Contents

Perspectives in History Vol. XXVIII, 2012-2013

ARTICLES

REVIEWS

Foreward

Reflecting on my decision to run for Editor-in-Chief of *Perspectives*, I can't say I didn't know what I was getting myself into. As a long-time member of the Alpha Beta Phi Chapter, I have witnessed editors struggle over the years with the monumental task of producing quality examples of academic publishing. For my part, the decision to run for the position of editor was motivated by a simple love of history – and of the expression our authors give to it. For history to be valuable, for it to be more than an antiquarian exercise, it must be kept at the forefront of the collective mind. My hope is that this journal will contribute, in a small but significant way, to the great task of keeping history alive in each successive generation. By serving as a vehicle for up-and-coming historians, scholars, and history enthusiasts to publish their work – and by making that work available to our peers – *Perspectives in History* promotes the study and discussion of history that I believe is vital to both the university and to the intellectual health of the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

That said, *Perspectives* would not be in a position to serve Northern Kentucky University and the historical community without the outstanding advice and support of Dr. Jonathan Reynolds. A patient, erudite, and thoroughly likable scholar and human being – Dr. Reynolds has been a driving force in the development and publication of this journal over the years. His constancy is, in large part, the reason we are now in our 28th volume and on behalf of Alpha Beta Phi I extend to him our unreserved thanks and appreciation. In addition, I would like to personally thank the chairman of Northern Kentucky University's Department of History and Geography, Dr. William Landon, for his unwavering support of the Alpha Beta Phi chapter and *Perspectives in History*. Dr. Landon is an educator and academic of the highest quality, and I know I am not the only one who will miss his instruction while he takes time away from teaching to serve our department. Finally, any letter of thanks would be sorrowfully incomplete without mention of Professor Bonnie May and her profound contributions to the Department of History and Geography. A counselor, a firm support, and a benevolent and knowledgeable educator – Professor May's sacrifices of time and energy for her students have been boundless; and it is no exaggeration to say that, without her assistance at every turn, our Alpha Beta Phi chapter would not be the organization it is today.

Lastly, I would like to thank our authors. Without them, of course, *Perspectives in History* could not exist – and their dedication is a credit to the discipline of History. Before you, the reader, is a selection of some of the finest scholarship the students of Kentucky have produced in the last year; and it has been an honor to be entrusted with reviewing, editing, and publishing their work. It is my honest hope that you enjoy reading their work as much as I have, and with that thought I encourage you to press on and experience for yourself the talent of our student authors.

Crime and Industrialization: A Historical Analysis of Britain's Penal System

Jonathan Hess

Until recently, there have been few investigations into a comparative study of crime. Studies of crime often only pertain to the relevant place and time in which it must be dealt. It is an unfortunate matter especially when one considers the intimate relationship between crime and humanity. Especially now, in the Modern Era, when crime is reported on a daily basis through the news media, the prevalence of crime would appear to have never been greater nor more outwardly projected than during any other preceding period of humanity. Therefore, a comparative study of criminal behavior in the context of modernizing societies should be a critically important area of study. A dynamic understanding of the structure of criminal behavior and punishment would be an especially useful tool to promote the growth of peaceful and harmonious societies.

In particular, a historical study of British punishment provides a relevant case study to the evolution of criminality. Britain has been host to all manners and forms of crime – secular and religious. More importantly, because Britain was one of the first states to completely transform into an industrialized society, it provides us with an opportunity to examine the earliest effects of modernization upon criminal acts. Furthermore, with the onset of British colonialism we are granted yet another nuance of perspective – one in which the now evolved British sensibilities of crime and justice are externally applied to traditional ways of life. The prevalence of crime in Britain's past is an important matter to remember when considering current crime rates in Africa – as I seek to point out- a marked increase in criminal activity among a nation of people more often than not correlates with a shift in social structure as compared to intrinsic cultural traits.

Let us begin our examination with the earliest British laws, those codified by King Ethelbert in the seventh century.[1] These primordial laws eschewed pragmatism. These laws dealt almost exclusively with crimes related to personal assaults. The reason was that very little personal property existed to be either stolen or destroyed; most crimes identified were of a violent nature. Thus, the laws were primarily concerned with compensation for personal attacks; every body part had a value. For instance, putting an eye out resulted in a fine of fifty shillings and cutting an ear off was twenty shillings. These compensations reflected how early British society valued life. Any crimes which compromised an individual's ability to fight or work carried a higher penalty like facial disfigurement, but punishing crime by death or mutilation would only degrade an already limited work force.[2] Furthermore, one's social standing was weighed in accordance with that of the person assaulted. A freeman who raped a common girl would only be charged five shillings but if a slave raped the same girl then he would be castrated.[3] It is apparent that the earliest systems of crime and

punishment were consistent with society's value and perception of a man's self-worth within a class system.

At the time the Catholic Church was gaining much influence over British society. A portion of all compensations was paid out to the Church and in pursuit of increased revenue the Church invented new crimes for which a person could be charged. Fines appeared for anyone who dared work on a Sunday and compensation paid for all other crimes on Sunday or Holy Days became double rate.[4] The Church also introduced the concept of sin into early British law. By the thirteenth century crimes were no longer regarded as mere isolated contrivances against individuals but rather as immoral acts committed against society at large. The Church began to recreate itself as a protectorate of a virtuous and righteous humanity and began enacting punishments of deterrence; ones meant to efface thoughts of lewd acts from criminal minds. When mutilation and execution proved to be ineffective deterrence, it was assumed that these punishments were too lenient. By the time of Henry I, counterfeiting no longer meant the loss of a hand but also the loss of one's genitals.[5]

Exasperation with the penal system continued to grow amongst the British. The disparity between punishments for the poor and the rich was abundantly clear – only the poor were put to death for petty theft. By comparison, a member of the clergy might mutilate the face of a commoner and pay a paltry fine.[6] Finally, with the onset of the Black Death, which killed half of Britain's five million inhabitants, the remaining laborers discovered their actual worth and demanded higher wages. In response, Parliament made it illegal to reject any work offered at previous wage levels. Any laborer who rejected work was branded with an 'F' on his forehead. Soon rebellion spread and in imitation of public executions the heads of Sir Robert Hale, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Treasurer were paraded on pikes through the streets of London. After being granted promises of reforms and pardons, many of the rebels returned home – but these promises were not to be kept.[7]

The plight of accused criminals did not improve much over the coming centuries. Judges continued to carry out law as if it were an extension of the King's will. Lord Jeffrey advised his successor, "Be sure to execute the law to the utmost of its vengeance upon those that are known by the name of Whigs." This was soon after he had been appointed Lord Chancellor following a case known as 'the Bloody Assizes' during which he ordered the hanging of three hundred men and women at Winchester in 1685.[8] Even as Britain began to transform into an industrialized society, brutal punishments continued to be employed even as senseless and baseless crimes continued to plague typical British cities. As evidenced by a persistent need to publicly hang a never ending criminal population, public executions proved to be poor deterrence to the spread of criminal activity. Sir Samuel Romilly reminds us as early as 1813, "I call upon you to remember that cruel punishments have an inevitable tendency to produce cruelty in the people-."[9] A report from the Royal Commission in the 1759 London Streets City Act states that of 167 criminals sentenced to death, 164 of them had witnessed a public execution.[10] During this time, corporal punishment entirely failed in all measures to prevent an explosive growth of crime within an industrializing society. Engels provided an observance of this phenomenon in his 1844 work, *The Position of the Working Class in England,*

Hence with the extension of the proletariat, crime has increased in

> England, and the British nation has become one of the most criminal in the world. From the annual criminal tables of the Home Secretary, it is evident that the increase of crime in England has proceeded with incomprehensible rapidity...[from 1805 to 1842 criminal offenses] increased seven fold in thirty seven years...In Scotland, crime has increased yet more rapidly, there were but 89 arrests for criminal offenses in 1819, as early as 1837 the number had risen to 3,176 and in 1842 to 4,189.[11]

Engels' intuition led him to conclude that the explosive growth of crime was a resultant mix of capitalism and worker degeneration. He believed it was the squalid conditions in which the workers lived that fostered an atmosphere of ill-will and criminal foment.[12] Durkheim, a contemporary of Engels at the time, refuted such reasoning and instead insisted that the increase of crime was endemic to a population transitioning between rural family-oriented life and into transient city life. Thus, in Durkheim's assessment, the increase of crime in industrializing cities was only a temporary symptom of rural populations adjusting to a life absent conventional modes of social control, such as personal relationships and customs.[13]

It was with a long cultural legacy of punishment by mutilation and public execution that Britain set out to establish colonies throughout the world. Many of the places to which colonial rule was extended were regarded as primitive. For instance, to the late Victorian mind, Africa was still a chaotic place inhabited by primitive child-like peoples. It was obvious that the most efficient and economical manner with which to reform these peoples was through the application of physical persuasion. African labor of all sorts came to be directed by "the whip that talks" and this method came to be a familiar pestilence upon the backs of those it sought to reform.[14]

It was a commonly held belief among the British general public at the time that all Africans had a much greater threshold for pain and that this form of punishment was the only kind that primitive people could reasonably understand. Advocates of this method rejected milder punishments like incarceration or fines for a variety of reasons. Incarceration would reduce the work force and Africans lacked the faculty to understand the use of fines; they claimed that flogging was the African man's preferred choice of inflicted punishment.[15] This mentality for harsh punishments is easily discernible in Frederick Lugard's book published in 1922, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, "Europe is in tropical Africa for the mutual benefit of her own industrial classes and of the native races in their progress towards a higher plane. . . . It is the aim and desire of civilized administrations to fulfill this dual mandate."[16] Truly it is a kind gesture of Lugard to selflessly promote the well-being of the African people at a cost of such trivial inconveniences while also increasing Britain's economic might. It is interesting to note that during this period of time Britain was experiencing monumental levels of crime. Lugard was born in England in 1858, a time in which Engels appraised Britain to be host to the highest crime rate in the world. Even a scant hundred years before this date, Britain was in the grips of a gin-epidemic. A particularly unremarkable case of desperation occurred in 1734 when Judith Dufour 'never in her right mind but always roving,' retrieved her baby from a workhouse and strangled it and left it naked in a ditch. She sold its clothes and spent the money on gin.[17] Engels' summation

of Britain's crime rate towards the end of the 19th century and the 'unremarkable' act of Judith Dufour in the 18th century, lend strong evidence that Britain probably fostered crime rates even higher than those in the areas it colonized.

In fact, Britain was so overcome with criminality that by 1717 the Piracy Act was passed - providing for the transportation of criminals to the American colonies.[18] However, after the American Revolution of 1775, it was decided that the Americas no longer be counted on to provide a safe place to unload criminals. In the spring of 1787 the first British convicts arrived in Australia.[19] The practice of flogging was just as vigorously applied here as it was in Britain's African colonies. A visitor to the British penal colony in Tasmania in 1835 recounts witnessing the blood from the back of a flogged prisoner running down his leg,

> ...squashing out of his shoes at every step he took. A dog was licking the blood off the triangles, and the ants were carrying away great pieces of human flesh that the lash had scattered about the ground.... they had a pair of scourgers who gave each other spell and spell about and they were bespattered with blood like a couple of butchers.[20]

Even so, it was not soon after 1837 that Britain sought to reform its prison system. Alexander Maconochie, as secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor, carried out investigations into the prison system on behalf of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline and concluded that punishments should be, 'parental, not vindictive'. [21] He made the convicts of Norfolk Island 'stand up like men' when talking to officers and then he removed the gallows and decommissioned the whips. Of the 1,450 prisoners discharged under his lead, only 3 percent were ever re-convicted.[22] Maconochie returned home in 1844 and for the next ten years, until it was abandoned in 1856, Norfolk Island reverted back to a state described by Maconochie as a 'brutal hell'.[23] Thus, prison reform was beginning to take hold in British minds – at first with starts and fits and victories and failures – and with time came an increased focus on the study and composition of the criminal mind. Subsequently, Goring conducted a study in England into the aspects of hereditary criminal traits. A twin brother of a criminal was seventy-seven percent likely to be a criminal himself, whereas a brother who was a different age from his criminal brother was only twelve percent as likely to become a criminal. Some pointed towards the shared egg from which twin brothers are conceived as evidence towards the hereditary nature of criminality. Others, however, would argue that it was the more identical environment in which the twins were raised that resulted in the increased likelihood of their becoming criminals.[24] Even as inconclusive as the scientific evidence was towards the causation of criminals, at the very least an increased focus was made towards discovering the underlying causes of criminals rather than just their eventual punishments.

Hibbert suggests that crime is as old as humanity itself, "Criminality proceeds from the very nature of humanity itself."[25] One can be assured that crime will continue to be a factor in society well into any foreseeable future. As any society becomes increasingly modernized this will allow criminal mischief to achieve a wider variety of form and enjoy even more opportunities for socially destabilizing activities. As evidenced by the long history of Britain's ineffective use of harsh punishment to deter crime, it is easy to imagine that as freed British African colonies exhibit higher urban populations, the penal legacies

left behind by the former British colonizers will prove to be inadequate in coping with criminal growth – just as it was when Britain itself transitioned to a state of dense urban populations.

An infamously violent former British colony, South Africa, had recorded a 2004 murder rate of forty murders per every hundred thousand, the third highest in the world according to a study by Interpol.[26] This continuing situation is aggravated by globally acknowledged risk factors for crime as applied to contemporary South African society.

Diverse Socio-economic Circumstances: This would include income inequality and poverty, high rates of urbanization, a high proportion of young males in the population, poor housing provision, problems in core institutions for societal stability such as the family and schools, low levels of education and weak provision of childcare, recreational and after care facilities at schools.

The Presence of Facilitating Factors: These typically include alcohol and drug abuse, gangs, firearms, and poor urban design (which makes it easier to commit crime or more difficult to react to it).[27]

These risk factors used to explain the presence of current widespread crime in South Africa are not endemic cultural legacies of native African peoples. The beginning of widespread criminality in South Africa can be correlated with the onset of rapid industrialization. In a particular instance, due to the great influx of workers in Johannesburg, many were left without suitable housing and had to live in deplorable conditions. The cause for the insurgent population was precipitated by changing economic conditions which forced increasingly impoverished Africans off of their reserves. [28] In order to deal with the raucous transitioning population, a series of rules and regulations known as "Pass Laws" came into effect. The multiplication of rules was thought to have been a foresight at the time. However, as it came to be, the police no longer protected the whole of the population but rather acted in the interest of protecting only the influential minority. In pursuance of this protection the police were left with few options other the implementation of stricter and stricter controls.[29] Henri Phillipe Junod, a chaplain at the time, gives a first-hand account of the "Pass Laws" during 1931,

> Because of the rules and regulations imposed on the African population especially in towns, people come into contact with the law at every turn. Breaches of the law are frequent; when a number of passes have to be carried it is easy to forget to carry them all and there is always the possibility of being stopped and asked to show a pass. If it is not shown the individual has committed an offense because it is against the law to be out and about without a pass. . . . . To see an enormous number of the people coming into the prisons for petty "offenses" was an agonizing sight to one who had given the greater part of his life to the Africans.[30]

Junod condemns the penal system in South Africa and later helped to establish The Penal Reform League of South Africa in 1946 in an attempt to solve the problem of over-crowded prisons. Junod decided to dedicate his entire life to the promotion of penal reform but even he lamented in 1951 over the enormous difficulties that lay ahead, "Penal reform is always a second best and even in highly civilized countries the fight for an intelligent approach to the problem of crime is difficult"[31] A fellow reformer at the time was Clifton

Roberts who claimed in his assessment of British penal code in Africa, "..has framed her laws before her policy.." and further claimed that this direction would spell disaster if it was not altered. He suggested the following considerations for reform in 1933,

(I) The laws must be so framed as to secure the protection and progress of all sections of the community.

(2) In the eyes of the law all sections are entitled to complete equity in respect of benefits and responsibilities.

(3) Criminal codes must be framed with due regard to the social consciousness of the community to which they apply.

(4) All penal systems should predominate in constructive tendencies over retributive.

(5) The aim of penal and legislative codes should be readily understood by the community to which they are made to apply.[32]

Although the necessary changes for reduction of crime seemed apparent to the British penal reformers at the time – their suggestions went largely unheeded by the established political order. The British penchant for punishment first and prevention later is a defining characteristic of British law. As evidenced throughout this article, it has been established that the British legacy of law and order has often failed to prevent the growth of crime by method of violent reprisals and provides an inadequate system in which to deal with developing societies. The punishment seldom reflects the crime because in most cases the punishment is a much worse offense than the original crime committed. The British system of law and order places an emphasis on prevention through a zealous over-application of punishment. This system however does little to offer a criminal any opportunity but only instills within him or her a hardened resolve against reform.

The evidence towards this conclusion is abundant not only in a historical perspective but also through current quantified measures of crime in contemporary societies. The continued violence within former British Africa is a tribute to failed colonial policy that was adopted from the failed policies of Britain. These laws proved themselves to be merely reactionary measures that attempted to deal with an already manifested criminal problem but paid prevention little mind. Root causes of widespread and growing amounts of crime were left unaddressed, such as transitions between rural and urban lifestyles or ethnic divisions. The laws may have well done more to incense the problems rather than prevent them. The unequal application of law among the constituent peoples of South Africa led to increased racial conflict – aggravating the very situation that the laws had sought to re-mediate.

In the future, it would be prudent upon ourselves to reconsider the nature of crime and punishment. The increasingly materialistic world has become malleable to the whims of humanity and all aspects of life can be refined to suit our tastes. Should not the darkest aspect of humanity itself also be severely scrutinized? A failure to stymie the flood of crime means that appropriate alternatives to a criminal life had not been supplied. Certainly, by locking away a youthful portion of the population we are compounding energy and malcontent which will inevitably manifest elsewhere. A pro-active approach to crime reduction would check prison population growth and redirect youthful energy towards more productive outlets that would benefit the general population in

general. As Cesare Beccaria advised us in 1764, "It is better to prevent crimes than it is to punish them."[33]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Engels, Friedrich, *The Position of the Working Class in England*, London: George Allen & Unwin LTD, 1892

Lugard, Frederick, *The Dual Mandate in British Topical Africa*, London: Routledge, 1965

Maconochie, Alexander, *Crime and Punishment: The Mark System* London: Hatchard & Son, 1846

Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels, *Sobranie Sochineniia* Vol. 5: Sardis, 1987

Ullathorpe, W.P. *Memoirs of Bishop Wilson*, 1887

Secondary Sources

Anderson, David, "Corporal Punishment and the Raw Native: Social Attitudes and Legal Action in Colonial Kenya."

