The Student Researcher

A Phi Alpha Theta Publication

2014

Eta-Pi Chapter
Western Kentucky University

Phi Alpha Theta Officers
Anna Young
Emily Potts
Jacob Frantz
Shannon Carter
Austin Lewis
Claire Bellar

Consulting Editors
Claire Bellar
P. Cole McDowell

Claire Bellar
On behalf of Phi Alpha Theta and the Western Kentucky University History Department, we offer our sincere gratitude to all those who contributed to *The Student Researcher* for the 2013-2014 academic year, including members of both Phi Alpha Theta and Western Kentucky University’s History Club, faculty advisor Selena Sanderfer, and the head of the History Department at Western Kentucky University, Robert Dietle. A special thanks and congratulations to all the writers selected for the journal.
### Table of Contents

Factoring Guilt: Determining Blame During the Salem Witch Trials  
By: John R. Bergman, Jr.  

Are Women’s Roles Changing in Oman?  
By: Andrew Miller  

Corrupted Milk and Cross-Eyed Children: Wet-Nursing and the Gendered Transmission of Venereal Disease in Early Modern French  
By: Anna Young  

Mammoth Cave, Slavery, and Kentucky: Overcoming the Chains that Bind  
By: Susan Farmer  

The Weaknesses of Song China and the Legacy of Mongol Conquest  
By: Emily Potts  

Major General Lew Wallace at Shiloh  
By: Lucas Somers
Factoring Guilt:
Determining Blame during the Salem Witch Trials

John R. Bergman, Jr.
Introduction

The Salem Witch Trials that took place from February 1692 to May 1693 in Salem, Massachusetts, has remained a controversial topic among historians for the last 320 years. Speculation continues over the causes, why the trials lasted so long, and the types of verdicts that were made during the trials. As part of these debates a new theory has emerged in the past twenty years that shifts the focus from the little girls who made the initial accusations. Historians are now examining the crucial role played by older women and men in the cycle of accusations that put over 150 people in jail and led to the deaths of 25 colonial citizens, including the passing of an unnamed infant that Sarah Good had given birth to while in prison.\(^1\)

Everyone knows the “story” of the Salem Witch Trials. During a cold Salem winter in 1692, many young girls from the Salem Village neighborhood began to meet at the house of Reverend Samuel Parris. These girls had nothing to do so they sat around and listened to stories of witchcraft that were told by Tituba, a Barbados slave of Parris. The girls became enthralled with Tituba’s stories of voodoo, tricks and spells, the occult, dancing with the devil around a bonfire, telling fortunes, and learning about the black arts. The connection between these girls, ages nine to twelve years old, and Tituba led the village of Salem into its witchcraft hysteria.\(^2\)

This belief that the hysteria started with this “circle of little girls” has dominated historical works on the Salem trials. According to the *Salem Observer* (1890), “[t]he terrible witchcraft delusion in Salem in 1692 was caused almost entirely of children. But for a half-dozen young girls, those men and women would not have been [hanged] on Gallow Hills.”\(^3\) The tale of

---

the young girls did not begin with the Salem Observer but with the witch trial participants, who began to write about the Salem Witch Trials. One of the first people to speak of the “circle of little girls” was Cotton Mather who participated in the trials. According to Francis Hill, “Mather’s myth of the ‘afflicted’ girls, [who became] strongly involved in sorcery and magic,” were led by Tituba and John Indian through a witching circle.\(^4\) Since he was a participant, Mather’s description of the “circle” would greatly influence later historians who would write about the trials.

Due to Mather’s writing contribution on the event, historians began to use his archival evidence to write books that stated that young girls were at the center of the affair. In 1867, historian Charles W. Upham, who was the seventh mayor of Salem, began to become fascinated with the Salem Witch Trials. He turned his interest of the tragic history of the Salem Witch Trials into a book called Salem Witchcraft, which argued that the “circle of young girls” were part of a fraud that was pre-arranged by Parris, who worried that he was about to be terminated as Salem Village’s minister. During the trials, Tituba and the young girls influenced and delved on each other’s testimony to cause the controversy. Samuel Drake in Annals of Witchcraft in New England (1869) states that these young girls were the key characters that caused the trials to occur. M.V.B. Perley in 1911, Winfield S. Nevins in 1916, and Marion Starkley in 1949 continued to use the circle of little girls to explain the events of the Salem Witch Trials.\(^5\)

Since historians began to play off each other’s texts and did not look into the primary documentation of the trials, the myth that only young girls were involved in the witch allegations became an accepted part of the trials’ history. The “circle of little girls” also became part of

---

\(^4\) Hill, 227-228.
popular culture. Arthur Miller’s play *The Crucible* shows accusations being made by both old and young women. Movies and television shows, such as the *Sabrina, the Teenage Witch* episode entitled “The Crucible,” suggest that fraudulent accusations were only made by young girls during the whole affair.\(^6\) The myth of the circle of little girls can also be found in tourist attractions in Salem. For example, Salem’s Witch Dungeon Museum, which uses wax figures to tell the trials’ story, identifies the circle of little girls as the main cause of the Salem Witch Trials.

A careful reading of the evidence of the official Salem Witch Trials documents, however, suggest that men played a major role as accusers and complainants during the Salem Witch Trials. Analysis of the claims, ages, status, geography, and accusations (who, when, and how many they accused) of these men provides a clearer idea of the fundamental role that these men played in the affair.\(^7\)

**Accusations Made By Men – Demographics**

Men played a prominent role in the trials from the very beginning. During the eight months of accusations from February to October 1692, over 150 people were accused of witchcraft. Of that 150, almost half of them were accused by men. On March 2, 1692, the first men, who consisted of William Allen, John Hughes, William Good, and Samuel Braybrook, joined in some of the first accusations of witches in Salem. William Allen argued that Sarah Good came as a specter to him while in his chamber. He said that Good did not allow him to move and she came in a form of an unusual light. Allen contended that Tituba and Sarah Osborne had both came as beasts and were making strange noises near his home. Also, William

---


\(^7\) There are no official transcripts of the trials in the archives but much documentation of the affair has been found. Information from these documents can be found in Bernard Rosenthal, ed., *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
Good argued that his own wife, Sarah Good, may have had a devil’s mark. He claimed to the
court that his wife had developed a wart that he had not seen before and worried that she had
been working with the devil. John Hughes stated in his accusation that he saw Sarah Good come
into his home in the shape of a bright lighted grey cat.\footnote{Bernard Rosenthal, ed., \textit{Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt}, 141.}

On October 3, 1692, the last accusation made by a man was lodged by John Cole, a
cooper from Lynn, a city outside of Salem Village. He accused Sarah Cole, a woman from
Salem, of tormenting his wife by causing her to see strange sights. He also stated that he too had
been afflicted since Sarah Cole had beaten him on the head and taken his breath away while he
was praying. By the end of the trials, around 250 accusations were made by about 160 men.
These accusations came in the form of letters, indictments, examinations, depositions,
testimonies, and complaints. Out of the estimated 250 accusations, men accused around 71 New
England citizens throughout the trials.\footnote{Ibid., 101-118, 680; Hill, xv.}

The men that actively participated in the Salem trials came from all types of
backgrounds. Many were farmers while others were brick-makers, hired men, coopers, weavers,
captains, and laborers. With this information in mind, it seems to suggest that social standing did
not matter when making witch accusations during the trials. The ages of the men complainants
ranged drastically during the event. Many of these men’s ages were between the late twenties to
mid-forties which suggests that a lot adult men, who were married and had occupations, were
making the accusations. Although most of these men were of adult age (ages 22-81), there were
several young men (ages 14-24) who stated that they had been victims of witchcraft. This group
of young men included John DeRich (16 years old), James Fuller (18 years old), Henry Herrick
(21 years old), Humphrey Clark (21 years old), and Samuel Wilkins (19 years old). At the age of
fourteen, Jonathan Batchelor would become the youngest man known to make an accusation during the trials. Before he made an accusation, Jonathan’s uncle, Henry Herrick, stated that Jonathan Batchelor saw Sarah Good on the farm and asked her to leave. Before she left, she threatened the lives of two cows on the Herrick farm. In Jonathan Batchelor’s accusation, he stated that Sarah Good had bewitched his grandfather’s cattle since they were not in their rightful places on the farm and that many of the cattle let loose in a strange manner after she had threatened him.¹⁰

Several men over fifty also made accusations. This group of older men included: Nathaniel Ingersoll (58 years old), William Brown (70 years old), John Pressy (53 years old), and John Hale (56 years old). One of the oldest known accusers during the trials was an 81 year old man named Bray Wilkins. He accused John Willard of witchcraft on August 4, 1692. In his deposition, he stated that John Willard asked him and his neighbors to pray for him since people were accusing him of witchcraft. Wilkins stated that he did not pray for him and believed that since he did not pray, Willard was causing serious pain in his stomach that lasted for almost an entire day.¹¹

Along with ages, the geographical locations of where men accusers lived were quite different as well. Accusers such as William Good, William Braybrook, Samuel Parris, the Putnam Family, and Benjamin Hutchinson were Salem Village residents. Also, several men from other communities came to Salem to accuse witches. Thomas Borman, John Edwards, and James Fuller, Jr. came from Ipswich. Others traveled from Lynn, Salisbury, and nearby Salem to make their dispositions. The rate of the accused fluctuated over the eight month period. Most of the accusations made by men took place in the months of May and June with an estimated 139

¹⁰ Ibid., 169, 424, 459, 523, 529, 930, 943, 955.
¹¹ Ibid., 176-177, 257-258, 300, 528.
accusations being made during the two month period. By July, allegations made by men
tampered off to less than ten accusations for the month. In August, accusations lodged by men
began to rise once again, peaking in September. The last accusation lodged by a man took place
on October 3, 1692.  

Accusations Made

Men lodged a variety of accusations during the trials. Their allegations were typically
similar to the charges lodged by women. The most common theme in accusations developed by
men involved apparitions or specters of the accused, usually of a woman. Some of the accusers
claimed that they saw the accused in the form of an animal. Thomas Borman testified that he saw
Rachel Clinton in the form of cat. A cat appeared in front of him and he instantly became afraid.
Although he was terrified, he tried to apprehend it due to his curiosity. Boarman stated that after
following the cat, he saw a great circle. The cat vanished, but when thinking about the cat, he
thought it resembled Rachel Clinton. Many other men claimed to have seen specters of black
hogs. Joseph Ring stated that he had seen Susannah Martin transform herself into a black hog. In
June 1692, John Westgate accused Alice Parker of turning herself into a black pig. He stated that
the pig came running towards him with an open mouth, in an attempt to devour him. 

Men also claimed, as well as many women during the trials, that woman came to their
homes as apparitions seeking to harm them. These specters came in many forms. Some men
stated that these so-called witches came in the shape of a shadow while others said that they were
in the form of an unusual bright light. Elizer Keyser argued that George Burroughs came to him
in the shape of a strange light when he was at home one night. Due to the event, Keyser felt
frightened when he saw it. He blamed Burroughs for the strange light because he had visited

12 Ibid., 233-234, 246, 270, 927, 930, 936-938,  
13 Ibid., 168, 360.
Keyser that night. William Beale claimed that Philip English came into his home in the shape of a shadow/darkness. He said the shadow resembled the form of Philip English of Salem. By the next day Beale claimed that he felt ill and had a strong pain in his side. He concluded that English had bewitched him.\(^\text{14}\)

Each person who made specter allegations seemed to have their own unique story. John DeRich stated that a dead husband and wife had appeared to him and accused George Jacob, Sr. of having killed them. Some men said that they saw people transforming to hideous shapes and creatures, while others suggested that the apparitions threatened to do harm if they did not cooperate with them. Humphrey Clark, who was 21 years old, said that he was quite frightened when he saw the apparition of Sarah Wilds because she shook his bed during the night. When he awoke from the shake, he saw Wilds and jumped right into the corner. Wilds’ specter disappeared right after Clark jumped to the corner in his home. Also, Sam Wilkins claimed that John Willard’s specter had afflicted him and told him that he would carry him away by the morning, if he did not stop running away from him. Thomas Putnam testified that his daughter Ann Putnam was seeing the specter of Sarah Procter, who was afflicting Ann because she would not sign the devil’s book. William Stacy claimed that the specter of Bridget Bishop came into his home and threatened his family while they were in bed.\(^\text{15}\)

The bewitchment and harming of animals was another common accusation that both men and women made during the trials. Thomas Burman, Jr. claimed that he had seen the specter of Rachel Clinton on his farm. He argued that after he had seen her specter; his cows would not produce milk. He also accused Clinton for killing off one of his healthy cows. John Edwards also made accusations that Clinton had bewitched his pigs and caused them to die. According to John

\(^{14}\) Ibid., 243-244.

\(^{15}\) Ibid., 266, 316, 330, 459, 523, 529, 603.
Kimball, Susannah Martin had cursed his cattle after an unfair business transaction for cows. He stated that the curse led to the death of an ox and several of his cattle. In August 1692, John Rogers, claimed that Martha Carrier had caused his cows to become ill and not produce milk. Thomas Gage, a farmer, proclaimed that Sarah Good had an argument with his wife about coming inside the family home. Since Gage’s wife refused to let her in the house, Good stated to Sarah Gage that she would regret her decision. The next morning, the family found one of their cattle in a strange manner and would eventually die that same day. Sarah Good also was accused for harming the cattle of both the Abbey family of Salem Village and the Herrick family of Beverly. Additionally, accusations were made against Elizabeth Howe and Sarah Wilds for harming and killing several cows.16

Horses were also victims of witchcraft. In August 1692, Thomas Bailey accused John Willard of afflicting his mare. He claimed that Willard frightened his mare by projecting strange noises even though Willard was nowhere in sight. In June 1692, Isaac Cummings, Sr., claimed that after a confrontation with Elizabeth Howe’s husband about using a mare, Howe cursed one of Cummings horses causing it to fall over dead.17

Although animals were said to have been bewitched during the trials, several accusations were made by men that stated that they had been afflicted by witchcraft. This form of accusation was quite common in both men and women’s allegations. Throughout the trial indictments, several men claimed that they were being tormented by curses and illnesses. Benjamin Gould argued that Giles Corey and his wife, Martha Corey, came into his home at night and pinched him. He also proclaimed that John Procter had caused him enough pain that he could not put on shoes for a couple of days. Stephen Bittford accused Rebecca Nurse and Elizabeth Procter of

---

17 Ibid., 400, 526.
causing him extreme distress because they had caused a pain in his neck that would not allow him to move. In May 1692, Jarvis Ring proclaimed that Susannah Martin came into his home while he was sleeping and lay upon him. She tortured him by biting him. Bray Williams, stated that John Willard was causing him harm and that the pain did not go away until John Willard was imprisoned.\textsuperscript{18}

Although there were many accusations that mentioned pinching, biting, and pain, the most extreme bewitchments were about death. In September 1692, John DeRich accused Margaret Jacobs of trying to kill him after he declined to the sign the devil’s book. Along with the threats of killing, came the threat of tearing someone apart that was made by both men and women. According to historian Mary Beth Norton, the action of tearing someone apart came from the fear of the Indians, who were seen as devil worshippers. Indians would strip their victims, burn them, cut their flesh, and then eventually kill them. In June 1692, Joseph Ring stated that Thomas Hardy came to him threatening to tear him apart if he did not pay the two shillings that Ring owed him.\textsuperscript{19}

