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Racial Melting Pot: The Academic War Over Egypt's Race What Race were the Ancient Egyptians?

Sean Ryan

The ancient Egyptians are perhaps the most fought over society amongst historians. Their amazing accomplishments truly make them one of the most impressive societies in the ancient world. It is not surprising they became the center of a racial tug of war between Africa and Europe. Essentially, the debate breaks down to whether the Egyptians were white or black; European; or African. Whenever dealing with race, history becomes a tricky subject. Race is a social invention, not a scientific classification.¹

The question of whether Egyptians were black or white is quite flawed. The ancient Egyptians existed thousands of years before there was a conception of being black African or white European. A more acceptable question is whether the Africans and Europeans are descended from the Egyptians. Even modern day Egyptians may find it difficult to trace a racial lineage back to the ancient Egyptians. Thousands of years of interbreeding between various races made even the Egyptians of today have questionable lineage to the ancient Egyptians.

The host of conquerors who occupied Egypt such as the Hyksos, Greeks, and Arabs, all blended with the Egyptian race, changing the race until it was

¹ Robert Schwartz, "Racial Profiling in Medical Research." *New England Journal of Medicine*, 344 (2001): 1392-1393.

virtually unrecognizable from the ancient Egyptians.² Another great difficulty is tracing the time period that defines ancient Egyptians. Certainly after years of blending with various races, the Egyptians of the Old Kingdom looked very different from the Egyptians of the Third Intermediate Period, yet they are both considered ancient Egyptians. With these many variables, it is very difficult to come up with any kind of definitive answers as to the “blackness” or “whiteness” of the Egyptians. However, historians Samuel George Morton and Cheikh Anta Diop try to do just that from opposing (yet ironically similar) viewpoints. This paper will explore the theories of these two extreme Eurocentric and Afrocentric historians and seek middle ground between the two. Unlike Morton’s and Diop’s writings, this paper will not define Egyptians as white or black. Such narrow categories of Egyptian race cannot be made.

Historical Imperialism: Europe Colonizes the Past

The debate over the Egyptian’s race begins with 18th-20th century western historian’s attempts to paint the ancient Egyptians as white. It was a time of European dominance over the world. There was an attempt to legitimize this dominance in the academic community through scientific and historical means. In the scientific community, evolutionary theory was a means to explain

² "Egyptian Timeline." Theban Mapping Project., accessed November 27, 2009, <http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/resources/timeline.html>.

European dominance genetically. Whites were thought to be genetically superior to all other races as they were more evolved beings.³

This idea bled into history and caused extreme bias amongst some European historians. While European militaries began their conquest of African territories, European historians began their conquest of African history. Largely, European historians saw Africa as a land without history.⁴ Ancient Egypt's society was simply too unique to be ignored however. Architectural marvels like the pyramids and Egypt's legendary agricultural system along the Nile made it one of the most advanced societies in the ancient world.⁵ Instead of ignoring ancient Egypt, Eurocentric historians claimed it for Europe. The ancient Egyptians were made white.

In the view of Eurocentric historians, how else could they have constructed such an advanced society? Only the fully evolved white race could have accomplished such a feat. Although there are many historians from this Eurocentric school of thought, American historian Dr. Samuel George Morton is one of the earliest examples. Morton was one of the earlier Eurocentric historians and his work, *Observations on Egyptian Ethnography*, is an early attempt to define

³ "The Foundations of European Global Dominance." World History International: World History Essays From Prehistory To The Present., accessed November 27, 2009, <http://historyworld.org/europe,%20scientific%20superiority.htm>.

⁴ Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, Trans. J. Sibree. *The Philosophy of History* (New York: Dover Publications, 1956), 99.

⁵ Alan Winston. "The Pyramid of Khufu at Giza in Egypt, An Introduction." Egypt Travel, Tours, Vacations, Ancient Egypt from Tour Egypt., accessed November 27, 2009, <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/greatpyramid1.htm>.

the Egyptians as white.⁶ Morton worked under strong restrictions, limited by 1844 evidence, but his work is comparable to modern Afrocentrist Cheikh Anta Diop's work.

Morton almost entirely bases his argument in anatomical similarities between Egyptian remains and modern Europeans, mainly focusing on skulls.⁷ This is where Morton's background as an M.D. becomes evident, as he typically favors physical attributes in his research.⁸ He lists the Egyptian skull in the Caucasian class of skulls, although notes its difference from Western European crania in that the facial features are "sharper" and more "angular".⁹ This section shows some of Morton's Eurocentrism as he romantically describes the "pure" Caucasian skulls as "beautiful examples of Grecian art".

Morton's definition of Caucasian appears quite broad. As he mentions in the same paragraph, the Egyptian type Caucasian skull is nearly identical to Arab and Hindu skulls he examined. Although he does not delve into the definition of the Arab or Hindu race, his admission to the similarities between his ideal Caucasian skull and the Arab/Hindu skulls show that he considers these races at least semi-Caucasian.

⁶ Morton, Samuel George, *Observations on Egyptian Ethnography: Derived from Anatomy, History, and the Monuments*, (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1846), 1.

⁷ Ibid., 4.

⁸ "Samuel George Morton - Classification of "races" in *Crania Americana*, Works." Cambridge Encyclopedia., accessed November 27, 2009, <http://encyclopedia.stateuniversity.com/pages/19468/Samuel-George-Morton.html>.

⁹ Morton, 4.

* The term Negroid is used in both Morton and Diops texts for those of those of the black race.

Morton uses dozens of skulls he obtained from various regions in Egypt as the basis of his research.¹⁰ Morton uses pictures of these Egyptian skulls and compares them to Caucasian skulls to show the similarities between them. He also uses Negroid* skulls as a comparison to show differences in bone structure. Morton also takes into account a possible Negroid/Egyptian mix with one of the skulls that is a blend of the two. However, the vast majority of the skulls Morton finds are, in his terms, in the Egyptian Caucasian type or the Pelasgic Caucasian type, the latter being the more pure Caucasian in features. Very few skulls are considered Negroid in his analysis. Out of the one hundred skulls Morton analyzes, forty-nine are considered Egyptian, twenty-nine Pelasgic, eight Negroid, six Semite (or Jewish) and only five mixed.¹¹

Morton goes on to analyze hair through the skulls he has obtained and his perceptions from Egyptian artwork.¹² He deems the hair to be very similar to traditional fine, straight Caucasian hair. He has similar findings with the ears, teeth, and nose. Essentially the Egyptians in the eyes of Morton are whites who are simply slightly different than “pure” whites. He believes the only “pure” Negroes in Egypt originated in Nubia and Meroe.¹³

Morton’s theory on the complexion of the Egyptians is probably the basis of his final determination. After all, skin color is what is most widely considered

¹⁰ Morton, 5.

¹¹ Ibid, 19.

¹² Ibid., 24.

¹³ Ibid., 27.

the simplest determination of race. Morton believes that Egyptians were a darker color, described as a “reddish brown” color. He uses ancient Egyptian artwork to prove this point as the human remains in his position are not suitable to determine skin color. Surprisingly, Morton’s ideas here seem to be quite moderate at their core.

The problem is Morton does not admit his ideas on race are moderate. He theorizes that the bone structure of the Egyptian was similar but not identical to a Caucasian skull and closely resembles an Arab or Hindu skull. He also believes that the Egyptians were not white in complexion, but red or cream colored. From what Morton writes, it seems as though the Egyptians were most definitely not white in race, despite having some similarities. Nevertheless, Morton places them in the category of Caucasian. Although Morton’s article is compelling in that it shows distinct differences between black Africans (in this case people from Meroe and Nubia) and the ancient Egyptians, he ignores the differences between whites and ancient Egyptians.

He describes these differences in detail and acknowledges them, but he still deems the Egyptians as a “Caucasian” race. Morton’s article establishes some compelling evidence. Although there is a strong sense of racial bias in the article, a reader can get past this and establish that Morton proves Egypt was a multi-racial society. Unfortunately, Morton himself does not acknowledge the very evidence he presents.

Reclaiming Africa: Rise of Afrocentrism

With African history largely dominated by biased European historians for centuries, it is a relatively newly explored topic in the academic community. It was not until the mid-20th century when strong Afrocentrism came about. Obviously, there have been some strong emotions in the African historical community over the treatment of Africa in world history. As mentioned before, Eurocentric historians ignored much of African history or claimed it for their own, as in the case of Egypt. As a result, there has been an attempt to reclaim that history for black Africans by African historians such as Cheikh Anta Diop.

However, the Afrocentrists take the argument of Egypt's race in the other direction. The ancient Egyptians become black. In the afrocentric view, their depictions of being white or mixed race was simply just an attempt by non-African historians to take away one of the world's greatest societies from black Africans. Cheikh Diop's 1955 book, *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality*, is one of the earlier works in the 20th century that attempts to claim Egypt for black Africans. Like Morton, Diop does use anatomical evidence and Egyptian artwork to achieve his goals. However, he also uses a more diverse amount of research including explorers' accounts, language similarities, and cultural similarities. Diop rarely focuses on a comparison of Egyptian skulls to modern black skulls, but does focus on the comparison of ancient Egyptian

artwork to that of modern black Africans.¹⁴ He criticizes the usage of skulls due to the fluctuation of criteria from historian to historian. What one historian may consider Caucasian features, another may consider Negroid features due to no consensus on the subject.¹⁵ In terms of the sheer diversity of sources, Diop's analysis is superior but it is not without its own racial bias. Like Morton, Diop seems to broadly define the race for which he argues. In Diop's opinion anyone who is of the "brown race" is "clearly Negro".¹⁶

Diop does give some chronology to the Egyptians he is referencing. Diop argues that during the pre-dynastic period (prior to 3100 b.c.), Egyptians were a pure Negroid race and that over time blending made them less black.¹⁷ This makes his thesis more believable as Diop is not arguing the entire ancient Egyptian society was pure black for their entire existence. He includes the variable of racial mixing, eventually nullifying the Egyptians' strong sense of race. However like Morton, he does not let up on the fact that even though the Egyptians eventually lost a strong sense of race, they were once classified under one race.

¹⁴ Cheikh Anta Diop. *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality*, (Chicago, Illinois, Lawrence Hill Books, 1989.), 32.

¹⁵ Ibid., 130.

¹⁶ Ibid., 132.

¹⁷ Ibid., 131.

Here Diop argues that not only were the Egyptians black, but societies like the Phoenicians and Greeks were semi-black branch offs of Egypt.¹⁸ He even defines the Spanish, Italians and French as semi-black.¹⁹ Again, we see race being defined broadly. To Diop, the black race not only encompasses the Egyptian society, but also mixed race societies like Greece and Phoenicia. Diop criticizes European historians for using shallow accounts of Egyptians having fine, straight hair to emphasize Egyptian whiteness. Diop still uses accounts of the ancient Egyptians “frizzy” hair as an example of their blackness.²⁰ Diop uses more than simple physical evidence to make his argument.

Diop compares the social organization of ancient African societies to that of ancient Egypt. Diop compares African kingship to Egyptian kingship as very similar, as well as African social classes to Egyptian social classes.²¹ Diop also argues that Egyptian philosophy and religion are very influential on Greek philosophy and religion. He focuses much more on political and cultural similarities than racial comparisons here. This is certainly on the right track, but it does not focus on his argument that the Egyptians were ethnically black.

Modern historians generally focus on *cultural* influences rather than *racial* influences. That is what Diop is doing here and although it is convincing for ancient Egypt’s influence on other societies, it does not prove his primary thesis

¹⁸ Diop, 110.

¹⁹ Ibid., 117.

²⁰ Ibid., 75.

²¹ Ibid., 138-141.

that Egypt was ethnically black African. Diop's work is truly impressive in arguing the influences of Egypt on the ancient and modern world. However, he does not convince the reader that the Egyptians were ethnically black.

Diop's strongest argument is not his thesis. He argues that the Egyptians were vastly influential to Africa and all societies along the Mediterranean and this argument is convincing as it utilizes a variety of cultural evidence. Still, he does not prove that the Egyptians were ethnically black. He merely forces the reader to consider it.

Bridging the Gap: An Analysis of Both Arguments

Both Morton's and Diop's arguments have their flaws and contain some bias. However, that does not mean they are useless in academic research. Many of the same fallacies can be found in both Morton's and Diop's work. Both historians use first hand accounts from Herodotus as one of their primary documents for defining Egypt's race. Herodotus' descriptions on the Egyptian race are largely inconclusive. Herodotus' basic description is that the Egyptians were darker than the Greeks. However, as previously mentioned, since the concept of black/white was not established at the time, Herodotus does not give a definitive answer. Herodotus's claims on Egyptian hair describes them as having "closely shaved heads", which does not lend well to either Morton's straight hair theory or Diop's frizzy hair theory.²²

²² Herodotus, *The Histories*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press., 1988.), 145.

Both historians use depictions of Egyptian artwork to prove their arguments. However, the fact that both historians can find several depictions of those who fit the white race and those who fit the black race shows that Egypt had both races in its society.²³ The Egyptians also were known to be somewhat inconsistent in their depictions of Egyptian skin color. For example, King Tutankhamen can be seen depicted as black, brown, beige, and cream colored in various artworks.²⁴ Both historians admit to the large presence of various races in the society and both admit to mixed populations. However, they still theorize the society was dominated by the one race they argue for. Taking out the racial bias makes the two essentially agree about the large presence of various races. Egypt was a multi-racial society from much of the evidence they present despite the fact their theses are that the ancient Egyptians were white/black.

If Morton and Diop could get past the bias of their original thesis and analyze the evidence they present, they would realize that Egypt was a multi-racial society. Their most common fallacy is that both Morton and Diop tend to be very broad in their definition of white/black races. Arabs would hardly consider themselves semi-white.²⁵ Greeks would surely not consider themselves semi-black. They consider themselves Arabs and Greeks. However, looking at the opposing race, the two historians are quite specific in their definition of race.

²³ Arthur Keith, Main Vol. 6. Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1906, 3-5.

²⁴ "What Race Were the Ancient Egyptians?." Catchpenny Mysteries of Ancient Egypt, Accessed November 27, 2009. <http://www.catchpenny.org/race.html>.

²⁵ Samhan, Helen Hatab. "The Arab American Institute | AAI Foundation." The Arab American Institute, Accessed November 27, 2009. <http://www.aaiusa.org/foundation/355/not-quite-white>.

Morton considers the only “pure Negroes” to have contact with the ancient Egyptians to be the Nubians and peoples from Meroe.²⁶ Diop is less blunt. He considers the other “extreme” from the Negro race to be the German race, which implies that the Germans are his best definition of white. This combined with his definition of the Greeks, Phoenicians and even the Spanish, Italians, and French as semi-black, shows that his definition of black is quite broad while his definition of white is narrow.²⁷

Ancient Egypt did have much contact with the peoples of Nubia and Meroe. Nubian peoples lived just to the south of Egypt and they could be found as early as 3500 B.C.E.²⁸ The close proximity would establish some immigration and racial mixing between the two. Even by Morton’s definition, this shows “pure Negroes” mixing with the Egyptians. Although by Diop’s definition, ancient Egypt did not have any contact with pure whites for much of their existence, but they did have contact with many societies along the Mediterranean whom many historians consider white or mixed-race. The Egyptians had strong trade relations with the Greeks and Phoenicians from pre-dynastic Egypt onwards.²⁹

²⁶ Morton, 27.

²⁷ Diop, 117.

²⁸ "Oriental Institute | Individual Scholarship." The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Accessed November 27, 2009. <http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/is/nubia2005.html>.

²⁹ "Overseas trade during the pharaonic period." Reshafim: Kibbutz Homepage (English/Hebrew), Terraflex, Fishfarm. Accessed November 27, 2009. <http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/egypt/trade/index.html>.

Early on, there is a strong presence of Jewish people in Egypt.³⁰ These contacts caused racial blending. Egypt's position is ideal for a mixed race society that makes its racial identity impossible to define. Egypt's trade route along the Mediterranean put it into contact with the Greeks and Phoenicians. Other trade routes also put ancient Egypt into contact with ancient African societies like Nubia, Meroe, and Punt.³¹ On top of these connections, Egypt's position near Sinai makes it a bridge between Africa and the Middle East. This also puts Egypt into contact with the Persians, Babylonians, and Hittites at a very early date.³² All of these races had an opportunity to blend with the ancient Egyptians, making Egypt a true melting pot. With all of the complications that arise during the argument over Egypt's race, it is best to define them as a mixed race or even simply Egyptian.

Unfortunately for those historians setting out to define the race of the ancient Egyptians, Egypt proves to be a melting pot even early on in its existence. It finds itself in the cradle of early civilization with contact with many ancient societies. This contact causes immigration and a blending of races and cultures. If Egypt were an isolated homogenous society like Japan, then the debate would prove far less complicated. However, the Egyptian race was and continues to be a blended one. In the end, this may be a good thing. No one race can claim the

³⁰ Jimmy Dunn. "Egypt: The Jews of Ancient Egypt." Egypt Travel, Tours, Vacations, Ancient Egypt from Tour Egypt, Accessed November 27, 2009. <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/jewsinegypt.htm>.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

ancient Egyptians. They are simply their own entity all together and it would be a shame if they were labeled as simply another white or black society.

Forgotten Heroes, Remembered Lives: Settlement on White Oak Creek

Cynthia Belcher

The small village of New Hope in Brown County was once one of many flourishing pioneer settlements that scattered the landscape of Southeastern Ohio nearly 200 years ago. At first glance, its history may appear unremarkable from the others. However, a closer look into some of New Hope's past inhabitants and the historic events which occurred within the community set it apart and allow one to experience valuable insights and perspective into the lives of early Americans.

Research into the remains of an old house on the bank of White Oak Creek near New Hope, and an examination of the individuals who built and inhabited it, advanced my understanding of how the study of their histories allow us to humanize the past of people now long gone. Their humanity is revealed through their actions; family histories/stories; personal recollections; and community values. They struggled and sometimes prevailed, while challenged by economic necessity; marital discord; illness; and, quite often, early death. Conventional models of historical study, which attempt to describe the past in more general and impersonal methods through names, dates and places, seldom focuses on the humanization of a community and its people through historical research. The result is an "unconventional biography", whereas the community of New

Hope and its original occupants, instead of the individual, became the focus.¹ Therefore, this paper will argue that conventional methods of historical study seldom focuses on the humanization of their subjects and fails to explore the personal and emotional aspects of their lives that highlight their individualism and uniqueness. In addition, the utilization of family histories and personal recollections can create complementary, rather than supplementary, sources of information to chronicle history.² Several questions and issues will be addressed in the body of this paper. This includes an examination of the nature and motivation of individuals willing to move into the Ohio frontier and their efforts to build homes and communities; how an early settler and his pioneer home helped assemble a community; and how the success or failure of a community is sometimes realized by unexpected and unintended events. In doing so, insight will be given into their personal relationships, families, service of their county, and dealings with national and historic events that intruded into their lives.

Consider the audacity, determination, and maybe foolishness it took for people to relinquish comfort and security, move their families into the wilderness that was Ohio two hundred years ago, and attempt to settle a community. The hardships seem insurmountable to our current populace, who can, at whim, simply order their dinner to be delivered to their front door. No social systems, no enforcement of laws (of the few that existed), no protection

¹The term “unconventional biography” courtesy of Prof. Jonathon Reynolds, Ph.D.

² Barbara Allen, “The Personal Point of View in Orally Communicated History,” *Western Folklore* 38, no. 2 (1979): 113, <http://jstor.org>.

from animals or other people except for your firearm, no heavy machinery to clear your land, no carpenters to build your house. New to the area? Make a crude shelter and start chopping down trees. Hungry? Go hunt for an animal, kill it, gut it, skin it, clean it, and cook it. Sick or injured? Better hope your prayers will cure you before you starve to death. Dirty? Take a bath in the creek (sans soap) with the fish and snapping turtles and mosquitoes, no matter the weather or temperature. Do it all over again tomorrow and the next day. They willingly took on these challenges and risked everything simply to attempt to improve life for themselves and their families. It is through their sacrifice and self-sufficiency that our country was settled.

I was drawn to the old house, and it became the catalyst for this paper. It looks forlorn and obviously abandoned. The porch overhang is dangling to one side, making the whole house look lopsided and ready to fall over. Remnants of white paint cling sparingly to the old wood siding. Surprisingly, the old wood floors inside were solid, obviously not original, but old in their own right. Scattered among several piles of rodent droppings were the paper remnants of someone's life. Phone bills, church programs, postcards, a checkbook register showing a balance of \$143.26, and a religious card addressed to Aunt Minnie, among other things. All were dated from 1983.

The house itself is unremarkable and has obviously been rebuilt several times over the years. The structure's significance is only apparent by the dry stacked, rough creek rock foundation, which indicates an old structure for this

part of Ohio. Imagine the effort that went into retrieving and hauling the rocks from the White Oak. Yet each rock was carefully placed in its most advantageous position. Even with the varying sizes of rocks, the builder created a mosaic: solid, beautiful, and seemingly symmetrical. The house is supported by whole logs. The ends of the logs have long rotted away from the moisture of the dirt floor and likely repeated flooding from the adjacent White Oak Creek. Someone long ago had wedged large stones underneath them, with two supports still doing their job and one swinging freely from the above cross supports.

The original house would have been a cabin of unhewn logs, with a single room designated as kitchen, dining, and sleeping room. The roof would have been made of clapboard, kept in place by long poles, and its large chimney would have been made of mud and sticks.³ Improvements would have been made as time and resources became available.

It is a disconcerting sight to see an old house that was once a home now abandoned, neglected, and left to rot in the elements. Its condition tends to hit an emotional nerve in those opposed to letting remnants of American history fade away in such an undignified manner. One wonders about the person who built it and the people who may have lived in the house over the years. During my research into the origins of the old house, I visited the Brown County Historical Society and came across family records and old newspaper clippings. I began to realize that a more significant story was developing. Not just about

³History of Brown County, Ohio (Chicago, 1883), 622.

the house, but about the land it was built on and the people who had lived in it. People who had come and gone so long ago, and yet I discovered that their lives were interesting and unique and still relevant today.

Research brought me to the remarkable story of Ohio pioneer Henry Zumalt, his land, and the people who surrounded him during his short but productive time here. Henry's house has long outlived its usefulness, but its influence on the lives of many people remained well after his death. According to the book *The History of Brown County*, "Zumalt pitched his tent on the east bank of White Oak Creek at a point a mile south of New Hope. His name appears in many Brown and Clermont County history books since the land in which Zumalt built his house was in Clermont County until the creation of Brown County in 1817.⁴ The house is now located in Scott Township, Brown County.

To understand the historical significance of the story it is necessary to go back to some of the first written accounts regarding the land on which Henry built his home. More than twenty years prior to his arrival, the land on the creek was already part of American history. In September 1778, the famous frontiersmen Simon Kenton followed White Oak Creek, passing through the site where Henry would build his home, in an effort to escape the Shawnee after having been caught spying on their village of Chalahgawtha (Xenia) and attempting to steal their horses. The Indian tracker Bonah, of Tecumseh's tribe, tracked Kenton across the east fork of the

⁴ Brown County, Ohio: Government Web Portal, <http://www.browncountyohio.gov>.

Little Miami, then southeast through New Harmony, Locust Ridge, and Shiloh, to New Hope, where they struck White Oak Creek and followed it down near where Georgetown is today, eventually capturing Kenton at the Ohio River shore at Ripley. Kenton became infamous as the man the Indians couldn't kill, given that he was forced to "run the gauntlet" nine times; had a hole hammered in his skull while trying to escape; his arm and collarbone broken with a war club; and prepared to burn at the stake three times. He escaped in June of 1779 and marched thirty days back to the American settlements.⁵

The name White Oak Creek is misleading, as it is wide enough to be a river if it was long enough to be categorized as such. It begins in Highland County and ends at the Ohio River just east of Higginsport, which is about 8 miles east of Ripley, the well-known starting place of the Underground Railroad and haven for runaway slaves crossing the river from Kentucky. From the old house, near the present village of New Hope, it travels south just outside of the city of Georgetown where President Ulysses S. Grant was raised. Locals tell a story of how Grant almost drowned in the creek as a boy.

Henry Zumalt was not the only early settler on White Oak. Robert Wardlow was one of the first landowners in this area then known as the Virginia Military Lands. In 1800 he purchased 500 acres on White Oak Creek for \$2.00 an acre. He was considered a man of means and his original log home was three stories high, built of walnut logs, pinned together with wooden spikes, and, according to folklore, Robert

⁵ Allan W. Eckert, *A Sorrow in Our Heart: The Life of Tecumseh*, (New York: Bantam Books, 1992), 181, 855.

would sit in the third story window, shoot a deer, and send his daughter Martha out to bring it in.⁶ Robert Wardlow's log home disappeared from the landscape long ago, most likely having previously endured the same fate as Zumalt's.

Robert Wardlow originally came from Virginia where he fought in the militia during the Revolutionary war. The book *History and Families of Brown County* credits him with serving under George Washington and being at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. In 1794 he sold his land in Virginia and moved his wife and eight children to Harrison County, Kentucky. It is here that his twenty-one year old daughter Martha met and married Henry Zumalt in 1797.⁷

Depending on the source, Zumalt was either born in Augusta County, Virginia or Harrison County in 1771. It is known that he grew up in Kentucky and according to the *History of Brown County*, his early years "passed in hunting and Indian fighting in the savage wilds of his native state". In 1801 Henry purchased a nearby 150 acres on the White Oak Creek for \$375⁸ and he, his wife Martha, her father Robert Wardlow and seven of her siblings left Harrison County, "crossed the Ohio River and after a tedious journey of several days' duration reached (their) destination in the spring of 1801".⁹

Other settlers joined the Wardlows and Zumalts and soon the nearby village of New Hope was officially established in 1810. Zumalt built the first grist and

⁶ History and Families: Brown County Ohio, 1818-1993 (Paducah, KY, 1992), 444.

⁷ Ibid., 444.

⁸ Byron Williams, History of Clermont and Brown Counties, Vol. II (Baltimore, 1883), 249.

⁹ History of Brown County, 623.

flower mill in the village, which was the first recorded mill in Clermont (Brown) County. Before he built the mill, villagers were obligated to travel with their corn to Levanna, a small town on the Ohio River or with their wheat across the river to Augusta, Kentucky, at a distance of nearly 19 miles. In addition to several family homes, New Hope soon also had a blacksmith shop, general store and shoe shop.¹⁰ Henry became an active member of his growing community and served as a grand jury member at the term of common pleas court beginning February 21, 1809, the first held in the new stone courthouse in Williamsburg.¹¹ In April of that year Henry was administered the oath of office as treasurer of Scott Township, winning the majority of the twenty-seven votes cast.¹²

Insight into the personal natures of Henry Zumalt and Robert Wardlow was discovered while researching the family files at the Historical Society. Remarkably, instead of just locating the standard clinical data of names, dates, and places associated with research, I was fortunate to uncover an item that offered a view into their characters, personalities, and events in their everyday lives. A copy of an old newspaper clipping in the Wardlow family file recounts the memories of an old-timer by the name of Josiah McFaddin, who in 1887 wrote an account of his conversations with Robert Wardlow's ageing grandson, Levi Wardlow.

Levi remembered a story his grandfather Robert recounted about an Indian family that made him laugh every time he told it. The story is indicative of Robert

¹⁰ History of Scott Twp.

¹¹ Williams, History of Clermont and Brown Counties, Ohio, 244.

¹² History of Brown County, 520.

Wardlow's trusting and generous nature, given that scarcely twenty years had passed since Simon Kenton was hunted down and tortured.

Shortly after grandpap's settlement one cold winter evening there came along an Indian family, consisting of man and wife and five children, and indicated by signs and broken language that they wanted to stay all night. (The Wardlow's are proverbial for their hospitality, no one ever being turned away from their doors hungry or cold) so grandpap told the boys to carry in a good lot of big wood (the fire place was one of those old fashioned ones that would take in a backlog seven feet long) and build a good big fire that would last all night. The Indians indicated that they only wanted to sleep on the floor, so untying quite a bundle which they were carrying, he unrolled several Indian blankets and spreading one or two down on the floor before the fire. Then the woman taking the least child in her arms lay down, not with her feet to the fire, but with her back to the fire, then the next youngest. Next to the babe and so on up to the oldest; after they had all laid down the old Indian spread his remaining blanket over them all and tucked it in nicely about them; then looking all around to see that all was right he stretched himself down just between his wife and the fire.¹³

Levi Wardlow also remembered a humorous and entertaining old story, passed down in his family, regarding Henry Zumalt and his wife Martha. It offers insight into the couple's personal relationship and individual personalities rarely seen in historical documents. It is a window into a marriage that occurred over 200 years ago, and yet it characterizes a common and universal marital predicament.

Levi's story reads in part:

"Zumalt was almost a giant both in size and muscular strength, and many are the stories related of his wonderful strength. Zumalt and his wife did not always see eye to eye in the management of their family affairs and she would sometimes leave her own home and seek that of her father. Zumalt, after suffering the privations of a deserted home for a time, would

¹³ Author unknown, "Good Old Times: In the Years that Have Long Since Gone," Publication unknown. Wardlow Family File, Georgetown Historical Society.

follow his wife and with a few kind words induce her to return. William Wardlow, Mrs. Zumalt's oldest brother, becoming enraged at what he considered the abuse of his sister by Zumalt, said that if ever his sister came home again and Zumalt came after her he would shoot him. Not long afterward Mrs. Zumalt was again at her father's. Zumalt had heard the threat that William had made, and although a giant in strength he had a wholesome regard for William's rifle. But after enduring the agonies of a desolate home until it became unbearable, he mounted his horse one evening and rode up to Wardlow's after dark and riding in as close as he could get, sat there on his horse watching to see if he could get a glimpse of his wife. As he saw her pass an open door he called to her in a low tone, she heard him and knew his voice and stepped outside. He told her to come close to him (so) that he might speak to her. She walked up close to the horse and when within reach of her, he grabbed her by both arms near the shoulders, gave her a twirl in the air and seated her on the horse behind him and rode off in triumph to his home."¹⁴

Henry's actions when the War of 1812 began indicate his willingness for self-sacrifice and demonstrate the honor in his character. He had recently improved and refined his home, had already become a leading figure in his community, and was by this time most likely economically sound. Yet, in spite of these comforts, and the fact that he was in a troubled marriage, he did not hesitate to serve when the war started.

He was induced as a captain in the Ohio militia at the start of the war, apparently due to his training in the Indian wars and his "fine soldierly quality".¹⁵ Records from "Roll of Capt. Henry Zumalt's Company" indicate that he served from August 22 until Sept 30, 1812 and was then promoted to colonel of the 2nd Regiment,

¹⁴Author unknown, "Good Old Times".

¹⁵ Williams, History of Clermont and Brown Counties, Ohio, 244.

4th Ohio brigade. During that August, Martha's older brother William, who answered the first call for Ohio militia, died in battle at Brownstown, Michigan. His company, which included his brother Hugh and the previously mentioned frontiersman Simon Kenton, were escorting a pack train of supplies to Detroit when a force of British and Indians from different tribes led by Tecumseh ambushed and killed him and seventeen others.¹⁶ In September of 1813, when the war was heating up, Colonel Zumalt was ordered by General John S. Gano to march his regiment of nearly 800 men to Columbus. The men were offered extra compensation if they were called into actual service. Amusingly, in a tradition of the day, the orders requested that he procure musicians if possible.¹⁷

Four months after leaving home, Henry was serving in Detroit and fell ill. His muster roll dated December 31, 1813 indicated he was sick and unfit for duty. He wrote his will on January 27, 1814 while still in Detroit, and was relieved of duty on March 3rd of that year. His will was witnessed by Benjamin Kimball who was a friend, neighbor, and a major in Zumalt's brigade.¹⁸ It is not known if Henry made it back to his home before he died in 1814 at the age of 44. New Hope responded to his death mournfully and it was written that Henry's "untimely end was deplored as little less than a calamity" in his community.¹⁹

¹⁶ Joseph G. Wardlaw, *Genealogy of the Wardlaw Family* (self published, 1929), 183.

¹⁷ Lewis Alexander Leonard, *Greater Cincinnati and its People*, (New York: Lewis Historical Publications Co., 1927), 536.

¹⁸ Ohio Society, "United States Daughters of 1812, Index to the Grave Records of Servicemen in the War of 1812: State of Ohio." Ed. Phyllis Brown Miller. 1988.

¹⁹ History of Brown County, 624.

After Henry's death, Major Benjamin Kimball accompanied Martha and testified to the validation of Zumalt's will when she filed it at the county courthouse in Williamsburg. Generously, he bequeathed \$5 to each of his living brothers and sisters, and curiously left 1/3 of all his holdings to a two-year old nephew, Henry Wardlow, son of Martha's brother Samuel. He left \$200 to another one of Samuel's 11-year old sons and \$100 to Samuel's daughter Martha. These children most likely were Henry and Martha's godchildren. The remainder of his estate, including the house, was willed to Martha.²⁰

According to Josiah McFadden, the old-timer who reminisced in 1887:

Henry was buried by his own request just in the front of his home, almost in his own doorway. There his bones rested over the years, when it was thought best to take them up and remove them to the cemetery up on the hill. A number of neighbors met for the day for that purpose, among them old Dr. Ellsberry. When the bones were reached, Dr. Ellsberry said: "Hand me that jaw bone," and taking his hand he placed it over his own chin just as you would place a (illegible) over a boot heel; then he asked for the thigh bone and placing it at the proper place found it over three inches longer than his own, and Dr. Ellsberry was a large man.²¹

Major Benjamin Kimball's wife Polly suddenly died in 1815, and whether out of mutual necessity or affection, he and Martha married seven months later. It is believed that he and his nine children, the youngest only one year of age, moved in with Martha into the house Henry built. Prior to settling in Ohio, he and his family had migrated from New Hampshire to Wheeling, West Virginia. Their journey was

²⁰ Will of Henry Zumalt, 1814 Record of Wills, Clermont County, Ohio, 494.

²¹ Unknown Author, "Good Old Times", unknown newspaper publication, unknown date.

recalled in the *History of Clermont and Brown Counties, Vol. II*: “Major Kimball with his family in a primitive jolt wagon drawn by oxen left Hopkinton, New Hampshire to make his way overland to Wheeling, Virginia, where he contemplated making his home, and reached his destination after being en route sixty days.” It was understood in New Hope that Major Kimball’s ancestors came over on the Mayflower.²²

Martha must have been surprised to find herself pregnant for the first time at the age of nearly forty-two. She gave birth in 1818 to a son by Benjamin Kimball. They named him Henry, an interesting choice after her tumultuous marriage to Zumalt, but indicative of a strong affection and respect for the man. It must have been a chaotic home life. One wonders at how Martha managed to care for Benjamin’s nine young children and then her own infant, or how she grieved after raising Benjamin’s daughter Ellanor, who died in 1824 at the age of 13.

Henry Kimball, Martha and Benjamin’s son, grew up in the house Henry built upon the banks of White Oak Creek and married Malinda Jacobs in 1840. There they had seven children within ten years: William, Andrew Jackson “A.J.”, Francis, Thomas, Samual, Martha, and Mary Jane. Sadly, Samual died as an infant. The rest, with the exception of Francis, who died in his thirties, lived rather long lives.

His father, Maj. Benjamin Kimball died in 1842 at the age of 64. His mother Martha lived until the age of 79 years, dying in 1855. They were buried in the Kimball Family Cemetery, joining Ellanor (d. 1824) and Samual (d. 1850). Henry

²² Williams, *History of Clermont and Brown Counties, Ohio*, Vol. II, 248.

Zumalt was also laid to rest there, although it is not known what year he was exhumed from his front yard and moved to the cemetery. Regardless, from the arrangement of the toppled headstones it appears that Martha was buried between her two husbands.

New Hope, the village Henry Zumalt and Robert Wardlow helped settle, continued to thrive until the cholera epidemic hit in the summer of 1849, underscoring evidence of the town's precarious and sometimes uncertain livelihood. The town was nearly decimated when twenty-two of the approximate 100 townspeople were killed.²³ The Wardlows and Kimballs seemed to have been spared, but little Samual Kimball died in 1850 and it could not be ascertained if cholera was the cause. Plans to bring the county seat to New Hope were thwarted by the epidemic and were consequently bestowed to Georgetown.²⁴

New Hope, largely composed of pioneers who risked everything to improve their lives, became a community whose interaction with runaway slaves reflected their values and ideals. Local folklore and several documented sources maintained that the Siegel's Homestead, a big white building on the main road in New Hope, was a stop on the Underground Railroad. Active during Henry Kimball's lifetime, I felt strongly that a visit to New Hope was necessary. There I met Dean McKee, a retired former township trustee, Wardlow descendant and lifelong resident. He was very gracious and told me the building was erected in 1846 as the Colonial Hotel since New Hope had been on the stagecoach line. After showing me where some of

²³ R.B. McCall, *History of Scott Township*, <http://www.rootsweb.com/~ohbrown/townships/scott.htm>.

²⁴ Dale McKee, interview with author, October 12, 2008.

the original red paint still remained behind the porch addition, he walked me around the back and indicated the three small doors to the cellar, one near each end of the building and one in the middle. He explained to me that each door was for a separate room in the cellar, but that a fourth room existed between the walls. We walked into the musty, dirt floored room and he showed me where the original wall had been partially dismantled. Beyond it was another room about 6-feet wide and running the 12-foot width of the building. It was here he said that the runaways would hide. He showed me the wall facing the front of the building and stated that a tunnel had run from that room up to the church several hundred feet away. Mr. McKee related how the runaway slaves came to the church, traveled through the tunnel to this room, and waited until darkness. Then they would simply exit through the back door and follow White Oak Creek north. No one has ever excavated the basement, and the hidden room now houses a large furnace. When I asked Mr. McKee why he didn't try to get a historical designation for the house his nonchalant but pleasant reply was "What for?"

Documentation does support this claim. A former slave by the name of Horace Washington wrote of his escape from Kentucky:

I was a slave born in Mason County, Kentucky, two miles west of May's lick....We went to Ripley and I found a friend of mine there (black) - Johnson (Gabriel) and he took us up to Rankin's -up on the hill. We stayed there one day and a night. We went afoot from Rankin's through cornfields and woods to New Hope...²⁵

²⁵ Horace Washington, *I Was A Slave*, (Brown County file, Siebert Collection, Ohio Historical Society, 1895), quoted in Ann Hagedorn, *Beyond the River* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002), 249.

The Civil War came to New Hope in 1864, when a company of General Morgan's Raiders came from Cincinnati, up the Bethel Pike and fired a volley into the hills nearby. Milton Patten, a storekeeper in New Hope, walked below the tobacco warehouse, which stood on the east side, and waved a white tablecloth. Some farmers hurriedly took their horses into the woods and tied them to trees so they wouldn't be stolen. The Confederate soldiers divided, some coming through New Hope en route to Sardinia, stealing clothes, food, cows, and horses.²⁶ Richard Crawford, author of *Lightning Across the River: The Story of John Hunt Morgan's Raid on Clermont County, Ohio*, relates this story told to him by a New Hope resident:

"This lady proudly told the story for many years that as a baby her mother held her in her arms on a nearby hillside as they watched elements of Morgan's Raiders ride down through the valley. I'm sure due to her youth she could not actually remember this historical event and surely her mother informed her of this. Nevertheless, she very likely was the last living person in the Ohio Valley that could lay claim to being the last person to witness this momentous occasion."²⁷

At the end of the Civil War, the community's strong values and ideals were also evidenced by the existence of a former slave settlement established near Walsburg, another small village in the township and now located on Rt. 68. Little has been recorded, but it is known that they built a schoolhouse and hired a black

²⁶ R.B. McCall, *History of Scott Township*, <http://www.rootsweb.com/~ohbrown/townshiops/scott.htm>.

²⁷ Richard Crawford, *Lightning Across the River*, (Newport, KY: Rhiannon Publications, 1996), 29.

teacher.²⁸ How long the settlement existed is unknown and the building no longer stands. It appears that the descendants from the settlement moved out of the area.

The resilience and ability to prevail after the cholera epidemic was evidenced by the erection of a wooden covered bridge over the White Oak Creek near New Hope in 1878. Called the Bethel-New Hope Bridge, it still stands and is one of the longest covered bridges in the state.²⁹

Henry Kimball inherited Henry Zumalt's home and land from his mother, where he lived and raised his family. Together with Zumalt's original acreage, he eventually amassed 247 acres altogether. The homestead later became known as the Kimball Farm and Ford. Watermelons were grown in the field and many parties were held on the bank of the creek during the summertime.³⁰ The land was rich and productive and he farmed it his entire life. Samples of his tobacco crop were awarded the premium for excellence at the Centennial Exposition of 1876. He also grew wheat and corn and cultivated an apple orchard of 415 trees on ten acres of his land.³¹ At the age of sixty-four in 1883 he was described by the author of *History of Clermont and Brown Counties* as a "hearty, good-looking gentleman, his abundant hair and beard silvered by the touch of time, to be sure, but his step as elastic as in his youth". The author follows with:

²⁸ Carl N. Thompson, *Historical Collections of Brown County, Ohio*, (Piqua, OH, 1969), 191.

²⁹ Brown County Ohio Department of Tourism, <http://county.brown.oh.us/tour/index.php>.

³⁰ History and Families, Brown County, Ohio, 444.

³¹ Williams, *History of Clermont and Brown Counties*, Vol. II, 249.

He promises to live many years to bless an affectionate countryside, with his benevolent acts and kindly, sunny disposition. His good wife lives to cheer his home and brighten his fireside with her smile, while two unmarried children – a son and daughter – linger at home to share and lighten their cares and responsibilities.

Henry Kimball displayed to the author several keepsakes from his father Benjamin. First his military commission giving him the authority of a captain of a rifle company was dated 1805 and signed by Gov. Edward Tiffin. The other, was his commission to major of a battalion, dated 1810 and signed by Gov. Samuel Huntington.³²

Henry's wife Malinda died in 1894 and he lived an additional seven years, dying at the age of 83 in 1901. Of his remaining children, his sons William and Thomas stayed in the White Oak Valley area and became farmers like their father, married and each had several children. Daughter Martha married a local man and lived nearby. A.J. and Mary Jane, the two unmarried children referred to above never left home. In his will, Henry carefully divided up his acreage amongst his children, including a survey he had completed showing the boundaries of each child's land. A.J. and Mary Jane received the house that Henry Zumalt built, along with a larger portion of the land, Henry explaining in his will, "is because I expect them to live at home and care for me and their mother during our natural lives and my desire and expectation is that the legacy devised to them to fully pay each of them for their labor in caring for us."³³

³² Williams, 250.

³³ Henry Kimball's will, Record of Wills, Brown County, Ohio, 540-545.

A.J. and Mary Jane lived in Zumalt's old homestead the rest of their lives, A.J. dying in 1917 and Mary Jane in 1923. After Mary Jane's death the house and land were auctioned off to Robert S. Kincheloe, who happened to be the husband of Elizabeth Kimball, a granddaughter of Benjamin Kimball and his first wife Polly. Samuel Kincheloe, Robert's son, inherited the land when his father died in 1942 and subsequently bought up the remaining Kimball acreage from the surviving heirs. When Samuel Kincheloe died in 1981 he divided up the acreage and left it to his three children, two of who lived out of state.

The acreage had been further divided when the Georgetown and New Hope Free Turnpike that followed White Oak Creek, past the front of Henry's old house and into New Hope, was moved and replaced by the construction of modern Ohio State Route 68 in 1959. The old covered bridge was closed to automobile traffic when the highway bypassed it, but can still be accessed by pedestrians. The house is now located on Kimball Ford Road with its crumbling rear addition facing the new highway. In the 1990's the parcels originally given to Thomas and William Kimball by their father Henry were sold by one of the Kincheloe heirs. It was sold again in 2003. The remaining land and Henry's old house still belong to a Kincheloe heir who does not reside in the state. However, there is a caretaker who mows the grass around Henry's house and farms tobacco, corn and soybeans each year.

Henry would have undoubtedly been disbelieving and disappointed that New Hope didn't continue to develop and thrive. It no longer hums with activity. Route 68 bypasses the town. There are no housing developments, strip malls or big

box stores. Traffic is steady on Route 68, but the travelers are headed elsewhere.

With the exception of several homes in New Hope, the area consists mostly of both large and small family farms to modest homes on several acres. Local farmers grow corn, tobacco, soybeans, and wheat on larger tracts of land, their farmhouses surrounded by old barns, lean-tos, and dilapidated corncribs.

The last burial in the Kimball Family Cemetery was in 1942 with the death of Thomas Kimball's wife Clara. Henry Kimball, wife Malinda, and all seven children, including three of their spouses and one grandchild were buried there over the years. It is located up a steep path near the crest of the valley overlooking Henry Zumalt's old house. The older tombstones have toppled over the years. Henry's is still standing, yet precariously. Martha's has fallen and broken into three pieces. Benjamin's was laying flat, inscription side down and nearly buried until I dug it out and turned it over. The township maintains the property by mowing the grass and keeping the steep path cleared, but no flags or markers are erected over Henry's or Benjamin's grave on Memorial or Veterans Day. A Scott Township cemetery sign was erected fairly recently on Rt. 68 indicating its general location.

The community Henry helped to create thrived until the highway bypassed it nearly 50 years ago. This community, at great risk to itself, had sheltered and aided people longing for freedom and a chance to improve and advance their lives. It was for very similar reasons that Colonel Henry Zumalt and the others had first settled the area and established New Hope over 200 years ago.

Research revealed personal and emotional aspects of Henry Zumalt's life: those around him; those who came after him; and the community they created. The humanization of the past can be achieved by studying their actions, family histories and stories, personal recollections and community values. Conventional models of historical study seldom focus on the humanization of a community and its people through historical research and fail to explore the personal and emotional aspects of their lives that highlight their individualism and uniqueness. The utilization of family histories and personal recollections create complementary, rather than supplementary, sources of information with which to chronicle their history. These complementary sources open a window into their personal relationships, families, the service of their county, and interactions with national and historic events that touched their lives.

What started out as research on an old house built in the Ohio wilderness turned into a story about human courage, obligation, sacrifice, love, loss and, ultimately, perseverance. Henry Zumalt appears to be the tragic figure and one can't help feel sympathy towards him considering how his life transpired. He was an Indian fighter, frontiersman, community leader, craftsman, soldier, and troubled husband. He was a quiet hero and through his endeavors made life easier for those who settled afterwards. He willingly left his beloved home to endure hardship in the service of his newly independent country, and either directly or indirectly, lost his life in the endeavor.

He left no children to help populate the area or carry on his family's traditions or heritage. Yet the house he built was his legacy, likely hosting dozens of births and sheltering generations of children, with his land providing for their nourishment and wellbeing. As it is also just as likely to have provided sanctuary for the dying and privacy for the grief that would inevitably come.

History and Haunting of

44 Licking Pike

Crystal Cruze

In Wilder, Kentucky, a country music nightclub called Bobby Mackey's Music World has become known as one of "the most haunted places in America." Today, country music lovers and ghost hunters from across the nation enter through the club's doors every weekend. Although the club's paranormal reputation has been the focus of many television shows, newspaper articles, and a book, the allure of this building goes much deeper than a few ghost stories. First used in the 1850's, this spot has been the site of several fundamental events in local history and the legends surrounding the building's use for slaughter, murder, and satanic rituals, combined with its reputation of being haunted, has drawn large crowds to the site for decades. Although the truth behind these legends is often obscured or forgotten, this building has played a fascinating role in local history and legend.

The long history of the building at 44 Licking Pike in Wilder, Kentucky began about 1850. At this time the area was known as Finchtown and Cincinnati and surrounding cities were thriving on the slaughter and meatpacking business.⁶⁶ The Covington Journal, published as a weekly paper, discusses many of the important businesses around the area. Papers from 1848 to 1859 discuss a

1. Robin Caraway, "Wilder Nightclub Site has Storied Past," Cincinnati Post, 17 July 2006.

new slaughterhouse that was being constructed known as the Licking Valley Pork House and although an exact location is difficult to determine, this may very well be the slaughterhouse that sat on the current site of Bobby Mackey's Music World. According to the papers, this slaughterhouse was extremely productive and slaughtered and packed more meat than any other house in the area, making it a thriving business that helped Covington and other areas on the south side of the Ohio River compete with Cincinnati's growing industry.⁶⁷ When the slaughterhouse was built, a well was dug into the basement that was connected to tunnels leading directly to the Licking River. This well was used to collect and dispose of animal blood quickly. After the slaughterhouse was closed in the 1890's, the well served other, darker purposes and became the center of many local legends.⁶⁸

After the slaughterhouse was abandoned, stories began to surface that the building was being used for satanic rituals. Many believe that a group of locals involved in a satanic cult gathered in the basement of the building to perform their ceremonies and rites. Allegedly, both animal and human sacrifices were used in these rituals and the blood sacrifice was cast into the well to be accepted by Satan. Some even believe that handicapped children were "sacrificed back to the Devil" during these ceremonies.⁶⁹ Evidence of these rituals is difficult to find, either because they did not exist or because they were extremely secretive and

². "Preparations for Slaughtering Hogs in Covington," The Covington Journal, 20 October 1848;"Licking Valley Pork House," The Covington Journal, 26 November 1859.

³. Caraway, "Wilder Nightclub Site has Storied Past."

⁴ "Bobby Mackey's Music World," Video Producers Inc., 2008.

well hidden. It has been inferred that this building served as a prime location for satanic rituals because of its isolated location, proximity to the Licking River, and the well that served as a direct outlet to dispose of remains from the rituals. The Licking River plays a major role in these speculations, because it is one of the few rivers in the world that flows north, which is believed to allow better contact with the underworld. Hence, the old well in the building's basement has been called "Hell's Gate." Although there is little to no evidence of cult activity in the building, this speculation would forever connect it with one of the darkest murders in Kentucky's history.

In 1896, a heavily publicized and sensationalized murder occurred less than two miles from the abandoned slaughterhouse. The murder of Pearl Bryan, a 22-year-old girl from Greencastle, Indiana was filled with many unanswered questions and quickly became known as the "Crime of the Century." Bryan was the youngest of 12 children from a highly respectable, wealthy family in Greencastle, Indiana. She was well known for being beautiful and sought after by many men, however she tragically fell in love with Scott Jackson, a businessman from a respected family. Unbeknownst to everyone in Greencastle, including his family, Jackson had escaped a penitentiary sentence for embezzling over \$32,000 from a railroad company in New Jersey, and many other dark secrets as well. In 1894, when Jackson moved to Greencastle to be with his family, he became good friends with Will Wood, who was one of Pearl Bryan's favorite cousins. When Wood introduced Jackson and Bryan, she fell in love with his charismatic

personality, unaware of his true, deceitful, conniving character. In September of 1895, Bryan discovered she was pregnant, and fearing her family's reaction, she confided only in her favorite cousin, Will Wood.⁷⁰

Wood remained in contact with Jackson, who had moved to Cincinnati to enroll in the Cincinnati Dental College. On January 28, 1896, Bryan left Greencastle, telling her family she was going to visit friends in Indianapolis. Instead, she went to Cincinnati to visit Jackson. Before Bryan's arrival, Jackson wrote to Wood and asked for his help once he discovered Bryan was pregnant. Together they developed a series of "recipes" meant to serve as abortives, unfortunately for Pearl Bryan, none of them worked. As a result, arrangements were made for Bryan to meet Jackson in Cincinnati and have an abortion.⁷¹

According to Alonzo Walling, Scott Jackson's roommate and friend, Jackson had revealed several ways in which he planned to kill Bryan once she arrived, including cutting her into pieces and disposing of her throughout the sewers and rivers. He also made inquiries as to what poison would kill the fastest. He was told prussic acid, but that cocaine was the second best and cheaper. There is a record that shortly after this conversation, Jackson purchased cocaine, which was legal at the time, from Koelble's drugstore. Walling admitted that he agreed to assist Jackson in helping Bryan "get out of trouble," as Jackson

5 Unknown, *Mysterious Murder of Pearl Bryan: The Headless Horror* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 2002), 45-47.

6. Ibid.

referred to it.⁷² Several witnesses claim to have seen Jackson, Walling, and Bryan together the night of the murder, including David Wallingford. Wallingford owned a saloon at Longworth and Plum in Cincinnati that Jackson often visited. He recalled the three meeting at the saloon the night of the murder and that Jackson ordered a sarsaparilla for Bryan.⁷³ During the autopsy, cocaine was found in Bryan's stomach and it is believed that Jackson drugged her drink at the saloon before taking her across the river. It is unclear whether this was intended to kill her or simply limit her struggle. Based on the investigation, it is believed that Walling and Jackson hired a carriage to drive them to Fort Thomas. Whether Jackson attempted to perform the abortion he wrote Wood about is not clear, but a struggle ensued once the trio arrived in Fort Thomas near Lock Farm. Footprints indicate Bryan was chased upon exiting the carriage and when captured, her clothes were torn as she was wrestled to the ground. At some point, her attacker withdrew a knife and her fingers on her left hand were sliced to the bone as she struggled. Her attacker then took the dull knife and fully decapitated her, allegedly to conceal the identity of the body.⁷⁴

Although Bryan had been drugged, medical examiners are certain she was alive at the time of her beheading. Blood was found on branches six feet above the ground and a large pool of blood had been absorbed 6 inches deep into the ground. Both of these findings indicate that Bryan's heart was still beating at the

7. Unknown, 62.

8. Ibid., 74.

9. National Reporter System, *The Southwestern Reporter* January 11-March 8, 1897, Vol. 38 (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1897), 422-430.

time of her decapitation, practically emptying her body completely of blood. John Hewling, who was on his way to work at Lock farm, discovered Bryan's body by the gate the next morning on February 1. Unfortunately, as word spread about the murder, hundreds of curious onlookers flooded the scene and evidence was destroyed. In some cases, evidence, such as pieces of Bryan's torn clothing, her hair, and branches with her stained blood, were sold to onlookers before detectives could investigate the scene. This made the investigation even more complex. The identity of the headless body was difficult to find and over the next month many came forward believing the body was their missing loved one. Detectives were finally able to discover her identity by her shoes, which came from a shoe company in Greencastle, Indiana and had unique markings.⁷⁵

Once the body was identified as Pearl Bryan, detectives quickly arrested Scott Jackson, Alonzo Walling, and William Wood. Wood was later released, but Jackson and Walling blamed the crime on each other and their conflicting stories went in circles. Jackson's bloodstained clothes and a valise believed to have carried Bryan's head were found, but neither man would reveal the location of Bryan's head. On different occasions, the men said the head was thrown in the river, thrown in a sewer, buried, and burned; the detectives were never able to locate the head through any of these leads.⁷⁶ News of the crime spread nationwide and major newspapers across the country, including the New York

10. George Stimson, *The Cincinnati Crime Book* (Cincinnati: The Peasenhall Press, 1998), 17-25.

11. Ibid.

Times, followed the story. On May 14, 1896, Jackson was convicted of the first-degree murder of Pearl Bryan and sentenced to death. Walling received the same verdict after five minutes of deliberation by a jury on June 19.⁷⁷ Jackson and Walling were sentenced to hanging in the courtyard of the Newport Jail on March 20, 1897. There was a large crowd waiting as the men approached the gallows. In fact tickets had been sold to witness their deaths. While on the gallows, Jackson began to sing hymns, including “The Sweet Bye And Bye,” until the trapdoor was dropped at 11:40 a.m. Both men were pronounced dead twenty minutes later, and although the search for Bryan’s head has continued, it seems its location was forever lost with the death of her murderers.⁷⁸

The murder of Pearl Bryan was truly a ghastly event that captured the attention of the nation and over the years, Bryan’s missing head has been the center of many theories. Some believe her head was dropped in the Ohio River, burned in an incinerator, or buried somewhere in the city. One of the most interesting theories involves the then abandoned slaughterhouse. There is no evidence of a connection between the building and the Bryan murder, but some believe her head was used in a satanic ritual. There has been much speculation that the old slaughterhouse was used for secret satanic rituals, and that Scott Jackson regularly took part in these activities. Some believe that Jackson took Pearl’s head to the slaughterhouse to use in a ceremony and then dumped the

12. Scott Jackson the Murderer,” The New York Times, 14 May 1896.: “Murderer of Pearl Bryan,” The New York Times, 20 June 1896.

13. Stimson, The Cincinnati Crime Book, 22-23.

head into the well, where it was washed into the Licking River and lost forever. Although there is no physical proof to prove this theory, it has become a popular legend surrounding the building of Bobby Mackey's and many of the paranormal investigations claim to have seen spirits dressed in turn of the century clothing, including two men, often wearing cowboy hats with nooses around their necks, and a headless woman. The popular television series *Ghost Adventures* even claims to have captured video footage of one of these cowboy hat-wearing figures walking through the basement near the well. Although there is no historical evidence to connect what has become known as the "Crime of the Century" with this building, the site's reputation generated by paranormal investigators and patrons claiming encounters from the spirit world have made the two inseparable.⁷⁹

Sometime in the early twentieth century, most of the slaughterhouse was torn down, leaving only part of the original basement and well intact. The site of the slaughterhouse sat less than 2 miles from Newport, and this location has played a major role in the building's twentieth century past. In the early 1920's, Prohibition had spawned a large, illegal bootlegging operation in Newport. Many men were making large profits through illegal alcohol, including George Remus, who was nicknamed "King of the Bootleggers."⁸⁰ As bootlegging became more profitable, organized crime spread throughout the city. At the same time,

14. Travel Channel, "Bobby Mackey Music World," 2009.

15. Robin Caraway, *Newport: The Sin City Years*, (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 9.

illegal gambling, especially betting on horses, was beginning to take hold, but it would not be widespread until several years down the road. Perhaps the most astonishing thing about this time period is that these illegal operations, bootlegging, gambling, and even prostitution, were well known to authorities. Newport city officials and law enforcers were known for their corruption and men involved in illegal activity could easily pay authorities to turn their heads. These actions directly caused Newport to develop into an “open” city, in which gambling, drinking, prostitution, and mob violence would be dominant for the next several decades.⁸¹

George Remus became infamous for his bootlegging enterprises. He was a pharmacist and he created false pharmaceutical companies in order to legally buy alcohol for medicinal purposes. He then distilled and sold this alcohol for a large profit. When he was finally arrested in 1922, it was estimated that he was worth over \$70 million. The money Remus acquired is not as important as the legacy he created. His bootlegging empire was the first to establish formalized corruption in Newport, a system that lasted for many years. In addition, many of the men involved in his operations later became the major leaders as gambling took over the city. Some of Remus’ men later became the force behind the Cleveland Four, an offshoot of the powerful mob in Cleveland, Ohio. Others, such as Ernest “Buck” Brady, would open several casinos and play a major role in several shootings and mob takeovers. During Remus’ reign of power, Brady

16. Thomas Barker, Gary Potter, & Jenna Meglen, *Wicked Newport: Kentucky’s Sin City*, (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2008), 15-19.

served as his rumrunner, transporting the illegal alcohol. This role connected Brady with men that would soon hold real power through the Cleveland mob. It also gave him the opportunities necessary to open his own clubs and casinos.⁸²

Some point after the slaughterhouse on Licking Pike was torn down, a bowling alley was built on the site, but it remained open only a brief time.⁸³ In the 1930's the building was transformed into the Beacon Inn, which operated as a casino. In the 1940's Buck Brady purchased the club and made it one of the most successful casinos outside of Newport.⁸⁴ However, before Brady transformed the Beacon Inn, another of Remus' associates, Peter Schmidt, bought a club three miles south of Newport in Southgate, Kentucky, which he called the Beverly Hills Club. Schmidt's club and casino became very successful. At the same time, a mob syndicate, called the Cleveland Four or the Cleveland Syndicate, was growing and expanding its power throughout and around Newport. The Cleveland Four received their power and direction from the powerful mob established in Cleveland, Ohio. The Cleveland Four quickly recognized that Schmidt's Beverly Hills Club was gaining success and popularity and was beginning to draw money and patrons from the Syndicate's casinos. In response, the Cleveland Four began to vandalize the Beverly Hills Club and intimidate Schmidt in an attempt to take over the club. Sam Tucker, a leader of the Cleveland Four, was in charge of the takeover of Schmidt's club. Although he

17. Barker, 18-21.

18. Douglas Hensley, *Hell's Gate: Terror at Bobby Mackey's Music World*, (Outskirts Press, 2005), 1.

19. Barker, 33-45.

continually resisted the Syndicate's attempts, Schmidt finally gave up after the club was set on fire, killing a child, and later robbed with submachine guns. The club was sold to Sam Tucker and the Cleveland Four in 1940. Charlie Lester, a local attorney who became one of the most important figures in Newport for the next three decades, handled the transaction.⁸⁵

As the Cleveland Four's power was escalating, local figures were opening more and more casinos. George Remus' top rumrunner, Buck Brady, saw this as the perfect time to invest his Prohibition-era profits, and he purchased the old Beacon Inn just outside of Newport. He felt that this location, which was rural and outside the jurisdiction of Newport police, would keep him safe from police raids, the Cleveland Four, and other national syndicates that were growing in Newport.⁸⁶ Under Brady's management, the Primrose flourished both as a club and casino. However, it caught the unwanted attention of Sam Tucker and the Cleveland Four when it began to compete with the Syndicate's acquired Beverly Hills Club. Now known for their use of hostile takeovers, the Cleveland Four placed Albert "Red" Masterson in charge of forcing Brady out of the Primrose. Although Brady knew how the Syndicate brutally forced Schmidt out of his club, he was determined to keep his and Brady quickly took matters into his own hands.⁸⁷

20. Barker, 34-40.

21. *Ibid.*, 45-46.

22. *Ibid.*, 55-56.

On August 5, 1946, Brady waited outside the Merchant's Club, which was owned by the Syndicate's muscleman, "Red" Masterson. When Masterson was getting in his car, Brady shot him with a shotgun, but Masterson survived. Brady fled and was found later by police. During Brady's trial, "King of the Bootleggers," George Remus, served as his character witness and Masterson, even though he knew it was Brady, refused to identify him as the shooter. Masterson and the Cleveland Four wanted to handle things their own way. Brady was released from custody, but the Cleveland Four continued to harass and threaten him. Brady was given an ultimatum: leave or be killed. Brady chose the former and retired to Florida. The Primrose was handed over to Dave Whitfield, who managed the club for the Cleveland Four in the following years.⁸⁸ Brady remained in Florida for most of his remaining years and died in 1965 at the age of 84 from a self-inflicted gunshot wound.⁸⁹

After Brady transferred the Primrose to the Cleveland Four, the building was remodeled and the name changed to the Latin Quarter. The mob's newly acquired club quickly became known for its upscale restaurant and bar, as well as its casino that was housed in a secret room in the back. In addition, many famous entertainers performed at the club, including Nat King Cole and Duke Ellington. There was also a resident chorus line, complete with glamorous girls, gorgeous costumes, and flashy dance routines, similar to the ones seen in Las

23. Barker.

24. Jim Reis, "You Didn't Mess with Buck-Earnest Brady was a Man of Muscle in Gambling's Heyday," *The Kentucky Post*, 10 February 2003.

Vegas today.⁹⁰ Despite many local police raids, the Latin Quarter prospered and remained open for many years. During many of the raids, the owners received tips several minutes before police arrived, which allowed them time to hide their gambling paraphernalia in the basement via a secret staircase, which is still found in the building's basement. Thanks to the advanced tips, police often arrived to find men simply playing pool and enjoying the entertainment. Although several arrests related to gambling were made over the years, the club overcame these trials and remained a popular nightclub and casino. However, in the 1960s, the mob's hold over Newport began to loosen as many of the leaders transferred their operations to the newly developed Las Vegas. This led to a decrease in gambling operations, which were slowly being replaced by increased prostitution and strip shows.⁹¹

At the same time, there were several attempts at widespread reform occurring in Newport, most notably the Committee of 500. This Committee's strong effort at reform was destroyed when a scandal and conspiracy severely damaged the reputation of George Ratterman, the Committee's candidate for sheriff. Ratterman was discovered in a compromising position at a hotel with a local prostitute, severely damaging his image as an honest, family man that could rid Newport of its sinful past. It was later discovered that Charlie Lester, the attorney who had helped the Cleveland Four secure the Beverly Hills Club

25. Caraway, 53-54.

26. Barker, 70-71.

and defended many of the underworld's leading figures, was the mastermind behind the plot. Lester arranged for Ratterman to be drugged and framed in an effort to end the reform effort. Lester was convicted of conspiracy charges in July 1963 for this crime. After the scandal, reform efforts were continued, but it took many years to rid Newport of its illegal operations. However, the Latin Quarter, like many other mob-owned casinos, was closed down during this period due to the fleeting influence of national syndicates as they moved towards Las Vegas and the strict reform policies spreading through the area.⁹²

During the Latin Quarter years, the building saw many tragic stories, including one that revolves around a girl that danced in the chorus line. She went by the stage name of Johanna Jewel, most commonly referred to as Johanna. Johanna's real name is unknown and therefore this story is nearly impossible to corroborate with historical evidence. Johanna was supposedly the daughter of one of the owners and she fell in love Robert Randall, who sometimes sang at the Latin Quarter. Her father despised Randall and when he discovered that his daughter was pregnant with Randall's baby he had Randall killed. Distraught at the loss of her lover, Johanna planned to poison her father, but she was unsuccessful. In response to her failure and the loss of her true love, she crawled into a small spotlight room above the stage after the club had closed

27. Caraway, 91-104.

one night. There she expressed her emotions in the form of a love poem, which she wrote on the wall.⁹³ The poem, which is still legible, reads:

My love is as deep as the sea
That flows forever.
You ask me when would it end,
I tell you never.

My love is as bright as the sun that shines forever.
You ask me when will it end,
I tell you never.

But I will be waiting here
With my heart in my hand.

My love, I love you so much.
You ask me when will it end,
I tell you never.
My love is till you die.
My heart cries out from Hell.
I will be waiting here.⁹⁴

After writing the poem, Johanna allegedly went to her dressing room in the basement and took her life, and that of her unborn child's, with poison.⁹⁵

Today, Johanna's story, whether it is true or just legend, has become very popular. In fact, several years after country music artist Bobby Mackey purchased the abandoned nightclub he wrote a song entitled "Johanna." This song, which tells the lonely girl's story, became one of Mackey's most successful hits. Johanna is also one of the most commonly cited spirits in the building. Many have claimed to have seen her and smelled her rose perfume throughout

28. Teri Casper & Dan Smith, *Ghosts of Cincinnati: The Dark Side of the Queen City*, (Charleston, SC, 2009), 101-102.

29. Hensley, 88.

30. Casper, 101-103.

the club. Paranormal investigators even claim to have captured recordings of an unseen girl sobbing near the poem on the wall and pictures in her dressing room sometimes show a ghostly apparition. However, Johanna is not the only one from the building's mob past that supposedly haunts this building. Sightings of Buck Brady's ghost have been reported numerous times. In the upstairs office there is still a large safe that is marked "Built Specially for E.A. Brady" and many claim his spirit is still present in the club. The basement's many rooms, some of which are soundproof, might have been used as interrogation and torture rooms when the club was run by the mob. It is believed that the well and underground tunnels were used to carry the victims to the Licking River, where they were given a "Newport Nightgown;" the bodies were encased in concrete and thrown into the river. Bullet holes from these events are still evident in several of the rooms and dried blood from many suspected victims can still be seen on the walls. Spirits of these tortured victims are believed to haunt the club, and even the spirit of Red Masterson, and others involved with the Cleveland Four's take over of the Primrose, have reportedly been seen.⁹⁶

The old Latin Quarter building sits near a steel plant currently called IPSCO Tubulars. This plant was formerly known as the Newport Steel Plant and was considered essential during World War I and during the 1920s and 30s continued to be one of the major steel plants in the country. The plant is known for two famous worker strikes, which occurred after World War I and World

31. Casper, 101-103.

War II as a result of decreased wages. Although seemingly unrelated, the former nightclub and slaughterhouse plays yet another historical role as a meeting room for the steel plant's union members. Union members met in the basement of the building and to this day, minutes and other documents from their meetings can still be found in boxes scattered throughout the basement.⁹⁷

In the 1970s, the building was once again transformed into a nightclub and bar. The bar was called the Hard Rock Café (no relation to the national chain). However, the bar's existence was extremely limited due to several fatal shootings. At the time, two local bike gangs thrived in the area: the Iron Horse Motorcycle Club and the Seventh Sons. These two gangs saw The Hard Rock Café as shared territory, both gangs freely met there. Despite the shared territory, violent fights and shootings occurred frequently and in early 1978, local police finally closed the club after a fatal shooting, deeming the club a public nuisance.⁹⁸

The building did not sit vacant for long; country music singer Bobby Mackey, and his wife, Janet, purchased the building in the spring of 1978. Mackey purchased the building with dreams to turn it into a successful country music nightclub that he could use as a venue to promote his music. Mackey worked hard to repair the old building and with the help Janet Mackey and their first employee, Carl Lawson, Bobby Mackey's Music World quickly began to

32. Jim Reis, "Newport Steel." Pieces of the Past.

33. Casper, 103.

grow in popularity. Lawson had worked at the Hard Rock Café and knew the building well, Mackey hired him as a caretaker and maintenance man, he eventually turned the upstairs office into an apartment and lived there for many years. Over the years, Lawson played a major part in the building's history, especially with its reputation for being haunted.⁹⁹

Aside from paranormal experiences, several important events occurred as Bobby Mackey was beginning to develop his club. When Mackey was preparing the club to open, a fire destroyed the south end of the building. Carl was one of the Wilder Volunteer Fire Fighters that fought the fire. The fire began in the south wing, but no evidence was found on how it started. The Fire Chief did not think it looked like an electrical or arson fire. According to Hensley, Lawson believes the ghost of Alonzo Walling, one of Pearl Bryan's murderers and a violent spirit believed to haunt the building, started the fire.¹⁰⁰ Years later, another fire plagued the building. In 1997, the building caught fire with more than 100 people inside. No one was injured, but about \$3,000 worth of damage was done.¹⁰¹ This time the cause of the fire was known, and several months later Donald Holt was charged with arson. Holt had been thrown out of the club for bringing in his own alcoholic drinks. About 45 minutes after Holt was thrown

34. Hensley, 1-19.

35. Hensley, 47-54.

36. Frank Main, "Fire at bobby Mackey's Probed," Cincinnati Post, 3 March 1997.

out, flames were spotted from the building. Holt and his wife, who drove the get away car, were charged with setting the fire and faced up to 20 years in prison.¹⁰²

Despite Mackey's denial of any paranormal activity in his nightclub, many felt the club was haunted, especially Carl Lawson. Lawson was one of the first to come forward and admit strange, paranormal events were occurring in the building. After his confessions, others came forward, including Janet Mackey. Douglas Hensley's book, *Hell's Gate: Terror at Bobby Mackey's Music World*, discusses some of these events and backs them up with 29 sworn affidavits. Hensley explains that around 1991, Janet Mackey noticed serious changes in Lawson's personality. Fearing the worst, she finally convinced her husband, who has never believed in paranormal activity at his club, to allow a preacher to visit the building. Reverend Glen Cole examined the club and believed that there were spirits, and possibly demons, inhabiting the building. Cole agreed with Janet Mackey that something was wrong with Lawson and confirmed her fears that Lawson was possibly possessed. He attempted to perform an exorcism that was unsuccessful. On August 8, 1991, Cole made a surprise visit to Lawson, along with Larry Kidwell, who owned a television advertising company. Cole planned to perform a full exorcism on Lawson, which Kidwell would document through video. The exorcism took over six hours. Throughout the exorcism Reverend Cole asked the spirits who was in possession of Lawson's body, and several spirits believed to have been possessing Lawson spoke throughout the

37. Jeanne Houck, "Man Tossed Out of Bar Now in Court for Arson," Kentucky Post, 10 October 1997. / Paul A. Long, "Couple Indicted on Arson-Accused of Feb. Bar Fire in Wilder," Kentucky Post, 21 November 1997.

exorcism. Both Sam Tucker and Charlie Lester, who both had been involved with the Cleveland Four and Newport's ring of organized crime, were among the spirits that answered, as well as Alonzo Walling. Reverend Cole and others felt the exorcism was successful, but many feel that the spirits have since returned to the building, although they no longer possess Carl Lawson. Today, Lawson still works at the nightclub and even gives tours of the haunted basement and well while retelling his experiences and the stories of the club's tainted past.¹⁰³

In 1993, another major event contributed to the nightclub's rapidly growing reputation as "the most haunted nightclub in America." In 1993, J.R. Costigan sued Bobby Mackey's Music World for \$1,000 in damages. Costigan claims that he was daring the ghosts to show themselves and while he was in the bathroom, a dark-haired man with a rope dangling from his neck appeared and punched Costigan in the face, knocking him down. The ghost then proceeded to kick him. Costigan claims his attacker vanished into thin air after the attack. He believed that Mackey was responsible because warning signs were not posted and he had not made the club safe for his patrons.¹⁰⁴ At court, the defense delivered its statement in a poem-like fashion, asking that the case be dismissed because "the Sheriff will greet with crude demeanor / My request to serve a spook's subpoena." Also, the attack occurred more than a year before the lawsuit, which meant the statute of limitations was expired. The defense's poem stated "The Plaintiff can always pursue his tort / Upon his death in a higher

38. Hensley, 253-261; 273-283.

39. "Man Blames Club for Attack by Ghost," Cincinnati Post, 30 September 1993.

Court.”¹⁰⁵ Judge Daniel Guidugli dismissed the lawsuit, claiming Mackey had no control over ghosts or their actions. The Judge also delivered his response in verse, and he reprimanded both parties for wasting the court’s time with such a case.¹⁰⁶ As a result of this case, a sign was placed at the front entrance of the nightclub that remains to this day. The sign reads:

WARNING TO OUR PATRONS:
This establishment is proported [sic]
To be haunted. Management
Is not responsible and cannot
Be held liable for any actions
Of any ghosts/spirits on this premises.¹⁰⁷

Today, the club’s reputation as one of the “most haunted places in America” has no doubt increased business and helped the club thrive. Stories of paranormal encounters have created a flood of paranormal investigators and enthusiasts and attracted the attention of national television and numerous reporters. A book has been written about the nightclub and it has been featured in popular television shows such as “Ghost Adventures,” “A Haunting,” “Sightings,” “Hard Copy,” “Geraldo,” and “Jerry Springer.”¹⁰⁸ The building at 44 Licking Pike in Wilder, Kentucky has had a long, dark, and sinister past involving murder, deceit, and crime. Somehow the building has survived

40. Anson Kennedy, “Ghostly Lawsuit,” Associated Press, 1993.

41. “Ghost Suite Killed,” Cincinnati Post, 27 October 1993.

42. Casper, 96.

43. Frances Moad, “Ghosts Make Bobby Mackey’s Nightclub Famous Subject of Book, Television Shows: A Bizarre Story of Murder, Hauntings,” Northern Kentucky: The Southern Side of Cincinnati, 15 November 2001.

through all this and continually reinvented itself into a thriving business each time it was closed down. The building's dark past has led to many claims of it being haunted by these tormented spirits, but despite the paranormal activity claimed to be present, or perhaps because of it, Bobby Mackey's Music World has thrived as a country music nightclub in this building for over 30 years. This building's influential past, as well as its paranormal reputation, has played a significant role in the surrounding area and has provided national attention to Northern Kentucky as the home of the "most haunted nightclub in America."

Philosophical Encounters: Emmanuel Levinas and the Talmud

Amy Trostle

The progression of current Jewish thought has been heading back towards a sort of post-modernist Rabbinic Judaism, as personified by Emmanuel Levinas, a French philosopher who discovered some of his most fascinating ideas in repeated confrontations with the Talmud. This paper will reveal how the Talmud influenced the work of Emmanuel Levinas.¹⁰⁹

Before the Talmud can be understood, one must first have a working knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures and especially the Torah. One of the few unchanging factors in Jewish society has been its engagement with the Hebrew Scriptures, the effort to comprehend its content and to apply it to the current times. It has been this common connection to the Scriptures that bonds such diverse communities. Even today, long after modern scholarship has questioned authenticity of the divine authorship, the Hebrew Scriptures remain the central focus to Jewish culture.¹¹⁰

The Torah is the very foundation upon which Judaism was built. It reveals how God created the universe; how the human race came into being from Adam and Eve; how Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob survived all the challenges of

¹⁰⁹ Robinson, George, *Essential Judaism: A Complete Guide to Beliefs, Customs and Rituals*, (Pocket Books: New York, 2000.), 406.

¹¹⁰ Efron, John, et al., *The Jews: A History*, (Pearson Education, Inc: Upper Saddle River, New Jersey, 2009.), 47.

their new land; and how the Jewish people became a nation through receiving and living the Torah and therefore became the chosen people of God. The Torah is known as the Pentateuch and also commonly known as the Five Books of Moses since Jewish tradition attributes that Moses wrote it by taking dictation from God.¹¹¹

The word “Torah” comes from the Hebrew “root” word yorah, which means teach. It contains 613 commandments, of which 248 are more positive in nature regarding what a person should do, and 365, which are negative in nature regarding what a person should not do. The Torah serves to provide rules, commandments, and prohibitions that cover every stage of a Jewish person’s life.¹¹²

In addition to the written laws of the Torah, Moses received from God the Oral Torah while on Mt. Sinai. God taught Moses many more laws, which God commanded him to memorize and orally pass on to his successors. The Oral Torah would be upheld in this oral tradition from generation to generation. Jews have practiced these many laws and customs of the Oral Torah traditionally, just as if they were actually written in the Torah. The Oral Torah functions to explain

¹¹¹ Chabad-Lubavitch Media Center. (2001-2009), Accessed 14 March 2009. http://www.chabad.org/library/article_cdo/aid/2055/jewish/The-Torah.htm.

¹¹² Chabad-Lubavitch Media Center., Accessed 14 March 2009. http://www.chabad.org/library/article_cdo/aid/2055/jewish/The-Torah.htm.

the meaning of the written Torah and how to interpret and apply the Laws. It complements the written Torah.¹¹³

This oral tradition was sustained only in oral form until about the 3rd Century C.E. with Rabbi Judah the Prince. It became apparent to him that with the growing hardships and persecutions, the situation at the time might inhibit Jewish ability to maintain this oral tradition by memory; therefore, he mandated that the oral laws be recorded. The Oral Torah was assembled and recorded in a commentary called the Mishnah. Over the next few centuries, additional commentaries expanding on the Mishnah were recorded in Jerusalem and Babylon. These additional commentaries are known as the Gemara. The Gemara and the Mishnah together are known as the Talmud. The Talmud was finished in the 5th Century C.E.¹¹⁴

Within Jewish tradition, there are two Talmuds: the Jerusalem Talmud and the Babylonian Talmud. The Babylonian Talmud is more comprehensive, and more commonly referenced when talking about the Talmud without specifying which one. The Talmud is complicated to read because it contains many discussions in the form of proof and disproof. There are often gaps in the reasoning where it is assumed that you already know what's being discussed, and concepts that are often expressed in some sort of shorthand. Verses of the

¹¹³ Rich, Tracey R. "Torah." Judaism 101. (1995-2006), Accessed 18 March 2009. www.jewfaq.org/torah.htm.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

Hebrew Scriptures that support a certain teaching are often referenced by only two or three words.¹¹⁵

The Talmud defends a variety of views on every issue, and does not always plainly distinguish which view is the accepted one. According to Emmanuel Levinas, it would be a betrayal of the holy works and traditions of the Talmud if it steered the reader to a single, dominant interpretation. Judaism insists on continual reinterpretation and renewal of the traditional text through constant reading and dialog. For this reason, all the dilemmas and/or possibilities that the reader of the Talmud brings to it will not destabilize or disassemble its meaning as much as will fulfill its purpose.¹¹⁶

It was Emanuel Levinas who sought to interpret the Talmud at a deeper level than he previously understood it. Levinas saw the Talmud as always in an unfixed state, continually unfolding into history with new guidance. With that in mind, he believed that the Talmud could not simply exist for the Jews, but for the world. Therefore, the ancient work of the sages made the Talmud applicable for modern thought.

Emanuel Levinas was born in Kaunas, Lithuania in 1906 and he lived with his parents who were practicing Jews. He studied and was fluent in Hebrew, Russian and German. In 1923, Levinas began his studies in philosophy at the University of Strasbourg. It was at Strasbourg that Husserl and Heidegger influenced him. After graduating with a degree in philosophy, Levinas pursued

¹¹⁵ Rich, "Torah". www.jewfaq.org/torah.htm

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

doctoral studies in phenomenology under Edmund Husserl at the University of Freiburg. It was at Freiburg that he encountered Martin Heidegger, a pivotal figure in 20th Century philosophy and writer of the book *Being and Time* (1927), which had a profound effect on Levinas. Heidegger and Levinas' friendship grew during his 1928-1929 academic year, however, this friendship ended when the Nazis rose to power and Heidegger sided with the Nazis. Subsequently, Levinas went to France and sought citizenship.¹¹⁷

World War II was a crossroads in Levinas' life and career. Prior to the war, he spent little time writing in the field of philosophy. By 1939, he found himself serving as an officer in the French army, working as an interpreter of Russian and German. However, within a year, he was captured and became a German prisoner of war. Because he was Jewish, Levinas was sent to a military prisoner's camp and was put into forced labor. During this captivity, Levinas began writing his first book of philosophy, *Existence and the Existent*. While he was a prisoner, friends hid Levinas' wife and daughter in a French monastery and thus saved them from the Germans. Unfortunately, the rest of his family was murdered in a Nazi death camp.¹¹⁸

Once released from the German prisoner of war camp, Levinas moved to Israel and took a position at the Alliance Israelite University, where he was appointed Administrator. This organization assisted with Jews from Eastern

¹¹⁷ European Graduate School. (1997-2008). 25 March 2009. www.egs.edu/resources/levinas.html.

¹¹⁸ Robinson, 454-455.

European countries by providing them with access to education.¹¹⁹ Also, it was during this time that Levinas studied with the Talmudic Scholar, Monsieur Chouchant. This experience resulted in a series of five volumes of Talmudic readings.¹²⁰

In 1961, following the publication of his book, *Totality and Infinity*, Levinas accepted the position of Professor of Philosophy at Poitiers and then later accepted a position at the new University of Paris-Nanterre. In 1973, he moved into a position at Sorbonne (Paris IV) where he worked until his retirement three years later. In his retirement, Levinas turned his attention to his writings and produced numerous volumes of serious work of philosophy.¹²¹ His writings were difficult and technical much like his major influences, Husserl and Heidegger. However, the ideas are compelling and are seen as a logical development from Rosenzweig and Buber.¹²²

Levinas' second major book, *Otherwise Than Being*, was published in 1974. This book was written in a language far beyond the ontological philosophy of his earlier work. He even alters the use of the word "the Other" with the word "the neighbor." Levinas' written work and lectures seem guarded from drawing sameness between distinct phenomena, which is so characteristic of Western

¹¹⁹ Critchley, Simon, Robert Bernasconi, *The Cambridge Companion to Levinas*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2002), 323.

¹²⁰ European Graduate School, www.egs.edu/resources/levinas.html.

¹²¹ Moran, Dermot, *Introduction to Phenomenology*, (Taylor and Francis Routledge: New York, 2000), 326.

¹²² Robinson, 455.

thought. What Levinas has done is to reverse the trend of modern philosophy, turning his back on Western philosophy by stating, “ethics precedes ontology.” Ethical thought comes before any study of the nature of being. Knowledge can only come after we have achieved an ethical relationship, and the first insight of the “thinking I” must be the understanding of our common ground with the Other.¹²³

Throughout the late 1950’s and early 1960’s, Levinas started to develop his own philosophy and became even more critical of Heidegger’s work. Influenced by Franz Rosenweig and Martin Buber, Levinas devoted his work to addressing the problems with ontology by examining and analyzing the “face to face” relation with the Other. Levinas addresses the issues of how “the Other” calls into question and challenges the complacency of the self through desire, language, and the concern for justice.”¹²⁴ For Levinas, ethics starts with the encounter with the Other, which cannot be diluted to a symmetrical relationship. This encounter with the Other is the very moment through which self comes into being and it precedes freedom, determinism, action and passivity.¹²⁵

At the center of Levinas’ philosophy is the concept of Otherness, the Other and the obligation each human has towards the Other. Importantly, that obligation is ethical in nature and for Levinas the heart of philosophy is ethics. For Levinas the key to ethics is the literal face-to-face encounter with the Other.

¹²³ European Graduate School. www.egs.edu/resources/levinas.html.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

His philosophy is grounded first and foremost in the relations among human beings. By seeing the face of another we are forced to acknowledge our involvement with the Other. "I cannot disentangle myself from the society of the Other, even when I consider the Being of the existent (i.e., the free subject) he is."¹²⁶ Seeing the face of the Other calls up in us the generous desire to do good for the Other. More than this, Levinas writes in one of the most famous passages in his work, it involves recognition of humanity and a shared mortality; hence, to see the face of the Other is to be forcibly reminded of the edict, "Thou shalt not kill."¹²⁷

In Levinas' Talmudic readings, one will repeatedly see the figure of Abraham contrasted to that of Ulysses. For example, while Ulysses dreams of coming back home after his heroic adventures to celebrate his reunion with his people and his native land, we find that Abraham must rise and go forth without looking back and without hope of ever coming back to his native land. Also, Abraham must certainly realize the impact this departure of his native home land will have on all his descendants since he bans his servant to bring his son back to this land, even if only to find a wife (Genesis 24:6).¹²⁸

Also, Genesis 12:1 reads "go towards yourself" gives the commandment that displaces Abraham from this native world. It prohibits Abraham from believing that he can find himself by nurturing nostalgia for his past. Abraham

¹²⁶ Robinson, 455.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 455.

¹²⁸ Critchley, 105-106.

learns that “his integrity as a man called by God to be a blessing to all families of the earth, only on the condition that he loses himself, that is, only on the condition that he gets rid of all that which, by keeping him prisoner of his past - such as words, images, and possessions - would make it impossible for him from going forward to the Promised Land.”¹²⁹

Although Levinas considered his Talmudic writings separate from his philosophical work, even to the degree of using separate publishers, one should not assume “that the Jewish sources were foreign to his philosophy or that his questioning of the Hebrew word remained free of all contamination by Greek influences.” Clearly, there are similar strains of thought running through both literatures. This similarity may be in part to Levinas relying on the Talmud both for a critique of and inspiration with to transform modern philosophy.¹³⁰

In addition, Levinas attempts to reawaken the modern philosophy of ontology in Western culture, to redirect their focus towards perhaps more human, and, even more human than that of “pure humanism.”¹³¹

This is further illustrated when Levinas uses the Talmud to develop “a philosophy that employs standards, teachings and language” that utterly opposes the modern philosophy of ontology. His philosophical writings portray an intense ethical focus with key teachings of Judaism slipped into them. In his last published book, *New Talmudic Readings*, he ends with this statement,

¹²⁹ Critchley, 106.

¹³⁰ Ibid, 100.

¹³¹ Meskin, Jacob E. “Critiques, tradition, and the religious imagination: an essay on Levinas’ Talmudic readings.” *Judaism*, Winter, 1998.

“Ontology [is] open to the responsibility for the other.” Levinas is not shy about invoking his often quoted passages from the Torah “about the responsibility of the Jew to the ‘stranger among you,’ to the widow, to the orphan, the poor” in his philosophical writings.¹³²

In conclusion, what Levinas appears to achieve is to unite some of the advances of the 20th Century philosophy with 4,000 years of Jewish teaching. For this effort he truly has brought modern philosophy full circle.¹³³

¹³² Robinson, 456.

¹³³ Ibid.

Lost Causes: The Generalship of Robert E. Lee

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The people of New York woke up on April 14, 1865, to headlines exclaiming, “The Surrender.”¹³⁴ Five days earlier General Robert E. Lee had surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Courthouse. The Civil War was virtually over. Over one million casualties were sustained on both sides, including more than six hundred thousand deaths.¹³⁵ The Confederate States of America failed in their attempt at independence and their culture was forever changed.

The war was triggered by the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860. Southern states began seceding from the Union in December and the two nations were in open conflict within months of the separation. Nearly three million men took up arms during the Civil War. Around two million men fought for the Union and about seven hundred and fifty thousand for the Confederate States of America.¹³⁶ Prior to the war (in 1860), the South consisted of thirty percent of the United States of America’s economy, but by 1870 that percentage was down to twelve.¹³⁷ The war devastated the South’s culture, population, and economy. Could the

¹³⁴ “THE SURRENDER,” New York Times (1857-Current file), April 14, 1865, <http://www.proquest.com.proxy1.nku.edu/> (accessed August 1, 2009).

¹³⁵ Today in History: April 9. Library of Congress. <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/today/apr09.html> (accessed August 1, 2009).

¹³⁶ Herman Hattaway and Jones, Archer, *A Military History of the Civil War[:] How the North Won* (University of Illinois Press, 1991), 440.

¹³⁷ Brian Holden Reid, *The Civil War and the Wars of the Nineteenth Century* (Cassell, 1999), 179.

war have turned out differently for the Confederacy or were they destined to fail?

The first step to answer this question is to determine why the South lost and battlefields are where people begin to look for solutions. Many battles took place throughout the Civil War, but none were more important than those fought in the Virginia Theater.¹³⁸ Robert E. Lee commanded the Confederate armies for the vast majority of the war in this region. To determine how he affected the war's outcome, the strategies he employed must be investigated. He led the Army of Northern Virginia in nearly all of their engagements and he utilized very aggressive tactics. He was on the offensive in some manner in all but one of the battles that took place from The Seven Days battle through the battle of The Wilderness. His only true defensive fight during that time was at Fredericksburg. After the Battle of The Wilderness, his tactics were dictated by the aggressive nature of Grant and the weakened state of his army. Lee's battlefield strategies are examined and discussed in this essay to determine whether his "victories" were conducive to an overall victory for the South.

To understand how Lee's engagements affected the outcome of the war, the objective of the war and his strategies must be determined and inspected. The southern states had seceded from the north because of cultural and political differences. The aim of the war for the Confederacy must then be defined as follows: to secure their independence as a separate nation from the United States

¹³⁸ Gary W. Gallagher, *The Richmond Campaign of 1862[:] The Peninsula and the Seven Days* (The University of North College Hill, 2000), 7.

of America. Therefore Lee's objective as a general should have been to utilize his troops in a behavior that gave the Confederacy their best chance at independence. This paper examines whether the strategies employed by Lee contributed to the main object of the war, an independent Confederate nation.

Lee was the wrong choice for Jefferson Davis in 1862. Although Lee is viewed the victor in the majority of the battles, they were not conducive to an overall Confederate victory. This paper will demonstrate how Lee fought his major conflicts, whether or not they advanced the Southern cause, and what would have been a better strategy to employ for the Confederacy to have succeeded. The writings of the great military theorists Carl von Clausewitz and Sun Tzu will be utilized to ascertain how and why Lee failed and what should have been done differently to achieve a victory for the Confederacy.

To judge Lee's strategies the word must be defined. The definition utilized in this essay is found in Carl von Clausewitz's book *On War*. He defines strategy as, "the employment of the battle as the means towards the attainment of the object of the War."¹³⁹ Using this definition, Lee should have only taken the field in battle if he saw it as a means to bring the Confederacy closer to a victory over the Union. By 1865, the Civil War was over and the Union forces were triumphant. Lee's strategies ultimately failed the cause. Lee played a major role in the Confederate's collapse and his tactics on the battlefield were detrimental to

¹³⁹ Carl von Clausewitz, *On War* (Vom Kriege, 1832. Pelican Books, 1968), 241.

the overall goals the Confederacy had established. His military campaigns and battlefield strategies led to the ultimate defeat of the South.

To gain a better understanding of Lee's tactics on the battlefield during the Civil War, his upbringing, education, and early military career should be examined. Robert E. Lee was born in 1807 to Henry and Anne Lee. Lee's father Henry was a distinguished cavalry officer during the Revolutionary War. The young Lee decided to follow his father's footsteps and began his career in the military by attending West Point. He graduated second in his class in 1829 and set out to establish himself as a worthy commander in the field.¹⁴⁰

Even by the 1820s, West Point already had a distinguished history and trained numerous military officers, several of whom commanded armies during the Civil War. Unfortunately, in the early nineteenth-century, training at West Point was not focused on commanding armies. Instead, the military academy concentrated on educating the future officers in the field of engineering. With so little time being devoted to tactics, the cadets had to learn battlefield strategies during their free time so it is hard to establish which theorists the cadets read.¹⁴¹

Much of what West Point graduates from Lee's era learned about war came during the Mexican American War. Lee himself served under Winfield Scott during the war and his future battlefield strategies are evidence of his influence. Scott fought a war of maneuvers. He was often outnumbered by Mexican

¹⁴⁰ National Park Service, "Voices of Battle[:] Gettysburg National Park Virtual Military Tour," *General Robert Edward Lee*, <http://www.nps.gov/archive/gett/getttour/sidebar/leebio.htm>. (Accessed August 1, 2009).

¹⁴¹ Hattaway, 11-12.

adversaries. Nevertheless, despite his numerical inferiority, he maneuvered his way to victories. His most common tactic was to turn his enemy's flank. Similar strategies were utilized in the victories of Monterey, Cerro Gordo, and around Mexico City. The army was small enough that most of the officers had firsthand experience in how these maneuvers were carried out. On-the-job training during the Mexican-American war regarding the movement of troops on the battlefield was employed by numerous commanders throughout the Civil War to turn their enemy's army, Robert E. Lee being one of them.¹⁴²

Robert E. Lee's years of military service and training came to fruition during the Seven Days battle. Lee had reluctantly joined the Confederate cause when his home state of Virginia decided to secede and he was enlisted as President Jefferson Davis' personal military advisor. When the Seven Days battle commenced, the beloved and conservative Confederate commander Joseph Johnston was wounded on the field. Lee was sent in to replace him until he recovered but did not relinquish the command for the remainder of the war.¹⁴³

Lee quickly established his presence on the field of battle. He had no intentions of waiting for the Army of the Potomac to attack him on the outskirts of Richmond; instead, he looked to take the initiative. His cavalry commander, J.E.B. Stuart, rode around George McClellan's entire army and relayed the news to Lee that the Union army's right flank was weak. With that knowledge, Lee

¹⁴² Hattaway, 14-16.

¹⁴³ Reid, 92-93.

unleashed his army of ninety thousand Confederate soldiers onto George McClellan's one hundred thousand men strong Army of the Potomac.¹⁴⁴

Lee's plan called for a clever maneuver to turn McClellan's right flank and destroy the Army of the Potomac.¹⁴⁵ Unfortunately for Lee, his orders were not carried out as he intended. The communication networks was not properly set up due to Lee's sudden assumption of command and the initial attack went off in an uncoordinated fashion. In addition, his staff lacked the experience needed to give detailed orders to armies in the field.¹⁴⁶

General A.P. Hill began the attack on McClellan's exposed right flank. Because of the botched communication, supporting attacks failed to commence and Hill unintentionally attacked without the full complement of soldiers Lee had intended. He was initially repelled at Mechanicsville; however, the following day Lee was able to employ troops with more effect and Hill succeeded in his assault at Gaines Mill. The victory at Gaines Mill was as much a blunder by McClellan as it was a success by Lee. McClellan overreacted upon news of the assault and believed his army was in more peril than it actually was so he decided to withdraw. His withdrawal nearly cost him the rest of his army, but Lee's forces were too exhausted to exploit the situation and encircle the Army of the Potomac.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Reid, 93.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Hattaway, 195.

¹⁴⁷ Reid, 93-94.

Lee's excitement got the better of him as the Seven Days battle came to a conclusion. Mid-nineteenth century armies were not suited for pursuit. Rifles had negated the tactical use of cavalry in a pursuit and one side's infantry was just as fast as the other.¹⁴⁸ Despite this knowledge, Lee decided to chase McClellan's army and suffered heavy casualties at the battle of Malvern Hill.¹⁴⁹ Lee's men, sometimes without orders, attacked McClellan's army in an advantageous defensive position with great artillery cover and were decimated.¹⁵⁰ D.H. Hill, a Confederate commander involved at Malvern Hill, said of the assault, "It was not war, it was murder."¹⁵¹ Sun Tzu's teachings explain Lee's assault on Malvern Hill as foolish:

It is a military axiom not to advance uphill against the enemy,
nor...interfere
with an army that is returning home.¹⁵²

Lee put his soldiers in unnecessary danger by attacking a position he could not hope to take.

One thing was established upon the conclusion of the Seven Days battle: the precedent was set for the rest of the war in the eastern theater. Robert E. Lee was in charge and he was not unwilling to attack regardless of which side held

¹⁴⁸ Reid, 80.

¹⁴⁹ Reid, 94.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Hattaway, 199.

¹⁵² Sun Tzu (Translated by Lionel Gates), *The Art of War* (1910)
<http://www.freewebs.com/t3rabyt3/TAOW.pdf>, 44-45, (Accessed August 1, 2009).

numerical superiority. Once Lee took command of the Army of Northern Virginia during the Seven Days battle, his strategy became a string of Confederate offensives that flustered his counterpart. As the battle came to an end, Lee had a justifiable claim to victory because he had repulsed the Union's invasion and held the battlefield.

Claiming victory and being victorious are two separate things. His objective was the defense of Richmond from McClellan's invading army. He succeeded in this aspect. But, at the end of the battle, McClellan's army was still in a position to threaten the Confederate capital from Harrison's Landing.¹⁵³ Therefore, little had changed from the outset of the battle in strategic terms; Richmond was in danger prior to the fighting and remained in danger afterwards. The casualties suffered by both sides were just above 20,000 Confederates and just below 16,000 Unionists.¹⁵⁴ Lee did not have a large base population to draw from as the North did.¹⁵⁵ Lee gambled away many able-bodied men in his offensive action where a strong defensive position would have sufficed. Lee had no reason to take the battle to McClellan, as time was on his side. Lincoln, in a letter to McClellan on April 9, 1862, made it clear that "it is indispensable to you that you strike a blow."¹⁵⁶ Pressure was mounting from Washington on McClellan to attack;

¹⁵³ Gallagher, 5.

¹⁵⁴ Hattaway, 199-200.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 17.

¹⁵⁶ George B. McClellan, *McClellan's Own Story[:] The Soldiers Who Fought it[:] the Civilians that Directed it[:] and His Relations and to them* (Charles L. Webster and Company, 1886), 277.

therefore, Lee could have chosen good defensive grounds to fight on and delivered the same outcome in a less costly manner.

Lee's biggest blunder was at Malvern Hill. His choice to pursue McClellan was unnecessary and was doomed from the beginning. Battles of annihilation, where one of the two armies fails to leave the field, were a thing of the past with the advent of rifles and most commanders had been taught this.¹⁵⁷ Lee's disregard for the lives of his soldiers became apparent during the Seven Days battle and his officers began questioning his resolve to engage in battle when it could be avoided.¹⁵⁸ Although Lee had won the field, the loss of life and limited strategic gains questions whether the battle was a victory for the Confederate cause. In 1709, Marshal Villars reported to his King after retreating from a battle in which he inflicted heavy casualties on his opponent that "If God gives us another defeat like this, your Majesty's enemies will be destroyed."¹⁵⁹ The same can be said in regards to this battle; Lee could ill afford to sustain such heavy casualties to attain victory. Many more victories like the one Lee claimed at the Seven Days battle would have lost him his Army and the means to attain the object of the war.

Lee's aggressive nature turned his attention to taking the battle onto Northern soil. He was eager to assist the pro-slavery state of Maryland by expelling their

¹⁵⁷ Hattaway, 19.

¹⁵⁸ Elizabeth Brown Pryor, *Reading the Man[:] A Portrait of Robert E. Lee Through His Private Letters* (Penguin Group, 2007), 347.

¹⁵⁹ Hattaway, 200.

northern oppressors. Despite President Davis' warnings of limited supplies, Lee marched his army into Maryland. Unfortunately for Lee, General McClellan managed to gain access to Lee's battle plans because a narrow-minded Confederate officer had used the plans to wrap his cigars and left the paper behind at an abandoned camp.¹⁶⁰

In order to cross into Maryland, Lee had to defeat General Pope's smaller force still in Virginia that posed a threat to his supply lines. In what became known as the Second Battle of Bull Run, Lee's forces maneuvered around Pope's flank and defeated him on the battlefield. Pope was forced to retreat with his army to the defensive lines around Washington, D.C. The path was now clear for Lee's raid into Maryland.¹⁶¹

Lee's intentions were to spend the rest of the fall living off of northern crops in order to allow Virginia to replenish herself. He believed McClellan would be true to his nature and too cautious with his movements to force Lee's army onto the field of battle. He split his army and left A.P. Hill's corps at Harper's Ferry to defend his supply lines. McClellan, however, had other plans for the Army of Northern Virginia.¹⁶²

Having Lee's battle plans in hand, McClellan quickly advanced on Lee's position. Lee did not have time to unite his army prior to McClellan's arrival and took up defensive positions along Antietam Creek. On September 17, 1862, the

¹⁶⁰ Pryor, 328-329.

¹⁶¹ Hattaway, 222-232.

¹⁶² Ibid., 232-233.

two forces clashed in what became the bloodiest single day battle of the Civil War.¹⁶³

Lee had enough time to prepare himself for battle, but for reasons unknown Lee opted not to entrench his forces. A decision Sun Tzu would not have agreed with:

The art of war teaches us to rely not on the likelihood of the enemy's not coming, but on our own readiness to receive him; not on the chance of his not attacking, but rather on the fact that we have made our position unassailable.¹⁶⁴

The decision not to prepare his position for an attack cost him many casualties. The Army of the Potomac outnumbered Lee's Army of Northern Virginia nearly two-to-one. McClellan had Lee in a predicament but decided to throw three separate attacks instead of one overwhelming assault. The two-to-one advantage is negated if assaults are done by one-third of the army at a time. The first two assaults were repulsed with smart use of artillery and steadfast infantry units. The third, however, was nearly the decisive blow McClellan was looking for. Lee was saved by the timely arrival of A.P. Hill's men from Harpers Ferry to throw McClellan's army back.¹⁶⁵

On The morning of September 18, 1862, the Army of Northern Virginia still held the field allowing Lee to claim the victory.¹⁶⁶ This victory was short lived.

¹⁶³ Hattaway, 243.

¹⁶⁴ Tzu, 48.

¹⁶⁵ Reid, 99-102.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 102.

Lee found himself in a vulnerable position with a weakened army on foreign soil; therefore, he had no option but to retreat. His grand plans unrealized, Lee withdrew his fatigued rebel soldiers back across the border into Virginia.¹⁶⁷ Lee's withdrawal allowed McClellan to claim the victory rendering this battle a stalemate.

The battle of Antietam was the exclamation point to a campaign designed by Lee that accomplished little towards the goal of the South. He intended to demoralize the populace of the North and hoped to incite southern sympathizers in the slave state of Maryland. Neither was accomplished.¹⁶⁸ The battle of Antietam inflicted heavy casualties on both sides: the Union forces lost over 12,400 soldiers in comparison to Confederate losses of more than 13,700 men.¹⁶⁹ Lee's decision not to entrench proved to be very costly.¹⁷⁰ Following the battle of Antietam, his officers again began questioning Lee's tactics. Longstreet wrote a letter to Joe Johnston showing such little faith in Lee that he had "no doubt but the command of the entire Army (would) fall to you (Johnston) before Spring [sic]."¹⁷¹ Lee's decision to take his inexperienced army on a campaign into northern territory was unwise.

Sun Tzu said of this:

¹⁶⁷ Hattaway, 244.

¹⁶⁸ Pryor, 331.

¹⁶⁹ Hattaway, 243.

¹⁷⁰ Reid, 99-100.

¹⁷¹ Pryor, 334.

Maneuvering with an army is advantageous; with an undisciplined multitude, most dangerous.¹⁷²

Lee had fought another battle in which he lost many troops and accomplished little to no strategic gain. The event the battle of Antietam led to which had the greatest effect on the Confederate's chances of ultimate victory was Lincoln's publicizing the Emancipation Proclamation. This dampened nearly any chance the South had for European recognition and assistance because they would not intervene in a war being fought for human rights.¹⁷³ The invasion of Maryland did not help to advance the Southern cause. Instead, it hurt the Confederate cause with the loss of lives and caused the hope of a European intervention to dissipate.

Following the battle of Antietam, Lincoln urged McClellan to pursue Lee's battered army. McClellan, however, ignored Lincoln's requests to advance and remained at Antietam. McClellan's refusal to follow orders caused Lincoln to replace him on November 7, 1862, with the inept Ambrose Burnside. Although McClellan was replaced, his battlefield ideologies were imprinted on many of the officers in the Army of the Potomac. They had become cautious, defensive, and logistical-minded leaders under McClellan's tutelage. This proved to haunt the army for the months to come.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² Tzu, 41.

¹⁷³ Hattaway, 244.

¹⁷⁴ Reid, 108.

Burnside became the commander of the Army of the Potomac because of McClellan's lack of initiative. He knew that he needed to move forward or accept the same fate as McClellan. He began his push south in hopes of catching Lee's armies in a dispersed winter state. His objective was to shift his line towards Fredericksburg, cross the Rappahannock before Lee could react, and drive towards Richmond. His plan nearly worked had it not been for a logistical blunder. His pontoons, needed to cross the river, were at the end of his twenty-five mile supply line. The time it took for the pontoons to reach the front was all Lee needed to consolidate his forces and set his defensive lines for battle.¹⁷⁵

Burnside began his assault on Lee's center at Marye's Heights. Lee's defensive position was very strong and his artillery had the line of attack completely covered. One of Lee's artillery commanders exclaimed that, "A chicken could not live on that field when we open on it."¹⁷⁶ The soldiers of the initial attack were decimated by the combination of artillery and rifle fire and thrown back. Burnside followed this assault with five more major assaults that were easily repulsed by Lee's army and his position was never in danger of being overrun. One Confederate soldier proclaimed, "they (the union army) might as well have tried to take hell."¹⁷⁷

Burnside's chief weakness as a commander was his inability to properly communicate his orders to subordinates. His orders were incoherent, lacked

¹⁷⁵ Reid, 110.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 111.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 111.

structure, and his staff officers often failed to explain them to others as Burnside intended. The unsuccessful Union commander later claimed that his assaults were not carried out as he proposed. He planned for the initial assaults to be fixing operations to hold Lee's army in place while another portion of his army performed a flanking maneuver to cut off Lee's communications and attack him on his right flank. This flanking maneuver never took place because Burnside gave his orders in such a vague manner that his officers did not understand them (if he gave the orders at all). Burnside oversaw a very flawed and costly attack that decisively failed.¹⁷⁸

The battle at Fredericksburg should have opened Lee's eyes to how advantageous a good defensive position was in the mid-nineteenth-century. Zachary Taylor defended a position against a Mexican army nearly three times the size of the Americans during the Mexican-American War at Buena Vista;¹⁷⁹ therefore, Lee must have known prior to the battle of Fredericksburg that having inferior numbers did not matter if an army held superior ground to defend. Lee attained one of his most decisive victories by taking a defensive stance against Burnside at Fredericksburg. The losses of the battle were about 5300 Confederate soldiers to over 12,600 Union soldiers.¹⁸⁰ This battle clearly advanced the Confederacy towards its ultimate goal of independence. The Army of the

¹⁷⁸ Reid, 115

¹⁷⁹ Hattaway, 16.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 307.

Potomac was rendered stagnant for the next month.¹⁸¹ Burnside suffered such a defeat that there was little he could do with his army. Lee accomplished this with minimal loss of soldiers.

The Army of the Potomac had broken two of Sun Tzu's rules of war in the battle of Fredericksburg: do not attack uphill¹⁸² and do not attack a well-defended position.¹⁸³ Burnside's blunder gave the initiative back to Lee. Lee was content to remain in winter quarters around Fredericksburg, but he grew anxious for a spring offensive. In the early months of 1863 he began calling for another invasion of Maryland.¹⁸⁴ He believed a second raid into Maryland would relieve stress being put on the armies in middle Tennessee by drawing Union soldiers back to Washington for its defense.¹⁸⁵

Lincoln, on the other hand, looked for a new more proficient commander for the Army of the Potomac to launch a spring offensive. He chose Joseph Hooker to replace Burnside as the commander of his army. Hooker gained the confidence of his army by getting their back pay, and he drew up a plan to advance on Richmond that would put off Lee's hope for another incursion into the North for a few more months.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ Hattaway, 328.

¹⁸² Tzu, 41.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 36.

¹⁸⁴ Hattaway, 362.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 363.

¹⁸⁶ Reid, 119-120.

Hooker's grand strategy to defeat Lee involved a flanking maneuver. He hoped to surprise Lee by swinging around his left flank, aspiring to force Lee to abandon his position at Fredericksburg. He believed his maneuver would make Lee withdraw to more unfavorable grounds where Hooker would have the advantage. Hooker commenced his movement in April of 1863.¹⁸⁷

The plan Hooker created was a good one; unfortunately, it was dependent on Lee doing the expected and retreating to protect Richmond, which he did not do. Lee, acting in the aggressive manner he had become known for, took to the offensive. He chose to take the Army of Northern Virginia, less James Longstreet who had a third of Lee's army south of Richmond fighting at Suffolk, to meet Hooker's men before they could exit the thick and difficult woodland area known as the Wilderness.¹⁸⁸

Lee's advance on the Army of the Potomac baffled Hooker and he brought his army to a halt near the town of Chancellorsville. Hooker ordered his men to dig in and prepare for a fight. This order doomed Hooker's army as it caused him to lose the initiative. He had already sent his cavalry south to raid Confederate communication lines and therefore had no means of finding out what Lee's army was doing or where they were marching.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Hattaway, 364.

¹⁸⁸ Reid, 120.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 121.

Lee was not lacking in cavalry and J.E.B. Stuart quickly noticed that Hooker's right flank was weak and vulnerable.¹⁹⁰ Lee opted to make a very risky maneuver to exploit his situation. His army was not at full strength with Longstreet away and Hooker had him outnumbered two-to-one.¹⁹¹ Still, Lee chose to split his already divided army once more and surprised Hooker with an attack on his flank.¹⁹²

Lee sent Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson around the south of Hooker's army with orders to attack his exposed right flank. Because Hooker lacked cavalry and was in a thick wooded area, he was taken by complete surprise. The maneuver was an absolute success; pandemonium rang through the Union lines and they were forced to pull back. However, the tactic was dreadfully costly for Lee. His most trusted and perhaps best general, Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, was mortally wounded by friendly fire as night fell on the first day of the assault. With Jackson unable to command his army, their assault stalled and they were not able to fully exploit the situation. The Army of the Potomac was able to regain its composure. Conversely, their commander did not. A Confederate artillery shell exploded near his headquarters and concussed Hooker. In a state of confusion, he ordered a general withdrawal that allowed Lee to reunite his forces.¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Reid, 121.

¹⁹¹ Hattaway, 380.

¹⁹² Ibid., 121.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 121-123.

Fortunately for the Union, Lee did not alter his methods after his successful defense of Fredericksburg and again utilized offensive strategies during the engagement at Chancellorsville. Some argue that Chancellorsville was Lee's greatest tactical victory of the Civil War, but in retrospect it accomplished very little.¹⁹⁴ With Longstreet gone, Lee did not have any hope to follow up his victory with an advance to push the Army of the Potomac from the field of battle.¹⁹⁵ Therefore, had Hooker not ordered the withdrawal of his forces he could have claimed a victory because Lee had no means of forcing him from his position.¹⁹⁶ Hooker's severe mismanagement of his forces compounded Lee's brilliant maneuver.¹⁹⁷ Despite winning the field of battle, Lee found himself where he was at the beginning of the campaign, in a stalemate at Fredericksburg. The casualties sustained by both sides during the campaign were about 17,270 Union soldiers, or fifteen percent of the army, and about 12,760 Confederate soldiers, or twenty-one percent of its army. Lee's aggressive tactics also cost him arguably his best commander in Jackson as well as numerous others.¹⁹⁸ The battle at Chancellorsville may not have been so insignificant had Lee stayed in Virginia. But he had ideas for an invasion that had been postponed too long.

¹⁹⁴ Reid, *The Civil War*, op. cit., 123.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 123.

¹⁹⁶ Richard E. Beringer et. al., *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (The University of Georgia Press, 1986), 254.

¹⁹⁷ Reid, 123.

¹⁹⁸ Hattaway, 380-381.

Lee had fended off another Union advance on Richmond and once again had the initiative. He then looked to resurrect his plans of another incursion into the North. He requested and received permission from Jefferson Davis for the invasion.¹⁹⁹ Lee told Davis he wished to “lure the enemy ‘out into a position to be assailed.’”²⁰⁰ With Longstreet’s arrival, the Army of Northern Virginia was once again complete and Lee set off towards Pennsylvania. Lee’s movements were for the most part unmolested because Hooker was unsure of an effective way to proceed.²⁰¹ Hooker’s inability to check Lee’s advance cost him his job. He was replaced with George Gordon Meade.²⁰²

Lee’s army was foraging throughout Pennsylvania when Meade began his advance to confront him. Lee sensed that the Army of the Potomac was in a weak transitional state due to the recent change of command and converged his forces around the city of Gettysburg for a battle. The choice of Gettysburg had more to do with a shoe factory than it did with any tactical advantage. Lee’s men were in need of supplies and shoes were at the top of the list. On July 1, 1863, the two armies engaged one another in a three-day battle that almost certainly sealed the fate of the Confederacy.²⁰³

Sun Tzu has this to say of choosing a battle site:

¹⁹⁹ Reid, 124-125.

²⁰⁰ Pryor, 349.

²⁰¹ Reid, 125.

²⁰² Hattaway, 405.

²⁰³ Ibid., 405.

...the clever combatant imposes his will on the enemy, but does not allow the enemy's will to be imposed on him.²⁰⁴

Lee allowed Meade to choose a battlefield more advantageous to the Union. Lee's field commanders requested he not give battle and search for a more favorable field, but he refused. He took the Army of Northern Virginia into Pennsylvania in the summer of 1863 looking for a fight and did not want the opportunity to pass him by.

Lee sent his orders out for the battle and the loss of Jackson at Chancellorsville began taking its affect on the Army of Northern Virginia. Jackson's replacement, Richard Ewell, lacked his legendary predecessor's initiative and he failed to execute the orders Lee sent him. He had been commanded to take the high ground but came up just short. Sun Tzu said this on taking the field of battle:

...be before the enemy in occupying the raised and sunny spots....If the enemy has occupied them before you, do not follow him, but retreat and entice him away.²⁰⁵

When Ewell failed to acquire the high ground Lee should have pulled his army from the field of battle. Instead, he chose to remain and fight. This error proved very costly the following two days.²⁰⁶

Meade was quick to take advantage of Ewell's blunder by occupying and entrenching the high ground. He set up his army in the shape of a fishhook. His

²⁰⁴ Tzu, 36.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 57-58.

²⁰⁶ Hattaway, 405.

line stretched three miles long and had approximately 27,000 soldiers and 118 artillery pieces per mile (over 80,000 total troops). Lee's smaller army was arranged in a five-mile semicircle opposing Meade's position with approximately ten thousand troops and fifty-four artillery pieces per mile (over fifty-thousand total troops).²⁰⁷

On the second day of battle, Lee saw that Meade's left flank was weak. That morning he sent orders for Longstreet to advance on the exposed flank; however, Longstreet's attack was delayed until late in the afternoon. By then, Meade had reinforced the position and Lee's orders were obsolete. Longstreet's assaults lasted into the night but were continually repulsed. He attacked uphill against a stronger force than anticipated that held the superior ground.²⁰⁸

With Longstreet's assaults faltering against the left flank, Lee ordered his men to attack Meade's right flank. His men began their assaults on Cemetery Ridge and Culp's Hills at about 6:30 P.M. These attacks were also repelled and sustained heavy casualties. Though Lee's offensive was falling apart, Lee was not yet ready to abandon the cause.

After the second day of battle was over, Lee met with his officers and devised a final assault on the center of the Union lines. Lee's choice of a frontal attack on the center of the North's army conflicted with many of Sun Tzu's teachings, two examples are:

²⁰⁷ Hattaway, 405.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 407.

If troops are no more in number than the enemy, that is amply sufficient;
it

only means that no direct attack can be made... You can be sure of
succeeding
in your attacks if you only attack places which are undefended.²⁰⁹

He ordered a diversionary attack on Meade's right flank to take place in the
morning, his artillery to barrage the Union breastworks along the center of their
line during the afternoon, and men from Longstreet and A.P. Hill's forces to
assault the Union position in the late afternoon.²¹⁰

The assault commenced at 5:30 in the morning with Lee's diversionary
attack.²¹¹ The attack faltered and Meade was able to concentrate his efforts on the
center of his line.²¹² A two-hour barrage by Confederate artillery was initiated at
1:00 in the afternoon,²¹³ but it overshot the enemy and did little damage to
Meade's entrenched soldiers.²¹⁴ The Union troops responded with a short
barrage of their own, and because the federal barrage was short-lived, Lee's men
believed they had disabled the Yankee guns.²¹⁵ Two hours after the artillery
barrage began the rebel infantry started their mile long march to the Union

²⁰⁹ Tzu, 36; 48.

²¹⁰ Hattaway, 407.

²¹¹ Reid, 131.

²¹² Ibid., 132.

²¹³ Ibid., 131.

²¹⁴ Hattaway, 408.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 408.

lines.²¹⁶ The Union artillery that Lee's men mistakenly believed had been destroyed began firing on the exposed columns. They first shot long-range shells with devastating accuracy and followed with canister shells when the rebels shortened the gap.²¹⁷ Of the original 15,000 Confederate troops that began the assault, only five-thousand managed to reach the Union lines and these were then decimated by rifle fire and bayonet.²¹⁸ The rebels were utterly defeated in what became known as "Pickett's Charge." Of the thirty-five officers above the rank of Captain that participated in the battle, only one made it back unwounded, and thirty of the thirty-eight regimental flags were captured by the Union.²¹⁹

The battle of Gettysburg was over. Lee had been utterly defeated for the first time in the war. He prepared his men for a counterattack that never came; Meade would not make the same mistake Lee had made at Malvern hill and risk his victory. The following day Lee's battered army began their march back to Virginia.²²⁰

Lee's second invasion of Northern soil did more to advance the Union in its goal to reunite the country than it did to help the Confederacy gain its independence. Lee again sustained heavy casualties, as had been the nature of

²¹⁶ Reid, 131.

²¹⁷ Hattaway, 408-409.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 409.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 409.

²²⁰ Ibid., 412.

his fights up to this point. However, unlike his previous battles, he suffered a brutal defeat at Gettysburg. The confidence of Lee's subordinates in his tactics took a turn for the worse.²²¹ James Longstreet condemned the expedition as a departure from their defensive strategy, and Wade Hampton believed the "'Penn trip' amounted to 'a complete failure.' Stressing the tactical only, Hampton said: 'The position of the Yankees there was the strongest I ever saw & it was in vain to attack it.'"²²² Lee should have awaited Meade to attack him on grounds more favorable to his army. Pressure from Washington probably would have pushed Meade to attack because Northern politicians would not have allowed him to patiently await an assault as a Confederate Army ran amuck in the heart of the Union.²²³

The casualties sustained by both sides at Gettysburg were atrocious. The Union lost approximately 23,040 men of about 85,000 engaged in contrast to Confederate losses of about 28,060 men of roughly 65,000 engaged.²²⁴ Lee's army suffered a casualty rate that neared fifty percent. Jefferson Davis said of the casualties, "Theirs could be repaired, ours could not."²²⁵

²²¹ Hattaway, 414.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Hattaway, 409.

²²⁵ Ibid., 415.

The loss at Gettysburg accompanied by the surrender of Vicksburg the same week demoralized Southern citizens and reenergized northerners.²²⁶ The battle of Gettysburg drained Lee of the initiative, his soldiers, and the confidence of many of his subordinates and poised the Union for an ultimate victory.²²⁷ Lee's conduct leading up to and during the battle of Gettysburg was detrimental to the Confederate cause. Consequently, his actions contradicted Clausewitz's theory of why to engage in combat.

The rest of 1863 saw only small, insignificant engagements in the Virginia Theater, and in February of 1864 Lincoln appointed Ulysses S. Grant as General-in-Chief. The appointment came with a promotion for Grant to Lieutenant General, a rank no one had attained since George Washington. Although Meade still held his position as commander of the Army of the Potomac, he now had to answer to Grant.²²⁸

Grant looked to end the war in 1864. He ordered Meade to take a similar path towards Richmond as Hooker had the previous year. Once more, the Army of the Potomac encountered Lee's men in the thick wooded area known as The Wilderness. The battle began with a successful Union attack on Lee's right flank, but the success was followed with a failed assault on Lee's center. Lee responded with an attack of his own on the Union's left flank, much like he had done during the battle of Chancellorsville. Lee's assault was again successful and drove the

²²⁶ Hattaway, 415.

²²⁷ Reid, 133.

²²⁸ Ibid., 146-147.

Union army back; however, unlike Hooker, Meade did not flee with his army. The battle ended in a stalemate because Lee lacked the soldiers to drive Meade from the field.²²⁹

Grant was not hesitant as his predecessors had been and immediately ordered another advance south around Lee's lines. The remainder of 1864 was fought in trench style battles. The Union was repulsed in a ten-day battle at Spotsylvania where they suffered heavy casualties, but Grant continued taking the initiative and moved around Lee once more towards Richmond. Lee once more defeated the Army of the Potomac at Cold Harbor. This setback merely changed Grant's strategy from taking Richmond to taking Petersburg. He knew once Petersburg fell that the capital of the Confederacy would be indefensible. He laid a siege to Petersburg that lasted from July of 1864 through March of 1865. Grant's goal of winning the war in 1864 proved unattainable because even lacking in troops Lee was able to muster a formidable defense. Lee's late successes further demonstrating the advantages a defending army had in the 1860s. But the end was near.²³⁰

Once Petersburg fell Lee could no longer defend Richmond. He sent word to Jefferson Davis on April 1, 1865, that he was abandoning the city. Lee put his men on the march and they were cut in half by a double enveloping maneuver performed by Grant at Saylor's Creek. Lee's remaining troops were then cut off from retreat by Grant's cavalry. On April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered his army to

²²⁹ Reid, 154-155.

²³⁰ Ibid., 161-165; 177-179.

Grant at the Appomattox Courthouse. The war for the Army of Northern Virginia was over, and the rest of the South would fall shortly after. The Civil War was essentially over.²³¹

The Army of Northern Virginia had been drained of its most important commodity: able bodied men. Lee's tactics had won him many fields of battle, but he accomplished these feats at the cost of many young southern men. These were lives that the South could ill afford to lose. The 1860 census showed a population difference between the Union and the Confederacy of 22,339,989 to 9,103,332 respectively.²³² Of the South's approximate 9.1 million people over 3.6 million were slaves or free African Americans leaving a total white population to draw soldiers from at just under 5.5 million.²³³ This gave the North an advantage of approximately five to two over the South.²³⁴ The Confederate population was unable to maintain Lee's style of warfare. After Gettysburg, his army was too decimated to capitalize on their successes at The Wilderness, Spotsylvania, or at Cold Harbor. Looking at the size of his army at the onset of the Seven Days battle compared to its size at the beginning of the battle of Gettysburg it is apparent that he had sustained heavy losses throughout the war that had not been replenished. Lee's aggressive tactics proved damaging to the Confederate cause and deemed him the wrong choice for Jefferson Davis.

²³¹ Reid, 179.

²³² Hattaway, 17.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid.

Lee's tactics were clearly detrimental to the cause of the Confederacy. Robert E. Lee's aggressive tactics failed to win the war; therefore, he failed as a commander. What should have been the approach taken by a Confederate commander to attain a victory for their country?

Carl von Clausewitz describes a method of defeating an enemy as "wearing him out."²³⁵ He defines this tactic as "a gradual exhaustion of the physical powers and of the will by the long continuance of exertion."²³⁶ Clausewitz recognized the strategic advantage of fighting a defensive war in the nineteenth century.²³⁷ His outline for success for numerically inferior forces is stated as:

...the concentration of all the means into a state of pure resistance, affords a superiority in the contest, and if this advantage is sufficient to balance whatever superiority in numbers the adversary may have, then the mere duration of the contest will suffice gradually to bring the loss of force on the part of the adversary to a point at which the political object can no longer be an equivalent, a point at which, therefore, he must give up the contest. We see then that this class of means, the wearing out of the enemy, includes the great number of cases in which the weaker resists the stronger.²³⁸

The North's fighting force outnumbered the South's five-to-two. Clausewitz is not the only great military theorist to see the advantage in a strategic defense.

Sun Tzu had this to say about fighting a defensive battle:

²³⁵ Clausewitz, 128.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Ibid., 129.

Whoever is first in the field and awaits the coming of the enemy, will be fresh for the fight; whoever is second in the field and has to hasten to battle will arrive exhausted.²³⁹

Jefferson Davis should have been looking for a commander who realized the lack of combat ready men on hand and utilized defensive measures to prolong the war while inflicting heavy casualties.

The aim of a defensive struggle for the South would not necessarily have been to destroy the Union armies but to defeat the morale of the Northern citizens. The most glaring flaw of the United States of America is its political instability. Every two years the United States government is subject to a change in power, and every four years their commander-in-chief faces re-election. This volatility is what the Confederate strategy should have been looking to exploit.

The Army of Northern Virginia and its engagements had the greatest toll on Northern morale because the Virginia Theater dominated the headlines throughout the country and overseas. Politicians, civilians, and foreign observers drew much of their opinions on the war based on the outcome of the conflicts between the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia. The reason for this theater dominating headlines and peoples' opinions was that there was a much larger population base on the eastern coast and within the theater laid both countries capitals.²⁴⁰

²³⁹ Tzu, 36.

²⁴⁰ Gallagher, 7.

The elections in the North during the war can be directly linked to which side was winning battles in the Virginia Theater of war. The election prior to the beginning of the Civil War in 1860 was a huge victory for Republicans. They held a majority in the House of Representatives and their candidate, Abraham Lincoln, won the presidential election. The congressional elections of 1860 saw 108 Republicans, 44 Democrats, 26 Unionists, 2 Constitutional Unionists, 2 Unions, and 1 Independent Democrat elected to the House of Representatives. The Republicans clearly held the vast majority of power during the first two years of the war.²⁴¹

Unfortunately the first two years of the war did not go well for the Union in the Virginia Theater. What the press deemed as losses or stalemates took place at Bull Run, the Seven Days battle, Second Bull Run, and Antietam. An article in The New York Herald written after the Seven Days battle described the country as “in danger of shipwreck; and have had a narrow escape.”²⁴² Articles such as that did not fare well for the Republican Party in November of 1862. The power in Washington took a dramatic turn towards the Democratic Party. The election of 1862 saw 86 Republicans, 72 Democrats, 16 Unconditional Unionists, 9 Unionists, and 2 Independent Republicans elected.²⁴³ The Army of the Potomac’s

²⁴¹ House History[:] 37th Congress (1861-1863), http://clerk.house.gov/art_history/house_history/index.html (accessed August 2, 2009).

²⁴² *The Army of General McClellan--Its Late Danger and Its Present Safety--The Duty of President Lincoln*. The New York Herald (1840-1865), July 6, 1862. <http://www.proquest.com.proxy1.nku.edu/> (accessed August 2, 2009).

²⁴³ House History[:] 38th Congress (1863-1865), http://clerk.house.gov/art_history/house_history/index.html (accessed August 2, 2009).

inability to achieve a decisive victory helped the Democratic Party gain twenty-eight seats in the House of Representatives and cost the Republican Party twenty-two. Had this shift continued in 1864 Lincoln may not have been re-elected and the outcome of the Civil War could have been drastically different.

As 1863 began, Lincoln did little to help his popularity. In March he enacted the Act for Enrolling and Calling out the National Forces. This was the first national draft law passed in the United States of America.²⁴⁴ This law was extremely unpopular throughout the Union.²⁴⁵ Many people employed to enforce the draft were beaten and ridiculed, including 38 murdered, 60 wounded, and 12 suffered heavy damages to their property.²⁴⁶ Riots, or some form of dissention, broke out in every State within the Union due to the draft.²⁴⁷ The New York Times front page on July 14, 1863, exclaimed, “The Mob in New York,” and described a riot that went “nearly unchecked” for a full day where buildings were destroyed, drafting officers were stoned and clubbed, their documents destroyed, and much of the city set afire.²⁴⁸

Not only were riots erupting throughout the North in 1863, there was also a peace movement headed by Democrats that gained momentum. On January 3, the Governor of Indiana wrote to Edwin Stanton that his state intended:

²⁴⁴ Hattaway, 437.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 438.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ “THE MOB IN NEW-YORK :Resistance to the Draft,” *New York Times* (1857-Current file), July 14, 1863, <http://www.proquest.com.proxy1.nku.edu/> (accessed August 2, 2009).

to pass a joint resolution acknowledging the Southern Confederacy, and urging the States of the Northwest to dissolve all constitutional relations with the New England States. The same thing is on foot in Illinois.²⁴⁹

The peace movement in Iowa was so strong that their Governor requested arms and the authority to raise militias to intimidate and fend them off.²⁵⁰ The Union was on the verge of a second divide. Whereas, the South was on the brink of being recognized by Northern states and having a potential ally against Lincoln. Lincoln's response to riots and the peace movement was to suspend Habeas Corpus in September of 1863, another unpopular decision.²⁵¹

The Democrats strongly opposed many of Lincoln's decisions. The two things they opposed the most were the Emancipation Proclamation and the war. In their 1864 Party Platform they "...demand[ed] that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities..."²⁵² This platform was introduced as the Union was on the verge of victory. Had Lee been in a stronger position in November of 1864 and the Democrats won it is very likely the war would have ended on very favorable terms for the Confederacy (assuming the Union was still intact). Fortunately for Lincoln that was not the case because things had not been going well for him politically up to that point.

Had the Confederates been more conservative with their forces through 1863 they may have been able to push Lincoln and the Republicans completely out of

²⁴⁹ Beringer, 244.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Hattaway, 438.

²⁵² *The Platforms*, <http://www.proquest.com.proxy1.nku.edu/> (accessed August 15, 2009).

power, but Lee had decimated his army and after Gettysburg was unable to capitalize on the political unrest in the North. With the end of the war in sight in November of 1864, the Republicans had no problems regaining the seats they had lost in 1862 and adding some more. They won 136 seats in the House of Representatives as well as the Presidential election.²⁵³

The Confederates were on the verge of victory as 1863 began; in fact they had the advantage from the onset of the war. The vast expanse of the South coupled with the limited population of the North (their population was insufficient for such a large territory they had to conquer) made for a near impossible occupation, yet occupation was the North's only plausible strategy. Recent wars in Iraq and Vietnam reveal how difficult a strategy of occupation can be. The Confederate Secretary of War, George W. Randolph, at the onset of the war wrote:

They may overrun our frontier States and plunder our coast but, as for conquering us, the thing is an impossibility. There is no instance in history of a people as numerous as we are inhabiting a country so extensive as ours being subjected if true to themselves.²⁵⁴

The seceded states consisted of 750,000 square miles of land, 3500 miles of coastline, and an open border to Mexico. The United Kingdom, France, Spain, Italy, and a good portion of Germany could all fit into the Confederacy. That was a lot of land to occupy and proved too difficult for the Union to cut off from the

²⁵³ House History[:] 39th Congress (1865-1867), http://clerk.house.gov/art_history/house_history/index.html (accessed August 2, 2009).

²⁵⁴ Hattaway, 18.

rest of the world. The size of the South and the advantages defenders held in the nineteenth century should have amounted to an eventual Confederate victory.²⁵⁵

Lee did not exploit the advantage his army had of being on the defensive until it was too late. The most lopsided victory he had was at Fredericksburg when he waited for the Union army to come to him. In all of his other major battles prior to and including Gettysburg, he attacked a larger Union army. The casualties suffered by his army proved too costly for the Confederacy. Had Lee not been so aggressive with his tactics they may have been able to exploit the civil unrest the North was experiencing in 1863.

The Northern population was weary of the war and rioting by 1863. Lee failed to capitalize on this. He fought the war against the wrong foe. He looked to outmaneuver his opponent and win the field when he should have been fighting against the will of Northern citizens. By defeating their will he would have ousted Lincoln and the Republicans from power or caused a second secession from the Union which would have assured his country of victory. His aggressive nature denied the South of these possibilities. Not only did Lee fail to take advantage of the political unrest in the North he put out the flame with his invasion of Pennsylvania. The defeat he suffered at Gettysburg revived the will power of Northern citizens. Lee should have fought a more conservative war because had he not reinvigorated Northerners' passion for the war with his

²⁵⁵ Hattaway, 17-18.

invasion of Pennsylvania the war could have turned out much more advantageous for the Confederacy.

The longer he dragged the war out the better the chances were of an eventual Confederate victory. The more defeats and casualties the newspapers reported the more exhausted the American people grew. Taking defensive positions would have caused massive Union casualties as well as slowed Union progression through Virginia. Even with his weakened force in 1864 he was able to inflict heavy casualties on the Army of the Potomac and stalled Grant's advance on Richmond. The combination of defeats and heavy casualties proved harmful to the Republican Party in 1862. He had to have known of the political turmoil going on throughout the North in 1863 as well as the position Lincoln opponents had on the war. In early 1863 Lee merely had to hold out until the Union collapsed or when Lincoln faced reelection. The South would have won by politically defeating the Union. Instead, he did the only thing that could doom the fate of the Confederacy: he suffered a massive defeat on a battlefield where he should have never been in the first place.

Lee did not fight to win the war. Instead he fought to improve his reputation. The South did not need an egotistical commander looking to make a name. Instead, it needed a commander that understood the situation his country was in. Jefferson Davis made a mistake in 1862 when he appointed Lee the commander of the Army of Northern Virginia. He should have selected a general that would

have made the most of the advantages the South possessed to attain the outcome the Confederacy desired.