Attenborough F.L. *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, Cambridge: University Press, 1922

Barry, John, *Alexander Maconochie of Norfolk Island*, London: Oxford Press, 1958

Cairns, H.A.C, *Prelude to Imperialism: British Reactions to Central African Society*, London: Routledge, 1965

Coulton G.G., *Medieval Panorama Cambridge*: University Press, 1947

Giddens, Anthony, *Capitalism and the Modern Social Theory*, Cambridge: University Press, 1973

Hibbert, Christopher, *The Roots of Evil*. Kansas: Minerva Press, 1963

Hinde, R.S.E, *The British Penal System 1773-1950*, London: Duckworth, 1951

Junod, Henri, "Penal Reform in South Africa." *African Affairs*, Vol.50, No.198, 1951

Lange, J. *Verbrachen als schiksal*, N.P 1929

Louw, Antoinette, "Crime and Perceptions After a Decade of Democracy." *Social Indicators Research*, Vol. 81, No.2, 2007

MacKinnon Sir Frank, *Grand Larceny*, Routledge: Thoemmes Press, 1937

Pike, Luke *A History of Crime in England*, London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1876

Roberts C. Clifton "African Natives Under the English System of Penal Law" J*ournal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, Third Series, Vol.15, No.4, 1933

ENDNOTES

1 Christopher Hibbert, *The Roots of Evil* (Kansas: Minerva Press, 1963) pp. 3

2 F.L Attenborough *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge: University Press, 1922) pp. 9-13.

3 Ibid, pp. 75

4 Ibid, pp. 39

5 Luke Pike, *A History of Crime in England* (London:Smith,Elder,&tCo,1876) pp. 111

6 Ibid, pp. 414

7 G.G Coulton, *Medieval Panorama* (Cambridge: University Press,1947), pp.82

8 Sir Frank MacKinnon, *Grand Larceny* (Routledge:Thoemmes Press,1937), pp. 39

9 Sir Samuel made this declaration in the English House of Commons in 1831, referring to a bill to cease disembowelment for crimes of high treason

10 33 Geo. II, c.30 1759

11 Friedrich Engels, *The Position of the Working Class in England* (London:George Allen & Unwin LTD,1892) pp. 167-68

12 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Sobranie Sochineniia*, Vol. 5, pp. 33

13 Anthony Giddens, *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1973) pp. 71-72

14 H. A. C. Cairns, Prelude to Imperialism: British Reactions to Central African Society I840-1890 (London:Routledge,1965), pp. 41

15 David Anderson, 'Corporal punishment and the "raw native": social attitudes and legal action in colonial Kenya, I895-I932' (paper given to the African History Seminar, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, I99I)

16 Frederick Lugard *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (London: Routledge: 1965) pp. 12

17 *Order Book*, Westminster Sessions (1721) quoted by M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the 18th Century* (L.S.E 1951) pp. 42

18 4 Geo. I, c.11 1717

19 Hibbert, The Roots of Evil, pp. 145

20 Hinde, R.S.E, *The British Penal System 1773-1950* (London:Duckworth,1951) pp. 31

21 Alexander Maconochie, *Crime and Punishment:The Mark System (*London:Hatchard&Son,1846) pp. 75

22 John Vincent Barry, *Alexander Maconochie of Norfolk Island* (London: Oxford Press,1958) pp. 75

23 W.P. Ullathorpe, *Memoirs of Bishop Willson* (1887) pp. 135-141

24 J. Lange, Verbrachen als schiksal (1929).

25 Hibbert, *The Roots of Evil,* pp. 225 Adolph Prins quoted.

26 Antoinette Louw, "Crime and Perceptions After a Decade of Democracy" *Social Indicators Research*, Vol. 81, No. 2 (April 2007), pp. 236

27 ICPC: 1997, Crime Prevention Digest (International Centre for the Prevention of Crime, Montreal)

28 Henri Philippe Junod, "Penal Reform in South Africa," *African Affairs*, Vol. 50, No. 198 (Jan., 1951), pp. 35

29 Ibid pp. 35

30 Ibid pp. 37

31 Ibid pp. 39

32 C. Clifton Roberts, "*African Natives under the English System of Penal Law"Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, Third Series, Vol. 15, No. 4 (1933), pp. 173

33 Hibbert, *The Roots of Evil,* pp. 451, Cesar Beccaria quoted.

Chinese Foreign Relations: Economic Imperialism in Imperial and Modern China

Anthony Baker

In the year 81 BCE, the Han Emperor issued an Imperial decree ordering the Chancellor to hold a series of debates over the recent issues of the Chinese government's interference in the economy by starting up a series of monopolies over iron and salt. These debates where between the government ministers on one side arguing for the practical need for revenue and the Confucian scholars on the other hand stating that it is immoral for the government to interfere on grounds that it will lead to selfishness[1]. In the long run the Chinese people have sided with the minsters and today the People's Republic of China controls its economy unlike any other country on Earth.

Government involvement with the economy goes back to the early Zhou Kings with the well-field system[2], but Chinese economic Imperialism got its major start under the Han Emperor Wu Di, the Martial Emperor[3]. When Emperor Wu Di came to the throne in 141 BCE he faced a problem that plagued his predecessors- How to deal with the Xiongnu. It had been Han policy to pay tribute to the Xiongnu since the Emperor Gao Di's defeat in 200 BCE. However in 134 BCE, Wu Di started his war against the Xiongnu[4]. After the Empress Lu lowered the land tax to 6.67% and then Emperor Wen Di lowered it to 3.33% the state was in dire need for both revenue and allies to fight the Enemy[5,6]. Both of Han Wu Di's solutions, the introduction of iron and salt monopolies and aggressive expansion, would form the backbone of Chinese foreign economic policy for the next two thousand years.

In regard to revenue Wu Di would set up a complex method for the government's control of the economy. Emperor Wu Di created a system where goods could be brought in from all over the empire to be sold in the markets; this was called the "Equable Marking System."[7] Besides creating a market for these goods by making them available to the urban population the government also bought these goods at lower prices then they sold them, creating revenue for the state. They also set up a monopoly on salt and iron, as mentioned at the beginning of this essay. This was set up so that the government would have the sole right to mine for salt and iron. This policy created so much revenue and became so successful that the monopolies expanded in 115 BCE from two to four monopoles, adding copper and bronze and, later still, wine. These monopolies were even staffed with convict labor to maximize profit.[8]

In 139 BCE the Han Emperor Wu Di sent Zhang Qian westward[9] to seek out allies to help them fight the Xiongnu. After being taken prisoner by the Xiongnu and released Zhang Qian was finally allowed to return in 126 BCE[10]. Although his mission was a failure, in that he was not able to secure any allies for the Han Empire, he was able to bring back a wealth of knowledge about Persia, Bactria, and even rumors of the "Great Qin" of the west- the Roman Empire[11].

With this knowledge also came the realization that there were vast markets that had a great desire for Chinese goods in the central Asia steppes and beyond to the reaches of Europe.

After a series of massive campaigns by the Chinese armies Emperor Wu Di was able to push back the Xiongnu and gain access to these vast markets and territories. The Chinese sent between 700,000[12] and 1 million colonists[13] to settle the vast regions of the central steppes the Chinese were able to take from the Xiongnu. With this conquest came further campaigns, the conquest of Ferghana in 101 and Turfan in 90 BCE[14], to secure the trade routes of the central steppes and to supply these vast markets with Chinese goods. The conquest of Ferghana was a prize for the Han court because it secured the supply of horses for the Han Empire.[15]

These trade routes would form the backbone of east-west trade for the next fifteen-centuries. Although this road would later be called the Silk Road, the Han Empire was exporting various goods besides silk to these vast markets such as iron works, lacquer, and bronze works.[16] The Han were also importing various goods such as wines, oils, jewelry, and as mentioned before- horses[17]. These trade routes were highly desired by the Chinese for the wealth of goods they brought in and the wealth they gave to the Han court in import duties. Two great examples demonstrate this: first, the conquest of Ferghana was the most expansive campaign ever undertaken by the Han Empire in its four centuries of the empire's existence; and second, these regions in modern Xinjiang province would be lost with the fall of the western Han in 9 AD,[18] but they would be taken back in the Tang Dynasty in the 630's[19]. These regions provided the Chinese empires with vast resources, some coming to the Han government in the form of tribute,[20] but much of it coming in at the ground level and flooding the markets of Chang'an as horses, oils and jewelry[21].

Looking back we can see that the Early Chinese empires used a policy of economic growth to further their political goals. With the defeat of the Xiongnu there was a series of economic opportunities in having access to these markets and the Chinese emperors could have focused on supplying these markets, but instead they went for further expansion into central Asia to further their political power in this region. This policy of expansion to establish political suzerainty over its neighbors would continue to be part of the imperial policy until the Ming Dynasty, when the Founder Zhu Yuanzhang set China down a different course.

After over a hundred years of Mongol rule and over a decade of civil war, China started to look inwards. During his reign, the first Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, Hongwu, had set down a series imperial edicts to secure his empire that he expected his successors to follow, such as forbidding Chinese merchants from foreign trade[22] and forbidding his successors from invading numerous foreign nations[23]. Despite this inward looking nature of the new Chinese empire, the third Emperor of the Ming dynasty- Zhu Di- commonly known as the Yongle Emperor, would launch a series of voyages that would reach the coast of Africa, causing China to expand its horizons to unprecedented heights.

Now we come to a form of economic imperialism that is much more advanced, such as a stable bureaucracy, than the system under Han Wu Di. By the time of the Ming Dynasty, China's tribute system was already centuries old with all of its rituals and ceremony fully flushed out. The tribute system is very simply.

China, the center of all under heaven, would have different nations submit and pay tribute to the emperor. This tribute would take many forms, but it could be pearls, horses and even Korean women, whom the Yongle Emperor had a great love for and even got twenty-eight of whom he had serve his heirs[24].

Tribute took two forms. "Official tribute" would go straight to the Ming court, but in return for submission, those nations paying tribute could also bring "cargo" of which 60% was sold to the Ming court and the remainder of which be sold to the local merchants in the maritime superintendence's such as the ones in Ningbo, Quanzhou, and Guangzhou, these ports where the centers where tributary states where instructed to bring the tribute[25]. For the countries who submitted to the Ming court these missions could be very valuable and often they could earn five or six times the amount they presented at the Ming court[26]. These tribute missions were only allowed if permission was given by the Ming court. The gifts given by the Ming court and the profit to be gained, many countries fought for the right to send tribute. In the case of Japan, many rivaling Daimyos fought for these rights, so much so that the Ming court increased their right to send tribute from once every ten years to once every year[27]. The Koreans had a great relationship with the Ming and were allowed to send five tribute missions every year and were even allowed to send their royal heirs to live and learn at the Ming court.

In 1405, the Yongle Emperor ordered a series of voyages that sent a Chinese fleet to over thirty countries. The man chosen to lead these voyages was named Zheng He. In 1371, Zheng He was born Ma He in Yunnan province. He would become a eunuch in 1382 at the age of eleven when Yunnan was finally conquered by the Ming Dynasty[28]. He was then sent to the household of Zhu Di where he would serve the young prince. In time the future Yongle Emperor would come to trust the eunuch and when he appointed him admiral of the 27,000 man fleet in 1405 they were friends of over twenty years. The size and scope of these voyages were massive, having over 27,000 men and 255 vessels. To prepare for these voyages the Ming Empire built 2,149 ships between 1403 and 1419, with a navy of 1,350 combat vessels in 1420[29] the largest of these ships being the treasure ships[30]. These treasure ships were 440 feet long, 180 feet wide and 18 feet tall[31]. These treasure ships were considerably larger than Columbus's capital ship, the Santa Maria, whose length was only 80 feet[32]. One can further compare the sizes of Columbus' fleet of four ships to Zheng He's 255, 62 of which would have been treasure ships with a cargo capacity of 2,200 metric tons, compared to the *Santa Maria's* 250 metric tons[33]. The size and scope of these voyages shows us that the Yongle Emperor was focused on expanding China's tribute system to as many nations as possible, and taking advantage of the world's desire for Chinese goods he required countries to submit politely in order to trade and have access to Chinese markets and goods.

The main purpose of these voyages was to demonstrate the power of the Ming Empire and the Ming Emperor, Yongle, in the hopes of pulling these nations into the Chinese sphere of influence. These voyages, which lasted from 1405-1433, would travel the South China Sea, the India Ocean, and reach the horn of Africa[34]. With the death of the Yongle Emperor these voyages lost their major patron and of the seven voyages only one happened after his death. The Yongle Emperor used a highly bureaucratic and imperial form of tribute to expand the trade and political submission of his neighbors. In the 276 years

of the Ming Empire only during these few years did the Ming truly look out and explore their empire's international possibilities.

"I often perceived the ground to be hollow under a vast superstructure."[35] This is how Lord Macartney, a British diplomat to the Qing court, described the Manchu Qing dynasty after his failed mission in 1793. This belief was common as Europeans came into contact with the Chinese in the centuries following the 1500s. Views such as Lord McCartney's lead many western onlookers to believe that China was ripe for conquering by western powers, and many even believed the Chinese could have been conquered by the Russian Empire[36]. This is not the course history took. To understand the modern Chinese view we must look at the how the Chinese people were treated by the European powers during the declining years of the Qing Dynasty, 1800-1912.

During the final years of the Qianlong Emperor's reign revolts in the provinces started to become more frequent, with the most serious being the White Lotus Rebellion (1796-1804). This was the hollow ground beneath the superstructure Lord Macartney spoke about. These cracks in the imperial system were just starting however. The last century of imperial China would see the largest and deadliest civil war ever, the Taiping Rebellion[37]. This hollow ground would lead to China's economic and political subjection to the western powers.

The balance of power in Asia turned from 1793-1842. When Lord Macartney arrived in China in 1793, many Chinese saw it as a tribute mission from the British Empire[38], but by the end of the First Opium War in 1842, China had to pay a massive war indemnity and various other concessions. By 1900 the Qing Empire was divided into spheres of influence. Spheres of influence were areas inside a country where another country has exclusive trading rights, enabling them to import and export with little to no duties on the goods. The Qing Empire ceded spheres of influence to Russia, Britain, Japan, Germany, and France[39]. These various nations gained these spheres of influence after various wars with the Qing Empire, such as the Opium War and the Sino-Japanese War[40].

By 1900, the former imperial power had fallen victim to imperialism. In 1900 The United States fearing their exclusion from the Chinese markets proposed the Open Door Policy, which would allow all nations despite their sphere of influence access to the vast Chinese market. A New York newspaper highlighted The United States interest in this Open Door Policy: "There are 400,000,000 active stomachs in China, and each cries for food three times a day"[41] The United States had 400 million acres of crops, compared to China's 250 million acres[42]. China was no longer in charge of its own future and when the various nations finally agreed on the Open Door Policy, the Qing Government never took part in the negotiations[43]. This is the height of international interference in the Qing economy and the Chinese economy was no longer in the hands of the Qing government.

It was this imperialism that would shape the new philosophies that would take hold in China. With the fall of the Qing Empire after the Xinhai revolution in 1911 the Chinese government would adopt Nationalist and Communist philosophies. After a series of civil wars this would lead to the establishment of the People's Republic of China on the first of October in 1949 under the leadership of Mao Zedong. For the next three decades China would be closed off to the west until full diplomatic relations were established in January 1979[44].

By then, Mao Zedong had been dead for three years and China was opening up to the world under the new leadership of Deng Xiaoping. China started opening up special economic zones, where foreign investors could invest their assets into Chinese business, and the country began moving towards a market-oriented socialist system, wherein the government would allow competition among government and some private companies[45]. Over the next thirty years China's economy would explode. In 2007, it was 14 times larger than it had been in 1979, growing on average 9.8 percent from 1979-2007.[46]

"We are the Communist party and we will decide what communism means"[47]. This quote is from a member of the China Development Bank, Chen Yuan, when ask how he could reconcile a communist government taking part in capitalist methods and markets. Although this may seem odd, China's new long term plans may be even odder. Now that China's economy is back on track, China now has the ability to push the Middle Kingdom to its former glory on the world stage and this opportunity hasn't been lost on China's leadership. Although China is now opening to the west, the Communist party is not planning on losing its political control of the economy. Every state owned company in China, and there are 60,000 of them[48], has a party committee which plays a key role to decision making for the company working parallel with the company's board. They don't run the company day to day, but they make sure that the company plays, not only by the government rules, but also by the Party's[49]. This is the new form of economic imperialism that China has undertaken in the new and modern world. The party now has a vested interest in the development, growth, and success of over 60,000 state companies.

To highlight this we must look at the Rio-Tinto case. In 2007, BHP-Billiton, a British based company and the largest mining company in the world, started its campaign to takeover Rio-Tinto, an Australian rival. The Chinese government saw this as a threat as its demand for iron has soared in the last few years. The Chinese government in secret starting taking bids and seeing who among its domestic companies had the ability to halt this massive takeover of the Rio-Tinto. The winner was Chinalco, and being 100 percent state owned it now had 100 percent of the government's support.[50] It was state-owned, this allowed for fast decision making by the Chinese government. Chinalco put an investment of 14 billion dollars in Rio-Tinto in order to stop this merger, which at 147 billion dollars would have been the second largest merger in history. Although Chinalco had a problem in that it only had 4 billion dollars of its 14 billion dollar investment. The State-Council, or Cabinet, voted on and approved financing for Chinalco, allowing it to invest a further 19.3 billion in Rio-Tinto. All of this funding came directly from China Development Bank, and without its approval the State-Council just ordered its central bank to back a state owned company[51].

The Chinese government's goal of stopping the BHP-Billiton and the Rio-Tinto merger was a success, and none of it could have been possible without the financing of the Chinese government. Chinalco gained 34 billion dollars' worth of Rio-Tinto, when it only had 4 billion on hand. This control of Chinese companies by the government and the Chinese Communist party is near absolute, even extending to the hiring and firing of the CEOs of some of China's top companies[52].

The next form of economic imperialism, which may for some seem very

subtle, is the control of China's currency, the Yuan, by the Chinese government. Instead of having a floating currency like other advanced economies in the west China controls there currency and it is often deemed undervalued by other countries, by 15-40%[53]. This undervaluing of the Yuan, Chinese imports can enter America very cheaply compared to its rivals, forcing Chinese instead of American goods to be purchased because of their cheaper price.

China is a massive trading nation, exporting 2.175 trillion dollars' worth of exports every year. This has led to massive trading deficits with most of China's trading partners, most notably the USA. The United States has a trading deficit of 800 billion dollars, 266 billion of which is with China[54], whereas the Chinese economy had a trade surplus with the rest of the world at around 300 billion dollars in 2008. This healthy trade outlook has allowed The Chinese to accumulate a massive foreign exchange reserve of 3.2 trillion dollars, higher than any other country on earth[55].

As recently as the 19th of November 2011, President Barack Obama and Premier Wen Jiabao sat down for a talk about the value of the Yuan and other currency related issues[56]. These issues are currently the most important issues when discussing our relations with the People's Republic of China, and will be in the years and decades to come. The policies that the People's Republic of China are undertaking are only the beginning of a new modern form of Chinese economic imperialism, which if the Chinese Communist Party gets its way will expand the power of the People's Republic of China onto the world stage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Secondary Sources

Paludan, Ann. Chronicle of the Chinese Emperors: The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Rulers of Imperial China. Thames & Hudson, 2009.

Ebrey, Patricia. Chinese Civilization: A source book. New York, New York: Free Press, 1993.

Ebrey, Patricia. The Cambridge Illustrated History of China. Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Hansen, Valerie. The Open Empire: The History of China to 1600. W. W. Norton & Company, 2000.

Lewis, Mark. The Early Chinese Empire: Qin and Han. Belknap Press of Harvard University Pres , 2010.

Lewis, Mark. China between Empires: The Northern and Southern Dynasties. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009.

Judge, Edward, and Langdon, John. Connections: A World History. Prentice Hall, 2008.

Dardess, John. Governing China: 150-1850. Hackett Publishing Company, 2010.

Dreyer, Edward. Zheng He: China and the Oceans in the Early Ming Dynasty, 1405-1433. Longman, 2006.

Tsai, Shih-shan Henry . Perpetual Happiness. University of Washington Press , 2010.

Elliott, Mark. Emperor Qianlong: Son of Heaven, Man of the World. Longman, 2009

O'Donnell, Edward, Cornell, Saul, and Keene, Jennifer. Visions of America: A History of the United States, Combined Volume. Prentice Hall, 2009.