Also, many accusations were based on oddities that men and women witnessed. Several men accused George Burroughs because he worked with the Indians in his daily life. Since Indians were seen as devil worshippers, it meant that Burroughs was working with the devil. Many men also claimed that George Burroughs had superhuman strengths since he could lift items easily. Simon Willard, in his accusation against George Burroughs, said that he was able to pick up his gun, a seven foot barrel that was extremely heavy, with one hand. Samuel Webber made a similar accusation against Burroughs by stating that he was able to lift and carry a barrel

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 189, 265, 441, 551.  
of molasses without it being a problem. Additionally, George Herrick and William Dounton proclaimed that George Jacobs, Sr. had a devil’s mark (a tett) on his body that was a quarter of an inch long.20

According to historian Richard Godbeer, “[s]eventeenth-century New Englanders used magic to predict the future, heal the sick, to destroy their enemies, and to defend themselves against the occult attack.”21 During the seventeenth century, fortune-telling became a great occupation for many diviners because people were always willing to pay money to see what their future would entail, such as love, death, and fortune. Fortunetellers had a number of techniques that they used: palmistry where they looked into the hands of the participant and necromancy, a magical technique where the clairvoyant could communicate with demons, spirits, and the dead. When the Salem Witch Trials occurred, fortune-telling was seen as a crime and fortune-tellers had to be discrete with whom they helped so they would not get caught. During the trials, a couple of men and women were accused of being fortune-tellers. John Hale argued that Dorcas Hoar was using a book of palmistry to tell fortunes and do witchcraft. In September 1692, John Bridges accused Samuel Wardwell of telling a fortune about love and death to another man.22

In many accusations, several men gave testimony that they had been afflicted in the past. This type of accusation was used primarily by men, not women, during the trials. Bernard Rosenthal’s book Salem Story argued that people would come forth and make accusations that occurred ten to fifteen years before 1692. He suggests that the accusers used old fabricated stories because there was no way of proving that certain events occurred. Complainants played it

---

smart and made sure that they would not get caught in their own web of lies. With this in mind, Rosenthal questions why the court did not ask to why the accusers had not come forward when they were first afflicted. The amount of time between when the event “occurred” and the time of the indictment differed for each person making the allegation. Sometimes the event happened a week before the accusation, while others stated that it had been a couple of months or even years since they were afflicted. Jarvis Ring argued that eight years before 1692, Susannah Martin had afflicted him by biting and lying on him as he was trying to sleep. William Stacy argued that Bridget Bishop afflicted his family fourteen years before he made his confession in May 1692. He stated that her specter had come into the house and harmed him while he was in bed. In September 1692, James Carr made an accusation that Mary Bradbury bewitched him twenty years beforehand. He stated that her specter, which came in the form of a cat, refused to allow him to move while he was in bed. He testified that he had to fight the cat specter off to regain his strength.\footnote{Rosenthal, ed., \textit{Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt}, 315, 330-331, 511, 603, 621, 623; Bernard Rosenthal, \textit{Salem Story: Reading the Salem Witch Trials of 1692}, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 19-20, 56-58.}

The most common accusation that was made by men, not women, during the trials was allegations that men had witnessed harm being committed on family members and friends. The accusers argued that they had witnessed the bewitchments, which often consisted of pinching, becoming speechless, being oppressed, and blindness. In many cases, the victim of the bewitchment would tell the complainant who was causing them harm. This form of allegation was used throughout the entire eight months of accusations. In May 1692, William Brown accused Susannah Martin of harming his wife. Although not himself a victim, he claimed that his
wife had told him that she was being attacked by specter birds, which were pecking at her legs and pricking her with their wings.24

The accused were also charged with the death of the accuser’s love ones. In May 1692, James Carr, who had mentioned that Bridget Bishop harmed him, also accused her of causing the death of his children, who was a thriving individual, two years beforehand. By September 1692, a man named John Best, Sr. accused Ann Pudeator for killing his wife. He stated that his wife confessed to him that Pudeator had pinched and bruised her. Best’s wife became sick and eventually died. This type of accusation became one of the easiest ways to accuse several people at once. For example, Samuel Parris accused seven people on April 12, 1692, for causing harm to his daughter and her afflicted friends. During this accusation, he stated that his daughter and her young friends had all claimed that the seven people that were being accused had caused them harm.25

Prominent Men during the Trials

With over 250 accusations lodged by men during the trials, there were some men who made more accusations or had more of a role in the affair than others. Undoubtedly, the most prominent man during trial accusations was Samuel Parris. When Reverend Samuel Parris became minister of Salem he began to demand a lot of changes: an increase in his salary and the title to the parsonage. The community refused Parris’ demands. He began to ordain his own deacons and in time demanded public penances for trivial matters. Some historians argue that he made several witchcraft accusations because he wanted the community to fulfill his wants and to maintain his role in the community. Historians, like Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum,

suggest that Parris and his supportive clergymen exploited the young girls, who argued that “witches” were causing them harm. Parris convinced the community that there were witches in the community. By doing so, several people began to attend church and Parris was able to earn some revenue. This idea is feasible because two of the young girls that started accusing people of witchcraft were the daughter and niece of Parris.26

John Indian, a slave of Samuel Parris, became one of the most prominent known men during the trials. Although he did not make any formal accusations, he appears as an afflicted individual during examinations and in other people’s dispositions. According to the indictments, John Indian claimed that he was bewitched by several Salem witches. From April to June 1692, John Indian’s actions and abuse would become a major factor to having fourteen people tried for witchcraft. He imitated the response of the young afflicted girls and got away with it.27

On April 11, 1692, John Indian was asked by Judge John Hawthorne on if he knew who was tormenting him. He proclaimed that Goody (Sarah) Cloyce and Goody (Elizabeth) Procter were causing him harm. John Indian stated to the judge that Cloyce and Procter choked, pinched, and bit him until he bled. He also claimed that the two women wanted him to sign the devil’s book. During examinations, John Indian acted as if he was being tormented by sporadically becoming speechless, making accusations of being bitten and cut, and falling into fits. Some of the most prominent people he accused of bewitching him were John Procter, Sarah Good, and Rebecca Nurse.28

27Ibid., 167,208, 211-212, 228-230, 287, 310, 339, 344,
28Ibid., 167, 173-175,180, 196, 229, 287, 339, 344.
The men of the Putnam family, which included Thomas and Edward, were responsible for a majority of the accusations made by men during the trials. Between them, the Putnam Family had accused over thirty people of witchcraft including Bridget Bishop, Rebecca Nurse, John Procter, Sarah Wilds, George Burroughs, Susannah Martin, and Martha Corey. They made accusations from the beginning of March to September 1692. Nissenbaum and Boyer suggest that the Putnam family was very supportive of Rev. Parris during the trials and tried to help him maintain his position of Salem Village’s minister. They also stated that the family was well off due to their political and social networking in the community. Ann Putnam, the daughter of Thomas Putnam and the niece of Edward Putnam, became one of the most active afflicted young girls during the Salem Witch Trials.29

The Putnams used Ann to make their accusations. They claimed that Ann was being harmed and tormented by the accused. Although they did not experience the event themselves, they witnessed her pain. The Putnams argued that the accused caused blindness and harm through pricking, biting, and pinching. They also mentioned that the bewitchers choked their young relative and also caused her to go into fits. Many of the indictments made by the Putnams came in groups. For example, Thomas Putnam on April 30, 1692, with the support of Jonathan Walcott, accused six people (George Burroughs, Lydia Dustin, Susannah Martin, Dorcas Hoar, Sarah Morey, and Phillip English) of harming, afflicting, and damaging the bodies of Ann Putnam and other young girls. In May, Thomas Putnam charged nine people of witchcraft with

the help of Nathaniel Ingersoll, who was a family friend. A couple of the people they accused in May included George Jacobs, Jr. and Sarah Buckley.\(^{30}\)

Although he was already mentioned, John DeRich, the sixteen year old boy, played a prominent role during the two months that he was involved (August-September 1692). As a young man, he accused several people including Margaret Jacobs, George Jacobs, Sr., the Procter family, and Giles Corey. Three of the accused would eventually die during the trials. George Jacobs, Sr. and John Procter were hanged while Giles Corey was pressed to death. DeRich made some unique allegations against the people he accused. In one of his accusations he said that Sarah Procter, Joseph Procter, John Procter, and Margaret Jacobs would come to him every day about signing the devil’s book. When he denied signing it, the Procters and Jacobs afflicted him. DeRich claimed that Phillip English and his wife Mary Doth threatened to tear him into pieces and suggested that Giles Corey worked with the devil. DeRich made a claim that there was a witch in Boston that was harming him but he could not tell who she was since she remained anonymous. His testimony seemed to be respected during the trials because he was very clear in his details. He used key words in his testimony, such as the devil’s book, affliction, death, and being torn apart. His testimony mostly helped confirm that people were witches, since he mostly made allegations against people who had already been accused.\(^{31}\)

**Conclusion**

By exploring the past and looking at many archival data, it can be proven that men played a primary role in the accusations of the Salem Witch Trials from the very beginning to the end of the trials. Although there were a group of girls who made several accusations against members of

---


\(^{31}\) Ibid., 523-524, 581,588; Francis Hill, xv.
the Salem community, men from all age groups contributed to the affair. These men also came from different areas within and outside of Salem. This information would suggest that age, occupation, and geographical locations did not matter during the trials because men from all types of social backgrounds were making witch claims.

Their accusations, which ranged from saying they were afflicted, that they saw a specter, and were threatened to sign the devil’s book, helped verify the importance of men during the affair. Evidence and the amount of accusations lodged by men would prove that they were as superstitious as women during the time period. Many accusations that men made were quite different than the accusations made by women. Instead of saying that they were being tormented, men testified that they had seen other victims being harmed, which is something women did not do during the trials. Also, in several of their allegations, they argue that they had been tormented by witches long before the trials occurred, a month to twenty years beforehand. By using this form of accusation, it would suggest that these men might have believed that they could no longer be under the spell of witches and that they were too superior to be threatened by witchcraft.

Nineteen people would be hanged during the trials due to many of the accusations lodged by men. Several of the people who were hanged for witchcraft during the trials were accused by men, such as Sarah Good, Martha Corey, George Burroughs, Mary Easty, George Jacobs, Sr., Bridget Bishop, John Willard, John Procter, and Rebecca Nurse. They also accused Giles Corey who was eventually pressed to death since he would not confess to dabbling with witchcraft. Some of the people they accused, such as Sarah Osborne, Roger Toothaker, Ann Foster, and Lydia Dustin, would die in prison during the trials. With this new knowledge, the myth of the “circle of little girls” that has become “factual” in today’s society can officially be debunked.
since there is evidence that proves that men were fundamental in making many of the accusations during the trials. Also, the Salem Witch Trials can be seen as an affair committed by both sexes and not just perceived as only being caused by women, specifically young girls.\(^{32}\).  

\(^{32}\text{Hill, xv.}\)
Bibliography


Are Women’s Roles Changing in Oman?

Andrew Miller
Abstract

This is an exploratory research project on Omani women’s roles changing in the household. To start off, tradition will be defined by the definition I followed throughout my paper. Following that, I will explore what is women’s traditional role within the household. Next, information will be presented that will discuss major steps women have taken in education, employment, and gaining skills for the workplace. These points will be followed up with statistics and an explanation of each table. These tables examine the data of women’s education, freedom, encouragement to work, and overall skills they are gaining. You will read about workshops that the government and world are sponsoring in order to bring forth women in the workplace in Oman. While researching, I did keep in mind counter arguments, which will be addressed as well. In conclusion, I have found more employed women than what I originally thought and they also dominate certain job fields. Additionally, moving forward, I will discuss how to encourage women to work more with providing accessible daycares.
Introduction

“Middle Eastern women have been portrayed by Westerners as silent shadows or helpless victims of suppressive customs and traditions who are unable to organize or form groups on their own and for themselves” (Khaduri, 2007). Women’s contributions to finances in the Western world are drastically different than women in the East. Western women help provide for the family, if not more, than their male counter part and they are much more independent than Eastern women.

Since the 1970s, Oman has seen a major increase in wealth due to the findings of oil and the benevolent leader, Sultan Qaboos, modernizing the country. Changes include: education, medical facilities, government policies, and increasing women’s participation in leadership, along with other major contributions. In the past 40 years Oman has witnessed an increase in income, jobs, and international influence because of its close proximity to the Indian Ocean.

Sultan Qaboos has pushed for more women to be involved in this newly transformed country that is currently experiencing a period modernization. Because of modernization, women are increasingly becoming more significant in work places. Overall, women are working more, becoming more educated, increasing activity within the local and national government, and helping the future of Oman with their new involvement; consequently this is causing women’s roles to change in the household.
What is Tradition?

Definition:
There are many definitions of tradition. For the purposes of this research, tradition refers to, “a way of thinking, behaving, or doing something that has been used by the people in a particular group, family, society, etc.: the stories and beliefs that have been part of the culture or group of people for a long time” (Merriam-webster.com, 2014).

Background:
Are women’s roles in Oman considered traditional? Usually, women are expected to manage household needs and raise the children. Meanwhile, the husband works and provides for the family, which is a traditional gender role custom in general. “Legally the women don’t have to work” (anonymous interviewee, 2014). Men are the providers and make up the majority of the work force in Oman, but where do women fall into place currently? “The majority of, if not all, men expect to be patriarchs at some time in their life cycle; no female holds any formal public position of significant power” (Riphenburg, 1998).

Other than the female’s husbands and direct family (mahrem), women do not directly engage with other male figures. Even though the country is known for keeping tradition, modern ideals are slowly being accepted, which will be discussed further into the paper. Oman is holding on to core values distilled in their Islamic tradition of Ibadhism, and until the past 40 years, women have not been a major contributor to the Omani work force.

Women have not held a powerful position within the government or an established institution in Oman until recently, but they still have an influence among the family. The wives influenced the males in the household even though the man has the overall authority. “Women may influence their male patriarch within the household informally, but this is their only avenue to power” (Riphenburg, 1998). Even though women may only have a small amount of power in a traditional household, the roles of women are becoming more important in the nation building of Oman.

The role of women is to be the household presence because the male is normally working for the majority of the week. Males will work Sunday through Thursday out of the village; this allows women to be the authority until he arrives home. Women’s roles in a traditional Omani home will change even more than in the 1970s as time continues and Omani women will see more opportunities presented than before Sultan Qaboos took over the country. If women were
given more chances to work, would the power within the household shift? In addition, who is home to take care of the kids during the day?

**Change**

**Education for Women:**

The number of schools has increased and this is evident since Sultan Qaboos took over in the 1970s. Education was made a major project within the country, along with modernizing the poorly developed state, and giving children a better chance to contribute to the Omani society by working. Rural areas of Oman are seeing a growth in access to schools and in return, expanded education is reaching all parts of Oman. Along with more educational opportunities, universities are seeing more women studying abroad to learn in a different environment. The Omani education system is investing in men and women all across the country, to extend their education outside of Oman. “Women have to negotiate and be more open minded of new education opportunities. I would encourage women to study abroad and go outside of Oman” (Maryam, 2014).

**Table 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab Countries</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCC</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Along with development of secondary schools, universities have become readily available to students who are looking to continue education after secondary school (high school). Schools not only encourage the students to learn another language (English), but the education has enhanced the literacy rates in Oman. In 1970, only boys went to school and majority of women were illiterate. Though this was once the case in Oman, the education system has given males and females the education they need and rightfully deserve. As shown in table 2 below, literacy rates have increased and will continue to increase as education becomes even better in the future.

