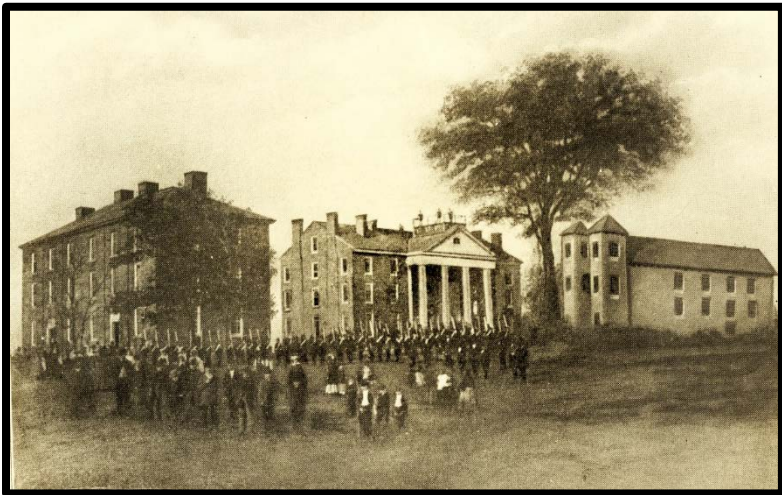


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Thanks,

Kayla Scott, John Clinton Harris, Dr. Jeffrey Bibbee, Dr. George Makowski, Dr. Matthew Schoenbachler, Dr. Ansley Quiros, Dr. Carolyn Barske and Mrs. Martha Frances Graham.

This volume is dedicated to the late Dr. Larry Nelson.

The image on the front cover is of Lagrange Military College, which was nicknamed the “West Point of the South.”

More information?

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World History

The Last Native Prince of Wales

Andrew Finch

It is tradition in British royalty that the firstborn son of the reigning monarch receives the title “Prince of Wales”. Prince Charles, who is the son of Queen Elizabeth II, currently holds the title. All who hold the title must be of an English family and the English crown. However, at one time, there were princes of Wales who were of Welsh descent. The holders of the title “Prince of Wales” did not become completely English until around the year 1415. This is when the last Welsh-born Prince of Wales vanished. This man, who brought almost all of Wales under his control, was Owain Glyndŵr.

Owain Glyndŵr, occasionally anglicized as “Owen Glendower”, was born sometime between 1349 and 1359 in the northeast of Wales, in what today would be in either the county of Powys or Wrexham. One might say that Owain’s destiny was determined before he was even born. John Davies notes that “Owain Glyn Dŵr was born about 1354, and there were by the 1380s men in Wales who were grooming him for the role of the second Cadwaladr.”¹ Cadwaladr was a great Prince of Wales who was romanticized in stories by the scribe Geoffrey of Monmouth. Those who knew Owain felt that he was to take the position of Cadwaladr and rule Wales as a great warrior, pushing back the English from the borders.

This expectation of Owain came in part from a prophecy, supposedly of Merlin, recorded by Geoffrey of Monmouth. In this

¹ John Davies, *A History of Wales* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), 189.

prophecy, it is said there will be “a Wolf that will come out of the West, who will begin war against the aforesaid Mole in his side.”² In this supposed prophecy, the “wolf” is perceived to be Owain Glyndŵr, while the “mole” is perceived to be Henry IV, the King of England who would fight Owain in a number of battles. Owain Glyndŵr was descended from a line of kings of Powys and Deheubarth, so he was expected to live up to his family’s history of kingship. However, even those who knew this could not anticipate just how much of Wales he would bring under his control.

Owain Glyndŵr spent the first forty years of his life in anonymity, not claiming any English land or challenging Henry IV. This changed in 1400, when Glyndŵr was proclaimed the rightful “Prince of Wales” by a small group of his friends and family. After this, the small group raided a number of the lands of north-east Wales controlled by the English, along with other towns such as Ruthin, Rhuddlan, Flint, Denbigh, and Oswestry.³ However, these first attacks would be short-lived, ultimately unsuccessful, and unfortunately harmful to the nation of Wales as a whole.

Henry IV led a short attack in Wales that took back a number of towns. While Henry IV was not able to capture Owain, he did quell Owain’s rebellious attacks for the next few years. Henry IV further reacted by confiscating much of Owain’s land, as noted in Henry IV’s proclamation on 8 November 1400, “Confiscation of Owain’s Lands”. He states that “Be it known that we, by our special grace, have given and granted to our beloved brother John, earl of Somerset, all the

² “Prophecy of Six Kings,” in *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston and John K. Bollard (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 11.

³ Graham J. Jones, *The History of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), 42.

manors, lands, and tenements that previously belonged to Owain Glyndŵr, both in South Wales and North Wales...on account of the high treason against our royal majesty...”⁴ However, this was not the end of Henry IV’s actions in Wales.

Henry IV was not satisfied to simply punish Owain and his followers - Henry chose to persecute Wales as a whole for these perceived acts of treason. In response to the uprising, large amounts of money were demanded from the Welsh population. In 1401 certain laws were passed that prohibited Welsh citizens from obtaining land in England or in the numerous English towns within Wales. Welsh citizens were also prohibited from being enrolled as representatives of municipalities (burgesses), while the English were protected from being convicted by Welshmen in Wales.⁵ These actions against the entirety of Wales, along with the rebellious actions of Glyndŵr himself, encouraged more Welshmen to join Owain’s revolt against English rule.

Welshmen living in Wales were not the only ones to join Owain. Many Welshmen in England were returning home to their families and joining Glyndŵr. An account taken down in the London Parliament on 21 February 1401 notes that “now Welsh scholars who had been residing in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge had left for their country; and that also Welsh labourers who had been living in various parts of the English realm had suddenly fled the said realms for their same country of Wales, and had strongly equipped themselves with arms, bows, arrows and swords and other weapons of war, such as

⁴ “Henry IV, *Confiscation of Owain’s Lands*” in *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston and John K. Bollard (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 35.

⁵ Jones, *The History of Wales*, 42.

they had not done at any time since the conquest of Wales.”⁶ The increased number of people supporting Owain, along with the increased number of weapons, were great inspiration in the second, much more successful revolt of Owain Glyndŵr.

With an increased number of followers and motivation, Owain began to attack various Welsh towns, taking over a great portion of north Wales from English rulers. The Welsh were known to completely ransack areas controlled by the English. They destroyed churches, homes, livestock, and various other pieces of property owned by Englishmen. The Welsh fighters were originally keen to avoid pitched battles (battles where both sides agree beforehand on a location for the fight to take place), preferring random attacks, which would keep the English from having any advantage.⁷ However, pitched battles were not always possible to avoid.

Throughout the year 1401, Owain predominately attacked castles and other forts held by the English. Owain seized Conwy Castle near Easter of 1401, and held that while he attacked other castles of north Wales such as Caernarfon and Harlech. Owain also used this time to seek out help from other countries, and even within England itself. He made various agreements with the royalty of Scotland and France, who had long shared animosity toward the English.⁸ Thus, while the majority of Owain’s soldiers were Welsh, he did gain foreign aid beginning in 1401 in promise for various pieces of land and influence in England should he prevail.

⁶ “Rolls of Parliament, 1401,” in *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston and John K. Bollard. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 45.

⁷ Henry Weisser, *Wales: An Illustrated History* (New York: Henry Weisser, 2002), 59.

⁸ Jones, *The History of Wales*, 42.

It can be argued that Owain's revolt had its greatest success in 1402. The first occurred in February, when Owain captured one of his greatest local enemies, Reginald Grey. Grey was responsible for carrying out the orders of the English Crown in north Wales, and thus capturing Grey prevented a great deal of English interference in north Wales. Glyndŵr eventually released Grey later the same year, for a ransom of 10,000 marks (equivalent to £6,666).⁹ Although Grey was now free, he played no further role in carrying out the will of Henry IV in Wales, giving Owain, as well as the general population of north Wales, much more liberty.

While being successful in a number of battles and events such as the capture of Reginald Grey, what is often considered to be the greatest victory of Owain's revolt is that of the Battle of Bryn Glas, near the Powys town of Knighton, on 22 June 1402. Bryn Glas is located on the eastern edge of Powys, in the middle of the county, near what is now the England-Wales border. While the Welsh were outnumbered four to three, the tactics used by Glyndŵr and his men insured victory. They used various goading tactics to tire the English soldiers and cut slowly through English lines. Furthermore, they had numerous archers stationed on hills, in order to fire down upon the English. One of the greatest advantages, however, was the fact that many soldiers loyal to Owain had infiltrated the English ranks, and so instead of firing their arrows at the oncoming Welsh, they fired them into the backs and sides of the Englishmen around them.¹⁰ These tactics ensured the Welsh victory at Bryn Glas.

⁹ Davies, *A History of Wales*, 193 - 194.

¹⁰ Owen Rees, "The Battle of Bryn Glas, 1402: Glyn Dŵr's finest hour," *Academica.edu*, <https://www.academia.edu/3566884/TheBattleofBrynGlasPilleth1402GlynDwrsfinesthour>.

This event, along with being a great victory from a military perspective, was also a great political victory. It created a number of political ties, and helped further the destabilization of the English throne. The English throne was already contested by two groups - those supporting Richard II and those supporting his cousin, Henry IV. Henry IV had taken over the throne, deposing Richard II. At the battle of Bryn Glas, Owain Glyndŵr captured the leader of the English forces, Sir Edmund Mortimer, who also had claim to the throne through various relatives.

While Sir Edmund originally supported his cousin Henry IV, Henry betrayed him after he was captured by Owain, forbidding Edmund's family from offering ransom, and seizing a great deal of Edmund's wealth and lands. After this, Sir Edmund joined Owain's revolt, with Owain promising to restore Richard II to the throne if he lived, or Sir Edmund's nephew (also named Edmund Mortimer), if Richard was dead. Ultimately, Sir Edmund married Owain's daughter Catrin, becoming Owain's son-in-law.¹¹ Thus, the battle of Bryn Glas created political ties with the supporters of Richard II, and marital ties with Richard's family.

Although Henry IV betrayed Sir Edmund Mortimer, in public he used Edmund's capture as a rallying point to attack Owain and his forces in the next month. In a proclamation issued by Henry IV on 25 June 1402, just three days after the battle, Henry states that, because Owain had taken his "very dear and well beloved cousin" Edmund Mortimer, the men should "be ready with us, armed, mounted and arrayed according to their rank and standing at our city of Lichfield with all due speed, so that in the end they may be...ready to go with us to the said region to resist and combat the wickedness of our aforesaid

¹¹ Davies, *A History of Wales*, 194.

rebels...”¹² Thus, the English continued to attack Owain’s army throughout the year, never successfully capturing or completely defeating them.

Throughout 1403 and into 1404, Owain and his soldiers attacked various Welsh towns and castles held by the English, such as Aberystwyth, Kidwelly, Caernarfon, and Harlech. Owain even received great support in southeastern Wales, in the areas of Monmouthshire and Gwent, counties heavily controlled by Englishmen. Throughout the next months, there were a number of battles, such as those of Shrewsbury, Hereford, and Chester, where the weather became too atrocious for the armies of Henry IV to fight. The fact that the weather kept Owain safe from a number of battles caused people to think he was some kind of magician that could control the weather. This view of Glyndŵr as a wizard also came from his supposed ability to materialize from nowhere, and the fact that his companion bards were known to recite incantations, and were thought by the English to be reincarnations of ancient druids.¹³ These factors contributed to Owain’s prestige and fearsomeness throughout Wales and England.

After the battles of Shrewsbury and Chester, Owain returned to western Wales for a short period of time. Here he made his home in the area between Aberystwyth and Harlech Castles, establishing his court at Aberystwyth. It was in this area, in the town of Machynlleth, that Owain summoned his first *cynulliad* (often translated as “gathering” or “parliament”). This *cynulliad* was for all of Wales, and was completely independent of the Parliament in London. At this

¹² “Henry IV, *Battle of Bryn Glas*,” in *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston and John K. Bollard. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 67.

¹³ A. H. Dodd, *A Short History of Wales* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1972), 45.

parliament, Owain was officially crowned as Prince of Wales, and declared his goals for the country. These goals included complete independence from England, complete home rule for Wales, for Welshmen to be treated fairly, for a separate Church of Wales, and for two universities to be established in the country.

Also during this parliament, agreements were made between Owain and Charles VI of France. In this pact, “the said lords the King and the prince shall be mutually joined, confederated, united, and leagued by the bond of a true covenant and real friendship, and of a sure, good, and most powerful union against Henry of Lancaster.”¹⁴ Charles VI, who himself was having trouble with the English, felt this agreement was a great method of keeping Henry busy and depleting his forces, without needing to use the entire army of France. Due to this contract, Charles VI agreed to send soldiers and equipment to Wales, to help Owain and his men fight Henry IV’s forces. They followed through with this promise a few months later when France sent 2,600 men with arms to Wales to help Owain’s revolt.

Another agreement was also made at this time, but on a local level. On 28 February 1405, the Tripartite Indenture was signed by Owain Glyndŵr, Edmund Mortimer, and Henry Percy, First Earl of Northumberland. In this Indenture, the three agreed to a friendly union, to always help each other in times of conflict, and agreed on who would receive the land of England and Wales, should Owain win his rebellion and depose Henry IV. According to the Indenture, Owain was to receive all of Wales, Henry Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, was to receive northern England, and Edmund Mortimer was to receive

¹⁴ “*Confederation Between Wales and France*,” in *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston and John K. Bollard (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 107.

Southern England.¹⁵ The totality of this agreement would, however, never come to fruition.

With the arrival of French soldiers and weapons in the summer of 1405, a number of battles were fought between Owain's men and those of England. The first was that of Haverfordwest, a town in the county of Pembrokeshire, in western Wales. Even with French help, Owain and his men were not able to take the castle or town. Instead, they took a smaller castle in Haverfordwest, Picton Castle, and continued through Pembrokeshire to Tenby.¹⁶ While this was a noticeable loss for Owain and his men, it would not be the greatest loss that Owain would face that year.

The second great loss for Owain and his army was at Pwll Melyn, an area within the town of Usk, Monmouthshire, in southeastern Wales. This was a devastating loss for Owain's and is often considered to be the turning point in the battle for Welsh independence, where England began to gain the upper hand. In this battle, not only were numerous Welsh soldiers killed, but over 300 were captured and executed at a later time. While the defeat experienced at Pwll Melyn was devastating, the true harm to Owain occurred when his son was captured and taken in the Tower of London, and his brother, Tudur, was found among the dead of the battle.

After this battle, the willingness of Owain and his men to attack outright waned. Owain returned to his court and held a second *cynulliad* at Machynlleth. Here he wrote a letter to Charles VI of

¹⁵ "The Tripartite Indenture," in *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*. ed. Michael Livingston and John K. Bollard (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 113 - 114.

¹⁶ Twigg, Aeres, *Owain Glyndŵr*. (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 2000), 20 - 21.

France, further stating his hopes for an independent Wales.¹⁷ Even with these hopes, and the treaty between Wales and France, Wales would receive no more aid from the French. They refused to send soldiers to help Owain keep his own lands secure, much less to help him take over new lands.

In the next two years, Owain and his men roamed Wales and even some parts of England, fighting local Englishmen and succeeding in taking over a number of small areas held by the English, but the success and motivation experienced before the battle of Pwll Melyn had vanished. During this time, under the influence of Henry IV's son, Prince Hal, the English began to attack Wales economically. They reclaimed a number areas and castles taken by Glyndŵr. However, it was in 1407 that the English decided to truly strike back at Owain.

In that year, English forces began attacking Aberystwyth Castle, bombarding the castle with large cannons, although Owain was not present at the beginning. While the castle initially surrendered, Owain returned in time to save the castle from being overrun by English forces, successfully fighting them back. Aberystwyth Castle was ultimately besieged for over a year before it finally fell to English forces. From there, the English forces moved to Harlech Castle, the second of Owain's two principle castles. Harlech fell to the English in 1409, and Owain's wife and daughters, who resided there, were taken to the Tower of London as prisoners.¹⁸ However, Owain still could not be caught.

After the siege of Harlech Castle, Owain fled to the mountains of north Wales with his few remaining soldiers for the next five years. Until 1413, Owain and his men continued to go throughout north

¹⁷ Ibid., 22 -23.

¹⁸ Davies, *A History of Wales*, 197.

Wales, attacking places held by Englishmen. However, no more battles were fought between Owain and the English forces. Owain made money by capturing and ransoming various men in north Wales, such as Dafydd Gam, who were loyal to the King of England. Owain remained a wanted prince, but he and the rest of Wales were no longer considered a threat to England, and were left alone for the most part.

When Henry IV's son, Prince Hal, succeeded him as king in 1413, he offered two pardons to Owain and his men. However, they must "offer themselves to our obedience and grace, and, in our name, to admit and receive all things..."¹⁹ In other words, if Owain were to swear loyalty to Henry V, admit his rulership, and admit his own wrongdoing, he would be pardoned by Henry. However, while some of Owain's men accepted the pardon, Owain refused both the pardons offered to him.

Ultimately, it is not known what happened to Owain Glyndŵr. After 1413, he simply vanished from public eye. His year of death and burial location are still argued over and searched for to this day. Regardless of when and how he died, his life is celebrated today by many in Wales, especially those that want to see an independent Wales, separate from the United Kingdom, and a revitalization of the Welsh language that was spoken by all Welshmen of Glyndŵr's time. Only time can tell if, even symbolically, the "Prince of Wales" will be a native Welshman once more.

¹⁹ "Henry V, *Licence to Treat with Owain*," in *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston and John K. Bollard (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 151.

To Keep His Subjects Low: A Machiavellian Interpretation of Henry VII

John Clinton Harris

When Henry Tudor became Henry VII on August 22, 1485, following his victory at the Battle of Bosworth Field, many believed the anarchic course of English politics would continue unabated. The Wars of the Roses had gone on for thirty years, a period so long that intrigue, murder, and military force were now common political tools. Furthermore, there was no outward indication that Bosworth would be the last great political upheaval in the conflict; the new king was a twenty-eight year old former exile to the French court who had asserted his royal claim with nothing more than what his rival Richard III sneeringly called “a number of beggarly Britons and faynte harted Frenchmen.”¹ The victory had only been achieved due to the fractured and distrustful state of English politics, and many, commoner and noble alike, probably wondered how long the young upstart would last before he was killed and replaced after sitting upon a bloody throne of his own. Time proved this initial impression incorrect; just as Henry Tudor was strong enough to attain the crown, Henry VII was shrewd enough to keep it. The new king understood that his success, and England’s, required more than a mere change of dynasty; nothing less than a radical departure from medieval political practice in favor of a more

¹ J.D. Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), 52.

centralized government would enable him to secure a united England capable of navigating the political turbulence of early modern Europe. The first Tudor accomplished his objectives by anticipating the precepts of power first outlined by Niccolo Machiavelli in *The Prince*, and through methods that were not always popular or just, Henry fused the Red and White Rose together.

Machiavelli's letter to Lorenzo II provides an excellent theoretical lens for the evaluation of Henry VII, a monarch who reigned during Machiavelli's own political career and died only three years before *The Prince* was completed in 1512. Louis XII, Alexander VI, and Ferdinand of Aragon were Henry's contemporaries as well as models for Machiavelli's bold new science of politics intended to advise princes living in the early sixteenth century. The pragmatic philosophy of *The Prince* emphasizes ends, with almost any means wholly justifiable; hypocrisy and the embrace of moral contradiction are necessary for sound governance, narrowly defined as the preservation of order, stability, and peace within the realm of the prince. If sound governance is achieved by moral actions, then those actions are, in his view, laudable, but if that same goal requires amoral or immoral actions, then those actions are also praiseworthy, if done properly. In Machiavelli's view, nothing is as dangerous as anarchy, and order, the font of princely power, must be the main objective of any effective royal government. Henry VII seized power, established order, and brought about sound governance through four of the political skills Machiavelli emphasizes: using *virtù* to manipulate fortune, choosing and managing effective advisors, actively enriching the crown and enlarging the state, and judiciously using both force and diplomacy.

Historians such as J. D. Mackie have already implicitly and explicitly connected Machiavelli to the early Tudor dynasty:

Judged by the theory of the middle ages, the rule of this sort may seem to be a shocking innovation: but it was not, in fact, far removed from medieval practice. It was the service of the Renaissance to tear away the decent sheepskin which had covered the medieval wolf, and incidentally to justify his existence on the ground that one great wolf was better than a pack of carnivores.²

Mackie's words echo Machiavelli's own syntax:

Since a ruler, then, needs to know how to make good use of beastly qualities, he should take as his models among the animals both the fox and the lion, for the lion does not know how to avoid traps, and the fox is easily overpowered by wolves.³

Mackie's understated use of Machiavelli's language subtly asserts the relevance of *The Prince* in understanding the reign of Henry VII, and tacit agreement with Henry's Machiavellian policy. Thomas Penn acknowledges the method, but despairs: "Looking into the world of dynastic uncertainty, he [Henry VII] was perfecting a system, idiosyncratic and terrifying, that would allow him unprecedented control over his subjects. He would describe this plan in terms that were an uncanny foreshadowing of Machiavelli's own."⁴ Deliberately invoking the sinister reputation of Shakespeare's "murderous Machiavel" for the effect it will have on the reader, Penn's *Winter King*

² Ibid., 5-6.

³ Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ed. David Wootton, (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1995), 54.

⁴ Thomas Penn, *Winter King; Henry VII and The Dawn of Tudor England* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011), 146.

often approaches pathography; the title itself evokes a cold, bleak environment ravaged by dread and anxiety. For Penn, the Henrican system, stony and impersonal as the Tower of London itself, was not worth the price of an oppressive central state that seemed to foment suspicion everywhere in England.⁵

Although they might disagree on the morality of Henry's political system, Tudor historians agree that the methodology of the new state centered on the elaborate structuring of political debt.⁶ The Wars of the Roses had become so perpetual that even the death of *bona fide* royal claimants was not enough to end dynastic dispute; impostors such as Lambert Simnel or Perkin Warbeck were still championed by highborn schemers despite the fact that they were obvious counterfeits.⁷ Political and military tactics proved minimally effective in thwarting noble ambition, and Henry soon decided that rendering civil war unaffordable was the only option available for curtailing future hostilities. Tudor historians agree that Henry devised a financial system meant to debase and impoverish the nobility, but, as the arguments of Mackie and Penn demonstrate, they disagree as to whether Henry VII was a financier or miser. This may be a question of particular importance for moralists, but not for Machiavelli, for whom only an effective outcome matters; a good prince should be parsimonious, but not rapacious, for the surest way to angering the

⁵ *Ibid.*, 167-170.

⁶ See also G.R. Elton, *England Under the Tudors* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd. 1955), 42-45; H.A.L. Fisher, *The Political History of England* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1906), 127; John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 64-68; C.H. Williams, "Henry VII," in *The Great Tudors*, ed. Katherine Garvin (London: Ivor, Nicholson, and Watson, Limited 1935), 16-19.

⁷ Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors*, 120-121.

populace is to garner a reputation for stealing their property.⁸ This leads to a prince becoming hated and in Machiavelli's view this is the most dangerous thing a ruler can allow to happen, for it erodes his legitimacy and fosters the breeding ground for conspiracy. Disaffected elites are far less likely to turn to plotting if they believe the people will not be with them; a prince can die, but killing his dynastic authority is another thing entirely, as Brutus and Cassius learned after the mob chased them out of Rome.⁹ The real question should not be whether Henry's financial assault on the nobility was just, but whether it led to his being hated by the entire populace at the time.

Richard III's actions quickly led to his being despised by the elite and the populace, and characterized the entirety of his two year reign. The brutal methods he and his brother, Edward IV, had employed to secure their throne turned the English people against the Yorkist regime, and more importantly, the support for Richard III within the House of York itself:

Edward IV had alienated the old aristocracy by his marriage to Elizabeth Woodville. He had broken the King-maker, he had executed Clarence. Richard III had declared the issue of Edward IV illegitimate, had murdered the princes, and had seized the Crown himself. Each successive act of violence had left its legacy of hate, and the once powerful Yorkist party was shattered into fragments, mutually distrustful but all ill disposed to the king.¹⁰

⁸ Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 56.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁰ Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors*, 48-49.

The Yorkist kings were certainly barbarous, but they were also unsuccessful in employing cruelty in an instrumentally effective way. The populace will tolerate a massacre at the beginning of a prince's reign as long as violence is not prolonged, but continuous assassinations, even on a small scale, will incur their hatred and harm a prince's legitimacy. Machiavelli looks to Agathocles the Sicilian, a man who consolidated his power in a quick massacre of the entire senate of Syracuse, as a better example of "well-used cruelty":

Perhaps you are wondering how Agathocles and others like him, despite their habitual faithlessness and cruelty, have been able to reside in their homelands year after year, and to defend themselves from enemies abroad.... I think here we have to distinguish between cruelty well used and cruelty abused. Well-used cruelty (if one can speak well of evil) one may call those atrocities that are committed at a stroke, in order to secure one's power, and are then not repeated, rather every effort is made to ensure one's subjects benefit in the long run. An abuse of cruelty one may call those policies that, even if in the beginning they involve little bloodshed, lead to more rather than less as time goes by. Those who use cruelty well may indeed find God and their subjects are prepared to let bygones be bygones, as was the case with Agathocles. Those who abuse it cannot hope to retain power indefinitely.¹¹

Spectacular ferocity at the beginning of a prince's reign tempered by subsequent tranquility makes a ruler seem unassailably powerful, and the people are left grateful that they were not among the dead. However, steady and continued violence makes a ruler appear

¹¹ Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 30.

tenuously weak, and therefore dangerous and reprehensible. After Richard's nephews suspiciously disappeared, he failed to capture and summarily execute anyone else with a dynastic claim to power. Thus, he was forced to, in Machiavelli's words, "hold a bloody knife in his hand all the time," slowly killing off his opposition.¹² That bloody knife, eventually dirtied with the blood of Buckingham, the former Yorkist supporter, allowed Henry the opportunity to gain the support of those who feared they might soon be next. Richard III had severely tarnished his legitimacy through continuing the steady commission of political crime that Edward IV began, while remaining incapable of killing all the major conspirators and claimants against his crown; moreover, no one wanted to be ruled by a king with a reputation as a vicious and impotent child-murderer.

Machiavelli warns, "A ruler need not worry too much about conspiracies as long as the people wish him well; but if the people are hostile to him and hate him, then he should fear everything and everyone."¹³ An allegation of one such crime, more unnatural than bloody, had a debilitating effect on Richard's rapidly waning moral authority: the rumor that he intended to marry his niece, Elizabeth of York, Henry Tudor's betrothed. In a pact sealed in Rennes Cathedral on Christmas Day, 1483, between Henry Tudor and the disaffected adherents of the White Rose, Henry Tudor had promised to marry Elizabeth, and immediately after became the strongest claimant to the English crown.¹⁴ Polydore Vergil relates that Richard's reaction was to overreach by plotting incest in an effort to deny the upstart Tudor the

¹² Ibid., 31.

¹³ Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 58.

¹⁴ Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors*, 50.

ability to strengthen his relatively weak royal claim through marriage into the House of York:

A rumor came unto his [Henry's] eare that king Richerd, his wife being dead, was amyndyd to mary Elizabeth, his brother Edwardes dowghter, and that he had maryed Cecyly, Edwards other dougther, unto an obscure man of no reputation. This matter being of no smaule weyght, as the which cut away from the confederates all hope of executing ther delyberat resolution, pinchid Henry by the veray stomak, because therby he saw that cowlde not now expect the marriage of any of king Edwardes dowghters, wherfor he thowght yt was to be fearyd least his frindes showld forsake him.¹⁵

Whether or not Richard intended to marry Elizabeth –and it appears he did despite denying the rumor after the public reaction– the English people were ready to believe it.¹⁶ The truth of the Richard's intent or action no longer mattered, for he had acquired a reputation as a loathsome depot, capable of any depravity. The rumor of Richard's marital plans not only prompted Henry's invasion, but transformed the young exile into a chivalric liberator bent on rescuing his bride and freeing England. Richard, through either malice or blunder, was as much to blame for this perception as Henry, as there are no liberators without tyrants.

Events leading up to the Battle of Bosworth were far more complex and prosaic, and Henry's decision to engage Richard III

¹⁵ Henry Ellis, ed. *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History, Comprising the Reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV, and Richard III from an Early Translation* (London: John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1844), 215.

¹⁶ Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors*, 49.

militarily was grounded in political calculation. Certainly Henry was distraught at the news of Richard's plan to marry Elizabeth of York, but Henry's first reaction was to negotiate for another spouse from another powerful family. However, before such negotiations were concluded, Henry began to have a number of important nobles declare sympathy for his cause; among them were John de Vere, earl of Oxford, and James Blount, de Vere's former jailer turned companion. Their arrival in France to join Henry's compatriots was a sign that Richard's power was ebbing; both captor and captive had flouted Richard's authority and escaped England together. A more important development was Henry's growing popularity in Wales; his uncle Jasper, earl of Pembroke, enjoyed high standing among the Welsh and was a figure capable of uniting them around their mutual hatred of Richard III. As Henry's domestic support in England began to build, he was able to persuade the French to lend him money and mercenaries. Although he was not as prepared as he would have liked, the twenty-eight-year-old exile committed himself and acted resolutely, leaving God to judge his cause. Henry landed his small invasion force on the Welsh coast, and after some military maneuvering, the Henrican and Ricardan forces met on Bosworth Field. Henry's troops were outnumbered, but mutual distrust caused many of Richard's noble retainers to hesitate, and the wavering Stanleys advanced for Henry at the crucial moment. Despite leading a brave charge –perhaps the most kingly act of his royal career– the last Yorkist king fell, and Henry Tudor became Henry VII, King of England. The new king had shown characteristic prudence in planning his invasion, but he was aided by the incalculable river of fortune, which eventually overflowed its banks, drowned the Yorkist

line, and deposited fertile soil for the Red and White Rose to take root.¹⁷

Machiavelli describes fortune as a river, an elemental force that cannot be overcome through the actions of mortals; it is a natural energy that can never be entirely tamed:

I compare her to one of those torrential rivers that, when they get angry, break their banks, knock down trees and buildings, strip the soil from one place and deposit it somewhere else. Everyone flees before them, everyone gives way at the face of their onrush, nobody can resist them at any point.... The same thing happens with fortune: She demonstrates her power where precautions have not been taken to resist her....¹⁸

The metaphor of fortune as a river meant that a future ruler's political destiny is often subject to forces outside his control, but preparations can be made to channel natural forces even if they cannot be conquered. Richard III had failed to adequately prepare, for not only had he allowed his moral authority to be compromised, he had not organized his military force into one singularly under royal command. Machiavelli warns, "People are by nature inconstant.... So you have to be prepared for the moment when they no longer believe."¹⁹ The moment Richard needed them, his most powerful subjects doubted him, and he died an ignominious death. In his second comparison to fortune as lady, however, Machiavelli indicates that fortune also tends to reward those firm in their purpose:

¹⁷ Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors*, 50-53.

¹⁸ Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 74.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

I do think, however, that it is better to be headstrong than cautious, for fortune is a lady. It is necessary, if you want to master her, to beat and strike her. And one sees she more often submits to those who act boldly than to those who proceed in calculating fashion.²⁰

Machiavelli held that a prince must act in the moment, and unflinchingly exploit his every opportunity. Henry Tudor saw the chance that stemmed from Richard III's missteps, and moved resolutely and decisively to exploit it.

Although Machiavelli believed that mastery of fortune required bold action, he was adamant that achievement requires more than simple daring; the successful man is one who possesses *virtù*. The complex concept of *virtù* is central to the Machiavellian theory of successful rule, and thus essential to the proper evaluation of Henry Tudor's leadership. *The Prince*, in many ways, is a constant exhortation to *virtù*, an elusive concept, that intangible quality that separates the ruler from the ruled. It is not "virtue" in the Christian sense, nor in the classical sense as one might expect from the Latin root, *vir*, for Machiavelli is not interested in the ethos of saints or heroes. David Wootton clarifies this essential difference:

Machiavelli approves of rash actions when they are successful; he advocates the stratagems of a coward when they are necessary to ensure survival or are likely to lead to victory; he believes rulers must be prepared to lie, murder, and act unjustly. They must therefore master the arts of deception, appearing to be one thing while in fact being another, cultivating a public image at odds with the facts.... In

²⁰ Ibid., 76.

Machiavelli's world a virtuous general would win battles others would lose, a virtuous politician secures power where others would lose it. Virtue is thus role-specific: virtuous soldiers are strong and brave, virtuous generals intelligent and determined. The virtuous man is the man that has those qualities that lead to success in his chosen activity. The virtuous man will know when to seize his chances and will recognize what needs to be done. He will identify opportunities where others see difficulties, and recognize necessity where others believe they have freedom of choice.²¹

Virtù can be strength, skill, or even savagery; it is an innate expression of a deep sense of purpose. *Virtù* belongs to one who is willing to do anything to achieve that purpose, no matter the cost in blood, treasure, or morality. In the case of the *virtù* required of one who is coming to power, Machiavelli provides as examples great men known better to legend than history:

Let us look at those who through their own skill [*virtù*] and not merely through chance, have become rulers. In my view, the greatest have been Moses, Cyrus, Romulus, Theseus, and others like them.... You will find them all admirable. And if you look at the actions and strategies of each one of them, you will find they do not significantly differ from those of Moses, who could not have had a better teacher. If you look at their deeds and their lives, you will find they were dependent on chance only for their first opportunity. They seized their chance to make of it what they wanted. Without that first

²¹ David Wootton, preface to *The Prince*, by Niccolò Machiavelli (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1995), xxix.

opportunity their strength [*virtù*] of purpose would never have been revealed. Without their strength [*virtù*] of purpose, the opportunity they were offered would never have amounted to anything.²²

In the context of the events leading up to Bosworth, Henry Tudor demonstrated the *virtù* Machiavelli requires. He had the political skill to win powerful supporters to his side and the intuition to sense that Richard's legitimacy as king was at its lowest point, creating his opportunity. Once presented with his opportunity, Henry acted deliberately, with a strength of purpose the Florentine might have admired.

The *virtù* Henry VII possessed went beyond the seizure of power, and his political skill was evident in the philosophy that characterized his personal methods of rule:

A comparison of the reigns of Richard III and Henry VII cannot fail to show us how much the destinies of a nation may be influenced for good or evil by the personal character of their sovereign. Their position upon the throne, their relations to their subjects, and to foreign powers, were not materially different. They might both have been considered as usurpers; both had to meet rebellions in their own dominions; both had rivals abroad supported by foreign princes. Richard was the last of a dynasty of soldiers, Henry was the beginner in a dynasty of statesmen. The morality of statesmanship in that day was not high, but it was better than the cruelty of brute force and violence, and it secured for itself the supremacy which force and violence had been unable to attain. There was

²² Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 18-19.

a recklessness in the personal character of the House of York that might have sufficed to ruin their cause, apart from their internal divisions, injustice, and ferocity. The Tudor throne had to be supported by the most cautious diplomacy, and by a strict regard for the law.²³

The difference in the success of Tudor and the failure of York lies within the pragmatic statesmanship of Henry VII, rather than the base ferocity of Edward IV and Richard III, and it is this practicality that makes the first Tudor the sort of monarch Machiavelli requires. The Yorkist kings failed to see that blood and power alone would never be a mandate, and Henry VII resolved not to make the same mistake. His *virtù* as leader enabled him to see what the House of York could not; political legitimacy in England needed to be ensconced in legal authority, for even unjust regal actions could be countenanced if they were legal.

According to Machiavelli, careful management of finance is necessary to the preservation of stability and order in a principality, and a prince should prefer to be thought of as miserly rather than generous, for the latter is potentially destabilizing. He explains:

A ruler who pursues a reputation for generosity will always end up wasting all of his resources; and he will be obliged, in the end, if he wants to preserve his reputation, to impose crushing taxes upon the people, to pursue every possible source of income, and to be preoccupied with maximizing his revenues. This will begin to make him hateful to his subjects,

²³ James Gardiner, ed., preface to *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII, Vol. I*, (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861), xxvi-xxvii.

and will ensure no one thinks well of him, for no one admires poverty. The result is that his supposed generosity will have caused him to offend the vast majority and to have won favor with few. Anything that goes wrong will destabilize him, and the slightest danger will imperil him.... So we see a ruler cannot seek to benefit from a reputation as generous without harming himself. Recognizing this, he ought, if he is wise, not to mind being called miserly.²⁴

For Machiavelli, lavish expenditure of riches gathered through taxation was something that a ruler's subjects will quickly find odious.

Furthermore, such generosity cannot go on forever; eventually an excessively luxurious lifestyle or constant gratuities to subjects will prove unsustainable. Once that happens, and a prince raises taxes to fund his government, all the good times will be forgotten. Machiavelli believes that any actions leading to a prince being hated are inherently delegitimizing, and excessive rapacity particularly so:

You become hateful, above all... if you prey on the possessions and women of your subjects. You should leave both alone.... Indeed one of the most effective defenses a ruler has against conspiracies is to make sure he is not generally hated. For conspirators always believe the assassination of the ruler will be approved by the people. If they believe the people will be angered, then they cannot screw up the courage to embark on such an enterprise, for conspirators have to overcome endless difficulties to achieve success.²⁵

²⁴ Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 49.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 56.

Historians agree that Henry VII was conservative in his finances, but Tudor historiography has not settled the argument as to whether he went beyond careful prudence and into hateful avarice.²⁶ In Henry's own time, the nobility, the focus of his fiscal assault, thought him so, but there is evidence that indicates the English people were satisfied with his fiscal policies.