Lueng, Edward Pak-wah. Essentials of Modern Chinese History: 1800 to the Present. Research and Education Association, 2006.

Mungello, David. The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500-1800. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009.

Kennedy, Paul. The Rise and fall of the Great Powers. Vintage, 1989.

Judge, Edward, Langdon, John. Connections: A World History. Vango books. 2009

Sutter, Robert. US-Chinese Relations: Perilous past, Pragmatic present, Rowman & Littlefield, New York, New York. 2010

Mcgregor, Richard. The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers. Harper, 2010.

The People's Bank of China. 2011. Web. <http://www.pbc.gov.cn/publish/html/2011s09.htm>.

Jackson, David. "Obama has private meeting with Chinese premier." USA Today. n. page. Web. 20 Nov. 2011. <http://content.usatoday.com/communities/theoval/post/2011/11/obama-has-private-meeting-with-china/1>.

ENDNOTES

1 Ebrey, Patricia. Chinese Civilization: A source book. New York, New York: Free Press, 1993, pp. 60-63

2 Hansen, Valerie. The Open Empire: The History of China to 1600. W. W. Norton & Company, 2000, pp. 91

3 Paludan, Ann. Chronicle of the Chinese Emperors: The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Rulers of Imperial China. Thames & Hudson, 2009, pp. 36

4 Lewis, Mark. The Early Chinese Empire: Qin and Han. Belknap Press of Harvard University Pres , 2010, pp. 132-136

5 Hansen, Valerie. The Open Empire: The History of China to 1600. W. W. Norton & Company, 2000, pp. 130

6 Paludan, Ann. Chronicle of the Chinese Emperors: The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Rulers of Imperial China. Thames & Hudson, 2009, pp. 36

7 Ebrey, Patricia. Chinese Civilization: A source book. New York, New York: Free Press, 1993, pp. 60-63

8 Hansen, Valerie. The Open Empire: The History of China to 1600. W. W. Norton & Company, 2000, pp. 130

9 Paludan, Ann. Chronicle of the Chinese Emperors: The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Rulers of Imperial China. Thames & Hudson, 2009, pp. 38

10 Judge, Edward and Langdon, John. Connections: A World History. Prentice Hall, 2008, pp. 101-104

11 Lewis, Mark. The Early Chinese Empire: Qin and Han. Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2010, pp. 143

12 Paludan, Ann. Chronicle of the Chinese Emperors: The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Rulers of Imperial China. Thames & Hudson, 2009, pp. 38

13 Ebrey, Patricia. The Cambridge Illustrated History of China. Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 69

14 Lewis, Mark. The Early Chinese Empire: Qin and Han. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010, pp. 268

15 Ibid, pp. 143

16 Hansen, Valerie. The Open Empire: The History of China to 1600. W. W. Norton & Company, 2000, pp. 128

17 Judge, Edward, and Langdon, John. Connections: A World History. Prentice

Hall, 2008, pp. 101-104

18 Lewis, Mark. The Early Chinese Empire: Qin and Han. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010, pp. 145

19 Dardess, John. Governing China: 150-1850. Hackett Publishing Company, 2010, pp. 27

20 Lewis, Mark. The Early Chinese Empire: Qin and Han. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010, pp. 145

21 Judge, Edward, and Langdon, John. Connections: A World History. Prentice Hall, 2008, pp. 101-104

22 Dreyer, Edward. Zheng He: China and the Oceans in the Early Ming Dynasty, 1405-1433. Longman, 2006, pp. 3

23 Ibid, pp. 16

24 Tsai, Shih-shan Henry. Perpetual Happiness. University of Washington Press, 2010, pp. 123-124, 193

25 Ibid, pp. 193

26 Ibid, pp. 193

27 Ibid, pp. 194

28 Dreyer, Edward. Zheng He: China and the Oceans in the Early Ming Dynasty, 1405-1433. Longman, 2006, pp. 10-12

29 Kennedy, Paul. The Rise and fall of the Great Powers. Vintage, 1989, pp. 6

30 Tsai, Shih-shan Henry. Perpetual Happiness. University of Washington Press, 2010, pp. 201

31 Dreyer, Edward. Zheng He: China and the Oceans in the Early Ming Dynasty, 1405-1433. Longman, 2006, pp. 103

32 Hansen, Valerie. The Open Empire: The History of China to 1600. W. W. Norton & Company, 2000, pp. 378

33 Ibid, pp. 381

34 Dreyer, Edward. Zheng He: China and the Oceans in the Early Ming Dynasty, 1405-1433. Longman, 2006, pp. 36

35 Dardess, John. Governing China: 150-1850. Hackett Publishing Company, 2010, pp. 102

36 Ibid

37 Elliott, Mark. Emperor Qianlong: Son of Heaven, Man of the World. Longman, 2009, pp. 158-162

38 Mungello, David. The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500-1800. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009, pp. 141

39 O'Donnell, Edward, Cornell, Saul, and Keene, Jennifer. Visions of America: A History of the United States, Combined Volume. Prentice Hall, 2009, pp. 579-581

40 Lueng, Edward Pak-wah. Essentials of Modern Chinese History: 1800 to the Present. Research and Education Association, 2006, pp. 7-14, 31-38

41 O'Donnell, Edward, Cornell, Saul, and Keene, Jennifer. Visions of America: A History of the United States, Combined Volume. Prentice Hall, 2009, pp. 579

42 Kennedy, Paul. The Rise and fall of the Great Powers. Vintage, 1989, pp. 542

43 O'Donnell, Edward, Cornell, Saul, and Keene, Jennifer. Visions of America: A History of the United States, Combined Volume. Prentice Hall, 2009, pp. 579

44 Judge, Edward and Langdon, John. Connections: A World History. Vango books. 2009, pp. 924

45 Lueng, Edward Pak-wah. Essentials of Modern Chinese History: 1800 to the Present. Research and Education Association, 2006, pp. 132-140

46 Sutter, Robert. US-Chinese Relations: Perilous past, Pragmatic present, Rowman & Littlefield, New York, New York. 2010, pp. 193

47 Mcgregor, Richard. The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers. Harper, 2010, pp. 34

48 Lueng, Edward Pak-wah. Essentials of Modern Chinese History: 1800 to the

Present. Research and Education Association, 2006, pp. 155

49 Mcgregor, Richard. The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers. Harper, 2010, pp. 22

50 Ibid, pp. 57-59

51 Ibid

52 Ibid, pp. 84

53 Sutter, Robert. US-Chinese Relations: Perilous past, Pragmatic present, Rowman & Littlefield, New York, New York. 2010, pp. 204

54 Ibid, pp. 194

55 The People's Bank of China. 2011. Web. <http://www.pbc.gov.cn/publish/html/2011s09.htm>.

56 Jackson, David. "Obama has private meeting with Chinese premier." USA Today, Web. 20 Nov. 2011. <http://content.usatoday.com/communities/theoval/post/2011/11/obama-has-private-meeting-with-china/1>.

Christianity and Education in Kentucky

Teri Horsley

The issue regarding separation of church and state, particularly in the arena of public education has long been a hot topic for debate. As early as the nineteenth century, battles erupted in various parts of the country about whether Bible reading and prayer were acceptable in school. Today, the dialogue rages on about what is appropriate for the classroom.[1] Americans who believe in a strict interpretation of the United States Constitution have long spoken out against the establishment of a national religion, yet at the beginning, most early schools used the Christian Bible in their curriculum. As the battle over the issue heated up on the national front, it became clear that religion might not have a permanent home in our nation's public schools. In Kentucky however, that was not the case. As the state's early fathers worked to establish a public school system, the boundary between education and religion was often blurred or even nonexistent. Citizens who did not want to send their kids to school because they needed them to work at home usually had no problem with them learning to read from the Bible. As a result, the scriptures remained the focal point in Kentucky's early schools, and Christianity provided the doctrine that eventually allowed a strong public education system to be born.

The first attempt at creating an educational system in Kentucky can be traced back before the adoption of the United States Constitution and even before its own statehood. As early as 1776, Jane Coomes taught a *Dame School* in Harrodsburg, which was a small, private, British style school that provided education for poorer children who were too young to work.[2] Attempts were made shortly thereafter to implement schools at other stations on the frontier.[3] Though this initial desire for an education came early, little progress was made due to a lack of books and equipment, poorly paid teachers, and the housing of the schools in log cabins.[4] Though they were vague, the ties between Christianity and learning were present, as some early private academies were owned and run by ministers who needed a second income.[5] The Bible was also one of the few books used for instruction in the Dame Schools, so the faith connection to education was established at the beginning.[6] What is also clear, is that with the first recorded worship service being held in Boonesborough in 1775 and the Coomes School coming just a year later, the importance that many citizens placed on faith grew simultaneously with the need for public education. As a result, it was inevitable that the two would eventually connect in the public classroom.[7]

Despite these early attempts at creating some sort of educational program, it took quite a while for the government to get involved. Even as statehood was achieved, and the 1792 state Constitution was adopted, there was no mention of education in its language.[8] The document focused on organizing state government in a fashion similar to that of the United States, yet issues

like education and religious freedom in the schools were left for future General Assemblies to consider.[9] It wasn't until 1794, when some citizens started demanding better schools, that the General Assembly addressed the lack of a cohesive school system and charted the Kentucky Academy at Pisgah.[10] After the academy's charter, other counties wanted to have schools of their own, and each tried to have at least one within its borders. The state legislature then gave land grants of 6000 acres so the schools could be built, but the land quality was poor, so most didn't last.[11] The exception was Salem Academy in Bardstown, which appeared to be the first *public* school that had a firm connection to Christianity, and it seems that connection played a significant role in its success. The academy was under the charge of principal James Priestly, a Presbyterian minister, and it flourished in part because of his commitment to a devout set of standards for his students. He was also highly regarded within the Bardstown community as a man of faith that was a force to be reckoned with.[12] One story about Priestly's demeanor may explain how his strict religious roots ensured success at the school.

> On one occasion, several students began to riot over some minor grievance on the Academy lawn. Dr. Priestley, arrayed in academic cap and gown, went out into the yard and confronted the rioters, his face rigid and grim, his eyes blazing. The boys looked at him for a moment, *and then fully sobered; they scampered for their rooms and their Latin books.*[13]

This early account of Priestley begins to confirm the importance that early Kentuckians obviously placed on a strict interpretation of Christian values, and how they demanded those values be present in the lives of their public school administrators.

In spite of these early attempts at addressing the need for public schools, and the growing connection between faith and learning, Kentucky still didn't have a strong educational framework until the early nineteenth century. With poorer people thinking that education was a luxury and that children were born to work, and some still objecting to governmental support fearing that the cost of public schools would be too great it took a while to formalize the public education system. Gabriel Slaughter was the first Kentucky governor who made a real effort to establish it by addressing some of the citizens' concerns in the area of funding. He told the legislature in 1816, that since children belonged to the state, the state should be required to educate them, when the parents were unable to do so.[14] It should be noted that, concurrent with his political career, Slaughter took a leading role in the affairs of his church. He was affiliated with the Baptist congregation at Shawnee Run, and had helped found the Kentucky Bible society before his term as governor.[15] After Slaughter left politics, he became an active lay minister of the Baptist faith.[16] Once again, we see the connection between Christianity and education in Kentucky, a connection that obviously ran deep and at times as far up as the statehouse, and was not affected by what many considered to be the separatist language of the United States Constitution.

After Governor Slaughter left office, the attempt to implement a strong public system in Kentucky once again lost momentum. In 1821, the state legislature created a commission headed up by Governor John Adair's Lieutenant Governor William T. Barry and Secretary of State John Pope to gather information

about public school districts in other states. While their report generated enthusiasm on the national level, their recommendation for a system that encompassed elementary schools through a strong state university generated no enthusiasm at home.[17] In 1829, another study was ordered during the administration of Governor Thomas Metcalfe, and headed up by Transylvania University president Thomas Alva Wood and a professor at the school, Benjamin O. Peers. Again, their recommendations failed and it took until 1830 for the state legislature to authorize county courts to establish school districts and levy taxes to support them.[18] Interestingly enough, Governor Adair, Barry, Pope, and Governor Metcalfe did not seem to have the strong public ties to the faith that Governor Slaughter had. While Adair's administration was fraught with several financial crises[19] and Metcalfe was more concerned with developing a sound transportation system,[20] it seems highly likely that a greater commitment to the religion of the citizenry would have helped all of those involved instill a stronger desire for state sponsored education. It wasn't until 1847, when Governor William Owsley appointed the Reverend Robert J. Breckenridge as superintendent of public instruction, that school enrollment began to increase. At the time of his election, only one out of ten Kentucky children attended school.[21] On behalf of Reverend Breckinridge, who was also the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Lexington,[22] Owsley urged the General Assembly to increase funding for public education.[23] By the end of his administration, the state education budget went from $6,000 to $144,000 and over 20,500 students were enrolled in school, which was a five-fold increase over where it had been.[24] Breckenridge meanwhile became known as the father of public education in Kentucky and enjoyed support from five of the six governors under which he served. As an administrator, he favored parental selection of textbooks in school, and believed the Christian Bible should be used as the primary reading source.[25] With Reverend Breckenridge and his Christian belief system at the helm, progress continued for public education in the state, until it was inevitably disrupted by the Civil War.[26]

Other schools, with more specific curriculums were also founded in Kentucky during the nineteenth century, and most of the successful ones also had strong public ties to Christianity, either through their administrators or curriculum. By the 1825 Treaty of Washington, the Choctaw Indians were given money to educate their youth, and the Choctaw Academy in Scott County was administered by the Baptist Church.[27] In December 1822, the legislature established an asylum for the Deaf and Dumb at Dansville, and the school's Catalogue of Classes included an overview of how it would be run. There were mentions of daily exercises being opened and closed with scripture reading and prayer in sign language, the availability of two worship services on Sunday, and the mention of a library that had over 600 volumes, including writings on morality and religion. In a direct quote from the catalogue, the administrators of the school said of their primary goal, "To enable them to read the Bible is the leading object of our efforts."[28] Obviously a focus on developing the student's Christian faith was just as important to the school administration as teaching them communication skills through sign language.

In regards to the establishment of colleges and universities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the commitment to Christianity was just as strong. In 1780 and 1783, the Virginia legislature chartered a public

school or Seminary of Learning in the District of Kentucky and gave it twenty thousand acres of land.[29] The trustees started a grammar school in 1785, and moved it to Lexington in 1789.[30] In 1799, the school was combined with the Kentucky Academy which was a Presbyterian school and it was then renamed and became Transylvania University.[31] Transylvania was dominated by the Presbyterians from 1802 until 1818, when Unitarian Horace Hollan became president. While the school flourished under his leadership, the Presbyterians accused him of immorality,[32] and after years of battle Hollan resigned in 1827 bringing an end to the university's most glorious era.[33] The school enjoyed an academic and religious revival between 1842 and 1849 when Methodist minister Henry B. Bascom took over as president.[34] Bascom, a circuit rider known for his zealous preaching style, came to Transylvania from Augusta College in Bracken County after the slavery issue caused that school to implode.[35] Other notable schools that were grounded in the faith included: St. Joseph's College (Catholic), St. Mary's College (Catholic), Cumberland College (Methodist), and Georgetown College (Baptist).[36] So many Christian denominational colleges were started in Kentucky after The War of 1812, it was said that by 1847 the state had the most colleges in the Union.[37] Here again, the roots of religion ran deep, as students of collegiate age were provided quality educations steeped in religious curriculum. Though these schools were administered by the various Christian denominational churches, they were fully accepted by the state legislature.

Even though education and religion are two separate institutions, they are forever enmeshed in the history of Kentucky. While the frontiersmen of the New West may not have had much interest in school at the start, their commitment to their faith was strong, and as the record shows, a grounding in Christianity was the obvious catalyst to get the state's public education system off the ground. From the use of the Bible as the primary book of instruction at Harrodsburgh's early *Dame School*, to the titling of Reverend Breckenridge as the *Father of Public Education*, the Christian faith was instilled in the minds of Kentucky's students long before their first day of school. While reading, writing and arithmetic may have been what were considered the practical skills of the classroom, it was the *Bible, religious instruction, and prayer* that fueled the development of new schools. Even after the United States Constitution was adopted, the legal battles to come over the separation of church and state would not find their roots in Kentucky. In the state's beginning, there simply was no education without God, and after 220 years, and the passing of a bill in the state Senate proposing Bible teaching once again in the public schools, it appears that faith and education are forever enmeshed in Kentucky. [38]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

"A Constitution or Form of Government for the State of Kentucky," Courtesy of the Kentucky Historical Society, http://www.kyhistory.com/:2010/u?/MS, 90

"Catalogue of Classes of the Kentucky Institution for the Education of Deaf Mutes located at Danville, for the Session of 1859-1860," http://www.centre.edu/web/library/sc/digital/pdf/30502 _ 01.pdf

Secondary Sources

Appleman, Steven G. The History of Education in Augusta, Kentucky. Northern Kentucky Heritage Magazine, Autumn/Winter 1996-1997

Crabb, Alfred Leland. NASHVILLE - Personality of a City. (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs - Merrill, 1960)

Dorman, John Frederick. "Gabriel Slaughter, 1767-1830, Governor of Kentucky, 1816-1820," The Filson Club History Quarterly 40 (1966)

Harrison, Lowell H. & Klotter, James C. A New History of Kentucky. (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1997)

Hopkins, James. Gabriel Slaughter. (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004)

Klotter, James C. The Kentucky Encyclopedia. (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1992)

ENDNOTES

1 "The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life," http://www.pewforum.org/Topics/Issues/Church-State-Law/, (accessed February 25, 2012)

2 "Spartacus Educational," http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/EDdame.htm (accessed February 25, 2012).

3 Lowell H. Harrison and James C. Klotter, *A New History of Kentucky*. (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 148-149.

4 Ibid, pp. 149

5 Ibid, pp. 149

6 "Spartacus Educational," http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/EDdame.htm (accessed February 25, 2012).

7 Harrison and Klotter, pp. 149

8 "A Constitution or Form of Government for the State of Kentucky," Courtesy of the Kentucky Historical Society, http://www.kyhistory.com/:2010/u?/MS, 906.

9 Harrison and Klotter, pp. 149

10 Ibid, pp. 149

11

12 Alfred Leland Crabb, *NASHVILLE - Personality of a City*. (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs - Merrill, 1960), pp. 77-78

13 Ibid, pp. 173 -175

14 Harrison and Klotter, pp. 149

15 John Frederick Dorman, "Gabriel Slaughter, 1767-1830, Governor of Kentucky, 1816-1820," The Filson Club History Quarterly 40 (1966), pp. 338-356

16 James Hopkins, *Gabriel Slaughter*. (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004), pp. 25

17 Harrison and Klotter, pp. 149

18 Ibid, pp. 150

19 Ibid, pp. 149

20 Ibid, pp. 149-150

21 "Pleasant Retreat, The Governor William Owsley House, Lancaster, Kentucky," http://www.owsleyhouse.org/public/Governor _William_Owsley.html. (accessed February 26, 2012).

22 James C. Klotter, *The Kentucky Encyclopedia*. (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1992), pp. 120

23 “Pleasant Retreat, The Governor William Owsley House, Lancaster, Kentucky,” http://www.owsleyhouse.org/public/Governor _ William _ Owsley.html. (accessed February 26, 2012).

24 “Pleasant Retreat, The Governor William Owsley House, Lancaster, Kentucky,” http://www.owsleyhouse.org/public/Governor _ William_Owsley.html (accessed February 26, 2012).