**Table 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literacy Rates In Oman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Mary-Jane Deeb, 2005)

Since 1970, 28 colleges have been constructed throughout Oman. (Top Universities in Oman, 2014). Most significantly Sultan Qaboos University, which is considered to be the top school in all of Oman, and is located in the city of Muscat. Along with the new colleges being constructed to allow Omanis to have a better education, women’s opportunities have increased along with the construction of the schools. Women are becoming a part of Sultan Qaboos leadership council and for the first time in Omani history, while women under Sultan Qaboos now hold a significantly powerful position.
Table 3
Male and Female Students in Oman
(Rassekh S., 2004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
<th>Number of Students</th>
<th>Number of Girls</th>
<th>Proportion of Girls (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1970</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980/1981</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>106,032</td>
<td>35,190</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995/1996</td>
<td>953</td>
<td>488,797</td>
<td>236,331</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>993</td>
<td>554,845</td>
<td>270,344</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>1,022</td>
<td>576,472</td>
<td>279,180</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jobs:
Are women being allocated more job opportunities? Very few women have held significant jobs outside of their homes. Since 1970, there has been a push for more women to participate in the work force in Oman, which has been led by Sultan Qaboos himself. “The number of representatives for each are in the 1994 OCC (an area consists of several Wilayats) was as follows: 11 members represented the Muscat area, which compromises six Wilayats (two of the 11 members were women)” (Alhaj, 2000). Women are increasingly becoming more visible in Sultan Qaboos’s counsel and under governmental ministries.

Table 4
Women Working in Oman (Percentage)
(Khaduri, 2007) and (Al-Farsi, 2014)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The women’s influence allows a difference of opinion within the Sultan’s leadership council and shows that he does not distinguish between genders, but coincides with only the contributions you can make for your country. By integrating women into the government spectrum, Sultan Qaboos wants to put women into the public eye and transform the already modernizing ideals. “From the early 1990s, the government has made great efforts to include women in the government. Women were nominated to run for election to the consultative council in 1997, with two obtaining seats, and several speeches of the sultan emphasized the importance of integrating women into public life” (Calvin, 2014). Women have seen an increase in reinforcing encouragement for them to have jobs in Oman.

Table 5
Women’s Freedom in Oman

Scale of 1 to 5: 1 represents the lowest and 5 the highest level. (Mary-Jane Deeb, 2005)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-discrimination and Access to Justice</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy, Security, and Freedom of Person</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Rights and Equal Opportunity</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social and Cultural Rights</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sultan Qaboos has taken steps to incorporate women into governmental roles and emphasize the policy of nondiscrimination with the hiring of women in the public and private sectors. Prior to the modernization in 1970, women were excluded from any participation in local or national government positions within Oman. Currently the contribution of women has improved tremendously according to Table 5. Keep in mind, women weren’t even allowed to be educated before 1970. Relatively, women’s rights, freedom, and opportunities are better, which is a major improvement for Oman. Sultan Qaboos has invigorated Oman to create better work selections for women and for them to exercise their free will more in among the country.

Outside of the government, there still are more women working than prior to the change of leaders. “As of 2000, there were 123,000 employed women, which translates to 17% of the female population” (Rassekh S., 2004). You can consider this a major achievement if you look at
women not working at all in the 30 years prior. Along with the success of women becoming more employed, women are contributing to the newly developing education system that is growing throughout Oman. Women have become dominant in this field and have maintained jobs as teachers in majority of Oman. I observed first hand that other fields have become dominated by women, which will be discussed later on in the paper.

**Table 6**

*Women Working as Teacher’s*

*(Rassekh S., 2004)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Female/Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic</td>
<td>3,190</td>
<td>7,950</td>
<td>2.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>4,192</td>
<td>2,847</td>
<td>0.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory</td>
<td>3,139</td>
<td>2,835</td>
<td>0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>2,951</td>
<td>3,279</td>
<td>1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13,472</td>
<td>16,911</td>
<td>1.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Workshops and Skills:**

“The Environment Society of Oman (ESO) has contributed by implementing women into local environmental issues. In 2012 the ESO initiated a contest in which only women could partake. The US Department of Interior (DOI) and Omani Women’s Association (OWA) funded the contest” (ESO Annual Report {a}, 2012). The aim of the project was to provide women the chance to voice environmental concerns distressing their local communities. The participants were to share their modification philosophies with decision-makers. “The project aimed to equip women with the necessary communication skills to advocate for environmental issues among their communities and with the higher authorities” (ESO Annual Report {b}, 2012). The ESO project included a total of 60 women that took part in the contest and 4 were chosen as winners.

The 60 women that expressed local issues for the project were trained in workshops in each region by the ESO. The skills they were taught included: acquiring data, background checks, and writing a research paper on an existing problem in their region. Not only do we see a regional and national outreach from Oman to educate women and involve them more into societal issues, they are encouraged to become more involved within their community. This program not only allows a voice to be heard, but the environmental issues within Oman are
brought to attention for the government to see. Along with these programs that are being offered, women are increasingly being presented with workshops or a chance to become educated and receive skills for the workplace.

Women’s workshops are increasingly becoming more present and established corporations are introducing new workshops for women all across Oman. This not only helps the women as a whole by giving them assistance that can be used for jobs, but it encourages women to make a decision to diversify their skillset. The following is from AMIDEAST, a program originating in Washington D.C. This organization has had a major output of workshops and skills groups to help not Omani women, but women from all across the world. The following is an example from their website:

“Women account for nearly half of Oman’s population, but make up about one percent of its top leadership. The Community Capacity-Building Initiative for Women (CCIW) helped over 150 Omani women from across the country acquire communications and strategic thinking skills to strengthen their self confidence and empower them to contribute in all areas. Implemented in coordination with Oman’s Ministry of Social Development, the CCIW provided training sessions in five regions — Nizwa, Salalah, Sur, Muscat, and Sohar — to a representative group of women from the private and public sectors: members of Omani Women’s Associations, entrepreneurs, candidates for the 2011 Majlis al Shura elections, teachers and school principals, health sector employees, volunteers, and assorted other “leaders-to-be” in their communities” (Amideast, 2014).

The new skills that women are able to obtain will allow them to contribute to the Omani society and possibly hold a high position of employment one day. Even though this is not the only organization that does this kind of work, it is a recognizable organization that is well known for its outreach in the Middle East.

The text fails to explain how AMIDEAST chose the women or if 150 is the maximum number, but it does show an interest in women being increasingly enthusiastic about job opportunities. The report also does not explain if any of these women are allowed to attend the workshop by their husbands, if they attend without approval, or if all the women were all married. These statistics are unknown. The overall picture to be seen is that women are
increasingly becoming more encouraged to receive skills or attend these corporations’ workshops to help them develop skills.

Interviews

Why I chose these Interviewees

The interviews I conducted have come from CIL (The Center for International Learning). Prior to arranging these interviews, I struggled to find women willing contribute to my research. Due to the conservative values of the country and the sensitivity of the topic, it was difficult to find people willing to partake in being interviewed for the research. Despite only interviewing from one work place, the program has a diversity of teachers, students, and faculty within their institution.

Interview #1

This was a group interview that I conducted at the Center for International Learning and they both wished to keep their identities hidden. I will address them as A and B. These women also gave their ideas of how to increase females working in Oman. Interviewee A explained she had a technical degree from a university, while B did not explain her education to me. Also, they both have lived in Muscat for an extended amount of time and only their fathers worked while growing up. Though together they agreed Oman it is still traditional, both acknowledged that it has drastically changed, pointing out that women were not working 20-30 years ago. The two interviewees emphasized that females do not have to work in Oman, and females work because of the following two reasons: life expenses are unaffordable, and the man cannot provide everything just by himself. In addition to this information, they settled on the idea that working depends on a family’s wealth. Families that are not as wealthy are forced to have both parents working while wealthy families live off a single income. If a woman comes from a wealthy background or visa versa with the male, then raising the children would suffice in general.

I asked them what solution they would recommend for the children since the mother was not home all day; the agreed solution was more available daycares within Oman. Interviewee A emphasized the unavailability of daycares in workplaces or within a reasonable drive from their house in Oman. From this point in the conversation, A and B established that the government
should distribute an allowance for working women so they could pay for the daycares or nannies. In return, the nannies could be Omani women looking for a job. According to this interview, women are underpaid and struggling to afford a daycare or nanny while they work.

**Interview #2**

My second interviewee was born in Daressalaan, Tanzania, but has moved around due to education and her father’s work. She has been educated in the United Kingdom. Professor Maryam is a teacher at the Center for International Learning, and is also my History professor. During our conversation she made an interesting statement, she broke down what she considered traditional and not in the household. While making a major emphasis on dress and being respectful, education was an idea she considered a necessity and encouraged women to work. Growing up, she had witnessed not only her father working, but her mother as well. Her mother worked because of finances and to contribute to the family.

Additionally, Maryam highlighted that women have the choice to work, whether it is needed or not, and they must find that balance when they are employed. She thinks that women are more independent when they work, and therefore feel more comfortable financially. I also found a common trend with both of these interviews, while Professor Maryam disagreed with the government providing money for nannies, she did agree that there is a lack of daycares. This would be an area of improvement for the government to consider going ahead in the future with women working.

**Counter Argument**

Why are women’s roles changing in the household? I have found many factors that must be considered as to why women should or should not work. Even though I think the roles of women are changing and will continue to change in the future, considerations must be made. If a family is wealthy and it doesn’t require a woman to work, then this is reason enough for a woman to not work. Overall, working women are still considered the minority in Oman.

Additionally, we must reflect on what constitutes the interior work environment when it comes to the make-up of employees. Oman is still a conservative country that is a patriarchal society. Women may feel uncomfortable being in the workplace with a man or in the same room
as a male colleague. This concept also applies to female students in the universities. Not all females are from Muscat and interacting outside of their family (Mahrem) is not common. Therefore, when arriving to the university, it could cause culture shock for women upon arrival because of the high male to female student ratio and in return, may make women feel uncomfortable.

**Why is it changing?**

**Findings and Opinion:**

My interviews confirmed some theories I once had along with introducing new ideas that could be a great suggestion for the future. I found similarities in the interviews pertaining to a major setback for women: daycares. In order for women to be employed, this is a major necessity. For a Westerner, this may be an idea that is never considered since the daycare is easily accessible in a lot of workplaces or privately owned. This could be something the government or even the Omani people should look into when moving forward with more female employment.

Additionally, all three women interviewees agreed females are becoming more independent. As we see the employment rates increasing, education becoming more available, and the work force becoming less male-dominated, the breadwinner in the household could shift. Males will still be the main source of income, but women can now sustain themselves if necessary. If divorce were to occur, the woman could then survive by her own, unlike in the past, instead of having to return to her father’s house until she is remarried.

In the past Oman has seen a major increase in education, wealth, and Western influence that has all contributed to the change in women’s roles in present-day Oman. Omani women are supplied with the tools and education they need to be able to obtain a job when they graduate from secondary school or university. In my opinion, these are the reasons by which the traditions are changing within the household. We must also consider factors such as inflation, divorce rates, and the fact that a family cannot survive off of a single income. Because of the aforementioned reasons, and despite the hurdles women have to overcome, Omani women will prevail in the future as a major part of the workforce and will become more employable.
Conclusion

Women are increasingly having a lively and more noticeable role in Omani society. They have received support and reassurance from the government, which has provided schools and a university education for both women and men. The government has announced that women should be given career opportunities, along with equal pay. In the capital of Oman, women are currently employed by the Sultan Qaboos administration, particularly in the executive sectors. Omani women and men are considered equal in the workplace. Women now compete heavily against their counterparts in many ways of life and a variety of areas including education, health, business, government, and more. The atmosphere is quickly changing so as to empower Omani women, and encourage them to earn their own income. Women have made speedy improvements in becoming educated, especially with post-secondary degrees. In order for women to contribute to the nation-building in Oman, being educated is a requirement. Women in the Middle East, especially Oman, have come to be seen as political and economic actors who fend for themselves and are major players in the future of their societies.

Works Cited

   In-text: (Amideast, 2014)

2. [http://www.everyculture.com/No-Sa/Oman.html](http://www.everyculture.com/No-Sa/Oman.html)
   In-text: (Calvin, 2014)

   Tradition - Definition and More from the Free Merriam-Webster Dictionary
   In-text: (Merriam-webster.com, 2014)

4. Oman: Political development in a changing world
   In-text: (Riphenburg, 1998)

5. The political elite and the introduction of political participation in Oman

35
In-text: (Alhaj, 2000, pp. 97--110)

6. Times of Oman | News :: Over 3,500 divorce cases registered in Oman last year
In-text: (Timesofoman.com, 2014)

7. In-text: (Al-Farsi, 2014)


Appendix

Interview Questions:

Please note as follows: These questions may not go in order when I ask them. The questions will be asked based on how the conversation is being held and how the interviewee is responding to each question. If all questions are not covered during the conversation, they will be asked when the conversation topic has been finished at the end of each question.

* Where were you born?

* Where did you grow up?

* Was your family growing up traditional in values? (Strict, Traditional, Laid Back, etc.)

* Did you father only work or both parents work? If you mother worked, how long do you recall her working and when?

* Did you attend a university or any organization meetings that would help better job opportunities for yourself?

* Men: What is expected of women in a household? Should she work?

* Women: What is the role of women in the household? Should a women work to help the family?

* Do you think women are working more? If yes, do you fee since women are working more; the role in the household is changing?
Mammoth Cave, Slavery, and Kentucky: Overcoming the Chains that Bind

Susan Farmer
Mammoth Cave National Park is a world-renowned park and the longest cave in the world, but it is much more than just a cave and a park. Mammoth Cave has a long and interesting history that has as many twists and turns as the cave itself. The history of Mammoth Cave fits squarely into the history of Kentucky and the United States; just as Kentucky was being settled and explored, so too was Mammoth Cave. The settlement of this cave and its land follows the patterns of the nation because just as this nation was built on the back of hard working African American slaves, so too was Mammoth Cave. This paper seeks to examine the way that the slavery at Mammoth Cave followed and diverted from the norm of slavery within Kentucky. While slavery at Mammoth Cave started almost as soon as it was discovered by the early settlers, this paper focuses on the lives of the slave guides and their work in the cave. How were their lives like other slaves in Kentucky? How did their lives differ because of their situation as cave guides? What opportunities were they presented with that were different from other slaves?

Before understanding the lives of the remarkable men that were enslaved at Mammoth Cave, it is important to understand what slavery was like in Kentucky. Kentucky was part of the South and was a slave holding state until the Civil War ended. This is well known, and it has often been said that Kentuckians treated their slaves better than other states did. However, one must question if a person could really treat a person better even though they are still held bondage. Does this mean that Kentuckians did not beat their slaves? Did they not have to work as hard or face being split apart from their families? Were their living conditions better than in a deep South state, or did they have better opportunities to escape bondage? In fact, historian Marion Lucas discusses why this idea has been accepted over time. He says that this was because Kentucky masters owned fewer slaves than in other places, typically worked side-by-
side with their slaves, and made their interactions more personal than in the larger gang system in the deep south.

1 Therefore, the system of slavery in Kentucky might have been smaller and more personal, but did not mean that the slaves in Kentucky did not suffer or face the same dangers that the slaves in other places faced.