Foreign ambassadors and official visitors in Henry's court reported his financial acumen back to their masters, and tended to interpret the results of his methods in very different ways. Of particular importance to the ambassadors was not simply the way the English people viewed their king, but how the crown's fiscal policies impacted the overall economy. Pedro Ayala, the wily Spanish ambassador, thought Henry's fiscal strategy unsound, as he made clear in a letter written in July of 1498:

The King of England is less rich than is generally said. He likes to be thought very rich, because such a belief is advantageous to him in many respects. His revenues are considerable, but the custom house revenues, as well as the land rents, diminish every day. As far as the customs are concerned, the reason of their decrease is to be sought in the decay of commerce, caused partly by the wars, but much more by the additional duties imposed by the king. There is, however, another reason for the decrease of trade, that is to say, the impoverishment of the people by the great taxes laid on them. The king himself has said to me, that it is his

²⁶ In addition to the presented arguments of Williams and Guy, see Fischer, *The Political History of England*, 127.

intention to keep his subjects low, because riches would only make them haughty.²⁷

Ayala took a dim view of Henry's economic policy, asserting that it was not only oppressive, but destructive to the economic health of his realm, and the Henry in Ayala's report sounds more like a haughty bully than a Machiavellian prince. However, Ayala does not distinguish between aristocrat and commoner in his statement, and this is an important omission. The noble subjects Henry wanted to keep low were probably eager to fill Ayala's ear with their complaints, and they had far more access to the Spanish ambassador than the average working Londoner. It is possible that selective feedback led to Ayala's impression that the English economy was dismal, and that Henry's rather impolitic statement referred to the entire English populace instead of the disaffected elites.

John Guy's analysis only partly agrees with the Spanish ambassador. For Guy, much of Henry's purported miserliness stems from a need to bring an end to the Wars of the Roses by rendering the nobles financially incapable of making war. Guy writes, "He compelled leading figures at Court to enter into bonds, recognizances, or obligations" that forced loyalty and peaceable behavior on pain of financial ruin.²⁸ The process by which the debts were enforced very often did not depend on the courts, a practice that was smart, but unjust, politics. It was the actions of the Council Learned in the Law, of which the majority of Henry's chief councilors were members, in the second half of Henry's reign that Guy believes ultimately created an

²⁷ A.F. Pollard, ed. *The Reign of Henry VII from contemporary sources, Volume 2* (London: Longmans, Green And Co., 1914), 21-22.

²⁸ Guy, *Tudor England*, 65.

oppressive government. The employment of recognizances skyrocketed, and landowner debts to the crown that had not been enforced in decades were suddenly and vigorously pursued, often in the form of *post mortem* inquests.²⁹ This may well have been overreach, and although Guy quotes Edmund Dudley's famous testimony that the king wanted "to have many persons in danger at his pleasure,"³⁰ he also, and fairly, relays another lesser known quotation of Dudley's from the same trial regarding Henry's amassing of noble indebtedness, "I think, verily, that his inward mind was never to use them."³¹ In quoting both statements, Guy presents a more complex picture of Henry Tudor than Pedro Ayala communicated to his masters in Spain; a man perhaps too suspicious of over-mighty aristocrats, yet wise enough to understand that men in arrears are men under control. Still, Guy believes that whatever Henry's motive or however strong the political necessity, his financial policies were ultimately too harsh.³²

Not everyone felt that Henry's fiscal policies were overbearing, and Ayala's picture of a tyrannical Tudor was not a view shared by an Italian observer to Henry's court. Although the name of the author and the date of his correspondence are lost, the letter begins by stating:

From the time of William the Conqueror to the present, no king has reigned more peaceably than he (Henry VII) has, his great prudence causing him to be universally feared; and, though frugal to excess in his own person, he does not change any of the ancient usages of England at his court, keeping a sumptuous table, as I had the opportunity of witnessing twice

²⁹ Ibid., 66-67.

³⁰ Ibid., 64.

³¹ Ibid, 68.

³² Ibid, 64-68.

that your Magnificence dined there, when I judged that there might be 600 to 700 persons at dinner.³³

The author goes on to outline the income of the crown from rents and estates and other large sums of money taken in by the government. Like Ayala, he also refers to the customs duties, but provides an important explanation for their increase: “Subsequently, to keep the coast free from pirates, the duty was raised from three to fifteen pence.”³⁴

Although it is certainly true that the common man never wants to see his taxes increased, it appears that in the case of increased customs duties, the merchants were receiving an important service for their money: protection that prevented the loss of goods to piracy. Henry’s government, made stronger by his fiscal conservatism, was capable of providing the kind of security for the English people that had been sorely lacking for over thirty years.

For C.H. Williams, the assertion of the Italian observer is a more accurate picture of Henry’s monetary practices; in Williams’s view, Henry’s financial objectives were brilliant statecraft. Barely conceding that the king or his men approached rapacity, Williams argues that Henry VII ended the Wars of the Roses by finally abasing the warring aristocracy in a way that other forms of justice and authority, such as Star Chamber, had been unable to achieve:

While swaggering gangsters wore the shirts of rival parties and terrorized civilians, a hard-headed, energetic, enterprising middle class was scouring land and sea for trade. While the nobility were squandering fortunes on the upkeep of soldiers, that same middle class was amassing the wealth that would

³³ Pollard, *The Reign of Henry VII*, Volume 2, No. 22.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

purchase for its children position and power in sixteenth-century England. These men of trade wanted peace and good government, and they saw that they might get them from Henry VII. For he was a king after their own hearts, in spirit (and despite the legend) a real bourgeoisie king. Like his subjects he knew that money was king.³⁵

For Williams, Henry was an innovative financier who laid firm foundations for both his own dynasty, and the beginning of modern England, by providing the order and stability prerequisite to the economic health of a nation-state. Williams does not disagree with Guy as to whether Henry was thought of as generous; they agree that he most certainly was not. However, Williams agrees with Machiavelli that it was not a fault but an asset to be thought a miser, as Henry's fiscal policies allowed him to provide the governmental framework necessary to underpin a burgeoning economy without overburdening the merchants or tradesmen with heavy taxation.³⁶

Henry's aggressive actions against the aristocracy were in line with another one of Machiavelli's recommendations, that a prince should build his government upon the common people, rather than the nobility. Machiavelli observes, "One cannot honorably give the elite what they want, and one cannot do it without harming others; but this is not true with the populace, for the objectives of the populace are less immoral than the elite, for the latter want to oppress, and the former not to be oppressed.... If the masses are opposed to you, you can never be secure, for there are too many of them; but the elite, since there are few

³⁵C.H. Williams, "Henry VII," 17-18.

³⁶Ibid., 16-19.

of them, can be neutralized.”³⁷ Machiavelli’s argument suggests another interpretation of the conversation between Ayala and Henry; the king had realized that the best way to prevent obstreperous and powerful subjects from making war was to simply make it unaffordable. At their expense, he built a stable government that could afford to provide its citizens with real security, such as the protection from piracy that the Italian reported. That the common people did not find Henry’s financial schemes oppressive is perhaps evidenced best by the fact that he was never overthrown, despite several attempts supported by powerful families within England and without.

It was during one such attempt, perhaps the most dangerous point in Henry’s reign, that he antedated another precept of Machiavellian political theory: a great prince should be both bloodthirsty and cunning, and possess the wisdom to know when these attributes are appropriate. Machiavelli writes:

Since a ruler, then, needs to know how to make good use of beastly qualities, he should take as his models among the animals both the fox and the lion, for the lion does not know how to avoid traps, and the fox is easily overpowered by wolves. So you must be a fox when it comes to suspecting a trap, and a lion when it comes to making the wolves turn tail. Those who simply act like a lion all the time do not understand their business. So you see a wise ruler cannot, and should not, keep his word when doing so is to his disadvantage, and when the reasons that led him to promise to do so no longer apply. Of course, if all men were good, this advice would be bad; but since men are wicked and will not keep faith with you, you need not keep faith with them.... But

³⁷ Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 32.

it is essential to conceal how crafty one is, to know how to be a clever counterfeit and a hypocrite.³⁸

For Machiavelli, possessing the ability to deceive men was paramount to political success. Stability depends on it, for the beastliness he recommends is not a palatable concept for the simple masses.

Machiavelli counsels, “Everyone sees what you seem to be; few have direct experience of what you really are.”³⁹ Successful princes must disguise their natures through hypocrisy, for the lion and the fox are beasts, and men only think they are not animals following the strongest in the pack. Nowhere is this essential duality more important for a monarch than in resolving contentious foreign relations and in suppressing domestic conspiracies. The most serious threat to his rule that Henry VII ever faced involved both foreign and domestic enemies supporting the cause of Perkin Warbeck; in handling the threat, the king showed himself to be both lion and fox.

Warbeck, the impostor who claimed to be Richard, duke of York, arrived in Scotland in late 1495 to seek the aid of James IV in taking the English crown. Almost a year later, the Scottish king, who had been primed with false intelligence from Emperor Maximilian I and Margaret of Savoy for years in regards to Warbeck’s *bona fides*, invaded England in a raid that barely lasted a day. James was shocked when the English people failed to rise to the pretender’s cause, and this ill-fated raid was probably the moment when the Scottish king realized he had been duped into believing that a well-dressed pauper was a prince. Mackie observes that “when Perkin protested against the Scottish devastations, James made the acid reply that he concerned

³⁸ Ibid., 54.

³⁹ Ibid., 55.

himself overmuch about a land which showed very little interest in him.”⁴⁰ Despite the reckless invasion, James was correct in retreating to reorganize his forces for a much greater conflict; the English were incensed and Parliament was now prepared to grant Henry a subsidy for amassing a large force to repel the Scottish threat.⁴¹

In granting this subsidy, however, Parliament had gravely misjudged the support for any additional taxation to fund martial conflict with the Scots, and the levy inadvertently sparked an uprising in Cornwall. Many of the Cornish felt no responsibility for defending England’s northern borders, and the leaders of the rebellion, Thomas Flamanck and Michael Smith, incited the unrest further by claiming that such an action was the responsibility of nobility garrisoned there. The argument that Welshmen should not be burdened with the protection of the northern borders was seductive, and the angry mob gathered supporters, and rapidly became a military threat intent on taking London. Henry was now faced with a dilemma as to where to deploy his forces; he could either send his army to the Scottish border in the hopes of seizing the initiative against James, or put down what had become a roving mob of nearly fifteen thousand Cornishmen. Wisely, he decided to address the immediate threat, and ordered his troops headed north to turn around, amassing the northern expedition with the London garrison, creating a force of 25,000 experienced and well-armed soldiers. On June 17, 1497, the crown completely overpowered the Cornish at Blackheath in Kent, capturing Flamanck and Joseph. Ten days later their heads were mounted on London Bridge, and their quarters distributed across the country. Henry’s total

⁴⁰ Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors*, 140.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 136-141.

victory and the fearful deeds that followed were beastly; they were instrumental violence at its most savagely effective, the acts of a lion.⁴²

As for the threat of the Scottish king menacing his border, a different tactic was required. Although Henry continued to keep his army mustered, Richard Foxe, Henry's chief ambassador, was dispatched to Scotland on a diplomatic mission to achieve two major goals: the prevention of war, and the acquisition of Perkin Warbeck. Foxe was given two separate instructions, one official, and the other that was intended for only the diplomat himself to read. The official instructions, which are couched in language suited to royal diplomacy, outline Henry's demands. Chief among them was that James hand Warbeck over to England, as Henry instructs Foxe:

And therefore ye shal demaunde and require on our behalve of our seid cousin to make delyvere unto us of Perkin Warbeck; the which delyveraunce of hym we desire not for anny estimacion that we take of hym, but by cause our seid cousin reseived hym within his londe and favorably hath entreated hym and dyvers others of our rebelles durying the peace concluded by twix us both, and over that, havying him in his companygh, entered in puyssaunce within our lande; the whiche was the cause and grounde of the breache of the said peace. And less therfore may we not doo with our honour then to have the delyveraunce of hym, thought the delyveraunce or havying of hym is of no price nor value.... He is not the parson that he surmised to be when he opteyned his

⁴² Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors*, 141-143.

salveconduct of our seid cousyn (as it is knowen thurgh all
thes parties of the worlde....)⁴³

By the time Foxe received his instructions, everyone in high political circles believed Warbeck to be an impostor (Henry refers to him as Warbeck, after all), and Henry probably suspected that James had realized his folly. However, the Scottish king had committed himself, and Henry well knew that the only diplomatic solution would involve some way to allow James to save face; after all, his actions had been prompted by the word of the Holy Roman Emperor.

Although the surrender of Perkin Warbeck was an overall theme throughout Foxe's instructions, Henry made five specific demands. The first was that James send an embassy to discuss a lasting peace, and, second, that James come himself to Newcastle: "our seid cousyn furst to sende hs solemne ambassate unto us, as is before rehersed; and also the same our cousyn to come into person unto our town of New Castell, and further within this our realme; wher we may mete, comen and conclude with hym for thobsevyng of the saide peace...."⁴⁴ Third, Henry wanted James to submit to ecclesiastical censure for breach of a previously negotiated ceasefire at Jenyn Haugh, "not only by his letter and great seal and solemne othe, but also upon payne of the censuris of the Holy Churche..."⁴⁵ Henry additionally demanded compensation for the damages caused by the invasion, and noble hostages to guarantee Scottish adherence to the agreement. Foxe was also to remind the Scottish court of the great expense and trouble the English had gone to in preparing for war with Scotland, implying

⁴³ The National Archives of the UK: SP 58/1 State Paper Office: Transcripts and Documents relating to Scotland, 1065-1503.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

that war was still possible without Scottish capitulation to both the treaty of Jenyn Haugh and Henry's additional demands. These were Foxe's public and official instructions.⁴⁶

Foxe's secret instructions, attached to a copy of the original instructions, show Henry's craftiness. Foxe was to demand all five of the items if Warbeck was not given up, but was given permission to negotiate down to just two of them in order to conclude the deal. Furthermore, Henry gave his ambassador permission to show James's advisors the official set of instructions if he could not conclude the deal outright, so that they would think that Henry's demands were unmovable and that Foxe had no leeway in the peace negotiations:

Our mynde and pleasour is that ye kepe unto your selff secretly this boke of instruccions, and that ye shal {lost} well as ye shal thinke good, shewe unto the comyssioners of our seid cousyn that other boke of instruccions, and also [the] letter wheirin thei were encl[o]sed; signyfieng unto heym that ye have no ferther auctorite then is comprised in those instruccions so t[o] theym by you shewed. And over that, for thavodyng and eschewing of wer bytwix us and our seid cousyn, we wol that ye inserte in suche convencion as shalbe betwixt you and his seid comyssioners made, an article accordyng to the tenour comprised in a paper herin enclosed oresle by your wisdom of like or more force, as shalbe thought unto you behoveful, for the putting aparte and escheweng of all maner of Seid cousyn by meane of any attemptatte to be don By any of ours or his subjects.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

It is plain that Henry intends that deception be employed as a tool for both avoiding war, and securing custody of Warbeck. James resolved the matter differently; he felt he could not honorably hand over the pretender, so he evicted him from the kingdom shortly after Foxe's negotiations began. In a politically necessary show of Scottish defiance, James made another cursory invasion of England, and was repulsed. England, in turn, perfunctorily raided Scotland, but could not entice James into any major battles. In September of that year, the two nations formally concluded peace negotiations. Henry had successfully avoided major conflict through deception, the method of the fox.⁴⁸

The Machiavellian method of Henry VII held a distinct and overarching purpose, as every policy was designed to ensure political stability and maintain peace. Reversing the constant political violence of the Wars of the Roses required a strong, decisive ruler, and in sensing his opportunity and boldly leading an inferior force to victory at Bosworth, Henry showed he had the political skill and certainty of purpose, the *virtù*, to be that strong king England so needed. Once king, he consolidated his power through generosity to those who had supported his claim, or whose attainder reversals were in Henry's interests. He was also wise in the selecting and handling of pragmatic and capable councilors who unremittingly pursued the best interests of their king and established the strong state necessary for preserving order. In pursuing a tough fiscal policy, Henry achieved the double aims of strengthening the state and enhancing the protections it could provide to necessary endeavors such as commerce, while suppressing the warlike nobility into a position that made violence an unaffordable and infeasible political tool. When political violence did arise, Henry demonstrated the animalistic duality of spirit that Machiavelli

⁴⁸ Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors*, 146-148.

emphasized; the ability to be the brutal lion and the cunning fox, and the inherent wisdom to know the necessity and occasion for each.

As to the question of the morality in promoting policies that arguably created an oppressive government, a government that often circumvented legal procedure in favor of direct justice, Machiavelli is quite clear: it does not matter. In establishing peace out of a culture of ferocity, extraordinary means are often both necessary and advisable, as Machiavelli writes:

I recognize every ruler should want to be thought of as compassionate and not cruel. Nevertheless, I have to warn you about being compassionate. Cesare Borgia was thought of as cruel; but this supposed cruelty of his restored order to the Romagna, united it, rendered it peaceful and law-abiding. If you think about it, he was, in fact, much more compassionate than all the people of Florence, who, in order to avoid being thought cruel, allowed Pistoia to tear itself apart. So a ruler ought not to mind the disgrace of being called cruel, if he keeps his subjects peaceful and law-abiding, for it is more compassionate to impose harsh punishments on a few than, out of excessive compassion, to allow disorder to spread, which leads to murders or looting. The whole community suffers if there are riots, while to maintain order the ruler only has to execute one or two individuals.... This leads us to a question that is in dispute: is it better to be loved than feared or vice versa? My reply is one ought to be both loved and feared; but, since it is difficult to accomplish both at the same time, I maintain it is much safer to be feared than loved....⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 51.

Men control who they love; the prince controls who they fear. Fear, therefore, is a ruler's ultimate base of power. Henry VII knew he had to choose between fear and love, and he chose fear. That fear allowed him to bring England under tight state direction, and through wise decisions and the passage of time, the anarchy of the Wars of the Roses came to an end. His compassion extended beyond his own personal interests, for he endured the emotional pain of being unloved by many of his subjects, so that the English people would not suffer the fate of Pistoia. Unconsciously anticipating Machiavellian political theory, Henry VII accomplished the Florentine's vision of good governance, and the result was a secure political framework based on peace and order rather than war and chaos. Through the economic growth made possible by security and stability, England was soon able to join its rivals, France and Spain, as a true Renaissance nation-state and the fulcrum of the balance of power in Western Europe.

A Revolutionary Gathering: The World's Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840

Katharine Griffin

Thomas Clarkson, at eighty years of age and having devoted most of his life to fighting against slavery, dreamt one night that a voice commanded him: “You have not done all your work. There is America.” Clarkson said it was so clear that he was inspired to write a pamphlet, *A Letter to the Clergy of Various Denominations, and to the Slave-Holding Planters, in the Southern Parts of the United States of America*, and he hoped that it would not leave “the Americans a leg to stand on.” Even though the pamphlet had no major effect on American slavery, Clarkson’s inspiration to write it demonstrates the concern British abolitionists had regarding slavery in the United States.¹

Clarkson had this inspirational dream following the World’s Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840, which was planned for the purpose of strengthening the fight against slavery, and, more saliently, to combine forces of Anglo-American abolitionism. “I know nothing more fitted to preserve peace between the two continents, than the union of religious and disinterested men on both sides of the ocean in the cause of humanity,” wrote James Birney on April 14, 1840, to

¹ Betty Fladeland, *Men and Brothers: Anglo-American Antislavery Cooperation* (University of Illinois Press, 1972), 271.

William E. Channing.² Birney was looking towards the convention planned for the following June in London, and hoped the meeting would solidify the Anglo-American abolitionist relationship that had been developing since William Lloyd Garrison crossed the Atlantic seven years earlier.³ As Channing responded, “I doubt not that you and the other delegates will be refreshed and strengthened in spirit by meeting a host of brethren, of the slave’s friends.”⁴

Delegates attending the conference from June 12th to the 23rd, hoped it would provide constructive plans for abolishing slavery. As Daniel O’Connell declared the first day, “this Convention is more important than any which has yet assembled on the face of the globe.” O’Connell continued that the convention was the result of “higher and more ennobling motives – from a desire to serve the cause of humanity.”⁵ The delegates’ purpose for attending the meeting was to

² William E. Channing to James G. Birney, April 14, 1840 in *Letters of James Gillespie Birney, 1831-1857*, ed. Dwight L. Dumond (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1966), 1:553. James Birney was a member of the American Anti-Slavery Society writing to William Channing, an American Unitarian preacher.

³ Garrison, a staunch American abolitionist, had traveled to England in 1833 in order to meet with British abolitionists Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce. Garrison hoped to raise funds for an African American college; however, he also wanted to establish a relationship with British abolitionists. It was believed that by establishing such a relationship American abolitionists would learn how the British abolitionists had aroused public support for emancipation, how their anti-slavery organizations were conducted, and any other instructions pertinent to America’s fight against slavery. This information was obtained from Garrison, Wendell Phillips and Francis Jackson, *William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879: The Story of His Life Told By His Children* (New York: Century Co., 1885), 1:337, 344-346.

⁴ Channing, *Letters of Birney*, 1: 553.

⁵ *Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention* (London: British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1841), 12. Daniel O’Connell was an Irish politician known as “The Liberator” or “The Great Emancipator”

propose methods for abolishing slavery worldwide. Men and women traveled from America, France, the Caribbean, Latin America, and other countries to attend. It was the first convention of its type, and the delegates were fully aware of the momentous occasion. Benjamin Robert Haydon, an English painter who specialized in historical paintings, was commissioned to make an official painting of the convention that now hangs at the National Portrait Gallery in London.

At the time of the convention it was estimated that 6,240,000 slaves were in the United States and Texas, Brazil, and the Spanish, French, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish colonies. This figure excluded slaves in some of the British settlements as well as those in France, Holland, Portugal, and parts of Asia and Africa whose inclusion would have increased the estimate by several million more.⁶ Resolutions proposed during the conference not only attacked slavery morally, but also dealt with how to confront it politically and how to overcome the economic dependence of slavery. The convention discussed slavery globally, and in particular, focused on the American internal slave trade, constitutional problems within the United States, the question of Texas, fugitive slaves, the inadequacy of colonization, and the relationship between churches and slavery. The convention also represented, as historian Howard Temperley argues, “a drawing together of antislavery talent unique in the history of the movement.”⁷ In addition, the convention brought British and American abolitionists together, set the tone for the transatlantic abolitionist relationship in the

due to the success he had in achieving Catholic Emancipation. He met Frederick Douglass and became not only a friend, but a source of inspiration for Douglass. William Grenville stated that history would call him “one of the most remarkable men that ever lived.”

⁶ *Proceedings*, iii.

⁷ Howard Temperley, *British Antislavery, 1833-1870* (University of South Carolina Press, 1972), 92.

following years, and clearly stated proposed measures for fighting American slavery.

Preparations for the Convention

The idea to hold such a convention originated with Joshua Leavitt, the editor of the New York *Emancipator*. In the March 21, 1839 edition, he suggested that in order to concentrate their energies, a “general anti-slavery conference” should be held in London with delegates from “the United States, France, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Jamaica, Haiti, Columbia, Mexico.”⁸ He wrote that the conference would serve as a means of uniting the trans-Atlantic abolitionist movement. British abolitionists agreed and Joseph Sturge, an English Quaker and abolitionist, began organizing the convention. Having previously traveled to West Indies on a fact-finding mission, Sturge realized the need for a new, trans-continental anti-slavery organization.⁹ Hence, Sturge founded the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (BFASS) in April, 1839. The BFASS would prove to be “the most enduring of all antislavery organizations...[and] became the clearing house for information about slavery and antislavery throughout the world.”¹⁰ One of the first resolutions of this new group was “[t]o open a correspondence with the abolitionists in America, France, and other countries.”¹¹ Such a transatlantic abolitionist network would establish a

⁸ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁹ Douglas H. Maynard, “The World’s Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840,” in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (December, 1960), 452.

¹⁰ Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 267.

¹¹ *Proceedings*, 19. In the case of America, this was the first time it was written down, but such a correspondence was already in existence with American abolitionists. See Betty Fladeland’s *Men and Brothers*:

means of supporting American abolitionists, and moreover, British abolitionists would come to better understand the complexities of fighting slavery in the United States.

The BFASS sent invitations to all “friends of every nation and of every clime” for the purpose of determining how “to hasten the utter extinction of the slave trade,” and the best ways of abolishing slavery.¹² The BFASS also sent queries to all countries planning to send delegates, requesting information that could be used for discussion during the convention.¹³ The meeting attracted nearly 500 abolitionists and about 5,000 visitors.¹⁴ Approximately forty of the delegates were from the United States, a handful from France, and the rest were from the United Kingdom and its colonies – the British West Indies were especially well represented. Even African American abolitionists were present.¹⁵ The British abolitionists expected a great many American abolitionists to attend, although some could not make the trip. Lewis

Anglo-American Antislavery Cooperation for more about this correspondence.

¹² *Proceedings*, 8.

¹³ Fladeland, *Men and Brothers*, 261.

¹⁴ Maurice Bric, “Debating Slavery and Empire: The United States, Britain and the World’s Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840,” in *A Global History of Anti-Slavery Politics in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. William Mulligan and Maurice Bric (New York, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), 61.

¹⁵ R. J. M. Blackett, *Building An Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830-1860* (Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 43. Blackett also argues that African American abolitionists, following the splits in the ranks after 1840, became “the crucial unifying factor among British abolitionists.” (42) Especially interesting to note is that Remond decided, like Garrison and others, to sit with the female delegates and not participate in the convention as a delegate. His association with Garrison would affect his efforts. As Blackett argues, though he was “warmly received,” his efforts “could have done much more for the antislavery cause had he not associated with himself so closely with Garrison.”

Tappan, for example, was deeply involved in the *Amistad* case.¹⁶ Still, a respectable number of well-known American abolitionists from New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New England were in attendance.¹⁷

A problem arose when Pennsylvania and Massachusetts selected female delegates to attend the London convention. This issue – whether female representatives should participate in the movement – had torn apart American abolitionism.¹⁸ The division first appeared in 1839 when, during the American Anti-Slavery Society’s (AASS) annual meeting, some members wanted to “elect female officers.” Lewis Tappan stated that the election of four women to an executive committee went against “the constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society,” was a “firebrand” in the antislavery movement, was “contrary to the usages of civilized society,” and destroyed “the efficiency of female action in behalf of the cause.”¹⁹ As a result, Lewis Tappan established the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (AFASS) in April 1840 to focus only on the abolition of slavery instead of promoting “civil and political rights for women.”²⁰ This divided the abolitionists in the United States into two camps – Garrisonian abolitionists and Tappanite abolitionists.²¹ This split would also divide British abolitionists, who were introduced to the significantly divisive issues during the World’s Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840. However,

¹⁶ Fladeland, *Men and Brothers*, 262.

¹⁷ Maynard, “The World’s Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840,” 457.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 456.

¹⁹ *The Religious Monitor, and Evangelical Repository*, Vol. 17, (Philadelphia, PA: William S. Young, 1840-41), 88.

²⁰ Bric, “Debating Slavery and Empire,” 63.

²¹ The term “Tappanite abolitionists,” is not a term previously used to describe the abolitionists that belonged to, and supported, the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. However, since this group of abolitionists were led by Lewis and Arthur Tappan, it is an appropriate title.

the division did not significantly hamper the proceedings of the convention, nor did it greatly affect the relationship among American and British abolitionists. The BFASS would support the Tappanite abolitionists, while Garrisonian abolitionists would form alliances with other European groups, such as the Glasgow Emancipation Society.²²

The Tappanite abolitionists informed the organizers in London of concerns regarding female delegates' participation at the convention. Sturge, fearing this controversy could disrupt the proceedings, declared that female delegates should be excluded.²³ Therefore, the arrival of American female abolitionists would cause problems. Once the chairman of the convention, Thomas Clarkson – one of the greatest British abolitionists – retired from the proceedings due to his frail condition, Wendell Phillips from Boston made a motion.²⁴ Phillips

²² For a complete understanding of the transatlantic reform networks Garrisonian abolitionists established, see Caleb McDaniel, *The Problem of Democracy in the Age of Slavery* (Louisiana State University Press, 2013). For a better understanding regarding the significance of the refusal to seat female delegates in the subsequent women's rights movement, see Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Women Who Speak for an Entire Nation': American and British Women at the World Anti-Slavery Convention, London, 1840," in *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America*, eds. Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne, 301-333 (Cornell University Press, 1994), and Donald R. Kennon, "'An Apple of Discord': The Woman Question at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840," *Slavery and Abolition* 5 (1984): 244-66.

²³ Maynard, 456-457.

²⁴ *Proceedings*, 12. Due to Thomas Clarkson's age (he was eighty years old) and health, it was decided that Vice-Chairmen should be appointed to relieve the president. Since it was expected to be a laborious task, four men were appointed to this position. They were William Thomas Blair, Esq. of Bath, James Gillespie Birney, Esq. of New York, Joseph Sturge, Esq. of Birmingham, and Robert Kaye Greville, Esq. LL.D., of Edinburgh. (*Proceedings*, p. 4)

wanted a list of the attending members composed because the women delegates had been refused tickets of admittance. He argued that after making the sacrifice of traveling to London, the women could not be justly refused “a place in its deliberations.” In response, one delegate – Professor Adam from Cambridge – argued that if the women’s credentials did not allow them a place in the convention, then the other delegates also were not “entitled to occupy such a position.” Mr. Stacey stated that it was not the intention to show disrespect to the female delegates, but that British customs prevented females from being a part of any “matters of mere business.” He further argued that women had not been included in the invitation to the convention and that the organizers had never even considered including female delegates.²⁵

The situation threatened to disrupt the convention. One attendee, Mr. W. Allen, regretted that an attempt to exclude women had been made. He added that it was a shame that the convention should be distracted by considerations that were not central to its purpose.²⁶ In the end, female delegates were not allowed to serve as delegates and had to “observe the proceedings from the visitor’s gallery.”²⁷ When Garrison arrived and realized the female abolitionists were not recognized as official delegates, he chose to sit in the gallery with them, refusing to participate in the convention.²⁸

Resolutions Passed at the Convention

²⁵ Ibid., 24-25.

²⁶ Ibid., 32.

²⁷ Maynard, “The World’s Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840,” 460.

²⁸ Ibid. Garrison and others had elected to delay departure for London in order to attend the May meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society. They felt it was more important to attend this meeting – in fact; it was this meeting where the Garrison wing won control of the group. (Maynard, 458).

On the second day of the convention following the reading of a paper titled, “On the Essential Sinfulness of Slavery and its Direct Opposition to the Percepts and Spirit of Christianity,” the delegates debated on a controversial resolution. From the Christians’ viewpoint, the very existence of slavery was sinful and there was only one way to deal with it. Christians should work to “exterminate it altogether.”²⁹ Several delegates voiced concern declaring that they had no right to tell individual churches what to do or how to govern themselves, especially since several denominations and other religious groups were represented at the gathering. In the words of Rev. John Young, “[w]e are a Convention from various denominations” and therefore he dissented “from the principle that this Convention should take any part in matters of church discipline.” In response, several delegates spoke out in favor of the resolutions. For example, Reverend Henry Taylor from Woodbridge, Suffolk, believed that the resolution was only a suggestion that churches refuse to allow slave-owners to become church members; it was not a demand.³⁰ After much debate back and forth, the resolution stated

 this [c]onvention, while it disclaims the intention or desire of dictating to [C]hristian communities, the terms of their fellowship, respectfully submits that it is their incumbent duty to separate from their communion, all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned in the spirit of the gospel,

²⁹ *Proceedings*, 47, 55.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 56-57.

continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures, or holding them in slavery.³¹

The convention, therefore, recognized they did not have the right to tell churches what to do, but they did encourage religious communities to ban slave-owners. Copies of the resolution, the delegates voted, should be sent to all the “ecclesiastical authorities” of every Christian church worldwide.³²

Another resolution passed at the convention concerned the publication of British anti-slavery literature in America and other slave holding nations in order to educate the world of the “successful results of the West India emancipation.”³³ As O’Connell stated, “when emancipation was granted, massacre, there was none; outrage, there was none; violation of property, there was none; no mischief, no evil, no injury to a human being; peace, quiet, contentment, religious feeling, morality, were the consequences of that great measure.”³⁴ Delegates believed the British literature had a significant influence on the American public, and therefore should be published in the United States. The resolution also proposed publishing papers and other material from the convention. For example, one of the papers presented at the convention, “Replies to the Queries of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, on Slavery in the United States,” was sent to a committee to prepare it for publication. Finally, the resolution

³¹ *Minutes of the Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention* (London, 1840), 9.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, 6.

³⁴ *Proceedings*, 381,11

proposed informing Americans “of the deep indignation” felt by the “civilized world” in regards to slave holding nations.³⁵

³⁵ Ibid., 6.

United States History

Covaulting Religion: Anne Newport Royall Meets the Cumberland Presbyterians in Alabama

Michael Strickland

The only existing Cumberland Presbyterian church in my home county, Lawrence County, Alabama, is a tiny congregation near the Mt. Hope community called the Hickory Grove church. The lack of a strong presence in the county does not reflect a lack of determination from Cumberland Presbyterians to plant churches in the area. In fact, the Cumberland Presbyterians were active all over Alabama in the years immediately before and after Alabama achieved statehood. The purpose of this article is to consider the point of view of an early, and now famous, resident of Moulton (my hometown), in the state's earliest years, that of Anne Newport Royall, as she documented the arrival of the Cumberland Presbyterians into the area.

Royall Comes to Alabama

Anne Newport Royall's history has been well-documented and need not be exhaustively repeated here. The salient points are that, having been widowed by her husband in 1812 and locked in a legal battle for several years over his estate in Virginia, Anne launched out to see the expanding United States, traveling through Kentucky, down through Tennessee, and into North Alabama. Royall spent several years in the

area, first entering the state around Christmas of 1817. She sent letters from Huntsville, then from Melton's Bluff, which is in the northern part of Lawrence County along the Tennessee River. By March of 1819, she had moved to Moulton, which would be (and still is) the Lawrence County seat when Alabama achieved statehood in 1819. She stayed in Moulton, a town she described as "handsomely laid off" in an area "as rich as the heart can wish" approximately two years before moving north to Courtland (also in Lawrence County) and then westward to Florence.¹ In 1830, she published the letters she had originally written to a friend in Virginia as *Letters from Alabama on Various Subjects*. *Letters* was her third volume of travel writing, following *Sketches from History*, which she published in 1826, and *Mrs. Royall's Pennsylvania* in 1829. Along with documenting her travels, Royall later began publishing a weekly newspaper, *Paul Pry*. In *Paul Pry*, she shared personal anecdotes and opinions, especially with regards to politics and religion, endeavors which earned her the title of first female journalist in America.²

Royall's Religion

Royall was notoriously outspoken and often irreverent in her attitudes toward religion. Some have suggested that her exposure to her much older husband's extensive and eclectic library and his Masonic influence encouraged her to resist and combat the evangelical movements of her day.³ She lampooned fundamentalist Christians in

¹ Anne Newport Royall, *Letters from Alabama on Various Subjects* (Washington, D.C., 1830), 107.

² Malcolm Forbes, "Anne Newport Royall: the First Female American Journalist," in *Women Who Made a Difference* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 257-260.

³ See Carol Sue Humphrey, "Anne Newport Royall (1769-1854)," in, *Women in Communication: A Biographical Sourcebook*, ed. Nancy Signorielli (Wesport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 349-59, at p.350.

her work with nicknames such as “Holy Willy,” “Preacher Thunder,” “Simon Sulpher,” Mucklewrath,” and “Counselor Law.” Later in life, after she left Alabama for Washington, D.C., she was embroiled in a battle with a neighboring church that, according to Royall, dared pray for her soul and to harass her at the same time.⁴ She proclaimed:

I was pleased that the gospel spreaders were so deeply interested for my soul (my body was to go to pot) that the evangelical-tractical-biblical-sabbath school-prayer meeting, good, honest, pious, sound Presbyterians of Capitol Hill, had come to a resolution to convert me.⁵

The end result of the struggle was not her conversion but her conviction of being, “a common scold,” a sentence of a “ducking” (dunking) in the Potomac, and the sentence being replaced by a \$10 fine which was paid by her friends.⁶

Royall Meets the Cumberland Presbyterians

In the early 1880s, the Cumberland Presbytery in Kentucky was dissolved by the Kentucky Synod of the Presbyterian Church for ordaining ministers without the requisite education. Failing to require strict allegiance to the Westminster Confession of Faith was a second factor. Ousted leaders officially reconstituted the Cumberland

⁴ Anne Newport Royall, *Mrs. Royall's Pennsylvania, or, Travels continued in the United States*, Volume 2 (Washington, D.C., 1829). See the appendix, esp. pages 3-7, for her personal description of the events, including her friends and enemies.

⁵ *Ibid.*, appendix, 7.

⁶ Jonathan Daniel Wells, *Women Writers and Journalists in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 102-03.

Presbytery in 1810 in Burns, Tennessee, and immediately set about evangelizing surrounding areas. The area around Moulton in the early 1820s was “run mad with preaching” when Ann Royall first encountered members of the “new sect called Cumberland presbyterians (*sic*).” Along with the Baptists and Methodists, Cumberland Presbyterians were forced to preach outdoors due to a lack of meeting houses in Moulton. Royall’s descriptions of Cumberland Presbyterians show that she was unimpressed, particularly with the fact that they did not “deem education a necessary requirement to preach the gospel.”⁷ She relayed stories meant to demonstrate the ignorance of the denomination’s members. For example, she noted how one lady did not know the meaning of the word “piety,” mistaking it for a religious sect, nor did she know that there were other religions in existence.⁸

Royall’s disdain for many of the Christian denominations she encountered was frequently mentioned in her letters, but the Cumberland Presbyterians and their preacher received by far the most critical assessment.⁹ Her detailed description of the events during the sermon of an unnamed Cumberland Presbyterian preacher delivered to an audience of 500 (her estimate), comported with accounts of similar meetings throughout the frontier. In a letter dated April 30, 1821, Royall reported:

Principally confined to women and children, the young women had carefully taken out their combs, from their hair,

⁷ Royall, *Letters*, 122-23.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁹ For example, she called Christianity a “plot of priests” in a letter written from Moulton in May of 1821, and recounted a story she had heard of a Presbyterian elder’s greed in taking advantage of a poor woman. She further explained that, rather than judging all Christians by one, that she would “judge all by all, for they are all the same.” See *Letters*, 136-37. Emphasis Royall’s.

and laid them and their bonnets in a place of safety, as though they were going to set in for a fight; and it was much like a battle. After tumbling on the ground, and kicking sometime, the old women were employed in keeping their clothes civil, and the young men (never saw an old man go near them) would help them up, and taking them by each hand, by their assistance, and their own agility they, would spring nearly a yard from the ground at every jump, one jump after another, crying out, glory, glory, as loud as their strength would admit; others would be singing a lively tune to which they kept time— hundreds might be seen and heard going on in this manner at once. Others, again, exhausted by this jumping, would fall down, and here they lay cross and pile, heads and points, yelling and screaming like wild beasts of the forest, rolling on the ground, like hogs in a mire... and like those who attend the camp meetings, they were all of the lower class of the people. I saw no genteel person among them... I am very sure, half a dozen words of common sense, well applied, would convince those infatuated young women that they were acting like fools. In fact a fool is more rational.¹⁰

Outdoor church meetings were not new to Royall, who compared the meeting in Moulton that day to a camp meeting in her home state of Virginia, “but more shameless.” She told of naïve young women and children as young as ten years old “getting religion,” but also of a more experienced woman whose dramatic response at the meeting prompted

¹⁰ Royall, *Letters*, 124.

one young man to opine that the young lady “gets converted every meeting she goes to.”¹¹

While such an experience was new (and offensive) to Royall, the events she witnessed were consistent with other revival meetings which had been taking place across rural America for two decades. The best known analog is the much larger revival in Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in 1800 and 1801.¹² Cumberland Presbyterian historian B.W. McDonnold, writing over 70 years after the events described by Royall, considered the ecstatic expressions which took place in the young Cumberland Presbyterian movement as evidence of the “New Testament baptism of the Holy Ghost.”¹³

Royall surmised that the cause of the congregation’s behavior was the frenzied preaching being delivered by the “great rough looking man” in their presence. She had been intrigued by a stranger’s description of the speaker as “a monstrous fine preacher,” but she was taken aback at the man’s performance:

He began low but soon bawled to deafening. He spit in his hands, rubbed them against each other, and then would smite them together, till he made the woods ring. The people now began to covault (*sic*) and dance and shout till they fairly drowned the speaker.¹⁴

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² See Michael J. McClymond, “Issues and Explanations in the Study of North American Revivalism,” in *Embodying the Spirit: New Perspectives on North American Revivalism*, ed. Michael J. McClymond (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2004), 1-46, esp. 34-36, for several examples.