25 James C. Klotter, *The Breckenridge's of Kentucky.* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1986), pp. 57-58

26 Harrison and Klotter, pp. 150

27 Ibid, pp. 151

28 “Catalogue of Classes of the Kentucky Institution for the Education of Deaf Mutes located at Danville, for the Session of 1859-1860,” http://www.centre.edu/web/library/sc/digital/pdf/30502 _ 01.pdf.

29 Harrison and Klotter, pp. 151-152

30 Ibid, pp. 152

31 Ibid, pp. 152

32 Ibid, pp. 152

33 Ibid, pp. 152

34 Ibid, pp. 152

35 Steven G. Appleman, “The History of Education in Augusta, Kentucky” Northern Kentucky Heritage Magazine, Autumn/Winter 1996-1997, pp. 8

36 Harrison and Klotter, pp. 153

37 Ibid, pp. 153

38 “Religion Blog, “www.religion.blogs.cnn.com/categories/faith-now/ (accessed March 1, 2012).

Rich and Generous: The Story of Two Irish-American Distillers in Northern Kentucky

Jake Powers

Three major factors in Northern Kentucky history have always been alcohol, Irish immigration, and Catholicism. Many of the area's most important citizens were brewers and distillers, Irish immigrants, and members of the various Catholic parishes in the area. Two families that were heavily involved in all three areas were the O'Shaughnessys and Walshes. The parents were immigrants, the patriarchs and their sons were distillers and philanthropists. They were friends united by their generous giving to the Catholic Church and their ownership of the James Walsh Distillery. The James Walsh Distillery, along with the families who owned it, was an institution vital to the history and development of Northern Kentucky.

Peter O'Shaughnessy was born in Tullamore, King's Count y (modern County Offaly) Ireland on January 18, 1843. He emigrated to America in 1864 and made his home in Newport, Kentucky. O'Shaughnessy's main work was teaching at Immaculate Conception Grade School, then managing at James Walsh's Covington distillery, where he eventually became a partner.[1] This promotion must have occurred sometime around 1882-1884, because O'Shaugnessy's occupation is listed as "manager" in the 1882 city directory and he is simply listed as working for "Jas. Walsh & Co." in the 1884 city directory.[2] He also became a real estate investor, showing his foresight in purchasing many homes in eastern Newport.[3] O'Shaughnessy was able to use this wealth and status to marry Emma Daly, daughter of former Newport mayor Michael V. Daly, at Immaculate Conception Church on July 20, 1874.[4]

Peter became one of Newport's leading citizens and was known for his generous support of the Catholic Church. This generosity was evident in the construction of several churches, the first being Immaculate Conception Church in Newport, to which he supplied a good portion of the construction funds, property, and an altar.[5] The second church was the Cathedral Basilica of the Assumption in Covington, to which O'Shaughnessy and Walsh collectively gave over $100,000, helping Bishop Camillus Maes break ground and start construction.[6] Bishop Maes was so thankful that he included O'Shaughnessy in his will and requested that a memorial be placed in the Cathedral on his behalf.[7] This was done in the form of the dedication of a stained glass window in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel.[8] O'Shaughnessy also worked with the Sisters of Charity to build a convent and school by donating property.[9] In 1908, he helped the Congregation of Divine Providence to acquire land in Melbourne, Kentucky, where they built their American motherhouse, St. Anne Convent.[10]

Immaculate Conception, the Cathedral, and St. Anne were the three major Church projects that Peter O'Shaughnessy gave to in his life. However, he also helped out with other programs and projects. In 1892, for example, he helped

to pay for the remodeling of a building to house the Catholic Young Men's Institute, a national fraternal organization promoting intellectual, moral, and physical development of Catholic youth.[11] He also served on the Diocesan Building Committee, which oversaw the construction of all ecclesiastical buildings in the diocese.[12]

Peter retired from the distilling industry in 1915-1916, letting his sons continue running part of the James Walsh Company.[13] Emma O'Shaughnessy died on July 25, 1923 at the O'Shaughnessy house on York Street in Newport at age 67.[14] Besides raising seven children, she had been an organist at Immaculate Conception Church for 30 years.[15] She was buried at St. Anne Convent, an unusual occurrence for someone who was not a member of the Congregation.[16] Her will left all of her property to her children.[17]

Peter died three years later, on August 1, 1926.[18] His reputation and impact on the Northern Kentucky community was attested to by the fact that his death, funeral mass, burial, and will all made the front page of the Kentucky Post. His funeral mass was celebrated by the Bishop of Covington and nineteen other priests, and his burial service at St. Anne was attended by over 200 nuns and priests.[19] His final estate, worth $889,706, was equally divided between the seven children, with each receiving $116,168.55.[20] The York Street house was sold and remodeled into a funeral home by the undertaking firm of Muehlenkamp, Costigan, and Roll, and has remained in use to the present day.[21]

Peter and Emma O'Shaughnessy had seven children: Victor, Mary, Rita, Celeste, Rosalia, William, and Eugene. They were born in 1875, 1877, 1880, 1882, 1885, 1887, and 1894, respectively.[22] Victor, William, and Eugene followed in their father's footsteps by moving to Indiana to manage Walsh's Lawrenceburg plant.[23] The move took place sometime before World War I, as the three sons' draft registration cards list their occupations as "Fermentologist" (William), "Manager" (Eugene), and "Manager" (Victor).[24] All three were also married, probably in Indiana, as there are no records of their marriages in the Immaculate Conception records.[25]

Victor was married to Agnes Haversiek at some point before 1931. He is also listed as the president of the Rossville Distillery in the same year. [26] Victor is also listed as the tenant of another residence where a "Miss R. O'Shaughnessy" is listed as living for several years in the 1920's, 1930's, and 1950's.[27] This might be his niece Rosemary, William's daughter. In any case, Agnes died in 1949, and Victor followed in 1958, and both were buried in Lawrenceburg.[28]

William O'Shaughnessy was married to Marie Uihlein by 1931. He worked as the plant manager of the Rossville Distillery and had three children: William Jr., Celeste, who became a teacher at Villa Madonna College in Kentucky in the 1960's, and Rosemary.[29] William died in 1948, while Marie died in 1971 in Cincinnati; both were buried in Lawrenceburg.[30] Eugene O'Shaughnessy was married to a woman from Chicago named Florence by 1931.[31] Eugene died in 1961, and Florence died in 1982, and both were buried in Lawrenceburg.[32]

Mary married James Tocher of Newport on October 11, 1905.[33] In the 1910 U.S. Census, she is recorded as living in Lexington, Kentucky with James and Dorothy, their 3-year-old daughter.[34] The family moved to Illinois sometime between 1920 and 1930, as the 1920 Census showed her still living in Lexington, and the 1930 Census shows her in Evanston, Illinois.[35] Mary presumably did not travel as extensively as the rest of her siblings, with only one recorded

trip, with her husband and daughter from Southampton, England, to New York City, in 1928.[36] Mary died on April 11, 1979, at age 101.[37]

There is no record that Rita ever married or had children. Her residence, however, seems to have changed a number of times. She is listed, with the rest of the children, as living with Peter and Emma in the 1900 Census.[38] In the 1920 Census, Rita is listed as the only child still living with Peter and Emma, and is also listed as single.[39] Then, in 1928, she is listed as living with Rosalia in Memphis, Tennessee.[40] Later that year, she moved to Cincinnati.[41] There is no further record of her moving outside of Cincinnati until 1948, when she presumably went back to her childhood home.[42] The only record of Rita's employment is that she listed "house-keeping" as her occupation on a 1920 passport application.[43] She also traveled a good deal; being listed on seven passengers lists between 1907 and 1948.[44] Rita died in 1950 and was buried at St. Anne Convent alongside Peter and Emma, and not far from Celeste.[45] Her will left all of her property and bonds to her siblings and left various sums of money to her nieces and nephews.[46]

Celeste left the O'Shaughnessy household on August 15, 1906 and joined the Congregation of Divine Providence, apparently surprising her family and friends. This news was reported in the newspapers in Lexington, where Mary lived at the time, showing how well-known both Celeste and Mary were by the locals.[47] She became provincial superior of the order for almost thirty years.[48] She applied for a passport in 1922, and then traveled frequently.[49] Most of these trips were to France, presumably to the Sisters' international motherhouse, occurring almost every other year for 14 years.[50] Celeste died at St. Luke Hospital on August 16, 1971, after five years in retirement. Her funeral mass was celebrated by Bishop Richard Ackerman, and she was buried at St. Anne.[51]

Rosalia is probably the least documented of the O'Shaughnessy children. She is listed in Peter and Emma's household in the 1900 Census.[52] Then, on September 22, 1909, she married Samuel Bates of Memphis, Tennessee and presumably moved there.[53] Both Rosalia and Samuel were of high enough social status for their marriage to make the front page of the Northern Kentucky section of the Kentucky Star Times.[54] There is no record of Rosalia's death.

James Walsh was born in 1818 in Ireland, and it is unknown when he emigrated to the United States.[55] He moved from Newport to Covington sometime between 1870 and 1880, right around the time he established the James Walsh Company and his first distillery, located at the foot of the John A. Roebling Bridge in Covington.[56] His wife, Ellen, was also born in Ireland only a few years after her husband.[57] Besides the 1870 and 1880 Census records, there is no record of Ellen Walsh, not even of her death. James died on April 8, 1890, most likely in Covington.[58] The couple had two sons, Nicholas and Dennis, born in Kentucky around 1856 and 1857, respectively.[59] In the 1880 Census, both children were listed as clerks at the Walsh Distillery.[60]

Nicholas had a wife, Susan, and several children including, Nicholas Jr., who was born in 1892.[61] His other children included James, born around 1893, Cyril, John Victor, born around 1903, Susanne, and Marjorie, all of whom lived in the Cincinnati area.[62] They moved to Cincinnati in 1901, although it is not clear if that move coincided with Nicholas taking control of the Cincinnati distillery.[63] Susan outlived Nicholas, who died in 1915, and helped Peter O'Shaughnessy manage the distillery for several years until her death in 1918.[64]

Dennis Walsh appears to have managed a distillery in Cincinnati from 1878 until 1888, and it appears to have at some point been owned by the James Walsh Distillery Company.[65] He moved to Cincinnati in 1886.[66] Dennis seems to have stayed with the Covington distillery with his father and Peter O'Shaughnessy, although later he was noted as running the company's Rossville distillery in Lawrenceburg, Indiana.[67] Dennis died on June 13, 1905 in his Cincinnati home.[68]

Like Peter O'Shaughnessy, James Walsh was known for his generosity towards the Church. With O'Shaughnessy, he helped Immaculate Conception Church to survive financially and served on its building committee.[69] In one instance, he paid off $13,000 of the church's debt, almost leaving Immaculate Conception debt-free.[70] Also, he was one of the main benefactors (with his son Nicholas and Peter O'Shaughnessy) in the construction of the Cathedral Basilica of the Assumption. He gave the initial $50,000, $25,000 in 1886, $50,000 in 1887, and another $25,000 in his will.[71] In 1879, Walsh gave $4,000 to St. Joseph Orphanage in Cold Spring.[72] He also was reported to have given the orphanage an annual gift of $500, and his will left the orphanage another $5,000.[73] Walsh also donated all the brandy used by St. Elizabeth Hospital in Covington for its relocation celebration in 1884.[74]

While there is no record of Dennis Walsh's activities, besides his membership in the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, Nicholas Walsh definitely inherited the philanthropic drive of his father.[75] Nicholas joined Peter O'Shaughnessy in paying for the remodeling of a Walsh property that had been donated to the Catholic Young Men's Institute.[76] In 1906, he donated $2,000 to St. Patrick's Church in Covington for the construction of a school.[77] Three years later, he gave $1,000 to St. Elizabeth Hospital's new laboratory.[78] However, Nicholas' most charitable donations went to the construction of the Cathedral Basilica of the Assumption, a project to which his father had given the start-up money. Nicholas gave the donation to complete the front facade of the Cathedral. This donation was worth $100,000 and brought his total gifts to the Cathedral to over $125,000.[79] The generosity of the Walsh family was so great that they (the window names James, Dennis, and Nicholas) have a memorial window in the Cathedral's Blessed Sacrament Chapel, not far from that of Peter O'Shaughnessy.[80]

Besides the Catholic Church, there was one thing that united the O'Shaughnessy and Walsh families: the James Walsh Distillery. The company was founded in 1870 in Cincinnati as the Walsh, Brooks & Kellogg Company.[81] Two years later, Walsh and Kellogg built the Walsh and Kellogg Distillery in Covington, at the foot of the Roebling Bridge. It was one of five distilleries in the city.[82] In 1883, Kellogg apparently left the partnership, and O'Shaughnessy, along with Nicholas and Dennis, became a partner.[83] In 1886, James made plans to retire and move to Baltimore, Maryland, and leave Dennis and Nicholas in charge of the company, but there is no record that the move ever occurred.[84]

The company expanded rapidly, opening up another distillery in Lawrenceburg and buying various brands and labels, such as the Old Hickory brand and label from a Louisville distillery in 1907.[85] In 1877, the Covington and Cincinnati distilleries were connected by five miles of telephone lines.[86] In 1893, the Covington distillery was thought to be the largest in the world.[87] The Cincinnati distillery was run by Nicholas Walsh. He was in charge when the Covington

and Cincinnati distilleries were connected in 1877.[88] The Cincinnati branch apparently did not last long after Nicholas' death in 1915, as it disappeared from the city directory in 1918.[89]

Meanwhile, the Covington distillery seems to have been run by Peter O'Shaughnessy from 1893 at the latest until his retirement in 1915-1916.[90] The Covington distillery was known for several fires, and was rebuilt each time until 1911, when the building was unused and operations were moved to Lawrenceburg. The largest occurred in 1893, and actually made national headlines.[91] In 1911, the building was used by the Cincinnati-based Putnam Hooker Cotton Goods Company as a distribution point.[92] In 1928, it was sold to the Bellonby Furniture Company of Cincinnati for $85,000.[93] Finally, it was torn down in 1944 after standing for more than a century.[94] The Lawrenceburg plant, known as the Rossville Distillery, was run by Dennis Walsh until his death in 1905.[95] After that, it was run at some point by the O'Shaughnessy brothers before Prohibition.[96] After the repeal of Prohibition, a new building opened in 1934 by Victor, William, and Eugene O'Shaughnessy.[97]

Peter O'Shaughnessy and James Walsh were two distinguished citizens of Northern Kentucky. Each left their mark through charity, philanthropy, and business. They built the James Walsh Distillery into a huge company and passed it down to their children, who spread from Covington to Cincinnati and Lawrenceburg. That next generation also inherited some of the spirit of giving back, especially to the Catholic Church. These families had a profound impact on the history of Northern Kentucky, an impact that will never be forgotten by the recipients of their generosity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

"$100,000 Donation to Finish Church." Kentucky Post. 14 August 1905. Page 1. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

"Another Fire: As Disastrous as the First." Kentucky Post. 20 March 1893. Page 4. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

"Building Boom." Cincinnati Enquirer. 1 July 1899. Page 2. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

Campbell County Will Books. Campbell County Courthouse, Newport, Kentucky.

"The City." Kentucky State Journal (Newport). 20 April 1880. Page 1. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

"The City." Kentucky State Journal (Newport). 30 October 1886. Page 2. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

"The City." Kentucky State Journal (Newport). 02 November 1886. Page 2. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

"The City." Kentucky State Journal (Newport). 01 May 1890. Page 5. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

"The City." Newport Local. 09 March 1878. Page 3. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

Dearborn County Cemetery Records. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

Death record for Mary Tocher. “Death Notices.” 11 April 1979. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

“Dennis Walsh Died While Coughing.” Kentucky Post. 14 June 1905. Page 2. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

“A Distillery in Flames.” New York Times. 19 March 1893. New York Times. <http://query._nytimes.com/mem/archivefree/pdf?res=F50810FB345B1A738DDDA00994DB405B8385F0D3>

“Donates $1000 for Hospital.” Kentucky Post. 14 May 1909. Page 7. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

“Donation Made to Covington Church.” Kentucky Post. 15 January 1906. Page 2. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Evanston, Cook County, Illinois. Enumeration District 2113, Roll 499, Page 9A. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Greendale, Dearborn County, Indiana. Enumeration District 15, Roll 582, Page 2B. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

Fourteenth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Greendale, Dearborn County, Indiana. Enumeration District 43, Roll T625_428, Page 5B. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

Fourteenth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky. Enumeration District 59, Roll T625_569, Page 16B. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

Fourteenth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Newport, Campbell County, Kentucky. Enumeration District 22, Roll T625_563, Page 8B. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

Grigg, Tony. “100-Year-Old Covington Landmark, Once Scene of Great Fire, To Be Wrecked.” Cincinnati Times-Star. 8 August 1944. Page 3. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Headstone: Rita O’Shaughnessy. 1950. St. Anne Convent Cemetery, Melbourne, Kentucky.

Immaculate Conception Baptism Register 1855-1880. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

Immaculate Conception Baptism Register 1880-1898. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

Immaculate Conception Marriage Register 1856-1909. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

Immaculate Conception Marriage Register 1909-1933. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

“James Walsh Dies.” The Journal Press. 27 December 1935. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

Kentucky Death Certificate No. 17724, for the year 1923.

Kentucky Death Certificate No. 19453, for the year 1926.

“Local Inklings: Covington.” Kentucky Post. 25 April 1892. Page 4. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

"Local Matters." Daily Commonwealth. 12 November 1877. Page 1. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

"To Make Covington Distribution Point." Kentucky Post. 17 March 1911. Page 14. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

"Mass by Bishop: Rites for Peter O'Shaughnessy to be Held Wednesday." Kentucky Post. 3 August 1926. Page 1. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

"Miss Rosalia O'Shaughnessy Bride of Samuel Ogden Bates." Kentucky Star Times. 22 September 1909. Page 9. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

"Mother Celeste, Headed St. Ann." Kentucky Post. 16 August 1971. Page 15. St. Anne Convent, Melbourne, Kentucky.

"Mrs. Peter O'Shaughnessy." The Journal Press. 2 August 1923. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

"Newport Loses O'Shaughnessy." Kentucky Post. 2 August 1926. Page 1. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

Ninth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Newport, Campbell County, Kentucky. Roll M593_453, Page 420B. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

"Obituaries." The Register. 16 April 1925. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

"To Open Factory Soon." Kentucky Post. 20 December 1928. Page 2. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

"O'Shaughnessy is Buried." Kentucky Post. 5 August 1926. Page 1. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

"P. O'Shaughnessy." Catholic Telegraph. 5 August 1926. Page 4. St. Anne Convent, Melbourne, Kentucky.