The history of slavery started when the first white settlers came to explore and start new settlements. Slaves came to the state as early as 1751 when a man named Christopher Gist explored the area around the Ohio River.2 African Americans and whites continued to enter and explore the state together, “In 1773, when Daniel and Squire Boone attempted to settle several families in the Bluegrass region, they brought an unknown number of slaves.”3 From the beginning, Kentucky had slaves, and the lives of those slaves were controlled by men and women working to make Kentucky their home by choice. Slaves, however, had no choice and often dreaded hearing that they were to be moving to the new frontier. Moving often meant that families would be torn apart and may never see each other again. For Francis Frederick, who was 12 when his owner moved from Virginia to Kentucky, this meant the family had to “bid a tearful farewell to their friends, and several wagons loaded with 'sobbing women' followed by 'stony' faced men began the journey through the forests with their owners.”4 Surviving off meal cakes and salt herring, the group made it through the mountains, down the Ohio River, until they came to their new home in Mason County.5 Starting a new life and continuing the traditions of

---

2 Lucas, xi.
4 Lucas, 1.
5 Lucas, 1.
slavery from Virginia, Kentucky often followed Virginia law when it came to the laws concerning slaves.

Under Kentucky and Virginia law, slaves were viewed as chattel property, and therefore were seen as items to be bought and sold. At times, Judges would step in making laws to try to soften the harsh conditions that these people faced. One such judge was Warren County Judge J. Ewing; in 1838 he ruled in a case, “that slaves were property and had to be treated as such, 'but they were human beings, with like passions, sympathies and affections with ourselves.’”6 This ruling, however, did little to change the status of slaves in Kentucky or the troubles that they faced. As early as 1798, slave codes were adopted that attempted to regulate how slaves were to be treated, the activities of slaves with their masters, as well as the community at large.7 Under these laws, slavery was a protected institution in the new state, and its growth contributed to Kentucky as Kentucky worked to find its place in the nation.

While Kentucky was not the largest slave holding state and held a relatively small number of slaves and slave owners, it was still a large number of people that were held in bondage. At the turn of the nineteenth century, Kentucky was home to 40,343 slaves, or 18.3 percent of the total population of 220,955.8 By 1860, the number of slaves living in Kentucky was 225,438.9 This is a distinct part of the population who were living under the control of others and had no choice in the decisions made about their lives. For the most part, the people who owned slaves in Kentucky were different from other Southern states. An 1850 census shows 139,920 white families living in the state; of that number 28 percent, or 38,385, owned

---

8 Ramage and Watkins, 237.
9 Ibid.
slaves. While this number appears high, only five held more than one hundred, 88 percent had fewer than twenty, and 24 percent owned only one, ranking Kentucky thirteenth of the fifteen slave holding states. While there were slaveholders throughout the state, most of the slavery was concentrated in the Bluegrass region, “with large numbers in the south-central region and in Henderson and Oldham counties on the Ohio River...the lower percentages of slaves were in the eastern mountains and the northern and west-central portions of the state.”

Since slavery in Kentucky was such a personal relationship between master and slave, Kentucky masters tended to follow the ideas of paternalism in justifying their role in slavery. The typical slave and master relationship in Kentucky was that they lived and worked together on a small farm. Often this meant that they worked side by side, slept under the same roof, and lived together for many years. The idea behind paternalism is that the white masters were placed in their role to protect and care for slaves that they owned. This idea spread throughout the South as the end of the foreign slave trade came, and it helped gain credence through the spread of evangelical Christianity in the South and the Second Great Awaking took place.

Historian Lacy K. Ford argues that it was out of these evangelical efforts “emerged a coherent portrait of slavery as an institution that could be rendered consistent with Christian teachings if characterized by domesticity and paternalism.” This idea also helped to transform slavery from a labor situation to a domestic situation. Therefore, domesticity was the core of the South's self-justification of owning slaves, and paternalism worked to explain why slavery was just and humane. “Thus paternalist ideology not only empowered the white male slaveholder, making

---

10 Ibid.
11 Ramage and Watkins, 238.
12 Ramage and Watkins, 238-9.
14 Ibid.
him master of exterior worlds large or small...but more emphatically master of his own household, where white dependents...looked to the master, the head of the household, both protection and comfort in return for loyalty and obedience.”¹⁵ The idea of paternalism was widespread and crossed class lines. Poor farmers believed these ideas, as well as Kentucky senators. In the Missouri debates of 1820-1, one Kentucky senator, Richard Johnson asserted during the debate that “every master stood as the 'guardian' of his or her slaves.”¹⁶ Therefore, this cemented the idea that Kentucky slaveholders were placed in their positions of power as a way to care for the people that they held in bondage.

Whether the slave owner justified owning another person for domestic or labor issues, at the heart of the situation, the Kentucky economy benefited from slave labor. However, to benefit, the Kentuckian had to have money, because slaves were expensive. The people in Kentucky who did not own slaves might not have taken part in the system because they objected to owning other humans. However, many of the white Kentuckians did not own slaves did because they could not afford them. Many factors played into how much a slave cost; prices varied depending on age, gender, health, location, skills and economic conditions. “During the first third of the nineteenth century, a male slave in the prime working years of eighteen to thirty-five might cost $400-700 in Kentucky; a female in the same age group would cost about $350-450.”¹⁷ For many Kentuckians, one slave could cost more than what they would earn in two years, and as prices rose in the late 1840s and early 1850s, the idea of being a slaveholder was not a reality.¹⁸

However, for those that could, the labor of the slave benefited them greatly. Slaves

¹⁵ Ford, 151-2.
¹⁶ Ford, 152.
¹⁷ Harrison and Klotter, 168.
¹⁸ Ibid.
worked in all parts of the Kentucky economy; however the industry that pushed slavery the most in the state was the hemp industry. Working in the hemp fields was the hardest job that a slave could have in Kentucky. Since the traditional crops of the deep south such as rice, cotton, and sugar were not profitable in Kentucky, hemp was the industry that made the most money. The production of hemp was tied to the the crops and the lives of slaves in the deep south, however. “Most of the crop was sent south in the form of rope, raw bagging used to wrap cotton bales, and rough cloth for slave clothing.” Hemp production was a year-round task, and slavery was used for all its production, from sewing the seeds in the spring, all the way to the factories where it was produced for shipping. “By the middle of the nineteenth century, there were 159 hemp factories in Kentucky, one-third the national total, that employed close to three thousand African Americans.” While hemp production was mainly a male-oriented job, it did allow for some African Americans a chance of advancement. If the worker met his daily quota in the field, he was allowed to work over and would be paid for his work. “When it was time to break stalks, each man was to break 100 pounds of hemp each day. For each pound over 100, a slave would be paid one cent...most men could break 125-160 pounds in a day. The fibers would be weighed carefully by the white master at the end of each day, and overage pay was handed out at the end of the week.” This practice was carried over into the factories also. If slaves were given a task to perform and worked over, they were paid two to three dollars for any overwork.

Slaves in Kentucky were not regulated to just hemp production; instead, slaves worked in almost every part of Kentucky's economy. Other industries included ironworks, saltworks, and iron and lead mines. However, the most common jobs that they would have held were as field

---

19 Ramage and Watkins, 239.
20 Ibid.
21 Ramage and Watkins, 240.
22 Ibid.
hands, carriage drivers, house servants, seamstresses, stable boys, and dairymaids.\(^{23}\) In Urban areas, slaves worked in all parts of the service industries, and were often hired out. According to Marion Lucas, there were three methods of slave hiring. First, “many small farmers rented slaves from neighbors on an informal basis. They were usually looking for slaves with particular skills to accomplish specific tasks.”\(^{24}\) The second way was more formal, where slaveholders leased to neighbors or regional farmers with a written contract. The third way that hiring out was performed was when owners would place their bondsmen with commission agents and traders, which took place mostly in the larger cities.\(^{25}\) Being hired out gave the slave some opportunities that they might not have had otherwise. This is because “working as 'free' laborers usually provided hired slaves a measure of independence and opportunities for self-improvement. As a result, the practice of slave hiring elevated the status of bondsmen in Kentucky society and became for some a step toward freedom.”\(^{26}\) Often the slaves would have unsupervised time after their work had been completed, and would allow some slaves to earn extra money. “In the factory, many supervisors used the task system with quotas of work to encourage production. After finishing a task, a slave might be paid a bonus for any additional work performed, allowing a slave to earn up to two or three dollars a week.”\(^{27}\) There were laws that stipulated that it was illegal for “owners to allow bondsmen to hire their own time and 'trade as free' people. Nevertheless, many owners disregarded the law by permitting slaves, including entire families, to engage in whatever business they desired, provided they paid them a specified weekly or monthly sum.”\(^{28}\) Here slaves worked under a contract that was negotiated between the owner

\[^{23}\text{Ibid.}\]
\[^{24}\text{Lucas, 101.}\]
\[^{25}\text{Lucas, 102.}\]
\[^{26}\text{Lucas, 101.}\]
\[^{27}\text{Ramage and Watkins, 242.}\]
\[^{28}\text{Lucas, 105.}\]
and the employer. These contracts were usually a year long, and the rates charged for hiring out varied depending on the basis of skills and the needs of the market. Typically, a one-year contract would cost the employer $75.00 to $150.00 plus the cost of boarding. In these contracts, it was often stipulated that the owners would be responsible for the property taxes that were to be paid on the individual, but the employers had to provide boarding, clothing, and proper treatment for the hiring term. Under these conditions, slaves entered into occupations that they may not have had access to otherwise.

One occupation that was opened to slaves because of this system was the role as tour guide. “Blacks also served as guides at two of Kentucky's famous tourist attractions. In Louisville, visitors from around the world listened to a slave guide who described at length an artesian well which brought water to the surface from over two thousand feet below.” In Mammoth Cave, African American slaves worked to explore the cave and take visitors from around the world through the cave. Mammoth Cave is located in a relatively rural part of Kentucky in Edmonson county. Edmonson county was founded in 1825, and by 1830 had a population of 2,642. Of that population, 2,305 were white, 278 slaves, and 59 “freed colored.” This small population soon discovered that they had a valuable tourist attraction that would help to bring money and fame to the area. However, for Mammoth Cave to become the valued commodity that it is today, they had to work to get past the rural conditions that surrounded the area. Transportation was limited with very few roads and even fewer railroad lines. The Louisville & Nashville railroad did run through the county, but only on the southeast

---

29 Ramage and Watkins, 241.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
32 Lucas, 9.
34 Ibid.
Steamboats were the other main way that citizens of the county were able to travel and receive supplies. Two weekly steamboats brought groceries, hardware, and necessities to the county seat of Brownsville from Bowling Green on the Barren River and Evansville on the Ohio River. Under these conditions, the tourism of the cave moved slowly, but it helped to change the lives of the slaves that worked there.

The earliest modern history of the cave began just as the American Revolution was ending. As the new nation was giving its war veterans land grants in the West, it also was making other plots of land available for purchase. It was under these conditions that the first owners of the cave came to discover what they had. In 1799, one of these land grants was rewarded to a man named Valentine Simons. His land grant was for 200 acres along the south side of the Green River and included two saltpetre caves. Saltpeter was important to these early settlers because it provided them with an important material used in making gunpowder. Gunpowder was very important to these early settlers because they were at least 400 miles from established settlements and retail sources in Virginia. Mammoth Cave provided an unlimited supply of saltpeter, and its earliest use by these settlers was to mine it out of the cave. The earliest owners of the cave did not take full advantage of this possibility though. The ownership of the cave changed several times in the early years. Simons sold the cave to John Flatt shortly after gaining it for a sum of $116.67 Flatt held onto the cave for a few years, but then sold it to the McLean brothers—George, Leonard, and John, of Hart county Kentucky, for $400. These

---

36 Works Project Administration in Kentucky, Series 2, Box 50, Kentucky Department of Libraries and Archives, Frankfort, Ky.
38 Lyons, 10.
39 Ibid.
brothers held onto the cave and most likely used the saltpeter for their own personal use. It was not until they sold the cave to Fleming Gatewood of Louisville and Charles Wilkins of Lexington that saltpeter extraction became a major production.\footnote{Ibid.} It was these men that applied the idea of hiring out African American slaves and brought the first recorded use of slave labor to Mammoth Cave.

According to Joy Medley Lyons, author of \textit{Making Their Mark: The Signature of Slavery at Mammoth Cave}, “Oral tradition has long maintained that as many as 70 slaves were leased to work inside Mammoth Cave, producing saltpeter from the natural cave sediments.”\footnote{Ibid.} While Lyons notes that this number has never been validated, it is known that one-room log cabins were constructed to house these slaves and that these cabins were later put under one roof to form a row of rooms for the first hotel at Mammoth Cave.\footnote{Lyons, 11.} The production of saltpeter continued at the cave until the owners could no longer make it valuable, and it is most likely that the mining ended around 1812, when a series of earthquakes occurred and damaged the wooden vats, pipelines and pump tower inside the cave; these earthquakes also made it hard for work to continue because the underground workers and overseers were not willing to return to the cave.\footnote{Ibid.} After the production of saltpeter lost its worth, the cave again changed hands. In 1812, Gatewood sold his share of the cave to Hyman Gratz of Pennsylvania, and moved to Warren County. An Irish immigrant named Archibald Miller and his family began to take care of the cave. For the next two decades, Miller and his family worked as tour guides, guiding people through the cave. All the earliest guides were white. It was not until 1838 that the guide force

\footnotesize

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{Ibid.}
\item \footnote{Ibid.}
\item \footnote{Lyons, 11.}
\item \footnote{Ibid.}
\end{itemize}
changed, when the cave was bought by Glasgow attorney, Franklin Gorin. Gorin hoped to turn Mammoth Cave into a major tourist attraction, and he immediately began making improvements to the land, expanding the hotel accommodations with hopes of expanding the known passageways. It was under Gorin that the most famous guides at Mammoth Cave came to the cave and the history of African American slave guides began.

When Gorin came to Mammoth Cave, he already owned a young slave named Stephen Bishop, who would spend the rest of his life at the cave. Gorin also hired out two other slaves to work at the cave, Materson “Mat” Bransford and Nicholas Bransford from Thomas Bransford, a wealthy farmer from Glasgow, Kentucky. The actions of Gorin follow the typical role of a slave owner in Kentucky at the time. By bringing his slave, Stephen, to the cave to help him expand his business and his cave, he was following the same path as many other Kentucky business owners. It is also most likely that Gorin rented the Bransfords because he could not afford another slave, or was, as many others in Kentucky, looking for the cheapest form of labor and decided to enter into a contract with another slaveholder as a more economical avenue. Either way, Gorin’s actions changed Mammoth Cave and its history forever.

Gorin worked to make Mammoth Cave profitable, but only a year after purchasing the cave, he sold it to a young doctor from Louisville named John Croghan. Croghan paid $10,000 for the cave, the land, the young Stephan Bishop, and renewed the lease on Mat and Nick. Under Croghan, the tourism of the cave was boosted, and the lives and roles that the early guides played changed. These young slaves were in charge of exploring the cave, adding known mileage, and escorting visitors through for a whole new kind of experience.

