

## Introduction

In my daily 8 to 4:30 job at the Kentucky Library and Museum at Western Kentucky University I collaborate with the local community on artistic, educational exhibits. I spent 2004 working with local Black photographer, Brent Whitlow, on an exhibit about the contemporary life of African Americans in Bowling Green, KY, for Black History Month, February 2005. Brent did most of the work as he shot all of the photographs over about twelve months. Some of the photographs we chose to exhibit were shot at the dedication ceremony of the Shake Rag Historic District Kentucky Highway Marker on October 21, 2004. It was during a conversation about this ceremony that I learned about Herbert Oldham's speech, and so began my narrative class project.

Inquiry with Maxine Ray, a folklorist and a member of the historic preservation group that organized the ceremony, New Era Planning Association, acquired a copy of the speech, *Shake Rag Revisited*, and Mr. Oldham gave permission for its inclusion into the collaborative exhibit with Brent Whitlow. I read the speech and was intrigued. I wanted to know what these words meant to him and the audience at the ceremony and I wanted to hear him say them. This speech seemed to represent the feeling of displacement of the Black community.

Mr. Oldham had typed the speech in all capitol letters, and divided it into one, two, or three sentence paragraphs. An example of the first four paragraphs follows:

IT HAS BEEN STATED THAT TO LIVE IS NOT MERELY TO BREATH, IT IS TO ACT. IT IS TO MAKE USE OF OUR ORGANS, SENSES AND FACULTIES.

TO MAKE USE OF ALL OUR PARTS OF OURSELVES. WHICH GIVES US THE FEELING OF EXISTANCE AS STATED BY JEAN JACQUES ROSSEAU.

I BELIEVE THAT THIS STATEMENT DESCRIBES THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE WHO LIVED IN THE SHAKE RAG COMMUNITY.

THOSE WHO WALKED THE STREETS AND ALLEYS OF SHAKE RAG WHERE PEOPLE THAT LIVED AND ENJOYED LIFE. [2004]

The text is visually forceful with three pages of expressions typed in capital letters to express their importance. To my horror I found that there is no existing audio or visual recording of the dedication ceremony. I decided to interview people who had ties to the community and who were at the ceremony including the author of the speech, Herbert Oldham. I also chose to interview people with whom I had an acquaintance.<sup>1</sup> I interviewed four people: Herbert Oldham, Maxine Ray, Alice Gatewood Waddell, and Brent Whitlow. Herbert Oldham, the author of *Shake Rag Revisited*, attended school at State Street School and worked at High Street School as a teacher and then principal before his retirement. He lives in Bowling Green but not in the Shake Rag community. Maxine Ray is a folklorist and a member of the NEPA, New Era Planning Association, preservation group. Maxine makes her home in Warren County. Alice Gatewood Waddell is a nationally recognized artist who grew up in Shake Rag and now lives in The District, the historic downtown area of Bowling Green. Brent Whitlow is a local photographer who attended the ceremony to take photographs for the NEPA. Brent's father grew up in Shake Rag but Brent has never lived there.

The concept of displacement held by African Americans in Bowling Green has its roots in the historic treatment of Blacks in the United States. Africans were taken by force from their native land and sold as property. The history of the slave trade in the United States is well documented in other places and won't be included in this paper, but one must acknowledge that a large number of Blacks living in Kentucky have ancestors that were slaves.<sup>2</sup> Bowling Green city history records that slaves were part of the early population. The city of Bowling Green was founded in 1798 and in 1810 the federal census taker listed 23 households with a total of 98 white and 56 slave residents in Bowling Green (Baird, Crowe-Carraco 1997).

Dr. Marion Lucas of the Western Kentucky University History Department wrote about the role that Black slaves played in the early settlement of Kentucky for the Bowling Green/Warren County Bicentennial history time capsule:

Blacks provided much of the defense and vast majority of labor which turned south central [sic] Kentucky into prosperous land . . . [an] early period of settlement saw blacks and whites working together probably more closely than at any time thereafter. Though no golden age, it was a time of mutual dependence and close personal relations. Unfortunately, African Americans did not share equitably in the prosperity they created. With the passage of time and the march of civilization, African Americans found themselves by 1800 being placed under a more restrictive form of slavery which resembled that in the Atlantic coast states. Slave traders soon opened shop, hawking "human Flesh" on downtown streets, and by 1825 Bowling Green had introduced

“town patrols” which limited the movement of black residents, free as well as slave. By the early 1800’s, Warren County African Americans were thought of in the white community less than as human beings and primarily as laborers.

[Lucas 1998]

The “town patrols” that Lucas mentions are documented by Gladys-Marie Fry in *Night Riders in Black Folk History* as a method the Southern states used to prevent, “unsupervised get-togethers, especially night gatherings” (1975:45). This manner of control was established after slave rebellions in the Southern states in the early 1800s (Fry 1975:38-43).

Displacement is the condition of having to move from the usual place - forced to leave a homeland. Displacement can be understood as a defense mechanism in which there is an unconscious shift of emotions, affect, or desires from the original object to a more acceptable or immediate substitute. I believe the former many times perpetuates the latter. Displacement is discussed as dispersal, diaspora, transdiaspora and can be a negative or positive condition (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994:339-340).

Alice Gatewood Waddell confided that displacement is continual in her family’s lives. Her personal story of displacement began with her mother’s family, the Bailey’s, experience of being forced to sell their homeplace.<sup>3</sup> The Bailey family owned a large two-story home where multiple generations of grandparents, parents, children, and cousins lived side-by-side.<sup>4</sup> This type of multi-generational family life is fairly common in the early to mid 1900’s in Kentucky.<sup>5</sup> The Bailey homeplace was located in the community of Jonesville in Bowling Green. There are stories that Waddell’s family tells about living in Jonesville, but few photographs remain of the family’s physical home

place.<sup>6</sup> In the 1950s era of urban renewal this African American neighborhood was designated to be leveled and replaced. There are many narratives that former residents tell about this community that exists in memory.

Former resident Maereeth Kurykendall Whitlow in an interview with a news reporter talks about the demise of Jonesville and foresees future displacement for members of the community:

Most of the homeowners were older. . . . It was a real neighborhood. We had our own ball games. I taught Sunday school and had 40 to 50 children in class. Then Western needed room to expand and the area was cleared. The people were told they could come back, buy lots and build homes. It didn't work out that way. One Lady was relocated then will probably be moved again to make way for progress. [Bush 1988]

Dr. John Hardin describes more specifically the ordeal that Jonesville residents endured during the 1950s. It was during this time they were forced -- by the governmental entities for which they worked and paid taxes -- to sell their property and give up their neighborhood:

By 1950 . . . Jonesville had become one of two areas designated for urban renewal. From 1955 to 1967, the city's Urban Renewal Commission purchased the entire area. Most of the property was transferred to Western Kentucky University. However, the process was not a pleasant one. Black homeowners who had worked hard to purchase and maintain their homes found themselves at the mercy of a system interested in acquiring the property through eminent

domain. Although some landowners who sold their property in the late 1950's received fair value, most did not.

On March 16, 1964, a protest to the city council about this treatment by 300 Jonesville residents was unsuccessful. Within a few years, the Jonesville community was gone and its citizens forced to relocate to other areas in the northern part of [the] city or to public housing. [Hardin 1998]

Maxine Ray whose memories of the community from 1950 until it was demolished invoked her diligent work for recognition of the community to “preserve the story” (Ray 2005). Her work succeeded in providing former residents with more than a place they can visit in memory. Kentucky Historical Society Highway marker # 2052 stands to recognize the Jonesville community; it was dedicated April 10, 2001 and describes the official state record of acquiring and selling the land of the Jonesville community to Western Kentucky University:

### **Jonesville**

(Marker Number: 2052)

**County:** Warren

**Location:** Bowling Green, Western Ky. Univ. Campus, Univ. Blvd. & US 68/80

**Description:** This African American community was founded after the Civil War. It was bordered by Dogwood Dr., Russellville Road, and the railroad tracks. The community grew to include several hundred residents, an elementary school, businesses, and two churches. Frame and hand-hewn stone houses lined the streets of Jonesville. Presented by Western Kentucky

University.

(Reverse) Jonesville - The lives of most residents of this close African American community revolved around church, school and family activities.

In the late 1950s Jonesville was one of two areas in Bowling Green designated for urban renewal. By 1968 the state had acquired the land and sold it to the university. Presented by Western Kentucky University.

[kentucky.gov. 2004]

Western Kentucky University, a state institution, gained most from this eminent domain-acquired land transaction. They acknowledged that the land where the former community of Jonesville was located has historic significance. An official report of the Jonesville Highway Marker dedication from WKU News and Events, Division of Public Affairs published April 10, 2001, reads as follows:

*Bowling Green, Ky.* - Tuesday was a special day for former residents of Jonesville.

A Kentucky Historical Society Highway Marker was unveiled on Western Kentucky University's campus to remember the African American community that once thrived in the area near University Boulevard and Big Red Way. Jonesville was "our strip of heaven," former resident Bobby W. Austin said in dedicating the marker.

*"In our hearts we will carry always the love, the dedication, the patience and the goodwill of the citizens of Jonesville,"* Austin said after reflecting about memories of growing up in the community.

Austin, a WKU alumnus and president of Village Foundation, also paid tribute to Jonesville historian Maxine Ray, a WKU graduate student, for her diligence in making Tuesday's ceremony a reality and in keeping the community's history alive.

Ray, who was born in Jonesville, thanked former residents and remembered the sacrifices her ancestors made. *"I hope they can look down on us and be proud of us,"* Ray said. *"We will never forget Jonesville."*

WKU President Gary Ransdell said the historic marker will help keep the memories and spirit of Jonesville alive.

*"The people of Jonesville left behind their homes, their land, their businesses,"* Dr. Ransdell said, *"but they took with them their spirit. They did not leave their hope behind."*

*"They carried their hope with them to other parts of Bowling Green where it grew and spread,"* he said. *"Bowling Green is a better place because of the hope that originated and was nurtured here in Jonesville. That spirit of hope is the legacy of Jonesville."* [wku.edu 2001]

In his address Dr. Ransdell speaks to what the Jonesville residents left behind and what was taken. He says they took spirit and hope with them to other parts of Bowling Green where it grew and spread.

That leads to the question, where in Bowling Green was there for the former residents to go? Most Blacks and Whites lived in segregated communities in Kentucky until long after the historic 1954 Supreme Court *Brown v. Board of Education* case

brought civil rights issues to the forefront of national interest and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which included these mandates:

Racially integrated restaurants, snack bars, hotels, motels, swimming pools, and all other places of public accommodation in the nation. It provided for a cut-off of funds to any U.S. Government supported program that was found to be practicing racial discrimination. It provided for equal employment opportunity in the workplace, for women as well as racial, religious, and ethnic minorities. [africanamericans.com]

In the 1950's Blacks in Kentucky weren't always able to rent or buy property in just any neighborhood because of racial prejudice. There were not many available places in Bowling Green for the former residents of Jonesville "to carry their hope to." One story of racial unrest is the story of Herbert Oldham.

Mr. Oldham came home to Bowling Green in 1957 with a teaching degree in his pocket from St. Augustine College in North Carolina. He acquired a job teaching science in the Bowling Green City School system at High Street School, a segregated Black school. He made his home with his father at 709 W. Main Street. The local housing situation during segregation of the mid 1950's as described by Oldham, "you didn't have a lot of opportunity, places to move, you didn't have any place to go. There were no apartments, very few Black communities, and real estate people were not selling homes to Blacks." The limited opportunity of places to settle brought many, like the Gatewoods, "to carry their hope to" the residential area of Shake Rag.

John Hardin of Bowling Green wrote about the connection of the two Black communities of Jonesville and Shake Rag in the narrative, *Bowling Green/Warren County Black Life in the Twentieth Century*:

Many black residents lived in two black communities in the county: Jonesville and Shake Rag. . . . Jonesville was an area of approximately 30 acres where the present Diddle Arena and L.T. Smith Stadium of WKU are located. The 65 homes in Jonesville were owned by the residents some of whom raised their own chickens, hogs, cows, ducks and turkeys. Mt. Zion Baptist Church was located in the area and had 200 members at one time. Residents worked in local businesses as janitors, cooks or “domestic” employees. Despite its closeness to the campus, the community was a distinct world. . . .

Shake Rag is an area closer to the downtown of Bowling Green from the 31-W By Pass at Barren River to Main Street and High Street to Kentucky Street. This area has vestiges of an African American neighborhood with locally-owned businesses, churches and single family dwellings. . . . [the] Southern Queen Hotel, on Second Street . . . was one of the few stopping points for black travelers between Louisville and Nashville. [1998]

The Shake Rag neighborhood developed around Lee Square. One historic significance of Lee Square is tied to the founder of Bowling Green, Robert Moore, who donated the land in 1802 to be used as a public square. Political and transportation changes influenced growth in the area. As is recounted, “after the Civil War, the neighborhood grew steadily, becoming a more prosperous and thriving community as State Street became part of the Dixie Highway in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century” (NEPA 2005).

The importance of the Shake Rag neighborhood cannot be understated in terms of the quality of life for Black residents of Bowling Green and the region. The first Black institution that organized in Bowling Green was the State Street Baptist Church and it began in this area. The State Street Baptist Church became an independent congregation in 1838 (Lucas). The Shake Rag neighborhood was also the educational center of the Black community as excerpts from the Shake Rag Historic District National Register Nomination research documents relate:

The existence of State Street School, the Bowling Green Academy, the public library branch, and the active Sunday Schools of the neighborhood's churches are evidence of the neighborhood's role as a center of education. Many of the teachers, principals, and ministers that founded and ran the schools lived in the Shake Rag neighborhood.

State Street School was Bowling Green's first public school for African Americans. It opened two years after the 1882 legislation authorizing funding for the education of blacks. By 1886 it had an enrollment of four hundred eleven pupils in eight grades.

Founded in 1884, the Bowling Green Academy was located on the south corner of East 3<sup>rd</sup> Avenue and State Street until 1927.

In 1947, the Bowling Green-Warren County Public Library opened a new "colored" branch at 412 State Street in the home of Miss Bessie Woods. This branch library replaced an earlier branch that opened in 1945 at 322 Chestnut Street. The library contained 3,500 volumes and reported a monthly circulation of 400 books. It also featured a children's room and recreational programs.

[2000]

Community life is traditionally centered around church and school and when the Street School opened in 1883 it became, “the most important center of community activities. Its students were academically equipped to matriculate at black colleges as such Kentucky State, Fisk, and Wilberforce. Its principals were highly respected community leaders” (Hardin 1998).

A meeting place for community organizations and children’s after school programs, the George Washington Carver Center, was realized in 1946. This facility was brought into being by women in the Shake Rag community who were aware of a need for a community center, a place for clubs, Girl Scouts, and Boy Scouts to meet. It was the only community center for Blacks and is still in use today (Ray 2005).

The Shake Rag community was the largest African American community in Bowling Green (Ray 2005). It supported Black-owned service businesses that provided for the needs of the community and put food on the table for the owners (Oldham 2005). The main commercial street in the community was Third Street and, “anything you would want was right there and black owned . . . [the] restaurants and clubs were where people went to party . . . shake your rags” (Waddell 2005).

The sentiment of the Shake Rag community is described as “small town living . . . meddling . . . your teacher might be coming home from school and she might make a stop at your house, as she passed it on her way home” (Waddell 2005). The community was close knit and everyone knew who needed help. If someone’s mother was ill the neighborhood ladies would look after the children (Ray 2005).

Most residents of Shake Rag were in the same social economic class, blue collar working class people, and many played a dual role in the community. School teachers were often Sunday school teachers and school principals were sometimes ministers in the pulpit on Sunday morning (Waddell 2005). The community changed with integration and the ageing of the residents. As business owners grew older and ready to retire many businesses closed down. People began to move out of the area in response to integration and commercialization of the residential area.

The land where the Shake Rag community developed became commercially desirable in its proximity to the U.S.31-W By Pass. The “Bypass” is a motor route developed in the 1940s with the purpose of by-passing through traffic around the downtown area. The U.S. 31-W By-Pass attracted business and grew into a commercial strip:

By the 1960s, the Shake Rag district and its strategic location along U.S. 31W, 31W Bypass, and the L & N Railroad became attractive to developers as commercial sites. Intermixed throughout the neighborhood are small industrial and commercial structures that were constructed when State Street became a designated federal highway. [Shake Rag Historic District NRDN research notes 2000]

A significant development which changed the face of the community was the relocation of the City’s second largest employer, The Medical Center, into the area (Western Kentucky University being the City’s largest employer). The Medical Center of Bowling Green and then Graves Gilbert Clinic moved into the area. Alice Waddell

recalls, “Most people . . . moved out when The Medical Center was built in the community. That took quite a few people out” (2005).

The Medical Center acquired 21 acres in 1977 on High Street and cleared out homes in this area of the Shake Rag community from High Street to Park Street. The medical facility opened their doors at 250 Park Street in 1980 (mcbg 2005). Graves Gilbert Clinic acquired land just across the street, at 201 Park Street, and built another medical facility. The area appears slated for more development as in 2001 The Medical Center announced plans for major expansion, \$30 million (mcbg 2005). This doesn't appear to be the end of the decontextualization of the neighborhood as, “our society clears the slate (and the land) for corporate agendas.” (Hufford 1995:530) Medical development in the area continues as representatives of Graves Gilbert Clinic have approached the Gatewood family on several occasions inquiring about purchasing their property. Alice Gatewood Waddell shares, “They say name your price . . . and then they look [at you] like your crazy” (2005).

Within the community of Shake Rag there is now an area designated as the Shake Rag Historical District which was placed on the National Register of Historical Places in 2000. The work for the nomination began as a vernacular architecture class project by Folk Studies graduate students, Karen Heege and Brian Gregory, under the direction of Dr. Michael Ann Williams, at Western Kentucky University (Williams 2005).

There were others who became involved during this time of displacement. In 2001 the Downtown Redevelopment Authority (DRA) began to initiate a Master Plan for the revitalization of the Bowling Green downtown area. This development gained attention among black activists. One such advocate, Maxine Ray (a graduate of Western's

Folk Studies' graduate program who advocates historic preservation) and other community members formed the grass-roots organization NEPA, New Era Planning Association. As the DRA began making preservation plans it became obvious that they appeared to disregard or be unaware of the African American community history in the area as Maxine Ray advises,

The City was starting a restoration; preservation program of some of the . . . historic buildings in the city, the area they had designated to be in The District . . . one of the areas was Shake Rag. They were skipping over the Shake Rag community. So we formed mainly to help . . . see that the history of this community was not lost in the restoration because there was no mention of it. This was a very vibrant community, the largest African American community in the Bowling Green area. . . . It was a big area and they were skipping over the history part. We just didn't want to see . . . we wanted to preserve the history, the memory, and the two or three buildings left. We organized, put the history together, presented [the history] to the city about the Shake Rag district and a lot of people didn't know about the history of it. They didn't know that the Black community was there at one time. The City officials and the consultants were very surprised and happy to hear about the history of the area.

[2005]

The NEPA's concern that "Remnants of African American history in Bowling Green are vanishing" (2005) is based on an experiential view of past history with government agencies. The plight of the organization is that, " many homes and other businesses have been purchased and demolished over the years, replaced by businesses

and expanding medical facilities that much of the residential flavor of the neighborhood has been lost”(NEPA 2005). Maxine Ray relates, “The main reason we organized is so that they wouldn’t just put in new buildings and tear down what was left and forget the history of that community . . . they did not know the name of that community” (2005).

Reclaiming the history of the Shake Rag community provides a link to the past. Revitalization of the community provides a link to the future. Jonesville can’t be revitalized and, “that makes the opportunity to rebuild the Shake Rag district one of the best chances the city has to maintain a link to a historic black community” (Park City Daily News 2003). Martha Norkunas substantiates the political significance of public monuments and their relationship to past memory, “Markers on the landscape tell people what sites are important, what is historical, and hence, what is worth noticing by enshrining them and segregating them from ordinary places”(2002:65). A marker symbolizes a worthy history and can be a doorway into the past and the link to future generations.

These human needs, a link to the past and the future, were met at the dedication ceremony of the Shake Rag Historic District Kentucky Highway Marker on October 21, 2004. The ceremony was held at the corner of Second and State Street, Lee Square. The NEPA planned the ceremony to honor older members of the community and requested community members’ assistance with the program (Ray 2005). Alice Gatewood Waddell, who grew up in Shake Rag and whose mother helped with the unveiling of the marker, was the Master of Ceremony. Herbert Oldham, student of State Street School and teacher at High Street and the last principal at the High Street School was the speaker (Ray 2005).

## Excerpts From the Taped Interviews

When I asked Herbert Oldham about his speech he replied, “They asked me to say a few words on that day. I just thought about the experiences I had in the neighborhood and I was hoping to put them down and remind some of the younger people what had taken place. The Lord works in mysterious ways, things came together.” I asked him about the process of writing and he told me,

I jot down things that happened . . . write them down. Depict in my own way and try to present a picture of what was in the community. To talk about the people that lived in the community and some of the things that they had to put up with. It was a period of segregation. It was a period they did not have any viable jobs, people worked hard. [A] Family man had to dig graves with his hand, they called him the grave digger. Mr. John Nunn, I call him mister because I respect him. That was hard work, he had to give the sweat of his brow.

Women in the community worked hard, they took in clothing and they washed and they ironed. You could see the Whites on Friday, driving down picking up clothing. That was what they had to do, it wasn't anything degrading. This was a form of occupation for the people. They made a livelihood and were able to raise their families. Produce some good offspring, children.

When I asked Maxine Ray about the dedication ceremony she replied, “That was exciting, we were looking to honor some of the older members of the community . . . So we had Mr. Herbert Oldham. He did the dedication ceremony.” She recalls Mr. Oldham’s speech,

It was really spiritual, it was emotional, it was everything. When he began his speech it was very, very quite. There were about 65 to 70 people at this ceremony, it was outside, but it was very, very quite when he started speaking. It was as if the ancestors were watching over you and it was spiritual. You had to have been there to experience this. It was very emotional because he . . . covered everything about the community. I don’t think he even looked down at his paper, he had notes, during the whole time. In fifteen or twenty minutes he . . . included all the aspects of the community. It was very exciting and emotional. . . . he was there and he knew it . . . the life that was there.

Brent Whitlow responds to a question about the dedication ceremony,

I have always wondered why they called it Shake Rag. My father grew up in Shake Rag . . . . He starting reading the name of Shake Rag and where it may have came from and it just really lit me up. It made me really happy to hear something positive from Shake Rag. I really liked it. I can see some of the speech. He was talking about the clothes shaking, the rags shaking in the breeze, clothes drying, and I could see my grandmother with her clothes on the back porch drying. He was talking about the clothes they wore when they went

out Friday night and I could see my father going to a club or something, or going out with his new rags and shaking his rags.

When I asked about the experience of the dedication ceremony he related, “It was something to see. . . . He was just reading and it came all of a sudden.” I asked about the rest of the ceremony and he replied,

I got caught up in it [the speech] . . . [it] stood out so much to me I guess I just forgot everything else that went on that day . . . . the speech just blew me away. I grew up hearing the name of Shake Rag and go into other communities or other places in Bowling Green and it has a negative [meaning] *O, you go down there? You live close to there?*, it was negative. But it was nice to hear something positive.

Alice Gatewood Waddell believes that the marker is, “sort of a celebration of what was once there.” She said that on the day of the ceremony there was a, “nice representation [as] people were running for office, election year. Quite a good attendance on that end.” She noted that Herbert Oldham does public speaking as he is, “one of the oldest in educational administration, he is one of the few left so he is called upon.” As Waddell looked over a copy of his speech she remembered,

Many parts were prompting people to have a visual image [with] memories and pictures in their minds. As he said certain things they would visualize in their minds a day in life. . . . women did day work and had to come home and take care of their own family. There was a strong awareness of what was going

on in those days. It drew a big picture. People were laughing. Some things he mentioned I can remember and laugh. . . . people living in other sections came on weekends . . . to let off steam . . . let it go. Clothes on the clothes line is probably why I paint all those pictures. You know I got an everlasting theme. I [have] painted that scene a zillion times. My mother still does that. People lifting up their eyes is a strong part. It was a spiritual community; you were really an odd ball if you didn't go to church. Back then there were very few people that wasn't involved in the church.

### Conclusion

The performance of the *Shake Rag Revisited* narrative was not only intended to connect past memories with a present place, but to compel the audience to revisit those memories and propel the listeners forward. Thus one has allegorically entered a pause in the flow of time (Tuan 1977).

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Notes:

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<sup>1</sup> This narrative is about the history of a specific racial group of which I am not a member. I am White and all my interviewees are Black. I don't have a naive belief that racial boundaries do not exist and I also believe in talking to people I already knew would increase our rapport in discussion of racial matters. This project has time limitations of a semester class and I didn't have time to make new friends.

<sup>2</sup> In 2004 I interviewed thirty residents of the Bunch Historic District, a traditional African American community, in Glasgow, Kentucky. Many interviewees recall that their ancestors were slaves from specific places in Kentucky.

<sup>3</sup> Alice Gatewood Waddell and I are friends and co-workers who relate our lives and experiences to one another in conversations on a daily basis.

<sup>4</sup> abid

<sup>5</sup> My great-grandmother, Eliza Hale, her son Sherman with wife Roxie, their son Earl, with his wife, Glaye, and their three children, all in the home place in Tompkinsville, Ky., in the early 1900's.

<sup>6</sup> Photographs of the Gatewood home place were loaned to a cousin and were then lost.