¹³ B. W. McDonnold, *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church* (Nashville, 1893), 27.

¹⁴ Royall, *Letters*, 123.

To Royall, the preacher's demeanor and message were evidence of the Cumberland Presbyterian's lack of emphasis on education. Of course, many preachers from various denominations on the frontier lacked formal ministerial education. The Cumberland Presbyterians had not the time nor resources by 1821 to provide schools for that purpose. This lack of formal training did not, however, prevent the Cumberland Presbyterians from growing rapidly in other places (predominantly in Kentucky and Tennessee) in the early nineteenth century, nor did it greatly hinder the preacher in Lawrence County on that April day in 1821.¹⁵

The Preacher

Who was the preacher so despised by Royall? B. W. McDonnold's *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church* provides a likely candidate in the person of the Reverend Robert King. King was a second-generation Cumberland Presbyterian who, during his career, preached in Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas and Missouri. McDonnold documented King's extreme devotion to his denomination's cause, a dedication that saw him go months without pay and to mortgage the family farm in Tennessee to pay for his

¹⁵ Lack of education among the revivalists of the nineteenth century was common among most of the denominations, though ministers were probably no less educated than the average frontier people to whom they preached. In fact, Southern attitudes against highly paid, well-educated ministers gave pioneer preachers opportunities to preach that populated areas in the Northeast almost certainly would not have. Further, see Roger Finke & Rodney Starke, *The Churching of America 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press), 79-80.

missionary efforts.¹⁶ He was known for his sacrifice, but also for his preaching. Further south from Lawrence County, in Alabama's early state capital Cahaba, King's preaching was such a sensation that he was invited to use the capitol building for a Sunday sermon, which drew a large crowd.¹⁷ McDonnold suggested that, from reading King's papers, Robert spent a great deal of time preaching to the Indians on the frontier with success.¹⁸ His dedication to preaching was so great that he even preached a sermon on his deathbed.¹⁹

McDonnold acquired King's papers upon his death, among which can be found the following entry of interest:

In April, 1821, I was ordered by the presbytery to form a circuit on the south side of Tennessee River, in the counties of Morgan, Lawrence, and Franklin, in Alabama. I had to hunt my own preaching places, and make my own appointments. The country was all newly settled, having been lately purchased from the Indians. Here I found many good Cumberland Presbyterians. I formed a circuit of four weeks' extent, with regular daily appointments. I succeeded in getting up three camp-meetings, one in Morgan County (then Cataco County); Here I was assisted by the Rev. James Stewart, the Rev. James Moore, and my father. ... The results of those three camp-meetings were one hundred and fifty professions.

¹⁶ McDonnold, *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, 113.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 159-60.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 157.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 641.

Besides these, there were a good many professions at my circuit appointments.²⁰

Note that Royall's letter is dated April 30, 1821, a date consistent with the period mentioned by King. If King's diary mentioned the specific results of the meetings in Lawrence County, McDonnold did not include them. King's papers are now apparently no longer extant.

Covaulting

On several occasions, including in her recounting of King's sermon, Royall used the word "covault" to describe the reaction of the people. She made it clear that it was not her word. In her letters, Royall gave her opinions of the various dialects to be found around her, from fellow Virginians, to North Carolinians, Tennesseans, and Georgians. She determined that covaulting was "of Tennessee birth" and humorously added that she hoped to see it added to the English language some day. She further explained:

[Covault] signifies an unruly or ungovernable man; also an untamed horse, or anything that cannot be controuled (*sic*)... It appears to be a compound of co and vault, which are both very significant.²¹

Unfortunately, Royall did not explain the significance of those terms. However, Royall used the word covault to describe the excited reactions she saw at outdoor church meetings. Besides Royall's cryptic suggestion, the origins of the word are unclear. I am unable to find any references to it in regional dictionaries or popular literature. It appears

²⁰ Ibid., 157.

²¹ Royall, *Letters*, 122.

to be a local word, perhaps, as Royall suggested, brought from Tennessee, but the geographic breadth of its use are unknown.

This does not imply, however, that the word fell out of use. It was still in use in the area until the end of the twentieth century, a fact which I can relate firsthand thanks to recollections from my great-grandmother, Ruby Cheatham (née Roberts; born 1911), or Big Mama to our family. Big Mama lived practically her entire life in Lawrence and Morgan counties, never too far from the border of each, except for brief stints in Chicago and California to find work. She married my great-grandfather, Joy Cheatham, in 1928, and the two lived a hardscrabble existence farming and performing manual labor such as picking cotton and grave digging. Big Mama was very critical of her mother-in-law because of her dereliction in child raising, especially her tendencies to leave home for a week or more at a time to attend revival meetings, while leaving several children at home. Big Mama said that Mrs. Cheatham “would go off covaulting” whenever certain preachers came to the area. Those of us in the family never knew exactly what she meant by that, but Royall’s description of a spiritual frenzy would fit the context nicely. Aside from Big Mama, I have never heard anyone use the term, and thus far none of the older members of the community whom I have spoken to are familiar with the word. I can attest that the word will live on at least one more generation, and hopefully beyond if my children decide to make use of it.

Conclusion

Currently in downtown Moulton, the First Methodist Church and Moulton Baptist Church sit close to the square. Both of these denominations were mentioned by Royall as having preachers but lacking meeting houses in her day. Both modern congregations trace their beginnings to the early 1800s when Royall was a resident. For

some reason, Cumberland Presbyterianism never took hold. The records of the Cumberland Presbyterian General Assembly mention that, in March of 1825, the Bigby Presbytery (encompassing much of Northwest Alabama) was constituted in Lawrence County at “Concord meeting house,” but the exact location of Concord is unknown.²² In 1830, Cumberland Presbyterian Rev. J.W. Ogden was working in Moulton, and although he had arrived with preconceived notions of an ignorant and irreligious population, he soon changed his mind:

From the acquaintance which I have formed, I am of opinion there is as much intelligence and refinement of manners in proportion to the number of inhabitants as in any of the Western States; and although there are not as many church going people or as much visible morality as in the Eastern States, yet I am of opinion that there is as much genuine piety, and as much of the life and power of religion among those who profess it as in any country through which I have traveled; particularly in North Alabama, where the people are blessed with a remarkably lucid and spiritual ministry, such generally as would do credit to any country.²³

Ogden saw fertile ground for his mission, so the lack of a strong presence in the area in later years is perhaps somewhat surprising. One potential reason for the lack of long-term success of the Cumberland

²² *Semi-Centennial General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church* (Nashville, 1880), 21.

²³ No author cited, “Sources and Sketches of Cumberland Presbyterian History,” *The Theological Medium: A Cumberland Presbyterian Quarterly* 6.4 (Oct 1875): 385-425 at pp.391-392.

Presbyterians around Moulton may be explained by the presence of the only other church immediately off the square today, the Moulton Church of Christ, my home church. Preachers from the Christian Church, as the movement was mainly referred to in the mid-to-late 1800s, were active in the area not long after Royall left, and a Christian Church may have been established there as early as 1826.²⁴ What is sure is that several prominent community leaders were members of the Christian Church in Moulton later in the century, and at least one Cumberland Presbyterian minister there, Rev. Andrew O. Horn, became a member of the Christian Church.²⁵ The mainline Presbyterian denomination also had its own troubles in establishing a long-lasting congregation in Moulton in the nineteenth century. In 1832, the Presbyterian General Assembly reported that there were twenty-eight members in Moulton in 1830, 44 members in 1832, and forty-one in 1838.²⁶ In 1871, when the Christian Church was looking to expand,

²⁴ Or, often by their detractors, the members were referred to as Campbellites, after the most prominent of their foundational leaders, Alexander Campbell.

²⁵ Crockett McDonald, the first documented member of the Christian Church in Moulton, came there in 1826 from Kentucky. There, he preached as well as serving as mayor, post-master and probate judge from the 1830s-50s. See James E. Saunders, *Early Settlers of Alabama*, Part 1 (New Orleans, 1899), 67, where McDonald and Horn are discussed. Horn was also clerk for the county court in the 1820s. The self-published history of the Moulton Church of Christ, compiled by the now deceased (and dear personal mentor) John C. Hardin, claims that Crockett McDonald established the congregation upon his arrival in town in 1826. However, Tolbert Fanning, a prominent Christian Church preacher in the nineteenth century, claimed to have started the congregation in June of 1943. See Fanning's *Christian Review*, 1 no. 11 (1844): 244.

²⁶ See *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1830), 293. See *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, (Philadelphia, 1832), 395. See *Minutes of the General*

they were able to purchase the Presbyterian building and lot for \$250. The sale was made by “D.J. Goodlett, the only surviving elder.”²⁷ In such a small community, it may be that there was only room for three established congregations at that time.

Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, (Philadelphia, 1838), 260.

²⁷ These details provided by Riley Turner, “History of Moulton, Alabama, Church of Christ,” *World Evangelist* 28 (July 1, 2000): 4. There is still no Presbyterian Church in downtown Moulton.

The Power of Masculinity

Layla Talley

Senator Joseph McCarthy's Red Scare, in which he named individuals as Communists, caused a period of intense worry and suspicion. However, his notorious list of 205 names of Communists working for the United States government was ultimately unprovable. To save face with his colleagues and the American public, he changed his tactics, calling out those he was unable to trace back to Communism as being homosexual. This began what is now called the Lavender Scare.²⁸ According to McCarthy, homosexuals presented a huge security risk because of the ease with which they could be blackmailed; therefore, they could not be trusted to hold government jobs during a time when the threat of Communist infiltration was so high.²⁹ Although McCarthy was the man responsible for making the initial allegations, he was not the party responsible for rounding up the "sexual deviants" and questioning them. Clyde Hoey was recruited to lead the investigation, and according to the transcripts from the hearings, Roy Cohn was responsible for the majority of the questioning. It has been theorized by David Johnson in *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government*,

²⁸ Roel van den Oever, *Mama's Boy: Momism and Homophobia in Postwar American Culture* (New York: McMillian, 2012), 28.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

that the reason McCarthy did not take charge himself is that he was concerned about a "boomerang" situation in which he would become the accused rather than the accuser.³⁰ There is no question that the Lavender Scare happened, and as a result, hundreds of individuals lost their jobs and were publicly shamed. The question is why did this happen? Why were homosexuals targeted specifically? Is it possible that the men most responsible for the Lavender Scare were simply overcompensating for their own sexual identities? Even though there is no concrete evidence that McCarthy was homosexual, rumors did circulate about McCarthy's deviant sexuality. Is it possible that these bruised his ego so terribly that he felt he had to respond harshly to the entire gay community? Was the Lavender Scare Joseph McCarthy's compensatory reaction to several shots at his masculinity? What were the lasting implications of the Lavender Scare in the United States?

What happened after the initial accusation of homosexual individuals working in the State Department has been referred to as a modern day witch hunt for gay government employees, a reference to the events in Salem, Massachusetts during the early 1690s.³¹

McCarthy's list of 81 gay individuals working in the State Department was only the beginning. The hysteria lasted about 25 years, and came to touch almost every person living in the Nation's capital by the end. Estimates were made of the total number of gay people living in Washington. The number varied from anywhere from 5,000 to

³⁰ David Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 3.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 143.

50,000, depending on who was asked.³² Soon, the hysteria was not just contained to the State Department. The United States military began looking closely at its soldiers, and companies contracted by the government, even those not in the D. C. area, investigated employees. Senator Kenneth Wherry performed a study of civilians living in Washington. He reported, "an unusual, but containable, clique [of homosexuals]" in the city. The metropolitan police were also asked to index the name, address, occupation and age of almost 5,000 "suspected sex perverts" in the area.³³ A vice squad was created to investigate a possible link between homosexuality and Communism, but the government never agreed that the two were related. The individuals let go during this time due to their sexuality were officially fired because they were "uncommonly susceptible to blackmail."³⁴ About 20% of the total United States workforce had been interviewed and investigated in the three year period between when McCarthy named gays in the State Department and when President Eisenhower issued his order demanding that all homosexuals be terminated from the United States government with Executive order 10450.³⁵

It has been theorized by Roel van den Oever in his book, *Mama's Boy: Momism and Homophobia in Postwar American Culture*, that the reason homosexuality had become such a threatening idea was due to Alfred Kinsey. In the late 1940s, Alfred Kinsey and his colleagues developed a seven-step scale to determine an individual's level of homosexuality. This rejected prior concepts

³² Ibid., 87-90.

³³ Ibid., 80.

³⁴ Richard H. Rovere, *Senator Joe McCarthy* (New York: Harper & Publisher, 1959), 154.

³⁵ Oever, 30.

of homosexual, heterosexual, and bisexual, and said that every person would fall somewhere on the scale. According to Kinsey's findings, 37% of men had some kind of homosexual experience, and after the age of 35, if the man is unmarried he is 50% more likely to have had a homosexual experience to the point of orgasm.³⁶ These numbers terrified the public, and led them to reject their prior notion that a homosexual male was easily detected because of his obvious flamboyant nature. This meant that now, anyone could be a homosexual, and they were virtually undetectable. This fact elevated suspicion, particularly in the Cold War context of fear. In essence, Kinsey's study, meant to normalize homosexuals, had instead led the public to believe homosexuals were an undetectable threat lying in wait.³⁷ The Cold War produced a general climate of fear in the United States. Americans were constantly on alert and in constant fear of attack from the Soviet Communists. Also, thanks to McCarthy, the fear that Communists were lurking behind every corner was instilled in the minds of Americans. The findings presented by Kinsey during this period not only worsened the already present fear of Communism, but also gave Americans another enemy in the homosexual. The need to maintain an unsullied reputation in the United States became compulsory. Preying upon the fears of others, in order to achieve this spotless type of reputation, some individuals began accusing others of things like being Communist or engaging in deviant sexual practices, and became hostile toward any lifestyle different from their own.

³⁶ Ibid., 24-25.

³⁷ Ibid., 24-27.

In order to answer the question of whether overcompensation played a role in the cultivation of the Lavender Scare, it is important to consider the concept and its implications generally. Overcompensation, or an "excessive reaction to a feeling of inferiority, guilt, or inadequacy leading to an exaggerated attempt to overcome the feeling," seems to match the context of the Cold War.³⁸ Robb Willer, a PhD candidate at Cornell University, determined that men become more "macho" acting if masculinity is threatened. Willer noted that these threatened men feel guilt, shame, and often become outwardly hostile.³⁹ Some men may become violent or discriminatory as a result of this overcompensation.⁴⁰ Acting in a homophobic way is a tool some men employed to promulgate heterosexuality and further distance themselves from homosexuals.⁴¹ Aggression associated with homophobia may not even be related to a hatred for homosexuals, but a negative reaction to the perceived threat to the individuals' masculinity.⁴²

Essentially, if a man perceives that his masculinity is being threatened in any way, he will most likely react aggressively, and if the threat

³⁸ *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged*, (Springfield, MA: Merriam- Webster, 1993), Also available at <https://www.merriam-webster.com/>.

³⁹ "Men Overcompensate for Masculinity Threats," *UPI Newstrack (Consumer Health) Regional Business News*, EBSCO host (accessed December 3, 2014).

⁴⁰ Christopher N. Kendall, *Gay Male Pornography: An Issue of Sex Discrimination* (Canada: UBC Press, 2004), 103.

⁴¹ John M. Levine and Michael A. Hogg ed., *Encyclopedia of Group Processes and Intergroup Relations* (Thousand Oaks, London, and New Delhi: SAGE Publications Inc., 2010), 408.

⁴² Julie L. Nagoshi, Craig T. Nagoshi, and Stephanie Buzuzy, *Gender and Sexual Identity: Transcending Feminist and Queer Theory* (New York: Springer Science Business Media, 2014), 43.

holds any truth, the reaction will be amplified.⁴³ This is a plausible reason for why Joseph McCarthy took the initiative to seek out and destroy the careers of homosexual individuals working for the United States government.

Although McCarthy took care to remove himself from the investigations conducted during the Lavender Scare, rumors of his own homosexuality were rampant. Some rumors included his sending his staff away on vacations in order to have time alone with his male lovers, or allegedly kissing a male member of the Wisconsin Young Republicans. Journalist Edwin Bayley admitted in his book, *Joe McCarthy and the Press*, that the publication he worked for during the Scare, the *Journal*, received several affidavits from men claiming to have engaged in homosexual activities with McCarthy. However, they were never considered for publication.⁴⁴ The reason for the exclusion of these affidavits could be anything from a payoff to fear on the part of the editors, but a reason was never stated. Since McCarthy was unable to satisfy his homosexual urges, he was reportedly mentally and physically abusive toward

⁴³ A study conducted in 1996 showed a group of homophobic, heterosexual males that were shown homosexual

male intercourse were physiologically aroused while a group of non-homophobic, heterosexual males shown the same content showed no reaction. Jeffrey A Bernat, Karen S Calhoun, Henry E. Adams, and Amos Zeichner, 2001 "Homophobia and Physical Aggression Toward Homosexual and Heterosexual Individuals," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 110 no. 1: 179-187, 179.

⁴⁴ Edwin Bayley, *Joe McCarthy and the Press* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981), 134.

women, and he hired the young and handsome David Schine.⁴⁵ His inexplicably close relationship with Schine ultimately caused his (and Cohn's) fall from power in Washington when they were accused of pressuring the United States Army to give special treatment to Schine. Both McCarthy and Cohn accused the United States army of holding Schine hostage after Schine was drafted as a private, and the army refused to meet demands from Cohn which included extra leave, light duties, and a commission.⁴⁶ These accusations, which were never proven or disproven, challenged his masculinity, a reality made worse by the fact that he was an unmarried middle aged man. According to Kinsey, that meant he was 50% more likely to engage in homosexual activities.

In response, McCarthy was known to speak harshly about homosexuals, often seeking to emasculate other men. He purportedly called the Secretary of State a "striped pants asshole," and described members of the State Department whose careers he was destroying as, "cookie pushers." To close friends he revealed that he believed their "'silk handkerchief approach' and 'prancing' was useless against the Soviets."⁴⁷ The use of derogatory terms in reference to homosexuals was an effort by McCarthy to secure his own masculinity by destroying the masculinity of others.

In fact, the man McCarthy put in charge of the fight to remove all homosexuals from government, Roy Cohn, was later

⁴⁵ Arthur Herman, *Joseph McCarthy: Reexamining the Life and Legacy of America's Most Hated Senator* (United States: The Free Press, 2000), 235-236.

⁴⁶ Robert D. Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and Making of Cold War Foreign Policy* (United States of America: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 150.

⁴⁷ Herman, *Joseph McCarthy*, 186.

proven to be a closeted homosexual. While he spent his days verbally attacking individuals accused of being gay, he spent his nights at various gay bars in the Washington area. He never fully admitted his sexual preference, and he justified his actions by saying he preferred to "expand his sexual energies on men, not women,' but he was no 'pansy.'"⁴⁸ By this, he meant even though he engaged in sexual relations with men, he did not consider himself to be homosexual because he was a better man than that. During the actual senate hearings pertaining to the higher risk of employing homosexuals, Cohn was often condescending and accusatory in his line of questioning. McCarthy, who presided over most of the hearings, allowed this line of questioning with no objections. In the case of Eric L. Kohler, for example, Cohn delved into Mr. Kohler's personal life, and presented personal letters that had absolutely nothing to do with his job as evidence.⁴⁹ Cohn also used the technique of frequently repeating Mr. Kohler's responses to him for emphasis and intimidation.⁵⁰ By questioning Mr. Kohler in this manner, Cohn was able to easily confuse Kohler, and made him appear to be lying.

The damage done during the Lavender Scare was felt by hundreds of men and women during the Cold War period, but has only recently been studied in earnest. The anti-gay hysteria which was dominant in the 1940s and 1950s caused people to turn against each

⁴⁸ Ibid., 218.

⁴⁹ United States Government, *Executive Sessions of the Senate Subcommittee on Government Operations*, Eighty- Third Congress 1953-1954, vol. 1, 423.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 425-426.

other. For example, one woman accused her boss of being a lesbian based on absurd reasons which included

"peculiar lips, not large, but odd shaped," "a funny feeling," the fact that she was "single" and "had spent a lot of time in China," "a deep voice, an unusual face for a woman," and the fact that she "[had] very little in the way of hips."⁵¹ Also, as with the Salem witch hunt, any accusation resulted in a full, and often unfair investigation. Most of the accused individuals in the State Department resigned before they could be fired, and were therefore not recorded, so the actual number of individuals who lost jobs during this time remains unclear.⁵² Congress declared that, in order to insure "sexual perverts" were not hired by the United States government again, their screening process and background checks would become more strict and inclusive. They also blamed the initial problem on the lax procedures for checking into the background of potential employees.⁵³

Another result of this mass hysteria was that homosexuals became synonymous with sexual predators, especially pedophiles. In a public service announcement called "Boys Beware," released in 1958, adolescent and teen boys and their parents were warned of the dangers presented by gay men. It and short films like it were produced by local police departments to be viewed in schools.⁵⁴ They equated homosexuality with a contagious disease that could be

⁵¹ Johnson, *The Lavender Scare*, 119-121.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 166.

⁵³ United States Government, *Employment of Homosexuals and Other Sex Perverts in Government*, Eighty-First Congress, 15 December, 1950, 8-14.

⁵⁴ Harry M. Benshoff, *Monsters in the Closet: Homosexuality and the Horror Film* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 140.

caught if they were too close. It also suggested that all homosexual males are only interested in young boys.⁵⁵ In the film, the narrator used terminology suggesting that the young impressionable boys were forced by older homosexuals to engage in deviant acts as "payment."⁵⁶ Although this was directed at teenagers and adolescents, it also scared parents of children that age. Propaganda like this ensured the American public would continue to be scared by the thought of homosexuality.

Not all of the results of the Lavender Scare were bad. Actions taken by gay and lesbian individuals in reaction to government persecution became the seeds of the gay rights movement. Long before the Stonewall riots in 1969, a series of riots brought about by brutal police action at the Stonewall Inn gay bar in Greenwich Village, the Lavender Scare prompted the founding of the first gay organization to be sustained: The Mattachine Society.⁵⁷ Its location in southern California was also important, since it was in an area the government depended on for defense work. This organization also helped to radicalize the movement in Washington in the 1960s.⁵⁸ A series of "homophile" organizations sprang up in large United States cities including New York, San Francisco, Detroit, Chicago, Boston, and even Washington D.C. They were also Mattachine chapters and were led by Harry Hay in the

⁵⁵ Sid Davis, *Boys Beware*, Online Streaming, Internet Archive, 1958.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots that Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004), 1.

⁵⁸ Johnson, *The Lavender Scare*, 13.

early 1950s.⁵⁹ The chapter of Mattachine in D.C. was formed as a response to the persecution of homosexuals in the United States government. Their literature was initially directed at the local gay community in the early 1950s, but by the latter half of the 1960s, this chapter along with other organizations pressured the Civil Service Commission to end its discrimination against homosexuals.⁶⁰ Hay was also instrumental in the publication of the first pro-gay magazine, *ONE*, in Los Angeles in 1954.⁶¹ These organizations were fueled by the Lavender Scare, and they planted the initial seeds of the gay rights movement in the United States.

Evidence shows that during the Lavender Scare, Senator Joseph McCarthy's masculinity was threatened by several sets of rumors of him engaging in homosexual activities. He was accused of inappropriate behavior with young men, and his age and marital status led to uncomfortable questions after the Kinsey's scale was circulated. His closest colleague, Cohn, was later proven to be a homophobic closeted homosexual. Though McCarthy was not the one questioning the individuals during the hearings, he never made an effort to stop the invasive and harsh line of questioning, which was likely an effort to protect himself as well as his masculinity. Even if McCarthy was not homosexual (there is no concrete evidence to prove he was), it is still possible that his masculinity was

⁵⁹ Leah J. Rupp and Susan K. Reeman ed., *Understanding and Teaching U.S. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), 219.

⁶⁰ Landon R. Storrs, *The Second Red Scare and the Unmaking of the New Deal Left* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 197-198.

⁶¹ Craig M. Loftin, *Masked Voices: Gay Men and Lesbians in Cold War America* (Albany: State University of New York, 2012), 1.

sufficiently threatened to cause him to employ the tactics of overcompensation. So, could the Lavender Scare be a result of Joseph McCarthy's overcompensation due to several shots at his masculinity? The answer is yes, when examining the definition of overcompensation and the ways in which it may be present, Senator Joseph McCarthy certainly does exhibit signs of overcompensation. Considering the general climate of fear during the Cold War period, the publication of Kinsey's work, Cohn's homosexuality, and the rumors of McCarthy's homosexuality, it is very likely that he overcompensated which resulted in the Lavender Scare. This fact had both tragic implications for hundreds of government and government contracted employees, but also set into motion the basis of the gay rights movement in the United States.

The Early History of the United States Space Program

Craig W. Stover

The United States space program began as a response to Russia during the Cold War, but soon became an important part of American history. Advances in technology, medicine, and many other areas gave the program the validity the validity needed to continue to sustain itself. The pioneering spirit that naturally inspires humanity was kept alive through all the success and failures that were experienced during the early part of the program. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) personnel that worked in those early days of the United States space program laid a foundation that was built upon for decades to come.

In 1949, the Soviet Union tested a nuclear bomb, and since the Americans had already proven their nuclear capabilities at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Cold War was officially underway. Another level of the Cold War was created when the Soviets launched the first space satellite, *Sputnik*, on October 4, 1957.¹ Questions loomed about the capabilities of this satellite: was it spying, or could it drop a bomb from space? Two weeks later the Russians launched another *Sputnik* satellite carrying a dog, proving outer space was livable. These satellites could orbit the earth in about ninety minutes; space was now a new battlefield of the Cold War.

¹ John Lewis Gaddis. *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin, 2005), 68.

At the same time, Lyndon B. Johnson was a democratic senator who chaired the Senate Preparedness Investigation Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Concerned that the United States was falling behind the Soviets when it came to missile technology, Johnson called on Dr. Eilene Galloway, recent author of a paper published by the House of Representatives titled “Guided Missiles in Foreign Countries.” Johnson used Dr. Galloway’s assistance as he conducted meetings and investigations on how the United States could catch and surpass the Soviets in missile technology.² Many engineers and scientists testified, convincing Johnson and the committee that space should be used for advancing mankind in peaceful exploration, not as a place to conduct war. On July 28, 1958 President Eisenhower signed the National Aeronautics and Space Act, creating NASA.³ It was determined that engineers, not military generals, would lead this particular government entity. Galloway also assisted in drafting the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, presented to the United Nations in November of 1958. This committee promoted the peaceful exploration and research of outer space in hopes that countries would collaborate instead of compete.

On May 2, 1944, a German rocket scientist named Magnus Von Braun approached an Army private on a motorcycle telling him, “My name is Magnus von Braun. My brother invented the V-2. We wish to surrender”.⁴ His brother, Wernher von Braun, was on the top of

² NASA. *NASA: 50 Years of Exploration and Discovery* (Tampa, FL: Faircount Media Group, 2008), 226.

³ Peter Bond. *Heroes in Space: From Gagarian to Challenger* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 26.

⁴ William E. Burrows. *This New Ocean: The Story of the First Space Age* (New York: Random House, 1998), 116.

the military's list of German scientists wanted for interrogation, and he assisted the United States in gathering other German scientists sympathetic to the allies. The U.S. Secretary of State approved the transfer of von Braun and his team to the United States on June 20, 1945, where their Nazi association was expunged and they were provided with false employment histories. While most of them were taken to the Aberdeen Proving Grounds in Maryland, von Braun was taken to Ft. Bliss, Texas. The young von Braun was tasked with rebuilding and testing V-2 rockets for research at White Sands Proving Ground in New Mexico. In 1950, von Braun was transferred to Huntsville, Alabama to work at Redstone Arsenal, where he lived and worked for the next twenty years. Between 1950 and 1956, he developed on the Redstone rockets, the rocket used in American's attempts to put the first man in space.⁵

During one early test of a Redstone rocket, the rocket fired but failed to launch. When the smoke cleared, NASA engineers could see the rocket still sitting on the launch pad; apparently it left the pad just enough for all the umbilicals to disengage and sever all control over the rocket. The escape tower on top of the rocket also ejected and landed several hundred feet from the launch pad, and the recovery parachutes fired and fully deployed. The wind was high enough for those parachutes to pull the top of the rocket hard enough for the rocket would tip over, which was extremely dangerous considering the rocket was still live and contained tons of fuel. After mulling over ideas on how to empty the rocket safely, with one of the most ridiculous being simply shooting holes into the fuel tank, it was finally decided to let the batteries of the fuel control system to run down and automatically open

⁵ Alan Shepard and Deke Slayton, *Moon Shot: The Inside Story of America's Race to the Moon* (Atlanta: Turner Publishing, 1994), 31-34.

the release valves, thus emptying the rocket of its fuel. This “Four Inch Flight” fiasco prompted Flight Director Chris Kraft to say, “That is the first rule of flight control. If you don’t know what to do, don’t do anything!”⁶

Despite the lack of full confidence in the Redstone rocket, it was decided to rush the Mercury program along as the United States needed to catch up to the Russian space program very quickly, as they had already made Yuri Gagarin the first man in space. On May 5, 1961, Alan Shepard became the first American in space when he took a fifteen-minute ride on *Mercury 3*. While Shepard’s flight was short and did not reach orbit like Gagarin did, it was still significant, not just because he was the first American in space, but also because the launch was carried live across the nation. The Russians were conducting their space operations in secret, yet the United States was conducting theirs in full view of the public.⁷ After the successful launch of *Mercury 3*, John F. Kennedy made a speech in front of Congress on May 25, 1961 that would put the most pressure on NASA yet, as he made the proclamation that the United States would go to the moon before the end of the decade. This placed the most pressure on NASA yet, and although Gene Kranz initially believed that the President was crazy, he soon realized the President was showing full faith and trust in what they were doing at NASA.⁸

On February 20, 1962, NASA experienced their first crisis while a man was in space during the *Mercury 6* mission, the first orbit of the Earth by an American, John Glenn. The launch went just as planned and the first orbit could not have gone any better, but during

⁶ Kranz, *Failure Is Not an Option*, 28-32.

⁷ Jay Barbree. *Live from Cape Canaveral: Covering the Space Race from Sputnik to Today* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007), 54-59.

⁸ Kranz, *Failure Is Not an Option*, 56-57.

the second orbit, Mercury Control received a warning light indicating the heat shield might have come loose. The heat shield coming off during re-entry would be catastrophic, so NASA engineers discussed possible resolutions to this problem. More worrisome was Glenn's report of "a big mass of very small particles that are brilliantly lit up" floating around the spacecraft, leading some to wonder if the heat shield was already damaged. Chris Kraft thought the warning light was a false alarm, but to be safe the retro-rocket pack was left on instead of ejecting it before re-entry initialization. When Glenn asked why he was told to keep the retro-rocket package on during re-entry, the controller communicating with Glenn tells him that he does not have the answer, but assured him that there was nothing to worry about.⁹ The communications blackout during re-entry, caused by the ionization of the capsule, created a very tense and silent four minutes, but Glenn came through the re-entry process unscathed, and the first real crisis for mission control was joyfully overcome. Later, the engineers discovered that the warning light was a false alarm, just as Kraft thought. This incident boosted the confidence of NASA personnel, increased their faith in the mission flight director, and led to four more Mercury launches, all of which encountered very few problems.¹⁰

On November 22, 1963, NASA's biggest supporter in the government, President Kennedy, was assassinated in Dallas, Texas. NASA decided the best way to honor his memory was to redouble their efforts and meet his challenge of reaching the moon during the 1960's.¹¹ However, NASA had to reach some very important milestones before beginning operations to reach the moon, including

⁹ M. Scott Carpenter et al. *We Seven* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962), 324-327.

¹⁰ Kranz, *Failure Is Not an Option*, 76-77.

¹¹ NASA, *50 Years of Exploration and Discovery*, 229.

finding solutions to the problems of extra-vehicular activities (EVA), rendezvous and docking, prolonged human activity, and equipment endurance. Project Gemini played an important role in the history of United States manned space flight, providing NASA and the astronauts the chance to practice and perfect the activities needed to go to the moon. Gemini would be a two-man program, so no longer did astronauts go into space by themselves.

While NASA started the Gemini program, the Soviets beat the Americans with another “first” in space on March 18, 1965, when Alexei Leonov became the first human to conduct an EVA, or “spacewalk.”¹² The Americans needed to respond, so during their *Gemini 4* flight on June 3, 1965, astronaut Ed White conducted the first American EVA. White exited the vehicle with no problem and was tethered to the spacecraft while using a handheld oxygen gun to help him maneuver around the spacecraft. Jim McDivitt even took a picture of a window that White had smeared on the outside of the Gemini spacecraft.¹³ However, all did not go completely as planned because the voice activated communications system (VOX) on White’s spacesuit failed to work properly, so commands had to be relayed from ground control to White through McDivitt. Despite the communications problem, all went to plan despite White having to be ordered twice to get back in the ship, before reaching the dark side of Earth; he was having too much fun.¹⁴

It was almost a year later on June 6, 1966 that Gene Cernan and Tom Stafford conducted the second NASA EVA during *Gemini 9A* (the “A” was added because the primary crew for *Gemini 9*, Elliot See

¹² Bond, *Heroes in Space*, 77-79.

¹³ Tony Reichhardt. “Ghosts of Gemini,” *Smithsonian Air & Space*, (May 2012): 60.

¹⁴ Burrows, *This New Ocean*, 358-359.

and Charles Basset were killed in plane crash a few months before their planned launch). The mission began badly because one of the goals was to dock with a target vehicle, but the shroud that covers the docking mechanism on the target vehicle did not eject, making it impossible to dock with the target. The second EVA was also going to test a new type of spacesuit made to go with a new piece of EVA equipment called the Astronaut Maneuvering Unit (AMU). When Cernan pressurized his spacesuit, it became so stiff that it was very difficult to move, and that was only the first sign of trouble. When he went to the back of the spacecraft to attach himself to the AMU, he noticed that the suit visor was fogging up, making it difficult to complete tasks.¹⁵ All of this extra effort caused Cernan's heart rate to jump to over 170 beats per minute. Stafford and Mission Control could hear his labored breathing and they decided to abort the EVA. This failed spacewalk led to a redesigned space suit that would also be water-cooled for lunar operations, decreased work load for the astronauts during each operation, and to not attempt to use the AMU until the Space Shuttle program. NASA also came up with the idea to practice EVAs underwater as it most closely simulated the zero gravity environment of space, a practice still used today. Later successful EVAs were conducted on *Gemini 10*, *11*, and *12*. During *Gemini 12*, with Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin and Jim Lovell, Aldrin would conduct three successful space walks on November 12-14, 1966.

Rendezvous was the next important step that needed to be accomplished, so engineers had to figure out how to launch two different spacecraft and then have them rendezvous in orbit with both spacecraft travelling around 17,000 miles per hour. The Russians had attempted this twice back in 1962 and 1963, but they were

¹⁵ Kranz, *Failure Is Not an Option*, 186-187.

unsuccessful. So, in 1965, NASA attempted to finally beat the Russians at something since the space race began. The first attempt at a rendezvous was when McDivitt and White tried to get their *Gemini 4* spacecraft to meet back up with the last stage of their *Titan* rocket. However, this was unsuccessful due to depth perception problems and the fact that the engineers at NASA just had not quite figured out the mechanics of orbital rendezvous yet. The next attempt was made a few months later on December 15 when Wally Schirra and Tom Stafford piloted their *Gemini 6* spacecraft to meet up with *Gemini 7*, which was already in orbit with Jim Lovell and Frank Borman. If all calculations were correct, *Gemini 6* should arrive in orbit just several hundred miles away from *Gemini 7*. After several burns to increase the speed of *Gemini 6*, they caught up with *Gemini 7* a little over 5 hours later, getting within 130 feet of each other. For the next several hours both spacecraft conducted several maneuvers to test the agility and control of the spacecraft at such close proximity, at one time getting within a foot. Americans had accomplished the first successful rendezvous in space and the morale at NASA enjoyed a huge boost.¹⁶

The next logical step was a successful docking to another spacecraft in space. This was probably the most important objective as the command module and lunar module would have to dock, undock, and re-dock with each other during a lunar mission. Neil Armstrong and David Scott were both on the *Gemini 8* crew that successfully conducted the first docking in space with another vehicle, the Agena target vehicle, on March 16, 1966. During that docking procedure, a thruster control problem arose with the Gemini spacecraft, and the rest of the mission had to be aborted. This was the first time that a NASA

¹⁶ Shepard and Slayton, *Moon Shot*, 180-185.

manned vehicle had to return under emergency protocols.¹⁷ *Gemini 10*, *11*, and *12* conducted further successful docking procedures, thus another prerequisite to moon operations was completed. The list of other objectives successfully completed from the Gemini program included breaking an altitude record for highest orbit, eight and fourteen day endurance records, and proving that actual productive work could be done during an EVA. Alongside the other accomplishments, Gemini was seen as a very successful program, and helped build up the confidence for all NASA personnel, and everything learned from the program served the next project that would send man to the moon.