---

44 Lyons, 14.
45 Lyons, 15.
46 Lyons, 18.
Before exploring how guiding at Mammoth Cave changed the path of these men's lives, it is important to understand the background that they came from. How did their backgrounds play into the role that they would play at Mammoth Cave and within the larger African American community in Kentucky? Stephen Bishop was a young man when he was brought to Mammoth Cave, but what was known about his past plays into the role that he had and the opportunities that he was able to take advantage of. Early visitors to the cave would often write about their experiences at Mammoth Cave and their guides. In these descriptions, they always mention that Stephen was a mulatto. One visitor in his diary stated, “Stephen, the guide was a remarkable and picturesque person...He was a slave, part mulatto and part Indian, but looking more like a Spaniard, with black hair and long mustache. Athletic in type, with broad shoulders, full chest, narrow hips and legs slightly bowed. A man of great strength and dexterity, and of unusual intelligence and good manners.”\(^{47}\) However, Lyons asserts that Stephen was biracial but only white and black. She states that, “No one knows who Stephen's father was, but he was most certainly a white man. In fact, if Stephen's mother was also mulatto, Stephen's biological heritage was more Caucasian than African.”\(^{48}\) Mat Bransford also has a similar biracial history, that may have helped him to achieve his place as a guide at the cave. Mat belonged to Thomas Bransford and was later purchased by Thomas L. Bransford when the elder passed away. However what is important to remember here is that Mat may have been sent to Mammoth Cave because of the fact that Thomas Bransford Sr., was his father. “Descendants of Thomas Bransford admit to the biracial kinship to this day.”\(^{49}\) Therefore, Mat was never taken away from Mammoth Cave. Lyons suspects that this is because his white family members may have felt it

\(^{47}\) Thomas Kite, Diary, June, 1847, (unprocessed), Western Kentucky University Library, Bowling Green Kentucky, 9.
\(^{48}\) Lyons, 15.
\(^{49}\) Lyons, 49.
was the best place for him. “Or maybe, despite the fact that at least two of Mat's relatives acknowledge his kinship privately, they were not quite ready to do so in Glasgow or Nashville” where they lived with their families. This could also be the case since Thomas L. Bransford was the president of the Nashville and Cincinnati Railroad Company and the Whig candidate for Congress in Tennessee in 1843. Therefore, the position that these two men held at Mammoth Cave might have played into the fact that they were lighter skinned than others. Miscegenation was always present in the South.

Visitors often had to remind themselves that their guides were slaves. One woman who visited the cave in 1853, found it hard to believe that Stephen was a slave. She wrote, “He seems more like the high priest and expounder of its mysteries, than a hired guide, much less a slave.” Descriptions of Mat mirror that these men made whites question their preconceived notions of what a slave was. An 1855 visitor stated that Mat's presentation displayed that there was “nothing slavish in his learning, dress or language.”

These guides personal lives as slaves, however, mimicked the lives of other slaves in Kentucky. Marriage was one of the biggest celebrations for African American slaves, but it could also cause pain and suffering. Marriage represented these two opposite ends of the spectrum because of the uncertainty that slaves lived under. This is because slave families could be ripped apart at the will of the master, Kentucky law did not reconginze marriage between slaves, and the couple could only be together if the owners consented. Marriage between slaves was not an easy task. If they lived on separate farms, then owners of the two slaves had to

---

50 Lyons, 51.
51 Ibid.
52 Marianne Finch, An Englishwoman's Experience in America (London, 1853), 350-1.
54 Ramage and Watkins, 237.
reach a settlement where often one master would than become owner of both slaves.\textsuperscript{55} Other times, if they stayed with their separate owners, depending on the distance, “this usually meant visits by the husband one or two nights and weekends, but many slaves only enjoyed family life on Saturdays and Sundays.”\textsuperscript{56} For the tour guides at Mammoth Cave, their lives most likely followed these lines. Each of the men were married under slavery and would have had to work in their personal relationships away from the cave. Stephen was married to a woman named Charlotte, and unfortunately, history has all but forgotten the female slaves of this country. Not much is known about Charlotte; she is mentioned rarely in visitor accounts. Lyons explains that according to oral tradition, Stephen and Charlotte met during a visit to Locust Grove in Louisville in 1842. She explains that Charlotte was also a mulatto and that she and Stephen had one son, Thomas, in 1843.\textsuperscript{57} Their feeling for each other could be seen through Stephen's actions; one visitor recalled that Stephen named a passage for Charlotte. He wrote, “This our guide informed us was 'Charlotte's Grotto,' named in honor of his wife--'You might be sure' he replied to some exclamation 'I would not call anything but the prettiest after my old lady.'”\textsuperscript{58} Mat was also married, to a woman named Parthena. She was also a slave and lived on a farm located two miles from Mammoth Cave. According to Lyons, Parthena's owner let them live together on his land where Mat was able to eventually build a small home for himself, his wife, and at least four children.\textsuperscript{59} Their relationship shows how even as world-renowned guides at the Mammoth Cave, they were still forced to live within the confines of a society that regulated every movement of their lives.

\textsuperscript{55} Lucas, 18. 
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid. 
\textsuperscript{57} Lyons, 19. 
\textsuperscript{58} Kite, 25. 
\textsuperscript{59} Lyons, 51.
Having children under slavery caused even more heartache for these men and their families. Stephen never had to deal with losing a member of his immediate family being sold to another owner, but it was something that he might have thought of daily. This is because under slavery, children were property of the master not of the mother or father, and therefore, the owner could do as he or she pleased with the children of slaves. Mat knew all too well how it felt to have his children ripped away from him. While Parthena's master allowed them to live together, that did not stop him from selling three of their children away from them during the slavery years. One mis-informed visitor assumed that the loss of children did not really effect slaves, and he said to Mat, “I don't suppose you missed these children much? You colored people never do, they say.” If Mat were allowed to speak his mind, one can be sure that he corrected the man and his ideas of African American family life and relationships.

Education was another area where these men followed the path of the African American community around them. While the cave put them into contact with highly educated visitors, not all the guides were able to procure an education. Many southern states created laws that made it illegal for slaves to learn how to read and write; however, Kentucky never passed that law. A few of the slaveholders actually educated their bondsmen, but “state laws were supplemented by codes passed in various communities to confront the issues and fears of a white population as time passed.” Many of the visitors were surprised by the intelligence that Stephen showed, and many commented on their surprise at his education. Thomas Kite, a visitor who had Stephen as a guide, said this of Stephen's education,

He is a slave...and is unusually intelligent for one in his situation...He

---

61 Ramage and Watkins, 237.
knew how to read and write and received his education in the cave.

On noticing our looks of surprise, he explained by saying that he learned the alphabet by seeing visitors writing their names on the smooth ceiling of the cave, with the smoke of their lamps. His memory is retentive, and from the information gathered from many scientific individuals, whom he has guided through his domains, he was able to tell us the geological formations, point out and name the encrinites and fossils.62

One must question if Stephen ever tried to teach the other slaves how to read and write. Did he help his son learn? While Stephen did know how to read and write and about the science of the cave, Joy Medly Lyons asserts that this form of education did not spread to all the guides. She states that, “Oral tradition conveys that early slave guides learned to read and write while watching visitors carve or smoke their names on cave walls and ceilings. If this is the case, the lessons did not work for Nick or Mat, since legal documents filed in Edmonson County following their manumission bear their 'mark' and not a signature.”63 Why did Mat and Nick not learn how to read and write? Did their lives make it so they did not have time to learn? Was education not important to them? Evidence shows this is not true because at the end of Nick's life, he donated his land so that it could be used for the Mammoth Cave school where his grandchildren would learn to read and write.64

Many aspects of these guides personal lives followed the patterns of other Kentucky slaves, but their work as guides also allowed them to escape from caste system and leave

---

62 Kite, 11.  
63 Lyons, 44.  
64 Lyons, 47.
traditional slave roles. The fact that they were guiding visitors through a cave that could be deadly worked as one factor that allowed them to leave their slave positions, even if it were only while they were underground. Numerous records show that the guides were to have complete authority over the white visitors while exploring the passageways. One visitor commented that, “the guide exercises the strictest authority in order to guard against accidents...the services of a guide cannot be safely dispensed with, and guest should respect his authority.”65 Others noted that the tone that the guides would take with the visitors was not disrespect but instead out of safety. Charles Wright, a visitor, cautioned others that, “the abrupt manner in which it is necessary for the guides to address visitors in dangerous places must not be confused with insolence, as it is absolutely essential at many points.”66 The guides even had the authority to end the tour if the visitors were not respecting their authority. Nick did so according to one visitor account. When the tourist repeatedly took foolish risks and made dangerous demands, Nick simply refused to serve as his guide any longer.67 When one thinks of the situations that these men lived in having every aspect of their lives regulated by others, one hopes that they received some sort of joy in the authority that they held in the cave.

Their role as leader often allowed them to break other social etiquette that was taboo on the surface. The guides would carry with them in the cave meals for the visitors since the tours would last for hours. When it was time to eat, visitors often commented on how they felt wrong making the guides separate themselves during meals. Nathaniel Willis, a visitor, recalled, “Our guide modestly remembered that he was a slave, and after repast under the weight of which he

had toiled so far, he seated himself at a distance; but, remembering his merits and all the geology and history he had given us on the way, we voted him to the first table by an immediate and general remonstrance.”

Eating together which signified equality would often take place in the depths of the cave between the two races. How did the guides feel about eating with the guests? Did they enjoy it, or could the fact that it was taboo make them feel resentment? Did they wonder if this would ever be possible on the surface?

Another taboo that they were allowed to break in the cave was physical contact with white women. One the surface, having physical contact with a white woman could be enough for severe punishment if not death. However, the cave seemed to once again change the rules. Many whites who were visitors commented on having help from the guides, and even being carried or picked up. Thomas Kite commented, “As we were congratulating ourselves on having passed over all danger one of the girls slipped and falling with violence hurt her side, arm and limbs against the rocks. Our stout guide soon raised her up and assisted her to a place of safety.”

Others noted how Stephen would use his personality to bring people at ease in the cave. One such visitor wrote, “He is extremely attentive and polite, particularly to the ladies, especially if they be any ways good looking, and runs over what he has to say with such ease and readiness, and mingles his statement of facts with so loft language to which his race are so inclined, that all classes, male and female, listen with respect, and involuntarily smile at his remark.”

Stephen's actions would not have been tolerated on the surface, and all would have known the rules. Did Stephen know the risks he was taking, or did the shadows of the cave hide all the taboos of the surface?

---

69 Kite, 23.
Being guides in the cave, allowed whites to give respect to these men and their jobs, but that did not stop the power of slavery from controlling their lives. Even though these men met world wide reputations, they were still not free. Freedom did not come to them just because of their role as guide. Instead, the cave did give them the opportunity to work towards freedom or a nice distraction until freedom came to them. Stephen did not receive his freedom until John Croghan died and left it in is will to emancipate his slaves. His will stated that each of his slaves would be free after seven years, and during those years they were to prepare for freedom by working and earning wages.\textsuperscript{71} Even with this opportunity, Stephen and his family were listed on Croghan's inventory as to how much they were worth, Stephen at the age of 28 was worth $600, Charlotte age 26, $450, and their six year old son Thomas was listed as $100.00.\textsuperscript{72} Mat and Nick were not included in this will setting the slaves free because they were still owned by Thomas L. Bransford. Nick, however, was able to earn his freedom. When Thomas Bransford died, Nick was listed as valued at $800, and eventually Nick bought his freedom prior to 1863 according to the reports of visitor, F.J. Stevenson. According to this, Nick was able to buy his freedom from the tips that he received from the visitors and by capturing and selling the eyeless cave fish to the visitors for three dollars a fish.\textsuperscript{73} As for Mat, there is no evidence that he was freed before the end of the Civil War. However, what is important is that he lived to experience freedom and live a life that he controlled.

Kentucky likes to tout how good it was to its slaves, but the truth is that it was a state that held people, involuntarily forcing them into submission. Mammoth Cave used slave labor to become a world-renowned destination. However, through will power and hard work, these

\textsuperscript{71} Will of John Croghan, January 10, 1849, Book 4, page 181, Jefferson County Court Clerk, Louisville, Kentucky.
\textsuperscript{72} Lyons, 20.
\textsuperscript{73} Lyons, 46.
African Americans found a way to give life meaning, resisting the debilitating effect of slavery, and used their position as cave guides to take advantage of the opportunities it offered. Being a cave guide allowed them to have some authority, a chance to learn from the visitors, less secluded from life than other slaves, and a chance at freedom. Yet, it was a struggle to survive and find self-respect under the binds that held them.
Works Cited

Secondary Sources:


Primary Sources:


Will of John Croghan, January 10, 1849, Book 4, page 181, Jefferson County Court Clerk, Louisville, Kentucky.


Hovey, H.C. “One Hundred Miles in Mammoth Cave,” *Scribner's Monthly* 20 (May 1880).

Kite, Thomas. Diary. June, 1847, (unprocessed), Western Kentucky University Library, Bowling Green Kentucky.


Works Project Administration in Kentucky. Series 2, Box 50, Kentucky Department of Libraries and Archives, Frankfort, Ky.

The Weaknesses of Song China and the Legacy of Mongol Conquest

Emily Potts
In 1234, the state of Jin finally succumbed to almost three decades of Mongol incursions.

In “Crossing the Yellow River, June 12,” Yuan Haowen recounts the destruction in the wake of the fall of Kaifeng, the capital and last remaining province of Jin territory:

White bones scattered
like tangled hemp,
how soon before mulberry and catalpa
turn to dragon-sands?
I only know north of the river
there is no life:
crumbled houses, scattered chimney smoke
from a few homes.

He describes the near-total destruction which was typical of Mongol conquests: “bones scattered” about the land and very few homes left standing. He writes how he only knows “north of the river,” referring to the title of the poem and demonstrating how the reality—his reality—of Jin dominance had been shattered. Further, he seems ready to surrender in despair, seeing as how “there is no life” for him now, or for the Jin Dynasty for that matter.

By the fourteenth century, the Mongols had established the largest contiguous land empire in history, an empire which included—for the first time—China. The Jin state of Northern Song fell relatively early in the Mongol campaigns, and the Southern Song would fall soon after in 1279 in a campaign spearheaded by Khubilai Khan. How did a horde of “barbarian” steppe peoples conquer China—historically, the greatest political power in East Asia? Traditional models have portrayed the Mongol conquest as a series of successful invasions due to military superiority which were then followed by the adoption of local administrative

---

1 Yuan Haowen, “Crossing the Yellow River, June 12,” in Pre-Modern East Asia, to 1800: A Cultural, Social, and Political History, Ebrey et. al., 2nd ed. (USA: Cengage Learning, 2009), 196.

2 Ebrey, Patricia, Anne Walthall, and James Palais, Pre-Modern East Asia, to 1800: A Cultural, Social, and Political History, 2nd ed. (USA: Cengage Learning, 2009), 160.

3 Ebrey et al., Pre-Modern East Asia, 2nd ed., 197.
practices—a reflection of the Mongols’ nomadic-pastoralist lifeways and inexperience with centralized government. Instead, the Mongols were able to establish their empire primarily because of the political development of the Eurasian Steppe polities as well as their military prowess. Furthermore, both Northern and Southern Song China fell due to their political and military weakness resulting from both political factionalism and a flawed examination system.

