existed, Young argues that such practices did not become normative until the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁷⁶ This is certainly reminiscent in some regards to James’ later romantic relationships, where the much older James influenced his younger companions.

Rex Fuit Elizabeth: nunc est regina Jacobo (Elizabeth was king: Now James is Queen)

James was not the first homosexual monarch in the history of England, but he was arguably the last English king with a sense of his rule cemented in an absolute power derived from the Divine Right of Kings.⁷⁷ A noted scholar, “James wrote about what he knew best: the business of being a king.”⁷⁸ Fundamental to James’ view about kingship was “the idea of indefeasibility, that the people could not reject or resist a

⁷³ Philip Stubbes, *Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakespeare’s Youth* (1583, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, repr., London: Trubner, 1877), 140.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 144-145.

⁷⁵ Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 115-117. Quoted in Young, 149. According to Rocke, the relationships involved adults and younger males (from the age of puberty to early twenties). It was around this age, that “the growth of a beard and the appearance of other secondary sexual traits became pronounced,” and these boys “began to lose what ... society considered the beauty and erotic appeal of adolescence.”

⁷⁶ Young, 148.

⁷⁷ Edward II (1284-1327), Richard II (1367-1400), and William III (1650-1702) were all rumored to have homosexual relationships.

⁷⁸ Lee, Jr., *Great Britain’s Solomon*, 63. James authored many works including *Daemonologie* (1597), a treatise supporting witch hunting; the *True Law of Free Monarchies; Or, The reciprocal and Mutual Duty Betwixt a Free King and His Natural Subjects* (1598), a work about kingship; *Basilikon Doron* (1599), a tract on good governance, meant to be a gift to his sons, Prince Henry and Prince Charles; *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (1604), a scathing criticism of tobacco, and several collections of poetry.

lawful king, just because of his bad behavior.”⁷⁹ Additionally, James presented the idea that he was *Pater patriae*, a father of the nation.⁸⁰ These ideas all resonate in his later physical relationships. James maintained many loves in his life, including his queen, Anne of Denmark (1574-1619); however, historians studying his personal relationships routinely focus on three of his male favorites: Esmé Stewart (1542-1583), Robert Carr (1587-1645), and George Villiers (1592-1628).⁸¹

James’ first romantic relationship had an incestuous element to it; he and Stewart were second cousins. First meeting in 1579, the thirteen-year-old James immediately felt a strong attraction for his thirty-seven year old cousin. Stewart, a practicing Catholic, married, and the father of five children, rose in power quite quickly (a pattern among James’ favorites). James made Stewart a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, appointed him to the Privy Council, and named him Earl and later Duke of Lennox.⁸² In August 1582, concerned about the pair’s growing relationship, Stewart’s religion, and his quick rise, the Scottish nobility lured James to Ruthven Castle in central Scotland and confined him there.⁸³ To regain his kingdom, James reluctantly sent his cousin into exile. Crompton states “James was devastated by the loss of the man who had been his family, friend, lover, and mentor,” and memorialized

⁷⁹ Newton Key and Robert Bucholz, eds., *Sources and Debates in English History, 1485-1714* (Chichester, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2009), 138.

⁸⁰ James I., *Political Works*, 64. The *True Law of Free Monarchies* established James’ belief in the Divine Right of Kings. His son, the future Charles I, would take this sentiment to a much more dramatic effect.

⁸¹ For additional information on Queen Anne of Denmark, see Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001) and David Bergeron, “Masculine interpretation of Queen Anne, wife of James I,” *Biography* 18, no.1 (1995): 42-45. Baroll’s work is the standard biography on Queen Anne. Bergeron’s article analyzes Anne’s historical reputation, and challenges historian David Harris Willson’s assessment that “James had married a stupid wife.”

⁸² James would reward his favorites with numerous lucrative positions. These included the Gentleman of the Bedchamber, a position that offered intimate access to the king, and included such duties as helping the king dress, waiting on him while he ate, and accompanying him into his bedchambers at night. The position of Master of the Horse also garnered high value for favorites, and placed the occupier of this duty in charge of the king’s stables. Lastly, the Privy Council advised the sovereign on matters of state and historically comprised the most trusted or politically influential advisers. An appointment to the Privy Council would be highly prestigious for any favorite. See David H. Willson, *King James VI and I*, 33.

⁸³ Several contemporary comments regarding James’ relationship with Lennox exist, the most direct from a member of the Scottish clergy who wrote “that the Duke of Lennox went about to draw the King to carnal lust.” See Willson, 36.

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his longing in an allegorical poem, *Ane Metaphoricall Invention of a Tragedie Called Phoenix*.⁸⁴

In his relationship with Lennox, James had been the younger, passive partner. The opposite occurred in his relationships with Carr and Villiers. James became the dominant father figure, and established a paternal and loving relationship with both men. In 1607, at the age of seventeen, Carr reentered the king's life "by the lucky mischance of falling from his horse" during a jousting tournament.⁸⁵ James tended to Carr at his bedside, falling in love with the young man. Like Lennox, the king lavished numerous gifts and titles upon his new favorite, ultimately bestowing him the title Earl of Somerset as a wedding gift when Carr married Frances Howard.⁸⁶ This marriage eventually proved to be Somerset's downfall.⁸⁷ In 1615, a scandal arose involving the poisoning death of Sir Thomas Overbury, who had opposed Howard's earlier divorce.⁸⁸ Already losing favor with the king, Somerset sought out a pardon, but James denied his request. He then threatened that if his case went to trial, he would reveal some shameful secret harmful to James' reputation. James did not relent. Found guilty at trial, both Somerset and Lady Howard faced execution. However, the King commuted their sentences and imprisoned them in the Tower of London until 1622, when upon release they retired to the country.⁸⁹

Those who opposed Somerset's influence on the king set out to present a new object of affection for the king, resulting in the introduction of George Villiers to James' court. The tactical gambit worked, and at the same time that Somerset began to lose James' favor, Villiers' prominence rose. Following the pattern set by Lennox and Somerset, James lavished awards and titles upon Villiers, ultimately creating him Duke of Buckingham.⁹⁰ By far, Buckingham exerted the

⁸⁴ Crompton, 384. For the text of James' poem, see Bergeron, *King James & Letters of Homoerotic Desire*, 220.

⁸⁵ See Willson, 336. Robert Carr had previously served as a page for the Royal Coach upon his arrival to England from Scotland in 1603.

⁸⁶ Before being made Earl of Somerset, James made Carr Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and then Master of the Horse.

⁸⁷ Willson, 336.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 350-356. Howard's role in Overbury's death later proved to be significant.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 356. For a detailed review of Somerset's trial, see Anne Somerset, *Unnatural Murder: Poison at the Court of James I* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997).

⁹⁰ Bergeron, *Royal Family, Royal Lovers*, 166. James also named Villiers Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Master of the Horse, awarded him the Order of the Garter, and made Buckingham a Viscount, and Earl. Additionally, he named him Lord Admiral (effectively making him head of England's navy), and made him part of his Privy Council. For additional reading on James' male favorites, see David Bergeron, *King James & Letters of Homoerotic Desire* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999) and Bergeron, *Royal*

most influence of any of King's favorites, and eventually became the favorite of James' son, Charles I.⁹¹

As stated earlier, the seventeenth-century sources that historians have at their disposal are problematic because of their blatant bias. Sir Anthony Weldon's *Court and Character of King James*, previously mentioned by Young as "the most notorious" depiction of James does not resemble the full-out character assassination that historians claim it to be.⁹² Weldon scarcely touches on James' sexuality. The most vividly scandalous account involves a description of the king's departure from the Earl of Somerset. Here, Weldon describes James as hanging about Somerset's neck and "slabbing his cheeks," and pining that "for Gods sake, I [James] shall neither eat nor sleep until you [Somerset] come gain."⁹³ Regarding the court, Weldon acknowledged that James lived quite extravagantly, and lavished rewards on his favorites, stating, "he spent much, and had much use of his subjects' purses."⁹⁴ Weldon suggests evaluating James "altogether and not in pieces," and ends by declaring "such a King I wish this Kingdom have never any worse ... for he lived in peace, dyed in peace, and left all his Kingdoms in a peaceable condition."⁹⁵ Despite his praiseful ending, Weldon aims to stigmatize James' behavior without associating it with the monstrous association to sodomy.

Francis Osborne's *Traditional Memorialls on the Reign of King James* went beyond Weldon and Wilson, and many historians agree that Osborne purposely aimed to create a public image that would disgust its readers.⁹⁶ The author himself takes a negative viewpoint of James' relationships with men stating "his love, or what else posterity will please to call it" will be judged by history.⁹⁷ Osborne suggests that James was attracted to effeminate men, describing the king's choices in his favorites

Family, Royal Lovers. For an in-depth study of George Villiers, see Roger Lockyer's *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592-1628* (London: Longman, 1981).

⁹¹ James introduced his son to his favorite, and Charles quickly discerned the positives of being in a close friendship with Buckingham, who remained Charles' favorite until Villiers assassination in 1628. Buckingham and Charles I relationship was not sexual, although some historians have proposed that there might have been elements of sexuality within in it. Alan Bray argues that there was a considerable difference between male friendship, which would contain physical embraces, and the intimacy of homosexual relationships. See Bray, "Male Friendship in Elizabethan England."

⁹² Young, 116.

⁹³ A[nthony] W[eldon], *The Court and Character of King James*. (1651; repr., London: Smeeton, 1817), 32.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁹⁶ Young, 125.

⁹⁷ Osborne, 534.

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being based on “handsomeness,” and that James “had mistaken their sex, and thought them ladies.”⁹⁸ Osborne references both the Somerset and Buckingham, making a considerable effort to resemble “in the effeminateness of their dressings; though in w- [whorish] looks and wanton gestures” women.⁹⁹

Buckingham at least succeeded in appearing effeminate. Sir Simonds D’Ewes (1602-1650) comments that during a social function for the French Ambassador, he had the opportunity to observe Villiers, and notes that he was “full of delicacy and handsome features,” and that Buckingham’s “hands and faced seemed ... especially, effeminate and curious.”¹⁰⁰ Further, Osborne speculates James’ private behavior based on what he did in public. He stated the “kings kissing them after so lascivious a mode in publick, and upon the theatre, as it were, of the world, prompted many to imagine some things done in the trying-house, that exceed my expressions no lesse then they do my experience.”¹⁰¹ The resulting public belief centered on the notion that because James lavished affection on his favorites in public, he had sexual intercourse with them in private. His actions irked the elite and educated segments of society, demonstrated by the various tracts written. However, James’ contemporaries more than likely viewed the public lavishness that he interposed on his favorites as the more unacceptable behavior. Hammond effectively summarizes this opinion when he writes “the King himself crossed the proper boundary between private and public behavior, acting lasciviously ‘upon the theatre, as it were, of the world,’ neither comporting himself regally nor confining his kisses to the bedroom.”¹⁰²

D’Ewes did not approve of James’ relationships. He related an encounter with a friend who visited him in London where they discussed sodomy. He stated that they discussed:

the sinne of sodomye, how frequente it was in
this wicked cittye, and if God did not provide
some wonderfull blessing against it, wee
could not but expect some horrible
punishment for it; especially it being as wee
had probable cause to feare, a sinne in the

⁹⁸ Ibid. James preference for effeminate young men remains consistent with the nature of age-based homosexual relationships in the seventeenth century.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D’Ewes, Bart., During the Reigns of James I and Charles I*, ed. James Orchard Halliwell (London: Richard Bentley, 1845), 1:166-167.

¹⁰¹ Osborne, 534.

¹⁰² Hammond, 129-130.

prince as well as the people, which God is for the most part the chastiser of himself, because noe man else indeed dare reprove or tell them of their faults.¹⁰³

D'Ewes never intended the publication of his journal, and took considerable effort to keep it secret, writing in both Latin, and a self-invented cipher.¹⁰⁴ As “Christians were not supposed to even talk about” sodomy, it being a sin “amongst Christians not to be named,” D'Ewes’ tacit accusation against James could (if discovered) earn him punishment similar to Frances Tennent.

The accounts by Weldon and Osborne do not mention sodomy. They aim to embarrass the king, or as Young writes “mock and ridicule him.”¹⁰⁵ Arthur Wilson’s (1592-1652) *History of Great Britain, Being the Life and Reign of King James the First* (1653) joins this category, and fails to mention sodomy. However, he does make a poetic allusion to various Roman Emperors, writing:

Some Parellel’d him to *Tiberius* for
Dissimulation, yet Peace begot *Plenty*, and
Plenty begot *Ease* and *Wantonness* begot
Poetry, and *Poetry* swelled to that *bulk* in his
time, that it begot strange *Monstrous Satyrs*,
against the King’s own Person, that haunted
both *Court*, and *Country*.¹⁰⁶

References to Classical Mythology, Roman Emperors, and former English monarchs rumored to be homosexual in published works became cleverly coded ways for individuals to allude to James’ sexuality without mentioning the forbidden word: sodomy. The previously mentioned Greek hero Ganymede was a popular reference to James’ favorites because, as Smith observed, “the story of Jupiter and Ganymede was the best-known, widely recognized myth of homoerotic desire” in seventeenth-century England.”¹⁰⁷ Carl Miller refers to Ganymede as the

¹⁰³ *The Diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1622-1624)*, ed. Elisabeth Bourcier (Paris: Didier, 1974), 92-3.

¹⁰⁴ Relatives of D'Ewes published his journal in 1682, decades after his death. See Bourcier, 38.

¹⁰⁵ Young, 133.

¹⁰⁶ Wilson, 289-90.

¹⁰⁷ Smith, 191.

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“archetypal gay toy boy.”¹⁰⁸ This fits into the historical use of the term, where “a person referred to as a Ganymede was a younger, passive male who submitted to an older, more powerful male.”¹⁰⁹ Ironically, introduced as a cupbearer to James’ court, George Villiers becomes a literal Ganymede.¹¹⁰

As popular in Stuart England as it is today, Roman history would have been familiar with many of James’ literate subjects. Tacitus’ *Annales* (*Annals*), and Suetonius’ *De Vita Caesarum* (*The Twelve Caesars*), both of which described Emperor Tiberius and his favorite Sejanus’ sensational life (the latter vividly depicting Tiberius’ extreme debauchery and pedophilia) would have been popular histories in Stuart England.¹¹¹ Both figures became prevalent vehicles for insulting allusions to James and his favorites. Ben Jonson’s (1572-1637) tragedy *Sejanus: His Fall* (1603) served as a frequently distributed allusion and allegorical tale of corruption aimed at James’ court. Summoned by the Privy Council, Jonson had to defend himself against a charge of treason. Summoned by the Privy Council, Jonson had to defend himself against a charge of treason. In 1616, when Jonson republished the play, he “took great pains to assure readers that he had taken his story from classical sources,” particularly from the previously mentioned Roman historians.¹¹² Buckingham easily drew comparison to Sejanus. Here the comparison also seems eerily apt. Tiberius vested much power in Sejanus, resulting in the favorite’s low public opinion, and eventual downfall. Buckingham’s relationship with James would result in similar outcomes. Villiers would rise in power, and in 1628 (after the death of James) be assassinated by a disgruntled sailor. Coincidentally, shortly before his death in 1628, a political tract, *The Powerful Favorite, Or, The Life of Aelius Sejanus* became quite popular and widely circulated.¹¹³ French poet Théophile de Viau (1590-1626) best combines classical

¹⁰⁸ Carl Miller, *Stages of Desire: Gay Theatre’s Hidden History* (London: Cassell, 1996), 177. Quoted in Young, 53.

¹⁰⁹ Young, 53.

¹¹⁰ There are many seventeenth century comparisons of Buckingham to Ganymede. Michael Young references a 1623 poem “The Warre of the Gods,” and directs readers to Bruce R. Smith’s discussion of the poem in his *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare’s England*. See Young, 54, and Smith 202-3.

¹¹¹ In *The Twelve Caesars*, Suetonius paints a deviant picture of Tiberius in Chapters 43 through 45. He accuses Tiberius of training “little boys, who he call his ‘minnows,’ to chase him while he went swimming and get between his legs to lick and nibble him.” Another description describes Tiberius’ uncontrollable lust towards an acolyte who he could not wait to assault sexually. See Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, trans. Robert Graves (London: Penguin, 1967), 131.

¹¹² Young, 59.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 104.

mythology and Roman history to allude to James and Buckingham's relationship with his crass 1623 poem, writing:

Apollo with his songs / Debauched young
Hyacinthus ... / So Caesar did not spurn boys
... / And it is well known that the King of
England / Fucks the Duke of Buckingham.¹¹⁴

Allusions to Edward II (1307-27) widely considered "the last overtly homosexual monarch of the Middle Ages," also became popular analogies to James' behavior.¹¹⁵ Edward's two favorites, Piers Gaveston and Hugh Despenser, were unpopular among the king's nobles and his wife, Queen Isabella. In 1308, the King's barons forced him to exile Gaveston. Nearly two decades later Isabella usurped the King, placed their son Edward III on the throne, and then ordered Edward II's execution.¹¹⁶ Purportedly both Edward's and Despenser's deaths were sadistically gruesome.¹¹⁷ During James' lifetime, the fate of Edward II served as a constant moral reminder. In 1583, Queen Elizabeth's Principal Secretary and "spymaster," Sir Francis Walsingham (1569-1631) warned James about surrounding himself with "unscrupulous favorites," and in conveying his message to the future King of England, refreshed James' memory of Edward's unfortunate demise.¹¹⁸ English dramatist Christopher Marlowe's play *Edward II* serves as the most famous fictional representation of Edward II's life. Written in 1592, shortly before Marlowe (c. 1564-1593) died mysteriously, the play reemerged twice in 1612 and 1622 after James had become King of England. *Piers Gaveston*, a poem by Michael Drayton (1563-1631) also resurfaced twice after James's coronation, first appearing in 1605, and then again in 1619.¹¹⁹ Lastly, alluding to the Stuart Court, Elizabeth

¹¹⁴ Rictor Norton, "Queen James and His Courtiers," <http://rictornorton.co.uk/jamesi.htm>.

¹¹⁵ John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 298. Quoted in Young, 56.

¹¹⁶ For additional information on Edward II, see Seymour Phillips', *Edward II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

¹¹⁷ Reportedly Despenser's "penis and testicles were severed and burned before his face," Edward's death reported by fourteenth-century chronicler Sir Thomas de la Moore exceeds imagination. Moore writes that "On the night of October 11 [1327] while lying in on a bed [the king] was suddenly seized and, while a great mattress ... weighed him down and suffocated him, a plumber's iron, heated intensely hot, was introduced through a tube into his secret parts so that it burned the inner portions beyond the intestines." See Crompton, 375.

¹¹⁸ Crompton, 372.

¹¹⁹ Young, 57.

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Cary (1589-1639) stated in her seventeenth-century biography of Edward II that Edward's reign served as "a perfect mirror" to present times.¹²⁰

Fiction and academia were not the only places in which these references appeared. During a 1617 hearing before Parliament discussing the abuse of monopolies, Sir Henry Yelverton made a dangerous comparison when he alluded to the similarity between the Jacobean court and the court of Edward II. He further compared the Duke of Buckingham with the favorites of Edward. Yelverton tried to demonstrate that Villiers had too much undue influence, and controlled the king's issue of patronage.¹²¹ The reference to Edward did not escape anyone, including James, who angrily responded, "to reckon me with such a prince is to esteem me a weak man, and I had rather be no king than such a one as King Edward II."¹²²

Even staunch Royalist supporters of the king commented on his sexual preferences. Sir John Oglander wrote in his commonplace book (journal), that James "loved men, his favorites, better than women, loving them beyond the love of men to women."¹²³ He further stated that he had never seen "any fond husband make so much or so great dalliance over his beautiful spouse as ... King James [did] over his favorites, especially the Duke of Buckingham."¹²⁴ This statement lends credibility to the argument that James' contemporaries did not view his behavior as highly abnormal, but instead thought it embarrassing.

Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* makes some strikingly harsh comments regarding James' court. She accuses the king of being a secret agent of "the court of Rome," and further scolds the court for being "a nursery of lust and intemperance."¹²⁵ Showing a discriminatory attitude towards the Scottish, Hutchinson writes that James "had brought in with him a company of hunger starved poore Scotts, who coming into this plentiful kingdom surfetted with riot and debaucheries."¹²⁶ She alluded to a better England under Queen Elizabeth stating that "the honor, wealth and glory of the nation ... were soone prodigally wasted ... on person that had neither blood nor merit fit to weare."¹²⁷ Lastly, the heavily Puritan Hutchinson contradictorily

¹²⁰ Quoted in *Ibid.*

¹²¹ Lockyer, *Buckingham*, 102.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ Sir John Oglander, *A Royalist's Notebook: The Commonplace Book of Sir John Oglander, Knight of Nunwell* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971), 196.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson: With the Fragment of an Autobiography of Mrs. Hutchinson*, ed. James Sutherland (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 42.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

attacked the new court for being both Papist and Protestant, and a place where people were “entertain’d with masks, stage playes, and sorts of ruder sports,” and “murther, incest, adultery, drunkenesse, swearing, fornication and all sort of ribaldry to be no conceal’d but ... favour’d.”¹²⁸ She further disparages James’ court by comparing it to his son’s court, writing:

the face of the Court was much chang’d in the change of the king, for King Charles was temperate, chaste, and serious; so that the fooles and bawds, mimics and Catamites of the former court grew out of fashion, and the nobility and courtiers, who did not quite abandon their debsoheries, had yet so revered the King to retire into corners to practice them.¹²⁹

The use of the word “catamite” refers to James’ sexual relationships with men without directly addressing the subject, and plays consideration to the growing opinion that extravagance and debauchery filled his court. Hutchinson’s fanatical Puritan tone does not directly accuse James of homosexuality, but it does suggest public opinion viewed his court as extravagantly hedonistic. His son, Charles I, adhered to a sterner philosophy of kingship, trying very hard to differentiate his image from that of his father, with the differences between them adding to the legacy of James’ homosexuality.

Hutchinson’s commentary not only serves as an example of how society viewed the purveyance of homosexuality at James’ court, but also as an example of the type of evidence that many historians used. Numerous historians agree with Shepherd’s assessment that “contemporary allegations about James’ homosexuality are surprisingly hard to come across.”¹³⁰ The evidence that does exist begs inclusion, but also requires a discernable eye. Bray reminds scholars that while “homosexual relationships did indeed occur within social contexts ... accusations ... are not evidence of it.”¹³¹ Historians should remain wary of this evidence. Hanson reminds readers that many of these biographies were “Puritan sketches of the King ... written or reprinted as anti-

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 46.

¹³⁰ Shephard, 111.

¹³¹ Bray, “Male Friendship in Elizabethan England,” 14.

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Royalist propaganda during the Interregnum.”¹³² However, despite their viciousness they are invaluable as a relic of an oppositions’ viewpoint.

Other evidence proves considerably more valuable to historians than any contemporary conjecture. A personal statement by James expressing his love of Buckingham serves as a prime example. Speaking to his Privy Council in 1617, he stated that:

I, James, am neither a god nor an angel, but a man like any other. Therefore, I act like a man, and confess to loving those dear to me more than other men. You may be sure that I love the Earl of Buckingham more than anyone else, and more than you who are here assembled. I wish to speak in my own behalf, and not to have it thought to be a defect, for Jesus Christ did the same, and therefore, I cannot be blamed. Christ had His John and I have my George.¹³³

This statement expresses affection for Buckingham, and offers strong evidence of an intimate relationship. However, historians disagree on whether this declaration serves as an acknowledgment of a sexual relationship. Several maintain that James did not mean to suggest that Jesus Christ and John had a homosexual relationship, but instead that the statement is an attempt to reference himself as a godly king who loved his subjects.¹³⁴

Unlike the ambiguous analogy to Jesus and John, very few historians can reasonably deny, after reading James and Buckingham’s letters, that they do not support a considerable level of intimacy beyond normal friendship. While these letters do not offer any explicit mention of sexual acts between James and Buckingham, they contain numerous references to deep affection, unrequited love, and earnest passion. Through this correspondence, of which eighty letters remain extant, historians and scholars obtain the opportunity to examine the love that these men held for one another.¹³⁵

¹³² Hanson, 140.

¹³³ Rictor Norton, “Queen James and His Courtiers,” <http://rictornorton.co.uk/jamesi.htm>

¹³⁴ Maurice Lee, Jr. finds it implausible that if James had a sexual relationship with Buckingham that he would have drawn this analogy, and argues that this statement suggests a platonic relationship. See Lee, Jr., *Great Britain’s Solomon*, 248.

¹³⁵ David M. Bergeron’s *King James & Letters of Homoerotic Desire* serves as an excellent guide to the letters. Bergeron offers a detailed examination of each of James’s

Historians can examine an assortment of affection in these letters. Surviving are forty-five letters that Buckingham wrote to the king, and thirty-five letters from James to Villiers.¹³⁶ In every letter written to James, Buckingham begins with the salutation “Dear Dad and Gossip.”¹³⁷ Likewise, James begins his letters with “My Only Sweet and Dear Child.” This salutation remains consistent in spirit, with few exceptions when James referenced the affectionate nickname (Steenie) that he had given Villiers.¹³⁸ In these letters, James begins with “My sweet Steenie gossip,” “My Sweet Steenie,” “My Steenie,” “My Sweet Stennie and gossip,” “Sweetheart,” and “My sweet dear child, scholar and friend.” The introduction, “My Sweet boys” finds consistent use in letters written to both Buckingham and Charles. In twenty-six of the letters, James’ valediction included the phrase your “dear dad.” In one case, James went further than latent affection, and ended his letter with a phrase including “dear dad and husband.”¹³⁹ Buckingham’s goodbyes (in all but five letters) consisted of the phrase “Your Majesty’s Most Humble Slave and Dog.” These salutations and valedictions were expressions of love and obedience, and the letters a demonstration of fatherly affection, and tender love. The relationship served both erotic and fatherly functions for both men, or as Bingham writes a place where the “languages of familial and sexual love were unconsciously blended.”¹⁴⁰ However, it is impossible to ignore the sexual references and innuendo present in these letters. Expressions of affection undoubtedly occur in letters between people who have constructed a familiar relationship. James’ references to Buckingham as his “My Only Sweet and Dear Child,” explain these expressions, but evidence for a sexual relationship receives more credence when examining these references in their greater context. James’ self-description of husband to Buckingham served as an obvious indication that the relationship went beyond platonic affection and existed on a sexual level.

Other indications of sexual activity are present in more direct form than simple innuendo. In an undated letter to James, Buckingham

major favorites. However, the value in this work is that he also includes for the first time in any collection, the eighty existent letters exchanged between James and Buckingham.

¹³⁶ Six of these were letters written with the Charles, the Prince of Wales.

¹³⁷ The term “Dear Dad and Gossip” equates to godparent. See Bergeron, *King James & Letters of Homoerotic Desire*, 128.

¹³⁸ Steenie, a Scottish nickname for Stephen, referenced St. Stephen, another Apostle of Christ. James gave Buckingham the nickname Steenie, “because his face like Saint Stephen’s resembled the face of an angel. See Bergeron, *King James & Letters of Homoerotic Desire*, 128 and Bingham, 173.

¹³⁹ Letter J29, in Bergeron, *King James & Letters of Homoerotic Desire*, 173-174.

¹⁴⁰ Bingham, 174.

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alluded to a possible sexual rendezvous, years earlier at Farnham Castle. Buckingham wrote, "I shall never forget at Farnham, where the bed's head could not be found between the master and his dog."¹⁴¹ This sexual reference implied the intertwining of James and Villiers' bodies with no space between them. Buckingham's assumption of the "dog" demonstrated his loyalty and subservience to James. Additional correspondences suggested further intimacy. A letter written to Charles and Buckingham during their Spanish journey in February 1623, demonstrated the special place Villiers had in the king's heart. James wrote that he wore "Steenie's picture in a blue ribbon under my waistcoat next my [to] heart."¹⁴² A unique sign of affection as James kept no other pictures so close to him. In another communication that year, James asserted, "I care for match nor nothing, so I may once have you [Buckingham] in my arms again." He demanded that God grant it.¹⁴³ Buckingham also stated his affections towards James in tantalizing statements in their written correspondence. In a letter dated 20 August 1623, Buckingham "threatens" James with the tantalizing image that once he "gets hold of your bedpost again, never to quit it."¹⁴⁴ Villiers' "threat" contained the subtle implications for future gratification through sexual activities. A correspondence from September 1623 also implies sexual activity. Here, Buckingham expressed that his "thoughts are only bent of having my dear Dad and master's legs soon in my arms."¹⁴⁵ As James wore no other picture on his sleeve, and nobody else wrote to James articulating their longing to have him between their legs, these statements are unique expressions of love offered only to each other and provide support for sexual intimacy between James and Buckingham.¹⁴⁶ Young accurately assesses, "the preponderance of evidence ... shows ... James was enormously interested in sex" and that he did engage in sexual relationships with his male favorites.¹⁴⁷ Although perception does not equate fact, it can be a strong indication, especially when supported by stronger or similar evidence. These letters expressed both love and desire, and offer the greatest amount of meaningful evidence for James' homosexuality.

¹⁴¹ Letter B1, in Bergeron, *King James & Letters of Homoerotic Desire*, 179.

¹⁴² Letter J7, in Bergeron, *King James & Letters of Homoerotic Desire*, 152.

¹⁴³ Letter J20, in Bergeron, *King James & Letters of Homoerotic Desire*, 167.

¹⁴⁴ Letter B17, in Bergeron, *King James & Letters of Homoerotic Desire*, 197.

¹⁴⁵ Letter B19, in Bergeron, *King James & Letters of Homoerotic Desire*, 199-

200.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ Young, 135.

Long Live King James, Rex Pacificus

James had the misfortune of succeeding Queen Elizabeth I, and his new subject's expectations exceeded his ability. While, he did offer the English population a solution to their growing anxiety of succession due to Elizabeth's "Virgin Queen" persona, he soon found his policies and lifestyle at odds with his new kingdom. James came to the English throne with male heirs in place, but soon discovered that he did not properly fulfill the expected gender role of a king for a substantial portion of the gentry and nobility.¹⁴⁸ Most monarchs (including Elizabeth) maintained relationships with favorites. Period prejudices positively viewed these relationships as signs of "active, virile, masculine character," with favorites of the opposite sex being "distinctly preferable."¹⁴⁹ Elizabeth projected her manliness by not only defending England against Spain, but by also maintaining independence as the "Virgin Queen." She had lovers, but maintained the dominant "masculine" position in these relationships. However, James' relationships with his favorites distinctly went against these stereotypes, and inspired allusions to decidedly effeminate behavior that prompted insinuations that Elizabeth had more "heart and stomach" to be a king than James.¹⁵⁰ Even when James later proved through his actions that he could "stomach" being king, he faced sarcastic comparison to the former Queen, with Lord Treasurer Salisbury remarking, "yt may appeare unto us that we have a man to our Kinge."¹⁵¹

Additionally, James incurred the wrath of both the nobility and historians because in stark contrast to Elizabeth he allowed his favorites (most notably Buckingham) to exert their own political influence. Considerably generous to his favorites, James lavished titles and honors upon those that he loved. This, too, led to public turmoil, and it soon became the opinion that "the king was not distributing honors and office to the deserving ... but rather ... to ... those who gratif[ied] his sinful sexual urges."¹⁵² Likely stemming from his volatile youth, James abhorred violence. For centuries prior to his reign, the British Isles had been involved in conflict. The Hundred Years' War, the War of the Roses, and numerous other regional wars against Catholic Spain and

¹⁴⁸ Shephard, 108-109.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 101 See also Lee, Jr., *Great Britain's Solomon*, 234.

¹⁵⁰ Young, 5.

¹⁵¹ Quoted in Young, 159, n.21.

¹⁵² Shephard, 110. Sir Henry Yelverton's case serves as an excellent example of this opinion. In this instance, the gentry's opinion became hostile towards a perceived "Ganymede" profiting from the government. This period led to a considerable divide, a belief that corruption and immorality existed at "the court," while "the country" symbolized proper values and morality. See Lee, Jr., *Great Britain's Solomon*, 253.

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France drained England's treasury, and prompted heavy taxation by the government over its population. James desired peace, and upon ascending the throne, he ended a two-decade long war against Spain, and kept England out of many continental conflicts, including entering the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648).¹⁵³ However, James' peace policies made criticisms about his manliness worse, and his sexuality often became linked to his diplomacy.

James' reluctance to enter the Thirty Years' War became a political headache. This inaction drew the most criticism from contemporary critics, such as Weldon, who wrote the king "had rather spend £100,000 on Embassies, to keep or procure peace with dishonor, then £10,000 on an Army that would have forced peace with honor."¹⁵⁴ Not everyone in favor of a militaristic foreign policy favored war in Europe, however, most favored war of some kind to satisfy the growing Puritan frustration, and sentiment that England was "slipping into effeminacy and sodomy."¹⁵⁵ Unfair criticism from radical Protestants accused James of being "too sympathetic to Catholics," or "insufficiently militant Protestant."¹⁵⁶ While difficult to appease radicals in any era, James found solace that Parliament, despite an abhorrence towards his perceived sexuality and "his deplorable unwillingness to share their hatred of Spain ... knew that he loved peace, and that the true religion was safe in his hands."¹⁵⁷

Out of the Jacobean period, a modern Britain emerged. An age of discovery ensued, and England colonized North America. During James' reign, England emerged as a world power that began to exert its influence on the world through trade. England's rise in power corresponded with a prosperous upswing in art, literature, and science. William Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and Francis Bacon emerged in this era (among many others) as great literary forces and scholars.¹⁵⁸ Hardly a coward, James did not lack bravery. Instead of criticizing him for terminating a protracted and expensive war, this action deserves acclamation. Modern politicians that face difficult foreign policy decisions should remember James' act of great diplomacy.

¹⁵³ England did not enter the Thirty Years' War until 1624, shortly before James' death.

¹⁵⁴ Weldon, 57.

¹⁵⁵ Young, 72.

¹⁵⁶ Shephard, 111-112.

¹⁵⁷ Maurice Lee, Jr., "James I and the Historians: Not a Bad King after All?" *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 16, no. 16 (Summer, 1984):157.

¹⁵⁸ During this period, James authorized a new version of the bible, which has a sense of "rich irony," for our purposes because of the use of the King James Bible to condemn homosexuality. See Young, 6.

Unfortunately, in his own time, James' legacy as peacemaker left England with a foul taste. Both scholarship and literature reflected a growing opinion that England was entering an "effeminate age."¹⁵⁹ To his critics, his pacifism resembled disinterest, or cowardliness, and sparked a movement that "championed the opposite values of manliness and militarism."¹⁶⁰ Those who abhorred these qualities in James found his heir much more appealing.

Charles I (1600-1649) was very different from his father. As the Prince of Wales, he cultivated an image of the "Warrior-King." Tutored by his mother, who had previously built the very manly reputation of his late elder brother, Prince Henry (1594-1612), Charles found it easier to portray a more fitting masculine image. Anne's hope for her sons to "become 'real' men and repudiate the values of their father," became a historical certainty.¹⁶¹ Charles' very different style of rule was in part an effort to distance his reputation from that of his father. As Young writes, "Charles ... was determined to become a paragon not only of manliness ... [but of] heterosexuality."¹⁶² Attempting to rule as a true absolute monarch, Charles' reign brought upon disaster for the monarchy in England, and set a new course for a newly modern nation. He alienated his subjects, Parliament, and the Clergy, and his reign culminated in a series of civil wars resulting in the eleven-year abolishment of the monarchy, and his own execution. Through war, England proved its "manliness," but at an extreme cost.

The legacy of James' sexuality echoed throughout the seventeenth century after his death. Viewing history with faulty hindsight, historians found fault for Britain's troubles in James' relationships. Lee Jr., cautions against this. He writes, "an unfortunate habit of historians, one almost impossible to shake, is that they read history backward."¹⁶³ With hindsight, historians look back at the period and blame James for being the root cause for all that followed. This faulty Whig logic creates terribly flawed history.¹⁶⁴ As Lee, Jr.

¹⁵⁹ Quoted in Young, 79-80. The quotation "effeminate age," is first accredited by Young to Sir Fulke Greville, who wrote a biography on Sir Philip Sidney in which he instructed his readers "to notice the 'differences, between the reall and large complexions of those active times [Elizabeth's reign], and the narrow salves this effeminate age.'" The term is also by Reverend John Everard, who in 1618, preached a sermon supporting entry into the Thirty Years' War. Everard complained about "'this effeminate age,'" and also used the phrase "'these wanton and womanish times.'"

¹⁶⁰ Young, 78.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 84.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Lee, Jr., *Great Britain's Solomon*, 129.

¹⁶⁴ British historian Herbert Butterfield (1900-1979) created the term, "Whig History," in his 1931 book, *The Whig Interpretation of History*. Butterfield took the name

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demonstrates “neither King James nor anyone else in his three kingdoms knew that civil war was coming.”¹⁶⁵ However, historians (using hindsight) do possess this knowledge, and as a result let “that knowledge ... [color] the way we write about the king and his times.”¹⁶⁶ James’ reputation suffered, and his greater achievements remain underplayed, because many historians used the end of the story as their framework. Thankfully, recent studies rehabilitate James’ reputation, and as a result, his legacy benefits from a considerable overhaul from its lowly state in the seventeenth century. While his sexuality has received increased academic study, it should not become the focus of Jacobean studies. By no means should it serve as James’ defining characteristic, because he offers so much more than being a homosexual king. Unlike other contemporary monarchs who flaunted their power, and hosted truly lavish extravagant courts, James “deeply respected the institution of monarchy, as an institution ordained by God.”¹⁶⁷ The persisting image of King James should not be of an effeminate leader, too weak to rule England, but rather that of a man “who believed profoundly in the responsible nature of his office,” and acted with such stewardship.¹⁶⁸ As Lee, Jr. writes, James had an “acute political antennae,” and “whose success ... was comparable to that of his much-admired predecessor,” Elizabeth.¹⁶⁹ Not a tyrant, nor a *Rex Bellicosus* (as his son would be), James was *Rex Pacificus*, a King of Peace, and should be remembered as such.

from the Whigs, a British political party founded in the seventeenth century that supported a stronger Parliament, and opposed the Tory Party, which supported the monarchy. “Whig history” refers to the premise that history exists as an unavoidable progression towards greater liberty and enlightenment, particularly in the form of a constitutional government. While Butterfield invented the historiographical term in 1931, “Whig histories” have a tradition starting in the early eighteenth century. See Sir Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (New York: Norton, 1965).

¹⁶⁵ Lee, Jr., *Great Britain’s Solomon*, 299.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ Bingham, 212.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Lee, Jr., “James I and the Historians: Not a Bad King after All?,” 151.

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Navajo Resistance to Relocation and Assimilation



This picture of a log resting against the walls of Fortress Rock, or *Tsélaa*, shows how the people ascended to the top of the mesa using handholds carved directly into the rock. *Tsélaa* provided the Navajo in Canyon de Chelly with a refuge from the invading forces under the command of Kit Carson. Photo taken by Donovan Quintero for the Navajo Times.

NAVAJO RESISTANCE TO RELOCATION AND ASSIMILATION: SURVIVAL OF THE *DINÉ* IN THE FEARING TIME | Chris Paintner

There were many who died on the way to Hwééldi. All the way we told each other, "We will be strong as long as we are together." I think that was what kept us alive. We believed in ourselves and the old stories that the holy people had given us. "This is why," she would say to us, "This is why we are here. Because our grandparents prayed and grieved for us."
— Luci Tapahonso, *In 1864*

The *Diné*, a word the Navajo use to refer to themselves that roughly translates as "the people," rarely discuss the most tragic and traumatic moment in their history, the Long Walk, with outsiders. The U.S. Army's removal of the Navajo to the Bosque Redondo reservation nearly resulted in the destruction of the people and they remain reluctant to speak about the horrors endured during "the Fearing Time." Frank Apache, diverging from *Diné* tradition to tell the story of his grandfather, explains, "I never did want to talk about things. . . . Our belief was not to tell, because if I do, I wouldn't live long . . . I don't think that it was right. What you tell about yourself, there is no harm about it. I think some of those people that went to Fort Sumner was[sic] one of the great history story[sic]."¹ Gus Bighorse, a warrior who rode with Manuelito during the Long Walk, explained to his daughter the toll memories of such a traumatic experience extract, "I know some people died of their tragic story. They think about it and think about how many relatives they lost. . . . That is what kills them. That is why we warriors have to talk to each other. . . . That is why I tell my kids what happened, so it won't be forgot."² The Navajo believe the act of remembering such terrible events places the teller in mortal danger, giving the words of their history a heavy weight, but sharing these stories allows them to begin healing the trauma experienced during the Long Walk and their internment at *Hwééldi*. The psychological wounds from that period run deep and still haunt the *Diné*, as Ned Blackhawk notes, "such painful histories also have contemporary legacies that

¹ Frank Apache, interview by Tom Ration, *Center for Southwest Research*, University of New Mexico, February, 1969, 23. <http://econtent.unm.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/navtrans/id/157/rec/51>.

² Tiana Bighorse, *Bighorse the Warrior*, ed. Noel Bennett (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990), 81-2.

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continue to influence these communities and their descendents."³ For this reason and more, their voices deserve to be heard.

Those voices echoed from the red rock mesas, plateaus, canyons, and cliffs of the desert long before the arrival of White men. Living a traditional pastoral nomadic lifestyle in the region bordered by the Four Sacred Peaks (Mt. Taylor, Mt. Blanca, Mt. Hesperus, and the San Francisco Peak) the *Diné's* wanderings gave them knowledge of the land that served them well in times of war.⁴ The Navajo also learned from the White men who invaded their land. Mary Barbone traces the origins of Navajo building techniques to the Spanish led by Coronado: "in the Grand Canyon there is a rock house; still standing up today, that was the first rock house that was ever being built by the Mexican people of the Coronado. They showed the Indian, the Navajo Indians, how to build houses."⁵ Coronado's expedition through the region in 1540 marks the first time the *Diné* made contact with White men, near the Cibola Province of western New Mexico.⁶ Barbone mentions how remarkable the visitors appearance seemed, "they were so white and big moustache that they ever seen before. These were the Coronado people."⁷ From the Spanish expedition onward, Navajo destinies permanently intertwined with the future of White and Mexican invasions into *Diné'tah*, the *Diné* word for their traditional homeland that means "among the people." Like the malleable bed of an arroyo after a torrential summer downpour, the *Diné* shaped their culture in response to new threats and opportunities but never lost their identity.

Preserving the Navajo cultural identity while simultaneously adopting new ideas necessitated a strong social support system that allowed the people to draw strength from one another in troubled times. The clan structure among the Navajo creates an inclusive and diffuse community that reinforces traditional values. Broderick Johnson elaborates on the *Diné* clan and family structure, noting, "clans provide a large number of 'relatives'; and they offer ties for Navajos who have no blood relationship, may live in widely separated localities - indeed,

³ Ned Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 5.

⁴ See Map in Appendix I.

⁵ Mary Barbone, interview by Tom Ration, *Center for Southwest Research*, University of New Mexico, October, 1968, 5. <http://econtent.unm.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/navtrans/id/271/rec/8>.

⁶ William Hartmann and Ethan Goldman, "Coronado's Journey Through New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas," Planetary Science Institute, accessed November 17, 2014, <http://www.psi.edu/about/staff/hartmann/coronado/coronadosjourney2.html>.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

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may never see each other. The ties, however, are there, and Navajos will make great efforts to do favors for, or to assist, clan relatives."⁸

Kinship beyond immediate or even extended relatives created a larger community support system, and it also provided a means to rapidly disseminate ideas adopted from the intruders encroaching into *Diné'tah*. Horsemanship, an art at which the Navajo excelled, spread quickly among the people due to necessity, despite its relatively recent introduction by foreign sources to the region. Incorporating Spanish horses into the Navajo way of life allowed the people to militarize and successfully resist Spanish and later Mexican attempts at conquest.⁹ Violence came in the form of slave raids by the Navajo's neighbors and over a period of 250 years, from the arrival of Coronado to that of the U.S. Army, the *Diné* engaged in a continuous state of war with their neighbors until raiding and reprisal became a regional tradition.¹⁰ Continuous small-scale warfare also strained the *Diné*'s relationship with other Indians in the region. Military expeditions from Mexico frequently raided Navajo territory and often employed Pueblo Indians to serve as auxiliaries, creating complex relationships that allowed for trade and warfare simultaneously between different groups of Navajo and Pueblo people.¹¹ As Spanish and later Mexican settlers expanded their claims into *Diné'tah*, the area became increasingly destabilized.

Settlers, living near the southern border of Navajo territory prior to the Mexican-American War and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, frequently fought against the Navajo, usually with spurious justification as an excuse to raid the *Diné* for slaves. After the United States gained claim to the region in 1848 as one of the conditions of the treaty with Mexico, the settlers living in the area under American control became American citizens. Neil Mangum describes the chaotic situation inherited by the United States in 1848, noting, "citizen-formed raids were a centuries-old New Mexico ritual that wrought devastating havoc on the Indians. . . . the violent actions of both sides reduced New Mexico to a bubbling cauldron boiling over with hatred and vengeance."¹² Initial attempts by the United States government to pacify the region resulted in the Merriwether and Bonneville Treaties, agreed to in 1855 and 1858 respectively, that

⁸ Broderick H. Johnson, ed., *Navajo Stories of the Long Walk Period* (Tsaile, A.Z.: Navajo Community College Press, 1973), xx.

⁹ Jennifer Nez Denetdale, "Discontinuities, Remembrances, and Cultural Survival," *New Mexico Historical Review* 82, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 296.

¹⁰ Lynn Baily, *The Long Walk* (Pasadena: Socio-Technical Books, 1970), 2.

¹¹ Denetdale, "Discontinuities," 297.

¹² Neil Mangum, "Old Fort Wingate in the Navajo War," *New Mexico Historical Review* 66, no. 4 (Fall 1991): 395.

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necessitated land cessions from the *Diné* and emboldened New Mexico residents. After the signing of the Merriwether Treaty, an article in the *Santa Fe Gazette* demanded even more land from the *Diné*. It argued that "new limits should be established for the Navajos, so as to give more room for our citizens to graze their stock. There is no necessity for these Indians to have grazing grounds east of their settlements, for they have far better pasture lands west of them, and where there will be no interference from any quarter."¹³ Hemmed in on all sides, the *Diné* faced hostile tribes, aggressive encroachment by New Mexican settlers, and the heavy hand of the U.S. government. Unsatisfied with the Navajo's concessions in the treaties of 1855 and 1858, U.S. Army General Edward Canby continued pursuing a low intensity war against the *Diné* until the outbreak of the Civil War called him to a different assignment. General James Carleton, who replaced Canby in 1862, determined to break the Navajo utilizing an ambitious plan to remove them by exploiting long-standing regional hostility. The outbreak of the Civil War limited the military support provided to Carleton by the federal government, necessitating the use of regional allies to make up the difference.

Canby demonstrated the effectiveness of local Indian and New Mexican volunteers in combating the Navajo. The territory's remote location limited the Army's ability to quickly resupply and reinforce soldiers, requiring strong ties with regional powers. In 1859, three years before Carleton's arrival, Canby had waged his own war against the *Diné* and set a precedent for arming and mobilizing the local population. His coalition contained a variety of irregular forces, as Baily elaborates, "in addition to the Utes and regular troops, 500 Pueblo Indians were organizing to war against the Navajos. Still another force of 800 New Mexicans were being readied by Governor Abraham Rencher."¹⁴ Canby, not Carleton, originally conceived the idea of a Navajo reservation, although both men shared the same paternalistic attitude toward the *Diné*. Mangum describes the plan, explaining, "he perceived a reservation system far removed from population centers of the territory as the only viable means of preventing the extermination of the native tribes."¹⁵ Carleton viewed the *Diné* as an obstacle to peace in the region and his approach to relocation sought to control and "civilize" the people rather than protect them from extinction. The inability to depend exclusively on the government's assistance necessitated the enlistment of unconventional

¹³ Baily, *The Long Walk*, 76.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 133.

¹⁵ Mangum, "Old Fort Wingate," 395.

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forces on a large scale and the assistance of legendary mountain man, Kit Carson, for the plan to succeed.

Lacking strong support from the U. S. Army, the campaign to subdue the Navajo depended on military alliances with local tribes, particularly the Utes, and volunteers from the territory of New Mexico. Carleton's personal correspondences capture his deep sense of paternalism regarding the *Diné*. He wrote, "the purpose I have in view is to send all captured Navajoes [sic] and Apaches to that point [Bosque Redondo], and there to feed and take care of them until they have opened farms and become able to support themselves, as the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico are doing. Removal should be the 'sine qua non' of peace."¹⁶ The desire to "civilize" the *Diné* and bring peace to New Mexico served as a publically palatable justification for relocating the Navajo to Bosque Redondo, but control over the mineral wealth imagined to lie in the hills of *Diné'tah* provided the government an incentive to cooperate with the plan. Baily argues, "to Carleton, as well as the newly appointed Governor, Henry Connelly, the Navajos and Apaches occupied one of the richest mineral and grazing regions on the continent -- and their removal was imperative for advancement of New Mexico."¹⁷ Carleton, according to Hampton Sides, "believed that the Navajo conflict was the largest reason for New Mexico's depressing backwardness; the wars sapped resources . . . produced a perpetual cycle of enslavement, and gave life in the territory a quality of chronic despair."¹⁸ James Oakee offers a Navajo perspective regarding the causes of the Long Walk. According to him, "[Carleton] was being pressed by the civilization of New Mexico to get a dangerous Navajo out of their way. So the ranchers would be safe."¹⁹ Oakee's pragmatic conclusion explains the eagerness of New Mexican settlers to volunteer for service to fight the *Diné*.

New Mexican militias, consisting of old Hispanic settlers in the region granted American citizenship after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo as well as Whites who arrived after the treaty, and operating outside the traditional military structure, received their compensation in the form a spoils system rather than being paid and regulated like a modern military during the first campaign to subdue the Navajo in 1851. This allowed them to continue their centuries-long tradition of raiding the *Diné* for slaves and property with the support and approval

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 249.

¹⁷ Baily, *The Long Walk*, 153.

¹⁸ Hampton Sides, *Blood and Thunder: An Epic Tale of the American West* (New York: Doubleday, 2006), 309.

¹⁹ James Oakee, interview by Tom Ration, *Center for Southwest Research*, University of New Mexico, April, 1969, 15. <http://econtent.unm.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/navtrans/id/124/rec/30>.

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of their new government. According to Baily, "these New Mexicans would not ask remuneration for services rendered. The only recompense they desired was to have 'the disposal of the interests of the country they are to conquer, such as the disposal of captives, animals, cattle, etc.'"²⁰ Antonio Mexicano, the leader of one of these citizen militias, claimed to kill twenty-one Navajo warriors in a single battle and presented sixteen pairs of ears as horrifying proof.²¹ Barbarism, such as Mexicano's grisly trophies, and the centuries-old tradition of slave raiding created a reluctance among military officers to employ volunteer soldiers during the 1863 war against the Navajo. Mangum, noting the disdain for militias, wrote, "generally, the military held citizen-formed armies in low esteem because of their excess in killing and plundering, but the new Fort Wingate commander . . . endorsed the concept and forwarded the plan to Santa Fe."²² Military officers coordinating the many different factions enlisted to fight the Navajo recognized that volunteers made poor professional soldiers, but the relocation effort required troops that the Army simply could not spare.