While Gemini was being carried out, Wernher von Braun and his team worked on the Saturn-class rocket program for Project Apollo at Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, AL. Von Braun had designed various sizes of the Saturn for the various stages of the launch vehicle, with the *Saturn V* being the main rocket to take the vehicle off the launch pad.¹⁸ On January 27, 1967, the *Apollo 1* crew, made up of Ed White, Gus Grissom, and Roger Chaffee, conducted a drill commonly called the “plugs out test”. It was basically a dress rehearsal among the flight controllers and astronauts to practice the procedures to take place for all pre-launch ground operations. The astronauts wore full spacesuits and were sealed into the *Apollo 1* command module, which was then pumped full of pure oxygen. There had already been problems with the command module design, as it changed more than 500 times, making it hard for the simulator engineers to keep up with the changes of the spacecraft. This frustrated Grissom so much that one day he hung a lemon on the simulator to represent its uselessness.

¹⁷ Slayton, *Deke!*, 169-171.

¹⁸ Barbree, *Live from Cape Canaveral*, 97-98.

During the test run on January 27, they discovered even more problems, with the most important that evening being the communications system. The astronauts and flight controllers had a very difficult time understanding each other, and Grissom asked, “How are we going to get to the Moon if we can’t talk between three buildings?”¹⁹ This caused many delays of the simulation countdown, and the drill to run into the evening hours. Then, at 6:31 PM, “Go Fever” caught up with NASA as alarms went off all over the flight control room. Controllers heard the astronauts say something about a fire before all communications went dead, while the flames swept through the command module and killed all three astronauts within a matter of seconds. The first casualties directly related to the United States space program became an unfortunate part of NASA’s history and their feeling of invincibility was gone.

The following Monday, Gene Kranz called the flight control team for a meeting, where he gave the following speech:

Spaceflight will never tolerate carelessness, incapacity, and neglect. Somewhere, somehow, we screwed up. It could have been in design, build, or test. Whatever it was, we should have caught it. We were too gung ho about the schedule and we locked out all the problems we saw each day in our work. Every element of the program was in trouble and so were we. The simulators were not working, Mission Control was behind in virtually every area, and the flight and test procedures changed daily. Nothing we did had any shelf life. Not one of us stood up and said, “Dammit, stop!” I don’t know what Thompson’s committee will find as the cause, but I know what

¹⁹ Rod Pyle. *Destination Moon: The Apollo Missions in the Astronaut’s Own Words* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), 13.

I find. We are the cause! We were not ready! We did not do our job! We were rolling the dice, hoping that things would come together by launch day, when in our hearts we knew it would take a miracle. We were pushing the schedule and betting the Cape would slip before we did. From this day forward, Flight Control will be known by two words; tough and competent. Tough means we are forever accountable for what we do or what we fail to do. We will never again compromise our responsibilities. Every time we walk into Mission Control, we will know what we stand for. Competent means we will never again take anything for granted. We will never be found short in our knowledge and in our skills. Mission Control will be perfect. We will never stop learning. When you leave here today, you will write these two words on your blackboard and they will never be erased. They will serve as a constant reminder of the sacrifice of Grissom, White, and Chaffee. These words will be the price of admission into Mission Control.²⁰

The Thompson Committee conducted their investigation and discovered that faulty wiring had short-circuited in the pure oxygen environment, causing a flash fire that had consumed the capsule within a matter of seconds, giving the astronauts no time to react and no chance of escaping. The committee also determined that the contracted work was shoddy, and the program was grounded until the spacecraft could be redesigned and rebuilt to make it safer.²¹

²⁰ Kranz, *Failure Is Not an Option*, 204.

²¹ Pyle, *Destination Moon*, 17-18.

The Apollo program resumed nearly two years later on October 11, 1968 *Apollo 7*, when Don Easley, Wally Schirra, and Walt Cunningham, launched into orbit. This marked the first manned launch of the program and the first time three men were sent into space. The mission had no complicated operations to conduct, but was meant to simply boost confidence booster and test out the new spacecraft. The mission lasted eleven days and the tension between the astronauts and Mission Control became thick, and it did not help that Schirra had developed a head cold while in space. There were a few contentious exchanges between the astronauts and flight control, ranging from complaining about the type of food to the necessity of wearing their helmets during re-entry. The latter was brought up because Schirra was afraid he would not be able to equalize the sinus pressure if he could not hold his nose to clear his sinuses, and possibly blow out his eardrums. Still, despite the astronauts' problems, the spacecraft itself performed as desired.²²

It was not long after *Apollo 7* splashed down that CIA photos revealed that the Soviets had a moon rocket ready for launch for a flight that would orbit the moon. NASA was about a year away from that type of mission, but there was political pressure to beat by the Russians, so the time frame was accelerated. *Apollo 8* was the first spacecraft to reach the moon and the first time the *Saturn V* rocket saw use.²³ The *Saturn V*, nearly thirty-stories tall, was so powerful that it needed a six-story pit to deflect the flames or otherwise the rocket could burn itself up during launch; the launch was so powerful that it created one of the loudest man-made noise ever created, second only to

²² NASA. *Apollo 7 Onboard Voice Transcription* (Houston, TX: Johnson Space Flight Center, 1968), Microfilm, p. 276.

²³ Shepard and Slayton, *Moon Shot*, 225-228.

nuclear explosion.²⁴ *Apollo 8* launched on December 21, 1968 at 6:51 AM with Frank Borman, Jim Lovell, and Bill Anders aboard the spacecraft. Then two hours and fifty minutes later, humans left the orbit of earth and headed for deep space for the first time. The engine burn needed to be just right or the spacecraft could fly out of the solar system or crash right into the moon. The burn succeeded and three days later, on Christmas Eve, lunar orbit is successfully accomplished. During one of the ten orbits of the moon, the crew read the first ten verses from Genesis 1 to a live television broadcast, resulting in a few watery eyes in Mission Control.²⁵ Later in March and May of 1969, *Apollo 9* and *Apollo 10* launch respectively, in which their missions were successfully completed by testing the lunar module (LM) while in orbit of the moon.

On July 16, 1969, *Apollo 11* launched with Michael Collins, Buzz Aldrin, and Neil Armstrong as the crew; three days later the crew reached lunar orbit. The next day, on July 20, the mission of the day was to make an American the first human to set foot on the moon. Gene Kranz locked the doors of Mission Control and told his staff that nobody could come in or leave during the operation, and he would support any decisions made that day, assuring them that “No matter what happens today, we will all leave this room as a team.”²⁶ The lunar module detached from the *Apollo 11* command module, starting its descent to the lunar surface with Armstrong and Aldrin on board. Then, at 12:01 PM, a “12-0-2” warning light flashed in Mission Control and there was confusion among the controllers about what it meant. Moments later, a “12-0-1” light also flashed, and an engineer

²⁴ Kranz, *Failure Is Not an Option*, 201.

²⁵ Pyle, *Destination Moon*, 25-28.

²⁶ Kranz, *Failure Is Not an Option*, 283-284.

remembered that the same exact warning light that came on the navigation computer during the last simulation. Believing the light to be another false alarm, and lacking time to deliberate about the issue, Mission Control issued a “go,” but by the time, the lunar module overshot the planned landing zone.²⁷

Armstrong, running out of fuel, saw nothing but boulders and deep craters with nowhere to land safely in sight. Kranz issued an order for no more “call outs” except for fuel levels. Moments later, Bob Carlton made a fuel call of “low level,” meaning the tank on the lunar module was virtually empty and the lunar module was running on whatever fuel was in the system. The next fuel call out was for sixty seconds of fuel left, then a thirty-second fuel call out when Armstrong reported he was picking up dust, confusing Mission Control. The crew then heard the shutdown sequence just as fifteen-second call out. With zero seconds of fuel left, Mission Control hears, to their surprise, “Houston, Tranquility Base here. The *Eagle* has landed.”²⁸ The whole room erupted into cheers as they realized that the lunar module was safely on the surface of the moon. Kranz ordered everybody to settle down and refocus because the decision to stay on the moon still had to be made. Armstrong and Aldrin were ordered to stay and get a good night’s sleep before the lunar EVA the next day, but both were too excited to sleep and bugged Mission Control to begin their lunar excursion early the next day. On July 21, 1969 Neil Armstrong was the first human to set foot on the moon, where he uttered the now famous statement, “That’s one small step for (a) man, and one giant leap for

²⁷ Slayton, *Deke!*, 243.

²⁸ Burrows, *This New Ocean*, 428.

mankind.” When Buzz Aldrin exited the craft almost twenty minutes later, he described the moon as “magnificent desolation”.²⁹

After the successful *Apollo 12* mission, *Apollo 13* launched on April 11, 1970 with space flight veteran with Jim Lovell as commander, and Fred Haise, and Jack Swigert as pilots. Fifty-six hours into the flight, Mission Control called for a “cryo-stir”, intended to stir up the super cold liquid oxygen mixture in a tank. However, the “cryo-stir” caused the whole spacecraft to shutter, and Mission Control was told “Houston, we’ve a problem here.” At first, Haise believed the shuttering was caused by a temporary power failure due to a small meteorite hitting the spacecraft. Because the spacecraft was vibrating violently, Lovell decided to look outside and noticed that the ship was venting some type of gas into space from the command module, causing the ship to rotate wildly. The astronauts discovered they were losing oxygen from the spacecraft from a faulty wire that caused an explosion in the liquid oxygen tank.³⁰

The first thing Kranz ordered the engineers to do was to devise a way to reclaim oxygen for the astronauts. They still had enough oxygen to get home, but they needed to filter the carbon dioxide out of the air. The problem was that the lunar module was meant for two men, not three, so the carbon dioxide levels would increase quickly. The other immediate problem was that the command module was losing power and would not have enough to return home. John Aaron ordered the command module to power down to save the emergency batteries needed for re-entry. The crew moved into the lunar module, now their

²⁹ Pyle, *Destination Moon*, 54-59.

³⁰ Shepard and Slayton, *Moon Shot*, 260-261.

lifeboat. Mission Control's only objective at this point was to get the crew back home.³¹

It took three days to design a cold start-up sequence that would work. When the crew jettisoned the command module from the capsule before re-entry, they saw the giant hole that resulted from the explosion. Lovell exclaimed, "There is one whole side of that spacecraft missing!"³² They realized the hole was just a few feet from the heat shield on the capsule, and they feared that the heat shield cracked. This could result in catastrophe for the astronauts during the re-entry operation, but at this point, nothing could be done about it. The *Apollo 13* capsule began re-entry and the normal four-minute communications blackout came and went with nothing heard from the crew. Joe Kerwin was at CapCom (the controller, usually another astronaut, that communicates with the crew) and hailed the spacecraft when the communications blackout should have ended, but to no avail. Mission Control feared the worst until the words "Okay Joe!" flooded into Mission Control.³³ The first major disaster in space for NASA was averted. It was NASA's finest hour; failure was not an option for the engineers during *Apollo 13*.

The later Apollo missions went on without any more significant problems. *Apollo 14* was the first lunar landing involving two EVAs, commanded by the oldest and most veteran astronaut of the program, Alan Shepard. While Shepard and Edgar Mitchell were on the surface collecting samples, Stuart Roosa was in the command module conducting experiments with seeds while in lunar orbit. *Apollo 15* stayed even longer on the moon, almost three days, and was the first to

³¹ Kranz, *Failure Is Not an Option*, 316.

³² Slayton, *Deke!*, 261.

³³ Kranz, *Failure Is Not an Option*, 335-336.

use the Lunar Roving Vehicle, which allowed the astronauts to travel further away from the lunar module. *Apollo 15* was the first mission of NASA that focused purely on collecting scientific data. *Apollo 16* was the first to land on the lunar highlands and stayed the longest so far, less than an hour short of three complete days on the surface of the moon. *Apollo 17* was the final manned mission to the moon that launched on December 11, 1972 and returned on December 19. The mission took a geologist, Harrison Schmitt, and broke records for total stay on the lunar surface: three days and two hours, with the total EVA time on the moon at twenty-two hours. The mission also brought back the biggest sample of moon material of all the Apollo missions.³⁴

The Apollo program showed NASA at their best and worst, but it proved that with the right attitude the program could accomplish great things. The courage and fortitude it took for astronauts to step into those giant rockets, not knowing if they would ever be able to return from the lunar surface if they did make it there, was unimaginable. The United States not only reached the moon before the Russians, the Soviet Union never put a man on the lunar surface, though they did launch unmanned spacecraft that successfully orbited and landed on the moon.³⁵ The scientific data about spaceflight and the data collected from the moon is some of the most important ever collected in the history of space exploration, and material collected from those Apollo missions are still studied and scrutinized by scientists today.

Though the Apollo missions to the moon ended with *Apollo 17*, the Apollo program lived on with two more projects. The *Apollo-Soyuz* test project and *Skylab* played important roles in the continuation of space exploration at NASA. Since the Apollo lunar missions had

³⁴ Launius, *Frontiers of Space Exploration*, xxiv-xxv.

³⁵ Shepard and Slayton, *Moon Shot*, 226-227.

been cut short due to cutbacks by Congress, there was a surplus of Saturn engines and spacecraft that could still be used for other potential flight operations. It was proposed to convert the third stage of a *Saturn V* rocket into a space station that for experiments that included the study of long term space flight on the human body. After much discussion, Congress gave their final approval and the *Skylab* program was born. On May 14, 1973 the first station for the United States launched into orbit.³⁶ The information gained from *Skylab* was influential in the planning of the Russian *Mir* station and the *International Space Station*. The *Skylab* spacecraft stayed in orbit until 1979, when it was sent into a forced entry and burned almost completely in the atmosphere.

There was one more Apollo mission that did not go to the moon, but was arguably as important as any mission to the moon. That project was called *Apollo-Soyuz*, a joint space mission involving the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Besides trying to improve relations between both nations, the goal of the mission was to test the compatibility of NASA and Russian spacecraft for a space rescue if it was ever necessary. There was also the outside chance that there could be future joint manned space flights.³⁷ On July 15, 1975 an Apollo rocket with Tom Stafford, Deke Slayton, and Vance Brand launched into orbit. In the Soviet Union, *Soyuz 19*, manned by Valeriy Kubasov and Alexei Leonov, launched on the same day seven hours before. NASA designed a coupling system for docking the two spacecraft, and the pride of the United States and its space program was on the line. There were some concerns among NASA pilots as to how well the Russian pilots could execute a space dock, as

³⁶ Barbree, *Live from Cape Canaveral*, 200-201.

³⁷ Burrows, *This New Ocean*, 447-448.

NASA had much more experience with rendezvous and docking in space due to the Gemini and Apollo programs. American astronauts were able to pilot their spacecraft while *Soyuz* spacecraft was automatically flown with very little input from the crew.³⁸ Deke Slayton was one of the original seven Mercury astronauts, but due to a medical condition with his heart, he had not ever been cleared to fly during the Gemini and Apollo missions. However, he was able to get his condition treated and passed the flight surgeon's test that returned him to active flight status. The fifty-one year old was the oldest NASA rookie ever, and when Deke finally reached orbit, he excitedly exclaimed, "I love it! Damn, I love it. It sure as hell was worth waiting sixteen years."³⁹ A few hours later Tom Stafford successfully docked the Apollo spacecraft at 17,400 miles per hour and live television audiences around the world watched both spacecraft open their hatches for Stafford and Leonov to shake hands.

When that *Apollo-Soyuz* mission was over, an era of space exploration ended for NASA. A few years later the first Space Shuttle, *Columbia*, launched John Young and Robert Crippen into orbit on April 12, 1981. The successes and failures of Projects Mercury, Gemini, and Apollo would laid the foundation for future space programs such as the Space Shuttle, the *International Space Station*, and the exploration of Mars. Those earlier programs proved that ingenuity and perseverance could overcome just about any obstacle placed in front of humanity. There was no challenge too hard and no problem too big to overcome. Unfortunately, Gene Kranz's speech after the Apollo tragedy did not stick with the next generation of NASA personnel, who suffered their own tragedies in the Space Shuttle

³⁸ Slayton, *Deke!*, 283.

³⁹ Barbree, *Live from Cape Canaveral*, 206.

Challenger and *Columbia* disasters. Yet, even after those calamities the newer generation imitated their predecessors by picking themselves up, honoring those that fell, and learning from their mistakes.

The American Civil War

To Make War on Cotton: The Opportunities of Imperial Geography and the British Textile Industry

Clint Alley

Much has been made of the confidence held by Confederate leaders of a quick military victory at the outset of the American Civil War. The concept of defeat on the battlefield was alien to white southerners of all social stations. On the eve of the war, Senator James Hammond of South Carolina, in a speech that has since been dubbed the “Cotton is King” speech, remarked memorably that, if pressed to fight, the South could raise not just a defensive force of peaceful citizens pressed into service, but “an army of soldiers—men brought up on horseback, with guns in their hands” against a northern invasion.¹ Southerners’ belief in their own invincibility before, during, and even *after* the Civil War is a phenomenon that has enjoyed a new birth of attention by scholars over the past decade.

But a topic less-discussed—and arguably more important—than the concept of the self-perception of southern invincibility on the battlefield is the faith held by Confederates in their own economic invincibility. To southern leaders, there was no stronger bulwark than the quality of their cotton, and no fort more impregnable than the

¹ United States Congress. *Appendix to the Congressional Globe: Containing Speeches, Important State Papers, Laws, Etc. of the First Session, Thirty-Fifth Congress*, 70.

world's need for the king of cash crops. The hinge upon which all of their economic hopes and dreams rested was Britain, with its booming textile industry and ravenous cotton mills. Cheap, ready-made clothing was perhaps the most revolutionary aspect of the Industrial Revolution, and southern leaders saw the cotton fields of the South as the soil from which the backbone of the British economy sprang. Later in the "Cotton is King" speech to the United States Senate, Hammond remarked that, should shipments of southern cotton grind to a halt, "England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her, save the South."²

Southerners' faith in the saving power of southern cotton ran strong throughout the Civil War. Even as Confederate ports became clogged with thousands of tons of baled, unshipped cotton, the trade relationship built around the crop between Britain and the South was the foundation of Confederate hopes for British recognition and the use of the British Navy to destroy the Union naval blockade. However, it was a hope which would remain unrealized: when making their overtures to British diplomats and making their promises of British salvation to embattled southern citizens, Confederate leaders failed to take into account the opportunities presented by the sweeping geography of the British Empire. The tenacity shown by the British textile industry during the American Civil War would serve not only to undermine the Confederate economy during the Civil War and thus unintentionally help the Union to win the war, but would also help to launch, in earnest, the cotton industries of up-and-coming cotton producing parts of the British Empire, particularly Egypt and India.

² Ibid., 70.

However, before examining the evidence of this geographic and economic anomaly, it is important to make a brief apology to the reader and to verify some basic facts. Apologies are necessary because of the dated nature of some of the secondary source material in this paper. The study of the politics and geography of the transatlantic cotton trade is a field that was of great interest to American and British scholars of the early twentieth century, when both the transatlantic cotton trade and the British Empire were still thriving, ever-present parts of the lives of a great many people on both sides of the Atlantic. Indeed, the long-staple cotton trade between Britain and the sea islands of Georgia and the Carolinas carried on much the same as it always had as late as the 1950s. However, regardless of the dated nature of some of the secondary sources, the data contained in these sources are worthy of revisiting, especially when one considers their nearness in time to the events they examine.

As to the basic facts of the cotton trade, primarily, the question must be asked as to how important, in actuality, *was* the cotton trade between Britain and the South during the mid-19th century? Contemporary southerners certainly made much of the relationship, especially when Yankee ears were present. Southern politicians like Senator Hammond, both before and during the war, seemed to regard the economic relationship between the South and Britain as almost symbiotic. In the “Cotton is King” speech, Hammond painted a vivid—and somewhat accurate—picture of southern cotton rescuing both Britain and the North from economic ruin during the Panic of 1857, telling his northern peers in the Senate:

When the abuse of credit had destroyed
credit and annihilated confidence, when

thousands of the strongest commercial houses in the world were coming down, and hundreds of millions of dollars of supposed property evaporating in thin air, when you came to a dead luck, and revolutions were threatened, what brought you up? Fortunately for you, it was the commencement of the cotton season, and we have poured in upon you one million six hundred thousand bales of cotton just at the crisis to save you from destruction.³

But, aside from the fact that southern resilience during the Panic of 1857 was, for the most part, an ephemeral and well-timed stroke of good luck for southern planters, reason would hold that nascent nationalists, especially in an emotionally-charged political atmosphere like that of the United States in the 1850s and 1860s, would naturally tout the economic prowess of their new country. Placing the Confederacy on (or above) the same economic rung as the most powerful empire on earth—an empire which was also in possession of the most powerful navy on earth—was no doubt intended as a potent threat to the North.

But what was the prevailing opinion among Britons regarding the importance of Britain's cotton trade with the South? As an article published in the May 1861 edition of *The North British Review* read, there was no doubt that the trade was an important facet of the British economy, with some Britons going so far as to say that “no trade has

³ Ibid.

ever grown so rapidly or assumed such gigantic proportions.”⁴ In addition to the South supplying five-sevenths of Britain’s imported cotton in 1860, contemporary estimates credited cotton imports with providing work to some four million men, women, and children in the nation’s £65,000,000 textile industry, and projected the industry to experience an unprecedented boom in the coming decades as the world population continued to grow at incredible strides and cotton garments remained among the cheapest and most efficient types of clothing.⁵ The question was whether the southern monopoly on British cotton imports was the keystone of the British economy that Confederate leaders made it out to be. Did British people share Hammond’s sentiment that a disruption in the southern cotton trade would cause England to “topple headlong?”⁶

The answer, as with most things pertaining to Victorian Britain, depended in large part on the social and vocational position of the answerer. Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur James Lyon Fremantle, an officer of the British Army famous for penning a diary of his three months spent travelling the Confederacy during the Civil War, recognized that the trade in cotton was an important relationship. However, Fremantle also intoned that the Confederacy was much more reliant on Britain than vice versa, especially in the event of a southern victory. Waxing prophetic in 1863, Fremantle wrote in his diary that:

⁴ Charles Adams, ed. *Slavery, Secession, & Civil War: Views from the United Kingdom and Europe, 1856-1865* (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 2007), 246.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 246.

⁶ United States Congress, *Congressional Globe*, 70.

The South looks to England for everything when this war is over;—she wants our merchants to buy her cotton, she wants our ships to carry it;— she is willing that England should supply her with all the necessaries which she formerly received from the North.⁷

Although Fremantle's attitude toward the Confederate struggle for independence is generally sympathetic throughout his diary, this passage seems to belie a paternalistic attitude toward the southern economy. As a member of a very old and aristocratic family, educated at Sandhurst and destined for a career of rank, merit, and military glory, it is not surprising that

Fremantle's perspective on the economic situation between the two powers is distant and aloof.

His economic mindset toward the South fits a trend which existed during this period among the British middle- and upper-classes which regarded the import of southern cotton as a means of exerting economic power and influence over the region; a sort of informal imperialism which was introduced before the American Revolution and had continued mostly unchanged in the American South since that time. This idea ran that the South might, indeed, supply a necessary raw material in large quantity, but in the end *southerners would always be*

⁷ Arthur J.L. Fremantle, *Three Months in the Southern States, April-June 1863* (Project Gutenberg, 2007), 229.

much more reliant on the Empire for finished products than Britain relied on the South for cotton, beside the fact that the monopoly on cotton held by the South at the outset of the 1860s would certainly be short lived.

However aloof this attitude might seem, it was rooted in logic more than highhandedness. The simple geography of the British Empire held that an alternate source would arise should the valve of southern cotton be shut by any calamity—manmade or otherwise. *The North British Review* shared this reflection of cotton economy at the outset of the Civil War:

The probabilities are that in 1871 the free labour [non-slaveholding] countries will be able to produce nearly as much cotton as the increased British consumption will require; and with this change, and its accompanying revolution in price, the great Southern monopoly must inevitably be broken up. India will then rival the United States in her production—Africa, begert with free settlements, will supply us with millions of pounds—Greece and Turkey are beginning cotton cultivation—Cyprus has devoted 80,000 acres to it—and Tunis and Australia are moving in the same direction.⁸

⁸ Adams, *Slavery, Secession, & Civil War: Views from the United Kingdom and Europe, 1856-1865*, 247.

Conversely, the British working class saw their lot much more bound with the importation of Confederate cotton than the Fremantles and magazine editors of the world. The fibrous bond between the mill and the field ran especially thick in the “textile towns in Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Scotland, and Ulster.”⁹ In these manufacturing regions, southern cotton was the lifeblood of the working class. While many of the textile workers seemed to share the general disdain for slavery common among British people of the time, replacing southern cotton with the still-developing cotton markets of the Empire and other “freelabour” states meant the risk of losing both quality and precious production time. For them, the blockade of southern ports was a matter of urgency; it meant no work, no food, and no security. Had they the means or the interest to read the words of Senator Hammond when he threatened that the whole of the civilized world would come to a screeching halt with no southern cotton, the working classes of the textile regions would no doubt have vehemently agreed; for many of *them*, the world *did* come to a screeching halt.

The effect of the American Civil War on the economy of the cotton districts— particularly in Lancashire, where the lack of cotton decimated the local economy, spurring rampant unemployment, welfare-receipt, and mass-emigration—was so dire that the period of 1861-65 is still popularly known today as the time of The Cotton Famine. This economic codependence is expressed in numerous extant newspaper records, diaries, and letters, but is perhaps most artistically recorded in a line from a Lancashire poem by Samuel Laycock called *Th’ Shurat Weaver’s Song*, which reads:

⁹ R.J.M. Blackett, *Divided Hearts: Britain and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 7.

*O dear! if Yond' Yankees could only just see
Heaw they're clammin' an' starvin' poor weavers loike me,
Aw think they'd
soon settle their
bother, an' strive.
To send us some
cotton to keep us
alive.¹⁰*

Whether examining the cotton trade from the perspective of the aristocracy and middle class or from that of the working class, it is clear that the possession of a worldwide empire created new opportunities for the British textile industry during the American Civil War. As the war churned on and the supply of the coveted American Sea-Island and Middling Orleans varieties of cotton, in particular, evaporated from storehouses and mills across Britain, British leaders and industrialists were forced to find other means of producing their finished products, lest they face the ugly specter of anarchy as the working class went month after month with no work.

A general understanding of the quality of different strains of cotton is needed to gain the full picture of what was at play during this crucial period for the British textile industry. American strains of cotton were undoubtedly of better quality and more suited to use in textile machinery than varieties grown in other parts of the world. The American South was particularly well-suited in terms of climate and

¹⁰ Samuel Laycock, "Th' Shurat Weaver's Song," John Harland, ed., *Ballads and Songs of Lancashire Ancient and Modern*. Corrected, revised and enlarged by T.T. Wilkinson (London, 1875), 508. <<http://www.archive.org/details/balladssongsofla00harluoft>>, Accessed 27 June 2011.

soil type to grow two varieties of cotton which most commonly fed the mills of Britain. Sea Island, a long-staple cotton which is believed to have originated in the tropics of South America, was cultivated on the islands off the coast of Georgia and South Carolina between the 1780s and the 1950s. Its “long, fine, silky fibers” were “unmatched on world markets” for two centuries.¹¹ Sea Island cotton, when grown correctly, was considered a luxury item, and its fibers would often be mixed with silk to produce fine garments and other luxury textiles. The Middling Orleans strain of cotton was a short-staple variety, but was hardy and could be grown and exported in abundance from the fertile, virgin fields and humid climes of the South. Although a slew of cotton varieties were exported from the South, these two strains were predominant and represented the best that could be produced by the region.

The question of using an alternate source of cotton was not simply one of *quantity*, but of *quantity and quality* together. The antebellum South was unique in that it could produce high quality cotton in bulk, and the use of slave labor to plant, hoe, and harvest the crop ensured that plantation owners could usually sell their crop at a fair price and still turn a tidy profit. This was in stark contrast to varieties of cotton grown elsewhere in the world. India, for example, produced large quantities of a variety of cotton known as Surat. In addition to being a low quality plant, shipments of Surat were infamous among mill operators for being “ill-prepared, ill-cleaned, and even adulterated with such foreign substances as mud, leaves, and stones.”¹²

¹¹ S.G. Stephens, “The Origins of Sea Island Cotton,” *Agricultural History* 50, no. 2 (1976): 391.

¹² Edward Meade Earle, “Egyptian Cotton and the American Civil War,” *Political Science Quarterly* (Vol. 41, no. 4: 1926)

While Surat was not impossible to use in the mechanized production of textiles, it was not the preferred variety to use when making a finished product of any good quality.

This was the dilemma faced by British textile producers when the flow of affordable, high-quality cotton was cut off during the American Civil War. As Hammond had suggested in the “Cotton is King” speech, civil unrest began brewing in the hardest-hit districts not long after the blockade of Southern ports cut the total poundage of imported cotton by 27% in 1861, and then by almost 98% in 1862.¹³ The town of Stalybridge, a region of Lancashire which boasted a thriving cotton-spinning industry before the Cotton Famine, became so full of “indigence and pauperism” that residents assembled by the hundreds at a Town Hall meeting in late 1862 to petition the Queen to recognize the Confederacy as a means of ending the war and putting them back to work.¹⁴ With nearly three-fourths of the residents of Stalybridge out of work by 1863, and more than a thousand people gone due to emigration, it is a small wonder that it was the site of the greatest civil unrest of the Cotton Famine. A detachment of soldiers from Manchester was called to the town in March 1863 to quell a riot that began among the poor over food and coal tickets.¹⁵

Had the English people been confined to the boundaries of their own island, this period may well have been the undoing of the British government, or it may have resulted in the salvation of the

¹³ Mary Ellison, *Support For Secession: Lancashire and the American Civil War* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), 224.

¹⁴ Philip S. Foner, *British Labor and the American Civil War* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1981), 39.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 40

Confederacy. However, by 1861, it was the good fortune of the British textile industry that the British flag waved over nearly ten million square miles of earth, much of which was hospitable to the cultivation of cotton. While Egypt would not formally become a part of the British Empire for another two decades, European influence in the region combined with a climate that was especially good for growing Sea Island cotton and other long-fiber varieties would provide an alternate source of raw material for the hungry mill workers in the cotton districts of England. Some historians have even gone so far as to say that the revolution in cotton production in Egypt at this time played an important role in the British occupation of that country in the 1880s.

Of course, this new burst of cotton production did not occur in a vacuum. Egypt had been home to native strains of cotton since the days of the Pharaohs, as had India. European speculators had attempted to grow Sea Island cotton in Egypt since the late eighteenth century, around the same time that it was first introduced to Georgia and the Carolinas from the Bahamas. After many years of false starts, bad harvests and political upheaval, the cotton industry in Egypt was off on a good foot by 1861, but still stood no contest to the gargantuan American market. Between the years of 1843 and 1857, the amount of cotton exported from Egypt to Britain leapt by 140%, an impressive trend, but one which still accounted for but five percent of the cotton imported by Britain in 1861.¹⁶ However, most, if not all, of this cotton was of the long-staple variety, which boded well for Egyptians seeking to stake a larger share of the cotton market during the war years.

¹⁶ Adams, *Slavery, Secession, & Civil War: Views from the United Kingdom and Europe, 1856-1865*, 247.

Interest in Egypt's blossoming cotton industry in the 1860s was strong enough that talk of State support of turning Egypt into a major player in the cotton market was so strong, in fact, that many of the agricultural resources, which had been used in previous years to produce Egypt's cereal crops, were turned toward cultivating cotton. This left many people in the interior of Egypt in danger of starvation during the winter of 1862 and created a market for British foodstuffs.¹⁷

The fact that Egypt's supply of cotton did not decrease to its prewar levels after the demise of the Confederacy and the reopening of southern ports acknowledges the fact that nothing short of an agricultural revolution occurred in Egypt during the years of the American Civil War. It was a politically significant event because Egypt became a place of interest to Britain during the years of the Cotton Famine. Although Egypt lacked the acreage and the soil quality necessary to break the American monopoly on British cotton imports, it proved that an alternate source of the precious crop was available and vindicated the aristocratic attitude that Britain could *create* new markets when old ones became unavailable. Beginning at the time of the American Civil War, the British held a vested interest in ensuring that law and order were maintained in Egypt. This policy of indirect imperialism built a framework that helped to formally usher Egypt into the Empire when the region lost political stability in the 1880s.

Similarly, the Indian cotton market experienced an unprecedented boom during the American Civil War. However, where Egypt experienced difficulties producing a great quantity of cotton, India produced great numbers of very poor-quality cotton. Like Egypt,

¹⁷ Earle, "Egyptian Cotton and the American Civil War," 531.

India had experienced a promising bump in cotton production before the first shots were fired at Fort Sumter. Between 1843 and 1857, India's cotton output exploded by 288%.¹⁸ During the Cotton Famine, India supplied British mills with the largest share of cotton imports. Rising to the occasion, Indian cotton production increased by 81% from 1860 to 1861, and went from comprising 15% of Britain's cotton import in 1860 to 30% in 1861, and then to a staggering 75% in 1862. Even in 1867, two years after the war, India maintained a 38% share of the British cotton import, compared with the 42% of the market controlled by the United States.¹⁹

	United States	India
1860	80%	15%
1861	65%	30%
1862	3%	75%
1863	4%	70%
1864	4%	67%
1865	18%	50%
1866	38%	45%
1867	42%	38%

Fig. 1.1
 Percentage (by weight) of British cotton imports from U.S. and India during the 1860s. (Data from Ellison, p. 224. Percentages tallied by myself.)

¹⁸ Adams, *Slavery, Secession, & Civil War: Views from the United Kingdom and Europe, 1856-1865*, 247.

¹⁹ Mary Ellison, *Support For Secession: Lancashire and the American Civil War*, 224.

These numbers indicate that, as in Egypt, a cotton-centered agricultural revolution occurred in British-controlled India. However, unlike Egyptian markets, Indian cotton experienced success only in the quantity of cotton exported. After travelling to India and examining the methods used in the production of the Indian cotton crop, the president of the Manchester-based Cotton Supply Association said in a public speech in 1862 that the trip had resulted in the association becoming well-versed in how to grow the “worst cotton on the face of the earth.”²⁰

The Surat cotton imported from India in large numbers during the Cotton Famine was generally looked down upon by mill workers and mill owners alike. However undesirable compared to long-staple American fibers, Surat filled a need that helped the British textile industry stay afloat during a precarious time. In addition to this, the exportation of Surat and other local varieties of cotton transitioned the Indian cotton trade from a local affair to an international one. During the Civil War years, Indian landowners were—for the first time—in command of a lucrative commodity desperately needed in foreign markets. India’s role in wartime cotton production not only caused Britain to make further use of its empire, it brought the empire to India’s doorstep.

The American Civil War was a conflict unlike any the United States has ever known. When the smoke cleared in 1865, a new nation emerged from the ashes of the old, and a generation of Southern men had all but vanished from the earth. In addition to the psychological trauma and practical concerns raised by this loss of manpower, the

²⁰ “The Supply of Cotton,” *The Times (London)*, August 14, 1862. <http://archive.timesonline.co.uk/>. Accessed 29 June 2011.

transatlantic cotton trade between the American South and Great Britain was mangled almost beyond recognition. Due in part to the loss of men, in part to the dissolution of the institution of slavery, and in part to the physical damage done to the earth by four years of constant combat and overgrown fields, it would be many years before the South could match the success of its antebellum cotton exports. But when the Southern cotton economy finally did recover, it found itself contending with several new players, players which had come to economic maturity by taking advantage of the expansive geography and economic needs of an empire.

The Battle of Shiloh: Triumph, Tragedy, and the High Cost of War

Kayla Scott

The Battle of Shiloh, also known as the Battle of Pittsburg Landing, was one of the bloodiest battles in terms of deaths and casualties during the Civil War.¹ Unlike the preconceived notions that the Union and Confederacy had held, the Battle of Shiloh was evidence that the war would be a long, bloody fight filled with errors. The two-day battle was fought on Sunday, April 6 and Monday, April 7, 1862.²

Union General Ulysses S. Grant joined the Army of the Tennessee after they had moved to Savannah, Tennessee.³ The location of the camp at Pittsburg Landing was due to General William Tecumseh Sherman's recommendation of the area. In a letter dated March 18, Sherman referred to the area of Pittsburg Landing as being a

¹ David Goldfield, *America Aflame: How the Civil War Created a Nation*, (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2011), 224.

² G.T. Beauregard, "The Campaign of Shiloh," in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*. Vol. 1. eds. Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel. (Edison, New Jersey: Castle, n.d.), 583-593.

³ *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant, Selected Letters 1839-1865*, eds. Mary D. McFeely and William S. McFeely (New York: The Library of America, 1990), 219-224.

“magnificent plain for camping and drilling, and a military point of great strength.”⁴

After his arrival, Grant ordered his military engineer to “lay out a line to entrench.”⁵ According to Grant, it was found that fortification of the area was not feasible. In addition, Grant regarded the construction of fortifications as time-consuming and demoralizing. In his memoirs, Grant justified his failure to attempt the construction of fortifications by saying, “The fact is, I regarded the campaign we were engaged in as an offensive one and had no idea that the enemy would leave strong entrenchments to take the initiative when he knew he would be attacked where he was if he remained.” This statement shows that Grant was unprepared for a battle at Pittsburg Landing, despite his many protestations to the contrary. Confederate General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard later wrote that “the absence of all those ordinary precautions that habitually shield an army in the field must forbid the historian from regarding it as other than one of the most surprising surprises ever achieved.”⁶

In the days preceding the battle, Grant had his headquarters in Savannah. Grant would usually spend the day at Pittsburg Landing and return to Savannah in the evening. His excuse for this practice was that he was waiting on General Don Carlos Buell to arrive, and that Buell would approach from Savannah. “I remained at this point, therefore, a few days longer than I otherwise should have done, in order to meet him on his arrival.”⁷ Grant planned to attack Corinth, Mississippi, as

⁴ *Memoirs of W. T. Sherman*, ed. Charles Royster (New York: Library of America, 1990), 252.

⁵ *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*, 223-224.

⁶ Beauregard, “The Campaign of Shiloh,” 586.

⁷ *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*, 223-224.

soon as Buell joined him. It is interesting to note that Grant was staying at an opulent estate named Cherry Mansion during his time in Savannah.⁸ Had he been on the field with his men, the accommodations would have been miserable in comparison.

Union General William T. Sherman's hyperactive manner led one general to remark that he was "a splendid piece of machinery with all the screws a little loose."⁹ In 1861, Sherman had suffered a nervous breakdown, going so far as to think about taking his own life. Sherman was removed from command in December 1861 after his "insanity" had been publicized in several newspapers. After a rest period, he was reinstated to a command position under Grant toward the end of February 1862.

On April 4, 1862, Captain Mason of the 77th Ohio learned that a large group of Confederate troops were camped a fourth of a mile from his position.¹⁰ Mason sent a sergeant to inform Colonel Hildebrand, and eventually word reached General Sherman. Without investigating the matter, Sherman commanded that the sergeant be arrested for making a fictitious report. Mason persuaded Hildebrand to come out to the field and see for himself that the report was true. After witnessing the group of rebels, Captain Hildebrand went to Sherman and verified the presence of the Confederate troops. Sherman dismissed the group as being nothing more than a scouting party.

⁸ Larry J. Daniel, *Shiloh: The Battle That Changed the Civil War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), 104.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 133-138.

The next day on April 5, members of the 53rd Ohio spotted Confederate cavalrymen toward the far edge of Rea Field, south of their position.¹¹ Colonel Jesse J. Appler sent troops to investigate. Shots were exchanged and a message was sent to Sherman to inform him of the situation. Sherman sent back a reply, telling the Colonel to return with his regiment to Ohio, "There is no enemy closer than Corinth."¹² In his memoirs, Sherman mentioned that on the day before he made this statement, a Union "advance picket" had left their assigned point and had become engaged with a small Confederate force.¹³ As the result of this skirmish, eleven Union soldiers were captured and eight were wounded. Ten members of the Confederate Alabama Cavalry were also captured. Beauregard mentioned this in his report as well, and noted that this incident "ought to have given the Federal general full notice that an offensive army was close behind it, and led to immediate preparation for our onset, including entrenchments."¹⁴ However, it is clear that Sherman continued to ignore the size and scope of the enemy that was camped on his doorstep.

In the days leading up to the battle, Confederate forces under the leadership of General Albert Sidney Johnston were preparing for battle. Johnston was commander-in-chief of the Confederate army at this point.¹⁵ Johnston's scouts had notified him of the Union troops' location beside the Tennessee River at Pittsburg Landing.¹⁶ Johnston felt that the Union's choice of a camping spot held several

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ *Memoirs of W. T. Sherman*, 254-255.

¹⁴ Beauregard, "The Campaign of Shiloh," 582-583.

¹⁵ Frank and Reaves, "*Seeing the Elephant*," 12.

¹⁶ Foote, *The Civil War A Narrative*, 324-325.

disadvantages, and all of them were in favor of his attack plans. Johnston knew that the Union army was camped facing away from the Tennessee River and that they were without fortifications. Not only were they practically against the river, but the camps were strewn about in a highly disorganized manner. On the night of April 2, 1862, Johnston's second-in-command, General P.G.T. Beauregard received a telegram stating that Union General Lew Wallace was heading in the direction of Pittsburg Landing. Beauregard sent Johnston a copy of the message with a note added at the end: "Now is the moment to advance, and strike the enemy at Pittsburg Landing."¹⁷ Johnston wanted to wait for General Earl Van Dorn to arrive. However, General Braxton Bragg, who had recently been made chief of staff, agreed with Beauregard that the time to act was at hand. On April 3, 1862, General Albert Sidney Johnston sent a battle order to the Army of the Mississippi in Corinth.¹⁸ The battle order began with the words, "I have put you in motion to offer battle to the invaders of your country."¹⁹ He went on to remind the troops to, "Remember the dependence of your mothers, your wives, your sisters, and your children on the result." Johnston also noted that "The eyes and hopes of 8,000,000 of people rest upon you."²⁰ On the morning of April 3, Beauregard's chief of staff began writing the marching orders using notes from General Beauregard and a copy of Napoleon's Waterloo order for a model. It is remarkable that a copy of the Waterloo order was used when that particular battle had met with such disastrous results.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Bromfield L. Ridley, *Battles and Sketches of the Army of Tennessee* (Dayton, Ohio: Press of Morningside Bookshop, 1978), 82.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ridley, *Battles and Sketches of the Army of Tennessee*, 82.

The Battle of Shiloh was originally planned to begin on the morning of Friday, April 4.²¹ The planning meeting lasted until 10 a.m. on April 3, four hours after the twenty-mile march was supposed to begin. When at last the army began to leave Corinth, a ‘traffic jam’ ensued. In no time, the roads of Corinth were blocked by a tangled mass of men, wagons, artillery, and horses. General Polk was the first to break free of the madness. He might have made some headway, except General William J. Hardee had to leave first for the proper order to be observed. When General Leonidas Polk was finally able to leave, it was past sunset. He and his men managed to travel only nine miles before calling it a night. General Bragg, in the meantime, had met with about equal success. In light of these events, the schedule for battle was moved up an entire day, and planned for the date of Saturday, April 5.

As the march progressed on April 5, so did the rain. After a short time, the mud became “shin deep.”²² Traveling was sporadic at best, with countless setbacks and interruptions. At this point, Bragg was still in trouble. He was late reaching his position at Monterey by about a half a day. Even now, he was missing an entire division that had somehow been left behind. Bragg’s tardiness forced General Polk to call a halt in order for Bragg to catch up. Matters were not helped in the least when things became tangled again on the roads to and from an area called Mickey’s.

General Albert Sidney Johnston arrived on the scene early the next morning expecting to see everything in order and the troops ready

²¹ Foote, *The Civil War A Narrative*, 326.

²² *Ibid.*, 327-328.

for battle.²³ The scene he witnessed held no order, and the only division that was located even remotely close to where it was supposed to be was led by General Hardee. Bragg and his men finally came straggling in, minus the still-missing division. As everyone was getting into position, some of the soldiers became concerned that the powder in their guns might have been affected by the previous night's rain. Several men decided to test their guns, and the shots were close enough to the Union camp to be heard. Add a few "rebel yells" and the fact that ten Confederates had been caught by the Union during the previous night, and the entire element of surprise should have been lost. At 12:30 p.m., Bragg's lost division had yet to be found. Johnston finally located the division behind Polk's men. It was 2 p.m. by the time all of Bragg's troops were in place. By 4 p.m. Polk's men were lined up, but Breckinridge was not yet in position.

There had been so many setbacks and so much trouble, that the question of scrapping the whole mission was raised.²⁴ After finding Generals Beauregard, Bragg, and Polk having a discussion about abandoning the plan to attack, General Johnston held an impromptu council of war. Beauregard was adamantly in favor of abandoning the idea of battle because the element of surprise had been lost. Beauregard later wrote that he felt his recommendation to abandon the plan to attack was "based on sound military principles."²⁵ Breckinridge arrived during the discussion, adding his vote to carry out the plan to attack with those of Bragg and Polk. The battle would take place beginning at daybreak the following day. Orders were given to

²³ Foote, *The Civil War A Narrative*, 328-329.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 329.

²⁵ Beauregard, "The Campaign of Shiloh," 569-593.

finish forming the lines of battle, and to camp in that position for the night.²⁶

Confederate and Union forces held severely exaggerated estimates of the number of troops the other side had. Correspondences and journal records from March 21 through March 29 highlight just how over-inflated the numbers were.²⁷ Confederates estimated that Grant had 100,000 soldiers posted at Pittsburg Landing. Buell was supposed to have 50,000 en route to join Grant. In reality, the troops under Grant numbered 42,682, not 100,000.²⁸ Buell's command was 30,000 strong instead of 50,000. In turn, Union forces also imagined a much larger army than the one that existed. Somewhere between 70,000 and 125,000 Confederate troops were thought to be organizing in Corinth during late March.²⁹ In reality, Johnston had seventy-one regiments and sixteen brigades at his disposal, totaling 40,335 men.³⁰ Without Buell's army, Union and Confederate forces were almost evenly matched in numbers, but neither side knew this.

Before sunrise on the morning of April 6, Colonel Everett Peabody of Brigadier General Prentiss' command sent a group of soldiers out to patrol the area.³¹ As the first rays of sun lit the day, the Union patrol spotted a lone figure on horseback some distance away in Fraley's field. Shortly thereafter, Confederates opened fire on the Union patrol from their position in the woods across this field. The Union patrol returned fire, quickly realized that they were heavily

²⁶ Foote, *The Civil War A Narrative*, 329.

²⁷ Frank and Reaves, "*Seeing the Elephant*," 77.

²⁸ Foote, *The Civil War A Narrative*, 324.

²⁹ Frank and Reaves, "*Seeing the Elephant*," 77.

³⁰ Foote, *The Civil War A Narrative*, 324.

³¹ Frank and Reaves, "*Seeing the Elephant*," 12.

outnumbered, and hastily returned to camp. The element of surprise for a Confederate attack was now completely lost.

General Prentiss arrived in Colonel Peabody's camp in time to see the Colonel readying the regiments of the 25th Missouri and 12th Michigan for battle with the nearby Confederate forces.³² Instead of expressing his horror at Peabody's plight, Prentiss asked Peabody if he had "provoked" an engagement by ordering an unauthorized patrol. Peabody explained that he had tried to contact Prentiss before sending out the patrol. Prentiss replied, "Colonel Peabody, I will hold you personally responsible for bringing on this engagement."³³ This was an incredibly absurd statement. Prentiss should have been thanking Peabody for alerting the Union army to the attack that was going to happen with or without provocation that day. Later that morning Colonel Everett Peabody suffered his fifth wound, resulting in his instant death.³⁴ Peabody's officers found his body on April 7 and buried him. They left a wooden marker at his grave inscribed with the words, "A braver man ne'er died upon the field."³⁵ Peabody had been responsible for alerting Union forces that an enemy attack was coming, stealing the last vestiges of surprise from the Confederate forces. He died without getting the credit he deserved.

Early on the morning of the April 6, Grant heard the sounds of battle as he was eating breakfast.³⁶ He made the trip to Pittsburg Landing, which was nine miles down the Tennessee River from his

³² Wiley Sword, *Shiloh: Bloody April* (Dayton, Ohio: Press of Morningside Bookshop, 1974), 151.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 163.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 421.

³⁶ *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*, 225-226.

location in Savannah.³⁷ Grant stopped en route at Crump's Landing to alert General Lew Wallace and his division to be ready to receive orders. He arrived at the landing around 8:00 a.m., approximately three hours after the battle had begun. When Grant witnessed the conflict taking place, he sent an order to Wallace, telling him to come to Pittsburg Landing immediately.³⁸ It is not clear whether the order became confused or was disobeyed. At any rate, Lew Wallace's division didn't see any action during the first day of battle. He and his 5,000 men appeared in the area of Pittsburg Landing after the fighting had ended for the day.

Meanwhile, Sherman, who was present at Pittsburg Landing the entire time, had been in denial. Sherman was aware that fighting was taking place in the area early on the morning of April 6, but it was quite some time before he acknowledged the truth of the situation.³⁹ In Sherman's report of the day's battle, he states that, "About 8 A.M. I saw the glistening bayonets of heavy masses of infantry to our left front in the woods...and became satisfied for the first time that the enemy designed a determined attack on our whole camp." This moment of enlightenment on Sherman's part came after the fighting had been going on for approximately three hours.⁴⁰

Shiloh Church was located around two or three miles away from Pittsburg Landing. This little log meeting house is where one of the battle's names came from. Ironically, the name Shiloh comes from

³⁷ Frank and Reaves, *"Seeing the Elephant,"* 13-14.

³⁸ *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*, 226-233.

³⁹ *Memoirs of W. T. Sherman*, 255-256.

⁴⁰ Ridley, *Battles and Sketches of the Army of Tennessee*, 88-89.

the Bible and means “tranquil” or “place of peace.”⁴¹ As the battle began on the morning of April 6, General Sherman held what Grant referred to as the “key” point with his position near the church.⁴² General John McClernand held a position to the left of Sherman. Located to the left of McClernand was General Benjamin Prentiss with his division. On Prentiss’s left was a single brigade of Sherman’s division led by Stuart. General Stephen A. Hurlbut was positioned behind Prentiss as a reserve force. General C. F. Smith’s division, under the leadership of Brigadier General W. H. L. Wallace, was stationed to Hurlbut’s right. The majority of these divisions were made up of raw troops, men who had never experienced battle.

The area of battle around the Union encampment at Pittsburg Landing was approximately three miles long and three miles wide, with ravines along the edges that limited maneuverability.⁴³ Due to the position of the Union army in relation to the Snake, Lick, and Owl Creeks, Confederate forces launched a frontal attack.⁴⁴ Confederate General P.G.T Beauregard described the entire battlefield as being interwoven with ravines and covered with trees and underbrush, “except for a few scattered farm fields of from fifty to seventy-five acres.”⁴⁵ Beauregard wrote that the “recent rains had made all these depressions boggy and difficult for the movement of artillery across them.”⁴⁶

⁴¹ Goldfield, *America Aflame*, 228.

⁴² *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*, 226-227.

⁴³ Frank and Reaves, “*Seeing the Elephant*,” 88.

⁴⁴ *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*, 227.

⁴⁵ Beauregard, “The Campaign of Shiloh,” 585.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

Sometime after 10:00 a.m., Grant came across Prentiss at what later was called the Sunken Road. Prentiss had been pushed back from his original position, but had managed to get a foothold at this worn road that was bordered by dense trees. Grant gave General Prentiss the order to “maintain that position at all hazards.”⁴⁷ As the battle increased in ferocity, the area of the Sunken Road earned a second name: The Hornet’s Nest.

By 12:00 p.m., the soldiers on the field were mixed together to the point that many had lost their commanders and even their regiments.⁴⁸ As the battle raged, all Union positions were being forced back toward Pittsburg Landing. The original plan had been to drive the Union forces up against Snake Creek, but this proved unattainable.

To the extreme edge of the Hornet’s Nest was the peach orchard where Union General Hurlbut and his division were fighting that afternoon.⁴⁹ Breckinridge had just attempted a charge against Hurlbut, without success, when General Albert Sidney Johnston came along. Rallying the men, he led a second charge on Hurlbut’s position that proved successful. The peach orchard, along with the guns in it, was now in the hands of the Confederates.

Isham G. Harris, who was the governor of Tennessee when the war broke out, served with Albert Sidney Johnston at Shiloh.⁵⁰ Upon returning from delivering orders from Johnston to Colonel Winfield Statham, Harris found General Johnston swaying in the saddle of his

⁴⁷ Foote, *The Civil War A Narrative*, 336-339.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Foote, *The Civil War A Narrative*, 336-339.

⁵⁰ Ridley, *Battles and Sketches of the Army of Tennessee*, 92.

horse.⁵¹ When Harris asked if he was wounded, General Johnston answered, “Yes, and I fear seriously.” Johnston had been wounded after approximately ten hours of battle.⁵² Aided by Captain W. L. Wickham, Isham Harris moved Johnston to a nearby ravine in an effort to shield them from gunfire.⁵³ General Albert Sidney Johnston died at 2:30 p.m. on April 6.⁵⁴ A Miniè ball had penetrated his right leg at a point slightly below his knee, damaging the popliteal artery.⁵⁵ Johnston might have been saved if his wound had received proper attention. Confederate private Sam Watkins and his 1st Tennessee regiment passed through the area during the time of Johnston’s death. In his memoirs, Watkins recalled seeing Johnston encircled by his staff. “We saw some little commotion among those who surrounded him, but we did not know at the time he was dead.” According to Watkins, “The fact was kept from the troops.”⁵⁶ Lieutenant George W. Baylor was a part of the group that surrounded Johnston.⁵⁷ “General Johnston was such a lovable man that his staff as well as his soldiers worshipped him; and his staff seemed stupefied with grief at the great calamity,” wrote Baylor. If Johnston had not ordered his staff surgeon, Dr. Yandall, to attend to Union prisoners, the general would have had a doctor with him during the fatal incident. Johnston’s body, covered by a blanket, was carried to Shiloh Church.⁵⁸ Those who asked were told

⁵¹ Charles Pierce Roland, *Albert Sidney Johnston: Soldier of Three Republics* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), 336-338.

⁵² Ridley, *Battles and Sketches of the Army of Tennessee*, 85.

⁵³ Roland, *Albert Sidney Johnston*, 336.

⁵⁴ Ridley, *Battles and Sketches of the Army of Tennessee*, 88.

⁵⁵ Roland, *Albert Sidney Johnston*, 336.

⁵⁶ Sam R. Watkins, *Co. Aytch: A Confederate Memoir of the Civil War* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1997), 42.

⁵⁷ Time-Life Books, ed. *Voices of the Civil War: Shiloh*. (Richmond: Time Life, Inc., 1996), 123.

⁵⁸ Roland, *Albert Sidney Johnston*, 336-338.

that the covered body was Colonel Jackson from Texas. Union General William T. Sherman noted in his memoirs that there was “a perceptible lull for a couple of hours” around the time of Johnston’s death.⁵⁹ General P. G. T. Beauregard first heard of General Johnston’s death a short time past 3:00 p.m.⁶⁰ As soon as he learned of the tragic news, Beauregard took command of the Confederate forces.⁶¹

After twelve attempts had been made by the Confederates to overrun the Hornet’s Nest, Beauregard sent in General Daniel Ruggles.⁶² Ruggles posted a battery of sixty-two cannon on the Sunken Road, forcing Union soldiers to retreat toward Pittsburg Landing.⁶³ W. H. L. Wallace received a fatal wound while trying to rally his troops in the area of the Hornet’s Nest.⁶⁴ With the loss of their leader, his command broke and retreated along with Hurlbut’s men. Prentiss held on, even when it would have been advisable to retreat, and was captured at approximately 5:00 p.m. on April 6.⁶⁵ He and his 2,200 men were forced to surrender. Prentiss was a prisoner of war until October 1862.⁶⁶ He resigned in 1863 after holding some rather insignificant command positions.

Many soldiers were saved by the bullet striking some object they were carrying. One soldier told of a bullet striking his gun and penetrating his rifle, only to end up buried in the small Bible that he

⁵⁹ *Memoirs of W. T. Sherman*, 268.

⁶⁰ Beauregard, "The Campaign of Shiloh," 590.

⁶¹ Ridley, *Battles and Sketches of the Army of Tennessee*, 85.

⁶² Foote, *The Civil War A Narrative*, 336-339.

⁶³ Roland, *Albert Sidney Johnston*, 339.

⁶⁴ Foote, *The Civil War A Narrative*, 336-339.

⁶⁵ Roland, *Albert Sidney Johnston*, 339.

⁶⁶ David G. Martin, *The Shiloh Campaign: March-April 1862 Revised Edition* (Pennsylvania: Combined Books, 1996), 93.

had in the pocket of his coat. James Griffin of the 5th Washington Artillery later wrote that he would have been killed, “had it not been for the very large knife I carried in my breast pocket.”⁶⁷ Another soldier was saved by his belt buckle when a musket ball struck it instead of him. When struck by a spent ball, a soldier named Warren Olney thought himself “mortally wounded” and literally began to run for his life. After running for a bit, he “began to suspect a man shot through the body couldn’t make such speed.”⁶⁸ Upon inspection he found the spent ball in the material of his clothes, and realized he suffered from nothing worse than bruised ribs.

The effects of battle were devastating on the nerves of men in the field. Many men, especially the raw troops, ran for cover once the fighting broke out.⁶⁹ After the battle, George McBride of the 15th Michigan recounted his experience of seeing shot from the cannons rolling along the ground. McBride later wrote that the sight “impressed me with a desire to get out of there.”⁷⁰ He went on to say, “The hair now commenced to rise on the back of my head...and I felt sure that a cannon-ball was close behind me, giving me chase as I started for the river. In my mind, it was a race between me and that cannon-ball.” Leander Stillwell summed up the feelings of most of the men engaged at Shiloh with his observations after the battle. “I am not ashamed to say...that I would willingly have given a general quit-claim deed for

⁶⁷ Frank and Reaves, *Seeing the Elephant*, 106-115.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 112-119.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 112-119.

every jot and title of military glory falling to me...if I only could have been miraculously...set down...a thousand miles away.”⁷¹

While most soldiers freely admitted that they experienced fear on the battlefield, they managed to hold their ground without retreating. Some later wrote that they had been energized in the face of battle. Confederate soldier Sam R. Watkins, a private with the 1st Tennessee, felt elated when he was ordered into the battle. “I felt happier than a fellow does when he professes religion at a big Methodist camp-meeting,” wrote Watkins.⁷²

Union forces retreated to the area of Pittsburg Landing after 6:00 p.m.⁷³ According to Beauregard, by the time the battle began to wind down on the first day, Confederate troops were either very low or totally out of ammunition.⁷⁴ Beauregard gave orders for fighting to end for the night at 6:00 p.m. According to him, several regiments had already retreated from the field of battle before they were given the order to cease. He described his commanding officers as being satisfied with the day’s progress. Accounts written by Private Sam Watkins and other soldiers disprove that statement. However, Beauregard claimed that no mention was made about the possibility of accomplishing more if the battle had continued later into the night. The Confederates were victorious at this point. Beauregard sent a message that night to Richmond declaring a “complete victory, driving the

⁷¹ Ibid., 112-119.

⁷² Watkins, *Co. Aytch*, 42.

⁷³ Ibid., 89.

⁷⁴ Beauregard, "The Campaign of Shiloh," 591.

enemy from every position.”⁷⁵ He spent the night in Sherman’s abandoned tent.⁷⁶

During the evening of April 6, Beauregard received word that Union reinforcements under General Buell had been delayed and would not arrive in time to help General Grant.⁷⁷ As the evening wore on, a torrential downpour soaked the men and the area, paving the way for a muddy and uncomfortable night. Conditions for battle the next day were significantly exacerbated by this storm. The wooden gunboats *Tyler* and *Lexington*, commanded by Lieutenant Gwin and Lieutenant Shirk, continuously fired shells directly onto the area of the field where the Confederates were camped for the night.⁷⁸ At 9:00 a.m. the *Tyler* had begun firing every ten minutes. The *Lexington* took over at 1:00 a.m. and continued to fire every seventeen minutes until 5:30 a.m. There were also the cries of the wounded and dying. “Oh, what a night of horrors that was!! It will haunt me to the grave,” wrote a soldier from the 38th Tennessee.⁷⁹ All these factors added up to a miserable and sleepless night for the Army of the Mississippi.

Colonel Nathan Bedford Forrest was not wasting his time with sleep on the night of April 6. He had sent some of his men dressed as Union soldiers down to Pittsburg Landing for reconnaissance.⁸⁰ When the spies returned, they told Forrest of the large number of fresh Union troops arriving at the landing. Colonel Forrest woke Brigadier General James R. Chalmers, who instructed him to tell someone of higher rank.

⁷⁵ Daniel, *Shiloh: The Battle That Changed the Civil War*, 345.

⁷⁶ Beauregard, "The Campaign of Shiloh," 591.

⁷⁷ Ridley, *Battles and Sketches of the Army of Tennessee*, 89.

⁷⁸ Daniel, *Shiloh: The Battle That Changed the Civil War*, 265.

⁷⁹ Frank and Reaves, "*Seeing the Elephant*," 106.

⁸⁰ Daniel, *Shiloh: The Battle That Changed the Civil War*, 263-264.

Forrest then went to General Hardee, who told him to visit Beauregard. Forrest searched for Beauregard for some time, but was unable to find him. Forrest went back to General Hardee, who simply told him to go back to his regiment and maintain his position. Beauregard never received this important information. A rumor later circulated that Beauregard had hidden in a tent at times during the two days of battle.⁸¹

According to Buell, he himself arrived in Savannah on the evening of April 5.⁸² General Nelson of his command had reached Savannah before him and set up camp. The other divisions were on their way, with General Crittenden being closest. Buell later said that he did not see Grant on the 5th, but that Nelson reported a visit from Grant on that day. In his conversation with Nelson, Grant had expressed complete confidence that a battle would not occur at Pittsburg Landing. Grant notes this meeting with Nelson in his memoirs, saying that he put Nelson in position to move to Pittsburg or Crump's Landing, whichever was necessary when the time came.⁸³ Grant claimed that Buell arrived without informing him of his arrival, a point that Buell disputed. Buell later expressed his disgust over Grant's "boastful" comments concerning Buell's part in the battle.⁸⁴ "Victory was assured when Lew Wallace arrived, even if there had been no other support," wrote Grant. "I was glad, however, to see the reinforcements of Buell and credit them with doing all there was for them to do."⁸⁵

⁸¹ Daniel, *Shiloh: The Battle That Changed the Civil War*, 315.

⁸² Don Carlos Buell, "Shiloh Reviewed." in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*. Vol. 1. eds. Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel. (Edison, New Jersey: Castle, n.d.), 491.

⁸³ *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*, 225.

⁸⁴ Buell, "Shiloh Reviewed," 523.

⁸⁵ *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*, 234.

This statement was completely at odds with a message that Grant had sent addressed to “The Commanding Officer, Advance Forces” during the first day of battle.⁸⁶ In the message, Grant stated, “If you will get upon the field leaving all your baggage on the East bank of the river it will be a move to our advantage and possibly save the day to us.”

Buell met with General Sherman on the evening of April 6 and asked several questions about the conditions at Shiloh. Sherman later wrote, “Buell seemed to mistrust us, and repeatedly said that he did not like the looks of things, especially about the boat-landing.”⁸⁷ Sherman continued, “I really feared he would not cross over his army that night, lest he become involved in our general disaster.” In reply to Sherman’s doubt, Buell noted, “One would suppose that his fears would have been allayed by the fact that, at that very moment, my troops were arriving and covering his front as fast as legs and steamboats could carry them.”⁸⁸

The fighting began at 5:20 a.m. on April 7 when Nelson’s division advanced on the River Road.⁸⁹ Confederate forces struggled to put together a line of attack. There were, at the very most, 20,000 members of the infantry available on the morning of the April 7.⁹⁰ The Confederate army had received no respite the night before while the Union troops were rested. Buell’s army, along with General Lew Wallace’s reinforcements, equaled approximately 33,000 fresh troops

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 999.

⁸⁷ *Memoirs of W. T. Sherman*, 267.

⁸⁸ Buell, “Shiloh Reviewed,” 520.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 525.

⁹⁰ Beauregard, “The Campaign of Shiloh,” 592.

for the Union side.⁹¹ After several hours of fighting, it became evident to Beauregard that the Union was being continuously reinforced with fresh men. "Accordingly at 1 p.m. I determined to withdraw from so unequal a conflict, securing such of the results of the victory of the day before as was then practicable," wrote Beauregard in his report.⁹²

At 2:00 p.m. the advance lines of the Confederate forces withdrew.⁹³ The Union army made no pursuit. Torrential rains occurred once again on the evening of April 7 and persisted the entire night. Sherman later explained that letting the Confederates get away unimpeded was necessary.⁹⁴ The men were so exhausted from two days of heavy fighting that it was impossible to follow the rebels when they retreated. The battle of Shiloh was over, but the aftermath remained to be dealt with.

There were more soldiers killed and wounded at Shiloh than the total number of men lost during the Revolutionary War, the Mexican War, and the War of 1812 combined.⁹⁵ Sherman gave the number of Union men lost as being 1,700 killed, 7,495 wounded, and 3,022 taken prisoner with 12,217 in all.⁹⁶ Of the total, 2,167 were from Buell's army, with the remaining 10,050 coming from Grant's army. Out of Sherman's corps alone, sixteen officers were killed, forty-five were wounded, and six were missing. From the ranks of the soldiers, 302 were killed, 1,230 were wounded, and 435 were missing. In all,

⁹¹ Ridley, *Battles and Sketches of the Army of Tennessee*, 89-94.

⁹² Beauregard, "The Campaign of Shiloh," 592.

⁹³ Ridley, *Battles and Sketches of the Army of Tennessee*, 90.

⁹⁴ *Memoirs of W. T. Sherman*, 263.

⁹⁵ Frank and Reaves, "*Seeing the Elephant*," 87.

⁹⁶ *Memoirs of W. T. Sherman*, 262-268.

Sherman lost the service of 2,034 men. Beauregard counted the loss from the Army of the Mississippi as being 10,699.⁹⁷

Grant was condemned for being away from Pittsburg Landing and his men when the battle began.⁹⁸ Rumors flew concerning Grant's conduct at Shiloh. Grant was accused of being caught off guard, which was true, whether he ever admitted it or not. Grant was also accused of being drunk before and during the battle, but there was no proof that he was ever inebriated while in the Savannah area. Some thought Grant should hang for his negligence. The general public opinion was that Grant needed to be replaced. President Lincoln refused to remove Grant from the Union army, saying, "I can't spare this man; he fights."⁹⁹ Grant was promoted to second-in-command, a post that one author calls "meaningless." Grant noted himself that the post made him, "little more than an observer." He was eventually given a true leadership position commanding the District of West Tennessee.

After Shiloh, Buell's allegiance was called into question and his actions strongly criticized.¹⁰⁰ Buell's tardiness to Shiloh was a point of severe contention. He had taken twenty-three days to get his army 123 miles from Nashville to Savannah.¹⁰¹ Recent rains had forced Buell to ford two rivers, with one of these, the Duck River, causing a twelve day halt. This information, however, did not seem to be enough to satisfy the Federal government. Buell was removed from

⁹⁷ Beauregard, "The Campaign of Shiloh," 593.

⁹⁸ Daniel, *Shiloh: The Battle That Changed the Civil War*, 304-310.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*, 240.

¹⁰¹ Martin, *The Shiloh Campaign*, 93.

commanding the Army of the Ohio on October 24, 1862.¹⁰² Buell was later offered a lesser command, but refused to serve under anyone he had ever outranked in authority.¹⁰³ He handed in his resignation on June 1, 1864.¹⁰⁴

As for the soldiers that had been on the battlefield at Shiloh, those who had survived would always remember the experience. When writing about Shiloh, Sam Watkins stated, "I never realized the "pomp and circumstance" of the thing called glorious war until I saw this."¹⁰⁵ One officer of the 16th Wisconsin wrote after Shiloh, "I had no conception of [war]...no pen can describe, nor imagination conceive, the intensity of horror that has been presented us."¹⁰⁶

The Union soldiers were left the task of burying the Confederate dead. Many of the fallen soldiers were placed in mass trenches. These trenches "were dug about six feet wide and three to four feet deep. Old blankets were thrown over the pile of bodies and the earth thrown on top."¹⁰⁷ Others were dumped into ravines and gullies with, "merely a few shovels of loose dirt upon them." The dead were still being buried a week after the battle.

There were many soldiers who continued to believe that the war would be over soon after the Battle of Shiloh. There were others who believed that Shiloh would not be the last major battle of the war, by far. John V. Mosley of the 16th Wisconsin wrote, "Some of the men

¹⁰² *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*, 1180.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 472-473.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 1180.

¹⁰⁵ Watkins, *Co. Aytch*, 40-45.

¹⁰⁶ Frank and Reaves, "*Seeing the Elephant*," 115-120.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 122-123.

think that we will be home by the first of July. I hope so but I think differently. This rebellion is too deeply seated to be soon eradicated.”¹⁰⁸ Confederate surgeon Dr. L. Yandell wrote, “Those persons who reason themselves into the belief that peace will soon come or at least that the war will soon cease, are blinded and misled by their wishes.” Those who believed that the war was far from over were correct. It would be the middle of 1865 before the last battle was fought.¹⁰⁹

The Battle of Shiloh was the bloodiest battle that had ever happened on American soil, and continues to be known as one of the worst battles of the Civil War.¹¹⁰ Many mistakes and errors of judgment were made at Shiloh, and they were not the last to occur during the war. The Union had thought that they could easily put down the Southern rebellion, but Shiloh showed that the South would not be easily taken. In turn, the Confederacy was shown that the cost of freedom from the Union was going to be high. The Battle of Shiloh proved that neither side would be giving up without a fight.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 173.

¹⁰⁹ Watkins, *Co. Aytch*, 40-45.

¹¹⁰ Goldfield, *America Aflame*, 224.

The War the South Won: Northwest Tennessee and the Birth of Jim Crow

Stephanie Sellers

When the Civil War came to Northwest Tennessee in 1861, it found an interesting political and social environment. Slavery had taken hold in the area and had been present since the opening of West Tennessee to settlement in 1818. There was a large Union following in this area, but the vast majority of Unionists did not support Emancipation.¹ After the war, Tennessee was “redeemed” by terror, violence, and Lost Cause ideology, leaving the local black population paralyzed socially and economically. Lynching had long been practiced in Tennessee but after 1865 Northwest Tennessee experienced sporadic explosions of racial violence. These erratic upsurges were not random but stemmed from deep-seated Lost Cause ideology and the culture of the area that allowed it to flourish. Ideas of white supremacy, paternalism, and racial unity permeated the white populations of Weakley, Gibson, Obion, and Dyer Counties. These same notions influenced religion, education, and future generations. The effects are still felt to this day.

¹Joe W. Stout, *The Life and Times of Greenfield, TN Revised* (n.p.: Mercer Press, n.d.), 252; Also see Bobby Lovett, “A Profile of African Americans in Tennessee History,” Introduction-Tennessee State University, <http://ww2.tnstate.edu/library/digital/document.htm>

Slavery, Civil War, and Northwest Tennessee

Slavery had a long history in West Tennessee by the time Civil War erupted. In 1856, there were 13,536 slaveholders in West Tennessee with eighty-five families owning more than 100 slaves.² Counties of Northwest Tennessee were dotted by small farms growing tobacco and cotton. Local families such as the Mosleys, Bowdens, Gardners, Martins, Gleasons, and Bondurants owned thousands of acres of land and upwards of fifty to seventy slaves each.³ However, slave ownership was not confined to these families named above. The area had a strong upper-middle and middle class comprised of doctors, lawyers, business owners, and small-scale farmers. The vast majority owned land, in addition to one to twenty slaves each.⁴ Magistrates and other local officials, whom were responsible for night patrols and locating runaway slaves, often owned slaves as well.⁵

There were no “good” or “benevolent” slave holders, not even in Northwest Tennessee. Masters expected slaves to start their day at 3:30 a.m. in the summer and 4:00 a.m. in the winter, so work could begin at daylight and continue until dark with a two-hour break at noon.⁶ Farm work was just one of the many tasks performed by slaves in this area. Projects, such as Shades Bridge and the Moseley mill canal, were built using slave labor in Weakley County, and many slaves died from overwork, disease, and exposure while building the Moseley

² Caleb Perry Patterson, *The Negro in Tennessee, 1790-1865* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1922), 62.

³ 1850 and 1860 U.S. Census, Dyer, Gibson, Obion, and Weakley County, Tennessee, population schedule, all districts; digital image, *Ancestry.com* (<http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=8054>)

⁴Ibid

⁵ Patterson, *Negro in TN*, 40.

⁶ Ibid., 70.

canal.⁷ Lynching was a popular form of frontier justice in Northwest Tennessee. Before the Civil War, lynch mobs often preyed on horse thieves and other petty criminals. Most often their victims were white men, but plantation owners also handed down justice to rebellious slaves in West Tennessee. In 1855, a slave was lynched for killing an overseer in LaGrange, Tennessee.⁸ Crimes against white citizens at the hands of slaves were dealt with harshly. In September of the same year, a runaway slave was lynched for killing a white woman in Sparta, Tennessee.⁹ Many lynchings went undocumented, so there is no way to know how many slaves died by plantation justice and no record can be found of this happening in Northwest Tennessee. Yet, after the Civil War, these same patterns played out over and over again in rural communities all throughout the South, Northwest Tennessee included.

The Civil War came to Northwest Tennessee in 1861. The vast majority of men joined the Confederate ranks, but a few men remained loyal to the Union. Union Forces occupied much of Tennessee early on, so the state was spared vast physical destruction. In the northwestern portion of the state, the frontier-like environment present before the war remained intact. Lawlessness and violence plagued the area. Nathan Bedford Forrest mounted raids in Gibson, Obion, and Carroll counties and Forrest was accompanied by many local soldiers, most notably Eli

⁷ Stout, *Life and Times*, 250; Also see 1860 U.S. Census, Dyer, Gibson, Obion, and Weakley County, Tennessee, slave schedules, all districts, digital image, *Ancestry.com*, (<http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=7668> : for evidence of sexual exploitation of female slaves. High numbers of mulatto children reported in the area.

⁸ Christopher Waldrep, *Lynching in America: A History in Documents* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 74.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Stone, who later became the mayor of Milan.¹⁰ Ruthless bushwhackers, such as the Claiborne gang, terrorized Weakley County and the Skullbone area of Gibson County.¹¹ The Claibornes, pro-Confederate guerrillas, like so many other “home guard” bandits, prevalent in the area, took advantage of the situation, and preyed on their own communities and fellow citizens.

Redemption, Ku Klux Klan, and the Lost Cause

Emancipation came to the area on February 25, 1865 by popular vote, but in the counties of Hickman, Dyer, Weakley, and Haywood, landowners refused to free their slaves until the end of summer to ensure the harvest of their crops.¹² This disregard of the law would continue into the 20th century. Meanwhile, soldiers returned home and assumed a place of honor in their communities. Many of them attained influential and powerful positions. In 1866, the state of Tennessee moved to rejoin the Union and end Federal military occupation.

A “radical” Republican state legislature adjusted Tennessee’s Black Codes and gave the new Freedmen the right to testify against whites. This was a lukewarm attempt to pacify a Republican U.S. Congress and rid the state of the Freedman’s Bureau.¹³ To secure readmission, the state granted black Tennesseans the right to make

¹⁰“Biographical Appendix,” in *The Goodspeed History of Tennessee: Dyer, Gibson, Lake, Obion, and Weakley Counties* (South Carolina: The Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1978), 900-1073.

¹¹ Mary Carroll, “Bushwackers, Gangs, and Nightrider Stories,” http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~tnweakle/cw_gangs_bushwhacker_s.htm

¹²“Say My Name: An African American Family History,” <http://www.freewebs.com/jencessa/tosecedeornottosecede.htm>

¹³ Joseph H. Cartwright, *The Triumph of Jim Crow: Tennessee Race Relations in the 1880s* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), 8.

contracts, to sue and be sued, to inherit property, to be protected in person and property, and to equal punishments under the law, all of which gained permanence with the ratification of the 14th Amendment. In 1867, the vote was extended to Freedmen, but they remained unable to sit on juries or hold office until these final rights were granted the following year. Through these efforts made by the state government, Tennessee avoided military Reconstruction. Ironically, this allowed for Tennessee to return to conservative rule and pass “Jim Crow” legislation much earlier than any other state in the Confederacy.

When William G. Brownlow was elected governor of Tennessee in 1865, Unionist ranks split into three factions: Radical, Moderate, and Conservative.¹⁴ Northwest Tennessee Unionists tended to be of the Conservative to Moderate nature. Both groups opposed the extension of rights to Freedman and ex-Confederate disenfranchisement, but Conservatives sought to overthrow the Brownlow coalition completely.¹⁵ In 1867, Brownlow pushed successfully for black suffrage to secure his second term as governor. His Unionist opponent was a native son of Weakley County. Emerson Etheridge, a Conservative Unionist from Dresden, and also a former slave holder, strongly objected to emancipation and Brownlow’s power to declare martial law in counties where extreme violence and voter intimidation prevailed. Often in rural areas, such as Northwest Tennessee, some former Confederates won local offices, such as sheriff, city official, judge, and voter registration posts. Yet, the majority of local ex-Confederates remained disenfranchised by the new state government. The state also incurred a huge war debt of \$43

¹⁴ Ibid., 7.

¹⁵ Ibid.

million, so taxes were high for residents.¹⁶ All of these factors and a multitude of others created the perfect environment for racial violence in Northwest Tennessee.

The vast majority of Civil War veterans in Northwest Tennessee were former Confederates. Not only did they find themselves unable to vote, some families lost their modest wealth and a large portion of their labor force. Poor whites lost their “white privilege”. Now poor white ex-Confederates had to compete with freedmen for jobs, as well as social, and political power. The counties of Gibson, Dyer, and Obion had a sizeable number of cavalry veterans who had served under Forrest, the recently anointed Grand Wizard of the newly formed Ku Klux Klan.¹⁷ These three counties also had a higher black population than Weakley County. While Weakley County still suffered from Klan violence and incidents of lynching, it boasted six chapters of the Union League.¹⁸

Klan violence erupted in Northwest Tennessee as early as 1867, when radical Republican State Senator and Obion County native Almon Case was murdered by the Ku Klux Klan near his home in Troy.¹⁹ His son suffered the same fate nine months later. In 1869, Tennessee recorded three incidents of black citizens being lynched; Obion County was home to two of them.²⁰ T.J. Gaskins, a sworn

¹⁶ *Tennessee Blue Book* (Nashville: State of Tennessee, 2008), 418.

¹⁷ “Biographical Appendix,” in *Goodspeed*, 900-1073.

¹⁸ Ben H. Severance, *Tennessee's Radical Army: The State Guard and Its Role in Reconstruction, 1867-1869* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 37, 76.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.

²⁰ Allen R. Coggins, *Tennessee Tragedies: Natural, Technological, and Societal Disasters in the Volunteer State* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2012), 266.

constable of Obion County, testified before the Congress House of Representatives.

“The Ku Klux Klan are going through the country, whipping some, killing others, and taking all the arms of the colored people, and also their certificate to vote...they say they are determined to vote, law or no law.”²¹

Beatings and the disarming of area Republicans were not just confined to men. Women were reportedly taken from the home, stripped of their clothes, and beaten.²² Weakley County nightriders fired into homes of Republican officials, and Gibson County experienced extreme violence.²³ A Brownlow radical home-guard major reported in May 1869 that a freedman in Gibson County had been assaulted seven times in the previous three weeks.²⁴ Aside from such terrorism, Milan, Tennessee’s black population also lost its school to fire at the hands of the Klan.²⁵ That year, violence escalated to the point that Governor Brownlow declared martial law in Gibson County.

At the state level, Radical Reconstruction was about to come to an abrupt end. After declaring martial law in nine counties in 1869, Governor Brownlow became a U.S. State Senator. Brownlow’s ascent cleared the way for Dewitt Senter to become the new governor. Senter disbanded Brownlow’s State Guard and opened the registration books to disenfranchised ex-Confederates in 1869. By 1870, “Redeemers” pushed a complete revision of the state constitution, but before the convention met they began to dismantle Brownlow’s state government.

²¹ *Sheafe vs. Tillman*, 41st Cong., 2d sess., 1870, H. Doc., 293.

²² *Ibid.*, 300.

²³ Severance, *Tennessee’s Radical Army*, 37.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 219.

²⁵ *Sheafe vs. Tillman*, 300.

The Tennessee legislature repealed the state's Ku Klux Klan law (also known as the Act to Preserve Peace in Tennessee), abolished the state schools system, and removed a law that prohibited racial discrimination by railroads, repealed protective legislation, and enacted a crop-lien law.²⁶ Klan violence had succeeded in intimidating black and white Republican voters alike.

Tennessee's people of color formed a minority in a culture that saw them as unequal to any white man. In 1870, Tennessee's black population stood at 25.6%. Even in counties where black people enjoyed a majority, the white vote still dominated.²⁷ The increasing pressure of the Klan, as well as the radical state militia that enforced Brownlow's policies, served as catalysts for white cohesiveness. As radical white Republicans "changed" their minds about their political leanings or tried to hide them to protect themselves and their families, they no longer suffered from violence at the hands of the Klan. Black citizens, on the other hand, did not enjoy such a concession, due to the strong white supremacy sentiment of the area. Even after the state was "redeemed," Northwest Tennessee's black citizens still felt the wrath of Klan Violence.

In 1871, the *Memphis Avalanche* reported the Weakley County lynching of two African American brothers, Bill and Ed Johnson, at the hands of the Klan.²⁸ Bill Johnson worked for an ex-Sheriff of Weakley County by the name of David Shaeffers. He was

²⁶ Cartwright, *The Triumph of Jim Crow*, 14.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

²⁸ "Two Negroes, Charged with Theft and Arson, Hanged by a Mob Near Dresden, Tennessee," *Daily Memphis Avalanche*, April 25, 1871, under "4,"

http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~tnweakle/Ralston_lynching1871.html

reported to have broken into the sheriff's desk, stolen his private papers, which included a list of local area Klansman, and burned the desk while Shaeffers was out of town. Shaeffers, along with the current County sheriff John Vincent, began to search for Johnson, who fled to Kentucky. Bill Johnson was found and detained, the party boarded a train headed for Weakley County. In Ralston, when the train came to stop, about forty disguised men boarded the train and seized the prisoner. The unknown assailants then visited the jail at Dresden and retrieved Ed Johnson. The next morning, both men were found lynched outside Dresden.

Lynching continued in Northwest Tennessee until 1874, when five or more black men were lynched in Gibson County.²⁹ What became known as the Trenton Massacre began with one of the most vital Lost Cause arguments (i.e. freedmen worked with Union forces to suppress and harass whites during Reconstruction), a legitimate fear for rural white southerners, and the threat of an armed black uprising and retaliation against the Klan and “innocent” citizens. On the night of Saturday, August 22, two young white men reported being fired upon by a band of armed black men six miles from Humboldt, Tennessee.³⁰ After questioning a local black man by the name of Ben Ballard, authorities arrested sixteen black men on Monday, August 24th for shooting with intent to kill and inciting a riot. In the early morning

²⁹ Margaret Vandiver, *Lethal Punishment: Lynchings and Legal Executions in the South* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 35.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 35-38; Also see *New York Times*, August 27, 1874, 5; August 30, 1874, 5; September 2, 1874, 2; September 10, 1874, 7; September 12, 1874, 1; September 18, 1874, 1; October 12, 1874, 7. <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.utm.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/93403980/DC73471662A246F5PQ/1?accountid=29025>

hours of Wednesday, more than 100 (some estimates run as high as 400) masked men abducted the prisoners from the Trenton jail. What happened next is still debated, but not all sixteen men taken from the jail that night were lynched.³¹ Five (perhaps six) men died that night, but the rest escaped. The U.S. Justice Department attempted to prosecute as many as fourteen Klansmen, but found survivors unwilling to testify in open court. For black citizens in the area, testifying in open court against a white man became a virtual death sentence. No subsequent charges were filed and the defendants were cleared of any wrong doing.

As Tennessee's General Assembly attempted to restore the old ways of the South, and as the Klan continued to terrorize anyone who posed a threat to that restoration, a larger project got underway. By 1870, all former Confederate states had been restored to the Union and Ulysses S. Grant was serving his first term as President of the United States. Grant's presidency saw the passage of the 15th Amendment (which Tennessee did not ratify till 1997), the Amnesty Act, and the Enforcement Acts, but was also marred by corruption. In Virginia, the South lost another one of its beloved sons. In October of 1870, Robert E. Lee died quietly at his home. Lee's death kicked off a southern redemption campaign on a national scale. Former Confederate General Jubal Early and the Southern Historical Society declared a second war on the Union, only this time the South would write a victory narrative. The Lost Cause narrative became "the replacement of the armed conflict of the Civil War."³² Lost Cause ideology and related writings

³¹ Ibid.

³² Jesse Goldberg, "Burned in Effigy: How the Lost Cause Allowed for Reconciliation through Cultural Performances of Surrogation," *Neoamericanist* 5, no. 2 (Winter, 2011-2012), 8.

proved hard to challenge due to the built-in escape mechanisms and a powerful two-pronged argument: Southerners had fought to protect state's rights and simple virtuous farmers never stood a chance against a corrupt industrial society.³³

Culture, the Birth of Jim Crow, and the Return of Mass Lynching

During the 1870s, Lost Cause ideology found a home in the minds of most white Southerners, along with antebellum ideas of paternalism, white supremacy, masculinity, honor, and racial unity. In Northwest Tennessee, these ideas were evident in daily life. Local whites had long feared racial violence and riots. Race riots occurred in Memphis, Franklin, and Pulaski during the latter 1860s and further solidified the idea that lynching could stamp out race riots. There was also the growth of black patriarchy within black families in Northwest Tennessee. While black men worked as domestic servants and farm laborers, some allowed their wives to stay home. This, coupled with popular Victorian ideals concerning the role of women, exacerbated fears of the masculine black man and sexual violence toward white women.³⁴

The celebration of masculinity became popular among white men as well. Fraternal orders flourished in Northwest Tennessee. Local histories cite fraternal organizations and churches as foundations of area towns, but some did not spring up until the latter 1860s.³⁵ Fraternal orders, such as the Masons, Independent Order of Odd

³³Thomas L. Connelly, *The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 102.

³⁴Waldrep, *Lynching in America*, 21.

³⁵"History of Tennessee: Dyer, Gibson, Lake, Obion, and Weakley Counties" in *Goodspeed*, 797-857.

Fellows, and the Knights of Pythias, were found in every town of Weakley, Obion, Dyer, and Gibson Counties. Lodges became symbols of class identity, with membership being exclusive to the most prominent citizens (often Klansman) and embodied a stick-together ideology.³⁶

Religion played a vital role in local communities and Lost Cause rhetoric. Churches and their ministers often reflected local values. In the Black Patch culture, religion was fused with violence.³⁷ The heart of Southern religion centered on atonement for sin, which often meant death or brutal punishment. This brutality was appropriate for the training of wives and the rearing of children. Local churches staunchly supported temperance movements as a way to control lower-class populations. Strong religious beliefs served as proof, positive to

³⁶ Andrew McCain, "The Parameters of Brotherhood: Gender, Race, and Ethnicity in Fraternal Orders," *The Incorporation of Fraternalism: Fraternal Orders at the End of the Victorian Era*,

<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~MA04/mccain/fraternalorders/page4a.htm>

³⁷ Donald G. Matthews, "The Southern Rite of Sacrifice: Lynching in the American South," *Mississippi Quarterly* (Vol. 62, no. 1: Spring 2009), 27-70; Also see Rick Gregory, *Tennessee Encyclopedia of*

History and Culture (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2009), s.v. "Black Patch War," accessed March 12, 2014,

<http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=95>; "Beliefs of Their Fathers: Violence, Religion, and the Black Patch War 1904-1914,"

Border States: Journal of the Kentucky-Tennessee American Studies Association 9 (1993): 1, 4,

<http://spider.georgetowncollege.edu/htallant/border/bs9/gregory.htm>;

Also see Night Riders Leave Notice, *Grand Forks Herald*, December 17, 1908, accessed March 15, 2014,

http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~tnweakle/Historical_Newspapers_Weakley_Co_TN.html.

Lost Causers, that Southerners were of a higher moral standard than any Yankee, further solidifying white unity and self-segregation.

Some Northwest Tennesseans leaned more on the paternalistic side of Lost Cause ideology. They often evoked romanticized images of the Old South and concepts of Christian duty. Paternalistic whites feared black violence and pushed for segregation as the solution to the race problem. They offered black people progress, but at a pace and direction controlled by whites.³⁸ Black citizens might be given rights, but only if they “deserved” them. This often meant having “manners and personal condition” (modest wealth).³⁹ Yet, no Northwest Tennessee black people produced much, if any, wealth, but they were expected to observe white etiquette and any breach often merited violence.⁴⁰

In 1875, the Enforcement Act (also known as the Civil Rights Act of 1875) was enacted by the U.S. Congress. This bill guaranteed African Americans equal treatment in public spaces, public transportation, and the right to sit on juries. This bill provoked outrage across the South, and Tennessee’s redeemed state government did something about it. Tennessee House Bill 527, or Chapter 130, went into effect less than one month after Congress passed the Civil Right Act of 1875. The bill was proposed by Robert Pollack “R.P.” Cole, the representative of Carroll, Gibson, Henry, and Weakley Counties.⁴¹ Cole, a lawyer from Paris, Tennessee, served as a Confederate captain

³⁸ Cartwright, *The Triumph of Jim Crow*, 162.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 169.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 188.

⁴¹ Kathy Lauder, “Chapter 130 and the Black Vote in Tennessee,” *Middle Tennessee Journal of Genealogy and History* (Vol. 24, No. 2), 1-6.

during the Civil War. The 1870 Census showed he owned property valued at \$3500, and his personal estate was worth \$1200.⁴² The handwritten bill permitted racial discrimination in transportation, lodging, and public places of entertainment. This bill offered a bold testament to the prevailing racial attitudes of Northwest Tennessee and the rest of the South. Now that white supremacy had legal standing, lynching ceased for almost a decade in Northwest Tennessee.⁴³ The years immediately following 1875, saw a dramatic increase in Tennessee's black prison population.⁴⁴ The state also ramped up its convict-leasing program. In 1881, Tennessee state legislators expanded upon Chapter 130, now *requiring* railroad cars to be segregated but equal in accommodations. This law made Tennessee the first state to pass "Jim Crow" legislation.

In 1882, lynching returned to Northwest Tennessee. During the 1880s, thirteen black men and one white man were lynched in Obion and Dyer Counties.⁴⁵ By the 1890s, Weakley and Gibson

⁴² 1870 U.S. Census, Henry County, Tennessee, population schedule, Paris., p. 15 (stamped), line 21, digital image, *Ancestry.com* ([http://interactive.ancestry.com/7163/4276881_00065/4657662?backurl=http%3a%2f%2fsearch.ancestry.com%2fcgi-bin%2fsse.dll%3frank%3d1%26new%3d1%26MSAV%3d0%26msT%3d1%26gss%3dangs-c%26gsfn%3dRobert%2bPollack%2b\(R.P.\)%26gsln%3dCole%26msrpn__ftp%3dHenry%2bCounty%252c%2bTennessee%252c%2bUSA%26msrpn%3d1355%26msrpn_PInfo%3d7-%257c0%257c1652393%257c0%257c2%257c3246%257c45%257c0%257c1355%257c0%257c0%257c%26msydy%3d1870%26uidh%3dzl2%26pcat%3d35%26h%3d4657662%26db%3d1870usfedcen%26indiv%3d1%26ml_rpos%3d3&ssrc=&backlabel=ReturnRecord](http://interactive.ancestry.com/7163/4276881_00065/4657662?backurl=http%3a%2f%2fsearch.ancestry.com%2fcgi-bin%2fsse.dll%3frank%3d1%26new%3d1%26MSAV%3d0%26msT%3d1%26gss%3dangs-c%26gsfn%3dRobert%2bPollack%2b(R.P.)%26gsln%3dCole%26msrpn__ftp%3dHenry%2bCounty%252c%2bTennessee%252c%2bUSA%26msrpn%3d1355%26msrpn_PInfo%3d7-%257c0%257c1652393%257c0%257c2%257c3246%257c45%257c0%257c1355%257c0%257c0%257c%26msydy%3d1870%26uidh%3dzl2%26pcat%3d35%26h%3d4657662%26db%3d1870usfedcen%26indiv%3d1%26ml_rpos%3d3&ssrc=&backlabel=ReturnRecord))

⁴³ Vandiver, *Lethal Punishment*, chart, 35.

⁴⁴ Randall G. Shelden, "Slavery in the Third Millennium Part II," *The Black Commentator* (June 16, 2005) 1.

⁴⁵ Vandiver, *Lethal Punishment*, 196.

Counties rejoined the fray. There are many theories as to why lynching returned during this period. The Federal Government had lost interest in enforcing equality in the Southern half of the United States, and immigration and growing white nationalist movements are noteworthy factors that influenced this lynching boom. Lost Cause writings distributed by the Southern Historical Society also capitalized on the growing nationalist movement. The organization succeeded in making Robert E. Lee a national hero by 1885. Social organizations, such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy, continued to wave the bloody flag of war, by erecting numerous monuments honoring the Confederate past and its ideals. Jim Crow legislation alone could not ensure the subordination of the black population, so white citizens returned to what worked in the past. Minor infractions of the rigid racial caste system, such as entering a white woman's bedroom, were capital offenses in Northwest Tennessee.

Regardless of the reasons why lynching returned, what is evident is that lynching changed after the 1870s. No longer confined to a handful of masked men, lynching became a community event, a spectator sport. Not only did lynching convey the unmistakable message of racial hierarchy to local black communities, but it further cemented and perpetuated the same message to the white populations as well.⁴⁶ Local newspapers provided instrumental support for lynching, in some cases even announcing when and where the lynching was to take place. Northwest Tennessee's scattered farms, sparse population, weak law enforcement, and continued frontier mentality

⁴⁶ Amy Louise Wood, *Lynching and Spectacle: Witnessing Racial Violence in America, 1890-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 2.

made it the ideal place for lynching to become “law.”⁴⁷ White citizens of Northwest Tennessee sought to protect lynching by imposing “boundaries.” In 1896, the *Milan Exchange* wrote, “A vigilant committee is a good thing for a town if they do not become too officious and overstep the bounds of the law.”⁴⁸ Prominent citizens of “good moral fiber” usually carried out “respectable” lynchings, with no “excessive” violence. Mob members were not drunk and derived pleasure from the task at hand.⁴⁹

Northwest Tennesseans also protected the ritual of lynching with the performance of mock trials. In the case of Fred King, who was lynched in 1901 on the courthouse lawn in Dyersburg, local white citizens actually used the courthouse for the trial and called a former sheriff to testify as a witness.⁵⁰ If local law enforcement officers put up a fight or protested, the mob would turn on them, as was the case during the lynching of Mallie Wilson in 1915.⁵¹ Wilson reportedly entered the bedroom of a prominent white woman in Greenfield. When the mob came to abduct Wilson, vigilantes locked Weakley County sheriff Whit LaFon in the cell. Mr. White (husband of the victim) refused to pull the rope and hang Mallie Wilson. The prisoner was returned to the jail, but the mob returned the next day and carried out the lynching. None of the participants ever feared retribution or legal punishment for their actions.

⁴⁷Waldrep, *Lynching in America*, 19.

⁴⁸ Vandiver, *Lethal punishment*, 104.

⁴⁹Susan Jean, “Warranted Lynchings: Narratives of Mob Violence in White Southern Newspapers, 1880-1940,” *American Nineteenth Century History* (Vol. 6, No. 3: September, 2005), 351-72.

⁵⁰Vandiver, *Lethal punishment*, 94.

⁵¹“Orderly Mob Wrecks Vengeance at Greenfield.” *Dresden Enterprise and Sharon Tribune*, 10 September 1915, p. 1.

In 1915, Lost Cause ideology made it to the big screen with D.W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation*. While the movie showed the abduction of "Gus" by the KKK and his lifeless body being left on Silas Lynch's doorstep, it does not show the lynching taking place, therefore, cleansing the act itself.⁵² In actuality, lynchings had taken an increasingly violent turn, predominately in the South. Northwest Tennessee was no exception. In 1917, local white citizens of Dyersburg brutally tortured Lation Scott before his lynching. Scott was stripped of his clothing and skin simultaneously. Red hot pokers were used to put out his eyes, and rammed down his throat as he screamed for mercy.⁵³ The victim was robbed of his genitals, and hot irons were applied to his body.⁵⁴ In 1931, during the middle of the day in Union City, George Smith was dragged by a car to his lynching on the courthouse lawn.⁵⁵ This was the last lynching in Northwest Tennessee. Even in cases in which lynching was not the outcome, brutality was still practiced, even on children. In Gleason, Tennessee, a ten-year-old black child was arrested for stealing a mule. As locals were about to hang him, the boy's older brother arrived and the men turned on him instead. After a brutal beating, the older brother was ordered to whip his little brother with a buggy strap. This episode of racial hatred played out on Main Street and was witnessed by two hundred people.⁵⁶ Even after racial violence subsided, racist attitudes remained.

Even today, the effects of Jim Crow are felt in Northwest Tennessee. Many prominent early family's descendants remain in this

⁵²Wood, *Lynching and Spectacle*, 152.

⁵³ W.E.B. DuBois, *The Crisis, Volumes 15-18* (Cambridge: Harvard College Library, n.d.), 181.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵Vandiver, *Lethal punishment*, 42.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 143.

area and many are still active in local governments. Elected officials, on a county and municipal level, remain predominately white. Not one town in Weakley County has ever had a black mayor or school board member. Until recently, Gleason School remained all-white.

Neighborhoods remain partially segregated. Every town in Northwest Tennessee has a few particular communities commonly referred to by local whites as “n*****town”. Churches were segregated in Northwest Tennessee during Reconstruction; this practice has largely remained unchanged. Most disturbing of all, local histories have been scrubbed clean of all the ugly parts, and the Civil War (pro-Confederate, of course) is practically a religion itself. The basic landscape has changed little. Vast tracts of farm land still separate small towns, and agriculture remains king. Racial violence seems to have dissipated in this corner of Northwest Tennessee many years ago, but for some customs, time stands still. One could call it, the spoils of a war.

Institutional Contributions

‘God and the Devil on an equal plane’: School Desegregation, Private Education and Engel vs. Vitale

Dr. Ansley L. Quiros

When Harry and Ann Entekin decided to leave the recently integrated local public school and send their sons to Southland Academy, a new all-white private school in Americus, Georgia, they unsurprisingly cited a recent Supreme Court decision as justification. But it wasn't *Brown v. Board*. It was *Engel v. Vitale*. This 1962 decision, colloquially referred to as the “school prayer decision,” banned prayer and other religious exercises in public schools. It also, in the struggle over school integration, offered segregationists religious rationalizations for abandoning integrated public schools. While the story of white flight from public institutions in the decades following the civil rights movement is well-documented, the reasoning behind such an exodus has not yet been fully explored.¹ Of course, it was about race. But, as

¹ See Kevin M. Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007). For other excellent works on conservatism in the South see: Joseph Crespino, *In Search of Another Country: Mississippi and the Conservative Counterrevolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 2007; Jason Sokol, *There Goes My Everything: White Southerners in the Age of Civil Rights, 1945-1975* (New York: Vintage Books), 2007; *Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the 1970s* ed. by Bruce J. Schulman and Julian E. Zelizer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); Matthew D. Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

Harry and Ann Entekin insisted, it was also about prayer, about the right to Christian education. In seeking to preserve segregated institutions, southern conservatives concocted a reified separateness based in evangelical Christianity. In turn, they not only avoided integrated education, they refashioned the issue of racial justice into one about religious liberty.

The invocation of *Engel* in the 1960s struggle over school integration reveals the often overlooked religious elements of the opposition to civil rights and hints at early connections between racial and evangelical conservatism. Historiographically, the racial conservatism of the 1960s and evangelical political conservatism of the 1970s and 1980s have traditionally been regarded as distinct: one the product of backwards, hateful racists, the other of saavy and/or sincere fundamentalist believers. But this bifurcation promotes a “flattened portrait” of conservatism and limits our historical understanding of both eras.² In recent years, scholars such as Joe Crespino, Jane Dailey, Charles Marsh, and Carolyn Renee Dupont have begun to explore the complexities within the larger story of Southern conservatism, particularly the vexing interplay between racial politics and religious devotion.³ Southern conservatives, these historians have found, often

² Joseph Crespino, *Strom Thurmond's America* (New York: Hill and Wang), 2012, 8-9. Too often, Crespino argues, historians “make facile distinctions between Sunbelt conservatives, who are figured as modern, principled and broadly ideological, and southern conservatives, who are figured chiefly as backward and racist.”

³ See: Joseph Crespino, *In Search of Another Country: Mississippi and the Conservative Counterrevolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 2007; Jane Dailey, “Sex, Segregation, and the Sacred After *Brown*,” *Journal of American History*. 91, no. 1 (June 2004); 119-144; Jane Dailey, “The Theology of Massive Resistance: Sex, Segregation, and the Sacred after *Brown*” in *Massive Resistance*. ed. Clive Webb (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Charles Marsh, *God's*

invoked religion in making racial arguments, just as issues of race lurked beneath many religious issues. In that murky space between race and religion, between appeals to Constitutional liberty and theological orthodoxy, a politically viable conservatism emerged.

It is to that story, as it happened in a small town in Georgia, that we turn. By examining the integration of public schools and the subsequent establishment of a Christian private school in Americus, Georgia, certain links between racial separatism and religious liberty become evident, links that provide insight into the enduring power of Southern conservatism.

Many Georgians, including those in Americus, held out hope even after *Brown* that their public schools would never be integrated. They had good reason to. When Ernest Vandiver ran for Governor of Georgia in 1958, he ran under the campaign motto “no, not one!”⁴ Not one black child would enter a Georgia school on his watch, he thundered, a promise that got him elected but would prove difficult to keep. In 1959, U.S. District Judge Frank Hooper ruled in the case of *Calhoun vs. Latimer* that Atlanta’s segregated school system was unconstitutional, giving the state one year to either implement the *Brown* decision and integrate the schools or face penalties levied by the

Long Summer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), Carolyn Renee Dupont, *Mississippi Praying: Southern White Evangelicals and the Civil Rights Movement, 1945-1975* (New York: New York University Press, 2013).

⁴ His stump speech concluded, “We will not bow our heads in submission to naked force. We have no thought of surrender. We will not knuckle under. We will not capitulate. I make this solemn pledge...When I am your governor, neither my three children, nor any child of yours, will ever attend a racially mixed school in the state of Georgia. No, not one.” (Press release of speech, 9 August 1958, box 13, Vandiver Papers, as quoted in Jeff Roche, *Restructured Resistance: The Sibley Commission and the Politics of Desegregation in Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998, 73.)

federal government. Governor Vandiver had a crisis on his hands. He could defy the court, which would halt funding to Atlanta's schools and effectively shut down the public school system in the state--fulfilling his campaign promise. Or, he could comply with the federal ruling and allow for the integration of Atlanta's schools, preserving public education but incurring the sure ire of his white electorate. The Governor was torn.

After convening with some political leaders in the state, Vandiver established the General Assembly Committee on Schools, better known as the Sibley Commission, named after its chair, Atlanta attorney John Sibley.⁵ The brainchild of Vandiver's chief of staff Griffin Bell, the Sibley Commission set out to gauge the "sentiment" in Georgia over school desegregation and make a recommendation to the state General Assembly about what to do before *Calhoun's* deadline. In Georgia, the vast majority of those who advocated compliance *and* those who advocated resistance were segregationists. That segregation was preferable was never really in question. As Atlanta journalist Ralph McGill explained, it "was never a question of being for integration or against it. It was, and is, a question of public schools or no schools."⁶ Ten meetings were held across the state to listen to residents, and, as Bell stated, to elect "whether to close the schools or integrate them."⁷ The first meeting was held on March 3, 1960, in Bell's hometown--

⁵ John Sibley was an attorney at King & Spalding, a businessman, and prominent University of Georgia alumnus. See: John Sibley Papers, Emory University, Atlanta GA.

⁶ Ralph McGill, "The Slow Mills of Law," in *A Church, A School*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1959), 92.

⁷ Oral history interview with Judge Griffin Bell, 1997 September 24, Georgia's Political Heritage Program Oral History Interviews. Annie Belle Weaver Special Collections, Irvine Sullivan Ingram Library, University of West Georgia.

Americus, Georgia.

On an unusually icy day, the first meeting of the Sibley Commission rang into order. People filed into the Americus County Courthouse, some clad in coveralls and others in suits, many with prepared notes and speeches tucked into their pockets. The group assembled in Americus represented the twenty counties of Georgia's Third District, an area popularly known as the Black Belt. As predicted, these counties proved the most dedicated to complete segregation in schools, since all but six of them had a majority of black student enrollment. After John Sibley presented Georgia's options, he called witnesses, including W.C. Mundy, the superintendent of Americus schools, Charles Crisp, a prominent local businessman, Louise Hines of the Manhattan Shirt Company, George L. Mathews, chairman of the County Commissioners, and Marvin McNeill, a businessman and farmer. These individuals all insisted that the best tactic for the state was "segregation now, segregation forever, by any means necessary, and at all costs," as did forty-two of the additional fifty-one people who testified at the hearing.⁸

As the Commission continued its meetings throughout the state, from the Appalachian lakes in Rabun County to the Spanish moss covered oaks of the lowcountry, the message was largely the same as it

⁸ The Americus and Sumter County Movement Remembered. See also: Transcript, Georgia General Assembly Committee on Schools, Hearing, 3 March 1960, (Americus hearing transcript), Sibley Papers, Emory University, Atlanta, GA. This included the testimony of black residents. Black delegations from Sumter, Stewart and Chattahoochee counties all testified that they favored "continued segregation." (Roche, *Restructured Resistance*, 105). Of course, though there was some validity to the position that the black community would lose autonomous schools and that black teachers may be fired if schools were integrated, this testimony was also not entirely free, as black witnesses were coerced and threatened.

had been in Americus. Georgians listened to hearings on the radio and read reports in the morning news, many joking that they were keeping score.⁹ Sibley himself, though a segregationist, was surprised by the consistent willingness of most Georgians to sacrifice the public school systems rather than allow for even token integration. Altogether, an estimated sixty percent of Georgia residents reported that they favored closing the schools to integrating them.¹⁰ The Sibley Commission, searching for some way to stay on the right side of the law and placate the people, recommended complying with Judge Hooper's desegregation ruling nominally, while coming up with alternative measures to keep schools practically segregated. It was a compromise. Georgia's leaders certainly wanted to maintain white supremacy, but they also desperately sought to avoid the disgraceful racist spectacles produced by the states surrounding them.¹¹ So, when two black

⁹ Roche, *Restructured Resistance*, 107. Many Georgians joked that they were tallying up the score.

¹⁰ In some ways this number is lower than expected. Most likely, this is due to geographical splits. In addition to the outlier of Atlanta in the state, many of Georgia's northern districts voted for compliance. These areas, while still mostly segregationist, were not demographically threatened by integration. Though they may have preferred segregated education, they did not want to see the schools shut down when the decision to integrate would have little local effect. In places like Americus, as we've seen, the percentage of those in favor of massive resistance was much higher.

¹¹ Jeff Roche describes the story of the Sibley Commission as one of "how massive resistance ultimately failed in Georgia and why the Sibley Commission's restructured resistance succeeded." In avoiding dramatic displays of resistance, Georgia, under the direction of business and political elites like John Sibley and Griffin Bell, was able to attract commerce and stave off humiliation. They were also able to quietly preserve the racial status quo, and leave a legacy of inequality in education. Roche notes that the Commission created a "new form of segregation," one that he says "resembles the North's" and which was a "deliberate new form of defiance—a restructured resistance—rooted in

students sought entry to the University of Georgia in January of 1961, Governor Vandiver opted not to defy the court and to have them admitted. Because of Judge Bootle's rulings, the Sibley Commission's better judgment, and Governor Vandiver's prudence, Georgia, unlike its neighbors, did not undertake a campaign of massive resistance. In time, schools throughout the state integrated, while resistant Georgians were forced to find other ways to subvert federal rulings and preserve segregation in education.

In Americus, school desegregation came in response to the 1964 Civil Rights Act.¹² Part of the landmark 1964 legislation, Title VI, provided the federal government the authority to withhold funding from any institution, school, or organization that it deemed to be racially discriminatory. Then, with the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Congress sweetened the deal by adding 590 million dollars to southern states for the 1966 fiscal year.¹³ Ten years after *Brown*, the federal government was putting its money where its mouth was, and it seemed like an offer public education in the South could hardly refuse. While a paltry one percent of black schoolchildren

contemporary practicality and corporate pragmatism.” (Roche, *Restructured Resistance*, xv-xvii).

¹² The integration of Americus High in 1964 is consistent with national trends regarding school integration. Marian Wright Edelman of the Children's Defense League estimated that in the ten years following *Brown*, 1954-1964, a meager 1% of black schoolchildren moved into previously all-white schools. Between 1964-1973 however, that number jumped to 46%. David Nevin and Robert E. Bills, *The Schools that Fear Built: Segregationist Academies in the South* (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books, 1976).

¹³ See Crespino, *In Search of Another Country*, 176; *United States vs. Jefferson County Board of Education*, 372 F.2d836 (1966), 856. Whether or not schools or institutions were in compliance with the Civil Rights Act was determined by the Department of Education, Health and Welfare.

enrolled in previously all-white public schools in the ten years following the initial *Brown* ruling, that number spiked to a respectable forty-six percent in the second decade after *Brown*.¹⁴ In order to comply with the *Brown* decision and the Civil Rights Act and receive federal funding, many southern school districts implemented “freedom of choice” plans, which, ostensibly, gave schoolchildren the ability to decide which school they wanted to attend.¹⁵ Under these freedom of choice plans, any child in a given school district could decide to attend any school in that district, with the provision that they could be rejected due to “overcrowding or some other extraordinary circumstance.”¹⁶ The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights noted that freedom of choice plans were “favored overwhelmingly” by the 1,787 southern school districts that had chosen to desegregate voluntarily, including eighty-three percent of such districts in Georgia.¹⁷ By giving families a decision over where their children would go to school, southern schools could comply with the Civil Rights Act, receive federal funding and yet, by “choice,” remain largely segregated. In some “mystifying” logic, Southern lawmakers, educators, and courts concluded that while

¹⁴ Marian Wright Edelman of the Children’s Defense League, David Nevin and Robert E. Bills, *The Schools that Fear Built: Segregationist Academies in the South* (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books, 1976), 9.

¹⁵ In order to receive federal funding, local school districts could submit a voluntary plan of desegregation--either a plan for designating school attendance by geographical area or by ‘freedom of choice,’ the choice of most southern school districts. These plans had to be approved by the Attorney General and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

¹⁶ Revised Statement of Policies for School Desegregation Plans under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 45.CRR, 181 (1966).

¹⁷ U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Southern School Desegregation, 1966-1967, 45-46 (1967). Of school districts desegregating non-voluntarily (under court order), freedom of choice plans were also favored, with 129 of the 160 southern districts in this category implementing them.

Brown outlawed segregation, it did not require integration.¹⁸ As historian Joe Crespino put it, freedom of choice plans, despite the moniker, “had little do to with freedom or choice.”¹⁹

The Americus school board decided to implement a freedom of choice policy for the 1964-1965 school year. Though the integration effort was more symbolic than substantive, the adoption of a freedom of choice plan nevertheless indicated a sharp turn from the sentiment expressed during and since the 1960 Sibley Commission hearings.²⁰ In

¹⁸ There was great debate throughout the courts and public about what exactly was constitutionally mandated by *Brown*. Was the state required to “take affirmative action to remedy the inequality by mixing the races” or simply “precluded from requiring segregation but not forced to act affirmatively to achieve a certain degree of integration”? (Richard W. Brown, “Freedom of Choice in the South: A Constitutional Perspective,” *Louisiana Law Review*, Vol. 28, No. 3, April 1968; <http://digitalcommons.law.lsu.edu/larev/vol28/iss3/21>.) The story of federal funding and school desegregation is very complicated. See *Brown vs Board of Education* (1954), *Brown II* (1955), *Briggs vs. Elliot* (1955), *Goss vs. Board* (1963), *Bell vs. School Board, City of Gary* (1963), *US vs. Jefferson County* (1966), *US vs. Jefferson County II* (1967). See also: Crespino, *In Search of Another Country* 177-179.

¹⁹ Crespino, *In Search of Another Country*, 177.