**Song China: Political Stagnation and Military Impotency**

Despite the façade of social mobility and meritocracy of the Song civil examination system, it generated intense competition among the scholar-officials, leading to political factionalism and a weak political system. With the spread of printing, the educated class exploded as more people had wider access to cheaply-printed materials. The Song examination system generated four to five times more jinshi (scholar officials holding the highest examination degree) per year than the Tang system had. As a result, more hopeful jinshi eagerly competed in the civil service examination. Yet the number of available positions did not increase as rapidly as the pool of possible candidates. Consequently, the chances of a hopeful candidate’s passing the examination reached as low as 1 in 333 during the Song dynasty. Considering the low chances of actually ascending to the ranks of the esteemed scholar official class, one would think that the more selective examination system would have fostered a sense of solidarity among the jinshi. Instead, competition increased once candidates managed to pass the exams because there were too few positions available for the incoming officials. As such, promotions depended heavily on

---

5 Ebrey *et al.*, *Pre-Modern East Asia*, 2nd ed., 136-137.
recommendations and, in turn, favoritism. As a result, the jinshi fought more aggressively than in previous dynasties, leading inevitably to factionalism.\(^7\)

The first steps toward administrative reform were taken by Fan Zhongyan, who tried to implement a ten-point program meant to eliminate entrenched bureaucrats, favoritism, and nepotism.\(^8\) (Higher officials had the privilege of nominating family members to civil service positions, bypassing the examination system altogether.\(^9\)) Fan was defeated, but later reformers adopted his crusade.\(^10\) Cheng Yi, for example, presented this memorial in 1050 as a critique of the civil examination system:

In the selection of scholars for the civil service, though there are many categories under which men may qualify, yet there are only one or two persons who may be considered [under the category of] "wise, virtuous, square, and upright." Instead, what the government obtains are scholars who possess no more than erudition and powerful memory. Those who qualify in [the examination on] understanding of the classics merely specialize in reciting from memory and do not understand their meaning. They are of little use in government.\(^11\)

According to Cheng Yi, the civil examination system fails to select “wise, virtuous, square, and upright” men because the exam itself only stresses memorization of the classics, which he believes to be the foundations of good governance. Instead, he argues, the exam should stress comprehension of the classics. He also goes on to criticize the exam’s emphasis on poetry:

The most prized and sought after is the category of jinshi, which involves composition of verse in the ci and fu form according to the prescribed rules of tone and rhythm. In the ci and fu there is nothing about the way to govern the empire. Men learn them in order to pass the examination, and after the passage of sufficient time, they finally attain to the posts of ministers and chancellors. How can they know anything of the bases of education and cultivation found in the Kingly Way?\(^12\)

Because scholar-officials were meant to be men of letters, the civil examination tested applicants on their ability to write poetry. But as Cheng Yi argues, poetry is completely irrelevant to

---

\(^7\) Ebrey et al., *Pre-Modern East Asia*, 3\(^{rd}\) ed., 136-137.
\(^8\) *Sources of East Asian Tradition*, vol.1, 1\(^{st}\) ed., Wm. Theodore de Bary, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 311-313.
\(^9\) Ebrey et al., *Pre-Modern East Asia*, 3\(^{rd}\) ed., 136-137.
\(^10\) *Sources of East Asian Tradition*, Wm. Theodore de Bary, 311-313.
\(^12\) Cheng Yi, “Memorial to Emperor Renzong,” 315.
governance. Why, then, would a civil examination system test applicants on poetry writing? Rather, jinshi must fully understand “the Kingly Way” in order to govern well. Together, these two passages by Cheng Yi demonstrate the rise of Neo-Confucianism in Song China. Believing that the examination system had drifted away from Confucian principles by recruiting men of rote memorization rather than virtue, reformers like Cheng Yi saw the need to return to these ideals.\(^\text{13}\) Thus, Cheng Yi argues that capable men of virtue can only be found if the examination system stresses comprehension of the classics while de-emphasizing the creation of *ci* and *fu* poetry which contributes nothing to the practical rule of the empire.

Wang Anshi, too, exemplifies Neo-Confucianism by citing the example of the sage-kings:

> What is the way to select officials? The ancient kings selected men only from the local villages and through the local schools. The people were asked to recommend those they considered virtuous and able, sending up their nominations to the court, which investigated each one. Only if the men recommended proved truly virtuous and able would they be appointed to official posts commensurate with their individual virtue and ability.\(^\text{14}\)

Wishing to return to the moral government of the sage-kings, Yao and Shun, he turns to their method of civil service recruitment as an inspiration for reform. Moreover, Wang Anshi agrees with Cheng Yi that the “most urgent need of the present time is to secure capable men.”\(^\text{15}\) For both Cheng Yi and Wang Anshi, capable men are virtuous men.

However, Wang Anshi differs from Cheng Yi in his suggestion for reform. He argues that the civil service examination not only stresses memorization over understanding of the classics; it actually prevents “those who can apply them to the government of the empire”\(^\text{16}\) from passing.

---

\(^\text{13}\) Ebrey *et al.*, *Pre-Modern East Asia*, 3rd ed., 140.
\(^\text{15}\) Wang Anshi, “Memorial to Emperor Renzong,” 320.
\(^\text{16}\) Ibid., 322.
To correct for this systematic error, he proposes a system of recruitment more in line with the example of the sage-kings:

When we have investigated those whose conduct and ability are of the highest level, and have appointed them to high office, we should ask them in turn to select men of the same type, try them out for a time and test them, and then make recommendations to the ruler, whereupon ranks and salaries would be granted to them. This is the way to conduct the selection of officials.\footnote{Ibid., 320.}

Here, Wang Anshi completely rejects any form of examination at all; instead, he advocates “test-driving” candidates before awarding a position. Also, Wang Anshi’s proposal to allow scholar-officials to recommend other possible candidates could have encouraged cooperation rather than the vicious, competitive factionalism which was typical of the Song bureaucracy. In addition, Wang Anshi’s “test-driving” policy would have served as a check to any favoritism or nepotism which might have resulted from recommendations. While a different approach than that of Cheng Yi, Wang Anshi’s proposal still aims to accomplish the same goal: to recruit capable men of virtue to the administration of the empire. In this case, he advocates “trial runs” to determine the virtue of possible candidates.

Because the number of open positions did not increase as rapidly as the pool of possible candidates, jinshi tended to fight more viciously among themselves than in previous dynasties. Often, these personal and philosophical disputes were portrayed as a struggle between men of virtue, concerned with the common good, and corrupt, nefarious men who could not see past their own interests. Each side, of course, thought themselves the superior, virtuous men and their enemies, the corrupted men.\footnote{Ebrey et al., Pre-Modern East Asia, 2\textsuperscript{nd} ed., 135-136.} For example in a critique of Wang Anshi’s New Policies, Sima Guang writes

Whatever this man wanted to do could neither be held up by the ruler nor changed by the people. Those who agreed with him were given his help in rising to the sky, while those who differed with
him were thrown out and cast down into the ditch. All he wanted was to satisfy his own ambitions, without regard to the best interests of the nation.\textsuperscript{19}

Sima Guang describes how Wang Anshi was able to pass his New Policies by creating a coalition of like-minded officials and maligning those who disagreed with him. Although Sima Guang portrays him as an unscrupulous, selfish, scheming official, Wang Anshi was simply doing what was necessary to pass his proposal. To Wang Anshi, however, Sima Guang’s criticisms and dissent would have seemed obstructionist.

The political atmosphere of the Song bureaucracy was one of stagnation in which, in order to accomplish any objectives, officials with proposals had to form coalitions to gain the ear of the emperor. This coalition-building was directly contrary to Confucian ideas because the scholar-officials were meant to serve as advisors to the emperor. They were not meant to build coalitions to gain an audience; rather, it was the emperor’s decision whether to heed their advice.\textsuperscript{20} But the explosion of the scholar-official class effectively silenced individual \textit{jinshi} who had to resort to factionalism to accomplish anything at all.\textsuperscript{21} But in resorting to factionalism, as Wang Anshi had done, individual \textit{jinshi} further perpetuated the polarization of the political system, inciting the criticisms of their opponents. Thus, the Song political process was crippled by a polarizing factionalism which resulted from a disproportionate lack of new positions coupled with the explosion of the scholar-official class.

This political factionalism and stagnation would have devastating implications for the Song military. Contrasting the Song military system with that of the sage-kings, Wang Anshi writes

[Of old]… those scholars who had learned the way of the ancient kings and whose behavior and character had won the approval of their village communities were the ones entrusted with the duty

\textsuperscript{20} Ebrey \textit{et al.}, \textit{Pre-Modern East Asia}, 3\textsuperscript{rd} ed., 140.  
\textsuperscript{21} Ebrey \textit{et al.}, \textit{Pre-Modern East Asia}, 2\textsuperscript{nd} ed., 136.
of guarding the frontiers and the palace in accordance with their respective abilities… Today this most important responsibility in the empire… is given to those corrupt, ruthless, and unreliable men whose ability and behavior are not such that they can maintain themselves in their local villages… But as long as military training is not given, and men of a higher type are not selected for military service, there is no wonder that scholars regard the carrying of weapons as a disgrace and that none of them is able to ride, or shoot, or has any familiarity with military maneuvers.22

Because civil servants were selected via local recommendation in ancient times, the men selected for those positions were held to a certain level of accountability by their local community in regards to both political issues and military defense. In Song China, however, there was no accountability. As a result, military strength declined to such an extent that officials could not even ride a horse and viewed possession of weapons as somehow below themselves. To combat this military impotency in the face of “the constant threat of the barbarians,”23 Wang Anshi proposed a policy of reform whereby local communities would be placed in charge of their own defense and policing. Wang Anshi imitated the example of the sage-kings by creating a system of collective safety as well as collective responsibility wherein families were organized into units of ten, a hundred, and thousand. Within this stratified structure, the responsibility of providing able-bodied men was rotated within the community, thereby lessening the burden placed on individual families.24

Despite the seeming effectiveness of Wang Anshi’s militia reform, Sima Guang ridiculed his policies, emphasizing the economic stress they placed on the poorest of society while overlooking the long-term benefits and the looming threat of the barbarians:

Besides, officials who liked to create new schemes that they might take advantage of to advance themselves suggested setting up the collective security militia system (baojia), horse-raising system, and the horse-care system as a means of providing for the military establishment. They changed the regulations governing the tea, salt, iron, and other monopolies and increased the taxes on family property, on [buildings] encroaching on the street, on business and so forth, in order to meet military expenses. The result was to cause the people of the nine provinces to lose their livelihood and suffer extreme distress, as if they had been cast into hot water and fire. All this happened because the great body of officials were so eager to advance themselves. They misled

22 Wang Anshi, “Memorial to Emperor Renzong,” 321.
23 Ibid., 319.
24 Sources of East Asian Tradition, Wm. Theodore de Bary, 317.
the emperor and saw to it that they themselves derived all the profit from these schemes while the emperor incurred all the resentment.25

Sima Guang clearly sees the strengthening of the military and the threat of the barbarians to be an illegitimate concern—certainly not one immediate and severe enough to warrant undue taxation on lower classes. Thus, he chooses to emphasize these burdens at the expense of Song military fortitude. Worse, still, he portrays Wang Anshi’s sincere attempts at economic and military reform as a devious scheme to advance himself, to increase his own wealth, and to smear the “paternal affection”26 of the emperor. With the death of Emperor Shenzong, Wang Anshi’s patron (named in the documents as Emperor Renzong), Sima Guang abolished many of his reform policies.27 Clearly, the civil service examination produced no Sun Tzus, much less men capable of riding a horse. Worse still, political factionalism hindered any chance of military reform. Thus, political impotency resulted in military impotency.

This military impotency would prove fatal to Song China. In 1118, Emperor Huizong’s most revered general, Tong Guan, proposed that the Song seek a military alliance with the Jin against the northern state of Liao. After seeing the Song army’s pitiable performance in the campaign against Liao, Jin realized that Song could be easily conquered. In 1127, Jin besieged Kaifeng and took thousands captive, including Emperor Huizong. Gaozong, one of Emperor Huizong’s sons who was not in Kaifeng at the time of the siege, retreated to the south, which had never been held by forces from the steppe—until the Mongols. There, he set up a capital at Hangzhou, well south of the Yangzi, and proclaimed himself Emperor of the Southern Song.28

25 Sima Guang, “A Petition to Do Away with the Most Harmful of the New Laws,” 325.
26 Ibid.
27 Sources of East Asian Tradition, Wm. Theodore de Bary, 324.
28 Ebrey et al., Pre-Modern East Asia, 2nd ed., 137-139.
Despite the warning offered by the fall of Northern Song, Southern Song could not repair its political division and military impotency in time to defend against the coming onslaught of the Mongols. The Southern Song was well aware of the Mongols’ conquests of the Northern Song in 1234 and began raising revenues and preparing its armies for war.\(^{29}\) Yet the same problems which had plagued Song bureaucracy before the fall of the Northern Song seemed to be affecting the Southern Song just prior to Mongol conquest. For instance, Song generals were willing to fight until the very end, but they lacked capable leadership. The emperor was merely a child. And the advisors to the empress dowager wasted their energy opposing each other’s plans, reflecting the political factionalism and obstructionism present in Song bureaucracy some two centuries before. By the time the Mongol forces had crossed the Yangzi, the empress dowager resorted to calling upon the people to raise arms—but they were no match for the expert Mongol soldiers.\(^{30}\)

*The Mongols: Pastoralist-Nomads-Turned-Empire-Builders?*

In this vivid account, Marco Polo describes the military prowess and nearly inhuman endurance of the Mongols:

> They are brave in battle, almost to desperation, setting little value upon their lives, and exposing themselves without hesitation to all manner of danger. Their disposition is cruel. They are capable of supporting every kind of privation, and when there is a necessity for it, can live for a month on the milk of their mares, and upon such wild animals as they may chance to catch. The men are habituated to remain on horseback during two days and two nights, without dismounting, sleeping in that situation whilst their horses graze. No people on earth can surpass them in fortitude under difficulties, nor show greater patience under wants of every kind.\(^{31}\)

When juxtaposed with Wang Anshi’s account of the eleventh century Song military, the stark contrast between Song military impotency and Mongol military prowess is almost comical.

\(^{29}\) Ebrey *et al.*, *Pre-Modern East Asia*, 2nd ed., 196.  
\(^{30}\) Ibid., 197.  
Whereas Song officials are incapable of riding a horse, the Mongols are accustomed to staying mounted for two consecutive days. Moreover, the Mongols are more accustomed to living off the land, and as a result, can endure longer on fewer supplies than the feeble Song armies. In addition, the Mongols utilized psychological warfare by terrorizing their victims with their “cruel” dispositions and leaving a trail of complete destruction in their wake, as described in Yuan Haowen’s “Crossing of the Yellow River, June 12.”

While some historians have long considered the Mongols “more effective conquerors than governors” due to their rather “uncivilized” nomadic-pastoralist lifeways, archaeologists William Honeychurch and Chunag Amartuvshin argue that it was precisely those lifeways which made them effective governors over a vast empire. Because the Mongols were “natural soldiers,” a result of their nomadic lifeways which allowed them to develop individual combat skills early in life, social organization was inherently connected to military organization. Since the Xiongnu, the steppes peoples had utilized a decimal system of organizing armies which were connected to tribal units. In the thirteenth century, Chinggis Khan revolutionized these military units by disconnecting them from the tribal units, thus creating a Mongol army that was loyal solely to him.

Horse-riding not only made the Mongols formidable militarily; it also served as the basis of their nomadic lifestyle, which in turn transformed them into deft coordinators of people and resources over vast distances. For instance, Marco Polo describes the highways and more than ten thousand postal stations established by the Mongol Khans for travel and communication. The

32 Yuan Haowen, “Crossing the Yellow River, June 12,” 196.
36 Honeychurch and Amartuvshin, “States on Horseback,” 262.
stations were arranged every twenty-five to thirty miles, and together, they maintained more than 300,000 horses for the sole use of the messengers. The Khan also employed foot messengers, who wore a wide belt and jingling bells to signal their arrival. Each foot messenger ran three miles to the next post, and relayed his message to the next runner, and so on and so forth. Thus, “in this way the Emperor, who has an immense number of these runners, receives despatches with news from places ten days’ journey off in one day and night; or, if need be, news from a hundred days off in ten days and nights; and that is no small matter!”

In a time before cell phones, email, and telegram, the speed of communication across a vast empire translated into formidable political and military power. Marco Polo’s astonishment at the efficiency of Mongol postal stations reveals their superiority to contemporary European communication networks—an efficiency developed, naturally, by nomads.

