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1

From Father to Son

OKLAHOMA TO CALIFORNIA,
1916–1944

IT WAS JUNE 23, 1916, when Luther Hutton Bellah Jr. hopped on the evening train to Oklahoma City. Excited as he was, he still did not know that his days at the southern border would be boring and inconsequential. He had just turned twenty, and adventure was all he was looking for—or maybe he was just trying to work his way out of the dusty little hole he called home. Drawn by economic opportunity, Hutton’s parents had left Texas to resettle in Hollis when he was eight, and their gamble had paid off. After Oklahoma had been granted statehood in 1907, the small town had steadily grown in prominence as the seat of the newly created Harmon County and a station on the railway line connecting Altus and Wellington. In a handful of years its population had doubled, reaching the thousand mark by 1910, and the drugstore run by Luther H. Bellah and “Molly” Emaline Jones had soon become a staple of the town’s thriving commercial scene.

Not that Hutton had the slightest intention of becoming a shopkeeper. A tall, handsome boy, he had done all he could to outshine his parents and peers, and keep himself busy in the meantime: studying, reading, writing, sports, theater—everything. In the summer of 1913, just after finishing high school with the highest honors, he had failed the admission test at the Annapolis Naval Academy, and had spent some time looking for jobs and a lucky break in Oklahoma and Missouri. When he came back to Hollis in December of that year, Hutton knew it would not be for long.¹

It was the Mexican revolutionary General Francisco “Pancho” Villa, of all people, to give him a new excuse to leave. When President Woodrow Wilson issued a mobilization order calling up the National Guard of all states to



FIGURE 1.1. Luther Hutton Bellah Jr., circa 1920. Robert N. Bellah personal papers (RBPP), courtesy of Jennifer Bellah Maguire and the Robert and Melanie Bellah Estate, Berkeley, CA.

protect the southern border from armed incursions on June 18, 1916, Bellah rushed to volunteer at the conscription office in Oklahoma City. After a brief period of training, Hutton and seven Hollis buddies were assigned to the hospital corps of the “Oklasodak brigade” and then sent to San Benito, Texas. They soon discovered that military life was nothing like advertised: serving as the

second line behind regular troops, their unit never had a chance to meet the enemy, and spent months repeating a tedious routine of drill, exercise, and marches. What neither Hutton nor his fellow guardsmen knew at the time was that their days at the border would be crucial not only for improving military training, but also for renewing technical equipment, assessing tactical problems, and devising novel organizational schemes. When the United States declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917, its soldiers were ready for combat.²

And into combat they went. Early in August, Hutton Bellah and a Hollis friend from their days on the southern border, Mott Keys, were recalled and assigned to the hospital corps of the newly constituted 36th Texas-Oklahoma Division. They were sent to Camp Bowie for a year of extra training and then crossed the Atlantic to serve on the 111th Sanitary Train in the Tonnerre area of north-central France. Hutton's *savoir faire* and his command of the German language made him a precious asset for communicating with and gathering information from war prisoners—an assignment he carried out with commitment and pride well into the fall of 1919. After being discharged with the rank of sergeant, Bellah joined the American Legion and Scottish-rite Freemasons, as his father, his grandfather, and many of his forebears had done before him.³

The problem was that Hutton was back in Hollis for the third time in six years—and for the third time he started to look for an escape route. In September 1920 he took the momentous decision to attend the University of Oklahoma and left for Norman, never to return home. Founded seven years earlier by Harold Harvey Herbert, the School of Journalism aimed at blending traditional liberal arts education with the most advanced instruction in the burgeoning fields of publishing, editing, and advertising. As part of his training as a reporter, Hutton was at first entrusted with the sports column of a student newspaper, the *Oklahoma Weekly*, but his sharp articles and remarkable editorial skills soon earned him a number of highly visible positions: sports editor for both the *Oklahoma Daily* and the *Sooner* university annual, director of the funding drive for the new athletic stadium, and publicity manager for the whole university.⁴

In a few months, Hutton had found his calling and the scene to pursue it. Popularity and honors followed: together with Keys and Mex, the Boston terrier they had found at the Texas border in 1916, he was tapped by a number of elite cliques, including the Kappa Sigma fraternity and the Dark Deep Mystery Club, a secret society whose members were selected from among the most brilliant undergraduates. Born as a prankster group in 1907, the DDMC had somehow evolved into a masked vigilante posse enforcing basic rules of

decency on campus, and had been banned from the university premises owing to its questionable practices and alleged proximity to the Ku Klux Klan—a circumstance that did not prevent Hutton, Mott, and Mex from enjoying the company of their fellow clubmen. For all his popularity, however, Bellah was far from being the most renowned member of the trio: as the first official mascot of the Sooners football team, little Mex had become “the most famous dog in Oklahoma”—when he died in 1928 classes were suspended and businesses were closed to allow the whole town to attend the funeral.⁵

As graduation approached, in the spring of 1922 Hutton’s outstanding scholarly achievements earned him induction into the local Pe-et and the national Phi Beta Kappa honor societies. Shortly after the award ceremonies, he rushed to Texas to join Lillian Neelly, a psychology student he had first met as an assistant editor for the 1922 *Sooner*. Born in Fayetteville, Arkansas, on September 14, 1900, Lillian came from a long lineage of landowners and merchants of English descent whose wealth came from a string of fortunate investments in the Dardanelle-Mount Nebo area, eighty miles northwest of Little Rock, Arkansas. The couple married at the Neelly estate in Dallas on June 21, 1922, and then moved to a small house one mile north of the University of Oklahoma campus, where Hutton had been appointed assistant professor at the School of Journalism. In less than two years the student had become a teacher.⁶

I

Before long Hutton grew tired of the slow pace of academic life—he had the most ambitious plans for himself, and mentoring would-be journalists was not among them. In the summer of 1924 he and Lillian moved to the small town of Altus in Southwest Oklahoma and took control of a local weekly magazine, the *Times-Democrat*, with the ultimate goal of turning it into an influential state-level newspaper. When Luther Hutton Bellah III was born in Altus on February 23, 1927, his indefatigable father had already accomplished the objective of daily publication and was rapidly marching toward professional and personal success.

Hutton’s dreams were an almost perfect reflection of the unbounded optimism of pre-1929 America. The early 1920s had been a time of rapid technological and social transformation, as the diffusion of electricity, mass-produced automobiles, sound cinema, radio, and television changed the habits and the imaginary of the average American. A sense of a continual improvement of



FIGURE 1.2. Lillian Bellah (née Neelly) with baby Luther Hutton Bellah III, 1927. (RBPP)

material conditions spread among the citizenry, and the nation's leaders and popular magazines endlessly praised the pursuit of economic success and the benefits of hard work and commitment. As a steady flow of consumer goods swept the country from sea to sea, presidential nominee Herbert C. Hoover announced at the 1928 Republican National Convention that for the first time in history the human race was rapidly approaching "the final triumph over poverty."⁷

A fierce opponent of Hoover and his political ideas, Hutton nonetheless shared the candidate's confidence in unlimited scientific and technological progress. From the columns of the *Times-Democrat* he campaigned with equal passion for the establishment of a modern sewage system in Altus, the renovation of the city's schools, and the building of its first hotel. His daily feature, titled "SnapShots," was a mixed bag of news, anecdotes, and commentary, which often included what he called "Today's Pome," a short satirical composition made of "a bit of advice here, a caustic remark there, a jingle yonder and a bromide hither." Thanks to his success and savoir faire, in early 1929 Hutton was appointed chairman of the advertising committee of the Altus Chamber of Commerce, a task force aimed at attracting investment for the improvement of local business. Even in Southwest Oklahoma progress seemed inevitable.⁸

As far as state and national politics were concerned, Hutton often took unpopular stances. In the spring of 1928, for example, the *Times-Democrat* supported New York governor Al Smith's bid for the Democratic nomination in the presidential elections, in the face of the well-known hostility of the local Ku Klux Klan. In spite of repeated personal attacks, Hutton blasted the "insidious intolerance" of the Klan and its damaging influence on mainstream Freemasonry, and denounced anti-Catholic rhetoric as "something that should never be injected in American politics." After Smith obtained the nomination at the Democratic National Convention, Hutton worked tirelessly for his election, hoping for "a triumph of the common people over the hosts of privilege and plunder." Four months later, his grace and composure upon Hoover's landslide victory in the presidential elections were congratulated by his political friends and foes all over the state.⁹

Hutton's big break seemed to come in March 1929, right after a heated press campaign had ousted governor Henry S. Johnston for "general incompetence." The *Times-Democrat* was one of the first papers to congratulate the new incumbent, William J. Holloway, with its usual hopeful tones: "Again thank God for Bill Holloway," Hutton wrote in his editorial, "This is the man. He will do it if it is at all possible. He realizes the responsibilities before him and his many years of service to the state as a legislator, as lieutenant governor and as acting governor peculiarly fits him for the work of the next twenty-two months." When Holloway offered him a job as his private secretary, however, Hutton declined: being "a newspaper man and not a politician," he had "lots of things" to care about—Altus, Jackson County, the *Times-Democrat*, and the State Press Association, of which he had just been appointed executive vice-president.¹⁰

The last but in no sense least important item of Hutton's list of things to care about was his small family of three. Given his almost complete amalgam of public and private life, it was no surprise that "the missus" and "Snaps III"—as his wife and child were affectionately nicknamed—had been a staple of "Snap-Shots" since its early days. Whether he was welcoming a new puppy or encountering his first defeats, baby Hutton III was depicted as a miniature of his bright and resolute father: "The wee sma' lad is sporting his first real black eye—result of a mix-up with the concrete sidewalk in which he came off second best. But the boy is not daunted by a little thing like losing to a concrete walk board. . . . He gets up and tries again."¹¹ Readers also got the occasional photo of Snaps III along with the news of his progress:

TODAY'S POME

The wee sma' boy attempts to talk.
There is incessant chatter.
But what he says we do not know
And it really doesn't matter,
The missus claims to understand
The little fellow's mutters—
But we are rather of the mind
That this infant sputters.¹²

By January 1929 Hutton III's involvement in the busy professional life of his father was almost complete: wearing the "white duck coverall with 'Snaps III' on the front and 'Times-Democrat' on the back" he had been given for Christmas by Hutton's business partner, Harrington C. Wimberly, the twenty-three-month-old baby would joyously run around screaming "Dadee go to work Times Democrack! Dadee go to work Times Democrack!" whenever he saw his father wearing his overcoat.¹³

To his readers' surprise, in the summer of 1929 Hutton sold his shares to media mogul Eugene C. Pulliam and passed on the editorship of the *Altus Times-Democrat* to Wimberly. In his last "Snapshots," published on July 21, 1929, he looked back at his five years as a publisher-editor with a tone reminiscent of Harold Herbert's project of combining the craft of journalism and sophisticated managerial skills: "I believe that I have proved that a newspaper can have a mind of its own," Hutton wrote, "that the editor can speak right out in meeting, as it were, and at the same time operate a successful business. Too many newspaper men are prone to let the almighty dollar influence their every

action and refrain from having an opinion contrary to the popular one,” he added, “I have never let such things dictate and have taken my stand as I thought right regardless of the popularity of it.” One day later, Wimberly paid homage to his longtime friend in the last “SnapShots” instalment ever. He described Hutton Bellah as “one of the hardest working men” he had ever met, a decent and free newsman who had bowed “to no clique or klan, recognizing no restraint when expressing opinions.” Soon, he added, “some good town in Oklahoma” would get “a fighting editor who [would] put some real life into its newspaper.” Wimberly was right: although Hutton did not know yet what the future would bring, he had no intention of leaving Oklahoma or the publishing business.

Whatever the plans were at the time, the Black Tuesday of October 29, 1929, shattered them all. The Bellahs lost over \$35,000 in the stock market crash, and set out to move to Los Angeles to rejoin Lillian’s relatives and look for a new start.¹⁴

II

Moving from a small town in rural Oklahoma to Southern California was nothing less than a shocking jump into modernity. A metropolis of 1.2 million inhabitants, Los Angeles in the 1920s had become the fastest growing urban area in the United States, thanks to the arrival of thousands of immigrants attracted by the promise of unlimited economic opportunity and a world-famous climate. A steady flow of capital and a booming real estate market reshaped the urban landscape: oil fields were excavated just a few miles from downtown, while the rise of Hollywood as the latest epitome of the American frontier prompted the building of new hotels, shopping districts, and theaters. As tourists flooded in, Los Angeles cleaned up its slums and adorned itself with architectural gems: the Pasadena Rose Bowl was completed in 1922, the Public Library in 1926, and the Hollywood Bowl in 1929.¹⁵

With a cars-per-resident ratio thrice the national average, the City of Angels also led America’s motorization. The multiplication of private vehicles carrying commuters back and forth from the ever-expanding suburbs fostered the creation of a complex system of high-speed superhighways—a far cry from the deserted roads where Hutton’s tires would get punctured three times during the 140-mile trip from Altus to Oklahoma City. The development of the Major Traffic Street Plans of the 1920s fostered in turn the creation of a number of new business districts. A couple of miles down the road from the condo on Queen Anne Place where the Bellahs first settled down, for example, visionary

developer A. W. Ross was turning a hitherto unpaved portion of Wilshire Boulevard into the so-called Miracle Mile, a commercial stretch designed to attract motorized consumers using modern retail and advertising techniques. As one of the many “boosters and shamans” of the 1920s, Ross contributed to transforming Southern California into a magical place where anything seemed possible. “The future is yours,” wrote Bruce Bliven in 1927, “And the past? There isn’t any.”¹⁶

In theory, Los Angeles was the best place to be for a bright and dynamic young man—the materialization of that blend of progress and freedom that Luther Hutton Bellah Jr. had always longed for. At the same time, its size and complexity might have seemed too wide a sea to someone who was used to swimming in a pond. Although he received good offers from a number of newspapers, on December 28, 1929, Hutton disappeared. But in spite of the grim content of the few letters he sent Lillian, who soon discovered she was pregnant again, he had no intention of killing himself: he first headed to New York City, where he started introducing himself as William A. Lee, the last remaining scion of a historic Southern family. During a vacation in Cuba he met one Miss Catherine R. Blythe and followed her to Chicago, where they got engaged. On April 18, 1930, five days before their wedding, he fled to Madison, Wisconsin, where he got engaged again, this time to a young music teacher, Edna Louise Schatz. The couple married in Rockford, Illinois, on July 17, 1930, and then moved to Yuma, where Lee, sticking to his Altus pattern, bought a local newspaper and made himself a name as an entrepreneur.¹⁷

Things, however, were far from settled. Early in 1931, Bill Lee was approached by an Altus acquaintance who questioned his identity. Investigations had been started by Harrington Wimberly after he had spotted some familiar lingo, such as Hutton’s trademark “the missus,” in the editorial column of the *Arizona Sentinel*. At about the same time, Lee had been writing to a millionaire friend, Lew Wentz, asking for a loan to rescue his new journal from financial disaster. The prospect of being identified as Hutton Bellah and then tried for bigamy was the proverbial straw that broke the camel’s back. In a crescendo of fear and anxiety, on April 6, 1931, Bellah/Lee shot himself in the head while Edna was doing chores in the room next door—“I can’t go on,” he wrote in his suicide note, “I am sorry. I am not all bad.” Contacted by Wimberly, Lillian Bellah traveled to Arizona with her sister to identify the body—“I am positive that is my husband” was all she said. After a vigil ceremony in Yuma, Molly Emaline Jones took the remains of her disgraced son back to the Bellah-Scott-Jones clan’s big white house in Saint Jo, Texas, where there was a solemn

funeral paid for by Wentz. Neither Lillian nor Edna was among the hundreds of people who attended the ceremony.¹⁸

Soon after her husband's death, Lillian had little Hutton III's name changed to Robert Neelly Bellah.¹⁹ "Bob," as everybody called him, grew up in the Mid-Wilshire neighborhood in Los Angeles with his mother and sister, Hallie Virginia, born on May 12, 1930, under the stern authority of Lillian's older sister, Elizabeth, and her doctor husband, Clifford A. Wright. Born in 1882, "Uncle Clifford" worked as the senior attending physician at the Psychoendocrine Clinic of the Los Angeles County General Hospital and an associate professor of clinical medicine at the College for Medical Evangelists in Loma Linda. The clinic, which Wright had helped found, was a free public institution devoted to the scientific study of cases that showed both psychotic and endocrine gland symptoms. In particular, Wright's clinical research focused on homosexuality as a natural condition due to congenital imbalances of masculine and feminine hormones. His late-1930s articles on the subject were strongly criticized by Alfred C. Kinsey, then a taxonomist known for his work on gall wasps, and led him to the study of human sexuality. An old-style Presbyterian matron, "Aunt Bessie" supported her husband as a member of the State Board of the Woman's Auxiliary to the California Medical Association and the one-time chair of its Los Angeles chapter. In spite of their close-knit relations, the members of the Wright-Neelly-Bellah clan held opposite political persuasions: while Clifford and Bessie were staunch supporters of free capitalism and the Republican Party, Lillian remained true to Hutton's Southern Democrat roots without properly being on the left.²⁰

At the time of his third birthday on February 23, 1930, little Bob had been waiting in vain for his father to come home from his "long trip" and help him cut his cake. He was finally told of Hutton's death a couple of years later, at a time when the effects of the Great Depression were sorely testing the City of Angels and its sparkling image as the capital of unlimited opportunity. Wages fell rapidly as tens of thousands of immigrant agricultural workers flooded the fields of Southern California, and class and ethnic confrontations became a permanent feature of the metropolitan landscape. By June 1934 one-fourth of all Californians depended on some form of public assistance, and one-third of these lived around Los Angeles County. After the Dust Bowl of the mid-1930s, the flow of indigent families from the Great Plains and the Southwest became so intense that in 1937 the so-called Anti-Okie Law was passed to prevent further immigration. In the meantime, affluent Anglos had moved to the suburbs

to shun the arrival of undesired ethnic minorities and the decadence of old business districts.²¹

The times were trying, but Lillian had the money from her husband's generous life insurance and a little help from the Wrights to support her family without being forced to get a job. Walking in Hutton's footsteps, Bob soon developed a consuming passion for reading difficult books and penning short stories, poems, plays, and even faux newspapers. In a short autobiography written at the age of ten, he declared his love of history and geography, his distaste for spelling and Chinese food, and his ultimate plan "to make the world a better place to live in." Lillian took great pride in the academic achievements of her children, and regularly did parent-teacher association work for their schools. She also kept strong ties with former students from the University of Oklahoma, and enjoyed the occasional trip across the Mexican border, while Bob and Hallie stayed with Aunt Bessie and Uncle Cliff. Bob's favorite time of year was the summer, when he spent his time swimming and riding horses at camp.²²

As the 1930s came to an end, Lillian Bellah took a job as a wedding director at the Shatto Chapel of the First Congregational Church of Los Angeles, where she arranged ceremonies, decorations, and parties. Following his mother, Bob started attending Sunday school at the huge gothic building completed in 1932 at the intersection of South Commonwealth Avenue and Sixth Street. There he developed a strong interest in politics, thanks to a young minister who taught a radical reading of the Old Testament books of Amos and Hosea. Struck by the power of the Social Gospel, Bob turned into a passionate New Deal Democrat. As the most learned and the only male member of the family, he had already acquired a position of advantage vis-à-vis his mother and sister: not only could he do whatever he wanted whenever he wanted, but Lillian had developed such an intense dependency upon him that a teenage rebellion became almost unthinkable. After graduating from the John Burroughs Junior High School with the highest of honors, Bob was ready for the next step: Los Angeles High, the oldest and most revered public secondary school in Southern California.²³

III

Robert Bellah enrolled at LA High in the winter of 1942. By that time the Wall Street Crash had become a distant memory: massive public undertakings such as the Arroyo Seco Parkway and the Colorado River Project had boosted the



FIGURE 1.3. Robert N. Bellah as a teenager, early 1940s. (RBPP)

Californian economy and, with it, the Republican Party—the elective affinity between the ethos of suburbia and Hoover’s progressivism made sure that the New Deal would never win the hearts, or the votes, of white middle-class Angelenos. The time of symbolic reflection on the American Dream initiated by Black Tuesday was over, and the City of Angels had emerged once again as the capital of glamour and fun. Contrary to the dark predictions of forced citizens like Bertolt Brecht, Thomas Mann, or Theodor Adorno, the metropolis thrived as the living illustration of “California as pleasure principle,” a place where all were allegedly granted the possibility of conducting a life of pure enjoyment

without ever having to justify themselves. To the dispassionate observer, in 1942 Los Angeles looked “beautiful but dumb, an Attica minus the intellect,” a metropolis that “lacked ambition and generosity of spirit,” a “screwy” place where unadjusted people would live in a “utopia touched by sadness.”²⁴

To the eyes of fifteen-year-old Bob Bellah, Los Angeles was not at all beautiful, just dumb. A typical “brain,” nerdy student, Bob did not really care about the judgment of his far-too-different peers—he took pride in the fact that his Saturday nights at the Los Angeles Philharmonic and the Hollywood Bowl, where he worked as an usher in order to attend classical music performances for free, were as far as could be from an average night out in Southern California. At school he befriended mostly Jewish students, with whom he shared an interest in liberal politics, the writings of Karl Marx, symphonic music, opera, and poetry; he also became an avid reader of the novels of Thomas Wolfe and Arnold Bennett, which he had found in the old trunk where his father had once kept his revolver. Unlike most Americans, who thought that the war would change little of their everyday lives, Bellah was an enthusiastic interventionist and closely followed the unfolding of tragic events in Europe, devouring dailies and periodicals.²⁵

Walking in Hutton’s footsteps, in the fall of 1944 Bob became the editor of the school newspaper, the *Blue and White*. For six months he performed his task smoothly and responsibly, publishing all kind of serious and facetious news and paying scrupulous attention to even the smallest detail. In his weekly column—“Inside L.A.”—he addressed local political and ethical problems, such as the adjustment of first-year students and the correct functioning of the merit system, but also the pros and cons of student government, in which he himself participated as an officer in a number of councils and committees. As the 1944 presidential election approached, Bob started to deal with more general issues in a way reminiscent of his father’s political columns in the *Altus Times-Democrat*. His editorial of October 23, 1944, for example, offered a poignant portrait of his generation: “Born out of depression, we had just arrived in junior high when the world went to war,” he wrote. “The United States has been into war ever since we came to L.A. [High]. We cannot remember back to when there was no war.” The consequences were appalling: “We may have become so used to war that we consider it inevitable.” He warned, “we must fight against that attitude and prepare to accept a reality we have never known peace—peace which was denied us by some leaders of the past generation. They betrayed us and they betrayed our brothers and friends fighting on foreign soil.”²⁶



FIGURE 1.4. The staff of the *Blue and White*, including Melanie Hyman (*far left*) and Robert Bellah (*middle*). (1945 *Yearbook*, Los Angeles High School)

Bellah's interest in political and ethical matters suffused the articles he wrote in the wake of his graduation in December 1944. While admitting that his attempts to improve the school had not been entirely effective, Bob praised "the beginning or widening of a movement for a more liberal and democratic system here."²⁷ He also commended the ethos of unceasing self-improvement of LA High and called for its renewal: "Every term we are faced with the challenge of continuing and enlarging this spirit," he exhorted his fellow students. "Its price, like that of liberty, is eternal vigilance. If we allow the small groups to come first, if we give our loyalty first to them and then to the school, the whole basis of the greatness of L.A. [High] is gone. That the whole is more important than any of its parts must be our doctrine."²⁸

Bellah's inspired collectivism was, to say the least, exaggerated. His teenage years in Los Angeles had made him into a competitive individualist determined to excel and lead in each and any situation. If these traits made him into a veritable replica of his father, Bob lacked Hutton's grace and savoir faire—he had explicitly wanted his photo to be published at the top of his column to accentuate his "you may despise me, but I'm right here in your face" attitude. He had to be a winner, and this required him to keep his feelings and doubts about himself locked inside, where no one could see them. Thus, when he met

with his LA High counsellor he had only two ideas in mind: he wanted to get into the best college he could afford and put as much distance as possible between himself and shallow Southern California. Harvard seemed to be a natural solution, and Bob was so sure he could do it that he decided to apply there and nowhere else. In her letter of recommendation, Professor Mary Howell praised his ability to articulate complex ideas, his deep social concern, and “the courage of [his] well considered convictions,” but remained silent on his blatant superiority complex. The wager was successful, and Bob was accepted as a member of the Harvard Class of ’48 on a generous scholarship.²⁹

For 150 years, the Bellahs had unfailingly headed west. Looking for a better life, they had become merchants and explorers in South Carolina, planters and slave owners in Tennessee, physicians in Arkansas, and Freemasons in Texas. They had found and lost a fortune in Oklahoma and resettled in Los Angeles in hope and pain. Now Robert Neelly Bellah, formerly known as Luther Hutton Bellah III, was leaving home to move back to the East Coast, albeit to a place that was miles away, both geographically and culturally, from the shores of Sullivan’s Island where his ancestor, William Ballagh from County Antrim in Northern Ireland, had first set foot in 1692 with a hundred pounds in his sack. Things were about to change, and dramatically so.³⁰

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