Passport Application for Celeste O'Shaughnessy. 26 April 1922. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

Passport Application for Rita O'Shaughnessy. 7 October 1920. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

Reis, Jim. "Street Has Seen River of Change." Kentucky Post. 01 June 1992. Page 4K. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

"Residence Sold: New Funeral Home for Muehlenkamp, Costigan & Roll." Kentucky Post. 22 May 1927. Page 5. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

Robinson's Lawrenceburg and Aurora, Indiana City Directory, 1929. Robinson Directories, Inc. 1929. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

Robinson's Lawrenceburg and Aurora, Indiana City Directory, 1930. Robinson Directories, Inc. 1930. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

Robinson's Lawrenceburg and Aurora, Indiana City Directory, 1931. Robinson Directories, Inc. 1931. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

Robinson's Lawrenceburg and Aurora, Indiana City Directory, 1954. Robinson Directories, Inc. 1954. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

Robinson's Lawrenceburg and Aurora, Indiana City Directory, 1960. Robinson Directories, Inc. 1960. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

Robinson's Lawrenceburg and Aurora, Indiana City Directory, 1962. Robinson

Directories, Inc. 1962. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

Robinson's Lawrenceburg and Aurora, Indiana City Directory, 1965. Robinson Directories, Inc. 1965. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

S.S. Berengaria Passenger List for October 25, 1925. Roll T715_3745, Page 129. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

S.S. Cartago Passenger List for October 29th, 1920. Series Number T905_77. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

S.S. Conte di Savoia Passenger List for August 31st, 1933. Roll T715_5379, Page 15. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

S.S. Etruria Passenger List for June 1907. Class BT26, Piece 293. Digital Image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

S.S. Ile de France Passenger List for April 21, 1936. Roll T715, Page 8. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

S.S. Ile de France Passenger List for August 23, 1932. Roll T715_5209, Page 103. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

S.S. Ile de France Passenger List for May 28, 1929. Roll T715_4502, Page 163. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

S.S. Ile de France Passenger List for September 5, 1938. Roll T715_6210, Page 10. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

S.S. La Provence Passenger List for September 14th, 1907. Roll T715_990. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

S.S. Majestic Passenger List for August 21, 1928. Roll T715, Page 19. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

S.S. Paris Passenger List for August 6, 1933. Roll T715_5366, Page 47. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

S.S. Paris Passenger List for March 25, 1937. Roll T715_5953, Page 105. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

S.S. Santa Rosa Passenger List for August 5th, 1948. Roll T715_7637, Page 116. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

S.S. Shawnee Passenger List for July 19th, 1928. Roll T715_4304, Page 132. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com.Accessed 21 June 2011.

S.S. Zacapa Passenger List for March 7th, 1935. Series Number T905_155. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

Sister Agnes Margaret, C.D.P. "Tribute to a Valiant Woman." St. Anne Convent, Melbourne, Kentucky.

"Sister of Mrs. James P. Tocher Enters Convent at Newport." Lexington Herald. 17 August1906. St. Anne Convent, Melbourne, Kentucky.

Sweeney, Michael R. "Peter O'Shaughnessy Proved Savvy Investor, Friend of Church." Kentucky Post. 13 March 2006. Page 2C. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

Tenkotte, Dr. Paul. Interview with Meg Hanrahan. Shared Spaces of Greater Cincinnati. Voyager Media Group, 2008. 20 June 2011.<http://www.voyageurmedia.org/ss_advTenkotte.pdf>

Tenkotte, Paul A. "Irish Added to Region's Rich Fabric." Kentucky Post. 10 December

2007. Page 3B. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

Tenth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Covington, Kenton County, Kentucky. Enumeration District 125, Roll 426, Page 502D. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

Thirteenth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky. Enumeration District 0024, Roll T624_474, Page 5B. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

Twelfth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Newport, Campbell County, Kentucky. Enumeration District 18, Roll T623_512, Page 1B. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

"Wife of Former Distiller Dies; Ill Two Years." Kentucky Times-Star. 26 July 1923. Page 25. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1869-1870. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1869. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1870-1871. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1870. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1877-1878. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1877. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1878-1879. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1878. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1882-1883. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1882. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1883-1884. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1883. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1885-1886. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1885. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1886-1887. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1886. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1887-1888. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1887. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1889-1890. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1889. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1900-1901. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1900. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1901-1902. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1901. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1915-1916. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1915. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1916-1917. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1916. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1917-1918. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1917. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1918-1919. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1918. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1919-1920. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1919. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1927-1928. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1927. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1928-1929. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1928. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1947-1948. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1947. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1948-1949. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1948. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Williams' Covington and Newport Directory, 1882-1883. Cincinnati: Williams & Co.,Publishers. 1882. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

Williams' Covington and Newport Directory, 1884-1885. Cincinnati: Williams & Co.,Publishers. 1884. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

"Wills $889,706." Kentucky Post. 2 December 1926. Page 1. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

World War I Draft Registration Card for Eugene O'Shaughnessy, Dearborn County, Indiana, roll 1493138. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

World War I Draft Registration Card for Victor O'Shaughnessy, Dearborn County, Indiana, roll 1493138. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

World War I Draft Registration Card for William O'Shaughnessy, Dearborn County, Indiana,roll 1493138. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

World War II Draft Registration Card for William O'Shaughnessy, Dearborn County, Indiana. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

"Worthy of Charity." Daily Commonwealth. 03 November 1884. Page 4. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

Secondary Sources

"The Basilica: History." St. Mary's Cathedral Basilica of the Assumption. 22 June 2011. <http://www.covcathedral.com/basbmn.htm>

Cleves, Msgr. William F. Stories in Glass: The Windows of the Cathedral Basilica of the Assumption, Covington, Kentucky. Cincinnati: Wendling Printing, 2009.

Federal Writers' Project. Indiana: A Guide to the Hoosier State.

Ryan, Rev. Paul E. History of the Diocese of Covington, Kentucky. Covington, KY, 1954.

Sweeney, Michael R. "O'Shaughnessy, Peter." The Encyclopedia of Northern Kentucky. 1st ed. 2009. Page 692.

Sweeney, Michael R. "Walsh Distillery." The Encyclopedia of Northern Kentucky. 1st ed. 2009. Page 927.

ENDNOTES

1 Sweeney, Michael R. "O'Shaughnessy, Peter." The Encyclopedia of Northern Kentucky. 1st ed. 2009, Pp. 692.

2 Williams' Covington and Newport Directory, 1882-1883. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1882. Page 114. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.; Williams' Covington and Newport Directory, 1884-1885. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1884. Page 132. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

3 "Building Boom." Cincinnati Enquirer. 1 July 1899. Page 2. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

4 Sweeney "O'Shaughnessy, Peter"; Immaculate Conception Marriage Register 1856-1909. Page 75. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

5 "P. O'Shaughnessy." Catholic Telegraph. 5 August 1926. Page 4. St. Anne Convent, Melbourne, Kentucky.; Ryan, Rev. Paul E. History of the Diocese of Covington, Kentucky. Covington, KY, 1954. Page 701.

6 "The Basilica: History." St. Mary's Cathedral Basilica of the Assumption. 22 June 2011. <http://www.covcathedral.com/basbmn.htm>; "Mass by Bishop: Rites for Peter O'Shaughnessy to be Held Wednesday." Kentucky Post. 3 August 1926. Page 1. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.; Ryan 987; Tenkotte, Dr. Paul. Interview with Meg Hanrahan. Shared Spaces of Greater Cincinnati. Voyager Media Group, 2008. 20 June 2011. <http:/www.voyageurmedia.org/ss_advTenkotte.pdf>

7 "P. O'Shaughnessy"

8 Cleves, Msgr. William F. Stories in Glass: The Windows of the Cathedral Basilica of the Assumption, Covington, Kentucky. Cincinnati: Wendling Printing, 2009. Page 26.

9 "P. O'Shaughnessy"

10 Sweeney "O'Shaugnessy, Peter"

11 Ryan 235; ibid. 987

12 Ibid. 267; ibid. 993

13 Sweeny "O'Shaughnessy, Peter"; "Wife of Former Distiller Dies; Ill Two Years." Kentucky Times-Star. 26 July 1923. Page 25. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

14 Kentucky Death Certificate No. 17724, for the year 1923.

15 Sweeney "O'Shaughnessy, Peter"; "Wife"

16 "P. O'Shaughnessy"

17 Campbell County Will Books. Book 11. Page 173. Campbell County Courthouse, Newport, Kentucky.

18 Kentucky Death Certificate No. 19453, for the year 1926.; Sweeney "O'Shaughnessy, Peter"

19 "Mass By Bishop"; "Newport Loses O'Shaughnessy." Kentucky Post. 2 August 1926. Page 1. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.; "O'Shaughnessy is Buried." Kentucky Post. 5 August 1926. Page 1. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.; "Wills $889,706." Kentucky Post. 2 December 1926. Page 1. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

20 Ibid.; Campbell County Will Books. Book 12. Page 70.

21 "Residence Sold: New Funeral Home for Muehlenkamp, Costigan & Roll." Kentucky Post. 22 May 1927. Page 5. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.; Sweeney "O'Shaughnessy, Peter"

22 Immaculate Conception Baptism Register 1855-1880. Page 407, 472. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.; Immaculate Conception Baptism Register 1880-1898. Page 9, 54, 110, 163, 294. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

23 Sweeney "O'Shaughnessy, Peter."

24 World War I Draft Registration Card for Eugene O'Shaughnessy, Dearborn County, Indiana, roll 1493138. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.; World War I Draft Registration Card for Victor O'Shaughnessy, Dearborn County, Indiana, roll 1493138. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June

2011.; World War I Draft Registration Card for William O'Shaughnessy, Dearborn County, Indiana, roll 1493138. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

25 Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Greendale, Dearborn County, Indiana. Enumeration District 15, Roll 582, Page 2B. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.; Fourteenth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Greendale, Dearborn County, Indiana. Enumeration District 43, Roll T625_428, Page 5B. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.; World War II Draft Registration Card for William O'Shaughnessy, Dearborn County, Indiana. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

26 Robinson's Lawrenceburg and Aurora, Indiana CIty Directory, 1931. Robinson Directories, Inc. 1931. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.; Dearborn County Cemetery Records. Volume B. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

27 Robinson's Lawrenceburg and Aurora, Indiana City Directory, 1929.; Robinson's Lawrenceburg and Aurora, Indiana City Directory, 1930. Robinson Directories, Inc. 1930. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.; Robinson's Lawrenceburg and Aurora, Indiana City Directory, 1931.; Robinson's Lawrenceburg and Aurora, Indiana City Directory, 1954. Robinson Directories, Inc. 1954. Page 11. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

28 Dearborn County Cemetery Records. Volume B.

29 Robinson's Lawrenceburg and Aurora, Indiana City Directory, 1931.; Robinson's Lawrenceburg and Aurora, Indiana City Directory, 1954.; Robinson's Lawrenceburg and Aurora, Indiana City Directory, 1965. Robinson Directories, Inc. 1965. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

30 Dearborn County Death Records. Volumes A-B.

31 Robinson's Larenceburg and Aurora, Indiana City Directory, 1931.; Dearborn County Cemetery Records. Volume B.

32 Robinson's Lawrenceburg and Aurora, Indiana City Directory, 1960. Robinson Directories, Inc. 1960. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.; Robinson's Lawrenceburg and Aurora, Indiana City Directory, 1962. Robinson Directories, Inc. 1962. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.; Dearborn County Cemetery Records. Volume B.

33 Immaculate Conception Marriage Register 1856-1909. Page 252.

34 Thirteenth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky. Enumeration District 0024, Roll T624_474, Page 5B. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

35 Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Evanston, Cook County, Illinois. Enumeration District 2113, Roll 499, Page 9A. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.; Fourteenth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky. Enumeration District 59, Roll T625_569, Page 16B. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

36 S.S. Majestic Passenger List for August 21, 1928. Roll T715, Page 19. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

37 Death record for Mary Tocher. "Death Notices." 11 April 1979. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

38 Twelfth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Newport, Campbell County, Kentucky. Enumeration District 18, Roll T623_512, Page 1B. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

39 Fourteenth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Newport, Campbell County, Kentucky. Enumeration District 22, Roll T625_563, Page 8B. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

40 S.S. Shawnee Passenger List for July 19th, 1928. Roll T715_4304, Page 132. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

41 Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1927-1928. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1927. Page 1327. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.; Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1928-1929. 1928. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. Page 1336. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

42 Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1947-1948. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1947. Page 962. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.; Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1948-1949. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1948. Page 910. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

43 Passport Application for Rita O'Shaughnessy. 7 October 1920. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

44 S.S. Cartago Passenger List for October 29th, 1920. Series Number T905_77. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.; S.S. Conte di Savoia Passenger List for August 31st, 1933.; S.S. Etruria Passenger List for June 1907. Class BT26, Piece 293. Digital Image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.; S.S. La Provence Passenger List for September 14th, 1907. Roll T715_990. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.; S.S. Santa Rosa Passenger List for August 5th, 1948. Roll T715_7637, Page 116. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.; S.S. Shawnee Passenger List for July 19th, 1928.; S.S. Zacapa Passenger List for March 7th, 1935. Series Number T905_155. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

45 Headstone: Rita O'Shaughnessy. 1950. St. Anne Convent Cemetery, Melbourne, Kentucky.

46 Campbell County Will Books. Book 28. Page 569-578.

47 Sister Agnes Margaret, C.D.P. "Tribute to a Valiant Woman." St. Anne Convent, Melbourne, Kentucky.

48 Sweeney "O'Shaughnessy, Peter"

49 Passport Application for Celeste O'Shaughnessy. 26 April 1922. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

50 S.S. Berengaria Passenger List for October 25, 1925. Roll T715_3745, Page 129. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.; S.S. Ile de France Passenger List for April 21, 1936. Roll T715, Page 8. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.; S.S. Ile de France Passenger List for August 23, 1932. Roll T715_5209, Page 103. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.; S.S. Ile de France Passenger List for May 28, 1929. Roll T715_4502, Page 163. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.; S.S. Ile de France Passenger List for September 5, 1938. Roll T715_6210, Page 10. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.; S.S. Paris Passenger List for August 6, 1933. Roll T715_5366, Page 47. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.; S.S. Paris Passenger List for March 25, 1937. Roll T715_5953, Page 105. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

51 "Mother Celeste, Headed St. Ann." Kentucky Post. 16 August 1971. Page 15. St. Anne Convent, Melbourne, Kentucky.

52 Twelfth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Newport, Campbell County, Kentucky.

53 Immaculate Conception Marriage Register 1909-1933. Page 2. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

54 "Miss Rosalia O'Shaughnessy Bride of Samuel Ogden Bates." Kentucky Star Times. 22 September 1909. Page 9. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

55 Ninth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Newport, Campbell County, Kentucky. Roll M593_453, Page 420B. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.; Tenkotte, Paul A. "Irish Added to Region's Rich Fabric." Kentucky Post. 10 December 2007. Page 3B. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

56 Ninth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Newport, Campbell County, Kentucky.; Sweeney, Michael R. "Walsh Distillery." The Encyclopedia of Northern Kentucky. 1st ed. 2009. Page 927.; Tenth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Covington, Kenton County, Kentucky. Enumeration District 125, Roll 426, Page 502D. Digital image, www.Ancestry.com. Accessed 21 June 2011.

57 Ninth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Newport, Campbell County, Kentucky.

58 Ryan 987.

59 Ninth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Newport, Campbell County, Kentucky.

60 Tenth Census of the United States, Population Schedule for Covington, Kenton County, Kentucky.

61 "Local Inklings: Covington." Kentucky Post. 25 April 1892. Page 4. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.; Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1915-1916. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1915. Page 1912. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio. Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1916-1917. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1916. Page 1931. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

62 "James Walsh Dies." The Journal Press. 27 December 1935. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.; "Obituaries." The Register. 16 April 1925. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

63 Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1900-1901. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1900. Page 1760. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.; Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1901-1902. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1901. Page 1789. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.; Sweeney "Walsh Distillery"

64 Tenkotte "Irish Added"; Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1916-1917. Page 1931.; Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1918-1919. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1918. Page 1938. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.; Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1919-1920. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1919. Page 1970. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

65 Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1877-1878. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1877. Page 1012. Cincinnati Historical Society Library.; Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1878-1879. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1878. Page 973. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.; Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1887-1888. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1887. Page 1470. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.; Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1889-1890. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1889. Page 1397. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

66 Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1885-1886. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1885. Page 1386. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.; Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1886-1887. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1886. Page 1408. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

67 "Dennis Walsh Died While Coughing." Kentucky Post. 14 June 1905. Page 2. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

68 Ibid.

69 Ryan 700-701.

70 "The City." Kentucky State Journal (Newport). 20 April 1880. Page 1. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

71 "$100,000 Donation to Finish Church." Kentucky Post. 14 August 1905. Page 1. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.; Ryan 987.

72 Ibid. 1019.

73 "The City." Kentucky State Journal (Newport). 01 May 1890. Page 5. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.; "The City." Newport Local. 09 March

1878. Page 3. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

74 "Worthy of Charity." Daily Commonwealth. 03 November 1884. Page 4. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

75 "Dennis Walsh"

76 Ryan 235; ibid 987.

77 "Donation Made to Covington Church." Kentucky Post. 15 January 1906. Page 2. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

78 "Donates $1000 for Hospital." Kentucky Post. 14 May 1909. Page 7. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

79 "$100,000 Donation"; Ryan 235; ibid 987.

80 Cleves 18.

81 Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1869-1870. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1869. Page 574. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.; Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1870-1871. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1870. Page 623. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

82 Reis, Jim. "Street Has Seen River of Change." Kentucky Post. 01 June 1992. Page 4K. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.; Sweeney "Walsh Distillery"

83 Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1882-1883. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1882. Page 1230. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.; Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1883-1884. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1883. Page 1232. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

84 "The City." Kentucky State Journal (Newport). 02 November 1886. Page 2. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.; "The City." Kentucky State Journal (Newport). 30 October 1886. Page 2. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

85 Sweeney "Walsh Distillery"

86 "Local Matters." Daily Commonwealth. 12 November 1877. Page 1. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.; Sweeney "Walsh Distillery"

87 Ibid.

88 "Local Matters"; Sweeney "Walsh Distillery"

89 Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1917-1918. Cincinnati: Williams & Co., Publishers. 1917. Page 1927. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.; Williams' Cincinnati Directory, 1918-1919. Page 1937.

90 "Another Fire: As Disastrous as the First." Kentucky Post. 20 March 1893. Page 4. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.; Sweeney "O'Shaughnessy, Peter"; "Wife"

91 "Another Fire"; "A Distillery in Flames." New York Times. 19 March 1893. New York Times. <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdfres=F50810FB345B1A738DDDA00994DB405B8385F0D3>; Sweeney "Walsh Distillery"

92 "To Make Covington Distribution Point." Kentucky Post. 17 March 1911. Page 14. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

93 "To Open Factory Soon." Kentucky Post. 20 December 1928. Page 2. Kenton County Public Library, Covington, Kentucky.

94 Grigg, Tony. "100-Year-Old Covington Landmark, Once Scene of Great Fire, To Be Wrecked." Cincinnati Times-Star. 8 August 1944. Page 3. Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio.

95 "Dennis Walsh"

96 "Mrs. Peter O'Shaughnessy." The Journal Press. 2 August 1923. Lawrenceburg Public Library, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

97 Federal Writers' Project. Indiana: A Guide to the Hoosier State. Page 364.

The De Facto Embargo of Japan: An Analysis

Zack Bolog

Throughout the course of American history, we as a people have suffered many tumultuous hardships and tragedies, perhaps none greater than the tragedy that occurred on December 7th, 1941 a day that shall live on as "The day of Infamy": the Japanese Raid on Pearl Harbor. However, since then, many historians point to the embargo placed on Japan by the United States in response to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and their continued expanse into the Chinese mainland. In this paper, I shall outline the pretense behind the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the American reasoning behind the de-facto embargo that provoked the Japanese, the initial Japanese response to the embargo and the subconscious reasoning behind their attack on Pearl Harbor, and my own critical analysis and my support of the decision by the United States bureaucracy to embargo the Japanese and the long term effect that it would have on the events of World War II.

During the latter end of the 1920's and the beginning of the 1930's the Japanese Empire underwent a rapid military expansion, with warship and arms production reaching levels typically seen almost exclusively during wartime. With this rapid military and naval expansion, the Japanese had only one thing in mind: expansion of the empire and acquisition of a greater means of providing the Japanese war machine with oil, metal and other valuables that conquest was reliant upon. This expansion started in 1932 with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in order to create a staging point for the war against China. China was such a valuable target of the Japanese for three reasons: as buffer zone between the potentially aggressive Soviets, for it's greater abundance of natural resources (namely naturally occurring oil) and for its land mass itself. With the latter two reasons for invasion a rarity in the archipelagic nation of Japan, invasion seemed all too necessary if the Japanese were to fulfill their manifest destiny. With the Japanese full-scale war effort against the Chinese in 1937 seeing the Chinese lose severely due to their outdated, smaller army, a message was seemingly sent across the Pacific to The United States that brought tidings of potential danger from the Japanese. American businessmen were avidly against the Japanese subjugation of the Chinese, as China yielded potential for profitable business ventures and a government led by the United States supported Chiang Kai-shek, while the United States bureaucracy and Chiefs of Staff were fearful of a powerful Japanese Navy challenging American power in the Pacific. In order to quell both fears of loss of power in the Pacific and investments in China, an embargo was declared against the Japanese in order to deprive the Japanese war machine of its two most necessary, yet impossible to self-sustain resources: metal and crude oil. With the Japanese forced to put restrictions on civilian gasoline usage and a finite oil supply that would only last the Empire 18 months in times of peace (6 months in war), the Japanese were essentially

forced into an ultimatum: frighten the United States into resuming trade or halt their expansion and face international condemnation for their actions in Manchuria. On December 7th 1941, in a gambit to continue their expansion efforts through the acquisition of oil, the Japanese launched the raid on Pearl Harbor. Perhaps if the events of the Pacific would have been beneficial to the Japanese, they would've established a more far-reaching empire; but with their intentional waking of the "Sleeping Giant" that was the United States, they essentially caused the destruction of Hiroshima, Nagasaki and an entire generation of their own men and women.

As previously mentioned, the reason for the embargo of the Japanese was primarily a response to growing Japanese power in the Pacific. So far spread were these feelings of anti-Japanese sentiment that in 1939, three-fourths of Americans questioned would reveal that they would support an embargo of munitions and arms to Japan.[1] In order to appeal to the growing interest in the developing situation in Manchuria, in 1935 the New York Times published an article which outlined oil as the weak point in the Japanese strategy to not only further their control over China, but also wrest power in the Pacific away from the United States. The article would even go as far as detailing the dependency of the Japanese on US oil by stating "...Japan gets some 500,000 tons of oil a year, her consumption represents a balance of 1,700,000 tons imported. Approximately 60 percent of this balance...is imported from the United States." [2]However, the American people would support the proposed embargo, there was a split decision amongst those in Congress and in the White House, with even President Franklin D. Roosevelt having reservations, due to the high probability of Japanese retaliation against American military forces or even civilians. Also, it was the opinion of many government officials that the Japanese would not stop their rapid expansion, as the need for resources is what essentially fueled their need for conquest.

The feeling that American interests in China were not sufficient to warrant US intervention, coupled with the war effort in Central and Western Europe, caused an upheaval in the White House which posed a potentially world-changing question- should the US impose the embargo, thus provoking a possible Japanese attack, or should they continue trade relations with Japan and focus on the war in Europe? On the "pro embargo" side was Advisor Stanley E. Hornbeck, who believe that a firm stance should be assumed when dealing with the Japanese and that relations with the Chinese was indeed important enough to warrant US protection. It was also his belief that the Japanese would immediately be forced to give in to US demands of a cease-fire with the Chinese. However, this view was opposed by the President Franklin D. Roosevelt, as he thought that the embargo would surely provoke an attack on United States with the decision pending of whether or not to cut Japan off from its flow of natural resources lobbyists from both sides bitterly opposed the views of the other. Gradually, however, the pro-embargo side would win, with the restriction of the exportation to Japan of aviation fuel. The specifications that truly made fuel "aviation" fuel was the topic of a battle in Congress that was long fought. The trivial in-fighting amongst the United States Department of State is a prime example of the intensely different theories that U.S. decision makers had regarding the developing situation with the Japanese. Eventually, the same politicians who lobbied for the ban of trade in aviation fuel to the Japanese

would also push to bar trade of lower grade naval oil and even the unrefined crude oil. The reasons behind the political banning of crude oil trade lie in the fear that the Japanese could still refine it and create fuel for their planes or ships, which proved to be a worthy precaution. An article published by the New York Times in 1941 illustrated the actions taken by the United States government in full detail and the importance of halting all petroleum based exports to Japan by directly stating "..It is not to be forgotten that (the) crude oil is directly fuel for the Japanese Navy."[3] These batteries of articles only proved to the American people the importance of cutting the Japanese oil supply, despite the risk that the Japanese decision-makers would plan something outrageous in retaliation.

Despite the coming surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, the decision to cut off Japan from a steady oil supply has proved to be an extremely wise move in terms of long term strategy in dealing with the Empire of the Rising Sun. The only Japanese weakness during their phase of military expansion was their poor supply chain. Had not the United States embargoed the Japanese, they could have continued stockpiling fuel and other resources until they had enough to launch a full scale invasion against the United States or one of its allies, or even ensured that the Soviets would not only have to fight the Nazis on their Western front, but also Japanese on their Eastern borders. This being considered, the Japanese, if given the opportunity to build up their supply of resources, could have tipped the scales in the European Theater of the war in favor of the Axis Powers. However, with the embargo, the United States circumvented a potential Japanese intervention in the war in Europe and ensured that Japan would not be a major problem in the Pacific and that the United States Navy would reign supreme as the power in the Pacific.

With the most powerful nation in the world to contend with, we see very viable reasons as to why the Japanese would back down in the event of possible hostilities with the United States, but with scholarly conjecture provided by historian Bruce M. Russett, we can invite ourselves into the mindset of the Japanese government officials who made the decisions to invade Manchuria and eventually to raid Pearl Harbor.[4] Initially, one would question the reasoning, which led the Japanese to engage the United States in a seemingly futile war, given their extremely limited resources and their current engagement in China. This lack of resources is extremely evident with the extreme regulation of civilian fuel use by the Japanese command structure. Logistic catastrophe due to lack of proper war resources, coupled with public outcry over fuel restriction heavily set the odds against the Japanese. However, to understand their decision making is to understand their national identity as a whole, as one would assume that the attack on Pearl Harbor was a desperate gambit in order to spur the United States into resuming trade with the Japanese. While many might call the raid on Pearl Harbor irrational and poorly thought out, Russett offers that it is due to Japanese values that they would rather fight in a futile war rather than abandon hopes of a vast empire. Despite assumptions that the attack on Pearl Harbor was a quick decision, Japanese officials and military leaders convened in the early months of 1941 and decided to continue their campaign in Asia, despite weighing the extreme consequences that continued aggression would eventually end in war with The United States. Therefore it is without a doubt that the Japanese decision to attack Pearl Harbor was anything but an

irrational impulse. An intense feeling of growing nationalism, coupled with the roots of the Bushido Code in Japanese society, meant that backing out of a war with the United States and abandoning their conquest of Asia would be the ultimate dishonor and show of cowardice. In a way, war between the United States and Japan would be impossible to circumvent due to the feeling of Japanese honor being in question if it were to surrender and the threat of financial loss in the private sector of American business. While history tells us that the Pacific Theatre of World War II ended with U.S. Domination in the Pacific and the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, we can now identify reasons to why the Japanese seemingly sought their own self-destruction; in a conquest oriented foreign policy, extreme nationalism, and the warrior spirit that was synonymous with their culture.

Considering what research of this topic has yielded, many historians look to the embargo of the Japanese Empire by the United States and a question is posed "Could the attack on Pearl Harbor been circumvented?" In my opinion, no. Japanese aggression in the Pacific would have eventually spread island to island and eventually reached the United States territory of Guam and the American holdings in Hawaii, both of which were excellent fueling stations for aircraft assault fleets, and which would have undoubtedly made them extremely valuable staging points for invasions of the United States. Had the Japanese been able to build up supplies of oil and steel from their conquests in Southeast Asia, then they could have removed their one weakness- their insufficient supply chain, and would have launched an attack all along the West coast of the United States. An invasion of the United States could have potentially led to the United States withdrawing vital support elements from the European Theatre, which would've had not only an effect on Allied morale, but also Allied strength in Central Europe.

In essence, by quelling the Japanese threat by attacking in response to the attack on Pearl Harbor, they insured that the Japanese would not be a long-term threat: and thus The United States could not only force the Japanese into a defensive stance, but could also reinforce the Allied push to take Berlin. While the initial cost of the embargo cost many American lives and warships on December 7th, 1941, time had proven the strategy of oil deprivation effective in that it robbed the Axis Powers of a potentially powerful ally in the Pacific Theatre. In conclusion, the embargo of the Japanese set off a chain of events that ended in Allied victory all over the globe in every theatre of the war.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

James, Edwin L. "Oil is the weak Point in Tokyo's strategy." New York Times, 3 Feb 1935, sec. E3 http://proquest.umi.com.proxy1.nku.edu/pqdweb?index=33&did=93449673&SrchMode=1&sid=1&Fmt=10&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=HNP&TS=1329321876&clientId=42585 (accessed Feb 15, 2012).

James, Edwin L. "Once again we tease Japan on oil supply." The New York Times, 3 Aug 1941, Sec. E3,http://proquest.umi.com.proxy1.nku.edu/pqdweb?index=68&did=109597350&SrchMode=1&sid=1&Fmt=10&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=HNP&TS=1329322367&clientId=42585 (accessed Feb 11, 2012).

Secondary Sources

Maechling, Charles. «Pearl Harbor the First Energy War.» History Today Volume 50, no. 12 (2000): 41-48.

Russet, Bruce M. «Pearl Harbor: Deterrence Theory and Decision Theory.» Journal of Peace Research (1967): 89-106. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/423240> (accessed Feb 11, 2012).

Jr., Irvine H. «The 1941 De Facto Embargo on Oil to Japan: A Bureaucratic Reflex.» Pacific Historical Review (1975): 201-231. < http://www.jstor.org/stable/3638003> (accessed Feb. 13, 2012)

Herzog, James H. «Influence of the United States Navy in the Embargo of Oil to Japan, 1940-1941.» Pacific Historical Review (1966): < http://www.jstor.org/stable/3636791>. (accessed Feb. 13, 2012)

Miller, Edward S. Bankrupting the Enemy: the U.S. financial siege of Japan before Pearl Harbor. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2007.

ENDNOTES

1 Jr., Irvine H. "The 1941 De Facto Embargo on Oil to Japan: A Bureaucratic Reflex." Pacific Historical Review (1975): page 203 (Taken from a Gallup-poll in 1939)

2 James, Edwin L. "Oil is the weak Point in Tokyo's strategy." New York Times, 3 Feb 1935, sec. E3

3 James, Edwin L. "Once again we tease Japan on oil supply." The New York Times, 3 Aug 1941, sec. E3

4 Russet, Bruce M. "Pearl Harbor: Deterrence Theory and Decision Theory." Journal of Peace Research (1967), pp. 89-106

An Assessment of Union Victory in the American Civil War

Andrew Shepherd

General Robert E. Lee famously said, "It is well that war is so terrible – otherwise we should grow too fond of it." The American Civil War was terrible indeed, the Nation's bloodiest conflict up to that point. Two disparate contentions have surfaced among scholars regarding this War Between the States. One asserts that the military actions of the Civil War were a foregone conclusion and that the Southern rebellion was sure to be put down, while the other claims that - had but a few events transpired differently - the Confederacy could have secured victory. Both positions have valid points to support them, but the former argument is stronger by far than the latter. The North possessed nearly every advantage in the war, including a larger population, a more industrialized economy, Lincoln's stronger leadership, and a superior naval force, all of which worked together against Southern morale and made Union victory practically inevitable.

Each of these four Union advantages – numbers, economy, leadership, and naval power – served their greatest purpose in that they affected Southern morale negatively. Brian Reid posits that, due to problems with morale, the Confederacy "failed to use revolutionary methods", such as a protracted, defensive, guerrilla campaign, to "full advantage".[1] As Union forces that outnumbered their own continued to press further into the South, rebel soldiers lost sight of what they were fighting for. The South's lack of manufacturing centers, poor transportation systems, and inability to profit from their cotton crop were all major reasons that the South could not continuously field armies large enough to repel the oncoming Yankees and thus led the people to despair. Conversely, the surge of Northern morale after Gettysburg could be measured tangibly through the value of the greenback which, "[i]n the space of just a few days. . . increased by about 13 percent, and did not experience a significant decline for several weeks."[2] While the Confederacy saw their adept military leadership become less and less capable of overcoming the continuously mounting obstacles in its path, the effective leadership of Abraham Lincoln had led the Union through a dark hour without allowing it to succumb to despair. The Union blockade played its part in sabotaging the Southern psyche as well by cutting the Confederacy off from the rest of the world. Alan Farmer wrote, "A people whose armies are beaten, railways wrecked, cities burned, countryside occupied and crops laid waste, lose their will -- and ability -- to continue fighting" succinctly summing up the Confederacy's morale problems.[3]

The greatest of the advantages the North had over the South in the Civil War was its larger population. According to the census of 1860 the northern states were home to over twenty two million Americans, slave and free alike,

while the eleven states which would secede from the union between December of that year and the following June were home to just over nine million, more than a third of which were slaves.[4] Although these numbers do not reflect individual loyalties, which were especially relevant in border states, it can still be reasonably stated that the Union had millions more men to fill their ranks than the Confederacy did.

The North's higher troop count played a critical role in compensating for the superior generalship of the Confederacy. Greater Union numbers turned many battles that would have been complete routs, courtesy of effective Confederate military tactics and leadership, into marginal defeats. Confederate Generals Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson and Robert E. Lee were seen as so virtuous and successful at orchestrating effective combat strategies that the men serving under them were convinced that God had sided with their Generals, yet even they could not ultimately overcome the greater numbers of the North.[5] Many early Confederate victories such as those at First and Second Bull Run, Jackson's Shenandoah Valley Campaign, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville were all narrowly won against a more numerous Union foe, demonstrating that the Confederacy was fighting more effectively than the Union in the first years of the war but not gaining much ground. An even surer sign that Union numbers were catching up to Confederate generalship was evident at the battle of Shiloh, considered the most significant battle in the western theater of the war.[6] There the Union emerged victorious despite suffering more casualties than the Confederates, which was made possible by their ability to reinforce their ranks with more men. The Union's ability to reinforce their numbers proved decisive again at Gettysburg and Union General Ulysses S. Grant's Wilderness Campaign of 1864, where Lee continued to inflict more casualties than he suffered, but unlike Grant, could not shore up his losses. From Gettysburg on, "the war became thenceforth a mere question of rubbing out, or grinding out, or hammering to pieces" according to one pamphlet printed in 1867.[7] The fact that the Confederacy was winning the war in terms of casualties inflicted relative to casualties endured made no difference. The North essentially purchased a slow but sure victory with quantities of blood the South could not match.

The huge disparity in population between the North and South also held implications for the war beyond simply the number of enlisted men in each army. For example, every volunteer that was moved into the Union or Confederate army's ranks had to be moved out of the labor force that was so critical for establishing and maintaining the railroads and manufactures that characterized the newly industrialized western world. Due to the greater population in the North, the Union's economy suffered far less from the loss of labor caused by the war effort than that of the Confederacy. Slaves were certainly a factor, since they were such a large portion of the South's work force, however, they primarily accounted for agrarian and domestic labor and not the critical railroad and manufacturing industries that war time merited. Towards the end of the war the Confederacy was so desperate for more men to join the ranks of their armies that diminishing the Southern labor force by enlisting slaves was even considered.[8]

A second major advantage for the North was the possession of an economy that was much stronger, more industrialized, and better suited for waging a modern war than the Southern economy, in large part due to Southern failures

and not just Northern successes. Perhaps the greatest failures of Southern industry in keeping pace with the North was in not successfully harnessing the power of railroads and transitioning from an agrarian economy to a manufacturing economy. Southerners were so "married" to the ideals of the plantation and agriculture as a way of life that they found themselves woefully behind the North in terms of industrial capability at the onset of war, possessing but a few bastions of production. Robert Scott Davis wrote about one of the Confederate arsenals, located in Macon, GA saying, "It particularly well demonstrates the failure of the Confederacy as a whole in meeting its military industrial needs" and elaborated further on the modern railroad in the South:

> In cities like Macon, cargos and passengers had to stop to change lines and often stayed the night. Such a system of provincial one-track transportation made anything like economy individual railroads. . .deliberately kept different gauges in order to prevent competitors of force for the Confederacy's military extremely difficult. . . No bureaucrats, even if competent and not working for the interests of the private railroad companies, could really have succeeded in organizing this segmented transportation system.[9]

The Southern economy simply could not rely on its fractured rail network or its few and far between munitions and production centers, both hugely problematic issues while waging war.

At first, the idea that the Southern economy was weak was rejected. An article in *The New York Herald* in 1859 said of the South, "Already the idea of industrial independence is rife there, and efforts are being begun to stimulate local efforts in production and manufacture."[10] In response to Northern reports of poverty in South Carolina in 1861, after it had seceded, *The Charleston Mercury* wrote, ". . .we may be permitted to mention a line of business in which the persevering skills of our friends north of Mason and Dixon's has been pre-eminently conspicuous within the last few months. . . [which is] whole cloth lying."[11] While it is true that the South was not in abject poverty at the outbreak of the war, confidence in Southern industry was largely misplaced. The true strength of the Southern economy lay elsewhere.

The growth and trade of cotton was the backbone of the Southern economy, but it proved truly worthless in waging war. By the middle of the nineteenth century, textile manufacturers across the globe, even as far as Moscow, had come to rely on the plentiful and inexpensive stream of cotton flowing from the United States. Major ports and textile mills in the North relied on the South to sell them cheap cotton as well. However, after fighting broke out, cotton became nearly useless to the Southern economy. International trade was cut off by the Confederacy hoping to leverage global demands for cotton and elicit foreign support in the war. The political pressure of denying cotton to the rest of the world failed, and the Southern economy was stuck with millions of bales of cotton it could not sell.[12] As a result of this Southern attempt to rely on an agrarian economy in a time of war, the Union advantage was enhanced.

The Union had plenty of economic successes of its own, and was not faced with nearly as much difficulty arming itself and maintaining a vibrant network of transportation. Arms were manufactured in such great numbers in the North that they had plenty to spare. Ironically, there are instances in which Southern states purchased guns and artillery from their Yankee rivals prior to secession

and war. In one such instance:

> ...the fiery governor of Georgia, Joseph E. Brown . . . was confident that the prospect of profit would trump any concerns about sectional strife in the minds of most Northern arms suppliers. He also knew the pickings would be especially ripe in New York City, the largest and most diverse market for guns, ammunition and other war materiel anywhere in the Western Hemisphere.[13]

Transportation of men and supplies also proved easier for the Union, despite facing similar difficulties as the Confederacy, such as varying rail gauges. Greater Union mobility was in part due to the freedom with which the North could utilize naval transportation and therefore treat railroads as supplementary modes of transport, but also because their main railway lines were in full functioning order by the start of the war. The North had begun to make efficient use of the relatively new technology and had, for their supply trains, managed to nearly double the speed of what a typical passenger train traveled.[14] In addition, the North had nearly twice as much track laid as the South. These factors combined would give the Union the edge in mobility, resupply, and reinforcement which would only grow more pronounced as the war waged on.[15]

A third advantage the Union held was that of President Abraham Lincoln's strong but controversial leadership, and his unwavering dedication to democracy. Lincoln's administration did indeed prove constitutionally controversial with the suspension of habeus corpus, through which Lincoln granted himself, "more power than any other individual in America before or since".[16] However, he demonstrated his strength of character and commitment to democratic principles by not abusing this power, which he called upon only to preserve the Union by more effectively dealing with internal strife unlike any that had been seen before. Lincoln also did not interfere with the right to vote during the 1864 election which "endangered the Union more than the dissidents ever could."[17] By allowing the democratic process to unfold, even if it meant potential disaster for the nation, Lincoln, "established majority rule as America's most central principle."[18] The will of the people, more than the issues of slavery and state's rights, was what the Civil War was truly about, and Lincoln made it clear that he was not willing to compromise the tenets of democracy to avoid hardship and even disaster.