Marco Polo’s account of Khubilai Khan’s palace also provides an excellent example of the Mongol’s ability to organize resources over vast distances. The palace, expansive, grandiose, and “the greatest palace that ever was,” stands as a testament to the Mongols’ ability to assemble materials and workers, particularly artisans who no doubt colored the roof “with vermilion and yellow and green and blue and other hues, which are fixed with a varnish so fine and exquisite that they shine like crystal, and lend a resplendent lustre to the Palace as seen for a great way round.” The palace also had a peculiar featured called the Green Mount:

This hill is entirely covered with trees that never lose their leaves, but remain ever green. And I assure you that wherever a beautiful tree may exist, and the Emperor gets news of it, he sends for it and has it transported bodily with all its roots and the earth attached to them, and planted on that hill of his. No matter how big the tree may be, he gets it carried by his elephants; and in this way he has got together the most beautiful collection of trees in all the world.

39 Marco Polo, “Concerning the Palace of the Great Kaan.”
40 Ibid.
Here, Marco Polo himself is astounded at the Mongols’ ability to wrest materials from the furthest reaches of the empire, such that Khubilai Khan could, supposedly, assemble his own nursery of exotic trees and transport them no matter their size.

Furthermore, the ability to engage in long-distance interactions and exchanges necessitated that the Mongols become adept at managing diverse peoples, languages, and cultures. For example, in his “Letter to the Minister General of the Friars Minor in Rome,” John of Monte Corvino explains how he presented a letter from the Pope to the Khan and invited him to adopt the Catholic faith of our Lord Jesus Christ; but he had grown too old in idolatry. However, he bestows many kindnesses upon the Christians, and these two years past I am abiding with him. I have built a church in the city of Peking, in which the king has his chief residence. This I completed six years ago; and I have built a bell-tower to it and put three bells in it. I have baptized there, as well as I can estimate, up to this time some six thousand persons.

Not only was John of Monte Corvino tolerated by the Khan, but he was even permitted to proselytize and build a church in Peking. Furthermore, his conversion of six thousand people, as he claimed, demonstrates that the Mongol Empire was both open to different faiths and provided a reservoir of possible converts to the major world religions, allowing missionaries like Corvino to travel through Inner and East Asia.

The Mongols were able to follow and exploit the example of previous empires like the Xiongnu which had developed methods of legitimization for the creation and endurance of super-tribal confederations despite the tendency towards factionalism. The belief in Tengi, the supreme sky god of the steppe who was able to grant the right to rule to one clan, formed the basis of super-tribal unity (similarly to China’s concept of tianming). The concern for legitimization also influenced the placement of the Mongol capital, Kharkhorum, in the Orkhon

---

41 Honeychurch and Amartuvshin, “States on Horseback,” 262.
river valley of central Mongolia. The river valley itself provided key access to trade routes throughout Mongolia. More importantly, the valley had been the site of many Turkic monuments as well as the Uigher capital, Ordu Balik.\(^{44}\) Historical documents recount the great lengths to which Mongol advisors researched the geography of the river valley in selecting a site for Kharkhorum. In fact, the Turkic elite once declared that the Orkhon river valley was the only place from which the steppes peoples could be consolidated.\(^{45}\) Thus, constructing the capital there appropriated the traditional authority associated with previous polities and exploited the nexus of long-distance routes throughout northeastern Mongolia.

While some scholars have contended that Kharkhorum was a dependent capital, due to its low infrastructure and productivity, archaeologists have argued that its large population and significant investment in infrastructure necessitated massive transportation of resources from the periphery of the empire to the core—a process that could only be effectively executed by nomads with considerable experience in mobility.\(^{46}\) For an analogous example, Marco Polo describes the city of Cambaluc, or modern Beijing and the capital of the Yuan Dynasty, as having “such a multitude of houses, and such a vast population inside the walls and outside, that it seems quite past all possibility.”\(^{47}\) Besides the booming population, the city housed many “foreign merchants and travellers, of whom there are always great numbers who have come to bring presents to the Emperor, or to sell articles at Court, or because the city affords so good a mart to attract traders.”\(^{48}\) In describing the thriving trade at Cambaluc, Marco Polo writes

> To this city also are brought articles of greater cost and rarity, and in greater abundance of all kinds, than to any other city in the world. For people of every description, and from every region,

\(^{44}\) Honeychurch and Amartuvshin, “States on Horseback,” 270.
\(^{45}\) Ibid., 275.
\(^{46}\) Ibid., 271.
\(^{48}\) Marco Polo, “Concerning the City of Cambaluc and its Great Traffic and Population.”
bring things (including all the costly wares of India, as well as the fine and precious goods of Cathay itself with its provinces)... 49

Thus, Cambaluc is an excellent example of both the Mongols’ appreciation for merchants and commercial trade and their skills of encouraging and maintaining long-distance trade networks. Certainly, Cambaluc does not reflect a dependent political or economic center governed by inept pastoralists. Instead, it demonstrates how the Mongols were able to draw on their experiences as nomads and organize a flourishing trade network which linked the periphery of the empire to the core. And while the Mongols designed their capitals using sedentary models of urban and political centers, they did not manage their capitals in the same way as sedentary societies. In contrast to sedentary civilizations which had to learn to manage space as they expanded, the Mongols already had an intimate understanding of space, distance, and mobility. Thus, they used their capitals not as political centers but as tethering points for the mobile court. 50

In addition to political centers, the Mongols also established ceremonial centers wherein the Mongol khans ritually legitimized their power and subverted the tendency towards factionalism. An excellent example is the site of Avargyn Balgas. Radio-carbon dating shows that the site was in use from the twelfth through the fourteenth century, and historical documents indicate that it was one of the earliest settlements of the Mongols. Excavations conducted in 2003 revealed evidence for a shift in faunal assemblages from largely subsistence-based to consisting primarily of ritual horse bones, indicating a shift from an administrative center to a ceremonial center. This material evidence seems to parallel historical documents describing ritual offerings which Mongol khans would conduct annually at important sites in their ancestral

49 Ibid.
homeland. Marco Polo provides a textual example of such rituals which served to unify the Mongols under the leadership of the khan:

It has been an invariable custom that all the grand khans and chiefs of the race of Chingis-khan should be carried for internment to a certain lofty mountain named Altai, and in whatever place they may happen to die, even if it should be at the distance of a hundred days' journey, they are nevertheless conveyed there. It is likewise the custom, during the progress of removing the bodies of these princes, for those who form the escort to sacrifice such persons as they chance to meet on the road, saying to them, “Depart for the next world, and there attend upon your deceased master,” believing that all they kill do actually become his servants in the next life. They do the same also with respect to horses, killing the best of the stud, in order that he may have the use of them.

The Altai Mountains no doubt had ritual significance to the steppes people, which the Mongols appropriated to lend themselves a degree of ritual power and political legitimacy. Also, the tremendous effort necessary to transport the body of the deceased khan to the Altai and to perform the sacrifices would have required a significant organization of labor and served to unify the people, further exercising the Mongols’ ability to organize human and material resources across vast distances. Moreover, the ritual would have served to reinforce and legitimize the line of Chinggis Khan, who was himself buried in the Altai Mountains. It is interesting to note, too, that Marco Polo’s description of the sacrificial horses seems to correspond nicely to the material evidence of ritual horse bones excavated at Avargyn Balgas. The importance of horses to the Mongols’ nomadic-pastoralist lifeways would have served to elevate them as ritual symbols.

In describing Chinggis Khan, the infamous unifier of the Mongol people, Marco Polo writes that he was

one of approved integrity, great wisdom, commanding eloquence, and eminent for his valor. He began his reign with so much justice and moderation, that he was beloved and revered as their deity rather than their sovereign; and as the fame of his great and good qualities spread over that part of the world, all the Tartars, however dispersed, placed themselves under his command.

---

51 Ibid., 269-270.
52 Marco Polo, On the Tartars, in Internet Medieval Source Book, Paul Falsall, (Fordham University, 1996).
53 Marco Polo, On the Tartars.
54 Ibid.
Relying on the accounts of the Mongol elite during the reign of Khubilai Khan, Marco Polo exalts and even deifies the Great Khan, portraying him as a benevolent conqueror, whose subjects were pleased and even eager to be ruled by him. In reality, the centralizing campaign pursued by Chinggis Khan was much more difficult given that the steppes peoples were prone to factionalism, a tendency resulting from both their wide geographic dispersal as well as their capability for forceful resistance. Even so, Chinggis Khan was able to draw on the precedents of the Eurasian steppes polities before him to overcome this tendency towards factionalism and establish the largest contiguous land-based empire in history.

**A Consequence of Timing**

Although the Mongols are often portrayed as the scourge of the earth (usually by the sedentary societies they conquered), their empire had many lasting achievements, the most important of which was the intensified integration between East and West. The Mongols themselves were certainly not passive in this regard and actively encouraged intercultural exchange. Due to their low population density, human capital was just as important in Mongol conquests as territorial expansion. Finding themselves wanting of specialists and artisans, they redistributed these individuals all over the empire, generating proliferous intercultural exchanges. Just as prosperous was the Mongols’ encouragement of international trade, which they facilitated by developing infrastructure along important trade routes and funding early joint-stock companies called ortogh. In the field of religion, too, the Mongols promoted integration, and even provided a reservoir of possible converts to the major world religions.

---

56 Michal Biran, “The Mongol Transformation: From the Steppe to Eurasian Empire,” 341
57 Ibid., 351.
58 Ibid., 353.
But most significantly, the Mongols developed efficient methods of ruling an empire.\textsuperscript{59} While this insight was not overlooked by their successors, somehow it was lost by recent scholarship, which tends to view the Mongols as an historical anomaly. How else could scholars explain this surprising success story of nomadic-pastoralists-turned-empire-builders? Unfortunately, history is often written from the perspective of sedentary agriculturalists who tend to demean less centralized societies. Thankfully, current scholarship is attempting to investigate alternate models of empire-building which include mobility and lack established urban centers. And though their empire may have only lasted a few centuries, the astounding accomplishments of the Mongols should not be overlooked.

But what of Song China? Although impressive, the Mongol method of empire building does not explain by itself how Song China fell to the Mongols. For that, one must turn to Song China itself. The picture that emerges of Song China from the eleventh through the thirteenth century is one of mounting pressures produced by a flawed examination system which incited and exacerbated political factionalism. In turn, this political factionalism stagnated the political process, effectively impeding any chance of meaningful reform. Unable to reform the military system, Song China remained militarily impotent. Even after the invasion of the Jurchens in 1127 which split the empire into Northern and Southern halves, the stagnant Southern Song political situation was apparently too far gone to strengthen its military and to fortify its borders. Militarily vulnerable and in dire need of a political overhaul, the Southern Song fell to the Mongols in 1279. Indeed, this conquest may have been the overhaul that Song China so desperately needed, and perhaps it was not—over the long-term—the disaster which “Crossing the Yellow River, June 12” initially portrays it to be.\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., 360.
\textsuperscript{60} Yuan Haowen, “Crossing the Yellow River, June 12,” 196.
Most basically, the Mongol conquest of Song China was a consequence of timing. Just as the Mongols were building an astonishingly successful empire based on the models of Eurasian Steppe polities and their nomadic mastery of distance, Song China was growing ever weaker, both politically and militarily. What the Mongols conquered in 1279 was not a thriving state of Southern Song; one could hardly even consider it “surviving.” Instead, what they conquered was the shadow of a state that had ceased to function effectively two centuries before but which had continued to exist in a stagnant political straightjacket. Unable—or unwilling—to initiate meaningful reform, Song China sat like the proverbial duck, hands tied, awaiting conquest by the next military power which could claim it. Who could have suspected that this power would be a confederation of “barbarian” nomads from the steppes?
Bibliography


------, “How the Kaan’s Posts and Runners are Spread through Many Lands and Provinces,” in *The Mongols in World History: Asia for Educators*. Translated by Colonel Sir Henry


< http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/mpolo44-46.asp>


Major General Lew Wallace at Shiloh

Lucas Somers
During the course of his life, Lew Wallace became a very accomplished man in the nineteenth century. He became the youngest major general in the United States Army in 1862 at the age of 35, served as governor of New Mexico, as U.S. minister to Turkey, and later wrote one of the greatest novels of his century, *Ben Hur*. Despite these impressive achievements, Wallace’s reputation is blemished by the events of the first day of the Battle of Shiloh, where the division under his command, which was ordered to arrive on the battlefield near Pittsburg Landing midday, did not arrive until after sunset and after the day’s fighting had ceased. This first day of the battle, April 6, 1862, proved near disastrous for the Union Army and many, including General Ulysses S. Grant, blamed Wallace’s absence for their losses. With his Third Division of the Army of the District of West Tennessee, the Union forces were able push back and handily defeat the Confederates on April 7, the second and final day of the battle. This was the bloodiest battle in American history up to that point in time. The Union losses were so great that Grant was removed from his command, and he continued to blame Wallace, accusing him of getting lost and disobeying orders on that devastating first day. The march of Lew Wallace and his division on April 6, 1862 was the center of much debate in the aftermath of Shiloh, and the question of how much his absence affected the Union forces still remains.

Lewis Wallace was born on April 10, 1827 to David Wallace, a graduate of the United States Military Academy, and Esther French Test in Brookville, Indiana. David Wallace left the army after a year and studied and practiced law in Brookville. He was elected lieutenant governor of Indiana in 1831, governor of Indiana in 1837, and elected to Congress in 1841. He went back to practicing law as a judge in Indianapolis after losing the congressional election of 1842.
Lew’s background, especially his father being a prominent politician, made it possible for him to become a military leader during the Civil War.

Lew Wallace didn’t accept discipline at school as a boy, but he was not uninterested in learning. At the age of nineteen, he decided to choose his career and went to study law with his father, but not long after Lew was elected second lieutenant in the Marion Volunteers, which served for a year in the First Indiana Volunteer Infantry in the Mexican War. After the war, Wallace received a license to practice law and became a prosecuting attorney in the early 1850s. He married Susan Elston in May 1848, and according to his description of her in his autobiography, they had a very happy marriage: “What success has come of me, all that I am, in fact, is owing to her, the girl of whom I am speaking. The admission is broad, yet it leaves justice but half done.” In the 1850s, Wallace formed a local militia and became involved in politics, which led to his election to the Indiana State Senate from 1856 to 1860. With the opening of the Civil War in 1861, Lew Wallace saw his career in politics shift somewhat as he would join the Union war effort and became a military leader, where he would earn a reputation that stuck with him the rest of his life.

Following the battle of Fort Sumter, the opening battle of the Civil War, both the Union and Confederacy relied on volunteers to enlist to fight. The governor of Indiana, Oliver P. Morton, made Wallace the state’s adjutant general and relied on him to attract men to enlist, as he was Indiana’s most prominent military man. After raising Indiana’s troops, Wallace insisted on leading his men into battle himself and became a colonel in the Eleventh Indiana Volunteer

---

2 Stephens, 4.
Infantry Regiment. By the beginning of September 1861, after a short time leading his regiment in the war, Wallace was promoted to brigadier general and, following the significant Union victories at Forts Henry and Donelson in February 1862, Wallace was made a major general. Following his promotion, Wallace was given command of the Third Division of the Army of the District of West Tennessee – a recently formed western army under the charge of the hero of the victories at Fort Henry and Donelson: Ulysses S. Grant. By March 12, 1862, Wallace was stationed with his division at Crump’s Landing, roughly five miles north of Pittsburg Landing the location of the Battle of Shiloh.