²⁰ In May, the county Board of Education opted to forgo federal money rather than desegregate, a sum of 16,596.76, 2.1% of their operating budget. But it seems the Board reconsidered. In July, the Board decided to comply with state requests, adopting guidelines to integrate the schools in the Fall and sending a plan to Washington for federal approval. “Sumter School Board Set to Submit Plan,” *Americus Times-Recorder*, July 1, 1965; “Sumter School Officials Changed their minds and decided to submit a desegregation plan.” There is a difference between Americus High School (city schools) and Sumter County schools (county schools), though information about desegregation is often the same. By 1965, then, four black children had integrated Americus High School (Americus City System), but the county schools had not yet allowed black students. Sumter County was one of eight remaining counties that had not taken action to comply with the United

September of 1962, for instance, the “citizens of Americus, GA” sent a telegram of support to Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett and Lieutenant Governor Johnson in their effort to stave off integration at Ole Miss. “We stand four square behind you in your magnificent handling of the integration efforts at the University of Mississippi,” the Americus citizens wrote, “would that all state officials and citizens everywhere have the courage, as you have shown, to fight against this despicable movement which can only result in the downfall of the white race. God be with you.”²¹ These citizens were not pleased when, only two years later, the “despicable movement” for school integration came to Americus High School. The decision to implement a freedom of choice plan produced such anger that some decided they would rather see the school reduced to ashes than integrated, setting it ablaze in January of 1964.²²

Despite hostility from the local white community, four black students--David Bell, Robertiena Freeman, Dobbs Wiggins and Minnie Wise--opted to attend the previously all-white Americus High School under the freedom of choice provision. “I wanted to go,” Freeman recalled, “I thought white kids will be my friends...I thought it was

States Office of Education’s requirement that every county submit a desegregation plan. Georgia superintendents complained that the majority of plans had been rejected by the state and that they were sincerely trying to create plans for approval and could not figure out what was wrong with their plans. (“50 Desegregation Plans Rejected from Georgia,” *Americus Times Recorder*, June 8, 1965).

²¹ Western Union Telegram Collection (MUM0472), University of Mississippi, 3.13.14. TD. 28 September 1962. 10:35 A.M. Citizens of Americus, GA to Ross Barnett and Lt. Gov. Johnson. Re: Support and praise.

²² January 1961, Americus and Sumter County Timeline, 1915-1961, edited by Alan Anderson.

going to be wonderful...one big, rosy happy thing. I told Daddy, 'I want to go.'" The reality must have shocked the young student. When the students arrived on the first day, escorted by state troopers, angry mobs awaited them. People stood "as far as you could see," Freeman recalled, "I'd never seen so many white people in all my days." As they pulled close to the school's entrance, "bricks started hitting the car...I prayed, 'Lord...' then boom!"²³ Once inside the building, the students were predictably harassed and harangued, both by their classmates and occasionally by their teachers. Tensions were so high that the school's principal arranged for the black students to enter each classroom five minutes before or after the other students to avoid a hallway confrontation, and had them released from school an hour early. Even these precautionary measures were not enough to protect the students from ridicule and harassment. "I got pushed up against the wall, just slammed, people just spit on you," Freeman said, shrugging, "what are you going to do? I was 96 pounds at the time." Dobbs Wiggins, another one of the black students who elected to integrate Americus High School, recalled similar incidents of harassment. On one occasion, "three coke bottles hit me simultaneously," he stated.²⁴ Jewel Wise described how the students were "met with all kinds of atrocities, met with rocks," remarking, simply, "we went into the school and we tried to survive."²⁵ Integration would not come easily in Americus.²⁶

²³ Interview with Robertiena Freeman, SCOHP.

²⁴ Dobbs Wiggins in "The City Without Pity," 4:00.

²⁵ Interview with Jewel Wise Alaman. See United States Government Memorandum from Edward Beis to Southern School Project Files, "Field Investigation of Americus, Georgia," Dec 7, 1965. U.S. Commission for Civil Rights File, Stanford University, microfilm.

²⁶ Schools in Americus were not meaningfully integrated until 1970. On August 31, 1970, the school truly mixed racially, with an enrollment of 1,136 whites and 1,725 blacks. See Alan Anderson, Sumter County

But school hall skirmishes were not the primary obstacle to integrated education. Realizing that integration of public schools was becoming inevitable, white segregationists throughout the South began to focus their energies on the establishment of separate schools, dubbed by many “segregation academies.”²⁷ It is telling that the years from 1964-1973 marked not only an era of real integration efforts, but also of a sharp increase in the number of these private Christian schools. These schools, like Americus’s Southland Academy, both resisted integration rulings and promoted a particular theological vision for education, founded not only as an act of political opposition, but, according to the founders themselves, as one of religious devotion.

Almost immediately following the 1964 integration of Americus High School, white citizens in Americus began to research and discuss options for private education. In May 1966, these individuals held a public meeting to announce the establishment of a new, private school in Sumter County and to rally support. “If you are interested enough,” one founder announced to the hundred people gathered in the Americus County Courthouse, “we are prepared to start the school.”²⁸ The private school, to be called (rather transparently) Southland Academy, would be organized as a nonprofit.²⁹ Its stated mission and purpose was: “to offer an education equal to, and

History, Schools;

<http://www.sumtercountyhistory.com/history/AmSchHx.htm>

²⁷ The Lamar Society study estimates that as of the mid 1970s, 750,000 Southern students were being educated in such schools and that 3,000-4,000 of these institutions existed in the 13 southern states. (Nevin and Bills, *The Schools that Fear Built*, 9).

²⁸ *Americus Times Recorder*, “Private School Applications Set” (July 22, 1966).

²⁹ *Americus Times Recorder*, “Academy to Open in the Fall” (August 9, 1966); Interview with Ty Kinslow, March 2014.

preferably superior to [,] that offered in public schools... composed of local individuals with the belief that we are better qualified to know what is best for our own children than anyone else.”³⁰ Organizers of the school consistently emphasized its religious component. Southland Academy, the initial mission statement declared, “will be influenced by belief in God and that daily worship is desirable in the lives of our children.”³¹ Headmaster McManus likewise noted that “commitment to the Christian faith” was an objective of the school, elaborating that Southland’s founders began the school out of a desire to “provide a Christian environment.”³²

Private schools, like Southland Academy, were usually labeled as either segregationist or Christian. But, race and religion cannot be so easily untangled; the schools were segregationist *and* Christian. The theological element is often dismissed as outright subterfuge. But this is a mistake. As one commentator cautioned, to “reduce” the impetus behind Christian private schools to sheer racism is “to ignore two decades of social and cultural upheaval.”³³ “It is too simple to blame this movement entirely on racism and fear of integration,” one historian likewise claimed, arguing, “at a deeper level, it is evidence of a profound division beneath the surface of American society.”³⁴ This division was, in large part, theological. Many private schools, even those without official religious affiliations, possessed a values system

³⁰ *Americus Times Recorder*, “Private School for Americus Proposed,” May 1966.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Americus Times-Recorder*, “Speaks to Rotary Club: McManus Outlines Plans for Southland Academy” by Rudy Hayes, August 16, 1967.

³³ Peter Skerry, *Public Interest*, as quoted in Crespino, *In Search of Another Country*, 249.

³⁴ Nevin and Bills, *The Schools that Fear Built*, 1.

rooted in Protestant Christianity and Christian theology. These underlying theological tenets included, according to a 1970 study, a “strict and literal reading of the Bible” as well as “aggressive preaching of the gospel...exhorting the young student to come forward and be saved by accepting Christ.”³⁵ For its part, Southland Academy not only promoted its identity as a Christian school but required “daily...Scripture and prayer” with “special programs at Christmas and Easter.”³⁶ Oversimplifying the rise of private Christian schools as merely segregationist academies obscures the deeper conflict over religion, intermingled so perplexingly with the more obvious racial politics.

Whether for racial or religious reasons, support for the school mounted in Americus, and in July of 1966, the Board of Trustees announced that it would begin accepting applications.³⁷ By July 1967, Southland Academy boasted an enrollment of 150 incoming students, a headmaster, seven teachers, and a newly purchased school building, formerly known as the Anthony School. It was all set to open its doors the next month.³⁸ But there was a problem. Southland had not yet received its nonprofit status.

School officials alleged that the U.S. Internal Revenue Service had “apparently engaged in a massive scheme to thwart the efforts of

³⁵ Nevin and Bills, *The Schools that Fear Built*, 37, 22-23.

³⁶ *Americus Times-Recorder*, “Speaks to Rotary Club: McManus Outlines Plans for Southland Academy” by Rudy Hayes, August 16, 1967.

³⁷ *Americus Times Recorder*, “Private School Meeting Friday” (July 20, 1966); *Americus Times Recorder*, “Private School Applications Set” (July 22, 1966). The Board of Trustees included Sumter residents: Harry Entekin (president), Tinley Anderson, Troy Morris, Henry Crisp, Pete Godwin, Ed Carson, Roger Pollock.

³⁸ *Americus Times-Recorder*, John Littlefield “Ready for Fall Opening: Many Improvements at Private School Site,” (July 7, 1967).

the local school group and other private school groups in the South” in their efforts to have private schools recognized as tax-exempt nonprofits.³⁹ Southland Board Chairman Harry Entrekin claimed that the school made its initial application for the nonprofit status through the Atlanta IRS office on Aug. 26, 1966, and had still not received “what should have been routine approval.”⁴⁰ Southland’s leaders were initially concerned when they had still failed to receive a ruling by the spring of 1967, over six months after the submitted application. “Various correspondence and telephone conversations,” they claimed, “have led to the conclusion that the IRS, in cooperation with the Justice Dept., has willfully declined to make a ruling on this tax exemption

³⁹ *Americus Times-Recorder*, “On Tax Exempt Delay: Academy Officials Claim Discrimination” (July 28, 1967). This seemed to come as a surprise. A week earlier, Board member Charles Crisp had confidently asserted, “We feel certain that a contribution to Southland Academy will be deductible for income tax purposes and expect a letter of confirmation from Internal Revenue Department soon.” (*Americus Times Recorder*, “Private School Applications Set” (July 22, 1966). Tax exempt status was “of great importance,” according to the Southland Board, “due to the fact that donations to the corporation would be deductible from the donors’ income in computing his income tax. In addition, it would enable the corporation to furnish its teachers with tax-sheltered retirement programs.” (*Americus Times-Recorder*, “On Tax Exempt Delay: Academy Officials Claim Discrimination,” July 28, 1967). The difficulties faced by Southland in 1967 emerged as hurdles that would face many private schools in the South in the late 1960s and into the 1970s. While the federal government sought to block the funding of private, segregated schools from re-inscribing separate and unequal educational systems in America, these schools countered that they were not primarily racial, but religious—a strong, historically unassailable argument. (See *Green vs. Connally* (1971), *Bob Jones University vs. United States* (1982); Randall Balmer, *Thy Kingdom Come* (New York: Basic Books, 2006).

⁴⁰ *Americus Times-Recorder*, “On Tax Exempt Delay: Academy Officials Claim Discrimination” (July 28, 1967).

application for the purpose of harassing the local group and bringing about an embarrassing financial situation.” The school contacted Georgia Senators Richard B. Russell and Herman Talmadge, along with Third District Rep. Jack Brinkley. They made inquiries of “personnel in the offices of our elected representatives in Washington” and confirmed that “high-placed officials in the IRS and the Justice Dept. have declared their intention to do everything possible to prevent the granting of the exemption.” The Georgia officials went on to say they could find nothing wrong with the application and predicted that the IRS would “have to grant the exemption eventually.”⁴¹ Finally, on August 4, 1967, Southland received its tax exemption.⁴²

After getting the news, Southland officials released a statement explaining what they saw as the reason for the delay in tax-exempt status, a statement which offers insight into the vexing relationship between race and religion in the formation of private education. The granting of tax-exempt status should have been simple; “the laws are specific,” they claimed, “either you qualify, or you don’t.” What should have been a “routine” approval, however, the government made arduous. But, why? According to Harry Entrekin and the Board of Southland Academy, the government’s interest in undercutting white religious schools in the South stemmed from “a desire on the part of the Justice Department and the Internal Revenue

⁴¹ Ibid. Senator Talmadge even requested a hearing before the Senate Finance Committee in which Sheldon Cohen, Commissioner of Internal Revenue Service, “will be called to appear and show cause for the delay in making a ruling in this case.” The Southland board noted that private schools in South Carolina had been similarly afflicted but that, with the help of Strom Thurmond, they had all received their exemptions.

⁴² *Americus Times Recorder*, “Tax-Exempt Status Granted Southland Here” (August 4, 1967).

Service to impose their desires...rather than to administer the law as it is written.” “Since they could not legally refuse our exemption,” the statement alleged, “they chose, simply, to ignore our request.” This was “arbitrary government at its worst.” In concluding their statement, the representatives of Southland Academy expressed their “concern over the loss of local control over public schools, over the Supreme Court decision concerning prayer in schools, and over the use of schools as tools to bring about social revolution, rather than the purpose for which they were created--education.”⁴³ The statement itself reveals the layered reasoning for private Christian education in the South. The references to “loss of local control” and “social revolution” are clear enough, but what does that have to do with “prayer in schools”?

Much, as it turns out. Segregationist Christian academies in the 1960s frequently invoked the 1962 case *Engel v. Vitale* banning prayer in public schools, more than they did integration, and with greater effect. According to one legal scholar, the *Engel* decision was “greeted with more shock and criticism than *Dred Scott v. Sanford*, affected more school districts than *Brown v. Board of Education*, and brought together conservative Roman Catholics and fundamentalist Protestants in a common cause a decade before *Roe v. Wade*.”⁴⁴ The *Engel* case is usually linked historiographically (and in the American popular imagination) with *Roe vs. Wade* and the culture wars rather than the discussions of civil rights and school desegregation. But that is

⁴³ *Americus Times-Recorder*, “On Tax Exempt Delay: Academy Officials Claim Discrimination” (July 28, 1967); *Americus Times Recorder*, “Tax-Exempt Status Granted Southland Here” (August 4, 1967).

⁴⁴ Bruce J. Dierenfield, *The Battle over School Prayer: How Engel v. Vitale Changed America* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2007), vii.

a somewhat anachronistic designation, and one that obscures the significant link between racial prejudice and religious liberty in the construction of white religious private schools.

In 1962, five families from Nassau County, New York challenged the constitutionality of the brief, voluntary, nondenominational recitation of prayer in their children's school before the Supreme Court.⁴⁵ The Court ruled in their favor 6-1 on the basis of the establishment clause of the First Amendment, with two justices abstaining. The morning prayer, the ruling stated, "officially establishes... religious beliefs," and was thus in violation of the Establishment clause prohibiting the government from sanctioning any state religion. "It is neither sacrilegious nor anti-religious," Justice Hugo Black wrote, "to say that each separate government in this country should stay out of the business of writing or sanctioning official prayers and leave that purely religious function to the people themselves."⁴⁶

The reaction to the decision was vehement and immediate.⁴⁷ Schools that had once been founded to instruct citizens in Christianity were now expressly barred from doing so. To many Americans, including many in Americus, this seemed to portend utter disaster for students, teachers, communities, and the nation. Georgia Senator Herman Talmadge lambasted the decision as "outrageous," commenting that it would "do incalculable damage to the fundamental

⁴⁵ The prayer was: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our Country." Legal Information Institute, "Engel v. Vitale," Cornell Law School, Ithaca, NY; <http://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/370/421>.

⁴⁶ Justice Hugo Black, *Engel v. Vitale* (1962).

⁴⁷ A Gallup poll indicated that a whopping 85% of Americans disagreed with the ruling. (Dierenfield 138).

faith in Almighty God which is the foundation upon which our civilization, our freedom and our form of government rest.”⁴⁸ Another Georgian, gubernatorial candidate (and later Governor) Carl Sanders, felt so strongly about the ruling that he pronounced that he would “not only go to jail but give up [his] life” to protect the right of Georgia students to pray in school.⁴⁹ Of course, arguments about the constitutionality of prayer are not only political disputes but theological ones. And with the *Engel* decision, the Supreme Court, many Southern Christians believed, found itself again on the side of heresy. “The Court,” Talmadge continued, “put God and the Devil on an equal plane.”⁵⁰

When the federal government would, only two years later, begin to enforce the *Brown* decision in public schools, segregationists felt they had ample grounds to object: not only had the overreaching federal government forcefully integrated schools, it had banned Christianity.⁵¹ As Alabama Congressman George Andrews succinctly stated: “they put the Negroes in the schools; now they put God out of the schools.”⁵² It amounted to, in the words of Mississippi Governor James Eastland, “judicial tyranny.” Many Southerners insisted they were left with no option but to start their own schools. And rather than having to do so solely on the basis of race, they could do so on the basis of religion. “We weren’t so upset about integration,” Harry Entrekin, the first board

⁴⁸ *Congressional Record*, June 26, 1962, p 11675.

⁴⁹ *Newsweek*, Vol. 60, 1962, p44.

⁵⁰ Talmadge as quoted in Dierenfield *The Battle over School Prayer*, 148.

⁵¹ Anthony Lewis of the *New York Times* harshly criticized Southerners for conflating the two issues. He wrote that crafty politicians were using the *Engel* decision disingenuously, “suggest[ing] that the prayer ruling only showed how equally wrong the Court had been to outlaw segregation.”(Lewis, *New York Times*, in Dierenfield 149).

⁵² 1963 TV Interview; Dierenfield *The Battle over School Prayer*, 147.

chairman of Southland, declared, “it was the government running schools and having no prayer.”⁵³ No doubt it was both. But Entrekin was articulating something powerful that was stirring in America. Soon, this line of thinking would be harnessed by a new generation of leaders who, like segregationists of the 1960s, submerged racial preference under appeals to religious freedom. Trent Lott put it bluntly: the establishment of tax-exempt private schools was “not a racial question, but a religious question.”⁵⁴ Jerry Falwell himself started a school which, according to his wife, was not founded “in response to desegregation” but “because God and prayer had been kicked out of the public school.”⁵⁵

The story of the integration of public schools and the founding of Southland Academy in Americus mirrors larger patterns. As the civil rights revolution swept across the South, white conservatives initially struggled over how to proceed. Most repudiated violence and the strategies of massive resistance yet refused to accept the reality of integrated education. The 1962 *Engel v Vitale* ruling provided these white conservatives a justification for separation more palatable than racism: religion. In founding private Christian schools, white conservatives successfully resisted integration on the basis of religious

⁵³ Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Harry Entrekin, August 6, 2012, Americus, GA. The Schools that Fear Built study likewise asserted that “Startling” percentages of those whose children attend private schools, “will say quite independent of one each other that public school problems really began when the Supreme Court outlawed prayer and Bible reading there.” (David Nevin and Robert E. Bills, *The Schools that Fear Built: Segregationist Academies in the South* (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books, 1976.)

⁵⁴ Trent Lott, *Southern Partisan* (Fall 1984), 47 as quoted in Dailey, “The Theology of Massive Resistance,” 171.

⁵⁵ Macel Falwell, *Jerry Falwell: His Life and Legacy*, (New York: Howard Books, 2008), 99.

freedom rather than racial exclusion. It was a theological, Constitutional separateness. This religious-political strategy would carry conservatism through the rest of the 20th century and produce both stunning political successes and tragic racial consequences. By masking their segregationism with evangelicalism, Southern conservatives in the 1960s created a powerful coalition, one that still haunts the American South with its befuddling mix of sincere religiosity and insidious racism.

Notes from the Field: Sulphur Creek Trestle Preservation Project

Dr. Carolyn Barske

In the fall of 2013 the departments of history and geography at the University of North Alabama received a grant from the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) for the Sulphur Creek Trestle Preservation Project. The goals of the project included expanding the boundaries of a 1973 National Register of Historic Places nomination and mapping important physical characteristics of the battlefield. The 1973 National Register nomination only covered a small fraction of the battlefield landscape. The landscape is essential to understanding how the battle played out on September 25, 1864 and the preservation of as much of the landscape as possible is essential to preserving the stories of the men who fought at the Battle of Sulphur Creek Trestle. The revised nomination expands the boundaries of protected land from 0.787 acres to 317.018 acres. Additionally, the nomination contains a much more detailed history of the battle, which places it firmly in its historic context and allows for a better understanding of the role that United States Colored Infantry troops (U.S.C.T.) played in North Alabama during the Civil War.

The project was conceived in the winter of 2012-2013. Initially, Drs. Sunhui Sim and Carolyn Barske worked with Judy Sizemore, director of the Muscle Shoals National Heritage Area, to

conduct research on the history of the battle, to determine the preservation needs, to determine expanded boundaries to be included in an updated National Register nomination, and to secure landowner permission for the project. The team then wrote a grant application for the Sulphur Creek Trestle Preservation Project to the ABPP. The ABPP, which is part of the National Park Service, “promotes the preservation of significant historic battlefield associated with wars on American soil.”¹ They do so through providing advice to those interested in preserving battlefields. Additionally, they administer a grant program to help preserve battlefields, which to-date has helped preserve more than 100 battlefields.

Once the grant was awarded, Dr. Barske traveled to Washington, D.C. to attend a workshop on battlefield preservation with the ABPP in August of 2013. Drs. Sim and Barske then hired student workers Lauren Hinton (geography) and Jonathan Steadman (history) to assist with the project. The team traveled to Limestone County to the site of the battle on multiple occasions. The team photographed key physical elements of the battlefield landscape, pinpointed important locations using GIS technology, and met with local experts on the history of the area and battle. Jonathan then began to compile primary and secondary sources related to the history of the battle and its significance in the western theater of the Civil War. Upon Hinton’s graduation in December 2013, Katelyn Johnson (geography) joined the team. Additionally, Lisa Harris was hired in the spring of 2014 to design a website about the battle of Sulphur Creek Trestle and the preservation project. Dr. Tim Collins of the department of history &

¹ *American Battlefield Protection Program*, “About us,” <http://www.nps.gov/abpp/aboutus.htm>

political science also assisted with the project, bringing R.O.T.C. students to the site to help complete the military terrain analysis portion of the project.

The original 0.787 acres identified in the 1973 National Register Nomination only included the site of the Sulphur Creek Trestle Fort, which sat atop a hill next to the Nashville & Decatur Railroad line. This small area did include some important historic features, including well-preserved rifle pits and the remains of the fort's powder magazine. However, as the team began to explore the battle in greater detail, they realized that the preservation of this small area did not allow for a comprehensive picture of the battle and an understanding of the important role the landscape played in the outcome of the battle. The battle, fought between Confederate troops under the command of Nathan Bedford Forrest and Union troops, including the 111th U.S.C.T. troops, on September 25, 1864 concluded with a Confederate victory largely because of the battlefield landscape. The fort site sat at a lower elevation than the surrounding hills on which Forrest placed his artillery. Forrest's men were thus able to shell the Union forces into submission, resulting in the deaths of 200 Union troops and the capture of the 820 men who survived the battle.

After the capture of the fort, Forrest's men burned the Sulphur Creek Trestle Bridge, which was the largest bridge along the Nashville & Decatur railroad line. This line had played an important role in moving men and supplies to Gen. Sherman's army as he moved towards Atlanta in the summer of 1864. Forrest and other Confederate leaders had been pushing for attacks on rail lines including the Nashville & Decatur line since the spring of 1864. They recognized that breaking up Sherman's lines of supply and communication could

have drastic effects on his campaign across the south. However, President Jefferson Davis initially refused to authorize Forrest and others to attack the lines, worrying that moving Confederate forces around for the attacks would leave important iron and munitions areas in Alabama and Mississippi exposed. When the attacks on the rail lines were finally authorized, they came too late to affect Sherman's attack on Atlanta. However, the Confederate victory did help Sherman make the decision to live off the land as he marched to Savannah as it revealed that his supply lines were vulnerable to Confederate attack.

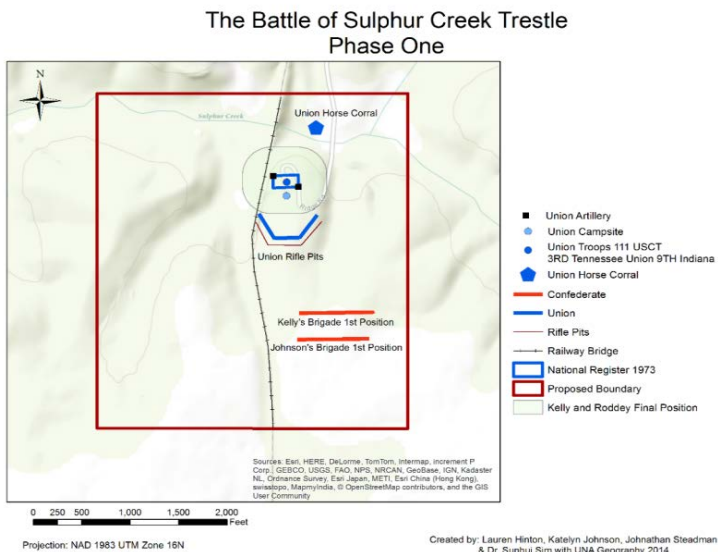
One of the most important elements of the expanded National Register nomination is the increased attention paid to the role the U.S.C.T. troops played in the defense of the fort and the battle. Active Union recruitment of African-Americans in Alabama began in the late spring of 1863. The men recruited in north Alabama were taken over the state line into Pulaski, Tennessee, where they were formed into the 110th and 111th U.S.C.T. The 110th went on to guard the town of Athens (which Forrest managed to capture the day before he captured the fort at Sulphur Creek Trestle). After their capture, men of the 110th and 111th U.S.C.T. were sent to Mobile to build fortifications around the city.

After the historical context for the National Register nomination was expanded, the team began to work on mapping the battlefield landscape. The increased boundaries were drawn to include the hilltops Forrest used to position his artillery, the likely site of Forrest's camp the night before the attack, the Union camp outside of the walls of the fort, the Union horse corral, and the former site of the burned trestle bridge. Additionally, Dr. Sim worked with Johnson and Steadman to develop maps showing troop positions during various

phases of the battle. Figure 1 shows the Confederate and Union positions during the first phase of the battle. The map also shows the expanded National Register boundaries. Dr. Sim also worked with Johnson and Steadman to develop story maps, which include a more detailed depiction of the phases of the battle. Harris then used these maps, along with information from the National Register nomination, to build a website. The website contains images of the site today, a detailed description of the battle, images of important figures involved in the battle, the National Register maps and the story maps.

The research team completed the project in the winter of 2014. Final project reports were submitted to the ABPP in November and the updated National Register nomination is scheduled for the April 2015 meeting of the Alabama State National Register Review Board. Upon approval from the Board, the nomination will head off to Washington D.C. for final approval. If you are interested in learning more about the Battle of Sulphur Creek Trestle, please visit our website: <http://www.buildingthepride.com/faculty/ssim/abpp/>. If you are interested in learning more about the ABPP, please visit their website: <http://www.nps.gov/abpp/index.htm>.

Figure 1: Phase One of the Battle of Sulphur Creek Trestle. Created by Lauren Hinton, Katelyn Johnson, Jonathan Steadman and Dr. Sunhui Sim.



Dr. Larry Nelson Tribute

Remembering Dr. Nelson

John Clinton Harris and Casey Mills

“Good morning, ladies and gentleman, it’s another beautiful day here at the University of North Alabama....” Almost every day, Dr. Larry Nelson’s class began with those words, after he had written “Ghiih” (Good history is intellectual history) on the left-hand side of the board, along with the historiography for that day’s lesson on the right-hand side of the board. He often teased and playfully interacted with his students before class began, warning them to avoid the “bling-bling,” encouraging them to “watch the high number channels,” and commenting on how much he loved “being paid to talk about history.” Once he began his lecture, he mentioned all the beautiful people in the classroom and on campus, because all of his students were beautiful; beauty, to Dr. Nelson, could be found in everyone, no matter who they were. To Dr. Larry Nelson, the classroom was more than a place to assign grades. The classroom was a place to change the lives of his students, in a way Dr. Nelson only knew how... with his unparalleled wit, generosity, and love.

Dr. Lawrence J. “Larry” Nelson was born on October 20, 1944 in Joliet, Illinois to Lawrence and Hannah Nelson. At the age of twenty-one, he met the oft mentioned “Miss Verlie” Vipond, and married her on May 31, 1969. In 1972, he received a PhD in American History from the University of Missouri, and taught at several universities before finding his academic home at the University of North Alabama. He suffered through the greatest tragedy a parent can

know in the summer of 1974, when his son, Larry Peter, died from a brain tumor. Soon after, he knew joy in the form of another son, Peter John, and a daughter, Julia Suzanne; he was very proud of his children, and their stories, along with those of the legendary Miss Verlie, were staples of the Nelson classroom. Although teaching was his great love, he actively contributed to historical scholarship, publishing articles, peer reviews, and two books, *King Cotton's Advocate: Oscar G. Johnston and the New Deal*, and *Rumors of Indiscretion; The University of Missouri "Sex Questionnaire" Scandal in the Jazz Age*.

On January 14, 2014, Dr. Larry Nelson passed away after an eight month battle with glioblastoma brain cancer. Nelson is survived by his beloved wife, Verlie; brother, Paul Nelson; sister-in-law, Elaine Nelson; sister, Doris Smith; children, Pete Nelson and Julia Strickland; son-in-law, Josh Strickland; and three grandchildren, Samantha, Jack, and Gus, with a fourth expected in May. He was a brilliant scholar, a loving father, a servant of Christ, and a beloved mentor to countless students who had the good fortune to find themselves in his classroom. To borrow another of his famous quotations, it can be said that he truly "left the planet" a better place, enriching all the lives he touched along the way.

The following article is the first chapter in Dr. Nelson's book with the working title *The Cold War at Home: Nikita Khrushchev's Journey into America*, which is being edited by Dr. Schoenbachler (University of North Alabama) and will be published in the near future.

1. Coming to America

Whether you like it or not, history is on our side.

—Khrushchev

Tuesday, September 15, 1959.

The former President of the United States left the Carlyle Hotel on East Seventy Sixth Street in New York City and set out on a brisk morning walk, a puffing press corps in tow. As he quickly made his way down Madison Avenue, Harry S. Truman expounded upon the latest crisis du jour: juvenile delinquency. Not enough discipline, he said. Very soon, the impromptu, ambulatory press conference predictably turned to the news on everyone’s mind—Nikita S. Khrushchev, the Soviet Premier, later that day would be landing at Andrews Air Force Base outside Washington, D.C. A reporter asked if it was a good idea for President Eisenhower to invite the Soviet boss to this country. “Well, we’ll have to wait and see,” Truman replied noncommittally. “I invited Stalin to come but he wouldn’t; he was afraid to come.”

“Afraid of what?”

“He didn’t want to leave his country, which was in turmoil. They were still killing people to keep him in power. My experience with Stalin was not a happy one. He broke every agreement with President Roosevelt and myself. That’s what started the ‘cold war.’”²

² *Look*, September 15, 1959, 24 (“Whether you like”); *WP*, September 14, 1959, A10; August 4, 1959, A14; *NYT*, September 16, 1959, 21 (“Well, we’ll have to”); Truman to Stalin, March 19, 1946; Stalin to

Truman had, as he said, invited Stalin to the United States, not once but twice. In both instances, the pathologically paranoid Stalin begged off. But when Truman's Republican successor, Dwight Eisenhower, asked Stalin's successor, Nikita Khrushchev, to visit America, the premier quickly accepted. Khrushchev's eagerness to see the United States was well-known. A political cartoon by Herbert Block in the *Washington Post* depicted Khrushchev sitting in the Kremlin—his bags packed, his hat on, a U.S.A. guidebook in hand—impatiently awaiting an invitation. For years he had hoped for the chance to come to America; during the Geneva Summit of 1955, he tried unsuccessfully to get an invitation. And when his daughter Rada and son-in-law Alexei Adzhubei—the editor-in-chief of the official government daily newspaper *Izvestia*—returned from an American visit in 1956 laden with photographs of America's scenic wonders, towering skyscrapers, and jammed California freeways, Khrushchev declared, "I've got to see it for myself."³

* * * * *

At the very moment Harry Truman was speaking to the press, Nikita Khrushchev was en route to America. Early that morning— Radio Moscow proclaimed that Khrushchev had embarked on a mission of world peace—a line of Russian-built Zil limousines had sped through Moscow to the Vnukovo Airport. Amid well-wishers, children bearing bouquets of flowers, and a long line of foreign

Truman, April 6, 1946; see also telegram (copy), Walter Bedell Smith to Jimmy Byrnes, April 5, 1946, Box 164, PSF; *Chicago American*, August 27, 1959 ("small scale politician"), clipping in Vertical File; see also Truman to Dave Fidler, January 6, 1960, Box 26, Post Presidential File, TL;

³ *Newsweek*, September 21, 1959, 41 ("for myself"); see A Portrait of Khrushchev, n.d., Box 52, IS, AWF, EL.

ambassadors, Khrushchev boarded a gargantuan airplane—the Tupolev 114 turbo-prop airliner—for the eleven hour, non-stop flight to Washington.⁴

Since Josef Stalin’s death in 1953, Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders had begun to venture beyond the Iron Curtain, visiting Western Europe, Asia, and the Subcontinent. In 1956, Khrushchev—along with Nikolai Bulganin, with whom Khrushchev ostensibly shared power at the time—toured England, the first time a Soviet leader had visited an allied power. The British press cheekily dubbed the duo “B & K,” but the shared arrangement was doomed from the start; the colorless Bulganin was soon outmaneuvered by the irrepressible Khrushchev, who, by 1956, had seized power and was the indisputable leader of the USSR.

Sixty-five years old in 1959, Khrushchev was a bald, squat man who seethed with energy and ambition and possessed an uncanny instinct for survival—he had lived through World War II, Stalin’s capricious, murderous purges, and the vicious internecine political maneuvering following the dictator’s death. Once in power, however, Khrushchev quickly demonstrated that he meant to break from Russia’s Stalinist past. In February 1956 at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—a conference attended by Communist leaders from fifty-six countries—Khrushchev, in his keynote address, stridently denounced Stalin and the torture and executions he ordered. It was, according to Khrushchev’s best biographer “the bravest and most reckless thing he ever did,” no mean feat in a career full of bravery and recklessness. The speech stunned the attendees and, while intended to be confidential, was soon published

⁴ FF, 46-47; Irving R. Levine, Main Street, *U.S.S.R.* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1959), 237.

throughout the world. Khrushchev's words raised hopes in the west and encouraged anti-communist dissidents behind the Iron Curtain. Yet when Hungarians rose up against the Soviet-backed regime later that year, Khrushchev sent in the implacable Red Army and thousands were killed and tens of thousands more banished. Thereafter, any hope of significant reform behind the Iron Curtain died and Hungary stood as a hideous reminder of what the Soviets were capable of. The Hungarian suppression not only dashed western hopes for *rapprochement*, it cast an unmistakable pall, three years later, over the premier's visit to America.⁵

In Russia itself, however, Khrushchev was less a coarse despot and more a shrewd politician. He abolished Stalin's political tribunals that had condemned thousands to death, he partially relaxed restrictions on arts and literature, and in 1958, he unveiled a Seven-Year Plan designed to raise Soviet living standards to a level comparable to those of the dynamic capitalist nations. But whether a reformer, a despot, or an eager visitor to the United States, Khrushchev remained a true believer of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, and most Kremlin watchers didn't expect the trip to alter the premier's conviction of the inevitability of communism's ultimate victory.

Yet Khrushchev's preconceptions of capitalist societies in general, and America in particular, had but a tenuous relation to the realities of 1959. As American analysts of Khrushchev's personality noted, "his understanding of the West is based on Marxist clichés." A month before Khrushchev's arrival, the *New York Times Magazine* produced a digest of the dictator's statements; capitalism had "enslaved" America, a land where, he insisted, "poverty and mass

⁵ Taubman, *Khrushchev*, 274

unemployment reign.” Congress, he thought—devoid of “real workers,” “ordinary farmers,” and all but a few token women and blacks—was the handmaiden of dominant capital. Party distinctions mattered little, for Democratic and Republican leaders alike served “the interests of the ruling classes—the capitalists, bankers, land magnates and big business men.” Khrushchev’s visit, in some instances, disabused the premier of certain preconceptions; in other cases, however, his suspicions were duly confirmed.⁶

* * * * *

High above the Atlantic Ocean on that fall morning in 1959, Nikita Khrushchev could reflect on his improbable ascent to the pinnacle of the communist world. His story began in an earthen hut in the impoverished Russian village of Kalinovka near the Ukrainian border in April 1894. Little in his family’s story suggested that his life would vary from that of millions of peasants who toiled in grinding poverty under the Tsarist Regime. “My grandfather was a serf,” he once said, “the property of a landlord who could sell him if he wished, or trade him for a hunting dog.” Khrushchev’s father farmed in the growing season and worked in the Donbas coal mines during Russia’s

⁶ *LAE*, September 18, 1959, 1; *WP*, September 14, 1959, A1, A10; *FF*, 46 (“supreme social problem”), 49; see Levine, *Main Street, U.S.S.R.*, 224; *WSJ*, July 14, 1959, 10 (“popular American assumption”); Edward Crankshaw, “Man Behind the Masks,” *Life*, December 2, 1957, 158; *WP*, September 16, 1959, A12; A Portrait of Khrushchev, n.d., Box 52, IS, AWF; Khrushchev: The Man and His Outlook (Background Paper); September 11, 1959; *NYTM*, August 16, 1959, 16, 73, 75. William Taubman, *Khrushchev: The Man and His Era* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003), 299; Sergei Khrushchev, *Nikita Khrushchev*, 331-32; A Portrait of Khrushchev, n.d.; Khrushchev biographical material re Khrushchev Visit, September 4, 1959, Box 52, IS, AWF; see also Biographic Reports, September 8, 1959, Box 64, CF, WHCF, EL.

brutal winters. Young Nikita was introduced early to the rigors of Russian peasantry, herding the landlord's livestock as a boy—he later boasted that he went to work when he learned to walk. By the time he was fourteen, Nikita had joined his father in the mines, dislodging slag from boilers. It was there that young Khrushchev became intimately acquainted with the crude and dispiriting working conditions brought about by Russia's Industrial Revolution, truncated though it was: scores killed by explosions or buried alive in mine collapses, meager wages, ghastly sanitation, deadening routine, and a countryside laden with coal dust. Predictably, crime and alcoholism flourished, and Donbas became an embodiment of every evil laid at capitalism's door, a region so stereotypically oppressive that Khrushchev once remarked that Marx must have "actually been at the mines" as he formulated his doctrines. His experience convinced him that capitalists, regardless of nationality, were "all alike"—demanding arduous labor in return for a pittance. And so he became a communist.⁷

He might have taken a different path. Although young Nikita received little formal education, he had shown real academic potential—he had, ironically, attended a church school for a while and earned a prize, he later recalled, "because I knew the gospel by heart." His father, however, would have none of it: "After a year or two," Nikita remembered, "I had learnt to count up to thirty and my father decided that was enough of schooling. He said I would never have more than thirty rubles to count anyway." Khrushchev always regretted that he possessed "no education and not enough culture. . . . All I had was four classes in a church school and then, instead of high school, just a smattering of higher education." But looking back, he insisted that life itself had taught him well: "It thrashes and bangs and teaches

⁷ Taubman, *Khrushchev*, 31

you.” The Donbas mines, Khrushchev claimed, were “the working man’s Cambridge, a ‘university’ for the unfortunate people of Russia.”⁸

Although Khrushchev would later attempt to elide his peasant origins, he worked diligently a rising Communist official and later as premier to improve the wretchedness of life in the countryside, to narrow the chasm between rural poverty and urban affluence. Late in his career he often visited Kalinovka and saw to it that it modernized, as if he believed it to be his personal responsibility to drag Russian peasants into the twentieth century.

At twenty, Nikita escaped the mines by way of a metalworking apprenticeship and soon married Yefrosinia Pisareva, a daughter of a mine elevator operator with whom he had two children. They lived—for the time and place—a fairly comfortable life in a commodious apartment. “Years later, after the Revolution,” he candidly admitted in his memoirs, “it was painful for me to remember that as a worker under capitalism I’d had much better living conditions than my fellow workers now living under Soviet power.”⁹

Khrushchev might have lived out his life as a member of the Russian petit bourgeoisie, perhaps rising to factory manager or entering the professions as an engineer. But the young man stood at the intersection of war and revolution. Just as Nikita and his wife began their lives together, the Great War erupted, a conflagration that would destroy Russia’s Tsarist Regime and convince young Nikita to become a radical political leader, that would take Harry Truman off his

⁸ Taubman, *Khrushchev*, 43-44 (“no education”), 75;

⁹ *NYT*, September 12, 1971, 78-79; *KRLT*, 87-88 (“Years later”); Taubman, *Khrushchev*, 18-29 (“After a year;” “the idiocy of;” “no matter how hard”), 30-41; also Khrushchev’s memoirs partly quoted on 40; Daniel Schorr, *Staying Tuned: A Life in Journalism* (New York and other cities: Washington Square Press, 2001), 113 (“Later”).

Missouri farm and sent him to Europe, that would, in time, create in Adolf Hitler such a seething hatred that he would initiate another, still more catastrophic conflagration.

After the communist revolution of 1917, Khrushchev joined the Rutchenkovo Soviet and fought with the Red Guards of the Ninth Army in the Ukraine during the Russian Civil War. Although by temperament far closer to the more moderate Mensheviks, Khrushchev belatedly and reluctantly joined the ruthless Bolsheviks in 1918. Attached to the army's political department, Khrushchev recruited troops into communist units, but he persuaded them not with Marxist dogma but with the pragmatic argument that the revolution and their personal goals were intertwined.

While Khrushchev was fighting to advance the revolution, his wife died of typhus, leaving him with two small children. He soon remarried a young and troubled single mother, but the marriage was unhappy from the start and quickly fell apart—a shattering episode that was long kept a family secret. Nikita's third marriage to Nina Petrovna Kukharchu in 1924, however, lasted the rest of his life. Young, intelligent, and a committed communist, Nina ran the Khrushchev household with a firm hand and rigorously instilled high expectations in both her three children and two step-children. Nikita and Nina's son Sergei, born in 1935, recalled that although no one questioned his father's authority, the "real power in the family was exercised by Mama." The uncomplaining, smiling, stout, grandmotherly persona she exhibited during her American odyssey was authentic, but it belied her intelligence and determination.¹⁰

¹⁰ Taubman, *Khrushchev*, 37-61 ("wasn't a man of;" "But real"), 70, 109, 111, 113, 156-58; *NYT*, September 26, 1959, 12; August 22, 1984, D23; Sergei Khrushchev, *Khrushchev*, 11, 22-23.

Khrushchev's rise in the Communist Party, meanwhile, continued apace. He rose from a minor position in his mining town of Yuzovka, to party leadership in Petrovo-Marinsky, to historic Kiev, and finally to Moscow itself. By 1930 he was a party secretary, a protégé of Lazar M. Kaganovich, the Stalinist Ukrainian leader who ironically would participate in an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Khrushchev decades later. By the mid-1930s, Nikita had made his way into Stalin's inner circle, a distinctly dangerous environment, given Stalin's murderous paranoia. Although Khrushchev was hardworking, ambitious, intelligent, and well-connected, there were hundreds of apparatchiks just like him who fell victim to the purges. "I remember the oppressive circumstances in Moscow during the period from 1934 to 1939," recalled Andrei Gromyko. "People would walk along the street with tense expressions on their faces. Workers and staff in institutes and enterprises were afraid to talk to each other, unless they were close friends. It was well known that every night the NKVD [the Soviet secret police] were 'taking' people, as we said then. . . . Nothing would be heard from them again." Of those who served with Khrushchev on the Communist Party Central Committee in the mid-1930s, nearly three-quarters were arrested and executed within five years. In the end, Khrushchev was one of the few left standing, a man who would eventually denounce Stalin and help bury his cult of personality.¹¹

Khrushchev, according to one of his staffers, possessed "great natural gifts," including the ability to improvise and, when the situation

¹¹ *NYT*, September 12, 1971, 79; Andrei Gromyko, *Memoirs* (New York and other cities: Doubleday, 1989), 365 ("I remember the"); Orlando Figes, *The Whisperers: Private Life in Stalin's Russia* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, Inc., 2007); Taubman, *Khrushchev*, 73-74 ("holocaust").

called for it, to act boldly. Khrushchev as well had a gift for establishing rapport with subordinates. In the mid-1930s, while he was a member of the Central Committee and party boss of Moscow Province, Khrushchev painstakingly oversaw the construction of the capital's grand Metro subway. As the work progressed, he would descend into the tunnels with the laborers, occasionally manning a jackhammer and speaking to the workers in their own crude lingo. His peers nicknamed him "Comrade Lavatory Lover" because of his insistence that the workers be given adequate facilities. Khrushchev also oversaw the distribution of ration cards, rooted out corruption, and encouraged hungry Muscovite workers to raise more of their own food.¹²

Through it all, Khrushchev was a survivor. Other communist leaders thought him Stalin's "liubimchik," his pet—Stalin himself thought of Khrushchev as the "jolly Cossack" and shook with laughter as he made him dance the hopak at the dictator's Blizhnyaya dacha. With no discernable ambition, Khrushchev seemed, according to Fedor Burlatsky, "just a reliable executor of another's will." But Burlatsky, a speechwriter and intimate advisor of Khrushchev's, knew his boss was no fool. Although seemingly benign and willing to passively suffer humiliation, Khrushchev was biding his time. As one historian discerned, "Khrushchev's bright porcine eyes, chunky physique and

¹² *NYT*, September 12, 1971, 77, 78 ("My grandfather was;" "all alike"), 79; Fedor Burlatsky, *Khrushchev and the First Russian Spring* (1988; translation by Daphne Skillen; London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1991), 1, 44 ("in the miner's"); *Time*, January 6, 1958, 17 ("Comrade Lavatory"); Taubman, *Khrushchev*, 90-91 ("I had to make up;" "gaps in education"), 317-18, 369.

toothy smile with its golden teeth exuded primitive coarseness and Promethean energy but camouflaged his cunning.”¹³

Impressed with Khrushchev’s obedience and energy, Stalin in early 1938 dispatched him to the Ukraine, where Khrushchev made his base of operations for the next eleven years.

Aside from Russia itself, Ukraine was the USSR’s most valued possession, a region whose economic and cultural vitality extended back to Kiev’s imperial ascendancy in the 10th century. But thereafter the region had been subjugated and dismembered by Russians and Hapsburgs, and Stalin ruthlessly eliminated any remaining nationalist sentiment. From his sumptuous dacha, Khrushchev cultivated the Ukrainian intellectual and scientific community and won praise for the region’s increased agricultural and industrial productivity. Yet under his watch the atrocities continued, including arrests, forced confessions, and executions.¹⁴

Indeed, and inevitably, serving as he did as a lackey of Stalin, Khrushchev was complicit in the madman’s crimes—“My arms are bloody up to the elbows,” he despondently admitted in retirement. “That is the most terrible thing that lies in my soul.” Burlatsky claimed that Khrushchev played an essential role in the purges of the 1930s, and, indeed, in recently opened Russian archives, Khrushchev’s

¹³ Burlatsky, *Khrushchev and the First Russian Spring*, 1, 42-43 (“If Brutus;” “jolly Cossack”); see *Time*, January 6, 1958, 17; William J. Tompson, *Khrushchev: A Political Life* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995), 105; see Harrison Salisbury, “Khrushchev: Shift in Soviet Path,” *NYT*, September 12, 1971, 77. See also Simon S. Montefiore, *Stalin: The Court of the Red Tsar* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003), 168 (“meteoric bumpkin”), 175

¹⁴ Taubman, *Khrushchev*, 114-46; see also Burlatsky, *Khrushchev and the First Russian Spring*, 56-60

signature appears side by side with Stalin's on many of the documents condemning people to "liquidation."¹⁵

During World War II—Russia's "Great Patriotic War"—Khrushchev rose to the rank of lieutenant general, although his war record was uneven at best. He oversaw the successful defenses of key urban centers such as Stalingrad and Kursk, but he also supervised the disastrous Kharkov offensive of May 1942 that resulted in almost 300,000 casualties. If nothing else, he, like survivors of the war, was left at the end of it all with a profound abhorrence of war.

In 1945 the devastation in Russia was staggering: Twenty-seven million dead, hundreds of towns and villages destroyed, tens of thousands of factories leveled, thousands of miles of rail lines wrecked, and nearly a third of the wealth of the Soviet Union wiped out. In the Ukraine, the devastation was worse still: two million deported to German labor camps and one in six dead. Conditions scarcely improved during "peacetime," in part because of Khrushchev's renewal of collectivized agriculture and his brutal suppression of nationalist uprisings. In all, Soviet authorities executed some 200,000 countrymen after 1945 and sent twice as many into exile or prison. Yet Khrushchev weirdly intermingled such brutal methods with a sincere desire to improve the lives of the Ukrainians. He directed the region's economic reconstruction and even risked his life by challenging Stalin's orders he thought detrimental to his homeland.¹⁶

¹⁵ Nina Khrushcheva, "The day Khrushchev buried Stalin," *Los Angeles Times* online, February 19, 2006 ("up to the elbows;" "kindly old") (February 22, 2006). Burlatsky, *Khrushchev and the First Russian Spring*, 1, 56 ("The gloomiest")

¹⁶ *U.S. News & World Report*, September 7, 1959, 62-63; Edward Crankshaw, *Khrushchev: A Career* (New York: Viking Press, 1966), 137-47; Taubman, *Khrushchev*, 149-207; see *KR*, 165-226.

By late 1949, Khrushchev, always the survivor, was back in Moscow and back in Stalin's inner circle, albeit in a diminished capacity. Yet over the next few years, he rose in the bureaucracy if for no other reason than Stalin murdered most every official ahead of him; by the time Stalin died in 1953, only Khrushchev and the colorless Bulganin were left, both of them saved by their self-evident lack of charisma.¹⁷

Even as Stalin lay dying, few would have thought that Khrushchev would eventually succeed him. Hours before his demise, Stalin parceled out positions like a robber baron on his deathbed: Georgy Malenkov would become the head of the Soviet state; Lavrentiy Beria would command the secret police; Vyacheslav Molotov would take the foreign ministry; and Khrushchev would oversee agriculture, although he was secretly assured he would also get command of the military. Despite these bequests, plots and counterplots swirled even as mourners filled Red Square; each of the presumptive heirs conspired to eliminate their rivals.¹⁸

The new leaders, like Stalin, wholly underrated this Ukrainian “jolly Cossack.” After becoming First Secretary of the Communist Party in 1953, Khrushchev sensed his opening when Bulganin—a man who inspired confidence in no one—became Prime Minister in 1955. Slowly but inexorably, Khrushchev assumed parity then superiority and swiftly pushed Bulganin aside. After the putative co-leaders met with

¹⁷ Yoram Gorlizki and Oleg Khlevniuk, *Cold Peace: Stalin and the Soviet Ruling Circle, 1945-1953* (New York and other cities: Oxford University Press, 2004), 93, 94, 146.

¹⁸ Donald Rayfield, *Stalin and His Hangmen* (New York: Random House, 2004), 460-66; Taubman, *Khrushchev*, 248-57, Tompson, *Khrushchev*, 120-22; Robert Service, *Stalin: A Biography* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2005), 459-60, 585-90; *KRG*, 100.

U.S. officials at the Geneva Summit that summer, it quickly became apparent who was the first among equals. President Eisenhower, after Khrushchev summarily dismissed America's "Open Skies" initiative—an audacious proposal that would allow each nation to conduct aerial surveillance of the other's military capabilities—knew, as he later wrote, "who was the real boss" of the Soviet Union. In all, Khrushchev had, as Saul Bellow put it, "what it took to finish the course: the nerves, the control, the patience, the piercing ambition, the strength to kill and to endure the threat of death."¹⁹

* * * * *

No matter how callously Nikita Khrushchev pursued his ambitions, he genuinely wanted to improve the lives of the Soviet people. Once having assumed power, he freed millions from the gulags, eased censorship, lifted economic restrictions, and helped create cultural contacts. Relieved Russians called it simply "The Thaw."²⁰

¹⁹ Gorlizki and Khlevniuk, *Cold Peace*, 94; Taubman, *Khrushchev*, 370 ("a fool"); Tompson, *Khrushchev*, 135-42; Roy Medvedev and Zhores Medvedev, *Khrushchev: The Years in Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 4; John L. Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2005), 72-73; DDE to C.D. Jackson, September 23, 1959, *PDDE*, XX, 1670 ("who was the real boss"); Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change, 1953-1956* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963), 519-22; see also CBS Reports, "Eisenhower on the Presidency," Part II, as broadcast over CBS Television Network, Thursday, November 23, 1961, 19, (an interview of Eisenhower by Walter Cronkite), typed copy in Series I, Box 1, WJFP; Saul Bellow, "Literary Notes on Khrushchev," *It All Adds Up*, 33.

²⁰ Edward Crankshaw, *Khrushchev's Russia* (Middlesex and other cities: Penguin Books, 1959), 99-139 ("The Great Thaw," "that the Communist idea").

Yet the thaw was partial at best and certainly did not signal the onset of artistic freedom, as USSR's premier poet, Boris Pasternak, soon discovered. In 1957, the publication of his novel *Doctor Zhivago* enraged Soviet officials, who tried to suppress the book, thinking it anti-Bolshevik. The story revolved around Dr. Yuri Zhivago, a fiercely independent individual struggling against collectivism in Revolutionary Russia. American authorities—believing the book to have “great propaganda value”—instructed the CIA to smuggle translated editions into Russia and distribute copies as widely as possible. The book and its suppression, they believed, was an “opportunity to make Soviet citizens wonder what is wrong with their government, when a fine literary work by the man acknowledged to be the greatest living Russian writer is not even available in his own country in his own language for his own people to read.”²¹

Doctor Zhivago quickly became an international bestseller and was eventually translated into seventeen languages. When it was awarded the 1958 Nobel Prize for Literature, Pasternak became a celebrity in the West and made the cover of *Time*. But the novel deeply embarrassed Russian officials and Pasternak was told in no uncertain terms that if he went to Stockholm to receive his prize he would not be allowed back into Russia. The cowed Pasternak refused the prize, comparing himself to “a beast in an enclosure” whose only solace was

²¹ *Washington Post*, April 5, 2014; CIA memos available at <http://apps.washingtonpost.com/g/page/world/the-cia-and-doctor-zhivago-memo-from-april-24-1958/922/> and <http://apps.washingtonpost.com/g/page/world/the-cia-and-doctor-zhivago-explore-the-cache-of-documents/924/> accessed April 10, 2014. The CIA's work in this regard wasn't uncommon; the agency distributed approximately 10 million copies of books and magazines behind the Iron Curtain. Peter Finn and Petra Couvee, *The Zhivago Affair: The Kremlin, the CIA, and the Battle Over a Forbidden Book* (New York: Pantheon, 2014).

that “I am near my grave,” and begged to be allowed to remain in his homeland. In America, Eisenhower professed to be “shocked” and saddened that such “a creative mind” was told, in essence, ““you will either write what we say or you won’t write.”” Eleanor Roosevelt, during a visit to the Soviet Union in 1958, gently lobbied Khrushchev on Pasternak’s behalf; the artist, she said, clearly loved his country and its people. At the end of it all, the affair exposed the fact that Russia had not so completely broken with the ways of Stalin; though life was better, repression continued.²²

As embarrassed as the Soviets were by the Pasternak affair, they were equally proud of their achievements in space exploration. In October 1957 Russia launched the world’s first man-made satellite, *Sputnik*; a month later, *Sputnik II* followed, carrying the first living creature—a doomed dog named Laika—into space. Meanwhile, Russia continued to make significant advances in Intercontinental Ballistic Missile technology. America now confronted not only a Soviet Union armed with nuclear weapons but possessed of the capability to deliver them anywhere on the planet.

And then, just three days before Khrushchev’s arrival, the Soviets slammed *Lunik II*, an 860-pound missile, into the surface of the moon. It was the first time humans had made contact with an

²² *Time*, December 15, 1958, 80-82, 85-86, 88 (“reminds men that”). The President’s News Conference of November 5, 1958, *PPPE*, 1958, 830 (“shocked”); *KRLT*, 76-77; 77fn; Taubman, *Khrushchev*, 383-86; Service, *Modern Russia*, 365; *NYT*, February 17, 1959; ER to Khrushchev, November 5, 1958, Box 3577; see also Mikhail Menshikov to ER, November 22, 1958, Box 3595, ERP; Service, *Stalin*, 594; *Time*, April 30, 1956, 29-30; *NYT*, October 8, 1957, 10. Khrushchev didn’t get around to reading the novel until he had retired. After reading it, he said “we shouldn’t have banned it. I should have read it myself. There’s nothing anti-Soviet in it.” Taubman, 628.

extraterrestrial object, and it was yet another first for the USSR. American missile technology, meanwhile, literally could not get off the ground. In response to Sputnik launches of late 1957, America inaugurated Project Vanguard and with great publicity, attempted to put a small, six pound TV3 satellite into orbit. On December 6, 1957, the Vanguard rocket rose four feet and promptly exploded as millions watched on live television. The failure of “Kapatnik,” as it was instantly labeled by the American media, wasn’t the last; of ten subsequent Vanguard launches over the next two years, only three actually made it into orbit.²³

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As Khrushchev’s visit approached, journalists and pundits cranked out endless stories on the visitor and his land, effectively debriefing the American public. Former *New York Times*’ Moscow Bureau chief William Jordan wrote in the *New York Times* Sunday magazine two days before Khrushchev’s arrival that the premier was “a man of many faces and many facets, to some a buffoon, to others a genius, yet really neither.” His talk of co-existence with the West, said Jordan, was difficult to square with his unshakeable belief in the inevitability of communism’s triumph. Jordan, moreover, predicted that nothing Khrushchev would see in the United States would shake his faith in communism. That same day, William Hearst Jr. printed an “Open Letter to Mr. K” on page one of the *Los Angeles Examiner* in which he insisted that America’s “ruling class” was not, contrary to

²³ On *Lunik II*, see statement in Box 44, DDE Diary Series, AWF, EL; John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, *Venona: Decoding Espionage in America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999, 2000), 247-49.

Soviet belief, a clique of capitalists and their political lackeys, but the American electorate itself. Proof of capitalism's superiority could be seen in the country's material prosperity and political freedom: abundant cars, plentiful goods, affordable housing, free elections, and a free press. Hearst meant for his broadside, if nothing else, to brace his fellow Americans against the ideological wares peddled by the communist huckster. Similarly, David Lawrence's right-leaning *U. S. News & World Report* sought to strengthen America's ideological fortifications, warning its readers not to be fooled by the empty and disingenuous talk of "peaceful coexistence." Yet there was little chance that Khrushchev would seduce Americans with his brand of socialism: as the *New York Times* wrote, "Too many Americans remember Korea in 1950, East Berlin in 1953 and Budapest in 1956."²⁴

In August, Khrushchev had told the press in Moscow that his venture to America was a mission of peace, that he was ready "to turn my pockets out to show I am harmless." But predictably, conservative publications in America were profoundly suspicious; the *U.S. News* pointedly reminded its readers of Khrushchev's role in Stalin's purges, his repression of the Hungarians, and his penchant for "stirring up trouble around the globe and threatening civilization with a nuclear World War III." Meanwhile, Philip Burnham in the Catholic *Commonweal* declared that Khrushchev's claim of peaceful competition with the West was "palpable propaganda" and that "if Khrushchev and the movement he heads are not an enemy, it would

²⁴ See reprint and clippings in KV, RMPPM ("Open Letter"); William Jordan, "Khrushchev--The Man and the Mystery," *NYTM*, 23 ("He is a skillful"), 115, 116, 117, 118 ('stem the tide"), 119; Crankshaw, "Khrushchev: Man Behind the Masks," 148, 152 ("the visionary and"); *LAE*, September 13, 1959, 1, B. *U.S. News & World Report*, September 7, 1959, 58. *NYT*, September 15, 1959, 38 ("Too many Americans").

seem there is no enemy.” Hearst’s *Los Angeles Examiner* proclaimed that “behind the pudgy amiability and the bland words of peace is a shrewd, cunning, alert, completely dedicated Communist, full of proverbs and equally full of guile.”²⁵

In their attempt to better understand the new premier and his temperament, American officials sought the help of psychologists. Some analysts made the same mistake that the premier’s Soviet rivals had: Khrushchev was, according to one estimate, “clowning, crude, unpredictable peasant—a man of little consequence, something of a court jester,” a “uniquely clever, deliberate and far-seeing political dealer” whose “homely, bumptious mannerisms are merely tricks out of a bag.” Others, however, were more astute, concluding that the premier neither understood nor appreciated Western-style democracy but regarded the United States with “a blend of awe and resentment.” Impetuous, but never reckless or paranoid, Khrushchev was a survivor and a populist, “a handshaking, back-slapping, grass-roots politician who could draw a good vote in any democracy and a shrewd and ruthless manipulator of power in the best totalitarian tradition.” These aspects of Khrushchev’s personality—at once serious and mercurial, bombastic and jovial—soon became familiar to Americans. Eisenhower likened Khrushchev’s behavior to that of a diabetic who didn’t adjust well to his insulin. Even Nikita’s wife admitted as much; on the plane to America, Nina Petrovna remarked that her husband was “either all the way up or all the way down.”²⁶

²⁵ *U.S. News & World Report*, September 7, 1959, 58 (“man of many;” “You must go”); *Time*, August 17, 1959, 18 (“to turn my pockets”); Philip Burnham, “Crisis in Hospitality,” *Commonweal*, September 18, 1959, 515 (“palpable propaganda”); *LAE*, September 16, 1959, sec. 3, p. 2 (“Behind the pudgy”).

²⁶ A Portrait of Khrushchev, n.d., Box 52, IS, AWF; Khrushchev: The

Since 1955, Khrushchev had become more familiar to the American people, having appeared more and more frequently in the American media. His first American television interview—an hour-long interview on CBS's *Face the Nation*—was broadcast in 1957. “By turns ingratiating, evasive, and stern,” Khrushchev “carried it off magnificently,” recalled CBS's Moscow correspondent Daniel Schorr decades later, Skillfully deflecting questions about the invasion of Hungary and the jamming of U.S. radio broadcasts in the USSR,

Man and His Outlook (Background Paper); September 11, 1959; Summary of Mr. Stevenson's Conversation with Soviet Leaders July-August, 1958 (briefing paper prior to Khrushchev's visit to the U.S.), Box 64, CF, WHCF; Humphrey to DDE, August 10, 1959, OF 225-E, WHCF, EL; Memorandum of Conversation between Eric Johnston and Nikita Khrushchev, November 4, 1958, *FRUS, 1958-1960*, X, Part 1, 185, 204; Carl Solberg, *Hubert Humphrey: A Biography* (St. Paul: Bourealis Books, 1984), 188-90, 194; *NYT*, December 2, 1958, 6; December 3, 1958, 1-2; December 4, 1958, 2; December 7, 1958, 26; December 9, 1958, 1, 3; December 10, 1959, 6; July 27, 1959, 1, 23, 23A;; see also Humphrey to Schlesinger, May 18, July 6, 1959; see copy of Humphrey's 24 pages of scribbled notes in AMSJP; DDE to Aksel Nielsen, June 19, 1957, *PDDE*, XVIII, 268, 268n; for Humphrey's own tale, see his autobiography, *The Education of a Public Man: My Life and Politics* (Norman Sherman, ed., Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), 196-201; Rudy Abramson, *Spanning the Century: The Life of W. Averell Harriman, 1891-1986* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1992), 571-74; Harriman to Alsop, October 15, 1959; see also Alsop to Harriman, October 1, 1959, Box 15, J/SAP, LC; Associated Press typescript (copy) July 2 [1959]; Memorandum, E. Lewis Revey to Lewellyn Thompson(?), July 3, 1959; see also Memorandum, Nedville E. Nordness to Lewellyn Thompson(?), July 2, 1959; and related material; Charles Thayer, n.d., Conversation of Governor Harriman with Mr. Khrushchev[,] June 23, 1959 (draft); see also what is obviously a memo from Harriman to Thayer, May 6, 1960, regarding the draft; see also memorandum, Harriman to Robert McNamara, April 20, 1961, Box 427, WAHP, LC; Khrushchev, Nikita Sergeyeovich, September 1959 (“usually well briefed”); Khrushchev: The Man and His Outlook (Background Paper); September 11, 1959, Box 64, CF, WHCF, EL; Richard Strout, notes, July 27, 1959, Box 8, RSP; Taubman, *Khrushchev*, xx (“He's either”).

Khrushchev called for peace and improved U.S.-Soviet relations. It was a public relations triumph: “Khrushchev had,” Schorr continued, “appeared in America’s living rooms—real, robust, and unthreatening.” When the reporter told the Soviet boss that his TV appearance had made him a celebrity in the U.S., Khrushchev self-effacingly replied, “If American television depends on me to be its star, it will be bankrupt in a month.”²⁷

For weeks, American media parsed the interview. “For a layman whose mental image of a Communist chief might be confined to impersonal headlines or the heavily-guarded figure in conventional newsreels,” wrote Jack Gould in the *New York Times*, “the hour was an absorbing revelation. The cause of communism at the moment has a slick salesman.” The editors of the *New York Times* hailed the broadcast and hoped for a reciprocal interview in which Eisenhower would appear on Soviet radio and television in a “free competition of ideas.” During a press conference three days later, the President was asked if he would request equal time on Soviet media—an idea that was in fact being bandied about within the administration. Eisenhower replied that if guarantees were given that content would be neither distorted nor censored, “somebody in this Government will be glad to accept.” But Ike’s polite comments masked his profound irritation. Two years later at Geneva, the president had proposed—and the Russians had rejected—just such a suggestion that reciprocal transmissions

²⁷ CBS News & Public Affairs, “Face the Nation” transcript of Khrushchev interview, May 28 (1957), broadcast on CBS Television Network and CBS Radio Network, June 2, 1957, copy in Box 549, WPRP; Schorr, *Staying Tuned*, 99-103 (“He carried it off;” “America is”), 111 (“What is”). Not all were so impressed. In a State Department press conference on June 11, Dulles said he didn’t believe the American public was “fooled” by Khrushchev’s statements. *NYT*, June 12, 1957, 12.

would be broadcast into each country. As Eisenhower later complained to Bernard Baruch, too few Americans understood the contrast between a dictatorial regime's iron grip on media and a free society where private corporations could broadcast with "no responsibility to determine whether such action is to the national advantage or not."²⁸

A few months later in the fall of 1957, Pulitzer Prize winning journalist Scotty Reston landed an extended interview with Khrushchev in Moscow published in three parts in the *New York Times*. The communist boss ranged over a variety of subjects, including weapons technology, disarmament, Germany, the Middle East, and Turkey. A good Marxist, Khrushchev predicted that the state and, indeed, all means of coercion would wither away and that a brave new world of freedom, Soviet style, would eventually spread throughout the world. Khrushchev, at about the same time, told the right-wing publishing magnate William Randolph Hearst Jr. that communism would inevitably prevail over capitalism. In the meantime, Khrushchev continued, capitalist and communist regimes should strive for disarmament, trade, and peaceful competition. "Mr. Hearst, convey this to your President."²⁹

²⁸ The President's Press Conference of June 5, 1957, *PPPE* 1957, 438-40 ("except in power;" italics added; "get this straight;" "not willing;" "Do you believe"); *NYT*, June 3, 1957, 1, 6 (including text of interview), 26 ("the free competition"), 51 ("For a layman"); June 4, 1957, 1, 34; June 5, 1957, 1, 11; June 6, 1957, 17 ("aggressive skepticism"); DDE to Baruch, June 11, 1957, *PDDE*, XVIII, 249-50 ("no responsibility"), 250n.

²⁹ *NYT*, October 8, 1957, 1, 10; October 9, 1957, 1, 10; October 10, 1957, 1, 9; see also October 28, 1957, 8; William Randolph Hearst, Jr., Frank Conniff, and Bob Considine, *Ask Me Anything: Our Adventures With Khrushchev* (New York and other cities: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960), 37-43. Hearst, *et al.*, *Ask Me Anything*, 116-49 ("Mr. Hearst, convey"); *NYT*, May 8, 1956, 24 ("the most remarkable").

That fall, Khrushchev granted still another high-profile interview, this one with former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt during her tour of the USSR. He had “all the bearing of an Eastern European peasant,” she reported; “His fingers, his hands, his whole build is that of a peasant. He has the peasant canniness and cautiousness, but he is, on the other hand, extremely articulate.” And although she had been warned that Khrushchev was “an impossible person, vulgar, drinking, disagreeable,” Roosevelt was pleasantly surprised to find that “he was none of those things.”³⁰

Despite his charm, few had forgotten what Khrushchev was capable of—especially in the wake of the brutal repression of the Hungarian revolt. “Who would have thought,” asked Edward Crankshaw, a British expert on Russian affairs, “that the genial, plain-speaking soul on the TV screens of America . . . had not long before put down the Hungarian revolution in blood and torture?” The “Hungarian Freedom Fighter”—armed, bleeding, and determined—was *Time*’s “Man of the Year” for 1956, an unmistakable condemnation of Soviet actions. Yet the very next year, after surviving an attempted coup by anti-reform Stalinists Molotov, Malenkov, and his old mentor Lazar Kaganovich, Khrushchev himself was *Time*’s “Man of the Year” (“Butcher of the Year would have been more appropriate,” complained one *Time* reader.) It was an object lesson for the West, a demonstration, according to the *New York Times*, of just “how rapidly Soviet troops in large numbers could be moved into a neighboring country.”³¹

³⁰ NBC, *Meet the Press* (transcript of interview with Eleanor Roosevelt, October 20, 1957; Washington: NBC, 1957), 3-4 (“an impossible;” “His fingers”), Box 3858, ERP.

³¹ *NYT*, June 3, 1957, 26 (“how rapidly”); *Time*, January 6, 1958, 16-20; January 20, 1958, 2 (“Butcher of”); *Newsweek*, November 11, 1957, 50 (“chilling inside”), Crankshaw, “Khrushchev: Man Behind the

Indeed, Hungary loomed over Khrushchev's visit to America. Throughout his tour, thousands of Hungarian expatriates protested, unable to see any substantive difference between Stalin and his successor. The crushing of the Hungarian revolt was also a clarifying event for the few remaining far-leftists in America. As leftwing journalist I. F. Stone wrote in November 1956, Hungary destroyed any lingering illusions about the Soviets. "An era is dying," he wrote in his *Weekly*, "the era in which many of us intellectuals grew up, the era of the Russian Revolution, the era in which—for all its faults and evils—defense of that revolution was somehow the moral duty of all progressive minded men. That is over, and with it the companion notion . . . that Russia was not an imperial power."³²

* * * * *

Khrushchev was, in many ways, the prototypical Russian: a weird amalgam of confidence and insecurity. On the one hand, he was a supremely proud man—proud of his achievements, proud of his ideology, proud of what his country had achieved in the recent past—in particular, the successful launches of *Sputnik* and *Lunik* missions. The invitation itself was a barometer of how far the USSR had come from the time that the US refused to even recognize its existence. "Who would have guessed twenty years ago," Khrushchev enthused, "that the most powerful capitalist country in the world would invite a Communist to visit? This is incredible. Today they *have* to take us into

Masks," 147; Service, *Stalin*, 594; Robert Service, *A History of Modern Russia: From Nicholas II to Vladimir Putin* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 344-45; see Hearst, *et al.*, *Ask Me Anything*, 96-104.

³² *I.F. Stone's Weekly*, November 19, 1956, 4 ("An era is dying").

account. It's our strength that led to this—they have to recognize our existence and our power.”³³

At the same time, Khrushchev possessed, according to the British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, “an inferiority complex that still goes very deep” and was “extremely sensitive to any imagined slight.” At root, Khrushchev, like Russian rulers stretching back centuries, yearned to be respected, to be considered a leader of the first order. Their fear of being slighted or disrespected gave rise to a ubiquitous suspicion and a penchant for overreacting to perceived slights: “We will not allow anyone to push us around or to sit on our necks,” Khrushchev declared. Thus, for example, when Khrushchev learned he was to meet Eisenhower at a place called “Camp David,” instinctively he dreaded he was being shunted off to a compound reserved for the unworthy.” Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, after meeting Khrushchev in 1958, aptly summed up these contradictory characteristics when he described Khrushchev as “insecure in a superconfident way.” As Foy Kohler perceptively remarked, “it must never be forgotten that the reverse side of Khrushchev’s arrogance is the most super-colossal inferiority complex in the world.”³⁴

This compound of insecurity and audacity was given tangible form by the very aircraft that brought Khrushchev to the U.S.—the gargantuan Tupolev 114, the world’s largest passenger plane. Built by the Soviet state-run airline Aeroflot and unveiled in 1957, the jet-powered propeller aircraft had a wingspan of over 177 feet and could fly nonstop from Moscow to New York in just over eleven hours, a

³³ William Taubman, ed., *Khrushchev on Khrushchev: An Inside Account of the Man and His Era*, by His Son, Sergei Khrushchev (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1990), 356.

³⁴ Taubman, *Khrushchev*, 420, 411, 408; Carlson, 64

record at the time. In Khrushchev's mind, the plane was the latest instance of Russian achievement—yet further proof that the Soviet Union could not only compete but surpass the West.

Yet, more accurately, the airliner could be seen as an expression of the limitations of Russian technology. Though physically impressive, the TU-114, even as it rolled down the runway for the first time, was outdated. Its counter-rotating jet-prop technology had long been abandoned by American aircraft builders. In fact, by 1958, Douglas Aircraft and Boeing had already introduced four-engine all-jet 707s and DC-8s into domestic and international service. As well, the TU-114's navigational system—the navigator sat in the nose of the plane, much like World War II-era American bombers—was outdated and inefficient and forced Soviet pilots to fly “by the seat of their pants.” “If this is Russia's ‘finest,’” wrote Fulton Lewis Jr., a columnist for King Features Syndicate, “this country doesn't have much to worry about.”³⁵

The TU-114 also had structural issues. After a test flight in May, tiny cracks appeared in at least one of the engines and Soviet officials were alarmed enough to try to dissuade Khrushchev from flying to America in the aircraft. But when the premier asked the TU-114's designer, Andrei Tupolev, about its safety, the 70-year-old designer declared that “I'm absolutely certain you won't have any

³⁵ See *Time*, May 4, 1959, 69; Fulton Lewis, Jr. “Mr. K Frankly Prefers to Fly in U.S. Jet,” *LAE*, September 24, 1959, sec. 3, p. 4 (“by the seat of;” “If this is”); *WP*, August 8, 1959, A4; Levine, *Main Street, U.S.S.R.*, 221-29; Hearst, *et al.*, *Ask Me Anything*, 109-13, 146; *NYT*, January 9, 1956, 10, 16, 17; *LAE*, September 3, 1959, sec. 3, p.6; *NYT*, January 10, 1956, 13; September 17, 1959, 77; *SFE*, September 18, 1959, sec. VI, p. 1; *LAE*, September 9, 1959, sec. 1, p. 5; *PSN*, September 8, 1959, 12; *LAE*, September 20, 1959, sec. 1, pt. A, p. 15; September 21, 1959, sec. 1, p. 7.

trouble.” In fact, Tupolev was so sure of the plane’s safety that he asked Khrushchev to take his son, Alyosha, with him to America. Nonetheless, a technical team accompanied Khrushchev to America, monitoring the engines throughout the flight. “They sat in front of complicated control boards and panels with a multitude of blinking green lights,” said Sergei Khrushchev, their presence causing a good deal of nervousness. “We were drawn,” he continued, “as if by magnets, to their boxes, checking to make sure that no red lights went on. We couldn’t forget those microscopic cracks.” At once strong and flawed, impressive and vaguely ridiculous, proud and passé, the plane was a window into the Russian psyche.³⁶

* * * * *

As the TU-114 prepared for landing at Andrews Air Force Base, the Soviet press corps proclaimed that “the historic moment of the meeting of the heads of two Great Powers, on which the attention of the peoples of the whole world is focused, is nearing.” As the plane descended sunny and beautiful day, the Soviet leader spotted clusters of Americans in festive summertime clothes—“like a flowerbed of different colors.” “My nerves” he recalled, “were strained with excitement.” Using the full length of the runway, the sleek airliner touched down at 12:21 p.m. Eastern Daylight Time, blue smoke puffing from its huge wheels. Awed by the plane’s sheer size, the waiting

³⁶ *KRLT*, 39, 372-73 (“I’m absolutely;” “giving explanations”); Sergei Khrushchev, *Khrushchev*, 328-29; *NYT*, November 5, 1957, 25. Sergei Khrushchev, *Khrushchev*, 328

crowd gasped audibly. Nikita Khrushchev's journey into America had begun.³⁷

³⁷ *CT*, October 12, 1959, 32; *WP*, June 16, 1959, B1; August 8, 1959, A4; *KRLT*, 375-76 ('like a flowerbed'); *FF*, 51 ("The historic moment"), 52; *LAE*, September 16, 1959, sec. 1, p. 2.