Lincoln proved ideal for the next to impossible task of leading a nation divided by civil war. Passionate about law and liberty, his, "principled rhetoric made him a moral leader while his formidable will had made him a decisive head of the executive branch."[19] Of course the South did not see Lincoln in so positive a light. Southern journalist's treatment of Lincoln was harsh and divisive, calling him a "Black Republican" influenced by "extreme abolitionists". They saw the election of 1860 as a "constitutional crisis" and believed that Lincoln's election would guarantee war between the states.[20] Such treatment of Lincoln in the press would continue, but he knew that sustaining patriotic sentiment was necessary, and so he moved cautiously and chose to rein in only a select portion of anti-administration papers. Lincoln believed that, "ignoring the hostility of the supposedly disloyal press was more likely to marginalize and contain it than would suppression." Thus, instead of suppressing dissident opinion in the press, he chose to focus on, "broadcasting in his own words his

administration's purposes" by nurturing relationships with newspaper editors who would gladly spread that message.[21]

Similarly, Lincoln had to exercise tactfulness when broaching the subject of the Confederacy and its President, Jefferson Davis. While Davis, "would coldly and with studied politeness at intervals point to Lincoln as an ignorant usurper and a bloodthirsty despot. . . Lincoln must speak and write as though Davis had no existence legal or personal".[22] Lincoln knew that publicly railing against the Confederacy would be to acknowledge their valid legal existence and grant them the power of public sympathy as the valiant opposition of a tyrant. Lincoln instead did a masterful job at keeping the Union focused on emerging victorious, as exemplified by his immortal words at Gettysburg: "[F]rom these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain".[23] Lincoln proved highly successful as a touchstone of perseverance in a war weary nation that could have easily settled for division instead of fighting for unity. Such grit in a leader, who refused to compromise democratic principles under the most dire circumstances, gave the Union an unmistakable edge.

It is to Lincoln's credit that he kept the North from total despair when its Generals proved inept during the first half of the actual fighting in the Civil War, an ineptitude which clearly illustrated the superiority of the Confederate Generals. Even the newspapers in the North came to recognize the "wily strategy" of the rebel commanders.[24] At the first battle of Bull Run, "Stonewall" Jackson earned his nickname by holding fast against the oncoming enemy and earning a victory against a more numerous foe. The battle was not one sided, however, and had Union General Irwin McDowell had a larger staff to support him, the outcome may have been very different.[25] Jackson proved himself again in the Shenandoah Valley Campaign during the spring of 1862, which discouraged an assault on Richmond by Union General Scott McClellan by brilliantly maneuvering across hundreds of miles, fighting in four battles against a larger enemy force, and winning each time.[26] Jackson and Lee together practically made a fool out of General John Pope at the second battle of Bull Run, and of General Ambrose Burnside at Fredericksburg, by utilizing superior tactics. Indeed, the Confederacy's battle prowess kept Lincoln very busy nursing Northern morale, a task which he would prove to excel at.

A fourth advantage the Union possessed, albeit one that has been esteemed too highly by historians, was a larger navy which merits a discussion of what it did and did not accomplish. Shortly after the onset of war the Union set up a naval blockade of Southern ports and trade routes. This blockade did have a significant negative effect on Southern morale by isolating the Confederacy from the rest of the world politically. It did not, as it is often portrayed, serve as a highly effective preventative measure against Southern shipping.

The true advantage of Union naval supremacy was the political isolation it inflicted on the South. The Confederacy had hoped to gain the recognition of European powers, especially England, by appealing to the laws of the Declaration of Paris which said that a blockade that was proven to be inefficient was illegal and thus open to international condemnation.[27] The Europeans, however, did not take the bait. One Englishman, Earl Russell, wrote, "in my opinion, the name of England would have been forever infamous, if. . .we had. . . made war

with those slaveholding states of America against the Federal States." Southerners balked in response. *The Charleston Mercury* replied to Russell, "We understand you now! We thought you were a gentleman and a statesman. We now learn that you are an abolitionist!"[28] By thus alienating the Confederate states, the Union blockade made up for its general inability to eliminate Southern maritime trade by eliminating hope, which was far more valuable.

Many historians have flippantly dealt with the topic of the Union naval blockade by incorrectly assuming that it was highly effective in halting Southern shipping. The truth is that the blockade allowed far more Confederate ships to pass through than an effective blockade should. Indeed, it was not until the war was almost over and Southern ports fell into union hands that Confederate shipping ever stopped.[29] In their *Reassessment of the Union Blockade's Effectiveness in the Civil War*, Bonner and McCord debunk many myths regarding the blockade, including what they call the "deterrent effect". This is essentially the blockade's ability to dissuade Southern shipping simply by being there, with no fighting being necessary:

> Proponents of the deterrent effect also argue that blockade running did not match prewar trade levels, thus confirming the blockade's effectiveness. This argument is a historical fallacy. . . To be sure, large cargo ships and slower sailing boats could no longer dock along the wharves of Charleston or New Orleans, but this fact does not prove effectiveness. It merely indicates a shift in the size, cargo capacity, and speed of the importing vessels. . . The exchange of diminished capacity for increased runner speeds was a natural by-product of the blockade, and a battle won by the blockade-runners. [30]

Upon examining the effect of Confederate shippers exchanging hold space for speed to outmaneuver the enemy, Bonner and McCord found that the blockade's effectiveness decreased as the war progressed with capture rates dropping as low as 12.7%. Clearly the Union blockade was not doing a good job of stymieing the Southern economy as many historians have casually posited. However, the advantage of Northern naval power never was about what it did to the Southern economy by limiting trade, but instead what it did to Southern morale through political isolation.

Even with the North's prodigious advantages in mind, a curious question is often posed: Could the South have won the Civil War? There are some who believe that Northern victory was not inevitable. They are, strictly speaking, correct, since almost any historical outcome could have turned out differently had certain variables been adjusted. However, their assertions are largely based on the clarity hindsight gives us, a generous dose of luck for the confederacy, and highly subjective speculation.

Albert Castel supports the idea that the South could have won, and he makes a somewhat valid point when he claims that, "[s]ufficient superiority in the ability of Confederate commanders would have more than compensated for the South's numerical and material inferiority". [31] The North recognized this, as seen in an article in *The New York Herald* from 1863 which compared Lee during his excursion into Pennsylvania to Julius Caesar, William the Conqueror, the Athenians at Marathon, and Napoleon, claiming that with Lee, like those others, "[g]eneralship is more important than numbers."[32] However, this principle can only be carried so far. Even superior military leadership could not prevent

staggering numbers of casualties, and the undeniable fact is that the Confederacy could not replace men lost while the Union could. Competent Generals may make more effective use of artillery, but guns destroyed or captured must be replaced. Again, the Union could do this effectively and the Confederacy could not.

Castel and other proponents of the notion that Union victory was not a foregone conclusion also argue, illogically, that there were several instances where the South was on the cusp of victory, and thus could have won the war.[33] For example, a Southern victory at Gettysburg would have greatly weakened Northern morale, and perhaps this victory would have been possible, they argue, had "Stonewall" Jackson not been mortally wounded by friendly fire at Chancellorsville, and thus been present at Gettysburg. Jackson's death was considered, even as soon as 1865, as a matter "that many thousands would feel an interest in the particulars" of, so strong were feelings that he could have made a serious difference had he lived.[34] Similar speculations exist regarding Vicksburg, the "lost order" of Antietam, and Sherman's difficulty in taking Atlanta. The illogical nature of these arguments is that they only consider how things could have gone differently in the South's favor, and even then, incompletely so. What they fail to acknowledge is that even if Lee had won at Gettysburg, he did not have the means to press on, let alone occupy any significant portion of the Union before superior numbers would have driven him back. This same incompleteness is found with other theories of Confederate victory. Consider instead how things could have gone differently in the Union's favor. What if Jackson had been killed earlier, perhaps by enemy fire at Bull Run? Casualties amongst Lee's Generals were high, after all.[35] What if Lee had been killed instead of Jackson? Or, what if Lee had decided not to fight for the Confederacy? He did struggle with the decision upon Virginia's secession. What if McClellan had not hesitated to assault Richmond in the Peninsular Campaign? What if Pope had not been so overconfident going into second Bull Run, or Hooker at Chancellorsville? If an accurate and unbiased examination of "what if" scenarios pertaining to the Civil War are to be undertaken, we must conclude that the probability of Northern victory being enhanced is much higher than that of even a marginal Southern victory.

The American Civil War completely altered the political, cultural, and economic landscape of the United States for generations. It called into question many assumptions that had been held by Americans of the time, and determined the direction of the federal government's role in society, the institution of slavery, and the further industrialization of the nation. The outcome of this monumental conflict would determine so much, and yet only one outcome was truly feasible. Too many advantages lay within one side's grasp for the other to pose a serious threat. Renowned Civil War historian Shelby Foote put it well when he quipped that, "the North fought that war with one hand behind its back. . . If there had been more Southern victories, and a lot more, the North simply would have brought that other hand out from behind its back", and his assessment could not be more correct.[36]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Correspondence of the New York World. 1865. "The Last Hours of Stonewall Jackson." The Daily Picayune (1840-1865), Sep 17, 3-3. http://search.proquest.com/docview/507520236?accountid=12817.

De Peyster, John Watts. 1867. The Decisive Conflicts of the Late Civil War, for slaveho1I260-01-0(New York), inferred from source Ann Arbor, United States, Ann Arbor: (Macdonald), inferred from source.http://search.proquest.com/docview/88430624?accountid=12817.

"The Blockade--Complaint of the Confederates." 1863.The Charleston Mercury (1840-1865), Oct 28, 1- http://search.proquest.com/docview/507849397?accountid=12817.

"The Decisive Day at Hand." 1863. The New York Herald (1840-1865), Jun 30, 6-6. http://search.proquest.com/docview/505631086?accountid=12817.

"The Eighth Census." 1861. Memphis Daily Appeal (1847-1865), Apr 14, 2-2. http://search.proquest.com/docview/505331173?accountid=12817.

"The Great Impending Battles Decisive of the Campaign." 1862.The New York Herald (1840-1865), Apr 28, 4-4. http://search.proquest.com/docview/505596908?accountid=12817.

"The Impending Oriels to Northern Industry--Economical Independence and Wealth of the South."1859. The New York Herald (1840-1865), Dec 19, 4-4. http://search.proquest.com/docview/505545294?accountid=12817.

"The South Will Not Protect Northern Manufactures." 1861. The Charleston Mercury (1840-1865), Mar 13, 1-1. http://search.proquest.com/docview/507808664?accountid=12817.

Secondary Sources

Beckert, Sven. 2004. "Emancipation and Empire: Reconstructing the Worldwide Web of Cotton Production in the Age of the American Civil War." American Historical Review Vol.109, No. 5:1405-1438. America: History and Life, EBSCOhost (accessed September 1, 2012).

Bonner, M. Brem, and Peter McCord. "Reassessment of the Union Blockade's Effectiveness in the Civil War." North Carolina Historical Review Vol. 88, No. 4 (October 2011): 375-395. America: History and Life, EBSCOhost (accessed August 31, 2012).

Carwardine, Richard. 2006. "Abraham Lincoln and the Fourth Estate: The White House and the Press during the American Civil War." American Nineteenth Century History Vol. 7, No. 1: 1-27. America: History and Life, EBSCOhost (accessed September 1, 2012).

Castel, Albert. 2000. "Why the North Won and the South Lost." Civil War Times Illustrated Vol. 39, No. 2: 56. Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost (accessed September 11, 2012).

Connor, Sam. 1998. "Cleburne and the Unthinkable." Civil War Times Illustrated, Vol. 36, No. 7: 45. America: History and Life, EBSCOhost (accessed September 25,

2012).

Cronin, Mary M. 2009. “Fiend, Coward, Monster, or King: Southern Press Views of Abraham Lincoln.” American Journalism, Vol. 26, No. 4: 35-61. America: History and Life, EBSCOhost (accessed September 1, 2012).

Davis, Robert Scott. 2007. “A Cotton Kingdom Retooled for War: The Macon Arsenal and the Confederate Ordnance Establishment.” Georgia Historical Quarterly Vol. 91, No. 3: 266-291. America: History and Life, EBSCOhost(accessed September 1, 2012).

Farmer, Alan. 2005. “Why was the Confederacy Defeated?” History Review No. 52: 15-20. Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost (accessed September 11, 2012).

Gallagher, Gary W. 2012. “What If...?.” Civil War Times Vol. 51, No. 5: 18-20. America: History and Life, EBSCOhost (accessed August 31, 2012).

Kleinfeld, Joshua. 1997. “The Union Lincoln Made.” History Today, Vol.47, No. 11: 24. America: History and Life, EBSCOhost (accessed September 1, 2012).

Linderman, Gerald F. Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War. New York: The Free Press, 1987.

McDonough, James Lee. Shiloh: In Hell Before Night. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1977.

McPherson, James. Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Murphey, Hermon King. 1918. “The Northern Railroads and the Civil War.” The Mississippi Valley Historical Review Vol. 5, No. 3: pp. 324-338. JSTOR (accessed September 25, 2012).

Patterson, Gerard A. 2007. “Arming the South With Guns From the North.” Civil War Times, Vol.46, No. 8: 36-39.America: History and Life, EBSCOhost (accessed September 25, 2012).

Reid, Brian Holden. 1988. “Why The Confederacy Lost: The Problem Of Morale.” History Today, Vol.38, No. 11: 32. America: History and Life, EBSCOhost (accessed September 11, 2012).

Reid, Brian Holden. 1992. “First blood to the South: Bull Run, 1861.” History Today, Vol.42, No. 3:20. America: History and Life, EBSCOhost (accessed September 25, 2012).

Roland, Charles P. An American Iliad: The Story of the Civil War. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004.

Sandburg, Carl. Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and the War Years. New York: Harcourt, 1982.

Smith, Jeffery A. “Lincoln’s Other War: Public Opinion, Press Issues, and Personal Pleas.” American Journalism Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall2009 2009): 87-117. America: History and Life, EBSCOhost (accessed September 1, 2012).

The Civil War, directed by Ken Burns (1990; PBS Studios), DVD.

Trammell, Jack K. 2007. “Blockade in Name Only.” America’s Civil War Vol. 20, No. 5: 44-51. Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost (accessed September 12, 2012).

Willard, Kristen L., and Timothy W. Guinnane, and Harvey S. Rosen. 1996. “Turning Points in the Civil War: Views from the Greenback Market.” American Economic Review Vol. 86, No. 4: 1001-1018. America: History and Life, EBSCOhost (accessed September 1, 2012).

ENDNOTES

1 Brian Holden Reid, "Why the Confederacy Lost: The Problem of Morale." *History Today* 38, no. 11 (1988), pp. 32

2 Kristen L. Willard et al., "Turning Points in the Civil War: Views from the Greenback Market." *American Economic Review* 86, no. 4 (1996), pp. 1001-1018

3 Alan Farmer, "Why was the Confederacy Defeated?." *History Review* no. 52 (2005), pp. 15-20

4 "The Eighth Census." *Memphis Daily Appeal (1847-1865)*, Apr 14 2-2.

5 Gerald F. Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), pp. 9

6 James Lee McDonough, *Shiloh: In Hell Before Night* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1977), pp. 6

7 John Watts De Peyster "The Decisive Conflicts of the Late Civil War, or Slaveholder's Rebellion. Battles Morally, Territorially, and Militarily Decisive." *Pamphlets on the Civil War, 1861-1865* (1867), pp. 14

8 Sam Connor, "Cleburne and the Unthinkable." *Civil War Times Illustrated* 36, no. 7 (1998), pp. 45

9 Robert Scott Davis, "A Cotton Kingdom Retooled for War: The Macon Arsenal and the Confederate Ordinance Establishment." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 91, no.3 (2007), pp. 266-291

10 "The Impending Oriels to Northern Industry – Economical Independence and Wealth of the South." *The New York Herald (1840-1865)*, Dec 19, 1862, 4-4.

11 "The South Will Not Protect Northern Manufactures." *The Charleston Mercury (1840 – 1865),* Mar 13, 1861, 1-1.

12 Sven Beckert, "Emancipation and Empire: Reconstructing the Worldwide Web of Cotton Production in the Age of the American Civil War." *American Historical Review* 109, no. 5 (2004), pp. 1408-1410

13 Gerard A. Patterson, "Arming the South With Guns From the North." *Civil War Times* 46, no. 8 (2007), pp. 36-39

14 Hermon King Murphey, "The Northern Railroads and the Civil War." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 5, no. 3 (1918), pp. 324-338

15 Charles P. Roland, *An American Iliad: The Story of the Civil War.* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004), pp. 45

16 Joshua Kleinfeld, "The Union Lincoln Made." *History Today* Vol. 47, No. 11 (1997), pp. 24

17 Ibid, pp. 24

18 Ibid, pp. 24

19 Jeffery A. Smith, "Lincoln's Other War: Public Opinion, Press Issues, and Personal Pleas." *American Journalism* 26, no. 4 (2009), pp. 87-117

20 Mary M. Cronin, "Fiend, Coward, Monster, or King: Southern Press Views of Abraham Lincoln." *American Journalism* 26, no. 4 (2009), pp. 35-61

21 Richard Carwardine, "Abraham Lincoln and the Fourth Estate: The White House and the Press During the American Civil War." *American Nineteenth Century History* 7, no. 1 (2006), pp. 1-27

22 Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and the War Years.* (New York: Harcourt, 1982), pp. 17

23 Ibid, pp. 444-445

24 "The Great Impending Battles Decisive of the Campaign." *The New York Herald (1840 – 1865)*, Apr 28, 1862, 4-4

25 Brian Holden Reid, "First Blood to the South: Bull Run, 1861." *History Today* 42, no. 3 (1992), pp. 23

26 James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 454-460

27 Brem M. Bonner, and Peter McCord. "Reassessment of the Union Blockade's Effectiveness in the Civil War." *North Carolina Historical Review* 88, no. 4 (2011), pp. 375-395.

28 "The Blockade – Complaint of the Confederates." *The Charleston Mercury (1840-1865), Oct 28, 1863,* 1-1.

29 Jack K. Trammell. "Blockade in Name Only." *America's Civil War* 20, no. 5 (2007), pp. 44-51

30 Bonner and McCord, "Reassessment of the Union Blockade's Effectiveness", pp. 375-395

31 Albert Castel, "Why the North Won and the South Lost." *Civil War Times Illunstrated* 39, no. 2 (2000), pp. 56

32 "The Decisive Day at Hand." *The New York Herald (1840-1865), Jun 30, 1863, 6-6*.

33 Castel, "Why the North Won and the South Lost," pp. 56

34 "The Last Hours of Stonewall Jackson." *The Daily Picayune (1840-1865), Sep 17, 1865, 3-3*.

35 Gary W. Gallagher, "What If...?." *Civil War Times* 51, no. 5 (2012), pp. 18-20

36 *The Civil War*. Directed by Ken Burns. 1990; PBS Studios, DVD.

"Hunting and Foraging in the Eysai Basin, Northern Tanzania: Past, Present and Future"

Audax Mabulla

[The African Archaeological Review, Vol. 24, March/June 2007, pp. 15-33]

Review by Shane Wagner

Long after the ancient sites of Sumerian and Minoan civilizations have been excavated, archeologists have begun to turn their attention to the archaeological and ethnographic histories of the early peoples of Africa. *The African Archaeological Review* specializes in the documentation of discoveries made in various archaeological sites across the continent of Africa. In the article, "Hunting and Foraging in the Eysai Basin, Northern Tanzania: Past, Present and Future," author Audax Mabulla first tries to outline a detailed history of hunter-gatherers in the Eysai Basin, a small portion of land around Lake Eysai in northern Tanzania. He then proceeds to make connections between the hunter-gatherers of the past and the Hadzabe, a current ethnic and cultural group whom are hunter-gatherers in the same region and have faced extinction for the last hundred years.

According to Mabulla, the history of hunting and gathering around Lake Eysai can be placed from about 130,000 before present sent all the way to the present. He also helps reveal the multifaceted dealings these hunter-gatherers had with the newly evolving herders and farmers who began to emerge in the Eysai Basin around 3,000 BP Amazingly enough, for the majority of modern human history, about 90-95% of the time we have been hunter-gatherers. It wasn't until around 10,000-7,000 years ago did we begin to see the development of the domestication of animals and plants. Hunter-gatherer cultures have always been in a state of assimilation as herding, farming, and urban societies have developed around them, or they have been annihilated due to conflicts over land or susceptibility to new diseases. According to Mabulla, by the end of the 20th century A.D., hunter-gatherers were only to be found on the margins of society. There is much evidence in the Eysai Basin to verify the existence of hunter-gatherer groups in that region as early as 130,000 BP. Three human molars associated with the Middle Stone Age known as the "Sanzako" industry, were found in a Mumba rock shelter. Other remains, such as femurs, phalanges, face fragments, shell fragments, and animal remains support the existence of hunter-gatherers in the Eysai Basin and, based on the distribution of the material remains, it can be deduced that these peoples were widely spread across the region. Interestingly enough, several occurrences of obsidian pieces have been found in the basin, giving evidence to the idea that these hunter-gatherers

were trading high quality materials through an exchange system as early as 130,000 BP.

Mabulla also brings the concept of art into the equation when discussing the ancient people of the Eysai Basin. Paintings of people shooting bows and arrows also help prove that these early inhabitants were in fact hunters. Based on the paintings found in Tanzanian caves, meat seemed to be an important component of the hunter-gatherer diet. Plants, however, were also very important in the survival of hunter-gatherers, so much so that they show up in paintings and excavated plant remains have been found in almost every archaeological dig.

The Eysai Basin seemed to embrace pastoralism around 2,500 to 1,800 BP. Remains of domesticated cattle, sheep, and goats show there is a direct association with a Late Stone Age lithic assemblage and pottery. Pastoralism seemed to base itself around the northeast shore of Lake Eysai mainly because of its plains of short grasses, water springs, and salt flats, all of which are ideal settings for grazing animals. Around 1,800 BP, we see evidence of the Iron Age in the Eysai Basin. Occurrences of pottery of the Lelesu Ware, pieces of iron, and iron beads were recovered in sites around Mumba. Mabulla suggests this may be evidence that Iron Age people made their way and settled in the Eysai Basin, Eysai Basin people had contact with Iron Age people, or people in the region acquired iron making technology. Although there is no archaeological evidence for the advent of farming in the Eysai Basin, there is evidence of water furrows, stone walls, and stone platforms, which suggest field clearings. After the development of agriculture, most people lived an agrarian lifestyle mixed with some hunting and gathering until eventually living a fully agrarian life. However there are some people, though very few, who still live their lives solely dependent on hunting and gathering for survival.

The Hadzabe are a group of people who today live in the Eysai Basin. Geomorphologically, the region is characterized by block-faulting and volcanoes because it sits on the southern termination of the Great Rift Valley. The soil is very rich and the vegetation is primarily a mixture of woodlands, savanna, grasslands, and deciduous bushlands. The Hadzabe, whose population numbers about 700-800, speak a click language known as "Hadzane." Mabulla makes several connections between the Hadzabe and hunter-gatherers of the past. First of all, animals and plants found in cave paintings dating back thousands of years are extremely similar to the animals and plants the Hadzabe still eat to this day, such as the baobab fruit and berries. Secondly, ancient paintings suggest gender differentiation in terms of men hunting and women gathering. In modern ethnographic studies, anthropologists have found that the Hadzabe have similar, yet very strict gender roles in which men *only* hunt, and women *only* gather and care for the family. Thirdly, like the peoples who occupied the Eysai Basin thousands of years before, the Hadzabe also sing, dance, and have a rich culture. According to the Hadzabe, they are descendants of the early hunter-gatherer groups of northern Tanzania. There is no evidence to prove this oral history to be true. However, there are many similarities including both groups living in stone shelters. Mabulla then goes on to discuss how the Hadzabe are facing many issues today that may lead to their extinction. First of all, many non-hunter-gatherers have moved into their territory and have eaten up a large portion of their resources. Cash crop farming, charcoal making, building

supplies, mining, commercial hunting, fishing, and tourism is slowly killing the Hadzabe environment on which they depend for survival. AIDS is also a looming threat to the Hadzabe who in recent years have found a more sexual lifestyle based on outside influences and alcohol. The only attempt the Tanzanian government has made to protect the Hadzabe is to convert them to sedentary peasants.

Audax Mabulla has several goals in his article, "Hunting and Foraging in the Eysai Basin, Northern Tanzania: Past, Present and Future." First of all he aims to give a detailed account of how the people of the Eysai Basin survived over hundreds of years moving through various subsistence practices including hunting and gathering, pastoralism, and finally agriculture. He explains the pros and cons of each method and provides historical, scientific, and archaeological evidence that early modern humans lived, worked, and lived on the land in present day northern Tanzania. He also spends a great deal of time discussing the similarities between ancient hunter-gatherers in the Eysai Basin and the present day Hadzabe people who also live in the same region. He mentions how the animals the Hadzabe hunted, plants they gathered, homes they lived in, and the ways their society is structured are almost identical to the ancient people who once occupied their land.

Not only is this article written to inform the reader about the history of subsistence patterns in the Eysai Basin, it also engages the reader in a thoughtful debate over the relationship between ancient hunter-gatherers and the Hadzabe who are perhaps among the last hunter-gatherer peoples in the world. Mabulla has two main arguments within his article. First of all, he argues that it is quite possible that the Hadzabe are related to early hunter-gatherers in the Eysai Basin. Mabulla states that in terms of their subsistence mode hunting and foraging, and the aspects of social, cultural and egalitarian structures, the Hadzabe share significant similarities with early hunter-gatherers. With the idea that the Hadzabe are living in the exact location as hunter-gatherers thousands of years ago, it is not within the realm of impossibility that these two peoples are relations separated by millennia. His second main argument is that if drastic measures are not taken, and soon, the Hadzabe will become an extinct ethnic group and there may be no hunter-gatherer societies left in Africa. He supports this argument by detailing the challenges the Hadzabe are currently at war with: AIDS, environmental destruction, loss of territory, resource exhaustion, and starvation. Audax Muballa's article on hunting and gathering is different from other archaeological writings in the manner that he associates his findings with a real life hunter-gatherer people - the Hadzabe. This allows the reader to realize how people thousands of years ago did not differ much from ourselves. Through his article, Mabulla creates a source for readers to understand the needs, wants, and lives of our ancient ancestors by seeing the similarities between us and the Hadzabe. In terms of African History, Mabulla's article on hunter-gatherers is very important. Since scientists have been able to pinpoint the first development of human beings to eastern Africa, there is a strong possibility that these early hunter-gatherers were in fact direct decedents from the first modern humans. If the Hadzabe are related to these ancient people, we as historians can make connections between these two peoples and gain further insight into the lives and practices of our ancient ancestors in east Africa.

Mabulla's goals for this article seem appropriate, well researched, and adequately supported. Educating the world on ancient hunter-gatherer groups in the Eysai Basin of northern Tanzania is very important in helping us to understand our past and the various subsistence patterns we have adopted. Audax Mabulla provides historical, archaeological, and anthropological evidence along with art from the past to help fulfill his goal of documenting the past of hunter-gatherers in this specific region of Africa. Although Mabulla uses this archaeological article published in *The African Archaeological Review* as a platform in which to outline his personal opinions on the injustices forced upon the Hadzabe, his analysis of the problems are valid and he points out that if immediate action is not taken to rectify the various problems in the Eysai Basin we will see the Hadzabe people disappear from the earth, possibly within our own lifetime. Mabulla provides the various factors that are working to destroy the Hadzabe, but although he offers his advice to rectify these problems, he fails to give suggestions on how to do so. Besides this smallest of inconsistencies, Mabulla's article is written very clearly and gets both his goals and arguments across effectively and in an entertaining manner.

Hunting and Foraging in the Eysai Basin, Northern Tanzania: Past, Present and Future" by Audax Mabulla in an impressive piece both details the past history and current state of a relatively obscure group of people. The article in general is important both to African and World History in the way it details the lifestyles of past peoples. In regards to the Hadzabe, as the only living model of hunting and gathering in Africa, they could be used as an important example of traditional African subsistence and social activities. Mabulla also made his article detailed and interesting, without losing the reader in an entanglement of vocabulary or boring research studies. This article should be recommended to students of anthropology because it can help explain the components of hunting-gathering societies. This article would also be extremely valuable to African and World History students to explain the various subsistence practices of hunter-gathers and to allow a people, in this case the Hadzabe, to be used to further understand how a modern hunter-gatherer society exists today in our globalized world. Audax Mabulla's article is highly enjoyable and should be highly recommended it to anyone interested in learning more about their own past and the past of the world.

1492: The Year Our World Began

Felipe Fernandez-Armesto
[New York: HarperOne, 2009]
Review by Aaron Sprinkles

Fernández-Armesto, in this his latest book, offers an entertaining and valuable portrait of the world on the brink of modernity. Addressed to a popular readership, the book succeeds in bringing to the center of popular historical discourse narratives not commonly encountered in Western historical education outside the post-secondary level. In ten chapters, Fernández-Armesto provides an overview of nine cultures as they stand in the year 1492, with the aim of

revealing the foundation of the subsequent trajectories of human history. Implicit in the book is the methodology of the World History paradigm, and the overarching theme is of the integration of previously disparate societies – a process which reversed, according to Fernández-Armesto, a world "divided among sundered cultures and divergent ecosystems."

Insofar as Fernández-Armesto attempts to create a "snapshot" of world history at a given moment, his attempt is more or less successful. *1492* devotes chapters to a geographically and culturally diverse array of powerful societies – from Christian Spain on the eve of achieving Reconquista, to the indigenous empires of the Americas, to the ascendant Songhay Empire in West Africa – and the author avoids the temptation of hindsight, to portray modernity as an inevitable outcome of past historical conditions. In this respect Fernández-Armesto is careful to plot a moderate course – exaggerating neither the agency of historical actors nor championing a brand of historical determinism. Nevertheless, the author does choose to weigh in on the theoretic disputes of historians, in this case on the assignment of short-term vs. long-term causation of historical events; and he writes that "historians have more or less abandoned the search for long-term origins." This statement, nestled in the book's concluding chapter, preludes the author's justification of his endeavor – and of his de facto acceptance of the underlying significance of modern historical periodization. In the face of all criticisms, and despite the ambivalence of his language in places, Fernández-Armesto maintains in this book a confidence that events at the outset of the 16th century represented a fundamental shift in the course of human history.

The most interesting, unifying topic in *1492* is cartography. While the study of advances in cartography during this period is, in itself, remarkably significant to historical understanding – cartography is employed as an example which epitomizes the processes of inter-societal convergence which began in this period. The maps of a people, for Fernández-Armesto, represented both idealized cosmologies (he gives formal Islamic maps as an example) as well as depictions of the boundaries of a given society's knowledge of other cultures. By examining the state of cartography in 1492, Fernández-Armesto is able to establish the degree to which various societies were conscious of each other. This determination proves invaluable to the book, which is above all else a study concerned with processes of global integration. More subtly, Fernández-Armesto's assessment of the cartography of a society (he criticizes both Islamic and Chinese cartography) seems to correspond with his assessment of that group's outlook towards global integration in subsequent years. In particular, Fernández-Armesto singles out the Chinese as a society uninterested (aside from the famous treasure expeditions, which he views as atypical) in naval pursuits and global exploration for almost the entirety of its history. It is inferred that, insofar as this represents a tendency to look inward rather than out at other cultures, Europeans were able to more successfully integrate information and technology from other cultures into a system that shifted the global distribution of power in the following centuries.

Although Fernández-Armesto is perhaps the quintessential Oxford don, the book is a thoroughly enjoyable read and exquisitely accessible to the average lover of history. Heavy in its analysis of extra-European historical trends, the book emphasizes the relative unimportance of Europe at the dawn of modernity, and the true necessities (rather than the exaggerated virtues) that led Western

Europe to reverse its status as a marginal backwater. Light on pedantry, heavy on insight, 1492 – by virtue of the World History paradigm employed by Fernández-Armesto – will leave the reader with a more complete understanding of the foundation the modern world has been built upon.

The History of Africa: The Quest for Eternal Harmony

Molefi Asante Kete

[New York: Routledge, 2007]

Review by Bradford Hogue

Molefi Kete Asante has written his official narrative of African history. The text is written for a readership that is not deeply familiar with African history or cultures. Asante is direct in his approach to the material. There are many photographs and illustrations of political leaders, land marks and persons of influence within the African past. There are also excerpts from indigenous African scripts. Asante is the father of the Afrocentric theory and subsequently this book gives the reader a clear insight into Afrocentric historiography. Asante achieves his goal in this text by demonstrating that a grand narrative of African history can be crafted from an Afrocentric perspective and remain informative, relevant and above all factual. He announces his aims and objectives in the preface of the text.

The purpose of the *The History of Africa*, given the many books that have been written about Africa, is to provide a straightforward, illustrated, and factual text told from the standpoint of Africans themselves. It is a book that allows African agency to dominate the interpretations and explanations of the facts on the ground. In this way *The History of Africa* will give the readers a chronological and critical examination of the extensive history of Africa. The objective of my endeavor was to use the cultural, social, political and economic lenses of Africa as instruments to explicate the ordinary lives of Africans within the context of their own experiences.

A significant aspect of this text is that it is entirely written from an Afrocentric perspective. Asante, though not overwhelmingly biased, does exhibit a fair amount of subjectivity in writing as a direct inheritor of the African heritage and legacy. Asante's cultural identity as an African is a factor in the writing of this book. The text is clearly not about Europeans in Africa but about Africans in Africa. When reading Asante one must always bear in mind that he is a student of the late Senegalese scholar Cheikh Anta Diop and this means that Asante is continually advancing the theory of a cultural unity of Africa. Themes of African cultural unity are present throughout the text.

The text is organized into seven chapters that chronologically trace Africa from the origins of humanity to modern topics such as the theoretical basis for the formation of a United Africa. Asante uses a three generator theory as the common unit of analysis to organize his approach to Africa and its history. Asante writes about the Saharan Generator, the Rainforest Home and the Great Rift Valley. From a technological aspect, Asante discusses ironworking as a

final catalytic force in African development. He couches each chapter's progress in the unifying theme of an advancing evolution toward a state of self-awareness as African people. The chapters average twenty-five pages and are clearly sectioned. He does use sources that explain the development of African scripts and the evolution of African languages as people migrated over time and geography. Asante also discusses the significance of the topography of Africa as a generative and unifying force for African cultures.

Asante's purpose for putting this book together is to provide the layman reader from a variety of national and ethnic backgrounds with a text that will introduce Africa's prodigious heritage from within an Afrocentric perspective. The fundamental argument of the text is that the grand scope of the human legacy cannot be understood without a firm foundation in African history. African history cannot be understood without understanding from an Afrocentric paradigm. It is in this context that this book comes into full relevance. Asante is successful in writing for a lay audience while not over simplifying the subject matter presented. One does not come away from the text feeling overwhelmed with the vicissitudes of academic minutiae.

My overall impression of the text is that it is a great read and should be read as an introductory study of African history. The History of Africa is a clear example of the unity of Africanist rigorous research methods with Afrocentric perspectives. I found the unification of the two refreshing and inspiring. This book is the latest plateau reached in the Afrocentric initiative to recapture and redefine African history. I would recommend this text for anyone searching for a basic book explaining the full Afrocentric historical perspective while rooted in the rigorous methods of Africanist historians.

Nazi Germany and the Jews: 1933–1945

Saul Friedländer

[New York: Harper Collins, 2009]

Review by Clayton Carlisle

Nazi Germany and The Jews: 1933-1945 is an abridged edition of historian Saul Friedländer's award winning books, *The Years of Persecution* and *The Years of Extermination*. A survivor of Nazi-occupied France himself, the works provide an in-depth examination of witness and survivor accounts, and challenges modern (particularly German) historiographical trends. The author focuses his attention to the attitudes and life of the German people as a whole leading up to and during the Holocaust, the rise of anti-Semitism, the policies of the Nazi regime toward the Jews, and finally the escalation and mass killing at the death camps until the war's end. It is arranged chronologically, beginning its analysis in 1933, and culminating with the end of the war in 1945.

Historiographical analysis of the Third Reich is trending toward a dispassionate view of facts in the context of Hitler's plan for Europe following the war. German historian Martin Broszat is called out specifically in the foreword as the representative of the growing view that the Third Reich, and by extension the Holocaust, should be analyzed like any other period of history and isn't as

black and white as victims made the regime out to be. Friedländer challenges this view by arguing that the German people were well aware of many crimes against the Jews and thereby accepting if not complicit. Through the exposure of diaries, journals, and memoirs Friedländer goes on to argue that the Jewish populations were largely ignorant of the Nazi's final plan, and that such passivity allowed the extermination process to go smoother. Finally, the author argues that the extermination was a major goal of Hitler's in and of itself, as opposed to a means to secure Jewish wealth and assets.

Friedländer argues his points in a convincing fashion. A section of the book titled "Total Extermination" depicts Hitler's virulent desire to rid not only Germany, but the surrounding nations of Eastern Europe of their Jewish populations. He discusses Hitler's talks with Hungarian leader Horthy, and how critical Hitler was of his Hungarian ally's "mild" policies toward Jewish residents going so far as to blame the downfall of the Persians people on Jews. Evidence such as this shows how obsessed Hitler really was with his "Final Solution." The author's style of writing is accessible, easy to read, and isn't bogged down by excessive academic jargon.

Nazi Germany and the Jews presents a familiar view of Holocaust analysis. It is more traditional in that it is victim-centric and argues that Hitler was as obsessed with the perceived Jewish threat as many historians have argued. Amongst a wave of historical analysis that has focused less on the victims, Friedländer's work reminds the reader that the Holocaust was first a foremost a tragic event that can only be fully understood when victim accounts are considered. I would recommend this book to anyone that hasn't already been exposed to more visible literature such as Elie Wiesel's *Night* or even *The Diary of Anne Frank*. I believe this work is most useful in historiographical settings as it directly challenges a growing trend in the field and provides a well-argued perspective for the humanistic side of Holocaust discussion.