

WORLD with the Trade winds
irradiations By H. Moll Geographer

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June 6 are Northern, the other Southern Signs
July Sagittarius November
August Capricornus December
September Aquarius January
October Scorpis February

Perspectives in HISTORY

VOL. XX, 2004-2005

PHI ALPHA THETA
ALPHA BETA PHI CHAPTER



The Chapter thanks Dr. Erik Jackson, Assistant Professor of History, for guiding our fieldtrip to the Underground Railroad Freedom Center.

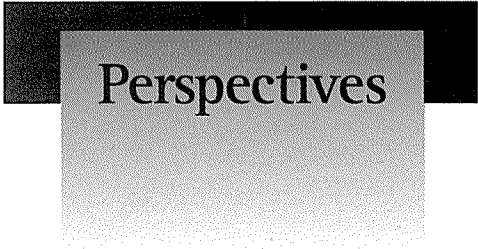
Photo by Elizabeth Comer

COVER ART:
*Herman Moll's
"A New Map of the
Whole World"
(1732).*

*Courtesy of the David
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Perspectives

JOURNAL OF ALPHA BETA PHI
CHAPTER OF PHI ALPHA THETA

Perspectives in HISTORY

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Letter from the President

It is with great pleasure that I finish one of my final tasks as Phi Alpha Theta President and introduce you to the student journal *Perspectives in History*. Over the years the journal has become a well known and respected student publication, both on Northern Kentucky University's campus, and within our national organization. This could not have happened without the help and support of the individuals who have made contributions to this year's journal. When you begin thanking people for their effort it is impossible to mention everyone by name, because it never fails that someone is forgotten. So, I will apologize up front if I forget anyone.

Perspectives would never have gained the recognitions it has without great editors. This year's journal editor, Ken Crawford, is no exception to the rule. Thanks to the work of Ken, and his assistant editor, Miranda Hamrick, the 2004-2005 issue of *Perspectives in History* is an outstanding collection of student and faculty work. I would like to take a moment to thank the students and faculty who submitted papers for the journal. Also, a special thanks goes to the members of the faculty of the History and Geography Department who spoke to their students and encouraged them to submit papers.

This year has been a wonderful year for our chapter of Phi Alpha Theta. Not only did the chapter participate in events such as bake sales, the book sale, field trips, the Spring Share Project and the Annual Phi Alpha Theta banquet, but the chapter also decided to take on a couple of new projects. One such project was the Veterans History Project. With the help of Liz Comer, the chapter was able to become an official partner of the Library of Congress. The group was able to conduct over 25 interviews that will be used as primary research for historians for many generations to come. Another project was the Freshman Mentor Program. The administration asked members of the university community to help with retention. So, the chapter, under the

direction of Miranda Hamrick and Professor Susan DeLuca decided to set up a program to connect freshmen with upper classmen to help with needs the freshmen had.

Our chapter has always prided itself on its community involvement, this year was no different. The year started off with a bake sale for the United Way where the chapter donated over two hundred dollars to University Combined Giving Campaign. Many of our members have and are participating in the creation of a museum about a Civil War battery in our local area. After the terrible *tsunami* that hit Southeast Asia, Sri Lanka, and India, Phi Alpha Theta joined other members of the university community to raise money to support the Tsunami Relief Fund. The chapter's final project to give back was our Annual Spring Share Project where the chapter with the assistance of Beth Richter and Professor Bonnie May collected over seven thousand food and personal items from 23 organizations to give 4 local charities.

All of these events aided our chapter to become one of the top ten student organizations on our campus. The chapter would never have been able to achieve this honor without the support and dedication of our advisors, Dr. Jonathan Reynolds and Professor Bonnie May, the faculty of the History and Geography Department, office staff Amanda Watton, Jan Rachford, and Tonya Skelton, and most importantly the Chair of the History and Geography Department, Dr. Jeffrey Williams. Our chapter could not have achieved both local and national recognition without the constant support of these individuals as well as our University Administration, including President James Votruba, Provost Gail Wells, Interim Dean Phillip Schmidt, and Dean of Students Kent Kelso, who is a fellow Phi Alpha Theta member. Also, special thanks must be extended to the staff of the University Printing office for their excellent work in printing our flyers, posters, newsletter, and this journal.

This year was another outstanding year for our chapter, and it could not have been done without an outstanding group of officers: Miranda Hamrick, Emily Keller, Amanda Watton, Liz Comer, Ken Crawford, and Beth Richter. These officers insured that this year ran smoothly and made my job much easier. This will be a year that I will never forget and everyone involved will always have a special place in my heart. Between the fall and spring semester of this year, I lost someone very important to me, my Grandpa. I received so many kind words and notes from faculty and members. These people will never truly understand what that meant to me. For this I will be forever grateful. I hope that you enjoy reading this year's journal; it is truly a remarkable collection of work.

James A. Pollitt
President, Alpha Beta Phi Chapter, Phi Alpha Theta

Perspectives

Foreword

As I sat down and began to write this foreword, I came to realize that this journal, and in fact this very message, are the last works I will produce as a student at Northern Kentucky University. While this situation is very exciting, I can't but help to feel a bit saddened by the occasion. When I was chosen to be the editor of the 20th volume of *Perspectives in History*, I was of course very pleased. I realized that this was an opportunity to not only strengthen my writing and editorial skills, but to carry on an award-winning tradition that will help me in my future academic career. I have often been asked, "is it difficult to be editor?" or "what do you do as editor?" I must say that while a challenge, the actual process was at the same time not what I would call difficult. The reason for this is very simple. I am standing on the shoulders of giants.

I'd like to thank the phenomenal people who have helped me in my journey to become an historian, as well as those that have contributed to the production of this particular volume of *Perspectives in History*. I began my journey at NKU as a disenchanting music major with no real direction as far as what I wanted to really study or do with my life. I languished in my own lack of musical virtuosity for several years, until I was plucked from the depths of American History 103 by Dr. James Ramage. I have always been a strong student, but I really started to focus in on history and writing after becoming associated with Dr. Ramage. Dr. Ramage has been not only an instructor to me, but a mentor and friend. From him I really learned the basics of historical writing and research. I had the privilege of serving as his research assistant during the summer of 2004. This opportunity allowed me to further strengthen my skills under the direction of a fine scholar and genuinely positive influence. I really cannot say enough good things about Dr. Ramage.

Another important stage in my education began long before I met Dr.

Ramage. During the first semester of my freshman year, I ran into Dr. Jonathan Reynolds. I had enrolled in a European history survey, which was being taught oddly enough by a specialist in West African political history. Little did I realize at that point, what an impact this crazy Africanist would come to have on my academic career. When I became a history major, Dr. Reynolds was assigned as my advisor, and I continued to take classes he offered. I came to develop immense respect for Dr. Reynolds, as well as a positive working relationship. This was a great thing, because Dr. Reynolds is now the faculty advisor for Northern Kentucky University's Alpha Beta Phi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, and in that capacity, he is also the faculty advisor for *Perspectives in History*. Just as with Dr. Ramage, I cannot say enough good things about Dr. Reynolds. He has been responsible for teaching me what a scholar really does, as well as why a scholar writes, and has broadened my outlook on the world. He has also been a tremendously positive influence on the development of my writing style. It has been a pleasure to work with him.

The most important part of any journal is of course the work that is being published. This year's submissions have been phenomenal. It is hard to make mistakes when working with good material. I'd like to say a little bit about each particular article. Elizabeth Kamradt's "Colonial Jamestown and Cape Town: A Discussion of Early Changes and Lasting Outcomes," is an award-winning research paper that discusses the development of racial policies and attitudes within the context of commercialism in colonial America. This paper is the winner of the World History Association/Phi Alpha Theta student paper prize in the undergraduate division, and will soon be published in the *World History Bulletin*. Bethany Richter's "Hogs, Lawyers, and Governors: How Politics Changed the Hatfield and McCoy Feud," is groundbreaking in that it demonstrates the roles that outsiders and politicians played in the Hatfield and McCoy Feud. This paper firmly demonstrates that there were larger forces at work and argues against Appalachian stereotypes that resulted from the feud. This paper is also being published in the *Northern Kentucky Heritage Magazine*. Dawn McMillan's "Santeria: Syncretism and Salvation in the New World," provides insight into a relatively understudied phenomenon in world history. The process of religious syncretism has been responsible for a great deal of cultural development throughout the world. Ms. McMillan's paper specifically deals with the development of Santeria in Cuba from pre-existing Cuban religious traditions and those imported from Africa during the period of African enslavement. Finally, Robert J. Smith's "Man Proposes and God Disposes: The Religious Faith of Ulysses S. Grant," is an extremely well-researched paper which provides an account of a topic that is usually not discussed in context with Ulysses S. Grant. The subject of Grant's religious belief is very much an original topic, and we are pleased to publish this fine scholarship.

I would also like to thank Dr. Jeffrey Williams, chairperson of Northern Kentucky University's history and geography department. I recently had the pleasure of traveling to France with Dr. Williams. Dr. Williams is a rare breed amongst college professors and especially amongst chairs of academic departments. He is a very kind and sincere individual truly interested in the

welfare of his students and NKU's chapter of Phi Alpha Theta. He has always supported us in every endeavor. Much could not have been done without him behind us.

Last but not least, I'd like to thank Bonnie May. Bonnie May is the assistant faculty advisor to the Alpha Beta Phi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta. Bonnie is the organizational and logistical maven of Phi Alpha Theta. She and Beth Richter are really the "go to" people when a project must be completed. Until this past year, I had not really had a whole lot to do with Bonnie May. I have come to value her practical and personal wisdom in dealing with problems not only academic, but personal as well. Jokingly, I have been called her "personal sherpa" and I'm proud to bear that title.

Without further ado, I am pleased to offer the 20th volume of *Perspectives in History*. This year's articles and reviews cover a wide range of historical topics throughout the realm of world history. It has been my pleasure to continue the tradition of this award-winning journal, and this year we have unfailingly made an important contribution to historiography.

Kenneth J. Crawford
Editor

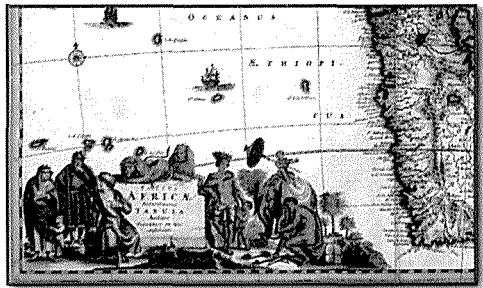
Perspectives

Colonial Jamestown and Cape Town: A Discussion of Early Changes and Lasting Outcomes

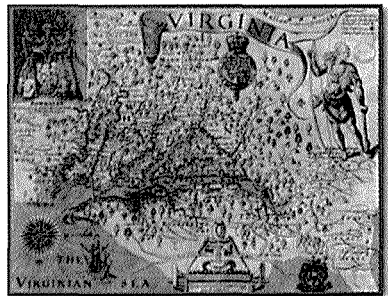
by

Elizabeth Kamradt

In the 17th Century, the Dutch VOC and the London Virginia Trading Company each established a tiny settlement on the shore of a vast and unfamiliar continent amidst established communities of different indigenous people. While their joint venture initiatives varied in terms of their business plans, both were profit driven, and each anticipated the establishment of long-term, interdependent trading relationships between their settlers and the local inhabitants in each location. Within a generation, both colonies' development plans and their attitudes toward their indigenous neighbors changed dramatically. These changes were strongly influenced by the interplay of a complex mixture of economic, cultural, and psychological tensions between not only the colonists and the indigenous inhabitants, but also between members of the different classes within the settlements themselves. An examination of early patterns within the Jamestown and Cape Town settlements provides interesting insights into



Frederik deWit, *Totius Africae*, 1680. Map courtesy of the Digital Library Center, University of Florida.



Map of Virginia, 1606, Library of Congress.

how the interplay of these factors combined to strategically shift colonial plans, transform early modern cultural perspectives, and set the stage for centuries of subjugation based on race and ethnicity.

Although the initial Dutch and English plans differed in terms of their reliance on trade versus direct settlement productivity, both plans clearly anticipated the establishment of direct, on-going interactions and trade relationships between their settlers and local, indigenous communities. The Dutch plan relied more heavily on trade, and according to MacKinnon, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) “initially had no intention of penetrating into the interior and settling the Cape,” in 1652.¹ Led by Jan Van Riebeeck, the 90 original colonists established Cape Town as a supply station for VOC ships engaged in the lucrative East Indies trade.² The Dutch commitment to this original business plan was so firm, that VOC officials were not allowed to own land,³ and the VOC did not lease land to 12 “free burghers” for farming until 1657.⁴ Although the London Virginia Company expected their colonists to focus their efforts more heavily on developing profitable agricultural, industrial, and mining enterprises, the 104 original Jamestown settlers⁵ were also expected to trade for furs and begin trading for food almost upon arrival:

In all your passages you must have great care not to offend the naturals...and employ some few of your company to trade with them for corn...for not being sure how your own seed corn will prosper the first year, to avoid the danger of famine, use and endeavor to store yourselves of the country corn.⁶

In addition to trading relationships, the 1606 “First Virginia Charter” also required the English settlers to develop personal ties with their indigenous neighbors with the express purpose of bringing the “Christian religion to suche people as yet live in darkenesse and miserable ignorance of the true knoweledge and worshippe of God.”⁷ Given their expressed intentions and the relatively small number of colonists who set sail, it is reasonable to assume that both the Dutch and English colonists left Europe sincerely hoping they would be able to quickly, and rather peacefully, develop interdependent trading and on-going relationships with the Khoena⁸ of South Africa and the Algonquin in the Pawmunkey Empire in Virginia.

As the early colonists waded ashore, their perspectives toward the native inhabitants were shaped by their gender-based and class-based social systems, pre-Enlightenment Christian ideology, and their mercantile economic systems. Unlike our modern worldview, early modern ethnocentrism was not racially oriented, and according to Kupperman, race would have been an “utterly foreign” factor for English settlers since they did not divide “humankind into broad fixed classifications demarcated by visible distinction.” The early Jamestown colonists would have initially perceived the physical differences they observed between themselves and the indigenous people they met as being “accidental” and “acquired characteristics” due to “environment and experience” and not as being “inborn,” determinist attributes.⁹

Underscoring the class-based focus of this early modern perspective,

Kupperman provides an excerpt from a letter written to the Jamestown treasurer, Master George Sandys, by Michael Drayton in 1622.

But you may save your labour if you please, / To write me ought of
your Savages. / As savage slaves be in great Britaine here, / As any
one that you can shew me there.¹⁰

Echoing Drayton's perspective, the Governor of Cape Town from 1679 to 1699, Simon van der Stel, observed that the 'Souqua' were "just the same as the poor in Europe, each tribe of Hottentots...employing 'them' as soldiers and hunters."¹¹ Drayton and van der Stel's observations illustrate that the 17th century gentry viewed indigenous inhabitants through a class-based prism based on their own hierarchical societies and that pejorative terms like "savage" were not exclusively applied to people of color in other lands.

According to Toby Freund, the Cape settlers "clearly located the native Khoisan within the human community and conceived of these people through the same concepts, adjectives, and nouns by which they considered their own society."¹² Guided by their Eurocentric perceptions of civility, early colonists focused on outward manifestations such as: 1) physical posture, poise, and perceived physical health and beauty; 2) social distinctions demonstrated by costume and ceremony; 3) communal and individual abilities to store resources against times of need, and 4) evidence of a willingness to abandon perceived idolatry in favor of Christian spirituality as all being signs of civility.¹³ High status individuals exhibiting Eurocentric signs of civility were often described in quite positive terms, and were sometimes even accorded titles of nobility by early colonial authors. In a 1662 memorandum to his successor, Jan van Riebeeck referred to the Khoi Chief Oedaso as being a "hereditary king or chief."¹⁴ In 1585, John White referred to leaders within the Pawmunkey Empires as, "The Princes Of Virginia," and in keeping with the early modern perspective, White included a detailed description of the hair, adornments, posture, proportions, and clothing styles for both men and women in the ruling class.¹⁵ In 1584, Amadas and Barlowe succinctly captured the perspective of the time as they described a group of high status Algonquin as, "the Kings brother, accompanied with fortie or fiftie men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civill as any of Europe."¹⁶ Conversely, the perceived absence of Eurocentric attributes of civility was frequently taken as being indicative of inadequacy or savagery.

Early settlers commonly used these standards to make differentiated judgments between individuals within the same indigenous populations, reinforcing the early colonists' disinterest in broad racial stereotypes. According to Marks, "the Dutch did not distinguish between, Khoi and San, on physical grounds," but rather their discriminations "resembled class divisions" and described a way of life: a "Hottentot or Khoi was a herder; a Bushman or San someone who quite literally lived in or by the "bush."¹⁷ The pastoral Khoi lived in larger communities with hereditary chiefdoms and differentiated socioeconomic systems based on the size of their cattle herds.¹⁸ During the initial years, the Dutch developed interdependent trading relationships, employed, and even married some Khoi

women.¹⁹ The hunting and gathering San who had few personal possessions, lived in small groups and rarely had chiefs, were less well regarded by the Dutch. In 1620, Alvero Velho described a Cape San as follows:

The inhabitants of the country towards the point of the Cape are, I believe, the most miserable savages which have been discovered up to now, since they know nothing of sowing or of gear for plowing or cultivating the soil, nor anything of fishing...They eat certain roots, which are their chief food...They cover their privities with the tail of a sheep, or wear a skin, of a sheep or other animal, like a scarf across one shoulder. For weapons they have an assagaye and a rather feeble bow, with its quiver.²⁰

While the settlers' initial perspectives were decidedly Eurocentric, and therefore inherently inequitable as applied to other cultures, it is difficult to imagine how they might have done or thought differently as they made their initial forays to establish global connections with different cultures. The notable point is that early European ethnocentrism did not initially include race-based, deterministic stereotypes, and instead, both the Jamestown and Cape Town colonists initially established their settlements with a cultural perspective based on their mercantile economic systems, their class-based societies, and their belief in the Divine Order of Being. It was this cultural perspective that came into conflict with the cultural requirements of native people in both locations, and it was this cultural perspective that was fundamentally changed as a result of events, tensions, and opportunities as the colonists developed new communities in new lands.

In addition to these cultural challenges, both groups of settlers were also affected by a significant psychological factor that further complicated attempts to establish amicable trading relationships with the local inhabitants and often served to bind the colonists together in spite of internal tensions. The English settlers were fully cognizant of the mysterious disappearance of the Roanoke Colony in Virginia in the 1580's, and the Dutch were aware of the fatal experiences of Portuguese on the Cape in the 14th and 15th centuries.²¹ Therefore, both groups of settlers began their colonial adventure in the psychologically dissonant position of simultaneously fearing the indigenous communities around them, and yet needing them for the food required for survival. As evidence of both settlements' concerns for their safety, both groups of colonists chose to spend their first days on shore building fortifications, and it was from within this framework that the colonists began their interactions with the native communities surrounding them.

During the early years of colonial development, the Khoena and Algonquin communities were far from being passive participants in a predetermined colonial drama, and native leaders and members within both these large, established communities had their own goals and agendas that significantly affected the course of events in both regions. As the European settlers began building their small forts, both the native communities enjoyed overwhelming population advantages, with 20,000 San and possibly over 100,000 Khoi living

in the vicinity of the Cape²² and 13,000 to 14,000 members of the Pawmunky Empire living in Virginia region.²³ The native communities also shared certain cultural elements with one another that placed them at odds with the settlers' cultures including communal land ownership, commodity driven economies, and the view that even hereditary chiefs only held their position through their ability to provide for their people. In addition, leadership within both indigenous populations also shared two important objectives which made them willing to initially tolerate the tiny, European invasion of their shores: 1) both native cultures were late stone age societies interested in trading for European metal goods; and 2) leaders within both communities saw opportunities to exploit trade opportunities and alliances with the Europeans as a means to further political ambitions.

These goals gave the settlers an opening for the establishment of interdependent trading relationships. Though there were intermittent clashes,²⁴ the first few years were relatively peaceful as all sides engaged in what Martin Quint described as a "mutual initiation period."²⁵ Throughout this period, the VOC forbade their employees from taking aggressive action against the Khoena²⁶, and similarly, The London Virginia Trading Company encouraged their settlers to maintain peaceful relations with the Algonquins²⁷. Though both companies were well aware of their settlements' vulnerabilities and neither saw profitable outcomes arising from armed conflicts, both settlements repeatedly descended into armed conflicts with their indigenous neighbors within a few years of their establishment.

As the VOC East Indies trade intensified, demand for livestock and fresh vegetables at the supply station began to outstrip the pastoral Khoena's ability and willingness to produce. The Khoena's culture and economy was based upon their cattle herds, and minimally, 12 to 14 cattle were needed to maintain a stable and potentially growing herd.²⁸ As Dutch demand impinged on critical herd-sizes, increasing numbers of Khoena lost their cattle and others began to refuse to trade. To meet the needs of the growing VOC economic engine, the VOC responded by granting leases to 12 free burghers to begin production, plantation style farming on Khoena lands behind Table Mountain in 1657.²⁹ In order to keep their labor costs at a minimum, Cape Town colonists chose to import slaves instead of free white laborers, and the first groups of slaves arrived at the Cape from Angola and West Africa in 1657.³⁰

Tensions quickly escalated as slaves escaped and allegedly sought refuge within indigenous communities, the Khoena realized the VOC was beginning to change its initial business plan, and the Dutch began to see the Khoena as being resistant to European acculturation and commercial progress. In 1659, the first of three Dutch- Khoena wars broke out. Led by a former VOC agent named Doman, the Khoena almost destroyed the Dutch settlement, reinforcing the colonists' initial fears and raising concerns about trusting indigenous people within their community. Disagreements among the Khoena forced the confederation to sue for peace, but during the negotiations, the Khoena complained that the Dutch were:

taking every day...land which had belonged to them from all ages

and on which they were accustomed to depasture their cattle. They also asked whether if they were to come into Holland they would be permitted to act in the same manner.³¹

The results of this initial war were both profound and indicative of future developments between the VOC, the Khoena, slaves, and white farmers. Following the war, the Dutch assumed private ownership of more ancestral Khoena lands, planted barrier hedges around previously communal land and water supplies, granted land leases to more white farmers, and imported more slaves. The Cape Town settlers' negativity towards the Khoena grew both in degree and breadth, and native opportunities for acculturation in the Dutch community and inclusion in VOC business operations began to close.³²

As the Dutch economy grew, the original colonial intentions were replaced with pragmatic actions designed to feed the growing demands for supplies at Cape Town station, land and labor. As VOC agents penetrated the interior looking for new suppliers, they spread the same cultural and trade issues that had led to war with the Peninsula Khoena communities into other indigenous communities. Aggressive trading created more Khoena with fewer cattle, instigated rivalries, encouraged raids and led to inter-tribal warfare, further weakening the Khoenas' capabilities to meet either the Dutch or their own needs. The Khoena attempted to consolidate in two more wars against the Dutch, but failed to decisively defeat the settlers. Following each war, the pattern of the First War repeated itself with greater intensity, and the Dutch grew more distrustful of the indigenous people around them and more conscious of themselves as a community.

At the end of the Third War, the original settlement fort was replaced with a stone fortification called The Castle, and in 1679, the VOC officially changed their Cape Town business plan to Dutch colonial expansion.³³ As Khoena ancestral lands were being seized by the VOC, an unusual population spike occurred among poor, white settlers near the Cape. Within fifty years, the white population of settlers increased from 90 to 2000, and the population continued to grow to 6000 by the mid-18th century.³⁴ The increasing needs for supplies for the VOC ships, growing availability of land, and burgeoning population of landless white settlers set the stage for a critical shift in the colonists' early modern cultural perspective.

Within 17th century Europe, land ownership remained a key differentiator between classes, and poor families in England had little opportunity to aspire to land ownership and accumulate personal wealth. As thousands of poor, white settlers left the Cape to lay claim to ancestral Khoena lands in the interior of South Africa, they became part of a massive transfer in wealth from one people to another, and as they began their migration, they stepped outside the traditional social hierarchy, laying claim to new freedoms and privileges. In his article entitled, "No Chosen People," Toit quotes Governor Janseen as saying, the trekboers "call themselves 'people' and 'Christians,' and the Kaffirs and Hottentots they call 'heathen,' and thereby believe themselves entitled to everything."³⁵ As members of a growing, independent, white middle class, the trekboers discarded the class-based component of the early modern colonial

perspective, and demonstrated a willingness to fight indigenous peoples, the VOC, and even the British Empire to keep their new privilege, property and power. And, given their experiences during the Dutch-Khoena wars and the process by which they obtained their property and privilege, it is not surprising that when the Afrikaners defined themselves and reconstructed their colonial perspective, they replaced class with race.

It struck me as a strange and melancholy trait of human nature, that this Veld-Commandant, in many other points a...benevolent and clear-sighted man, seemed to be perfectly unconscious that any part of his own proceedings, or those of his countrymen, in the wars with the Bushman, could awaken my abhorrence. The massacre of many hundreds...and the carrying away of their children into servitude, seemed to be considered by him...perfectly lawful.³⁶

Similar cultural conflicts developed between English settlers and Native Americans during their mutual initiation period; however, in the Jamestown situation, the roles were reversed and tensions escalated twice as quickly. Within the Cape Town scenario, the Khoena resorted to violence when colonial trading patterns threatened their survival, but in the Jamestown situation, the colonists were the group that resorted to arms to keep from starving. Within the Virginia settlement, the colony leadership failed to maintain control over their own trading supply line, and as a result, they destroyed their trading leverage with the Pawmunky Empire. The individual colonists exacerbated the situation by continually arguing with one another about work assignments,³⁷ and failed to grow adequate food supplies, making the colony critically dependent on Native Americans' food supplies. Starting with a weak hand, the English failed to accommodate to the Native American's trading patterns and arrogantly insisted on vying with the Chief of the Pawmunkey Empire, Powhatan. Trading relations stalled throughout 1609, and Powhatan ordered and enforced a complete trade embargo in the fall. The colonists were left without food supplies for the winter, and as a result, the colonists entered the "Starving Time."³⁸ When the colonists resorted to armed raids to extort food from villages within Powhatan's Empire, both communities became involved in a war that lasted for five years.³⁹

While the Jamestown settlers' difficulties were almost entirely due to failed leadership and internal class conflicts, the relationship issues that led to the first war between the Jamestown colonists and the Algonquin mirrored those that led to the first war between the Cape inhabitants - trade inequities and cultural issues. In both cases, cultural differences led to trading issues that threatened the survival of one of the groups, and that group responded by taking up arms. Following their initial colonial wars, both the VOC and London Virginia Trading Company took away similar lessons. As mercantile economies, both the Dutch and English had initiated their colonial efforts with a firm belief in trade as being a perfect foundation for interactions between all peoples. However, as they concluded their first wars, both the English and Dutch had less confidence in trade alone, and both had increased their reliance on force and direct action.

The London Virginia Company adjusted their business plan to: 1) improve colonial leadership; 2) rely less heavily on trade with the Native Americans; 3) shift their labor strategy to increase productivity; and 4) more aggressively investigate opportunities to establish cash crop plantations. The company began sending many more craftsmen, farmers, and indentured servants, who agreed to work a number of years in exchange for their passage and a “headright”⁴⁰ land grant at the end of their contract. Unlike the Dutch who preferred to purchase slaves, the English may have preferred indentured servants, since the company lost less money when servants died, and the colonial mortality rates was quite high.⁴¹ As a result, many of the settlers who emigrated came from the poorest levels of English society.

Though famous, John Rolfe’s marriage to Powhatan’s daughter, Pocahontas, was unusual within the colony. Consistent with an early modern perspective, Rolfe viewed their marriage as an effort to form a noble alliance between two warring peoples in hopes of securing a truce and amicable relations. In a letter to Sir Thomas Dale in 1614, Rolfe shared his rationale for marrying Pocahontas.

my chiefest intent and purpose be not, to strive with all my power of body and minde, in the undertaking of so mightie a matter, no way led (so farre forth as mans weakenesse may permit) with the unbridled desire of carnall affection: but for the good of this plantation, for the honour of our cuntry, for the glory of God, for my owne salvation, and for the converting to the true knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, an unbeleeving creature, namely Pokahuntas.⁴²

The marriage alliance ended five years of war and helped to stabilize relations between the colonists for eight years. During this period, John Rolfe’s discovery of a tobacco hybrid suitable for Virginia soil marked the beginning of Jamestown’s success as a colony. The first shipment was exported to England in 1614, and the colony began to grow and expand.⁴³ By 1618, tobacco exports to England totaled 40,000 pounds, and twelve years later, one and a half million pounds were exported.⁴⁴ Given the increasing amounts of land required for the soil-depleting tobacco, the colonists’ success placed them on a direct course for conflict with the Algonquins, and just like the second and third wars that occurred on the Cape, the second Anglo-Algonquin war resulted from expanding colonial encroachment and direct competition for natural resources.

With Powhatan’s death in 1618, his younger brother, Opechancanough, assumed leadership.⁴⁵ Facing the loss of his lands and culture, Opechancanough decided to attack the colony in an effort to regain his empire. Feigning a trading visit, the Native Americans surprised the settlers and killed 347 out of the 1,240 colonists in what would be called the Massacre of 1622.⁴⁶ English reaction was swift, relentless, and included atrocities. In May of 1623, “Captain William Tucker concluded peace negotiations with a Powhatan village by proposing a toast with a drink laced with poison prepared by Dr. John Potts; 200 Powhatans died instantly and another 50 are slaughtered.”⁴⁷

While the English had not developed family ties or warm alliances with

their indigenous neighbors, the Massacre of 1622 significantly and permanently changed the colonists' cultural perspective toward the indigenous people around them. According to Vaughn, "During the next decade, the colony waged total war. Before the massacre, it had distinguished between friendly and unfriendly tribes; now it viewed all natives as foes."⁴⁸ Though the colonists had attacked the Native Americans when they felt threatened by Powhatan's embargo, after 1622, the colonists no longer viewed themselves and Native Americans as sharing much in the way of a common humanity, and they increasingly viewed both Native and Black Americans as being ethnica and racial "others." In 1651, the colonists institutionalized ethnic segregation, by establishing Virginia's first Indian Reservation. In 1661, the colonists institutionalized race-based, chattel slavery by passing a law making the status of the mother the determining factor for the slave or free status of a child. In 1676, Benjamin Thompson observed, "the Indians...were ⁴⁹inexorably heathen, savage, and demonic - 'Monsters shapt and fac'd like men.'" In the same year, thousands of colonists joined Nathaniel Bacon in a rebellion to force the Royal Governor into giving them their "headright" lands and into pushing more Native Americans off of their ancestral lands.⁵⁰

Both the English and Dutch began their settlements expecting to establish profitable, interdependent trading relationships with the indigenous inhabitants surrounding their colonies. When each encountered significant trading issues arising from fundamental cultural differences, the resulting wars reinforced the settlers' initial fears about the local inhabitants and diminished their faith in the complete efficacy of trade. Driven by their capitalist economic views, both colonies adjusted their business plans and adopted more aggressive colonial development strategies. When their successes placed them in direct competition for resources with indigenous communities, both the Dutch and the English became engaged in a cycle in which native resistance was met with decisive suppression, native populations were supplanted or dispossessed, and the resulting spoils were used to produce even greater economic growth. Within this framework, the colonists' cultural perspectives began to fundamentally change within the first generation.

Like the Afrikaners on the Cape, many of the Jamestown colonists were not members of the upper classes in England, and their emigration gave them opportunities to dramatically improve their status in life by starting businesses and acquiring land. As a result, both the Cape and Jamestown colonists participated in a massive transfer of capital at the expense of another people. These opportunities for new wealth, privilege and freedoms, provided the colonists with significant incentives take action and develop rationalizations that would preserve their new wealth and status. By substituting race with class, the colonists were able to achieve these goals while preserving the vast majority of their early modern cultural perspective. As a result, changes that occurred during the earliest years of colonial development in Jamestown and Cape Town laid the foundation for large and independent white middle classes and systems for race-based subjugation on both continents for centuries to come.

ENDNOTES

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2. MacKinoon. *Making South Africa*. 30.
3. "The History of the Cape." FreeDictionary.com, 2004. <http://www.thefreedictionary.com> (7 August 2004).
4. Robert Ross, "The Rise of the Cape Gentry." *Journal of Southern African Studies*. Vol. 9. No.2. (2 April 1983), 196.
5. "History of Jamestown." APVA. 2000. <http://www.apva.org/history/>. (12 August 2004).
6. John Smith. "Instructions by way of advice, for the intended Voyage to Virginia," *First Hand Accounts of Virginia, 1575-1705*. Virtual Jamestown. <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbin/jamestown-browse?id=J1039> (7 March 2004).
7. King James I, of England. "The First Charter of Virginia. April 10, 1606." The Avalon Project. Yale Law School. <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/va01.htm> (7 March 2004).
8. I have chosen to use the gender neutral Khoena. The term Khoena includes both the Bushman or San and the Khoi or Hottentot populations.
9. Karen Ordhal Kupperman. "Presentment of Civility: English Reading of American Self-Preservation in the Early Years of Colonization." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. Ser., Vol. 54, No. 1, (Jan. 1997). 193.
10. Kupperman. "Civility." 196. Citing Drayton from "The Works of Michael Drayton." ed. J. William Hebel (Oxford, 1932), 3:206-08.
11. Shula Marks, "Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch," *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1972):57, JSTOR (12 April 2004). Quotation from Simon van der Stel's *Journal of his Expedition to Namaqualand*, 16 Sept. 1685, Translated and edited by G. Waterhouse (London, 1932).
12. Toby Freund. "The Occidental Tourist: Discovery, Discourse, and Degeneracy in South Africa: The Cape Discourse." *Michigan Journal of History*. (Fall 2001) <http://www.umich.edu/~historyj/papers/fall2001/freund.html> (30 July 2004).
13. Kupperman. "Civility." 197-198.
14. Marks. "Khoisan Resistance." 57. Quotation found in Jan van Reibebeck. Journal, 9 January 1653. Memorandum 5: May 1662.
15. White, John. "THE TRUE PICTURES AND FASHIONS OF THE PEOPLE IN THAT PARTE OF AMERICA NOW CALLED VIRGINIA, DISCOVERED BY ENGLISHMEN" by John White(?), 1584 & 1588. Section III. "A weroan or great Lorde of Virginia. The Princes of Virginia are attyted in suche manner." Translated out of Latin into English by RICHARD HACKLVIT. *Virtual Jamestown: First Hand Accounts by Date*.
16. Philip M. Amadas and Arthur M. Barlowe. "The first voyage made to the coasts of America, with two barks, where in were Captaines M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe , who discovered part of the Country now called Virginia, Anno 1584. Written by one of the said Captaines, and sent to sir Walter Raleigh knight, at whose charge and direction, the said voyage was set forth." Translated from Latin by Richard Hakluyt Originally published by MacLehose and Sons. Glasgow

1584. *Virtual Jamestown: First Hand Accounts of Virginia, 1575-1705*. Jamestown Recovery Project. 2000. http://www.virtualjamestown.org/fhaccounts_date.html. (10 April 2004).

17. Marks. "Khoisan Resistance." 57-58.

18. MacKinnon. "Making South Africa." 6-10. MacKinnon explains that the Khoi measured wealth in terms of the size of their cattle herds, and as such, cattle formed the basis of both the Khoi economy and culture.

19 Julia C. Wells. "Eva's Men: Gender and Power: How Eva Came to the Dutch. 1652-74" *Journal of African History*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (1998): 417-437 JSTOR 4 (August 2004). Wells provides a detailed discussion about Krotoa's life. P. 417-437 Krotoa was the ward of Autshumato, "Harry," who served as the "postal official" for the Dutch prior to 1652. She was also the sister-in-law of the Chief of the Goringhaicona, Krotoa, or Eva as she was called by the Dutch, served as Jan Van Riebeeck's maid, became a translator for the Dutch, married a Danish surgeon Pieter van Meerhoff and died an alleged alcoholic prostitute.

20. Fruend. "The Occidental Tourist." Quotation by Alvaro Velho, quoted in R. Raven-Hart, Before Van Riebeeck: Callers at South Africa from 1488 to 1652 (Cape Town: C. Struik (Pty.) Ltd., 1967), 3. 100-101.

21. MacKinnon. Making South Africa, 24-25. According to MacKinnon, the violent interactions between the Portuguese and indigenous people along the coastline of the Cape involved conflicts over water, land, and Portuguese attempts to force the local inhabitants into an unfavorable trading relationship. These difficulties reached a climax in 1510 when the Viceroy of Portuguese India, Francesco de Almedia, was killed after the Portuguese kidnapped a member of the Khoe tribe in an attempt to exhort more livestock.

22. MacKinnon. Making South Africa. 7-9.

23. Lee Cotton. "Powhatan Indian Lifeways." *Jamestown Historic Briefs*. National Park Service. <http://www.nps.gov/colo/Jthanout/Indianlife.html> (12 April 2004).

24. Martin H. Quitt. "Trade and Acculturation at Jamestown, 1607-1609: The Limits of Understanding." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, Vol. LII, No. 2 (April 1995). 229. And see Marks. "Khoisan Resistance." The first significant intra-group conflict at Cape Town occurred in 1657. "Harry," a comprador between the VOC and Khoi, allegedly stole company cattle and killed a herd boy in the process. 62.

25. Quitt. "Trade and Acculturation at Jamestown." 228. Quitt described the mutual initiation period as "a process of acculturation involved in a give-and-take between two peoples who were forced to recognize the limited transferability of their respective ways."

26. Marks. "Khoisan Resistance." 64

27. Quitt. "Trade and Acculturation at Jamestown." 229.

28. MacKinnon. Making South Africa. 15.

29. MacKinnon. Making South Africa. 32.

30. Chronology: 1600-1699. SOHA.

31. Marks. "Khoisan Resistance." 64. Quotation taken from "The Record", 205, van Riebeeck's Journal 4 Apr. 1660.

32. MacKinnon. *Making South Africa*. 28
33. "Chronology: 1600-1699." SAHO. <http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/mainframe.htm>. (13 Apr. 2004).
34. Marks. "Khoisan Resistance." 68.
35. Andre Du Toit. "No Chosen People." *American Historical Review*. Vol. 88, No. 4. (October 1983): 937, JSTOR (8 August 2004).
36. Du Toit. "No Chosen People." 936. Quotation taken from Thompson, *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa*. 2. 6-7.
37. Quitt. "Trade and Acculturation." 235-236. According to Quitt, the conflict regarding work assignments was both class and sex based. Within 17th English century society, nobility was almost operationally defined as never having to do any type of manual labor, laying the foundation for class conflicts within the colony, and, these conflicts were further complicated by the lack of women available to do the kinds of tasks that the men did not have the skills to do and felt themselves above doing.
38. Virginia Bernhard. "Men, Women and Children." 609. While textbooks typical place the Jamestown residents at 400-500 settlers during the Starving Time in 1609-1610; however, Virginia Bernhard makes a compelling case for the initial number to have been closer to 300-350 with only 60 surviving.
39. "Virtual Jamestown Timeline." *Virtual Jamestown Project*. Virginia Center for Digital History. University of Virginia. Crandall Shifflett. 2000. The first Anglo-Algonquin War occurred 1609 -1614; The second war occurred in 1622-1623 and the extended campaign spanned two decades. In 1644, Chief Opechancanough led an attack, killing nearly 500 colonists. October: A resident in Jamestown shoots Chief Opechancanough, a prisoner, in the back.
40. James West Davidson Gienapp et. al. *Nation of Nations: A Concise Narrative of the American Republic Volume One: To 1877*. Third Edition. (New York: MacGraw Hill 2002), 38. The "headright" system was designed to attract more settlers to the colony. Those already at the colony received 100 acres and new settlers received 50 acres. Anyone who paid the passage of someone else, immediately received 50 acres.
41. Edmund S Morgan. "The Labor Problem at Jamestown, 1607-1608." *The American Historical Review* Vol. 76, No. 3 (Jun., 1971): 603.
42. John Rolfe. "Letter." Virtual Jamestown. 1998, http://www.virtualjamestown.org/rolfe_letter.html (5 May 2004). Source: Jameson, J, *Franldin. Narratives of Early Virginia*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907. (237-244).
43. "Virtual Jamestown Timeline." Virtual Jamestown. <http://www.virtualjamestown.org/timeline2.html>. (3 Aug. 2004).
44. Jen Loux. "John Rolfe" Jamestown Briefs. Colonial National Park Service. *November 1995*. <http://www.nps.gov/colo/Jthanout/Rolfe.html> (6 Aug. 2004).
45. Davidson et. Al. *Nation of Nations*. 39.
46. Alden T. Vaughn, "Expulsion of the Salvages:" English Policy and the Virginia Massacre of 1622." *William and Mary Quarterly*. 3rd Ser., Vol. 35, No. 1 (Jan. 1978): 77.

47. "Virtual Jamestown Timeline."
48. Vaughn. "Expulsion of the Salvages." 77.
49. Emphasis added.
50. Susan McCulley and Jen Loux. (1995, November). Bacon's Rebellion. Jamestown. Historic Briefs, Colonial National Park, National Park Service. <http://www.nps.gov/colo> (April 12, 2004).

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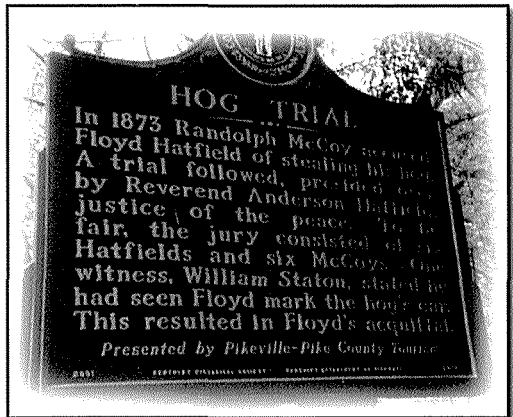
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Perspectives

Hogs, Lawyers, and Governors: How Politics Changed the Hatfield and McCoy Feud

by
Bethany Richter

The feud between the Hatfields and McCoys is the most famous in United States history. It helped change the image of Appalachian people from honest and hard working yeomen to uncivilized hillbillies: thus creating a stereotype that exists even today. The Hatfield and McCoy feud lasted roughly from 1878 to 1890. Common explanations for the cause of the feud abound. They include the (in)famous hog trial, the Civil War, and even a Romeo and Juliet style love affair between a Hatfield boy and a McCoy girl. Yet none of these explanations is adequate either for explaining the origin of the feud or why it became so famous. Indeed, the conflict between the Hatfields and McCoys was less bloody than other Kentucky feuds, taking only twelve lives. Other less well-known feuds in Kentucky resulted in as many as one hundred and fifty deaths.¹ Why did the Hatfield and McCoy feud receive so much attention, and how did it become so famous? This paper will argue that two people helped take a minor family feud and turn it into a struggle for economic control and development. These two people were Perry Cline, a Pikeville attorney, and Governor Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky. In



Historical marker, Eastern Kentucky. Photo by Bethany Richter.

the middle of this struggle were the Hatfields and the McCoys who became pawns in a larger economic and political struggle. Recent scholarship by Altina Waller has focused on how this otherwise minor feud was revived in 1887 and 1888 by Perry Cline to gain land previously lost to him.² However, this paper will show that Cline was not operating alone. Indeed, it was the involvement of Kentucky Governor Buckner who took a local feud and turned it into a part of history.

To show how this situation unfolded, this paper will address several questions: Why did Governor Buckner get entangled in an otherwise unremarkable local feud? How did he alter the course of the feud? Did Governor Buckner cause more damage than what Perry Cline has been shown to cause? This paper will look at the role each of these men played and evaluate their influence upon the conflict between the Hatfields and McCoys.

Background: Of Hogs, War, and Love Affairs

Most popular histories of the feud focus only on the families involved: The Hatfields and the McCoys. William Anderson Hatfield, better known as “Devil Anse,” led the Hatfield side. A successful, ambitious and very aggressive man, he was one of Logan County’s wealthiest men. Living on the West Virginia side of the Tug River he took advantage of the United State’s need for timber. He was a confederate soldier in the Civil War and when West Virginia became a state and joined the Union he formed a guerilla band of confederate supporters called the Logan Wildcats.³ Many have labeled him an ambitious man and an excellent leader. By 1891, “Devil Anse” would have lost two brothers in the feud, and one of his sons would be facing life imprisonment.

Randolph McCoy was fifteen years older than Devil Anse. Living on the Kentucky side of the Tug River he actually fought alongside Devil Anse on the Confederate side during the Civil War.⁴ Not as economically successful as Anse, Randolph McCoy has been labeled a resentful complainer and a sore loser who blamed the Hatfields for his failures.⁵ By 1891 Randolph had his home burned down, his wife nearly beaten to death and five of his sixteen children killed.

There are myriad explanations for the conflict between the families. The feud is often seen as starting with the hog trial of 1878 and ending in 1890. Other sources trace it back to the Civil War where two stories have come from it. The first version is that the McCoys were Union supporters and the Hatfields were confederates, thus causing their general dislike of each other.⁶ However, as we have seen earlier, both families were mainly confederates, so the first story does not hold up. A variant of the Civil War explanation is that Asa Harmon McCoy, Randolph’s brother, was murdered by Devil Anse’s Logan Wildcats in 1865 for being a union supporter.⁷ The problem with this explanations is that while true, it fails to account for the thirteen year gap before even the hog trial occurred in 1878. However, after Randolph lost in the trial to a Hatfield it was yet another four years before the brief love affair between Johnse Hatfield and Roseanna McCoy in 1881. Still, in 1881 there was no reason to characterize the tensions between the families as a “feud.” This situation, however, would change in 1882, when three of Randolph’s sons fought and killed Devil Anse’s brother Ellison on election day in Kentucky.⁸ The three boys were executed by

the Hatfields in retribution.⁹ These events, clearly, can be characterized as a feud. However, at the time, some observers felt that the feud was effectively over at this point, with the Hatfields having taken “an eye for an eye.”¹⁰ Indeed, local Kentucky law enforcement did little to pursue the Hatfields, even though they were indicted for the second round of killings.¹¹ Yet, some five years later the tensions between the families would be rekindling when the state of Kentucky would suddenly take an interest in apprehending the Hatfields – taking the conflict to a completely new level.

The main problem with most popular explanations for the feud is the time gaps that occur between the various key events.¹² If these two families were in a state of war with each other then time gaps of five and thirteen years would simply not have taken place. What is missing from these explanations is how local and state political figures helped to revive and escalate the feud in 1887. As stated previously, these figures are Perry Cline and Governor Buckner.

The Feud Revived: Lawyers, Lumber, Governors and Railroads

Perry Cline was an ambitious lawyer who was related to the McCoy family and who had a personal conflict with Devil Anse. Born and raised on the West Virginia side of the Tug, Perry’s father willed him 5000 acres of land. In 1877 Devil Anse filed a lawsuit against Perry and his brother Jacob for logging timber on his land. He claimed three thousand dollars worth of damage had been done. They settled out of court with Cline forfeiting his 5000 acres of inheritance and leaving West Virginia for Kentucky. Thus, Cline was given a reason to hate the Hatfields and the feud gave him the opportunity for revenge. Before 1988 no one had really examined Perry Cline and his role in the feud. Altina Waller was the first to discuss it in depth in her book *Feud: Hatfield, McCoy's and Social Change in Appalachia, 1860-1900*.¹³ This work provides us with the most detailed examination of the feud to date. Waller explores the complexity of the feud and provides a clear periodization of the phases that the feud went through.¹⁴ However, Waller’s argument leans more toward blaming the revitalized feud on Perry Cline and the Pikeville elite. Dr. Waller is correct that Cline renewed the feud, but what was accomplished cannot solely be put on his shoulders. As we shall see, Cline could not have caused the harm that he did without Governor Buckner.

Perry Cline did not become a pauper when he moved to Kentucky. By 1887 he had been deputy sheriff, sheriff, a lawyer, a member of the Kentucky House, jailer, and had even tried owning his own tavern and selling patent medicine.¹⁵ He had strong political connections since he was a member of the Pikeville elite and this position gave him the opportunity to use his influence against Devil Anse. More than likely, Perry Cline’s reason to go after Devil Anse was to get his lost inheritance back. Further, he knew there was an excellent chance that the route of the Norfolk and Western Railroad would run through or close to the land he had lost, dramatically increasing its value.¹⁶

How, then, did Cline use the feud to seek his own vengeance and to turn a profit? It wasn’t until 1887 that the old indictments against the Hatfields were brought to surface again. Everything changed when old fires were lit and an ambitious lawyer teamed up with a Governor to track down Devil Anse by

using the nearly forgotten 1882 indictments against the McCoys.

In 1887 Perry Cline actively campaigned on behalf of Simon Buckner for Governor of Kentucky. Otis K. Rice has argued that Cline promised Buckner Pikeville votes and in return Buckner promised the arrest of the Hatfields.¹⁷ After taking office Buckner was visited by Perry Cline, along with J. Lee Ferguson and the soon to be infamous Frank Phillips. They alleged that violence instigated by the Hatfields five years previously threatened the safety of Pike county citizens and would prevent progress.¹⁸ Buckner made good his promise to Cline by serving extradition papers against the Hatfields. He also offered a five hundred-dollar reward for any of the Hatfields that had been indicted for the murder of the three McCoy boys five years before and had Phillips named special deputy to pursue the Hatfields.¹⁹

After Buckner's first request for extradition papers, a reply came from West Virginia, but not the one Cline had hoped for. Governor Wilson of West Virginia replied by sending the requisitions back, saying that they lacked an affidavit, which was required by West Virginia state law.²⁰ Cline then took it upon himself to personally write Governor Wilson. Cline stated that the Hatfields were the "worst band of marauders ever existed in the mountains...they will not live as citizens ought to; they has (sic) made good citizens leave their homes and forsake all they had."²¹ Cline went on to accuse the Hatfields of employing counsel to prevent "the warrants from being issued on the requisition."²² Cline received a reply not from Governor Wilson but rather from Secretary of State Henry S. Walker who informed him that requisition for eighteen of the twenty indicted Hatfields would be honored but two had proved that they had no connection with the McCoy murders.²³ Yet, the promised indictments never arrived in Kentucky. Cline and Phillips must have become impatient because Phillips himself wrote Wilson a letter, asking for the warrants to be sent to him and enclosing fifteen dollars to pay the fees.²⁴ Phillips received an agitated reply from Governor Wilson, but no warrants.²⁵ This seems to have been the last straw for Cline. He was getting nowhere by using regular channels. Without West Virginian support, he went ahead and issued bench warrants for all Hatfields and Hatfield supporters who had been indicted five years before for the McCoy murders. On 12 December 1887, Frank Phillips, working for Cline and Buckner, would lead the first of several raids into West Virginia seeking to arrest the Hatfields.

Phillips had been appointed as special deputy to arrest the Hatfields and bring them to trial by Perry Cline, an old friend. Phillips was what the community called a "dangerous man."²⁶ He earned the nickname "Bad Frank Phillips" from his reckless behavior. Given his personality, Phillips took on the pursuit of Devil Anse as a great game.²⁷

Phillips proved his ruthlessness. Jim Vance and Cap Hatfield were two of the most wanted Hatfields.²⁸ Jim being Devil Anse's uncle, and Cap his second oldest son. When the posse, under Phillips leadership, accidentally stumbled upon them, Phillips shot a wounded Vance at point blank range while Cap ran for his life.²⁹ Bill Dempsey, a Hatfield supporter, was wounded at the "battle of Grapevine Creek." He surrendered and begged for mercy but Phillips shot and killed him, despite the fact that Jim McCoy argued that Dempsey should be taken

to Pikeville for trial. Jim went on to tell Phillips that they did not want any blood to be laid at the feet of the McCoys.³⁰ There is really no logical explanation for Phillips' involvement. He did not know Devil Anse personally and had no prior relations with him. It is possible to say that the combination of Phillips character and the friendship he had with Cline was enough to make him join.

Clearly, Phillip's raids escalated the level of violence in the Tug Valley. He helped create more hard feelings between the Hatfields and the McCoys. Further, his actions did nothing but infuriate Governor Wilson of West Virginia, leading him to end cooperation with Buckner over the extradition of the Hatfields. In fact, Wilson issued warrants and began his own campaign for extradition papers for Phillips and twenty-six others for the murder of Vance and Dempsey.³¹ Phillips, lacking extradition papers, had gone into West Virginia illegally; thus making him and those in his posse wanted men in West Virginia.

In January of 1888 information reached Wilson that convinced him that Cline wasn't seeking justice but was using the McCoy murders for personal gain. Indeed, Wilson would later protest to Governor Buckner that Cline was using the feud as an excuse to "extort money from the accused."³² Three people made sworn affidavits stating that Cline was making deals with Devil Anse and his group. These were James York and A. J. Auxier, counsel for the indicted Hatfields, and Johnse Hatfield.³³ All three swore that Cline had made a verbal agreement with the Hatfields. In the deal Cline was to use his influence with the Governor of Kentucky and persuade him not to take further steps in the arrest of the indicted Hatfields for the sum of two hundred and twenty five dollars. Auxier went on to say that he had received a deposit and was told that two hundred and twenty-five of it was to go to Cline. Cline was paid but nothing came from it.³⁴ Of course, a verbal agreement could not have been proven and Cline was not likely to admit to having made such a deal. Nonetheless, once this situation was brought to Wilson's attention his attitude toward the extradition became even less favorable.

Once the Governors were involved the feud completely changed. What had begun as a family feud had by 1887 become an economic and political struggle involving not only governors, but numerous individuals related to neither family. Indeed, Cline brought into the dispute over two dozen supporters who did not even know Devil Anse, and who lived in town rather than the Tug Valley.³⁵ The leadership also changed. Cline increasingly took over leadership from Randolph McCoy, who could only get a handful of supporters. After a retaliatory Hatfield raid on his house which resulted in the death of two family members in 1888, Randolph moved what was left of his family into Pikeville.³⁶ Randolph had put his trust in Perry Cline to achieve justice but had instead suffered from the renewal of the feud.

The situation, however, still raises the question of why Kentucky Governor Buckner had become involved in the situation. As previously mentioned, Cline had promised him votes from the Pikeville region in return for support against the Hatfields, but that does not seem an adequate explanation for Buckner's willingness to tolerate such loss of life and endanger relations with West Virginia. What would cause Buckner to uphold his promise to Perry Cline at such an expense?

Economic development may well provide the answer. The Tug Valley was rich in coal and lumber, and if properly developed could become a great source of wealth for the state of Kentucky. The “Ohio Extension” of the Norfolk and Western railroad was under consideration at the time.³⁷ But nobody wanted to build a railroad in an area that was erupting into violent feuds — a reputation from which Kentucky already suffered. Eastern Kentucky was industrializing and eastern capitalists companies would not stick around if feuding continued. As Waller has argued, “By cracking down on the West Virginians Kentucky would be seen in a favorable light, champion of law and order while deflecting the feuding stigma onto West Virginia.”³⁸ Thus, by pursuing the Hatfields, Buckner hoped to improve the reputation of Kentucky at the expense of West Virginia. This act opened up a new chapter in the feud just when the flames had almost dimmed. When Governor Buckner began the extradition process he helped to prolong and escalate the feud.

Buckner’s involvement worsened and prolonged the situation. He was quick to aid Perry Cline and to ask Governor Wilson for extradition papers, but when the tables were turned and it was Phillips and his posse that were wanted men he found it easy to evade Wilson’s letters. After Wilson’s first reply he did send back the requisitions with the desired affidavit to comply with West Virginia law, however no reply came. Buckner then gave the go ahead to hire the special deputy—“Bad” Frank Phillips. As of this point, neither Cine, Phillips, nor Buckner had received extradition papers, but Buckner nonetheless gave the go ahead for Phillips to raid West Virginia. Buckner would continue to support the raids even as the violence escalated and in the face of growing concerns even from the elite of Pikeville.³⁹

Buckner’s actions call into question the role of West Virginia’s Governor Wilson. How did Wilson’s actions compare to those of Buckner? Clearly, railroads were also a concern to the West Virginian Governor. The West Virginian side of the Tug was just as rich in coal and lumber as was Kentucky. However, Wilson took a different view of railroads. He went so far as to “argue that railroads should be public utilities owned by the state instead of private, profit-making companies.”⁴⁰ He did not take kindly to the private eastern capitalist companies that wanted to develop the Tug Valley area. In his inaugural address Wilson challenged the two railroad companies that were already in West Virginia, the Chesapeake & Ohio and the Baltimore & Ohio.⁴¹ He stated that railroads were for public purposes, that they were there to serve the people, and that “unlawful evasion of taxes so successfully practiced in the past” would not be repeated and that both companies would have to pay to support the state, county and the district.⁴² As such, Wilson’s motivations do not seem to be economic.

Wilson was not, however, without his own personal connection to the feud. The saying “it’s not what you know but whom you know” comes into play here. The assistant Secretary of State on Wilson’s cabinet, John B. Floyd, was an old friend of Devil Anse’s.⁴³ When the indictments were made and requisitions sent to West Virginia, John B. Floyd had Devil Anse and the others get neighbors to sign affidavits stating they had been elsewhere when the McCoy boys were killed.⁴⁴ With those papers in hand Floyd must have made a convincing story because it apparently caused Wilson to stop and think about the situation.

Then when rumors reached Wilson about Cline's attempt to extort money from the Hatfields and three affidavits were signed and sent to him he was not in a hurry to hand over his fellow West Virginians. On January 21, 1888 Wilson wrote to Buckner explaining why he was not issuing extradition papers. Wilson stated,

After the warrant was directed and prepared, reliable information was received from various persons that the requisition and expected warrant were being used not to secure the ends of public justice but to extract money from the accused. I am sure your Excellency will conclude with me that neither Cline nor Phillips are proper persons to entrust with process of either Kentucky or West Virginia.⁴⁵

When the raids continued Wilson took action. After hearing of William Dempsey's violent death at the hands of Phillips, he wrote to Buckner on January 26, 1888.⁴⁶ Wilson also sent to Governor Buckner for the extradition of Phillips and his posse for illegally going into West Virginia and capturing West Virginian Citizens.⁴⁷ However Buckner would never hand over Phillips and his posse to West Virginian authorities. He would, however, write back to Wilson, finally addressing the accusations of Cline's extorting money, and defending Phillips. On January 30, 1888 Buckner wrote to Wilson lecturing him about his procrastination and defending Phillips, stating that he was "not the murderous outlaw" portrayed by Wilson. Buckner also addressed the rumors from the accused, "I can not see why this should cause your Excellency to hesitate about issuing your warrant for the rendition of these parties to the proper authorities."⁴⁸

The illegal raids conducted by Phillips eventually brought nine West Virginian citizens to the Pikeville jail. In response, Governor Wilson decided to go to court. Wilson petitioned the U.S. district court for writs of habeas corpus on behalf of the nine Hatfields imprisoned in the Pikeville jail.⁴⁹ On February 10, 1888 Wilson's lawyer Eustace Gibson was in Louisville arguing the case.⁵⁰ Gibson argued that the Hatfields had been taken illegally from West Virginia, and that Phillips had been acting as a Kentucky agent who had gone against procedures. Gibson went on to add that, unlike Kentucky, feuding had never been associated with West Virginia.⁵¹ The judge found the writs admissible and ordered a court hearing. The first hearing was February 27, 1888 before Judge John Watson Barr. Wilson himself attended the hearing with John B. Floyd with their stacks of papers and books and talked with Gibson throughout the hearing.⁵²

On March 3, 1888 Judge Barr handed down his decision. He stated that the case was based on a controversy between two states and therefore was not within the jurisdiction of his court. The nine Hatfields would be returned to Pikeville to stand trial. Barr did go on to grant West Virginia's appeal to the U.S. circuit court of Louisville.⁵³ On April 5, 1888 a higher court concurred by agreeing with the districts court decision on that the case was not in the jurisdiction of either court and it upheld Kentucky's right to keep the prisoners in jail. But another appeal was granted, this time to the U.S. Supreme Court.⁵⁴ Clearly, the Hatfield and McCoy feud had grown far beyond a local dispute between families.

The Supreme Court hearing began on April 23, 1888. After each side presented

their argument, the Chief Justice Stephen Field read the majority opinion. The court decided it would uphold the action of the Louisville circuit court in denying the writs of habeas corpus despite the violation of extradition procedure in the capture of the nine prisoners. The Supreme Court ruled that Kentucky had the right to hold them in custody for subsequent trial. Not all of the Judges agreed with this. Two of them did not and one, Justice Bradley, stated that Governor Wilson had taken appropriate action in attempting to secure the prisoners release through habeas corpus.

It is important to look at what might have happened if Buckner and Wilson never became involved in what was otherwise a local dispute. Perry Cline would not have been able to single-handedly revive the feud. Evidence suggests that he needed Buckner's support to reopen the case. He needed Buckner's permission so Phillips could conduct the raid. Buckner provided the support by allowing Cline to reopen the case, and the protection given to Phillips once he was fired and continued to conduct the raids into West Virginia. Indeed, without Buckner, Cline would have been powerless to pursue the Hatfields across state boundaries. Governor Wilson on the other hand is at worst guilty of inaction or perhaps not taking action soon enough. Instead of taking firm and concrete action, Wilson allowed Buckner to lecture him about the situation and what he (Wilson) should be doing.

After the Hatfield group attacked Randolph's home killing his young daughter, son and almost killing his wife, newspapers across the country took the story and ran with it greatly popularizing the feud – a sort of yellow journalism that helped turn a local dispute into a national myth.⁵⁵ Further, the papers established a tendency to discuss the feud in terms of “good vs. evil.” Notably, this meant choosing either the Hatfields or McCoys as the aggressors – but ignoring the personalities and political interests which kept the feud alive.

In the end the Hatfield-McCoy feud became the most famous feud in United States' history. In all logical reasoning no one won. The Hatfields who killed Randolph's five children were convicted and sent to prison, but Randolph would never see those five children again. The man he hated in life went on to become a part of Logan's upper middle class. The feud was romanticized and exaggerated beyond reason. The stigma it put upon the mountain people of Appalachia still exists: they are seen as being uncivilized, uneducated hillbillies. The railroad was completed in 1892 on both sides of the Tug River so Governor Buckner failed to gain full benefits from his actions. Sadly, he perhaps caused more damage to Kentucky's reputation than Perry Cline. Cline was a local lawyer and even with the support of the local elite he still had to have Buckner's support to carry out his revival of the feud. Buckner could have said no, he could have gone down a different road to gain economic development for his state. Rather, he chose his own way and Kentucky has been paying for it ever since. In a struggle to gain economic control in the area the two families were pawns for people who wanted land, money and development.

TIMELINE

- 1865- Asa Harmon McCoy killed by Jim Vance and other Hatfields.
- 1870's- Perry Cline loses 5000 acres of valuable timberland to Devil Anse, Cline moves to Pikeville, Kentucky.
- 1878- Randolph McCoy accuses Floyd Hatfields of stealing his hog. Randolph loses trial by vote of 7 to 5.
- 1880- Johnse Hatfield and Roseanna McCoy have brief affair.
- 1882- Ellison Hatfield killed by Tolbert, Pharmer, and Randolph McCoy Jr. The three boys are tied to a tree and shot by Devil Anse Hatfield and relatives. Hatfields are tried and convicted in absentia by a Pikeville court, but could not be found to be arrested. Case seems to be dropped by authorities.

FIVE YEAR GAP- FEUD IS APPARENTLY OVER

- 1887- Perry Cline campaigns for Buckner. Buckner is elected as Governor of Kentucky. Buckner upholds deal with Cline and issues paperwork for the extradition of the Hatfields convicted of killing the three McCoy boys.
 - December – Frank Phillips appointed deputy sheriff and begins raiding West Virginia. Is dismissed few days following December 12, 1887.
- 1888- January 21 – Wilson writes Buckner explaining why he won't extradite Hatfields.
 - January 26 – Wilson writes Buckner about Phillips killing William Dempsey.
 - January 30 – Buckner replies to Wilson's letters.
- 1889- Trials begin for the captured Hatfields.
- 1890- Feud is over.
- 1892- Railroad completed on both sides of Tug Valley.

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46. Letter by Governor Wilson to Governor Buckner on January 26, 1888, Hatfield McCoy Feud File, State Archives, Frankfort, Kentucky, October 14, 2002
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Perspectives

Santeria: Syncretism and Salvation in the New World

by

Dawn Downing McMillan

One of the characteristics of Eurocentric scholarship has been its tendency to privilege monotheistic religious traditions as somehow more legitimate than pantheistic or polytheistic religious systems. Given such a worldview, many in the West felt that the only legitimate religions were the “Abrahamic faiths” of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. Further, there is a tendency within this perspective to associate pantheistic and polytheistic religions with evil – often labeling them as “cults” or “superstitions.” Alternately, these non-monotheistic religions were simply referred to as “primitive,” suggesting that they were somehow less developed or advanced than monotheistic faiths. However represented, one of the key aspects of these characterizations was to imply that pantheistic and polytheistic faiths were irrelevant to human history, except as source of converts for “real” religions such as Christianity or Islam.

By dismissing all pantheistic and polytheistic religions as insignificant, Eurocentric scholars have not only failed to see the very real role these religious traditions have played in world history, but they have also created a false dichotomy between monotheistic faiths and these systems. Indeed, in reality there has been quite a significant degree of “syncretism” between monotheistic salvation religions such as Christianity and other pantheistic faiths. The notion of religious syncretism between a



Santeria Ceremony in
Miami, Florida. Photo
courtesy of the Historical
Museum of Southern
Florida.

monotheistic and pantheistic religion is one that is often hard for many Westerners to understand. One example of such religious syncretism is the development of the Santeria religion that developed in Cuba. Many westerners who have heard of Santeria refer to it as a cult, often associating it with behaviors that seem bizarre such as animal sacrifices and casting spells. While there are elements of magic and mysticism within the Santeria religion, these elements are no more bizarre than the mystical elements of Catholicism or the history of animal sacrifice in Judaism.

In an attempt to show the process of religious syncretism, and also to illustrate that this syncretism can take place between monotheistic and pantheistic religions, this paper will examine the case study of the development of the religion of Santeria. Questions to be explored will be as follows. Where did Santeria develop? What people were instrumental in the development of Santeria? Why was there a need in Cuba for a new religion that was friendly to both Catholicism and traditional Yoruba religion of West Africa? Is Santeria an independent religion or just an arm of the Yoruba religion? Finally, what impact does Santeria have on Cuban and western culture today? These topics and more will be examined in the pages to come.

To understand the Santeria religion it is important to first examine the island of Cuba, where it developed. Before the arrival of Columbus in 1492, the island of Cuba was dominated by the Taiño people. The Taiños had a rich culture including traditional dance, art, music, oral history, and agriculture. The Taiños had a hierarchal set of pantheistic religious beliefs; at the top of the hierarchal chain was the high God followed by a series of lesser gods represented by idols; and finally ancestor worship. There is no way of knowing the exact number of people that inhabited Cuba before the arrival of the Spanish because to date there is no known written language of these first inhabitants; "estimates range from a low of 16,000 to a high of 600,000."¹

When the Spanish arrived on Cuba they brought with them their own set of religious traditions. The Spanish were Roman Catholic, and as such they brought with them the custom of praying to saints and also praying to the High God through lower gods like Jesus and the Virgin Mary. The concept of worshipping a High God through the use of saints and/or lower gods was not unfamiliar to the Taiños or to the West Africans who would soon come to the island as enslaved laborers.

The Spanish played an active role in the kidnapping and selling of Africans as slaves before the late sixteenth century. With the desire for more African slaves in the Caribbean, including Cuba, the number of displaced African people grew substantially throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By the mid 1700s African slaves in the Caribbean out-numbered Europeans fifteen to one. Although this number alone is astounding demographically, it is small when compared to the number of Africans brought alive into the Caribbean during the 300 year time span of the transatlantic slave trade. It is generally agreed upon by most academics that around 11,000,000 people were brought alive from Africa into the "new world".² Of those 11,000,000 people, 40% were brought to the Caribbean Islands including Cuba.³ Within 300 years, 4.4 million people were brought alive from Africa into to Caribbean as

slaves. These displaced 4 million people brought with them their own culture, language, and religion. It stands to reason that the large African population would have had a huge impact on the development and evolution of religions in Cuba and other Caribbean islands.

The Africans who were brought into the Caribbean were from the western regions of Africa, a region currently divided among countries such as Benin, Togo, Ghana, Cameroon, and Nigeria. Although these modern day countries are relatively close in proximity to each other, the people who lived in this region spoke different languages, and for the most part, practiced distinct religions. However, one ethnic group, the Yoruba, seems to have been particularly influential in Cuba. Many scholars agree that the Yoruba people originated in southwestern Nigeria.⁴ The Yoruba religion is pantheistic in that they have a hierarchal system of deities, who are nonetheless all considered aspects of a single divine. At the top of the hierarchal chain is the one High God, Oloddumare (sometimes called Olorun) the creator of the world. The next step down are the lower subordinate gods that help followers understand Oloddumare, these lower gods are called Orishas. Second to last on the hierarchal chain are the ancestors who sometimes act as intermediaries between a person and the Orishas; finally there are spirits associated with natural phenomena.⁵

When the West Africans arrived in Cuba they were separated and spread out across the island in an attempt by the Spanish to keep them from organizing a revolt. The African people were not allowed to practice their religion and were expected by the Spanish to convert to Catholicism. However, one common characteristic associated with pantheistic religions is religious tolerance and pragmatism. It is not uncommon for followers of a pantheistic religion to adopt the traditions of an outside religion into their religion. This dynamic was also true for the Yoruba. As Gonzolaz-Wippler has argued:

“The Orisha tradition teaches the importance of religious tolerance. Today the vast majority of Yoruba are Muslims or Christians, but their ancient beliefs are so deeply rooted that they often revert to traditional practices, especially during times of dire need.”⁶

Although the Spanish were often forceful in forbidding the practice of any religion other than Catholicism, the enslaved Africans did not simply abandon their own beliefs. When captive Yoruba looked at the Catholic religion, it did not look completely unfamiliar to them. The system of using lower gods (saints in Catholicism, Orishas in Yoruba) to serve as intermediaries between the individual and the high god (God in Catholicism, Oloddumare in Yoruba) was perfectly familiar. As time went on and the Africans learned more about the Catholic saints, they saw similarities between the Christian saints and African gods known as Orishas, and attributed the characteristics of their gods to their counterparts.

When Africans in the Caribbean began to adopt elements of Catholicism while still preserving the sanctity of their own religious traditions they began a process of religious syncretism, which one scholar has defined as “...the combination or reconciliation of different religious or philosophical beliefs.”⁷

Once the Africans started this process a new religion began to form that would later be called Santeria, which literally means, "worship the saints."⁸ The concept of syncretic religions is an important one to understand when attempting to research not only the development of Santeria, but also the role of African religions in the New World. As Levinson has stated,

"Syncretic religions resulting from cultural contact are especially common in Latin America and include African Brazilian Candomble, Cuban Santeria, and Haitian Vodou, all of which formed through a combination of theology and practices from African religions brought by slaves and the Roman Catholicism imposed by...colonists."⁹

Further, speaking on the religious syncretism that took place throughout the Caribbean, Levinson states, "Their roots are intrinsically Yoruba, but each one has taken the special flavor of the country where it was born...Santeria could only have arisen in Cuba."¹⁰ Santeria is not simply an African religion, nor is it a corrupt form of Catholicism, it is a distinct religion born from a combination of cultures and religious traditions.

Santeria is a difficult religion to study because there is no central dogma or orthodoxy.¹¹ There is no central belief that is essential to belonging to the community; Santeria is, rather, ritual based, so to belong it is necessary to take part in events or ceremonies. The line that is drawn is not one of believers versus non-believers, but rather of those who have taken part in the rituals versus those who have not. "No central ecclesiastic structure exists to arbitrate, regulate or impose 'correct' doctrine".¹² The rituals and oral traditions that are passed along within Santeria may vary from region to region, the reason being the history of keeping an oral tradition rather than a written one.

Rituals play a vital role in the advancement of the student of Santeria. This process of self-discovery through rituals helps the student to feel closer to the community as well as closer to the Orishas by allowing the student to be an active participant in a sacred ceremony. As Mason has stated, "In Santeria, the teaching of ritual skills and moral behavior happens informally and nonverbally, and thus embodiment is especially important."¹³ In the ritual the emphasis is on showing the new follower how to worship, not by verbally instructing him.

Santeria has continued to develop in recent years. Once a religion to help African people hold on to their beliefs and help unify a diverse and dispossessed community, Santeria is now a religion of people all over the "New World." As argued by Simpson "To some extent, the worship of the Orisha has been altered by the Cuban revolution and Fidel Castro's rise to power. Castro is opposed to Santeria, as he is to Catholicism and other forms of religion."¹⁴ In response to the Cuban revolution, and the subsequent migration of Cubans out of the country, many Cubans have settled in the United States and in other Latin American countries. In the United States the number of Santeria worshipers is around 5 million. Santeria has helped to meet the emotional needs of uprooted Cuban peoples living in the United States, who are in "dire need" of spiritual comfort. The influence of Santeria in the United States is steadily growing, and

this once secretive religion is seeping into the consciousness of Americans. A popular Latino rock band, Sublime, wrote a song titled “Santeria” which was a hit in the United States.¹⁵ Another example is that of Desi Arnaz, who played Ricky Ricardo on the “I Love Lucy” television show. Often on the show Desi would beat his conga drums and sing “Babalu-Aye.”¹⁶ What many Americans never realized was that Desi Arnaz was singing to Babalu-Aye, the Orisha of the sick and disabled often compared to the Christian Saint Lazarus.

The development of Santeria is a testament to the resilience of the human spirit. When the enslaved Africans were brought to Cuba, they were stripped of almost all their rights. Yet, these Africans were proactive in preserving their traditions and culture by way of blending the religion of their captors with their own Yoruba religious traditions – thus creating Santeria. While Santeria began as a “slave” religion, it has blossomed into a strong and vibrant religion with followers both in Cuba and around the world. After the Cuban Revolution, and the subsequent migration of Cubans to the United States, Santeria has continued to seep into the consciousness of Americans. Santeria is a religion that brings comfort and spiritual fulfillment to those who follow it.

ENDNOTES

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3. Gilbert & Reynolds, 136.
4. Gonzalez-Wippler, Migene, Santeria The Religion, (St Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1998), 1.
5. Bourque, Lauren, Cultural Atlas of Africa, (New York: Checkmark Books, 1998), 38.
6. Gonzalez-Wippler, 10.
7. Gonzalez-Wipple, 10.
8. Suchlicki, 18.
9. Levinson, David, Religion A Cross-Cultural Dictionary, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 237.
10. Gonzalez-Wipple, 11.
11. De La Torre, Miguel A., Santeria: The Beliefs and Rituals of a Growing Religion in America, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).
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16. De La Torre, XI.

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Perspectives

Man Proposes and God Disposes: The Religious Faith of Ulysses S. Grant

by

Robert J. Smith

At 9:30 a.m. on Wednesday, August 3, 1885, the Grant cottage at Mount McGregor, New York was opened for visitors who wished to attend the funeral of Ulysses S. Grant, eighteenth president of the United States. Throughout the early morning dignitaries arrived at the Grant home. Many were Grant's military and political friends including Generals William T. Sherman, Horace Porter, and Winfield Scott Hancock, Admiral Stephan C. Rowan, New York Senators Warner Miller and William M. Everts, former Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, former Postmaster General John A. J. Crewel and Mrs. Crewel, Philadelphia financier Joseph W. Drexel and his family, ex-Congressman Thomas P. Ochiltree of Texas, and Methodist Reverend Dr. S. V. Leech, Chaplain of the New York State Senate.¹ Also, among the invited guests were a host of prominent clergymen. These included Methodist Bishop William L. Harris of New York, Dr. Benjamin Agnew of Philadelphia, Dr. Douglas, and about ten other ministers.² Just before the service was about to begin, the clergymen were joined by the Reverend Dr. John Newman, a family friend and former pastor of the Metropolitan Episcopal Methodist Church in Washington, D.C.

At 10:00 a.m., Dr. Benjamin Agnew approached the small stand covered with a black bordered flag, on which a Bible rested and read the ninetieth Psalm.³ Then Bishop Harris prayed. He closed his prayer by inviting the mourners to



U.S. Grant. Smithsonian Institution.

join with him in reciting the Lord's prayer. The hymn, "My Faith Looks Up to Thee" was sung by the congregation and then the Rev. John P. Newman stood up and began the eulogy. The address lasted one hour and twenty five minutes and was based on the scriptural text, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."⁴ In speaking about his dead friend, Newman, in the florid style of the period, praised Grant the warrior, Grant the President, Grant the genius, Grant the family man, and Grant the Christian. Of Grant's Christianity, the minister said:

The principles of Christianity were deeply engrafted upon his spirit. Firm but never demonstrative, he was not a man of religious pretense. His life was his profession. He knew that Christianity had nothing to gain from him beyond the influence of a 'well-ordered life and a godly conversation,' but that he had everything to gain from the power and promises of our Lord. More than all things else, he was taciturn touching his religious faith and experience...The keenest, closest, broadest of all observers, he was the most silent of men. He lived within himself.⁵

Grant's acquaintances have often described him as taciturn. He was a very private man who rarely revealed his nature. He seldom spoke on any matter which touched on his own personality. Grant failed to see why anyone would be interested in his nature. General Horace Porter, a member of his military staff, said "he always avoided talking upon any subject which was personal to himself."⁶ His countless biographers have noticed these characteristics and have universally commented that Grant's personality was difficult to discern. British military historian, J. F. C. Fuller described Grant as a mystery that "neither we nor others" will fully understand.⁷ Recently, historian and biographer, Jean Smith echoed Fuller's sentiments by characterizing Grant as an "enigma, a paradox, and a challenge" when trying to unravel his personality.⁸ Since Grant kept his personal thoughts private, he infrequently spoke of his religious beliefs and seldom disclosed to anyone the nature of his relationship with God. Porter wrote that "he [Grant] was imbued with a deep reverence, however, for all subjects of a religious nature..."⁹

Grant's reluctance to speak of his religious views have prompted the assumption, among many of his biographers, that he was not a religious man. Three recent biographies of Grant have all neglected to address the issue of his religious faith.¹⁰ Grant was, however, a committed Christian. His faith was simple yet sturdy.¹¹ Although Grant was never a member of any particular religious denomination, intimate acquaintances often reported that he had a deep and abiding respect for the spiritual. Furthermore, Grant's own writing exhibits a strong belief in an overruling Providence affecting, not only his life, but the affairs of the world. On many occasions Grant was known to have attributed his life's success to God's benevolence. This paper argues that Grant was indeed a religious man and that his faith influenced his conduct. I further contend that Grant's introspective personality hid his religious views from all but his family and his most intimate friends. Lastly, I also believe that Grant

was affected by the religious attitudes of his Methodist parents.

Grant's parents adopted Methodism just after the American Revolution. His ancestors came from Puritan stock. In his *Memoirs*, Grant wrote that Matthew and Priscilla Grant arrived in Massachusetts aboard the *John and Mary* in 1630.¹² Matthew, a surveyor by trade, was instrumental in laying out the town of Dorchester, Massachusetts. It was recorded that Matthew, age twenty-two, "owned land, two cows, and was in full communion with the church."¹³ It appears, however, that five years later, Matthew Grant's relationship with his church underwent a significant change. In 1635, Matthew moved along with a number of other colonists to Windsor, located on the Connecticut River. For forty years, he resided in this location "struggling with his relationship with God" attending the church of Thomas Hooker in nearby Hartford.¹⁴ Hooker, a dissident Puritan pastor, had left Massachusetts after he had broken with John Cotton over the matter of strict theological rule in the colony. For three generations, the Grants resided around the town of Tolland in the Connecticut hills.

Between 1682 and 1792, many of Ulysses Grant's ancestors remained in Connecticut. Few details are known as to the religious affiliations of these Grants. The *Memoirs* do reveal that Ulysses' grandfather, Noah Grant, broke with the family tradition and left Connecticut in the early 1790s to settle in western Pennsylvania. Noah stayed in this vicinity for about seven years only to move further west into Ohio at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Noah's unsettled lifestyle was attributed to his recurrent debt and his fondness for alcohol.¹⁵ After the death of his second wife, Rachel Kelly, in 1805, Noah's extreme poverty forced him to place his children into the care of relatives. Jesse Grant, Ulysses' father lived with relative George Tod in Youngstown, Ohio and then moved in with his half-brother Peter Grant in Maysville, Kentucky. Here Jesse Grant, who had no formal education, learned the tanning business. Jesse discovered the tanning business was a profitable enterprise and that he could accumulate enough wealth to live a comfortable life. Geoffrey Perret, a Grant biographer, noted that Jesse Grant was determined to avoid the example set by his father, "a man who eked out his last years as a useless lump who soaked up whiskey and money."¹⁶

Just after the end of the War of 1812, Jesse set up his own tanning business in Point Pleasant, Ohio.¹⁷ In 1821, Jesse Grant married Hannah Simpson, a young woman from Clermont, Ohio.¹⁸ Hannah was described as a quiet, self-possessed, and a bright woman. The Simpsons were all well-educated, despite the fact that they were living on the frontier in the Ohio Valley.¹⁹ The family originally came from Montgomery County, Pennsylvania but had moved to farm six hundred acres of land in Clermont County.

Both Hannah and Jesse Grant were practicing Methodists. They had been converted during the great nineteenth-century religious revival known as the Second Great Awakening. The Second Great Awakening was a revival of religious fervor that swept across the United States between 1790 and 1835. The movement was characterized by two important aspects of evangelicalism, conversion and revival. Conversion resulted when an individual realized his innate sinfulness, which could only be expiated by an omnipotent God who fulfilled his promise of salvation to humankind by offering his son, Jesus,

as an atonement for sin. Revivalism was the actual “awakening” of spiritual concern among individuals to promote the conversion.

Methodism gained many converts during the Second Great Awakening. Between 1770 and 1820, Methodism was the fastest growing religious denomination in the United States.²⁰ The phenomenal success of the denomination, in the early years of the American Republic, was due to a number of reasons. First, Methodism offered a favorable alternative to many of the state-sponsored churches of the colonial period. In the period following the American Revolution republican ideology was responsible in causing many individuals to reject the traditional hierarchical denominations in favor of more egalitarian religions. Second, Methodism identified closely with the middling and lower orders of Americans who were striving to succeed economically. The faith identified with those people who were on the make – skilled artisans, shopkeepers, petty merchants, and ambitious small planters.²¹ Third, Methodist itinerant and local preachers made the denomination accessible to large numbers of adherents located in frontier locales. Furthermore, Methodism embraced women and African Americans, members of society that were traditionally excluded from active roles in the church.

Jesse and Hannah Grant fit neatly into the Methodist mold. Jesse, in particular, found that the denomination appealed to his sensibilities. In 1822, the same year that Ulysses Grant was born, Jesse struck out on his own opening a tanning business in Georgetown, Ohio. Even today, tanning is an unpleasant occupation. It involves working with dead animals and chemical substances that stink.²² In Jesse Grant’s day, most individuals who engaged in the profession were located at the bottom of the social ladder.²³ But Jesse was determined to succeed and better his lot. Methodism encouraged him by preaching the virtue of labor and the improvement of the common individual.²⁴ Methodism, also appealed to Jesse’s republican emotions by proclaiming the equality of all humans. Initially, Jesse was an ardent Jacksonian, but later broke with the Democrats when the party failed to condemn slavery. During Ulysses’ childhood his father adopted Whig ideology including a strong stance on the question of abolition. Jesse’s anti-slavery sentiments were so strong that he even contributed articles to the local abolitionist newspaper, *The Castigator*.²⁵ Finally, Jesse felt comfortable with Methodism because the denomination was inclined to form, among its members, close religious communities. Churches became extended families. Because of his early childhood experiences, Jesse Grant was determined to establish solid relationships between family and church.

Ulysses S. Grant was born into this Methodist household on April 27, 1822. He, however, was never baptized a Methodist nor was he ever forced by his father to attend church.²⁶ Curiously all of the other four Grant children were baptized and were frequent churchgoers. One explanation for this strange occurrence was that young Ulysses was tone deaf and the sound of music physically tormented him. Another reason may be the republican beliefs held by his father. Unlike the rest of the children, Jesse Grant treated his eldest son differently. According to biographer Geoffrey Perret, Ulysses Grant enjoyed the freest of boyhoods.²⁷ Jesse never made demands on Ulysses. He was never scolded or made to do anything he disliked. In matters of religion, Jesse was

determined that Ulysses make up his own mind. This conjecture is supported by the fact that it was not until Ulysses was sixteen years old that Jesse finally demanded that his son follow his orders and accept an appointment to West Point Military Academy.²⁸

Even though Jesse and Hannah Grant did not force their religion on their son, their home was a place of quiet piety. The Grant couple disapproved of dancing, drinking, blasphemy, gambling, whippings and swearing.²⁹ Moreover, neither of them sanctioned the “barbarisms” that they witnessed in the church of their day.³⁰ The shouting, the frenzy, the jerks, and the falling that occurred when a sinner was “smit by the Lord Almighty’s power” were viewed by the Grant couple with astonishment.³¹ Hannah was especially uncomfortable with these demonstrative displays during services. Emotional outbursts of enthusiasm was antithetical to her quiet demeanor. At her funeral in May 1883, Ulysses acknowledged that his mother’s faith was “earnest, modest, and sincere.”³²

In a more general sense, Hannah’s reaction to the passionate church services reveals a transformation that was taking place within the Methodist Church in the 1830s. Methodists, like Jesse and Hannah Grant, who had achieved affluence and prestige were now looking for respectability in their religion. The “old Methodism” of camp revivals, itinerant preachers, and fiery sermons had given way to church buildings, an educated clergy, and the reading of sermons. By 1850, Methodists had built 13,280 churches throughout the United States, 4000 more than their nearest rival, the Baptists.³³ Furthermore, after 1816, the Methodists embarked on a sustained campaign of building colleges and universities. Historian Duvall notes that between 1830 and 1860 the Methodists established nearly 200 schools and colleges.³⁴ These institutions began to turn out educated ministers who replaced the zealous preachers of an earlier period. The old itinerant preachers bemoaned the fact that the new seminary-educated ministers lacked the conviction to engage in zealous preaching. An early nineteenth-century itinerant preacher, Abner Chase, summed up the sentiment of the older preachers when he said, “There is greater effort now being made to please the ear than to reach the heart, and bring men to the foot of the cross.”³⁵

Hannah Grant, however, did impress on her eldest son the importance of the Sabbath. Almost forty years later, General Porter, a member of Grant’s staff in 1864, remarked that the general exhibited strict Sabbatarian tendencies.³⁶ Grant never played a game of any kind nor did he write official dispatches on the Sabbath. Once, while commanding the Army of the Potomac, he was questioned by a clergyman from the United States Christian Commission about fighting battles on the Sabbath. Taking time out from his duties, Grant answered the minister’s question in detail. “It was quite true,” replied the general. “Of course it was not intentional, and I think that sometimes, perhaps, it has been the result of the very efforts which have been made to avoid it.”³⁷ Grant continued by explaining to the minister that sometimes military maneuvers caused battles to be fought on Sunday. Grant observed that it was unfortunate that this occurred adding, “Every effort should be made to respect the Sabbath day, and it is very gratifying to know that it is observed so generally throughout our country.”³⁸ For his entire life, Grant would follow his mother’s injunction on respecting the Sabbath.

Jesse Grant, on the other hand, instilled in his son a number of characteristics indicative of the religious reform movements of the early nineteenth century. Jesse preached republicanism, self reliance, the virtue of labor, abolitionism, temperance, nativism, and truthfulness. At various points in his life, Ulysses Grant exhibited these tendencies. His father's republican attitudes toward religion were evidenced by Ulysses' conduct while at West Point. In 1839, Ulysses was put under arrest for refusing to go to Sunday Cadet chapel. Chapel was a mandatory exercise for all cadets. Grant felt that a compulsory church service was not "republican" and he especially resented what he called "the Episcopalian tone" of the otherwise nondenominational service.³⁹ In this instance, Grant's conduct is revealing. Ulysses ascribed to his father's belief that Methodism embraced the post Revolutionary political philosophy of equality among individuals. The Revolution had ended the traditional paternal and dependant relationships that had existed between individuals and their churches. The new American political order allowed people the freedom to determine their fate. As a result of this new political situation American religion began to reflect this leveling philosophy. Methodists in particular adopted this sentiment. Itinerant Methodist preacher James Quinn reflected this ideology when he wrote that just after the Revolution Americans, "...were left free to choose their own course, and worship God, with or without a name, in temple, synagogue, church, or meeting-house, sitting, or kneeling, in silence or with a loud voice, with or without books."⁴⁰

Ulysses Grant, throughout his life, practiced temperance with varying degrees of success. Before the Mexican War, Grant rarely drank alcohol. While a cadet at West Point, Ulysses was reported to have visited the tavern of Benny Havens in Buttermilk, New York only once. Biographer Perret reports that Grant was talked into it by fellow cadet Rufus Ingalls.⁴¹ For the rest of his time at West Point Grant never again visited the popular watering hole of the cadets, preferring to spend his spare time horseback riding and reading novels that he ordered from booksellers Carey and Hart of New York City.⁴² Companions said that even during the Mexican War Grant drank sparingly and "never drank to excess nor indulged in the profligacy so common in Mexico."⁴³ Only when Grant was assigned to garrison duty after the Mexican War did he begin to drink excessively. Apparently the long separations from wife and family caused him to turn to the bottle. In 1851, Grant was posted to the Army garrison at Sackets Harbor, New York. Sackets Harbor was an out-of-the-way post and many soldiers escaped from the boredom of camp life by drinking. Grant, who up to this time was a moderate drinker, began to be pushed into addiction.⁴⁴ It was at this time that Julia urged her husband to enroll in a Temperance union.⁴⁵ Grant not only attended the meetings regularly but even took part in many of the group's activities.⁴⁶ Shortly after he joined the society Grant noted "There is no safety from the ruin of liquor except by abstaining from it altogether."⁴⁷ As long as Julia was around, Ulysses abstained from alcohol.

Scholars are divided in their opinion of Grant's drinking. Historian Charles G. Ellington believes that Grant was not an alcoholic.⁴⁸ He argues that if Grant was alcoholic he would not have been able to drink in moderation. Ellington cites a number of occasions when Grant drank sparingly. Moreover, there is evidence that there were only two periods in Grant's life when he was known to drink

heavily. The first period of drunkenness occurred while he was on garrison duty in California and the second was during the Vicksburg Campaign in 1863. On both occasions Grant was known to be under great psychological pressure.

Dr. John Bumgarner disagrees with this analysis, contending that Grant was a binge drinker who indulged in two or three drunken sprees a year.⁴⁹ According to Bumgarner, Grant's addiction to alcohol was a problem that was endemic to many who served in the antebellum United States Army. Loneliness and boredom brought on by the isolation of the frontier garrison caused many soldiers to drink. Grant hated to be alone and whiskey was his solace.⁵⁰ While posted on the West Coast, Grant acquired the reputation for being a drunk, an epithet that remained with him for the rest of his life. During the Civil War, Grant often had to contend with rumors that his excessive drinking was affecting his performance.⁵¹

The matter of Grant's drinking, however, had a direct correlation with his religious upbringing. As noted earlier, Ulysses was largely influenced by his parent's attitudes on temperance. He had grown up in a home that discouraged the consumption of alcohol. At West Point and in Mexico, he drank very little. Between the years 1853 and 1861 Grant avoided liquor altogether.⁵² Chaplain James L. Crane of the Twenty-first Illinois Infantry, a friend of Grant's early in the war, reported that he never saw the general take a drink.⁵³ It was only when he became depressed or lonesome that he began to drink heavily. When these pressures were alleviated, the drinking stopped. For most of his life Grant was a temperate man.⁵⁴ In late 1885, a few months after Grant's death, Henry Ward Beecher, the famous Brooklyn preacher, asked Mark Twain for an advance copy of the general's Memoirs. Beecher was preparing a eulogy for Grant and wanted to investigate the rumors of the general's alcoholism. Twain declined to give Beecher a copy of the manuscript, but did agree to answer questions on Grant's drinking habits. Twain said that Grant's close acquaintances during the Civil War had indicated to him that Grant sometimes drank heavily but that he had stopped when he accepted high command.⁵⁵ Twain further added that the only time Grant mentioned alcohol to him was in April or May of 1885 when his doctors had urged him to take a little whiskey or champagne to build up his strength. Grant refused saying "...I can't take them; I can't abide the taste of any kind of liquor."⁵⁶ Later, Twain confided to Sherman that he had wished Grant had "put the drunkenness in the Memoirs-and the repentance and reform" and then trusted in the goodwill of the people.⁵⁷

Grant's sorrow after a drinking spree, however, revealed his concern for his own mortal and spiritual weaknesses. Throughout his life Grant, like his father before him, was haunted by the prospect of failure. Jesse Grant had struggled to establish himself on the Ohio frontier and he had fought to maintain his position in his community.⁵⁸ Moreover, Jesse had instilled in all of his children the will to succeed, but Grant was always mentally torn by self doubts. He believed that he did not measure up to his own self expectations. Similarly, these same self doubts became manifested in his religious attitudes. Grant once told Dr. John Newman, that he considered himself a frail man of little faith. To his family and close friends he often disclosed the desire to be stronger in his faith so that he would be able to overcome his trials.⁵⁹ Grant admired his sister, Mary

Cramer, as a person who was strong in her faith. "Oh, if I could only have the faith that my sister, Mrs. Cramer has," he sometimes said. "Her trusting nature would meet this trouble better than I can."⁶⁰ In a rare instance of candor, Grant told his sister that he often "prayed to God mentally, but briefly, for strength and wisdom to enable him to carry out what was expected of him."⁶¹

Although Grant was never a member of any religious denomination, he did believe in fundamental Christian beliefs. Dr. Newman said that Grant accepted the Bible as the Word of God and professed a belief in the divinity of Jesus.⁶² Moreover, Grant firmly believed in the overruling power of God in determining the affairs of humans in the world. In his 1864 speech to President Abraham Lincoln accepting the commission of lieutenant-general, Grant ended with the remark: "I feel the full weight of responsibilities now devolving on me, and I know that if they are met it will be due to those armies, and, above all, to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men."⁶³ Grant was so taken by the power of God's grace in determining the course of human events that he chose to use a sentence from Thomas A' Kempis' *Imitation of Christ* as the principal theme of his life's memoirs. A' Kempis wrote, "Man proposes but God disposes," explaining that the just man depends on God rather than on his own resolution.⁶⁴ Grant conceded that all persons exercised a free will and were responsible for their actions. But if those actions were harmful God would overrule those actions for the benefit of humankind.⁶⁵ Furthermore, humans must trust in God in all of their endeavors and they must be satisfied with the outcome.

Grant considered his resignation from the army in 1854, as his most providential experience. At that time his future looked bleak with little possibility of promotion in the army. "If I had staid [sic] in the army I would still have been a Captain on frontier duty at the outbreak of the war and would thus have been deprived of the right to offer many services voluntarily to the country. That opportunity shaped my future."⁶⁶ Many others, including Dr. Newman agreed that Providence was indeed responsible for Grant's success. During a conversation that took place in the last months of the general's life Newman observed that many in the nation believed that Grant, next to Lincoln, was the person most responsible for eradicating slavery and saving the union. Newman said, "You are a man of Providence; God made you his instrument to save a great nation."⁶⁷

Grant's attitude on slavery changed over time. At the beginning of the war he was indifferent on the matter of slavery. Grant's wife, Julia may have influenced his ambivalent viewpoint. Julia Dent Grant came from a slave holding family and to the day she died never thought there was anything wrong with slavery.⁶⁸ At one time, his father-in-law Frederick Dent owned many slaves.⁶⁹ Biographer William McFeely asserts that in 1858, when Grant farmed land outside of St. Louis, he may have owned a slave or two.⁷⁰ Chaplain Crane wrote of a case in mid 1861 that involved Colonel Grant and a runaway slave. One day a slave came to his headquarters in Mexico, Missouri asking for assistance. Grant declined to assist the runaway stating that the purpose of the army was to fight Confederates and not help runaway slaves. The slave pleaded with Grant but it was to no avail. Over time, however, Grant's attitude

toward slavery began to change. In a conversation with his brother-in-law, Reverend Michael Cramer, Grant observed that he gradually became convinced that "slavery was doomed and must go."⁷¹ Grant began to look upon the Civil War as a divine punishment for the sin of slavery.⁷² He believed that he along with others had been singled out by God to be the instrument that put an end to this moral evil. This incident was just another case where Grant saw the special Providence of God working through human agents.

As president, Grant viewed the Federal Government's treatment of Native Americans in a similar light. Grant felt that the Indian policies of his predecessors were unfair and immoral.⁷³ He believed that Indians were entitled to humane treatment, something they had not received from any previous presidential administration. During the first year of his presidency Grant sought to radically redefine Federal policies toward Native Americans. In 1869, President Grant began to reform the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The president's plan called for an autonomous investigatory board made up of the nation's leading philanthropists and religious figures to study the abuses in the Indian Bureau. Prominent figures who served on the panel were William Welsh, a philanthropist and leading Episcopalian, John V. Farrell, a reformer and friend of evangelist Dwight L. Moody, and E. S. Tobey, a social welfare advocate and president of the Young Men's Christian Association.⁷⁴ Grant believed that a board consisting of leading religious figures and men of seemingly good reputations would demonstrate to the nation his good intentions toward the Indians. To further remedy the situation, Grant replaced all Indian agents with representatives from among the churches.⁷⁵ This plan, misnamed the "Quaker Plan," was backed by a substantial portion of Eastern Protestants and envisioned the Christianization of Indians by placing each tribe under the care of a specific denomination.⁷⁶ Moreover, the president appointed "humanitarian generals," who shared Grant's sentiments on the treatment of Indians.⁷⁷

Grant's Indian policy was based not only on a pragmatic political plan of action but also on his genuine desire for a just and moral peace between whites and Native Americans. Politically, a lasting peace with the Indians would save millions of dollars of taxpayer's money. Garrison troops would be sent home, military forts would be abandoned, and Christianized Indians would be assimilated into American society. Morally, Grant thought that the Indians deserved better treatment than they had received from previous administrations. Ever since his days in California, Grant sympathized with the plight of the Indian. Furthermore, like the matter of slavery, Grant believed that God provided him an opportunity to save the nation. Drawing his inspiration from A' Kempis, Grant understood that the virtuous person pleased God.⁷⁸ According to A' Kempis, peacemaking is the most praiseworthy and virtuous achievement that a human can accomplish.⁷⁹ "Such a person is a conqueror of himself and master of the world, a friend of Christ and an heir of heaven."⁸⁰ Throughout his life Grant consistently practiced conciliation. It is known that Grant had only four fights while growing up in Ohio. In all of these cases he had fought reluctantly. In wartime, he proved to be a magnanimous victor as was evidenced by the surrender terms offered at Fort Donaldson, Vicksburg, and Appomattox. After his retirement from public life, Grant, on numerous

occasions, refused to review troops or participate in military affairs. Only when Grant visited Germany did he agree to review a small detachment of Crown Prince Frederick's guard, but not before protesting that he was "more of a farmer than a soldier."⁸¹

Many biographers commented that Grant entertained simple religious beliefs. One reason for this assumption is that Grant infrequently spoke about religion. Grant was an introspective person and rarely shared his private thoughts with other individuals. There is some evidence that in the last year of his life Grant did discuss religious issues with Dr. Newman. Before this time, however, Grant seldom discussed specific religious issues. Acquaintances often remarked that he had a high esteem for religion and for members of the clergy. General Porter wrote that nothing offended Grant more than to make light of serious religious matters or to show disrespect for things that were sacred.⁸²

Throughout his life Grant consistently showed respect for religion. Many of his acquaintances claimed that he frequently attended church.⁸³ During the Civil War, Grant insisted that if a member of the clergy was present at his mess table, a blessing would be given. To Chaplain Crane he once remarked, "Chaplain, when I was at home, ministers were stopping at my house I always invited them to ask a blessing at the table. I suppose that a blessing is as much needed here as at home; and if it is agreeable with your views, I should be glad to have you as a blessing every time we sit down to eat."⁸⁴ At other times, he would often ask friends to kneel and pray with him. Reverend Newman claimed that on many occasions Grant would bring out the family Bible and ask all who were present to join him in family prayers.⁸⁵ Grant was also familiar with the Bible and could quote long Scriptural passages. One time, just before his death, Grant was able to recite the Twenty-third Psalm from memory.

Grant occasionally spoke about his religious views to his sister and brother-in-law, Mary and the Reverend Joseph Cramer. Once in a conversation with the Cramers, Grant observed that no human could be a true atheist because religion was intuitive to the soul.⁸⁶ Grant also believed that, among Americans, Christianity was the ideal religion for its citizens. He believed that while Americans had no State religion, "and this is as it should be" the Protestant Churches of the United States safeguarded the nation's liberties.⁸⁷ Grant believed that Christianity provided the basis for many of the country's humanitarian institutions. Moreover, religious activity in the form of Sunday schools and church services also lessened the danger that Americans would adopt lawless and anarchical ways that were, at the time, typical in Europe. Grant was also confident Christianity would aid the Federal Government in absorbing the "promiscuous crowds of European immigrants" that were coming to this country and "assimilate them into the body politic."⁸⁸ Although Grant was nonsectarian in his beliefs, he did seem to favor the Methodist Church. Before and after the Civil War, he attended the Methodist Church with his wife and children. Indeed, his wife, Julia, and his daughter were both committed Methodists. His sister, Mary, was also an adherent of the denomination and ended up in 1863 marrying Michael J. Cramer, a Methodist minister.⁸⁹ When asked by Reverend Cramer why he did not become a member of the Methodist Church, Grant responded with the comment that many professed Christians

were not very consistent in their practice of their faith, if they were churches would be better attended and would do more good."⁹⁰

It was not until Grant was diagnosed with terminal cancer that he began to seriously consider joining the Methodist Church. Up to this time the general had shown little inclination in becoming a member of the denomination. During his presidency, he regularly attended the Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church in Washington, D.C. Grant, even though he was not a member of the church, did take an active role in the church's affairs and served at the president of the board of trustees.⁹¹ There was, however, a curious instance when Grant appeared to be interested in making the first steps toward full membership in the church. One Sunday, while attending the service, Grant was moved to receive the Lord's Supper. He even requested that Schuyler Colfax, who occupied the pew in front of him, accompany him up to the communion table. Colfax declined to go, "and so I too, stayed away," said the general.⁹² After that, it appears that Grant let the issue of joining the church drop.

During the last months of his life Grant began to take great interest in his spiritual well-being. Much of the information concerning Grant's religious views at this time came from the journal of Reverend Newman. Newman had met Grant in 1869 while serving as pastor of the metropolitan Episcopal Methodist Church in Washington, D.C. The Grant family attended this church when Ulysses was president. Over time Newman ingratiated himself with the family, becoming a close friend of Julia Grant.⁹³ The relationship with the family became so close that Grant appointed Newman Inspector of U.S. Consulates, thus giving him a trip around the world at government expense.⁹⁴ After Grant left the presidency, Newman followed the family to New York. McFeely claims that the Methodist pastor was an ostentatious and unctuous minister who wormed his way into the family's confidence.⁹⁵ There may be some substance to the charge as Newman always appeared to be ministering to the rich and famous. For example, in early 1885, when Grant was clearly dying, Newman was in San Francisco delivering the eulogy at the funeral of Leland Stanford Jr., the son of railroad magnate. For his services Newman received \$10,000.⁹⁶ When he had heard of the seriousness of Grant's condition Newman immediately rushed back to New York so that he could "be with General Grant in his last moments..."⁹⁷ Grant's friend, Mark Twain observed that Newman's presence at the general's sickbed was self-serving and that all of the pastor's accounts, which he had freely given to the press, originated in the reverend's own imagination.⁹⁸

Newman reported to the newspapers that he baptized Grant into the Christian faith in late March, 1885, when it was feared that Grant was near death. Newman claimed that he did at the request of Julia and Grant's sister, Mrs. Corbin. There is some doubt that Grant was even conscious at the time. Historian William B. Hasseltine claims that while doctors were injecting brandy into Grant's veins Newman was seizing a bowl of water and baptizing the unconscious man. Newman refutes that claim and in his diary states:

I said: "I will baptize him if he is conscious; I cannot baptize an unconscious man." I consulted the sons and they assented and the

colonel [Colonel Frederick Grant] said, "It would do no harm." As I began to pray, the General opened his eyes and looked steadily at me. As the physicians believed that he could not live five minutes longer, I prayed that God would receive his departing soul. I then approached him and he said: "To whom do you refer." I thought for the moment that his mind wandered; that he was not conscious that he was dying and the question was for information. I then observed: "General, I am going to baptize you, and he replied, "I am much obliged to you, Dr. I intended to take that step myself." I then baptized him in the 'Name of the Father, and of the Son, of the Holy Ghost.' He was conscious and wiped the water from his face. It was a solemn scene.⁹⁹

More evidence challenging the validity of Newman's accounts concerning his spiritual ministrations to the dying man came from statements by former Senator Jerome Chaffee of Colorado, a friend of Grant and father-in-law to Ulysses S. Grant, Jr. Chaffee observed, "There has been a good deal of nonsense in the papers about Dr. Newman's visits. General Grant does not believe that Dr. Newman's prayers will save him. He allows the doctor to pray simply because he does not want to hurt his feelings."¹⁰⁰ Twain further added to the debate by claiming that Grant's son, Frederick, told him that while his father "was perfectly willing to have family prayers going on...his father was not a praying man."¹⁰¹

Even Grant's actions after his baptism seem incongruous for a dying man seeking salvation. According to Newman, Grant, just days before he died, refused to receive communion. Newman wrote on a note pad kept by the general's bed, "I think that it would be a great comfort to you if you would take the communion. I shall be over here Sunday and we will give it to you, if you desire it."¹⁰² Grant read the message and taking the pad wrote back, "I would be happy to do so if I felt myself worthy. I have a feeling in regard to taking the sacrament [sic] that no worse sin can be committed than to take it unworthily. I would prefer not to take it..."¹⁰³ Newman later said that he did press the issue but felt sad and disappointed by Grant's response. Days later, Grant died, never having been known to have received the Lord's Supper.

Ulysses S. Grant's religious beliefs were shaped by the Methodist influence of his parents and a nondenominational Christianity. The Methodist tendencies Grant inherited from his parents affected many of his religious attitudes. Grant did not swear, blaspheme, or gamble. His father also taught him the value of labor. Unfortunately, and through no fault of his own, he became a soldier. Military service, however, in the antebellum United States Army provided few opportunities for success. In 1854, Grant resigned from the army because he believed he would never achieve high rank. Grant, like his father, feared failure and the poverty that he experienced during his time in the army only reinforced his self doubts. For most of his life, Ulysses worked to prove to himself and to his father that he could be successful. Grant also practiced temperance. He drank to excess at only two critical times in his life, his posting in California and during the Civil War. Loneliness and depression caused him to drink. Grant's sorrow after a drinking spree revealed his concern for his

own moral and spiritual weakness. Finally, Ulysses acquired, from his mother, a reverence for the Sabbath. Strict Sabbatarian tendencies remained with him until the day he died.

For most of his life Ulysses S. Grant was not a member of any specific religious denomination. He did, however, believe in core Christian beliefs. He accepted the Bible as the Word of God and he professed a belief in the divinity of Jesus, who he accepted as his savior. Grant was often reluctant to speak of his religious convictions. He was by nature a private man who seldom shared his personal thoughts. His introspective personality hid his religious views from all but his family and most intimate friends. Of all of his family members, Grant shared many of his religious convictions with his sister Mary Cramer and her husband Michael. From their writings we have learned that Grant thought deeply on theological matters. Many, who met Grant, said that he had a simple, sturdy faith, and respected all things that were considered sacred. His conversations with the Cramers prove that his religious beliefs were much more complex than supposed by his biographers. Grant was convinced that God worked through humans to accomplish a good for all humanity. During the Civil War, he was convinced that he was part of a divine plan to abolish slavery and restore the Union. The influence of A' Kempis is unmistakable. Grant had an unshakable faith in trusting God to lead him on the path of righteousness and justice.

ENDNOTES

1. New York Times, August 5, 1885.
2. These clergymen were Revs. G.E. Teritt, Joseph Carr, R.F. McMichael, George A. Smith, A. Proudfit, and T.W. Jones of Saratoga, New York; the Revs. H.E. Miles, T.M. Crawford, and James McLoed of Indianapolis, Indiana; and the Rev. H. Harkness of Newark, New Jersey. See New York Times, August 5, 1885.
3. Thomas M. Pitkin, The Captain Departs: Ulysses S. Grant's Last Campaign (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1974), 109.
4. Ibid.
5. "The Services At Mount M'Gregor," 2.
6. Horace Porter, Campaigning With Grant (New York: The Century Co., 1897), 495.
7. J.F.C. Fuller, Grant and Lee: A Study in Personality and Generalship (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1957), 57.
8. Jean Smith, Grant, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 13.
9. Porter, Campaigning With Grant, 495.
10. Jean Smith, Geoffrey Perret, and William McFeely pay little attention to Grant's Methodist roots.
11. New York Times, July 24, 1885.
12. Ulysses S. Grant, Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant (New York: Charles L. Webster & Company, 1885), 17.
13. Williams S. McFeely, Grant: A Biography (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1981), 3.
14. Ibid., 4.
15. Grant in his Memoirs, noted that his grandfather, Noah "was not thrifty in the way of 'laying up stores on earth.'" See Grant, Memoirs, 19.
16. Geoffrey Perret, Ulysses S. Grant: Soldier and President (New York: The Modern Library, 1999), 7.
17. Jesse Grant left Kentucky shortly after the end of the War of 1812. Just after the war slavery began.
18. Jesse Grant left Kentucky shortly after the end of the War of 1812. Just after the war slavery began to spread rapidly throughout the state. Jesse Grant found the institution of slavery intolerable. "I would not own slaves," he said, "and I would not live where there were slaves." See Perret, Ulysses S. Grant, 8.
19. It was Hannah's step-mother Rebecca, who suggested the name Ulysses, for the Grant's firstborn after reading Fénelon's epic Telemachus. See McFeely, Grant, 8.
20. In 1775 fewer than one out of every 800 Americans was a Methodist; by 1812 Methodist numbered one out of every six Americans. See John H. Wigger, Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 3.
21. Wigger, Taking Heaven by Storm, 5.
22. McFeely presents a graphic description of a nineteenth-century tannery. "Hides came from animals which had been butchered and from aged animals which were

penned, slaughtered, and skinned at the tanyard, with their carcasses then hauled away. The hides were cured in salt for storage, soaked in lye to loosen the hair, and placed in tubs of tannic acid to render them flexible and durable." See McFeely, Grant, 7.

23. Perret, Grant, 7.
24. Wigger, Taking Heaven by Storm, 8.
25. McFeely, Grant, 8.
26. Perret, Grant, 18.
27. *Ibid.*, 19.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*, 16.
30. Hamlin garland, Ulysses S. Grant: His Life and Character (New York: Doubleday & McClure Co., 1898), 20.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Benjamin Perley Poore, Life of U.S. Grant (Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers, 1885), 491.
33. Wigger, Taking Heaven by Storm, 175.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*, 183.
36. Porter, Campaigning with Grant, 495.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. Ulysses S. Grant, The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant, vol. 1: 1837-1861, edited by John Y. Simon (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Illinois: Southern Illinois Press, 1967), 7.
40. Wigger, Taking Heaven by Storm, 9.
41. Perret, Grant, 24.
42. Grant, The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant, vol. 1: 1837-1861, 11.
43. John R. Bumgarner, M.D., The Health of the Presidents: The 41 United States Presidents Through 1993 from a Physician's Point of View (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 1993), 103.
44. *Ibid.*
45. In the winter of 1851, Ulysses Grant joined the Sons of Temperance, Rising Son Division, Lodge No. 210. See Perret, Grant, 87.
46. Grant often joined in the society's activities including marching in temperance parades wearing the red, blue, and white regalia of the movement. See Perret, Grant, 87.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Charles G. Ellington, The Trial of U.S. Grant: The pacific Coast Years 1852-1854 (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1987), 35.

49. Bumgarner, The Health of the Presidents, 104. Biographer Jean Smith concurs with Bumgarner's evaluation of Grant's drinking habits noting that "in a clinical sense" Grant may have been an alcoholic. See Smith, Grant, 231.
50. Ibid., 104.
51. McFeely, Grant, 96.
52. Smith, Grant, 96.
53. James L. Crane, "Grant as a Colonel," McClure's Magazine, vol. 7 (June 1896), 42.
54. William B. Hesseltine, Ulysses S. Grant: Politician (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1935), 301.
55. Pitkin, The Captain Departs, 113.
56. Ibid., 113-14.
57. Ibid.
58. McFeely, Grant, 6.
59. "The General's sturdy Piety," 2.
60. Ibid.
61. Michael J. Cramer, Conversations Y Unpublished Letter of Ulysses S. Grant (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1897), 42.
62. "The General's Sturdy Piety," 2.
63. Porter, Campaigning With Grant, 495.
64. Thomas a Kempis, The Imitation of Christ, Book 1 (Notre Dame, Indiana: Ave Maria Press, 1989), 48.
65. Cramer, Conversations & Unpublished Letters of Ulysses S. Grant, 43.
66. The General's Sturdy Piety," 2.
67. Stefan Lorant, "The Baptism of U.S. Grant," Life Magazine, vol. 30 (March 26, 1951), 90-104.
68. Perret, Grant, 40.
69. Julia mentions the names of at least eight slaves who were owned by the Dents. See Julia Dent Grant, The Personal Memoirs of Julia Dent Grant [Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant], ed., John Y. Simon (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1975), 35-37, McFeely mentions that Frederick Dent had at least twelve slaves at his home, White Haven. See McFeely, Grant, 62.
70. McFeely, Grant, 62.
71. Cramer, Conversations & Unpublished Letters of Ulysses S. Grant, 106.
72. Ibid.
73. Grant was especially disturbed by the deaths of large numbers of women and children at both the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre in the Colorado Territory and the 1868 Battle of the Washita. Unlike the views of a majority of Americans at the time, Grant attributed much of the blame for the problems with the Indians to the settlers. See Grant, 516-20.

74. Grant, The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant, vol. 19: July 1, 1868-October 31, 1869, 196-97.
75. Smith, Grant, 528. Biographer Perret observes that Grant recruited substantial numbers of Protestant clergy to run the reservations. When he ran out of suitable candidates from the Protestant churches, he appointed Catholic priests. When the pool of acceptable Christians dried up Grant turned to religious Jews. See Perret, Grant, 425.
76. McFeely, Grant, 308.
77. Grant chose religious generals who shared his pacifist viewpoints in the handling of Indian affairs. Among those gentlemen were Oliver Otis Howard, Benjamin Grierson, and John Pope. See Smith, Grant, 532-33.
78. A' Kempis, The Imitation of Christ, Book 1, 47.
79. *Ibid.*, 68.
80. *Ibid.*
81. McFeely, Grant, 470.
82. Porter, Campaigning With Grant, 495.
83. Grant contemporaries Horace Porter, James L. Crane, and Benjamin Poore all claimed that Grant was a frequent churchgoer. See Porter, Campaigning With Grant, 594; Crane, "Grant as a Colonel," 43; and Poore, *Life of U.S. Grant*, 492.
84. Crane, "Grant as a Colonel," 43.
85. New York Times, July 24, 1885.
86. Cramer, Conversations & Unpublished Letters of Ulysses S. Grant, 44.
87. *Ibid.*, 151-52.
88. *Ibid.*
89. McFeely, Grant, 319.
90. Cramer, Conversations & Unpublished Letters of Ulysses S. Grant, 129.
91. "The General's Sturdy Piety," 2.
92. Cramer, Conversations & Unpublished Letters of Ulysses S. Grant, 129.
93. Pitkin, The Captain Departs, 34.
94. Lorant, "Baptism of U.S. Grant," 90.
95. McFeely, Grant, 503.
96. Pitkin, The Captain Departs, 72.
97. Lorant, "Baptism of U.S. Grant," 90.
98. Pitkin, The Captain Departs, 72.
99. Lorant, "The Baptism of U.S. Grant," 92.
100. Pitkin, The Captain Departs, 72.
101. *Ibid.*
102. Lorant, "The Baptism of U.S. Grant," 98.
103. *Ibid.*

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ANTWONE FISHER : A Syncretic Projection of Black Culture (2002)

review by Asia Nuñez

From the 1963 groundbreaking film *Lilies of the Field*, which anointed Sidney Poitier as the “Ebony Saint,” to the current slew of Oscar-winning Black films that have made popular icons of Halle Berry and Denzel Washington, the modern era of Black visual entertainment seems to stand in positive contrast to the antecedent plantation and Blaxploitation genres. But, a closer analysis of this evolution reveals that while seemingly positive projections of Black culture appear today with considerably more frequency, their presence does not necessarily signify a victory over white racist norms.

This is not surprising, given the corporate nature of the entertainment industry. Producers of Black cultural projection, while somewhat free to imbue their art with their individual perspectives, cannot expect to appeal to large, cross-over audiences or to secure financial backing for their projects if their perspectives fall too far from the “preexisting facts, beliefs, and stereotypes”¹ of their audiences. Hence, according to political scientist Richard Merelman, it is highly unlikely that any entertainment vehicle will directly “challenge hegemonic conceptions of race relations in the United States,”² though some film makers, like Spike Lee, succeed in pushing the envelope more than others. Merelman asserts that the degree to which Black cultural projection opposes normative values is not evinced merely in the quantity of Black themes and characters. Instead, using his typology of Black cultural projection, he focuses on how these aspects of films “develop ideas about race” characterizing their impact using the concepts of “hegemony, counter-hegemony, syncretism, and polarization.”³

As compared to *Birth of a Nation*, which is clearly an example of hegemonic revisionism, the syncretic remake of *The Wizard of Oz*, entertains modern audiences with exotic rhythm and blues performances of an all-Black cast, yet never confronts racial issues at all. At the other extreme, blatant in their exploitation of racial themes, “blaxploitation” films like *Superfly* claim to turn the tables on racial norms, but represent little more than a concession to the racial status quo, in which “dominants and subordinates equally reject

the others' efforts at cultural projection." In contrast to the aforementioned approaches, counter-hegemony asserts an anti-racist representation of social relations, "[occurring] when subordinates and their allies convert dominants to subordinate versions of the world."⁴ While this perspective is least likely to find its way into the commercial film market, it provides a critical reference point for analyzing the vast majority of popular projections of Black culture.

The 2002 autobiographical *Antwone Fisher* has been celebrated for its reflections of the "minority" perspective. The film's namesake and screenwriter, Fisher, as well as its director and co-star, Denzel Washington, are African American. While garnering the prestigious NAACP Image Award and the Black Reel Award, ostensibly because of its positive portrayal of a Black storyline, the film has also played well to mixed audiences, including the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. This is understandable, given the way the film skirts the fence on controversial issues of race and racism.

It is this reviewer's perspective that despite its Black face, *Antwone Fisher* is just another formulaic Hollywood treatment of the familiar rags-to-riches story, in which race and racial themes serve merely as scenic devices. As the autobiography of a Black man, the film cannot altogether avoid the issue of white racism, but it manages to neutralize its significance by treating race matter-of-factly, as just another element of the storyline. Antwone confirms the Horatio Alger myth when his personal fortitude and persistence suffice, in the end, to lift him out of the dire circumstances of his birth, thus perpetuating the notion that collective oppression is no match for the sheer force of individual will. It is a reassuring message indeed for white audiences who are eager to celebrate Black heroes, as long as they validate the neo-liberal conviction that assimilation, not revolution is the path to equal opportunity. Hence, in the context of Merelman's model, *Antwone Fisher*, for all its racial referents, is syncretic, "simultaneously [reinforcing] and [condemning] white racism," rather than critiquing it.⁵

Antwone Fisher is a coming-of-age story of a young Black man seeking to escape his abusive past and, in the process, his demons. Born to an incarcerated mother and subjected to verbal, physical, and sexual abuse by his foster family, he suffers from a highly underdeveloped self-image. His attempts to stand up for himself lead again to abandonment, when he is sent back to the orphanage and then to reform school. Years later, living on the streets, he ventures back to the old neighborhood to reunite with his close childhood friend, Jesse. In a familiar pattern, Jesse abandons him, too, when he is murdered while committing a crime. With nowhere else to turn, Antwone joins the Navy, where he ultimately finds redemption and acceptance in the strict discipline of military conformity. Under the stabilizing influence of a fatherly Black naval psychiatrist, and the beautiful fellow enlistee who becomes his girlfriend, he overcomes his demons, makes peace with his past, and embraces the values and habits of mainstream America.

From the start, the syncretic tone of the film is obvious as much by what it glosses over as by what it chooses to emphasize. In one of the film's earliest scenes, Antwone's violent response to what he perceives as a racial slight by a white shipmate lands him in a disciplinary hearing with a superior officer. The

officer assumes Antwone's culpability and orders him to undergo psychiatric evaluation. This scene establishes Antwone as the aggressor in an "imagined" racial conflict, reinforcing dominant views that racism is less a reality than a perception on the part of most Blacks. At the same time, the film fails to critique the obvious institutional racism inherent in the disciplinary proceeding, in which Antwone's claim is not viewed as worthy of investigation, and his white peer's denial, alone, is determinative of the outcome.

The psychiatrist, Dr. Davenport, who represents the sole paternal figure in Antwone's life, is instrumental throughout the film in guiding his patient's self-reflection. Unfortunately, even the well-trained African American doctor has little to offer Fisher in the way of a counter-hegemonic perspective. Instead, in contrast to the raw and unschooled Fisher, his character lends further legitimacy to the film's syncretic themes. Addressing the causes of Antwone's alienation, Dr. Davenport superficially draws upon culturally relevant themes, such as Blassingame's *The Slave Community*, encouraging his patient to rationalize his pathological boyhood as the historical product of African American enslavement. Later in the film, Davenport gives Fisher a copy of *The Teachings and Philosophies of Marcus Garvey*, another hint that he is culturally conscious. However, these Afrocentric leanings lack substance. Barring a critique of the white supremacy inherent in the social-services, the military, and other white institutions that have clearly imposed a controlling influence on Fisher's community and his own ego development, these references to Black scholarship evoke no challenge to white audience racial norms and values, and suggest instead that the problems Blacks face are entirely of their own making. In addition, closely paralleling Davenport's mainstream view of race relations, are his Eurocentric aesthetic values, revealed in his wife's ambiguous racial identity. So ensnared in his own internalized contradictions, Davenport can hardly be expected to impart a counter-hegemonic analysis to his young patient.

Though the film is autobiographical, much of Fisher's early life is left unexplained. What are the conditions that produced his dysfunctional community life, his family's disintegration, his own limited insights? Were the film counter-hegemonic, it would force the white audience to examine these symptoms in light of their roots in the structure of white racism. In exposing the pathologies of his foster family, it would interrogate a child welfare system that allows such families to be caregivers to Black children. In addition to the hypocrisies of the Black church, it would also highlight its strengths as a buttress against the psychic ravages of white oppression. The film would seek to explain the dynamics that can cause a young man like Antwone's friend pursue a life of crime, even despite an apparently healthy upbringing. It would critique the dearth of educational and employment opportunities that make the military a refuge of last resort for young men like Antwone, in search of a future. Finally, alongside the dysfunctional personalities in Antwone's life, the film would include examples of role models of Black empowerment. The film does none of this. Instead, it paints Antwone's community as an urban "jungle", from which he is ultimately rescued by the discipline and order of the white establishment. In the end, however, Antwone is far from "saved." In fact,

he remains as blind as ever, and so does the white audience – happily blind to the ugly realities of racism. Happily blind, because to see what is before their eyes is to acknowledge the sins of their own commission. In this sense, perhaps *Antwone Fisher* is deserving of its accolades, serving as a fine example of what mainstream audiences want to see, a syncretic portrayal of Black life.

ENDNOTES

1. Richard Merelman, *Representing Black Culture: Racial Conflict and Cultural Politics in the United States*, Routledge, 1995 p. 99.
2. *Ibid.*, 103
3. *Ibid.*, 100
4. Washington, class discussion 6/1/04.
5. Merleman, *Representing Black Culture*, p. 103

Plundered Promise

by Richard W. Behan

Island Press (Washington, D.C. 2001)

review by Boyd T. Miller

In this interesting work, historian Richard Behan has depicted the American political and economic institutions from the seventeenth century to the present day. Behan's work demonstrates that officials concerned with Federal lands have historically overstepped their roles, resulting in the widespread exploitation of public resources for private gain and enterprises. In *Plundered Promise* Behan, a leading scholar on this subject matter, provides an overview of the sale of federal lands from 1788 to the present. In so doing Behan argues that the Indian Removal Act of 1830, along with Manifest Destiny, ushered in an unprecedented period of government involvement with the wholesale exploitation of public property. This corrupt exploitation of public land led to widespread confusion, profiteering, and abuse.

Behan's thesis that public lands have been plundered for profit and gain is well supported by a discussion not only the rise of industrialization and the appropriation public lands for farming and mining, but by examining historical ideas concerning the preservation of land. Behan posits that there were two schools of thought within the preservation movement: utilitarian and preservationist. Much of Behan's work is devoted to analyzing the traditional conflicts between these schools of thought that influenced public policy.

The thesis of the utilitarian movement was based upon the philosophy of John Stuart Mill, which argued that the greatest good for the greatest number of people is what should drive ethical decisions. This was applied to the preservation of land in that utilitarians were not always that interested in what we would consider the modern notion of conservation. The utilitarians sought to preserve land so that it could be exploited in a manner that would benefit a large portion of society. Behan does make one mistake in his coverage of the utilitarian movement however. He simply ignores the impact that utilization has had upon the market economy. The economy has always played a central role in shaping government policy, and an investigation of the dynamics of

utilization and public policy could have strengthened Behan's study.

The preservationist movement served as a foil for the utilitarians. Preservationists, as presented by Behan believed in the value of an untouched land and considered the most sublime beauty to be found in nature. The early preservationists, such as John Muir and Bernhard Fernow, argued that nature should not be exploited for its resources. The preservationist movement led to the formation of organizations like the Sierra Club that have had a lasting impact upon public policy regarding the use of public land. It is important however, to remember that neither the utilitarians nor the preservationists had anything like the modern understanding of conservation.

With *Plundered Promise*, Behan makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the history of public lands and their use. The book is particularly strong in explaining how the government came to own the majority of the land in the West and how the land itself also came to shape public policy. Behan has outlined how public lands were transformed over the last two hundred years in regards to the development of sectionalism and the development of environmental issues.

War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race

by Edwin Black

New York, NY (2003)

review by Rodney J. Daniels

Combining political and intellectual historical methodologies, Black's thesis is that American elites used eugenics as a method of social control meant to completely annihilate the lower classes. Black argues that the United States was the catalyst in propagating eugenics into an international conspiracy to rid the world from those people considered undesirable by upper class society. The focus of this study is how the United States, Germany, and other countries reacted to eugenics by implementing social policy during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Black traces the origins of the ideas that created eugenics, beginning with scientific attempts to create genetically perfect plants, and culminating in the form of laws that forbid the marriage and cohabitation of mates of differing social status. Black then specifically demonstrates how the United States adopted these ideas and transformed them into a national and international social policy.

As related by Black, the work of 19th century scholars such as Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and Gregory Mendel focused on explaining the internal traits that caused variations in animals, humans, and plants, that affected their survivability, adaptability, and propagation. These ideas culminated into a new ideology of how to improve the human race, which was based upon the belief that genetically inherited traits were responsible for social stratification. Black focuses on Francis Galton, a European theorist, who became obsessed with trying to establish quantifiable patterns of human evolution. Galton believed that people of high social standing would have children who possessed the same capabilities as their ancestors, which would result in those children maintaining the same socioeconomic status that their parents enjoyed. Galton also coined the term eugenics and stated, "Eugenics is the study of all agencies

under social control which can improve or impair the racial quality of future generations” (p. 18). Galton initially wanted to use government policy to restrict marriages between undesired people so that inferior traits would not be passed on and a superior racial stock could be created. According to Black, the imposition of social policies like this through political intervention is called negative eugenics. Galton understood his ideas were not beyond skepticism and later hoped eugenics would become a religious movement that could influence decisions made in regards to what kind of people would make appropriate mates. Galton’s transition from the absence of political imposition to one that relied upon religious ideology concerned with creating a pure race represented a significant shift in his ideas and is what Black calls “positive eugenics.” During the 19th and 20th centuries, white American elites embraced negative eugenics. According to Black, Negative eugenics was based on the belief that: 1) the lower classes and minorities, including most non-assimilated European immigrants, poor white Americans, Blacks, Mexicans, and Native Americans were genetically inferior; and 2) they were by definition of “unfit” heredity, only capable of reproducing genetically inferior offspring (p. 5).

Black goes on to relate how Harvard graduate and zoologist, Charles Davenport, became the most salient advocate for the eugenics movement in the United States. Under his leadership, funding and support was received by the Carnegie Institute, Rockefeller Foundation, scholars at major universities, political leaders, and wealthy individuals. All of these groups sought to propagate the superiority of the Nordic race. Before these groups even existed, criminals and those considered feeble-minded were already being castrated and sterilized at psychiatric hospitals in the attempt to prevent the spread of the defective. Armed with financial support, the advocates of negative eugenics enacted policies which not only led to the castration and sterilization of more than 80,000 people in the United States, but also placed negative eugenics as part of high school and college curriculums across the country. The dispersion of these ideas provided ideological justification for many states to create laws such as miscegenation laws, which were aimed at enforcing the eugenics movement.

Black asserts that American eugenics spread to every continent through international journals, the establishment of the International Eugenics Committee and an international eugenics conference. This led countries on every continent to enact forced sterilization laws (p. xvi, 213, 235). According to Black, Nazi Germany was influenced by the American eugenics movement when Charles Davenport gained the interest and support of Germany, which led to a sharing of research and ideas on heredity. Black argues that this influenced Hitler’s attempt at creating a superior race and that the eugenics movement in America became covert after actions taken by Nazi Germany were seen as crimes against humanity. Rather, says Black, “genetics” became the new code word for the eugenics movement in the United States during the mid 20th century. Despite the absence of an actual eugenics movement against the weak and unfit, Black argues that this “newgenics” movement may result in further abuse and manipulation of the poor by manipulating scientific knowledge about genetics. Black specifically sites cloning and the creation of DNA data banks by countries all over the world as potential means to manipulate social

reproduction throughout the global economy. While the prospect of science-based discrimination is frightening, Black does think that genetic knowledge may be beneficial in curing diseases.

The vastness of this study itself provided wonderful support for Black's argument. Data was collected from all over the world with the assistance of volunteer researchers from the United States, England, Germany, and Canada. Black's team reviewed more than 50,000 documents of which most were primary sources from more than forty archives, dozens of library special collections, and repositories. The Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie Institute philanthropic societies that helped to finance the American eugenics campaign, allowing researchers access to their own documents. Much of the data on the American eugenics movement came from journals, archives, interviews, correspondence, and other sources in Europe. One specific problem that researchers faced was that the abandonment of eugenics in the United States resulted in a shortage of purely American sources, due to the fact that many documents were destroyed and also the condemnation of Nazi Germany resulted in an attempt to clandestinely label eugenics as the actual science of genetics, which further confused the search. All of these factors created many difficulties for Black's team. These difficulties were countered by the creation of a filing system which contained sources organized according by month so the eugenics campaign could be interpreted as it spread over time. This system allowed for correspondence and communication links to be made between institutions that took part in the eugenics campaign. These links made it possible for Black to actually see correspondence between institutions, as well as similarities and differences that developed between them.

The very vastness of this study also provided problems for Black's thesis. The sheer amount of volunteers that took part in this study created management problems for Black. There were archival experts and scholars from around the world, including the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia and the Public Records Office in London England, but the majority of researchers were simply volunteers that had been recruited by word of mouth and the internet. Black acknowledges that he did not know many of the volunteers who played key roles in this study. Thousands of pages had to be translated into English by volunteers from numerous countries. Despite the fact that these documents were not only translated, but also summarized and linked to other documents, there was no real way for all of this work to be accurately reviewed. Black did have a four-person review team investigate and verify many of these documents, but many were examined and translated by researchers before they could be reviewed by the team. This has led to a certain degree of reasonable skepticism in regards to the accuracy of Black's data.

Nonetheless, Black has done an excellent job of establishing a relationship between American eugenicists and their foreign counterparts, even if he has not "proven" his thesis. Black argues that American eugenics served as the catalyst for the spread of eugenics throughout the world, as though the United States was responsible for a world wide eugenics movement. Even though he acknowledges that the United States did not make Hitler do the things he did, the implication was made. It is difficult to prove that one country created a

genocidal movement for the world. In order to prove this, it would be necessary to produce a study of how eugenics began in places like Latin America and Asia as well as how it was practiced, so that it would be possible to see when and how the American eugenics movement influenced foreign social policies.

Despite the obvious limitations of this study, Black has made a tremendous contribution to the history of how societies have defined differences amongst people and treated the disadvantaged. This scholarship compliments studies like *The Mismeasure of Man* (1981) and *Women of Color and the Reproductive Rights Movement* (2003), but goes a step further by bringing the whole world under criticism for past participation in biological warfare and current situations that might lead to the use of science to achieve similar goals.

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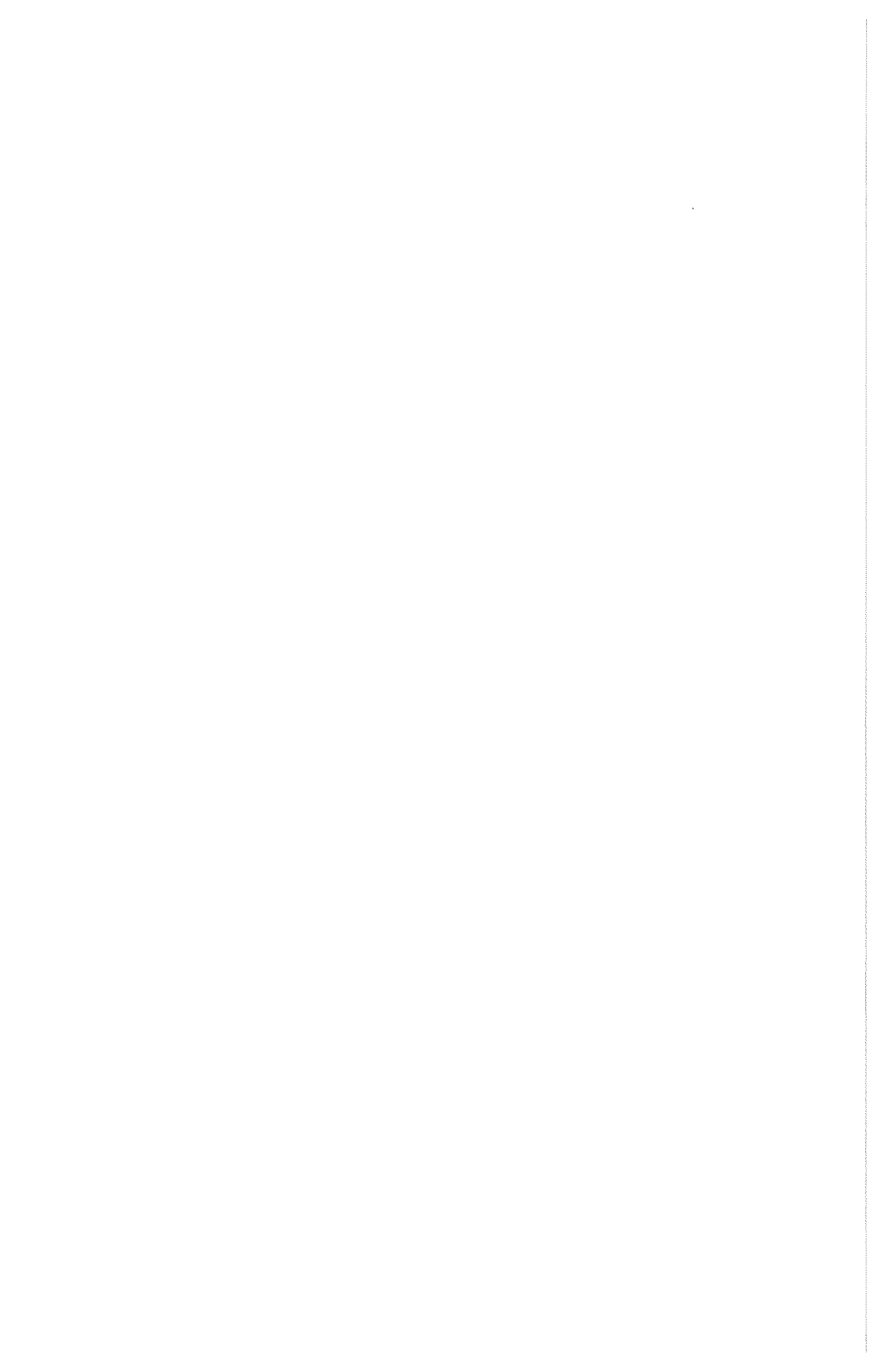
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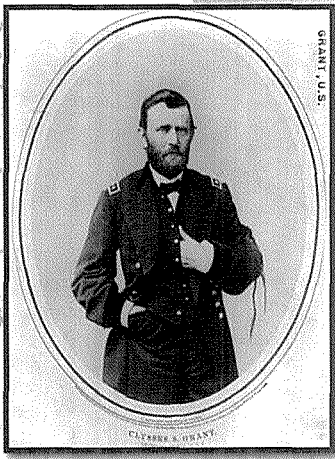


A New Map of the WHOLE

According to the latest and most exact Observations

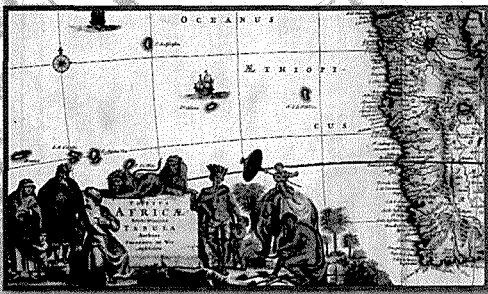
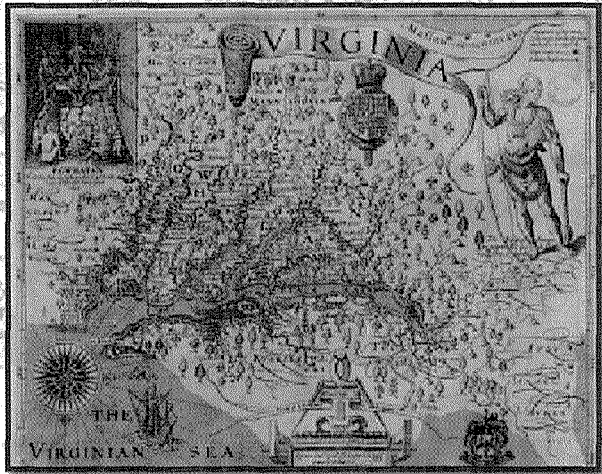
In this Map is shown the Winds, Monsoons, and Lines the Wind & Arrows with the Winds, and Abbreviations show the Times of the such Winds Blow

of the Coasting Trade
 Note that the Arrows
 & Coasting Winds
 of the Shifting Trade



GRANT, U.S.

CATHERINE S. GRANT



HOG TRIAL
 In 1873 Randolph McCoy and
 Floyd Hatfield of shooting to
 A trial followed, presided
 by Reverend Anderson being
 justice of the peace to be
 fair, the jury consisted of
 Hatfields and six McCoy. The
 witness, William Staton stated he
 had seen Floyd mark the hog
 This resulted in Floyd's acquittal
 Presented by Pillsville-Hals County Assoc.