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# THE ALEXANDRIAN

Troy University Department of History

& Phi Alpha Theta-Iota Mu

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*In Remembrance of Professor Nathan Alexander*

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*The Alexandrian* accepts manuscripts pertaining to the subjects of history and philosophy. Accepted forms include book reviews, historiographic essays, and full-length articles.

**Format:** All submissions should be in Microsoft Word. They should adhere to the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Please include footnotes instead of endnotes and refrain from using headers.

**Abstract:** Any article submission must include an abstract of no more than 200 words. This is not necessary for submissions of book reviews or essays.

**Author biography:** A short biography of any relevant information should be included for the contributors' page of the journal. Such information includes your major and class designation, graduation date, research interests, plans after college, hometown, any academic honors or affiliations you deem relevant, etc. Author biographies should be no more than 100 words. Please be sure your name is written as you would like it to appear in the journal.

Please send all submissions to [alexandrian@troy.edu](mailto:alexandrian@troy.edu).

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# THE ALEXANDRIAN

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## Table of Contents

Contributors' Biographies.....4

## Articles

Eugenics and Animal Science: Two Birds of a Feather or a Horse of a Different Color, Will Alexander.....6

English Superiority in Roanoke Propaganda: Confidence Building through Indian Portrayals in 16th Century English Travel Writing, Steven Helms.....17

The Coercive Sterilization of Native American Women by the Indian Health Services (1970-1974), Tate Luker.....40

## Primary Literature Review

A Review of *Germania* by Tacitus, Will Alexander .....54

## Book Reviews

*The Rise of Richelieu*, Jackie Barnett .....59

*Women and Law in Late Antiquity*, Peyton A. Paradiso.....61

Departmental News.....67

Gratitude.....69

Professor Nathan Alexander Remembered.....70

Phi Alpha Theta Inductees.....71

## Contributors' Biographies

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### **Will Alexander**

Will Alexander is a senior History major and Biology minor at Troy University. He is from Decatur, Alabama where he graduated from Austin High School with honors. He is a founding member of the Troy University Rugby Team and has served as team captain, treasurer and secretary for the team. He is a member of Phi Alpha Theta, Omicron Delta Kappa, Alpha Lambda Delta, Phi Kappa Phi, and Circle K. He works at an animal clinic and emergency animal hospital in his hometown. He enjoys going on mission trips, his latest being to Jonesville, Virginia where he helped with the Appalachian Service Project. He plans on attending a school of Veterinary Medicine when he graduates from Troy University.

### **Jackie Barnett**

Jackie Barnett is a senior at Troy University where he is pursuing a degree in History and set to graduate in the Fall of 2014 . Upon graduation, Jackie plans to apply to the Troy University History master's program. Jackie is currently a member of Phi Alpha Theta, History Club, and Silver Wings, all of which he has been a member of for over a year. Jackie's reason for writing a book review on Bergin's book was due to his fascination in the rise of the absolutist French monarchy.

### **Steven Helms**

Steven Helms pursued his college education at Troy University, Dothan campus, where he was a member of numerous honor societies including Gamma Beta Phi, Kappa Delta Pi, and Phi Alpha Theta. Steven graduated Cum Laude in December of 2011 with a Bachelor of Science Degree in Secondary Education in History. In May, 2014, he will obtain his Master's Degree in Secondary Education in History. His research focus has been transitioning toward colonial expansion for England in the sixteenth century and the United States in the nineteenth century.

### **Tate Luker**

Tate Luker is a senior at Troy University and plans to graduate this May with a Bachelor's Degree in History and a minor in Business Administration. He has been a Phi Alpha Theta member since 2013. Tate was born and raised in Sweet Water, Alabama, but now resides in Enterprise, Alabama. After graduation, Tate will begin working towards a Master's degree in Education while teaching high

school and coaching football. Along with teaching and coaching, Tate plans to continue writing history.

### **Peyton Paradiso**

Peyton Paradiso is a senior Troy University History major who currently serves as the President of the Iota Mu chapter of Phi Alpha Theta History honor society. Her concentration is in American History and she specifically focuses on topics dealing with women in history. Peyton is a member of Chi Omega Fraternity and has served as both the Campus Activities Coordinator and the Panhellenic Delegate for her organization. After graduating in May, she will be attending The University of South Carolina to pursue a master's degree in Higher Education Student Affairs.

## Eugenics and Animal Science: Two Birds of a Feather or a Horse of a Different Color

Will Alexander

**Abstract:** This article analyzes the relationship between animal science and the eugenics movement in the United States. It covers the eugenics movement in the early twentieth century. The article begins with a brief explanation of the importance of animal science, especially selective breeding, in the course of human history. It describes influential scientists whose work was embraced by eugenicists. It focuses on animal science techniques and applications embraced by the eugenicists and were later applied, at least theoretically, to human beings. The article concentrates on the close relationship between the eugenics movement and the Animal Breeders Association in the United States. It shows how eugenicists were heavily influenced by animal science and how they believed that these practices could effectively be carried out on humans. This article also focuses on some of the flaws in the eugenicists' application of these techniques to humans. In short, this article is an attempt at highlighting the influence and association animal science had and continued to have on the American eugenics movement during the early twentieth century.

Eugenics, the pseudo-science concerned with creating better humans, has its roots in a practice humans have been practicing on plants and animals for millennia. This practice is selective breeding. Selective breeding in animals, especially dogs has been performed by humans as early as 32,000 years ago in South China.<sup>1</sup> Geneticists believe that all dogs come from one wolf ancestor but humans were successful in breeding these wolves in such a way to provide services to humans.<sup>2</sup> Today the Federation Cynologique Internationale (FCI), also known as the World Canine Organization, recognizes 343 dog breeds.<sup>3</sup> Humans have selectively bred almost every animal that has been domesticated but the focus has been on dogs, horses, chickens, pigs, cows, sheep, and goats. The selective breeding of plants and animals proved to be essential for the

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<sup>1</sup> Carl Zimmer, "Wolf to Dog: Scientists Agree on How, but Not Where," *The New York Times*, November 14, 2013, accessed January 10, 2014, [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/14/science/wolf-to-dog-scientists-agree-on-how-but-not-where.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/14/science/wolf-to-dog-scientists-agree-on-how-but-not-where.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "For Dogs Worldwide: Introduction," Federation Cynologique Internationale, accessed January 10, 2014, <http://www.fci.be/presentation.aspx>.

development of humankind. Plants and animals were selectively bred to help maintain a stable food supply, produce clothing, provide transportation, offer protection, and a number of other services.<sup>4</sup> Humans of the past were very successful in attaining these goals through genetic manipulation or selective breeding.

With the great success of humans in selectively breeding dogs and other domesticated animals, it is no wonder that eugenicists assumed they could improve the human race with some of the same techniques. Eugenics is the controversial science that deals with the improvement (as by control of human mating) of hereditary qualities of a human population.<sup>5</sup> Eugenicists used techniques and research developed in animal science, especially selective breeding, in their own misguided experiments and procedures to try and “improve” humans. Eugenicists were heavily influenced by heredity experiments performed by prominent scientists such as Gregor Mendel and Thomas Hunt Morgan and animal science techniques for selective breeding that led to a close connection between the eugenics movement and established animal breeding groups such as the American Breeders Association in the United States during the early twentieth century. Eugenicists, however, did not appreciate the difference in breeding traits such as strength in horses versus musical ability or intelligence in humans.

Eugenicists and animal scientists found much of their inspiration in the work of Gregor Mendel, an Augustan friar, known as the father of heredity for his work in the field between 1856 and 1863. Mendel used pea plants to study heredity and meticulously cross-bred certain plants so he was able to breed the specific type of pea plants he wanted. The knowledge of selectively breeding plants and animals had been widely used by farmers and herders for thousands of years but Mendel made this knowledge scientific. Mendel helped show how dominant and recessive genes were passed down from generation to generation and provided a testable model to illustrate heredity. Mendel’s experiments showed that mathematically dominant genes have a phenotypic ratio of three to one over recessive genes making it easy to predict offspring for simple organisms such as

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4 Edward O. Price, *Animal Domestication and Behavior*, (Wallingford, Oxon, UK; New York, NY: CABI Pub., 2002), accessed January 10, 2014, <http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail?sid=2cd9dd92-3633-4d7a-b964-ac4f74d1a123%40sessionmgr4004&vid=1&hid=4112&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbnGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=nlebk&AN=87366>.

5 *Merriam-Webster*, s.v., “Eugenics,” accessed March 11, 2013, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/eugenics>.

pea plants that have just a few traits to study and interpret. The traits that Mendel desired to breed in the pea plants were things such as the color of the flowers and peas, the height of plants and the shape of the peas (round or shriveled). Eugenicists believed that Mendel's experiments demonstrated that favorable human traits, such as intelligence, could also be selected and bred.

Eugenicists such as Harry Laughlin, Charles Davenport and others belonging to the Eugenics Record Office (ERO), the most influential American eugenics institution in the early twentieth century, failed to realize that a pea plant and breeding physical traits in animals is much less complex than a human being. Charles Davenport made great strides for genetics. He and his wife wrote several papers that correctly applied Mendelian ideas to human traits such as hair and eye color. Davenport published a work titled, "Heredity of Eye Color in Man," which still serves as the basic model for understanding human heredity for simple traits.<sup>6</sup> Davenport became more devoted to eugenics and began to apply his beliefs to many human traits that are not strictly hereditary. Davenport is quoted as saying, "Although, not strictly within the scope of experimental work the necessity of applying the new knowledge (laws of heredity) to human affairs has been too evident to permit us to overlook it."<sup>7</sup> This implies that even though Davenport was applying Mendelian ideas to his work he understood that there was not a great enough knowledge to adequately apply it to humans. Davenport began to incorrectly represent Mendel's science when he began applying the principles to more complex human traits including mental disease and pauperism.<sup>8</sup> Pauperism we know today has nothing to do with heredity in a biological sense. Mental disease, such as schizophrenia, is a topic that is still not fully understood by physicians but Davenport applied the simple Mendelian heredity techniques to it. Davenport had a good understanding of Mendel's work but the fault of both eugenics and Davenport's work is that many of the traits believed to be solely hereditary, such as feeble-mindedness, were not connected to a single trait, but to thousands and were also influenced by the individual's environment.

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6 Richard A. Strum and Tony N. Frudakis, "Eye Colour: Portals into Pigmentation Genes and Ancestry," *Trends in Genetics* 20 (2004): 327-32, accessed January 10, 2013, <http://www.evergreen.edu/upwardbound/docs/eyecolor.pdf>.

7 Oscar Riddle, "Biographical Memoir of Charles Benedict Davenport, 1866-1944" [presented at The National Academy of Science, Autumn Meeting, 1947], National Academy of Sciences Online. <http://nasonline.org/publications/biographical-memoirs/memoir-pdfs/davenport-charles.pdf>.

8 Arthur H. Estabrook and Charles B. Davenport, "The Nam Family: A Study in Cacogenics," Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory's The Image Archive on the American Eugenics Movement [hereafter Eugenics Archive], (ID #1418).



Thomas Hunt Morgan is another very influential figure in the development of the field of heredity. Morgan is best known for his experiments with fruit flies and using them to study heredity. He was not necessarily using fruit flies because he wanted to understand fruit flies better. Instead, he used them to study heredity as a whole because of their quick reproduction rate and the simplicity of their hereditary traits, such as their wings and eye shape or color, which could be easily observed. Eugenicists, however, took the evidence of being able to genetically alter fruit flies as proof that humans could be manipulated as well. Eugenicists understood all traits, whether speed in horses, milk production in cows, or intelligence in humans, to be strictly hereditary.<sup>9</sup> The thought behind this kind of assumption is flawed. Physical characteristics such as height, eye color, and hair color are hereditary. Characteristics such as musical ability, intelligence, and morality are also influenced by the environment. An individual can have blue eyes regardless of where or how he is raised, but his moral values will be influenced by his environment and are more malleable. The same can be said about an individual and musical ability, if the individual is never exposed to an instrument there is no way the individual could display musical ability.

Eugenicists did not receive encouragement from Morgan to use these techniques with humans. Morgan, in fact, shunned eugenics as a vulgar and unproductive science.<sup>10</sup> Morgan was a long term and vocal critic of eugenics and even published articles in the 1920s that noted his reservations about the practice.<sup>11</sup> Morgan criticizes eugenics in his article, "The Inheritance of Mental Traits," by writing:

The case most often quoted is feeble-mindedness that has been said to be inherited as a Mendelian recessive, but until some more satisfactory definition can be given as to where feeble-mindedness begins and ends, and until it has been determined how many and what internal physical defects may produce a general condition of this sort, and until it has been determined to what extent

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9 "Inherited Characters in Man," The Harry H. Laughlin Papers, Lantern Slides, Brown Box, 832, Truman State University, Eugenics Archive, (ID#991).

<http://www.eugenicsarchive.org/html/eugenics/static/images/991.html>.

10 Elof Carlson, "Scientific Origins of Eugenics," Eugenics Archive,

<http://www.eugenicsarchive.org/html/eugenics/essaL2.html>.

11 Thomas H. Morgan, "The Inheritance of Mental Traits," Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory's DNA Learning Center [hereafter DNA LC], <http://www.dnalc.org/view/11832--The-Inheritance-of-Mental-Traits-from-Evolution-and-Genetics-by-Thomas-H-Morgan-an-early-criticism-of-eugenics-in-an-important-text.html>.

feeble-mindedness is due to syphilis, it is extravagant to pretend to claim that there is a single Mendelian factor for this condition.<sup>12</sup>

Raymond Pearl, a biologist was another scientist critical of eugenics. Pearl was one of the first scientists to publicly denounce eugenics in his article, "The Biology of Superiority." In the article Pearl writes, "The founder of the science of eugenics as it exists today did his splendid pioneer work without the benefit of the exact knowledge of the mechanism of inheritance...."<sup>13</sup> He also states, "It would seem to be high time that eugenics cleaned house, and threw away the old-fashion rubbish which has accumulated in the attic."<sup>14</sup> Pearl criticized eugenics for trying to assign single genes to things such as madness and poverty in the same manner as fruit flies and eye color.<sup>15</sup>

Eugenicists ignored these criticisms in pursuit of their goal to "make better humans" and found plenty of support from others in the scientific community. Many scientists at the time were supporters of eugenics. Scientists often came from upper class and privileged families and it was common for them to believe in eugenics.<sup>16</sup> Notable scientists at the time, such as Charles Davenport, Paul Popenoe, and Edwin Conklin joined the American Eugenics Society.<sup>17</sup> Scientists chose to do research in eugenics partly because of the amount of money available from the Eugenics Records Office in research. The ERO spent almost \$80,000 on an experiment with thoroughbred horses and genetics in 1940.<sup>18</sup> The eugenicists obviously wanted their theory to work, so they were willing to disregard the guidance scientists such as Pearl and Morgan to legitimize their own position. The scientists that were involved with the eugenics movement used evidence such as diseases running in certain families to support the idea that Morgan's research could be applied to humans. This was indeed the case; however, the eugenicists began applying the same evidence to characteristics

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12 Ibid.

13 Raymond Pearl, "The Biology of Superiority," *American Mercury*, 47 (1927): 257-266.  
<http://www.unz.org/Pub/AmMercury-1927nov-00257>.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Jonathan Marks, "The Eugenics Page," <http://personal.unc.edu/jmarks/eugenics/eugenics.html>.

17 Terry Melanson, "The American Eugenics Society-Members, Officers, and Directors Activities Database Eugenics Watch," 2005, Internet Archive,  
[https://archive.org/details/The\\_American\\_Eugenics\\_Society\\_\\_Members\\_Officers\\_And\\_Directors\\_Activities\\_Database](https://archive.org/details/The_American_Eugenics_Society__Members_Officers_And_Directors_Activities_Database).

18 "Notes on the History of the Eugenics Record Office," American Philosophical Society, ca. 1940, Eugenics Archive, (ID# 483).

such as insanity and poverty which were not hereditary for the most part. The eugenicists adopted the research conducted by Morgan and believed it to be applicable to humans not because of Morgan himself, but because of the geneticists who were also eugenicists.

Animal breeders were another source of legitimacy and inspiration. The use of pedigrees in animal breeding influenced eugenicists, such as Laughlin and Davenport, to promote pedigrees to track traits in human families as well. Horse breeders and chicken farmers are just two types of animal breeders that utilize pedigrees. Pedigrees are used by animal breeders to track certain traits, good or bad, through a family to determine whether or not to breed that particular animal. Horse breeders use pedigrees to track traits such as speed and susceptibility to injuries.<sup>19</sup> The use of pedigrees in chicken breeding tracked traits such as egg production and the color of feathers the chickens had.<sup>20</sup> The use of famous race horses' pedigrees, such as Man o' War, and horses prone to injuries, such as the Ultimus line, by eugenicists contributed greatly to the idea that pedigrees could be used in humans to track favorable and non-favorable traits.<sup>21</sup> Davenport and other eugenicists began using pedigrees to track traits such as albinism and color blindness which was potentially legitimate. Davenport and others, however, also used pedigrees to track traits that were not necessarily hereditary and associated with a single allele. Davenport tracked a wide range of traits in humans including musical ability, insanity, and a tendency to be poor.<sup>22</sup> The pedigree became an easy and convincing way for eugenicists to prove that certain traits ran in a family, without addressing the environment or other alternative explanations or influences. It was hard to refute the eugenicists' arguments when they had convincing evidence such as the pedigree to "scientifically" support their claims. The pedigree was a powerful tool, borrowed from animal breeders, in the eugenicists' arsenal to deter criticism of the eugenics movement.

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19 "Pedigree of Man o' War," Truman State University, ca. 1928, DNA LC, <http://old.dnalc.org/ddnalc/ben/index.html?id=912>.

20 "An Example of Mendelian Heredity," Chicken Breeding," American Philosophical Society, ca. 1920, DNA LC, <http://www.dnalc.org/view/10469--An-example-of-Mendelian-heredity-chicken-breeding.html>.

21 "Hereditary Unsoundness of Ultimus Family," about horse genetics," Truman State University, [ca. 1928], DNA LC, <http://www.dnalc.org/view/10893--Hereditary-unsoundness-of-the-Ultimus-family-about-horse-genetics.html>.

22 "Pedigree for Feeble-mindedness," American Philosophical Society, [ca. 1925], DNA LC, <http://www.dnalc.org/view/10364-Pedigree-for-feeble-mindedness.html>.

The eugenicists were very connected to and influenced by the animal science and breeding world in both practice and organizations. These worlds were so intermingled that in 1906 the American Breeders Association (ABA) created a section for eugenics at their yearly meetings.<sup>23</sup> The ABA was an organization focused on scientific agriculture.<sup>24</sup> Prominent eugenicists such as Charles Davenport were influential members in the ABA; in fact, Davenport was one of the founders of the ABA in 1903 and he served as secretary of the animal breeding section in 1909.<sup>25</sup> The leader of the ABA, Willet Hays, envisioned the ABA as standing on “a broader base with animal breeders, plant breeders, physicians, preachers, teachers, publishers, and others interested in eugenics.”<sup>26</sup> As shown in the program from the eighth annual ABA meeting eugenics occupied a whole section on two separate days.<sup>27</sup> Speakers included Alexander Graham Bell, W.M. Hays, Dr. William White, Frederick A. Rhodes, and Henry Cotton.<sup>28</sup> The speakers at the meeting were highly educated people, many were physicians and Hays was the United States Assistant Secretary of Agriculture. Most of the physicians worked with the insane and their speeches at the meeting concerned such topics as “Eugenics from the Physicians Point of View” and “New Studies on the Inheritance of Insanity.”<sup>29</sup> The eugenicists at the meeting were pushing the idea that unfavorable traits such as insanity were hereditary in nature and that scientists could perhaps rid humans of insanity through selective breeding. Hays spoke of “Constructive Eugenics” in a general session meant for all ABA members to attend.<sup>30</sup> H.H. Goodard presented a paper in the general session titled, “Heredity of Feeblemindedness: A Social Danger.”<sup>31</sup> Ten out of twenty-nine presentations at the eighth annual meeting had a topic related to eugenics.

Instead of increasing speed, strength, or the ability to lay eggs, eugenicists were concerned with creating a better human by making humans who are more intelligent, physically fit, and morally righteous. Family pedigrees collected by

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23 Barbara Kimmelman, "The American Breeders' Association: Genetics and Eugenics in an Agricultural Context, 1903-1913," *Social Studies of Science* 2 (1983): 163-204, accessed January 20, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/284589>.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 "Program of the 8th Annual Meeting of the American Breeders Association," American Philosophical Society, 1911, DNA LC, <http://www.dnalc.org/view/10396-Program-of-the-8th-annual-meeting-of-the-American-Breeders-Association.html>.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

the ERO demonstrate that eugenicists tracked traits such as musical ability in humans in much the same way a horse breeder would track champion offspring.<sup>32</sup> Musical ability, however, is a very different thing to measure than the speed of horses. Musical ability is determined by a multitude of factors, some of which have nothing to do with heredity. These factors include things like the availability of instruments the amount of practice time the individual had, the quality of the teacher, and how early the student began learning. Speed in a horse, on the other hand, was relatively straightforward and there were few variables to consider. Breeders could accurately and easily measure the speed of a horse; the horse was either fast or the horse was slow. It is much more difficult to measure or quantify musical ability. Eugenicists had to rely on family pedigrees for research data because human beings could not be “bred” under controlled conditions.<sup>33</sup> The eugenicists failed to realize that unlike the hair color of guinea pigs, the traits they wanted to breed in people are affected by so many variables that pedigrees are inaccurate predictors at best and possibly completely irrelevant. The eugenicists’ pedigrees are suspect a few reasons. Some of the traits eugenicists created pedigrees for such as musical ability and poverty are traits that are not just affected by heredity and cannot be simply breed like traits for animals. Eugenicists’ pedigrees searched for humans that would fit their research and would make pedigrees for families in which musical ability or poverty was a trait of most of the individuals but there was no scientific backing for these pedigrees. The pedigrees of the eugenicists’ were concerned with traits that were relative. Musical ability is a trait that is relative to whoever is listening, while a trait such as a dog’s strength in pulling a cart can be quantified accurately. It is one thing to breed a fast horse and yet another thing entirely to create an intelligent human being through heredity.

Unsurprisingly, eugenicists also sought to use the tools of animal breeders. There are certain techniques that are common to animal selective breeding that eugenicists later applied to humans. The main objective for selective breeding in animals was to make the animals better at whatever they were supposed to do for humans. The goal of eugenics was to improve the human race by using selective breeding techniques. Selective breeding takes all “unfit” or “unworthy” organisms out of the breeding pool in order to keep them from reproducing.

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32 “Student Study of Inheritance of Musical Ability, including Pedigree,” American Philosophical Society, ca. 1935, DNA LC, <http://www.dnalc.org/view/10040-Student-study-of-inheritance-of-musical-ability-including-pedigree-1-.html>.

33 “Contemporary Genetics - Eugenics and the Ethical Issues of Genetic Breeding,” *JRank Science & Philosophy*, accessed March 14, 2013, <http://science.jrank.org/pages/9488/Contemporary-Genetics-Eugenics-Ethical-Issues-Selective-Breeding-1900-1945.html>.

There are three ways that animal breeders remove animals from the gene pool: killing, sterilizing, and isolating. All three of these techniques were advocated, in varying degrees, by eugenicists in an attempt to make the human race “better.” These techniques were used by eugenicists, because if it worked for animals, they believed, it should also work for human beings.

Eugenics was heavily influenced by animal science and breeding. The two fields were both influenced by the same famous scientists, including Thomas Hunt Morgan and Gregor Mendel. The two fields also had similar objectives in trying to make certain organisms better. Members of the American Breeder’s Association and the eugenics movement overlapped significantly and regularly met at annual meetings. The eugenicists used animals to conduct experiments like Harry Laughlin’s chicken experiments they thought they could apply to humans. The most important influence, however, that the science of animal breeding had on eugenics was the ways that were used to deal with the organisms deemed “unfit” to reproduce. Many eugenicists advocated for sterilization or isolation of the “unfit” to control the gene pool and try to make it better in their eyes, even after being strongly advised against these practices by a number of leading scientists. While its advocates saw animal breeding and eugenics as birds of a feather, clearly they are horses of a different color.

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## English Superiority in Roanoke Propaganda: Confidence Building through Indian Portrayals in 16th Century English Travel Writing

Steven Helms

Abstract:“Roanoke Propaganda” is an analysis of 1580s English travel literature that encouraged American colonization. The English were reluctant to colonize due to pressing concerns at home and intimidating Indian portrayals from travelers from other nations. The Roanoke propagandists colored their portrayals of Native Americans to emphasize English superiority and to promote confidence in their potential for success in America. They claimed that the English religious doctrine had the power to turn native enemies into allies. They also used religious arguments to justify expropriating Indian land. Despite contrary popular sentiment, they also claimed that Indian desire for English merchandise ensured profitable settlements and more Indian allies. They claimed that the Indians were practically harmless due to the crude quality of their weapons, fear of firearms, and weak political structures. The paper concludes with the correlation between superiority based on points of difference and historian Jordan Winthrop’s description of racism, as well as an assessment of the propagandists’ degree of success.

Modern readers may be surprised to learn of England’s sixteenth century reluctance to colonize America. Lackluster enthusiasm can be seen in the intermittent nature of initial attempts. The English displayed their first real interest in American colonies after learning of French expeditions to Florida in the 1560s. However, it was not until 1583 that their first colonial expedition crossed the Atlantic. After the failures on Roanoke Island, another couple of decades passed before they tried again, this time at Jamestown in 1607.<sup>1</sup> English travel writers promoted colonization, but they had their work cut out for them due to initial disinterest in colonizing America in favor of more pressing priorities; more importantly for the topic at hand, they also worked to overcome psychological barriers to colonization based on fear of American Indians and doubt in the potential for success.

One reason for the decades’ long gaps in between initial colonization attempts is the fact that the English were distracted by: economic changes that turned peasants into vagrants; a rising merchant class that challenged the landed nobility; internal and international religious conflicts; and Spanish control of the seas, which endangered the island nation’s vital trade routes. Colony promoters

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Alexander, *Discovering the New World* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 12-16.

also lacked financial support from the royal treasury and joint-stock companies were not utilized to fund expeditions until the seventeenth century. Therefore, it was imperative to overcome distractions and garner support by promoting colonies as a one-size-fits-all solution to England's problems. The Hakluyts, George Peckham, Arthur Barlowe, Thomas Harriot, and John White faithfully recorded the 1580s voyages to Roanoke, but they also used the medium as an outlet for propaganda. For example, they pointed to vast natural resources, the extraction of which could simultaneously provide employment for vagrants and reduce the need to pursue dangerous trade routes. However, in order to increase the ranks of investors and settlers, these so-called "Roanoke propagandists" still had to overcome the daunting psychological barriers to colonization.<sup>2</sup> Potential colonists and investors were pessimistic about England's chances for success in America due in part to experience in Ireland, dating back to the twelfth century. In his book, *The Brave New World*, historian Peter Charles Hoffer described how the English used several excuses for taking Irish land, all based on the uncivilized and inferior nature of the Irish people. The English claimed it was their duty to civilize the Irish, convert them to proper religion, and put their resources to good use because the Irish lacked the knowledge and skills to do so themselves. These justifications were also used by leaders of American colonies who had personal experience in Ireland, including Sir Walter Raleigh. However, Ireland remained a dangerous place. Traveling beyond the Pale, the borderland of English controlled Ireland, was a dangerous prospect because the Irish resented English dominance. Irish rebellions recurred throughout history. Rebellions were both homegrown and instigated by England's enemies, both foreign and domestic. The English sent numerous military expeditions to defeat Irish rebellions, but they were temporary victories. Therefore, while England's Irish experience provided a blueprint for America, it also caused expectations of difficulty. Colonies were costly, long-term investments. Based on their centuries' long struggle to subdue the Irish, many Englishmen doubted whether they could succeed with a far more distant colony in America.<sup>3</sup>

Another source of pessimism stemmed from the new world travelers' tales of England's European rivals. These stories often contained intimidating portrayals of American Indians as savage, heathen, cannibalistic, and formidable

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<sup>2</sup> Peter C. Mancall, *Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North America, 1580-1640* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1995), 8-18.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Charles Hoffer, *The Brave New World: A History of Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 107-108; Mancall, *Envisioning America*, 10.

opponents. For example, one tale available to contemporary readers was that of Hans Staden, a Dutchman who sailed with Portuguese and Spanish expeditions to South America in the 1550s. The story of his capture and miraculous escape from the cannibalistic Tupinamba tribe in Brazil was illustrated with over fifty woodcuts. One of the images, for example, could be described as a cannibal family barbeque, in which men, women, and children gathered around a fire, and sampled the various body parts as they cooked on a grill. According to the caption, this was the fate that English colonists could expect if they were ever taken prisoner.<sup>4</sup>

As if cannibalism was not sufficiently intimidating for those considering a transatlantic voyage contemporary travelers' tales included many other features of Indian society that were frightening to potential colonists: the ability to muster an army of eight thousand warriors; giant Indians over ten feet tall with superhuman strength; ritualized human sacrifice of firstborn sons; and the merciless torture of captured Europeans.<sup>5</sup>

Roanoke propagandists had to do more than simply point out the benefits of planting a colony; they had to build English confidence in themselves and make people believe that the endeavor was feasible in spite of the preceding native descriptions. Roanoke propagandists sought to change English impressions of the Indians from the barbarous heathens of earlier records to a people less savage yet still inferior; with a culture "backwards" enough to easily manipulate yet sufficiently advanced for a viable trading relationship. In short, Roanoke propagandists sought to overcome psychological barriers to English colonization of America by emphasizing English superiority and Indian inferiority in their promotional travel writings.

Before analyzing how sixteenth century travel writing portrayed English superiority over Native Americans, one must become familiar with the personalities involved and place their literary works into proper historical context. The chronology of expeditions to which the various journals, travelogues, and reports refer is also important because, in addition to

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<sup>4</sup> Alexander, *Discovering the New World*, 90-92; Mancall, *Envisioning America*, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Hans Staden, "Hans Staden among the Cannibals of Brazil," in *Discovering the New World*, ed. Michael Alexander, 92-121 (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 94; "Dutch Voyages via the Straits of Magellan," in *Discovering the New World*, ed. Michael Alexander, 180-189 (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 189; Rene de Laudonniere, "The French Adventures in Florida," in *Discovering the New World*, ed. Michael Alexander, 17-59 (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 51; Girolamo Benzoni, "Benzoni in the New World," in *Discovering the New World*, ed. Michael Alexander, 126-151 (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 137.

influencing perceptions of American Indians, Roanoke propagandists sought to rescue failed expeditions from public condemnation. Allowing “malicious persons”<sup>6</sup> to spread negative perceptions of colonial endeavors would place future expeditions in jeopardy.<sup>7</sup>

Two cousins, both named Richard Hakluyt and differentiated by the monikers ‘elder’ and ‘younger,’ were the most celebrated of what historian Karen Kupperman called “armchair travelers”<sup>8</sup> – that is, they were expert promoters of English colonization despite never having seen the new world for themselves.<sup>9</sup> Instead, they added their sage advice and encouragement to travel writing that they compiled and edited. For example, Richard Hakluyt (the younger) included Arthur Barlowe’s travelogue in his *Diverse Voyages touching on the Discovery of America and the Islands Adjacent*. In addition to collections of travel literature, the Hakluyts also wrote persuasive pamphlets on colonial opportunities in America that were intended not for the general public but for the Queen and her government officials. These official reports included Hakluyt (the elder)’s “Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended Towards Virginia,” and Hakluyt (the younger)’s “Discourse on Western Planting.” It was partly because of these influential pieces of literature that their contemporaries finally initiated the English colonial period in America.<sup>10</sup>

Due in part to the influence of the Hakluyts, the English began sending colonial expeditions under the leadership of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. In 1578, Queen Elizabeth awarded Gilbert with a six year patent to claim, settle, and rule over American land in her absence. While he is credited with staking English claim to Newfoundland, his plans to establish a colony never progressed beyond exploration. Unfortunately, Gilbert never returned from his second voyage. On the return trip to England in 1583, his flagship disappeared with all hands; Gilbert had apparently drowned at sea. The royal patent became void with his

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<sup>6</sup> George Peckham, “A True Reporte of the Late Discoveries and Possession, Taken in the Right of the Crown of Englande, of the Newfound Landes: by That Valiant and Worthye Gentleman, Sir Humphrey Gilbert,” in *Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North America, 1580-1640*, ed. Peter C. Mancall, 63-70 (Boston: Bedford Books, 1995), 65.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 3.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Mancall, *Envisioning America*, 13; Richard Hakluyt (the elder), “Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended Towards Virginia,” in *Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North America, 1580-1640*, ed. Peter C. Mancall, 34-44 (Boston: Bedford Books, 1995), 33; Richard Hakluyt (the younger), “Discourse of Western Planting,” in *Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North America, 1580-1640*, ed. Peter C. Mancall, 46-61 (Boston: Bedford Books, 1995), 45.

death, so his fellow promoters had their chance to pursue an American colony vanish. However, George Peckham wrote an account of Gilbert's voyage that justified the endeavor, encouraged future attempts, and more importantly for the topic at hand, reinforced English superiority over American Indians. Peckham believed that Gilbert's legacy should encourage future attempts at planting colonies, rather than allow the ordeal to end in despair.<sup>11</sup>

With Gilbert's death, colony promoters required a new leader, so Queen Elizabeth awarded another six-year patent to Humphrey Gilbert's half-brother, Walter Raleigh. In 1584, Raleigh sent captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe to explore Virginia in search of a suitable place to settle. Barlowe filled his travelogue with praises of a lush and inviting land. He placed special emphasis on the hospitable treatment they received from an Indian village on Roanoke Island. Amadas and Barlowe also captured two natives, Manteo and Wanchese, and brought them back to England. Manteo was helpful in planning future voyages and even accompanied them as a translator, guide, and native emissary. Wanchese, on the other hand, demonstrated the resentment that poor treatment, such as kidnapping, could illicit among the Indians.<sup>12</sup>

The first Englishmen to establish a colony in America departed for Roanoke in 1585. Later apologists claimed that it was the most successful voyage of the decade, since the three hundred colonists lived an entire year in Virginia. However, appointing Ralph Lane as the first governor was, to put it mildly, not the best decision that Raleigh ever made. Lane was an experienced military man, but he had caused "considerable unrest"<sup>13</sup> during his tenure as a sheriff in Ireland and turned friendly Indians into malicious enemies in America. His report, filled with attempts to avoid blame with numerous scapegoats, was the exception to the themes of Roanoke travel literature. Instead of harmless or friendly Indians, Lane described the natives as treacherous, deceitful, and dangerous. Lane revealed his paranoia with frequent allusions to a vast conspiracy in which the various tribes of Virginia united in a plot to destroy the English through feigned friendship. Acting on his suspicions by rejecting gifts

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<sup>11</sup> John W. Shirley, *Thomas Harriot: A Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 74, 76; Stefan Lorant, *The New World: The First Pictures of America* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 123; Mancall, *Envisioning America*, 13.

<sup>12</sup> Arthur Barlowe, "The Discovery of Virginia," in *Travellers' Tales*, ed. Jay Du Bois, 167-175 (New York: Everybody's Vacation Publishing, n.d.), 167-175; John White, "John White's Journal of his voyage to Virginia in 1587, with three ships carrying the second colony to the New World," in *The New World: The First Pictures of America*, ed. Stefan Lorant, 155-166 (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 159-161.

<sup>13</sup> Shirley, *Thomas Harriot*, 120.

and too frequently resorting to violence ensured that his delusion became a self-fulfilling prophecy. Without access to Indian food and with colony supplies running low, Lane accepted Francis Drake's invitation for safe passage back to England. His frenzied evacuation of Roanoke, only three days before Captain Richard Grenville arrived with fresh men and supplies, was perhaps Lane's biggest failure. His preemptive return wrought public censure and spread negative press about the viability of establishing a settlement in the American wilderness.<sup>14</sup>

Sir Walter Raleigh made a better decision when it came to selecting a geographer to accompany Lane's expedition. Thomas Harriot, tasked with creating accurate maps, became an expert on Native American culture. Before departing from England, he even learned Algonquin from Manteo and Wanchese and developed a phonetic alphabet to better communicate with different tribes and document their various dialects. Harriot wrote "A Brief and True Report of the Newfound Land of Virginia" to combat the negative press surrounding the shameful return of Ralph Lane's colony.<sup>15</sup>

Raleigh did well, too, in appointing Lane's painter. John White was to create lifelike illustrations of the Indians and American wildlife for use in promotional material. Instead of finding another military officer to lead a second attempt to colonize Roanoke in 1587, Raleigh made White governor of what became known as the Lost Colony. White sailed to England for much needed supplies after re-establishing a settlement. Unfortunately, the Spanish Armada delayed his return until 1590. By the time White made it back to America, all the colonists had mysteriously disappeared, including his granddaughter, Virginia Dare.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ralph Lane, "Ralph Lane's report to Sir Walter Raleigh concerning the English colony which had been left in Virginia by Sir Richard Grenville," in *The New World: The First Pictures of America*, ed. Stefan Lorant, 135-149 (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 140-145; "An anonymous report on Sir Richard Grenville's voyage to relieve the Virginia colony in the year of our Lord 1586," in *The New World: The First Pictures of America*, ed. Stefan Lorant, 151-154 (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 152-153.

<sup>15</sup> Shirley, *Thomas Harriot*, 109-118, 121; Mancall, *Envisioning America*, 17.

<sup>16</sup> Lorant, *The New World*, 121-123; John White, "John White's Journal of his voyage to Virginia in 1587," 159-163; John White, "John White's letter to the worshipful Richard Hakluyt, his very good friend, written on February 4, 1593," in *The New World: The First Pictures of America*, ed. Stefan Lorant, 167-168 (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 167-168; John White, "John White's report of his last voyage to Virginia, in the year 1590, which he sent with his letter to Richard Hakluyt," in *The New World: The First Pictures of America*, ed. Stefan Lorant, 169-179 (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 176-179.

John White's contributions to Roanoke propaganda were two-fold: travelogues and artwork. He wrote three accounts of his experiences: one for his first voyage as governor, another for the resupply voyage, and a letter to Richard Hakluyt that explained the causes of his delay. In addition to these written accounts, over seventy watercolors from his first voyage with Ralph Lane in 1585 survived their frenzied evacuation.<sup>17</sup>

While English travel writers imbued their countrymen with confidence in England's ability to colonize America, a Flemish engraver and printer contributed most to expanding their audience. Theodore de Bry was planning a series of books about American voyages when he learned that paintings of a French expedition to Florida resided in England. The painter, a man named Jacques le Moyne, refused to sell them. De Bry eventually purchased the images from le Moyne's widow, but for the time being the aspiring publisher's journey seemed like a waste of resources. Fortunately, Richard Hakluyt (the younger) and Walter Raleigh approached de Bry with the images of Indians and wildlife that John White painted on his first voyage to America in 1585. Speed was very important to Hakluyt and Raleigh. They "had in mind to publicize as quickly as possible a vindication and further promotion of the discredited English colony for which White was at that time desperately trying to obtain relief."<sup>18</sup> They sold White's watercolors along with Thomas Harriot's "A Brief and True Report" on the condition that de Bry included them in the very first edition of his series. De Bry agreed, faithfully engraved copperplate reproductions of White's artwork, and published them along with Harriot's report in 1590. His beautifully rendered book was produced in four languages and, along with other editions of his *Grand Voyages*, became a primary source of information on new world explorations. Successive editions preserved the works of Harriot and White for historians and posterity.<sup>19</sup>

The first area of emphasis for the authors of Roanoke propaganda in their attempts to build confidence in the potential for success in America was English religious superiority. Converting Indians to any Christian doctrine was not sufficient. When English authors wrote about true religion in promotional material they meant Queen Elizabeth's English Protestantism. Some authors assumed that this was understood while others spelled it out for their readers. This is not the place to examine the link between nationalism and the English

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<sup>17</sup> Lorant, *The New World*, 180-182.

<sup>18</sup> Alexander, *Discovering the New World*, 9.

<sup>19</sup> Lorant, *The New World*, 30-32, 180-181.

Reformation, but suffice it to say that Roanoke propagandists used English religious superiority to promote colonization in several ways: they claimed the power of English doctrine to tame “savages”; they used religious justifications for taking Indian land; finally, they emphasized England’s moral superiority in rescuing natives from the abuses of Spanish Catholic rule.<sup>20</sup>

Evidence for belief in English religious superiority exists in the preeminence that travel writers gave to their national religion in promotional material. For example, in his “Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage,” Hakluyt (the elder) made an itemized list of reasons to colonize, another of expected benefits and a third list of supplies to pack for the voyage. He placed religion at the top of the first two lists (though we may assume settlers would also bring their faith with them). Hakluyt’s reasons to colonize included:

1. The glory of God by planting of religion among those infidels.
2. The increase of the force of the Christians.<sup>21</sup>

His second long list, this time with the marginally different topic of beneficial activities made possible with an English colony in America, also begins with religion:

- The ends of this voyage are these:
1. To plant Christian religion
  2. To trafficke
  3. To conquer
- Or, to doe all three.<sup>22</sup>

Hakluyt(the younger) also placed highest priority on the English religion and its power to convert the previously intimidating Indians. He wrote, “this westerne discoverie will be greatly for thinlargement of the gospell of Christe”<sup>23</sup> because “We shall by plantinge there inlarge the glory of the gospell and from England plante sincere relligion.”<sup>24</sup>

Giving English religion the preeminent position among reasons and benefits for colonization was merely the first step, both logically and chronologically, to overcoming psychological barriers. Roanoke propagandists also used the strong

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<sup>20</sup> Hakluyt (the younger), “Discourse of Western Planting,” 46; Jordan D. Winthrop, *The White Man’s Burden: Historical Origins of Racism in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 51.

<sup>21</sup> Hakluyt (the elder), “Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended Towards Virginia,” 34.

<sup>22</sup> Hakluyt (the elder), “Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended Towards Virginia,” 39.

<sup>23</sup> Hakluyt (the younger), “Discourse of Western Planting,” 46.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.



16<sup>th</sup> century link between national pride and religion to confront the prospect of intimidating natives. Their superior English gospel could convert Indians from intimidating obstacles to friendly allies when other denominations had failed to do so. In fact, one needs only to look closely at the images above to find examples of futile attempts at conversion; the cannibals adopted the hairstyle of visiting monks, but obviously not the content of their message. Roanoke propagandists promoted the power of the Church of England, supreme among national denominations, to help them conquer the new world.<sup>25</sup>

Roanoke propagandists claimed that conversions could make colonization efforts easier because the Indians would then appreciate their enlightenment. That is the sentiment expressed by George Peckham in his account of Humphrey Gilbert's voyages. He wrote that "the Savages shal heerby have just cause to blesse the howre, when the enterprise was undertaken," because they "may be brought from falsehood to truth, from darknes to lyght, from the hieway of death, to the path of life, from superstitious idolatry, to sincere Christianity, from the devill to Christ, from hell to Heaven." Peckham even claimed that the English gospel was such a precious gift "that they should but receyve this only benefite of christianity, they were more then fully recompenced" for any amount of Indian land or raw materials.<sup>26</sup> English religion, according to Peckham, was so valuable that not only could it subdue the otherwise savage Indians; it can be used as a trade commodity. Peckham's thoughts on religion were encouraging to those who were unsure of whether the natives could fit into the English social framework.

While English travel writers emphasized their own nation's religious superiority, they also attempted to demonstrate the inferiority of Indian beliefs. There was an important difference between being misguided and being in league with the devil – the former could be converted, the latter required avoidance or destruction. In fact, the terms 'cannibal' and 'devil worshiper' became synonymous as designations of natives who the propagandists thought were beyond redemption. Therefore, the authors had to tone down the degree to which Indians were portrayed as godless savages. They set the Virginian Indians apart from the horrible pictures above – these natives were different; still inferior, but not dangerous or beyond reach.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Benzoni, "Benzoni in the New World," 136-139.

<sup>26</sup> Peckham, "A True Reporte of the Late Discoveries and Possession," 63-64.

<sup>27</sup> Jan Olesen, "Mercyfull Warres Agaynst These Naked People: The Discourse of Violence in the Early Americas," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 39, no. 3 (October 2009): 261.

The authors of Roanoke propaganda turned Indian religious beliefs into reasons for hope that they could, indeed, tame the supposedly wild Indians. Thomas Harriot, for one, was optimistic about their religious beliefs because their existence demonstrated a capacity for faith, which was really the first step towards the true, English religion. “Some religion they have already,” he wrote, “which although it be farre from the trueth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier and sooner reformed.”<sup>28</sup> Arthur Barlowe equated the idol worship of Virginia’s Indians to Europe’s illustrious past; specifically to the Romans, who the English of the 16<sup>th</sup> century highly regarded. Barlowe wrote: “When they goe to warres they cary about with them their idol, of whom hey aske counsel, as the Romans were woont of the Oracle of Apollo.”<sup>29</sup>

Related to the way they used religion in travel literature, Roanoke propagandists emphasized England’s moral superiority over both Indians and Spanish to put to rest any ethical objections to colonization. With few exceptions, the Spanish had near exclusive access to the riches of America since its first discovery. However, their harsh treatment of Native Americans was no secret and an object of English scorn. English writers often compared Spanish colonial rule to the notoriously despotic rulers of Turkey. George Peckham used this comparison while noting the safety of the route to Virginia, which ran well north of Spanish shipping lanes. Thus, the English could trade and resupply colonies without being “subjecte to the arrest or molestation of any Pagan Potentate, Turkishe Tyrant, yea, or christian Prince.”<sup>30</sup> To Peckham, the Catholic monarch of Spain was a Christian, a pagan, and a tyrant all at once. Hakluyt (the younger) held a similar view of the Spanish and condemned their conduct in America:

That the Spaniardes have executed most outrageous and more then Turkishe cruelties in all the West Indies, whereby they are every where there, become moste odious unto them, whoe would joyne us or any other moste willingly to shake of their most intollerable yoke.<sup>31</sup>

Instead of killing or eating English colonists, Hakluyt claimed that the Indians would greet them as liberators and even join them in battle against their archenemy. More importantly for the promotion of colonies among a reluctant

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<sup>28</sup> Thomas Harriot, “A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia,” in *Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North America, 1580-1640*, ed. Peter C. Mancall, 73-84 (Boston: Bedford Books, 1995), 77.

<sup>29</sup> Arthur Barlowe, “The Discovery of Virginia,” 175.

<sup>30</sup> Peckham, “A True Reporte of the Late Discoveries and Possession,” 66.

<sup>31</sup> Hakluyt (the younger), “Discourse of Western Planting,” 47-48.

English public, Spanish cruelty itself became an excuse for colonization. England's moral high ground and need to spread the English religion made them the responsible party. They had to rescue the Indians, body and soul. Hakluyt continues:

The Spaniardes governe in the Indies with all pride and tyranie; and like as when people of contrarie nature at the sea enter into Gallies, where men are tied as slaves, all yell and crye with one voice *liberta, liberta*, as desirous of libertie or freedome, so no doubt whensoever the Queene of England . . . shall seate upon that firme of America, and shalbe reported throughoute all that tracte to use the naturall people there with all humanitie, curtesie, and freedome, they will yield themselves to her government and revolte cleane from the Spaniarde.<sup>32</sup>

Hakluyt again claimed that the Indians would welcome the English and join them against the Spanish. However, he added the responsibility of spreading political freedom to the previously discussed religious argument. According to Hakluyt, English rule provided a better government and better religion than what the Indians experienced under the Spanish. Hakluyt had no moral qualms about conquering in the new world. On the contrary, neglecting to do so denied the Indians the benefits of English faith and freedom.<sup>33</sup>

Ironically, considering the good intentions expressed by the propagandists, English religious superiority was also utilized to demonstrate the morality of seizing Indian land. This mindset was shared by Roanoke travel writers, but was best expressed Jamestown's leader, John Smith. First, Smith posed the ethical question: "Many good religious devout men have made it a great question, as a matter in conscience, by what warrant they might goe to possesse those Countries, which are none of theirs, but the poore Salvages."<sup>34</sup> Smith responded to the question by making a Biblical correlation to colony building. From Adam and Eve through the ages, humanity's god-given duty was to colonize the world. Smith wrote, ". . . for God did make the world to be inhabited with mankind"

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<sup>32</sup> Hakluyt (the younger), "Discourse of Western Planting," 52-53.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> John Smith, "Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England, or Any Where (1631)," in *Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North America, 1580-1640*, ed. Peter C. Mancall, 146-148 (Boston: Bedford Books, 1995), 146.

and in America there “is more land than all the people in Christendome can manure, and yet more to spare than all the natives . . . can use or cultivate.”<sup>35</sup> George Peckham also believed in the morality of the English expropriating Indian land, but his reasoning differed from Smith’s. Instead of having more land than they needed, the Indians did not deserve their land because they did not know how to use it as God intended. Peckham wrote, “God did create lande, to the end that it shold by Culture and husbandrie, yeeld things necessary for mans lyfe.” The Indians wasted the abundance of land that God had given them. The far more advanced English had the “knowledge to put theyr land to some use.” Therefore, it was right for the English to annex Indian land and fulfill its ordained purpose. As a bonus, Peckham reasoned, colonists could teach Indians how to cultivate the leftovers in proper English fashion, so that “their land may be so manured and employed, as it may yeeld more commodities to the necessary use of mans life . . .”<sup>36</sup>

Rather than demonstrating a new development in colony promotion, a popular work of literature from the reign of Henry VIII preceded Peckham and Smith in the logic of religiously justified land seizures. In *Utopia*, Sir Thomas Moore narrated his vision of a perfect society. The Utopians engaged in colonization. They annexed native land and made “the land sufficient for both, which previously seemed poor and barren to the natives.”<sup>37</sup> They did this peacefully if the natives were willing to integrate into Utopian society. Otherwise, they conquered and were morally justified in doing so because the Utopians, like the English, could make better use out of the land that God provided. Like the Indians of Virginia, the natives in *Utopia* were hunters and gatherers. Improving productivity meant replacing native practices with individual property rights and small scale agriculture.<sup>38</sup>

To dispel fears of vast armies of savages who cooked and ate their captives and “often cut off their legs and arms when they are still alive,”<sup>39</sup> Roanoke propagandists emphasized Indian fear of England’s military prowess. On the other hand, they portrayed the natives themselves as almost completely harmless. As with other facets of English superiority in promotional travel writing, authors followed the examples set by the Hakluyts. Richard Hakluyt (the elder) expressed his sentiments on Indian political and military power

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Peckham, “A True Reporte of the Late Discoveries and Possession,” 64.

<sup>37</sup> Quoted in Mancall, *Envisioning America*, 8.

<sup>38</sup> Mancall, *Envisioning America*, 8.

<sup>39</sup> Staden, “Hans Staden among the Cannibals of Brazil,” 104.

structure that repeated throughout contemporary travel literature when he wrote, “. . . the countrey is not very mightie, but divided into pety kingdoms, they shall not dare to offer us any great annoy, but such as we may easily revenge with sufficient chastisement to the unarmed people there.”<sup>40</sup> Hakluyt’s reference to “pety kingdoms,”<sup>41</sup> was a clear contradiction of scenarios like the one in Han Staden’s tale, in which the Portuguese met a vast army of native warriors.<sup>42</sup> Small scale skirmishes were more likely in Virginia, according to Hakluyt; nothing that Englishmen could not handle, especially since the natives were “unarmed.”<sup>43</sup> It is unlikely that he meant “unarmed”<sup>44</sup> in a literal sense, that the Indians had no weapons whatsoever. Instead, their weapons were insufficiently advanced to pose a threat – no metal bladed swords, axes, halberds, or especially firearms – no weapons that could have penetrated English armor. If slightly misleading, Hakluyt’s word choice piled another layer of inferiority upon the Virginia natives. The prospect of fighting small, poorly equipped groups was reassuring to potential colonists, who could not expect to have a large fighting force either.<sup>45</sup>

The first eyewitness report closely resembled Hakluyt’s assessment of Indian weapons. Arthur Barlowe wrote in his travelogue that Indian weapons were but “sufficient ynough to kill a naked man.”<sup>46</sup> Like Hakluyt’s reference to “unarmed people,”<sup>47</sup> Barlowe likely meant an absence of armor rather than literal nudity. Barlowe also concurred with Hakluyt’s assessment of the strength of Indian political arrangements and the expected size of their armies. He wrote that, due to internecine warfare, “the people are marvelously wasted, and in some places the countrey left desolate.”<sup>48</sup>

Though Thomas Harriot displayed respect and even admiration for Indian culture, he, too, joined in condemning their military prowess. According to Harriot, Virginia’s natives recognized their inferiority and were unlikely to confront English colonists. He predicted that the Indians, “in respect of their troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared, but that they shall

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<sup>40</sup> Hakluyt (the elder), “Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended Towards Virginia,” 35.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> Staden, “Hans Staden among the Cannibals of Brazil,” 94.

<sup>43</sup> Hakluyt (the elder), “Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended Towards Virginia,” 35.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Barlowe, “The Discovery of Virginia,” 174.

<sup>47</sup> Hakluyt (the elder), “Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended Towards Virginia,” 35.

<sup>48</sup> Barlowe, “The Discovery of Virginia,” 174.

have cause both to feare and love us, that shall inhabite with them.”<sup>49</sup> Harriot expected peaceful relations with the Indians. However, in a hypothetically violent scenario, he claimed that the natives were incapable of posing a legitimate threat.

If there fall out any warres betweene us and them, what their fight is likely to bee, wee having advantages against them so many maner of wayes, as by our discipline, our strange weapons, and devises else, especially Ordinance great and small, it may easily bee imagined: by the experience wee have had in some places, the turning up of their heeles against us in running away was their best defence.<sup>50</sup>

Harriot’s image of an Indian war party fleeing in fear at the first booming discharge of a firearm was understandably reassuring to potential colonists and was repeated throughout Roanoke travel literature. Arthur Barlowe was among those who noted this cowardly behavior in his travelogue. “When we discharged any piece, were it but an harqubuz,” he wrote, “they tremble thereat for very feare.”<sup>51</sup> John White described a similar experience on the island of Croatoan, except this time the Indians did not even wait for the first loud bang to begin their dishonorable retreat. When they landed on the island, White noticed that the Indians “seemed as if they would fight us.” They quickly changed their minds, however, because “when they realized that we were prepared to use our guns against them, they ran away.”<sup>52</sup>

While gunpowder undoubtedly provided explorers and colonists with an advantage over the Indians, England’s military superiority did not rely exclusively on firearms. George Peckham even suggested leaving the guns at home in order to ease the financial burden of new world expeditions. Since the Indians had no armor to speak of, colonists could rely on England’s traditional affinity for the longbow. Peckham predicted that “the peculiar benefite of Archers which God hath blessed this land withal, before al other nations, will stand us in great stede amongst those naked people.”<sup>53</sup> Some might have assumed that relying on bows would have leveled the battlefield, since Indians also used bows. However, Peckham argued that an English archer was

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<sup>49</sup> Harriot, “A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia,” 76.

<sup>50</sup> Harriot, “A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia,” 76-77.

<sup>51</sup> Barlowe, “The Discovery of Virginia,” 174.

<sup>52</sup> White, “John White’s Journal of his voyage to Virginia in 1587,” 159.

<sup>53</sup> Peckham, “A True Reporte of the Late Discoveries and Possession,” 66.

something special, blessed by God, they were more skilled and deadly than archers from “al other nations.”<sup>54</sup> Thus, an Indian with a bow was still “unarmed”<sup>55</sup> while an English colonist with a bow was well protected. While many accounts of Roanoke propaganda emphasized English military superiority, others precluded the possibility of violent encounters altogether. Instead, they described the friendly nature of hospitable Indians. Such was the case in a narrative written by Arthur Barlowe on his expedition with Philip Amadas to find a suitable site for what became the Roanoke colony. Barlowe’s journal described fertile soil, abundant wildlife, and profitable trade opportunities with natives who were friendly and eager to learn more about their new guests. One example from Barlowe’s journal of the natives’ friendly and inquisitive nature was the way in which they “wondred marvelously when we were amongst them at the whitenes of our skins ever coveting to touch our breasts, and to view the same.”<sup>56</sup> Among the reasons for which they selected the island of Roanoke was the kindness and hospitality demonstrated by the chief’s sister-in-law when Amadas and Barlowe paid a visit to her village.

. . . the wife of Granganimo the kings brother came running out to meete us very cheerefully and friendly, her husband was not then in the village; some of her people shee commanded to drawe our boate on shore for the beating of the billoe: others she appointed to cary us on their backs to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the house for feare of stealing.<sup>57</sup>

Granganimo’s wife washed their clothes and provided the very best of her food and comforts. She was an excellent host, not at all like the barbarians of earlier reports. In encounters like this one, scaring the Indians away with the sound English firearms was hardly necessary.<sup>58</sup>

When English travel writers found the Indians more formidable and less friendly than often reported, they pointed to excuses that protected the image of English superiority while faithfully reporting incidents in which Indians gained the upper hand. John White took on this difficult task when Raleigh promoted him from resident artist to colonial governor for his second tour of duty in Virginia. White carefully crafted his reports of English casualties to minimize any negative press

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Hakluyt (the elder), “Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended Towards Virginia,” 35.

<sup>56</sup> Barlowe, “The Discovery of Virginia,” 174.

<sup>57</sup> Barlowe, “The Discovery of Virginia,” 172.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

or damage to public confidence. His first casualty report came with the death of one of his Assistants, who were officers of the expedition. White blamed the incident on the negligence of the deceased rather than on the martial prowess of Virginia's native warriors.

George Howe, one of the twelve Assistants, was killed by savages who came over to Roanoke . . . He was alone, almost naked, and without any arms save a small forked stick with which he was trying to catch crabs. They wounded him with sixteen arrowshots. Then they killed him with their wooden swords, beat his head to pieces, and escaped over the water to the mainland.<sup>59</sup>

White made a point, in reporting his first casualty, of emphasizing the inferior quality of Indian weapons. He described their crude swords, made of mere wood instead of sharpened steel, which the Indians wielded to bludgeon their victim as one would wield a club. White also noted the number of arrows expended to incapacitate a single Englishman. Howe would have been perfectly safe had he not put himself in a precarious position. If he had brought his armor, a firearm, or even a sword, he could have defended himself or scared the Indians away. Additionally, and with Elizabethan subtlety, White blamed Indian hostility on the paranoid and violent nature of Roanoke's first governor, Ralph Lane. In his travelogue, Lane blamed the Indians, Sir Richard Grenville, and even Walter Raleigh for the failure of the first Roanoke colony. Lane's conduct as governor and search for scapegoats proved harmful to the efforts of the Roanoke propagandists. By the time Lane evacuated Roanoke, he had succeeded in uniting the initially friendly local tribes against the English colonists.<sup>60</sup> As the new governor, White hoped to re-establish peaceful relations with a fresh start, but his friendly overtures came too late.<sup>61</sup>

When Richard Grenville returned to Roanoke with supplies and found the fort abandoned, he left fifteen men behind hoping that they could hold the fort and prevent a complete loss. Documenting their fate gave John White a second opportunity to uphold English superiority in the face of defeat. This time, the culprits were the element of surprise and overwhelming odds. Grenville's men could not have known the hostility which Lane had generated among the

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<sup>59</sup> White, "John White's Journal of his voyage to Virginia in 1587," 159.

<sup>60</sup> Ralph Lane, "Ralph Lane's report to Sir Walter Raleigh concerning the English colony which had been left in Virginia by Sir Richard Grenville," in *The New World: The First Pictures of America*, ed. Stefan Lorant, 135-149 (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 142-149.

<sup>61</sup> White, "John White's Journal of his voyage to Virginia in 1587," 158-160.



Indians. They were unarmed and unaware. In the midst of greeting what they thought was a group of friendly Indians, one Englishman having even ventured for a hug, the natives attacked. Arrows flying, the English sought refuge in a building, which was promptly set ablaze. They armed themselves with makeshift weapons and charged into a hail of arrows. In the end, White blamed the trees. “The spot where the skirmish took place was of great advantage to the savages,” he reasoned, “because they were able to hide themselves behind the thickly growing trees.”<sup>62</sup> Grenville’s men met defeat, but certainly not for lack of courage, honor, and a tenacious fighting spirit. Despite the disappointing nature of his report, White protected the image of English superiority by blaming the circumstances: if it were not for the element of surprise, for Ralph Lane’s aggressive nature, and for the trees, such a defeat would not have been possible.<sup>63</sup>

The final psychological obstacle that limited enthusiasm for colonization, and that promotional travel writers sought to overcome, was the expectation of low monetary returns due largely to the perceived backwardness of the indigenous population. Initially, it was an open question as to whether the Indians of Virginia could make good trading partners – an important question because an unprofitable colony was not worth the great trouble of planting. Once again, the ever-insightful Richard Hakluyt (the elder) succinctly addressed the issue when he wrote that, “If the people be content to live naked, and to content themselves with few things of meere necessity, then trafficke is not. So then in vaine seemeth our voyage . . .”<sup>64</sup> The authors of journals and travelogues emphasized the superiority of English merchandise and emphatically denied Indian disinterest in trade.<sup>65</sup>

From the travelogue of his exploratory voyage with Philip Amadas, Arthur Barlowe used the story of their first contact with native Virginians to demonstrate Indian demand for English merchandise. Sailors spotted a few Indians on the shore and waited for them to fetch their leader. After a formal exchange with Granganimo, the king’s brother, word of English goods must have spread quickly because “there came downe from all parts great store of people” who brought diverse goods to “exchange with us.”<sup>66</sup> The Indians may have simply used barter as a means to participate in the novel situation.

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid, 160.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 158-160.

<sup>64</sup> Hakluyt (the elder), “Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended Towards Virginia,” 39.

<sup>65</sup> Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America*, 3.

<sup>66</sup> Barlowe, “The Discovery of Virginia,” 171.

However, to those doubtful of the potential for Indian trade, the image that Barlowe planted the minds of the readers must have been powerful. Upon hearing word of their arrival, all the nearby Indians grabbed whatever they had and flocked to the beach for a chance to obtain English goods. This was certainly not a people content to live in “meere necessity.”<sup>67</sup>

Barlowe and other authors took the portrayals of profitable Indian trade a step further. Not only were natives interested in superior English merchandise, they were also unable to value merchandise properly. On the day of Barlowe’s meeting with Granganimo, the English traded a “tinne dish for twentie skinnes, worth twentie Crownes, or twentie Nobles: and a copper kettle for fiftie skins worth fifty Crownes.”<sup>68</sup> Knowledge of 16<sup>th</sup> century currency is unnecessary to see who got the better end of that deal. Thus, trading with the poor, materially ignorant Indians was actually far more lucrative than trading with England’s European counterparts.

Richard Hakluyt (the younger) gave a similar description of potential profit due to the inferiority of Indian material culture. He predicted that:

At the firste traficque with the people of those partes, the subjectes of this Realme for many yeres shall chaunge many cheape commodities of these partes, for thinges of highe valour these not esteemed: and this to the greate enrichinge of the Realme, if common use faile not.<sup>69</sup>

Thomas Harriot also publicized potential profit due to Indian inability to value properly the English goods they so desired. Compared to the English, Harriot wrote, the Indians were “a people poore and for want of skill and judgement in the knowledge and use of out things, doe esteeme our trifles before things of greater value.”<sup>70</sup> Harriot noted one final benefit of England’s superior material culture. The Indians, “upon due consideration shall finde our manner of knowledges and crafts to exceed theirs in perfection, and speede for doing or execution, by so much the more is it probable that they should desire our friendship and love, and have the greater respect for pleasing and obeying us.”<sup>71</sup> In addition to profit, the English could obtain useful friends and even

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<sup>67</sup> Hakluyt (the elder), “Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended Towards Virginia,” 39; Barlowe, “The Discovery of Virginia,” 170-171.

<sup>68</sup> Barlowe, “The Discovery of Virginia,” 170.

<sup>69</sup> Hakluyt (the younger), “Discourse of Western Planting,” 51.

<sup>70</sup> Harriot, “A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia,” 77.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

subservient subjects in exchange for their “trifles”<sup>72</sup> Conquest was possible not through force of arms but through superior industry and material knowledge.

The authors of Roanoke travel literature had a unified goal in mind for the native inhabitants that they worked so hard to portray as inferior. Psychological barriers to colonization and areas of projected confidence should be taken one at a time for convenient analysis. However, to contemporaries, these issues were not separate. Instead, Indian martial prowess, religious differences, and material inferiority were often addressed simultaneously. George Peckham, for example, united these concepts in a list of ways that Indians would benefit from proposed English colonies. In addition to, “the knowledge how to tyl and dresse their grounds, they shalbe reduced from unseemly customes, to honest maners, from disordred riotous rowtes and companies, to a wel governed common wealth, and withall shalbe taught mecanicall occupations, artes, lyberal sciences” and protected from “tyrannicall and blood sucking neighbors, the Canniballes.”<sup>73</sup>

Having consolidated the many themes of English superiority over Native Americans, George Peckham also demonstrated the desire to assimilate Indians into English culture.<sup>74</sup> To 16<sup>th</sup> century Englishmen, one of the major requirements of a successful colony was to make the natives more closely resemble themselves. For peaceful coexistence, Indians had to become English in every possible way. In a familiar, slightly extended quote, Richard Hakluyt (the elder) also reflected on the need for cultural conversion. He wrote that if the Indians of Virginia “be content to live naked, and to content themselvs with few things of meere necessity, then trafficke is not. So then in vaine seemeth our voyage...*unlesse this nature may be altered*, as by conquest and other good meanes it may be . . .”<sup>75</sup> (emphasis added).

Those influenced by intimidating portrayals of Native Americans may have naturally doubted their ability to alter the Indians’ nature. John White worked to assure readers that assimilation was, in fact, possible. At the end of Theodore de Bry’s edition of *Grand Voyages* in which his engravings of John White’s watercolors appeared, were five images of ancient Britons, one of which appears below. De Bry’s reproduction of White’s paintings depicted ancient Britons in a savage state. They were tribal, heathen head hunters, naked with their entire bodies covered in tattoos. De Bry indicated that White requested the inclusion of

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Peckham, “A True Reporte of the Late Discoveries and Possession,” 62.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Hakluyt (the elder), “Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended Towards Virginia,” 39.

these images “. . . to shoue how that the Inhabitants of great Britainne have bin in times past as sauage as those of Virginia.”<sup>76</sup> Over time, and through succeeding waves of civilizing conquest, they were successfully incorporated into a civilized and advanced English nation. White’s example illustrated the hope that “if meanes of good government be used, that they may in short time bee brought to civilitie, and the imbracing of true Religion.”<sup>77</sup>

Many of the themes in Roanoke propaganda were also addressed by historian Winthrop Jordan in his study on the origins of racism in America. Winthrop found that the concept of racism revolves around the degree of differences between the cultures, religions, and physical appearance of two groups. To the English (and human nature in general) civility meant ‘like us,’ barbarity meant ‘different from us.’ Civility is better than savagery and emphasizing those differences emboldens the civilized and justifies any number of otherwise unjustifiable actions. To civilize the Indians, they had to be converted into Englishmen. Authors of Roanoke propaganda had to walk a fine line. To allay English fears and build confidence for colonization, they had to present the Indians as uncivilized heathens, but not so barbaric as to induce fear or to appear unredeemable. Colonization could only work if the Indians could be incorporated into the English system – or be removed, which was not logistically possible in the early phases of colonization.<sup>78</sup>

We can see the importance of English travel writing in the results of the race to colonize North America. The English were the last protagonists on the scene, but they were ultimately successful because of the larger number of English settlers who ventured to America. The initial attempts to establish a colony at Roanoke were not accompanied with successive waves of settlers that would characterize future immigration. Instead, as we have seen, sporadic attempts made with small groups gave credence to the difficulty of planting civilization in the wilderness. Despite initial failures and low expectations, Roanoke propaganda kept the dream of an English empire in the new world alive during a very dark and unpromising period. They overcame public fear of the unknown and promoted English superiority over America’s natives despite intimidating portrayals in the texts of their rivals’ travelogues. Thanks in part to the

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<sup>76</sup> Thomas Harriot, “The First English in Virginia,” in *Discovering the New World*, ed. Michael Alexander, 65-89 (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 89.

<sup>77</sup> Harriot, “A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia,”<sup>77</sup>; Lorant, *The New World*, 180-182.

<sup>78</sup> Jordan D. Winthrop, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969), 4-24.

mediating effects of Roanoke propaganda, the English began to see America as a potential home rather than the dying ground that, at least initially, it really was.

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## The Coercive Sterilization of Native American Women by the Indian Health Services (1970-1974)

Tate Luker

**Abstract:** This article examines the coercive sterilization of Native American women by the Indian Health Service (IHS) in the United States between 1970 and 1974. It analyzes the sterilizations in the context of the wider availability of funding and legal acceptance for birth control and the Native American civil rights movement of the 1970s. The article discusses the methods and motivations of the IHS physicians who carried out the sterilization procedures and the effects that the sterilizations had on the victims and their communities. Additionally, this article examines a wider trend of unethical medical practice in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Furthermore, the article endeavors to demonstrate that medical professionals can hold and act on harmful social and political beliefs.

In the early 1970s, Native American women of different tribes and different regions came forward with stories of forced sterilization at Indian Health Service (IHS) facilities. The department of the federal Public Health Service sterilized some without their knowledge and consent, with the sterilization procedure being added onto other surgical procedures, while some gave their consent under misinformation, threats, and coercion. As more and more of these women began to speak out and share their stories, Native American leaders and publications began to call attention to the situation, leading to several studies and investigations. These widespread, systematic abuses occurred and continued for some time before the public caught wind of them. The IHS engaged in actions deemed illegal and inhumane by various national and international standards. The IHS's sterilization abuses of the 1970s that came on the heels of new federal support for family planning and coincided with other medical abuses against minority groups, were likely eugenically motivated, and were harmful in many ways to the victims and their communities.

The data of studies on the sterilization abuses show that between 1970 and 1976, IHS personnel and contract physicians coercively sterilized at least twenty-five



percent and possibly up to fifty percent of Native American women.<sup>1</sup> An official investigation later conducted by the Government Accounting Office revealed that the IHS used dishonest consent forms and other forms of misinformation to sterilize 3,406 Native American women, many of whom were less than twenty-one years old.<sup>2</sup> While these numbers look small when compared proportionally to women of other ethnicities and examined in light of tribal populations, they gain significance. Bioethicist Gregory W. Rutecki, M.D., writes that “per capita, the figure was equivalent to sterilizing 452,000 non-Native American women within the same time-frame.”<sup>3</sup> An independent study conducted in the early 1970s estimated that such a large figure would reduce births of Native American children by as much as fifty percent.<sup>4</sup> A drastic reduction in the estimated 100,000 Native American women of childbearing age (between the ages of fifteen and forty-four) could have extremely harmful effects on the gene pools of individual tribes and on the Native American population as a whole.<sup>5</sup> Also, it is important to note that the numbers probably far exceed those reported. Complicating factors include the reluctance of some women to admit to sterilization and the fact that an unknown number of women may have been sterilized as early as the 1950s.<sup>6</sup>

In order to understand the eugenic profiling of the IHS’s victims, it is necessary to briefly define the term and examine the origin and ideas of the eugenics movement. Essentially, eugenics is a pseudoscience focused on better breeding of humans. Rebecca M. Kluchin, a historian and professor at California State University, writes that eugenics centered on the idea that some individuals were “fit” to breed and should be encouraged to do so, while “unfit” individuals should be stopped from breeding.<sup>7</sup> English scientist Francis Galton conceptualized the idea in 1883, arguing that behavior, like health and biology,

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<sup>1</sup> Jane Lawrence, “The Indian Health Service and the Sterilization of Native American Women,” *American Indian Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 400, 410.

<sup>2</sup> Comptroller General of the United States, *Investigation of Allegations Concerning Indian Health Services*, Washington, D.C.: GPO, November 4, 1976, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Gregory W. Rutecki, “Forced Sterilizations of Native Americans: Later Twentieth Century Physician Cooperation With National Eugenic Policies?” *Ethics and Medicine: An International Journal of Bioethics* 27, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 34.

<sup>4</sup> S.J. Torpy, “Endangered Species: Native American Women’s Struggle for Their Reproductive Rights and Racial Identity: 1970’s-1990’s,” Master’s Thesis, University of Nebraska at Omaha.

<sup>5</sup> Bruce E. Johansen, “Reprise/ Forced Sterilizations: Native Americans and the “Last Gasp of Eugenics,” *Native Americas* 15, no. 4 (December 1998): 49.

<sup>6</sup> Myla Vicenti Carpio, “The Lost Generation: Indian Women and Sterilization Abuse,” *Social Justice* 31, no. 4 (2004): 40, 41 .

<sup>7</sup> Rebecca M. Kluchin, *Fit to be Tied: Sterilization and Reproductive Rights in America, 1950-1980* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 11.

possessed a hereditary nature.<sup>8</sup> Galton and later eugenicists would all push the ideas that children genetically inherit their parent's morality and socio-economic standing, and that this directly contributed to an individual's fitness for breeding. Typically middle and upper class whites of Northern European extraction held the designation of fit, while the unfit consisted of poor whites, often women, those who suffered from mental and physical disabilities, criminals, and "sexual deviants" such as homosexuals and promiscuous individuals.<sup>9</sup> Although its proponents held racial and class biases, it is important to note that at this stage in its history the eugenics movement at large focused on improvement of the white race. Eugenicists wanted to strengthen and purify the white race and were not as concerned with other races.<sup>10</sup>

The eugenics movement gained popularity in the United States from 1905-1930.<sup>11</sup> American physicians inflicted "eugenically-directed harm" as early as the 1890s by surgically sterilizing individuals they deemed unfit.<sup>12</sup> In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, eugenicists began to more aggressively enact what is called negative eugenics, described by historian Kenneth M. Ludmerer as "the elimination of undesired traits in the population by discouraging "unworthy" parenthood."<sup>13</sup> Legislation, such as marriage restriction, incarceration or institutionalization of the unfit, and sterilization represented the most common methods of discouragement.<sup>14</sup> This shift in focus precipitated the implementation of sterilization laws. At the movement's height, thirty states passed laws legalizing the sterilization of unfit individuals. The movement would largely die out after World War II when it became associated with Nazi atrocities, but its ideas would continue to influence individuals.

While the fallout from association with the Nazi atrocities had mostly crippled the early twentieth century movement, the ideology lived on. The new movement, called neo-eugenics, differed from the earlier movement in two key ways. First, the neo-eugenics movement had a much less formal and organized structure. It essentially consisted of physicians, social workers, politicians, and government personnel who worked to advance their shared ideology.<sup>15</sup> Along

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>9</sup> Kenneth M. Ludmerer, *Genetics and American Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), 7.

<sup>10</sup> Kluchin, *Fit to be Tied*, 13.

<sup>11</sup> Ludmerer, 2.

<sup>12</sup> Rutecki, 36.

<sup>13</sup> Ludmerer, 7.

<sup>14</sup> Ludmerer, 7.

<sup>15</sup> Kluchin, *Fit to be Tied*, 21.

with being much more subtle and anonymous than the original popular movement, neo-eugenicists changed their victimology in accordance with the times.<sup>16</sup> Kluchin writes that they formulated their ideology mostly in response to newfound pressure from minority groups, such as the burgeoning civil rights movement and increase in Hispanic immigration.<sup>17</sup> Their race-based targeting may also have been a reaction to population growth concerns and the financial burdens of the new welfare programs.<sup>18</sup> The neo-eugenicists continued to victimize the poor, but shifted the focus in terms of race.

Some of the roots of the abuses during the 1970s can be found in the legislative background of the 1960s. They occurred in an era in which reliable methods of contraception first became readily available, beginning in the 1960s under President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty, and continuing to grow under President Richard Nixon. According to professor and research economist Martha Bailey, the federal government's newfound interest in providing funding for family planning methods was benevolent (ostensibly at least). They sought to make birth control readily available so as to give women more personal and economic independence, to help them out of poverty, and to ease the burden of welfare on the state.<sup>19</sup> Consider Richard Nixon's 1969 statement regarding family planning:

Unwanted or untimely childbearing is one of several forces which are driving many families into poverty or keeping them in that condition.... And finally, of course, it needlessly adds to the burdens placed on all our resources by increasing population.<sup>20</sup>

However, that does not accurately describe the full motivations of the federal government at the time. The United States government expressed a marked interest in reducing its burgeoning population, which it saw as an economic concern.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Rutecki, 36.

<sup>17</sup> Rebecca M. Kluchin, "Locating the Voices of the Sterilized," *The Public Historian* No. 3 (Summer 2007): 133.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>19</sup> Martha J. Bailey, "Reexamining the Impact of Family Planning Programs on US Fertility: Evidence from the War on Poverty and the Early Years of Title X," *American Economics Journal: Applied Economics* 4, no. 2, (April 2012): 1.

<sup>20</sup> Richard M. Nixon, "Special Message to the Congress on Problems of Population Growth," July 18, 1969, Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=2132> (accessed February 7, 2014).

<sup>21</sup> Johansen, 47.

Legislatively, the first major step forward came under President Johnson's 1964 Economic Opportunity Act (EOA). While the EOA did not sanction federal funding for contraception outright, it provided a framework for it, specifically, the EOA's Community Action Program clause. Loosely defined, a Community Action Program (CAP) is any program that may help to eliminate poverty or its causes and provide opportunity for economic advancement. This put methods of contraception under the legal umbrella of the act. It provided a means for women to potentially escape poverty and go to work. Another aspect of CAPs is the accessibility they provided for the new money, as any local organization could request funding for contraception. The next significant step of federal patronage of family planning occurred with the EOA's amendment in 1967. Under the 1967 amendment, contraception programs received "national emphasis" status, increasing federal funding for family planning by 1,300 percent. Another addition to the now burgeoning family planning program came with Title X of Richard Nixon's Public Health Service Act. This act made it even easier to obtain federal family planning funds by allowing the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to make grants directly to organizations without having to go through a CAP.<sup>22</sup>

New views on the legality of sterilization as a birth control method joined the surge of funding and access to birth control methods. The case of *Jessin v. County of Shasta* (1969), brought suit against a county hospital for sterilizing a woman who had given her consent for the procedure. The judge ruled in favor of the hospital, emboldening doctors to view sterilization as a legal method of contraception.<sup>23</sup> A District of Columbia District Court handed down another important ruling in 1974 in the combined case of *Relf et al. v. Weinberger et al.* and *National Welfare Rights Organization v. Weinberger et al.* This joint case's importance stems from its effects on the sterilization policy of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), the parent organization of the Indian Health Service. The judge ruled that "federally assisted family planning sterilizations are permissible only with the voluntary, knowing, and uncoerced consent of individuals competent to give such consent" and that "individuals seeking sterilization be orally informed at the very outset that no federal benefits can be withdrawn because of a failure to accept sterilization."<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Bailey, 3, 4; Barbara Caress, "Sterilization," *Health/Pac Bulletin* 62(1975): 1-6.

<sup>23</sup> *Jessin v. County of Shasta*, 274 Cal. App. 2d 737 (1969).

<sup>24</sup> Lawrence, 405.

As detailed in the above cases and HEW regulations published in the Federal Register, and expounded on by Jane Lawrence, regulations regarding sterilization of individuals were as follows: the individual must give informed consent and observe a proper waiting period (seventy-two hours) between the delivery of consent and the occurrence of the procedure. Informed consent can only be given if the physician has fully explained the extent, purpose, chances of success, and potential risks of the procedure. A consenting individual must be mentally competent and at least twenty-one years old, and must not have been coerced or threatened into consenting in any way. Its status as a HEW department bound the IHS to the same statutes and permitted it to provide family planning for Native Americans as early as 1965.<sup>25</sup>

With those clear regulations, abuses such as those committed by the IHS should have been preemptively curtailed. One vehicle through which IHS perpetrated its abuses was the exploitation of its patients' dependency. Most Native American women had no other choice for healthcare than the IHS due to poverty and location on reservations. They formed a sort of captive clientele, easy to take advantage of and dependent on the very institution that victimized them.<sup>26</sup>

The lack of easily accessible alternatives coupled with IHS physicians' use of deception and threats as methods of coercion. Many of the consent forms used fell short of HEW regulations and did not provide adequate information about the procedure.<sup>27</sup> Some physicians piggy-backed sterilization consent onto forms for another procedure, and the required verbal explanations were often inadequate.<sup>28</sup> Physicians purposely misinformed patients about the purpose and permanence of the procedure or simply did not offer explanations. Additionally, some of the perpetrators exploited language gaps between themselves and their patients. Often, the victims did not speak English very well and the physicians did not speak the tribal language of the patient. In communicative breakdowns like these, physicians did not offer explanations in the native language of the patient and left them essentially uninformed about what they had consented to.<sup>29</sup>

Also, IHS physicians would obtain consent under duress. They convinced some women to sign consent forms during labor or under anesthesia. Later, these

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 405-406; US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of the Secretary, "Sterilization Guidelines," *Federal Register* 39 (September 21, 1973), 26459-61.

<sup>26</sup> Johansen, 48.

<sup>27</sup> Comptroller General, 25-26.

<sup>28</sup> Lawrence, 408.

<sup>29</sup> Carpio, 48.

women could not remember even signing the forms. For example, IHS physicians in Minnesota sterilized a woman who had signed a consent form while in labor and under the impression that she had signed for a painkiller.<sup>30</sup> Beyond the issue of obtaining consent through illegal means, some women simply went uninformed, or had the sterilization procedure carried out in conjunction with another operation.<sup>31</sup> The case of Barbara Moore, Lakota, illustrates the above situation. Personnel at an IHS facility sterilized Moore without her knowledge or consent while she was unconscious following a cesarean section.<sup>32</sup> In some instances IHS physicians lied about the type of procedure they were performing to gain the women's consent. This can be seen in the case of one woman who IHS physicians pressured to consent to sterilization to alleviate headaches that her doctor blamed on "fear of pregnancy," and the case of two fifteen year old Cheyenne girls who thought they received tonsillectomies only to find that they had their ovaries removed.<sup>33</sup>

The angles used by the IHS to exploit and coerce their victims provide an interesting look at the ways in which the women could be victimized. The victims, mostly poor and often younger than twenty-one, found themselves easily susceptible to patronization by the IHS. As stated above, the IHS' targets depended on federal institutions for their livelihood and well-being and had little means of resistance due to their poverty. IHS physicians used this dynamic to threaten and deceive victims, and exploited cultural differences to take advantage of the women.

The victims' lack of opportunities for redress created another factor that aided the IHS in perpetuating its abuses. As Carpio writes, most of the victims simply could not resist due to their poor financial position. Suing an IHS doctor for malpractice would have taken a significant sum of money, one that women using the IHS for healthcare would be very unlikely to have in the first place. Carpio also points out that physicians employed by the IHS as federal employees had access to vast legal resources provided by the United States Department of Justice. For anyone, especially marginalized groups, fighting back against a large federal department would be daunting. This intimidation did a lot to silence the abused women.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Lawrence, 414.

<sup>31</sup> Carpio, 45-46.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>33</sup> Carpio 46; Johansen 48.

<sup>34</sup> Carpio, 49.

The characteristics of the physicians employed by the IHS also helped to foster an environment in which abuses like this could occur. IHS physicians had large workloads, with more than 1,200 patients per physician and an average work week of sixty hours, all on a meager federal salary of \$17,000 to \$20,000 a year, well below the average \$45,000 per year earned by privately employed physicians, and were not reimbursed on a per procedure basis.<sup>35</sup> Adjusted for inflation, these represent roughly \$90,000 and \$236,000 today, respectively. An important implication of the small salaries and lack of per procedure reimbursement of IHS physicians is that it would provide no motivation to perform large numbers of surgeries, as these lacked an increase of income. However, the physicians contracted by the IHS may have had some financial incentive for the sterilizations. Rutecki writes that they operated under “a contract model with reimbursement in full for an unlimited number of sterilizations.”<sup>36</sup> These physicians stood to gain financially by performing large numbers of surgeries. He goes on to point out that the contract model creates an ethical chasm between technique and considerations of right and wrong by rewarding performance no matter what.<sup>37</sup>

Beyond financial and professional motivations, studies and surveys conducted on physicians at the time show that many of them held eugenic views, especially in regards to their personal and racial benefit. Rutecki writes that “knowingly limiting births in a targeted population had been emblematic of eugenic policy in the early to mid-twentieth century.”<sup>38</sup> So, at the very least, IHS physicians were echoing the actions of their earlier counterparts. One study asked physicians about what situations they would recommend sterilization as birth control in. In the case of a white woman, only 6% percent said they would, but that number doubled in the case of a minority or poor woman, and increased to 97% if the woman was receiving welfare and had three children.<sup>39</sup> Many of them viewed this as helpful to the government, themselves, and even their victims by easing economic burdens on all parties.<sup>40</sup> Connie Pinkerton-Uri, a Native American physician working for the IHS said of her colleagues in 1974 that they thought “the solution to poverty is not to allow people to be born” and “a poor woman

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<sup>35</sup> C.L. Hostetter and J.D. Felsen, “Multiple Variable Motivators Involved in the Recruitment of Physicians for the Indian Health Service” *Rural Health* 90 (1975): 320; Catherine E. Ross and Janet Lauritsen, “Public Opinion About Doctor’s Pay,” *American Journal of Public Health* 75, no. 6 (June 1985), 668.

<sup>36</sup> Rutecki, 39.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>40</sup> Lawrence, 410.

with children was better off sterilized.”<sup>41</sup> A 1976 medical bulletin on sterilization revealed that some physicians used medicine as “an instrument of social control” and let their personal politics influence their actions.<sup>42</sup> Additionally, some of the physicians doubted the intelligence of their victims and did not believe they would be able to reliably use other forms of birth control.<sup>43</sup> They used their power over their victims and the readily available federal funding for sterilizations to enforce their own political and social beliefs.

Despite these roadblocks, information about the sterilizations found its way to the public through a variety of means. This era represented the zenith of the Native Americans’ civil rights movement, also called the Red Power movement, which would be instrumental in exposing the IHS’ abuses. The American Indian Movement (AIM) had its inception in 1968 and quickly demonstrated a propensity for bold protest with its nineteen month occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1969, 1972 occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs’ (BIA) Washington, D.C. headquarters, and the clash at Wounded Knee in 1973.<sup>44</sup> Interestingly, Native American women took a very active role in the Red Power movement. For example, Mary Jane Wilson, an Anishinabe, helped found AIM.<sup>45</sup> Others like Pullayup Ramona Bennett and Tulalip Janet McCloud participated at nearly every major AIM demonstration.<sup>46</sup> These three and other women like them joined in Native American activism often challenged male leaders of the movement and filled leadership positions themselves.

While Jane Lawrence holds that AIM’s radical activism may have contributed to the IHS’s abuses, AIM’s occupation of the BIA offices played a pivotal role in the publicizing of the IHS’s actions.<sup>47</sup> When AIM demonstrators left the BIA headquarters, they took 1.5 tons of documents, some of which revealed sterilization abuses against Native American women.<sup>48</sup> Until 1973, evidence of the abuses had been sparse and scattered geographically so that mainstream America was not aware of them.<sup>49</sup> After this, writes Johansen, “wherever Native activists gathered during the Red Power years of the 1970s—conversation

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 412.

<sup>42</sup> Caress, 1-6.

<sup>43</sup> Lawrence, 410.

<sup>44</sup> Joane Nagel, “American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Politics and the Resurgence of Identity,” *American Sociological Review* 60, no. 6 (December, 1995): 956.

<sup>45</sup> Donna Langston, “American Indian Women and Activism,” *Native American Times*, April 28, 2006, 7.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 6-7.

<sup>47</sup> Lawrence, 410.

<sup>48</sup> Langston, 8.

<sup>49</sup> Johansen, 47.



turned inevitably to the number of women whose tubes were tied or ovaries removed by the Indian Health Service.”<sup>50</sup> This activist network of communication helped spread the revelations of the BIA documents, and in response, Janet McCloud and others formed Women of All Red Nations in 1973 to focus on the issue and bring attention to it.<sup>51</sup> This mounting wave of attention and evidence brought the issue to the surface.

When the various pieces of evidence detailing these abuses came to light, the International Indian Treaty Council petitioned Senator James Abourezk, a Democrat of South Dakota, to look into the issue. The senator then commissioned the 1976 Government Accounting Office Report (GAO).<sup>52</sup> Although the ensuing investigation revealed some abuses, it did not reveal any evidence of forcible sterilization and failed to thoroughly investigate the matter. Out of twelve IHS operation areas, the GAO only investigated four. The numbers that it turned up in only one-third of the IHS’ facilities likely do not begin to cover the actual number of victims. Similarly, out of 3,406 consent forms on record, only 113 were reviewed for procedural integrity by the GAO. Furthermore, the GAO investigation did not cover physicians contracted by the IHS, again likely missing significant figures.<sup>53</sup> The investigation failed to place any blame on IHS personnel, reflecting it to mistakes caused by weaknesses in the consent forms.<sup>54</sup>

Even more disconcerting is the fact that the investigators failed to interview any of the victims. This denial of voice to those who actually suffered prevented a potentially powerful factor from entering the investigation.<sup>55</sup> The investigators only viewed IHS documents and completely disregarded those affected. The GAO made a set of recommendations for the IHS to follow and instructed the organization to make sure that its employees and contractors knew to follow them, and took no punitive action against those physicians who broke regulations.<sup>56</sup> While the HEW released tighter regulations on sterilization in 1976, the IHS still does not undergo full audits.<sup>57</sup> The potential for abuse remains now.

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<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 44-45.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 45; Langston, 9-10.

<sup>52</sup> Johansen, 47.

<sup>53</sup> Comptroller General, 18-19, 23-24.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>55</sup> Carpio, 43.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 48; Comptroller General, 26.

<sup>57</sup> Lawrence, 415.

The IHS's practices proved to be harmful in many ways. Along with the obvious effect of being permanently unable to bear children, many women suffered from depression, feelings of anger and fear, and substance abuse due to shame they felt.<sup>58</sup> For many Native American groups, childbearing and rearing is a woman's sacred duty. Additionally, motherhood empowered women in some Native American nations.<sup>59</sup> Without the physical capacity to attain that status boost, sterilized women lost opportunities to participate in tribal leadership. Furthermore, women who could not bear children were often passed over for marriage or divorced if already married, and could also be excluded from certain tribal ceremonies.<sup>60</sup> The effects on tribal community also included the men of the tribe. Just as a sterile woman could not fulfill her traditional role, a man who failed to protect his wife from harm was frowned upon.<sup>61</sup> The authority and standing of a tribe that could not protect its women from harm would be similarly undermined.<sup>62</sup>

Perhaps the most significant effects lay in examination of the population as a whole. According to data from the Censuses of 1970 and 1980, the birth rate among Native American women dropped from an average of 3.79 children per woman to 1.80. Note that the figure of a 1.99 reduction is an average, and some groups, such as the Apaches, saw reductions of almost three children per woman.<sup>63</sup> Many Native American authors who have written on this subject lament what was essentially a missing generation of Native American children as the most terrible consequence of the IHS's sterilization abuses.<sup>64</sup>

The IHS's sterilization abuses were part of a larger pattern of medical misconduct that occurred in this period. The organization also used Native American children in federally administrated boarding schools for medical experimentation from 1967- 1968 and again from 1972-1973.<sup>65</sup> Since the IHS served as the children's legal guardians at these schools, it did not deem it necessary to obtain parental consent for participation in the studies.<sup>66</sup> These

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<sup>58</sup> Lawrence, 413-414.

<sup>59</sup> Langston, 8.

<sup>60</sup> Carpio, 50; Lawrence, 410.

<sup>61</sup> Greg Turosak, "Charting a Path For the Future," *Bismarck Tribune*, Oct. 23, 1981, pg. 49.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>63</sup> U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of the Population Subject Report: American Indians*. and *1980 Census of the Population Subject Report: American Indians by Tribes and Selected Areas* (Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census, June 1971): 141-147.

<sup>64</sup> Carpio, 51.

<sup>65</sup> Comptroller General, 3.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

studies consisted of research involving medications, vaccines, and procedures.<sup>67</sup> In addition to the IHS's actions, other medical abuses occurred. Physicians in the United States also coercively sterilized many African American, Latin American, and poor white women in much the same manner as Native American women.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, certain US federally funded agencies operating internationally sterilized both men and women in the developing countries of Central and South America and Africa.<sup>69</sup> The 1942-1972 Tuskegee experiments on syphilis represent another concurrent medical controversy. These experiments, conducted by the Public Health Service, involved 400 poor, rural African American men who suffered from syphilis.<sup>70</sup> The physicians deceived the men by telling them that they were being treated for "bad blood."<sup>71</sup> In reality, their syphilis was being allowed to run its course. When this came to light in 1972, the experiment was labeled by some sources as genocide, a moniker that some would later apply to the sterilization abuses inflicted by the IHS.<sup>72</sup> All of these instances represent similar ejections of ethics in the American medical community.

IHS physicians' actions have troubling implications. They, and others, forsook the creed, "Do no harm," in favor of closely held personal motivations. Instead of the neutrality and benevolence often attributed to physicians, many of them held subversive beliefs and chose to enact these on their patients. Rutecki notes that some of these underlying motivations are still alive in the medical field's recent zeal for genetics and the continuance of "rich monetary rewards dedicated solely to technique."<sup>73</sup> Indeed, American physicians have twice proven—once in the first half of the twentieth century and again in the second—that they can fall prey to a malevolent and harmful scientific or social zeitgeist.

Without a doubt, the actions of the IHS were unethical and inhumane. The physicians, who held self-professed eugenic beliefs, took advantage of their patients' dependency on them and new federal funding to coercively sterilize Native American women. The IHS did little to rectify the situation, leaving the abuses unpunished while the victims went on to deal with a host of emotional

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 2-16.

<sup>68</sup> Kluchin, "Locating the Voices of the Sterilized," 133.

<sup>69</sup> Carpio, 40.

<sup>70</sup> Susan M. Reverby, "More than Fact and Fiction: Cultural Memory and the Tuskegee Syphilis Study," *The Hastings Center Report* 31, no. 5 (September- October, 2001): 30.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>72</sup> Arthur L. Caplan, "When Evil Intrudes," *The Hastings Center Report* 22, no. 6 (November-December, 1992): 29.

<sup>73</sup> Rutecki, 35, 40.

and social problems. The IHS's abuses of the seventies represented one part of a wider trend of unethical medical activity, perpetrated against victims reminiscent of those targeted by the original American eugenics movement. The continued oversight of the IHS remains a concern for Native Americans, and as long as the organization is largely left to its own devices, sterilization abuse remains a very real fear for Native Americans.

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## Primary Literature Review

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### *Germania*

#### Will Alexander

*Germania* (c. 98 AD) was written by Tacitus, a famous Roman historian and political entity whose work is still analyzed by historians today. Tacitus was born in northern Italy in 56 A.D and died in 117 A.D. He was an influential member of Roman society serving as a senator in 81 A.D. and as a consul under Emperor Nerva in 97 A.D. The majority of Tacitus' works that remain today concentrate on the tyranny of the emperors, such as *The Histories* and *The Annals*. Tacitus was revered by founding fathers of the United States, such as John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson is quoted as writing in 1808 that "Tacitus I consider the first writer in the world without a single exception. His book is a compound of history and morality of which we have no other example." Historian Will Durant, author of such works as *The Story of Civilization*, wrote "[We must] rank Tacitus among the greatest. . . . The portraits he draws stand out more clearly, stride the stage more livingly than any others in historical literature." Tacitus is an important part of modern-day historians' knowledge of ancient Rome and other ancient cultures such as those in *Germania*. *Germania* gives the reader a brief glimpse into the culture of several Germanic tribes that have very little written record to study.

*Germania* describes some of the barbarian tribes which inhabited the area north of the Roman Empire. It describes the region both critically and in admiration depending on the subject he is discussing at the moment. The book begins with a general description of the culture, terrain and inhabitants of the area and concludes with a specific description of certain tribes in more detail. Tacitus explains that the region of *Germania* is situated between the natural barriers of the Rhine River, the Danube River, the mountain ranges separating them from the Dacians and Samaritans and the "Ocean" or Baltic Sea.<sup>1</sup> According to his description, the terrain is "unlovely in scenery," it has a "bitter climate," and it is "dreary to inhabit or even to behold".<sup>2</sup> The German people were believed to be the natives of the land because Tacitus could not believe anyone else would

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<sup>1</sup> 35.

<sup>2</sup> 35.

want to immigrate to the dreary land to live there.<sup>3</sup> Tacitus describes the German people as “never being tainted by intermarriage with other nations” and they were said to possess mostly “wild blue eyes, red hair, and huge frames that excel in violent effort.”<sup>4</sup> The environment is either “bristled with woods” or “festered with swamps.”<sup>5</sup>

After giving the reader a glimpse of how the people and the land of Germania appeared, Tacitus began to discuss the economy and culture of the Germanic people. Germania was fertile in grain crops but lacked fruit trees.<sup>6</sup> The flocks of livestock possessed by the Germanic people were described by Tacitus as rich in number but mostly they were undersized. He explained however that the number of animals rather than the quality of them was what the Germanic people valued.<sup>7</sup> They had no great gold or silver deposits and only those tribes nearest to the Empire used these to trade with the Romans.<sup>8</sup> The inner tribes relied more on bartering than those tribes closer to the Romans and they valued silver coins over gold because they were more common.<sup>9</sup> After discussing the economy of the German peoples, Tacitus began to discuss their militaristic characteristics. The Germanic people used spears or *frameae* for both close and long distance fighting.<sup>10</sup> The soldiers were armed with only shields and spears and they either fought naked or were only lightly clad in cloaks.<sup>11</sup> Their tactics were simplistic. The cavalry charged straight ahead, and the strength of the Germanic forces was found in their infantry.<sup>12</sup> They used retreat as a tactic and it was not seen as a sign of cowardice. He notes that even in the thick of the fighting the Germanic people recovered their dead from the fray.<sup>13</sup>

The leaders and kings are described by Tacitus in his next paragraph. He writes that the kings came from noble birth and that the leaders were elected based upon acts of valor but even though they are leaders or kings they were not allowed to punish the people. That job belonged to the priests and was only done in obedience to the god they believed presides over battle.<sup>14</sup> The Germanic

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<sup>3</sup> 35.

<sup>4</sup> 36.

<sup>5</sup> 37.

<sup>6</sup> 37.

<sup>7</sup> 37.

<sup>8</sup> 37.

<sup>9</sup> 37.

<sup>10</sup> 37.

<sup>11</sup> 37.

<sup>12</sup> 37.

<sup>13</sup> 37.

<sup>14</sup> 38.

people were said to revere their women and would bring their wounded to their mothers and wives who would heal them and would encourage the men during battle.<sup>15</sup> Tradition states that many battles were pulled back from the edge of defeat by the women pleading with their soldiers and baring their breasts as they cried out how close they were to enemy enslavement.<sup>16</sup>

Tacitus then begins to describe the religious beliefs of the Germanic people. The Germanic people worshiped Mercury above all other gods but they also worshiped Hercules, Mars, and Isis.<sup>17</sup> A major difference between the Roman worship and Germanic worship of these gods however was that the Germanic people felt it unnecessary to “imprison” the gods in a building or representing them with human features, whereas the Romans built temples and statues of the gods.<sup>18</sup> Instead of building temples, the Germanic people consecrated woods or groves for the gods.<sup>19</sup> The casting of lots and divination were important traditions. The casting of lots was a process done by the state priest or the father of a family. They cut fruit tree branches into slivers and marked them with certain symbols. They threw them on the ground, then picked up three at random, and followed what they said.<sup>20</sup> A peculiar practice of divination used by the Germanic people was riding the sacred white horses and listening to their neighs and snorts to receive word from the gods.<sup>21</sup> The way they determined if they should go to war with a certain people was to put a prisoner of whomever they are thinking about going to war with into combat with one of their heroes, and if the prisoner won then the people knew not to go to war with them.<sup>22</sup> Unlike the Romans, the Germanic people counted time by using nights instead of days.<sup>23</sup>

The characteristic that Tacitus seemed to revere most about the Germanic people, as opposed to the Romans, was their idea of marriage. He says that the Germanic people had only one mate and that they were devoted to each other and that adultery was not very widespread in the culture. Tacitus says virginity was highly valued in Germanic society and that the dowry would be given by the husband and not the wife. The Germanic people lived separately from each

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<sup>15</sup> 38.

<sup>16</sup> 38.

<sup>17</sup> 39.

<sup>18</sup> 39.

<sup>19</sup> 39.

<sup>20</sup> 39.

<sup>21</sup> 39, 40.

<sup>22</sup> 40.

<sup>23</sup> 40.



other and did not live in cities with connecting buildings like the Romans. They were described as wearing short cloaks held together with a brooch or animal skins. The slaves were not treated like slaves were treated in Rome. Instead, they had their own land and families and just paid tribute to their owner. The women and children did all the domestic work while the husbands ate to the point of gluttony and occasionally went hunting.<sup>24</sup> The Germanic people considered it impious to turn away strangers from the door, thus they were very hospitable and would give the guests whatever they wanted. When the host ran out they moved on to the next house where the new host had to provide for both guests. Tacitus says there was no pomp about their funerals. If it were a man who had died he was burned on a funeral pyre with his weapons and sometimes his horse, and then that was the end of it.

The second part of the book Tacitus goes from tribe to tribe and describes them in a couple of sentences. Overall, it comes off disjointed. Tacitus explains that the closer the Germanic people are to Rome the more Roman they act. The Batavians are described as the bravest tribe in the region. Tacitus then goes in to greater detail about the Chatti and their customs regarding hair. The Chatti let their hair and facial hair grow and remain unkempt until they slew an enemy in battle, after which they were allowed to cut their hair and shave their beards. Tacitus ends talking about the Germanic people when he reaches the Sitones. His last comments about them are that they are below the level of slaves because they are ruled by a woman. This part of the book is just a description of certain groups of people in Germania, and it gets rather convoluted.

I thought the first part of the book was fairly disorganized and jumped from subject to subject rather quickly and with no real transition. The second part of the book was difficult because I was not sure what Tacitus was saying or whom he was speaking of from sentence to sentence. He was humorous in some parts of the book as when he says that he believes the Germanic people have to be natives of the land because no one else would want to live there.<sup>25</sup> I also thought it was quite humorous when Tacitus was describing the Sitones. He said that the Sitones are alike in every way to the Suiones, except that they are ruled by a woman. This, writes Tacitus, is the extent of their decline- not merely below freedom, but below decent slavery.<sup>26</sup> Tacitus praises two parts of the Germanic people's society rather highly. He is very taken with the Germanic people's

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<sup>24</sup> 42.

<sup>25</sup> 35.

<sup>26</sup> 57.

concept of marriage and with their hospitality. On all other things Tacitus talks rather poorly about the Germanic people in order to glorify Rome. *Germania* was a comparison of Germania and Rome where Tacitus glorified the Germanic traits he thought surpassed the Romans and put down the Germanic traits he believed the Romans were superior in. I thought that the first part of the book gave the reader a good mental image of the wild land of Germania and the people who inhabited it, although the second half shifted too quickly from tribe to tribe.

## Book Reviews

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Bergin, Joseph. *The Rise of Richelieu*. Yale University: Yale University Press, 1991.

Jackie Barnett

*The Rise of Richelieu* by Dr. Joseph Bergin is perhaps one of the best books on the absolutist cardinal. Bergin brilliantly breaks away from the standard Richelieu scholarship by giving detailed information on Richelieu's family, early career, and his eventual rise to power rather than other scholars who tend to start their books during Richelieu's adulthood in which he already possessed much power. Bergin believes that his descriptive biography of Richelieu will help his readers understand how a man from a weak noble family eventually rose to power and went from the Duke of Richelieu to the political fist of Louis XIII as chief minister.

The book begins by attempting to explain Richelieu's family genealogy to the reader. Bergin mentions that although modern historians and genealogists have compiled more accurate accounts of Richelieu's family there are still some problems with the information. One such problem is Richelieu hired a genealogist to rewrite his family history in order to make himself appear to be an even higher rank of nobility by birth. This introduction informs the reader of Bergin's main point of writing this book, which is to try and provide a more modern and historically accurate narrative of Richelieu's family, early life, and career in order to eliminate the misconceptions of Richelieu and his family.

Bergin discusses Richelieu's father and mother, François de Plessis and Suzanne de La Porte. The two married in order to merge their wealth and would eventually gain more wealth and influence during the French Wars of Religion. During the wars, Bergin explains how François de Plessis strategically put himself into a position to prove his loyalty to King Henri III. His loyalty was proven by staunchly supporting King Henri III when many of his nobles were declaring their allegiance to the Huguenots in southern France. Once the wars were over, François's loyalty was rewarded by a promotion to *Grand Prevot*. This promotion set François's family close to the French monarchy.

After the detailed account of Richelieu's family, Bergin then discusses how Richelieu gained so much power within a very short amount of time. Bergin explains that after finishing his theology studies in 1604, the young Richelieu was in a position to gain power fairly quickly. His family was still regarded as a loyal servant to the monarchy, so in 1608 Richelieu was rewarded by being consecrated as a Bishop of Luçon and in 1614 became a representative to the Estates-General. After this rise to power, Richelieu temporarily lost his power due to the monarchical problems occurring at this time. Marie de Medici and her son Louis XIII were both vying for power, and since Richelieu was promoted by Marie de Medici due to her position as Regent, Richelieu was regarded as being loyal to her which deemed him a threat to the young King. Once Louis XIII exiled his mother, Richelieu was also sent into exile. However, Louis XIII's favorite adviser, Duc de Luynos, died which led to Richelieu being called back into service. Bergin then explains that after this position was attained, Richelieu soon became a cardinal in 1622 due to Richelieu's strong connections with the Catholic Church which furthered his power and influence.

Bergin then discusses how Richelieu used his power to eliminate the King's enemies and helped found absolutism. He explains how Richelieu used his position to effectively eliminate the King's protestant enemies in southern France and used his persuasiveness to compel the king to develop a more powerful monarchy where the King had almost complete control. Bergin mentions that it was Cardinal Richelieu who helped create and progress the absolutist French monarchy which would later become famous under Louis XIV.

Bergin's book uses a wide variety of primary and secondary sources. His primary sources include many manuscripts and printed books from the French archives which were written by Richelieu or by the people that knew him, and his secondary sources mainly included books from other historians who wrote about Richelieu years after his death.

Dr. Bergin's book has excellent organization and flows very well. He has organized the book into different sections on Richelieu's family, early career, time in exile, and finally his rise to chief minister under Louis XIII. Bergin also includes a chronology of French history during the time of Richelieu and Richelieu's family genealogy chart which is very helpful for any reader to understand 17<sup>th</sup> century France.

Arjava, Antti *Women and Law in Late Antiquity* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996)

Peyton Paradiso

Antti Arjava's *Women and Law in Late Antiquity* takes a historical look at the changes and challenges that women faced throughout the Late Ancient period. Because of the lack of historical accounts that address the daily activities of women in the Late Ancient world, Arjava utilizes numerous legal documents to paint a portrait of the Roman woman's identity. While Arjava states from the beginning that "this is not first and foremost a legal history"<sup>1</sup>, the majority of *Women and Law in Late Antiquity* focuses on the way law changes from the second century to the seventh century, with a particular focus on how those changes affect the lives of late ancient women. Arjava explores every facet of a woman's life, from the relationships between parents and their children, married versus single life, relations outside of marriage, and how women function in the society of men. This paper considers how Arjava examines the effects of Christianity on the status of women as it gained a hold throughout the Roman Empire, as well as Arjava's assertion that the influence of Christianity on the status of women has been "greatly exaggerated."<sup>2</sup>

Arjava begins his account with a description of his sources which include many legal documents that discuss the status of women, and also church documents, such as letters and sermons. The first subject that Arjava addresses is the relationship between fathers and their children. He examines the father's "dominate position", his absolute authority (*patria potestas*) over his family members, and the way that marriage is viewed in the empire from both a pagan and Christian perspective. Arranged marriages were standard practice for this time period, and fathers had the primary role of choosing a suitable spouse for their children. "In the Roman Empire, people were not expected to marry for love."<sup>3</sup> The practice of arranged marriages prevailed throughout the flourishing

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<sup>1</sup> Antti Arjava, *Women and Law in Late Antiquity* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 28.

Roman empire, and evidence of these arrangements can be seen from the beginning of the empire. Marriage was primarily a financial contract between two families; it had very close ties with the political world. Even though many of the criteria for finding a suitable partner dealt with wealth and power, there might have been a small amount of room for romance. But romance usually came in last place when looking for a potential marriage partner. The most stringent rule when it came to choosing a life partner was that neither males nor females could enter into a marriage without the advisement or permission of their fathers (*pater familias*).<sup>4</sup> Matchmakers were often used to arrange marriages for citizens of a specific social class. They tried to make the most profitable and suitable matches for those in prominent social standings. Even though the marriages were arranged, children could not, under the law, be forced to marry anyone. Children were strongly encouraged to marry those who their fathers found suitable, and usually followed through with their wishes. Males occasionally took finding a partner into their own hands, and sought their father's consent after the fact. Sometimes the fathers found their choice for marriage suitable, other times they did not. The father was the most appropriate one to find a suitable match for his children, and in most cases he was not very fond of the idea of someone else taking on the responsibility. Sons were married off at later ages than daughters. The early marriages of females were seen as a way for fathers to make sure a suitable, reliable match was made that would benefit not only the daughter, but also the family. This ideology was shared in the Christian faith as well. Christian believers saw the father as the head of the household that made the most important decisions, and saw the children as those whose role was to follow the lead of the father.<sup>5</sup>

While males did occasionally have some say in who they married, daughters had no such luxury. Another difference was that females were married at a much younger age, and in most cases significantly younger than their husbands. Comparing ages of brides in both pagan and Christian traditions, Arjava finds that Christian brides were slightly older than their pagan counterparts.<sup>6</sup> Arjava makes reference to the "Mediterranean Marriage Pattern", a study that found obvious patterns of young brides in Late Antiquity. The pattern also showed a pattern of age differences between spouses that ranged from eight to ten years on average. Since life expectancy varied and fathers could pass away at mid-life, they married their daughters off young, thereby assuring time to find a suitable

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 128.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 30.

match for their daughters.<sup>7</sup> Even though fathers were the primary instigators when it came to arranging their children's betrothed, mothers often played a part in choosing a marital match for their daughters and sons.

When dealing with the marriage of women only, there was the question of the guardianship. The *tutela mulierum* part of Roman law (a very old traditional idea), stated that "all Romans who were no longer in their father's power were in principle independent citizens. However, not only under age children, but also adult women were required to have a guardian."<sup>8</sup> Women who had moved from their father's home were technically no longer under his control, but that "guardianship" usually transferred to their husband. Guardianship of women, however, was on the decline by the beginning of Late Antiquity. The reason for this continual guardianship was that women were considered "scatterbrained" and therefore unfit to see to any monetary or political matters without their guardian's guidance.<sup>9</sup> Eventually the laws on guardianship shifted. For instance, in 241CE, there was a standard age (25) for one to become independent no matter their marital status. This law went back to an old practice of a freeborn woman with three or four children being considered independent. When the age standard was established, law makers debating the issue concluded that by the time a woman reached the age of 25 she would most likely have had three or four children and therefore would be independent. In the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE the laws were revised reducing the age for independence of women to eighteen. Eventually the entire idea of guardianship was taken out of Roman law. Evidence of guardianship cases disappears as early as the Theodosian time period.

All of these laws regulating the decisions women were competent to make originated with ideas of power within a marriage. Ideas about who held the power in a *manus* (ancient Roman marriage) maybe separated into two different categories. If marriages were constructed in a *cum manu* fashion, wives gave away their right to their own property and their claim of free will to their husband. They also lost any control they would have over their future children and decisions that pertained to them. The alternative was a *sine manu* contract. Under this agreement the wife's property was in no way transmitted to her husband or her new family.<sup>10</sup> By about the fourth century the *cum manu* practice

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 112.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 123.

had been almost entirely replaced by the *sine manu* practice. In the case of a *sine manu* marital contract, the wife and husband were never a part of the same family, and the wife was technically still under the control of her father.<sup>11</sup>

Arjava discusses the sanctity of marriage as something that was greatly glorified within the Church. While Romans did not necessarily marry for love, there was an idea of "matrimonial bliss" that was prevalent in Christian literature which was expected to develop overtime between spouses. With that being said, one cannot ignore the Christian advocates for devout celibacy, those who asserted that marriage would always lead to the breach of a pure lifestyle in pursuit of God. These advocates used stories of miserable marital unions to try to keep men from joining into such a relationship. This idea, however, was not confined to just the Christian population. Christians that promoted celibacy advocated for the practice as a way to avoid the "vexations" of marriage.<sup>12</sup> Men also had concerns when it came to holding power over their wives, another issue that the church addressed. Citing John Chrysostom, fourteenth century archbishop of Constantinople, and other Church figures of the time, Arjava solidifies his point that the Christian ideals went hand in hand with the concerns of the state, and therefore did not cause a profound shift in laws pertaining to women. Arjava goes on to evaluate cases of remarriage, divorce, and single life for women in the late ancient world. Remarriage was a common practice, especially when there was a very high mortality rate.<sup>13</sup> The influence of the Church can be seen in the case of women remaining single, a practice that, according to Arjava, Church officials encouraged. Divorce was a topic that the Roman state could fully agree on. Arjava argues that Christianization of the state did not cause a "hostility towards female divorce"<sup>14</sup>, because the hostility had always been there.

Moving from divorce, Arjava details the relationship that was formed by a marriage, what the Romans considered a "partnership for life involving divine as well as human law".<sup>15</sup> The human part of this statement refers to the inheritance of rank as a result of a marriage. If a woman was to marry above herself, she assumed the female counterpart of her husband's rank. The same happened if a woman chose to marry below her own status, in which case her societal rank lowered. Laws such as these were widely practiced in the early periods of the

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 128.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 190.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 191.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 124.



Roman empire, and they became a general rule throughout it. Also, the protections that a man acquired by virtue of his societal status were often extended to his wife, and even his children. Inheritance laws were another government imposition married couples faced. Without children, under Augustan laws on marriage, couples could only inherit one-tenth from their significant others possessions.<sup>16</sup> These types of regulations were a way for the empire to promote the building of families, thus ensuring that the empire would continue. While the church did not deem marriage as a necessity, the state did. This was not only to produce more Roman citizens, but also to continue family lineage and tradition.<sup>17</sup> Women without children could not receive a large portion of their husband's estate. Those who had children received more than their share of the estate and could fraction it off for their offspring; all the while aiding in the population growth of the Empire. Other restrictions for childless couples were lifted when Constantine came to power in the fourth century, and by the early fifth century inheritance restrictions were completely lifted for these couples. This led to the practice of mutual wills between spouses that can be seen in the Merovingian period.<sup>18</sup>

Within the traditional Christian marital union, there was commonly an understood shared respect between spouses. The husband was responsible for duties outside of the house, whereas the wife was in charge of domestic responsibilities. Men would most likely be absent from the house, working in the religious aspect of their life. The man was always, of course, the head of the household, with his wife and children under him. The man as the head of the household was traditional, but not because of Christian influences. This goes back to the tradition of a father choosing a suitable mate for his daughter, and controlling other aspects of his family's life. The notion that men were the heads of the household was tied to the fact that women were much younger when they were married off, often times to a much older man. In terms of shared respect, in no way was a man and his wife equal. The fact that the man "was expected to be the dominate partner in marriage" can be seen not only in Roman time periods, but also in more modern times.<sup>19</sup> It cannot be suggested that men held all power within a marriage, especially in more upper class relationships, where women could control a considerable amount of property that their husband had limited rights to. Some men feared that their well to do wives might betray them and

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 126.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 111.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 150.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

dictate the direction of the marriage. This fear lasted well into the late ancient period.<sup>20</sup>

Marriage in the late ancient world was much like the institution in more modern times. Antti Arjava goes into great detail about the various aspects of marriage during the Roman Empire, and makes it evident that marriage was a vital part of the time period. It was seen as a way to continue a family, and to insure the smooth transition of property. Without the prolonged tradition of marriage, familial relationships would not have been integrated into every part of Roman culture. Sometimes the main values within a marriage were overlooked, such as love within the union, or sharing power within the relationship. Even without that shared power, however, these unions were a means of protection for women, families, and property. Antti Arjava gives a clear, enlightened look into the legal lives of women in Late Antiquity, while simultaneously giving a meticulously detailed account of the importance of marriage and family in the Roman empire. His argument that Christianity did not have a profound impact on the changing role of women when it came to Roman law is supported throughout his work. One must ask if Arjava does the subject of women in the Late Ancient world justice by using primarily legal document to support his thesis. Taking uncertainty into account, Arjava's does an excellent job of using those sources to enforce the idea that the legal lives of women, especially when it came to marriage, were minutely effected by Christian influences, and that the laws themselves only slightly differed after Christianity was established in the late ancient world.

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

## Department News for 2013-14

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The Department of History is proud to announce the beginning of its Master of Arts in History program in the fall of 2014. Available both online and in-class, the 36-hour MA degree will provide students with advanced historical knowledge and prepare them with the analytical, writing, and research skills necessary for careers in teaching as well as historical professions such as those with museums, archives, historical societies, research organizations, nonprofits, and consulting firms. The M.A. in history also prepares students for advanced graduate programs. Students will be able to choose from a thesis track or non-thesis track in the program, as well as several options for concentrated study. Students not currently enrolled in a graduate program at Troy may apply online to the History MA program at <https://admissions.troy.edu/graduate/applying/applyOnline>.

Students who wish to transfer from one Troy graduate program to the History MA program should contact the department. For more information, contact Dr. Scout Blum at [sblum@troy.edu](mailto:sblum@troy.edu).

### Faculty Research and Awards:

This winter, David Carlson will have an article published in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* on Civil War history titled “‘Remember thy Pledge!’: Religious and Reformist Influences on Joseph E. Brown’s Opposition to Confederate Conscription.” (winter issue, 2014)

Rob Kruckeberg’s article, “The Royal Lottery and the Old Regime: Financial Innovation and Modern Political Culture,” was published in *French Historical Studies*, 37:1 (2014): 25-51.

Dan Puckett’s book, *In the Shadow of Hitler: Alabama Jews, the Second World War, and the Holocaust*, was published by the University of Alabama Press in January 2014. Dr. Puckett will also be leading a 10-day study abroad tour to the British Isles this May.

Karen Ross also has a forthcoming article appearing this spring in *New York History* on American scientists and the interwar antivivisection movement,

“Winning Women’s Votes: Defending Animal Experimentation and Women’s Clubs in New York, 1920-1930.” (spring issue, 2014)

Joe McCall was honored for his service to Troy’s freshmen, winning the First-Year Advocate Award for 2012-2013 at the Freshman Convocation. Our colleague, Dr. Nathan Alexander, for whom this journal is named, was the award’s first recipient.

Sandy Mihal announces the birth of her twelfth grandchild, Cooper Joseph!

## Gratitude

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Each year, dozens of professors and students work together to write and rewrite articles, evaluate submissions, edit articles, and assemble the final issue. Co-editors Peyton Paradiso and Karen Ross would like to express their appreciation to the department, faculty and students alike, for working so hard to produce this volume of the *Alexandrian*. Thank you for giving your time and talents.

We would also like to express our deep gratitude to the Alexander family: Sandra, Steve, Rachel, Andrew, Sarah, and Elisa. The Alexanders have supported our students, this journal, and Phi Alpha Theta financially, spiritually, and academically for years. Thank you for your generosity! We especially thank you for sharing your stories about Nathan, our beloved colleague and teacher.

## Professor Nathan Alexander Remembered

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The following story was provided by Steve Alexander, Nathan's father.

In April of 2005 Nathan called his mother and said that he had found a position in a history department that had just opened up in Troy, Alabama. He asked, "Mom, should I apply? I'm not even sure where Troy, Alabama is." His mother and I both encouraged him and said we would pray for God's will. To make a long story short, Nathan contacted Troy U. and Dr. Bryant Shaw, head of the History Department at Troy, and an interview was arranged. Nathan flew into Montgomery and was met by Dr. Shaw. They became instant friends ... and Nathan became a finalist for the opening in the History Department. Nathan was not an automatic first choice, as the current head of the History Department, Allen Jones, relates: "The last Harvard graduate to work in Troy's history department stuck it out for a single semester before bolting. I remember wrestling with this fact as I sat on my back porch, pouring over candidates' files. The best candidate was a fellow from Harvard, and I recall finally convincing myself to throw caution to the wind. What's to say another guy from Harvard won't like Troy? So we hired Nathan. And I was wrong. He didn't like Troy; rather, he flat out loved it! Nathan's fondness for Troy arose from something bigger, a love for life."

Thanks Nathan.

Phi Alpha Theta Inductees, Fall & Spring 2013-14

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Joshua R. Corey  
Richard K. Gibson  
Savannah Grantham  
Robert O. Holmstrom  
Raymond Lopez  
Joshua T. Luker  
Joshua McLaney  
Connor I. McCreery  
Dr. Robin K. O'Sullivan  
Kenyanarda J. Posey  
Ryan A. Roberts  
Stephen B. Sharpe  
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