The outbreak of the Civil War forced Carleton to accept these amateur soldiers and, by 1861, Sides noted that "news of Fort Sumter had finally reached New Mexico, and soldiers were steadily departing the territory in droves and heading east for re-assignment. To take their place, New Mexican volunteers had been hastily raised to man outposts like Fort Fauntleroy and keep a lid on hostilities."²³ Upon learning of the *Diné's* removal to Bosque Redondo in 1864, Governor Connelly declared a day of prayer and publically honored James Carleton and the volunteers.²⁴ Volunteers escorted surrendering Navajos to the reservation on the Long Walk and guarded the forts of the region, but Kit Carson and his Ute allies drove the *Diné* into their clutches.

One of the Navajo's oldest enemies, the Ute people lived to the north of *Diné'tah*. Frequently clashing prior to Coronado's arrival, Ute trackers inspired fear and mistrust in the *Diné* avoiding relocation in the desert. Sarah Hornsby found that "in a random survey of more than fifty Navajo oral histories concerning the Long Walk period, more than 80 percent discussed, either in passing or at length, the fact that the Utes were a devastating foe."²⁵ After Kit Carson's slash-and-burn attack

²⁰ Baily, *The Long Walk*, 28.

²¹ Mangum, "Old Fort Wingate," 406.

²² *Ibid.*, 406.

²³ Sides, *Blood and Thunder*, 272.

²⁴ Mangum, "Old Fort Wingate," 404.

²⁵ Sarah Hornsby and Robert McPherson, "Enemies Like a Road Covered with Ice: The Utah Navajos' Experience during the Long Walk Period, 1858-1868," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 33, no. 2, (January 2009): 3.

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on Canyon de Chelly, his allies drove many *Diné* to surrender. Howard Gorman, recalling the history of his people during the attack on Canyon de Chelly in 1864, recounts, "sixteen Navajos came out from the canyon, even though they didn't want to, but they knew that the *Nóóda'i* (Ute Indians) were on the loose, riding horseback, and that they were dangerously aggressive."²⁶ Ute trackers constantly drove Navajo from one hiding location to another, destroying their supplies when they could not find the people themselves. Betty Shorthair mentions the Utes in her grandmother's Long Walk story, set sometime between 1864 and 1868 while living in hiding, "the *Nóóda'i* were killing them, the *Diné* wandered just about everywhere, trying to find safety. The Utes also would bring their horses into the *Diné* cornfields to eat the corn. With the corn gone . . . some of the *Diné* starved to death."²⁷ Kit Carson's close relationship with the Utes ensured their allegiance and he depended on them to conduct his devastating assault on Canyon de Chelly, an impenetrable canyon maze protecting the Navajo.

Canyon de Chelly offered the *Diné* an indispensable refuge against any invasion of their homeland: the ancient canyon fortress, once home to ancient Pueblo people, now protected the Navajo. Driving the people from the labyrinthian canyon required experienced trackers, and, according to Baily, "Carson knew that the Navajo campaign would fail unless experienced guides and trackers, who knew the ways and haunts of the *Diné* were available. . . the Utes were therefore Carson's first choice."²⁸ The policy of setting the Ute against the Navajo began earlier than the 1863 campaign. In 1860, Colonel T.F. Fauntleroy utilized three hundred Utes against the *Diné*, noting that they fought without pay and only required enough supplies to penetrate enemy territory.²⁹ Hunted by their oldest enemies, ones who knew the Navajo ways and had no qualms about killing or enslaving them, the *Diné* believed that Canyon de Chelly offered them the only chance of survival. Hampton Sides notes the people's faith in the canyon, "in their heart of hearts the *Diné* had always regarded Canyon de Chelly as their last stronghold and sanctuary, the one place where they truly felt safe."³⁰ Fortress Rock, at the heart of the canyon, offered the most defensible position and the Navajo's best chance to avoid destruction.

Like a Native American Masada, Fortress Rock provided an unreachable stronghold far above the marauding U.S. soldiers, New

²⁶ Howard W. Gorman, "Howard W. Gorman," in *Navajo Stories of the Long Walk*, ed. Broderick Johnson (Tsaile, A.Z.: Navajo Community College Press, 1973), 28.

²⁷ Betty Shorthair, "Betty Shorthair," in *Navajo Stories of the Long Walk*, ed. Broderick Johnson (Tsaile, A.Z.: Navajo Community College Press, 1973), 109.

²⁸ Baily, *The Long Walk*, 157.

²⁹ Hornsby and McPherson, "Enemies Like a Road Covered with Ice," 4.

³⁰ Sides, *Blood and Thunder*, 346.

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Mexican volunteers, and Utes roaming the canyon floor during the invasion of the canyon in January, 1864. The Navajo reasoned that they could remain unnoticed and outlast the invaders, as James Oakee recounts, "there was one place where smoke would not show and where it would be very safe, that was Canyon de Chelly. No soldier had entered it and a number of families had taken, were found there, and lived off of crops and dried peaches and grass seeds."³¹ Supplies on Fortress Rock, or *Tsélaa'*, quickly dwindled to dangerous levels and, before the end of the siege, the *Diné* hiding on the summit ventured to the canyon floor to find water. Displaying incredible ingenuity, they formed a brigade utilizing hundreds of participants to draw water and pass it back to the top of *Tsélaa'*. Teddy Draper recalls the story of his people that night, "there were ropes, made of yucca plants, that they used to pull up the poles, and we had some Mexican ropes. There were enough ropes to get some water from the bottom of the canyon where the soldiers were waiting . . . it is about 900 feet of straight wall from where the Navajos got water - right close to the white soldiers feet."³² The Navajo atop Fortress Rock fared better than the people taking refuge in less defensible positions in Canyon de Chelly.

Closer to the canyon floor, U.S. Army soldiers cornered a starving group of *Diné* families protected by a handful of warriors, including Gus Bighorse, in a cave within rifle range of the troops. He remembers the terrifying moment when panicked Navajo leaped to their deaths out of fear during the attack, "I am crying, I feel sorry for our people that are killing themselves. We warriors are supposed to be brave, and we are not supposed to cry. But it is very scary to see the families jump off the cliff . . . I have to talk to them from my heart, not just my lips."³³ Eventually, even the hold-outs on Fortress Rock abandoned their positions after running out of supplies. Navajo living in hiding frequently required resupplying, a problem for many taking refuge in the desert. Driving the *Diné* to surrender and relocate to Bosque Redondo required cutting them off from their food and livestock. Knowing that he could never hunt down and capture every group in hiding, Kit Carson determined to destroy everything the Navajo needed to survive and starve them into submission.

After securing the canyon, Carson destroyed the hogans, crops, stores of food, and the Navajo's beloved peach trees. Even the *Diné's* prized sheep fell victim to the devastation in the region, with

³¹ Oakee, p. 7

³² Teddy Draper, "Teddy Draper, Sr.," in *Navajo Stories of the Long Walk*, ed. Broderick Johnson (Tsailé, A.Z.: Navajo Community College Press, 1973), 49.

³³ Bighorse, *Bighorse the Warrior*, 28-29.

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thousands of them slaughtered and left as a feast for vultures and crows. James Oakee recalls the sense of defeat many Navajo felt in the face of such complete destruction, noting, "only Navajo still tell of the great plain of sheep bones which used to spread all over the Navajo reservation . . . he [Carson] never passed a corn field without destroying it . . . when the Navajo heard of this, they knew that they must give up."³⁴ The Army's own estimates place the total amount of destroyed food during Carson's campaign at two million pounds, but that is almost assuredly an underestimate of the total losses the *Diné* incurred considering the New Mexican volunteers propensity for seizing Navajo property.³⁵ In the months after the loss at Canyon de Chelly, over six thousand *Diné* surrendered at Fort Defiance for removal to the Bosque Redondo reservation, many of them starving and terrified of being captured by their old New Mexican and Ute enemies.³⁶ Fearing enslavement or death at their hands, many Navajo perceived the Army as offering a protective refuge. Wolfkiller, the leader of a small band of Navajo, cautiously led his people to the safety of the Army while avoiding detection by Ute trackers.³⁷ Stories circulated among the *Diné* about the brutality of the Utes, as Oakee recounts, "they tell sad stories of how a young mother was thrown on the Utes horse while their babies were left on the ground or thrown [sic] over a cliff."³⁸ He continues, explaining the comparative safety found at Fort Defiance prior to the Long Walk, "if the Navajos would get to Fort Defiance . . . they were surprised probably at the life which waited for them. They were well feed [sic], nobody shot or scalped them."³⁹ Prior to the arrival of more refugees at Fort Defiance than anticipated, the Navajo's captors treated them well. The majority of people surrendering after the loss of Canyon de Chelly consisted of *ladrones*, the poorest and weakest of the Navajo. Michael Steck, the superintendent of the Department of Indian Affairs at the time, wrote, "the tribe . . . was not anywhere near subdued; and the vast majority of its warriors were still in their own country. Those already at Bosque Redondo were of the poorer class who had willingly surrendered upon promise of food."⁴⁰ Although thousands of Navajo surrendered for removal to Bosque Redondo, Carson failed to drive all into submission. The strongest and most capable of resistance fighters remained

³⁴ Oakee, 6.

³⁵ Sides, *Blood and Thunder*, 342.

³⁶ Baily, *The Long Walk*, 171.

³⁷ Hornsby and McPherson, "Enemies Like a Road Covered with Ice," 9.

³⁸ Oakee, 10.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁴⁰ Baily, *The Long Walk*, 189.

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ensconced deep in the desert countryside, carrying on the people's traditions and culture while avoiding capture.

Manuelito, one of the wealthiest Navajo headmen, resisted relocation and refused to surrender even after the fall of Canyon de Chelly. Bighorse recalls the hunt for his people, "he had heard that General Carleton had given orders to hunt him and his warriors. Carleton had said he wanted Manuelito and his warriors dead or alive. But Manuelito tells his warriors to keep hiding."⁴¹ The decentralized nature of Navajo leadership allowed small isolated groups to operate independently, denying their enemies a way to remove opposition in one decisive action. It also allowed them to strike back in many different locations and attract more followers, as James Oakee describes, "each leader had his own band which fought and roam[sic] with him. Any man might join him if he wished to leave, and he wished so the leader would plan the big catch on the whites."⁴² One of these leaders received his name, Hashkeninii or "the Angry One," from the harsh discipline he imposed over the six-year period his people remained in hiding. His son described Hashkeninii: "he drove everyone all day long and would never let us rest, knowing that we might starve."⁴³ A significant number of Navajo refused to surrender and actively resisted removal during the entire period their people remained interred at Hweéldi. A Navajo party of two hundred warriors ambushed a group of New Mexican slave raiders just weeks before Carleton's declaration of victory over the *Diné* in 1865, indicating that they had not been totally subdued.⁴⁴ Most of the Navajo surrendered and reported to Fort Defiance, however, and the horrors of the Long Walk and Bosque Redondo awaited them.

Grossly underestimating the population of the Navajo surrendering at Fort Defiance, the Army lacked adequate supplies for the three hundred mile journey to Bosque Redondo. The Navajo call this journey the Long Walk, a simple name that belies the depth of suffering and misery encountered on the road to Hweéldi. The soldiers relentlessly driving the *Diné* forward showed no mercy to children, the elderly, pregnant women, or the sick and infirmed; those who could not walk did not survive. Bighorse recalls the tragedy, "the trip is on foot. People are shot down on the spot if they say they are tired or sick or if they stop to help someone. If a women is in labor with a baby, she is

⁴¹ Bighorse, *Bighorse the Warrior*, 31-2.

⁴² Oakee, 4.

⁴³ Hornsby and McPherson, "Enemies Like a Road Covered with Ice," 9.

⁴⁴ Baily, *The Long Walk*, 189.

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killed. There is absolutely no mercy."⁴⁵ Slave hunters also preyed on the people making the Long Walk, to the point that one officer warned the guards to "exercise extreme vigilance or the Indian's children will be stolen from them and sold."⁴⁶ Upon arriving at the reservation the *Diné* found that their suffering had only just begun.

To the Navajo, relocated hundreds of miles from *Diné'tah*, the reservation must have seemed cursed. The Pecos River, the only water source at Bosque Redondo, ran heavy with alkali that made it unfit for drinking and agriculture. Unfamiliar with how to cook the food supplied by the Army, many Navajo ate their rations raw and became ill with dysentery.⁴⁷ Under these conditions, the *Diné* planted their first corn crops in 1864. Examining what appeared to be a bountiful fall harvest revealed that cutworms infested the entire carefully and painstakingly cultivated crop, sowing discontent among the Navajo on the reservation and leading some to abandon Bosque Redondo for their homeland.⁴⁸ The people frequently resisted the reservation system and attempts to assimilate them by escaping back to *Diné'tah*. Over a five month span in 1865, an estimated 1,300 Navajo abandoned Hwéeldi and returned home to join their comrades avoiding capture.⁴⁹ However, the majority of the *Diné* remained together at Bosque Redondo. A strong sense of tradition and community provided the people with the strength to resist assimilation into Western lifestyles.

Refusing to adopt American housing traditions helped the Navajo retain their culture and undermine the government's assimilation efforts. Carleton's original plans for the Navajo living arrangements involved the construction of apartments that provided families with fixed residences in a concentrated area. To the Navajo, this living arrangement violated their most sacred cultural taboos regarding death and, as Sides describes, "they could not, *would* not, live this way. It went against their very nature. If a person died in one of the rooms, the whole building would have to be abandoned."⁵⁰ James Oakee, describing how strongly his people reacted to the proposed housing arrangements, remembers that "the whites want the Navajo to settle in village in little houses; that was too much. Now the Navajo began to sneak away."⁵¹ The *Diné* refused to compromise on the issue

⁴⁵ Bighorse, *Bighorse the Warrior*, 34.

⁴⁶ Sides, *Blood and Thunder*, 362.

⁴⁷ Baily, *The Long Walk*, 181.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 193

⁴⁹ Katherine Osburn, "The Navajo at the Bosque Redondo: Cooperation, Resistance, and Initiative, 1864 - 1868," *New Mexico Historical Review* 60, no. 4, (October 1985): 407

⁵⁰ Sides, *Blood and Thunder*, 366.

⁵¹ Oakee, 19.

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and wholly rejected Carleton's vision, leading him to ultimately acquiesce and permit the Navajo to retain their traditional living arrangements. Refusing to abandon their cultural values, even under the miserable conditions at Bosque Redondo, shows the tenacious spirit of a people far from broken. It also establish a boundary that the Navajo refused to cross. Through their defiant stance regarding housing, the *Diné* made it aware that they would never accept even-greater cultural changes, such as the Army's attempts to entice Navajo children into school attendance.

Schools offered a major tool for initiating cultural assimilation on the reservation and Carleton encouraged the starving Navajo to enroll their children by offering bread rations for attendance. The *Diné* agreed to send their children to school as long as the Army continued to incentivize them with extra food, but they resisted Western education and children stopped attending altogether once the policy of additional rations ended.⁵² Refusing to embrace the reservation schools prevented Whites from obliterating Navajo culture and replacing it with their own. Exploiting this crude attempt to bribe the *Diné* demonstrates the pragmatic attitude the people took towards survival. The Navajo demonstrated the same ingenuity and pragmatism by utilizing the metalworking skills being taught on the reservation to forge the ration tokens used by the Army to distribute food. *Diné* craftsmen executed these forgeries so well that they could not be distinguished from genuine tokens and the Army resorted to requesting special designs from Washington that were impossible to counterfeit.⁵³ At every opportunity, the Navajo undermined attempts to assimilate them into White society and found innovative ways to survive the chronic food shortages on the reservation. However, the *Diné's* dedication to stories, rituals, and traditional medicine provided an enduring connection to their culture that helped to ensure the spiritual survival of their people.

Narratives celebrating escape from captivity with the assistance of supernatural forces sustained hope among the Navajo that they might eventually defeat their enemies and return home. Chahadineli Benally's grandmother escapes from bondage in Mexico, evades capture by soldiers on her journey home to *Diné'tah*, and returns to her husband with the assistance of an owl guide.⁵⁴ Frank Johnson recalls how his grandmother, while escaping from slavery in New Mexico, also relied on an owl to guide her nighttime descent into a

⁵² Osburn, "The Navajo at the Bosque Redondo," 401.

⁵³ Baily, *The Long Walk*, 210.

⁵⁴ Chahadineli Benally, "Chahadineli Benally," in *Navajo Stories of the Long Walk*, ed. Broderick Johnson (Tsaile, A.Z.: Navajo Community College Press, 1973), 69.

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canyon, "the owl flew off and hooted again some distance away. When I caught up with him I found him sitting on an old stump near the edge of the canyon. Right then I knew there was a way down for me."⁵⁵ These stories kept hope alive among the *Diné*, but they also demonstrate a belief in the transitive nature of their captivity. The Navajo believed that they, too, would return home, and they clung tightly to their culture because of that belief. Ritual constituted a large part of that culture and the *Diné* continued to practice these rites during their incarceration.

The Navajo depended on ritual and ceremony to strengthen their communal bonds at Bosque Redondo as well as for keeping their culture intact. Ceremonial feasts typically depended on individuals to supply food for the entire community, providing a way to redistribute resources among the people and reduce the stress of internment by strengthening communal bonds.⁵⁶ Even eating the food supplied by Whites necessitated a special ceremony to cleanse it; otherwise, the Navajo believed they could be transformed into the person who provided the food. The Fire Dance, one of the *Diné* rituals regularly practiced by the people during their imprisonment, protected them from the transformation and preserved their identity.⁵⁷ The Navajo still evading relocation to Bosque Redondo performed War Dances almost daily, providing them the confidence necessary to continue resisting removal. Frank Apache recounts how "in these days, Navajo people had a great magic of war dancing. So every night they used to put up war dances . . . where they wouldn't be seen."⁵⁸ The Protection Way ceremony superseded the importance of hunting rituals among the *Diné* remaining in their homeland and the content of the ritual changed to reflect the fear of being captured.⁵⁹ These rites provided a focal point for the Navajo community, and the strength to successfully resist assimilation, ultimately making Bosque Redondo a failure.

The government ended its support of Bosque Redondo in 1868 due to increasing costs of maintaining the reservation and the *Diné's* refusal to assimilate. Feeding the Navajo during an eighteen month period cost the U.S. government \$1,114,981.70, and this figure does not include other expenses such as clothing, equipment, or salaries and weapons for regular soldiers.⁶⁰ By adamantly resisting any attempts to assimilate into American culture, the *Diné* demonstrated that the money

⁵⁵Frank Johnson, "Frank Johnson," in *Navajo Stories of the Long Walk*, ed. Broderick Johnson (Tsailé, A.Z.: Navajo Community College Press, 1973), 88.

⁵⁶ Osburn, "The Navajo at the Bosque Redondo," 409.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 407.

⁵⁸ Apache, 10.

⁵⁹ Hornsby and McPherson, "Enemies like a Road Covered with Ice," 11.

⁶⁰ Baily, *The Long Walk*, 227

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spent supporting their internment was a poor investment. Additionally, Carleton failed to maintain effective control over Bosque Redondo and prevent conflicts between the Navajo and neighboring tribes. In March, 1866, seven Navajo warriors formed a war party that pursued Ute raiders for nearly two weeks before overtaking them and killing five of them as well as seizing their weapons and horses.⁶¹ Additionally, the neighboring Comanche frequently attack the reservation. James Oakee describes one of the Comanche raids, "they dashed into the reservation one night, killed 4 Navajos and ran off with 200 horses."⁶² The uncontrolled exodus of *Diné* escapees proved that Carleton could not even perform the basic duty of ensuring the Navajo remained on reservation. Captain H.B. Bristol reported a loss of 900 people by May of 1865, a number too large to be ignored.⁶³ The final disastrous event in a series of misfortunes occurred during the corn harvest at Bosque Redondo in 1868 when the crops failed for the fourth year in a row, leading the *Diné* to refuse any further cooperation with Carleton's agricultural plan. As Osburn notes, "cooperation, though mandated by hunger, was also a choice, for the Indians did refuse to farm. In this act they demonstrated their ability to decide for or against cooperation, regardless of the circumstances."⁶⁴ This resistance, so late in the Navajo's internment, showed the spirit of the people remained strong and resolute. Kit Carson's total war and attack on Canyon de Chelly, the Long Walk, and four years at Bosque Redondo could not break the indomitable *Diné* will. Denetdale describes their triumphant return home on June 18, 1868, "the People formed a column that stretched at least ten miles. The elders wept. The *Diné* were going home."⁶⁵ The Navajo found themselves free of the reservation forever, traumatized but culturally intact.

Instead of breaking the people, the Long Walk, the internment at *Hweéldi*, and the years spent avoiding capture became a part of the Navajo culture and collective memory. Rather than existing as a distant historical memory, the effects of the conflict remain fresh in the people's minds to this day. Explaining the enduring legacy of conflicts between Natives and Whites, Ned Blackhawk writes, "as Native groups . . . recover from the aftermath of such collisions, these regional and personal histories bear witness to enduring historical truths."⁶⁶ Healing the trauma imposed on the *Diné* by the events of the Long Walk

⁶¹ Osburn, "The Navajo at the Bosque Redondo," 405.

⁶² Oakee, 21.

⁶³ Baily, *The Long Walk*, 214.

⁶⁴ Osburn, "The Navajo at the Bosque Redondo," 400.

⁶⁵ Denetdale, "Discontinuities," 298.

⁶⁶ Blackhawk, *Violence Over The Land*, 15.

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requires them to process the historical truths that Blackhawk mentions and for these events to be remembered.

Reenacting the events of the Long Walk provides one way for the Navajo to remember the sacrifices of their ancestors. On the 100 anniversary of the tragic events, in January, 1968, the people held a reenactment of the return from their incarceration on the reservation at Bosque Redondo by following the route taken from Fort Sumner in 1868.⁶⁷ Reliving these events provided a connection with their ancestors suffering, but the remembrance of the return home rather than the exile to the reservation demonstrates the *Diné's* ultimate triumph over their captures. The Navajo remember the return home in contemporary ceremony and song at the Gallup Ceremonial, an annual event held in Gallup, New Mexico. Frank Apache describes the events, commenting, "they always call it the Riding Song . . . that is the song that they sang when they came back from Fort Sumter."⁶⁸ Perhaps the strongest demonstration of *Diné* resistance to assimilation, in 2002 Navajo lawmakers in New Mexico successfully opposed efforts to declare Kit Carson's home in Taos a state monument.⁶⁹ Nearly 150 years after the events of the Long Walk, the Navajo refused to allow the state of New Mexico to whitewash the tragic events surrounding the state's early history. Far from being defeated or assimilated into American society, the Navajo remain a distinct and intact culture. They continue exercising the painful memories of the past and remembering the sacrifices of those who made the Long Walk to Bosque Redondo during "the Fearing Time," while preserving the tradition of resistance by demanding accountability from the government that set the events into motion.

⁶⁷ Denetdale, "Discontinuities," 306.

⁶⁸ Apache, 25.

⁶⁹ Denetdale, "Discontinuities," 303.

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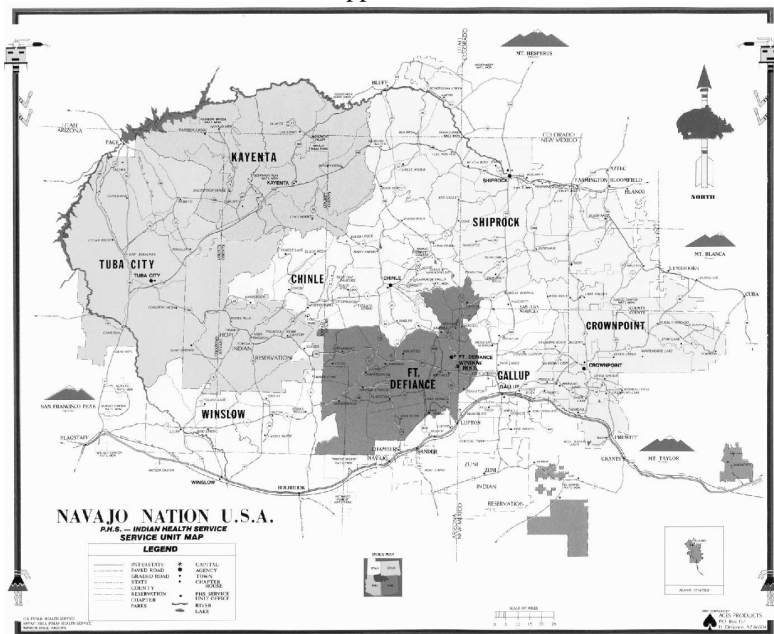
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Appendix I



A map showing the contemporary borders of the Navajo Nation along with the traditional boundaries of *Diné'tah*, the four sacred mountains: San Francisco Peak, Mt. Taylor, Mt. Blanca, and Mt. Hesperus.



John Bidwell

JOHN BIDWELL AND CALIFORNIA'S INVISIBLE WAR | Thomas Giles

While at first glance the Indian conflicts in Northern California seem to be isolated incidents between Natives and White settlers, they were in fact different campaigns in a larger war of extermination on the Indians by Whites. This war was unlike any other that had been fought against Indians before, in that this one was invisible. Instead of being fought in anticipation of American occupation, it was a battle for the land, one in which private citizens helped finance the conflict so they could acquire areas formerly occupied by Indians. While most settlers willingly exterminated any occupying Native presence, there were some who attempted to protect the Indians and help them assimilate into American society, knowing that the Natives could not survive without assistance. John Bidwell was one of these settlers who attempted to help “civilize” the local Indians around Rancho Arroyo, located in modern Chico.

Before settlers from Europe arrived on the shores of California in the early sixteenth century, an estimated 130,000 to 750,000 Native Americans already inhabited the area. By the early twenty-first century that number had dwindled to 25,000. While contact with the Spanish and Russians brought disease and sporadic skirmishes, the American push west across the Rocky Mountains precipitated the largest collapse in the indigenous population.¹ When Americans arrived in California they brought with them their tactics for dealing with Indians, already proven effective across the East Coast and Midwest. The Americans’ insatiable appetite for land and wealth sparked a war every bit as brutal and merciless as the wars on the Great Plains, but despite being sanctioned by Californian politicians, the atrocities of this war were largely ignored by Whites in lieu of wealth.

The Gold Rush brought an end to the traditional way of life for the Natives as the gold miners pushed ever farther into the wilderness to look for new mining and panning locations along the rivers, new game to hunt to feed themselves and their families, and, for some, places to lay down roots and begin farming. Mass hunting of the local game and the destruction of the waterways, and thus the fish as well as the environment, did even more damage to the Indians and all but guaranteed their destruction. Included in this multi-pronged attack

¹ Sherburne F. Cook, *The Population of the California Indians, 1769-1970* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); and Sherburne F. Cook, *Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 65.

were violent raids and one-sided wars, which were often sparked by retaliatory attacks by Indians due to an initial unprovoked White attack. The Bridge Gulch Massacre in Trinity County is a prime example. After the local Wintu killed Colonel John Anderson, the local county sheriff led seventy Americans to the Wintu camp and killed over one hundred and fifty Wintu, only sparing infants. In the end the Wintu that were butchered were not from the same tribe as those who killed Anderson.² This raid had nothing to do with the initial attack and was not confined to only the Bridge Gulch Massacre and can be seen in many other conflicts, including the infamous Modoc War and was one of the methods Whites used to eliminate Indians.³

Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century Indian hunting and killing became nothing short of a form of sport and entertainment, with nearly 4,300 Indians killed by Whites while the Indians had killed less than 300 Whites.⁴ Many of these men kept diaries and one even wrote that an Indian was

dodging and ducking through the thickets like frightened deer. I brought down one with a shot from my double-barrel, but he was up and streaking through the brush before I could lay hands upon him. Several of us followed him for a half-mile or more down the slope towards Little Dry Creek before we finished him.⁵

In fact it became so commonplace and accepted that men like Ezekiel Merritt and Hi Good would boast of their Indian kills.⁶

In 1859, the local Superintendent for Indian Affairs filed a report which outlined the level of violence occurring in California. In response, an agent, Ross Browne, began to look into the policies in California and discovered that there were men who held a commission from the state governor to raise paramilitary groups to wantonly kill the "red devils."⁷ Browne's responded by sending the U.S. military, not to exterminate the Indians, but to protect them. However, many of the

² Jack Norton, *Genocide in Northwestern California: When Our Worlds Cried* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1979), 51-54.

³ Dee Brown, *Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2007), 219-241.

⁴ Cook, *Conflict*, 262.

⁵ "Genocide in Northern California," *Native American Netroots*, <http://nativeamericannetroots.net/diary/488>.

⁶ Dan Delaney, "The Adventures of Captain Hi Good," *Northern Enterprise* (1872).

⁷ *Ibid.*

Californians simply felt that extermination was the cheapest and quickest method.

The Indians who died were the fortunate ones, as often young children were kidnapped by Whites and sold into slavery. Henry Clay Bailey later wrote that:

“vicious and desperate characters, for the ready gain to be obtained by the trade, would locate a small band of Indians, make a sudden dash upon the camp, revolvers in hand, shoot as many of the men as possible, and sometimes the women, too, and scatter the rest of the band. The raiders would then catch all the boys and girls between eight and fourteen years of age who had remained near the camp. Then they would start out for a market, perhaps to fill orders they had already obtained. These men would stop at nothing in their greed for gain, and in their eyes their captives were legitimate merchandise.”⁸

These Indians were in a state of unpaid “indentured servitude” or “apprenticeship” for indefinite periods of time and were often used in the mining operations of the Gold Rush by large scale mine owners. In Northern California many Indians worked for Whites in their quest for gold, like Bidwell’s barter system, until a new influx of Whites, many from Oregon, could not compete and pushed for the removal of Indian labor for mining. While not all Indians were treated as harshly, they became so common in white society that John Bidwell himself declared that Indians were “all among us, around us, with us — hardly a farm house—a kitchen without them.”⁹ While the end goal of these settlers was the extermination of the Indians and securing access to the land that they once occupied. Whites also found a way to exploit the Natives and further their own goals before either “civilizing” the Natives or killing them.

While the policy of extermination started before California was officially admitted into the Union on September 9, 1850, the genocide only increased as the state organized a militia to protect its interests, as the federal government could not give military support. These local militias would be the forces spearheading the military assault on the native populations, with sporadic mobilization by the local settlers into posses when the militias would not take action against the Natives fast enough. Most of the conflicts across the state, and

⁸ Henry C. Bailey, “California Indian Slave Trade of Pioneer Days,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 19, 1897.

⁹ John Bidwell to Joseph W. McCorkle, December 20, 1851.

especially in the north, were the result of retaliatory strikes by the Natives for an injustice committed by the settlers. One of the first conflicts in Northern California was on an island in Clear Lake, located in Lake County, where settlers and militia killed nearly two hundred Pomo Indians in retaliation for the murder of two settlers. In reality the settlers themselves were enslaving and murdering the Pomo. This fact was overlooked by the US Army, who led by Lieutenants Nathaniel Lyon and J.W. Davison killed the Pomo on the island who were not in any way involved.¹⁰

When the Whites surprised the Natives, they oftentimes inflicted high casualties without suffering many themselves. However Whites frequently raided the wrong group and when they did find the group that they initially claimed to be hunting, the Indians put up a fight that cost the settlers dearly. The Modoc War in far Northern California and Southern Oregon was one such conflict. It raged for almost a year and cost the Americans over two hundred men while the Modoc lost only thirteen.¹¹ What is even more spectacular is the fact that there were only fifty-three Indians in the first place. The Natives had multiple advantages over the Whites; there were fewer Natives which made guerilla warfare easier to conduct, as well as disappearing into the woods and eventually back to the lava beds that they used as a base of operation. Having lived in the area, they knew intimate details of the land, details the invading Americans did not. The Americans were also attempting to bring the Modoc to justice for murder while the Modoc themselves were fighting for their very survival and the right to live off the reservation suffocating their culture and their lives.¹² This example of determined resistance could be seen across the state and the toll that it took financially and in human life upon the state was extraordinary. The initial "expedition" by the state, that of the Gila Expedition, almost bankrupted the fledgling state. However in the end it was not the Whites who suffered but the Indians as nearly sixty thousand were killed between 1848 and 1870 by the American onslaught.¹³

California's war on the Native Americans was, for all purposes, invisible. Not because the government denied its actions, but the opposite; the state government sanctioned the attacks on villages and bands and even paid bounty hunters to kill Indians.¹⁴ What made

¹⁰ "The Tribe's History and Culture," *Habematolel Pomo of Upper Lake*, brochure, <http://www.upperlakepomo.com/forms/brochure.pdf>.

¹¹ Brown, *Wounded Knee*, 217-241.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ See Charts in Appendix.

¹⁴ Theodora Kroeber, *Ishi, In Two Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), 56-79.

the war invisible was the fact that California was a continent away from Washington D.C. and essentially ungoverned by the federal government. This made any effort to protect Natives by agents from the Eastern United States ineffective, as the military could not receive orders in time and the politicians in Washington D.C. received outdated information. The conflicts across the state were not portrayed as part of a larger effort but were presented as isolated incidents revolving around individual tribes and the American reaction to Indian hostility. When White hunting parties attacked the wrong band of Indians, society celebrated them instead of chastising the hunters because “the only good Indian is a dead Indian.” Almost all white settlers in the fledgling state supported the extermination of Indians or actively partook in the campaigns.

This came from the basic fact of who these men and women were; men and women who migrated to California were hard people. They had survived a treacherous journey and found themselves in a land that was ungoverned and “wild.” Everywhere they looked they saw opportunities for wealth and a better life and all they had to do was take it. The state supported the assault to “pacify” the back country due to the boom of immigration caused by the Gold Rush. Settlers flocked to California in large numbers and these Whites expected, and demanded land from the government who had no choice but to evict the local tenants and take the land for itself. This policy eventually created more conflicts, frequently initiated by local settlers, who did not have the patience for the government’s slow and bureaucratic practices, preferring to form a local posse to take direct action. However, we do see anomalies in this trend, particularly that of the Bidwells in Butte County. While these expeditions, raids, and campaigns were raging across the valleys, foothills, and mountains, John, and later Annie, attempted to protect, “civilize,” and assimilate as many Natives as possible from the Bidwell’ home along the Chico Creek.

Of these White settlers who migrated west, none would become more prominent in the lives of the Indians in Northern California than John and Annie Bidwell. John Bidwell was originally born in New York in 1819 before his family moved throughout the East Coast after settling down and John attended Kingsville Academy.¹⁵ In 1841 he moved west by way of the California Trail and began to work for John Sutter and while working, he found gold along the Middle Fork of the Feather River in 1848 and Bidwell’s Bar was founded.¹⁶

¹⁵ "John Bidwell," *Spartacus Educational*, <http://spartacuseducational.com/WWbidwell.htm>.

¹⁶ Donald C. Miller, *Ghost Towns of California* (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Company, 1978), 17.

John used his relationship with the Natives to his advantage and started a long term barter system of food and supplies in exchange for gold as well as use of Indian labor to further his chances of finding the valuable metal.¹⁷ Using his newfound wealth, Bidwell purchased 22,000 acres of a Mexican land grant renamed Rancho Arroyo Chico in 1849.¹⁸ Bidwell had a prominent military career, serving in the Mexican-American War as well as becoming a brigadier general in the California Militia and later becoming a politician in the early days of California's statehood.¹⁹ In fact there is a fort that bears his name at the north end of the Surprise Valley that would later become a base of operations for conflicts with Indians in the area.²⁰ John married Annie Kennedy in 1868 in Washington D.C. during his Congressional term before they both moved back to Chico, where Annie found a purpose helping the local Mechoopda tribe.

After striking it rich by mining, the development of his ranch became Bidwell's next goal. To that end he began to hire the local Mechoopda to work the land and with the livestock and he began a long term relationship of paternalism towards the Mechoopda. Bidwell's treatment of the locals was so renowned that almost all of the locals as well as Indians of other tribes moved to Chico to work under this ranch owner who not only paid the Indians the same wage as any other worker but also protected them from wanton attacks and vigilantism.²¹ His protection also dissuaded any attacks from the aggressive mountain Maidu. Bidwell's willingness to protect his workers was well documented when, following a series of attacks on settlers by Natives and White retaliation in the surrounding area in 1863, he used his political and military influence to have a company of federal troops stationed at Rancho Chico for over a year to dissuade any assault by a militia unit.²² John's defiance of the local militia, settlers, and government mirrored his protection of the Indians against the federal government.

In 1851 the ranch became the meeting point for hundreds of Natives from the Valley Maidu to the Mountain Maidu, as well as the Mechoopda, to discuss the possibility of the a federal treaty and the reservation system. Treaty Commissioner Oliver Wozencraft attempted to lay out the terms of the treaty as well as persuade the Indians to

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ "Life on Rancho Arroyo Chico," *Mechoopda Maidu Indians History & Culture*. <http://www.mechoopda-nsn.gov/history/life.asp>.

¹⁹ "John Bidwell."

²⁰ Robert W. Pease, *Modoc County: University of California Publications in Geography*, vol. 17 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 75–78, and 97.

²¹ "Life on Rancho Arroyo Chico."

²² Ibid.

accept, but he did not know that John himself was working to fight against the treaty and keep it from being accepted. He even went so far as to issue statements that directly conflicted with those given by Wozencraft. Why Bidwell would fight so hard, and initially be successful, against the treaty is left up to dispute among historians. One prominent theory is that he was looking to be awarded the right to supply the beef to the Indians per the contract; a lucrative contract that was given to one of his rivals.²³

Bidwell's relationship with the locals would long be the focal point of his life, especially in the political sphere. His opponents declared that he did nothing short of enslave the Indians, while Rockwell Hunt, an associate of John's, declared that "Bidwell's personal attitude toward the Indians was not simply that of consideration and friendship; it was that of unselfish love, and they 'intuitively trusted him.'"²⁴ While John was far from the heroic savior of the Natives that some painted him to be, he was not the cold blooded slave driver that his opponents portrayed him to be. When Bidwell's life, actions and decisions are compared to the events surrounding his life and the decisions of prominent settlers, John's self-interested actions come across as truly selfless.

What he did believe was that there was a chance for the White settlers and the Native Indians to live together without the extreme violence and racism, which can be seen in his bill "An Act Relative to the Protection, Punishment, and Government of Indians." In it he argued that there should be a unique system of governance when it came to the Natives and any legal matters that pertained to them should be voted on by both Indian men and White men, be overseen by "Justices of the Peace for Indians," who were also elected by popular vote.²⁵ His plan declared that Indians should be allowed to remain in the villages that they lived in, even if it was on White property, they reserved the rights to graze any livestock that Indians owned on any land and the right to harvest timber on the land. Bidwell also wrote a clause into the bill that allowed Indians to continue hunting, fishing and gathering seeds and acorns.²⁶ Bidwell knew that if his bill passed it would not save the Indians' traditional way of life. Eventually they

²³ Michele Shover, "Little Known Episode in John Bidwell's History: Thwarting the 1851 Federal Indian Treaty," *Inside Chico State*, <http://www.csuchico.edu/inside/2011-11-03/bidwell.shtml>.

²⁴ Rockwell D. Hunt, *John Bidwell, Prince of California Pioneers*, (Caldwell, The Caxton Printers, 1942) 141.

²⁵ John Bidwell, "An Act Relative to the Protection, Punishment, and Government of Indians," March 16, 1850, California State Senate, Old Bill File, California State Archives.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

would have no other choice than to assimilate into American culture and learn to raise cattle and plant crops, until then it would help alleviate the tensions between Whites and Indians while granting them some level of protection under the law. Unfortunately, legislators twisted and changed the proposed law until it bore no resemblance to what was initially proposed.

While the usual White settler response to an actual or supposed Indian assault on White society was to hunt down and kill Indians indiscriminately, Bidwell proved to be a different man starting in the winter of 1850. In 1850, Bidwell amassed a party to protect the Mechoopda after a Mechoopda was found dead on John's property. After hunting down those responsible, and killing eight while only losing one, Bidwell returned home and to his peaceful ways. In 1852, when a group of local natives attacked the ranch and stole a few cattle from Bidwell, he bided his time and waited until he could identify and apprehend the real culprits behind the assault. In Mid-July, Bidwell assembled a group of thirty Indians and another dozen Whites before heading up the Chico Creek to arrest those responsible. Instead, the Mountain Maidu ambushed Bidwell's party, and while Bidwell was retreating, he lost over one-third of the Natives under his command, including Amos Frye, a close friend. His attempt to peacefully settle the attack failed and only fueled the mistrust and violence that White settlers felt towards any and all Indians.²⁷ His hesitancy and the failure of the expedition to bring the Mountain Maidu to justice not only gave the Americans incentive to continue on their chosen path, but it also made the Maidu more brazen and aggressive towards the settlers, especially Bidwell. His ranch would go on to suffer many more raids, one of which cost him over twenty-five thousand dollars.²⁸

John Bidwell was a unique man among the American settlers who braved the California wilderness, being both a high ranking military officer and a renowned politician. His decisions and actions held great weight in the young state. His lofty positions also made his decisions regarding the Natives puzzling, and Bidwell's position as a businessman most likely influenced his decisions as well. Allowing the Natives to reside on his property and to retain their own culture, clothing, and religion did not always endear John to the other settlers in the area, but being a militia officer, there wasn't much that could be done against him. This same policy of tolerance also went against the de facto removal or extermination policy. Bidwell was business savvy

²⁷ Michele Shover, "John Bidwell: Reluctant Indian Fighter, 1852-1856" *Dogtown Territorial Quarterly* 36 (Winter, 1998): 32-56.

²⁸ John Bidwell, petition to James Y. McDuffee, U.S. Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California, December 5, 1859.

enough to understand that keeping the Mechoopda happy meant that he had a productive and peaceful workforce who could be manipulated in ways that whites could not; similar to the use of Indians to mine gold in exchange for food and clothing. At the same time his end goal was to ensure his social standing and financial well-being, as evident in his defiance of the 1851 Federal Indian Treaty.

However, with the increasing levels of hatred toward the Natives and political pressure levied against Bidwell, he chose what he believed to be the best option available to save as many of the Indians as possible, reversing his position on the Federal Indian Treaty and the reservation system. While Bidwell was willing to lend his support, he did so on his terms keeping his own business interests at heart. He focused Indian removal policies on tribes that were outwardly brazen and hostile towards the new White settlers. By doing this he saw a way to not only protect the peaceful Mechoopda that lived and worked his ranch but also as a way to remove the Yana and Mountain Maidu, the tribes responsible for the raids on his land and the Indians under his protection. Using federal troops and resources to enforce a new policy, Bidwell found a way to strengthen his relationship with the Mechoopda at Rancho Arroyo and a way to place Indian affairs in the hands of the federal government instead of the state. Rather than funding the raids of famous Indian hunters, such as Hi Good and Robert Anderson, he supported the state's expedition led by General William Kibbe, while the United States Army was busy fighting the Confederacy. Kibbe's expedition rounded up the survivors and sent them off to reservations such as the one at Round Valley, which rapidly grew in size.²⁹

With the reservation at Round Valley's population exploding and the conflicts between Whites and Indians maintaining their intensity, Bidwell in 1866 again attempted to promote the life of the Indians while protecting American interests. While in Washington D.C., serving as a California Congressman he continued to push his ideals and introduced a new bill that would give the federal government the right to purchase all private property, including any homesteaded land, and expel the white settlers from the area. Congressman Bidwell hoped that by greatly enlarging the size of Round Valley and controlling the amount of access that Whites had to the reservation, it would promote a safe community for the Natives and foster assimilation and peace. Despite being rejected, Bidwell would later endorse additional bills regarding California reservations.³⁰

²⁹ William Kibbe, *Report of the Expedition Against the Indians in the Northern Part of this State* (Sacramento: State Printer, 1860).

³⁰ House Bill in Relation to Round Valley and Other Indian Reservations in Northern California, Letters Received, September 1867, 656.

While federal agents from the Eastern United States fought to establish the reservation system in California, only one reservation held any sway in the lives of the Indians that lived at Rancho Arroyo; the Round Valley Reservation in Northern Mendocino County, near Covelo. Beginning in 1852, California policymakers began to confine members of northern Indian tribes to one specific location, which would later, become federally recognized as the Round Valley Indian Reservation.³¹ Confined to a small area, the Yuki, Wailacki, Concow, Little Lake Pomo, Nomlacki, and Pit River tribes had to learn to live together, despite the fact that many had been long-time rivals. The Whites forced most of these tribes to the reservation by choice and instead were forced by Whites, usually at gunpoint. The worst of these forced marches became known as the Nome Cult Trail, or, colloquially the Concow Trail of Tears.

In 1863, the California state government decided to take a hard line policy towards the Indian tribes living in Northern California. To remove the problems that these tribes had been inflicting on White settlers, whether they were real or imagined conflicts, they were to be marched to established reservations where they could be quarantined and “protected.” In August of 1863 all of the Concow Maidu Indians were expected to be at Rancho Arroyo to then be marched over one hundred miles from Chico to Covelo by the US military, those that refused were warned that they would be shot on sight by any White settler. Only two hundred and seventy-seven of the original four hundred and sixty-one Maidu would survive the trek and arrive at the gates of the Round Valley Reservation. Captain Augustus Starr led this brutal march with twenty-three cavalymen who held no qualms about leaving sick and elderly Indians on the side of trail if they could not continue. In fact, when the band met the baggage train at Mountain House, outside of Oroville, on September 12th and left on September 14th, they left over one hundred and fifty Indians at the settlement. Later Superintendent James Short was sent from Fort Wright to investigate claims of Starr’s actions and he reported that “about one hundred and fifty sick Indians were scattered along the trail for fifty miles, dying at the rate of two or three a day. They had nothing to eat. The wild hogs were eating them up either before or after they were dead.”³² The rest of the Maidu, along with their escort, continued along the trail and climbed over a mile before reaching Round Valley on

³¹ “About Us,” *Round Valley Indian Tribes: A Sovereign Nation of Confederated Tribes*, <http://rvit.org/about.php>.

³² Frank H. Baumgardner, *Killing for Land in Early California: Indian Blood at Round Valley* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2005), 212.

September 18th, where the escort discovered an additional thirty-four were either dead or missing.³³

The Natives did not remain at Round Valley for long, and as early as February of 1864, Indians filtered back to lands around Chico.³⁴ Their return was not always peaceful, as two White settlers in the hills near Paradise were shot and robbed and a group of Indians desired to assassinate Bidwell but instead they killed an innocent man, Jim Sheffard.³⁵ Despite the actions of the Indians who returned to the area, Bidwell continued to defend the Natives working his property and he stationed a unit of soldiers at his ranch to safeguard against the angry settlers looking to exterminate any Indian left in the area. However, the relations between Indians and Whites would continue to deteriorate due to a small minority of the Indians in the area continuing to cause trouble, raiding and killing Whites. Typically these “criminals” were hunted down and killed one by one.³⁶

In 1868, life forever changed for the Natives living on Rancho Chico. John married Annie Kennedy and brought her back to California with him, where she initiated a culture war on the Natives who lived and worked on the ranch. Not only did Annie stress the teachings of Christianity, but she also desired to change the Indians to become more “civilized” like the White settlers. As John allowed Annie to become more hands on in her treatment of the Indians, the traditional lifestyle that the Indians enjoyed slowly became a thing of the past. When John passed away at the age of eighty-one in 1900, his much younger wife gained sole control of Rancho Chico and it’s inhabitants. When Annie herself passed away in 1918, she deeded the ranch to the Presbyterian Board of Missions and in her will she actually granted land to thirty-two additional resident families to do with as they desired.³⁷

John Bidwell fought, from his arrival in California in 1841 to his last breath, to protect the Native Americans that he saw as under his charge, and, while he was largely successful, his reasoning was mainly business related, seeking to protect his own interests. He was a shrewd businessman and even though he used Indians as a cheap and local source of labor, he came to respect them and their culture and saw them as his personal wards. As Rancho Chico expanded and his need for workers increased, his business agenda and his paternalism towards the

³³ “History of the Concow Maidu,” *Konkow Maidu Cultural Preservation Association*, modified April 30, 2010, <http://www.maidu.com/maiduculture/firstcontactto1863.html>.

³⁴ Dorothy Hill, *The Indians of the Chico Rancheria* (Chico, CA: Ka Ca Ma Press, 1978) 42.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 85.

Natives intertwined, becoming one and the same. His political agenda, business decisions, and the actions taken by his future wife, Annie, all reflect not only forethought of his needs, but the assimilation and protection of Indians and Whites attempting to settle the area. The Indians, who lived on and operated the ranch, were instrumental in the success of Bidwell. From his humble beginnings in California to his operation of a major ranch, these Natives brought with them a vast amount of knowledge about the area and nature that John never possessed. In return, he protected them from the wrath of White settlers and helped to delay the inevitable end of their traditional lifestyle. His friendship with the Natives was seen when four of his pallbearers were, in fact, Indian elders. Throughout his life, Bidwell was not only resoundingly successful in his attempts to protect Natives, but he changed the course of White-Indian relations in the area surrounding Chico.

Appendix

The American Invasion, 1848-1870

TABLE 2
ESTIMATED POPULATION IN 1848, 1852, AND 1880

Tribe	1848	1852	1880
Costanoan.....	1,000	900	300
Salinan.....	500	500	100
Chumash.....	1,150	1,050	200
Yokuts.....	14,000	13,000	600
Western Mono.....	1,300	1,200	600
Wintun.....	8,000	5,700	1,500
Sierra Miwok.....	6,000	4,500	1,000
Maidu.....	7,000	4,300	1,000
Yana.....	1,900	1,800	20
Achomawi.....	3,000	3,000	1,500
Tolowa.....	450	450	200
Wiyot.....	1,400	1,000	200
Yurok.....	2,500	2,400	900
Karok.....	2,000	1,800	1,000
Hupa.....	1,000	900	500
Chilula.....	600	500	30
Wailaki.....	1,500	1,200	150
Chimariko.....	250	200	20
Yuki.....	3,500	3,400	400
Other Athabascans.....	4,600	4,300	200
Shasta.....	3,100	3,000	500
Coast Miwok.....	300	250	60
Lake Miwok.....	200	100	20
Pomo.....	5,000	4,200	1,450
Wappo.....	800	800	50
Total.....	71,050	60,450	12,500

TABLE 3
INDIAN LOSSES FROM MILITARY OPERATIONS, 1847-1865*

Tribe	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	Total
Yokuts.....					97					107										212
Winnun.....					2	180		49	125	25		15	4			12	11	20		506
Miwok.....	13		30	74	49	1	33					1	1	3						207
Maidu.....				120	41		15	70		5		10		79	4					347
Yana.....							13	9		34		19	10			20	28	23	65	221
Tolowa.....							30	7			10									47
Wiyot.....				20		25				7		4		120						176
Yurok.....					6					26						2	30	3		67
Karok.....				5		15				75									3	98
Athabascans†				50								120	16	103	270	130	5	57		751
Hupa.....										8				1	11					20
Chilula.....	100						17													117
Wailaki.....													158	60	33					251
Chimariko.....													10							15
Yuki.....					40		25	75	125	300										573
Shasta.....	3	34	88	28	5	15	5				1									179
Achomawi‡					45			112	40	200				15						412
Pomo.....	68																			68
Totals.....	199	34	238	268	249	251	242	328	304	648	36	316	182	282	282	163	94	86	65	4,267

* Figures include recorded deaths from military operations, including private expeditions. All figures should be taken as approximate.
 † For the Hupa, Chilula, and Wailaki only those casualties which can be clearly ascribed to these tribes are so recorded. Otherwise they are allocated to the Athabascans.
 ‡ Here are included deaths among the so-called "Pit Rivers," which consisted predominantly, if not exclusively, of Achomawi and Atsugewi.

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Known as the *The Mewar Ramayana* a manuscript commissioned by Rana Jagat Singh of Mewar circa 1649 to 1653. This particular piece is currently in the British Library.

THE RAMAYANA IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH INTELLECTUAL HISTORY | Justin Nielsen

The *Ramayana*, one of the great epic tales from India, has influenced hundreds of millions of admirers from Nepal to Indonesia. The ancient story tells life lessons regarding duty, loyalty, kingship, relationships, honor, war and many more. Some nineteenth-century British scholars looked upon the epic as a religious text; to some, it is a way of life, and to others, it is simply an overblown theatrical piece of nonsense that, according to one nineteenth-century Briton, contains ideas that are “unnatural, less correspondent with the physical and moral laws of the universe, but are less ingenious, and more monstrous.”¹ However, to some scholars, the *Ramayana* is comparable to the great works of the world such as Homer’s *Iliad*, and they go so far as to call it the *Iliad* of the East.² The motivating factors behind this schism lie within the expansion of the British Empire. During this period, a desire to categorize, quantify, and control all aspects of colonial society captivated British intellectuals. Those in power wanted to know the best methods with which to subdue a local population, maximize economic output, and convert the indigenous populace to Christianity. British interpretations of the *Ramayana* were part of the project, though little research has explored the connection to the background and motivation of these scholars.

Generally, two distinctly different understandings developed in the study of the *Ramayana* between 1820 and 1895. First and foremost, some claimed that the Hindu text was nothing more than nonsense or a method to exploit resources in India. These men had ties to the British government, the East India Company (EIC), high-ranking teaching positions, and missionaries. Their upbringing, education, a need to maximize economic profits, and a desire to convert Hindus, tainted their interpretation of the *Ramayana*. Second, a small minority viewed the epic as something beautiful to be lauded and studied. These intellectuals worked as philosophers, mid-to low-ranking professors, editors, and members of folklore societies and had no overt allegiances that necessitated a skewed analysis. However, the former prevailed over the latter, influencing schoolchildren and raising scholars for the next hundred years to view the *Ramayana* as barbaric nonsense. Research into the backgrounds of the above-mentioned individuals

¹ James Mill and Horace Hayman Wilson, *The History of British India: From 1805 to 1835*, vol. 2 (London: James Madden, 1848), 51.

² Frederika Macdonald, *The Iliad of the East: A Selection of Legends Drawn from Valmiki’s Sanskrit Poem, the Rāmāyana* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1870).

illuminates an understanding of why they wrote of the *Ramayana* in the manner they did. A pattern emerges for those who wrote favorably versus those who wrote harshly. Government affiliations, prestigious educational positions, religious organizations, and strong ties to commerce became the professions of those who ostracized the epic. Low-level educators, travelers, editors, and philosophers came out in favor of the text.

The Indian tradition is generally unanimous in its agreement that the poem is the work of a single poet, the sage Valmiki, a contemporary of Rama and a peripheral actor in the drama. The story's original version in Sanskrit is known as Valmiki *Ramayana*, dating to somewhere between the 6th to 2nd century BCE, depending on which scholar one asks. The *Ramayana* consists of 24,000 verses in seven books and 500 cantos; the epic's seven books are a chronological order of the life of Rama.³

The *Ramayana* is a story about Rama, prince of Ayodhya, who won the hand of the beautiful princess Sita, but then was exiled with her and his brother Laksmana for 14 years through the plotting of his stepmother. In the forest, Sita was abducted by Ravana, and Rama gathered an army of monkeys and bears to search for her. The allies attacked Lanka, killed Ravana, and rescued Sita. In order to prove her chastity, Sita entered fire, but was vindicated by the gods and restored to her husband. After the couples triumphant return to Ayodhya, Rama's righteous rule inaugurated a golden age for all humanity.⁴ The *Ramayana* also tells of the importance of duty, honor, respect, and family values that many Hindus take as a way of life.

British studies of the *Ramayana* did not begin until India fell under the interests of Britain, and missionaries began to look for ways to persuade Hindus to convert to Christianity.⁵ Some knowledge of the epic already circulated in some circles of Western Europe, but the flood of Westerners coming into India during the nineteenth century led to increased interest. A vast curiosity developed for all things concerning Hinduism, which included the exploration of its sacred and ancient

³ Robert P. Goldman and Sally J. Sutherland, eds., *The Ramayana of Valmiki: An Epic of Ancient India, Vol. 1: Balakanda* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 3–18.

⁴ R. K. Narayan, *The Ramayana: A Shortened Modern Prose Version of the Indian Epic* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006).

⁵ For further reading on this topic, see Mitch Numark's, *Hebrew School in Nineteenth-Century Bombay: Protestant Missionaries, Cochin Jews, and the Hebraization of India's Bene Israel Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) and *Translating Dharma: Scottish Missionary-Orientalist and the Politics of Religious Understanding in Nineteenth-Century Bombay* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

texts. James Mill, a historian and political theorist at the time, wrote one of the most popular books on India (although he had never been to India). Hill writes of the *Ramayana*,

Among the Hindus there are two great poems, the Ramayan and the Mahabhartta, which are long narratives, or rather miscellanies, in verse, and which their admirers have puzzled whether to denominate histories, or epic poems. By the Hindus themselves, they are moreover regarded as books of religion; nay further books of law...they may even be regarded as books of philosophy.⁶

This sums up many nineteenth-century categorizations of the *Ramayana*, offering little understanding and confusion on how this epic should be perceived. For Mill, it was unclear whether the *Ramayana* was a legal or religious text. Numerous scholars, intellectuals, and missionaries began a long debate on the merits and historical meaning of the great Indian epic. Reception of the *Ramayana* commonly fell into three categories: acceptance as an important literary and religious document of India with a contribution to the world, utter contempt for the language and the metaphors that it displayed, and confusion about what exactly this work signified to its people and religion.

Literary scholars of the *Ramayana* tended to be the most favorable when it came to judging the epic; they generally valued its beautiful metaphors, its tales of grand honor and bravery, making numerous comparisons to the *Iliad*. This praise came from a group that was not intent on devaluing the *Ramayana* for any personal or religious gain, but for exposing this triumphant piece of literature to the world. Charles Coleman, a scholar of mythology, sided with this school of thought when he wrote in 1832, “the Grecians had their Homer, the Latins had Virgil, and the Hindus have their Valmic, to immortalize the martial deeds of Rama.”⁷ Coleman realized that like other epics, the *Ramayana* was of great value to the Hindu people and carried great weight, as other epics had done for the civilizations of the Greeks and numerous additional cultures. Some argued that the epic had not been sufficiently studied by the early nineteenth century and that it required and deserved much more attention before its importance to the Hindus

⁶ Mill and Wilson, *The History of British India: From 1805 to 1835*, 2:50.

⁷ Charles Coleman, *The Mythology of the Hindus, with Notices of Various Mountain and Island Tribes, Inhabiting the Two Peninsulas of India and the Neighbouring Islands; and an Appendix, Comprising the Minor Avatars, and the Mythological and Religious Terms ... of the Hindus* (London: Parbury, Allen, 1832), 23.

could fully be understood by the world.⁸ During this period, some began to comprehend the weight of the epic and how it influenced daily lives in and around India, and there was a moderate attempt to put this information out to the public through journals and books.⁹

These scholars did not see the *Ramayana* as a literal representation of history, but rather as a literary beauty that outsiders could appreciate. John Campbell Oman, a professor of natural science and author of several books discussing India and its inhabitants, states, "Like the other great poems...they appeal to our predilection for the marvelous and our love of the beautiful, while affording us striking pictures of the manners of a bygone age."¹⁰ Oman sought to break away from conventional thinking and attempt to embrace a cherished aspect of Hindu culture.¹¹ Frederika Macdonald, author of the *Iliad of the East*, echoes Oman's thoughts in her 1870 book discussing the *Ramayana*. Macdonald talks of how there might be limited historical context based on the epic but "so rich in poetic beauty and genuine humour-and a spirit of such large tender humanity...that it seems strange it should have remained so long unrecognized by English lovers of literature."¹² Again, scholars who focus on the beauty and literary structure of the *Ramayana* tout it as a wonderful epic.

Numerous scholars mentioned the great epics of the world and the similarities consisting between them. Most scholars did not state which epic was better or worse, but they did state how one (*the Iliad*) was perceived as a book for all time that every schoolchild knew, and the other (*the Ramayana*) was dissected and prodded and shrugged off as some sort of tomfoolery. William Crooke, an English orientalist who was viewed as a central scholar in Indian folklore, wrote about the similarities and differences in *the Iliad* and *the Ramayana*. Crooke's stance was that, in both epics, "supernatural intelligence and speech are attributed to animals," and heroes

such as Achilles and Rama both conducted supernatural feats of strength.¹³ In his writings, Crooke illustrated how both epics are fictional and should not be held to standards of literal history.

⁸ Lord John Russell, "Indian Epic Poetry," *The Westminster Review*, no. 50 (1849): 19-23.

⁹ Coleman, *The Mythology of the Hindus, with Notices of Various Mountain and Island Tribes, Inhabiting the Two Peninsulas of India and the Neighbouring Islands; and an Appendix, Comprising the Minor Avatars, and the Mythological and Religious Terms ... of the Hindus*, 18.

¹⁰ John Campbell Oman, *The Great Indian Epics: The Stories of the Ramayana the Mahabharata* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1894), 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2-6.

¹² Macdonald, *The Iliad of the East*, x.

¹³ William Crooke, "Some Notes on Homeric Folk-Lore," *Folk-Lore A Quarterly Review of Myth, Tradition, Institution, & Custom*, 62, no. 19 (1908): 60-65.

Intrigued by the students he taught, James Tallboys Wheeler, a bureaucrat-historian in British India who was a professor at the Madras Presidency College, wrote a four-volume work *The History of India*. Wheeler, whose life work was prompted by the topic, realized he knew little of his students' lives and, moreover, Hindu customs. Wheeler was favorable to the *Ramayana* because of its relation to the other great epics in the world: "Here it may be remarked that the ordinary conception of the Epic, as an elaborate narrative in elevated poetry, in which free scope may be given to the imagination so long as a moral or religious end be kept in view."¹⁴ According to him, the *Ramayana* was not meant to be the word of gospel, but he recognized that its messages and meanings mattered to the reader. Like the other great epics, he saw it as having the same cultural importance to the Hindus as the *Iliad* or *Paradise Lost* to Westerners.¹⁵

In the nineteenth century, it was assumed that any culture that practiced or adhered to a religion must have a religious text. Consequently, a large number of English scholars, theologians, and missionaries were under the impression that India must follow suit. To appease their senses and to study things they could quantify, these particular scholars assigned books such as the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* as the religious doctrine of Hindus. These scholars took these books to be a literal sense of beliefs, history and doctrine of an entire group of people, and they judged them on these merits. These scholars had various reasons as to why the *Ramayana* was invaluable, ranging from having no pleasure in its reading to ignorance of its people, corruption by its "priests," and being only good for showing the progress of a language. Religious scholars, missionaries, and government officials who attempted to take a literal approach had an opposite interpretation.

James Noble, oriental master in the Scottish Naval and Military Academy, wrote of his displeasure in his book the *Orientalist or Letters of a Rabbi* in 1831. Noble complained of the lack of civility in the epic and the frequent abuse to the readers of the work. Noble declared,

The allegories of the Hindoos are so recondite and obscure that they afford no pleasure to a reader not imbued with the religious feelings they are designed to awaken; there can be no wonder that, whilst Western nations regard with some degree of veneration the science and literature of the Hindoos, they

¹⁴ James Talboys Wheeler, *The History of India from the Earliest Ages: The Rámáyana and the Brahmanic Period*, vol. 2 (London: N. Trübner & Co, 1869), 80.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2:81.

should refrain from studies which would, according to appearance, merely confer a reputation for learning, without imparting any substantial knowledge.¹⁶

Noble did not see the beauty that other scholars had seen, as he was looking at a more literal interpretation of the material, which he found offensive and lacking. James Noble was not alone in this view; this interpretation of the *Ramayana* was shared by others who were well read and followed in England and much of educated world. Thomas H. Thornton wrote an article for a widely read and respected journal where he argued of the *Ramayana*, “Subsequent Hindi literature consists almost entirely of long, tiresome religious poems...none of which are particularly worth reading, except for the light they throw on the gradual progress of the language.”¹⁷ At this point in 1834, most British students and enthusiasts had, at most, an elementary knowledge and understanding of Indian culture. The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* was widely read and was viewed as the foremost and most up-to-date information dealing with the happenings around that particular region. Thornton, therefore, influenced thousands of readers who might have been more open-minded prior to reading this article.

Further objections to not only the validity but also the importance of the *Ramayana* were made by others, such as J. Forbes Watson and John William Kaye, who attacked the priest class that told the epic’s story. In their book, *The People of India*, Watson and Kaye discuss their opinion of the *Ramayana* and the Brahmin class, writing, “A very large proportion of Brahmins support themselves and their families by begging...[as] visiting wealthy families reading to them the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, are fertile sources of profit.”¹⁸ These scholars attacked the delivery of the *Ramayana* to the people and the gullibility of those in the congregation. This assault can be traced back to the Christian upbringing of those writing and to the need to spread Christianity to heathens around the world.

¹⁶ James Noble, *The Orientalist: Or, Letters of a Rabbi. With Notes* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, Tweeddale-Court, 1831), 302.

¹⁷ Thomas H. Thornton, “The Vernacular Literature and Folklore of the Panjab,” *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, no. 17 (1885): 386–87.

¹⁸ John William Kaye and J. Forbes Watson, eds., *The People of India: A Series of Photographic Illustrations, with Descriptive Letterpress, of the Races and Tribes of Hindustan, Originally Prepared Under the Authority of the Government of India, and Reproduced by Order of the Secretary of State for India in Council*, vol. 3 (London: India Museum, 1868), subject 147.

Lieutenant Colonel Vans Kennedy of the Bombay Military Establishment in 1831 took Watson and Kaye's argument one step further. In Kennedy's book *Researches into the Nature and Affinity of Ancient and Hindu Mythology*, he puts forth the argument that Brahmins changed the revered Hindu text to suit their own needs and used the lack of Sanskrit writing knowledge to undermine millions of followers for their own gain.¹⁹ It was Colonel Kennedy's belief that the Brahmin class had a monopoly over the Hindu faithful much like the clergy of Roman Catholicism had when their scripture was written in Latin. While this may be true, we must remember that English scholars had a belief that all Hindus practiced religion in the same manner, as did Christians. It would not be discovered for several decades and after much frustration that religious practice in India was in no way standardized or adhered to from one sect to another.

William Carey was one of the founders of the Baptist Missionary Society and dedicated much of his life to the conversion of Hindus to Christianity. He lived in India from 1793 until his death in 1834 and, during this time, translated many texts from Sanskrit into English, including the *Ramayana*.²⁰ Carey believed, like many others, that a better understanding of the Hindu culture, language, and religion would help missionaries and scholars convert the Hindus. Carey also believed that by attracting the young and educated of India, he would have better luck in converting others by using pupils of that standing to spread the word.²¹ This view and approach to the *Ramayana* came from the early works of scholars and missionaries in India during the early part of the nineteenth century. To change this approach and initial thought pattern would take several decades until other scholars and non-missionaries became heavily involved in the study of the epic.

These scholars also disagreed about the place of the *Ramayana* in history. Certain scholars discussed and debated the merits and impact of the epic while others simply took the stance of waiting for more information and time. Philip Meadows Taylor spent much of his life in India as a judge, engineer, artist, and scholar. One of his books, published in 1871, *A Student's Manual of the History of India*, speaks to the status of the Hindu religion. Taylor wrote, "Faith degenerated into credulity, becomes at last superstition; and it will be admitted that Hindoos in general, are deeply superstitions," and,

¹⁹ LTC Vans Kennedy, *Researches Into the Nature and Affinity of Ancient and Hindu Mythology* (London: Longmans, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1831), 143–48.

²⁰ George Smith, *The Life of William Carey, D.D.: Shoemaker and Missionary, Professor of Sanskrit, Bengali, and Marathi in the College of Fort William, Calcutta* (London: John Murray, 1885), 229.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 226–30.

“Among the Hindoos the grossest superstitions are as notorious as they are lamentable paying no heed to their supposed religious text the *Ramayana* leading to the decay of their people.”²² Taylor is explaining to students in England of the abhorrent nature of the Hindu religion. Meadows Taylor is an example of the type of scholar that is shaping viewpoints and influencing future intellectuals and travelers. Lieutenant Colonel W.H. Skyes had a similar background with India as other abovementioned scholars; he was a member of the Bombay Army and was director of the EIC. Skyes wrote of the similar possibility of there being small truths that could be derived from the *Ramayana* on a historical basis and exploited for economic gains. In his writings, he discusses the Buddhist, Jain, and Greek influences that are present both historically and factually in the epic; Skyes used these references to give some respect to the Hindu poem that there is a possibility of limited truth.²³ Using these truths, Skyes hoped to enlighten certain missionaries and public figures by giving slightly factual information based in historical record and then dismissing other “frivolous” accounts to degrade rebukes of Christianity and British dominance.

Sir Monier Monier-Williams was the Boden Chair of Sanskrit at Oxford University from 1860 to 1899. He was born in India, educated in England, and wrote a Sanskrit to English dictionary that is still in use today. Monier-Williams strongly advocated the conversion of Hindus to Christianity, demonizing the value of the ancient texts in order to achieve this objective. Monier-Williams understood the importance of the epic to the Hindu people and believed that further study of their writings and religion would arm missionaries of the true faith against Hinduism.²⁴ He dedicated his life to the understanding of a foreign people and like the abovementioned scholars, he knew from his study of the *Ramayana* that it was an important work of history and key to converting its followers:

Had it not been for the labours of Christian scholars, their contents would have remained for ever a ‘terra incognita’ to

²² Philip Meadows Taylor, *A Student's Manual of the History of India from the Earliest Period to the Present*, 2nd ed. (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1870), 31.

²³ LTC William Henry Skyes, “Notes on the Religious, Moral and Political State of India Before the Mahomedan Invasion: Chiefly Founded on the Travels of the Chinese Buddhist Priest Fai Han in India, A.D. 399, and on the Commentaries of Remusat, Klaproth, Burnouf and Landresse,” *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, no. 6 (1841): 436–39.

²⁴ Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *Modern India and the Indians: Being a Series of Impressions, Notes, and Essays* (London: Trübner and Company., Ludgate Hill, 1878), 217.

the majority of Hindus themselves. Brahmanis, therefore, must die out. In point of fact, false ideas on the commonest scientific subjects are so mixed up with its doctrines (in proof of which we need only refer to the description of the earth in some of its sacred works such as the *Ramayana*) that the commonest education-the simplest lessons in geography-without the aid of Christianity, must inevitably in the end sap its foundation.²⁵

Monier-Williams illustrates how ignorant people were in regard to the nature and understanding of such an important religious aspect of Hindu culture. His objective was to use the writings of the *Ramayana* as evidence of the people of India's inability to govern and rationalize for themselves.

Discussing first those who opposed, these members consistently showed affiliations to power institutions that cause a biased opinion, including those who were beholden to the EIC. In 1836, Horace Wilson was appointed as the official librarian to the EIC.²⁶ Wilson also served as the first Boden Chair of Sanskrit at Oxford University from 1832 to 1860. James Mill was an ordained minister of the Church of Scotland and head of the office of Indian correspondence. Additionally, Mill was a spokesperson for the EIC during the renewal of its charter from 1831 to 1833.²⁷ James Noble was deemed the Oriental Master of the Scottish Naval and Military Academy. Noble was in charge of translations and instruction for cadets who would be traveling to India.²⁸ Thomas H. Thornton worked at the examiner's office for EIC working his way up to India House Department of Public Work. In 1858, Thornton became the first secretary to the India Office and was directly involved in suppressing the Sepoy Rebellion that same year.²⁹ John William Kaye was an officer in the Bengal Artillery, a servant of EIC, and in 1858 was named secretary of the political and secret department of the Indian

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 218.

²⁶ Brian Harrison and H.C.G. Matthew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000 (Wilks-Wolman)*, vol. 59 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 572.

²⁷ Alexander Bain, *James Mill: A Biography* (Longmans, Green, and Company, 1882).

²⁸ Noble, *The Orientalist*, 14.

²⁹ Brian Harrison and H.C.G. Matthew, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000 (Taylour-Tonneys)*, vol. 54 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 645.

office.³⁰ For his service Kaye received the honor Knight Commander of the Star of India in 1871. John Forbes Watson worked as an army surgeon in Bombay between 1850 and 1853. In 1858, he was appointed Director of the India Museum and Reporter on the Products of India for the Secretary of State.³¹ Lieutenant Colonel Vans Kennedy was a member of the Bombay army, official of the EIC, judge advocate general, and oriental translator of the regulations of government.³² William Carey, a Baptist missionary, is credited with revitalizing and modernizing the methods used by missionaries. Carey's goal as a missionary was to learn as much about a particular religion, language, and people as possible in order to expose their weaknesses and lead to conversion.³³ Lieutenant Colonel William Henry Skyes was a member of the Bombay army and statistical reporter for the Bombay government. Additionally, Skyes was elected president of the Royal Asiatic Society, and from 1840 to 1858 he served as director of the EIC.³⁴ Meadows Taylor was appointed Deputy Commissioner of the western Ceded Districts by the EIC in 1860. He also held the rank of Colonel in the Bombay army.³⁵ Sir Monier Monier-Williams was the second Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford University from 1860 to 1899. In order to secure appointment to this position, Williams was required to emphasize his support for Christian evangelization in India and declare methods and tactics to achieve this goal.³⁶ What is apparent from these listed men are their connection to the EIC, high-ranking positions in government, and prestigious chairs in lofty academic institutions.

Conversely, looking at the jobs and positions held by those that favored the *Ramayana* one is able to view a less encumbered individual. Charles Coleman was a mythological scholar who traveled

³⁰ Brian Harrison and H.C.G. Matthew, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000 (Jenner-Keayne)*, vol. 30 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 939.

³¹ Brian Harrison and H.C.G. Matthew, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000 (Walliers-Welles)*, vol. 57 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 633.

³² Brian Harrison and H.C.G. Matthew, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000 (Kebell-Knowlys)*, vol. 31 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 273.

³³ Smith, *The Life of William Carey, D.D.*

³⁴ Brian Harrison and H.C.G. Matthew, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000 (Sharp-Smiles)*, vol. 50 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 303.

³⁵ Brian Harrison and H.C.G. Matthew, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000 (Strang-Taylor)*, vol. 53 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 958.

³⁶ Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *Scholar Extraordinary: The Life of Friedrich Max Müller* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1996), 225.

independently around India producing works of his own accord about Buddhism, Hinduism, and Zoroastrianism.³⁷ Coleman held no high position at a university and had no affiliation with the EIC. John Campbell Oman Professor Natural Sciences in Government College Lahore (Pakistan), lived the majority of his life in India and Pakistan. Frederika Macdonald was a literary biographer and the author of several works on philosophy. She had no connection to any particular university and for the majority of her life worked outside established literary circles. James Talboys Wheeler was a professor of moral and mental philosophy at Madras Presidency College. Furthermore, he was an editor of the *Madras Spectator* in India and wrote several books to better enlighten Englishmen living in India to help them understand Hindu religion and family practices.³⁸ William Crooke was a mid-level member of the Anthropological Institute for the majority of his life. He also was a member of the Council of the Folklore Society and became the editor of its journal *Folk-lore* in 1915.³⁹ As is evident, these scholars showed no link to the EIC, high position in government or educational institutions. The logical assumption is that these people were not restricted in their appraisal of the *Ramayana*, thus having no reason to review it unfairly.

British intellectuals in the nineteenth century showed a large interest in everything concerning Hindu life, customs and religion. This was the first period of Westerners attempting to categorize and quantify the Hindu religion with a focus on religious texts. At the beginning of the century, we saw a confusion and rebuttal of outsiders as this exploration began because of a lack of knowledge and translation. Missionaries attempting to convert Hindus to Christianity used the *Ramayana* as a tool to undermine the religious books of the people of India. Allegiances to the EIC, religious establishments, and government positions caused them to shape their opinions negatively. Scholars that are more favorable saw the *Ramayana* as a great work of literature that captured the imagination of its people in the same manner as *the Iliad* or *the Odyssey* had captured that of the Europeans. These scholars hoped that this epic would be shared on a world level so that all who enjoyed and came to revere those poems could find the same enjoyment from the *Ramayana*. Confusion continued throughout the century as debates filled classrooms and scholarly journals; and as

³⁷ Wendy Doniger and Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *The Origins of Evil in Hindu Mythology* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publ., 1976), 205.

³⁸ Satish Chandra Mittal, *India Distorted: A Study of British Historians on India* (New Delhi: M.D. Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1996), 260.

³⁹ Richard C. Temple, "5. William Crooke, D.Sc., Litt.D., F.B.A., C.I.E.," *Man* 24 (January 1, 1924): 6-7.

power shifted from the East India Company to missionaries to British rule, the understanding of the epic and its place fell to conjectures. Some of these intellectuals used the *Ramayana*, the *Vedas* and other religious texts, to establish laws based off these writings. Over many decades however, it came (reluctantly and slowly) to be realized that there was not one homogenous view of religion and law in India. Like the great epic the *Ramayana*, scholars and followers had a different view of what it meant to adhere to the practices and teachings of the epic. Those same categories of acceptance, dismissal, and confusion existed in the people who inhabited the land and listened to one of the great epics of India.

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The Fellowship of Reconciliation and Gandhian Nonviolence



Participants of the Journey of Reconciliation in 1947. From left to right: Worth Randall, Wally Nelson, Ernest Bromley, James Peck, Igal Roodenko, Bayard Rustin, Joseph Felmet, George Houser, and Andrew Johnson. (Source: Yale Law School Lillian Goldman Law Library Documents Collection Center. From the Bayard Rustin Centennial Exhibit. Website: http://documents.law.yale.edu/bayard-rustin-centennial/journey-reconciliation-participants?size=_original.)

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION AND GANDHIAN NONVIOLENCE | Kylie Tomlin

The following submission is the third chapter from Ms. Tomlin's MA thesis, entitled "Gandhi and The Fellowship of Reconciliation: Nonviolent Tactics in the Early Civil Rights Movement." She has provided an abstract that places her submission in context.

Abstract

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, more than twenty years before the height of the civil rights movement, a group of pacifists known as the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), contested injustices facing African Americans in the United States. Prominent members of FOR, including George Houser, Homer A. Jack, and A.J. Muste were close followers of Mahatma Gandhi's teachings, especially the nonviolent tactics he employed in the fight for Indian independence. Members of FOR began developing tactics shaped after Gandhi's nonviolent philosophy, holding race relations institutes and interracial workshops to teach activists in different communities how to tackle segregation through demonstrations, including sit-ins and boycotts. Although FOR made progress with its demonstrations, its members wanted to have a greater effect in the community, so they created the nonviolent, direct-action organization, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in 1942. Along with FOR, CORE took part in nonviolent demonstrations to fight segregation. These smaller demonstrations eventually led members of FOR, and CORE, to plan a large demonstration in 1947 known as the Journey of Reconciliation. That demonstration, as well as the sit-ins and boycotts started by the members of FOR influenced the members of CORE as well as the post-Brown civil rights movement, culminating in national figures on the order of Martin Luther King Jr. and demonstrations such as the Freedom Rides of 1961.

When the Fellowship of Reconciliation first appeared, its pacifist members largely focused on protesting World War I. Once the war ended and new members, including George Houser, Bayard Rustin, Homer A. Jack, and A.J. Muste, became involved, FOR switched its primary focus to fighting injustices against African Americans in the United States. Beginning in the late 1930s, FOR's members, most of them white, hoped to help African Americans gain equal rights.

Houser, Rustin, Jack, and Muste began with small programs such as race relations institutes and interracial churches. These institutes and churches provided both members of FOR and community participants, white and black, an opportunity to learn about racial inequality throughout the country and what they could do to counter it. Even within churches, integration was frowned upon and whites in several communities were unhappy that ministers were attempting to fight segregation in their congregations.

While working through institutes and churches, members of FOR also created larger programs such as interracial workshops. Like institutes, interracial workshops involved organizers teaching activists about injustices and how to fight them, but workshops differed in the way participants responded to these injustices. Workshops centered primarily on the need for participants to put ideas into action and go out into the community to confront segregation directly. This type of activism led to the largest demonstration created by FOR, the Journey of Reconciliation. The Journey of Reconciliation consisted of over a dozen members of FOR traveling across the country by bus in order to fight Jim Crow laws pertaining to public transportation.

A key factor in all of these programs was the employment of nonviolence as a tactic. All members of FOR trained in nonviolence. They learned how to keep demonstrations peaceful and how to resist retaliating if they were assaulted while demonstrating. Gandhi's nonviolent philosophy was at the center of all the demonstrations sponsored by FOR. By omitting violence, activists were able to fight for what they believed in without giving their opponents another reason to denounce their protests. As members of FOR witnessed the success of nonviolence, demonstrations gradually grew in size, from something as small as an interracial church to something as large as the Journey of Reconciliation.

In the early 1940s, Homer Jack, a Unitarian minister and theological student, turned his focus to interracial churches. Jack used his position as a minister and a member of FOR to utilize his church as a hub for desegregation. In 1943, while a student at Meadville Theological School in Chicago, Illinois, Jack wrote to Edward J. Jeffries Jr., the mayor of Detroit, Michigan. Jack, citing his fellow students and faculty members, requested "in the name of brotherly love, justice, and democracy, that [Jeffries] uphold the plan to allow Negroes to occupy the Sojourner Truth Housing Project in Detroit."¹ Jack continued his desegregation efforts and created an interracial

¹ Homer A. Jack to Edward J. Jeffries Jr., March 11, 1942. Homer A. Jack Papers, Swarthmore College (Swarthmore, PA) (Hereafter: Jack Papers, SC).

college group within his church in Kansas. In a 1944 letter, Jack updated his friends on his progress:

We have a strong Negro-white college-age group in this church and it's been fun getting it started, although the barbs from the community (and even my church) have been swift (even if they didn't hurt!). We have inter-racial dancing and that is taboo in "Free" Kansas. But we're going right on dancing (inter-rationally) and very soon now we'll pull a Core, either on the Jim Crow theaters here or the restaurants.²

Jack's depiction of the events in Kansas included a reference to pulling "a Core." This referred to the events put on by FOR as well as by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which included sit-ins at publically segregated places such as movie theatres and restaurants.³ These types of demonstrations were the cornerstone of FOR, and eventually CORE.

Other members of FOR also recognized the need for a mass interracial movement. Around 1943, Houser wrote and distributed a memo to members of the organization detailing both the need for a movement as well as the steps required to create such a movement. Houser emphasized that African Americans were ready for such an undertaking. He wrote that they were prepared to take action against indignities they suffered, and that it was important for the action to involve a group effort. Houser asserted that it was "impossible for any injustice to stand up against the demands of the masses of people."⁴ He also stressed the importance of adhering to nonviolence. He highlighted nonviolent techniques such as "investigation, negotiation, demonstration, and such non-cooperation as striking and boycotting, if necessary with a final reliance upon a refusal to respond with violence even when attacked."⁵

While focusing on nonviolence as a main principle of the movement, Houser also emphasized the importance of maintaining interracial demonstrations. Houser believed that by including both whites and blacks in the movement they were less likely to encounter "race-baiters [saying] that they were being persecuted simply by

² Letter from Homer A. Jack, March 23, 1944. Jack Papers, SC.

³ FOR created CORE as a direct-action, nonviolent organization. See Chapter 4 for more.

⁴ Houser, "Memo on a Mass Non-Violent Interracial Movement," 1. Congress of Racial Quality Collected Records, Swarthmore College (Swarthmore, PA) (Hereafter: CORE Records, SC).

⁵ *Ibid.*

Negroes.”⁶ Houser also believed biracial engagement “undermine[d] the racist theory that the two races [could not] mix.”⁷ He acknowledged the fact that African Americans would create the base for the movement, but affirmed that whites were willing and eager to participate. Houser closed his memo with a call to action for interracial community groups. He outlined the need for a leadership base to host conferences and “a series of interracial non-violent week-end institutes and two- to three-week work-shops in key communities across the country.”⁸ These plans soon turned into reality when FOR began running its race relations institutes.

In a letter to friends, Lawrence Scott, member of FOR and secretary of the Kansas City Area Race Relations Institute, detailed the aims of the institutes. He described the aims as being “fourfold” in nature:

- 1) to consider areas of racial tension: jobs, housing, education and the problem of discrimination in general;
- 2) to discover the dynamic part Religious and Social groups must play in the great struggle for economic, social, and political freedom;
- 3) to plan creative methods of facing conflict and achieving political and economic justice through reconciliation;
- 4) to build brotherhood by working together toward the solution of problems that are common to all Americans.⁹

These aims provided the basis for the institutes set up by FOR, including the race relations institute in April 1944, at the Grand Ave. Methodist Temple in Kansas City, Missouri, and the Central Christian Church in Kansas City, Kansas. Events during the institute included fellowship through music and addresses by FOR members James Farmer and John Nevin Sayre. The speeches covered topics such as “The Race Situation Today,” “Techniques of Good Will Direct Action,” “A Non-Violent Program for Today,” and “The Spiritual Basis of Non-Violence.”¹⁰ In addition to the addresses and fellowship, participants engaged in an interracial dinner and discussions of workshops aimed to remove racial discrimination and ease tensions

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 2.

⁹ Letter from Lawrence Scott, February 18, 1944. FOR Records, SC.

¹⁰ The Fellowship of Reconciliation, “Race Relations Institute Program,” April 1944. Fellowship of Reconciliation Records, Swarthmore College (Swarthmore, PA) (Hereafter: FOR Records, SC).

within communities. This institute was just the beginning of a series of institutes conducted around the country over the next several years.

In a series of letters between Shizu Asahi Proctor, a former secretary of FOR, and George Houser, Houser detailed the success of institutes in both Cleveland, Ohio, and Toledo, Ohio. In January 1945, Houser wrote Proctor about the Cleveland institute and the fact that there were more than 350 people in attendance. He also discussed the work projects put on during the institute. Participants polled local stores about whether they would hire African Americans and Houser reported that 68% of those polled were not opposed to hiring African Americans, while 5% had no opinion on the topic.¹¹ In another letter to Proctor, Houser informed him that the Toledo institute, which ran from February 23-25, was a success as well. He mentioned that in one of the evening sessions alone there were over 250 people present. With the success of the first three institutes, the members of FOR planned many others in hopes of garnering even more participants.

The latter part of 1946 and the beginning of 1947 witnessed the emergence of more race relations institutes. Following the end of World War II racial tensions were on the rise. African American men returned from the war, which seemingly involved a fight for democracy and freedom, and were eager to experience those same ideals at home. Race relations institutes appeared to offer hope of bringing about a change in the treatment of blacks in the United States. Members of FOR conducted institutes on various weekends from November 1946 through February 1947 in Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Ohio. Events at the institutes included speeches by Homer Jack, A.J. Muste, and many more influential members of FOR. They also included action projects such as handing out flyers to spark awareness of discriminatory hiring practices and directly testing to see if African American patrons would be welcomed at restaurants and other public places.

Whereas race relations institutes included one or two action projects, interracial workshops almost exclusively consisted of activism and demonstrations. The aims of interracial workshops centered on discussing racial tensions and planning activities to combat such tensions. The objectives were listed as the following:

- 1) to demonstrate that persons of differing backgrounds can live harmoniously together;
- 2) to apply non-violent methods to social change;

¹¹ George Houser to Shizu Proctor, January 24, 1945. FOR Records, SC.

- 3) to dramatize effective techniques of combatting discrimination.¹²

In order to meet these goals and make a strong impact, many of the workshops lasted longer than a weekend. Some continued for a few weeks while others took up a whole summer.

One weeklong workshop, for example, took place in February 1947 in Toledo, Ohio. During this workshop, an unexpected opportunity for a sit-in arose. During a break in the workshop, Rustin and Houser visited a local restaurant, not expecting any problems. However, employees at the restaurant refused to serve them. Rather than leave the restaurant, Rustin and Houser stayed for two-and-a-half hours, but were never served. When the time came for the workshop to reconvene, they called the other attendees over to the restaurant. Fifty men and women made their way to the restaurant and, as they were filing in, the restaurant manager closed the door and locked them out. The manager called the police who informed the owner that he was in the wrong and needed to serve both the black and white patrons. The owner reluctantly served all the workshop members. The following day, some of the members returned to the restaurant to speak with the owner and discuss the previous day's events; they came to an understanding and rectified the situation.

Attendees of a 1947 summer workshop in Washington, D.C., made headlines for their efforts to combat racism within the local Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). A coffee shop, run by the YMCA, refused to serve African Americans. According to the radical daily New York newspaper, *PM*, the members of the workshop "began centering [their] pressure on the 'Y' Coffee Shop, reasoning that an institution with a self-proclaimed 'Christian' philosophy was 'vulnerable' to protests."¹³ In order to put pressure on the coffee shop, the interracial group visited the shop and sat down at tables even after the employees refused to serve them. A "presumably sympathetic waitress" served three members of the group food, but they refused to eat until all other members were served.¹⁴ The rest of the group never received service. After two hours of waiting the group left; they returned the next day where they sat-in for seven hours. The group planned to continue their sit-ins until the coffee shop served all the members, but the manager refused to comply. As was the case with this

¹² The Fellowship of Reconciliation, "The Interracial Workshop," 1947. FOR Records, SC.

¹³ Willard Shelton, "Gandhi-like Tactics Used Against Bias At Capital YMCA," *PM*, July 18, 1947. CORE Records, SC.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

coffee shop, not every establishment caved to the demands of the demonstrators.

During the same Washington workshop, four participants visited multiple restaurants throughout the city to discover which served black patrons and which turned them away. The four members visited restaurants in two interracial groups. Through multiple visits, they found there was not a clear trend among the businesses. On July 26, Margaret Draper, a white woman, and Leroy Fennell, a black man, visited three different restaurants and asked to be served. At the first restaurant they visited, Ruby Foo's Den, the waiters refused to serve them, stating that they served either only Negroes or only whites. The manager explained that they served both whites and blacks at their New York restaurant, but not at their D.C. location.

At the next restaurant, The Olmstead, the headwaiter refused to serve them, but when Draper spoke to the manager he informed her that the restaurant did serve black patrons and that the headwaiter was mistaken. She and Fennell were seated, but they were seated in the back of the restaurant that was partially obscured from the main dining area. Once they were seated, they were treated well by the waiters and by the other customers, except for a few occasional unhappy glances. At the final restaurant, New Athens Restaurant, they were refused service. Draper and Fennell asked to speak to either the headwaiter or the manager, but they were told that both employees were out for the day so the two activists left the restaurant.

The same day, Ethel Philpott, a black woman, and Miriam Keeler, a white woman, visited three different restaurants with more unfavorable results. The wait staff at the first restaurant, Ceres Grill, seated the women at the back of the restaurant, but no waiter came to serve them. When they informed the hostess that they had not been waited on, she ignored them so they left. At the next restaurant, Child's Restaurant, the women encountered a similar situation. They were seated at an obscure table and were given water, but no one came to take their order. When they questioned the hostess, they were informed that the restaurant only served white customers so the women left the restaurant without being served. The final restaurant, Willard Coffee Shop, left them with the same experience as the previous two establishments. The two women were seated at a table, but were refused service. The manager explained that the restaurant did not serve Negroes.¹⁵

While those attempting to receive service at restaurants endured certain indignities, the summer workshop members as a whole

¹⁵ Testimony from the four activists, 1947. FOR Records, SC.

experienced success in late July. After being refused service at the Methodist Building Cafeteria on July 7, members of the workshop sat down with the management and explained their position on interracial dining. When black members of the workshop revisited the cafeteria on July 24, they were served without issue. Sit-ins and visits to local businesses were vital to the work of FOR and the institutes and workshops they sponsored. It allowed the members to see which businesses were embracing social equality, and which businesses needed to change. They successfully changed the minds of some business owners, such as the operator of the Methodist Building Cafeteria, but clearly much work remained.

The race relations institutes and interracial workshops brought much needed attention to the work of FOR, but Houser and Rustin knew FOR needed a large scale demonstration to gain even more attention. In 1946, planning for the Journey of Reconciliation began. The demonstration involved a two-week journey through the Upper South using public transportation. Sixteen members, eight black and eight white, participated.

Until 1946, state laws throughout the South strictly enforced segregated public transportation. While organized groups had yet to challenge Jim Crow laws, individuals, including FOR member Bayard Rustin, took it upon themselves to battle against legal discrimination. In 1944, Irene Morgan had defied Virginia's local and state segregation laws, and eventually took her case to the United States Supreme Court. Morgan, a 27 year-old African American woman, was traveling to see her husband when she boarded a Greyhound bus bound for Baltimore. Having recently suffered a miscarriage, Morgan was feeling particularly weak and needed a seat so she could rest. She stood for the first few miles of the trip, but eventually had to sit so she took a seat near the back of the bus, in front of some white passengers. The bus driver demanded that she give up her seat in accordance with both local and state Jim Crow laws. She refused to move, and when the bus driver attempted to remove her from her seat, she began screaming and kicking him. She was eventually forcibly removed, arrested, charged, and convicted of violating section 4097dd of the Virginia Code. She appealed her case, but the appellate court of Virginia upheld the decision.¹⁶

In October 1945, her case, *Irene Morgan v. Commonwealth of Virginia*, went to the Supreme Court. Lawyers from the NAACP, including Thurgood Marshall, represented Morgan. Author Derek

¹⁶ Derek Charles Catsam, *Freedom's Main Line: The Journey of Reconciliation and the Freedom Rides* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2009), 14.

Charles Catsam explained how Marshall and his fellow lawyers argued that “the Virginia statute requiring segregation on interstate carriers (and others like it) placed an undue burden on interstate commerce and thus violated the Commerce Clause of the Constitution.”¹⁷ This same argument had successfully been used in an 1878 case, *Hall v. DeCuir*, which declared that segregated interstate travel placed an undue burden on passenger steamboat operators traveling down the Mississippi River.¹⁸ Given these arguments, on June 3, 1946, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled, in a 6-1 decision, that segregation on interstate transportation was unconstitutional. While African Americans considered it a victory, southern whites were unhappy that the court nullified a Jim Crow ordinance. This monumental decision was the catalyst Houser and Rustin needed to begin planning the Journey of Reconciliation.

Soon after the Supreme Court handed down the *Morgan* decision, it became clear that not all states would enforce desegregation of public transportation. Once Rustin and Houser realized this, they knew a trip to the South was necessary. With the help of members from both FOR and CORE, a plan began to form. According to Homer Jack, “The Journey was not meant to be just another testing of existing laws. It was primarily to ascertain whether an unpopular court decision could be enforced by using the spirit of aggressive good will, or more accurately, non-violent direct action.”¹⁹ Jack explained that the Gandhi-inspired participants would not be “passive non-resisters,” but rather “active resisters of segregation in a non-violent manner.”²⁰ In addition to being able to utilize their nonviolent techniques, Houser and Rustin highlighted three specific reasons that motivated the Journey. First, the Journey appealed to Houser and Rustin as “segregation in transportation in the South was an issue important to tackle. It touched virtually every black person, was demeaning in its effect and a source of frequent conflict.” Second, “a campaign to resist segregation in transportation, [they] thought, would get some attention...by striking a raw nerve.” Finally, they believed the Journey “would have the force of law behind it.”²¹

Because FOR and CORE considered this project so crucial, an immense amount of planning and preparation went into it. The discussions within CORE focused on how the trip would help expand

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Homer Jack, “Journey of Reconciliation,” *Common Ground*, 21. CORE Records, SC.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 21-22.

²¹ George Houser, “A Personal Retrospective on the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation,” September 1992, 3. CORE Records, SC.

the reach of the organization whereas FOR members emphasized the Journey itself and its purpose as a way to utilize nonviolence. In a 1992 paper that reflected on the Journey, Houser highlighted the multifold purpose of the movement:

- 1) to gather data in a planned and scientific fashion on what is happening when Negroes and whites travel together without heed to patterns of segregation in states where Jim Crow laws prevail;
- 2) to develop techniques for dealing creatively with possible conflict situations that will arise when segregation patterns are ignored on buses and trains;
- 3) to do an educational job by passing on the experiences and data obtained on the trip.²²

In contrast to sit-ins and previous demonstrations, members of FOR designed the Journey of Reconciliation to simply observe what happened when participants did not sit in segregated sections. Demonstrators wanted to see if state and local governments would uphold the Supreme Court's ruling and how southern whites reacted.

The first step of preparing for the Journey was to find a group of volunteers, something that proved to be harder than anticipated. Originally, Houser and Rustin planned for both men and women to participate in the Journey, but they decided that mixing races and sexes would lead to an even more hostile situation. Houser and Rustin reached out to everyone they knew, but had a difficult time recruiting volunteers for several reasons. First, the risk of violence was high, and many men did not want to put themselves in such a situation. Second, volunteers, black or white, needed to be "committed to nonviolence in the face of provocation and possible violence." Finally, a volunteer had to be willing to dedicate at least a few days to the fourteen-day Journey.²³

After reaching out to their contacts, Houser and Rustin secured fourteen volunteers in addition to themselves. The eight black participants were Dennis Banks, a musician from Chicago; Conrad Lynn, a New York lawyer; Andrew Johnson, a student from Cincinnati; Wallace Nelson, a lecturer; Bayard Rustin; Eugene Stanley, a student at A. and T. College, Greensboro, North Carolina; William Worthy, a member of the New York Student Council for a Permanent FEPC;

²² *Ibid.*, 5.

²³ *Ibid.*, 7.

Nathan Wright, a church worker from Cincinnati.²⁴ The eight white participants were Louis Adams and Ernest Bromley, Methodist ministers from North Carolina; Joseph Felmet, a member of the Southern Workers Defense League; George Houser; Homer Jack; James Peck, Workers Defense League *News Bulletin* editor; Worth Randle, a biologist from Cincinnati; Igal Roodenko, a horticulturalist from New York.²⁵

With the sixteen participants chosen, the group planned the specific details of the Journey. They decided to stay within the Upper South, as the Lower South seemed too dangerous. As Peck recalled in his book, *Freedom Ride*, “To penetrate the Deep South at that time would simply have meant immediate arrest of all participants, an end to the trip—and possibly us. As a Negro told us on the first lap, ‘Some bus drivers are crazy; and the farther south you go, the crazier they get.’”²⁶

Several months before the Journey, Rustin and Houser traveled through the Upper South to plan the route. During these months they also retained lawyers as well as collected money for bail. The NAACP offered legal services for anyone arrested during the trip. In addition to making legal and financial preparations, planners also needed to train volunteers in nonviolent techniques. On April 7, 1947, two days before the Journey, the men reported to a two-day training session in Washington. Over the course of the workshop, the men took turns playing the roles of bus drivers, angry segregationists, police officers, and the protestors themselves.²⁷ After each scenario, the group discussed whether they performed the roles correctly and handled the situation properly. The key to all of the scenarios was for the participants to remain nonviolent, but strong. Peck recalled being instructed that if a bus driver or police officer told anyone to move out of the segregated section, they should refuse and tell the officer or bus driver that they were within their rights under the *Morgan* decision.²⁸ If a police officer ordered a volunteer to relinquish his seat, the men were instructed to stay seated unless they were arrested. Organizers made it clear that the activists should not let police officers intimidate them.²⁹ Volunteers were made aware that police officers were known for making people leave their seats without placing them under arrest and keeping them occupied until the bus left the passenger stranded; once the bus pulled away, the officer would typically leave as well without

²⁴ George Houser and Bayard Rustin, “We Challenged Jim Crow!: A Report on the Journey of Reconciliation,” 1947, 2. CORE Records, SC.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ James Peck, *Freedom Ride* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962), 16.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 16.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

charging the passenger or arresting them. Once the nonviolent workshop ended, Houser and Rustin finalized the travel plans.

Houser and Rustin planned for overnight stops in certain cities where they had arranged meetings in local churches. The NAACP orchestrated the majority of the meetings. They scheduled meetings with the intention of spreading the Journey's message to the public. Volunteers hoped to gather support not only for their trip, but also for the Supreme Court's 1946 *Morgan* decision itself. In all, the Journey leaders planned several meetings containing more than thirty speeches.³⁰

On the morning of April 9, 1947, the two-week Journey of Reconciliation began. Leaving from Washington, the men split into two groups and boarded a Greyhound bus and a National Trailways bus, both heading to Richmond. Each of the buses in Richmond had already eliminated segregated seating so there were no incidents. On buses that still practiced segregated seating, it was imperative that some of the men sat in their segregated seating so that everyone was not arrested at once. One or two men would sit in designated sections while the rest of the men would sit in the opposite section; white men sat in the back, or the black section, and black men sat in the front, or the white section. Sometimes black men would share a seat in the front with the white demonstrators. As the group traveled farther South, its members were likely to face far more opposition from bus drivers as well as the general public.

The first two legs of the Journey, from Washington, D.C., to Richmond, Virginia, and Richmond to Petersburg, Virginia, did not entail any incidents. None of the members was arrested, and they did not face much resistance. There was some concern that their trip would be a disappointment, but this attitude changed when the travelers headed from Petersburg to Durham, North Carolina. The driver of a Greyhound bus told Rustin to move from his seat and threatened to throw him off the bus. The driver "backed down when several passengers, black and white, expressed support for Rustin."³¹ Conrad Lynn, a black rider on a Trailways bus heading to Raleigh, North Carolina, from Petersburg, was not as fortunate. Lynn was arrested for sitting in the front of the bus. Houser recalled that the bus driver was apologetic when telling Lynn to move from his seat. The bus driver told Houser and the other passengers that "'he was in the employ of the bus company, not the Supreme Court...I don't care where you sit, but I

³⁰ Homer Jack, *Homer's Odyssey: My Quest for Peace and Justice* (Becket, MA: One Peaceful World Press, 1996), 143.

³¹ John D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin* (New York: Free Press, 2003), 136.

have my orders.’”³² This type of hesitation and seeming desire to comply with the Supreme Court ruling did not last long. As the men continued the Journey, attitudes toward the black travelers became increasingly negative.

Peck recalled the inequality between black and white facilities upon his arrival in Durham. He wrote:

One glance at the Durham bus station was enough to illustrate the separate and unequal treatment which Negroes receive in the South. On one side of the ticket window was the “white” waiting room, well painted and with seats, telephone booths, and all necessary conveniences. On the other side of the ticket window was the “colored” waiting room, completely bare, unpainted, without seats, telephones, or conveniences of any kind.³³

The inequality spread beyond just the bus station. Peck observed inequality within the city of Durham. The black section of town lacked sidewalks and phone booths; all of the restaurants and the only hotel were completely run down. In Durham, police arrested Peck and Rustin, but soon released them. The group was separated due to the arrests in Durham, but they reorganized in Chapel Hill.

While attempting to depart Chapel Hill on April 13, more passengers, including Rustin and Roodenko, were arrested. Peck followed them off the bus to bail them out. As he made his way back to the bus, a bus driver approached him and voiced his disapproval of the Journey. He then struck Peck in the head. Peck remained calm and simply asked the man what the issue was. The man was confused by Peck’s refusal to respond with violence and walked away. Many of the onlookers hassled the driver for hitting a man who did nothing to provoke him. Peck wrote that he later learned the majority of passengers on the bus supported the activists’ cause.³⁴ This incident was the only instance of violence, which can likely be attributed to the group’s adherence to nonviolence.

The next few days of the trip were uneventful. Drivers made slight objections to the integrated seating arrangements, but no arrests were made until April 17. As the group was traveling to Knoxville, Tennessee, from Asheville, North Carolina, Peck and Banks sat next to each other in the front of the bus. The driver told Banks to move and when he refused the police were called on to arrest him. Peck stood up

³² *Ibid.*, 136-37.

³³ Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 18-19.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

and declared that the two men were traveling together and that he should be arrested as well. The police arrested both men and released them later that day.

On April 17, Jack joined the Journey in Knoxville. Group leaders selected Jack and Nathan Wright to ride a bus from Knoxville to Louisville, Kentucky. Houser accompanied them as an observer. When the two men boarded the bus, the driver asked them to move but they refused, stating that they had every right based on the Supreme Court decision. The driver left the bus to speak to bus officials and the police, but received no support and drove the bus without another word to the two men. Although they had made it through the first obstacle, the most tense part of the trip was approaching. The men took part in the first overnight ride of the Journey. Jack explained, "The Southern night, to Northerners at least, is full of vigilant justice and the lynch rope from pine trees if not palms."³⁵ Jack and Wright, fearful of violence, were pleased to find that no vigilantes were waiting for them at their two rest stops. They made it to Louisville the next morning with no incidents and only minimal resistance.

In addition to testing bus transportation, Wright and Jack tested trains. On April 19, they bought tickets for the white car on a train traveling from Nashville to Louisville. There were no problems boarding the train, but once they were seated one of the conductors approached them and told Wright to move to the Jim Crow car; Wright refused. The conductor said he would be back and continued collecting tickets from other passengers. A bit later, the conductor returned and told Wright, "If we were in Alabama, I and the other passengers would throw you out of the window."³⁶ The conductor threatened to have Wright arrested at the next stop, but he did not follow through on his threat.

The remainder of the Journey, from April 19 to 23, included bus trips through North Carolina, Ohio, and multiple cities in Virginia, including Roanoke and Lynchburg, before returning to Washington, D.C. A few arrests occurred in those cities, but no violence or major incidents. Overall, police made twelve arrests throughout the entirety of the Journey of Reconciliation.

Once the Journey concluded, many of the participants, including Jack and Houser, wrote about the impact the venture had on segregation and Jim Crow laws. In his discussion of the Journey, Jack wrote that it became clear the *Morgan* decision and the idea of unsegregated travel had yet to reach the South beyond Richmond.

³⁵ Jack, *Homer's Odyssey*, 145.

³⁶ George Houser and Bayard Rustin, "Journey of Reconciliation," 1947, 6. FOR Records, SC.

Although the travelers did not encounter much violence, they did experience resistance as they neared the Lower South. Jack also explained that the nonviolent technique employed by the men was extremely successful because it allowed them to react calmly to resistance and understand the viewpoint of those who did not agree with them. According to Jack, the Journey of Reconciliation showed Americans that the *Morgan* decision could be implemented through tests like the Journey. He said the Journey spread word of the *Morgan* decision to bus drivers and law enforcement, and showed blacks and whites that through nonviolence they could create their own Journey of Reconciliation and help further implement integrated bus travel.³⁷

In his reflection forty-five years after the Journey, Houser wrote that it was clear the Journey of Reconciliation did not bring about any groundbreaking changes. He explained that it did not end segregated travel, it did not bring about any other landmark cases like the *Morgan* case, and it did not inspire people to start a massive uprising to end segregation. He did, however, explain that it was important in many other ways. Houser highlighted the publicity the Journey received and the hundreds of newspaper articles written about it. These helped bring attention not only to the movement, but also to the *Morgan* case and the ruling against segregated travel. Houser argued that the Journey shed light on nonviolent demonstrations and showed that nonviolence was a successful technique. This example of nonviolent activism left a lasting impression on countless southerners and became a key tool in future demonstrations.³⁸

While the Journey of Reconciliation alone did not have as large an impact as the participants hoped, the ideas it spread as well as those from the interracial workshops and race relations institutes did provide seeds for the postwar civil rights movement, and underscore the importance of nonviolent tactics. Race relations institutes also allowed members of the public in multiple cities to learn about segregation and the issues that African Americans faced. Participants learned how to combat segregation and racism through nonviolent techniques.

The interracial workshops put the ideas from the institutes into practice. Participants had opportunities to take part in demonstrations such as sit-ins and picket lines. All of these protests centered on nonviolence. Organizers gave demonstrators lessons on how to resist the temptation to answer violence with more violence. Demonstrators learned the philosophy behind nonviolence, including the beliefs of Gandhi as well as actual nonviolent tactics to employ. While early sit-

³⁷ Jack, "Journey of Reconciliation." CORE Records, SC.

³⁸ Houser, "A Personal Retrospective." CORE Records, SC.

ins garnered a good amount of publicity and public attention, the members of FOR seized the opportunity to gain even more exposure by conducting the Journey of Reconciliation.

The Journey provided the volunteers with their biggest nonviolent challenge thus far. It was imperative that the travelers never reacted with violence. By adhering to nonviolent techniques, volunteers attempted to integrate transportation without tarnishing their reputations. Utilizing nonviolence kept the majority of the Journey free of violence.

Whether participants of the institutes, workshops, and the Journey realized it, their efforts, especially those that focused on nonviolence, would greatly influence future events in the civil rights movement. As FOR faded to the background and CORE came to the forefront of the movement, it was clear that much of its foundation came from the work laid down by FOR. No demonstration was more clearly influenced by FOR than the Freedom Rides of 1961, which drew direct inspiration from the Journey of Reconciliation fourteen years earlier.

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A contestant from the Ñuestra Wayusa Warmi native beauty pageant in Tena, Ecuador displays her traditional costume, crown, and sash. The pageant marks the beginning of an annual two-week celebration of the founding of Tena by Spanish explorers in 1560. It also emblemizes identity construction among indigenous organizations and how ethnicity has been strategically used to gain political recognition. (Wroblewski, Michael. "Public Indigeneity, Language Revitalization, and Intercultural Planning in a Native Amazonian Beauty Pageant.")

IDENTITY IN OIL: AN EXAMINATION OF INDIGENOUS IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN ECUADOR | Jean Woodmansee

Ecuador is home to 14 million people from twenty-nine different indigenous nationalities, most of whom reside in the Amazon.¹ The indigenous movements of Ecuador have been some of the strongest throughout Latin America; indigenous uprisings have removed numerous presidents from office and successfully amended the constitution to recognize the “pluricultural and multiethnic” nature of the country.² Indigenous uprisings in Ecuador have historically been in response to injustices brought on by neoliberal policies. Economic booms resulting from the exportation of bananas, rubber, and then oil caused major conflicts and social injustices throughout the country. The discovery of oil in the Amazon in the early 1970s led to the emergence of regional and national indigenous organizations that, by the 1990s, held an important place in Ecuadorian politics. Initially, indigenous organizations’ use of identity politics enabled them to gain recognition and support both nationally and internationally. However, the continuance of an ethnically focused movement has prevented the indigenous from addressing the class-based issues and marginalization that many Ecuadorians continue to struggle with. Additionally, the restrictive identity of indigenous organizations has created an inaccurate representation of the diverse, modern Indian population.

Although Indians had used oil for centuries in Ecuador, it wasn’t until the 1970s that Amazonian oil became Ecuador’s main export. In 1967 the Texaco Gulf consortium discovered vast crude oil reserves in Lago Agrio, an area of the Sucumbíos province of eastern Ecuador.³ The populist government of the time saw oil exportation as an opportunity for modernization, and soon after its discovery, oil began flowing along the Trans-Ecuadorian Pipe Line.⁴ By 1976, Ecuador’s Corporación Estatal de Petr6leos was the main shareholder of the Texaco concession, and was receiving 60% of oil revenues.⁵ Ecuador’s newfound wealth transformed the country “as rapidly and

¹ Patricia I. Vasquez, *Oil Sparks in the Amazon: Local Conflicts, Indigenous Populations, and Natural Resources* (University of Georgia Press, 2014), 15.

² Marc Becker, *Pachakutik: Indigenous Movements and Electoral Politics in Ecuador* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010), 58.

³ Allen Gerlach, *Indians, Oil, and Politics: A Recent History of Ecuador* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 33.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Vasquez, *Oil Sparks in the Amazon*, 20.

profoundly as anything in its history except the Spanish Conquest.”⁶ Ecuador entered into a period of prosperity and growth, both economically and socially. However, the state’s dependency on oil, policies of tax cuts, and public expenditures proved fatal when in the mid-1980s oil prices plummeted.⁷ In 1981, crude oil from Ecuador sold for \$34.48 per barrel, by 1998 the price per barrel was a mere \$9.15.⁸

As oil production in the Ecuadorian Amazon expanded, so did the region’s infrastructure. Vast networks of roads were built that made previously isolated lands readily accessible.⁹ At the same time, the protection of oil deposits from neighboring countries became a priority of the Ecuadorian state, whose agrarian reform laws of the 1960s and 1970s reflected their desire for colonization of the Amazon.¹⁰ The 1964 *Ley de Tierras Baldías y Colonización* declared that uncultivated lands were not considered to be the property of any person or community and were available for colonization.¹¹ The reform essentially denied indigenous people the right to tribal lands, as it failed to recognize that traditional agricultural practices of small-scale production, hunting, and fishing required vast territories of uncultivated land.¹²

Agrarian reform laws coupled with the new network of roads led to the colonization of nearly one third of the Ecuadorian Amazon, an area of about 38,000 square kilometers.¹³ The colonization of indigenous territory in the Amazon both displaced Indians and threatened their way of life. Aided by missionaries and nongovernmental organizations, indigenous people began organizing into formal communities in order to protect their land and to exert their rights as citizens of the Ecuadorian State.¹⁴ It was from these communities that indigenous organizations in Ecuador were formed and began to mobilize in defense of their rights.¹⁵

The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), a Christian non-profit, began working in the Ecuadorian Amazon in the mid-1900s. The missionary group was contracted by the Ecuadorian Ministry of

⁶ Gerlach, *Indians, Oil, and Politics*, 35.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Thomas Perreault, “Developing Identities: Indigenous Mobilization, Rural Livelihoods, and Resource Access in Ecuadorian Amazonia,” *Cultural Geographies* 8, no. 4 (October 1, 2001): 386.

¹⁰ Gabriela Valdivia, “The ‘Amazonian Trial of the Century’: Indigenous Identities, Transnational Networks, and Petroleum in Ecuador,” *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 32, no. 1 (January 1, 2007): 46.

¹¹ Perreault, “Developing Identities,” 386.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Valdivia, “The ‘Amazonian Trial of the Century,’” 46.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁵ Perreault, “Developing Identities,” 382.

Education to “shape the moral and material integration of Amazonian peoples in to the nation-state,” a goal in line with the era’s Indian assimilation policies.¹⁶ In 1954, the Borman family settled with the Cofán people of the Sucumbíos region. It was here that in 1964 the Texaco consortium found large petroleum deposits. Roads built by Texaco led to the colonization of the area for agricultural purposes, which displaced the Cofán and threatened their existence.¹⁷ Due to a lack of experience in agrarian law, Spanish language barriers, and social structures that did not lend themselves to traditional political organization, the Cofán were unsuccessful in their initial attempts to protect their territory and cultural practices of subsistence.¹⁸

The Borman family encouraged the Cofán to adopt the organizational practices recognized by the agrarian reform laws in order to protect their territories from agricultural colonization and petroleum development.¹⁹ Traditional practices of collective representation were redefined and previously unrelated communities were joined to form indigenous constituencies that were recognized by the state and nongovernmental organizations.²⁰ Communities began clearing forest for cattle pasture and cultivating crops in communal plots in order to gain land titles.²¹ The establishment of formal communities both enabled indigenous to claim communally cultivated land and to reduce the physical and social distance between the state and indigenous actors.²²

Randy Borman was instrumental in the “rearticulation of the Cofán as subjects who were actively engaging in political, environmental, and citizenship practices.”²³ His understanding of Ecuador’s politics, Spanish fluency, and SIL contacts gave him respect among Ecuadorian nationals and enabled him to petition the state on behalf of the Cofán. He helped to establish the Federación Indígena de la Nacionalidad Cofán del Ecuador (FEINCE), the first indigenous organization in the region. He also helped the Cofán gain recognition of the state of Dureno in 1978 as an indigenous collective with territorial rights.²⁴

The SIL’s focus on integrating indigenous peoples into formal communities was also a strategy for indigenous pacification. In other

¹⁶ Valdivia, “The ‘Amazonian Trial of the Century,’” 46.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 50.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 47.

²¹ Perreault, “Developing Identities,” 386.

²² Valdivia, “The ‘Amazonian Trial of the Century,’” 47.

²³ *Ibid.*, 50.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

parts of Ecuador, the SIL relocated the Huaorani onto reserves in an effort to assert their influence over the tribe and to end the ongoing warfare between the Huaorani and the lowland Quichua. However, the pacification of the Huaorani opened their territories to oil companies, and led to their dependency on the missionaries for trade goods and other items.²⁵ In Ecuador, as in other Latin countries, the SIL came under heavy criticism for exploiting indigenous people, robbing them of their lands, and depriving them of their cultural practices.²⁶ In 1981, the SIL was expelled from Ecuador by the Ecuadorian government for “perpetuating the political marginalization of indigenous.”²⁷

At this time, other indigenous organizations were gaining political momentum. State and missionary-based indigenous education campaigns prepared indigenous people to organize. Indigenista policies of integration through education “provided Indigenous people with tools of political analysis to critique the socioeconomic situation of their country and created expectations of social advancement.”²⁸ Although Spanish education created indigenous leaders, their success in achieving control over territories and political recognition was connected to their ability to link indigenous objectives with those of outside actors.²⁹ Internationally, there was a growing support for indigenous people and the environment throughout the 70s and 80s. However, an indigenous organization’s ability to define their struggles in terms of the moral, financial, or political interests of external actors limited access to international support.³⁰

The blurred lines of ethnic identity and authenticity made it difficult for actors to define who was indigenous and what constituted an indigenous organization. However, by using indigeneity to gain recognition, indigenous organizations were able to seek basic rights denied to the largely indigenous, lower class population. Sylvia Escárcega explains that “culture is a strategy to seek rights in the sense that it is not only tradition, ethnicity, or language that have to be recognized; it can also justify a peoples’ rights to land, natural resources, development, education, health, and political representation.”³¹ The establishment of a distinct and authentic

²⁵ David Stoll, “The Summer Institute of Linguistics and Indigenous Movements,” *Latin American Perspectives* 9, no. 2 (April 1, 1982): 86.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Valdivia, “The ‘Amazonian Trial of the Century,’” 46.

²⁸ Becker, *Pachakutik*, 12.

²⁹ Valdivia, “The ‘Amazonian Trial of the Century,’” 44.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Sylvia Escárcega, “Authenticating Strategic Essentialisms: The Politics of Indigeness at the United Nations,” *Cultural Dynamics* 22, no. 1 (March 1, 2010): 8.

indigenous identity was therefore critical in the struggle for human rights.

The use of strategic essentialism, or the promotion of traditional cultural images, was the most successful way in which indigenous organizations gained recognition and support.³² Indigenous people had to resort to claiming stereotypical images of Indians (such as primal people who have occupied the land for millennia, harmonious indigenous nations, and caretakers of the environment) that were perpetuated by transnational actors, to define their own identity.³³ In turn, what was deemed authentically Indian was not an image created by the Indians themselves.³⁴ The United Nations, a key actor in the fight for indigenous rights, stated that the most important characteristics in defining indigeneity were “a close relationship with nature and land, a distinct culture, and a common history of oppression.”³⁵ Their characterization of indigeneity illustrates why the adoption of an essentialized ethnic identity by indigenous organizations was necessary for their recognition.³⁶

Although stereotypical images of indigenous identity were largely illusory, they created political leverage both nationally and internationally.³⁷ This representation was constructed from below, as communities mobilized, and from above, as elites and transnational actors determined political structures and opportunities.³⁸ In response to the transnational definition of indigenous identity, regional and national indigenous organizations strategically adopted the rhetoric of indigenous territorial ties and traditional cultural practices as the focal points of their discourses.³⁹

The strategic use of stewardship and territorial claims by indigenous organizations to represent themselves reflects accepted images of the authentic Indian. An example of how indigenous organizations proved their authenticity as environmental caretakers comes from an interview with a leader of the Federación de Organizaciones Indígenas de Napo (FOIN). His statement exemplifies how indigenous organizations emphasized a relationship with nature: “What I think is that we, the indigenous people, by nature we are

³² Perreault, “Developing Identities,” 384.

³³ Escárcega, “Authenticating Strategic Essentialisms,” 8.

³⁴ Jose Antonio Lucero, “Representing ‘Real Indians’: The Challenges of Indigenous Authenticity and Strategic Constructivism in Ecuador and Bolivia,” *Latin American Research Review* 41, no. 2 (2006): 42.

³⁵ Escárcega, “Authenticating Strategic Essentialisms,” 13.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

³⁷ Perreault, “Developing Identities,” 384.

³⁸ Lucero, “Representing ‘Real Indians,’” 33.

³⁹ Perreault, “Developing Identities,” 381.

ecologists. We have defended nature; we cared for nature, by birth, by inheritance. We are caretakers of the forest, no?"⁴⁰ The coupling of 'indigenous' with 'nature' was powerful in that it aligned the indigenous agenda with that of environmental groups and gave their land claims an ethnic backing.

The power of linking territorial claims and identity is also evident in the politicization of the FEINCE. After the SIL left Cofán territories, the FEINCE joined forces with the indigenous organization CONFENIAE, which played a critical role in the representation of FEINCE as "guardians of the rainforest."⁴¹ Their political image as protectors of the environment against petroleum helped the FEINCE gain the support of other organizations that shared an interest in rainforest protection, such as the Acción Ecológica (AE). Acción Ecológica sponsored members of the FEINCE to travel abroad and tell their story of exploitation, and to gain international recognition as "ecological natives."⁴²

The United Nations further perpetuated the territorial component of indigenous identity by linking the indigenous relationship to, and knowledge of, the rainforest with conservation and the survival of biodiversity.⁴³ Identifying indigenous people as the protectors of biodiversity solidified their alignment with environmental groups globally. However, it also discredited indigenous people who did not promote themselves as keepers of the rainforest, including the increasing number of urban indigenous.

In addition to environmental conservation, strategic essentialism emphasizes the importance of traditional cultural practices. These practices include the use of traditional costumes, the participation in ceremonies, the use of indigenous languages, and the promotion of spiritual beliefs. The use of cultural symbols both legitimizes indigenous organizations' claims of authenticity and enables them to resist colonization and petroleum extraction on moral grounds.⁴⁴

The FEINCE routinely used essentialized cultural images to fight against exploitation. The Cofán resisted the drilling of a Texaco exploratory well in their community in 1987 by dressing in traditional clothing, including lances, blowpipes, and ritual costumes of shamans, and occupying the area where the well was to be drilled.⁴⁵ They have

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 400.

⁴¹ Valdivia, "The 'Amazonian Trial of the Century,'" 51.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 52.

⁴³ Escárcega, "Authenticating Strategic Essentialisms," 14.

⁴⁴ Valdivia, "The 'Amazonian Trial of the Century,'" 52.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

also invoked spiritual images of the *coancoan*, people who in traditional Cofán theology are believed to live beneath the soil, to argue against oil extraction. A member of AE explained that “if [the Cofán] say, it is because it kills the *coancoan*, how will the engineer respond? These arguments touch culture, spirituality, they are irrefutable.”⁴⁶ The Cofán strategically used arguments of tradition and cosmology to protect their interests; these arguments appealed to the moral obligation of the state to combat the physical and financial strength of petroleum companies.⁴⁷

The annual beauty pageant Tena’s Nuestra Wayusa Warmi, held in the Napo province, provides further insight into the ways in which indigenous leaders legitimize traditional indigenous customs and values in an increasingly modernized culture. The pageant marks the beginning of the Fiestas de Tena, an annual two-week celebration of the founding of Tena by Spanish explorers in 1560.⁴⁸ One of the main goals of the pageant is to promote Unified Kichwa, “an ordered, purified, and legitimate form” of Kichwa that was created in the early 1980s by linguists to unify regional dialects.⁴⁹ Although Unified Kichwa is not widely used by indigenous people, contestants are expected to use the official language throughout the competition. As a result, many of the girls memorize questions and responses in order to appear both authentically indigenous and educated.⁵⁰

Contestants in the pageant further demonstrate their authenticity through traditional costumes, long, straight hair, the use of ritual objects, and knowledge of traditional music, dance, cooking practices, and medicinal plants.⁵¹ Contestants’ “appearance and performance are strategically crafted to perpetuate an idealized Napo Kichwa femininity,” and to link Kichwa femininity to mother earth.⁵² The indigenous-land connection is furthered by the pageant’s jungle-themed backdrop; contestants emerge from props of jungle vines and leaves enshrouded with fake mist.⁵³ The portrayal of contestants as “noble savages” resonates with a broad audience. Indigenous media

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁴⁸ Michael Wroblewski, “Public Indigeneity, Language Revitalization, and Intercultural Planning in a Native Amazonian Beauty Pageant,” *American Anthropologist* 116, no. 1 (March 1, 2014): 71.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 73.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 72.

outlets use this persuasive imagery and the widespread broadcasting of the pageant as a call for political action.⁵⁴

In the late 1980s, the dominant discourse of indigenismo changed from one of assimilation to multiculturalism.⁵⁵ This change coincided with the rise of indigenous into national politics. New terms such as plurinationalism and multiculturalism became central to the discourse of leading indigenous organizations such as the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE). These terms were used to link ideas of nationality, territory, culture, and political autonomy.⁵⁶ In 1988, CONAIE presented the Law of Indigenous Identities to the National Congress. The law declared that Ecuador was a plurinational state and demanded the recognition, respect, and promotion of unity and equality among the diverse peoples of Ecuador.⁵⁷

Many argue, however, that the use of terms such as ‘plurinationalism’ and ‘multiculturalism’ reinforce exploitative neoliberal policies by misdiagnosing the problems that marginalized people, including the indigenous, face.⁵⁸ Anthropologist Charles Hale has criticized identity-based politics for focusing on limited issues such as ethnic discrimination, while ignoring larger ones such as the economic exploitation of peasants.⁵⁹ Multiculturalism is a “state-sponsored ideology,” argues José Almedia, which “obscures the economic roots and issues of power.”⁶⁰ These terms serve only to further the ethnic-centered rhetoric of indigenous movements, which continue to place a greater value on culture and identity politics than class-based struggles for equality. As a result, neoliberal multiculturalism tends to “empower some while marginalizing the majority.”⁶¹

In addition to failing to distinguish between cultural and class-based sources of marginalization, plurinationalism and ‘multiculturalism’ are vague terms used and defined by indigenous academic elites. Wroblewski notes that “indigenous leaders in Ecuador tend to be part of an urbanized, nationally orienting, highly educated

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ A. Kim Clark and Marc Becker, *Highland Indians and the State in Modern Ecuador* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 202.

⁵⁶ Perreault, “Developing Identities,” 394.

⁵⁷ Becker, *Pachakutik*, 14.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 28.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

social elite within indigenous communities”⁶² that “borrow from the social sciences of the dominant class.”⁶³ Although indigenous activists use these terms to challenge colonial dominance and to advocate for indigenous cultural practices that historically have been marginalized, they do not represent the real identity or needs of the indigenous masses. Indigenous concerns and self-identification is based, more often than not, in their daily practices of subsistence.⁶⁴ Interviews with highland indigenous revealed that although they supported the ideals of their representative organizations, they felt that their policies did not address their basic needs and wishes.⁶⁵ Even with its strong political presence, indigenous organizations have failed to resolve the marginalization of their constituents. Most of the political success they have enjoyed has been in promoting the rhetoric of plurinationalism, not in improving the quality of life of indigenous peasants.

In June of 1990, on the eve of the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus’s voyage to the Americas, the CONAIE organized one of the largest indigenous *levantamientos* in Ecuador’s history.⁶⁶ Across the country, indigenous people united to defend their political rights in an uprising for social change. The movement was named Pachakutic. In Kichwa *pacha* refers to time or land, and *kutic* means home. Pachakutic was also the name of one of the most important Inka rulers.⁶⁷ Although the Inkas were relative latecomers to Ecuador, and were historically an imperial rather than a liberating force, the symbol of the emperor glorified the indigenous past and provided a platform upon which ethnic revolutionaries could stand.

The use of figures such as Pachakutic shows the illusory basis from which indigenous identity has been constructed in Ecuador. What began as the strategic way to gain recognition and support has become a limiting force. The essentialization of indigenous identity has both limited the ways in which authentic Indians may be viewed, as well as inhibited politically mobile indigenous organizations from addressing social issues that fall outside of the realm of ethnic discrimination. Even though Ecuador has some of the strongest indigenous representation in Latin America, constructed in response to outside forces, and maintained by academics and state institutions, Ecuadorian indigenous identity seems to have little to do with indigenous reality.

⁶² Wroblewski, “Public Indigeneity, Language Revitalization, and Intercultural Planning in a Native Amazonian Beauty Pageant,” 69.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁶⁴ Perreault, “Developing Identities,” 405.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Becker, *Pachakutik*, 1.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

Unfortunately, the dilemma of the indigenous identity is that it cannot change its orientation without discrediting the very foundation upon which the many politically active and respected indigenous organizations were built. As Pedro Pitarch observes, “identity politics represent a one-way street: once its rhetoric is adopted and, through it, its logic, it becomes extremely difficult to present oneself in public in a different way.”⁶⁸ The original pursuit of identity politics in Ecuador has confined Indigenous organizations to the use of an ethnic-centered rhetoric, whether or not it best suits their current needs. Much like the discovery of oil, Ecuador’s politics of identity have created a revolution that while outwardly successful is fundamentally unsustainable.

⁶⁸ Pedro Pitarch, “The Zapatistas and the Art of Ventriloquism,” *Journal of Human Rights* 3, no. 3 (September 1, 2004): 311.

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This image of President John F. Kennedy and first lady Jacqueline Onassis, taken in December of 1961 in La Morita, Venezuela, illustrates the initial excitement and fanfare for the Alliance for Progress. The banner depicts a stoic President Kennedy alongside Venezuelan President Rómulo Betancourt. Photographer unknown, courtesy of *Historia de Venezuela en Imágenes*, El Nacional, 2001.

DOOMED FROM INCEPTION: KENNEDY AND THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS | Jerrad Benedict

On March 13, 1961, newly elected President John F. Kennedy addressed the nation and the world with a plan to foster socio-economic growth in Latin America.¹ The speech, given near the end of an evening where President Kennedy and first lady Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy hosted some two hundred and fifty dignitaries including Latin American diplomats and congressional leaders, sparked hope throughout Latin America.² Kennedy called for a “vast new 10-year plan for the Americas” where the United States would provide aid to its neighboring countries to the south in an attempt to help modernize their economies, combat illiteracy, and “come to the defense of any American nation whose independence is endangered.”³ The President declared the ambitious plan was an “Alliance for Progress,” a coalition of “free governments [that] must work to eliminate tyranny” throughout the hemisphere.⁴

For many Latin Americans, Kennedy’s bold new Marshall Plan was a breath of fresh air. Inter-American relations were strained across the hemisphere in the early 1960s as FDR’s “Good Neighbor” policy was replaced by Eisenhower’s use of covert military tactics to secure a “democratic” Latin America in the face of the red scare. Indeed, by the time Kennedy took office in January 1961 the United States had already severed diplomatic ties with Revolutionary Cuba and initiated the supply of arms to rebels in the Dominican Republic to support their attempt to overthrow Trujillo.⁵ The Alliance for Progress was not only a ten-point plan for economic aid to impoverished neighbors, but also a chance for the United States to regain political capital lost during the previous decade. In many ways, it was an attempt by Kennedy to stymie the growth of revolutionary socialist ideology in Latin America by promoting Yankee idealism throughout the region.

¹ U.S. Department of State Bulletin, *XLIV, No. 1136, April 3, 1961*, pp. 471-474, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1961kennedy-afp1.html> (accessed April 22, 2014).

² Stephen G. Rabe, *The Most Dangerous Area in the World: John F. Kennedy Confronts Communist Revolution in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 9.

³ U.S. Department of State Bulletin, *XLIV, No. 1136, April 3, 1961*, pp. 471-474, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1961kennedy-afp1.html> (accessed April 22, 2014).

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Rabe, 34-37.

Soon after the speech, President Kennedy quickly acquired funds by securing through Congress \$500 million to initiate the war on poverty and an additional \$100 million to help the Chileans recover from the recent earthquake catastrophe.⁶ Throughout his short presidency, and continuing on through Lyndon B. Johnson's term, the United States "made good on most promises of economic aid for Latin America."⁷ But by 1970, most of the socio-economic goals intended to lead to political stability and peace in the region were still a dream. What happened to the Alliance for Progress? American historiography of this ambitious plan is mixed. Liberals argue the Alliance for Progress died with the election of Richard Nixon in 1968, and Kennedy supporters argue it fell apart after his assassination when the program lost its charismatic leader. In truth, the Alliance for Progress was doomed from inception. U.S. control of Latin American economies through private business and military intervention helped to create the problems the program attempted to fix. Blinded by a cold war lens, Kennedy's plan to modernize Latin America appeared new, valiant, and genuine. Yet his solutions and their results were no different than former or subsequent Latin-American foreign-policy makers in the United States.

In order to understand the political atmosphere Kennedy inherited upon taking office, an examination of U.S. foreign policy in the hemisphere prior to his short term helps explain the doubt and derision expressed among Latin American countries on the announcement of Kennedy's new policy. From the fall of colonial Spain in the mid nineteenth century to the great depression, the United States largely used Latin America as a springboard to building an empire.⁸ The drive west that destroyed American-Indian tribes while fulfilling "Manifest Destiny" also worked to take away half of Mexico's territory to expand the new frontier.⁹ This was followed by a push south. As Greg Grandin points out in *Empire's Workshop*, by 1930 Washington had sent gunboats into Latin American ports, "over six thousand times, invaded Cuba, Mexico, Guatemala, and Honduras, fought protracted guerrilla wars in the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Haiti, and taken a piece of Colombia to create both the nation of Panama and the Panama Canal."¹⁰

⁶ Rabe, 10.

⁷ Stephen Rabe, *Kennedy's Quest for Victory: American Foreign Policy 1961-1963*, ed. Thomas Paterson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 107.

⁸ Greg Grandin, *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, The United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2006), 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Justification for U.S. military interventions up to the 1930s were provided by the Monroe Doctrine, President James Monroe's insistence that the "European powers shall not interfere" with the nations of the western hemisphere without American action.¹¹ Whether Monroe intended his 1823 message to Congress to mean the United States maintained sole discretion to manipulate and control Latin America is a topic for another essay, but the reality is that for over one hundred years almost every administration used the doctrine to expand territory, power, and economic influence. The pervasiveness of U.S. control in Latin America did not end with government-sanctioned activities and policies. American private business, propped up by a quick to invade U.S. military, worked to seize control of the abundant natural resources found throughout the nations to the south.

By the turn of the twentieth century, many of America's international corporations possessed a stranglehold on Latin American mining, railroads, and sugar production and distribution.¹² While Latin America slowly industrialized, US corporations moved quickly to corner the resource of the future: oil.¹³ By 1911 Yankee owned businesses controlled the majority of the Mexican oil industry, and "had established operations in Venezuela, Bolivia, Peru, and Brazil."¹⁴ Indeed foreign control of Mexico's oil in part prompted the Mexican Revolution of 1910, as Francisco Madero, Pancho Villa, and Emiliano Zapata worked to overthrow the reign of Porfirio Díaz, the Mexican president whose four decades of control fostered foreign takeover of the country's resources.¹⁵ The turbulent Mexican administrations following the revolution worked to take back control of U.S. owned land and oil refineries, creating a contentious relationship between the two neighbors. Mexico was not the only Latin American country whose economy was irrevocably tied to the United States. By 1929, American investment in the region accounted for 32.3 percent of all US loans, grossing some \$81 million during the decade.¹⁶ Only the stock market crash and worldwide depression that followed stalled the complete economic takeover of Latin America by U.S. owned multinational corporations.

¹¹ James Monroe, 7th *Annual Message to Congress, December 2, 1823*, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/monroe.asp (accessed April 23, 2014).

¹² Grandin, 17.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Michael J. Gonzales, *The Mexican Revolution 1910-1940* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 52-59.

¹⁶ Kyle Longley, *In the Eagle's Shadow: The United States and Latin America* (Wheeling: Harlan Davidson, 2002), 150-151.

The one hundred-year history of U.S. military and economic intervention in Latin America created a poisonous atmosphere in the region by the time Franklin Delano Roosevelt took office in 1933. The plethora of dictatorships and shadow governments supported by Washington in the name of American business interests prompted political corruption, a massive disparity in wealth, and the rampant profusion of abject poverty. Advertised as a fundamental shift in Uncle Sam's relations with the rest of the hemisphere, Roosevelt's new "Good Neighbor" policy was more a plan of military de-escalation during the pinnacle of domestic financial crisis than a plan to restructure the Inter-American relationship.¹⁷ In his inaugural address, Roosevelt stated he was "opposed to armed intervention" in Latin America because a "good neighbor respects his agreements in and with a world of neighbors."¹⁸ Most Latin Americans welcomed the call for a cease in military intervention, because, as Kyle Longley states, "many... also liked FDR's New Deal."¹⁹ During his time in office Roosevelt remained true to his word by eliminating overt military operations in the region.²⁰ Grandin argues this was due in part because the "improved relations with Latin America helped the United States recover from the contractions of the Great Depression," since the 1934 Trade Agreement allowed Washington to target tariffs, dropping the Latin American trade deficit from \$142 million in 1931 to just over \$13 million in 1939.²¹

While FDR's "Good Neighbor" policy maintained its success until the end of World War II, it was not without its challenges. The overthrow of the American shadow government in Cuba by Ramón Grau San Martín in 1933 and the expropriation of the Mexican oil fields by Lázaro Cárdenas in 1938 are both an example of Roosevelt's ability to ignore the pressure of an American big business that yearned to invade.²²²³ Although in both cases outsiders circumstances were undoubtedly factors in staying Roosevelt's hand, the "Good Neighbor" policy is seen by Latin American historians as a divergence in U.S. foreign policy in the region; it certainly stands in stark contrast to the cold war policies of President Dwight D. Eisenhower.²⁴

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 167.

¹⁸ Franklin Delano Roosevelt, *First Inaugural Address*, cited in Longley, 167.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 168.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 167-169.

²¹ Grandin, 35.

²² Longley, 169.

²³ Gonzales, 250.

²⁴ In the case of Cuba, San Martín was quickly deposed by the American friendly forces of Fulgencio Batista in 1934 (Longley, 169), and in Mexico the timing of

The fear of expanding communism greatly affected President Eisenhower's Latin American policy during his first term. The policy of containment was extended to the western hemisphere as a series of revolutions and counter-revolutions rocked the region.²⁵ In general historians have praised Eisenhower's foreign policy record, but, as Alan Luxenberg points out, "the Eisenhower administration insisted on viewing the Third World through a distorting lens of a Cold War geopolitical strategy," and in the process "often wound up simplifying complicated local and regional developments, and confusing nationalism with communism."²⁶ However apt it may be to extend this same cold war view to Kennedy and the Alliance for Progress, three significant events during the Eisenhower years prompted Kennedy to look for a new approach in dealing with Latin America: the 1954 coup in Guatemala planned and executed by the Central Intelligence Agency, the Nixon "goodwill" tour in 1958, and the Castro revolution in Cuba in 1958-59.

Washington's foreign policy in Latin America leading up to the cold war maintained a consistent strategy of protecting American business interests with military force. Under Eisenhower this exploitation continued with the added justification of defending national security, and with it, the end of Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor" policy. The cold war created a perfect storm in Latin America by allowing the president to protect U.S. foreign investment by combating the increasingly socialist regimes spreading throughout the region. In order for the United States to continue manipulating its de facto colonies while maintaining a global facade of peace, liberty, and democracy, Eisenhower utilized a new weapon to protect America's resources: the Central Intelligence Agency. By conducting covert actions the new agency was instrumental in controlling Latin American governments during the 1950s. The CIA overthrow of Guatemalan President Jacobo Árbenz showcases the melding of established Latin American foreign policy with the pervasive anti-communist mentality. Elected in 1951, Árbenz's left leaning ideologies set a crash course with American business, Eisenhower, and the C.I.A.²⁷ When Árbenz enacted massive land reform in 1952 that redistributed over 1.5 million acres, he not only stepped on the feet of the United Fruit Company who

Cárdenas' expropriation on the eve of American involvement in World War II played a significant role in their non-action.

²⁵ Alan McPherson, *Intimate Ties, Bitter Struggles: The United States and Latin America Since 1945* (Washington D.C.: Potomac Books, 2006), 20-21.

²⁶ Alan Luxenberg, "Did Eisenhower Push Castro into the Arms of the Soviets?," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, Vol. 20, no. 1 (1988): 38, <http://jstor.org/> (accessed April 10, 2014).

²⁷ McPherson, 37.

owned much of the land, the move was seen by Washington as a shift to a socialist state one step away from communism.²⁸ Therefore, the C.I.A.-organized coup of the Árbenz government in 1954 stopped the spread of communism in the western hemisphere, while also protecting American business interests.²⁹ This theme of protecting American business interests in the name of national security continued under Eisenhower and by the end of the decade, the results of U.S. involvement in Latin America created an atmosphere of resentment and distrust.

In an attempt to quell growing anti-American sentiments, Vice President Richard Nixon embarked on a goodwill tour of South America in May 1958.³⁰ As Langley points out the trip “started uneventfully in Uruguay, Argentina, Paraguay, and Bolivia,” but things turned dramatically for the worse during the last two stops in Peru and Venezuela.³¹ Nixon and his wife Pat were heckled, spat at, and protested against.³² Angry crowds threw garbage and hurled obscenities at the two people whom they felt embodied the cause of their government’s instability.³³ Eisenhower had provided “massive U.S. military and economic assistance” to newly deposed dictators Marcos Pérez-Jiménez (Venezuela) and Manuel Odría (Peru), awarding both the Legion of Merit.³⁴ The violent backlash Nixon received on his goodwill tour confirmed for the Eisenhower administration that blindly supporting anti-communist dictators was creating an atmosphere of revolution, confirmed by the President’s brother who reported “there is absolutely no doubt in my mind that revolution is inevitable in Latin America.”³⁵ At the end of 1958, the inevitable revolution came to Cuba.

An intimate relationship between the United States and Cuba congealed at the turn of the twentieth century. Cuba’s independence in 1898 brought foreign products and capital into the country, and leading the way was the United States. By 1905 U.S. citizens or companies owned sixty percent of Cuba’s rural land, and Yankee investors claimed control of ninety percent of Cuba’s tobacco industry.³⁶ Over

²⁸ Stephen G. Rabe, *Eisenhower and Latin America: The Foreign Policy of Anticommunism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 76-79.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ McPherson, 41.

³¹ Langley, 225-226.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, 226-227.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 225.

³⁵ McPherson, 41.

³⁶ Aviva Chomsky, *A History of the Cuban Revolution* (Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 27.

the next fifty years the economic gap between classes grew larger as corruption and social unrest plagued the shadow governments, and U.S. control of property, capital, and infrastructure climbed. By the 1950s American interests controlled 90 percent of Cuban telephone and electricity services, 80 percent of railways, 70 percent of petroleum importing and refining, and 42 percent of Cuba's most important export, sugar.³⁷ Overall, almost 70 percent of Cuban exports went to the United States while the island reciprocated by importing nearly three-fourths of all goods from its neighbor to the north.³⁸

Added to the near complete control of the Cuban economy, the U.S. backed regime in the 1950s was rampant with corruption, inequality, and poverty. After seizing control in his second coup in 1952, General Fulgencio Batista maintained moderate U.S. support by declaring the communist party illegal in 1953.³⁹ Yet Batista never garnered popularity among the majority of Cubans, as the wealthiest ten percent controlled over fifty percent of the island's income and property.⁴⁰ Under Batista unemployment skyrocketed to twenty-five percent while the fifty percent living under the poverty line struggled to make ends meet.⁴¹

The 26th of July Movement led by Fidel Castro looked to overthrow Batista in 1953 as a means of addressing the growing poverty, and build for the first time a truly independent Cuba. While the attack on the Moncada Barracks failed, Castro's famous "History Will Absolve Me" speech during his subsequent trial outlined the goals of the revolution.⁴² In the speech Castro called for land reform, and an end to rampaging poverty and foreign control of the Cuban economy. While Castro's speech was riddled with socialist rhetoric that could not have gathered much praise among American controlling interests, the Eisenhower administration did not publically denounce the growing revolution that led to Batista's eventual overthrow in January 1959.⁴³ Instead, Eisenhower immediately recognized the new Cuban government and decided to gather intelligence on Castro and his 26th of

³⁷ Geoffrey Warner, "Eisenhower and Castro: US-Cuban Relations 1958-60," *International Affairs*, Vol. 75 Issue 4 (1999): 803-15. <http://eds.a.ebscohost.com> (accessed March 24, 2014).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Chomsky, 33.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁴² Fidel Castro, "History will absolve me," in *The Cuba Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, ed. Aviva Chomsky, Barry Carr and Pamela M. Smorkaloff (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 306-14.

⁴³ Rabe, *Eisenhower and Latin America*, 122.

July Movement to see if the new regime would be as advantageous to American economic interests as it had under Batista.⁴⁴

The information Eisenhower needed to assess the new Cuban government came quickly. The revolutionaries' message changed almost immediately from anti-Batista to anti-American, passing within the first nine months "roughly fifteen hundred decrees undermining U.S. influence on the island."⁴⁵ Aggressive anti-American sentiment was due in large part to U.S. support of the widely unpopular Batista, which the Eisenhower administration reluctantly continued for far too long, and to the turbulent history of Yankee economic control of the island.⁴⁶ Castro's revolution was first and foremost a plea to Cuban nationalism; the logical step was for the movement to demand sovereignty and internal control. The decrees and the Agrarian Reform Law announced in May 1959 set the first domino in motion that would topple economic and diplomatic ties, incite the U.S. attempt to overthrow Castro and the Cuban Missile Crisis, and undermine Kennedy's Alliance for Progress from inception.⁴⁷

By the time John Fitzgerald Kennedy took office in 1961, Latin America was in complete chaos. U.S. officials agreed that widespread poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment made the region prime for socialist revolution, and prompted the President elect to dub Latin America "the most dangerous area in the world."⁴⁸ For Kennedy, the Cuban Revolution was a startling example of what could happen throughout the region if the United States did not act quickly to quell blossoming anti-American sentiment. Indeed, the hostile Castro government and the growing belief in cold-war Washington that Cuba could be the first in a communist domino effect throughout Latin America motivated Kennedy to establish the Alliance for Progress.⁴⁹ Kennedy believed that by establishing an inter-American plan that combined Latin American support and U.S. funding, the Alliance for Progress could combat the spread of socialist revolt from the ground up. Therefore, the Alliance for Progress would be beneficial to both inter-American foreign relations and the Latin American people.

Latin Americans were optimistic of Kennedy's announcement of the Alliance for Progress at the White House reception in March of 1961. For the first time an American President addressed directly the problems facing the people of Latin America. With typical Kennedy

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ McPherson, 47.

⁴⁶ Langley, 229.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 232.

⁴⁸ Cited in Rabe, *The Most Dangerous*, 11.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 148.

political savvy, the President stated that by the end of the decade the program would be “the beginning of a new era in the American experience.”⁵⁰ The plan would accomplish this by “raising living standards of every American family, basic education will be available to all, hunger will be a forgotten experience, and the need for outside help will have passed.”⁵¹ By identifying all the people of the western hemisphere as “Americans,” the message signaled a pointed shift in how the United States viewed its southern neighbors. Added to the appeal of a shared problem in need of a solution, the President acknowledged a past filled with “mistakes,” and “failures of misunderstandings,” in U.S. foreign policy.⁵² Kennedy praised Operation Pan America, the popular plan to reshape Latin America initiated by the Brazilian Government in 1958, and pledged funding to stabilize markets and training by the Peace Corp so Latin Americans could take control of the sweeping modernization that would take place.⁵³

Yet the President’s address also contained ideological and political influences that undermined the success of the program. Kennedy acknowledged the need to move “toward[s] sensible limitations of arms,” and the withdrawal of U.S. military presence, and reaffirmed “our pledge to come to the defense of any American nation whose independence is endangered.”⁵⁴ This goal of defending democratic principles, while de-escalating U.S. military involvement, made it impossible for Kennedy to come through on his promises of social progression and political stability. Kennedy did focus Peace Corp efforts in Latin America throughout his term with some success in rebuilding the Inter-American relationship, but by the end of 1961, the security threat created by the new Soviet-Cuban alliance prompted his administration to focus the U.S. Army School of the Americas in Panama on counterinsurgency tactics.⁵⁵ The anti-communist military training at the School of the Americas, escalated under Kennedy after the Cuban Missile Crisis, would go on to supply Latin America with a plethora of repressive and ruthless military juntas in the 1970s and 80s.

The cold war atmosphere in the Caribbean also affected the lofty goals of the Alliance for Progress. From all accounts Kennedy truly believed his statement that “those who make peaceful revolution

⁵⁰ U.S. Department of State Bulletin, *XLIV, No. 1136, April 3, 1961*, pp. 471-474, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1961kennedy-afp1.html> (accessed April 22, 2014).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Rabe, *The Most Dangerous*, 8.

impossible will make violent revolution inevitable.”⁵⁶ Specifically with Cuba, Kennedy acknowledged that Castro might “have taken a more rational course after his victory had the United States Government not backed the dictator [Batista] so long and so uncritically.”⁵⁷ Indeed, the Eisenhower administration recognized that U.S. support of anti-communist dictatorships in the 1950s was breeding anti-American attitudes in Latin America.⁵⁸ Kennedy’s goal of creating an “American” alliance of “democratic” anti-communist nations fell apart after his assassination. Without the charismatic voice of hope from a fellow Catholic, Latin Americans were less confident the promises of change would become reality.

In addition to cold-war inspired stances on U.S. military intervention in the region, the plan to increase private investment in order to reach funding goals for the Alliance for Progress subverted its success and initiated its downfall. On March 14, 1961 Kennedy addressed Congress, requesting the funds promised the evening before. In his speech he also asked private organizations to play an “important future role in the development of healthy and responsible private enterprise with the Latin American nations.”⁵⁹ Whether the appeal to private business was a political move to stem the conservative backlash to funding social programs in other countries, or Kennedy truly believed multinational corporations would beckon to his call and help grow Latin American economies is unknown. What is known is that the Alliance for Progress goal of a real economic growth rate of 2.5 percent (double the rate of growth during the 1950s), hinged on \$80 billion dollars in internal investment over the life of the ten-year plan.⁶⁰

The signees of the Charter of Punta del Este, which established the Alliance for Progress, believed an influx of foreign investment would stabilize local economies and help create jobs for the 18 million unemployed Latin Americans.⁶¹ If the unemployment rate could be significantly cut the added tax revenue would put Latin American countries on the path to funding the social programs at the core of the plan. In *The Alliance that Lost its Way: A Critical Report on the Alliance for Progress* (1970), authors Jerome Levinson and Juan de Onís point out the failings of an economic plan built on foreign

⁵⁶ John F. Kennedy, cited in *ibid*, 158.

⁵⁷ John F. Kennedy, cited in *ibid*, 13.

⁵⁸ Langley, 228.

⁵⁹ John F. Kennedy, *Special message to the Congress requesting appropriations for the Inter-American Fund for Social Progress*, March 14, 1961. Cited in *The Alliance that lost its way*, 339-347.

⁶⁰ Rabe, *The Most Dangerous*, 2.

⁶¹ *Ibid*.

investment, particularly in Latin America.⁶² As discussed previously, by the 1960s U.S. businesses had dominated Latin American economies for well over a century. Levinson and de Onís argue this common history created two types of Latin American governments by the time of the birth of the Alliance for Progress: Pro-American lackeys who were more concerned with their piece of the pie than the quality of life of their people, and staunch anti-Americans who touted foreign investment as economic imperialism.⁶³ Nevertheless, those that signed on to the plan remained optimistic that the initial inflow of foreign investment would produce immediate results and stem any growing discontent or calls for socialist revolution. The irony is that private investment started slow with Kennedy at the helm and did not increase until all remnants of the Alliance for Progress had ended in the late 1960s under President Nixon.⁶⁴ In other words, sweeping private investment did not occur until the social program goals of the Alliance for Progress had withered and died.

Critics of the Alliance for Progress are quick to point out its failings. By 1970 only two small countries, Panama and Nicaragua, surpassed the 2.5 percent economic growth goal.⁶⁵ Unemployment actually increased throughout Latin America by decade's end, from 18 million in 1961, to 25 million in 1970.⁶⁶ As for the social goals of the progressive plan, there were no substantial improvements. The rate of illiteracy, infant mortality, and the number of families in poverty remained high, while agricultural production per person actually declined.⁶⁷ Kennedy and Alliance supporters respond by pointing out that the historic undertaking stopped the spread of Latin American communism, and they argue that the massive population increase during the 1960s skews any percentage-based goals.⁶⁸

Historically the Alliance for Progress is seen as a failed opportunity to improve the standard of living in Latin America and repair the tarnished past of Inter-American relations. Even in their massive critique of Kennedy's program, Levinson and de Onís advocated a plan with more moderate goals over the total absence of the original agreement.⁶⁹ Yet much of the historiography of the Alliance falls under the umbrellas of either cold war diplomacy or the

⁶² Jerome Levinson and Juan de Onís, *The Alliance that lost its way: A Critical Report on the Alliance for Progress* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970).

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 155-159.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 135-137.

⁶⁵ Rabe, *The Most Dangerous*, 149.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Levinson and de Onís, 307-331.

mythology of Camelot. Kennedy's plan for a new era in Inter-American relations was indeed ambitious and unique, but the execution recycled the policies and actions of previous administrations. Covert military operations continued in an attempt to install governments favorable to U.S. business interests that sought to maintain control over Latin American economies. The results concluded life for the average person in the region was no different than it had been a decade prior. An examination of U.S. Latin American policy over the past fifty years suggests that very little has changed, and any future attempts by the United States to help foster development in Latin America will face the same problems that Kennedy so boldly tried to address.

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Appendix

2015 Phi Alpha Theta Initiates

It is with great pride and enthusiasm that the Editorial Board of *The Chico Historian* welcomes into the fold this year's new members of the Alpha Delta Omicron Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta:

Jason Bohnert

Kyle Coiner

Kayle Deane

Cassie Ferraiuolo

Timothy Hooven

Travis Kaye

Chris Paintner

Nora Smith

Kylie Tomlin

Michael Tovar