An awareness of the location of Wallace’s headquarters is critical in terms of understanding how and when Wallace’s Third Division arrived on the battlefield on April 6th. General Lew Wallace’s Third Division was made up of three brigades commanded by Colonel Morgan L. Smith, Colonel John M. Thayer, and Colonel Charles Whittlesey, respectively. Smith’s first brigade included the Eleventh Indiana (Wallace’s first regiment), the Eighth Missouri, and the Twenty-fourth Indiana. Thayer’s second contained the First Nebraska, Twenty-third Indiana, Fifty-eighth Ohio, and Fifty-sixth Ohio. Lastly, Whittlesey commanded the Twentieth Ohio, Seventy-sixth Ohio, and Sixty-eighth Ohio regiments in the third brigade.

The official report of the division’s involvement in the Battle of Shiloh, written by Wallace on April 12th, gives his account of their movements and actions on both days of the battle. When the sun rose on Sunday April 6, 1862, the three brigades were stationed in three separate locations: the first brigade at Crump’s Landing, the second two miles away at Stony Lonesome,

---

4 Stephens, 17-19.
5 Stephens, 63.
and the third at Adamsville another two miles out toward the town called Purdy.\textsuperscript{7} These
distances were probably not exact, rather the general’s approximation. That his division was
spread out as it was suggests the route Wallace intended to take to get to Pittsburg Landing and
that the Union army was not sure where the Confederates would attack, believing it possible that
it could come from the direction of Purdy.\textsuperscript{8}

The troops at Crump’s Landing woke Sunday morning to the sound of gunfire in the
direction of Pittsburg Landing, where the majority of the Union Army was camped. General
Grant was stationed north of Wallace on the Tennessee River at Savanna. Grant reminisced
about the early morning of April 6\textsuperscript{th} in the famous “Battle and Leaders of the Civil War”
published by \textit{The Century} in 1885:

\begin{quote}
While I was at breakfast…heavy firing was heard in the direction of Pittsburg Landing,
and I hastened there…on the way up the river I directed the dispatch-boat to run in close
to Crump’s Landing, so that I could communicate with General Lew Wallace…I directed
him to get his troops in line ready to execute any orders he might receive. He replied that
his troops were already under arms and prepared to move.\textsuperscript{9}
\end{quote}

The time of this encounter on Grant’s way up the river to Shiloh was part of the debate between
the two generals’ camps surrounding Wallace’s march. In response to Wallace’s official report
of the battle, Grant made some corrections to the course of events. In the letter sent to the
headquarters of the Army of the Tennessee, dated April 25, 1862, Grant states that, “I directed
this division at about 8 o’clock a. m. to be held in readiness to move at a moments warning in

\textsuperscript{7} Wallace, April 12, 1862, “Reports of Maj. Gen. Lewis Wallace,” 169.
\textsuperscript{8} See Map 1.
any direction it might be ordered.”

Almost a year after the battle, Wallace wrote to General Henry W. Halleck at the headquarters of the army challenging Grant’s accusations concerning his absence from the first day of Shiloh. Wallace offers a more detailed account of the first day including the time of his meeting with Grant that morning: “About 9 o’clock General Grant passed up the river. Instead of an order to march, he merely left me a direction to hold myself in readiness for orders.” It would be hard to believe that Wallace could be completely objective at the time he was writing to Halleck because this was when men were coming out with reports supporting one general over the other. Major William Rowley, aide to Grant, wrote on April 4, 1863 that the encounter occurred between 7:00 a.m. and 8:00 a.m. As Rowley’s statement was also made during the debate between the camps of Wallace and Grant, it is similarly doubtful whether or not his report was completely objective. Therefore, it can be inferred that Grant most likely passed by Crump’s Landing at around 8:00 a.m., gave initial orders to Wallace that he should await further instructions, and continued up the river to Shiloh.

After receiving orders to gather his forces and be ready for any forthcoming orders, Wallace moved his first and third brigades to Stony Lonesome, the location of his second. This move was made so that the army could take, according to Wallace, “the nearest and most practicable road to the scene of battle.” This gives some insight to Wallace’s intended route to join the main union body. The most direct road from Crump’s Landing to Pittsburg Landing was the River Road that went along the Tennessee River. This road went across Snake Creek, near

---

Pittsburg Landing, using a bridge called “Wallace’s Bridge,” but named for a man who lived in the area, not the general. If the River Road was selected, Wallace’s men would have a short march of approximately six miles from Crump’s Landing to their destination near Pittsburg Landing. Yet, according to his battlefield reports and later in his autobiography, Wallace intended on taking another road if and when battle broke out at Shiloh. The River Road ran close to the river, which made it difficult to cross since it held backed up water. Additionally, after the six-mile march, Wallace’s men would have met up with the rear of union forces, as it existed before the battle. The front was another two-mile march to the southwest.14

A second road, called Shunpike, led from Stony Lonesome to the location of General Sherman’s Fifth Division, the right flank of the union forces. Shunpike led southwest from Stony Lonesome, while the River Road led southeast. In the weeks before the battle, Wallace ordered Major Charles S. Hayes of the Fifth Ohio Calvary to oversee the restoration of the Shunpike Road, as this was part of the general’s strategy. Wallace explained in his autobiography that if his brigades were driven back to Crump’s, this road allowed him to expose his enemy’s flank and rear, and he stated, “I had a feeling that with the road repaired my command would not be molested.”15 The restoration included corduroying, or placing logs across a road, and rebuilding bridges so that Wallace could bring or send his artillery as needed.16 Wallace also writes that by the end of March, he rode with Hayes and one of his companies from Stony Lonesome to Pittsburg Landing and back using the Shunpike, which verified that the road was ready for use. It is now apparent that Wallace had been planning to use the Shunpike to reach the rest of the union forces, while Grant believed he would arrive

14 Stephens, 74; See map 2.  
16 Stephens, 74.
using the River Road. With his destination and route decided, Wallace waited at Stony Lonesome for orders.

Wallace made the decision that he would depart Stony Lonesome at noon if no orders arrived by then. Between 11:00 a.m. and 11:30 a.m., Wallace received orders from Captain Baxter, Grant’s quartermaster, to march his division to the battlefield, but the exact location to which he was ordered was at the center of debate. Wallace’s official reports say that he was ordered to the right of the army, while Grant’s claim he was ordered to Pittsburg Landing. As the union forces existed before the battle, the right of the army was west of Pittsburg Landing, near Owl Creek, which is closer to where The Shunpike ends than where the River Road comes out at Wallace’s Bridge (See Map). However, had he been commanded to Pittsburg Landing, the River Road would have been the more direct route, despite its condition. The orders brought by Baxter were unsigned because they were given by grant orally and recorded on the way to Wallace’s division at Crump’s. Wallace comments a year later on the informality of this order, and perhaps because of this he decided to give his men half of an hour for lunch before departing along the Shunpike at noon, which was his plan even if he received no orders at all. Wallace’s division was finally en route for the battle, taking the Shunpike Road, destined for the right of the union forces during this first day of the Battle of Shiloh.

Between noon and 1:00 p.m. Grant sent Rowley to find Wallace, Grant having expected Wallace’s division to already have deployed on the field. One of Grant’s later letters even states when he expected the division to be in battle:

Had General Wallace been relieved from duty in the morning, and the same orders communicated to Brig. Gen. Morgan L. Smith (who would have been his successor), I do

not doubt but the division would have been on the field of battle and in the engagement before 10 o'clock of that eventful 6th of April.  

Rowley met up with Wallace’s division between 2:00 p.m. and 2:30 p.m. at a location probably just past Clear Creek on the Shunpike Road. This was between 4.5 and 5 miles from their starting point at Stony Lonesome. Rowley informed Wallace that the Confederate forces had driven back Sherman’s forces and continuing on the Shunpike would lead to the rear of the enemy’s line. At this point Wallace ordered a countermarch to get back to the River Road as soon as possible. They learned of a crossroad that led from Shunpike to the River Road, which was then taken by the Third Division, now joined by Rowley.

At around the time Rowley met up with Wallace, Grant sent Lieutenant-Colonel John Rawlins and Lieutenant-Colonel James B. McPherson to find and hurry Wallace into position on the battlefield. Having expected Wallace to already be on the River Road, Rawlins and McPherson were surprised to find Wallace still on the crossroad at 3:30 pm. Rawlins and McPherson’s accounts, which were written almost a year after the battle, mention that Wallace told them he had been lost and that he was very slow getting to the battle. Wallace’s claims that he had been lost however, cannot be heavily substantiated as a large amount of evidence, some from Wallace’s own hand, support the fact that Wallace intentionally directed his troops down the Shunpike Road. The reason for his countermarch was that the Confederate forces had pushed back the Union in the morning of April 6th, and he would have came out at the rear of the enemy line. It is clear that Grant intended the Third Division to be at Pittsburg Landing that

---

20 Stephens, 87.
21 See Map 3.
morning and not where the Shunpike ends and crosses Owl Creek, which was where Wallace led his troops. This lack of communication proved devastating for the Union army on this first day of Shiloh. Rawlins and McPherson seem to be writing in support of Grant, who continued to blame Wallace for the losses of the North.

Wallace’s division continued on this crossroad, and the “wet and muddy road conditions further slowed the division’s march to the battle.” Arriving on the battlefield just after sunset at 6:30 p.m., Wallace’s men were too late to take part in the first day of the battle. In a letter from Wallace to Halleck, attempting to defend his actions on that day, Wallace states that he was not wasting time on his march:

“At no time during that afternoons march was my column halted longer than to allow it to be closed up; the column was brought in in perfect order and without a straggler; the length of its march in the time (from12 m. to a little after snnset) was nearly 15 miles; certainly there could have been no idling on the way.”

The division marched from noon until after sunset on April 6th and covered a total of at least fifteen miles. Gail Stephens, author of *Shadow of Shiloh: Major General Lew Wallace in the Civil War*, took the same route as Wallace’s troops, and using GPS measurements, discovered that it was 16.75 miles total. The General even underestimated the distance traveled when further explaining his march to Halleck. It seems clear that Wallace did not waste time nor did he get lost. His absence ultimately appears to be the result of a lack of communication between Grant and Wallace. Regardless, the Third Division had arrived and would undoubtedly have an

---

25 Stephens, 91.
impact on the second and final day of the Battle of Shiloh.

After all of the regiments and artillery of the Third Division arrived Sunday night, they were arranged on the far right of the army. Shortly after daybreak on Monday, April 7 about 5:30 a.m., Wallace’s batteries opened fire on the enemy. These two batteries were the Ninth Indiana Battery, commanded by Lieutenant George Brown located in Perry Field, and General Buell’s battery commanded by Lieutenant Charles Thurber was to the north in Russian Tenant Field. The point of attack was a Confederate battery, the Alabama Battery, commanded by Captain William H. Ketchum. Wallace intended to take out this Confederate battery before ordering his troops to advance. This artillery duel lasted until about 6:30 a.m. when Ketchum retreated. Wallace’s men then moved forward, opposing the brigade commanded by Colonel Preston Pond, who was just southeast of Owl Creek and in Jones Field. After carefully crossing the Tilghman Creek, Wallace moved his three brigades into position at the edge of Jones Field. Wallace was very cautious on this second day of the battle, and he waited for support from Sherman before moving against the Confederate line. Wallace describes the crossing of the Tilghman in his autobiography: “This was not later than six-thirty o’clock. Down the hill into the hollow and across it, splashing into the swollen creek, crashing through the brush, the perfect order lost because it could not be helped, the regiments went.” With this obstacle cleared, Wallace’s troops were ready to attack the opposition as Sherman moved to join him in support.

Sherman crossed Tilghman at about 10:00 a.m. while Wallace’s men were engaged in battle. They were under fire from a Ketchum’s battery, which had been pushed through Jones

---

26 Stephens, 93-94.
27 Stephens, 96.
29 Stephens, 96-97.
Field, where he set up on its southern edge. Brown was ordered onto the opposite edge of the field to shell the enemy in the woods, and an artillery duel ensued, which Thurber would take over when Brown ran out of ammunition. When Sherman joined the Third Division, Wallace was able to move Thurber into the center of the field to duel with Ketchum, and then lead his First Brigade against the Confederate line. Led by the First Brigade, Wallace’s division moved through Jones Field but ran into enemy fire in the woods near Sowell Field, to the immediate right of the Jones Field. Soon however, they were able to push through and advance to Sowell Field. All three brigades advanced, with Smith on the left and Whittlesey on the right. Third Division’s advancement against the Confederate left flank forced it to fall back. At this point, Wallace describes the movements of his men:

“It was now noon, and, the enemy having been driven so far back, the idea of flanking them further had to be given up. Not wishing to interfere with the line of operations of the division to my left, but relying upon it for support, my front was again changed the movement beginning with the First Brigade, taking the course of attack precisely as it had been in the outset.”

It now being after noon, the division shifted more to the southwest, forward and right, and moved into Crescent Field. This advancement would continue for Wallace’s division as well as for the rest of the Union line.

At Crescent Field Wallace’s men met resistance, but they were able to push through with help from the left side of the line, recently reinforced by General Buell’s arrival with 40,000 men. All three brigades pushed through Crescent Field and faced the main Confederate line with

---

30 See Map 4.  
31 Stephens, 98.  
Sherman and Buell on their left. From roughly noon until 2:00 p.m., the Union and Confederate lines battled with rifles and artillery. It was becoming clear that the Confederates were outmatched and at about 2:00 p.m., Beauregard, the commanding general of Confederate forces, ordered retreat to begin, with the last line, commanded by John C. Breckinridge, made to cover that retreat at 3:00 p.m. After the reinforced union army pushed the Confederate line back to the Shiloh church, for which the battle was named, essentially ended the battle in the afternoon of April 7th. At the end of his official report, Wallace praised his men for their performance in the battle:

“Of my regiments I find it impossible to say enough…this was a greater battle than Donelson, and consequently a more terrible ordeal in which to test what may be a thing of glory or shame the courage of an untried regiment, flow well they all behaved I sum up in the boast, Not one man, officer or soldier, flinched.”

Wallace stated that he believed the Battle of Shiloh to be a greater victory than at Fort Donelson. It is clear that Wallace’s Third Division was critical in Union victory on April 7, 1862. Despite his contributions to Union victory, Wallace will always be remembered for his absence on April 6th.

Major General Lew Wallace was undoubtedly important in the Union victory at Shiloh on April 7, 1862. The major debate is over how big of an impact his absence had on the huge Union losses during the first day of the battle. General Ulysses S. Grant accused Wallace of disobeying orders and wasting time on his march to Pittsburg Landing. Grant continued to blame him for the devastating losses of Union troops at Shiloh. Many of the reports that came

---

33 Stephens, 100-101.
out from men such as Rowley, Rawlins, and McPherson, all Grant’s men, were written nearly a year after the battle and were most likely prejudiced in Grant’s favor – who was removed from command following Shiloh. The evidence supports that Grant had intended for Wallace to take the River Road to Pittsburg Landing, but that order was never clearly communicated to him. Wallace had spent the weeks leading up to the battle tending to the Shunpike Road as his planned route to join Sherman’s camp on the right of the army. The fifteen-mile or more march on Sunday was due to lack of communication between the two generals and some bad luck that Sherman had been pushed back and Wallace forced to turn back and take the crossroad to the River Road. Regardless of whether Grant’s accusations were true or not, Wallace’s presence on the first day of Shiloh could have saved countless lives, and for that reason he will always be remembered for not being at the Battle of Shiloh on April 6, 1862.
Bibliography


Maps: