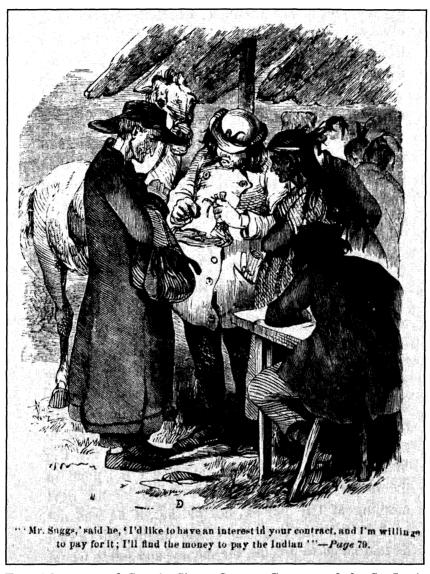
## Writing with a Forked Pen: Racial Dynamics and Johnson Jones Hooper's Twin Tale of Swindling Indians

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Much Old Southwest humor isn't funny. Readers may occasionally chortle or chuckle, but the genre reflected and encouraged a racist social order in which the law of "claw and fang" was sanctioned by a pre-Spencerian version of Social Darwinism. Although Herbert Spencer did not coin the term "survival of the fittest" until the mid-1860s, Southwest "humorists" were building on a related political-ethical tradition already well developed by the early nineteenth century. Before Spencer, proponents of this tradition relied on a Biblical justification, claiming that God had planned this winnowing process for his creations. During the nineteenth century this religious legitimation of social inequality was reinforced-by a resort to science, as the work of such men as Louis Agassiz, Samuel Morton, Josiah Nott, George Gliddon, and, finally, Charles Darwin provided what appeared to be a "scientific" rationale to undergird existing beliefs in This article examines racial dynamics in the humor of the Old Southwest in order to illumine the cultural and social significance of this genre, particularly in terms of how it reflects the intellectual and political impact of midnineteenth century scientific concerns about the nature of social hierarchy and dominance.

Southwest humor, which flourished from the 1830s until the Civil War era, was set in the southwestern frontier as it moved through the interior of the Carolinas and Georgia and then westward through Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Missouri, and Louisiana.<sup>2</sup> The genre focused on life in the semi-



Frm Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs. Courtesy of the St. Louis Public Library.

frontier before a legal system had been firmly established; it portrayed a world peopled primarily by males—a motley assortment of con men and fools, as well as assorted fighters, hunters, and braggarts. Among its most representative figures were Davy Crockett, Mike Fink, Sut Lovingood, and Simon Suggs—all men who claimed a knowledge of the natural world in action. During the time that

Southwest Humor was most popular, the American system of social inequality was a many-headed beast, but my main concern here is with racial degradation, and in particular with the use and abuse of Native Americans within the genre during the period of "Indian Removal" from the old Southwest.

Several scholars have discussed the predatory social type that was a prominent feature of the genre. For example, Richard Slotkin has noted that "the aura of the free hunter which surrounds Crockett, Suggs, and Lovingood makes romantic and palatable the essentially commercial and exploitive nature of their ambitions and activities." Susan Kuhlman has claimed that the confidence man so pervasive in Southwest humor "represents an individuation of manifest destiny," and Gary Lindberg has also suggested a link between real-world economic stratagems and con men in the humor of the Old Southwest. He also claims that Southwest humor "operates in a game space; the sanctions that would ordinarily check our admiration of the rogue do not operate." The genre, he asserts, has the capacity to "negate moral perceptions." However, these authors only briefly mention links between Southwest humor, politics, economics, and science.<sup>3</sup> Although Johanna Nicol Shields has analyzed Johnson Jones Hooper's fictional depiction of slaves, 4 on the whole little has been written about the relation of the humor of the Old Southwest to the broader cultural and social dynamics of the time.

In Southwest humor those who lose out were born fools—or rather they were created damned fools and were fulfilling their destiny. And, although victims in Southwest humor could be drawn from any class and color, those who were non-white—African Americans and, most prominently, Native Americans—were especially vulnerable, likely because their non-fiction counterparts possessed land worth coveting.<sup>5</sup> Beneath a veneer of humor, these writers promoted a survival-of-the-fittest world to legitimate the accompanying practices of racial antagonism and swindling; their stories repeatedly portray these practices as being in accord with "Providence" and "natur." My main concern in this article is to examine the manner in which old Southwest writers used humor to legitimate the political and economic interests of the elites and, especially, with the way in which humor was used to justify racial inequalities.

One of the most prominent Southwest humorists was Johnson Jones Hooper, whose Simon Suggs stories won enormous popularity in the mid-nineteenth century. The individual stories were widely reprinted, and *Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs* went through eleven editions between 1845 and 1856.<sup>6</sup> This collection, particularly his story of white men swindling Native Americans, "Simon Speculates Again," provides insights into how Southwest humor's ostensibly regional preoccupation with justifying cutthroat business deals represents and responds to the larger social, political and economic concerns shaping U.S. society. Based on a foundation of a proto-Social Darwinism that pervaded Southwest humor, the story vindicated those lying to, sexually abusing, and cheating Native Americans; it also gave guidance to those predators who needed

to develop sentimental "cover stories" that maintained a genteel facade, and it both placated and diverted those not in tune with a survival-of-the-fittest approach.

In Suggs, Johnson Jones Hooper created Southwest humor's greatest predator hero. Unlike George Washington Harris's Sut Lovingood, who toys with people by setting animal nature and human nature on collision courses, Simon focuses on human prey for personal gain. The animal elements in the Suggs' stories are chiefly metaphorical rather than physical. Simon is a con man whose wiles and honed selfishness keep him responsive to the offerings of "Providence." Although he is clearly no gentleman, he is also no fool. While readers would feel sufficiently detached from Simon to enjoy his victories without feeling in cahoots with him, his intelligence and cunning were clearly meant to be appealing. Hooper's Simon Suggs evaluates ethical principles in practical terms, and to him traditional ethics are invalid. "Goodness" does not mean abiding by a firm, traditional moral code. He perceives goodness as foolish and thus amoral; utility shapes his morality, and thus, in Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs, the narrator records Suggs' "favorite aphorism" as "IT IS GOOD TO BE SHIFTY IN A NEW COUNTRY." The word "shifty" functions on many levels here. Not only did it imply trickiness, but adaptability and industry as well. Simon Suggs' putative campaign biographer informs the reader that this shiftiness was a means of survival bestowed by reasonable Mother Nature, who also supplied him with a predator's instincts and natural weapons:

He possesses, in an eminent degree, that tact which enables man to detect the *soft spots* in his fellow, and to assimilate himself to whatever company he may fall in with.... In short, nature gave the Captain the precise intellectual outfit most to be desired by a man of his propensities. She sent him into the world a sort of he-Pallas, ready to cope with his kind, from his infancy, in all the arts by which men "get along" in the world; if she made him, in respect to his moral conformation, a beast of prey, she did not refine the cruelty by denying him the fangs and the claws. (9)

Hooper added validity and status to Mother Nature's design of Simon by alluding to Greek mythology in the form of Pallas Athene, the goddess of might and wisdom who sprang fully armed from the head of Zeus. Simon was likewise armed. Like some other protagonists in Southwest humor (Sut Lovingood with his long legs that enabled his escapes and Davy Crockett with his grin—useful in hunts of both the backwoods and Congressional sort), Hooper's con man possessed a dominant physical feature that facilitates survival: appropriately, Hooper made his protagonist's "great feature" his huge mouth, the mouth of a predator.

Hooper was in step with the dominant culture of his time. Employing science and religion to justify personal advancement and racial chauvinism proved useful to those in power during earlier days of Indian Removal and the resulting real estate bonanzas. Educated men knew that great changes had occurred on earth and that some species became extinct while others flourished. Charles Lyell's acclaimed *Principles of Geology* (published in three volumes from 1830 to 1833) highlighted fossil records, spurring a debate concerning what caused changes in the earth over time. *The American Journal of Science and Art*, the most prestigious American science journal in the nineteenth century, was packed with discoveries of various native bones and fossils. Adam Sedgwick and William Whewell proposed that catastrophic shifts in geologic record were likely caused by an extraordinary, perhaps supernatural, force.<sup>8</sup>

The existence of extinctions etched in stone, coupled with "scientific" claims of white superiority, provided justification for genocide, since members of the dominant culture considered both extinctions and their superior positions providential. One topic of heated contention in the period between 1830 and 1860 was whether separate divine "Creations" had given rise to different races. If the African (or "Ethiopian") and Indian races were unrelated to Caucasians (via Adam and Eve) as numerous theoreticians asserted, then their human status became suspect. Some popular scientists noted that these two races were particularly static and little susceptible to improvement (i.e., becoming more like whites); these theorists emphasized that, in contrast, Caucasians possessed a proven ability to change and rise above a "primitive" state. Louis Agassiz' claims concerning separate creations added weight to extremists' arguments<sup>9</sup>; thus, espousing "scientific racism" became an acceptably genteel way to condone white dominance.

While many Democrats condoned overt violence against Indians, those portraying themselves as Whig "statesmen"—and most Southwest humorists identified themselves as such—adopted a more patronizing tone. 10 In his diary of 1825, Whig-to-be John Quincy Adams quoted Henry Clay, a man who would become a bastion of the Whig Party, as saying that Indians were "not an improvable breed" and were "essentially inferior to the Anglo-Saxon race." Clay also expressed his belief that Indians "were destined to extinction, and, although he would never use or countenance inhumanity towards them, he did not think them, as a race, worth preserving." Adams acknowledged his concern that these opinions had "too much foundation." While Adams and Clay, as President and Secretary of State respectively, spoke vigorously about defending Indian treaties, they took little action to actually uphold them. At one point, after Adams' agent to the Creeks asked the President to explicitly refuse to defend the Creeks' claim to some land in Georgia (which Adams called "those pine barrens which can be of no value to them"), Adams backed away from either support for or denial of the treaty, replying rather obliquely that if the United States "should . . . find it necessary to interfere for the protection of the Indians in their possession of [the tract], they must inevitably be the sufferers in the end."12 Eventually the Creeks

were pressured into selling this land, and many were grossly cheated. Andrew Jackson, the Democrat who succeeded Adams, took a different approach and accomplished the mass removal of Indians through overt violence.

Scientific justifications of oppression were not limited to scientists and politicians, but permeated the dominant culture, and Southwest humorists were not the first to incorporate these ideas into literature. "Fireside Poet" William Cullen Bryant employed both religious and scientific terms in his 1837 poem "The Prairies" to justify an imagined violent extinction of Native American Mound Builders by Indians (two supposedly different breeds of native people) and the impending take over of the prairies by whites:

Thus change the forms of being. Thus arise Races of living things, glorious in strength, And perish, as the quickening breath of God Fills them, or is withdrawn.<sup>13</sup>

In stark contrast to the Indians' supposed butchery of the Mound Builders, Bryant's vision of the peaceful, God-sanctioned white settlement of the prairies—uninhabited in the poem—obscured the violence of his own race. Yet by accepting the fact of divinely determined extinctions, Bryant quietly accepted genocide as a precondition for the white takeover of the prairies.

As with the literary extinction Bryant presented in "The Prairies," in real practice the dominant culture depicted vicious attacks and con games not only as justified by science, but also as blessed by religion—given that God created the world and all its creatures, including predators. Early evolutionary thought thus was not the enemy but the agent of the Providential theory of history. One clear instance of this perceived union of science and religion occurred in an 1827 issue of *The American Journal of Science and Art*. In his article "Views of the Process in Nature, by which, under particular circumstances, Vegetables grow on the Bodies of Living Animals," Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell discussed a "war" between fungus and insects and claimed God's approval. Not only did he proclaim a supernatural sanction of the resulting "cruel operation" of the "war," since "[t]he Creator has ordered one tribe to be arrayed against another," but he also emphasized that "these occurrences furnish strong and instructive analogies" for the fungi's human counterparts. Thus human oppression was sanctified, the victor having been divinely created to be the most powerful.

Combining science and religion for "instructive"—and destructive—ends also occurred in Josiah Nott and George Gliddon's *Types of Mankind*. In discussing the relationship of head size and cultural dominance among various Native American tribes, the authors noted that

these facts afford very instructive material for reflection. We here behold one race [the Iroquois] with the larger, though less

intellectual brain, subjugating the unwarlike and half-civilized races; and it seems clear that the latter were *destined* to be either swallowed up or exterminated by the former.... Certainly, no known facts exist leading to the conclusion that any particular mode of life can change the size or form of brain in man; while, on the contrary, we have abundant reason to be convinced that the size and form of brain play a conspicuous part in the advancement and *destiny* of races. (emphases added)<sup>15</sup>

Thus Nott and Gliddon linked the survival—"the advancement and destiny"—of races more with aggression than with intellectual faculties. The implications of these findings were particularly "instructive" to the white readership, whose brains were reputedly the largest.

The assumption that following one's nature or destiny—God's plan—leads to "cruel operations" resulting in "the survival of the fittest" permeated the humor of the Old Southwest. As with the conclusions of Mitchell, Nott, and Gliddon, its roots were firmly planted in a belief in a god who creates and who provides. The god of the Southwest humorists was clearly related to the god of the Arminian-leaning Puritans who assumed success to be a bi-product of salvation <sup>16</sup>—as well as to the god of Benjamin Franklin who "helps them who help themselves." Throughout Southwest humor, particularly in tales about con men, writers depicted connivance as being in accord with certain men's god-given natures, and thriving by means of confidence games depicted god's providence in action. Swindling and killing Indians became acceptable and inevitable.

The environment in which Hooper and other Southwest humorists operated included a thick sampling of those anxious for material success. As James H. Justus has noted, the Old Southwest "attracted not only migrants escaping the worn-out soil and narrowing economic opportunities of the older states but also land speculators, drifters, gamblers, wage earners, adventurers, and confidence artists of various stripes." Since the rule of law was often weak or non-existent, the "jungle" atmosphere grew thicker. Those who were successful validated this system and provided role models.

The men who wrote about the adventures of such sharpies were operating in a different but parallel frontier. Almost all were ambitious, politically active businessmen in towns where the law was not yet firm. In describing the legal system in which he worked after moving from Virginia to Alabama, Southwest humorist and lawyer Joseph Glover Baldwin claimed that "[n]othing was settled. Chaos had come again, or rather, had never gone away. Order, Heaven's first law, seemed unwilling to remain where there was no other law to keep it company." 19

The majority of these humorists, including Baldwin, Charles Noland, William Tappan Thomas, John S. Robb, and Thomas Bangs Thorpe, were active in Whig politics.<sup>20</sup> In fact, Hennig Cohen and William B. Dillingham have defined "the typical Southwestern humorist" as being "[o]ften a devoted Whig." When

Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs was published, Johnson Jones Hooper, son of an upper-class family come upon hard times, was a lawyer and the editor of the Whig paper East Alabamian in Lafayette, where he published his first stories. He was later editor of the Whig in Wetumka and the associate editor of Montgomery's Whig paper, the Alabama Journal.<sup>22</sup> One major exception to this fairly homogenous group was Democrat George Washington Harris, whose famous Sut Lovingood stories detailed general human foolishness rather than a survival-of-the-fittest world. While still depicting humans in terms of animal survival (Sut Lovingood, as I have noted, repeatedly survives by escaping on his long legs), Harris's Calvinist pessimism formed an early version of Social Darwinism later championed by William Graham Sumner. <sup>23</sup>

Narrative strategies that provided the self-styled genteel, such as the Whigs, with some distance from unsavory action can support and domesticate brutal politics—rather like military language does today. As Cohen and Dillingham have noted in their introduction to *Humor of the Old Southwest*, the device of an upper-class narrator throughout most of Southwest humor enhanced a sense of distance between the action of the story and both author and readers. <sup>24</sup> Moreover, as Henri Bergson has noted, "absence of feeling . . . accompanies laughter" and such distancing allowed brutality to be acceptable to an elite audience. However, con men such as Hooper's Simon Suggs could not become too distant or ridiculous or frightening or they would lose their effectiveness as role models. Joanna Shields has pointed out that "Hooper helped his readers laugh away discomfort about the perils of freedom" inherent in Suggs' "extremely attractive" jungle world (645).

In Southwest humor's tales of con men, the upper-class, usually passive gentleman narrator could not claim the reader's admiration, or the conning action of the interior tale would be undermined. Most genteel narrators remained too distant from the energy and action in the tale and suffered from calcification; as James M. Cox has noted, in the case of "bifurcation between gentleman and yokel .... [t]he gentleman became more and more foppish and effete as the frontiersman threatened more and more to take over the narrative." Southwest humorists thus shaped the narrative frame to serve two purposes: it both created a genteel comfort zone and pointed out the danger of overmuch gentility. As Carolyn S. Brown has asserted in reference to the tension between the elite narrator and his lower-class protagonist, "[b]y manipulating our loyalties, by changing our normal alliances, the literary tall tale enlarges our vision." In Southwest humor, this vision included a respect for the qualities of the hero—often a con man hero—in the interior tale.

Appropriately, the readers of the genre of Southwest humor were generally upper- and middle-class men, reading their "instructive analogies" about power in magazines and newspapers distributed throughout the country. As James L.W. West III has noted, the stories were "not limited to big national outlets.... Rather, examples of the genre were published nearly everywhere . . .not only in the

antebellum South, but in the North and Midwest as well." However, the major solicitor and distributor of this work was William T. Porter, the Whig editor of the New York *Spirit of the Times* from 1831 to 1856 who had a stated editorial stance of "no politics." Yet Porter's editorial policy of the *Spirit* proclaimed in 1837 that the magazine

is designed to promote the views and interests of but an infinitesimal division of those classes of society composing the great mass.... we are addressing ourselves to gentlemen of standing, wealth, and intelligence—the very Corinthian columns of the community."<sup>30</sup>

Those "Corinthian columns" reading such magazines would be treated to lessons that echo Hooper's early version of Social Darwinism with its attendant racism. In "Cupping on the Sternum," Henry Clay Lewis (who was a young doctor as well as a writer) portrayed a medical student very much in the process of learning his trade at the expense of a black woman—he mistakes her "stern" for her "sternum." The reader knew that the intern could change and adapt—in fact, he had, since this is a reminiscence—and so the young man was only temporarily a fool. In contrast, the narrator depicts the black woman's body as inherently funny, and her con game of feigning sickness could not succeed even with the novice white doctor. And so the tale presented her as not only physically inferior but unable to improve. 32

In "Rare Ripe Garden Seed," George Washington Harris's Sut Lovingood also espouses a natural hierarchy (which is "lowed" by a supernatural force) in terms of the food chain:

Whar thar ain't enuf feed, big childer roots littil childer outen the troff, an gobbils up thar part. Jis' so the yeath over: bishops eats elders, elders eats common peopil, they eats sich cattil es me, I eats possums, possums eats chickins, chickins swallers wums, an' wums am content tu eat dus. an' the dus am the aind ove hit all.... an' I speck it am right, ur hit wudn't be 'lowed.<sup>33</sup>

Unlike Simon Suggs, Sut accepts his position below the "Common peopil" and just above "possums."

A similar hierarchy also appeared in "The Disgraced Scalp Lock," written by T. B. Thorpe, an active Whig politico and future editor of *The Spirit of the Times*; Mike Fink's philosophy in this tale encapsulated a survival-of-the-fittest approach:

It's natur that the big fish should eat the little ones. I've seen trout swallow a perch, and a cat would come along and swallow

the trout, and perhaps, on the Mississippi, the alligators use up the cat, and so on to the end of the row. Well, I will walk tall into varmint and Indian; it's a way I've got, and it comes as natural as grinning to a hyena.<sup>34</sup>

Mike depicts himself as inherently more powerful than did Sut. He could thus in good conscience kill "varmint and Indian" because he believes his "natur" to be like that of a powerful "big fish." In this tale, Mike Fink shoots off an Indian's prized scalp lock to show his skill and dominance; in "Trimming a Darky's Heel" by John S. Robb, he shoots off a black man's heel for the same reason, and in neither tale is Mike chastised. Mike's "natur," however, is much like that of another famous Thorpe character, the Big Bear of Arkansas: both flourish in the frontier, but cannot adapt to encroaching civilization. Thus, as Constance Rourke has pointed out, Mike loses viable "big fish" status. So

One character associated with Indians whose cunning nature allowed him to adapt (at least for a while) to backwoods life as well as to settlement and even city life was the legendary Davy Crockett. In "The Coon Skin Trick," for example, Crockett (or his Whig ghost writers) portrayed his thievery (reselling a coonskin to buy rum and "sway" voters) as positive, for it shows that he can understand—and control—men.<sup>37</sup> Ironically, the actual Davy Crockett was elected as a Jacksonian Democrat; he broke with Jackson and was used by the Whigs as a homespun counter to him. Crockett was ruined politically when he undercut his persona, opposing Jackson's Indian policies on moral grounds. Like most itinerant outsiders in Southwest humor, he moved to Texas.

Lawyer, essayist, and Southwest humorist Joseph Glover Baldwin saw the natural selection caused by the chaos and strife of the frontier as a positive, progressive means of keeping society strong. In his book of political analysis, *Party Leaders*, Baldwin described the superiority of the American in terms of penetration and oppression:<sup>38</sup> "[A]rmed with his axe and rifle, [he] penetrates the forest; [and] subdues alike the wilderness and its inhabitants."<sup>39</sup> In the meantime, the colonies of older civilizations were "sinking to the level of the aborigines around them" (85). Baldwin was thus far from joking when, in a humorous semi-autobiographical sketch, "The Bar of the Southwest," he exulted in how the Indians were cheated:

And in INDIAN affairs!—the very mention is suggestive of the poetry of theft—the romance of a wild and weird larceny! What sublime conceptions of super-Spartan roguery! Swindling Indians by the nation! . . . Stealing their land by township!<sup>40</sup>

Thus, throughout Southwest humor, Indians and others who could not outwit "big fish" became victims. While some adapting occurred among whites

(Baldwin's narrator is an example here) and sharp children (such as Simon Suggs) sometimes sprang from foolish parents, this fluidity was not allowed among people of color. In Southwest humor, they were born fools and remained such.

Johnson Jones Hooper framed Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs with tales in which black people remained subordinate. In "Introduction—Simon Plays the 'Snatch' Game" as well as in the following chapter, "Simon Gets a 'Soft Snap' out of his Daddy," young Simon manipulates his father into venting his ire on the black boy Bill instead of on himself. Unlike Simon, Bill is not clever enough to avoid being kicked and beaten. Early in the final chapter, "Conclusion—Autographic Letter from Suggs," Simon writes to his biographer "Johns" (who happened to be "The edditur of the eest Allybammyun" and to be publishing Suggs stories where Hooper did<sup>41</sup>); he claims to be particularly surprised with the likeness of Bill that appeared in the "Spirit" ["of the Times"], since Bill had been dead twenty years and "thar he is, in the picter, with more giniwine nigger in him and you'll find nowadaze owin to the breed bein so devilishly mixed" (134-5). Simon goes on to tell the tale of his conning a con man in the slave trade. Despite "the breed bein so devilishly mixed," black people remain merely trade goods to Simon here; like Bill they are maneuverable pawns.

All of the people whom Simon cons were fools, and Hooper's Indians fit this pattern. They were governed by appetite but lacked awareness, and Hooper's narratives were unsympathetic to them. James M. Cox has noted that "Hooper has to distort and demean his lower-class world so that it can receive Suggs's raids without offence to a civilized audience." While I disagree with Cox that Hooper's world was always "lower-class," Suggs's victims were definitely demeaned, and Hooper thus made acceptable their further degradation by the predator Suggs.

The Creek War provided background for much of Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs, but the Creeks, like the African Americans in the collection, were far from threatening. In the text, the war merely provides Simon with the psychological weapon of fear—which facilitates some scams. In "The 'Tallapoosy Vollantares' Meet the Enemy," it allows Simon to get away with murdering an Indian chief (lacking in cunning) in order to keep stolen goods. In "Simon Speculates Again," as in all Suggs's tales and much of Southwest humor, lack of cunning determined who was valid prey. In this tale of swindling Indians, Hooper employed a complex narrative structure to convey his survival-of-the-fittest message. The story is comprised of a prologue and two mirror tales about cheating Indians. Both the prologue and the first, or "cover," story offer a perforated veneer of sympathy for the oppressed Indians, then the Suggs tale that mirrors the cover story clearly undercuts the already shaky fellow-feeling expressed. The narrative elements work together, the body of the tale supporting the theft of Indian lands while the cover story provides a sense of decorum.

The narrative begins with the upper-class narrator (Simon Suggs's "biographer") discussing "the Indian Council at Dudley's store, in Tallapoosa county, in

September of the year 1835," which later forms the basis of the Suggs section of the narrative (65). Notably, the time frame for the tale occurs after many Creeks were fed up with the government's defaulting on the Treaty of 1832, an agreement which limited Creek territory while promising the natives protection from intruders. By 1835, largely at the mercy of poachers and other sorts of thieves, and literally fearing for their lives, moving west seemed the only option for many Indians. In 1836, after what may have been an uprising masterminded by speculators rather than the Creeks, the Indians were ordered to sell and move.<sup>43</sup> Hooper's tale, however, does not focus on Indian Removal itself. (Whigs were generally against Western expansion, preferring to concentrate economic power in the East.) The story details instead how speculators succeeded.

After setting the scene, the narrator continues with a surprisingly serious prologue about how the Creek tribe has been avenged for being mistreated, since of those who cheated them, "the larger portion have lost money, lands, character, everything! (66)" Hooper, however, sets up his opening statement to be undermined, since it indicates that at least some portion of such cons have been successful. In addition, knowing that Simon is a speculator, the readers also know from stories preceding "Simon Speculates Again," as well as from the Suggs section of this tale itself, that his sporadic poverty is not caused by the "hand of retributive justice" proffered by the prologue (65), but rather by his losses at Faro, a game in which survival of the fittest is moot since the player's opponent is a machine—called "the Tiger"—which has no "reason," only "springs and the like" (169). There can be no "fair fight" with the Faro bank, and Simon knows that his tangles with it are "runnin' agin Providence" (169). Simon does give his talents sufficient exercise among humans—where "Providence" works—to keep him from being totally mauled. Chances are, Hooper's readers also knew some speculators who had not lost "everything." The substance of the prologue is further undermined by the ironic assumption that speculators had "character" to lose.

The elevated style of both the prologue and the opening cover story seems incompatible with Suggs's "biographer's" standard, tongue-in-cheek approach, but the narrator accelerates his subversion of his high-toned style and sentiment. The prologue soon shifts into the sad story of Litka, a pretty Indian girl "with a Grecian face," and her chieftain father, who are duped by a speculator named Eggleston. The narrator ironically portrays Litka's father as a wise man, "one of the few who would not be contaminated by intercourse with the whites" (66), yet he foolishly gets suckered, not just by any white man, but by a man he knew to be a land shark. In fact, the narrator takes jabs at the chief even before he's swindled, calling him not only "Sky Chief" (perhaps a pun on his impending landlessness or his foolishness or both), but also "Sudo Micco," meaning "Pseudo Ape." ("Micco," a common name among the Creeks, is also figurative for "debauchee" in Italian.) Once he falls for the speculator, the narrator openly calls the chief a "simple-minded Indian" (67).

The chief's daughter's being "contaminated by intercourse" with the speculator at "the green corn dance" echoes the chief's own greenness (66) and clearly indicates Litka's own. She falls for Eggleston's "sweet tale" merely because "he was a very handsome young man" (67). In addition to being handsome, Eggleston, employed as a "striker," definitely knows where to strike. He tells Litka what she and her father want to hear, that they would be set above the rest of the tribe and could stay in their own ancestral home while the rest of the Creeks would be forced to Arkansas. Instead of being set above their tribe, however, the two foolish people are swindled, cast aside, and, despite Litkas's pregnancy, forced to flee to Arkansas "in one of the 'public' wagons, among the 'poor' of [the] tribe" (68).

Hooper's subversion of his rhapsody on the Indians' sad fate continues in the Suggs section of the story, an earthy parallel to the Indian tale. The language also reverts from the generally elevated tone of the prologue and the first tale to Hooper's standard style. The Suggs section gives details about those Indians cheated by the speculators, in particular the Deer people and the Alligator people. Both clans are depicted as foolish, blood-thirsty braggarts. While waiting to sell their land to speculators, they fight amongst themselves, hurling some accusations against each other that better suit their future "business" partners: the Deer people claim that the Alligator people "have two tongues" (68), and the Alligator people call the Deer "thieving" (69). The narrator emphasizes that the list of wrongs that the Creek have perpetrated exceeds the list of wrongs committed against them. The woman who parallels the Grecian-faced Indian maiden of the cover story is "Big Widow," who knows that other speculators would give her more money than Simon, but she fears losing Simon's gifts of "tobacco and sweet water" (70). While "sweet water" can mean "perfume" or "sweet grapes," underlining the words implies a pun or double entendre; since widows have a reputation in Southwest humor for sexual activity, as does Simon himself, I assume that "sweet water" connotes a sexual "gift." As such, it also parallels Eggleston's "sweet tale." Thus both Indian women give up land for sex—a warning to the male reader to beware of any "feminine weakness" in themselves and avoid placing their sexual desire over shrewdness, particularly since both women are abandoned. Litka heads west and the reader sees no more of "Big Widow."

The parallels between both tales are strong, and Indians get swindled in each, but the sad, sentimental tale is sufficiently subverted so that it loses its force. The success of Simon's con game itself counters the prologue and the cover story, since it occurs after the narrator's claim that the Creek have been avenged. In addition, the Indians are no better than the other fools Simon swindles, and they thus come across as deserving to be swindled. In fact, the focus of Simon's swindling activity is not conning the Indians, but rather other con artists. (The one illustration of "Simon Speculates Again" emphasizes this.) The Indian men's foolishness and the women's combined foolishness and sexual proclivity for shrewd white men are givens in both tales, factors which would bolster the egos

of the tales' readership—and act as an advertisement for speculation. Simon's challenge is to outwit the other speculators, getting them to compete with each other for his partnership in buying "Big Widow's" land, a partnership that results in Suggs netting a substantial profit without his putting any money down—a business deal which would have been considered enviable by many of Hooper's ambitious readers.

While Hooper undermined the sentimentality of the cover story, that semi-sentimentalized section of the narrative does convey important information to Hooper's readers: the value of a "cover story." A sentimental, moralistic line to cover over dirty business (in this case, swindling Indians) is a technique still employed by Simon Suggs's relations rampant in the world today—as it was used by William Cullen Bryant in 1837. And Hooper's technique worked. Annie Mae Hollingsworth, in her 1931 newspaper article "Johnson Jones Hooper, Alabama's Mark Twain, Champion of the Creeks" in the *Montgomery Advertiser*, only noted the narrator's defense of the Creeks in this tale, not his subversion of this defense. W. Stanley Hoole also claimed that Hooper "lamented the ill-treatment these naive people received at the hands of land-sharks, speculators and traders." However, although Hoole did not note the irony in Hooper's tale, he was in accord with its intent. Without acknowledging the bigotry of Hooper's view, Hoole said that Suggs's author was "[q]uick to see the Indians'... stupidity and general undesirability as citizens in a white man's country."

Joanna Shields has contended that in Hooper's Suggs tales, Simon's adventures were those of a con man in "an American jungle where 'mother wit' was a sine qua non for survival" (642), that slaves were "perpetual victims...deficient of wit" (655-6), and that Hooper's "jokes made slavery seem natural, even necessary" (642). Yet Shields, too, has partially accepted Hooper's "cover story." She has depicted Hooper's racism and pro-slavery stance as modified by his fictional "lampoon[ing of] white men's ceaseless competition" (642) as well as his mockery of blind hypocrisy, including that of slaveholders. She has noted that Hooper punished "predatory stewards" via Suggs, and has claimed that the writer "would have attacked the greed of industrial robber barons as strongly as ... Suggs did the predatory false stewards of frontier Alabama" (662-3), including in this group the land sharks who swindled Indians in "Simon Speculates Again." While I am in accord with Shields's view of Hooper's racism, her claims for Hooper's modifications are tenuous. Simon swindled the "predatory false stewards" not for moral reasons, but because they are both foolish and in possession of loot. Greed was never mocked in Hooper's Suggs tales, only stupidity.

Like Hooper's narrator, many Whigs utilized "cover stories," such as claiming that Davy Crockett's allegiance made theirs the party of the common man. Depicting themselves as a political party was also somewhat of a cover story, since members held many varied political ideas. They did, however, share some common ground. In addition to presenting themselves as the party of

gentlemanly morality, they considered themselves anti-Jacksonians fighting against the expansion of presidential power and for protectionist tariffs and enhancements for private investors. In some cases their moral stances were undoubtedly sincere, even though, from the benefit of a present perspective, sometimes patronizing and misguided. For others these purported high values provided a useful shield to effect economic advances, the public advances (roads, tariffs) often leading to private gain. Thomas Brown has noted the usefulness of the Whigs' general persona, proposing that for Whigs, elevated public morals worked as a "buffer for the tangible items in the Whig appeal," allowing men to support economic "progress" at the expense of "the ideals of republicanism." Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. has written more scathingly of the Whigs, contrasting their stance to what he considers the honest elite conservatism of the Federalists:

Whigs, in scuttling Federalism, replace it by a social philosophy founded, not on ideas, but on subterfuges and sentimentalities . . . . Federalism and Whiggery represented the same interests in society, the same aspirations for power, the same essential economic policies; but Federalism spoke of these interests in a tone of candor, Whiggery, of evasion . . . . The vocabulary of Whiggery had nothing to do with actualities; it was useful mainly as a disguise.<sup>49</sup>

In analyzing "Simon Speculates Again," it is important to note that Simon did not provide the "cover story" dripping with high-sounding phrases, but rather the elite narrator, whom many readers conflated with Hooper himself. Through comments made by Porter in *Spirit of the Times* and by Hooper himself in *Adventures*, most readers knew Hooper to be an active Whig, and so the narrator's duplicity can be seen as a political lesson in how a gentleman could use fine-sounding, generous phrases and undercut their meaning. <sup>50</sup>

Simon himself does not dabble in recriminations and sentimentality, but like a gentleman, he credits God with his achievements, placing his success in Indian swindling, as well as in his other con games, firmly at the feet of "Providence." Throughout Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs, he claims that a man who does not believe in Providence is an unsuccessful man, and so Simon proclaims himself in harmony with the Protestant ethic. Not to take advantage of the opportunities that cross his path would be "'sputin' with providence" (159), turning aside supernatural gifts, and going against nature. Simon claims that he is continually gaining insight into scripture, particularly such Bible stories as "the manna in the wilderness, and ravens feedin' Elishy" (180). He believes that his honesty (the using of his natural gifts) and Providence combined will make him a survivor: "Jist give me that for a hand, and I'll 'stand' agin all creation!" (180).

The narrator of the Suggs tales does not condemn Simon for his behavior, nor does he overtly applaud it. He claims to be just "Captain Suggs's biographer"

(28), and yet, within the tales, Suggs's victims are depicted as worse than Suggs himself. They were not only selfish, but stupid. The Suggs stories are clearly educational, and the education was meant for Hooper's audience of businessmen. Reading Simon's adventures is rather like attending a conference of salesmen and learning their gimmicks: it could make one wary and streetwise—or perhaps junglewise. In the opening of Hooper's story, "Daddy Biggs Scrape at Cockerell's Bend," the narrator articulates a lesson in survival as he watches a mother duck with her brood:

Take care! ye little downy rascals!—especially you, little fellow, with half an egg-shell stuck to your back!—true, there are not many or large trout in the Tallapoosa: but there are *some*; and occasionally one is found of mouth sufficient to engorge a young duck!—and almost always in a cool quiet shade just like—hist! snap!—there you go, precisely as I told you! (142)

The narrator's use of five, second-person personal pronouns in this passage draws the readers into the text, leading them to identify with the inexperienced rascal duck "with half an eggshell" still stuck to him—a novice in need of guidance. While neither white nor red fools learn and change in Hooper's tales, this passage implies that the white fools who were reading the tales had that capability. If Mother Nature endowed them with the proper tools, they only needed to recognize their true natures and act accordingly.

Hooper did not take a pro-Suggs stance publicly, but the humorist was wiser than the little rascal duck. Once Hooper became politically ambitious in Whig politics, he did not like being associated with Suggs,<sup>51</sup> the association being possibly disadvantageous, since Suggs operated without the mantle of decorum requisite of most politicians. But despite some distancing created by satiric elements in the Suggs tales, such as Suggs's lower-class speech and semi-literacy, I agree with Shields that Hooper possessed a sympathy for—even an empathy with—Simon Suggs.<sup>52</sup> Hooper's Whig Party, despite its pretense of being a party of the common man, was really governed by wealthy Americans, an elite which wanted to maintain (and expand) its position and which had no superficial similarities to Suggs: the similarities run deeper. Kenneth Lynn has claimed that the purpose of many Southwest humorists was "to convert the entire community to the temperate values of Whiggery";53 however, though the veneer of these values may be temperate, the means of maintaining them were not. Whigs refined political trickery, as evidenced not only by their manipulation of Davy Crockett into a counter to Jackson, who would please foolish voters and romanticize swindling, but also by their log-cabin-and-apple-cider campaign of 1840, the first rip-roaring propaganda campaign in American history. While many verbally

protested Indian Removal, actions to protect legal Indian claims were too often weak or non-existent—perhaps because they expected Indians to conveniently become extinct. Their slogan "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too" praised William Henry Harrison's role as an Indian conqueror. (He won the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811.) During the campaign, however, both Harrison and his campaign biographers publicly softened his reputation in respect to Indians, providing a more gentlemanly demeanor.<sup>54</sup> Although Whigs were not generally exponents of Manifest Destiny, 55 they were men looking for ways to justifiably enhance their holdings, and Southwest humor provided justification. The Whig literary texts thus appropriate the potentially subversive power of folktales, folkheroes, and "low" anti-establishment comedy. The tales of such men as Hooper and Baldwin made intemperate values, among Whig and Democrat alike, more palatable, and even desirable, for if a wise man refused to strive for dominance, not only might he fail to survive and prosper, he also would have been betraying his God-given nature.

## Notes

- 1. In America, the Puritans were early proponents of the Social Darwinist tenet that some individuals are inherently superior to others—since they were elected by God. See *The Puritans*, eds. Perry Miller and Thomas Johnson, 2 vols. (New York, 1938). In 1839, Samuel Morton published a work on the sizes of various Native American skulls called *Crania Americana* (Philadelphia, 1839) that provided support for the theory of separate creations. In his appendix to this work, George Combe claims that intellectual and moral worth must be linked to brain size. Brain size form the basis of Josiah C. Nott and George R. Gliddon's theories about racial dominance in Types of Mankind (London, 1855; orig. edition Philadelphia, 1854). Charles Darwin's Origin of Species was published in 1859 and not widely reviewed in this country until 1860, after the heyday of Southwest humor. Modern analyses of the nineteenth-century scientific approach to race include William Stanton's The Leopard's Spots, which analyzes how nineteenth-century scientists, particularly U.S. scientists, explained racial differences (Chicago, 1960). Reginald Horsman addresses Louis Agassiz' writings about separate creations and also discusses how "science" was used to justify oppression of Native Americans. See Horsman, "Scientific Racism and the American Indian in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," American Quarterly, 27 (May 1975), 152-168. Stephen Jay Gould also analyzes the relation between science and prejudice, particularly in relation to claims about measuring intelligence, in *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York, 1981). For discussions on the roots of Social Darwinism and Social Darwinism itself, see Robert C. Bannister, Social Darwinism: Science and Myth in Anglo-American Social Thought (Philadelphia, 1979); Merle Curti, The Growth of America Thought (New York, 1943); Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought (New York, 1959); and Richard Slotkin, Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860 (Middletown,
- 2. For a good overview of Southwest Humor, see Hennig Cohen and William B. Dillingham, "Introduction," *Humor of the Old Southwest* (Athens, Ga., 1964), xiii-xxviii. They note that while the genre flourished after the publication of A.B. Longstreet's Georgia Scenes in 1835 until the Civil War, there were forerunners in Mason Locke Weems and James Kirke Paulding, and later traces in Mark Twain, William Faulkner, and Robert Penn Warren, among others. For a pertinent discussion of James Kirke Paulding's work in terms of its rampant racism regarding Native Americans, see Richard Drinnon, Facing West (Minneapolis, 1980), 119-130.

  3. Slotkin, Regeneration, 417; Susan Kuhlman, Knave, Fool, and Genius: The Confidence Man

as He Appears in Nineteenth-Century American Fiction (Chapel Hill, 1973), 6; and Gary Lindberg,

ds He Appears in Mileteenin-Century American Fiction (Chapter Hill, 1975), 6, and Gary Enidderg, The Confidence Men in American Literature (New York, 1982), 185.
4. Joanna Nicol Shields, "A Sadder Simon Suggs: Freedom and Slavery in the Humor of Johnson Hooper," The Journal of Southern History, LVI (1991), 641-664.
5. While the Whig Party was divided about Indian Removal, most Whigs opposed it; the Whigs preferred keeping the U. S. population concentrated in the east for economic reasons. See Daniel Walker Howe, The Political Culture of the American Whigs (Chicago, 1979). Johnson Jones Hooper's

twin tales of swindling Indians is set after Indian Removal is a foregone conclusion, when a killing can be made in real estate.

6. The first edition was titled Some Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs. The word "Some" was

later dropped.

- 7. Johnson Jones Hooper, "Introduction—Simon Plays the 'Snatch' Game," in Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs (Chapel Hill, 1969), 8. Further references will be included in the text and cited by page number.
- 8. For a discussion of the controversy between Uniformitarians, such as Lyell, and Catastrophists. such as Sedgwick and Whewell, in terms of the "mechanical" theology/philosophy, see Bannister, Social Darwinism, 16-20.
- 9. Horsman discusses Agassiz's claims in regard to scientific racism in "Scientific Racism," 159. Gould also supplies insights into Agassiz's motivation for his claims in Mismeasure, 30-72, as does Stanton in Leopard's Spots, 103-110.
- 10. For an analysis of the often patronizing role as "statesmen" which Whigs assumed, see Thomas Brown, *Politics and Statesmanship: Essays on the American Whig Party* (New York, 1985) and Daniel Walker Howe, The Political Culture of the American Whigs (Chicago, 1979).
- 11. John Quincy Adams, Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848, ed. Charles Francis Adams, (Philadelphia, 1784-77), 7:89-91, 113.
- 12. See Michael D. Green, The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1982), 134-5.
- 13. William Cullen Bryant, "The Prairies," The Poetical Works of William Cullen Bryant (New York, 1925), 132-33.
- 14. Samuel L. Mitchell, "Views of the Process in Nature, by which, under particular circumstances, Vegetables grow on the Bodies of Human Animals," ed. Benjamin Silliman, the American Journal of Science and Art, XII (1827), 21-28.

15. Nott and Gliddon, Types of Mankind, 279-80.16. Arminians were the followers of Jacobus Arminus who believed, unlike Calvinists, that individuals could work toward their own salvation. The excommunication and banishment of Anne Hutchinson from the Puritan community in 1637 for rejecting the "covenant of works" in favor of the economically disadvantageous "covenant of grace" indicates the early strength of Arminian tendencies in the United States. For a related discussion, see Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop (Boston, 1958), 134-54.

17. Benjamin Franklin, The Prefaces, Proverbs, and Poems from "Poor Richards's Almanacks"

for 1733-1758 (Franklin Center, Pa., 1984), 40.

- 18. James H. Justus, "Introduction," in Joseph Glover Baldwin, *The Flush Times of Alabama* and Mississippi (Baton Rouge, 1987), xv.
- 19. Joseph Glover Baldwin, Flush Times in Alabama and Mississippi (Baton Rouge, 1987), 53. Originally published in New York in 1853.
- 20. Hennig Cohen and William B. Dillingham, "Introduction," Humor of the Old Southwest (Athens, Ga., 1964), xx.

21. Cohen and Dillingham, Humor, xv.

- 22. For detailed information about Hooper's life, see W. Stanley Hoole, Alias Simon Suggs, the Life and Times of Johnson Jones Hooper (University, Ala., 1952) and Paul Somers, Jr., Johnson J. Hooper (Boston, 1984).
- 23. Richard Hofstadter delineates two major varieties of Social Darwinists: the survival-of-thefittest adherents who, like Spenser, believe in progress, and the Sumnerians who "conclude that Darwinism could serve only to cause men to face up to te inherent hardship of the battle of life." See Hofstadter, Social Darwinism, 7.

24. Cohen and Dillingham, Humor, xx.

- 25. Henri Bergson, Laughter, as found in Comedy, ed. Wylie Sypher (Garden City, N. Y., 1956), 63.
- 26. James M. Cox, "Humor of the Old Southwest," in the Comic Imagination in American Literature (New Brunswick, 1973), 104.
- 27. Carolyn S. Brown, The Tall Tale in American Folklore and Literature (Knoxville, 1987), 72. Brown's view of how "the literary tall tale enlarges our vision" concerns the positive aspect of upper-class readers admiring lower-class characters.
  - 28. James L.W. West III, "Preface," Gyascutus (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1978), 10.

29. Rouge, La, 1957), 6.

- 30. William T. Porter, as found in Lorne Fienberg, "Colonel Noland of the Spirit: The Voices of a Gentleman in Southwest Humor," American Literature, 53 (1981), 232-245.
- 31. Henry Clay Lewis, "Cupping on the Sternum," Spirit of the Times, Aug. 16, 1845.
  32. In her presentation at the 1993 Modern Language Association Convention in Toronto, "Naked Nature: Science and the Substantiation of Scientific Masculinity in Nineteenth-Century America," Dana D. Nelson noted that nineteeth-century scientists portrayed women as "sites of engagement" for their own education and experiments. She also discussed how scientists' portrayals of black women provided a supposedly clear contrast to superior white males, such as themselves.

33. George Washington Harris, "Rare Ripe Garden Seed," in *Sut Lovingood's Yarns* (New Haven, Conn., 1966; orig. edition New York, 1867), 174.

34. Thomas Bangs Thorpe, "The Disgraced Scalplock," in Mysteries of the Backwoods; or, Sketches of the Southwest: including character, scenery, and rural sports (Philadelphia, 1846), 131.

- 35. Richard Drinnon sees Mike's shooting off of the scalp-lock as a castration image in Facing West, 156. Both Drinnon and Yates link these two racist tales of Mike's prowess in Facing West, 156 and William T. Porter and The Spirit, 95.
- 36. Constance Roarke, American Humor: A Study of the National Character (Garden City,
- 1953), 52. Roarke notes that Fink tales "became an elegy to wild days that were past or passing." 37. David Crockett, "The Coon Skin Trick," in The Life of Davy Crockett, the Original Humorist and Irrepressible Backwoodsman (Philadelphia, c. 1865 by John E. Potter), 242-44.
- 38. For a discussion of female symbolism associated with he American land, see Annette Kolodny, The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters (Chapel Hill, 1975).
- 39. Joseph Glover Baldwin, Party Leaders (New York, 1855), 85. A further reference will be included in the text and cited by page number.
  - 40. Baldwin, Flush Times, 238.
- 41. These clear parallels between the narrator and Hooper counters the claim made by Walter Blair and Hamlin Hill that the narrator is "anonymous." Blair and Hill, America's Humor: From Poor Richard to Doonesbury (Oxford, 1978), 191.
  - 42. Cox, "Humor," 107.
  - 43. Green, Indian Removal, 174-186.
- 44. Anne Mae Hollingsworth, "Johnson Jones Hooper, Alabama's Mark Twain, Champion of the Creeks," Montgomery Advertiser, 23 March 1931, 3.
  - 45. Hoole, Alias Simon Suggs, 18.
  - 46. For discussions of Whig Party issues, see Brown, *Politics*, and Howe, *Political Culture*. 47. See, for example, Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *Horace Greeley: Nineteenth-Century Crusader*
- (Philadelphia, 1953).
  - 48. Brown, Politics, 12.
    - 49. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson (Boston, 1953), 279.
- 50. Hoole quotes numerous comments by Porter in the Spirit that state Hooper's identity and affiliation with Whig newspapers in Alias Simon Suggs.
  - 51. Hoole, Alias Simon Suggs, 102-03.
- 52. Shields claims that Hooper is both the narrator and Simon Suggs in "A Sadder Simon Suggs," 653.
  - 53. Kenneth Lynn, as found in Wade Hall, The Smiling Phoenix (Gainesville, Fla., 1965), 2.
  - 54. See Howe, Political Culture, 42.
- 55. Frederick Merk, Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation (New York, 1963), 35, 39-40.